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Raising the Dead and Saving Them:
Transformations in Funerary Manuals of the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana Tantra*

By

Kris L. Anderson

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

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in

Buddhist Studies

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Jacob P. Dalton, Co-Chair
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Summer 2022

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Abstract

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The *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana Tantra (SDP)*, or *Purification of All Negative Rebirths*, is a Buddhist yoga tantra that has long been associated with funerary practice in multiple Buddhist cultures. However, when it comes to ritual practice, the tantra itself, as with most canonical tantras, does not give practical guidance. Rather, this task falls to the genres of local ritual manuals and handbooks that have grown up around the text and evolved over the centuries. This dissertation examines several such manuals, drawn from two separate traditions where the *SDP* has been important: Tibetan texts from Dunhuang, and bilingual Newari-Sanskrit texts from the Kathmandu Valley. Since they originate from very different historical contexts, the aim is not to compare them with one another, but rather to consider the diverse range of ritual traditions that have developed with the *SDP* as their basis. In doing so, this dissertation shows that, rather than drawing on funerary elements alone, Buddhist tantric funerary rites in these traditions make use of the same basic tantric technology central to yoga tantra in general, including initiation and *sādhana* techniques. So too, it argues that the adaptability of the text relates to its capacity to combine with other types of Buddhist tantric ritual technology, a quality that may also contribute to its widespread popularity and remarkable longevity.

Part One focuses on a Tibetan initiation manual from Dunhuang that may be used for the living or dead. It proposes a re-ordering of the manuscript and a reading of the text as a coherent whole centering on the *SDP maṇḍala* and incorporating two others. Notable, in particular, is the relative lack of customization in the text and the absence of any particular focus on the deceased's consciousness. Part Two examines Newari-Sanskrit manuals of the 19th century, in particular, ones that combine the *SDP* tradition with the practice of *utkrānti*, an advanced technique that involves recalling the deceased's consciousness to their body, performing initiations, and finally directing the consciousness to depart again via the crown of the head, in order to ensure a good rebirth. Finally, Part Two provides new material for the study of Newar Buddhism, an area that has received comparatively little attention. Overall, this study contributes to the understanding of the *SDP* tradition and brings into conversation differing Buddhist tantric funerary practices on its basis. It also takes a closer look at the genre of ritual manuals, and considers the relationship between localization, levels of detail, and pragmatic needs of ritualists.

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Introduction: A Tale of Two Funerals

Dunhuang, 10th c. (Gansu Province in modern China)

We begin at the Mogao Cave Complex, Dunhuang, in the tenth century. Although no longer an outpost of the Tibetan Empire, it remains an important stop on the Silk Road, where Tibetan language has persisted despite the waning of political control from Central Tibet.¹ The flourishing of Buddhism continues as well, though the region's Buddhists mostly still use texts received during the first dissemination of Buddhism during Tibet's imperial period, over a century earlier.

It is the occasion of a death, and a funeral is taking place.² The funeral employs the tantric Buddhist techniques popular at the time; in particular, it involves empowerments performed for the deceased with a *maṇḍala* centering on Śākyamuni surrounded by eight "*uṣṇīṣa* buddhas"—that is, one of the *maṇḍalas* of the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana tantra*.

Kathmandu Valley, Nepal, 19th c.

Our next stop lies nearly a millennium later and a thousand miles south, in the Kathmandu Valley, Nepal, where another funeral is under way. The Newar Buddhist priest, or *vajrācārya*, undertakes a complex series of empowerments and other rites that span seven days from the time of death. Included among these is the construction of what is known locally as the *Durgatipariśodhana maṇḍala*—essentially a similar arrangement with Śākyamuni and eight *uṣṇīṣa* buddhas.³ Although there are certain differences in the names and locations assigned to some of the deities in this *maṇḍala* compared with the one prepared by the tenth-century officiant at Dunhuang, this, too, is based on the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana Tantra*.

Overview of Subjects and Project

These are both instances of funerary rites based on the same canonical tantra, the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana tantra* (*SDP*). However, although they draw on a common textual source, they are, in other ways, very different responses. Given their different origins, this is no surprise—death is noteworthy as shared human concern but, at the same time, is

¹ Géza Uray, "L'emploi du tibétain dans les chancelleries des états du Kan-sou et de Khotan postérieurs à la domination tibétaine," *Journal Asiatique*, no. 269.1-2 (1981): 81–90. See also Matthew T. Kapstein, *The Tibetan Assimilation of Buddhism: Conversion, Contestation, and Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 208 n. 48.

² This is, of course, an imagined scenario since the texts are, ultimately, prescriptive. However, it does serve to introduce the contexts of the different sources that will be our focus. The two imagined settings correspond roughly to the probably provenance of the two major groupings of funerary ritual handbooks to be discussed in the following chapters.

³ Although colloquially referred to as the *Durgatipariśodhana* (*DPS*), with the "all" (*sarva*) of "All Negative Rebirths" (*Sarvadurgatipariśodhana*) omitted in Nepal, the tantra referred to is still the *SDP*.

something that has invited a diverse array of historically and culturally specific responses. This contrast between the universal relevance of death and the particular manifestations of culture surrounding it creates a space for investigation, as scholars from numerous disciplines have demonstrated.⁴

The starting point of this project is the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana Tantra*, a text widely recognized as principally associated with funerary traditions. Because funerary traditions address a concrete problem—the need to respond to specific death events—they necessarily raise questions of practice and demand practical answers. However, canonical tantras like the *SDP* are not intended or suitable as guides to practice. For this reason, we must look to other literature to learn of tantric funerary traditions—specifically, ritual manuals and handbooks. Ritual literature is a vast category, only some of which consists of manuals intended to be of direct practical help to a ritualist. Such manuals are often extra-canonical (a designation to be discussed below) and local. Because of this, their idiosyncrasies and details respond specifically to the needs of the audience, since they were written or compiled by authors familiar with the skills and knowledge base of that audience.⁵

While one may emphasize either the similarities or the differences between rituals, this study does something that is not quite either, since it aims to avoid comparing them with each other. Its focus, instead, approaches them as examples of ritual technologies derived from a shared source but transformed and supplemented in diverse ways. That is to say, instead of attempting a methodologically fraught comparison of disparate later traditions related to one another as "cousins" but not necessarily bearing anything else in common, it aims to examine separate traditions in relation to the canon source that legitimizes them. It thus concentrates not on the early emergence and canonization process of tantric literature, but rather on the afterlife and contexts of local practice in handbooks and manuals. The popularity and persistence of *SDP*-related traditions across multiple Buddhist cultures, and the remarkable longevity of the *SDP* as a resource for funerary practice make it ideal for this kind of investigation.

Short Description of the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana*

⁴ Most relevant here, perhaps, is the framing of pan-Buddhist death traditions as Buddhist death cultures, as taken up by Williams and Ladwig in the recent collected volume on Buddhist death traditions. In that context, they associate this usage with the more established concept of deathscapes, though the latter is of less relevance in our particular case. See Paul Williams and Ladwig, eds., *Buddhist Funerary Cultures of Southeast Asia and China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 1-20. An important point made is that while death itself may be universal, death in society encompasses an entire complex of preparations and responses to death, and those are very particular.

⁵ Rather than provide a brief but inadequate definition for the category here, the characteristics and optimal terminology for this literature (or, as it turns out, the lack thereof) are discussed more fully below. In general, genre categories are particularly fluid with ritual literature, and it is sometimes in comparison to other types of manuals that the particular traits of extra-canonical and local manuals (as intended here) can be best discerned. Even then, these terms for the category are not ideal, since they encourage slippage into reliance on two-tier or binary models of religion, which is not appropriate, as will be evident in what follows. This is, to be fair, employing a relatively generous definition for canon, since though a Tibetan canon exists, there is not one of this sort, strictly speaking, for Sanskrit sources.

The *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana tantra*, the canonical source that the texts in this study share in common, is an Indian Buddhist *yogatantra* that emerged around the early eighth century.⁶ Originally composed in Sanskrit, it was also translated into Tibetan and Chinese. Though the Chinese translation did not attain widespread popularity, the text was important enough in Tibet that it was translated not only in the late eighth century, but again in the thirteenth, and is one of the few tantras we know were present in Tibet during the imperial period, thanks to references in the early catalogues, the *'Phang thang ma* and *Ldan kar ma/ Lhan kar ma*.⁷ This is especially notable since some early Tibetan followers of Buddhism were somewhat wary of the tantras and tantric turn in Buddhism.⁸

The two Tibetan translations of the tantra differ considerably, although the reasons for these differences, and the relationship between the two versions, remain unclear.⁹ Both versions of the text consist of three chapters, which differ to varying degrees. For the current study, the most important differences arise in the first chapter, concerning the principal *maṇḍala* of the text.¹⁰ The earlier version, surviving only in Tibetan, centers on Sarvavid Vairocana surrounded by four buddhas in an arrangement very similar to that of the core *yogatantra* text, the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṃgraha sūtra* (*STTS*), i.e. a "five buddha" (*pañcabuddha*) configuration.¹¹ The first chapter of the Sanskrit and later Tibetan translation, in contrast, begins with a *maṇḍala* centering on Śākyamuni/Śākyasiṃha

⁶ Full details and discussion of the *SDP*'s textual history is provided in the following section focused on the work and its background. The current description is simplified in order to give a broad overview.

⁷ The *'Phang thang ma* and *Ldan kar ma/ Lhan kar ma* were early catalogues of translated Buddhist texts. The former dates to the 9th c. in the *'Phang thang* court, while the latter comes from the era of the Khri gtsug lde btsan, in the early 9th c. (estimates have included 812 CE or 824 CE). See Kurtis R. Schaeffer and Leonard Van der Kuijp, *An Early Tibetan Survey of Buddhist Literature*, The Harvard Oriental Series (Cambridge (Mass.) / London: Harvard University Press, 2007), 46 n. 87. See also, earlier, Adelheid Hermann-Pfand, *Die lHan kar ma: Ein früher Katalog der ins Tibetische übersetzten buddhistischen Texte, Beiträge zur Kultur und Geistesgeschichte Asiens* Nr. 59 (Wien: Verlag der Österreichisches Akademie der Wissen, 2008), xxii.

⁸ Kapstein, *Assimilation*, 63. Of course, it was in particular the transgressive elements in the higher tantras that drew criticism, but that nonetheless means the *yogatantra* texts (which do not yet have such elements) such as the *SDP* were some of the only ones permitted openly.

⁹ Although several scholars have discussed differences between the versions, much remains to be clarified, especially with regard to the replacement of the first chapter. Skorupski's brief comment that the differences, "can be largely explained by the considerable difference in time, four to five centuries which separate them," would benefit from elaboration; however, the sources for doing so have thus far been scarce. See Tadeusz Skorupski, *The Sarvadurgatiparisodhana Tantra: Elimination of All Evil Destinies: Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1983), xvii.

¹⁰ This emphasis is based on what is relevant for the current study. Others have noted other elements as more interesting in other contexts; for example, Leonard Van der Kuijp concentrates on the differing number of *maṇḍalas* and absence of the *abhicāra maṇḍala* in some versions, a difference that in fact extends not just to versions but to different canon editions as well. See Leonard Van der Kuijp, "Notes Apropos of the Transmission of the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* in Tibet," *Studien Zur Indologie and Iranistik* 16 (1992): 114.

¹¹ That is to say, the buddhas do, for the most part, have different names, but they stand in for the Five Buddha Families in the same (Vairocana-centric) positions as in the *STTS*. On the *STTS*, see Steven Neal Weinberger, "The Significance of Yoga Tantra and the Compendium of Principles (*Tattvasaṃgraha Tantra*) within Tantric Buddhism in India and Tibet" (Dissertation, Charlottesville, Virginia, University of Virginia, 2003) and Steven Weinberger, "The Yoga Tantras and the Social Context of Their Transmission to Tibet," *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal* 23 (2010): 131–66. See also mentions in the following chapters, pp. 28; 76; 85; 238; 280.

surrounded by eight "*uṣṇīṣa* buddhas," collectively called the Nine *Uṣṇīṣa* (*Navoṣṇīṣa*) *Maṇḍala*.

Despite these and other differences, the two versions have much in common. Being canonical tantras, they are scriptural texts, considered to be spoken by a buddha and therefore bearing the authority of *buddhavacana*. As such, they open with an introduction (*nidāna*) and common frame story describing their origin and the original mythic occasion upon which they were taught. Also in common, this frame story provides the introduction to the actual teaching of the tantra's content, consisting of a collection of *maṇḍalas*, *homa* sacrifices, funerary rites, and other rituals. A point of interest here, to which we will return, is that the *SDP* is quite typical of Buddhist tantras in its format and organization—and, with regard to many elements, Buddhist scriptures more generally.¹² This will be notable given that its funerary use and associations are considerably different from the use and goals of texts it might reasonably be compared with historically.¹³

***SDP* Ritual Literature and This Study**

Besides their common use of the Nine *Uṣṇīṣa Maṇḍala* from the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana* (*SDP*), the two funerals imagined at the start of this introduction share another feature, namely, their remoteness from the origin of the canonical textual material from which they derive their authority.¹⁴ The Tibetan ritual, though taking place only two (or so) centuries after the emergence of the *SDP*, is being performed by a ritualist working in another language and cultural context, employing a text in translation and engaging with a tradition still in the process of transmission (and transformation) from its birthplace on the Indian Subcontinent.

The Newar *vajrācārya* faces a challenge of a different kind. Even though his home in the Kathmandu Valley is, by comparison, merely a stone's throw from the sites in India where Buddhism began, he lives many centuries after the Dunhuang ritualist, and even longer after the appearance of the *SDP* *tantra* itself.¹⁵ Although the nineteenth-century *vajrācārya* uses

¹² The most immediate comparison is certainly with other *yogatantras*, but my point here—to be expanded upon—is that it is not radically different on account of being funerary where other tantras are not, i.e. the funerary focus does remarkably little to influence the text's basic form.

¹³ In particular, comparison can be made with other *yogatantras* where soteriological aims and personal practice mean that the surviving ritual literature, such as has been found at Dunhuang, has a very different character (see additional discussion of the *STTS* and Dunhuang Collection in Chapter One.) The distinctions in probable use of the *SDP* have also been discussed by Steven Weinberger, who characterizes the *SDP* as being more "practical" and more directed to "worldly" benefits. See Weinberger, "The Significance of Yoga Tantra," 207ff. On other ritual literature and funerary ritual practice in the Tibetan tradition, see, recently, Rory Lindsay, "Liberating Last Rites: Ritual Rescue of the Dead in Tibetan Buddhist Discourse" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2018).

¹⁴ We might have said here "from the material they are based on" but since it is, in part, the nature of that relationship to be examined here, "based on" is in need of clarification. By being identified as rituals of the *SDP* system, we can, as a starting point, at minimum, note that it is thus a source of their legitimation at the very least.

¹⁵ As with many Indian Buddhist texts, the *SDP*'s origin cannot be more specifically located within India based on currently available evidence. It should be noted that although the manuscript and Newari portions of the text (and arrangement/selection of Sanskrit passages quoted) are roughly estimated to be late nineteenth century, the rituals are likely older. It is not possible to determine precisely how old, but the Malla Period,

texts in the same scriptural language as the *SDP* was originally composed in, that language—Sanskrit—is even less accessible than it may have been formerly; in Newar practice, it tends to primarily serve as the language for liturgical passages—chanted and recited mantras and visualization (*bhāvanā*) sequences. Even as this has probably long been the case, the span of centuries has certainly also brought about further changes in Buddhist thought and practice.

Buddhism is—whether by time, or language, or culture—in a constant state of translation, so these circumstances are neither remarkable nor something to consider a problem.¹⁶ However, as the content of the tantra itself was eventually fixed and included in the Buddhist collections deemed canonical, these changes could not be reflected in the tantra itself. Rather, they came to be reflected in its ever-evolving ritual literature—the manuals and handbooks meant to guide ritualists in the performance of various kinds of rites.

Ritual manuals are difficult to categorize completely. In early phases of tantric Buddhism, they likely served as a testing ground and space for innovation out of which the formalized tantras eventually coalesced and were granted scriptural status.¹⁷ Beyond this, they continued to flourish both alongside and after the formation of the canonical tantras, later ones drawing both on their "source" tantras and, even more (and more directly), on earlier manuals.¹⁸ Critically, they remained a space for creativity and innovation in later periods, just as much as they were early on.

In addition, it is not only a matter of distance and translation—even early on, it seems likely that various types of manuals and handbooks would have been needed, by virtue of the fact that the ritual *descriptions* in the tantras are not ritual *instructions*.¹⁹ While the distinction may seem minor from the perspective of understanding the general nature of the rituals, it makes a significant difference in application and practice. It is also a difference that is easily missed in scholarship, since a summary given as a bullet point list or broad outline of a sequence of rituals—a common way of summarizing texts with elaborate ritual detail—will thereby elide specific features present in the text; in this way, the devil is in the details.²⁰ That is to say, focusing on the nature of the *rituals* being described can obscure the

prior to the second half of the eighteenth century, is likely the latest. (Reasons for this estimate are discussed in the introduction to the Newar portion of the study, at the start of Chapter Two.)

¹⁶ For a longer discussion, see also Trent Thomas Walker, "Unfolding Buddhism: Communal Scripts, Localized Translations, and the Work of the Dying in Cambodian Chanted Leporellos" (Berkeley, CA, University of California at Berkeley, 2018), 30.

¹⁷ Jacob P. Dalton, "How *Dhāraṇīs* WERE Proto-Tantric," in *Tantric Traditions in Transmission and Translation*, ed. David B. Gray and Ryan Richard Overbey (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 199-229.

¹⁸ See, for example, in the discussion of later Tibetan materials, Yael Bentor, "Literature on Consecration (*Rab Gnas*)," in *Tibetan Literature Studies in Genre*, ed. Jose Ignacio Cabezon and Roger R. Jackson (Ithaca, New York: Snow Lion, 1996b), 300 n. 18.

¹⁹ I am here not making the distinction between prescription and description (all of these referenced texts are prescriptive since they do not document an actual occurrence of an event), but the difference between accounts that are described with or without any intent that the audience be capable of acting, i.e. whether narrative description only or instructional and didactic.)

²⁰ This is especially relevant because a common way to cope with the tremendous detail in ritual texts is to reduce them to an outline of the rituals they contain. The reduction in information even between different kinds of manuals teaching the same rituals can also happen in this way, as will be further discussed in what follows.

range in the *literature* that provides those descriptions. These kind of distinctions are found between different kinds of ritual manuals; placed next to the canonical tantras, the differences are even greater.

Given their role as literature concerned with practice, and their important place in tantric Buddhist traditions, there are unique obstacles as well as opportunities in the study of local ritual literature. Local ritual manuals, as a genre, tend to be on the terse side and reveal little about philosophy or doctrine or meaning—or any of the questions that might begin with "why." Because of this, they are not suited to investigations into the symbolism or doctrinal basis underlying them—for that, commentaries and other types of literature must be sought. However, when it comes to practice, they are valuable, even if they are, ultimately, prescriptive. While their prescriptive aspect means that certain manuals may be nearly as remote from the real concerns of ritualists as canonical texts, there are others that provide what might be called "practical" guidance—that is to say, more of the kind of information needed to complete the rituals as they actually take place. This is the sense in which practical is meant here—not that a text is necessarily an accurate description of a ritual, but that it is a resource responding to the real needs and problems of the ritualist in the actual context of ritual practice, more so than any other kind of text. Even given the limits to what can be known about what people did using mainly what they wrote, there is material worth exploring here. In particular, the ongoing transformations provide opportunities—in later times, ritual manuals are likely to have evolved in response to changing rituals, updating themselves in light of modifications ritualists have made.²¹

One aspect of the diversity in ritual manuals is the variability of their practicality, a function of being written with differing intended uses in mind. The variable practical usefulness of different manuals may be seen most clearly by looking at a range of manuals treating the same rituals but differing in form and genre. While ritual manuals written at different times will certainly differ, even those originating in the same historical milieu may also differ. Beyond an author's personal familiarity (or lack thereof) with the practices, there is also the intended audience to consider; a text may lack in specifics because the author intended it to be useful broadly and circulate widely. In these instances, the relevance to a large audience comes at the cost of the level of specific knowledge and familiarity that can be assumed about that audience. As Alexis Sanderson explains while defending the use of prescriptive texts to talk about practice, they will tend towards schematization not inaccuracy due to fantasization, such that "The greater range of practice that they seek to bring within their scope, the greater their tendency to avoid the level of detail that characterizes actual implementation, since in this way they can avoid contradicting the specifics of current variants and instead provide a matrix of prescription within which all these variants can be accommodated."²²

Local extra-canonical ritual manuals will never reach a wide audience but can directly respond and evolve according to the changing needs of their users and communities. Often,

²¹ See for example Alexander von Rospatt, "Remarks on the Consecration Ceremony in Kuladatta's *Kriyāsamgrahapāñjikā* and Its Development in Newar Buddhism," in *Hindu and Buddhist Initiations in India and Nepal*, ed. Astrid Zotter and Christof Zotter (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag, 2010), 197–260.

²² Alexis Sanderson, "Religion and the State: Śaiva Officiants in the Territory of the King's Brahmanical Chaplain," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 47, no. 3–4 (2004): 271 n. 97.

they are composed by ritualists for their own benefit and the benefit of their students and the next generation.²³ Since, unlike canonical texts, there is no injunction against changing or replacing them with newer versions, it is possible to revise and compile new versions that are more responsive to the needs of current ritualists. For this reason, local ritual manuals are extraordinarily diverse, but also tend to be quite ephemeral—when they are no longer needed by ritualists due to the adoption of newer compositions, they very quickly cease to be reproduced. In a manuscript culture, where all texts must be copied by hand, this is no surprise, given the effort involved in making even one copy. It is also an argument for the use of such texts—if they were copied, it is likely that they were in use, given they do not possess the elevated status of canonical works. At the same time, the scarcity of texts in a manuscript economy creates challenges for the preservation of ritual manuals. In the current context, they rarely last beyond a few hundred years (and usually much less—counted in generations, rather than centuries) from the lifetime of their author and immediate community of users.

With that as a starting point, this study examines ritual manuals of the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana tantra* in two different cultural contexts where funerary traditions have developed around the *SDP* tradition. Even though the earliest available extra-canonical local ritual manuals are the focus in both contexts, different historical circumstances mean that the sources vary widely not only in place but also in date. What they share is a connection to the *SDP* and a function as funerary manuals. Their link to the tantra and qualities as inheritors of its tradition—not their relation to one another—are our main intended focus.

There are several overlapping concerns this study will address. On one level, it raises the question of what it means to have a basis in a given canon source. Although this is the shared feature of the texts considered, and therefore fundamental to how they were selected and how this project was designed, the actual nature of the connection is neither obvious nor consistent across all texts. At minimum, as mentioned above, the ritual manuals are granted legitimation and doctrinal authority through their connection with canon source traditions. However, this does not necessarily translate to uniformly quoting the majority of their quotations from the authorizing source (to give one example of what might be expected). Nor are those elements taken from the authorizing source consistent and agreed upon as the elements to be used. Even with the specificity of funerary ritual practice, *SDP* manuals draw on far more than the primarily-funerary portions of the *SDP*. Although such questions could be asked of other kinds of ritual literature in relation to canon sources, doing so in this case

²³ This is, of course, a generalization, since local literatures will all necessarily exist within local and differing manuscript cultures. However, there are certain similarities that do seem to hold true. As just one example, a number of the qualities of personal ritual manuals and their production and circulation among contemporary Shingon priests in Japan, as described in Robert H. Sharf, "Thinking through Shingon Ritual," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 26, no. 1 (2003): 51–96, bear considerable similarities to comments on contemporary Tibetan ritualists in Yael Bentor, *Consecration of Images and Stūpas in Indo-Tibetan Tantric Buddhism* (Leiden; New York: Brill, 1996a). Anecdotally, both of these also bear much in common with Newar *vajrācāryas*. However there has not yet been much in the way of scholarship on the latter. Some discussion can be found in Rospatt, "Local Literatures Nepal," although that is mainly a survey of the literature in use and does not detail contemporary textual and manuscript circulation and practices (Alexander von Rospatt, "Local Literatures: Nepal," in *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, vol. 1 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2015), 819–30.)

is particularly worthwhile because of the way the *SDP* tradition allows for the examination of multiple relatively independent instances of evolving ritual traditions bearing this shared element. Moreover, the *SDP* has been used in connection with such matters for a remarkably long time—even with the introduction of newer methods, some forms of *SDP* practice have continued.

This long lasting tradition of funerary practices connected with the *SDP* provides a basis for a second aim of the project, which is to give greater attention to the more practical funerary and mortuary applications of tantric Buddhist tradition historically. Although death has been recognized as a key concept in Buddhist tantric literature from early on, scholarship often focuses on what, for heuristic purposes, might be described as death as a conceptual tool for liberative practices and philosophical notions of the living.²⁴ Ritual technology as a practical tool for dealing with unavoidable death, including the need to dispose of physical remains, the possibility of bad rebirth, and ritual pollution for the bereaved, receives far less attention. Ultimately these things—the conceptual and practical aspects of tantric ritual technology engaging with death—are closely connected, but it is useful to distinguish death used in various forms of meditative practice for soteriological benefit to the living from death as an event that calls for ritual mediation, i.e. funerary procedures. When such funerary concerns are prominently addressed in scholarship on Buddhist tantric traditions, attention (with some exceptions) tends to focus on practices that emerged in periods after the *SDP*, for reasons having more to do with the history of Buddhist Studies than inherent features they possess. Addressing this, and then focusing on the specific material at hand, requires some background discussion of the places of death in both Buddhist Studies and Buddhism.

Death in Buddhist Studies

Concerns with death and the dead have been central to Buddhism since its formative days in India. Early on, relics—those of the Buddha and later saints—and the narratives surrounding their origins and power reflected significant Buddhist involvements with death and its aftermath.²⁵ Economically, funerary rites represented an early means of financial support for Buddhist institutions. Socially, funerary ritual services provided a crucial opportunity for Buddhist monastics to interact with their patrons and lay congregations. Doctrinally, too, from its most basic narratives and principles, death has long been a fundamental concern, with Buddhist teachings on merit, karma, and rebirth being just a few examples. Death and the funerary represent significant threads of continuity that run throughout the diverse Buddhist traditions of Asia. Though Buddhism is by no means

²⁴ See, for example, Ryugen Tanemura's observation on the lack of philological studies of the Indian Buddhist (tantric) funerals, in the introduction to his discussion of the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana*. This text will be discussed in Chapter Four of this study. See Ryugen Tanemura, "Mṛtasugatiniyojana: A Manual of the Indian Buddhist Tantric Funeral," *Newsletter of the NGMCP*, no. 4 (June 2007): 1 n. 1.

²⁵ The connection between relics and death, especially the Buddha's death, have been much discussed, see for example John Strong, *Relics of the Buddha* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004), as well as Schopen (discussed below).

unique among the world's religions in being concerned with death, the specific contours of its interests are.²⁶

Within Buddhist Studies, however, early scholarship had little to say about death. The heuristic distinction mentioned above, between attention paid to death as a concept or object of contemplation, and death as a practical problem requiring funerary arrangements, though rough, is useful to invoke at this point, since it foregrounds different degrees and reasons for the early (and sometimes ongoing) neglect. Some of these reasons are well documented at this point, especially those relating to the more practical category and funerary ritual practice. Others, especially those for which there has been little correction, continue to be overlooked.

The gaps in early scholarship on death that have been discussed at length are well known largely thanks to Gregory Schopen, and the fact that early Buddhist funerary traditions have provided key cases in several of his studies that address the field of Buddhist Studies more broadly. One of Schopen's first points, that Buddhist Studies began with a preference for canonical texts as opposed to other kinds of evidence, is demonstrated in the widely-quoted claim by T.W. Rhys Davids that, "Nothing is known of any religious ceremony having been performed by the early Buddhists in India, whether the person deceased was a layman, or even a member of the Order. The Vinaya Pitaka, which enters at so great length into all the details of the daily life of recluses, has no rules regarding the mode of treating the body of a deceased *bhikkhu*."²⁷ Taken for granted, the statement from such a prominent source may well have discouraged research, although as Schopen points out, the quotation itself reveals its assumptions and shortcomings—the claim that nothing is known is based on the fact that nothing was mentioned in the canonical literature Rhys Davids knew, and his assumption that if it did not appear there, it did not happen.²⁸ This is, of course, applicable to far more than death, and ultimately points to the way that scholars located the aspects of Buddhism that count as "real Buddhism" in Buddhist texts and not in practices or material remains. Rather than being the best evidence available, this choice was made, Schopen argues, based on priorities in the western intellectual tradition that may be traced back to polemics involving the location of "real religion" from the Protestant Reformation.²⁹ In the current context, the example used—funerary practices—is not an anomaly, and there are areas of research that have been affected, such as *stūpa* and relic traditions.

Study of this subject, which came to be called Protestant Buddhism, first by Gananath Obeyesekere and Richard Gombrich, relates and overlaps with Buddhist Modernism, first named by Heinz Bechert, though both movements had numerous aspects.³⁰ These were

²⁶ There is, of course, a distinction to be made between instances of general concern with death and ones where death has taken a particularly notable role in a given form of Buddhism, such as has occurred in Nepal and Japan. So too, the distinction to be made below, between conceptual uses of death and funerary/mortuary, is a factor, and these early mentions of death in doctrine apply more to the former.

²⁷ Gregory Schopen, "Archaeology and Protestant Presuppositions in the Study of Indian Buddhism," in *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks: Collected Papers on the Archaeology, Epigraphy, and Texts of Monastic Buddhism in India* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997 (orig. pub. 1991 *History of Religions*), 7 (citing T.W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Suttas*, Sacred Books of the East Vol. XI (Oxford: 1900) xlv-xlv.).

²⁸ Schopen, "Archaeology," 8.

²⁹ Schopen, "Archaeology," 14.

³⁰ For an overview, see Sarah LeVine and David N. Gellner, *Rebuilding Buddhism: The Theravada Movement in Twentieth-Century Nepal* (Cambridge (Mass.) / London: Harvard University Press, 2007), 18-30.

linked, as well, to broader reform movements happening within Buddhism in Asia, guided by figures such as Anagarika Dharmapala, and others.³¹ Though not all aspects of the broader movements—which included political and social movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, as well—are applicable to the current subject, the textualization of Buddhism did feature as one element. As for that which specifically links with the issue here—neglect of attention to practices (in our case: funerary) and prioritization of canon texts—scholarship more recently has turned to the analysis of Buddhist Studies and its entanglements with colonialism undertaken by Donald J. Lopez, and others, in particular the contributors to the volume *Curators of the Buddha: The Study of Buddhism Under Colonialism*.³² In this case, Buddhism was introduced and studied—via its texts—and thereby produced as an object with "original Buddhism" and "classical Buddhism" created and controlled by Western scholars—on the basis of texts, especially those of the Buddhist canon.³³

Not unrelated, early scholars had problems not just with the "practices" of funerary ritual practice, but also with the fact that they were *funerary*, and *rituals*. The idea that early Buddhists regularly engaged in ritual activities concerning the dead, not to mention rites for improving the future fate of those dead, did not fit well with the central principles of Buddhism as identified by early western scholars, who preferred a normative model of Buddhism that was free from ritual and superstition.

The "Protestant" and modernist tendencies in Buddhist Studies are at this point well-critiqued, concepts introduced by Gananath Obeyesekere and Richard Gombrich, and expanded on by Gregory Schopen, Donald Lopez, Robert Sharf, and numerous others.³⁴ Suffice to say, in the particular context of interest here, i.e. death and rituals pertaining to it, these tendencies influenced scholarship in particular ways. Buddhist modernist efforts to present Buddhism as rational and free from ritual, were, for a start, not inclined to emphasize the ubiquitous and often complex ritual sequences demonstrably practiced in contemporary Buddhist communities. Aside from being a broader part of disregard for Buddhism as practiced, these rites were particularly intended to purify and secure good rebirths—or at least ameliorate bad ones. Likewise, mortuary practices are often deeply concerned with persistence and the postmortem fate of the dead. As such, they were considered a problem compared to "good" Buddhist doctrines like karma and impermanence, regardless of the substantial evidence concerning early Buddhist involvement with the dead.³⁵

³¹ Ibid., as well as see Richard Gombrich and Gananath Obeyesekere, *Buddhism Transformed: Religious Change in Sri Lanka* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), and, for a more recent and somewhat different view of Dharmapala, see Steven Kemper, *Rescued from the Nation: Anagarika Dharmapala and the Buddhist World* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

³² Donald S. Lopez, ed., *Curators of the Buddha: The Study of Buddhism under Colonialism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

³³ Lopez, *Curators*, 7, 12.

³⁴ The concepts introduced by Gananath Obeyesekere and Richard Gombrich, and expanded on by Gregory Schopen, Donald Lopez, Robert Sharf, and numerous others. In general, see Bryan J. Cuevas and Jacqueline Stone in *The Buddhist Dead: Practices, Discourses, Representations* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 27 n. 13-17. In specific, see Schopen, "Archaeology," and Lopez, *Curators*, among others.

³⁵ See also Bryan J. Cuevas and Jacqueline Stone, "Introduction," in *The Buddhist Dead: Practices, Discourses, Representations*, ed. Bryan J. Cuevas and Jacqueline Stone (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 6-7.

In cases where death *is* dealt with in scholarship, there has also been a tendency to focus on aspects that are more philosophical and contemplative and are often, in one way or another, oriented more toward the living than the actual dead.³⁶ An early case of this can be seen in an encyclopedia entry from 1911. Intended to be on "death and the disposal of the dead" in Buddhism, even its notable Buddhologist author, Louis de La Vallée Poussin, chose to write about scholastic descriptions of the dying process instead of anything that might relate to the disposal of the dead.³⁷

Likewise, and much more recently, earlier interpretations of *śarīra pūjā* long insisted that it related to relic worship rather than, as Schopen argued, actual funerary procedures to be done prior to cremation.³⁸ Here the distinction is not quite the well-known one of textual Buddhism, nor is it that of elite Buddhism sometimes discussed. Nor is it quite right to say it is a matter of a higher status for things concerned with soteriology or elite accomplishments in Buddhist terms—both, here, would be concerned with matters connected to merit and avoiding bad rebirths, potentially. However, there is nonetheless a kind of difference between them, with the pragmatic problem of dealing with the immediacy of specific real death somehow proving less appealing to scholars.

More recently, even while consciously addressing the history of death in Buddhist Studies, Bryan J. Cuevas and Jacqueline Stone write, of the important volume *The Buddhist Dead*, that it, too, at times emphasizes the modernist interest in the "here and now"—relating it, also, with the desire for "promoting Buddhism as a worthy area of inquiry," by focusing on elements that are deemed "relevant," such as ethics and philosophy.³⁹ These kinds of inclinations also emerge, with even more force, in the type of focus that has been given to tantric Buddhist death traditions, as discussed in the next section.

Schopen's work was also part of a broader trend in late twentieth-century scholarship that critiqued earlier denials of the funerary—pejoratively labeled "funerary Buddhism"—and took a greater interest in the subject.⁴⁰ This has also made it possible to see the ways in which Buddhism was in fact closely connected economically, socially, and politically with death. In more than one culture, funerary rites became a central means of support for monastic communities and, by the same token, their funerary role became the most common

³⁶ A similar point to this is also made by Robert Sharf relating to the purpose of the Dunhuang caves, namely that rather than the various uses often claimed for the caves (such as meditation and ritual), they may well have been primarily funerary—but this has generally not been the interpretation scholars have preferred. See Robert H. Sharf, "Art in the Dark: The Ritual Context of Buddhist Caves in Western China," in *Art of Merit: Studies in Buddhist Art and Its Conservation*, ed. David Park, Kuenga Wangmo, and Sharon Cather (London: Archetype Publications, Courtauld Institute of Art, 2013), 49ff.

³⁷ Schopen, "Archaeology," 8.

³⁸ Although see also John Strong's argument that, while not strictly about the relic cult, the form of the funeral was intentionally aimed toward the production of relics. John S. Strong, "The Buddha's Funeral," in *The Buddhist Dead: Practices, Discourses, Representations*, ed. Bryan J. Cuevas and Jacqueline Stone (Honolulu, Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i, 2007), 32–59.

³⁹ Cuevas and Stone, "Introduction," 5.

⁴⁰ The term, though used in scholarship, also came to be part of an internal critique and discourse in Japanese Buddhism. See Jacqueline I. Stone, *Right Thoughts at the Last Moment: Buddhism and Deathbed Practices in Early Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016), 9–10. See also Jacqueline Stone and Mariko Namba Walter, "Introduction," in *Death and the Afterlife in Japanese Buddhism*, ed. Jacqueline Stone and Mariko Namba Walter (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), 1–2.

face shown to lay communities, by virtue of the fact that for most people, the closest contact with Buddhist clerics in daily life often occurred on the occasion of a death.⁴¹ At the same time, increasing interest in these areas developed alongside widening interest in material culture and the use of different research materials.⁴² The study of local ritual literature, including that focused on funerary practices, has also increased. Rita Langer's studies of Sri Lankan traditions and funerary chants in Southeast Asia have contributed to the understanding of Theravāda traditions.⁴³ Similarly focusing on Southeast Asia and the Theravāda, Justin McDaniel and Trent Walker have looked further at local and bilingual literature, and funerary traditions in some cases.⁴⁴ While the subject and literature is already complex, the additional factors of the past and present of traditions—where there may or may not be living traditions associated with various texts—means that scholarship has employed a variety of approaches to the material.

Death in Buddhism

Early Buddhism

In some forms, death is present right at the core of the Buddhism, in its own account of its origin. In the traditional narratives of the Buddha's life story, the sight of a dead man being carried on a bier is the third and perhaps most serious of the first three of Four Sights, those experiences that spur his disillusionment, departure and eventual enlightenment. In truth, the first two Sights—of old age and sickness—are, in some ways, subsidiary to death, since it is ultimately death that they lead to. They all assist in bringing the future Buddha to recognize suffering and the fact of impermanence; ultimately, insofar as it matters, death just is impermanence, though the term is only used when it applies to certain categories of things. This is not the only appearance of death in the life story, either. Later, the version of the enlightenment scene told in terms of a battle metaphor describes Siddhārtha facing down the forces of Māra—in many contexts, a form of death personified. Likewise, upon

⁴¹ Ibid. (in the Japanese case). There has been less scholarship on the subject in the Newar case, but as an example, see Todd Lewis's study of the life cycle ritual manual, "Modern Guide," which he notes is over half funerary. See Todd T. Lewis, "A Modern Guide for Mahāyāna Buddhist Life-Cycle Rites: The *Nepāl Jana Jīvan Kriyā Paddhati*," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 37, no. 1 (1994): 6. (Although this is only partially applicable as an example—such are the limits in what scholarship has been on Newar Buddhism at all.)

⁴² Along with this, however, there often occurred implicit rankings, in the case of Buddhist materials, between things considered "soteriological" and "other stuff" (to borrow the term used by Cuevas and Stone)—with funerary ritual in the latter category. Besides being generally vague, such separations encourage two-tier model thinking, though these are, at this point, considerably less popular. Interestingly, as Cuevas and Stone note, funerary rituals are particularly good at disrupting some of those binaries, such as official/popular and elite/folk. See Cuevas and Stone, "Introduction," 7.

⁴³ Rita Langer, *Buddhist Rituals of Death and Rebirth: Contemporary Sri Lankan Practice and Its Origins* (London; New York: Routledge, 2007), and Rita Langer, "Chanting as 'Bricolage Technique': A Comparison of South and Southeast Asian Funeral Recitation," in *Buddhist Funeral Cultures of Southeast Asia and China*, ed. Paul Williams and Patrice Ladwig (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 21–58.

⁴⁴ See Justin Thomas McDaniel, *Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words: Histories of Buddhist Monastic Education in Laos and Thailand*, Critical Dialogues in Southeast Asian Studies (Seattle, Wash.: University of Washington Press, 2008) and Trent Thomas Walker, "Unfolding Buddhism."

succeeding, the proclamations about nirvana identify it, frequently, as a triumph over death. That this is in the context of death followed by rebirth does not lessen the significance of the framing, that it opposes or conquers death.⁴⁵

Much more could be said about death as an abstract concept, from the perspective of the *Abhidharma*, for example.⁴⁶ However, there is also a considerable amount of social and historical material to consider—again, much of it thanks to Schopen in a number of studies throughout his career. Many of the most visible marks of Buddhism still present in the South Asia landscape survive in the form of funerary monuments, in one way or another. We have already mentioned *stūpas*, which were central to the relic and *stūpa* cults. Nor was it only *stūpas* with relics of the Buddha that left an impression. Both *stūpas* and monastery sites are reported to have been located in the environs of numerous burial sites, both old and new (i.e. pre- and post-dating the *stūpas* themselves). That is to say, there are signs that early Buddhist monasteries were often constructed—in certain regions—on, or adjacent to, megalithic burial sites, i.e. ancient cemeteries, in what may have been a strategy for encouraging the adoption of Buddhism by local populations, as Buddhism spread.⁴⁷ In later times, the presence of Buddhist *stūpas* containing relics of the Buddha or others invited the addition of numerous additional *stūpas*, in a secondary burial practice bearing similarities to the burial *ad sanctos* practiced around the resting places of Christian saints in medieval Europe.⁴⁸ In addition, these were respected and revered as a focus of local cults.⁴⁹ Investigation of the worldly and material affairs that Schopen undertook also opened the doors to considering the real functioning and financial realities of early Buddhist monasticism and aspects of death such as the distribution of a dead monk's property.⁵⁰

As Buddhism Developed

As Buddhism developed beyond its early forms, ways of dealing with death evolved as well. Early funerary rites often centered around simple recitations of canonical sūtras and dedication of the merit generated thereby, but over time, the practices grew more complex. In part, this growing diversity was connected with Buddhism's spread and interaction with

⁴⁵ See also discussion Cuevas and Stone, "Introduction," 2.

⁴⁶ Although, as in the example given above of the encyclopedia article by Louis de La Vallée Poussin, treatment in *Abhidharma*-based terms would tend to the kind of conceptual treatment that is better represented, relatively speaking, than the practical aspects.

⁴⁷ Gregory Schopen, "Immigrant Monks and the Protohistorical Dead: The Buddhist Occupation of Early Burial Sites in India," in *Buddhist Monks and Business Matters: Still More Papers on Monastic Buddhism in India* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), 360–81.

⁴⁸ Gregory Schopen, "Burial *Ad Sanctos* and the Physical Presence of the Buddha in Early Indian Buddhism," in *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks: Collected Papers on the Archaeology, Epigraphy, and Texts of Monastic Buddhism in India* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997 (Orig. pub. 1987, *Religion*)), 114–47.

⁴⁹ Gregory Schopen, "An Old Inscription from Amarāvātī and the Cult of the Local Monastic Dead in Indian Buddhist Monasteries," in *Bones, Stones and Buddhist Monks: Collected Papers on the Archaeology, Epigraphy, and Texts of Monastic Buddhism in India* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997(Orig. pub. JIABS 1991), 165–203.

⁵⁰ Gregory Schopen, "Deaths, Funerals, and the Division of Property in the Monastic Code," in *Buddhist Monks and Business Matters: Still More Papers on Monastic Buddhism in India* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004 (Orig. pub. *Buddhism in Practice*, 1995)), 91–121.

local traditions. There is considerable scholarship on specific instances, in recognition that all Buddhism in practice is local Buddhism.⁵¹ Importantly, this recognizes the limited utility of concepts like syncretism and cultural hybridity when it is understood that South Asian religion normatively has always been "syncretic."⁵²

The evolving complexity of Buddhist funerary rites has another aspect, as well, however. This is the characteristic process of Buddhist traditions' evolution overall—the way new teachings are revealed and proclaimed as more efficacious and advanced than earlier ones, or at least more appropriate as an *upāya* for current generations, though they do not attempt to delegitimize the earlier ones they replace.⁵³ This subject will be discussed in the following chapters, and is especially important when it comes to the *SDP*'s characteristic tendency to be combined with other traditions in later ritual programs. More generally, though, the tantras, which took root in the seventh and eighth centuries, introduced new narratives, cosmologies, symbols, and ritual technologies designed to facilitate liberation and transform Buddhist practice. In so doing, they developed new systems of mortuary and post-mortuary rituals. Looking at both of the categories distinguished above—conceptual uses of death and practical responses to it—Tantric Buddhism has had much to say.

As for the conceptual, the value inversions of tantric traditions' antinomian approach made use of death and its attendant pollution, violence, and sexuality, in the service of advanced meditative and ritual techniques.⁵⁴ This included the use of charnel ground iconography and ideology, the imagery of corpses and decay, and their attendant ritual pollution.⁵⁵ With wrathful deities clothed in garments of human skin and ornamented with human body parts and bones, consuming blood and flesh as well, death tied closely into the deployment of violence for spiritual advancement. These characteristics were already prominent in Indian Tantric Buddhist texts and taken even further in developments in Tibetan Buddhism.⁵⁶ The particular emphasis on these themes, as well as the bulk of

⁵¹ See for example, Cuevas and Stone, *The Buddhist Dead*. See also Nicholas Sihle, "Written Texts at the Juncture of the Local and the Global," in *Tibetan Ritual*, ed. Jose Ignacio Cabezon (Oxford [England]; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 35–52.

⁵² See discussion in Williams and Ladwig, "Introduction," and David Gellner, for a way of nuancing the idea. David N. Gellner, "For Syncretism. The Position of Buddhism in Nepal and Japan Compared," *Social Anthropology* 5, no. 3 (1997): 277–91.

⁵³ This has historically gone both in the direction of methods being better because they are easier for later (allegedly inferior) generations to practice, especially in traditions emphasizing the decline of the Dharma narrative such as those that flourished at certain times in East Asian Buddhist groups, and in the direction of being more advanced and sophisticated. In the case of Buddhist tantra, it is the latter which is more relevant to the texts and practices discussed here.

⁵⁴ While acknowledging much earlier references to potential mortuary symbolism, such as Gombrich describes in the discussion of *Aṅgulimāla*, scholarship has generally not tended to persist with the claim of such things in the very early pre-canon formation periods of Buddhism. See, for example, Maithrimurthi Mudagamuwa and Alexander von Rospatt, "Review of How Buddhism Began: The Conditioned Genesis of the Early Teachings," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 41, no. 2 (1998): 164–79.

⁵⁵ Of course the fact of corpses and decay in other forms was certainly not new to Buddhism, with traditions like the *aśubhabhāvanā* contemplations of the impermanence of the body and its impurity going back to early periods. Nonetheless, the tantric uses are distinct from these.

⁵⁶ Tantric traditions are obviously not limited to the Buddhists (as discussion of Śaiva materials later will note), and as Alexis Sanderson has written, many are likely to have entered Buddhism as Śaiva influences, to which these points likewise apply. See Sanderson's work, especially, Alexis Sanderson, "The Śaiva Age," in *Genesis*

Western scholarship on Buddhist tantric funerary traditions in general, has largely focused, however, on later tantric traditions, those that developed or reached their peak after the *SDP*.⁵⁷

With regard to scholarship on the practical mortuary procedures, there has similarly been a greater focus on later developing texts and traditions in Buddhist tantra, broadly speaking. Undoubtedly, the most well-examined Buddhist tantric funerary traditions are those involving *bar do* rites. Ultimately the *bar do* practices are premised on concepts of the *antarābhava*, or intermediate state after death. The existence and nature of the *antarābhava* was much debated among early Indian Buddhist doctrinal traditions, and detailed expositions evolved in the Abhidharma traditions and works like Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, so that concepts were well-established already by the fourth or fifth century.⁵⁸ However, scholarship has been limited by the availability of sources, so there is very little on funerary ritual techniques based on *antarābhava* theories in India, or prior to later periods in Tibet.⁵⁹ Some scholars, such as Bryan Cuevas, locate key aspects of *bar do* traditions in contributions from Tibetan indigenous concepts—thus suggesting such rituals, in their fully developed forms, may not have been present in India at all.⁶⁰ Relatedly, and relevant to the fourth chapter of this study, it has been suggested that a key aspect of *bar do* rites—the direct address of the deceased—may have Tibetan roots.⁶¹ Whether this is so requires further research, but in any event, it is certainly the case that there has been less research on earlier Buddhist tantric mortuary traditions.⁶² Thus, while the *antarābhava* theories on which they are based predate the tantras, those that developed into *bar do* rite liturgies and have been made available in scholarship are later—postdating the *SDP*, in particular.⁶³ Supporting this, Cuevas argues that *bar do* rites in full form emerged and were

and Development of Tantrism, ed. Shingo Einoo, Institute of Oriental Culture Special Series 23 (Tokyo: Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo, 2009), 41–350.

⁵⁷ This is a generalization and there has certainly been work on earlier phases, as discussed in the following section, but as an overall tendency does seem to hold true. Lindsay notes much the same thing as well, see Lindsay, "Liberating Last Rites," 21.

⁵⁸ Bryan J. Cuevas, *The Hidden History of The Tibetan Book of the Dead* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 40ff.

⁵⁹ Cuevas notes the absence of known liturgies for *antarābhava* rites in India, though of course absence of evidence is not evidence of absence. See Cuevas, *Hidden History*, 224 n. 40.

⁶⁰ Cuevas, *Hidden History*, 32.

⁶¹ This matter is discussed in considerably more detail in Chapter Four, but see Yoshiro Imaeda, "The *Bar Do Thos Grol*: Tibetan Conversion to Buddhism or Tibetanisation of Buddhism?" in *Esoteric Buddhism at Dunhuang: Rites and Teachings for This Life and Beyond*, ed. Matthew T. Kapstein and Sam van Schaik (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2010), 150ff; and Kapstein, *Assimilation*, 7-9.

⁶² Certainly, a portion of the reason for this is due to the particular attention beyond the bounds of Buddhist Studies that the *Bardo tho dol / Tibetan Book of the Dead* has garnered in the west in general, including early periods of Buddhist and Tibetan studies. See Cuevas, *Hidden History*, and Donald S. Lopez, *The Tibetan Book of the Dead: A Biography*, Lives of Great Religious Books (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2011).

⁶³ There is much more to be said about the origin of *bar do* rites, however that debate will not be dealt with in detail here, since it is specifically types of rites that do not fall within the *bar do* type traditions, which will be our focus. On the important divide between them, see in general Cuevas (*Hidden History*) and also Lindsay ("Liberating Last Rites"). At minimum, with regard to questions about the sequence of emergence of the *SDP* versus developed *bar do* liturgies, it can be noted that while the *SDP* appears in Tibetan imperial records and Dunhuang collection texts, scholarship has not so far located *bar do* practices in those contexts, to my

in competition with them. So too, Lindsay has pointed to the very different nature and function of agency in comparing bardo and *SDP* rites, and observed that in Tibetan materials there do not seem to be many that combine them.⁶⁴

In truth, the practical problem of death elicited a response from tantric Buddhism long before the emergence of *bar do* rituals, however. If we wish to look at the situation in earlier periods, we must look to another type of text. In the earlier era, when the *yogatantras* like the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṃgraha* (*STTS*) were the most up-to-date tantric technologies, the text most relevant to funerary practice seems to have been the *SDP*.⁶⁵ Cuevas suggests this, as well, and further suggests that the *SDP* not only preceded certain *bar do* traditions, but also then existed alongside, in competition (and sometimes combination), with later rites.

The *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana* tantra and its Frame Story

Although this study is primarily about local ritual literature in later eras, we begin with an introduction to the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana* tantra (*SDP*), the source that the later traditions are associated with and have in common, in some respects. In particular, we start with a discussion of its frame story. This narrative, which appears not only in the tantra but in many of the ritual manuals associated with it, is one of the text's best-known features, and one that also links it to the literature relating to the *Uṣṇiṣavijayā dhāraṇī*. Although versions of the story and particular names of its characters vary, the general outline is a familiar one. Though variant versions found in Dunhuang manuscripts are more specifically relevant, it is useful to begin with version found in the canonical tantra.

knowledge. Given their later prominence, it is reasonable to consider they were, at the very least, not yet the dominant forms in use.

⁶⁴ Lindsay, "Liberating Last Rites," 203-47.

⁶⁵ Although problems with the doxographical system of four levels (of which the category *yogatantra* is a part) have been noted, the *yogatantra* class nonetheless is widely recognized as a classification for the tantric texts in the grouping to which the *SDP* belongs. On the limits of such classification system (and various other classification systems), see for example Weinberger, "Significance of Yoga Tantra," 21-22. See also Jacob Dalton, "A Crisis of Doxography: How Tibetans Organized Tantra During the 8th-12th Centuries," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 28, no. 1 (2005): 117. As Weinberger points out, the system for classification seems to have emerged after the literature, which evolves in a somewhat more organic manner. It is best, therefore, not to think of the term as referring to a monolithic tradition that appeared all at once. Dalton further distinguishes differences in classificatory systems in India and Tibet. In additional (later) Tibetan traditions, the *SDP* was at times understood as not just a *yogatantra*, but a "concordant tantra" with its root in the *STTS* (Weinberger, "Significance of Yoga Tantra," 207). However, practically speaking, the fourfold categories continue to be widely used, and allows general description of *yogatantra*: Along with others, some of the features that tend to characterize the texts from this period include focuses on a 'five buddha' arrangement and an emphasis on forms of Vairocana. In ritual technology, they stand in a point where deity yoga and *sādhana* techniques have fully developed, but the sexual and antinomian practices had not yet been adopted wholesale. The category is, of course, a malleable one, with texts like the *Mahāvairocana-abhisambodhi* sometimes included in it and sometimes not. To remain focused on the current discussion, debating the definition is not an issue since the *SDP*'s status as a *yogatantra* is commonly accepted.

At the outset of Chapter One of the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana tantra*, seven days have passed since the god Vimalamaṇiprabha (Tib: *Lha'i bu nor bu dri ma med pa'i 'od*) died and fell from his dwelling place in Trayastrimśa heaven. Indra, king and spokesperson of the gods presiding in Trayastrimśa, approaches the Buddha to ask what has become of Vimalamaṇiprabha. The Buddha is reluctant but eventually reveals that the god has fallen into a hell and is doomed to a succession of horrific rebirths in various hells and other realms, starting with Avīci. The Buddha tells the other gods that only gradually, over thousands of lifetimes, will Vimalamaṇiprabha rise above such bad births, subsequently going through a sequence of rebirths as an animal and spirit (*preta*). Even when he achieves human rebirth finally, it will be as a human cursed with unfortunate circumstances, troubled by poverty and disease and constantly mistreated by others. The gods, surprised and alarmed by this revelation, propitiate the Buddha and ask that he intercede.⁶⁶ The Buddha agrees to do so, and this leads into the presentation of the *maṇḍalas* and rituals that constitute the *tantra's* ritual content.

Thus the basic outline of this part of the frame story is a simple one, and relatively consistent across the different versions: A god has died (or will die, in some cases), and faces the prospect of bad rebirths. The Buddha is approached and assistance is requested. The individual rituals specific to each text are performed for, by, or with the help of the Buddha.⁶⁷ Upon receiving that assistance, the god is saved and restored to heaven. Finally, the Buddha and his teachings are praised. Like many Buddhist texts, the opening *nidāna* and framing narrative give the context for the teachings. It sets their performance in the text as the original mythic performance of the ritual and asserts its authority as an authentic teaching of the Buddha. The frame narrative is a mythical precedent, and also serves as a "tale of efficacy" or a kind of advertisement, attesting to and demonstrating the power of the rituals therein with its conclusion in which the rituals have succeeded and the god has been returned to heaven.⁶⁸

In the second chapter, the earlier translation of the *SDP* adds a second episode to the frame story, which continues with a question from the gods concerning the cause of Vimalamaṇiprabha's fall from heaven. An explanation in the form of a karmic cause story is provided, revealing that in a life prior to his life as a god of Trayastrimśa heaven, Vimalamaṇiprabha was born as a prince who, growing greedy for power, kills his father to become king. Later, he meets a hermit in the forest who leads him to realize the terrible deed that he has done. He repents, submits himself to the teachings of the hermit, and feels great remorse, but dies immediately thereafter. However, as a consequence of his

⁶⁶ The gods' surprise and alarm is particularly vividly rendered in the *tantra's* version, where it describes their shock and horror leading them to collapse at first. In relation to the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā's* Chinese translation, Paul Copp discusses the way its version of the frame story is preoccupied with fear and uses it as a motivation. See Paul Copp, *The Body Incantatory: Spells and the Ritual Imagination in Medieval Chinese Buddhism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 168.

⁶⁷ Typically, the Buddha orders another to undertake the rituals. In versions where the death is yet to occur, it is sometimes the endangered god himself who does so.

⁶⁸ Zeff Bjerken discusses the way the *SDP* advertises and advocates for its own use, see Zeff Bjerken, "Maṇḍalas, Monarchs, and Mortuary Magic: Siting the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana Tantra* in Tibet," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 73, no. 3 (2005): 826. Copp also uses the term "tale of efficacy" in regard to stories added on to the *UVD*, relevant to the Chinese context.

repentance and remorse at the moment of death, he is granted, for his next life, the fortunate circumstances of rebirth in heaven—the lifetime as the god in Trayastriṃśa, with whose later death the story began. The karmic connections are then explained: the hermit of the story was actually the Śākyamuni, the prince was the god Vimalamaṇiprabha, the king who was killed was Śakra, and the queen (the prince's mother) was Śacikā (Śakra's consort). This portion of the story does not appear in the surviving Sanskrit or second Tibetan translation of the text, however.⁶⁹

The frame story serves not only as an origin myth, but also as an advertisement for the tantra. Like a good advertisement, it establishes its target audience and the problem to be solved, and then demonstrates a successful application and happy resolution. In presenting these features, it also suggests the implicit needs to which the text is responding.

The most basic lesson of the narrative is that everybody dies. One necessary feature of the story—common to all variant versions—is that the subject, Vimalamaṇiprabha, is a god. He may go by different names, but in all cases, it is as a god that he dies and falls into low rebirths. By giving such an extreme example, it creates a limit case: if even gods are subject to death, how much more so ordinary humans, no matter how powerful or wealthy? Moreover, beyond being a god in a heaven amongst gods, he (and they) are unaware of their own mortality.⁷⁰ This is a reminder of the fact in Buddhism that everyone existing in an unenlightened state in *saṃsāra* is subject to the laws of karma and rebirth. Though they may pass numerous lifetimes lasting many thousands of years in one heaven or another, ultimately even they, too, will die. Further, when the karmic cause story is included, the narrative shows that dying in a good mental state is not enough, and karma accrued from earlier lifespans can lead to a bad rebirth. Thus too, for humans, it is impossible to rely on an individual's reputation as an indicator of their likely rebirth destination, since there may be karma from unknown previous lives coming into play.

This sets up the text's solutions: first, it asserts that ritual practice can solve the problem of bad karmic consequences. What's more, those rituals can be performed for an individual by a third party. Finally, such commissioned rituals can be performed even after the individual has already died and may, potentially, already be in a hell. In addition, like the choice of centering the story on a god, the extremity of the transgression serves to demonstrate how powerful the ritual is; if it is strong enough to counter patricide and regicide, it is certainly strong enough to handle most people's transgressions, which will appear minor in comparison. In short, if the tantra is powerful enough to save a god who has fallen all the way from heaven to hell for patricide (one of the five sins of immediate retribution), it is powerful enough to help nearly anyone.

With these features, it is not surprising that the story was a popular one and is represented in a number of variations. Best-known of these is the frame story of the *SDP*, but a version is also present in the popular *Uṣṇīṣavijayā dhāraṇī sūtra*, a text with which the

⁶⁹ Skorupski provides a summary of the episode in the notes, though as a part of the edition of the earlier Tibetan translation (Tib A), it does not appear in his translation (of the later, Tib B/Sanskrit). See Skorupski, *SDP*, 42 n. 22.

⁷⁰ Perhaps more to the point, they are not just unaware but heedless about their mortality, given their current heavenly existence. However, it does seem to be the case, given the narrative, that the revelation of that mortality does come as a surprise in the story. Or, at the very least, the realization of it strikes them in a way that it had not previously.

SDP may have historical connections. It appears in several ritual texts found at Dunhuang. Some of these are *Sarvadurgati*-based in their ritual content, while others, like the *History of the Cycle of Birth and Death*, draw on other sources but adopt its frame story of salvation from hell.⁷¹ With the inclusion of the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā*, the influence of the story spans not just South but also East and Southeast Asian Buddhism.⁷² However, the present discussion focuses on the areas where not just the frame story, but specifically the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana* came to prominence: Indian, Nepalese, and Tibetan tantric Buddhism. These specific instances are further described below, since the relevant ones fall within the discussion of the *SDP*'s reception and responses to it.

Tibetan Reception of the *SDP*

General Reception

As we have noted, there is very little surviving material concerning the use of the *SDP* in India, since ritual manuals that survive for such long periods are relatively rare. Other literature, not necessarily oriented towards practical applications, does survive in the form of commentaries.⁷³ The dates of the texts (of the tantra) and their translations are a significant factor in their reception. The first translation was completed under Tibetan imperial auspices, during the first dissemination of Buddhism to Tibet, when Indian tantric Buddhism was still growing and yet to reach its full extent. In contrast, the later translation was made in the thirteenth century, after Buddhism had begun to decline in India and after the most influential translation periods in the transmission of Buddhism to Tibet had passed.

The First Translation

The earlier translation of the tantra was most likely completed in the late eighth century, under the auspices of the Pugyal (Spu rgyal) Dynasty imperial translation efforts.⁷⁴ As

⁷¹ *The History of the Cycle of Birth and Death* is a Dunhuang text that has been examined by several scholars, in particular see Yoshiro Imaeda, "The History of the Cycle of Birth and Death: A Tibetan Narrative from Dunhuang," in *Contributions to the Cultural History of Early Tibet*, ed. Matthew Kapstein and Brandon Dotson (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007), 106–81, and Yoshiro Imaeda, *Histoire du cycle de la naissance et de la mort: Étude d'une texte tibétaine de Touen-houang*, vol. 15, Hautes Études Orientales (Genève; Paris: Libraire Droz, 1981).

⁷² This is to say, although the *SDP* does not seem to have achieved lasting popularity in those regions, this is not the case for the *UVD*, which developed widespread cult traditions. See for example, on the *UVD* in China, Paul Copp, *The Body Incantatory*.

⁷³ Among early works related to the *SDP*, *Buddhagupta's/Buddhaguhya's commentary is attested in the Imperial-era *Ldan kar ma* catalogue from the first quarter of the ninth century. The *'Phang thang ma* (from slightly later in the ninth century) also mentions an *SDP* commentary; this may be the same one, although no author is named, and the title differs. See Skorupski, *SDP*, xxv, and, more recently and in more detail, Lindsay, "Liberating Last Rites," 32–37.

⁷⁴ This text is catalogued as Q. 116 (Peking Edition) and its full title is given as the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana-tejorājāya-tathāgatasya-arhate-samyaksambuddhasya-kalpa-nāma; De bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang*

several scholars have noted, the transmission history of the tantra presents some problems, particularly with regard to the history of the earlier Tibetan translation of the work. In addition to contradictory evidence in the primary sources, the problem is compounded by the relative dearth of scholarship on the tantra. That which has been ascertained is based on the groundwork laid in Tadeusz Skorupski's edition and translation, and emended and supplemented by reviews and articles by Leonard van der Kuijp, D. Seyfort Rugg, and Per Kvaerne.

Even the basic issue of creation of the early Tibetan translation gives no easy starting point for discussion, for the colophons as well as content in both canon and commentary are inconsistent. One of the primary critiques van der Kuijp levels against Skorupski's edition is that too few versions of the text were employed as the basis of the critical edition, and he counsels further study and comparison of all available colophons. On the basis of the Peking and Narthang (Snar thang) editions of the Bka' 'gyur, the early translation was completed by Śāntigarbha and Rgyal ba tsho (*Jayarakṣita), and revised by Rma rin chen chog. While Skorupski accepts Rgyal ba tsho/ *Jayarakṣita to be the same Tibetan partner in translation as the individual Tshong kha pa refers to as Dpal brtsegs rakṣita, van der Kuijp argues that the identity of Rgyal ba tsho as Dpal brtsegs rakṣita is by no means definite, especially in light of the fact that later commentators such as Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147-1216) and Bu ston rin chen grub (1290-1364) were themselves uncertain about the identities of the translators.⁷⁵

The *SDP* is known to have been one of the few translated tantras approved for imperial circulation in the early ninth century. Similarly, in the 10th-11th c., Rin chen bzang po (958-1055), in his earliest extant biography, is said to have not only translated texts associated with the *SDP*, but also consecrated many *SDP maṅḍalas* for his mother, and, even more remarkably, performed the funeral rites for Ye shes 'od according to the *SDP* method (despite the latter's opposition to many more antinomian tantric practices—the *SDP* was among the texts that were, however acceptable).⁷⁶ Indeed, in this respect, the performance of the king's funeral according to the *SDP* has an even earlier history, going back to the imperial period and connecting to the initial conversion of Tibet to Buddhism. Evidence suggests the presence of an early imperial cult to Vairocana, based on the *Mahāvairocanābhisaṃbodhi* (*MVAT*), the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṃgraha* (*STTS*)—and the *SDP*, to which we turn next.

dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas ngan song thams cad yongs su sbyong ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po'i rtog pa zhes bya ba; referred to as "Tib A" in Skorupski's edition and translation (Skorupski, *SDP*, xvii).

⁷⁵ Leonard Van der Kuijp, "Notes Apropos of the Transmission of the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* in Tibet," *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 16 (1992): 109. Grags pa rgyal mtshan, in an overview of the *SDP*, was not clear on the Tibetan translator and named no Indian translator. Bu ston rin chen grub, in the *dkar chag* to his *Chos 'byung*, claimed that the translators were Rgyal ba tsho and Rin chen mchog, not mentioning an Indian partner and changing Rin chen mchog from editor to partner in translation, as compared with the colophons to the tantra. Further differing attributions were also given by Go rams pa bsod nams seng ge (1425-1469), and others, as mentioned by Van der Kuijp.

⁷⁶ Bjerken, "*Maṅḍalas*," 830; see also David L. Snellgrove and Tadeusz Skorupski, *The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh*, vol. 2 New Delhi: Vikas Publishing, 1980), 92, 102.

The Cult of Vairocana

Beyond the question of translator identities and notable figures who engaged with the work, reception of the *SDP* in Tibet in the early period has been studied primarily by scholars focused on two aspects of Tibetan Buddhist history: the cult of Vairocana and the place of funerary traditions in the conversion of Tibetans to Buddhism. Although traditional Tibetan sources do not reference the cultic worship of Vairocana but instead associate the three early "Dharma kings" with Avalokiteśvara and others, evidence both textual and material has suggested that such narratives were later developments in the tradition. In contrast, there are a variety of sources that point to Vairocana as the key figure of focus at the time. This is relevant to the discussion of the *SDP*'s reception in Tibet because the version of the text translated at the time contains a primary *maṇḍala* that centers on Sarvavid Vairocana.

In the traditional Tibetan narrative about the founding of the Tibetan empire and its conversion to Buddhism, the three "Dharma kings" Srong brtsan sgam po, Khri song lde'u btsan, and Ral pa can (Khri gtsug lde btsan) are honored as emanations of the three bodhisattvas, Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī, and Vajrapāṇi, respectively. They are said to have manifested in Tibet to establish and perpetuate Buddhism.⁷⁷ The association between Srong brtsan sgam po and Avalokiteśvara, in particular, came to play a role as one of the central elements in this conversion narrative.⁷⁸ However, the extent of Srong brtsan sgam po's involvement in Buddhism remains unclear; there is little evidence from the early period that he was a great advocate, let alone identified as an emanation of Avalokiteśvara. Indeed, Dunhuang texts only occasionally seem to view Srong brtsan sgam po as a Buddhist king.⁷⁹ And even then, on the subject of Buddhist kings of Tibet, such texts are much more likely to name Khri song lde'u btsan as the paradigmatic Buddhist ruler.⁸⁰

While most Tibetan sites and materials relating to Avalokiteśvara postdate the imperial period, there are early murals that highlight the role of Vairocana.⁸¹ Kapstein has

⁷⁷ D. Seyfort Ruegg, "Review of The Sarvadurgatipariśodhana Tantra: Elimination of All Evil Destinies, Tr. Tadeusz Skorupski," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 48, no. 1 (1985): 166–67

⁷⁸ Avalokiteśvara did, indeed, in other cultural and historical contexts, have important associations with royalty, when as, for example, the tradition developed of recognizing his Nepalese wife as a form of Tārā. There are, moreover, cases outside of the region. However, in the current context, our focus is establishing the importance of Vairocana (and thence the *SDP*), for which evidence exists in both texts and archaeological/art historical remains, and noting that the emphasis on Avalokiteśvara in the imperial Tibetan context is not as exclusive as later traditions have suggested, as several scholars (see below) have argued, including Kapstein and others.

⁷⁹ Sam van Schaik, "Red Faced Barbarians, Benign Despots and Drunken Masters: Khotan as a Mirror to Tibet," *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, no. 36 (October 2016): 52.

⁸⁰ For example, IOL Tib J 466/3 names Khri song lde'u btsan a Buddhist king, and PT 149 links him to the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra*. Van Schaik also refers to a Dunhuang text that may include him in a list of three Buddhist kings, alongside Aśoka and Kaṇiṣka. See van Schaik, "Red Faced Barbarians," 52 n. 26.

⁸¹ Kapstein, *Assimilation*, 263 n. 49. On (later) Dunhuang textual materials to Avalokiteśvara, see Sam van Schaik, "The Tibetan Avalokiteśvara Cult in the Tenth Century: Evidence from the Dunhuang Manuscripts," in *Tibetan Buddhist Literature and Praxis*, ed. Ronald M. Davidson and Christian Wedemeyer, vol. 4, Proceedings of the Tenth Seminar of the IATS (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 55–72; Jacob Dalton, *The Taming of the Demons: Violence and Liberation in Tibetan Buddhism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 57, 100. Also see Kapstein, *Assimilation*, 60–65.

summarized recent scholarship drawing on historical, liturgical and iconographic textual sources, as well as archaeological and art historical ones, to argue that, "The cult of Vairocana was widely promulgated with imperial support, and...it expressed a significant homology obtaining between, on the one hand, emperor and empire, and on the other, Vairocana and his *maṇḍala* or realm."⁸² Others, too, have identified a cult to Vairocana in the imperial period.⁸³ This is consistent with broader scholarship on the forms of Vairocana in Tibet and across Asia for empire-building in the seventh to ninth centuries.⁸⁴ In connection with that, it is furthermore consistent with the royal metaphor proposed by Davidson as the characteristic model for tantra in this period.⁸⁵ In the domain of art historical and material evidence, Amy Heller examines archaeological sites that give indication of an early royal cult to Vairocana, while Per Sørensen reports on the position of Vairocana with regard to Avalokiteśvara.⁸⁶

Funerary Ritual and the Conversion of Tibet

Besides the favoring of Vairocana in general, there is also evidence for the role of the *SDP*, more specifically, during the imperial period, including the *maṇḍala*'s place in funerary rituals and those rituals' importance in the conversion (or at least conversion

⁸² Kapstein, *Assimilation*, 63–64.

⁸³ Dalton, *Taming of the Demons*, 100; H.E. Richardson, "The Cult of Vairocana in Early Tibet," in *High Peaks Pure Earth* (London: Serindia Publications, (1990) 1998), 177–81.

⁸⁴ Giuseppe Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica* (Rome: Reale Accademia d'Italia, 1932); Giuseppe Tucci, "Gyantse and Its Monasteries Pt. 1 General Description of the Temples," *Aditya Prakashan*, 1989; Amy Heller, "The Caves of Gnas Mjal Che Mo," in *Inner Asian International Style, 12th-14th Centuries: Proceedings of the 7th Seminar of the Association for Tibetan Studies*, ed. Per Kværne, vol. 1 (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 1998), 133–50; Amy Heller, "The Paintings of Gra Thang: History and Iconography of an 11th Century Tibetan Temple," *Tibet Journal* 27, no. 1/2 (2002): 39–72; Amy Heller, "P.T. 7a, P.T. 108, P.T. 240 and Beijing bsTan 'gyur 3489: Ancient Tibetan Rituals Dedicated to Vairocana [Dunhuang Manuscripts]," in *The Pandita and the Siddha: Tibetan Studies in Honour of E. Gene Smith* (Dharamshala: Amnye Machen Institute, 2007), 85–91; Skorupski, *SDP*; Weinberger, "Yoga Tantras and Social Context," 141; Kapstein, *Assimilation*, 63–64, 231. Kapstein notes, "The development of Angkor Wat in the Khmer kingdom (ninth century), Barabudur in the Śailendra domains in Java (late eighth century), and Tōdai-ji in Heian Japan (eighth century) are all suggestively close to the period of Bsam-yas's foundation."

⁸⁵ Ronald M. Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism: A Social History of the Tantric Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 113–16.

⁸⁶ Amy Heller, "Early Ninth Century Images of Vairocana from Eastern Tibet," *Orientalism* 25, no. 6 (1994): 74–78; Heller, "Caves of Gnas Mjal Che Mo"; Amy Heller, "Did Atiśa Visit Zha Lu Monastery? Tracing Atiśa's Influence on Tibetan Iconography," in *Buddhist Art and Tibetan Patronage: Ninth to Fourteenth Centuries: Proceedings of the 9th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Leiden 2000*, ed. Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter and Eva Allinger, vol. 7 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2002), 45–63; Heller, "Paintings of Gra thang"; Amy Heller, "Archaeology of Funeral Rituals as Revealed by Tibetan Tombs of the 8th to 9th Century," in *Ērān Ud Anērān*, Transoxiana Webfestschrift 1 (Webfestschrift Marshak, 2003); Heller, "P.T. 7a, P.T. 108, P.T. 240"; Amy Heller, "Preliminary Remarks on the Donor Inscriptions and Iconography of an 11th-Century Mchod rten at Tholing," in *Tibetan Art and Architecture in Context: Proceedings of the 11th Seminar of the International Association of Tibetan Studies, Königswater 2006*, ed. Erberto Lo Bue and Christian Luczanits (Andiast, Switzerland: International Institute for Tibetan Studies, 2010), 43–74; Per K. Sørensen, "Berkeley Tibetan Workshop" (workshop, UC Berkeley, March 7, 2013).

narrative) of Tibet to Buddhism. In particular, there are further textual materials preserved at Dunhuang that suggest the *SDP* was particularly important for funerary practices.

One of the primary texts that many traditional sources seem to have drawn upon, and which recent scholars have also made use of, is the *Sba bzhed*. The *Sba bzhed* has not been dated with certainty, and some portions of it are certainly later than others.⁸⁷ However, in many instances, the text's authenticity as an early source, though still postdating the imperial period to which it refers, is corroborated by parallel passages in the *Dbā' bzhed*. It is also one of the earliest post-imperial sources, and one that scholars have considered to be the least elaborated and mythologized accounts available. Although some of the key passages relating to Vairocana and the *SDP* appear in the later version (*Sba bzhed*) only, and not in the earlier one (*Dbā' bzhed*), they have been taken to be genuinely old, and used in discussions of the imperial period.⁸⁸

With regard to the adoption of Buddhism in Tibet, the *Sba bzhed* gives a description of the construction and design of the first monastery, Bsam yas, which was established in 779 CE, an event sometimes considered a key point in the conversion of Tibet to Buddhism.⁸⁹ Although this is absent from the earlier version of the text, the *Dbā' bzhed*, Kapstein asserts that its description corresponds with later sources as well as the plans of later restoration, and is probably quite authentic.⁹⁰ According to this account, forms of Vairocana, including the Sarvavid form unique to the *SDP*, were the central deities in the main temple as originally established.⁹¹

Although this speaks to the role in the establishment of the Buddhist tradition generally, the funerary aspect for which there is evidence comes from the *Dbā' bzhed* as well. However, in this case, it comes from a portion at the end of the *Dbā' bzhed*, called the *Account of the Food Provisioning [for the Dead] (Zas gtad kyi lo rgyus)*. This text has been

⁸⁷ Imaeda and Richardson argue for a fourteenth century date based on a single reference in it to Bu ston. However, Kapstein judges that the sentence in question may have been a later annotation, and is not integral to the text. He does not argue explicitly, but observes that the final events noted in a supplement concern the mid-eleventh century. See Kapstein, *Assimilation*, 212 n. 11. In addition, many of the passages are identical with those in the more recently discovered *Dbā' bzhed* translated by Wangdu and Diemberger, which they determine, based on content, orthography, and other evidence to be genuinely ancient; perhaps early post-imperial. See Pasang Wangdu and Hildegard Diemberger, *Dbā' Bzhed: The Royal Narrative Concerning the Bringing of the Buddha's Doctrine to Tibet* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000), 11-13, and Kapstein, *Assimilation*, 214 n. 11. Kapstein discusses editions and variations on the text at some length in this extensive footnote.

⁸⁸ The work's earliest extant form, the *Dbā' bzhed*, has been edited and translated by Wangdu and Diemberger, see Wangdu and Diemberger, *Dbā' bzhed*. In addition, Sam van Schaik has identified fragments of the *Dbā' bzhed* that have been preserved at Dunhuang that provide the oldest evidence yet of at least some portions of the text. See Sam van Schaik and Kazushi Iwao, "Fragments of the Testament of Ba from Dunhuang," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 128, no. 3 (2008): 477-87.

⁸⁹ Kapstein, *Assimilation*, 60; Per K Sørensen and Bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan, *The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies: Tibetan Buddhist Historiography: An Annotated Translation of the Xivth Century Tibetan Chronicle: Rgyal-Rabs Gsal- Ba'i Me-Long* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994): 376 (on the founding of Bsam yas).

⁹⁰ Kapstein, *Assimilation*, 61. On authenticity, see Anne Chayet, "Le monastère de BSam-yas: sources architecturales," *Arts Asiatiques* 43, no. 2 (1988): 19-29; and S. Mémet, "Le monastère de BSam-yas: essai de restitution," *Arts Asiatiques* 43, no. 1 (1988): 30-32.

⁹¹ Kapstein, *Assimilation*, 61.

studied in detail by Brandon Dotson, who shows that while difficult to date, it has several features suggesting a date considerably later than the events it describes.⁹² It is, he argues, a story not to establish a new norm and basis for practice in the early adoption period, but one that provides the origin myth to explain how Buddhist practices gained their ascendancy. The evidence mobilized for this comes both from details where its authors seem unfamiliar with earlier usage and, more importantly, from the fact that their polemic is targeted at opponents in a context where Buddhism is already accepted and the predominant religion.

The narrative is, nonetheless, a powerful one and shows the remarkable importance that the *SDP* came to have at a certain point, in Tibet's understanding of its Buddhist origins. This narrative ends with the discussion of a conflict between Buddhist and non-Buddhist forces, regarding a disagreement about the burial practices for the king, Khri Srong lde brtsan. After a digression and long speech by the monk Vairocana about the evils that will result from performing it in the non-Buddhist fashion, the text concludes by saying that it was in the end performed on the basis of the *SDP* system and *maṇḍala*, and so too would the funerals of the future kings of Tibet.⁹³ Regardless of its accuracy, this provides a particularly potent image in the narrative of Tibet's conversion, highlighting the royal funeral as a key moment.

The same type of features that, in the *Zas gtad kyi lo rgyus*, suggest a considerably later milieu and understanding occur in several other Dunhuang texts as well, where they also give evidence of the importance of the *SDP* for funerary and conversion reasons. These texts, which include works studied by Yoshiro Imaeda, such as the *History of the Cycle of Birth and Death* (*Skye shi 'khor lo'i btsan pa'*), and others potentially related to it, like PT. 239 and *Account of the way to the country of the gods* (*Lha yul du lam bstan pa*).⁹⁴ The debate over which ritual system should prevail in Tibetan funerary practice does not seem to be quite as settled as it is in the *Zas gtad kyi lo rgyus*, and so in a number of instances, the texts challenge and criticize the pre-Buddhist traditions, rather than being dismissive of them.⁹⁵ It is likely, that is, that at the time of their composition, the Buddhist practices were not yet quite a foregone conclusion in the way that they would eventually become.⁹⁶ Yet again, they contain and incorporate elements drawn from the *SDP* tradition.

⁹² Brandon Dotson, "The Dead and Their Stories: Preliminary Remarks on the Place of Narrative in Tibetan Religion," in *Tibet after Empire: Culture, Society and Religion between 850-1000*, 2013, 71.

⁹³ Specifically, it says, "Henceforth the funerals were celebrated following the *Ngan song sbyong rgyud* and on the basis of the *Kun rig dkyil 'khor* (*maṇḍala* of Buddha Sarvavid Vairocana) and the *Gtsug tor dgu'i dkyil 'khor* (nine *maṇḍala* of the *Uṣṇīṣa* Buddhas)" (Wangdu and Diemberger, *Dbā' bzhed*, 105). The two *maṇḍalas* mentioned would seem to be those found in chapters one and two of the earlier translation of the *SDP*, focusing on Sarvavid Vairocana and Śākyamuni, respectively. How, precisely, this is to be taken is not entirely clear, given that we have no texts, either early or later, in which these two *maṇḍalas* are employed together in combination in a practical ritual manual.

⁹⁴ Imaeda argues for reading three texts—the *History*, along with one called *Lha yul du lam bstan pa* ("Account of the way to the country of the gods") and another, the *Bsngo' ba* (Imaeda translates as 'substitution') all together. See Imaeda, "History," 166. The "Account of the way" was initially studied by Lalou (1938, 1949), while Stein examined PT 239. See R.A. Stein, "Un document ancien relatif aux rites funéraires des Bon-po tibétains," *Journal Asiatique* CCLVII (1970): 155–85.

⁹⁵ Dotson, "Stories," 70.

⁹⁶ Dotson, "Stories," 72.

The *History of the Cycle of Birth and Death* is one of several texts that are notable because they share aspects of the *SDP*'s frame story. Along with the *History*, this group includes the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā dhāraṇī* as well as individual ritual manuals like the one to be discussed in the following chapter. The *History of the Cycle of Birth and Death* (*Skye shi 'khor lo'i le'u bstan pa*), is also preserved in the Tibetan canon. It was initially translated into French by Imaeda, who subsequently also published on it in English.⁹⁷ It has also been the subject of several articles by Kapstein.⁹⁸ Imaeda looks at the text for insight into the process of the dissemination of Buddhism in Tibet. Meanwhile, Kapstein argues that it combines elements from the *SDP* with those from the *Gaṇḍavyūha sūtra* in a uniquely Tibetan creation, a part of the Indian literary heritage in Tibet. Specifically, he suggests that the introduction and the central argument of the *Cycle* parallel the *SDP*, while the *Cycle*'s subsequent account of the journey of the protagonist comes from the *Gaṇḍavyūha sūtra*.

The *Uṣṇīṣavijayā dhāraṇī (sūtra) (UVD)* is somewhat more remote in its association, but does bear a connection as well. The *UVD* was an important text, well beyond just Dunhuang or even Tibet. The *Uṣṇīṣavijayā dhāraṇī* and its *Uṣṇīṣa*-buddhas have drawn the interest of scholars studying the origins of tantra in India or the development of esoteric Buddhism in East Asia, including Ronald Davidson, Koichi Shinohara, Paul Copp, and Jacob Dalton.⁹⁹ The relationship between this *dhāraṇī-sūtra*, including its frame story, and the *SDP* has provided the latter with a case for discussing the development of tantra out of earlier, *dhāraṇī*-based ritual literature.

While all important sources to the *SDP*'s incorporation into Tibetan Buddhist tradition, not all of the above are specifically ritual texts. The ritual texts relating to the *SDP* and preserved at Dunhuang are critical for the focus on ritual practice in particular. These will be introduced in some detail in the beginning of Chapter One, since the focus of the chapter includes a close examination of one such text, IOL Tib J 384.

The Sanskrit SDP and the Later Translation and Ritual Literature

⁹⁷ Imaeda, *Histoire*; Imaeda, "History"; Yoshiro Imaeda, "The *bar do thos grol*," 145–58.

⁹⁸ Kapstein, *Assimilation*; Matthew T. Kapstein, "The Indian Literary Identity in Tibet," in *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia*, ed. Sheldon I. Pollock (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 747–802; Matthew T. Kapstein, "Between Na Rak and a Hard Place: Evil Rebirth and the Violation of Vows in Early Rnying Ma Pa Sources and Their Dunhuang Antecedents," in *Esoteric Buddhism at Dunhuang*, ed. Matthew T. Kapstein and Sam van Schaik (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2010), 159–200.

⁹⁹ More detail will be provided in the first chapter, but to provide a brief overview of major sources, see Ronald M. Davidson, "Some Observations on an *Uṣṇīṣa Abhiṣeka* Rite in Atikūṭa's *Dhāraṇīsaṃgraha*," in *Transformation and Transfer of Tantra: Tantrism in Asia and Beyond*, ed. István Keul (Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 77–98; Koichi Shinohara, "The All-Gathering *Maṇḍala* Initiation Ceremony in Atikūṭa's Collected *Dhāraṇī* Scriptures Reconstructing the Evolution of Esoteric Buddhist Ritual," *Journal Asiatique* 298, no. 2 (2010): 389–420; Koichi Shinohara, *Spells, Images, and Maṇḍalas: Tracing the Evolution of Esoteric Buddhist Rituals* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014); Paul Copp, "Notes on the Term 'Dhāraṇī' in Medieval Chinese Buddhist Thought," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 71, no. 3 (2008): 493–508; Paul Copp, "Dhāraṇī Scriptures," in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, ed. Charles D. Orzech, Henrik Hjort Sorenson, and Richard Karl Payne (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 176–80; Copp, *The Body Incantatory*; Dalton, "How *Dhāraṇīs* WERE Proto-Tantric."

The *SDP* was also translated into Tibetan a second time, in the thirteenth century (Q. 117, **Sarvadurgatipariśodhana-tejorājasya-tathāgatasya-arhate-saṃyaksambuddhasya-kalpa-ekadeśa-nāma*; *De bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas ngan song thams cad yongs su sbyong ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po'i brtag pa phyogs gcig pa zhes bya ba*; referred to as "Tib B" in Skorupski). The Sanskrit version of the work corresponds, with minor differences, to the later Tibetan translation; the version that provided the basis for the earlier translation into Tibetan does not survive, or, at least, no manuscripts of it have yet been discovered.

The later translation was completed by Chag lo tsā ba Chos rje dpal (1197-1264), and here again, different colophons offer slightly different accounts. Skorupski's edition, based on the Narthang and Peking editions of the canon, says that Chag lo tsā ba read the text with Māṇika Śrījñāna and translated it with Devendradeva.¹⁰⁰ However, as van der Kuijp notes, the Lithang (Li thang) version identifies Chag lo tsā ba as solely responsible for translation, revision, and edition, though he studied the text with the two previously mentioned Indian scholars.¹⁰¹ On the basis of this colophon, moreover, van der Kuijp calculates the most likely dates of translation to have been 1248 or 1260.¹⁰²

The two versions are considerably different, although different scholars have tended to draw attention to differing aspects of this, depending on their broader project.¹⁰³ Bjerken, focused on royal funerary connections in early Tibet, deals primarily with the first two chapters of the early translation. Meanwhile, Van der Kuijp's detailed review focuses on colophons, and draws attention to the inconsistency with which one wrathful *maṇḍala* and *homa* technique were or were not included, varying even among different Tibetan print editions, and potentially an indication of controversial content and a subject of later debate in the tradition.¹⁰⁴ With regard to the later translation, there are no Sanskrit commentaries surviving in Tibetan translation.¹⁰⁵ The lack of attention may, in part, be a consequence of the very late translation date, although (as previously noted) translation date should not be confused with actual evidence of the age of the Sanskrit upon which it is based). Tibetan-authored commentarial and ritual literature on the later translation does exist, although some of this expressed skepticism at the authenticity (i.e. Indian origins) of the work. In particular, Bu ston suggested that the work was not *buddhavacana*, but rather was written by

¹⁰⁰ Though not widely discussed, Māṇika Śrījñāna (or Maṇika, in Davidson's comments) is also mentioned in the writings of Sog bzlog pa, a later Rnying ma scholar. See Ronald M. Davidson, *Tibetan Renaissance: Tantric Buddhism in the Rebirth of Tibetan Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 153, 404 n. 112.

¹⁰¹ Van der Kuijp, "Notes," 112. Van der Kuijp chooses and recommends the examination of the Lithang editions of the texts because it was, at the time of his review, the oldest complete edition of the Bka' 'gyur (begun in 1608), and because it may, he writes, be directly based on the early Tshal pa and Snar thang editions of the Bka' 'gyur, along with the Stag lung rgyud 'bum.

¹⁰² Van der Kuijp, "Notes," 114.

¹⁰³ Since this study focuses on practical ritual manuals and rites with the Nine *Uṣṇīṣa Maṇḍala*, of which the second chapter version is shared in both versions of the tantra, the particularly dramatic differences such as first Sarvavid Vairocana chapter's absence from the later translation/Sanskrit, or the addition/omission of the wrathful *maṇḍala* in some editions, is not as significant to the questions of practical funerary usage to be considered.

¹⁰⁴ Van der Kuijp, "Notes," 115-17.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 115.

Indian scholars. His argument for this was in part tied up to the issue of the number of *maṇḍalas* and inclusion of those certain *homa* rites, as Van der Kuijp has dealt with in more detail.¹⁰⁶

As for ritual literature, there is later Tibetan material, however this lies beyond the scope of this project, since our focus is on the earliest available ritual manuals and in Tibetan these come from Dunhuang, where all related literature refers to the earlier translation. As for Sanskrit, later ritual texts on the second version do survive in Nepal, in particular because the *SDP* continues to be used in the contemporary tradition there. The difficulty of preserving manuscripts, however, means that many of these are relatively recent and date only to the 18th-20th centuries.¹⁰⁷ It is some of this literature that will be the focus of the latter chapters in this study. This material has seen very little previous scholarship. Some of the texts may have been mentioned by Skorupski, but do not seem to have informed his study.¹⁰⁸ The focus on this material more closely, however, we must turn to the consideration of Newar Buddhism and its ritual traditions.

The SDP in Nepal: Newar Buddhism

The Sanskrit and Newari texts dealt with in Chapters Two through Four, with one exception, come from the Newar Buddhist tradition. Newar Buddhism is one of the less well-known traditions in scholarship, so the second chapter will provide a more detailed summary than the overview given here, which serves mainly to locate the tradition as the source of ritual literature to be examined. Developing as the indigenous form of Buddhism in the Kathmandu Valley, Newar Buddhism takes its origin from late Indian Buddhist traditions, but has continued to incorporate them into local culture in ways that make them unique from other forms of Buddhism. Significantly, though, it is the only living form of Buddhism to continuously employ the Buddhist canonical texts in Sanskrit, without the specific context of a revival movement—all other traditions are either Theravāda ones that

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ The difficulty is not, as it is in India, the climate, but rather the necessary infrastructure and support for the preservation of manuscripts. It is, in fact, interesting that manuscripts from this period survive, given the political circumstances of the era (post-Malla period) and the narrative that such times were ones in which there was suppression of Buddhism. See discussion in the beginning of Chapter Two, which introduces Newar Buddhism in greater detail.

¹⁰⁸ Skorupski, *SDP*, xviii. Skorupski mentions these works by name, however since his work predates the current naming system for texts based on the NGMCP, it requires some degree of speculation to determine whether they are specifically the same ones referred to, in particular, the works he identifies by the abbreviations DP and DAS. Based on the number of folios, DP seems to be A39-07, which was microfilmed twice, with the other catalogued as A934-14. It has the title *Durgatipariśodhanam* and is undated. DAS seems likely to be the manuscript in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society, where it is catalogued as Hodgson 51 and has the title *Durgatipariśodhani Abhisamayāsādhana*. It is dated Samvat 919 (1799 CE), although this is not verified. The text referred to by Skorupski as DS is listed by him as being in a private collection, but based on script and number of folios, it may be the text catalogued in the NGMCP as B105-15 and titled *Durgatipariśodhanasamādhī*. However, if so, that would be odd since the B- series of the NGMCP texts are typically preserved at the National Archives, Kathmandu (NAK), while those in private collections (i.e. Skorupski's comment) are in the E- series. There thus remains some uncertainty about the identity of the text in Skorupski's reference. These texts will be discussed briefly in Chapter Four, although in truth require further work beyond the scope of this project.

use the Pāli, or Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna ones that use translated Buddhist texts of their Tibetan or Chinese canons.

Buddhism in Nepal can be traced back to the Licchavi period (c. 400-900 CE), Nepal's earliest historical dynasty. Based on inscriptions and other archaeological sources, Buddhism was well-established at this time.¹⁰⁹ Newar culture in general is often cited for the early establishment of urban settlements in the valley, and the building of Buddhist *stūpas* and shrines was a significant part of this. There is, unfortunately, no source equivalent to Dunhuang to provide early Newar texts preserved over the long term and equipped with an ironclad *terminus ante quem*. However, as a living tradition, the community preserves numerous ritual texts. Due to this, there are a considerable number of ritual texts available, but anecdotally most of those relevant and available for the current study date only to the past two to three hundred years, at most.¹¹⁰

The study of Buddhism in Nepal, and historical Buddhism more broadly, owes much to Brian Houghton Hodgson, who served as British Resident stationed in Nepal. During his time there between 1820 and 1843, his research interests were many and varied but the activity he is most remembered for is his acquisition of numerous Sanskrit texts of Indian Buddhism, which he supplied to western scholars at a number of institutions. This legacy, with his name attached, was cemented in particular by having provided the texts that Eugène Burnouf used to write his foundational *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme indien* (1844).¹¹¹ This is largely in reference to Indian Buddhism, however, and as far as Newar Buddhism goes, some of Hodgson's work and actual publications may have confused understanding of the subject rather than clarify it. Among other things, his classification scheme of types of Buddhism proved both in error and subject to further misunderstanding when it was taken to be a description of Nepalese Buddhism.¹¹² However, in the context of the particular texts examined here, Hodgson does deserve some credit, on certain points. A text presented by John Brough, outlining Nepalese Buddhist life-cycle rituals, turns out in basic form to be similar in sequence, if not as detailed, in describing funerary traditions discussed here. Credit for this likely is due to Amṛtānanda, the Newar Buddhist scholar with whom Hodgson worked with. The text is not a ritual manual itself, but seems to be a description of the rituals, likely provided at Hodgson's request.

While Nepal was thus central—geographically, even—to early forays into Buddhist Studies by Western scholars, this largely meant drawing on manuscripts preserved in Nepal

¹⁰⁹ Other forms of Buddhism, including Theravada and Tibetan, have come over time to be established in the Valley, though this will be discussed in further detail in the Chapter Two's historical section.

¹¹⁰ In truth, the actual detailed attributes, dates, and identities of a significant portion of the manuscripts that have been preserved are not yet known, especially when it comes to local bilingual and Newari language works, due to an overall lack of scholarship on them. Much current efforts remain at the stage of documenting and preserving manuscripts, such as has been undertaken by projects like the Nepal German Manuscript Preservation and Cataloguing Projects (NGMPP/ NGMCP), see subsequent discussion in Chapter Two.

¹¹¹ Alexander von Rospatt, "Buddhism in Nepal," in *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, ed. Jonathan Silk, Péter-Dániel Szántó, and Vincent Tournier, vol. 3 (Leiden: Brill, (draft)), 14.

¹¹² See David N. Gellner, "Hodgson's Blind Alley? On the So-Called Schools of Nepalese Buddhism," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 12, no. 1 (1989): 7–19; and Donald S. Lopez, "The Ambivalent Exegete: Hodgson's Contribution to the Study of Buddhism," in *The Origins of Himalayan Studies: Brian Houghton Hodgson in Nepal and Darjeeling 1820-1858*, ed. David M. Waterhouse (London; New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004), 49–76.

to elucidate Indian Buddhist traditions. As for the study of Newar Buddhism itself, it would not be until the latter decades of the twentieth century that serious efforts would begin. For the study of its living tradition, the early work of John Locke formed an important basis for the field. Subsequently, David Gellner's important study of the tradition contributed to the overall understanding, while also focusing on specific elements. Additional work has been done by Todd Lewis, including particular examination of a ritual manual which constitutes the closest parallel in published scholarship to some of the texts examined here. In addition, Alexander von Rospatt has done work focusing on the a number of important historical and textual traditions for Newar Buddhism. There is additional scholarship if one adds in the field not just of Newar Buddhism but also of Newar Hinduism. Given the significant parallels between these traditions, there is much relevant research in that subfield as well, including Axel Michaels and Niels Gutschow's study and documentation of Newar Hindu funerals.

In general, the field of Newar Studies (both Buddhist and Hindu) has tended to be more focused on anthropological studies than on historical or philological. Given that the opportunity for anthropological studies exists since it is a living tradition, this is not surprising. Simultaneously, the lack of historical studies may also be related to the difficulty of obtaining adequate materials for such work. Although Newar Buddhism had an early history in Nepal, its development is not well known. There have even been questions concerning such prominent issues as when the major elements in its ritual traditions came to be established. Many are attributed traditionally to the reign of Jayasthiti Malla (r. 1382-1395) but with insufficient primary sources spanning the whole historical period, it is difficult to confirm.¹¹³ Owing to the lack of material, it is difficult to trace the earlier history of Newar Buddhism, so much scholarship has focused on contemporary forms. There is a degree of irony in this, since Nepal has been, at the same time, the source of many of the manuscripts used to study early Indian Buddhist traditions.

With the informal fixing of its canon, Newar Buddhism, unlike Tibetan Buddhism, did not develop new and divergent philosophical systems once Indian Buddhism and its influence waned. Instead, it elaborated on ritual forms and concentrated on the preservation and adaptation of the received tradition. The benefit of this is that when Newar Buddhist literature did continue to expand and prosper, its attention was focused on genres like the ritual manual, among others. There is a vast amount of ritual literature available in Nepal, with very little of it having received significant scholarly attention. In part, one factor in this is that although there is a great deal of it, there are limits to how old the manuscripts are that survive. This is not, as it was in India, because of the fact that manuscripts cannot survive physically in the environment. Rather, it is because the more divergent the ritual literature, the more local it is, the less advantage it will be able to derive from the canon as far as encouraging preservation for posterity. This, however, is a discussion to be had around the subject of ritual literature and its study.

The SDP and Funerary Traditions in Newar Buddhism

¹¹³ David N. Gellner, *Monk, Householder, and Tantric Priest: Newar Buddhism and Its Hierarchy of Ritual* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 21.

(Brief) Overview of Newar Traditions in this Study

The largest portion of the following chapters (Chapters Two through Four) will discuss a number of practices that appear in a selection of Newar Buddhist funerary ritual manuals. In brief, these will focus on the activities completed in the first seven days for individuals with elite (ritual) status, who receive a particular specialized type of funeral.¹¹⁴ All Newar Buddhist funerals consist of multiple parts, but the form examined here is particularly complex and relatively rarely performed, on account of the qualifications required of its recipients, as well as its complexity and cost. Its first half involves the performance of the postmortem ritual of *utkrānti*, in which the ritualist temporarily returns and binds the deceased's consciousness to the body and performs empowerments upon it before dismissing it again.¹¹⁵ Then, the latter portion of the rites involves cremation effectively as a form of fire sacrifice (*narāhuti*), with the corpse as an offering.¹¹⁶ This, collectively, will be referred to here as an *utkrānti* funeral, although both components are important to the process. This type of funeral is constructed with Buddhist elements drawn from traditions of the Higher Tantras, such as the *utkrānti* itself, but also with significant contribution from the *yogatantra* tradition of the *SDP*.¹¹⁷ Thus the study will look at both of these aspects, and the numerous sub-rituals that frame or are included in the overall procedure.

(Longer) Overview of popular practices not discussed in the texts of this study

However, beyond the manuals that teach these various practices discussed here, there are several additional practices that are not in texts available to me, but which *are* widely practiced and well-known in the community. Since the later chapters are roughly organized by text, these other practices will be discussed briefly in this section, in the interest of providing an overview. The *SDP*'s influence across Newar funerary traditions includes both occasions that occur in the immediate post-mortuary funerary sequence (i.e. the first seven days) and over the more extended period, up to one or two years. The latter also addresses

¹¹⁴ The requirements for the elite funeral are ritual-based, but there seems to be a certain amount of variation in precise interpretation. Senior members of the monastery qualify, though in practice relatively few receive it, even so. In other contexts, it is suggested that it depends on whether one has practiced the living ritual of *utkrānti*, prior to death. There are also financial factors, since the process is quite expensive, that may narrow the range of who receives it. Anecdotally, it may also be bestowed on individuals known for their spiritual accomplishments or connections, notably including, in recent years, being granted to two women. In general, it should also be noted that the funerary options are not precisely binary—either elite or non-elite. In truth, there are a variety of options for more or less elaborate funerary rites that one may receive. What is chosen will depend greatly on personal/family preference, qualifications, and resources, but at this point there is far too little research on the subject to adequately provide an overview of the whole range. Furthermore, among the variations, in addition to these, there are also differences in practice throughout Newar ritual tradition in different regions, between Kathmandu and Patan, and these differences undoubtedly extend to funerary matters, but were not possible to analyze with the sources currently available.

¹¹⁵ A more detailed discussion of this process and term, as well as related ones, will be provided in the portion of Chapter Two that introduces it.

¹¹⁶ The cremation and associated rituals are the subject of Chapter Three.

¹¹⁷ In particular, in the text, the *Samvarodaya* tantra; however, there is also reference to the traditions of Cakrasaṃvara and Vajravārāhī, among others, both popular systems in the Newar tradition in general.

additional optional mourning rites that may be undertaken. All of these practices are in need of further study; however, doing so lies beyond the scope of this project. I note them here in an overview, since scholarship on Newar Buddhism and the *SDP* are yet in their early stages and there are few other sources that acknowledge them.

The *Durgatipariśodhana Dhāraṇī*

The *SDP*'s most famous component is its *dhāraṇī*, containing what the *tantra* calls its root *vidyā* or main mantra. One of the best-known uses of the *SDP dhāraṇī* in Newar tradition is its recitation during the funerary procession.¹¹⁸ As the officiants, mourners, and deceased move to the riverside cremation ground, the priests recite the *SDP dhāraṇī*. This practice is not mentioned in the ritual manuals examined in this study. However, in the contemporary Newar tradition, it is recited during the procession, as well as at later points for various mourning rites in the first year.

In standard funerals (i.e. not the elite type to be described in this study), the cremation of the deceased takes place typically on the first day, rather than the second (as it does in the elite form).¹¹⁹ The second day (i.e. day after death), the *dhāraṇī* is again chanted in the courtyard of the home of the deceased. Called *bicā* (condolence), this is a ritual that may continue for up to four days.¹²⁰ It is carried out by members of the funerary association responsible for it, the *bicā guthi*.¹²¹

SDP Maṇḍala

Moving beyond just the *dhāraṇī*, the *SDP maṇḍala* plays an important role in both standard and elite funerals. There seems to be a difference, however; whereas the elite text that is our focus assigns the maṇḍala to the third day and employs it in conjunction with the bone washing rites, alternative claims have also been made, especially in reference to the more common non-elite funerary procedures (i.e. in which there is no *utkrānti*). Some identify it as an activity for the third day, while others assert that it may be done on the first day/day after.¹²² Given that the cremation seems to occur sooner in regular non-*utkrānti*

¹¹⁸ Indeed, when asked how the *SDP* is used in Newar funerary ritual, this usage of the *dhāraṇī* is the answer most frequently given. In part this may also be a function of the fact that the *dhāraṇī* is more well-known and widely used (see following) than the *tantra* or references to the *tantra* (and *maṇḍala*). See also Siegfried Lienhard, "Dreimal Unreihheit: Riten und Gebräuche der Nevars bei Geburt, Menstruation und Tod," in *Formen kulturellen Wandels und andere Beiträge zur Erforschung des Himālaya* (Sankt Augustin: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, 1986), 301.

¹¹⁹ Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 211.

¹²⁰ Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 246. See also Lienhard, "Dreimal Unreihheit," 301, and John K. Locke, *Karunamaya: The Cult of Avalokiteśvara-Matsyendranath in the Valley of Nepal* (Kathmandu: Sahayogi Prakashan for Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, 1980), 173.

¹²¹ The *bicā guthi* is mentioned by Locke, *Karunamaya*, 173-74 and 174 n. 2 and see also Todd T. Lewis, "The Tuladhars of Kathmandu: A Study of Buddhist Tradition in a Newar Merchant Community" (New York, Columbia University, 1984), 315-16.

¹²² The reports of it occurring on the third day seem to be more reliable, but it should also be remembered that variation in practice in different communities is also possible. I note the first day option because, since the cremation is also moved up in the case of non-*utkrānti* funerals, it seems plausible that other elements could

funerals, it is plausible that the timeline for the *SDP maṇḍala* is accelerated as well. Due to a lack of reliable historical sources and, very likely, the diversity of practices, a comprehensive comparison between different types within Newar Buddhist funerary methods was not feasible at present.

The purpose for the *SDP maṇḍala* in other accounts also differs from the rites presented in the following chapters' elite ritual sequence. Namely according to one description, it is created, provided with a lit lamp, and then left alone.¹²³ At the end of the funerary sequence of seven days, the priest examines lines/marks in the powder as a form of divination, determining where the deceased is bound to be reborn.¹²⁴ This is said to be especially important in the case of inauspicious deaths (i.e. violent death or death where the body cannot be recovered).¹²⁵ However, there are other accounts where the purpose of the *maṇḍala* differs from these descriptions and reports, for example where the examination of the *maṇḍala* is not intended to indicate the *gati* (or *durgati*) location/destiny of rebirth, but rather the buddha family (*buddhakṣetra*) to which the deceased might be headed.¹²⁶

Durgatipariśodhana caitya

Another role for the *SDP* is in the *Durgatipariśodhana caitya*. Instructions for making *caityas*, which are a kind of *piṇḍa* or sacrificial cake, are given in the *Piṇḍa Vidhānam*, a ritual manual which is still in use in the contemporary tradition.¹²⁷ The *Durgatipariśodhana caitya* is a uniquely Buddhist Newar ritual practice, but more broadly, the making and use of *piṇḍas* is not; for a number of other *piṇḍa* rites, the parallels between Buddhist and Brahmanical practice are numerous.¹²⁸ These are thus not based in the *SDP* itself, however

take place on an accelerated timeline as well. Reports of the third day are found in Lewis ("Tuladhars," 316-17). However, elsewhere he writes that it is made "immediately after death," and additionally cites R.K. Vajracarya (1981: 104), see Todd T. Lewis, Subarna Man Tuladhar, and Labh Rama Tuladhar, *Popular Buddhist Texts from Nepal: Narratives and Rituals of Newar Buddhism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), 159. This may, of course, simply be a difference in the specificity of the description.

¹²³ According to Lewis, it is then covered over with a bowl which is removed only for the purpose of worshipping it each day (Lewis, "Tuladhars," 318). However, in other instances, it is made in a larger format (too large to be covered by a bowl) and set aside in a room for the required period before inspection, such as was the case for Ratnakaji Bajracharya (Alexander von Rospatt, personal communication).

¹²⁴ This is mentioned in Lewis ("Tuladhars," 316-19), and is consistent with anecdotal descriptions I heard as well.

¹²⁵ Lewis, "Popular Buddhist Texts," 159.

¹²⁶ In the particular circumstances for the funeral of Ratnakaji Bajracharya (Rospatt, personal communication).

¹²⁷ The specific background for the *Durgatipariśodhana caitya* is a subject that requires further research, since it appears to be understood in a variety of ways by those within the tradition and is not mentioned in the texts examined here.

¹²⁸ See, for the Brahmanical perspective, David M. Knipe, "Sapiṇḍikaraṇa: The Hindu Rite of Entry into Heaven," in *Religious Encounters with Death: Insights from the History and Anthropology of Religions*, ed. Frank E. Reynolds and Earle H. Waugh (University Park PA; London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1977), 111-124. On the Brahmanical requirements for a range of funerary rituals in comparison, see P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra (Ancient and Mediaeval Religious and Civil Law)*, 1st ed., vol. 4 (Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1953), 179ff.

some of them do appear in some of the ritual manuals, such as the *samādhi* texts mentioned in Chapter Four. To some degree, it may be that *piṇḍa* rituals have been grafted onto the *SDP* basis, but this requires further study.

The funerary rites discussed in the manuals in this study will focus on the immediate period after death—in most cases the first seven days, although there may be brief references to procedures to be carried out or continued after that point. However, Newar Buddhists do not conclude the funerary activities in this time alone. Going beyond the first seven days, there are further mandatory rituals to be completed as well as more optional commemorative ones for the purpose of mourning. The best-known of these is, of course, the *śrāddha*, that is the various rituals involving the offering of *piṇḍas* (or rice balls) to the dead, which take place over the course of the following year, and even after. Particularly notable are *piṇḍa* rites done at 1.5, 3, and 6 months after death, and finally again at the one year anniversary. In addition, there are requirements for the visiting of certain sites around the Valley over the post-death period. The *piṇḍa* rites have been studied more than many aspects of Newar Buddhism, and as it has been observed the Newar Buddhist practice shares form with its Brahmanical parallel, but inscribes the actions involved in the *piṇḍa* rites with new, Buddhist meaning.¹²⁹

Annual/Calendrical Rituals

For the current summary of other uses of the *SDP* in Newar Buddhist funerary practice, we look beyond the initial seven days and the *śrāddha*, to additional mourning and commemorative rituals and celebrations that occur in the Newar calendar. In particular, there is an option for individuals who have had a member of their family die in the past year to participate in a procession during one of several area-specific festivals that occur in some of the cities of the Kathmandu Valley. The most prominent of these may be the version that takes place in Patan called Matayā.¹³⁰ The Matayā is an annual occasion that occurs on the day after the Gai Jātrā.¹³¹ Like Gai Jātrā, which has associations with the dead for Hindus, the Matayā is an important event and sees participation by significant numbers of people in the community. It is generally understood as a procession that circles Patan, visiting all of the shrines and caityas in the city, and making offerings. It specifically involves circling the boundaries of the city and visiting the cities shrines and *caityas*—participation ultimately takes some fifteen hours, or a whole day. The festival is called Matayā because one of the most important and popular offerings that people make is of light (*mata* = lamp). The participation is undertaken to benefit the deceased, and on this occasion it is also common to

¹²⁹ Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 210. See also Gutschow and Michaels, *Handling Death*, 39-40.

¹³⁰ See for example John K. Locke, "The Unique Features of Newar Buddhism," in *Buddhism: Critical Concepts in Religious Studies*, ed. Paul Williams (London; New York: Routledge, 2005), 277-78; Karunakar Vaidya, *Buddhist Traditions and Culture of the Kathmandu Valley (Nepal)* (Kathmandu, Nepal: Shajha Prakashan, 1986), 44, 50-58; Gellner, *Monk, Householder, and Tantric Priest*, 88, 97, 355 n. 21, 356 n. 36, 397, and 355 n. 21.

¹³¹ On Gai Jātrā, see Mary M. Anderson, *The Festivals of Nepal* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1971), 99-104. Anderson also provides numerous descriptions of a variety of other Nepalese traditions, several of which involve care for the deceased, although in general the focus is on majority practices, not specifically focusing on Buddhist Newar traditions.

have pamphlets with the *SDP dhāraṇī*, as well as pictures of the deceased and personal information, distributed.¹³²

Although the Matayā is celebrated only in the city of Patan, there are parallel events elsewhere. In Kathmandu, the Upākū Wanegu is celebrated, a similar procession that takes place in conjunction with Indra Jātrā (Yenyāḥ).¹³³ It is similar in that it involves processing around the boundary of the city and visiting the shrines and *caityas* along that route, in commemoration of those who have died during the year. However, it also has differences; the pamphlet-making tradition—and its connection to the *SDP*—does not, to my knowledge, occur. Nor does the *SDP* association hold for the Hindu parallel activities performed for Gai Jātrā.¹³⁴

Chapter Overview

Overall, this dissertation is divided into two portions. Part One focuses on Tibetan texts from Dunhuang, and the early context of *SDP* funerary rites, and is covered in Chapter One.

¹³²¹³² On Matayā in general, see Anderson, *Festivals*, 82. The practice of producing *SDP* pamphlets to go along with the Matayā is noted in Feichtinger: "Im Zusammenhang mit dem Tod nimmt das *durgatipariśodhana tantra* eine sehr wichtige Rolle ein, um negative Wiedergeburten zu vermeiden. Nicht nur *buddhamārgī* verwenden einen Auszug aus dem Tantra, das [sic] *durgatipariśodhana dhāraṇī*. Dies stellt einen kurzen Spruchtext dar, der für eine/n verstorbene/n Verwandten mantra artig wiederholt beziehungsweise auf einem Zettel gemeinsam mit persönlichen Daten und Foto der verstorbenen Person bei verschiedenen Gelegenheiten verteilt wird. Während Bogī [sic(?)] und Matayā gehören diese Zettel zu den Gaben, die sowohl von *buddhamārgī*, als auch von *sivamārgī* an jedem caitya hinterlassen werden (34)." See Walter Feichtinger, "Rituelle Pluralität und Performanz: Das Newar Festival Nyakū Jātrā Matayā in Pāṭan, Nepal" (Wien, Universität Wien, 2011), 34. As an alternative, it is sometimes the *Śṛṅgabherī* story that is included rather than the *SDP* and Feichtinger provides images from the Matayā (69-80), including an image of one of these pamphlets, which takes a generally similar form as the *SDP* ones (74). (There are no published images of the *SDP* type, to my knowledge. I thank Kashinath Tamot for access and the chance to document his collection of a number of these, collected over a span of several years.) Although the *SDP* is not discussed in a great deal of the scholarship on Matayā, when asked about uses of the *SDP*, it was commonly mentioned by community members and so seems to be a well-known association, at least in the modern period. As far as textual references, the only one I've located in the literature relating to the Matayā is a connection with the *Śṛṅgabherī Avadāna*, although it is unclear quite what this connection is. It is, however, mentioned by Lewis, who also gives a summary of the story. See Lewis, *Popular Buddhist Texts*, 38. Vaidya also discusses the *Śṛṅgabherī*, but relates it more to a celebration that takes place prior to the Matayā by eight days, the Baki Wanegu (Vaidya, *Buddhist Traditions*, 64-72). ("Baki" or "bugi," according to Vaidya, derives from 'buddha gū' (64 n. 2).) This occasion is sponsored by the same groups who take responsibility for the Matayā and also involves visiting shrines around the city. Vaidya describes it, to some degree, as a rehearsal for Matayā, although it also involves musical elements that differ (Vaidya, *Buddhist Traditions*, 69). Vaidya, too, provides a summary of the story, though again, it does not seem to bear any relation to the *SDP*. The *Śṛṅgabherī* is also mentioned in connection to the procession during Indra Jātrā by Lewis (Lewis, "Tuladhars," 331).

¹³³ This is also discussed by in Rajendra Pradhan, "Domestic and Cosmic Rituals Among the Hindu Newars of Kathmandu, Nepal" (Dissertation, Delhi, University of Delhi, 1986), 205, 397-98. Yenyāḥ and the additional related Dāgī wanegu are also described by Pradhan (ibid.), as well as Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 219, 369 n. 51, and Anderson, *Festivals*, 136.

¹³⁴ The example of the variations of Matayā, Upākhu wanegu, and Gai Jātrā are used by a number of scholars in the discussion of the distinctions between the traditions of different cities and the semi-permeable boundary between what is considered Hindu and what Buddhist. See, for example, Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 61.

Part Two concentrates on the Newar context and materials, and examines later texts from Nepal, written in a combination of Newari and Sanskrit, as well as relevant Sanskrit texts of Indian origin. While Part One provides a detailed description of a single text, Part Two examines several works, and therefore spans Chapters Two through Four.¹³⁵ This close attention to the Newar material contributes primary source access to Newar Buddhist literature.

Part One: Tibetan Buddhism/ Dunhuang

Chapter One

The first chapter focuses on the Dunhuang Tibetan text IOL Tib J 384, a ritual manual containing instructions for the construction and use of three *maṇḍalas*. The first of these is based on the *SDP* "Nine *Uṣṇīṣa*" *maṇḍala* from the second chapter of the earlier translation of the *tantra*, and contains an array centered on Śākyamuni surrounded by eight "*uṣṇīṣa* buddhas." The second and third *maṇḍalas* are more idiosyncratic; the second, which identifies itself as being from "Drāviḍa," focuses on an unnamed central buddha identified only as the "Vajra Sentinel," (Rdo rje bya ra ba) with a surrounding escort of directional protector deities. The third is an Amoghapāśa *maṇḍala* centering on the Amoghapāśa form of Avalokiteśvara. It is unusual in that the *maṇḍala* deities are named with mantra fragments that collectively quote the first portion of the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā dhāraṇī* (*UVD*). While the *UVD* has historical connections with the *SDP*, this application of its *dhāraṇī* syllables is an unusual one that may reveal interesting possibilities relating to its author's creative process and sources of influence.¹³⁶ The final portion of the text contains general instructions to be applied to all three of the *maṇḍalas*; more specifically, it tells the ritualist to perform the appropriate services to the deities in whichever *maṇḍala* is being used. These instructions and their placement also give insight into the use of the manual and its rituals.

The chapter argues for a re-ordering of the pages of the manuscript, which solves peculiarities in the sequence of sections of the text and is supported by physical traces in the manuscript. The revised order clarifies the central role of the *SDP maṇḍala*, and shows the way internal references across sections unify the text as a coherent whole, not simply a manuscript containing assorted unrelated ritual texts. Using these elements, the chapter proposes that the three *maṇḍalas* are not only related but are all funerary and may represent alternate options in complementary distribution. Consideration is further given to the

¹³⁵ The Tibetan text from Dunhuang is identified throughout as IOL Tib J 384. The text discussed in Chapters Two and Three is catalogued as Hs.or.4326 and called here the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual. In Chapter Four, discussion focuses on portions of the text catalogued by the NGMCP as E701-11, called here the *Utkrānti kriyā vidhi*, or *UKV*. The fourth chapter also involves discussion of the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana* (*MSN*). Briefly discussed in the fourth chapter, and mentioned at various points prior to that, is the *SDP Samādhi*, of which several manuscripts exist, notably (NGMCP) B105-15, (NGMCP) E1490-3 and ASK 2242. Full translations and texts are provided for the first two—IOL Tib J 384 and the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, in the appendices.

¹³⁶ While the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā* tradition is, especially in later times (and more than one culture), more associated with longevity than post-mortuary concerns, the application in the current context is sufficiently idiosyncratic—fragmented and placed on a *maṇḍala*—that this may not be immediately relevant.

possibility that the conditions for selection may depend on aspects such as the manner of death or the identity of the deceased.

Beyond the analysis on how to read the text, the chapter explores a number of broader features of the work. All in all, I suggest that the manual is an example of an extremely local level ritual manual, and the irregularity of its initiations is a result of both its early and geographically peripheral Dunhuang origin and the state of ritual practice in the tenth century. I also suggest that the combination of several different *maṇḍalas* is another case of the hybrid forms the *SDP* tends to appear in, in ritual practice. However, where later on, the *SDP* often seems to have taken on a secondary or supplementary role, at this point it seems to have a more central one, and is the primary core of the ritual.

Part Two: Newar Buddhism/ Nepal

Part Two (comprising Chapters Two through Four) turns to the Newari-Sanskrit ritual literature of the *SDP*, originating in the Newar tradition of the Kathmandu Valley. It begins with an examination of the bilingual Newari-Sanskrit ritual manual Hs.or.4326 (Berlin Staatsbibliothek), identified here as the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual. The discussion of this text spans two chapters (Chapters Two and Three) due to its substantial size and level of detail given in its documentation. The manual, estimated to date to the nineteenth century, provides instructions for pre-, peri-, and postmortem funerary rituals in an *utkrānti* funeral, an elite form granted to certain individuals in the Newar Buddhist community. It deals specifically with the procedures immediately prior to death and for the first seven days afterwards.

The research for this section involved discussions with a number of priests from the Kathmandu Valley, and extended study of texts with two scholars with expertise on the material, Sarbagya Bajracharya (with translation assistance from Raju Shakya) on ritual practices and traditions, and Kashinath Tamot on Newari language and linguistics. One point to note, in this regard, is that while Sarbagya Bajracharya's familiarity is with the Kathmandu tradition, Kashinath Tamot's is with Patan's. There are certainly differences between the traditions; however, further research needs to be done before it will be possible to document distinctions in the present, and even more so for the past.

The interpretations in this section draw on a number of sources, and there yet remain some that I obtained too late to fully incorporate into the dissertation. In particular, the readings of the verses from the *Samvarodaya* in Chapter Two will benefit from the additional insight through comparison with Ratnarakṣita's *Padminī* commentary, and the study on it by Junglan Bang and Kenichi Kuranishi. So too, while the discussions of the Śaiva connections draws considerably on the work of Nina Mirnig, it is based mostly on earlier articles and her dissertation, and will benefit from updates incorporating the published monograph form of the study. (Thanks to Péter Szántó for both of these.)

Chapter Two

The second chapter addresses the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual's first half, which includes its opening general discussion, and then the rituals for those who show signs of dying, if they

wish to delay death.¹³⁷ It then discusses rituals if death cannot be delayed or its avoidance is not desired, namely the *utkrānti* ritual that is to be performed upon oneself at the time of death. After death, it proceeds to a series of initiations and then a second *utkrānti* rite, this one undertaken by the officiating priest on behalf of the deceased. This also marks the first major shift in the rituals, broadly speaking: from rites that one does for oneself (*svārtha*) to rites that are done on behalf of another (*parārtha*). Overall, the rituals in this portion can be said to culminate in the *utkrānti* rite and to be concerned primarily with the disposition and fate of the deceased's consciousness in its progression towards its next rebirth. The initiations given while the deceased's body and consciousness are temporarily reunited is a point of particular interest, contributing to the larger discussion of the adaptation of core tantric technology for funerary purposes.

Chapter Three

Chapter Three continues the analysis of the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual introduced in Chapter Two. It addresses the portion that begins after the completion of the *utkrānti* rite performed by the priest on the first day after death, and continues to the end of the manual, which concludes with the description of rituals which finally end on the seventh day after death. Although there are further rituals after this point in the Newar tradition, specifically the ancestor worship *śrāddha* done at intervals of 1.5, 3, 6 months, and at one year, over the following year, this set of practices completed in the first seven days addresses the initial critical period in the death process.

Where the second chapter's numerous rites might be said to culminate in the postmortem *utkrānti*, the third chapter's are directed ultimately towards the cremation, disposal of remains, and subsequent purification rituals. The cremation takes place on the second day, and is the second main segment (besides the *utkrānti*) where this type of funeral differs from the standard version most Newar Buddhists receive. Specifically, the cremation is completed as a *homa* sacrifice, with the burning of the body as the offering, called—quite literally—*narāhuti* (human offering).¹³⁸ Because of this, there are a number of additional elaborate steps necessary in the preparation of the fire and associated rites.

Although the cremation is completed on the second day and serves a purifying purpose, it does not fully conclude the disposal of the deceased; the ash and bone fragments remaining must also be dealt with. This is one of the two main concerns of the remaining five days of rites. Along with further purification and eventual dispersal of the physical matter of the ashes, the ritual pollution accompanying death is also eradicated (or at least ameliorated) from the affected people and places, including the bereaved family, the deceased's home, and (potentially) the temple.

¹³⁷ That is, the *utkrānti* approach-of-death ritual instructions are only given after an individual has chosen not to pursue other life-prolonging ritual techniques.

¹³⁸ Ordinary funerals are not done in this fashion in the Newar tradition and, in fact, *homa* of any sort (not *narāhuti*) only occurs in them at the end of the seven day sequence. Lewis and Bajracharya discuss *narāhuti* and the regular *homa* at the end of the funerary sequence, see, Todd Lewis and Naresh Bajracharya, "Newar Buddhist Homa Ritual Traditions," in *Homa Variations: The Study of Ritual Change Across the Longue Durée* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016a), 295, 304-305.

Between the second chapter and this (third) one, the different focuses on the *utkrānti* and cremation also mark the distinction between the concern for the deceased's consciousness or *prāṇa* (in the Newari text), and the concern for the body, respectively. Thus, the third chapter is also more broadly concerned with the materiality of death and the complications that the living must face in the wake of its occurrence, especially in relation to the ritually polluting nature of death. Although these chapters each treat approximately the same number of pages in the manual, the rituals are not distributed evenly over the seven days; rather, the highest density of ritual activity takes place on the first day, and thus Chapter Two deals only with this time period, while Chapter Three covers the remaining six days. In truth, there are still quite a few activities assigned to the second and third days, relatively fewer ones required on the fourth through sixth days, and then (again) more required on the seventh day.

Chapter Four

The fourth (and final) chapter explores further aspects of the Newar procedures for an *utkrānti* funeral, expanding upon the previous two chapters. The first part of the chapter provides a partial examination of a short Newari-Sanskrit text, catalogued by the NGMCP as E701-11, and called the *Utkrānti kriyā vidhi*, abbreviated *UKV*, here. This work, which centers on Vajravārāhī, also provides instructions for the postmortem *utkrānti* as done by Newar Buddhists. Although it is not as comprehensive in treating the full range of funerary rituals as the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual treated in the previous chapters, it does provide different kinds of details in the sections where the described rituals overlap.

In some cases, this provides supplemental information clarifying certain aspects that are shared, while in others it complicates matters by offering distinct methods. Since practical manuals for this type of ritual are virtually unstudied, it is a given that a single exemplar will not be able to provide all the information needed to generalize. Even with two such manuals, there are many points that would benefit from additional clarification; however, having a second (and distinct) work in the genre is an important first step and reminder of the subject's complexity and the need for further study.

The latter half of Chapter Four incorporates a discussion of the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana* (*MSN*) ("Compelling good states of rebirth [after] death"), to provide a different kind of comparison and suggest broader contexts. The *MSN* is, unlike the previous texts discussed in this dissertation, not a local ritual manual but rather a Sanskrit funerary manual from the Indian Buddhist tradition, attributed to Śūnyasamādhivajra and dating possibly to the eleventh or twelfth century.¹³⁹ It is one of only two funerary manuals for Indian tantric Buddhism available, and has been studied initially by Ryugen Tanemura in detail, as well as mentioned more briefly by others. Since an edition exists, this chapter focuses not on

¹³⁹ On the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana*, see Ryugen Tanemura "Manual," 2-6; Ryugen Tanemura, Śūnyasamādhivajra 著作の葬儀マニュアル *Mṛtasugatiniyojana*: サンスクリット語校訂テキストおよび註 [Śūnyasamādhivajra's *Mṛtasugatiniyojana*: A Critical Edition and Notes], 洋文化研究所紀要 [The Memoirs of Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia] Vol. 163 (2013): 110-136. The dating for this work is problematic, on account of differences between the various colophons, according to Tanemura.

description but rather on its relevance for local manuals. However, I do provide provisional English translations to verses 1-20 in the discussion footnotes. This examination alongside more local manuals is particularly advantageous since it is a more polished style of manual—arguably a different genre—but it teaches a sequence of rites that consist of the same ordering of *utkrānti* rituals followed by *SDP* rituals as the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual of Chapters Two and Three. There are many differences in the particular rites, since the *MSN* is not a Newar Buddhist manual and thus excludes the specifically Newar elements, but more interesting than these for discussion are the differences that might be considered aspects of the genre and text rather than the detailed differences in the rites themselves.

The comparison between the local manuals and the *MSN* is a starting point for a broader discussion about variations in ritual manuals and the spectrum between local and trans-regional as well as that between general and specific. Certain insights derived from this include the fact that localization and level of detail do not fully correspond—while trans-regional manuals lack detail because they aim to serve a broad audience, manuals at the most local level do not, by the same logic, contain the most detail. Examining the different kinds of detail provided, we suggest that intertextuality and the oral tradition play a role here—the local manuals omit detail, but for a different reason; namely, the authors of such manuals are so close to their audience that they know what kind of information can be assumed in the common repertoires of their users, and thus what may be mentioned in brief form only.

Chapter One

Introduction: Dunhuang

Although commentaries on the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana tantra* dating from the eighth century are preserved in the Tibetan canon, the earliest extra-canonical ritual manuals that survive to the present day come from the Dunhuang caves, in western China. Dunhuang served as China's gateway to the Silk Road, the last stop for caravans setting out across the Taklamakan Desert to oasis cities like Turfan and Kashgar, and to points further west, including India. At the same time, it was the gateway into China for travelers journeying in the opposite direction. As a result, the Mogao Cave Complex, 20 kilometers outside the city, came to house hundreds of caves adorned with Buddhist murals and images. One of these, the "Library" Cave 17, also became a repository for a large collection of manuscripts. This chamber was sealed off, its entrance concealed, in the early eleventh century, not to be reopened until the early twentieth century.

The manuscripts preserved at Dunhuang have proven invaluable for scholarship, due not only to their early dates, but also to the varied types of material included. Although Dunhuang lies hundreds of miles north of the strongholds of Tibetan power, the site came under Tibetan rule in the eighth century. As a result, Tibetan became an administrative language of the region, and many documents preserved at Dunhuang, even ones written after the collapse of the Tibetan Empire, continued to use the language. The site also saw a lively passage of pilgrims and teachers traveling across Asia, to and from India, the birthplace of Buddhism. During its Tibetan period, it also served as a scriptorium for the Tibetan empire, with the emperor commissioning the production of many Buddhist texts, some of which were sent to and are still kept in the monasteries of central Tibet.¹⁴⁰

The nature of the collection of manuscripts in Cave 17 and reason for their storage there has been a matter of debate, but for the current discussion, what is important is that the collection includes not only copies of "canonical" texts, but also a great many extra-canonical works, including ritual texts.¹⁴¹ In terms of genre, there are relatively few tantras, but there survive a great many *sādhana*s, *vidhis*, and other works related to them. That such a collection survives is a rarity, as is the opportunity to study its contained texts, including

¹⁴⁰ Sam van Schaik, Early Tibet: Notes, thoughts, and fragments of research on the history of Tibet (blog), entries "The Chinese under Tibetan rule," (May 10, 2011 - <https://earlytibet.com/2011/05/10/tibetan-history-i/>) "Manuscripts under the microscope" (April 11, 2013 - <https://earlytibet.com/2013/04/11/manuscripts-under-the-microscope/>), "Tales from the scriptorium I: expensive books," (June 15, 2007, <https://earlytibet.com/2007/06/15/scriptorium/>)

¹⁴¹ For the debate on the Library Cave, see the recent summary of scholarship by Sam van Schaik, Early Tibet blog, "Secrets of the Cave I-III" posts "Secrets of the Cave I: 'Sacred Waste,'" (<https://earlytibet.com/2010/12/13/secrets-of-the-cave-i/>), "Secrets of the Cave II: The 'Library' Cave," (<https://earlytibet.com/2011/03/11/secrets-of-the-cave-ii/>), "Secrets of the Cave III: The Cave of Monk Wu," (<https://earlytibet.com/2011/03/14/secrets-of-the-cave-iii-the-cave-of-monk-wu/>) The ritual texts referred to are extra-canonical in the sense that they are not included in the Tibetan *Bka' 'gyur* (i.e. not *buddhavacana*), nor the *Bstan 'gyur* (later material). This distinction is more complicated to make in the case of Sanskrit and Newari materials, since there is no comparable canon to stand in contrast; however, the sense is the same.

the ritual manuals discussed here. Though these texts are, most likely, mainly from the tenth century, they reflect a state of tantric ritual technology similar to that which was current in Tibet in the late eighth century or beginning of the ninth.¹⁴²

The *SDP*-related texts present at Dunhuang do not include the *tantra* itself, nor any *sādhana*s, a genre well-represented in the texts of the *STTS* (likewise a *yogatantra* system, dating from approximately the same period as the *SDP*). Among the texts dealing with the *SDP*, the most numerous are those with the central *vidyā* or root mantra of the text, including PT 419, IOL Tib J 420, 421, 720. *Maṇḍalas* and initiation rites, and more substantive materials from the *tantra* can further be found in PT 37, 67, 298, IOL Tib J 384, 439/712, 440, 579, Or.8210/S.421.¹⁴³ Of these, IOL Tib J 384, 439/712, 579, and Or.8210/S.421 contain initiation manuals that distinguish themselves in being works that indicate that they are to be done for a patron (*yon bdag*), some specifying that the patron may be either alive or dead.¹⁴⁴ Combined with the absence of texts for personal practice (*sādhana*s), this suggests that, in Tibet at least, the *SDP* was used not for private practice by those seeking liberation, but rather served as a basis for rituals to be done by a priest on behalf of others. Given the references to performing rites for patrons either the living or dead, it is very likely that the *SDP* was closely connected to funerary traditions.

Description of IOL Tib J 384

One of these manuals, IOL Tib J 384, is the primary focus in the current chapter, although reference to related works will be made, where relevant. IOL Tib J 384 is an initiation manual containing instructions relating to three *maṇḍalas*. Its main portion contains a version of the *SDP* frame story and instructions for initiations with an *SDP maṇḍala*. The relationship between the main portion and the two additional *maṇḍalas* it also contains is not entirely clear; however, I will argue that the structure of the text and combined arrangement of content strongly suggest it is a coherent text containing a tripartite set of related *maṇḍalas*, rather than a disparate assortment of separate rites sharing space in the same manuscript but having no other connections. Further, I will propose that all three are related to funerary rituals and, finally, suggest more speculative possibilities, such as that they may be intended for funerary rituals suitable to different circumstances.

The manuscript is in concertina format and is sixteen folios long, with each folio 9 by 29 cm. As a concertina, all of its pages would originally have been connected together and folded accordion-style.¹⁴⁵ As it is presently preserved, however, it has been broken into four sets of still-connected manuscript fragments, consisting of five, four, four, and three folios (respectively, starting from r1). Most pages have five lines of text, though a few have four or six. As currently preserved, the manuscript is missing at least one folio at the start and

¹⁴² Dalton, "Proto-Tantric," 201. This is likely due to a combination of the political disruption happening in Tibet, combined with a delay between circulation in India and transmission to Tibet.

¹⁴³ Imaeda, "History," 120 n. 17.

¹⁴⁴ In particular, IOL Tib J 384 (r5.1) and IOL Tib J 439/712 (14v.5) mention the "living or dead" applicability. The former (IOL Tib J 384), for example, reading: ...*yon bdag gson shid gang yang rung ste* {r5.1}, see current chapter for description of context.

¹⁴⁵ Although the concertina style makes folio pagination a bit awkward, the fact that we will discuss reordering the pages never the less makes it a useful method of description.

end (necessarily both, since the recto side first folio has as opposite side the last folio on the verso side). However, as will be discussed, the text's layout within the manuscript is irregular, and so this does not correspond to a text that is incomplete at beginning and end because the text begins on what is now the middle of one side. The orthography is irregular throughout, and the letters roughly formed but not difficult to read, with considerable space between them.¹⁴⁶ There are two blank pages (v1 and v5), and one page (v6) that contains a rough drawing of a large crossed vajra flanked by two smaller ones.

Moving on to the text, the tantra's frame story is the first element IOL Tib J 384 draws on. Like a number of other Dunhuang texts, the text opens by recounting a variation of the narrative involving the death and salvation of the god Vimalamañiprabha.¹⁴⁷ As with the other ritual texts containing the frame story, there are a number of ways that the version included in the manual differs from what appears in the tantra. Although IOL Tib J 384 is unique, it shares some similarities with related Dunhuang texts, particularly IOL Tib J 439/712, though it has more differences when compared to the tantra. Nonetheless, the gist of the story provides several of the same elements that promote the *SDP* as a system useful for funerary rites to prevent bad rebirths.

After the framing origin story, the text presents the *maṇḍala*, describing its form and the appearance, location, and attributes of the deities who populate it. It provides a relatively terse explanation of the method for constructing the *maṇḍala*, with a sequence of rites that make up the "claiming/pacification of the ground," and other preliminary procedures. Once the *maṇḍala* is complete, the ritual master is instructed to "teach the history of the *maṇḍala*," that is to say, most likely, tell the frame story with which the text opens.

After that, the rituals of the *maṇḍala* commence. They include the well-known "three-part *gtor ma*" ritual, a practice also described in a number of other Dunhuang manuals, the structure of which contributed to Tibetan "feast" *tshogs* rituals to the present day.¹⁴⁸ Next follow the rituals involving the "patron" (Tib. *yon bdag*) that is, the initiations, follow. Up to this point, the frame story and presentation of the *maṇḍala* are closely connected with the *SDP* tantra. The particular content of the initiation sequence would seem, at first glance, to have less in common with the *SDP*, as it includes not the expected five initiations typical of *yogatantra*, but rather an irregular set in two parts, the first consisting of the 'seven signs of a *cakravartin*,' and the second, the 'eight auspicious substances.' However, closer inspection reveals that the initiation with the seven signs of the *cakravartin* does appear in the tantra, and the eight auspicious substances are prominent in the related Dunhuang text, IOL Tib J

¹⁴⁶ Sam van Schaik, who has published on the paleography of this and related manuscripts, noted similarity in the handwriting of IOL Tib J 384 with two other manuscripts, IOL Tib J 754 and Or.8210/S.95, both of which relate to Avalokiteśvara (as does the third *maṇḍala* of our work). If this does indicate authorship by the same scribe, it would narrow the possible dating for the manuscript, since Or.8210/S.95 is written on a manuscript that also contains fragments of a Chinese almanac for the year 956 CE. Van Schaik indicates the Tibetan side was written later, which would put the possible dates for this scribe between 956 and the early 11th c., when the Dunhuang manuscripts were sealed away. See van Schaik, "Avalokiteśvara," 64. In addition, in its catalogue entry, van Schaik also suggests that IOL Tib J 384 is in the same hand as Or.8210/S.421, a manuscript that may also be connected with the *SDP*. See Jacob P. Dalton and Sam van Schaik, *Tibetan Tantric Manuscripts From Dunhuang: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Stein Collection at the British Library* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2006), 350.

¹⁴⁷ See Introduction section on the frame story for a summary of the tantra's basic version.

¹⁴⁸ Dalton and van Schaik, *Tibetan Tantric Manuscripts*, 272.

439/712.¹⁴⁹ That said, the emphasis on these two sets of initiations is strikingly different from the *tantra*, where we find them among lists of many others.¹⁵⁰ Thus it is not the fact of these initiations alone, but rather the emphasis on them, that distinguishes these texts.

After the *SDP* ritual instructions are provided, the text continues with instructions for two further *maṇḍalas*, one containing an array of wrathful deities, and another centering on the Amoghapāśa form of Avalokiteśvara surrounded by a rather puzzling entourage linked with the *Uṣṇīṣaviṣṭayā dhāraṇī (UVD)*. The text does not provide complete explanations for the construction of these two latter *maṇḍalas*, nor for how they are to be used. It is probable, however, that the instructions given for the *SDP maṇḍala* are to be applied, as is appropriate, to the other two *maṇḍalas* as well. This is further supported by a concluding section applicable to all of the *maṇḍalas*, reminding the ritualist to do the propitiation rite (Tib. *bsnyen pa*; Skt. *sevā*) for the appropriate deities, depending on which *maṇḍala* is being employed.

While the above summary is the most likely reading of the text, it is not the one that emerges from reading the text straight through in the order in which its folios are currently preserved. Rather, it requires a reorganization in which, as I argue, the manuscript is to be read starting from what is now the middle of the verso side in the concertina format.¹⁵¹ Beginning in the middle of the concertina booklet would be extremely odd, normally; however, there is some evidence that it may not always have been the middle. Instead, it may be the case that the manuscript itself was extended. This would have happened if, upon reaching the end of the original verso (currently preserved as the recto), the author/scribe determined that the concertina booklet was not going to be long enough. Four additional pages were added, and the text continued across them, and back onto the first side (now the newly added pages at the start of the recto side). In its final form, this has resulted in a manuscript that should be read starting on its verso side, at v6 (of 16), reading to the end of the verso side, adding one hypothesized missing page (v17), turning the manuscript over, reading the entirety of what is currently the recto side, and finishing up with the first five folios of the verso side. Doing this places the text in the correct reading order, as will be explained in this chapter.¹⁵² The new reading order is critical to understanding the centrality of the *SDP* in the text, and the interrelated arrangement of all the *maṇḍalas* taught in the text. Having gained a sense of the overall manuscript, I turn now to a more detailed analysis of its contents.

Content I: Sarvadurgatipariśodhana Maṇḍala

¹⁴⁹ A second related text, IOL Tib J 579, also draws on the portion of the *SDP* that includes the *Cakravartin* (otherwise called Seven Jewels) rites. IOL Tib J 579 is catalogued in Dalton and van Schaik, *Tibetan Tantric Manuscripts*, 280.

¹⁵⁰ The mention of empowerments can be found in Chapter 2 (pg. 46-47 n.31) and Chapter 3 (pg. 78 n.11) in Skorupski's edition/translation comments, see Skorupski, *SDP*, 46-47, 78.

¹⁵¹ This is intended as a brief summary. A more detailed explanation as well as diagram is included in the section of Chapter One on manuscript reading order.

¹⁵² I have chosen not to re-number the pages from r1 since doing so is part of the argument being made, and ease of access is greater if the reader does not have to read the entire explanation before understanding how to search within the manuscript in its publicly available form at the International Dunhuang Project archive.

Opening Narrative/ Frame Story

The Frame Story and its Logic

We begin by clarifying the nature and function of the frame story in the *SDP* and its relationship to the contents of other related texts. As a general heuristic, we can start by distinguishing in the *SDP* and other works two types of material: the frame story (or stories), and the content (doctrinal or ritual). In basic form, this is a common format for a great deal of Buddhist literature, from the early *sūtras* on—it is in no way unique to the current material. As is typical, in both our case and others, the frame story presents an origin myth describing the original instance in which the text's content was taught. In doing so, it both explains the circumstances that gave rise to the teaching and establishes its Buddhist credentials by showing that it is indeed *buddhavacana*, originally taught by a buddha.

This is a very basic description, but there is one element worth drawing attention to in the current context. This is the fact that, usually, the frame story and the content of a text are logically connected, as problem and solution. That is, the frame story introduces a problem and describes a request made to a buddha for help, while the content is that help, i.e. the Buddhist teaching given to solve the problem.¹⁵³ Because of this, it is notable that IOL Tib J 384 does not follow this form and, in fact, violates the logic of it. As we will suggest below, it is possible that the idiosyncrasies responsible for this in IOL Tib J 384 could have resulted from one particular interpretive divergence in the chain of transmission and subsequent efforts to "correct" or render the story more coherent later.

To state the proposal that follows in brief, the unique variants in the *SDP* frame story of IOL Tib J 384 differentiate it from several of the other versions that survive. Rather than simply being arbitrary variants, however, most of the novel elements and their arrangement can be explained as stemming from an initial error followed by subsequent efforts to supplement and restore the logic of the story. The initial error may have arisen when a student/scribe, at some point in the transmission, failed to understand that the narrative is a single story in two parts, where the first describes the current situation (present events in the frame story) and the second explains its karmic causes by revealing events in the protagonist's previous lifetime. In the tantra itself, the two parts are divided into two separate stories, resulting in a nonlinear presentation, with some material given at the beginning of Chapter One and the rest in Chapter Two. Many of the novel elements in IOL Tib J 384's frame story may have been supplied so that the two stories make sense independently, each one having its own separate transgressions, separate bad rebirth destinies, separate karmic cause events, and separate solutions. Without a clear explanation of the connection between them, neither story would have made sense on its own—until the additional elements were introduced. Moreover, this type of error is especially plausible given the specific group of Dunhuang manuscripts IOL Tib J 384 belongs to, namely

¹⁵³ This is, of course, a simplified description and the framing may take a more complex form, as it does in the *SDP*. That is to say, the bracketing of the frame does not necessarily come first/last, with all of the content in between. In the case of the *SDP* and IOL Tib J 384, the irregularity of the framing may be an important factor in differences in IOL Tib J 384, as will be discussed.

relatively rough ones that may have been for personal use and may have been produced in a setting of mixed oral and written transmission, as suggested by Sam van Schaik.¹⁵⁴

Summary of the Frame Story of IOL Tib J 384

Story One

We begin with a summary of the frame stories in IOL Tib J 384. The text, when read from the revised starting point, opens at v6 with a benediction and the context-setting questions asking who taught, transmitted, and benefited from the teaching of the text. The answer to these questions is given in the form of (the first) framing origin story of IOL Tib J 384, indeed, a version of the *SDP* frame story—with a number of modifications. In this case, the teacher is Vajrapāṇi, the performer or transmitter is Śākyamuni, and the beneficiary is Deva Vimalamaṇi. The narrative section that follows explains Vimalamaṇi's situation: he has fallen from Trayastriṃśa Heaven into the three bad realms of rebirth. The cause for this is twofold. First, it says that he has fallen due to encountering hindrances to his *samādhi*.¹⁵⁵ Then, in a second statement, Vajrapāṇi explains that the cause of his death is due to growing lazy (*le lo*). This may amount to the same thing or be, rather, an expansion upon it, although that is not spelled out.

In response to this, Vajrapāṇi bestows on Śākyamuni a mantra, then sends him to rescue Deva Vimalamaṇi. The text does not state what the mantra is, but praises it as being, "the *hṛdaya* of all the mantras, the tantra to all the *sūtras*, and the *vinaya* for all the *śrāvakas*."¹⁵⁶ Reciting the mantra one hundred and eight times, Vimalamaṇi's defilements are purified. However, though purified, the god is still not returned to heaven as expected. It is then explained that he did *not* recite the "mantra that cuts through defilements."¹⁵⁷ Because of this, the text declares, he still cannot return to heaven.¹⁵⁸ Although no further explanation is given, it seems that there are two mantras; the first (not provided in the text), which purifies karma, and the second (included), which supplements the first and cuts off defilements. Śākyamuni then recites the second necessary mantra, and the god is restored to heaven. At this point, this latter "mantra that cuts through defilements" is provided in the text. It bears some resemblance to mantras found both in the tantra and in other *Sarvadurgati*-related ritual texts discussed later in this study, though it is not identical with either.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁴ Sam van Schaik, "Oral Teachings and Written Texts: Transmission and Transformation in Dunhuang," in *Contributions to the Cultural History of Early Tibet*, ed. Matthew T. Kapstein and Brandon Dotson (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007), 183-208.

¹⁵⁵ (v8.1) *skom [sgom] ba'i ting nge 'dzin la bar chad du gyur te*

¹⁵⁶ In the phrasing of this praise, it is worth noting that "tantra" is not translated but simply transliterated as *tantra*. This is not especially unusual for Dunhuang texts, but the middle epithet, "tantra to all of the *sūtras*," is curious, although its import seems clear: it is supreme among them. Possibly relevant, here, is the fact that a number of the early tantras bear titles containing the word *sūtra*, i.e. the *STTS*.

¹⁵⁷ *sgrib pa rnams par gchod pa'i {v9.4} sngags.*

¹⁵⁸ *sngags brgya rtsa brgyad bzlas nas || dri ma myed pa yang skrib pa byang {v9.3} bar gyur ste || sum bcu rtsa gsum gyi gnas ma phyin tsam na || sgrib pa rnams par gchod pa'i {v9.4} sngags ma bzlas pas || sum bcu rtsa gsum gyi gnas su ma phyin bar gyur.*

¹⁵⁹ The mantra, which is transliterated, remains somewhat ambiguous in what certain of its original Sanskrit form is likely to have been. As far as can be determined, it does not seem to occur in exactly the same form

Story Two

In the second story in IOL Tib J 384, a tale is told of a prince prophesied at birth to kill his father. As often occurs to subjects of such prophecies, this indeed comes to pass, despite the warning. Because of his transgression, after death he falls into a series of bad rebirths as various kinds of animals. Eventually, after a number of these lives, he encounters Śākyamuni. Since he does not know how to help himself (as the text rather laconically puts it), Śākyamuni sets up the *SDP maṇḍala* for him.

The SDP: One Story Only

These stories in IOL Tib J 384 differ from the version in the *SDP* in several ways.¹⁶⁰ In the *SDP*, the god has died and fallen into hell, but the reason has nothing to do with hindrances to his *samādhi* or laziness, the reason(s) mentioned in IOL Tib J 384's Story One. In the *SDP* it is repayment for the transgression in the god's previous life when, as a prince, he killed his own father to become king (i.e. the problem assigned to Story Two in IOL Tib J 384). The patricidal king of the *SDP* encounters an ascetic (the Buddha in a previous rebirth), listens to his teachings, and experiences a moment of remorse at death, which earns him the (temporary) reprieve of one good rebirth—as the god whose death initiated the events of the frame story. However, when his life as a god was over, the earlier debt from the murder had yet to be paid. Because of this, he falls into hell (the starting point of the frame story), even though he did nothing in the current life to deserve it. With the assistance of the Buddha and the rites of the *SDP* performed by his friends, the god's transgressions are purified and he is eventually restored to heaven. Thus, where this (second) story occurs in the *SDP*, it provides correspondences (*karmaploti*) between the identities of players in the previous lifetime and those in the current one, demonstrating the karmic connections and explaining why the rituals performed on Vimalamaṇi's behalf can be successful.

Elements that Remain Consistent and Elements that Differ

To begin with IOL Tib J 384's first story, we can note the shared elements and their logic first. The beginning of IOL Tib J 384's Story One is similar to the *SDP* (and related versions), with the protagonist being a god who has died, and the need for funerary rites being the impetus for the teaching. This is the first information given in the *SDP*'s version of the story, and it makes sense that it should be retained in IOL Tib J 384 since it is fundamental to most versions of the story, and the story itself has been quite popular.

elsewhere, but portions of the mantra do appear in the *SDP* and other *SDP*-related ritual texts. If the similarities are adequate, this may suggest the mantra is associated with Akṣobhya or the Vajra Buddha Family in classic *yogatantra* five-buddha contexts. See below for discussion of the specific possible readings of it.

¹⁶⁰ In this description, I contrast the account with that in the *SDP*; however, the key element—one story versus two, and whether there is a clear connection between them—also distinguishes IOL Tib J 384 even from other Dunhuang texts. The text with the most similarities to IOL Tib J 384 is IOL Tib J 439/712, but it, in contrast, is very clear about the connection between the two portions of the story.

Second, we can note that, in reference to the *SDP* version of the story, IOL Tib J 384 also retains the pairing of the original transgression and original solution; namely, the fact that the solution for one who has fallen into hell for the crime of patricide/regicide involves the rites of the *SDP maṇḍala*. The connection of transgression to its ritual solution is thus preserved. This also makes sense as the pairing of transgression with correct Buddhist response would likely be a critical point, carefully preserved and easily remembered. Furthermore, there is the fact that the *SDP maṇḍala* will subsequently be presented—this would likewise be a reminder since it is the logical thing to follow such an introduction. However, in IOL Tib J 384, it does result in a switch in the order: the *maṇḍala* is shifted to the end of Story Two, since it answers the problem introduced in Story Two (i.e. the patricide/regicide), and since the entire frame story of IOL Tib J 384 is given at once, with no separation as is found in the *SDP*.

Table 1 Story Structure

Text					
<i>SDP</i>	Problem: God dies, falls into bad rebirths	Solution: <i>SDP maṇḍala</i> saves him	n/a	Cause: Previous life's karma from patricide as prince	(solution given earlier)
IOL Tib J 384 part:	Story 1	Story 1	Story 1	Story 2	Story 2
IOL Tib J 384	Problem: God dies, falls into bad rebirths	Solution: (new material)	Cause: (new material)	Problem: prince commits patricide, bad rebirths	Solution: <i>SDP</i> <i>maṇḍala</i> saves him

These basic points established, we can begin to look at some of the divergent elements in the two stories, in particular the transgression and solution provided by IOL Tib J 384 Story One, and the details within the stories. If the connection between the stories as past and future lives of the same individual is not known, new material will be needed in both stories—specifically, the material that was previously supplied by the other story. To summarize, then, neither story in IOL Tib J 384 is complete on its own: the first one has the *SDP* content for the problem and consequence (death and fall), the second one has the *SDP* content for the reason and solution (karmic cause of patricide/regicide and solution of the *SDP maṇḍala*). Thus, what is needed to form two fully coherent stories for the first story is a reason and solution, and for the second story is a way to link the opening of the frame story to the ritual manual's actual enclosed instructions (i.e. the god's death and the *SDP maṇḍala*).

Although identifying which elements in IOL Tib J 384's frame stories are from the *SDP* and which are novel is a starting point, consideration of the *SDP* may also help explain *how*

there ended up being two separate stories. In particular, it may not be coincidence that IOL Tib J 384 diverges, and its two stories are separated, at the same point that marks the break between information provided by the *SDP*'s first versus second chapter (see Table 1 above). That is to say, whether an author/transmitter responsible for this divergence was reading the *SDP* or another text, hearing about them in the course of an oral teaching, or simply not understanding that the two narrative sections were related, a key shift happened between these chapters, so that it was no longer clear how the tantra connected the two parts. The imprint of the tantra's organization by chapter remained, however, determining the dividing point between the newly separated stories.

The Addition of New/Supplemental Elements and Their Explanation

Story One Transgression: "Laziness" and "Hindrances to one's *samādhi*"

With the connection between the stories thus severed, the logic of their inclusion is lost, and the frame story no longer serves its purpose in relation to the ritual content. Whether this was recognized immediately, or not until some later stage in the transmission, cannot be determined. However, at some point, it does seem to have been identified as a problem in need of correction.

This brings us to the discussion of the novel elements and how they may have been selected as suitable for completing the stories. For the first story, the prominent divergent elements are the reason for the fall, namely "hindrances to the god's *samādhi*," described also as "growing lazy," and the solution involving the recitation of two mantras. If this reason—the misdeed—were something specific and significant in the historical context, it might be argued that IOL Tib J 384 differs because its author set out specifically to insert this particular problem into the text, adapting the text to a particular agenda. Doing so could, hypothetically, expand the text's range of use by asserting efficacy in a new situation. As a method to debut and legitimize new practices or doctrines, this would be an interesting possibility.

However, as described, the transgression is ambiguous and unclear, making it less plausible that the text's main intention is to showcase and highlight it. Given that this is the case, it may be that it is unclear because it is a kind of 'filler'—something generally true and relevant to Buddhist practice, but a bit generic. Although interruptions or hindrances to one's *samādhi* might be a specific statement about the death of a god, with the addition of the error of "laziness" as an explanation, it is more likely that this is a general statement about Buddhist practice, and not a specific addition to doctrine or practice; in other words, it may be intentionally vague. (Technically, "growing lazy in one's Buddhist practice" isn't *wrong* as a description of patricide, even if it is a rather dramatic understatement.)

Story One Solution: Two Mantras and the Narrative of Failure

Regarding the solutions—the two mantras—presented in Story One, these also diverge from the *SDP* and most other *SDP*-related ritual manuals. The first mantra, in fact, is not even identified other than by epithets praising its powers, and the second is similar only to a

mantra that appears in a relatively minor role in the *SDP*, where it seems to represent Akṣobhya in an invocation of the five buddha families, within a subsidiary *maṇḍala*. The provision of a mantra relating to Akṣobhya might be apt, both because Akṣobhya, the "unflappable," is an appropriate response to wavering/distraction (in the case that hindrances to one's *samādhi* is actually what it sounds like), and because of Akṣobhya and the vajra family's increasing prominence in *yogatantra* and reputation for being particularly powerful. However, it is not otherwise well-known, and even the closest parallels are only a partial match.¹⁶¹

Beyond this, the presentation of the two mantras is curious because it contains a narrative of failure. When the mantras are presented, they are not presented together as a pair. Only one is offered by Vajrapāṇi initially, but it does not have the desired result when Śākyamuni uses it. After its failure is reported, a second mantra is provided. Finally, after the second one is recited a number of times, the goal—restoration of the deceased god to heaven—is achieved. It is unclear whether the final success was a result of the second mantra alone, with the first being entirely useless, or whether the implication is that *both* mantras are required—the first alone was necessary, but not sufficient, without the second.

The inclusion of a narrative of failure stands out and seems contradictory, at first glance—why provide something that doesn't work? Especially with Vajrapāṇi as the source and Śākyamuni as the user of the mantra, one might expect it to reflect badly upon them, given that the mantra is praised without reservation at the beginning. The frame story promotes and elevates its teachings and ritual content, and plot points that reveal inadequacy would, one might contend, undermine this. The second option, that both mantras are required, solves this problem to some degree, although it remains a question why both were not provided together at the outset, given that the presentation method does not seem to emphasize any particular lesson. This cannot be answered for certain; however, contemplating the uses of narratives of failure in other contexts is worth considering.

One that we might consider, described by Paul Copp, is not a canonical Buddhist scripture but rather a Chinese Buddhist text composed in the Tang Dynasty, seeking to

¹⁶¹ The Tibetan transliteration reads, *Om tro tsa ne | tro tsa ni | dras ne | dra sa ne | pra ṭi hana | sarva gar ma | 'par myi tra ni svahā* || Although this precise mantra does not appear in the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana tantra*, its elements appear in other mantras, in both the tantra and other ritual texts discussed here. One parallel is with the *SDP*, where a mantra connected with Akṣobhya reads *Om kaṃkani kaṃkani rocani rocani trocanī trocanī sarvakarmaparamparāṇi svāhā*. This mantra appears in the Vajrapāṇi *maṇḍala*, the second *maṇḍala* of the second chapter. It appears at a point where mantras are being given for the Five Buddhas, and falls sequentially in the position likely to belong to Akṣobhya. A closer parallel may be found in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, a Newari-Sanskrit manual discussed in Chapters Two and Three of this study. A mantra there reads *Om kaṃkani 2 rocani 2 trocani 2 samtrāsini 2 pratihata 2 hara 2 sarvakarmmāvaraṇa {18v.6} viśodhane svāhā*// and again occurs in a context referencing the five buddhas (*pañcatathāgata*) and the vajra family/Akṣobhya, by its order, although this time it occurs in the context of ritual bathing (*snāna*) of the deceased (Hs.or.4326 18v.5-6). Elsewhere, in the *Dhāraṇīsamgraha* as examined by Gergely Hidas, a parallel is noted as "unidentified text" within the compendium, cf. *Dhāraṇīsamgraha* ms 16v: [22] *namo bhagavate akṣobhyāya tathāgatāyārhatē sa[myaksam]buddhāya || tadyathā om hūṃ kekani kakani | vākani vākani | rocani rocani | troṭani | troṭani | samtrāsani | samtrā+++++++ 2 pratihana 2 sarvakarmaparamparāni me svāhā || ya imāṃ dhāraṇīm antasaḥ kuḍye likhītām api paśyet | tasya pañcānantaryāṇi parikṣayaṃ*. See also Gergely Hidas, *Powers of Protection: The Buddhist Tradition of Spells in the Dhāraṇīsamgraha Collections* (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2021), 42.

promote the use of the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā dhāraṇī* by presenting tales of its efficacy.¹⁶² This text includes accounts where the spell fails to work properly for someone, though they are devout. They are then approached by a stranger who tells them that the problem is that the spell they are using is incorrect and incomplete, not that their practice has been flawed. The correct spell is then given to the individual, and the desired results are achieved. In this case, looking to the transmission history is relevant: there were multiple translations of the spell, and thus multiple versions in circulation. As Copp points out, multiple accounts of lines of transmission emerged, and claims for the "true" spell additionally suggest popularity and diversity of practices associated with the spell.¹⁶³ By including the "failed" version, the text acknowledges that there are other versions, while deftly claiming it is the only one that will really work.

The textual sources and knowledge about historical context in the case of IOL Tib J 384 are inadequate to arrive at a theory as complex Copp's example. In our case, an argument for the simplest possibility, supported by other points we have made about IOL Tib J 384, may be preferable. In particular, the earlier suggestion that the transgressions presented are rather generic and may be "filler" could apply here, as well. That is to say, the failure is not important because these transgressions are not actually meant to be the focus. A point in favor of this may be found in the fact that the first mantra is not provided, and the second one's efficacy may come down to the (unstated) general reputation Akṣobhya and the Vajra Family had, especially as mature *yogatantra* developed, for being powerful and efficacious. In other words, more complex theories aside, it may simply be that the "laziness/hindrances to one's *samādhi*" is a somewhat improvised transgression, added to complete the story, and the solution involving a series of mantras is likewise a creative attempt to "correct" omissions and confusing points in the text.

Although it may not be possible to speak more conclusively on this matter at present, the nature and source of the apparent mistake in the transmission of the frame story, dividing one story into two as a result of divisions in the source material between chapters, suggests interesting possibilities given the likely context and possible uses of IOL Tib J 384. The manuscript IOL Tib J 384 is one of several Dunhuang texts that have been studied by Sam van Schaik as works that most likely emerged at Dunhuang out of a mixture of oral and written transmission processes.¹⁶⁴ Although van Schaik's primary focus is on noting mistakes of hearing, he also imagines more generally the kind of environment of textual transmission and copying that might have existed. He describes,

"These manuscripts are artefacts of teaching situations, specifically when a student sits and takes down the words of a teacher. The teacher might be giving a general lecture, or reciting a text from memory. The student might be particularly quick with a pen, and copy nearly every word, or only manage general summaries. He or she

¹⁶² The text is the "Record of the Verified Efficacy of Adding Syllables to the Glorious *Dhāraṇī* of the Buddha's Crown," (*Jiaju lingyan foding zunsheng tuoluobi ji*) composed by Wu Che in the late eighth century, discussed in Paul Copp, *The Body Incantatory: Spells and the Ritual Imagination in Medieval Chinese Buddhism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 165.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 166.

¹⁶⁴ Van Schaik, "Oral Teachings," 183-208.

might have been present at the teaching, but only written it down from memory when ink, paper, and tranquility were available.”¹⁶⁵

This description is suggestive and bears repeating, because it is a reminder of the complexity and possibility for human error as a factor in changing the content of texts as they are transmitted. In the current context, the particular problem of losing the comprehension of the relationship between two story portions would seem very much to be the kind of thing that might also occur at the broader semantic level. If oral teaching contexts were involved, we might even imagine the possibility that the limitations of oral communication in its linearity could make the separation of the story between chapters a particular problem. It would require keeping much more in mind if, while listening, students were required to wait an extended time between the explanation of the transgression (chapter one) and the reason (chapter two). Ultimately, this is speculative, but the pattern in the elements of the story does suggest how it may have ended up divided in this fashion.

SDP Maṇḍala Description

The *maṇḍala* most commonly associated with the *SDP* is a "five-buddha" (*pañcabuddha*) arrangement centered on Sarvavid, a form of Mahāvairocana unique to the *SDP*, surrounded by buddhas of the other four buddha families, offering goddesses, sixteen "bodhisattvas of the *Bhadrakalpa*," and directional and gate guardians, making up an assembly of thirty-seven deities. This configuration is very similar to the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala*, the main *maṇḍala* of the *STTS*, the principal text among the *yogatantras*.¹⁶⁶ However, the *SDP maṇḍala* in IOL Tib J 384, as with all the texts discussed in this study, contains not the Sarvavid Vairocana five-buddha *maṇḍala*, but rather one focused on Śākyamuni surrounded by an entourage containing eight "*uṣṇīṣa* buddhas," a set of bodhisattvas, and other deities. Where the Sarvavid *maṇḍala* is derived from the first chapter of the early translation of the *SDP*, the *uṣṇīṣa maṇḍala* in IOL Tib J 384 draws most of its influence from the *maṇḍala* presented at the start of the tantra's second chapter (common to both translations and the Sanskrit).

There is evidence that both of these *maṇḍalas* were popular and in use in imperial and post-imperial Tibet, and regions under Tibetan control. This contrasts with the other *maṇḍalas* of the *SDP*, most of which do not seem to have achieved much popularity.¹⁶⁷ In contrast, there is ample evidence for use of the Sarvavid and *SDP uṣṇīṣa maṇḍalas* from archaeological and art historical sources, as well as ritual manuals and amulets. Among other things, a version of a *maṇḍala* centering on Sarvavid is reported to have been a part of the original plan in the main temple of Bsam yas, Tibet's first monastery, when it was

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 184.

¹⁶⁶ On the *STTS* and five-buddha system within the *yogatantras*, see also discussion pg. 28 n. 64 as well as below, pg. 85 n. 181.

¹⁶⁷ However, since a number of the other *maṇḍalas* of the both versions of the tantra are "worldly" ones populated by relatively widespread groupings of deities, it is possible that they may appear elsewhere but have not been identified as being related to the *SDP*.

founded in the eighth century.¹⁶⁸ Regarding forms of the *SDP uṣṇīṣa maṇḍala*, it appears in Dunhuang ritual manuals other than our current text IOL Tib J 384, amulets, and archaeological sites as well.¹⁶⁹

Grouping: *Uṣṇīṣa* Buddhas

In the current text, IOL Tib J 384, there is no influence from the Sarvavid *maṇḍala*; its focus is Śākyamuni surrounded by eight *uṣṇīṣa* buddhas. This is referred to in some sources as the Śākyamuni-kāya *maṇḍala*.¹⁷⁰ The benefit to such a name, rather than identifying it descriptively (as I have been doing), is the ability to distinguish this *maṇḍala* from another, namely, the principal *maṇḍala* in the first chapter of the later translation (and extant Sanskrit) of the *SDP*. The latter, called by some the *Navoṣṇīṣa maṇḍala* (Nine *uṣṇīṣa*) or *Durgatipariśodhana* (Purification *maṇḍala*), replaces the Sarvavid five-buddha in the later translation. That is to say, the later translation and Sanskrit contain no Sarvavid five-buddha *maṇḍala*, but they do contain two different *maṇḍalas* of Śākyamuni surrounded by eight *uṣṇīṣa* buddhas. In some sources, it has been claimed that the Śākyamuni-kāya *maṇḍala* provided the prototype for the *Navoṣṇīṣa maṇḍala*.¹⁷¹ However, that may be due to the latter's presence in the later translation, which isn't necessarily proof of its lesser antiquity, given ambiguities in provenance of the versions of the tantra. In truth, for the most part, the fact that there are two *SDP uṣṇīṣa maṇḍalas* in the later translation is rarely acknowledged at all, nor is the fact that, though widely claimed as the principal *maṇḍala* of the *SDP*, the Sarvavid Vairocana five-buddha one does not appear in one of the two versions of the tantra at all.

While the two different *uṣṇīṣa maṇḍalas* are distinct enough in the *SDP* tantra, they become much less so when the examination focuses instead on ritual manuals and other sources. Variation between texts and *maṇḍala* variants is the rule rather than the exception, which is no surprise given that tantras do not provide the direct source for either ritualists or artists (a point true more generally, as well). In addition to differences in the names of *maṇḍala* deities and their placement, different versions may contain expanded groups,

¹⁶⁸ For an overview, see Kapstein, *Assimilation*, 61. See also preceding discussion in the Introduction. Although the sources reporting this decorative program are dated somewhat later, Kapstein and others have generally considered the reports reasonably reliable.

¹⁶⁹ Kimiaki Tanaka, *An Illustrated History of the Maṇḍala from Its Genesis to the Kālacakratantra* (Somerville, MA: Wisdom Publications, 2018), 161. Tanaka also refers to Kimiaki Tanaka, *Tonkō: Mikkyō to Bijutsu 敦煌密教と美術 [Essays on Tantric Buddhism in Dunhuang: Its Art and Texts]* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2000), 72-96.

¹⁷⁰ These name distinctions are given, for example, in the Ngor *maṇḍala* set published by Tachikawa and based on the *SDP* and *GDK*, where the Chapter Two *maṇḍala* is #28 and the Chapter One (later translation/Sanskrit) is #39. The Ngor *maṇḍalas* are based on the *Rgyud sde kun btus* by Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo (1820–92) and Jamyang Loter Wangpo (1847–1914), see Skorupski, *SDP*, 311-13 n. 5; Lokesh Chandra and Musashi Tachikawa, *The Ngor Maṇḍala Collection* (Nagoya, Japan; Jyatha, Kathmandu: Mandala Institute; Vajra Publications, 2006).

¹⁷¹ Tanaka, *Illustrated History of the Maṇḍala*, 123ff. It should also be noted that although this *maṇḍala* is called the Nine *uṣṇīṣa maṇḍala*, it actually at all times consists of eight *uṣṇīṣa* buddhas plus the centrally placed Śākyamuni. That is to say, Śākyamuni appears to have been counted among the nine. There is no tradition for either (Chapter One or Two) of the *uṣṇīṣa maṇḍalas* where the *maṇḍala* is called a "eight *uṣṇīṣa*" *maṇḍala*.

adding on further sets of deities in outer parts of the *maṇḍala* and creating further diversity.¹⁷² For this reason, the basic way the *uṣṇīṣa maṇḍalas* can be identified at all is by the specific names of the eight *uṣṇīṣa* deities that appear in the innermost circle around Śākyamuni.¹⁷³

In being based on the early translation and its single *uṣṇīṣa* buddha *maṇḍala*, it is consistent that the *maṇḍala* in IOL Tib J 384 bears *uṣṇīṣa* deities who align somewhat more closely with the Chapter Two (Śākyamuni-kāya) *maṇḍala*. However, as can be seen in the table below, which provides the names for both the Chapter Two (both translations) and Chapter One (later translation), as well as IOL Tib J 384 and a related text from Dunhuang, IOL Tib J 439/712, it is also worth noting that there is considerable diversity from the Chapter Two *maṇḍala* as well. And, just as interesting, IOL Tib J 384's set is, arguably, not significantly closer to the other Dunhuang text, IOL Tib J 439/712; the latter has more in common with the *SDP* Chapter Two set than the former. At this point, we will leave these observations, since the current section pertains only to IOL Tib J 384. However, in later chapters' examination of the later Newar tradition, the matter will become relevant once again, for there there are texts with *maṇḍala* groups containing both sets of *uṣṇīṣa* deities as well as ones that contain four from one set and four from the other.¹⁷⁴ Given all of this, with the view from ritual literature included, it may be more useful to think about variations on a Śākyamuni-nine *uṣṇīṣa maṇḍala* than to attempt to keep them entirely distinct.

Uṣṇīṣa Buddhas¹⁷⁵

	<i>SDP</i> Ch. 2	<i>SDP</i> Ch. 1	IOL Tib J 384	IOL Tib J 439/712
C	Śākyamuni/Śākyasiṃha	Śākyamuni	Śākyamuni	Śākyamuni

¹⁷² The complexity of various versions expands considerably if more sources are examined. For example, beyond these versions, descriptions by Vajravarman (149 deities), Ngor *maṇḍala* 27 (209 deities), the later *Niṣpannayogāvalī* (66 deities), and in Japanese sources extended forms with one hundred or more. (See, variously, Chandra and Tachikawa, *Ngor*; Skorupski, *SDP*, 311-313 n. 5; Dorothy H. Fickle, "The Bodhisattva with a Mask," *Artibus Asiae* 54, no. 3/4 (1994): 366 n. 119; Lokesh Chandra, "Comparison of the Japanese and Tibetan Versions of the *Abhisambodhi-Vairocana Maṇḍala*," in *Indo-Tibetan Studies: Papers in Honour and Appreciation of Professor David L. Snellgrove's Contributions to Indo-Tibetan Studies*, ed. Tadeusz Skorupski, 1990, 23–28.)

¹⁷³ See, for example, Rhonwen Sayer's determination that the Faxian translation of the *SDP*, completed 989-999 CE, is based on the later translation—since it contains Chatroṣṇīṣa and the other *uṣṇīṣas* from the later translation (with reference to Skorupski, *SDP*, 28-29). Further research examining the Chinese translation more thoroughly has yet to be done, but might prove interesting; though not for the text's use in China (which was very limited), establishing a 10th century date for the Chinese translation would provide evidence for that version of the tantra (i.e. equivalent to the extant Sanskrit and Tib B) considerably earlier than the 13th c. date currently established on the basis of the second Tibetan translation. See Rhonwen Sayer (née Roger Wright), "The *Guhyasamāja Piṇḍīkṛta-Sādhana* and Its Context" (MA Thesis, London, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 2010), 40.

¹⁷⁴ In particular, this is true of NAK B105-15, a copy of the *Durgatipariśodhana samādhi* preserved at the National Archives, Kathmandu.

¹⁷⁵ See Appendix 1 for details of the names, including variations and Tibetan translations.

E	Vajrapāṇi	Vajroṣṇīṣa	Uṣṇīṣasitātapatra	Vajrapāṇi
S	Jayoṣṇīṣa	Ratnoṣṇīṣa	Uṣṇīṣacakravartin	Uṣṇīṣavijaya
W	(Uṣṇīṣa)cakravartin	Padmoṣṇīṣa	*Uṣṇīṣa- padmagarbha	Uṣṇīṣacakravartin
N	(Uṣṇīṣa)vijaya	Viśvoṣṇīṣa	Vimaloṣṇīṣa	Uṣṇīṣavidhvamsaka
SE	(Uṣṇīṣa)tejorāśi	Tejoṣṇīṣa	Uṣṇīṣatejorāśi	*Cakravartin?
SW	(Uṣṇīṣa)vidhvamsaka	Dhvajoṣṇīṣa	Uṣṇīṣavikiriṇa	*Jayoṣṇīṣa?
NW	(Uṣṇīṣa)vikiriṇa	Tīkṣṇoṣṇīṣa	Uṣṇīṣavijaya	*Padma?
NE	(Uṣṇīṣa)sitātapatra	Chatroṣṇīṣa	*Uṣṇīṣa- jālinīprabha	*Uṣṇīṣa- sitātapatra?

Setting aside the differences in location, and some of the variations in names (potentially due to differences in translation and back-translation), we can see that, at the very least, the current text's combination of Sitātapatra, Cakravartin, Tejorāśi, Vikiriṇa, and Uṣṇīṣavijaya are in parallel with the Chapter Two set.

Grouping: Bodhisattvas

The next grouping of deities in the IOL Tib J 384 *SDP maṇḍala* is a set of eight bodhisattvas. This does not correspond to the group of sixteen "bodhisattvas of the Bhadrakalpa" that appears in the tantra, nor is it a subset of the sixteen. However, *maṇḍala* arrays with arrangements containing eight bodhisattvas are also widespread, including in early Tibetan materials, both archaeological and from Dunhuang's Library Cave. This includes, in particular, an early association between eight-bodhisattva sets and the *SDP*, and, more broadly, arrangements that include forms of Vairocana (of whom Śākyamuni is considered a manifestation) and eight bodhisattvas. There are a number of variant sets of eight, making the current text's distinct set unsurprising.¹⁷⁶ There has been considerable research on eight-bodhisattva sets as they appear in the archaeological record of temples surviving in Tibet or described in textual sources, a number of which have been researched by Amy Heller and others.¹⁷⁷

However, these discussions focus on *maṇḍala* arrangements where the eight bodhisattvas are the inner circle, the grouping immediately surrounding a form of Śākyamuni. In the present text, of course, this inner region assigned instead to the *uṣṇīṣa*

¹⁷⁶ M. Yoritomi, "An Iconographic Study of the Eight Bodhisattvas in Tibet," in *Indo-Tibetan Studies: Papers in Honour and Appreciation of Professor David L. Snellgrove's Contribution to Indo-Tibetan Studies*, ed. Tadeusz Skorupski, vol. 2, *Buddhica Britannica: Series Continua* (Institute of Buddhist Studies, 1990), 323–32.

¹⁷⁷ This material touches on older debates in scholarship on the importance of, and potential royal cult to, Vairocana in the imperial period, as discussed in the Introduction. See for example Amy Heller (1998, 2002, 2007), and Matthew T. Kapstein (2000, 2010)—citations as listed in Introduction notes.

buddhas, while the bodhisattvas are located further out on the periphery of the *maṇḍala*. This, perhaps, makes the comparison to the early Tibetan evidence less relevant.

Other Deities

Beyond the bodhisattvas, in the intermediate directions, four Indian gods are also placed—Īśāna/Śiva, Indra, Agni, and Yama. Though common in many *maṇḍalas*, this contrasts with versions of the *uṣṇīṣa maṇḍala* where it is more common to find those gods as members of the larger group of "Guardians of the Ten Directions" (*phyogs skyong bcu*; cardinal, intermediate, zenith, and nadir making up the ten). On the whole, then, the *maṇḍala* is not precisely the one found in the tantra, nor does it match exactly any specific *maṇḍalas* from the related ritual literature. However, its divergences are very similar to the range found in such literature, where slight variations are the rule rather than the exception.

Manuscript Reading Order and Its Logic

We turn, now, to the proposed reordering in the sequence of the manuscript. Although the basic revised order has already been described in brief, this section expands on that to provide the evidence for it and to suggest a possible scenario for it, since this is not simply a matter of pages shuffled out of order, as might occur if it were in a *pothi* (looseleaf) format.¹⁷⁸ The manuscript of IOL Tib J 384 as it currently exists presents problems if read straight through.¹⁷⁹ Since it is a concertina, or accordion-folded, manuscript, this entails reading the entirety of the recto side (r1 through r16), flipping it over, and reading the verso side (v1 through v16).¹⁸⁰ Read thus, the manuscript is incomplete, for the start (r1) opens midway through the description of a *maṇḍala*. Since the description does not include the names of the *maṇḍala*'s deities, which would have been listed earlier, it is not immediately clear from this section which *maṇḍala* is being described. However, a section in the latter part of the text refers back to all of the preceding *maṇḍalas* in order, and on this basis, the first *maṇḍala* can be identified as that of the *SDP*.¹⁸¹ This creates a strange situation, for the final portion of the manuscript (end of verso side – v16) also describes an *SDP maṇḍala*.

¹⁷⁸ Restitching of documents in the Dunhuang Collection has been discussed by Uray (1968; 1992) with regard to the Old Tibetan Chronicle, including instances where doing so results in an incorrect order. The instances described there seem to focus on ones written after the composition of the text, as shown (for example) in the presence of vowel marks partially obscured by re-attached pages. However, as suggested below, the current manuscript may not be a case of that, but rather scribal adaptations at the time of copying. Thanks to Péter Szántó for the reference, see Géza Uray, "A Chronological Problem in the Old Tibetan Chronicle," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, no. 11 (1968): 298–99. More recently, expanding on some of the same research, see also Géza Uray, "The Structure and Genesis of the Old Tibetan Chronicle of Dunhuang," in *Turfan and Tun-Huang: The Texts: Encounter of Civilizations on the Silk Road*, ed. Alfredo Cadonna, vol. 4, *Orientalia Venetiana* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1992), 123–41.

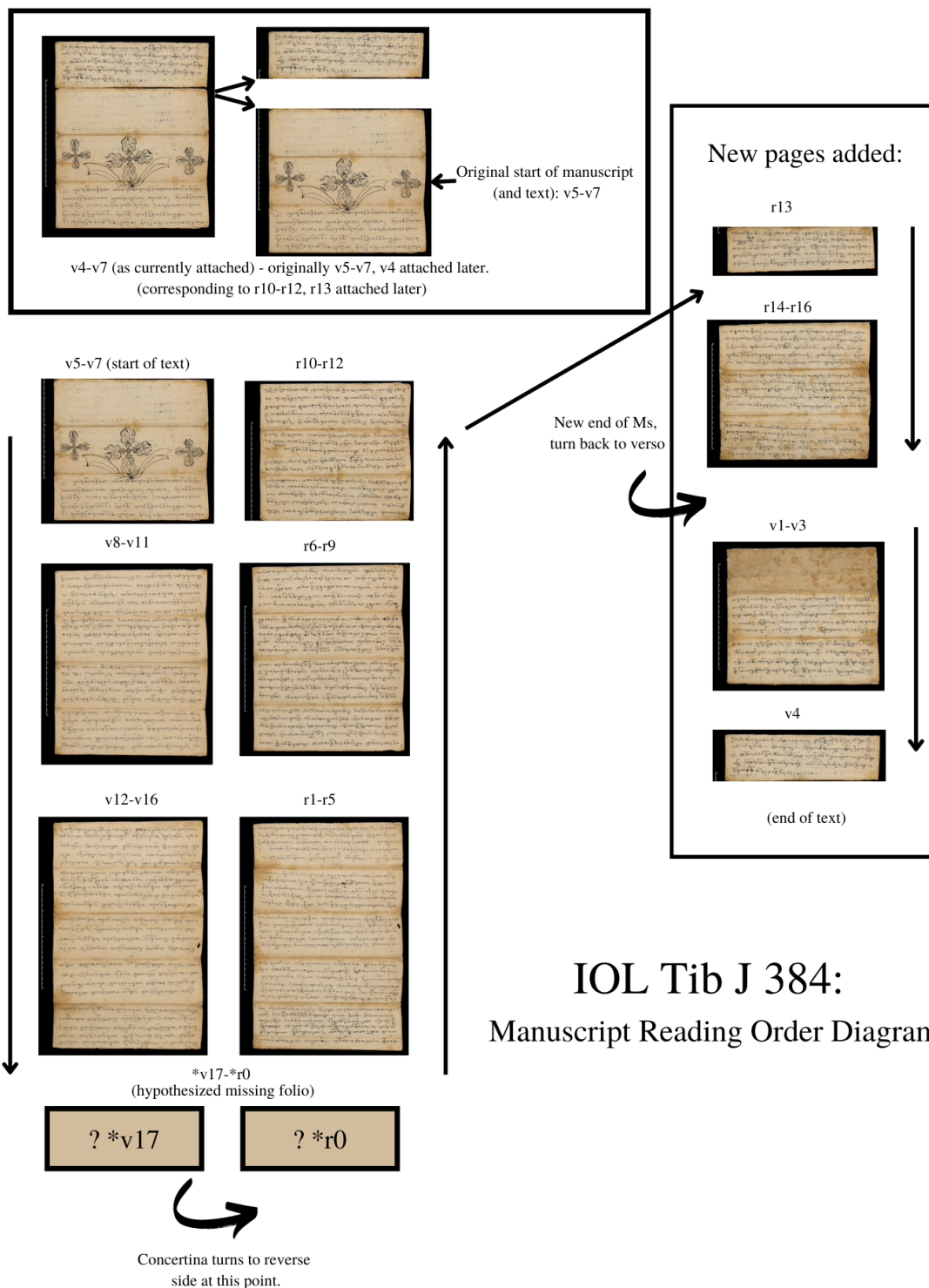
¹⁷⁹ 'Order' meaning in the order that it has been read in previous scholarship, including its catalogue entry in Dalton and van Schaik, *Tibetan Tantric Manuscripts*, 117.

¹⁸⁰ That is to say, the back side of r1 is v16, the back side of r2 is v15, and so forth.

¹⁸¹ This latter section provides the instruction that the ritualist should perform the preparatory worship *sevā* service for the appropriate deities for whichever *maṇḍala* has been created, naming (in order) the earlier *maṇḍalas* as the *SDP*, the *Drāviḍa*, and the *Amoghapāśa*.

Thus, if read in the way it is currently preserved, the manuscript begins with an incomplete latter part of the *SDP maṇḍala*, moves on to the two other *maṇḍalas*, and then returns again to the first portion of another *SDP maṇḍala*, with both *SDP* portions incomplete but curiously supplying much of what the other portion lacks.

Rather than a *maṇḍala* described twice or two *maṇḍalas*, with both descriptions incomplete but complementing the material the other lacks, it is more plausible to read the text as continuing from the mid-verso side's beginning of the *SDP maṇḍala* onto the recto's end of the description. I propose, also, that one folio is missing, which would have appeared at *v17/r0. The final line of v16 and first line of r1 do not form a complete sentence, and certain portions of the description are still missing; however, the amount of text one further folio could accommodate would provide the right amount of room for the remaining details and the continuity in the text between folios. This is even more likely when comparing the amount of space taken up by the parallel portion of description of the Amoghapāśa *maṇḍala*. To permit a coherent reading of the text, two changes are needed: first, the reading of the manuscript overall should begin at what is now verso 5 (which is blank, so in fact one should begin reading with v6), and second, the aforementioned addition of one missing folio at *v17 should occur. In addition to explaining the content of the text, this accounts for the blank pages that appear in the manuscript, and the weathering (or, rather, the lack thereof), of the "outside" folio faces.



To explain the irregular starting point on verso 5, I suggest a scenario where the scribe/author ran out of space in the manuscript before completely copying the text.¹⁸² The verso 4-5 boundary (or recto 12-13) is disconnected, and faint markings on the manuscript verso side suggest the pages were once attached to each other with a paper patch, which has subsequently worn away or become detached. In this scenario, upon reaching recto 12, four further folios (rectos 13-16/versos 1-4), were added. The text continues to the end of recto 16, and further onto the verso side of these added pages. Verso 1 is blank, and weathering suggests it served as one of the outside faces of the concertina booklet. Thus, the text continues from recto 16 to verso 2, and continues to conclude at the end of verso 4. Verso 5 is blank, since it would have been the outside/cover of the booklet, before the additional pages were added. However it is not weathered because it never actually served as the outside (once the addition was made).

Then, the second proposal is an addition of one missing folio, attached to the r1/v16 end (prior to reordering), which I will here call r0/v17. The v16 enumeration of the deities ends with Yama, placed in the south. The recto side (i.e. r1, the other side of v16) does not continue the listing of the Indic gods, even though the list is incomplete: Śiva/Īśāna is in the northeast, Indra is in the east, Agni is in the southeast, and Yama is in the south, and no information is given about the gods located in the southwest, west, or northwest.¹⁸³ In addition, if these deities are listed and present in the *maṇḍala* as guardians of the ten directions, the two non-compass directions (zenith and nadir) are not represented either. The r1 folio, in turn, contains only the mention of a golden vase and the appearance of the outer precincts of the *maṇḍala*, such as its bejeweled adornment and perimeter elements. The question, then, is whether the missing material amounts to one folio, or more than one folio.

Though speculative, comparison with passages elsewhere in the manuscript suggests a lacuna of one folio (two sides) is likely. The description given for the four Indic gods occupies v16.3 through v16.5, on a folio with a total of five lines. This would leave two lines yet unaccounted for on v17, and the other side, r0, would be blank, since it is now the outside of the manuscript. For a suggestion of what else might yet fill the remaining two lines, one possibility is to look elsewhere in the text; the Amoghapāśa *maṇḍala* description has a portion that closely resembles the start of r1, and may shed light on what has come just before, on the missing folio(s).

The parallel with the Amoghapāśa description starts in the line r15.5, and continues as far as r16.3, which matches in content, if not precise phrasing, the section from r1.1 to r1.4. The similarities should not be surprising; both sections contain conventional descriptions of

¹⁸² The manuscript shows signs of both oral transmission and textual copying, as noted by van Schaik. See van Schaik, "Oral Teachings." Since the dittography that is evidence of textual copying would most likely be corrected in an oral transmission, it may be that the oral transmission occurred earlier, and that this, therefore, was a text copied from another. The rough nature of the text in terms of orthography suggests that it may have been for personal use (Van Schaik, "Oral Teachings," 183-84). Just as the reuse of manuscripts, writing on their reverse side, is known at Dunhuang (e.g. the previously-mentioned and possibly related Or.8210/S.95, it is possible that, if it was for personal use, the individual may have preferred to supplement by adding pages rather than let the whole manuscript go to waste, even though it resulted in a text that must be read in a somewhat eclectic manner, starting in the middle of one side.

¹⁸³ Recall that because of the first proposed re-ordering, reading began on the verso side, so it would be expected that r1 would follow v16, with the revised order—here, then, another page is integrated at the point when the reader turns from the verso side to the recto to continue reading.

the appearance of the outer areas of the *maṇḍala*. In brief, there is a black outer area, and upon it garlands of pearls. Four gate guardians are set up in the gates. Swords with mirrors are planted at the four gates, and arrows with silk ribbons are planted in the corners. The *torāṇas* and encircling rim (*nemi*) are also designated.

It may be that this description is actually generic enough that the section that precedes it in the Amoghapāśa *maṇḍala* might give a suggestion for what is missing in the *SDP maṇḍala*, and more specifically, how much space on the manuscript it should take up, given a common hand and writing implement.

Recto 1 begins:¹⁸⁴

...golden vases with adorned spouts...

***» On the black outer area, arrange garlands of [white?] pearls. Set up the four Gate Guardians. {r1.2} At the four gates, correctly set up the lintel (*torāṇa*) and encircling rim (*nemi*). In the four corners of the *maṇḍala*, set up vajra half-moons. {r1.3} Thrust the four swords, together with mirrors, into the four gates, and thrust the four arrows with silk ribbons into the four corners. {r1.4}

In comparison, with the parallel portions highlighted, the Amoghapāśa *maṇḍala* begins:

Concerning that, each side of the *maṇḍala* should be made four-by-four handwidths in size. {r15.3} Make an eight-petalled lotus at the center of the *maṇḍala*. In the middle, place the vase for the lord Avalokiteśvara. On the outside of that, in the four corners of the *maṇḍala*, place the four offering goddesses. {r15.4} Raise the vajra rampart. On the outside of that, place the symbols of the Five Families. On the yellow outer area's surface, set up the ten directional protectors. {r15.5} Spread the five colors.¹⁸⁵ Outside of that, on a black area, set up garlands of pearls. At the four gates, {r16.1} set up the four door guardians. Plant four swords with mirrors at the four gates, and plant four arrows with various silk ribbons in the four outer corners. Correctly make the *torāṇas* and encircling rim. {r16.3}

Here, it seems that the two lines immediately preceding the shared section would read from approximately r15.3/4-5; in other words, the sections describing the placement of the offering goddesses, the raising of the vajra rampart, symbols of the Five Families, ten directional protectors, and spreading the five colors. These are indeed elements missing from the *SDP maṇḍala*, as it stands. Thus, though still speculative, it is reasonable to imagine one missing folio attached and linking v16 and r1, which would complete the *maṇḍala* appropriately. However, it does not entirely clarify what description was included immediately prior to that start of r1—the mention of the golden vase. One possibility may be that this is the central vase for the *maṇḍala*, corresponding to Śākyamuni in the *maṇḍala*; however, this cannot be confirmed.

¹⁸⁴ For original text, see Appendix 2.

¹⁸⁵ "Five colors" is included both in translation and in transliteration of the Sanskrit (*pañcraṅga* = *pañcarāṅga*).

Ritual Instructions

Having described the deities of the *maṇḍala*, the text now provides an abbreviated sequence of the ritual steps necessary to construct the *maṇḍala*. After consecrating and empowering himself to create the *maṇḍala*, the ritual master is to invite and appease various local and site deities and spirits with precious substances that have been blessed with the heart syllables of the five buddha families. The five buddha family symbolism draws on the most influential of the *yogatantras*, *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṃgraha* (*STTS*).¹⁸⁶

The following section, after the propitiation of local deities, proceeds through the initial steps for building a *maṇḍala*. There are numerous sources that lay out the sequence of steps in great detail—*maṇḍala vidhis* (Tib: *dkyil 'khor cho ga*) addressing a single *maṇḍala* system, as well as encyclopedic works like Abhayākara Gupta's *Vajrāvalī* that speak in general terms.¹⁸⁷ In comparison to such works, the current text offers only an abbreviated and rather cursory sequence involving six activities and their accompanying mantras. These consist of (1) breaking the ground, (2) beating the ground, (3) spreading perfumed water, (4) casting the lines of the *maṇḍala*, (5) planting the acacia stakes (Tib: *phur bu*; Skt. *kilāya*), and (6) forming the protective boundary with white mustard seeds.

The *maṇḍala*-construction mantras' closest parallels are in the Dunhuang text IOL Tib J 439/712, where they appear in the same order and context, and are labeled in the same way. The first, the mantra for breaking the ground, is *Oṃ vajra khana khana huṃ phaṭ*.¹⁸⁸ The Sanskrit of the Tibetan instruction (*sa brko*) is *bhūkhanana*, which likely gives the inspiration for the mantra syllables. In the *Vajrāvalī*, this step is paired with the following step, the two given together as (Tib.) *brkos shing brdung pa*, (Skt.) *khanitāṃ koṭitāṃ*, which suggests a reading for the second step, that of beating the earth. The mantra in both the current text and IOL Tib J 439/712 approximates *Oṃ vajramudgara ākoṭaya 2 hūṃ phaṭ*.¹⁸⁹ The third mantra accompanies the spreading of perfumed water, and the transliteration is somewhat garbled, the intent and correspondence to the action of pouring perfumed water is

¹⁸⁶ On the *STTS* and *yogatantra*, see Weinberger, "Significance of Yoga Tantra"; Weinberger, "Social Context." The primary *maṇḍala* in the *STTS* centers on Vairocana surrounded by the four heads of the other Buddha Families: Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, and Amoghasiddhi. The first *maṇḍala* of the earlier translation of the *SDP* is very similar to the *STTS* primary *maṇḍala*, although instead of the heads of the buddha families, differently named deities stand in as representatives of each family. For example, where in the *STTS* the eastern direction is occupied by Akṣobhya, in the *SDP* the foremost deity in that quadrant is Sarvadurgatipariśodhanarāja. Likewise, throughout the *tantra*, references to the five buddhas/buddha families appear frequently. Even in instances in the *SDP* where a different *maṇḍala* is present, mantras, verses, and features like the five buddha knowledges (*pañcajñāna*) also mark the five families as a prominent motif throughout the *SDP*, and their influence is also apparent in our manuscript. See also previous discussions pp. 28; 76.

¹⁸⁷ Masahide Mori, *Vajrāvalī of Abhayākara Gupta* (Tring, UK: The Institute of Buddhist Studies, 2009). See also Harunaga Isaacson, "Review of Masahide Mori, *Vajrāvalī of Abhayākara Gupta: Edition of Sanskrit and Tibetan Versions*," *Indo-Iranian Journal*, no. 61 (2018): 177–201; Iain Sinclair, "Book Review: 'Vajrāvalī of Abhayākara Gupta: Edition of Sanskrit and Tibetan Versions,' by Masahide Mori," *Nagoya Studies in Indian Culture and Buddhism: Saṃbhāṣā* 29 (2011): 94–100.

¹⁸⁸ In IOL Tib J 439/712, this appears at 16b.4. Here it is located at r3.2.

¹⁸⁹ Thanks to Péter Szántó for helping to clarify the intended Sanskrit basis for the Tibetan transcription provided.

clear: *Om vajrāmṛte hūṃ phaṭ svāhā*.¹⁹⁰ The fourth of the mantras provided is more easily recognizable as the Sanskrit *Om vajra sūtra hūṃ phaṭ*, and clear also in its connection with the ritual act it is assigned: laying the lines of the *maṇḍala*. In the same manner, the fifth mantra is *Om vajrakīla kīlaya sarva duṣṭān hūṃ phaṭ*, and accompanies the planting of the *kīla* (Tib. *phur bu*), acacia stakes.¹⁹¹ These mantras appear similarly (allowing for orthographic variation) in IOL Tib J 439/712. Finally, with the final mantra, the parallel with IOL Tib J 439/712 ceases due to the latter manuscript's incomplete ending, and there may be some ambiguity in the transliteration, which reads *Om ba dzra om brid te hana hana hūṃ phaṭ*.¹⁹² This mantra goes with the instruction to setting the boundary with white mustard seeds.

Next, the ritualist continues to set the *maṇḍala* up by blessing the five vases (*kalaśa*) and placing them. Afterwards, swords and arrows are planted in the gates and corners of the *maṇḍala*.¹⁹³ With the addition of the swords and arrows, the arrangement described in the opening passage is complete, and so the next step is the consecration of the *maṇḍala*. Then, the ritualist circumambulates the *maṇḍala* with the "steps of the lion" (*seng ge'i 'gros*),¹⁹⁴ and offers the Five Offerings at each of the four gates.

This concludes the set-up of the *maṇḍala*. The ritualist is next instructed to "teach the history of the *maṇḍala*." The "history" in question is, almost certainly, the origin story telling of the god Vimalamaṇi's fall from heaven and subsequent restoration, which appears at the (reordered) start of the current text.¹⁹⁵ This is a variant of the *SDP* framing narrative, versions of which are ubiquitous in *SDP*-influenced literature. However, although versions of the frame story appear frequently, explicit instructions for the story's retelling in the ritual context are much less common among the Dunhuang manuals.¹⁹⁶ This instruction links the

¹⁹⁰ The current manuscript reads: *Om ba dzra 'brid te huṃ phaṭ sva ha* (r2.4), while IOL Tib J 439/712 reads: *om ba dzra a 'bri te huṃ phaṭ svāhā* (16v.5).

¹⁹¹ This, in fact, is quite similar to the context mentioned in the note above, where this as well as the *vajramudgara* mantra appear to be part of the same larger mantra involving planting the *phurbus*.

¹⁹² While the *Om vajra* and *hana hana huṃ phaṭ* are clear, the second *om brid te* is more difficult to determine. Except that it has already appeared above, with the transliteration *a 'bri[d] te*, *amṛte* might be a possibility. However, the orthography throughout the text is variable, so multiple spellings of the same term is extremely plausible.

¹⁹³ Thus it here returns to the description formerly given of the complete *maṇḍala*.

¹⁹⁴ In Tanaka "Five postures and fifty-three poses" (chapter three of the *Vimśati*, 2006) there are two lion-related entries: *siṃhapada* according to the *Vajrācāryanayottama* and *Kriyāsaṃgraha* (*seng ge'i stabs* in the *Māyājālatantra*; *seng ge'i stang stabs* in the *Vimśatividhi*) and *siṃhavijrmbhitapada* (*Vajrācāryanayottama* and *Kriyāsaṃgraha*) or *seng ge'i klal pa* (*Māyājālatantra*); *seng ge'i gal pa* (*Vimśatividhi*) Kimiaki Tanaka, "Nāgabodhi no Śrī-guhyasamāja-maṇḍalopayikā-vimśati-vidhi ni okeru 5 shu no *sthānaka* to 53 shu no *ākṣepa* ni tsuite" ("On the five postures (*sthānaka*) and 53 poses (*ākṣepa*) according to Nāgabodhi's *Śrī-guhyasamāja-maṇḍalopayikā-vimśati-vidhi*."), *Toyo bunka kenkyusho kiyo* 146, 2004: 109-130. Also, Tanaka, "Nāgabodhi no Śrī-guhyasamāja-maṇḍalopayikā-vimśati-vidhi ni okeru *śiṣya-praveśa-vidhi* ni tsuite." *Mikkyo Bunka (Journal of Esoteric Buddhism)* 2005: 1-15.

¹⁹⁵ Although identified as Vimalamaṇiprabha in the *SDP*, the fullest form of his name given in this text is simply Vimalamaṇi (Lha nor bu dri ma myed pa){v7.5}. He is also, at times, called simply Vimala (Dri ma myed pa) {v9.2}.

¹⁹⁶ This is true at least of the Dunhuang *SDP*-related texts IOL Tib J 439/712, IOL Tib J 579, S. 421, i.e. that none of them include it. It is also true for the Sanskrit-Newari texts presented in Part Two, below. Of the texts examined, this work, IOL Tib J 384, is the only one with this explicit instruction, and the only one I know of, as well.

frame story and ritual performance events, showing how that the frame story is connected to the ritual in the mind not only of the ritual expert who is performing the ritual, but also of the participants in, and any observers of the ritual. Not only that, but a specific portion of the actual ritual is reserved for the recounting of the story. Here, the ritualist is told to hold a pointer and teach the history of the *maṇḍala*.¹⁹⁷ The pointer, or "lecture baton," is essentially stick held in the hand for gesturing or pointing during lectures and teaching, and its mention here suggests that there may be didactic intent behind the story's inclusion, as opposed to being strictly ritual.¹⁹⁸ Once this has been done, cakes and butter lamps are offered.

After the *maṇḍala* is adorned and its history taught, the ritualist performs the three-part *gtor ma* offering. This ritual segment is well-represented among Dunhuang texts, and still common in Tibetan ritual practice to the present day.¹⁹⁹ In the text, the first *gtor ma* is offered to request protection for the *maṇḍala*, and is offered to protective deities, specifically—the Four Great Kings, Ten Directional Protectors, and "lords of the *maṇḍala*."²⁰⁰ The manuscript is somewhat garbled in the descriptions of the latter *gtor mas*; while it mentions the purpose of benefit to sentient beings for whom it is intended in relation to the middle *gtor ma*,²⁰¹ it does not clearly separate this from the 'gtor ma of karmic retribution.' The latter, or *lan chags [bgegs] kyi gtor ma*, is typically the third in other sources, and is intended to satisfy obstructors and bad spirits.²⁰²

When all of this has been completed, it is at last time for the patron (*yon bdag*) to participate. Previously, the ritual master set up and sat on a "lion throne" on the eastern side of the *maṇḍala* for the preliminary rituals. Now, at this point, he leaves that place and moves

¹⁹⁷ *chag shing* [*phyag shing*] *phyag du bzung nas* || *dkyil* {r3.5} *khor gyi lo rgyus bshad*.

¹⁹⁸ John Kieschnick, who coined the expression "lecture baton," reports a similar usage in Chinese Buddhism of the *ru yi*. See John Kieschnick, *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 145. The current text spells the term *chag shing*, i.e. splint (i.e. for a broken limb), but should probably be the homophone *phyag shing*—the honorific "hand stick." This is often a cane or walking stick, but in present context is more likely a stick held in the hand and used for gesturing, a pointer. This homophonic substitution, incidentally, is likely another sign that the text was passed via an oral transmission at some point in its history, as discussed in previous sections.

¹⁹⁹ For Dunhuang texts, see also IOL Tib J 573, 570, 419, 420, 421, for example. For analysis of a modern three part *gtor ma* ritual, see Richard J. Kohn, "An Offering of Torma," in *Religions of Tibet in Practice*, ed. Donald S. Lopez (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 255-265. For specifics, see José Ignacio Cabezón, "A Typology of Tibetan Ritual" (unpublished draft) and the volume *Tibetan Ritual*, ed. José Ignacio Cabezón (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

²⁰⁰ In Kohn, "An Offering," and Cabezon, "Typology," the first *gtor ma* is offered only to the directional protectors.

²⁰¹ In Cabezon (ibid.), the second *gtor ma* is as it is here (phrased as being for "beings of the six realms"). However, in Kohn (ibid.), the second *gtor ma* is for the benefit of the spirits *'byung po/ bhūtas*. The second *gtor ma* is often called the "general *gtor ma*" (*spyi gtor*) in the Dunhuang texts. Compare "benefit to sentient beings," here, with the purpose stated for the general offering *gtor ma* (the second in the three part *gtor ma* ritual) in IOL Tib J 573, which starts out, among other things, with the benefits of love, compassion, joy, and equanimity—i.e. the Four Immeasurables (1v.3).

²⁰² Called the *lan chags gtor ma bsngo ba* or the *lan chags bgegs kyi gtor ma*, this offering is found in numerous Dunhuang texts, both as a part of the three-part *gtor ma* ritual, and in independent ritual texts where it appears alone, for example in IOL Tib J 569. See also Irmgard Mengele, "Chilu (*Chi bslu*): Rituals for 'Deceiving Death,'" in *Tibetan Ritual*, ed. Jose Ignacio Cabezon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 103-129, but especially 117. In Kohn, the third *gtor ma* is directed towards the obstructors, *bgegs/vighna* (255).

to the western side of the *maṇḍala*, where he sits facing east.²⁰³ The text states that the patron should be made to enter on the eastern side, so that they face the ritual master across the *maṇḍala*. Here the instructions specify that "whether dead or alive" (*yon bdag gson shid gang yang rung ste* {r5.1}), the patron should be given a seat. This instruction makes clear that the ritual may be performed on both the living and dead, and indicates that all participants are to enter and remain on the eastern side of the *maṇḍala*.

The choice to specify that the patron is to enter and sit on the east regardless of whether they are dead or alive may have additional implications in light of IOL Tib J 439/712, the Dunhuang text with related content already mentioned. Although the latter includes an initiation that parallels the current one in many ways, including an explicit statement about the suitability of the rite for both the living and the dead, there are differences between the two texts in the spatial arrangement and directions guiding movement of participants during the rite. Specifically, in this second text—IOL Tib J 439/712—the patron enters on the east and proceeds to the west *if alive*, and enters on the west and remains on the west, *if dead*. That IOL Tib J 384 (the current text) explicitly states that *both* the living and dead should enter and remain in the east may indicate an awareness that other texts (such as IOL Tib J 439/712) offer different alternatives, and thus the correct method should be stated explicitly.

Setting the boundary (*sīmā-bandha*) by scattering white mustard seed, previously performed during the initial construction of the *maṇḍala*, is repeated now that the patron has been introduced.²⁰⁴ Then, the (reconstructed) mantra for "opening the doors of the *maṇḍala*" is repeated thrice and the ritual master hands over a vajra to the patron.²⁰⁵ The mantra for opening the doors of the *maṇḍala*, **Oṃ samaye trisamaye mahāsamaye*, has parallels across a number of the other Dunhuang initiation texts based on the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana*. In the closest example in IOL Tib J 439/712, it is recited as the student is introduced to the *maṇḍala* and made to toss the flower or jewel that determines the student's buddha family affinity, before the student is actually shown the *maṇḍala*.²⁰⁶ The same mantra also appears in the early Tibetan translation of the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana tantra*, as well as the Dunhuang texts Or.8210/S.421 and IOL Tib J 579, at the same moment in the ritual.²⁰⁷ In

²⁰³ Although it does not say so explicitly, shifting his seat from the east to the western side would make room on the east for the patron's entrance. See following discussion for speculation about the practical spatial and movement factors that may be practical reasons for some of these arrangements.

²⁰⁴ See r3.1 for the first instance: *yungs kar 'tshams [mtshams] gcad pa*. Here (r5.2), the instruction is instead *phyag tu yungs kar bzhes nas || 'tshams gcad par bgyi*.

²⁰⁵ The phrasing that follows is somewhat obscure. First, the vajra is bestowed "by its points" (*rdo rje byung ba'i rtse mo la 'dzin du sal [stsal]*), presumably being handed to the patron by its ends with the tip protruding (*byung ba'i*) from the vajra. Then the text instructs *dkyil 'khor gyi dkyil nas tshur || gtsang stan bris pa'i dkyil du bzhas nas*. If taken as is, the statement may refer to the vajra: the vajra was bestowed by the ritual master across the *maṇḍala* to the patron just previously. From a position being held over the *maṇḍala* (i.e. the center, *dkyil*, of the *maṇḍala*), it is now removed from there (*dkyil nas tshur*) and placed upon a "pure drawn support" (*gtsang stan [rten] bris ba*), i.e. an image such as a *tsakali* card, where it is set down in the center (*dkyil du bzhas*). If read as *bris pa* ("spread out"), it would, however, mean as with a clean cloth, i.e. not on the ground. The reading as *bris pa* is possible, but seems less likely in the current context.

²⁰⁶ In IOL Tib J 439/712, this appears at 15r.2.

²⁰⁷ Specifically, it appears in S.421 (line 22), IOL Tib J 579 (14v.3), IOL Tib J 712 (15r.2-3), and the *SDP* (Skorupski, 316 Tib A ch. 1; *Sde dge Bka' 'gyur* Toh. 483, 63b.1-63b.2)

contrast, IOL Tib J 384 (the current text) does not seem to involve any comparable assignment of a buddha family, nor even any blindfolded introduction to the *maṇḍala*.²⁰⁸

Indeed, this may be the most striking difference between IOL Tib J 384 and IOL Tib J 439/712, but it is not the only one. Comparing the introductory sequences of the current text with IOL Tib J 439/712 more closely, both texts have an initial moment where the ritual master hands a vajra to the patron, and a later moment where the ritual master takes up the central vase and prepares to initiate the patron. The texts diverge in their description of the ritual segments enclosed by these two acts, however.

The common theme in the differences between the rituals in the two texts seems to be that there is a greater level of movement and active participation expected of the patron in IOL Tib J 439/712. In IOL Tib J 384, the ritual master is expected to move from the east to west sides of the *maṇḍala* as the ritual progresses, but the patron simply enters on the east and remains there. In contrast, IOL Tib J 439/712 seems to involve movement into and out of the *maṇḍala* at different points.²⁰⁹

These instructions also suggest that *maṇḍalas* employed in the two texts differ in size, because of the differences in the ways the participants in the ritual are instructed to interact with them. In IOL Tib J 384, the ritual set up is such that the master is described as facing the patron across the *maṇḍala*. Furthermore, there are no directions given specifically concerning moving to the center of the *maṇḍala*. The ritual actions, such as bestowing the vajra, seem to take place over the *maṇḍala*, with the vajra being handed across it.²¹⁰ This would suggest a *maṇḍala* with a diameter no more than two cubits.²¹¹ This would, in fact, be consistent with the measurements of the *maṇḍala* described later in the text, focused on Amoghpaśā. That *maṇḍala* is explicitly stated to be "four-by-four handwidths" in size (at r15.2). Though these are separate *maṇḍalas* in the text, other shared features of the instructions make such a comparison plausible.

In contrast, in IOL Tib J 439/712, the ritual master is described as entering on the east, proceeding to the west and approaching the student, and then leading the student back to the *maṇḍala*'s center. Thus the *maṇḍala* created for such ritual purposes would have to be somewhat large—big enough for physical entry of multiple people, and for an instruction to

²⁰⁸ In the basic initiation method, students are brought before a *maṇḍala* blindfolded at first and are only permitted to view the *maṇḍala* after they have cast a flower or other item to identify their affinity among the five buddha families.

²⁰⁹ IOL Tib J 439/712 requires that the patron make prostrations and offer prayers to the directions while circumambulating the *maṇḍala*. Then, the patron's eyes are covered, and they toss a flower or jewel onto the *maṇḍala* to determine their Buddha Family affinity. Following that, the ritual master enters on the east side and approaches the patron. The patron waits on the western side, after having entered from the east if alive and from the west if dead. Once the ritual master has approached the patron, blessed them, and handed them a vajra, the two of them proceed to the center of the *maṇḍala*. At the center of the *maṇḍala*, the ritual master takes up the central vase and prepares to bestow the empowerments and blessings that come in the next portion of the ritual. See 14r-16r, translation published in Jacob P. Dalton, *Conjuring the Buddha: Ritual Manuals in Early Tantric Buddhism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2022), 94-97.

²¹⁰ The phrasing is somewhat ambiguous at this point: *rdo rje byung ba'i rtse mo la 'dzin du sal [stsal] || dkyil 'khor gyi {r5.4} dkyil nas tshur || gtsang stan bris pa'i dkyil du bzhas nas*. The *nas tshur* is particularly odd, given the opposite directionality suggested by the two words. More broadly, it is not entirely clear whether the passage refers to the patron's location (with *bris* intended as *bres*, spread out), or whether the vajra (with the *bris pa* meaning a drawn image, like a *tsakali* card, upon which the vajra is placed).

²¹¹ Cubits, that is, measured in the text as human arm-lengths.

move to the center to be logical, unless a substitute for the corpse is used.²¹² However, physical entry like this would be unusual; it may be difficult to claim such differences based on such indirect description. One thing that does seem to be clear, in the case of both IOL Tib J 389 and IOL Tib J 439/712, is that in neither of these cases is a separate *maṇḍala* for initiation, called a water *maṇḍala*, included in the process in addition to the primary one. The related text IOL Tib J 579 does include such a *maṇḍala*, indicating it was a tradition known in the Dunhuang texts, not just later (when it would become well-established).²¹³

The Empowerments and Blessings

The next portion of the ritual, marked off with *dang kyog* symbols, begins with the ritual master lifting up the central vase, placing it by the head of the deceased, and uttering the words of the *abhiṣeka* for the sequence of empowerments and blessings that follow (though not all of these are necessarily provided), along with a visualization of Śākyamuni offering consecration. The current text and its closest parallel, IOL Tib J 439/712, diverge further at this point.²¹⁴ Where IOL Tib J 439/712 continues to the five standard initiations (absent in the present text) and eventually to blessings with the "eight auspicious substances," the current text first has the ritual master bestow on the patron empowerment with the "seven signs of royalty" (elsewhere called the *rgyal srid sna bdun*, though more often in the *SDP* referred to as the seven jewels),²¹⁵ and only afterwards, the eight auspicious substances. Neither the names "seven jewels/signs of royalty/a *cakravartin*" nor "eight auspicious substances" are used to define the lists of offerings as specific well-known sets in the text, however.

Although IOL Tib J 439/712 proceeds differently at this point, without a section on the seven jewels, it does have an empowerment that is done with the eight auspicious substances. Looking further, to the *SDP* and other Dunhuang texts associated with it, we find that the seven jewels do appear in the tantra, albeit briefly. They occur among the sets

²¹² With regard to entry being physical or not, while later tradition may have taken it less literally, there is a possibility that at some points physical entry was possible. This can be seen both in the presence of water *maṇḍalas/abhiṣeka maṇḍalas*, which serve to prevent the main *maṇḍala* from being damaged (thus implying an intent of entry, perhaps earlier), as well as mentions of healing *maṇḍalas* that necessitate the placing of the patient on or in the *maṇḍala*. For the latter, see for example the *Mahāpratisarāvidyārājñī-dhāraṇī*, 133b.6ff, and for a Tibetan example (relating specifically to childbirth), see IOL Tib J 401 24v.7-8, and translated in Sam Van Schaik, *Buddhist Magic: Divination, Healing, and Enchantment Through the Ages* (Boulder, CA: Shambhala, 2020), 161.) See Dalton, *Conjuring the Buddha*, 94-97. In the phrasing of the current text and of IOL Tib J 439/712, particular phrasing about the physicality, specifying leading into and directionality (east west side), make it particularly seem as though this is not simply leading in the sense of being a ritual guide. (See quote from IOL Tib J 439/712 on previous page, note.)

²¹³ See Dalton and van Schaik, *Tibetan Tantric Manuscripts*, 280.

²¹⁴ It is not entirely accurate to say that they diverge given that they had differences throughout, namely with the lack of flower/jewel toss and family selection in IOL Tib J 384. Nonetheless, where IOL Tib J 439/712 goes directly to blessing with the eight auspicious substances, IOL Tib J 384 instead begins empowerments with seven signs of royalty.

²¹⁵ This section begins at r5.6. The *rgyal sri[d] sna bdun* as the set of symbols are identified, among other places, in Nebesky-Wojkowitz, where he calls them the "seven emblems of a world-emperor." See Rene De Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet: The Cult and Iconography of Tibetan Protective Deities* (Kathmandu: Pilgrims Book House, Book Faith India, 1993/1996), 212.

of initiations granted in the tantra itself, though not its most prominent portion. This is stated explicitly in the first *maṇḍala* of the (relatively rarely discussed) third chapter of the tantra, which is the *Cakravartin maṇḍala*. Here, the empowerments are mentioned as one set among a total of ten. Although not named individually within the *SDP*, the commentary by Vajravarman lists them in detail, and the seven jewels are granted as the ninth set.²¹⁶ The seven jewels may also occur in the second chapter consecration in the *maṇḍala* of Vajrapāṇi. While they are not named individually within the *SDP*, the set is, again, listed in Vajravarman's commentary along with reference to a wheel, i.e. the same set as known for being the "seven signs of a *cakravartin*."²¹⁷

Meanwhile, in other Dunhuang ritual literature, the *SDP* initiation manual IOL Tib J 579, which is closely related to texts discussed here, involves a set of initiations that follows the tantra closely, and includes the seven jewels. Interestingly, in IOL Tib J 579, they occur together with another section taken from the *SDP's Cakravartin maṇḍala*, which consists of a lecture the ritual master is to give to initiates, concerning their responsibility to uphold the respective vows they have taken.²¹⁸ Here, the context is not funerary, so it is interesting to again see material finding its way into funerary rituals, though its original context within the *SDP* and elsewhere may not have been funerary.

Empowerments with the seven jewels as well as the eight auspicious substances appear as common elements in complex rituals elsewhere such as in site consecration (*pratiṣṭhā*) rituals.²¹⁹ In these rituals, which may be performed on the occasion of the dedication of *stūpas* or new monasteries, the two sets appear in the same order as in the current manual (i.e. with the signs of royalty first, and then the auspicious substances), although the two sets do not appear in immediate succession and items within each list appear in a different order. In the *pratiṣṭhā* manual described by Bentor, the signs of royalty are given as a part of the "enthronement ritual" (*mnga' dbul*) during the main portion of the consecration ritual,²²⁰ while the eight auspicious substances are presented to the patron during the concluding portion of the ritual, as a sign of gratitude for the patron's sponsorship.²²¹

While the seven signs of royalty may be included simply as a widespread ritual segment common to many kinds of rituals, their combination with the eight auspicious substances might also suggest a more specific logic. Although the two sets are included in the *pratiṣṭhā* manual examined by Bentor, there they appear separated and reportedly serve unrelated

²¹⁶ Skorupski, *SDP*, 78 n. 11. (Referring to 72a in Skorupski division of the translation; Tib B/S edition see 238. Equivalent mention in Tib A can be found at 317.)

²¹⁷ Skorupski, *SDP*, see Tib B/S translation: 44b (46 n. 31), Skt/Tib: 192. For Tib A: pg. 337.

²¹⁸ The IOL Tib J 579 lecture to disciples occurs in that text at (14v.6-15r.5) which corresponds closely to *SDP* Tib A 316.17-317.5 (Sde dge 63v.4-64r.2). As Skorupski notes, a parallel (but differently worded) passage in Tib A chapter one occurs in chapter three of Tib B (78.3-78.17; Skorupski notes this in his table of correspondences (pp. xix) not in the actual translation. The Sde dge of these lines in Tib B is 71v.1-72r.1). In the passages, the master lectures to the student, describing the responsibilities which follow from having made the vows. In both, the list begins with the *pratimokṣa*, and continues with additional *vajrayāna* vows.

²¹⁹ Bentor, *Consecration of Images and Stūpas*, 40, 296. On the connections between royal imagery and particularly the *SDP* in Tibetan context, see also Zeff Bjerken, "On *Maṇḍalas*, Monarchs, and Mortuary Magic: Siting the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana Tantra* in Tibet," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 73, no. 3 (2005): 813–41.

²²⁰ Bentor, *Consecration of Images and Stūpas*, 305ff.

²²¹ *Ibid.* 83, 344ff.

purposes. In the current text, the two sets stand together and appear not as subsidiary or auxiliary ritual segments, but rather as the central core of the initiation. There may be an overall narrative logic to pairing them together in this order, namely a recapitulation of Śākyamuni's life story.

The first of the empowerments is bestowed by the master, who lifts the primary vase at the center of the *maṇḍala* up and touches it to the crown of the patron's head. Reciting the accompanying verse, he says,

The Blessed One Śākyamuni [is visualized] as if extending his golden right hand from afar (*rgyang*) {r5.6} and granting the empowerment, "may auspiciousness and the empowerment be attained."²²²

Both the structure and content of this first empowerment differ from the pattern of the remaining six. Where this empowerment specifies the origin of the empowerment as Śākyamuni, the others give no origin; however it is likely that it remains Śākyamuni. Rather, a number of them specify the recipient of the empowerment with phrases like "given into the hand." In addition, this first empowerment is not included in the standard set of the seven signs of royalty. Traditionally, the seven signs of royalty begin with the elephant. There is no elephant in the present text, and the empowerment with the vase does not seem to fit in quite the same way. The second of the empowerments takes a slightly different form; concerning the empowerment of the "precious householder" (*khyim bdag rin po che*)—alternatively, the "householder who is the jewel"—the ritual master is to recite:

(2) "Regarding the empowerment of the jewel that is the householder, by way of blessing, "May the unsurpassed empowerment be attained."²²³

Likewise, the third adds an element concerning the manual process of bestowing the empowerment, in a pattern that then repeats for the fourth (the jewel that is the horse), fifth (the jewel that is the general) and sixth (the jewel that is the wheel):

²²² *bcom ldan 'das dpal shag kya thub pa || phyag g.yas {r5.6} pa gser gyi mdog can rgyang nas || dbang skur [bskur] ba bzhin du || bgra [bkra] shis shing dbang thob par gyur cig ||* The actual offering in the first instance is not stated; in the case that it matched the seven signs/jewels of a *cakravartin*, the expected one would be an elephant. One possibility is that elephants lay outside the author's experiences and so they chose to omit it, although it is true that there are references to elephants in other Dunhuang texts, e.g. IOL Tib J 716, see (see Dalton and van Schaik, *Tibetan Tantric Manuscripts*, 312). One other point to note is that the combination of seven signs plus the vase allows for the set of eight, and by this method can be paired with the eight *uṣṇīṣas* and be mapped onto the eight cardinal and intermediate directions. This pairing with the eight *uṣṇīṣas* is explicitly noted in IOL Tib J 439/712.

²²³ *khyim bdag {r6.1} rin po ches dbang skur [bskur] pa te// bgra [bkra] shis pa bzhin du || dbang dam pa thob par gyur cig ||*

(3) "From giving the jewel that is the queen into the hand, {r6.2} "May the same empowerment be attained; may they attain the empowerment endowed with the power of the five vehicles."²²⁴

(4) "By giving the jewel that is the horse into the hand, "May the empowerment of the all-knowing horse, endowed with the attributes of magical powers, be attained."²²⁵

For the fifth and sixth, the empowerment changes from being "given into the hand" (*phyag/lag du byin nas/bas*), to being simply "transferred into the hand," (*phyag/lag du [b]skur bas*):²²⁶

(5) "From the empowerment into the hand of the jewel that is the general, by way of blessing, "May the unsurpassed empowerment of the general, which is defeating all opponents, be attained."²²⁷

(6) "From the empowerment into the hand of the jewel that is the wheel, may the severing²²⁸ of cyclic existence and the unsurpassed empowerment to dwell in a pure realm free of saṃsāra be attained."²²⁹

²²⁴ *btsun mo rin po che phyag du {r6.2} byin nas || dbang skur [bskur] ba de bzhin du theg pa lnga'i stobs dang ldan bas dbang thob par gyur cig ||* It is not entirely clear what five vehicles are intended, since historically five did not become one of the primary groupings enumerated. One possible set, described by the Tibetan scholar Dpal dbyangs in the early ninth century in the context of early Tibetan systems of doxography, consisted of (1) the vehicle of gods and men (non-Buddhists), (2) *śrāvakas*, (3) *pratyekabuddhas*, (4) bodhisattvas, (5) tantra. Dalton notes this as a possible relevant grouping for the current text (IOL Tib J 384), but also notes that it is unclear if this is the set intended. See Jacob Dalton, "A Crisis of Doxography: How Tibetans Organized Tantra During the 8th-12th Centuries," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 28, no. 1 (2005): 137 n. 54. If it is the one intended, it may be of interest that the first category, "gods and men" has been theorized as originating in China and allowing for the incorporation of non-Buddhist groups. Whether Dunhuang's closer geographic proximity and access to the trade routes would make such inclusions more likely is unclear, especially since, as with Dpal dbyangs and others, the system was also common in Tibet already before our text's time. See Dalton, "Doxography," 136-38. With regard to systems of five vehicles, it should also be noted that for Indian systems, the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*'s second chapter (verses 201-202ab) also refers to a set of five vehicles, including (1) gods, (2) *Brahmā*, (3) *śrāvakas*, (4) *tathāgatas*, (5) *pratyekabuddhas*, which was known to early Tibetan writers. See Kapstein, *Assimilation*, 209 n. 59. This seems as though it would be a more remote connection than the first option, both historically and geographically.

²²⁵ *rta rin {r6.3} po che lag du byin bas || cang shes kyi rta rdzu 'phrul yan lag dang ldan ba'I || dbang thob par gyur {r6.4} cig ||* That is to say, the power of flight.

²²⁶ As with the other differences in phrasing, the distinction between the use of honorific *phyag* and non-honorific *lag* seems to be for the sake of variety rather than distinctions in meaning.

²²⁷ *dam ga [dmag dpon?] rin po che phyag du skur [bskur] bas || phas gyi rgol ba tshar bcad de || bgra [bkra] shis pa bzhin {r6.5} du dmag gi dbang dam pa thob par gyur cig ||* Auspiciousness of defeating harm from others: *phas gyi rgol ba tshar bcad de | bgra [bkra] shis pa bzhin du*, in a more literal sense, the auspiciousness of having one's philosophical/religious rivals (*phas kyi rgol ba*) be annihilated (*tshar*).

²²⁸ With the concept of severing it is likely that the wheel is intended as a discus, i.e. with a sharp cutting edge.

²²⁹ *'khor lo rin po che lag du skur [bskur] bas || 'khor ba'i {r7.1} rgyun bcad cin [cing] || myi 'khor ba'i gnas dag pa na 'dug ba'i dbang dam pa | thob par gyur cig ||* The benefit from this empowerment might alternatively be read "the power to dwell in a pure realm with no transmigration."

The final empowerment again returns to the bare information about the nature of the empowerment and its benefits, with none of the added information about bestowal:

(7) "From the empowerment of the precious jewel, may the unsurpassed empowerment of enjoying the precious wish-fulfilling jewel be attained."²³⁰

The particular benefits that are listed corresponding to each of the seven empowerments do not, on their own, mirror any specific set of virtues attributed to Śākyamuni in traditional narratives of his life story in the way that the following eight auspicious symbols are said to. However, the set itself—signs of royalty, specifically symbols of a *cakravartin*, or universal monarch—makes for an appropriate precursor to the auspicious substances, for it recalls the prophecy towards either buddhahood or being a *cakravartin*, as well as the acquiring of the skills and talents of nobility, i.e. the fourth in the list of the twelve acts of a buddha's life (Skt. *dvādaśa buddhakārya*; Tib. *mdzad pa bcu gnyis*). Thus the sequence proceeds from the bestowal of the symbols of a *cakravartin*, to the symbols of renunciation and eventually enlightenment.

With no special indicators in punctuation or manuscript arrangement, the text then shifts to the the bestowal of the eight auspicious substances. There are, however, differences; the foremost being that this set does not use the term empowerment (*dbang bskur ba*) but rather an imperative, "let there be auspiciousness" (*bkra' shis par gyur cig*).²³¹ Furthermore, where the preceding empowerments were bestowed (if indicated) only "into the hand," and did not explicitly name either the patron as recipient or, except for the first empowerment, the giver, the auspicious substances are offered (in some cases) by named agents explicitly to Śākyamuni. They are also given using explicit verbs meaning "to offer." The set offered in the current text varies from some of the common groupings in its later items, but it begins with substances common to the lists (although not always given in the current order). The first one begins:

(1) "The merchant's daughter²³² offered bilva fruit to the hand of the Blessed One Śākyamuni; let there be auspiciousness."

The merchant's daughter Sujātā (or Nandabalā), the girl who offered rice milk or curd to the Buddha prior to his awakening. Here, the combination of her as the offeror with the offering of *bilva* is suprising; she does appear again—with the more expected offering of

²³⁰ *nor bu rin {r7.2} po che'i dbang skur [bskur] bas || yid bzhin gyi nor bu rin po che la sbyod pa'i dbang dam pa thob par gyur cig ||*

²³¹ This distinction may be a questionable one given that there are exceptions, specifically the eighth in the set, the lotus, is called an empowerment. Perhaps even more significantly, the parallel portion of IOL Tib J 439/712 calls the entire set of auspicious substances empowerments and does not seem to acknowledge any difference. Compare IOL Tib J 439/712 (16r-16v.2).

²³² *tshong pon [dpon] gyi bo mos [bu mo]* – taken as Sujātā in light of the parallel in Bendor's example, see Bendor, *Consecration of Images and Stūpas*, 344.

curd—in the sixth offering, but here she seems to take the place of Brahmā, who in traditional accounts offered the *bilva* fruit to the Buddha. She also appears as the offeror of the mirror of wisdom, as will be discussed. The logical connection between the Buddha's life and the present ritual is not quite made explicit in the initial phrasing of the first, but becomes clearer with the second offering:

(2) "Just like the auspiciousness from the blessing of [offering] *durva* grass into the hand of the Blessed One, may the present patron receive good auspiciousness."

The offering of *durva* grass, like the *bilva* fruit, comes from the Buddha's life story, and recalls the offering made to the Buddha by the grass-cutter, to make his meditation seat.²³³

(3) "Just like the auspiciousness of the merchant's daughter offering the mirror of wisdom to the Blessed One, may the present patron receive auspiciousness."

Like the *bilva* fruit, the mirror of wisdom (*yi shis [ye shes] gyi myi long [me long]*) is attributed to the merchant's daughter. Although this differs from traditional accounts, the mirror does make an appearance in such accounts, as an offering made by the goddess of light Prabhavati, signifying clarity of karmic vision concerning his previous lives.²³⁴ The fourth offering is another that traditional attempts attribute to a deity's offering:

(4) "Just like the auspiciousness of the offering of a right-spiralling conch into the hand of the Blessed One, may the present patron also receive auspiciousness."

The right-spiralling conch recalls the offering made to the Buddha by Indra, although the giver is not mentioned in this instance.²³⁵ With the fifth offering, the grouping departs from the traditional set:

(5) "Just like the auspiciousness of fish [offered] into the hand of the Blessed One, may the present patron receive auspiciousness."

However, there may be some insight into its presence to be drawn by pairing it with the sixth offering:

²³³ Bendor, *Consecration of Images and Stūpas*, 342. Presented in the *Lalitavistara* in Chapter 19 and the *Mahāvastu* pp. 131, 264, 399. Also, in some accounts, the grass-cutter Sotthiya or Svastika, see Robert Beer, *The Encyclopedia of Tibetan Symbols and Motifs* (Boston: Shambhala, 1999), 188.

²³⁴ Beer, *Tibetan Symbols*, 187-88.

²³⁵ On the details not here included, such as the role of Indra, see Bendor, *Consecration of Images and Stūpas*, 344-45.

(6) "Just like the auspiciousness of the merchant's daughter offering curd into the hand of the Blessed One, may the present patron receive auspiciousness."

The offering of curd is one of the traditional auspicious substances, and here is the one instance where the offeror is named (the merchant's daughter), and is also consistent with the giver in the relevant event from the Buddha's life story.²³⁶ The curd, in addition to recalling the event in the Buddha's life story, are also an important substance in Indic tradition, not restricted to Buddhism, as they are associated with the "three white substances," the three pure substances of the "five nectars," products derived from cows and sacred in the Brahmanical traditions.²³⁷ The seventh offering is not found on either of these lists:

(7) "Just like the auspiciousness of offering a crown of silk²³⁸ to the head of the Blessed One, may the present patron receive the same auspiciousness."

Its origin is perhaps harder to trace, although it recalls one of the five classic initiations in the yoga tantra *pañcābhiṣeka*. Finally, the eighth offering, whose phrasing differs somewhat from those previous, involves another variant item, a lotus, which appears in the set of auspicious symbols but not, typically, in the list of auspicious substances:

(8) "The empowerment with the lotus flower is the same; may the unsurpassed empowerment of the flower garland be attained."

This eighth does not name itself an offering at all, as the preceding seven have, but rather an empowerment. So too, lotuses are not usually included in the eight offerings, although they may be found in another list, that of "eight auspicious symbols." Despite variation in the content of the lists, the phrasing has much in common with the consecration text examined by Bantor. The latter, however, also provides further detail. Take, for example, the verse accompanying the offering of curd (Bantor's translation):

"[Previously when] the farmer's daughter Legs-skyes-ma (Sujātā) offered curd [to the Blessed One Śākyamuni it was blessed as an auspicious implement. So also here and now, the patrons and their household in dependence on the curd become auspicious]."²³⁹

²³⁶ Bantor notes that the scene appears in the *Lalitavistara* in chapter 18 and in the *Mahāvastu* pp. 131, 205 (*Consecration of Images and Stūpas*, 342).

²³⁷ Beer, *Tibetan Symbols*, 189.

²³⁸ crown of silk—i.e. turban

²³⁹ Bantor, *Consecration of Images and Stūpas*, 344. The brackets seem to supply the structure that appears in the first offering in Bantor's text, which is not fully repeated in subsequent repetitions.

Unlike IOL Tib J 384, Bantor's text continues:

"The curd has become the essence of everything. Having realized the completely pure essence, the supreme enlightened wisdom, [450] it transforms into the realm of all qualities. May this auspicious substance also pacify (our) three poisons."²⁴⁰

This clarifies the intended connection between the offering and the auspiciousness, as well as the Buddha and the patron, given with more brevity in IOL Tib J 384. Although the logic of the offerings of seven signs and eight substances parallels the above example from Bantor's text, the specific details do differ in that and other sources. Speaking of the agents who make the offerings, some vary, and others are not necessarily stated explicitly. The curd given by the merchant's daughter parallels Sujātā's gift in renditions of the Buddha's life story such as the *Lalitavistara* and *Mahāvastu*; in IOL Tib J 384, however, she also offers the *bilva*, or wood apple, and the mirror of wisdom. The wood apple offering, in the same traditional literary sources, was offered by Brahmā. IOL Tib J 384 also names Sujātā as the offeror of the mirror of wisdom.²⁴¹ The right-spiralling conch is another, and is offered by Indra in Bantor's consecration text but given no named source in IOL Tib J 384. Thus, in total, the offerings common to the consecration text Bantor presents and the current text consist of the *bilva* wood apple fruit,²⁴² curd, mirror of wisdom, *durva* grass, and right-spiralling conch. Differing from the consecration text set, the remaining offerings in IOL Tib J 384 are the fish, crown with silk, and lotus. In the traditional set, the remaining offerings are the bezoar (Skt. *gorocana*; Tib. *gi wang*, possessed of medicinal properties and offered by Dhanapāla), vermilion (offered by the Brahmin Tiṣya, known in Tibetan as Skar rgyal), and white mustard seeds (offered by Vajrapāṇi).²⁴³ In comparison to IOL Tib J 439/712, the set of eight substances also differs to some degree, and includes the mirror, *durva* grass, *bilva* fruit, bezoar, curd, and vermilion.

After the eight auspicious substances, the parallel text IOL Tib J 439/712 is cut off by the end of the manuscript, while IOL Tib J 384 shifts to the concluding activities for the ritual. This involves placing the vases on the ground, conducting the repentance ritual (for errors in the rite), teaching impermanence, finally completing a somewhat obscure step of "washing the face" (*zhal bsil*) of the *maṇḍala*, possibly intended to be the step of washing away and destroying the *maṇḍala*.²⁴⁴ In any event, this concludes the first *maṇḍala* and prepares for the shift to speak about the second, the "Drāviḍa" *maṇḍala*.

Content II: Drāviḍa Maṇḍala

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ Compare with Bantor's text, where the mirror is offered by "the Goddess of Form" (*gzugs kyi lha mo*) 'Od chang ma (Ibid., 343).

²⁴² Although the text only says *bilva shing* "bilva" (transliterated) wood.

²⁴³ Bantor, *Consecration of Images and Stūpas*, 344-45; Beer, *Tibetan Symbols*, 188-92.

²⁴⁴ The line reads *myi rtag ba'i {r9.4} tshul bstan te || dgyil [dkyil] 'khor zhal bsil*. The phrasing 'wash the face' (*zhal bsil*) is obscure, but it is likely that this is the stage of destroying the *maṇḍala*, which thereby serves to teach impermanence through the demonstration thereof. At odds with this is the fact that *maṇḍalas* are not usually destroyed with washing, but rather with brushing.

The second *maṇḍala* introduced is called "Drāviḍa," which the text explains is a place, the setting of its framing narrative.²⁴⁵ Setting aside speculation about the possible real location and implications of the name Drāviḍa having something to do with South India, the text itself continues, providing some information about the place in question, although this cannot be easily identified with any real or literary location.²⁴⁶ First, though, it raises the rhetorical questions used to introduce the *maṇḍala*, asking who taught it, who transmitted it, and who is to benefit from it—as well as where it was taught.²⁴⁷ In answering these questions and providing the setting context (*nidāna*), the text tells a story that has features reminiscent of other tantric foundation myths involving the taming of Rudra and his conversion to Buddhism, common to a number of Buddhist tantric traditions/texts.²⁴⁸

As for the current text, it describes the land of "Drāviḍa" as a place where the upper part of the valley points north, and the lower part points south. It is a red country, and one where *kuśa* grass grows. However, because the wind blows from the north, the stalks of the grass are perpetually bent over to the south.²⁴⁹ Having set the scene, the story begins, telling of a patrilineal clan in the land of Drāviḍa, by the name of Shag (Śaka?). Eighteen great obstructors (*bgegs*) came, and killed the noblemen of the Shag clan. At this point, the text explains that Vajrapāṇi was the teacher, the transmitter/performer of the ritual was Bodhisattva (*bo te svat tva*), and any surviving member(s) of the Shag clan (*shag myi cig lus pa*) were the beneficiaries. While the name of the clan does suggest a connection or intent to render Śaka or Śākya, doing so does not especially help the coherence of the plot.²⁵⁰ This is also true of the question of whether the bodhisattva is intended to be Śākyamuni; while possible, it does not clarify matters and it seems quite likely that the author was actually taking "Bodhisattva" as a proper name.²⁵¹

²⁴⁵ "Drāviḍa" is transliterated various ways through the text, including 'dra byi'i dra {r9.4}, 'dra byi tra {r10.1}, 'tra byed tra {r10.1}, 'dra byid dra {r13.1}, dra byid 'dra {v3.4}, another instance of the irregular orthography found throughout the text. The choice to reconstruct it as Drāviḍa is based in van Schaik, who has discussed the orthography for its significance in the consideration of the text's transmission, see van Schaik, "Oral Teachings," 200. See also the catalogue description, Dalton and van Schaik, *Tibetan Tantric Manuscripts*, 118.

²⁴⁶ Van Schaik has commented briefly on the name, which is transliterated in varying ways throughout this text. However, he comes to no conclusion about real locations and deems it a problem with no immediate solution. See van Schaik, "Oral Teachings," 200.

²⁴⁷ The introductory phrasing used is *ston pa po ni {r9.5} gang las || byed ba po ni sus bstan || gang zag gang kyi ched du gces te byas || yul ni gang du bshad*. The second of the identities is meant to indicate the being responsible for transmitting the teaching from the non-human realm where it was first taught to the human realm. The answers to these questions will be given in the course of the story.

²⁴⁸ Particular Dunhuang manuscripts that contain the Rudra myth include, in particular, PT 42/ IOL Tib J 419/ PT 36, however there are also many others.

²⁴⁹ *rtswa U shal de na skye | {r10.3} byang nas rlung langs bas || rtswa thams shad [cad] lho 'phyogs [phyogs] ter [der] 'dus ||* Another, perhaps less likely, possibility might be that because of the wind that blows from the north, all the grass is concentrated in the south.

²⁵⁰ That is, as the story proceeds, being able to connect it to the clan of Śākyamuni does not add to the sense or clarify the context; if anything, it makes it stranger, since this is not a known story in preserved or texts or traditions elsewhere.

²⁵¹ Van Schaik also suggests this may have been the case, and that it may further be the result of transcription of an oral teaching in which the teacher used the Sanskrit term and student took it to be a name. See van Schaik, "Oral Teachings," 200.

The story continues with Vajrapāṇi ordering the bodhisattva, who is referred to throughout simply with the transliteration of the Sanskrit "bodhisattva," to subdue the eighteen great obstructors. Here the story includes direct speech, with Vajrapāṇi ordering the bodhisattva, "You must go!" (*khyod song la*). The bodhisattva goes to the surviving Shag clan member. Upon seeing the bodhisattva, the eighteen obstructors remark about him, "Because of this being who comes here with variegated hair, yellow robes, and a golden sword worn crosswise, we will be led astray (and killed)."²⁵² At this point, the bodhisattva makes himself invisible, or, as the text puts it, "enters the *samādhi* of invisibility," so that the obstructors are unable to find him, although they search. He then uses the "*samādhi* of visibility" to make just his left arm up to the elbow visible.²⁵³ In his palm, he places eight mustard seeds. Calling "Come here!" to the obstructors, they quickly come to gather on his palm.²⁵⁴ Once they are on his palm, he tells them forcefully to leave. Having gathered them on his palm, he claps both hands together violently, and the obstructors are banished such that they cannot return any nearer than 84,000 *yojanas*. The obstructors banished, the text then says that the bodhisattva set up the *maṇḍala*, called Drāviḍa after the locale.

The *maṇḍala* is then described, although without the full set of preparatory rituals and initiations given for the first *maṇḍala*. It gives only the listings of the deities, their production from light rays, the directions of their respective seats, their mantras, and the implements they hold in their hands. The *maṇḍala* itself comes with some ambiguities, as well, such as the identity of its central deity, who is referred to only as "Vajra Sentinel" (*rdorje bya ra ba*) throughout. In addition to the central deity, the *maṇḍala* is populated by eight wrathful deities. The particular arrangement does not perfectly match a *maṇḍala* attested elsewhere, but the variation it displays is reasonable and unsurprising considering that minor variations are more the rule than the exception, when comparing different texts.

Sets of eight wrathful deities appear widely, in sources like the *SDP*, *Guhyasamāja*, and a number of Dunhuang texts. Although not claiming the *maṇḍala* is particularly derived from a given one, comparison with other versions is informative. Seven of the eight deities assigned to cardinal and intermediate directions come from lists of the "Eight Wrathful Deities." The eighth deity, which should be assigned to the northwest direction, is not named, though this seems to be a simple omission. The first four are identified first by associated mantras—Prajñāntakṛt, Yamāntakṛt, Padmāntakṛt, and Vighnāntakṛt. The current text includes the respective deity names in modified form within the mantras, which match sources such as the Dunhuang text IOL Tib J 331 (5r.4-5) and the *Guhyasamāja*,²⁵⁵ identifying them as Aparājita, Yamāntaka, Hayagrīva, and Amṛtakunḍali/kunḍalin, respectively. In the intermediate directions are Acala (NE), Mahābala (SE), and Niladaṇḍa (SW). As for the missing deity in the northwestern direction, possible contenders include

²⁵² The text reads 'di ni 'o skol la slu 'o gri 'o || This may be for the term *slu khrid*, to lead astray or deceive, however it is also possible that the spelling present in the manuscript—*gri*, or knife—is to suggest that they will be killed (*gri shi*). As will follow, however, the bodhisattva's method for subduing the obstructors does not involve a blade, so this may be simply be a case of irregular spelling.

²⁵³ *lag ba g.yon pa grub mo phan chad snang bar byas*

²⁵⁴ The grammar in this portion is somewhat confused, and there is an instrumental *s* on the obstructors. However, from context it seems clear that the bodhisattva is calling them to him.

²⁵⁵ Francesca Fremantle, "A Critical Study of the *Guhyasamāja Tantra*" (PhD diss., SOAS, University of London, 1971), 32ff.

Trailokyavijaya (as it is in the *SDP*), or Ṭakkirāja (as it is in the *GST* and Dunhuang texts such as IOL Tib J 318).²⁵⁶ Other minor differences can be found between the IOL Tib J 384 Drāviḍa *maṇḍala* set of eight wrathful ones and the sets found in other texts, however these are relatively insignificant variations and diversity is to be expected.²⁵⁷ The set of eight is a widespread and popular one, which makes it unsuitable to use as a method for tracing the origin of the *maṇḍala*. The obscure central deity and unusual frame story are far more distinctive features, but thus far I have not found relevant parallels.

In addition to the Eight Wrathful Ones, the *maṇḍala* assembly includes four offering goddesses in the four corners, and the Protectors of the Ten Directions. While the Eight Wrathful ones are named individually, assigned a direction, a mantra, and an implement to hold, the offering goddesses and directional protectors are simply noted for their number, and it states that the goddesses should go in the corners and the protectors should go in the yellow area. The lack of information here, once again, points to the likelihood that information given in the first *maṇḍala* presented is to be applied in subsequent *maṇḍalas*. In the present case, construction and ritual use are omitted from the description, although a limited mention of ornamentation and the gate guardians is included.

Content III: Amoghapāśa Maṇḍala

The third *maṇḍala* is named as an Amoghapāśa *maṇḍala*, centering on that form of Avalokiteśvara. The *maṇḍala* is set up, with the central deity to be established by means of a vase placed at the center of the *maṇḍala*, and worshipped. Although it is a widespread practice in Buddhism (and beyond) to use vases as receptacles to contain deities during rituals, no other vases for other deities are mentioned in the instructions for this *maṇḍala*.²⁵⁸ In addition to Avalokiteśvara in a vase at the center, the text also provides instructions to include the four offering goddesses, the ten directional protectors, and the four gate guardians—though these are all named by class rather than individually identified by name.

²⁵⁶ Skorupski, *SDP*, 313 n. 5. Although this placement, it should be noted, is based on Buddhaguhya's writings, not the tantra itself; Fremantle, "*Guhyasamāja*," 81. IOL Tib J 318 is discussed in Kapstein, "Na Rak."

²⁵⁷ In particular, the seventh deity is listed by a slightly different name, Nīlatantra, where texts such as the *SDP*, *GST*, IOL Tib J 331, IOL Tib J 318 give Nīladaṇḍa (The *SDP* identity as provided in Buddhaguhya's commentary, according to Skorupski, and only implicit in the root text.) However, given the text's inconsistent orthography, it is possible that Nīlatantra is a scribal error or mistaken attempt at correcting illegible *akṣaras*. Another difference, again minor in the larger scope, is that the directional assignments do not agree with the set as found in the *GST* and Dunhuang texts. Here, Aparājita comes first (prajñāntakṛt), followed by Yamāntaka, then Hayagrīva and Viḥnāntaka. In the *GST* and Dunhuang texts such as IOL Tib J 331, the order given (proceeding from the east, clockwise) is Yamantaka, Aparājita, Hayagrīva, and so on. (Fremantle, "*Guhyasamāja*," 81 (l. 99-110): Vajrāmṛta, rather than Amṛtakuṇḍali. In IOL Tib J 331 this appears at 5r.4-5.) In IOL Tib J 331 the deity names and corresponding mantras are both indicated. In the first chapter of the *GST* and the current text IOL Tib J 384, this is less clear. Rather, it explains only their mantras: yamāntakṛt, prajñāntakṛt, padmāntakṛt, viḥnāntakṛt. It does not give their names. However, they are usually interpreted based on the listing of the first four deities of the ten wrathful deities named in chapters thirteen and fourteen of the *GST*, where they belong to Yamāntaka, Aparājita, Hayagrīva, and Amṛtakuṇḍalin respectively, see Kimiaki Tanaka, *Illustrated History*, 169. In the current text, the mantras are given first, and the deity names then included in an extension of the mantra.

²⁵⁸ They are mention, used for various other purposes, in other portions of the text, including, in the *SDP* *maṇḍala*, representation of the five buddha families.

Symbols for the five buddha families are also to be included, according to the text, though their manner of incorporation is somewhat unclear (as will be discussed below). Thus, so far, the accompanying deities are typical, found in the *maṇḍalas* of many tantric systems from the *yogatantras* and beyond. Typical, too, is the appearance of the *maṇḍala*, which is adorned with garlands of pearls, arrows, swords, a vajra fence, and a five-colored rampart.

Less common is what follows, for the next portion assigns fragments of the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā dhāraṇī* to positions on the *maṇḍala*—eight in an inner circle located in the cardinal and intermediate directions, and another eight in a circle beyond that. Together with a fragment assigned to the central deity, this results in a total of seventeen *dhāraṇī*-type fragments that, when read sequentially, form a portion of the *UVD*. Of these, the only one that is a conventional name of a deity is the final one, *Uṣṇīṣavijayā*, and that seems coincidental since the word also occurs in the *dhāraṇī* at that point in sequence with other fragments. So too, the fragments are not broken into sets that form translatable semantic units or recognizable deity heart syllables (as might be expected if they were standing in for deities). For example, the central deity is assigned *phra ti byi sha sta ya; 'bru ta ya*, a representation of the Sanskrit *prativiśiṣṭāya buddhāya*, the eastern spoke is *ba gā bā ti tadhya thā; om byi shu dha yā* (Skt: *bhagavate tadyathā om viśodhaya*), and so on.

Taken together, the fragments complete the first several lines of the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā dhāraṇī*, matching most closely the versions found in Dunhuang texts such as PT 72 and 73, but on the whole quite similar to the later traditional received versions of the text as well:²⁵⁹

IOL Tib J 384:

[*Namo bhagavate trailokya...*] *prativiśiṣṭāya buddhāya bhagavate tad yathā om viśodhaya*²⁶⁰ *samanta*²⁶¹ *āvabhāsa spharaṇa gagati gagana svabhāva viśuddhe*

²⁵⁹ Regarding the received tradition, such as it is, for the *UVD*, see Imaeda's inclusion of Hikata (1939), in Imaeda, "History," 168-69. With regard to specifically Dunhuang versions, see also Akira Yuyama, "Amoghavajra's *Uṣṇīṣa-Vijayā Dhāraṇī* from Tunhuang: Text Presented with Transliteration," in *ARIRIAB at Soka University* (Tokyo: Soka University, 2006), 241-42. Regarding early South Asian witnesses (as opposed to the preceding sources in Tibetan and Chinese), see Hidas, *Powers of Protection*, 9-10. Finally, for the East Asian tradition, see Copp, *The Body Incantatory*, 141-96. On the extant Sanskrit manuscripts that survive, see also the unpublished draft transcribed and translated by Gregory Schopen, "The Los Angeles Manuscript" (thanks to Jacob Dalton for this version).

²⁶⁰ *viśodhaya*] This appears twice in the canonical version and Dunhuang version

²⁶¹ *samanta*] This differs, appearing in canonical versions of the *dhāraṇī* as *asamasama samanta*, and in the Dunhuang texts as *sama samantā*, though the manuscript is torn at this point in PT 73, reading only *sama sam__avabhāsa*, but it is present in PT 72. In IOL Tib J 384 following this there also appears to be a case of eye skip, where the scribe read the syllables further down *gagati gagana*, and copied them here by accident. However, there are marks on the page that seem to indicate he marked these syllables out. Since this appears at the end of the folio side, and the actual section including *gagati gagana* appears on the following page, it would have been an easy mistake to make.

*abhiṣiñcatu mām²⁶² sugata vara vacana amṛtābhiṣeke mahāmantra pate²⁶³ āhara
āhara²⁶⁴ āyu san dhāraṇī śodhaya²⁶⁵ gagana viśuddhe uṣṇīṣa vijāya...*

Dunhuang *UVD* example: PT 73 version of parallel fragment:

*prativīṣiṣṭāya buddhāya bhagavate tad yathā om viśodhaya sama sama### āvabhasa
sphaṛaṇa gati gagana svabhāva viśuddhe abhiṣiñcatu man sugata vara [va]cana
amṛtābhiṣekair mahāmantra padhai āh# āhara āyu san dhāraṇī śodhaya śodhaya
gagana viśuddhe uṣṇīṣavijāya...*

The primary differences from the Dunhuang version consist of the removal of repeated words (*viśodhaya*, *āhara*), and a few minor spelling differences and different ways of parsing the syllables. Although the text is remarkably faithful to other versions of the *UVD*, the use of the spell to populate *maṇḍala* is unusual: a *maṇḍala* centered on a form of Avalokiteśvara residing in a vase, surrounded by fragments of the *UVD dhāraṇī*'s first section. It is not made clear with the first eight fragments (the set assigned to innermost circle in the cardinal and intermediate directions) whether the *dhāraṇī* fragments are meant to be the mantras of individual deities, and if so, which ones. With the second set of eight, the text introduces the section saying, "As for the seating arrangement of the bodhisattvas," suggesting this outer set of eight is understood to be composed of bodhisattvas.²⁶⁶

What is the *Uṣṇīṣavijāya dhāraṇī* (*UVD*) doing in a *maṇḍala* centered on Amoghapāśa? Although texts relating to both Amoghapāśa and the *UVD* appear frequently in the Dunhuang Collection and are included in the imperial-era Tibetan catalogues, the *Ldan dkar ma* and *'Phang thang ma*, the two are not typically associated with one another.²⁶⁷ In fact, Ronald Davidson has argued that the Amoghapāśa and Uṣṇīṣa (or Buddhōṣṇīṣa) may have been major rival systems competing with each other for influence in the early stages of esoteric Buddhism, before both were overshadowed by the emergence and growing

²⁶² This appears in the ms. as *nam*.

²⁶³ *pāte*] This appears in the canonical version as *pāne*, and in the Dunhuang versions as *padhai*.

²⁶⁴ *āhara*] This appears only once in the canonical version but is in the double form in the Dunhuang versions.

²⁶⁵ *śodhaya*] This appears twice in the canonical and Dunhuang versions, *śodhaya śodhaya*, but only once here. The reduction of doubling may well make sense in light of the application of these fragments as names.

²⁶⁶ {v2.1}: *byang cub sems pa'i bzhugs tabs* (for *stabs* or possibly *thabs*)

²⁶⁷ There are two Amoghapāśa texts in the *Ldan dkar ma*, see van Schaik, "Avalokiteśvara," 61. See also (briefly) R.O. Meisezahl, "The *Amoghapāśahṛdaya-Dhāraṇī*: The Early Sanskrit Manuscript of the Reijunji Critically Edited and Translated," *Monumenta Nipponica* 17 (1962): 265–328.

On Dunhuang texts and pictorial representations of Amoghapāśa, see van Schaik, "Avalokiteśvara," 57-65. On the whole, as Davidson notes, much of the research on these traditions must rely on texts surviving only in Chinese, although Davidson argues that these can nonetheless be examined profitably for the consideration of developments in early Indic Buddhist Tantra, see Davidson, "Observations," 78. As can be seen by the majority of scholarship listed below, this tends to be reflected in the focus on the subject being much more on the East Asian Buddhist Studies side of the field. In addition, on the relative dearth of Amoghapāśa images in South Asia, see Dorothy C. Wong, "The Case of Amoghapāśa," *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* 2 (2007): 151–58.

popularity of the *STTS* and *yogatantras*.²⁶⁸ The Uṣṇīṣa (or Buddhōṣṇīṣa or Tathāgatoṣṇīṣa) system he refers to is not precisely that of the *SDP* or even the *UVD*, although these texts are related to it. Rather, it was an earlier system, most traces of which disappeared with later tantric developments, though the *UVD* and *SDP* survived as remnants.²⁶⁹

In any case, the texts and traditions Davidson highlights from these early systems bear little in the way of direct resemblance to IOL Tib J 384's Amoghapāśa *maṇḍala*. The latter appears to fall fully within the *yogatantra* tradition, while the Amoghapāśa and Uṣṇīṣa system texts are often identified as standing as on the boundary between earlier *dhāraṇī* traditions and the very earliest developments in Buddhist tantra.²⁷⁰ Nor is there any evident connection to known Amoghapāśa *maṇḍalas*; aside from its identification as an Amoghapāśa/Avalokiteśvara *maṇḍala*, there is little to tie the rest of the *maṇḍala* to Amoghapāśa tradition texts at all.²⁷¹ Similarly, when considering the *maṇḍala* assembly beyond its central deity, the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā dhāraṇī* is not attested in the Uṣṇīṣa/Buddhōṣṇīṣa material, nor anywhere else, in this function. The Uṣṇīṣa *maṇḍalas* Davidson describes are notable in being particularly irregular, asymmetrical, and ambiguously described.²⁷² The IOL Tib J 384 *maṇḍala*, in contrast, is structured formally in the standard style of *yogatantras* and later traditions.²⁷³

Though this makes a very close connection between IOL Tib J 384's Amoghapāśa *maṇḍala* and Davidson's two early systems improbable, and thus does not help explain the *UVD*'s use in place of *maṇḍala* assembly deities, his analysis may still be useful when applied to consideration of IOL Tib J 384 more broadly, particularly its initiation procedures. The initiation rites in IOL Tib J 384, listed after the first (*SDP*) *maṇḍala* presented, have already been noted for their idiosyncrasy, and the suggestion was made that

²⁶⁸ Davidson, "Observations," 77-98.

²⁶⁹ Davidson, "Observations," 82. See also Koichi Shinohara, "The Ritual of the *Buddhōṣṇīṣa Vijaya Dhāraṇī Maṇḍala*," (Madrid, 2016).

²⁷⁰ On early traditions see Shinohara ("All-Gathering *Maṇḍala*;" *Spells, Images, and Maṇḍalas*); Ryan Overbey, "Memory, Rhetoric, and Education in the Great Lamp of the Dharma *Dhāraṇī* Scripture" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2010); Copp ("Dhāraṇī Scriptures," *The Body Incantatory*, "Notes"), among recent scholarship on *dhāraṇīs* and early tantric/esoteric developments. See also Davidson, "Observations," 92, on the overall development process. Examining Avalokiteśvara forms from 10th c. Dunhuang images and texts in Tibetan, see also Sam van Schaik, "Avalokiteśvara." On the connection between the *dhāraṇī* traditions and Buddhist tantra, see Dalton, "Proto-Tantric."

²⁷¹ Descriptions of Amoghapāśa-related traditions may be found in Shinohara, *Spells, Images and Mandalas*, 126ff. See also Davidson, "Observations," 87. Shorter discussions of Amoghapāśa and its East Asian contexts can also be found in a number of the entries in Charles D. Orzech, Henrik Hjort Sorensen, and Richard Karl Payne, eds., *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011). Earlier research on Amoghapāśa, less directly related to the current material, can also be found in Meisezahl (1962) and Maria Reis-Habito, "Amoghapāśa Kalparāja Sūtra," *Studies in Central and East Asian Religions* 11 (1999): 39–67.

²⁷² Davidson, "Observations," 84. In particular, these qualities contrast with the norms of *maṇḍalas* as they developed in the *yogatantras* and later.

²⁷³ That is to say, outside of its central deity and innermost circle, it contains familiar references to extremely symmetrical outer level sections populated by such groups as four offering goddesses, eight bodhisattvas, ten directional protectors (cardinal, intermediate, zenith, nadir), four gate guardians. Though referred to only by class and number, as noted here, these are the bread-and-butter categories that come to be ubiquitous in the *yogatantras* and subsequent later traditions. It is thus notable that some of the earlier *maṇḍalas* of the Uṣṇīṣa system are notably irregular and asymmetrical and do not assume this general underlying structure, see Davidson, "Observations," 84.

these were due to the text's extra-canonical and local origins. Considered in light of Davidson's discussion of early *abhiṣeka* techniques, the procedures also share some features that Davidson considers characteristic of the early methods. This includes having a fairly simple initiation procedure centered on aspersion but lacking the usual empowerment by vase, crown, vajra, name, and bell, as well as the presence of an initiation procedure that seems to function as purification and does not contain any transmission.²⁷⁴ While IOL Tib J 384 does not describe their functions explicitly, it contains no flower toss/family selection, as later *maṇḍala* initiations tend to, and as a funerary practice, purification would necessarily be one of its functions.²⁷⁵

Returning to the consideration of the third *maṇḍala* in IOL Tib J 384, the lack of any precise parallels to its combination of Amoghapāśa and the *UVD* renders any interpretations speculative. However, there are a few points of interest, relating to one or both of these systems, and the manner in which they are combined, that are worth considering. To begin with, examination in light of both the *UVD* and Amoghapāśa traditions reveals very quickly what this *maṇḍala* is not; namely, it is not an Amoghapāśa *maṇḍala* with *UVD* deities populating its *maṇḍala* assembly, nor is it a *UVD maṇḍala* with Amoghapāśa substituted in for the central figure. If anything, it resembles an *SDP maṇḍala* substrate to which Amoghapāśa and *UVD* elements have been added. That is, it contains an eight-petal lotus at the center, potentially suitable for the placement of the eight *uṣṇīṣa* buddhas, and then beyond that, common *yogatantra* groups such as the bodhisattvas, offering goddesses, directional protectors, and gate guardians. There are other options for an inner-circle array with composed of a group of eight, in particular versions of the set of eight bodhisattvas (of which there are several known variants). However, the text follows the inner group immediately with a second group of eight, and the latter are identified as bodhisattvas.²⁷⁶ To this possibly-*SDP*-based framework, Amoghapāśa and *UVD* elements have been added; the reasons for this merit further discussion, and may be far from arbitrary. For further insight, we will consider the Amoghapāśa and *UVD* traditions and their context in tenth century Dunhuang.

Avalokiteśvara/ Amoghapāśa

²⁷⁴ Davidson, "Observations," 86-88.

²⁷⁵ However, it should be noted that the related text IOL Tib J 439/712 does contain a flower tossing segment, though in many other ways, these two texts are very similar. In truth, this is likely additional confirmation of the irregularity and complex origin of the these works, as this section concludes below. On the subject of the varied uses of *abhiṣeka*, see Davidson, "Observations," as well as Ronald M. Davidson et al., "*Abhiṣeka*," in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011), 71–75. On later developments especially, see Harunaga Isaacson, "Observations on the Development of the Ritual of Initiation (*Abhiṣeka*) in the Higher Buddhist Tantric Systems," in *Hindu and Buddhist Initiations in India and Nepal*, ed. Astrid Zotter and Christof Zotter (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag, 2010), 261–79.

²⁷⁶ It is also worth noting that besides groupings of eight, bodhisattvas are often found—in the *SDP*, and elsewhere—in a grouping of sixteen, the so-called "bodhisattvas of the *Bhadrakalpa*." While the full combination of fragments excluding the central one would come to sixteen, the placement of the note identifying the latter eight as bodhisattvas makes it seem rather less likely that we are to understand them all as a group of sixteen.

Avalokiteśvara texts spanning a range of genres and presenting different forms of the deity survive in considerable numbers in the Dunhuang Collection, as do images in both the cave murals and on paper and silk.²⁷⁷ Of works in Tibetan, among the most well-studied relate to Avalokiteśvara in the context of funerary rites and after-death states. Some of this research, by Stein, Macdonald, Imaeda, and others, has also explored connections with the *SDP* and its traditions.²⁷⁸ However, aside from a general connection between death and Avalokiteśvara (and sometimes the *SDP*) at Dunhuang, the research reveals little useful for understanding IOL Tib J 384's third *maṇḍala*. None of the scholarship explains the inclusion of Amoghapāśa, specifically.

The Amoghapāśa form of Avalokiteśvara is a curious one, and we suggest it may have been chosen here because it is a form of Avalokiteśvara (thus potentially connected with death), but, though popular and well-known at Dunhuang in the tenth century, it seems to have been associated with a variety of contexts, and therefore may have been less-firmly bound to a fixed and established *maṇḍala* entourage and layout. That is to say, Amoghapāśa may have been a good candidate because his reputation was well-established, but the specific deities he ought to be grouped with was not so firmly set. This then makes way for the inclusion of the *UVD* fragments and/or deities they may represent, while keeping the advantages of using Avalokiteśvara. Related to this, besides early connections with death, the choice of Avalokiteśvara may have been particularly desired in the current text since it allows the three *maṇḍalas* presented to also span the original triad of three buddha families.²⁷⁹ In the following brief sections, we briefly review Amoghapāśa materials in Tibetan and Chinese, including both texts and images, to establish the broader picture that supports this proposal.

With regard to Tibetan sources and translations, van Schaik mentions that "there does seem to have been" an *Amoghapāśa tantra* by the eighth century.²⁸⁰ The Dunhuang text PT 849 mentions such, although this may be an error in the Sanskrit transliteration, since the referenced title (P. 458) does not relate to Amoghapāśa.²⁸¹ Likewise, Davidson mentions "an Amoghapāśa text" in an enumeration of the esoteric "canon in use" by the eighth century.²⁸² Moving beyond Dunhuang, the *Ldan kar ma* includes listings of two Amoghapāśa texts, one possibly matching a Dunhuang text, and the other found in the *Bka' 'gyur* (P. 365, the

²⁷⁷ Van Schaik, "Avalokiteśvara."

²⁷⁸ These works include, in particular, PT 239, including the text known as "Showing the Path to the Land of the Gods" (*Lha yul du lam bstan pa*), as well as IOL Tib J 420 / 421, "Overcoming the Three Poisons" (*Gdug gsum 'dul ba*). The former was, in addition, also examined by Lalou (1939). See van Schaik, "Avalokiteśvara," 56.

²⁷⁹ This will be discussed in the following section addressing the text overall, but in general, this works since the first (*SDP*) *maṇḍala* centers on Śākyamuni, the Drāviḍa *maṇḍala* (i.e. second one) is wrathful and can be understood as centering on some form of Vajrapāṇi, or at least the Vajra Family, though the deity's name is odd, and the third—our current Amoghapāśa one—centers on Avalokiteśvara.

²⁸⁰ Van Schaik, "Avalokiteśvara," 61. However, van Schaik's main source seems to be Davidson, see second following note.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 61 n. 24. Explaining in further detail, Cantwell and Mayer suggest that this is an erroneous rendering that should have been *Upāyapāśa-tantra. See Cathy Cantwell and Robert Mayer, *A Noble Noose of Methods, The Lotus Garland Synopsis: A Mahāyoga Tantra and Its Commentary* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2012), 1 n. 1.

²⁸² Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, 152. He does not specify in detail, however.

Amoghapāśakalparāja).²⁸³ The latter text has been the subject of wider study in its (multiple) Chinese translations, which began to be produced starting in the early eighth century.²⁸⁴ Together with the *Amoghapāśahrdaya sūtra*, with which it was sometimes combined in translations, these two works serve as some of the most important sources for the Amoghapāśa tradition, especially in Chinese-language sources.²⁸⁵ However, the Chinese translations of the *Amoghapāśakalparāja* were expanded considerably within China, and differ in significant ways from the Tibetan and Sanskrit versions that survive, including possessing *maṇḍalas* absent from the latter.²⁸⁶ Meanwhile, in general, Tibetan and Nepalese *maṇḍalas* centering on Amoghapāśa, which mostly date to later periods, either are not based on the *Amoghapāśakalparāja*, or are thought to be "extractions of the principal deities," the *maṇḍalas* are not mentioned.²⁸⁷ In addition to this, broadly speaking, the scholarship on Amoghapāśa includes that by Meisezahl, Reis-Habito, and others, considering textual material, and Tanaka on visual.²⁸⁸ However, these are texts largely oriented more towards earlier traditions of *dhāraṇī* practices and the pre-Amoghavajra phase of esoteric Buddhism (as framed in terms of Chinese Buddhism), in contrast with the distinctly *yogatantra* framework of IOL Tib J 384.²⁸⁹

When one turns to visual materials, Amoghapāśa is well-represented at Dunhuang, but again, seems to be associated with a range of contexts to a moderate degree rather than

²⁸³ Van Schaik, "Avalokiteśvara," 61 n. 24.

²⁸⁴ Charles D Orzech, "Esoteric Buddhism in the Tang: From Atikūṭa to Amoghavajra (651-780)," in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, ed. Charles D Orzech, Henrik Hjort Sorensen, and Richard Karl Payne (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011), 263-85.

²⁸⁵ Scholarship on these texts initially undertaken by Meisezahl (1962) and more recently, Reis-Habito (1999), see below.

²⁸⁶ Tanaka, *Illustrated History of the Maṇḍala*, 61. Tanaka notes that iconographic descriptions may have been added from an early version of the *Vairocanābhisambodhisūtra*, citing Yoritomi (1990, 105). See also Tanaka, *Illustrated History of the Maṇḍala*, 55.

²⁸⁷ Tanaka, *Illustrated History of the Maṇḍala*, 55. Tanaka's discussion, in this section, gives a good sense, in more detail than is included here, of the seemingly scattershot nature of Amoghapāśa's resume, based on the materials that survive.

²⁸⁸ Maria Reis-Habito, "Amoghapāśa Kalparāja Sūtra," *Studies in Central and East Asian Religions* 11 (1999): 39–67; R.O. Meisezahl, "The Amoghapāśahrdaya-Dhāraṇī: The Early Sanskrit Manuscript of the Reiuṅji Critically Edited and Translated," *Monumenta Nipponica* 17 (1962): 265–328; Kimiaki Tanaka, *Tonkō: Mikkyō to Bijutsu 敦煌 密教と美術 [Essays on Tantric Buddhism in Dunhuang: Its Art and Texts]* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2000).

²⁸⁹ Not to get into debates about the usefulness of "dhāraṇī Buddhism" as a category, but generally this is meant to reference the pre-*yogatantra* material, essentially the same as Davidson's discussion of the Uṣṇīṣa and Amoghapāśa systems that predated the Vajroṣṇīṣa/STTS, See Davidson, "Observations." The framing of pre- and post-Amoghavajra is not intended in an absolute sense, but appears as a practical divider in scholarship; for a wide variety of observations about Amoghapāśa's role see the various comments in the Orzech volume, Charles D. Orzech, Henrik Hjort Sorensen, and Richard Karl Payne, eds., *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011). On debates relating to this issue, see also Robert H. Sharf, "On Esoteric Buddhism in China," in *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism: A Reading of the Treasure Store Treatise*, *Studies in East Asian Buddhism* 14 (Honolulu: Kuroda Institute, University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), and, more recently, Robert H. Sharf, "Buddhist Veda and the Rise of Chan," in *Chinese and Tibetan Esoteric Buddhism*, ed. Yael Bentor and Meir Shahaar (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2017), 85–120. On the apparently greater visual prominence of Amoghapāśa in East Asia, see also, Dorothy C. Wong, "The Case of Amoghapāśa," *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* 2 (2007): 151–58.

firmly established in common, consistent groupings. Among *maṇḍala* paintings in an Indic style from Dunhuang, there was one formerly identified as Amoghapāśa surrounded by eight deities; however, Tanaka later suggested it is in fact a set of five, with additional deities added, connected with the *MVAT/MVS* and *Amoghapāśakalparāja*.²⁹⁰ This Amoghapāśa pentad, where Amoghapāśa is surrounded by a set of four deities (Hayagrīva, Bhr̥kuṭī, Ekajātī, and another form of Avalokiteśvara) appears widely at Dunhuang as well.²⁹¹ However, in some cases, the paintings are linked not with the *MVAT/MVS*, but with the Vajradhātu, i.e. *STTS* system.²⁹² In addition to this, there are numerous other forms, not all of which are attested with *maṇḍalas* of their own.²⁹³ As far as groupings of eight, the painting EO 3579 again centers on Amoghapāśa, but the identities of the eight surrounding deities have been difficult to determine.²⁹⁴ Overall, by the tenth century, it may be that there were many places one might find Amoghapāśa, but no overwhelmingly dominant unified system that seems to have laid claim to him. Especially considering primarily the (sparser) Tibetan sources, while it could certainly be the case that there was a more prominent *Amoghapāśa tantra* and tradition, now lost to history, it might also be that the picture we get isn't all wrong: Amoghapāśa was clearly known and popular, but perhaps it might have been somewhat loosely linked to—or capable of floating free from—his traditions of origin. If this were the case in the mind of IOL Tib J 384's author (or some source from which, eventually, he received it), it might make sense as an appropriate choice for inclusion here; or, perhaps, having chosen Amoghapāśa, there might not necessarily have been an obvious answer to who should be included in his entourage. The existing association between Avalokiteśvara and death, as seen in other Dunhuang sources mentioned above, plus the general popularity of the deity, could have recommended its use. However, this yet does not clarify the nature of the entourage or application of the *UVD dhāraṇī*. For this, we then look to the second oddity of this *maṇḍala*, namely, the inclusion of the UVD syllable fragments in deity positions within the *maṇḍala*.

²⁹⁰ The painting is EO 1131, located in the Musée guimet. The previous identification was made by Matsumoto Eiichi. Note that van Schaik also mentions this work and his description also lists it as one of the Amoghapāśa pentad style (see following).

²⁹¹ The multiple images, found at the Musée guimet, include MG 26466, and EO3579. See discussion in van Schaik, "Avalokiteśvara," 65 and 71, and Tanaka, "Dunhuang Tantric Art," 269-71 (English summary). Although the main chapters of Tanaka's text are in Japanese (pp. 58-71), he also summarizes his claims in the *Illustrated History of the Maṇḍala* (2018) as showing that several *maṇḍalas* in the Mogao Caves at Dunhuang are a combination of Amoghapāśa pentad with deities from Garbha *maṇḍala* and Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* traditions (55 n. 164).

²⁹² As a caveat, van Schaik does not include either of these claims for *MVAT/MVS* or Vajradhātu relation, when surveying the same images, and Tanaka is at times unclear about his sources and which of these associations are a result of his argument about the evolution of *maṇḍalas* rather than based on explicit sources. It is, in any event, a risky business to attempt any such text matching, however this does give the general sense I intend: that Amoghapāśa's contexts are varied and at times ambiguous, spanning a range of time periods and different kinds of sources.

²⁹³ Jeff Watt notes this diversity in the outline for Amoghapāśa iconography provided on the Himalayan Art Resources site, especially. The solo forms may, however, be more common in the later tradition. See Jeff Watt, "Buddhist Deity: Amoghapāśa," in *Himalayan Art Resources*, accessed June 23, 2022, <https://www.himalayanart.org/search/set.cfm?setID=568>.

²⁹⁴ Van Schaik's survey lists only the presence of "five buddhas and many other deities." See van Schaik, "Avalokiteśvara," 71.

The UVD syllable fragments

In the case of the *UVD*, the connection to the *SDP* is far clearer and better researched than to Amoghapāśa. As shown by Dalton, the *UVD* may have been source of influence out of which, via ritual manuals, the *SDP* developed, and which Tibetans likely saw both as closely related to each other.²⁹⁵ However, IOL Tib J 384's particular use of the *UVD dhāraṇī* does not appear to have a precedent in such literature. Indeed, even looking beyond the specifics of the *UVD* and *SDP* traditions, this particular application of any *dhāraṇī* is perplexing. The *dhāraṇī* is broken into fragments, which are then listed with directional assignments placing them on the *maṇḍala* like deities. How exactly the fragments correspond with the deities in the *maṇḍala* is not clear. The familiar convention initially makes it tempting to assume that these are intended to be names or mantras/heart syllables of a list of deities; indeed, since the *UVD dhāraṇī* is not mentioned by name anywhere, its unity as a quotation is only revealed if one happens to place all of the "names" (fragments) in a sequence, and then locate identifiable phrases in the process of reconstructing the Sanskrit from its Tibetan transliteration. What at first appears as an otherwise unattested set of deities, made more difficult to identify because of the Sanskrit-Tibetan transliteration of their names, turns out to be the first several lines of a well-known *dhāraṇī*. Are these, in fact, intended to be deities? In the following, we suggest that at least a portion of the fragments are intended to be imagined as placed on the *maṇḍala* as text, and that this may have been visually inspired by both the appearance of *maṇḍalas* marked with deity syllables in place of images, and of amulets with blocks of text in circular or spiral formats, in combination with images—types of images which also survive at Dunhuang.²⁹⁶ In particular, though amulets were functionally distinct from *maṇḍalas*, their formal visual similarities might be enough to inspire an author to improvise (especially an author already creative enough to be appropriating a *dhāraṇī* to this new context, as in IOL Tib J 384).²⁹⁷

Examining the text, there is evidence that some fragments are intended as deities, specifically, the central deity (who is, in any case, identified as Avalokiteśvara, but is also assigned a *dhāraṇī* fragment), and the second circle containing eight bodhisattvas. This is suggested in the description of the first fragment which is explicitly stated as being "at the heart of the central [deity]".²⁹⁸ Then, in addition, after the first set of eight fragments (fragments 2-9, following the one assigned to the central deity), a second set of eight is given. These are introduced with the statement, "As for the seating arrangement of the

²⁹⁵ See Dalton, "Proto-Tantric," 199-229; Dalton, "Chapter Two" (forthcoming).

²⁹⁶ See in particular Copp, *The Body Incantatory*, 59-140; Shinohara, *Spells, Images and Maṇḍalas*.

²⁹⁷ In particular, amulets did not serve a meditative function; however, see above Copp and Shinohara for much more detail on the evolution and practices involving amulets and the emergence of *maṇḍalas*, the details of which go beyond the scope of this project.

²⁹⁸ The first fragment is given as *phra ti byi sha sta ya 'bru ta ya / *prativiśiṣṭāya buddhāya*, and it is described as being at the heart of the central deity: {r16.3} || *dbus gyi gtso bo'i snying po la* || *phra ti byi sha sta ya* || *'bru ta ya*||. It should also be recalled that the initial description places the central deity in a vase at the center of the *maṇḍala*, as well.

bodhisattvas...²⁹⁹ Then, beyond them, the outer deities are listed by grouping in conventional fashion.

In contrast, the inner circle, also a set of eight, contains no indication of intended deities of this sort, nor is there phrasing that gives a visual suggestion of deity bodies, as with the central deity. These are only given with directional references.³⁰⁰ What's more, the manuscript's final section (to be discussed below, but noted here in brief), which offers a recapitulation of the groups to whom service (*sevā*) should be provided for each *maṇḍala*, mentions no deities for this portion nor that of the "bodhisattvas," even though it does list the more minor groupings of offering goddesses, ten directional protectors, and four gate guardians.³⁰¹ The "five families" are mentioned in passing, which are indicated on the *maṇḍala* by their symbols, although this does not seem to imply the five buddha (*pañcatathāgata*) arrangement actually present.³⁰²

Although there is a long tradition and widespread understanding that *dhāraṇīs* can and have been, at points, equated to deities—well-established from Mahāyāna times and present in places where the Buddhist tantric texts never spread—these sets of conflicting clues cannot be resolved by resorting to such references, in particular because it is the fragmentation of the *dhāraṇī* that is peculiar here.³⁰³ With the unlabeled set of fragments, at least, it may be that the syllables are to be applied, but are only in a vague sense understood as deities, the product of an author drawing on a partial understanding, and possibly visual inspiration. In particular, it seems that they did not understand the difference between *maṇḍalas* labeled with deity syllables and text that includes *dhāraṇīs* arranged in a *maṇḍalic* fashion. In terms of use, a key difference between these is that the latter were not used as a basis for meditation or rituals of initiation.³⁰⁴ More importantly, in our case, the actual resulting *maṇḍala* encounters a problem in the author's attempt at application: the syllable sequences are listed in order, but not sequenced that way when positioned on the *maṇḍala* because of differing descriptive conventions. While a visual description (or amulet text) would run sequentially in a single (clockwise, usually) circle, *maṇḍala* deity placement used in this text completes two circuits: one for the cardinal directions (E,S,W,N), and then

²⁹⁹ {v2.4} *byang cub sems pa'i bzhugs tabs la* || (With *tabs* possibly for *stabs* or *thabs*)

³⁰⁰ For example, starting in the east: *shar phyogs kyi 'khor lo lce la* | {r16.4} *ba gā bā ti tad hya thā* || *Oṃ byi shu dha yā* ||, and so on. (*ba gā bā ti tad hya thā oṃ byi shu dha yā* = **bhagavate tad yathā* | *oṃ viśodhaya*).

³⁰¹ See below, in the section on "Additional Instructions." The statement occurs in {v4.4}: || *A mo ka pa sha'i kyil khor mdzad pa'i dus na* || *dbus gyi gtso bo sbyan ra gzigs dbang phyug gyi snyen* {v4.4} *pa kyi* || *rigs lnga rim pa myi nor bar snyen pa bgyi* || *mchod pa'i lha mo bzhi dang* || *phyogs skyong bcu dang* {v4.5} *sko srungs bzhi snyen pa bgyi'o* ||

³⁰² The *maṇḍala* description notes the symbols for the families are to be placed outside of the vajra enclosure, however, which makes simple stand-ins for the five buddhas seem unlikely. See {r15.4} *rdor rje ra ba gdang* || *de'i phyi rims su rig's lnga'i phyag mtshan dgod* ||

³⁰³ The traditions of *dhāraṇī* literature have been widely discussed in the examination of the origins of tantra and, perhaps even more, as both an independent tradition and aspects of esoteric Buddhist forms that proliferated in East Asia. See, for example, Orzech, Copp, Overbey, Sharf, and the longer footnote at pp. 114 n. 288. Here I am emphasizing the specific application of fragments in part to avoid the unproductive abstraction of basic terms—i.e. the line of thinking where *dhāraṇīs* are obviously the same as deities in the sense of being true speech (that, in any case, would eventually just lead to the identity of texts as dharma relics and the cult of the book)—quite remote from the more practical discussion of why the author of IOL Tib J 384 put these fragments in this *maṇḍala* in such a way.

³⁰⁴ Copp, *The Body Incantatory*, 122.

another for the intermediate directions (NE,SE,SW,NW). Thus, while the *dhāraṇī* fragments proceed in order in the text (1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8), this is applied to the *maṇḍala* as (fragment with direction) (1,6,2,7,3,8,4,5) reading in a single circuit.³⁰⁵

Additional Instructions for the Three *Maṇḍalas*

After the description of the Amoghapāśa *maṇḍala*, there is no further reference to rituals to be performed with this *maṇḍala*. The text instead turns to a set of supplemental instructions that apply to all (i.e. any) of the *maṇḍalas* discussed. These instructions inform the reader that preliminary *sevā* service (Tib. *bsnyen pa*) should be performed for the deities of whichever *maṇḍala* has been created. Thus, if one is constructing the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana maṇḍala*, service should be performed for the central deity, then (it instructs) it should be done for the eight *uṣṇīṣa* buddhas, the four offering goddesses, the eight bodhisattvas, the ten directional protectors, and the four gate guardians.

Sevā, generally translated as preliminary worship or ritual service (Tib: *bsnyen pa*), is preliminary to its counterpart, *sādhana* (Tib: *sgrub pa*). In later Mahāyoga tantric sources, these are elaborated into a fourfold classification involving *sevā*, *upasevā* (further service; Tib: *nye bar bsnyen pa*), *sādhana* (attainment; Tib: *sgrub pa*), *mahāsādhana* (great attainment; Tib: *sgrub chen*).³⁰⁶ However, in the current text, reference is only made to *sevā* as preliminary ritual service for the *maṇḍala* rituals discussed. This then serves as a practical clarification that one should be sure to customize not just the *maṇḍala* and its *sādhana* practice to the specific set of deities who are relevant, but the preparatory *sevā* should be customized, as well.

This final section is also significant as it confirms that the first *maṇḍala* of the text is the *SDP maṇḍala*, and therefore that the text should be read as I have suggested, starting from verso 6 and then continuing on the recto side. This final section enumerates the *maṇḍalas* in order, and that order begins with the *SDP* and continues with the Drāviḍa and Amoghapāśa *maṇḍalas*. If the text were to be read from recto-1, it would consist of a first, unidentified *maṇḍala*, then the Drāviḍa and Amoghapāśa *maṇḍalas*, then the *SDP maṇḍala*.³⁰⁷

This supplemental instruction section is also important for the way it supports reading the text as a unified entity containing a tripartite system of three *maṇḍalas*. Though all the *maṇḍalas* have been discussed on their own in IOL Tib J 384 at this point, the text returns and gives further instructions appropriate to each of them, specifically that the preliminary worship should be done for the set of deities who occupy the *maṇḍala* being constructed. Also supporting this reading is the fact that since ritual instructions are only provided once, under the description of the first (*SDP*) *maṇḍala*, it seems that ritualists employing the

³⁰⁵ That is to say, since the text is broken up in the order 1=E,2=S,3=W,4=N; 5=NE,6=SE,7=SW,8=NW, it will necessarily be shuffled in order to produce a single circuit of E,SE,S,SW,W,NW,N,NE.

³⁰⁶ Gyurme Dorje, "The *Guhyagarbhatantra* and Its XIVth Century Commentary" (Ph.D. thesis, London, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1987).

³⁰⁷ If it were to be argued that the the first *maṇḍala* is not the *SDP* but rather a generic non-specific *maṇḍala*, it is hard to imagine what such a description would consist of, given the differences between the various *maṇḍalas*. Thus it is altogether more likely that the text's order begins with the *SDP*, continues with the Drāviḍa and Amoghapāśa, and then concludes with the discussion of the *sevā* to be performed in each case, consistent with the suggested reordering of the pages in the manuscript.

Drāviḍa or Amoghapāśa *maṇḍalas* are intended to employ those same instructions as is applicable in their particular case. For the latter two *maṇḍalas*, differing levels of detail are provided, but neither includes the full ritual initiation included in the first section. The Drāviḍa *maṇḍala* includes a detailed and elaborate origin myth. This in some ways resembles the *SDP* frame story in providing an origin, although the details of the story differ and call to mind other tantric origin stories such as the taming of Rudra, to a greater degree.

There is no such narrative in the Amoghapāśa *maṇḍala*. However, the Amoghapāśa does include other instructions that, in contrast, are absent from the Drāviḍa *maṇḍala*. For example, the Amoghapāśa *maṇḍala* should be four hand-widths to a side, and should be created by first creating an eight-petalled lotus and placing a vase at its center, for the central deity. The vajra fence and five-colored rampart, garlands of pearls, and other adornments are also described—none of which is provided for the Drāviḍa *maṇḍala*, though it does parallel the *SDP maṇḍala*.³⁰⁸ As for the Amoghapāśa *maṇḍala* description, its treatment of the deities provides no recognizable deity names, mantras, or attributes, but instead offers directional assignments for successive fragments of the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā dhāraṇī*. Despite these differences, one consistent feature in the text is that ritual practices are primarily provided for the first, but not for the second and third *maṇḍalas*. The relatively thorough detail given in the case of the first *maṇḍala* can be applied throughout.

The purpose of the *sevā* section then is to remind the ritualist that, depending on which *maṇḍala* is being employed, they should remember to perform the service portion specific to the deities of that *maṇḍala*. The placement of the section is important—it comes after all three *maṇḍalas* have been individually discussed. This unifies the text by implying that, even if the ritualist only intends to use one of the *maṇḍala* sections, they will have read the entire manuscript and noted this reminder.

This section is of interest for one other reason, previously mentioned in the discussion of the Amoghapāśa *maṇḍala* of the last section. As noted above, the *sevā* requirements assigned to the Amoghapāśa *maṇḍala* are curious because they mention service to the central deity, then the five buddha families, the four offering goddesses, the ten directional protectors, and the four gate guardians. Missing from this list are the groupings—if they are deities—who should be listed immediately after Avalokiteśvara in the center. As suggested above, these are the two sets of eight that are identified by fragments of the *UVD dhāraṇī*. While there is an indication that the latter set may be bodhisattvas, and the eightfold number of the former set could indicate *uṣṇīṣa* buddhas (though that is somewhat speculative), their absence from the list in the *sevā* section also forms a portion of the reason I have suggested the *dhāraṇī* fragments may be intended for inclusion as text, without a fully coherent intent that they are deities.

Somewhat at odds with this explanation, though all deity groups are mentioned in the *sevā* section for the *SDP maṇḍala*, there is one other set that is omitted, namely, the wrathful protectors who appear in the second "Drāviḍa" *maṇḍala*. Since, in that case, their identities are not problematic and they form a variation of a common grouping, the same ambiguity found in the Amoghapāśa *maṇḍala* is not present. It is, however, possible that these are two

³⁰⁸ In the extant text, it in particular parallels the description of the pearls adorning the black area, the swords with mirrors at the four gates, and the arrows with silk ribbons in the corners found in the *SDP maṇḍala* description.

separate circumstances, and in one or the other case accidental omission is possible, given that the references are being made to points in the text introduced much earlier. While it may well simply be that the latter *maṇḍalas* are given less comprehensive instructions at this point, it is interesting that the places where omissions occur are some of the same points where the deities were ambiguously identified in the initial description as well.

Conclusion

The primary claims this chapter has made with regard to the Dunhuang text IOL Tib J 384 are that it should be read with a revised reading order and that it contains a single coherent text for the performance of funerary rituals based on the *SDP* combined with other systems. Further, a case is made for the reading order change, attributing its present sequence to adjustments at the time of the text's copying. Specifically, there is evidence that the manuscript was expanded and additional pages were added to accommodate the full length of the text. Even though this renders the process of reading its concertina format somewhat unusual because it requires the reader to begin in the middle of one side, the choice to do so makes sense, both because the text is a coherent whole, and because its generally rough nature suggests it may have been a text for personal use. With such a text, the irregular starting point might still have been preferable to having an incomplete copy of the text or wasting paper by discarding it entirely and restarting. These two aspects—the text as a single work for funerary rites and the extra-canonical and idiosyncratic character of the work—are also emphasized in the chapter's description of the IOL Tib J 384's ritual content.

Read as one work, IOL Tib J 384 provides instructions for three different *maṇḍalas*, the first of which is based on the first *maṇḍala* of the second chapter of the *SDP*, centering on Śākyamuni surrounded by eight *uṣṇīṣa* buddhas, and others. In contrast to texts discussed in subsequent chapters of this study, the *SDP* features here as the primary influence, and the lion's share of the description in the manuscript overall is spent on it—not only in the description of the *maṇḍala* and its deities, but also in the instructions for the preparatory ground rituals, the initiations for which the *maṇḍala* is needed, and the narration of the framing origin story, also related to the *SDP*. The two other *maṇḍalas* are more obscure in their origins and influences. The first can be characterized as generally wrathful, populated by variation on the widespread set of "eight great protectors" around an ambiguously identified (but clearly vajra family-based) central deity, and thus difficult to link with a specific text. More distinctive but no easier to trace is its frame story and assertion of an origin in a place called Drāviḍa(?) (transliterated in a variety of ways). While this one is odd in its name and frame story, but relatively common in its deity identities, the third *maṇḍala* is the reverse—identified as an Amoghapāśa *maṇḍala* centered on Avalokiteśvara, it would appear to be straightforward in that respect. However, within its list of deities, it provides fragments of the *Uṣṇīṣaviḥayā dhāraṇī* in the place one might expect deities or their mantras. Both because of the details of the description and because of the recapitulation in the later service section, it is argued that there is ambiguity with regard to whether the *UVD dhāraṇī* fragments are intended to be included as deities at all, or if they may be intended for inclusion as text. In fact, given the idiosyncrasy of the details, it may not be so clearcut—it is possible that the author had a rough sense of understanding them as deities, but not in a

detailed way. Though speculative, it is possible that, if based on a partial understanding, an author may have been inspired not only by the forms of *yogatantra maṇḍalas* marked with deity seed syllables, but also with the forms of amulets with mixtures of image and *dhāraṇī* text in graphic *maṇḍalic* forms, even despite the functional and historical differences between these traditions.

Although the three *maṇḍalas* are thus not all common, nor a common set, there is evidence within the text that they should be read together, i.e. that the text should be taken as a coherent work rather than an unrelated assortment or compendium—even though works of that nature have also been preserved among the Dunhuang manuscripts. The first point in support of this is the incomplete information provided for the latter two *maṇḍalas*—neither their construction nor their use (i.e. the ritual) is provided for in detail, as it is with the first *SDP maṇḍala*. Considered in practical terms, it is likely that instructions provided in the first case were to be applied in the latter two as well. Although this is not stated directly, there is an explicit instruction in the final section of the text, that one should do the service (*sevā*) rites appropriate to whichever deities are in the *maṇḍala* one is employing. In addition to the suggestion of options, the placement of this universal instruction at the very end, after all three *maṇḍalas* have been described, indicates an expectation that the entire text will be read as a whole, and also that the three *maṇḍalas* were set down together at one time.

If the three *maṇḍalas* are a set, there are further questions to consider, the first of which is whether they are all funerary, and if so, what conditions determine their use. The text does not provide guidance, in this regard. This is not entirely surprising—it is not unusual, in the genre of practical ritual manual, for there to be little in the way of broader explanation or contextualization, perhaps including criteria for use. Such matters, if passed down in the tradition by other means, would already be known to the intended audience, and thus not included by the rituals authors/compiler. It is possible, however, to suggest some possible options. If the *maṇḍalas* are all funerary, a first question is whether they are all intended for rites for the deceased, or if they may be directed towards a variety of subjects involved in the funerary proceedings—specifically the bereaved family. Aside from preparing the deceased and attempting to win them favorable rebirth, there could potentially be aspects intended for those who remain, such as purification from death pollution or protection, in the case of malicious forces. The frame story for the Drāviḍa *maṇḍala*, in particular, is intriguing in the ambiguity of its target/recipient; it is created in the aftermath of death, but whether it is really for those who survive or for the dead may not be entirely clear. The *maṇḍala* is juxtaposed after the bodhisattva's actions with no clear specification, but the recipient is identified as subject (*gang zag*). This in its own right is not necessarily unusual; however in the context of this manual and several others, the recipient of the ritual is more often called the patron (*yon bdag*).³⁰⁹ The third Amoghapāśa/*UVD* fragment *maṇḍala* would then remain a difficulty for such explanation, however, even in addition to the oddity of such *maṇḍalas* making a set.

A more compelling possibility may be that they are all intended for the deceased, but the choice of which one should be used depends on some variable factor. The two most likely,

³⁰⁹ See the ritual section of the current text, as well as the others in the group identified as funerary initiation texts related to the SDP, e.g. IOL Tib J 439/712, IOL Tib J 579 as discussed previously.

considering Indic funerary ritual writ large and Buddhist funerary traditions in specific, would be either the identity of the deceased or the nature of their death. The first is a criterion that will be discussed in more detail since it applies to the tradition examined in the following chapters of this study, but in short, would involve whether the deceased had certain ritual or demographic qualifications. The second also involves specific features, but this time in the manner of death, especially if the death could be considered a "good death" or "bad death" death.

Though examples of both such features are widespread, to limit the extent of speculation, there is at least evidence that the latter is noted, not early Tibetan Buddhist materials, but even ones that relate to the *SDP*. Specifically, the *Dbā' bzhed*, discussed in the introduction, notes distinctions in ritual methods in the final section where it concludes by asserting the *SDP* would be used in future (royal) funerals.³¹⁰ In particular, after naming the primary text/method, it goes on to say that in case of "death by sword" the funeral should be performed in a different manner. Further, it also names a third type of death—"death by *gtad yar*," with additional procedures to be done. The third term is uncertain, though Wangdu and Diemberger have suggested a translation of "black magic."³¹¹ Whether or not this is the case, the second instance—death by sword—suggests the sense of death by violence or untimely death, more generally; that is, the common qualities of "bad deaths."³¹² What's more, the specifications for such a circumstance point to the use of a wrathful deity, perhaps in contrast to the generally peaceful nature of the *SDP* deities in the primary method. Though the *Dbā' bzhed* is a complex text, historically, and cannot necessarily be taken as accurate in its details, the parallel here is not intended to claim to be the very same thing, but rather to simply make the point that, conceptually, a notion existed at least in narrative not too many centuries later of using multiple tantric methods, centering on the *SDP* but also providing alternatives for violent deaths of various kinds.³¹³

Although the text's unique content means there are limits in some of what can be said about it, that is not to say nothing can be said. Moreover, although the text is idiosyncratic, it is not arbitrary. The particular discussion of a number of elements emphasizes this. The frame story, for example, can be analyzed to show that its divergences from more standard versions of the narrative may have come about as a result of misunderstanding the connection between current and past-life segments of the story. Novel elements were then added to correct the stories, even though doing so made them lose their function in framing the text's ritual content. Considering the text more broadly, in its identity as a part of the *SDP* tradition, reinforces the reputation the *SDP* has for being a tradition that, as a popular source for funerary practice, produced diverse and often hybrid ritual literature. It is worth pointing out two final points in particular, which stand out at this stage. The first is that in

³¹⁰ Wangdu and Diemberger, *Dbā' bzhed*, 105.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*

³¹² Classic work on good and bad death was done by Hertz (1907/1928). More recently, on its variations and spread in Asia, see Baptandier (2001). See also introduction to the concepts and a variety of ritual responses, Patrice Ladwig and Paul Williams, "Introduction: Buddhist Funeral Cultures," in *Buddhist Funeral Cultures of Southeast Asia and China*, ed. Paul Williams and Patrice Ladwig (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 13.

³¹³ On the history of the *Dbā' bzhed* and its reliability, see Introduction. For a discussion of its versions, dating, and reliability, see also the extensive note in Kapstein, *Assimilation*, 212 n. 11.

this instance, perhaps because of its relatively early origin, the *SDP* serves as the principal *maṇḍala*, supported by other systems that are both from older traditions and seem to be somewhat subordinate to it. The second is that at this point, there are no real adaptations to the ritual process to make it customized for the dead, no changes made to it—indeed, the explicit statement on the matter says that it can be done for either the dead or the living. This will be worth remembering in light of later ritual traditions, where that is not the case. So too, it provides an interesting point to end on, for it leaves open the question, unanswered in the text, of what sort of applications, if any, there would have been for the living.

Chapter Two

Chapter Two Introduction: Nepal

In Part One of this dissertation, we examined the local Tibetan ritual literature relating to the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana tantra*, as it came to be preserved at Dunhuang by the tenth century. We considered, in particular, the manuscript IOL Tib J 384, using it as a case study for the kind of localization and innovation present in ritual manuals of the *SDP* corpus. While Part One was contained in a single chapter, Part Two, to which we now turn, will require a longer treatment, extending for the next three chapters. These chapters will focus on the Newar Buddhist tradition of the Kathmandu Valley, and the ritual literature relating to the *SDP* that survives there; Chapters Two and Three document Hs.or.4326 (called, here, the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual), a unique manuscript on Newar Buddhist funerary rites written in a combination of Sanskrit and Newari, while Chapter Four presents a variety of other Newar ritual manuals, supplementing the discussion of the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual—some elaborating on rituals mentioned but not explained in it, and some presenting alternate but similar versions of rites.

Context

Buddhism has long had a presence in Nepal. In the context of Indian Buddhism, it was an important waypoint between India and Tibet for scholars, students, and pilgrims seeking Buddhist teachers and knowledge. It also became a center of Buddhist learning in its own right; in addition to noted Buddhist scholars visiting or staying in the region, the preservation of vast collections of Sanskrit manuscripts attests to the region's importance. Indeed, for the study of mainstream Indian Buddhist literature in Sanskrit, Nepal has proven a more conducive environment for the preservation of manuscripts, due to both climate and historical circumstances. Even more important than its significance for the transmission, preservation, and study of Indian Buddhism in pan-Indic Sanskrit Buddhist literature, Nepal saw the emergence and development of Newar Buddhism, a unique tradition practiced by the Newars, the original settlers of the Kathmandu Valley.³¹⁴ The texts discussed in this and the following chapters, written in a mixture of Sanskrit and Newari, come from this tradition.

The origins of Buddhism in Nepal are obscure, and in the earliest stages tend to merge into myth, with accounts of visits by Śākyamuni and Aśoka to the region. However, the former appears only in much later literature, no earlier than the fifteenth century.³¹⁵ The latter—claims of Aśoka's visits—have a longer history, and include not only visits by the monarch himself, but also his daughter's marriage and settlement in the region. While there

³¹⁴ Historically, "Nepal" or the Nepal Valley, referred specifically to the Kathmandu Valley and a few adjacent regions. The modern state of Nepal, with its considerably larger geographical range, is a product of unification and expansion that began in the eighteenth century with, as will be discussed, the rise of the Shah state. See Locke, "Unique Features," 266.

³¹⁵ This literature includes, for example, the *Svayambhūpurāṇa*. See Rospatt, "Buddhism in Nepal," 2.

are *stūpas* attributed to Aśoka in Patan, and the Cā Bahī monastery is associated with his daughter, external records of such visits are scarce, and the daughter is otherwise unknown.³¹⁶ However, although reliable Aśokan evidence may be lacking, Buddhism certainly arrived and developed roots in the Valley at a relatively early point; Kuṣāṇa style art survives that dates to periods when the patronage of Buddhism by that empire was already prominent.³¹⁷

The Licchavi period, from circa 400-900 CE, is the region's first recorded historical dynasty, and by this time, Buddhism was well established.³¹⁸ This can be seen from the prolific inscriptional and other evidence that survives from the period.³¹⁹ Although there are fewer inscriptions that can be dated to the Thakuri period (circa 900-1200 CE) that followed, the persistence of Buddhism can be seen in the manuscript record.³²⁰ Buddhism's presence continued and grew even more in the Malla period, which began in 1200 CE and saw the continued production and flourishing of Buddhist influences and material culture, evidence of which survives to the the present.³²¹

Newar Buddhism bases itself on Buddhist works in Sanskrit—the only surviving tradition to do so in that language. In orientation, the tradition is Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna, and in that sense shares texts in common with Tibetan Buddhism.³²² The tradition's uniqueness lies not so much in doctrine (although certainly there are unique features and emphases), as in the lived form that the tradition takes.³²³ While numerous observers have focused on Newar Buddhism (in more or less complimentary ways) as deeply interconnected or "mixed" with Hinduism, John Locke gives a more nuanced view, pointing out that this assumes a simplistic understanding of types of Buddhism, and from its own perspective, the tradition is not "mixed up" at all. Instead, he argues that its uniqueness is a function of being a part of a primarily Hindu society, based in a relatively restricted geographical area.³²⁴ This perspective seeks to counter the prejudice often implicit in descriptions that emphasize the tradition as heterodox, syncretic, or even (in older

³¹⁶ Ibid. Rospatt notes, however, that some scholars have found the idea of a presence as early as Aśoka plausible, including M.R. Allen, "Buddhism without Monks: The Vajrayāna Religion of the Newars of Kathmandu Valley," *South Asia*, no. 2 (1973): 3; and Siegfried Lienhard, "Nepal: The Survival of Indian Buddhism in a Himalayan Kingdom," in *The World of Buddhism. Buddhist Monks and Nuns in Society and Culture*, ed. H. Bechert and R.F. Gombrich (London: Thames and Hudson, 1984), 108.

³¹⁷ Rospatt, "Buddhism in Nepal," 3. In particular, this includes sculpture with a (contested) date of 185 CE, a period that postdates the reign of Kaṇiṣka, an important promoter of Buddhism.

³¹⁸ Locke, "Unique Features," 266.

³¹⁹ See, for example, Niels Gutschow, *The Nepalese Caitya: 1500 Years of Buddhist Votive Architecture in the Kathmandu Valley* (Stuttgart: Menges, 1997).

³²⁰ In addition to the composition of new texts and copying of many more existing texts, second-hand reports from Xuanzang in the 7th c. attest to this. See Rospatt, "Buddhism in Nepal," 3.

³²¹ In truth, the periodization is not so clear as this, and it has been pointed out that the Thakuri period was not a dynasty but actually three, the last of which did not end abruptly as the distinction of Thakuri period versus Malla period would lead one to assume. In fact, the early Malla period was likely much more of a continuation of what came before. However, as Locke has noted, it is awkward to identify a period of some 200 years as "transitional" when the periods it is a transition between are not necessarily significantly longer than that (Locke, "Unique Features," 303 n. 43).

³²² Ibid., 266.

³²³ Ibid., 267.

³²⁴ Ibid., 266-67.

scholarship) corrupt.³²⁵ That is not to say that multiple influences are not present, but rather requires a shift in emphasis and recognition that such complex forms are the norm, not the exception, in the Indian religious world. As Alexander von Rospatt writes, this involves both Brahmanical and local traditions, and amalgamation "by complex processes of identification and subordinations, in a manner characteristic of much of the Indic cultural sphere."³²⁶ In other words, although the elements of various traditions combine in complex ways in Newar Buddhism, these combinations are not arbitrary, and, moreover, this is not an aberration but rather a characteristic of Indic culture more broadly.

One of the most visible distinctive traits of Newar Buddhism is its social and institutional organization, namely, the arrangements whereby the Buddhist sangha has been incorporated into the caste system, and wherein, instead of a celibate monastic order, its members undergo ordination but also marry and live as so-called "householder monks."³²⁷ Lack of sources frustrates efforts to determine when the married householder monks first appeared, although it is likely that they long coexisted with celibate orders, and were by no means unique—there is evidence elsewhere in the Indic world of the coexistence of both systems as well.³²⁸ In the present, the celibate cenobitic form of monastic life no longer exists in the Newar sangha, and all members live as married householders, their role as monks coming to the fore primarily on certain ritual occasions.³²⁹

Questions also stand regarding the when and why celibacy disappeared, although evidence suggests that when it existed, it would have been a practice preserved by the monasteries designated as *bahīs*, institutions that survive to the present day as non-tantric monasteries. So too, the transition that most likely saw the end of celibacy in the *bahīs* took place by the seventeenth century, but was a gradual process of attrition rather than a catastrophic event.³³⁰

³²⁵ This can be seen, for example, in the early accounting of the tradition by Lévi and others of Newar Buddhists being "Buddhist Brahmins." See Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 49.

³²⁶ Alexander von Rospatt, "The Sacred Origins of the Svayambhūcaitya and the Nepal Valley: Foreign Speculation and Local Myth," *Journal of the Nepal Research Centre* 13 (2009): 34.

³²⁷ Or, more completely, as phrased in the title of David Gellner's work: "monks, householders, and tantric priests."

³²⁸ Sources, as Locke reports them, are relatively late, with clear indication in materials from the fifteenth century and later (Locke, "Unique Features," 288). However, there is also evidence in the *Kriyāsamgrahapañjikā* that indicates a situation where there exist both systems (Rospatt, "Buddhism in Nepal," 9). As for other instances of the coexistence of two systems across South Asia, Kashmiri texts of the twelfth century (e.g. Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*) and the tantric practitioners (*sngags pas*) of some forms of Tibetan Buddhism are examples (ibid.).

³²⁹ For example, in addition to the time during childhood of ordination (*bare chuyegu*), members of the monastery take on their role as monks during the Pañcadāna, an occasion on which offerings are made to the monastery and its members, see David Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 121ff.

³³⁰ Locke reports on research by Gellner, which comes to these conclusions. This reinterprets evidence originally argued by Daniel Wright. Where the latter saw references to "nirbānic" monasteries as meaning celibate ones, Gellner, by retranslation, finds instead that this distinction was in reference to whether or not the monastery was tantric (i.e. *samsārik* or *tantrik*) See Locke, "Unique Features," 289-91 (Quoting Gellner, "The Newar Buddhist monastery," listed as forthcoming but I have not been able to determine its title as published, nor access it.) His sources reveal the gradual depopulation of the *bahīs*, a trend that continues to the present day. The notion of the change as a single catastrophic event does exist in the tradition in the form of the idea that Śaṅkarācārya visited the Valley and wrought much damage upon the monastic institutions. However, according to Locke, there is little early (contemporary) evidence for such a visit, which would have taken place

Another significant feature of Newar Buddhism, is its adaptation of ordination and certain tantric initiations as life-cycle rites of passage (*saṃskāras*), the latter most likely becoming prominent after the 13th c.³³¹ This system produced a set of rituals to mark certain stages in the course of life, a set that parallels the Brahmanical life-cycle rites, but gives them Buddhist interpretations and alters certain details. The full sequence of life-cycle rituals as a Buddhist practice is unique to Newar Buddhism. While it was certainly influenced by parallel Brahmanical practices, the form it now takes may in fact have also other influences. In particular, as Rospatt argues, it may have been influenced by the remarkably similar sequences of consecration rituals for images, as prescribed in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahaṇāṅgikā*, a circa 11th-12th c. ritual manual authored by Kuladatta, and most likely produced in the Kathmandu Valley.³³²

In addition to the incorporation of life-cycle rites, many of the traditions that came to be characteristic of Newar Buddhism, though no doubt based on earlier practices, took what would become their typical form during the Malla period (1200-1769 CE), an era during which Buddhism was promoted to a significant degree, although the kingdom remained ruled by Hindu kings. Traditional histories cite the king Jayasthiti Malla (r. 1382-1395 CE) as instrumental with regard to the establishment of Newar society and tradition in the forms that persist to the present day.³³³ While the historical record is less clear about how much direct influence he had, it does seem to indicate that this period was a time when many traditional customs that are now considered central to Newar identity were established, whether created or adapted from older traditions.³³⁴

Not just practices, but core ideas, too, emerged at this point, for this was the era in which the foremost myth and founding story for Buddhism in the Valley was set down in the *Svayambhūpurāṇa*, a narrative text detailing the origins of Buddhism in the Valley.³³⁵ The *Svayambhūpurāṇa*'s importance for the narrative of Newar Buddhism is difficult to overstate, for it is the key story which asserts Nepal as a nexus and authoritative source of Buddhism in its own right, rather than a peripheral domain looking to India as the Buddhist homeland.³³⁶ Combined with its account of the founding of the Valley, the locating of networks of sacred sites mapped Buddhism onto the Valley in this period, transforming it into sacred space.³³⁷ These changes, together with the ritual practices and worship systems that now exist, also most likely date from the fifteenth century.³³⁸

After the Malla period, the political fortunes of Nepal shifted with the unification of Nepal by Prithivi Narayan Shah, who invaded from Gorkha in 1768/69 and established what

during the Licchavi period, and for which no such evidence exists. See Locke, "Unique Features," 293; and also Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 22.

³³¹ See, for example, Alexander von Rospatt, "The Transformation of Monastic Ordination (*pravrajya*) into a Rite of Passage in Newar Buddhism," *Words and Deeds: Hindu and Buddhist Rituals in South Asia* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz), 2005.

³³² Rospatt, "Consecration Ceremony," 197, 251, 254.

³³³ Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 21.

³³⁴ Rospatt, "Buddhism in Nepal," 5.

³³⁵ Rospatt, "Local Literatures," 827.

³³⁶ Rospatt, "Sacred Origins of Svayambhū," 64.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*, 65ff.

³³⁸ Although the essential disappearance of Buddhism in North India was already underway by the thirteenth century. See Rospatt, "Local Literatures," 827.

would become the Shah dynasty, the regime that would become the modern state of Nepal. Narratives of the suppression of Buddhism have emerged in reference to these later eras, particularly the Rana Regency (1846-1950), although it remains true that large scale Buddhist events such as the renovation of the Svayambhūcaitya were undertaken and the compilation and copying of texts, particularly ritual works, continued throughout the nineteenth century.³³⁹ In the modern period, particularly after the mid-twentieth century, different sets of factors serve to influence the forms that Buddhism takes. Already associated with a narrative of decline, the combination of the introduction of Theravada and the increased presence of Tibetan Buddhism, as well as general economic factors relating to globalization and modernization, have combined to create a number of challenges that have affected Newar Buddhism in profound ways.³⁴⁰

In the case of Tibetan Buddhism, the modern presence is by no means a novel circumstance in the region, and there is evidence of earlier interaction extending quite far back, including extensive Tibetan involvement and sponsorship of the critical renovations of the Svayambhūcaitya, undertaken periodically over the centuries.³⁴¹ In addition to being a waypoint for Indian teachers traveling north, Nepal has long played host to Tibetan teachers, some of whose exploits are described in hagiographical records; for example, Marpa was taught in Nāropa's lineage in the town of Pharping, on the edge of the Valley. It is said that his teachers included both Indian and Newar teachers.³⁴² Other prominent figures such as Padmasaṃbhava (8th c.) and Gnubs chen sangs gyas ye she (9th c.) also spent time there. Similarly, as Ronald Davidson has pointed out, Newar Buddhist masters helped in the translation of Sanskrit texts into Tibetan.³⁴³

Despite this, the ritual traditions of Newar Buddhism, at least as they have evolved to the present, seem to have had little contact with Tibetan Buddhist ritual traditions. This is curious because there are records that suggest this was not always the case. For example, the well-known Tibetan Rwa lo rdo rje grags (1016-1072 CE) studied with a Newar master by the name of Kunda Bhāro, a *vajrācārya* in the city of Patan, who transmitted to him the teachings of Vajravārāhī and Vajrabhairava. Rwa lo, in turn, became the family ritual master for at least one other Newar, a merchant named Chandra Bhadra.³⁴⁴ However, despite this suggestion of close connections, the received Newar Buddhist tradition as passed down to the present shows little in the way of ritual connection and there are few, if any, regular

³³⁹ On the renovations of Svayambhūcaitya, see Alexander von Rospatt, "The Past Renovations of the Svayambhūcaitya," in *Light of the Valley: Renewing the Sacred Art and Traditions of Svayambhu*, ed. Tsering Palmo Gellek and Padma Dorje Maitland (Cazadero, CA: Dharma Publishing, 2011), 158.

³⁴⁰ Rospatt, "Buddhism in Nepal," 18.

³⁴¹ See, for example, Alexander von Rospatt, "Past Continuity and Recent Changes in the Ritual Practice of Newar Buddhism: Reflections on the Impact of Tibetan Buddhism and the Advent of Modernity," in *Revisiting Rituals in a Changing Tibetan World*, ed. Katia Buffetrille (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012), 210-11.

³⁴² Davidson, *Tibetan Renaissance*, 146. See also Todd Lewis and Nareshman Bajracharya, "Vajrayāna Traditions in Nepal," in *Tantric Traditions in Transmission and Translation*, ed. David B. Gray and Ryan Overbey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016b), 91.

³⁴³ Davidson, *Tibetan Renaissance*, 126.

³⁴⁴ Davidson, *Tibetan Renaissance*, 138-41. So too, it appears that Newars traveled and were known elsewhere in the Buddhist world as well; a Newar named *Mandzu-lingpa [sic] is said to have held the high office at Nalanda around the same time as Ralo was studying there (ibid.).

contacts between Tibetan and Newar ritual systems.³⁴⁵ Among other things, this may have implications for some of the details in the ritual manuals described here.

The Text *Utkrānti*-SDP manual (Hs.or.4326)

Hs.or.4326, hereafter called the *Utkrānti*-SDP manual, contains instructions for elite rituals to be done prior to death, and then for the first seven days after death.³⁴⁶ It describes an elite method in that it is reserved for those with certain advanced ritual qualifications, and its performance is further restricted by the considerable financial resources required to sponsor it.³⁴⁷ In order to give due attention to the numerous subrituals more-or-less unexamined in scholarship, the discussion of the *Utkrānti*-SDP manual is divided between two chapters. In the current chapter (Chapter Two), we will address the rituals before death through those for the completion of the postmortem *utkrānti*, or transfer of consciousness, after death. This ritual, while not the only one that differentiates this elite funerary process, is the most prominent, and therefore lends its name to the method overall, in what I will here call "*utkrānti* funerals."

The *utkrānti* process, which most likely has Śaiva origins, was incorporated into Tantric Buddhism and is taught in a number of the tantras. A more detailed explanation of the ritual will be provided subsequently, but, in brief, it involves manipulating the consciousness so that it departs the body through the crown of the head (rather than from any other point), a desideratum because it secures a heavenly (or at least higher) rebirth. Additional elements also involve the process of summoning the consciousness back to the body and performing initiations upon it, as will be described. It should be noted that *utkrānti* is not taught in the *SDP*, which predates the earliest extant Buddhist texts that include it. This portion of the manual is therefore not structured around or based on the *SDP*. Rather, the central text for this initial portion is the *Sanṅvarodaya tantra*, which provides the source for the verses that are quoted and then commented upon in the Newari body text.

The *utkrānti* serves as the culmination of the first portion of the ritual sequence, and so forms a natural break, after which begin the "last rites" (*antyeṣṭi*), including cremation and subsequent treatment of remaining bones and ash. These will be dealt with in Chapter Three. While this divide falls at a logical point in the ritual sequence, as well as occurring at (approximately) the midpoint in the manuscript, it does not coincide with the chronological midpoint in the seven days of rites. Rather, because of the density of ritual activity on the

³⁴⁵ This does not include the fact that, in recent years, some Newars have begun to patronize Tibetan Buddhist monasteries and teachers, who have become a growing presence in the Valley, in the decades since the Chinese takeover of Tibet. Like Theravada Buddhism, Tibetan Buddhism has appealed to some who perceive it as being more devout. See Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 332-36.

³⁴⁶ The manuscript Hs.or.4326 is held at the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, where its content is listed as "(1) *Utkrāntiyoga*, (2) *Antyeṣṭikriyā*, (3) *Durgatipariśodhanasamādhi bali*." Catalogued in Siegfried Lienhard and Thakur Lal Manandhar, *Nepalese Manuscripts: Part 1: Nevāri and Sanskrit* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH Wiesbaden, 1988), 90.

³⁴⁷ This includes both the cost of labor, in the fact that it requires multiple priests working over a number of days, and materials.

first day, the current chapter treats only procedures occupying the first part of the first day after death while the remaining six and a half days are addressed in Chapter Three.³⁴⁸

In addition to its own internal content, the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual also refers, in a number of instances, to sub-rituals for which detailed instructions are not provided. In these instances, the reader must employ supplementary ritual guides focused on those specific topics. Some of these auxiliary works are addressed in this chapter, as they become relevant, but are elsewhere discussed in Chapter Four. Although some of these auxiliary works are preserved in multiple partial copies, the primary *Utkrānti-SDP* manual discussed here is the only one of its kind that I have been able to locate in the extant Nepalese archival holdings. As discussed in the Introduction, materials for this study are by nature fragmentary, and the opportunity to examine more than one manuscript to confirm readings in a text is the exception rather than the rule. That said, while the manuscript as a whole is unique, and the Newari portion of the text has no other witnesses, the Sanskrit passages included are not, and most can be traced as excerpts from well-known Sanskrit ritual works or scriptures. Due to the relative dearth of scholarship on this kind of material or on Newar Buddhism at all, this study will give considerable attention to description of both the texts and rituals, with analysis will be incorporated in the course of the discussion and conclusions.

Turning now to the manuscript itself, it is twenty-nine folios long, which have usually six lines per page, written on loose-leaf *pothi*-style paper. The text is complete, insofar as it ends at a sensible point and empty space is left on the page; there appear to be no missing folios. This said, there is no colophon, which leaves some question regarding the end of the manuscript. Given the absence of a colophon, it is also difficult to be certain about the text's origin and date. Sarbagya Bajracharya cautiously suggested an origin in Kathmandu rather than Patan or Bhaktapur, on the basis of technical language matching contemporary Kathmandu usage, whereas a different term would be used in the other two cities.³⁴⁹ Similarly, although the orthography of the Newari is consistent in its inconsistency, there are instances where words are spelled in ways that seem to represent Kathmandu pronunciation rather than that of Bhaktapur or Patan.³⁵⁰

The date of the manuscript is somewhat, but not a great deal, more certain than its city of origin. Based on the fact that the Newari varies between older and newer forms of words, Kashinath Tamot estimated its date to be late nineteenth century, and consistent with that

³⁴⁸ Textual references to days after death are inclusive of the day of death in the Newar tradition, so the "first day" after death in fact refers to the day of death. This is the standard way that the counting of days is done, and applies to other kinds of rituals that span more than one day.

³⁴⁹ The term in question refers to a ritual vessel, a type of pitcher for liquor, which is called *anti* in the current text (and defined thus in Kölver), while in Patan a more common name is "*thaka*". This is not enough to confidently claim a Kathmandu provenance, but, with little else to place it, is the only piece of evidence suggestive one way, or the other. This subject—variation in ritual terms between the different cities, is virtually unstudied, and dictionaries as well as ritual implement manuals do not specify local variants or the attested origins of words with this level of distinction. Kölver definition, see Ulrike Kölver and Iswaranand Sresthacharya, *A Dictionary of Contemporary Newari: Newari-English* (Bonn: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, 1994).

³⁵⁰ The distinctions are quite small, however, and in particular may fall within the range of normal linguistic variation, for example the possibility that a {15r.1} "first of all," normally written *nheone* (compare, for example, with {7v.4}), is instead spelled *nhaone*, and connected to *nhyone*, a more Kathmandu-inclined possibility. However, as was just noted, other instances of the term spell it in the more usual way, *nheone*.

estimate, the manuscript is in extremely good condition. At the same time, though the practice of *utkrānti* funerals continues to the present day, the manual examined here describes rites that differ from current practice and the instructions teach a particularly elaborate form of the procedure.³⁵¹ While the composition of the Newari portions cannot be dated with much certainty, they are unlikely to be a great deal older than the manuscript, on account of the mixture of modern and older forms of the Newari words, which have undergone reduction over time.

The text is a bilingual one combining Sanskrit and Newari, and the Sanskrit passages can often be traced to quotations of important works from the pan-Indic Buddhist Sanskrit tradition, including not only the *SDP* itself, but also ritual works such as Abhayākaragupta's *Vajrāvalī* (*VĀ*), Kuladatta's *Kriyāsamgrahapañjikā* (*KsP*), Jagaddarpaṇa/Darpaṇācārya's *Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya* (*KSc*), and tantras such as the *Guhyasamāja* (*GST*), the *Samvarodaya* (*SU*), and the *Catuspīṭha* (*CP*), among others. In general, the text is approximately 70% Newari and 30% Sanskrit, with the Newari providing the ritual instructions and the Sanskrit containing the liturgical material (that is, the mantras, verses, and visualization sequences that are enacted through recitation), reflecting Sanskrit's role as the sacred language for Newar Buddhism.³⁵² Of this, the Newari portion is original composition, while the Sanskrit can be traced to known texts from the corpus of Buddhist tantric literature. Given that many of these Sanskrit sources have been edited and published and examined in scholarship, at least to some degree, the emphasis in this section will be on the novel Newari and the way that it employs and interprets the Sanskrit passages to create a complete manual.

In the following, the order of the ritual sequence will structure the chapter, with digressions to discuss related material where necessary. First, however, I will give a broad overview of the contents of the manual's major sections. The manual begins with instructions for *utkrānti* to be performed by the living to rehearse so that they will be able to perform it on themselves at the moment of death. This portion consists of Sanskrit verses from the *Samvarodaya tantra* interspersed with Newari discussion and explanation. It then shifts to instructions for rituals the priest and family are to perform as the individual nears death and then actually dies. From here, the Sanskrit usually provides mantras or visualization sequences—the latter sometimes converted into mantras—while the Newari gives practical instructions and explanations of what is to be done each day, for the first seven days after death.

Overview of Pre-Death Instructional Section

In order to provide a sense of the overall proceedings, a summary is here provided. Although the manual is a combination of instructions for before and after death, it does not treat these two periods in the same manner. They differ fundamentally, in more than one

³⁵¹ As I was not able to compare it with a modern version of the procedure, this is based on Sarbagya Bajracharya's observations.

³⁵² The 70/30 proportional breakdown is, of course, extremely rough, given that the text is thoroughly mixed and the two languages differ significantly in matters such as average word length and grammar, which affects any possibility of comparing either word or page counts. In any case, I provide the proportions simply to give the reader a general sense of the text.

way. Speaking generally, the first section focuses on rituals that are to be done for oneself (*svārtha*), while the subsequent portion deals with those performed on behalf of others (*parārtha*). The first section is also principally based upon a selection of verses from the *Samvarodaya tantra* (*SU*), and its conclusion is in fact marked with a variation of the closing verse from the *Samvarodaya* chapter, identifying it: "This is the chapter on the ascertainment of (the signs) of death and *utkrānti*."³⁵³ This is then followed by an explicit statement introducing the funerary rites.³⁵⁴ Thereafter, a number of other sources are quoted, and the *Samvarodaya* is not employed directly, although there is overlap insofar as the text is influential and features in Newar ritual traditions of other sorts, some of which are linked in the current text.

Aside from these content differences, there are also more general ones that might be described as differences in genre and in timing or immediacy. In terms of form, the first part is structured as quoted (Sanskrit) verses from the *Samvarodaya* interspersed with Newari supplemental comments. The Newari passages explain and expand on what is given in the Sanskrit verses, sometimes with explanations of meaning, but more often with expansion and description of relevant practices or reasons behind statements in the verses. The Sanskrit verses, further, lend authority to the instructions and descriptions in the Newari. This differs from the rest of the manual, where (as is more common in bilingual Newar ritual manuals) the Newari provides the instructions, while the Sanskrit supplies the recited liturgical portions. Connected with this, the first portion has a different orientation in terms of timing and immediacy. While it does give what can be understood as instructions, these are more generalized guidance and do not locate themselves in time any more specifically than as things to be aware of when someone falls ill and there is concern that death may be imminent.

Because of all of this, the preliminary portion of the manual reads less as instructions to be enacted over a discrete span of time, and more as a general introduction. Consistent with this, the section also includes verses and comments that serve to explain background and importance of doing death rites. Although at many points in the sequence there is no mention of other texts that should be sought to supply more specific details, it is likely that some of the practices introduced assume familiarity with other texts and/or oral instructions. It is thus somewhat difficult to provide a sequential outline of the activities of the pre-death portion in the same way as can be offered for the seven days after death. However, if we were to try, it might consist of the following: upon seeing signs of illness, breathing practices and recitations should be undertaken, which will extend life for some years (a variable number).³⁵⁵ If one does not wish to extend life, or if death is truly imminent, the practices immediately prior to death should be undertaken, namely yoga of the breath and the *utkrānti* one performs upon oneself (*svārtha*) at the moment of death. Visualization of

³⁵³ In the current text: {5r.5} *iti mṛtyu nirṇaya utkrānti yoga paṭala śubham*// In the published edition of the *SU* instead of *nirṇaya*, it reads *nimitta*, and there is additional material with the explicit mention of "seeing:" *iti mṛtyu-nimitta-darśanotkrānti-yoga-paṭala*. See Shinichi Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya Tantra: Selected Chapters* (Tokyo: The Hokuseido Press, 1974), 133; Eng. trans: 303. Tsuda does not report any variants for the line that would include *nirṇaya* instead of *nimitta*, however.

³⁵⁴ *atha antyestikriyām āha*// {5r.6}

³⁵⁵ Generally, the typical time for extension is six months, however the current manual does not specify this. (Thanks to Péter Szántó for this information.)

syllables and the manipulation of the bodily winds accompany this. The remainder of the section talks about the the correspondences between the bodily orifices from whence the deceased's consciousness may vacate the body and the realms or rebirth that each such departure point is a sign of. Finally, warnings are given about the dangers of performing *utkrānti* when it is not appropriate, i.e., if death is not truly imminent.

Overview of the Seven Days Ritual Sequence/Text

Once the initial *Samvarodaya*-based portion has finished, the text shifts to address the funerary rituals. This entails the description of rites to be carried after death. However, the section actually begins addressing the time before death. The transition from the *Samvarodaya* section reveals that the distinguishing factor between these two sections is not the point in time—i.e. before or after death—but rather the self/ other (*svārtha/parārtha*) distinction in the performer and recipient of the rites. This can be seen in the start of the funerary rites section, which opens with a discussion of the purpose of funerary rites, namely, to assist those who are incapable of doing practices for themselves. It does not specify, but this might plausibly include both those who do not know how to do rituals and those who are unable to do them due to illness. Employing an analogy of a boat, it encourages the completion of numerous rituals for the sake of securing a positive destiny after death. This section draws verses from the *Pāpaparimocana*, a text for which there are also alternative Newari annotations, which offers an interesting contrast to that provided here.

On the first day, the deceased is prepared and ritual substances and implements assembled. Having observed the point of departure of the consciousness at the moment of death, the main priest performs a *sādhana* involving the use of mantra syllables and rays of light to seek out the deceased's consciousness, which left the body at death and has been wandering. The priest returns the consciousness to the body, where it is bound in place with the mantras used to bind deities in a *maṇḍala*. Then, rituals of Vajravārāhī are done, followed by the *pañcābhiṣeka* and *vajrācāryābhiṣeka* initiations. The specific liturgy and *sādhana* for the *Vajravārāhī* rituals are not included, and the remaining *abhiṣekas* make use of Sanskrit drawn from the *Vajrāvalī* section on *abhiṣeka* and the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana*. The logic, here, is not that of initiations performed upon the deceased, for the preceding act of reinstalling the consciousness means that, ritually speaking, the deceased is in some sense temporarily resurrected and the initiations are no different than those performed for the living. As will be discussed, this sequence bears both similarities and key differences with practices done as a part of Śaiva funerary rites. Finally, the priest performs postmortem *utkrānti* on the now-initiated deceased, sending the consciousness from the body through the crown of the head. This is the extent of the description and analysis provided in the current chapter.

Place in Sequence and Context

To briefly contextualize its place in the overall sequence, it is worth summarizing the content of Chapter Three, as well. After the conclusion of the *utkrānti*, the remaining rituals

for the first day include *homa*, consecration and worship of the deceased, and summoning the specific form of Agni to be used in the cremation into a fire, which is kept burning overnight. The *homa* serves, as it usually does in Newar ritual tradition, as a framing ritual for the included rituals. However, as will be argued, it also has an elevated role in this particular sequence, owing to the fact that a portion of the rituals involve the summoning of a special form of Agni who will be invested with the task of burning the pyre when the time for cremation comes. After this point, the rituals follow familiar sequences that are found in various configurations elsewhere, such as in concluding *homa* rites and *bali* offerings.

Then, on the second day, after additional worship, the deceased is moved to a palanquin, and both are elaborately decorated. Unlike in ordinary funerals, the deceased is seated upright and secured with supports, so it really is a palanquin more than a bier. The procession to the cremation ground follows. At the cremation ground, a series of *pūjās* and the fire rituals is performed, culminating in the cremation of the body of the deceased. Particular attention is paid to the complex steps for transferring the fire between different types of torches and burning materials, borne in different specific vessels for transport. After the cremation, some of the ashes and remaining bone fragments are left at the cremation ground in a *caitya*, and some are brought back to the house.

On the third day, the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana maṇḍala* is drawn and empowered, the *SDP samādhi* is performed, and the ritual of washing the bones is undertaken.

On the fourth day, the ashes and bone fragments that were left at the cremation ground in a *caitya* mounded over with bricks are uncovered and used to create an ash and bone effigy, to which offerings are then made. Setting aside some of the bones, the effigy is then washed away into the river adjacent to the cremation ground. A portion of the ash and bones that remains is taken to a *tīrtha*, mounded into a *caitya* made with sand, and worshipped again. These are also then washed away in the river and a *nāga pūjā* is offered, with the Sanskrit text customized to include the name of the deceased in the invocation.

On the fifth day, the bone washing rite (performed once already on the third day) is repeated, treating some of the bones that still remain. There are no instructions for the sixth day; however, in the contemporary tradition, the sixth day provides a day of rest and time for such household tasks as doing laundry. Finally, on the seventh and final day of the initial sequence, the bone-washing ritual is done again, some of the remaining bone fragments/ash is mixed into clay, which is then used to make small *caityas* to be sent to five of the *tīrthas* in the Kathmandu Valley. In addition, a rice and food offering for spirits is completed, and the mourners, home, and temple are purified. A feast is offered, and the priest is paid. The text makes reference to alternative forms of the ritual sequence, in which instead of seven days, the process spans ten days (i.e. the number of days in the method used by Newar Hindus). Finally, the text ends by recommending additional *maṇḍalas*, *pūjās*, recitation, and further bone washing rites are recommended for either seven or twenty-one days thereafter.

Detailed Discussion of the Text

Having thus provided an overview of the entire ritual sequence, as presented in the portions of the manual covered in this chapter and the following one, we now turn to the specific discussion and detailed analysis, beginning at the start of the manuscript.

Analysis: Verses 1-4ab

(Based on *Samvarodaya*, Chapter 19, Verses 29-39)³⁵⁶

The first section of the text, filling the first five folios of the manuscript, is entitled "the chapter on the ascertainment of (the signs) at death and *utkrānti yoga*." This is, for the most part, consistent with the description of the section in its main source, the *Samvarodaya tantra*.³⁵⁷ The chapter itself combines verses in Sanskrit from the *Samvarodaya* with discussion and explanation in Newari.

It is not surprising to find the *Samvarodaya* employed in this context. The work is a relatively late, probably Nepalese, scripture connected with the *Śamvara/Cakrasamvara* cycle, a scripture that occupies pride of place in the Newar Buddhist tradition. Traditionally, there has been some controversy over the precise nature of the *Samvarodaya*, with Tibetan commentators such as Tshong kha pa and Bu ston debating whether the work should be considered a *mūla tantra*, an explanatory tantra (*bshad rgyud*) of the *Śamvara* cycle, or a commentary. This debate hinged largely on the myth (common to many tantric traditions) of a massive ur-text out of which all extant scriptures are mere extracts.³⁵⁸

³⁵⁶ Verses 29-39, approximately. See following discussion for details on variant and omitted (but commented upon) verses within this span. These exceptions are the reason it is only eight verses from the span between 29-39.

³⁵⁷ The titles vary slightly, but their import is the same: The current text ends the section with *iti mṛtyu-nirṇaya utkrānti yoga paṭala śubhaṃ*, while the *Samvarodaya* passage ends with *iti mṛtyunimittadarśanotkrāntiyogapaṭala ekonaviṃśatitamahā*// The difference may come from differing versions of the text, or, alternatively, it is possible that copyist error and subsequent attempts at correction are responsible.

³⁵⁸ Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya Tantra*, 39-44. According to Tsuda, Tsong kha pa noted the Tibetan perspective that the *Samvarodaya* can be considered a commentary, and at the same time an *uttara-tantra* and an explanatory tantra (*bshad rgyud*). Specifically, some of the confusion seems to be located around the various statements in commentarial literature about the *Samvara* corpus itself, where there are several alleged versions of the central work, only the shortest of which, the *Laghusaṃvara*, is extant, and which is thereby then also considered a *mūla-tantra*. Basically, one statement says that the *Samvarodaya* is an explanatory tantra of the no-longer-extant (and possibly mythical) *Śriherukābhidhāna* in 300,000 *ślokas*. However, the *Laghusaṃvara*, i.e. the extant text that is the *Cakrasamvara*, is also said to be an extract from a longer ur-text, and it is considered to be also a *mūla-tantra*. So, the reasoning goes, if the *Laghusaṃvara* is a *mūla-tantra* despite being an extract, and the *Samvarodaya* is an extract of the same text, then it too should be considered a *mūla-tantra*, not an explanatory one. This ambiguity is found in a statement by Bu ston. Tsuda concludes that the *Samvarodaya* can only provisionally be taken as an explanatory tantra (*bshad rgyud*), since it should have the same status as the *Laghusaṃvara*, and the latter is generally not taken as an explanatory tantra. As for the interpretation that it is a commentary, Bu ston says that it is "a tantra compiled as a commentary ('*grel par bsdu*s rgyud)," according to Tsuda. There is, ultimately, some ambiguity, such that Tsuda concludes, "it is difficult to determine precisely the character of the *Samvarodaya*; we must be content with the bare fact that some mutual relation exists between the *Laghusaṃvara*, the *Samvarodaya*, and the *Abhidānottara*, which, apart from the *Yoginīsaṃcāra*, can also be taken as a *mūla-tantra*" (45). Tsuda's provisional conclusion is that, "the *Samvarodaya* is closely connected with both the *Laghusaṃvara* and the *Abhidānottara*. Each of these three seems to reflect directly, even if in different manner and in different parts of the text, a common system, in another word, the larger *mūla-tantra*, which is not extant" (39-45 n. 2). It might also be noted, however, that rather than a commentary, Bu ston's comments can also be taken to mean that the work is an "abbreviated tantra" (Péter Szántó, personal communication).

However, for the verses adapted from the *Samvarodaya* in the current *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, the scriptural work with the closest connection is not the *Cakrasaṃvara tantra* (CS) itself, but rather the *Catuṣpīṭha tantra* (CP). The latter text is important in the *Śaṃvara* tradition because many *Śaṃvara*-related texts borrow extensively from it.³⁵⁹ Two of these related works, the *Vajradāka* and *Samputa*, also share other verses with the *Samvarodaya*, including some that overlap with the present section of the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual. These texts, which are estimated to date from the tenth century, predate the *Samvarodaya*, though it is unclear by how much, given the difficulty scholars have in dating the *Samvarodaya*.³⁶⁰

Whether the *Samvarodaya* adopted the verses from these sources or a common earlier text is unclear, but it is clear that the *Samvarodaya* borrowed the verses. In particular, the verses in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual correspond to verses 29-38 of the nineteenth chapter of the *Samvarodaya* (with verses 37 and 38ab omitted). Of these, verses similar to 35-38ab, and 39 can be found in chapter 21 of the *Vajradāka*, while verses similar to 36-38 appear in the *Samputa*, *kalpa* 8 *prakaraṇa* 3. It is worth noting that similar procedures for the preparatory *bandhana yoga* can also be found in the *Catuṣpīṭha* (Ch. 4.3.20-33). So too, the list of correspondences between the orifices of the body for the departure of the consciousness, and realms of destined rebirth, closely parallels that given in the *Catuṣpīṭha* (verses 4.3.38-42). Of these, the verses vary somewhat, but the number of gates/orifices (nine) and the correspondences are largely the same.³⁶¹ The *utkrānti* chapter of the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual more likely adapts the verses from the *Samvarodaya*, since it is only in that text (and not the *Vajradāka* or *Samputa*) that nearly the entire set can be found.

The manual consists not only of these Sanskrit verses, but also of Newari discussion and explanation treating each of the verses. Although there are points at which the Newari glosses specific words, the Newari text is not primarily a translation of the Sanskrit, and, particularly as the verses progress, it becomes clear that the Newar author sometimes added instructions (e.g. for the mantra recitation in the first section) or reinterpreted elements (e.g. the extraction of the a- and b-*pādas* from the fourth verse for discussion together with the third verse) as suited their needs. Thus, the Newari text provides neither independent instructions enclosing Sanskrit liturgies intended for recitation (where the semantic content of the Sanskrit is less significant than the act of its recitation, a widespread phenomenon), nor a translation, nor simply a commentary. The Newari is a version grounded in the Sanskrit but, in a sense, operating with its own priorities and agenda. The Sanskrit is used as the basis, but its inclusion serves also to adduce the source, and reinforce the authority, of the text, at least implicitly.

³⁵⁹ Péter-Dániel Szántó, “Selected Chapters from the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra*” (Dissertation, Oxford, Balliol College, 2012), 12.

³⁶⁰ Ibid.

³⁶¹ The differences: the destination for beings whose consciousness departs from the ears go to the realm of the *siddha* gods in the CP, while they go on to become *kinmaras* in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual. The similarity in number of gates (nine) is meaningful given that other texts which provide similar ritual instructions do not always number the gates in this way. See, for example, the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana*, in which two openings are counted separately distinguishing the urethra from the “path of semen.” (That said, a set of nine is by far the most common, and the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana*’s different total is unusual in this way. See discussion and quotation of its verses 16-20 in Chapter Four.)

Although the verses in this section are translated in the version of the *Samvarodaya* published by Tsuda, the particular readings in the present text sometimes vary, and the Newari passages' interpretation of them often diverges from the constituted text by Tsuda. Since my aim is to examine the text as a work from the Newar tradition, I try, as far as possible, to take seriously the readings given in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, and the Newar interpretation of them. However, at points where coherent translations cannot be derived due to corruptions in the manuscript, I refer to Tsuda's work. The most significant differences appear in verse 3cd (corresponding to Ch. 19 verse 30 of *SU*), and in the fact that 4ab is separated from 4cd and discussed with 3cd.

After the homage, the Newari text begins with what is the twenty-eighth verse in the nineteenth chapter of the *Samvarodaya tantra*, the "Chapter on seeing the signs of death and *utkrānti*."³⁶² The *Samvarodaya*'s first twenty-seven verses cover the "signs of death," which consist of marks or indicators on the body that are said to foretell the timeline for an individual's death. As an example: "When there are wounds on in the soles of the feet or a wound at the navel, he will then die after three days."³⁶³ The *Utkrānti-SDP* manual does not include this portion, but begins at its conclusion. It does, however, make reference to the earlier material, in that the first verse included begins "when various signs appear...",³⁶⁴ that is to say, when the signs of (impending) death (*mṛtyunimitta*) are detected. In addition to the signs, the verse states that *utkrānti* should be done when the patient's respiration has become irregular. The unusual expression used to describe the irregular breath—*śvāsā chijjati chijjati*—appears also (though in a different verse) in the first chapter of the *Catuṣpīṭha*, and Szántó clarifies that this may be based on a Middle-Indic pronunciation of *chid*, "constantly perturbed."³⁶⁵ However, in the present text, well-removed in time from the era of Middle Indic usage, it is more likely that the orthography reflects a peculiarity of Newar phonology.³⁶⁶

The Newari text to this first verse begins with a transition, suggesting a continuation of a discourse already in progress, stating, "Now, moreover, another means for victory over death: First of all..."³⁶⁷ Although such an opening makes little sense in the current context, given that this is the very beginning of the text, clarification might be found in the *Samvarodaya*, where the c and d *pādas* of the verse preceding the first included in the current text read, "Furthermore, I shall speak of another excellent meditation"

³⁶² *Mṛtyunimittadarśanotkrāntiyoga-paṭala*, in Tsuda's *Samvarodaya*, the Chapter beginning 128 (Sanskrit), 299 (translation). Tsuda translates *utkrānti* as "yoga of departure (of consciousness)," where I have chosen to leave it as a technical term in most cases.

³⁶³ *Ibid.*, 299. From verse two: *pādayos tālikāṃ viddhvā nābhau vedho yadā bhavet/ trayadivasaparād ūrdhvaṃ pañcatvaṃ gacchate tadā [2], (129).*

³⁶⁴ *nānā nimitta saṃprapta... {1v.2}.*

³⁶⁵ In a slight difference, the context in the case of the *Catuṣpīṭha* is that disturbed breath is the symptom that indicates an examination of the signs of impending death should be undertaken (Szántó, *Catuṣpīṭha*, 210). Here, in contrast, it is given as a sign that countermeasures (already) should be taken.

³⁶⁶ Personal communication, Alexander von Rospatt. (Of course, the historical range of usage of forms of Middle Indic is quite broad, in the present context the Newar influence is probably more proximate.)

³⁶⁷ *āo hanaṃ mevātā · baṃdhanāṃ · mṛtyujayelapeyāta · nhā-{1v.4}pāṃ]* Though possibly suggestive, it is also true that this is a fairly standard intro in tantric texts (Péter Szántó, personal communication).

(*Samvarodaya*, chapter 19 verse 27).³⁶⁸ Although not promising precisely the same thing, the suggestion of continuation is notable, and reference to a verse not included in the quoted verses but similar to the immediately preceding one from the source may explain it. Alternatively, if the current manuscript was extracted from a longer one, containing multiple works, it is plausible that the reference is to other rituals appearing in previous portions of the larger manuscript.³⁶⁹

If the reference within the Newari is to earlier portions of the *Samvarodaya*, it suggests that the author of the Newari portion had access to the larger *Samvarodaya*, not just the verses chosen for inclusion. This would mean the Newar manual's author/compiler was also responsible for the selection of Sanskrit verses. The alternative, that the subset of verses circulated independently prior to their arrangement in the current text, is also made less likely by the fact that, at a later point, a portion of the verses are omitted, but are, nonetheless, discussed in the Newari.

Given the way in which fragments circulate freely and quotation both with and without attribution is characteristic of Buddhist texts, this is noteworthy.³⁷⁰ That is to say, it would not have been surprising if these verses had circulated and been quoted multiple times before our current Newar author took up the task of commenting upon them. That there is reference in the Newari portion to a verse prior to what is included indicates that this was probably not the case, and our author had on hand either the *Samvarodaya* or, at least, some source quoting a larger selection of its verses.

The Newari text describes what follows as being for the purpose of "victory over death." Although this need not mean literal life-extension, the first option provided by the Newar author combines the *Samvarodaya* instruction to perform breathing practices (*utkrānti* and general breath yoga) with an additional practice—the completion of one hundred thousand mantra recitations. The specific mantra to be recited is not, however, provided.³⁷¹ The Newari text is, at this point, somewhat unclear, mentioning five years and either promising a continued lifespan expanded by "at least" that amount, or perhaps indicating that the breathing practices and recitations should be undertaken for that long. The former reading seems the more likely, given that what follows as an alternative are instructions on what an individual should do if they are prepared to die and do not wish to put it off further.

That alternative (i.e. the second option) is indicated in the Newari text following verses 2-4ab, which begins, "Alternatively, [for one who] does not wish to put off death: [that is,

³⁶⁸ Translation according to Tsuda, based on the verse from his edition, which reads, *aparaṃ kathayisyāmi śobhanaṃ bhāvanāntaram* [27] (Tsuda, *Samvarodaya*, 132, 301).

³⁶⁹ While the manuscript appears complete at start and finish, it is true that there is no colophon or title, opening the possibility that the current manuscript is an extract from a larger work, perhaps a collection of multiple ritual texts.

³⁷⁰ Buddhist texts are highly intertextual, in what Jose Cabezon, discussing Tibetan texts, calls "intertextual promiscuity," and attribution is more the exception than the norm. See José Ignacio Cabezón, "Authorship and Literary Production in Classical Buddhist Tibet," in *Changing Minds: Contributions to the Study of Buddhism and Tibet in Honor of Jeffrey Hopkins*, ed. Guy Newland (Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 2001), 251-52.

³⁷¹ Although not certain, the portion of the *Catuspīṭha* prior to the 'deceiving death' section recommends the recitation of seed syllables in response to certain signs of death, though it does not specify a number. In its case, there are different seed syllables recommended depending upon what sign of death is observed. It may be the case that here, too, there are different mantras or seed syllables required under different circumstances, and so they are not specified (Szántó, *Catuspīṭha*, 214).

for] someone who is dying and thinks, 'I don't want to keep living...'"³⁷² The latter passage gives a particular term for putting off death—*mṛtyuvañcanā*—literally to deceive or cheat death, which contrasts with, but may be taken as a synonym for the Newari-Sanskrit hybrid term used earlier, *mṛtyujayelapeyāta* (here translated as "for victory over death").

Mṛtyuvañcana, moreover, is also the name of a particular class of Buddhist ritual texts for preventing untimely death and restoring health for some span of time.³⁷³ Typically, two options are given, "cheating death" or *utkrānti*, precisely the pair of options offered in the current passage, although they are not obvious from the verses.³⁷⁴ The first of these is particularly popular in Tibet, where they are known as rituals for deceiving or ransoming death ('*chi ba bslu ba*; '*chi bslu*). Indic texts on this subject in the Tibetan canon include Tathāgatarakṣita's **Mṛtyusthāpaka*,³⁷⁵ Vāgīśvarakīrti's *Mṛtyuvañcanopadeśa*³⁷⁶ and **Mṛtyuvañcanapiṇḍārtha*,³⁷⁷ Abhayakīrti's **Ajitanāthastutīmṛtyuvañcanā-nāma*.³⁷⁸ These texts, and the Tibetan tradition that employs them, differ from the current text and present context, but they are nonetheless indications of the pan-Buddhist popularity of such ritual techniques. Similar too, such Indian and Tibetan texts are also closely linked to the investigation of signs of death with the death-deceiving rites; indeed, it is the signs of death that let an individual know of the need to engage in *mṛtyuvañcana* rituals, and, perhaps, suggest which ones should be used.³⁷⁹

After this statement in the Newari, verses 2 through 4a-b resume in Sanskrit, loosely based on the *Samvarodaya* verses 29 through 31a-b.³⁸⁰ Here, the specifics given in the *Samvarodaya* verses reveal a system that diverges from the *Catuspīṭha*, though one that matches the closely related *Vajradāka*. Specifically, our verse 2 mentions the manipulation of channels (*nāḍī*), a feature common to later *utkrānti* systems, but notably absent from the *Catuspīṭha* itself.³⁸¹ Although the Newar author, later in the text, provides some instructions, there remains little real detail on the relevant procedures. In short, the channels are to be filled with inhalation (verse two), the gates to the body (i.e. bodily orifices through which

³⁷² *atha vā · mṛtyu vaṃca-}{2r.3}nā ma yāsyē · jī mvāyē mayāla dhakaṃ · mṛtyu juyegu bhālapu mhana*

³⁷³ Szántó, *Catuspīṭha*, 208.

³⁷⁴ According to Szántó, (ibid.), the best-known example of this kind of text is the *Mṛtyuvañcanopadeśa*, by Vāgīśvarakīrti, see also Johannes Schneider, *Vāgīśvarakīrtis Mṛtyuvañcanopadeśa. Eine Buddhistische Lehrschrift Zur Abwehr Des Todes* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010).

³⁷⁵ Tibetan translation (Sde dge) Toh. 1702.

³⁷⁶ Tibetan translation (Sde dge) Toh. 1748.

³⁷⁷ Tibetan translation (Peking) Q. 4806

³⁷⁸ Tibetan translation (Peking) Q. 4605. See Mengele, "Chilu ('Chi bslu)," 103-29.

³⁷⁹ David Germano, "Death, Dying, and Other Opportunities" in *Religions of Tibet in Practice*, ed. Donald S. Lopez, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 466ff. Though discussing primarily the Tibetan tradition, Germano provides relevant discussion and translations of 'signs of death' and ransom ritual passages as well.

³⁸⁰ In part only, insofar as the c-d *pāda* of verse 3 differs considerably from the *Samvarodaya*'s equivalent verse 30c-d

³⁸¹ Szántó argues that the absence of such elements is due to the early date of the *Catuspīṭha*, which he identifies as the earliest scripture, though not the earliest text, to teach Buddhist *utkrānti* (The earliest non-scriptural text he identifies is the **Dvikramatattvabhāvanā-mukhāgama*.) (Szántó, *Catuspīṭha*, 458). See also Péter-Dániel Szántó, "The Sources for *Utkrānti* in Tantric Buddhism (Abstract: n.d.); and Catherine Dalton, "Enacting Perfection: Buddhajñānapāda's Vision of a Tantric Buddhist World" (Berkeley, University of California at Berkeley, 2019).

the consciousness could depart) are closed off and purified (verse 3a-b), through the practice of *kumbhaka*, or stopping the breath. So much matches the *Samvarodaya*, but then, *pādas* 3c-d of the Sanskrit text of the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual give a different reading from the *Samvarodaya*. In addition, the Newari text groups the 4a-b *pādas* with verses 2-3, so that the latter half of verse 4 does not appear until after the Newari intervention in the text. In the *Samvarodaya*, verse four is very much a single verse, so its separation requires significant reinterpretation as compared with the *Samvarodaya* reading.³⁸²

The Newar author explains the interpretation that leads to this choice in separating the verses. First, the appropriate circumstances for doing *utkrānti* are stated—reiterating the previous discussion, it is for individuals who do not wish to extend their lives. This is not to be taken as a suicidal impulse, it is for individuals who are dying, and are prepared to do so. For them, it states, the *utkrānti* should be done when they become sick and their breathing becomes labored. This is the discussion given for verse two.

There is a degree of fluidity in the discussion in this and adjacent sections on breath and health. The term in question is *śvāse* (*svāsa/svāse* in orthographic variants). It appears first in Sanskrit, in the first verse, in the context of agitated breath as the sign of deteriorating health (*śvāse chijjati chijjati*), and in that case, it quite clearly is intended to mean breath. The Newari explanation expands the meaning, however. When describing the outcome of following the recommended life-extending practices, it uses the word with added the Newari meaning of health overall, with the statement that one's health will flourish and become abundant, i.e. one's breath is restored (*svāsa purṇa juyāo*).³⁸³

When the time of death has come, the supreme *utkrānti yoga*:
one should fill the channels leading to the nine gates with inhaled breath. [2]³⁸⁴

The Sanskrit verses do not again mention the term, but the author returns to it in the Newari comment on verse 2a-b. Here, the Newar author carries on from the interpretation of the previous section as being a life-extending ritual by turning now to the alternative: individuals who do not wish to extend their lives and are dying, and ready to do so. When they become sick, it explains, "breathing will become labored" (*svāsa valavānu juyāo oyu*) and at that point, *utkrānti* should be undertaken. The 2c-d *pādas* are somewhat harder to correlate with their corresponding Newari text. They state that the channels (*nāḍi*) that go to the bodily orifices, called gates, are to be filled with inhaled breath.

³⁸² Though it is also possible that parallels could be found in other recensions of the *Samvarodaya*. For equivalent to verse 3 (verse 30 in the *Samvarodaya*, which in this version has differing c-d *pādas*: *kumbhakena stambhayed dvāraṃ dvārarandhraviśodhanam / recakena recayed viśvaṃ praśāntaṃ śāntam āvahet // 30 //*), Tsuda has: "Through stopping the breath (*kumbhaka*), he should check the doorways; this is the purification of the holes of the gates. Through exhalation, he will make (everything) calm, completely calm. Consciousness will (then) be carried away). For verse 4 (verse 31 in the *Samvarodaya*, which reads *viññānaharaṇaṃ kāryam anyathā pāragāmināṃ/ ālikālisamāyuktaṃ yojayeta vicakṣanaḥ//*, when read together, "Then the wise man should practice yoga which is equipped with *ali* and *kali* for the sake of the people going to the opposite shore (*pāragāmin*) [31]."

³⁸³ An additional connection or association may be with "*svāsthya*," health.

³⁸⁴ Corresponds to verse 29 of the *Samvarodaya*.

Through the *kumbhaka* [breath], the blocking [of] the gate[s]; purifying the apertures of the gates. Exhaling, speech departs; being calm, of pacified mind, [3³⁸⁵]

One should seize one's consciousness (*vijñāna*), otherwise one will go to the beyond. [4a-b]

Then 3a-b describes the practice to be done, *kumbhaka yoga*, which involves stopping the breath.³⁸⁶ In short, verses two and three seem to instruct that the process of purifying and closing the bodily orifices (gates) is to be done by first inhaling (verse two), and then exhaling and holding one's breath (verse three).

The latter half of verse three diverges in the current text from that of the *Samvarodaya*, and is further notable because it appears to contain something different from that which the Newari comments upon. The 3c-d *pādas*, which are the ones that diverge from what is given in the *Samvarodaya*, seem to indicate that, with the expulsion of breath (*recakaṃ*), speech departs³⁸⁷ (*vākya niṣkramya*), and one should be "calm, of pacified mind" (*praśānta śāntamānasam*). This differs from the *Samvarodaya*, which, according to Tsuda's edition and translation, serves to emphasize the calming effect of the exhalation.³⁸⁸ There is no mention of the comment about speech departing, as appears in the current text.

The Newari text does not mention filling the channels with inhalation (2c-d), but clarifies what is meant by *kumbhaka*: One first closes off the 'gates,' or bodily orifices. With this breath-stopping yoga, all breathing should be suppressed upon exhalation. This closes the gates and purifies them. There is, here, no mention of silence or the departure of speech. However, what follows in the Newari may nonetheless be commenting on the second line of verse 3, albeit based on a different reading. The statement that one should be "calm, of pacified mind" (*praśānta śāntamānasam*) in the verse finds no direct treatment in the Newari discussion, but a different and potentially relevant one stands in its place: the statement that "at that time, the *prāṇa* is ended" (*thva velasa prāṇānta juyuo*). Given those closeness in letter shapes in the Newar Lipi script in which the manuscript is written, it is possible that the *prāṇānta* is intended as referring on the *praśānta*—the *ṇ* and *ś* in the script are extremely similar, and a misreading or issue in the transmission is possible. What the Newar author meant by *prāṇānta juyuo* is another matter that is somewhat obscure. The *prāṇa* in the sense of life force/ *prāṇavāyu* has elsewhere in this text been used. However, there has also been slippage between the breath and life, and it is not much of a stretch to see the breath as standing metonymically for life overall, since the one cannot exist without the other. However, there are problems with taking *prāṇānta juyuo* to indicate the actual

³⁸⁵ Corresponds partially to verse 30 of the *Samvarodaya*. See translation comments on differences.

³⁸⁶ Sarbagya Bajracharya comments that the difference in the Newar tradition between *kumbhaka yoga* and *anapannasmṛti* is that in *kumbhaka yoga*, nine bodily orifices are blocked, while in *anapannasmṛti*, only three are. *Kumbhaka yoga* has a prominent place in the *Catuṣpīṭha utkrānti* section, where, together with its commentary, detailed instructions concerning mantra syllables and visualizations are also involved (Szántó, *Catuṣpīṭha*, 463ff).

³⁸⁷ One possibility that should be considered is that *vākya* here may be in error for *bāhya*, thus describing the breath "going outside." Thanks to Péter Szántó for this suggestion.

³⁸⁸ *recakena recayed viśvaṃ praśāntaṃ śāntam āvahet // 30 //* "He will make (everything) calm, completely calm" (Tsuda translation).

departure of the life force, for that is an event that is still to come, somewhat further along in the text. While it makes for a somewhat prosaic reading, it seems far more likely that this is just referring to the exhalation of the breath and holding the breath at this point.

Such a reading is then suggestive for the interpretation of the next statement in the Newari, also an otherwise unclear one. This states that, at this point, it is suitable to "be revived"/"become active"/"practice in an active manner" (*jāgarttanā yāye jio*). Although a certain understanding of this ambiguous phrase sounds like a much more dramatic reviving or change of state, taking the previous one to refer to the state of the breath could also mean that this is simply an instruction that the individual should resume breathing, after having stopped, briefly, for the closing and cleansing of the gates.

In an interpretation that differs from that of the *Samvarodaya* according to Tsuda, the two *pādas* that follow (4a-b, in the way they have been counted here) are read with those that precede them, and are separated from so-called 4c-d *pādas* by the Newari author's intervention and discussion of what comes before. If 4a-b is to be read with the preceding verse, however, the translation and Newari analysis are not particularly clarifying, for what follows the 3c-d in both the verses and Newari discussion diverge considerably. It is further impossible to come to the same reading as the *Samvarodaya*, due to this separation of the 4th verse (verse 31 of the latter). In the current text, 4a-b would seem to be reiterating the importance of these rituals, stating that "one should seize one's consciousness, otherwise one will go to the beyond(?)." ³⁸⁹ The difficulty of meaning for the latter half of this (4b) is very likely a product of attempting to read it without 4c-d, however the Newari author has not seemed to respond directly to either reading (i.e. either taking it along with verse 3 or taking it with 4c-d and imagining the Newari section has been erroneously interpolated a line too early). Rather, the Newari passage expands upon the practices being recommended. In addition to the breathing and calming procedure explained above, it prescribes a meditative/visualization program of becoming absorbed in one of several recommended deities. This process is called the *jñāna bhāvanā*, and although that term does not clearly what is entailed, the instruction is that one should become absorbed in the deities (*līna juye*). ³⁹⁰ As is apparent, this option—going to a deity—is not mentioned in the verse. The final line, *pādas* 4a-b, would seem to be the basis, since it is separated by 4c-d by the Newari segment, and the Newari text treatment very clearly ends with 4d (*anyathā pāragāminā*). In the *Samvarodaya*, the whole verse reads, "Then, the wise man should practice yoga which is equipped with *āli* and *kāli*, for the sake of the people going to the opposite shore (*pāragāmin*)" (Tsuda's translation, verse 31.) ³⁹¹ Taking the c-d *pādas* first, as this translation does, is not possible given the separation by the Newari text. Rather, it seems that 4a-b must be treated in the discussion of the alternative of "going to the deity" (*līna juye*), possibly the activity of the deities is intended as interpretation given to the *saṃsāra-pāragāmī yāye*, in the sense of the deities as the means by which individuals are helped to

³⁸⁹ *vijñānaharaṇaṃ kāryya · m-anyathā pāragāminā// (4a-b)*

³⁹⁰ One possibility is that *jñāna bhāvanā* could refer to contemplating the syllable *hūṃ*, as it does in the Catuṣpīṭha tradition (Péter Szántó, personal communication).

³⁹¹ Tsuda, *Samvarodaya*, 132, 302. (Sanskrit: *vijñānaharaṇaṃ kāryam anyathā pāragāminām/ ālikālisamāyuktaṃ yojayeta vicakṣaṇaḥ//*)

cross *samsāra*, and this is the "carrying away of consciousness" (*vijñāna-haraṇam kāryya*).³⁹²

Verses 4cd-11

The next section of Newari text treats the verses 4c-d through 7 (corresponding to the *Samvarodaya* verses 31c-d through 34). This sequence describes the visualization process, involving the manipulation of winds and seed syllables in the body. As a general observation, the description given is quite brief compared with versions that appear, for example, in the *Catuspīṭha* and **Dvikramatattvabhāvanā-mukhāgama*. Where those texts indicate particular elemental syllables used to block off the various gates, and others used visualized as moving around the body, the current description speaks only obliquely and partially, mentioning the *hūṃ* syllable, the "1.5 syllables," and the wind *bījas*. The *hūṃ* syllable in the parallel within the *Catuspīṭha* refers to the consciousness, and may here, as well.³⁹³ The half syllable that is mentioned may refer to a *candrabindu* or *anusvāra*, which would then suggest a parallel, despite different wording, with the *Catuspīṭha*.³⁹⁴ Specifically, CP 4.3.46 (Szántó translation): "After having affixed [to it] the drop and the roar, [the *yogin* should visualize] a wind-syllable at the base and [another] wind[-syllable] at the [other] end of the base. [With these] he should [start] drawing the root syllable."³⁹⁵ The "drop and the roar" are a -u and *anusvāra* added to the wind syllable *Ya*, creating the *Yuṃ* syllable employed here.³⁹⁶ This is plausible given what seems to occur in the *Catuspīṭha*: "The syllable *hūṃ*...on the wind disk is equipped with two wind-syllables, one at the bottom and the other at the top. These *Yuṃs* function like 'engines' to mobilize the *Hūṃ* syllable, which in essence is the *yogin*'s consciousness."³⁹⁷ This compares with the *Samvarodaya*'s (and, therefore, the *Utkrānti-SDP*'s) verse, in which syllables are also placed above and below, though the verse itself is not entirely clear. It should also be noted at this point that the *Samvarodaya* and *Utkrānti-SDP* manual diverge in *pāda* 5c-d (corresponding to SU 19.32c-d), with the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual specifying "all of the winds facing down," and the

³⁹² Another alternative, if *prāṇānta*, as death, of the commentary is not the reading given to the *praśānta* (of 3c-d), is that the *prāṇānta* may be the intended interpretation of the "carrying away of consciousness." There is support for this possibility in the fact that as the verses and commentary continue, the *Samvarodaya* verses will again refer to the *vijñāna*, both explicitly and as the implied subject of following verses, but meanwhile, the Newari commentary continues discussion of the *prāṇa* or *prāṇavāyu*. Although in textual discussion of consciousness, the *prāṇa* and *vijñāna* are very much distinct and separate entities, it is likely that in the current instance, the Newar commentator is glossing *vijñāna* with *prāṇa*, a term with more colloquial resonances. More precisely, as Todd Lewis has also noted, in the context of Newar funerary rites, the *prāṇa* or *prāṇavāyu* is understood to be the karma (not just its vehicle), which is really the key point here. See Lewis, "Modern Guide," 15.

³⁹³ Szántó, *Catuspīṭha*, 463.

³⁹⁴ A "half syllable" being an *anusvāra* or *candrabindu* may appear, for example, in mentions of "sixteen and a half syllables" to mean the set of vowels together with nasal, see for example a comment by **Vitapāda* on *Buddhajñānapāda*'s **Dvikramatattvabhāvanā-mukhāgama* (Personal communication, Catherine Dalton, May 1, 2016).

³⁹⁵ From Szántó's edition: *vāyubījasya mūlāni vāyu antasya mūlakā/ bindunādaṃ tu saṃyojya karṣaye mūlabījakaiḥ// 4.3.46//* (Szántó, *Catuspīṭha*, 220).

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 463.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

Samvarodaya states only that the wind syllable should face down "at the lower part of it."³⁹⁸ In what follows, the current text instructs that the two syllables should be joined, and mantras recited twenty-one times. Although this differs in its specifics from the *Catuspīṭha*, the manipulation of the syllables with the breath in the latter is similarly to be done twenty-one times.

Another possibility, suggested by Tsuda, is that the one and a half syllables are the syllable *Hik*, although he gives no further clarification of the matter. A particular difference between the *Samvarodaya* and the current text arises in that the current text, in verse six, identifies the mantra to be recited twenty-one times as the "three-syllable" mantra. On the surface, this would seem to make sense if it is, somehow, the union of the two 1.5 syllables. However, where the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual reads "three syllables," the *Samvarodaya* again says "one and a half." The possibility exists that this is the result of an error, not a different intended sense—it is possible that copy errors recording the first 1.5 syllables as *dakṣaram* instead of *dvyardhākṣaram* were then reinterpreted in the current instance as *trekṣaram*.³⁹⁹

The Newari discussion reveals little about its author's interpretation of the verses, and focuses on the fact that the practice should be done via visualization of the *hūṃ* syllable on the heart. Then, one should imagine a pair of wind syllables below it, and join them together with the *kumbhaka* (breath stopping) *yoga*, and it is the wind syllables that are to be recited twenty-one times. Regardless of the specifics of the syllable manipulation, the Newari section's real contribution begins at this point, where the explanation goes beyond anything included in the *Samvarodaya*, and is also different from the *Catuspīṭha*. It states, "One should imagine, with the mind, that the wind [syllable] takes the form of whichever [deity] is the *parameśvara*. Whatever person meditates using that *yoga*, for them, the life force will go out to the universe, to the divine, to be absorbed in Śrī Parameśvara" (3v.2-5).⁴⁰⁰ It recalls the earlier addition in the Newari treatment of verses 4a-b (2r.2), in which meditating on the *parameśvara*, or another deity, is encouraged as the breath practice is undertaken. The overall purpose is then explained as serving a kind of backup function, for the text continues, "Doing [these practices] to this extent, [even] if the life force goes on a bad path (i.e. out a bad orifice, towards a negative rebirth), it is certain to end up on a good path. One who does this [practice] will certainly not take further births, but having attained worldly achievements (*siddhis*), will go on to accomplish liberation" (3v.5-4r.1).

Returning to the verses, the eighth verse turns from the discussion of breath and syllable manipulation to the indicators of rebirth in various realms. Corresponding to the thirty-fifth verse of the *Samvarodaya* (chapter 19), it promises to explain the division into good, neutral, and negative rebirths. The auspicious rebirth options are described first; if the consciousness departs from the navel, rebirth will occur in the in a heaven of the desire

³⁹⁸ Tsuda, *Samvarodaya*, (32c-d): *vāyubījan tu tadadhobhāge tad adhomukham* as compared with the *utkrānti-SDP* manual (5c-d): *vāyubījan tu r-adhobhāgā sarvavāyu adhomukhaṃ*

³⁹⁹ See also notes to the edition at 3r.1. Another possibility might be that three syllables is in fact intended, not just through error but through the logic of reading *dvyardha-* and *dvi+ardha* (two plus its half (half of two being one) = three) (Péter Szántó, personal communication).

⁴⁰⁰ It is unclear to me whether, at various points, *parameśvara* is intended as a general term for one's preferred deity, or as a fixed epithet of a particular deity. The former interpretation is held within the Newar tradition, however.

realm. If it departs via the forehead (*bindu*), rebirth is taken in the form realm.⁴⁰¹ The last positive option, leading to rebirth in the formless realm, comes about if the consciousness departs from the "upper way" (*ūrdhva*-). While this differs from the *Catuṣpīṭha*, which states ambiguously "an abode above," commentators on that text have glossed it as the formless realm or "a special incarnation."⁴⁰² The *Mṛtasugatiniyojana*, to be discussed in Chapter Four, differs from this slightly. It assigns the head (*śiras*) to rebirth in the formless realm. Separate from the regular listing of such correspondences (and outside the standard set of nine gates), it says that departure from the "upper way" (*ūrdhvena*) guarantees either liberation or rebirth in a pure buddha realm—two possibilities that are not mentioned in either the current text or the parallel verses of the *Catuṣpīṭha*. Notably, the current text thus gives no option, at this point, for a route leading to liberation.

Now, moving on to the more ambivalent rebirth possibilities, the nostrils are assigned rebirth among the *yakṣas*, and the ears lead to rebirth as a *kinnara*. This completes the eighth and ninth verses of the current text, or thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth of the *Samvarodaya*. It is not the end of the enumeration of rebirth possibilities, but the verses explaining the last four departure points (eyes, mouth, penis, anus) are omitted from the text. However, the Newari text, which resumes at this point, does comment on them.

There is, at this point, a divergence between the Sanskrit verses and Newari, dependent on the interpretation of *bindu* and *rūpa* in the eighth verse. The Newari agrees with the first departure point and destination pairing—that exiting from the navel leads to rebirth in heaven (though it does not explicitly identify this as being within the desire (*kāma*) realm, as the verse does). The verse then goes on to name rebirths in the two realms higher than the *kāma*, that together make up the Buddhist "triple world" (*trailokyadhātu*): the form (*rūpa*) and formless (*ārūpa*) realms: departure via the forehead (specifically the *bindu*) leads to the form realm, while departure via the "upper" way (*ūrdhvanā*), or crown of the head, go to the formless realm. That is to say, the verse lists the departure points for the three better (though still *saṃsāric*) rebirth possibilities, each of which is assigned to one of the three realms.

The Newari provides a different interpretation. Though it agrees with the verse stating that departure from the navel leads to rebirth in the (desire realm) heavens, it reads the second pairing—forehead (*bindu*) and form realm—differently, as an explanation that, however the *prāṇa* departs the body, it takes the form (*rūpa*) of a drop (*bindu*) as it goes out.⁴⁰³ While this may differ from the Sanskrit, it provides an insightful suggestion of how the consciousness is to be imagined visually, according to the Newar tradition.

The third pairing in the verse ("upper way" *ūrdhva* i.e. crown of the head with the formless realm) is also treated differently in the Newari. Specifically, the Newari text identifies this aperture with liberation, not (as in the *Samvarodaya* verse) the formless realm (a high but still ultimately *saṃsāric* destiny). The departure point is given as the fontanelle, the aperture at the crown of the head (*brahmarandhra*)—the opening targeted by

⁴⁰¹ The *bindu* is identified as the space between the eyebrows in a number of sources, including commentaries on the *Catuṣpīṭha*, and other parallel texts, including the **Dvikramatattvabhāvanā-mukhāgama* (Szántó, *Catuṣpīṭha*, 459). The *MSN* indicates essentially the same thing, but calls it the *ūrṇā* hair (verse 18).

⁴⁰² Szántó, *Catuṣpīṭha*, 459. Specifically "a special incarnation" is the term used by Bhavabhaṭṭa, while the formless realm is the gloss given by *Smṛtijñānakīrti* as well as the **Dvikramatattvabhāvanā-mukhāgama*.

⁴⁰³ {4r.6} *gathya onī dhālasā · bindu rūpa juyāo · prāṇa pihā onyu*

utkrānti.⁴⁰⁴ From that point, the Newari section moves on to the rebirth destinations described in the ninth verse: rebirth as a *yakṣa* if via the nostrils, and rebirth as a *kinnara*, if by the ears.

Then, the Newari continues, addressing the omitted verses (which appear in the *Samvarodaya* as 37 and 38a-b). They identify the remaining rebirth destinies: departure via the eyes, mouth, urethra, and anus. The first of these, as it appears in the *Samvarodaya*, is somewhat obscure (as is also evident by its treatment in the Newari). In the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana*, departure through the eyes leads to rebirth in the human realm, and, similarly, in the *Catuspīṭha* (4.3.39) it results in birth "as a king among men."⁴⁰⁵ The particular issue in the *Samvarodaya* verse is the presence of *devī*, reading: *cakṣubhyāṃ yadi gate devi/(ī) nararājyo bhaviṣyati*. Tsuda takes it as a vocative "oh goddess," though gives no explanation of this.⁴⁰⁶ The parallel *pāda* from the *Catuspīṭha*, which is similar, has in the same place *jñānaṃ*, the consciousness that is the subject of the verses: *cakṣu yadi gate jñānaṃ* (4.3.39),⁴⁰⁷ however this does not clarify the *Samvarodaya* version. One possibility might be that the *devī* is intended as queen, intending "king or queen in a human realm," though the queen has been broken out of the compound and separated unexpectedly. The Newari interpretation has not taken it thus, however. Rather, it has taken the Sanskrit phrasing and added *bhūvana-sa* (in the realm), for an interpretation that departure via the eyes leads to rebirth as a "king of men in a goddess realm" (*mikhānaṃ pihā onasā · devī bhūvanasa · nararāja jūyu*). This, too, presents a conundrum in terms of the sense but one that, at present, cannot be solved with what is here provided.

Following this, and more easily understood, the *Samvarodaya*'s remaining omitted verses add that departure via the mouth leads to rebirth as a *preta*, via the urethra leads to rebirth as an animal. The Newari agrees, adding specifics such as bird or snake to the animal rebirth options. The final possibility, departure via the anus, again differs. Where the verse gives hell, the Newari understands the fate to be rebirth as a *bhūta*, *preta*, or *piśāca*. Here, *preta* may not be meant as the full realm of rebirth (as it is when it appears paired with the mouth), but is included among these states, which are incomplete (*agati*) rebirth destinies; indeed, *agati* (without rebirth state) is itself identified as an option.⁴⁰⁸ Consequently, hell (*naraka*) is not named among any of the options, and seems to have been substituted with various states deemed *agati*. It may be that the interpretation of *naraka* in the Newari portion includes these other states. Alternatively, and more broadly speaking, it is also possible that the verses to which the Newar commentator was responding diverged from the preserved *Samvarodaya* verses. However, their omission in the current text makes this

⁴⁰⁴ The manuscript in fact reads not *brahmarandhra* but *bramhāṇḍanaṃ*, but the latter is less plausible as a departure point, and the aperture at the crown of the head is most likely intended {4r.6}.

⁴⁰⁵ Szántó, *Catuspīṭha*, 460; (Skt: 217).

⁴⁰⁶ Tsuda, *Samvarodaya*, 303. Manuscripts Tsuda examined include both versions containing *devī* and *devi*. A likely reason may be that in the larger *Samvarodaya* context, the conversation is with a goddess.

⁴⁰⁷ Szántó, *Catuspīṭha*, 217.

⁴⁰⁸ The rebirth fate of becoming *agati* is also mentioned in the "Modern Guide," examined by Lewis. There, it is stated that the body must be in contact with iron after death, so as to prevent the *prāṇa*, which has departed at death, from reentering the body. If it reenters the body, the individual will become *agati*, "an unhappy malevolent spirit unable to pass into a new existence" see Lewis, "Modern Guide," 16, 44 n. 58.

impossible to determine. The final line of the Newari section states that "there is nothing other than this." This may apply either to the final member in the list—rebirths after departure from the anus—or it may apply to the whole list.

Alongside the divergent interpretations of the worst rebirth possibility, the best one also raises questions. As written in the *Samvarodaya*, the verses do not name liberation among any of the options, and say (of the positive options) that these are the "auspicious departure points on the body, as distributed over the realms [of rebirth]."⁴⁰⁹ This seems to suggest the list is intended to exclude liberation, the one option outside the various *samsāric* options. There is further support for this in the final *pāda* of the omitted *Samvarodaya* verses (38-ab), which states that "the rebirth fate (*gati*) of liberation is otherwise (*anyathā*)." As for the Newari text, its final comment in this section, likely intended in response to the exclusion of liberation in the verses, instead serves to state that this list is comprehensive ("There is nothing other than this" i.e. no other rebirth possibilities").⁴¹⁰

One reason for this difference in interpretation may be that the Newari text's reading does, in fact, include liberation. Where the verse names the "upper way," understood by commentators on similar term in the *Catuspīṭha* to mean crown of the head, as the departure point for rebirth in the formless realm, the Newari segment seems to give the more specific fontanelle (*brahmarandhra*), and states that it leads to liberation. Although the *Catuspīṭha* verse differs, it too employs the term *ūrdhva*, in both the departure point and destination.⁴¹¹

The tenth verse (a half verse), corresponds to 38c-d of the *Samvarodaya*, turns to the question of the appropriate time for the performance of *utkrānti*, namely it should be done at the time of death. The verse warns that doing the practice prematurely will result in "striking down the deities," and lead to rebirth in hell. This, precisely, is why recognizing the signs at death is important; one needs to know when to initiate *utkrānti*. Here, the signs at (or of) death seems particularly relevant to verses earlier in the *Samvarodaya*, in which various omens are described as indications of the time remaining until death. These verses are not included among the quotations in the current text, however.

The eleventh verse (thirty-ninth in the *Samvarodaya*) reiterates that striking down the deities (as would occur if one did *utkrānti* too soon, before death arrives) leads to rebirth in hell, saying specifically that those who strike the deities down will cook or burn in hell.⁴¹² The *Samvarodaya*, again, is more explicit, and refers to those who kill (*ghātanam*) the deities (as opposed to "strike down" *pātanam*). However, turning to the Newari portion, there is no mention of harm done to the deities, and instead of a statement that doing the practice in an "untimely" way will harm the deities, thereby leading to hell, it says that failing to do *bhāvanā* of the deities will lead to hell.⁴¹³ This more general cause and

⁴⁰⁹ Given thus most clearly in the *Samvarodaya*. The current text substitutes "heart" (*hṛdi*) in place of "realm" (*gati*), but this alternate reading may be an attempt at correcting syllables that became corrupted at some point.

⁴¹⁰ *anyathā jūya madu*

⁴¹¹ Szántó's edition reads, at the relevant point, *ūrdhva ūrdhvakasthānasya gatyā tasyāparītavataḥ*, translated as "[Exiting] above [it will go to] an abode above. Having gone there..." (Szántó, *Catuspīṭha*, 216, 459).

⁴¹² The *Samvarodaya* verse is more explicit: there, it says explicitly "killing the gods" (*devaghātanam*), where the current text has "striking" (*devapātanam*). However, the sense of harm to them is the same. In addition, the distinction between *ghā* and *pā* could easily become mixed, so a simple error is also possible.

⁴¹³ *gvamha manuṣyenaṃ · deva-{5r.2}tāpānisayāgu · bhāvanā mayāta omha manuṣye · avasyenaṃ · naraka paryyaṃta gati onō//*

consequence does not engage with the verse's concern: the notion that doing *utkrānti* before death is imminent constitutes suicide, because it kills the deities within the body, according to tantric theory. *Pādas* 10a-b (*Samvarodaya* 38c-d) appears also in the *Catuṣpīṭha*, which although discussed throughout this section for its parallels with the *Samvarodaya* (one of its sources), has not otherwise contained the same verses, though their intent is often the same. The *Catuṣpīṭha* contains multiple references to this concern with untimely *utkrānti*. More broadly, the idea appears elsewhere, with the verse itself having a probable origin in the *Guhyasamāja tantra*.⁴¹⁴

The question arises as to whether doing *bhāvanā* of the deities in this passage is intended to refer to practice more generally, or to specifically the *utkrānti* practices herein discussed. In general, in both textual sources and living traditions, *utkrānti* is a specialized practice requiring certain ritual qualifications; it is not the default option administered to ordinary individuals. In the Newar tradition, it is reserved for individual with a high ritual status, especially those who may have practiced the living version of the practice while still alive, in preparation.⁴¹⁵ According to texts, too, the practice was reserved for elites; Jagaddarpaṇa, in his preface to the portion of the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana* that he incorporated into the *Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya*, comments that the ritual is intended for *vajrācāryas*.⁴¹⁶ It therefore seems likely that the fate of hell is here being promised to those who generally do not practice and keep the precepts.

The next line then reiterates that, knowing the signs of death, the *utkrānti* practices should be done, and being done, individuals will attain auspicious rebirths. Here, again, there is a reduction in the degree: though in other contexts, *utkrānti* is promised to result in full liberation, here the Newar commentator only promises an auspicious rebirth (*śubha gati-sa*). Again, this seems to suggest that there is a management, or adjustment, of expectations, once filtered through the Newar perspective. Liberation is not generally seen as a realistic goal for most people, and so attaining a good rebirth is understood to be the desired outcome.⁴¹⁷ Similarly, though less well attested elsewhere, there seems to be a similar adjustment that serves to ameliorate the severity of a bad outcome—hell is not so much on the table, but failure to achieve rebirth in a real *gati*, either as a wandering *agati* spirit, or as a *bhūta*, *preta*, or *piśāca*, are instead the dangers identified.

At this point, the sections excerpted from the *Samvarodaya* end. This concludes the first portion of the text, wherein the practitioner was first instructed on ways to prolong life, and

⁴¹⁴ The *Catuṣpīṭha* references to this idea occur at 4.3.42 (461), and especially 4.3.55. Szántó cites the *Guhyasamāja* (17.50ab: *pañca skandhāḥ samāsenā pañca buddhāḥ prakīrtitāḥ*) as the *locus classicus* for the idea (Szántó, *Catuṣpīṭha*, 468).

⁴¹⁵ As previously discussed, *utkrānti* can be practiced in three time frames—the original practice to be done at death (as here described), a living practice that can be incorporated into one's personal ritual repertoire, and practiced in order to prepare for the practice at death, and a postmortuary practice to be done by a ritual officiant for a patron (as will be discussed later in this text). On the distinction between these three, see Tadeusz Skorupski, *The Buddhist Forum Volume VI* (Tring, UK; Berkeley: The Institute of Buddhist Studies, 2013), 144-54.

⁴¹⁶ Sanderson, "The Śaiva Age," 127 n. 295. In contemporary Nepal, the restriction is much more limiting than simply *vajrācārya* status; indeed, among priests I spoke with, not all had even witnessed such a ritual, and those who had, had only seen it a handful of times, at most.

⁴¹⁷ This is consistent with other observations in Buddhist societies, where, in general, a good rebirth or rebirth in heaven becomes the central focus of practice. See, for example, Lewis, *Popular Buddhist Texts*, 175.

then on procedures to undertake when death approached, and activities to be done as death occurs. At this point, it is time to begin the second part of the text, which deals with the funeral ceremonies.

Verses 12-14

The text continues with three verses (numbered 12 through 14, continuing the numbering from the previous section) accompanied with Newari text in the same fashion as the previous *Samvarodaya* quotations. However, these verses are not derived from the *Samvarodaya*. They can, however, be found in the *Pāpaparimocana* (*Pp*), also called the *Pāpavimocana* and published as the *Mañjuśrīpārājikā*.⁴¹⁸

The twelfth verse exhorts the reader to do the funeral rites properly, for beings who are drowning in the ocean of *saṃsāra*. The Newari treating this verse reiterates this sentiment, but with a twist: its intent is focused on *utkrānti*.⁴¹⁹ It asks rhetorically about the reason *utkrānti* is to be done, and then answers by mentioning the ocean of *saṃsāra*. It asserts, quite in line with the verse, that rituals must be performed for people in the world to attain liberation. The Newari's twist is not the mention of the later purpose and importance of funeral rites (which is stated in *pādas* a-b of the verse), but the mention of *utkrānti* as the overall topic, including it among the "many rituals" (*anega vidhi*) needed. It seems that *utkrānti* has been added to the understanding the current text has of what all the funeral ceremonies include.

The thirteenth and fourteenth verses address an important feature of the funeral ceremonies, and one that differentiates it from those described in the earlier portion of the text, namely, that funeral ceremonies are rituals performed by a priest or priests on behalf of a patron, the deceased person. Unlike the rituals described and quoted from the *Samvarodaya utkrānti* chapter, these are now rituals done for another. More specifically, the verses identify the rites needed as being those found in the texts on death, and their purpose as being the purification of all obstructions (*sarvāvaraṇa*).⁴²⁰ Though such generalizations do not reveal which of the *āvaraṇas* the author is referring to, the particular phrasing "purification of all obstructions," (*sarvāvaraṇa-viśodhana*) the purificatory theme is in line with the *SDP*'s and text's funerary aim. If so, the referenced "text on death" (*mṛtasūtre*) may

⁴¹⁸ Also called the *Pāpavimocana*, transcribed and translated by Brough (but unpublished) based on a manuscript brought to Cambridge by Wright (# 1276: <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01276/4>) and prepared sometime before 1953 (the date of publication for the BHSD). See below n. 419 on other versions with the variant titles.

⁴¹⁹ That is to say, the rhetorical question alone is not unusual (it is a common commentarial strategy), but the following discussion is specifically intent on the *utkrānti* as an answer.

⁴²⁰ Where it appears in the *SDP*, it is either in compound as *sarvakleśajñeyāvaraṇasamucchedajñānaprāptāḥ*, or, more frequently, simply (as in the root mantra) *sarvāvaraṇa* or *sarvakarmāvaraṇa*, often combined with *viśodhana*. While the first instance mentions the two classes—*kleśa* and *jñeya*—the first that can be overcome by lower level practitioners, and the second that can only be overcome by advanced bodhisattvas who have an understanding of emptiness, the more commonly found (in the *SDP*) *karmāvaraṇa* appears earlier and has a more general meaning of being obstructed by one's karma. In some sources, it may refer to obstructions to successful meditation, and these may include, for example, the five acts of "immediate retribution" (i.e.), however it may also apply to other acts (Robert E. Buswell Jr. and Donald S. Lopez Jr., *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014)).

in fact refer to the *SDP*—or have become understood as such, by its Newar audience.⁴²¹ This may be even more likely given that in the Newar context, the *SDP*'s purificatory role is emphasized, and in the line in the Newari presently, it emphasizes that one should "undergo all varieties of purification."

The two verses (thirteenth and fourteenth overall in the current text) emphasize that rituals should especially be done for those who are incapable of performing rituals for themselves. The latter qualifies the former, however: employing the analogy of a boat, the fourteenth verse points out that not only are rituals done by another important for those who cannot perform them on their own, but that, conversely, there is no utility in such 'rituals done for others' if one *can* do them on their own. Here the metaphor of a boat is employed. However, it should not be assumed to be the same metaphor as in the traditional *Lotus Sūtra* idea of a raft as the skillful means which is Buddhist dharma. In this case, the boat is only the skillful means of rituals done on another's behalf. For those who can do rituals on their own, there is no need of a boat, i.e. such rituals done by another. However, to a certain extent, there is a similarity to the raft metaphor, for the Newari text does specify that that which is being crossed (not mentioned in the verse), is the ocean (i.e. of *saṃsāra*). Concluding the discussion of these verses, the Newari repeats that many rituals should be done for the deceased person for this reason.

While in part, the use of a boat for those incapable might suggest those who are incapable because they have already died, here the emphasis is more likely on the characteristics of the deceased, and the question of the state of their karma. That is, it is not so much a matter of self/other (*svārtha/ parārtha*) at this point, but rather the consideration of where an individual stands and to what degree further ritual efforts might be needed. Given that the rituals being presented involve *utkrānti*, it will generally already be assumed that the recipient was greatly accomplished, or at the very least virtuous in Buddhist practice.⁴²²

However, before moving on, these three verses offer an opportunity for further consideration of the genres of Newar Buddhist ritual manuals that combine Sanskrit and Newari text. Although found treating a variety of types of rituals, this kind of literature dates only as far back, most likely, as the fifteenth century.⁴²³ It does tend, however, to have a similar form, namely, it combined older Sanskrit passages from well-known texts with Newari instructions, interpretation, and paraphrase.⁴²⁴ What is particularly interesting about these three verses within this manual is that they originate from (or at least are also found in) another text, one for which Newari accompanying text has also survived. As noted above, the verses come from the work known as the *Pāpaparimocana* (*Pp*), which was transcribed and translated by Brough, although never published. The same text, with a variety of other names, has also been published elsewhere, however not all versions of the

⁴²¹ On this caveat, see below in the more detailed discussion of the parallel text of the *Pāpaparimocana*, in which there is a different reading. Even if an error in its origin, the *mṛtasūtre* does make sense and may have been accepted and adapted in context.

⁴²² Thanks to Péter Szántó for discussion of this particular meaning.

⁴²³ Rospatt, "Local Literatures," 823. However, given that this is also the more ephemeral types of literature, the preservation of which dwindles progressively the further back one goes, it is not necessarily certain that rougher works intended for personal use couldn't have existed earlier than those that have survived.

⁴²⁴ *Ibid.*

work include both the Sanskrit and Newari components; some provide only the Sanskrit portion. The version prepared by Brough does contain the Newari, however.

The Newari text is especially interesting to compare with that provided alongside the verses where they appear in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual.⁴²⁵ Most notably, the Newari comments are completely different, to the point that it seems unlikely that there is any degree to which they were themselves derived from a related earlier Newari text. Rather, these two sets of comments seem very much to be the writings of independent Newar authors, responding to the same verses but doing so in their own ways. Although it is difficult to generalize, the text provided with the *Pp* seems slightly more directly a paraphrase or summary, while the comments discussed above, in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, seem supplementary and explanatory, but not always direct. These verses discuss the importance of the rites, and the specific audience who should receive them. As discussed above, there was some ambiguity in the *Utkrānti-SDP* text about whether reference is more likely intended to be to individuals who are incapable of performing rites because they have already died, or because they do not know how to do them or are not qualified. In the *Pp*, the comments to verse 79 (i.e. equivalent to verse 12, in our text) suggest the target is specifically the dead.⁴²⁶ However, the following verse, again ambiguous in its own rite, receives comments in the *Pp* that suggest it is intended for those whose problem is rather different, namely, that they are not permitted certain ceremonies. The *Utkrānti-SDP* manual uses different phrasing and refers to individuals who are not able to do the rituals.⁴²⁷

There are other differences, which indicate a variety of differences, some stemming from variants in the verse. For example, a text referred to in verse 80 is called the *Amṛta sūtra*, while in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, it is referenced as the *Mṛta sūtra*—quite an easy difference, but one plausible in both cases. More interestingly, while in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual it seems to be a general citation for authority of all of the exhortations to do ritual, in the *Pp*, it seems—if the sections of Sanskrit and Newari are divided up as Brough has arranged them in the transcription—to be indicating that it is specifically the content of verse 81, and the comparison of the boat, that is being cited as evidence. The *Pp*, moreover, further asserts such authority with a reminder that it is a teaching of Śākyamuni. No similar statement appears in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual version, and it is not nearly as explicit that the mention of the "*mṛta sūtra*" is intended as a citation for the analogy in the following verse. The identity of the text referred to as "*mṛta sūtra*" is not immediately clear and was not recognizable to modern Newars as a proper name; in common parlance, if taken as simply a/the "text on death," it would not be unusual to think of the *SDP*, given the centrality of its *dhāraṇī*, in particular. However, the *SDP* is not, as far as I have determined, the source. It may then be that the *Pp* title, *Amṛta sūtra*, a more specific one, and the original

⁴²⁵ The correspondences between the verses occur at 79-81 in the *Pp*, which appear as verses 12-14 in the *Utkrānti-SDP*.

⁴²⁶ The text in the *Pp* begins (Brough's transcription):, *āo paraloka one yāta muktī choya yāta kriyā vidhī cosyam...* thus specifically focusing on 'those who have gone to the other world' (*paraloka one yāta*) (Brough, *Pp*, 127).

⁴²⁷ The *Utkrānti-SDP* manual mentions those who are "not able to do the rituals" (*kriyā yāye ma phoyāo*), while in the *Pp*, Brough translates "for him who has not the right to ceremonies" (In context of: *viśeṣa-na kriyā-hīna-pani-ta rakṣā yāya nimitta-na ji-na thva kha hlāya*. Although not necessarily significant, this does give an idea of how there are considerable differences in phrasing, at least (Brough, *Pp*, 127).)

one. It would not be difficult, in a text on funerary rituals, for the ambiguity in a reading between *amṛta/mṛta* for the latter to be read as a plausible reference. If so, it might also make sense that the specific reference to Śākyamuni does not appear, given that the reference has, in the case of *mṛta*, been made more generic, in a sense.⁴²⁸

Finally, one last point that can be made by the consideration of these two sets—the application of three verses and added commentary in the *Pp* and *Utkrānti-SDP* manual—is the point that the verses themselves are not explicitly about *utkrānti* rites, since the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual then turns to those, but the *Pp* does not. Thus while the verses are certainly about the importance of funerary rites broadly speaking, it is the author of the Newar discussion in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual who applies them specifically to the purpose of *utkrānti*, when writing in response to verse 12 (equivalent to verse 79 in the *Pp*), "Here is the standard for doing *utkrānti*...".⁴²⁹

Although these differences do not reveal anything dramatic, they are consistent with descriptions of the way Newar manuals are produced and used.⁴³⁰ In particular, they give direct evidence of the way that Newar ritual manual authors draw on a common pool of Sanskrit literature but may be free to comment on it and apply it in various ritual contexts as they see fit, a feature that has been noted as generally characteristic of Newar ritual literature, but rarely provided with textual examples of the variation in the results.

The Funerary Rites

While the funerary rites were introduced prior to the twelfth verse ("next, the funeral ceremonies are described"⁴³¹ {5r.6}), the actual instructions for the funerary procedures do not begin until slightly later.⁴³² The rituals are identified as such explicitly, however the initial practices described are in fact to be done prior to death itself. The text begins, "first of all,"⁴³³ highlighting that this is a turning point in the manual; although the verses and *Samvarodaya* discussion that began the text dealt with rituals, they were largely described in an abstract manner, without the specifics as to time, place, and means. Thus, here, at first, there is a degree of redundancy—the earlier verses prescribed longevity rites, but primarily in the context of a discussion of when it is appropriate to do *utkrānti* (i.e. when a person is prepared to die and no longer wishes to delay death).⁴³⁴ This reveals that the verses and supplementary discussion in the first section are qualitatively a slightly different genre, and it is only here that the funerary manual proper begins. Here, then, begins the "numerous rituals"⁴³⁵ that should be done for those in need.

⁴²⁸ I have been unable to identify whether an *Amṛta sūtra* is a well-known one, either as a short name for mainstream Indian Buddhist *sūtra* or a text with importance within the Nepalese tradition. The difficulty of locating it is multiplied by the additional possibility that it does not refer to a text but rather to a verse or small group of verses. (Thanks to Péter Szántó for this latter observation.)

⁴²⁹ {5v.1} //thana utk[r]ānti yāye pramāna

⁴³⁰ See for example Rospatt, "Local Literatures Nepal," 823.

⁴³¹ *atha antyestikriyām āha*

⁴³² At approximately {6r.5}

⁴³³ *nhāpām* {6r.5}

⁴³⁴ See verse two, above.

⁴³⁵ *anega kriyākarmma* {6r.5}

Actual Rites: Prior to Death

The first priority is an attempt to avert death, and so it is with longevity rituals that the priest must begin. The *vajrācārya*'s powers of observation are called on when he is instructed to evaluate to sickness (*roga*) that has befallen the dying person, as well as their current state. This is a necessary stage, for it will determine the course of the rituals that will follow: if death is truly imminent, a more abbreviated sequence will be done; if there is yet some time, the sequence will be more extensive, and will include not just the dying person, but also the family present.

In the first segment, a long-life *sādhana* is prescribed, along with common Newar *pūjā* practices and the vase consecration (*kalaśābhiṣeka*), after which the vase from the consecration is to be hung by the side of the dying person.⁴³⁶ The rituals in this section are, in general, to be done in the presence of the dying person in the home; however, at the outset, a visit to the tantric shrine (*āgama*) is also indicated, for the purpose of setting up the *pañcaśāli* offering.⁴³⁷ The *āgama*, or *āgam*, is the private shrine room in monasteries and individual households. It is the location where daily personal rites are performed, and while practices vary, as a tantric shrine, access to the room may be restricted to those who have received tantric initiations.⁴³⁸ The *pañcaśāli*, as the name suggests, involves offerings in five bowls, which contain, according to Sarbagya Bajracharya, wine, rice beer, buffalo meat, fish, and egg.⁴³⁹

At this stage, rituals are prescribed for the case in which there yet remains a little time before death. The instructions are highly condensed, essentially only listed, but in general they attempt to complete the full basic sequence of standard Newar worship rituals and the bestowal of consecration on the dying person. This begins with *tāḍana*, a frequently repeated protection rite involving the use of puffed rice, whole grain, and yellow and black sesame seeds, along with the accompaniment of specific mantras. As will be seen, this step will be repeated in many stages of the rites to follow, described in this chapter and the next. In this particular instance, the prescribed mantras for the occasion are identified as the "root mantra" (*mūla-mantra*) and the "four-faced mantra" (*catur-mukha mantra*), which should be recited 108 times.

Typically, the root mantra refers to the main mantra of the central deity/*maṇḍala* in the upcoming rites, whatever they may be. In the current instance, it is not entirely clear which

⁴³⁶ Here, and in what follows, many rituals will be mentioned repeatedly, and particularly common sequences appearing numerous times is a standard feature of Newar ritual. In general, the details of these rituals will be discussed at the point where they are most prominent and described in a detailed manner, rather than their first mention, if such a mention is only as an item in a list.

⁴³⁷ This is exclusively the set up; the ritual itself occurs below. See discussion of the *śāli grahaṇa*, below.

⁴³⁸ Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 283.

⁴³⁹ In the present context, Sarbagya Bajracharya also suggests, the *pañcaśāli* is suitably set up in *āgama* since it is a type of tantric offering, containing both meat and alcohol (personal communication). See also the mention of this ritual in Rospatt, where it is mentioned in historical sources (Chronicle 2) as well, Alexander von Rospatt, *The Svayambhū Caitya of Kathmandu and Its Renovations* (Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, forthcoming) 178 (draft). Recent published accounts of Newar ritual sequence have not discussed this subritual in depth.

one this should be; it may refer to the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana*, in which case the central deity would be Śākyamuni. However, I was not able to confirm this, and there are also grounds for doubt; although *SDP* rites will be central to the funerary procedures to come, they will not be prominent for some time yet, and rituals dedicated to other deities, such as *Vajravārāhī*, are introduced first.

The "four-faced" mantra is widespread, appearing in tantras ranging from the *STTS* to the *Samvarodaya*, and in one common form is: *Oṃ sumbha nisumbha huṃ huṃ phaṭ/ Oṃ grihna grihna huṃ huṃ phaṭ/ Oṃ grihnāpaya grihnāpaya huṃ huṃ phaṭ/ Oṃ ānaya ho bhagavān vajra huṃ huṃ phaṭ*. It is known in particular by the name "four-faced mantra" in the *Cakrasaṃvara* tradition, where it is used to establish the ritual perimeter and "circle of protection" (*rakṣā-cakra*) during *sādhana* practice.⁴⁴⁰ In the *Samvarodaya*, which has previously been referenced in the current text, it appears in this context ("binding the directions," *digbandhana*) in the second verse of chapter eight, where each mantra is to be directed to a different one of the cardinal directions.⁴⁴¹ This is consistent with the logic of the current moment ritually, being the stage where everything is set up and protected ritually for the rites that will follow.

As a part of attempting the full sequence of consecrations and related preliminary and concluding rituals, a highly abbreviated description lists only the most basic of these steps. If possible, both the dying person and "everyone," i.e. the family members should participate. Common *pūjā* is completed, the placing of a *ṭīkā* and exchange for the priest's payment (*dakṣinā*) is undertaken, consecration (*abhiṣeka*) is bestowed, along with the *śāligrahana* {6v.6}, which recalls the set-up previously mentioned of the *pañcaśāli* at the *āgama*. In this case, the offerings from the *pañcaśāli* are taken as *prasād*, and doing so constitutes the activity called *śāligrahaṇa*.⁴⁴² As with most common ritual sets, the concluding tasks of dismissal (*visarjana*) and purification of everything (*samastaṃ sucake*) should be completed.

These initial ritual segments are not fully explained, but rather simply listed in sequence. At this point, it is worth taking a moment to consider the Newar ritual tradition more broadly, because many of the rites at this stage are familiar ones, commonly prescribed for a wide range of ritual contexts. It would seem, in the current context, that the entire current set of rituals is to be done prior to death, for in the following section, in addition to stating that variant procedures should be done depending on how swiftly death approaches, it also instructs on the practices to be done as death truly approaches, or as the text says, "when the *prāṇavāyu* is ready to burst."⁴⁴³ The difference when death is truly imminent is that the

⁴⁴⁰ Elizabeth English, *Vajrayoginī, a Study of Her Visualizations, Rituals, and Forms: A Study of the Cult of Vajrayoginī in India* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2002), 133.

⁴⁴¹ Tsuda, *Samvarodaya*, 114.

⁴⁴² Based on the description by Sarbagya Bajracharya. Although *pañcaśāli* is mentioned in Rospatt *Renovations*, 178. The combination is not discussed in detail despite being, it seems, a fairly common one. This, the relative dearth of information, even on rituals that are not at all obscure within the Newar tradition, is a frequent challenge for studying the subject.

⁴⁴³ See at {7r.3} and discussion of death and the *prāṇavāyu* below. There are alternative explanations for this expression, *prāṇavāyu phutaye juyāo*] Kashinath Tamot suggests the term comes from the Nepali *phutnu*, "to burst out/have been broken," see Ralph Lilley Turner, *A Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language* (New Delhi: Allied Publishers Private Limited, n.d.). However, another possibility is the Newari word *phuye* (*phuta*), "to be spend, finished, used up," which would also fit. According to Sarbagya

abhiṣeka is to be done for the dying person alone, and not (as otherwise) the other participating family members.⁴⁴⁴ As this makes clear, these instructions thus apply even before death has occurred. This continues in the following steps, where family members give water for drinking to the dying person, from the vase that was used for the *kalaśābhiṣeka*. So too, if possible, the offering water for footwashing should also be given. These two, the offering of water for drinking and for footwashing, are common acts of worship and are based on the model of what a host provides for guests—a basic paradigm employed for interacting with deities, among others.⁴⁴⁵

There is some ambiguity in the reading of the water for the feet; ordinarily *argha*, a second possibility is that the intended word is, instead, *ardhajala*. While the latter term describes the state of a person with their feet "half in the water," the reference is to the practice of placing a dying individual with their feet in the water, symbolizing placing them at the bank of the Bagmati river, where, in idealized form, the rites are understood to be taking place.⁴⁴⁶ The actual method, instead of such an impractical task as moving the dying person around, involves (as the text specifies) placing or dipping their feet into water in a copper *kvalāpāta* basin. A more poetic interpretation is also suggested in addition by Kashinath Tamot, pointing to the symbolism in the fact that at this point the person is in a sense "half" dead/alive. That is to say, the physical circumstance of being halfway in the water stands metonymically for being halfway between life and death. This is appropriate given that, according to Sarbagya Bajracharya, this is the point truly at the cusp of death, the very last minutes of life. As such, another detail of the manuscript stands out, namely the fact that technically the offering of the two kinds of water are grammatically presented as alternatives, with a Sanskrit *atha vā* separating the Newari expressions. While Sarbagya Bajracharya asserted that this "alternatively" is not to be taken seriously and both should be provided, a literal reading of the text might also suggest that dipping the feet in water is an option to be undertaken if the individual is so close to death that they cannot take the offering of drinking water, brought by the family.⁴⁴⁷ In fact the difference between *argham* footwater, and *ardhajala* is not ultimately important, as Lienhard describes the ritual for the dying person's feet in a copper basin, calling it, too, *argha*.⁴⁴⁸ In the Newar context, this step

Bajracharya, the expression means "when the *prāṇavāyu* goes." Ultimately, with both words, the meaning is the same, for the departure of the *prāṇavāyu* is the event that marks actual death, as understood broadly.

⁴⁴⁴ At {7r.1}. It seems that other than the *abhiṣeka*, the other rites are still done for others as well: *rogī taoco julasā · rogīyāta mātra · abhiṣeka biye* - "If the sick person is about to die, the *abhiṣeka* should be done for the sick person alone."

⁴⁴⁵ Sharf, "Shingon Ritual," 85.

⁴⁴⁶ In truth, it is likely that *ardhajala* makes somewhat less sense, since the "foot-water" in fact should be *pādya*; however, this explanation exists in the tradition. This harkens back to the Sanskrit Brahmanical tradition whereby it is most auspicious to die, if at all possible, upon the banks of the the Ganges in Varanasi. The Bagmati river is, of course, one of the main rivers that winds through the Kathmandu Valley, and while not the only important river is nonetheless quite important. It marks the dividing point between the cities of Patan and Kathmandu.

⁴⁴⁷ This latter possibility is also suggested by Kashinath Tamot.

⁴⁴⁸ Lienhard, "Dreimal Unreihheit," 144. In particular: "Am soeben Verstorbenen wird die Zeremonie des (Nev.) *arghae lākegu*, des Zusammenführens von Todesaugenblick und *argha*", vollzogen. Die Verwandten tauchen die Füße des/der Toten in ein kupfernes Becken mit Wasser und gießen aus einem zweiten Gefäß Wasser aus der Bāgmatī oder einem anderen Fluß, oder überhaupt Wasser, das als heilig und unbeschmutzt gilt, über die Füße. Dem Toten, nun ein Gast jenseitiger Welten, wird somit die zeremonielle Wasserspende (*argha*)

is also seen in the funerary rites as outlined by Todd Lewis, in a contemporary manual for life-cycle rites. There, it specifies that *argha* water is poured on the legs while the priest recites mantras such as that of the *kuladevatā*.⁴⁴⁹

Ritual Participation

Before moving on to the bulk of the rituals, it is useful to take a moment and address not just the "how" and "what" of these rituals, but also "who"—who is present, and what roles they play. There is, to begin with, the deceased person, and for the most part, the rituals described are to be done in the presence of this individual. While the individual yet lives and is on their deathbed, this would be located in an appropriate room in the house. Upon death, as will be discussed, the individual is moved to a ground-floor space set aside for the rites within the traditional Newar courtyard house, or equivalent. The rituals are to be conducted by a *vajrācārya*, or Newar Buddhist priest. More specifically, at various points, the text calls for multiple priests. The minimum needed, it seems, is two: the main priest, or *mūlācārya*, and a ritual master, the *upādhyāya*. In general, the *upādhyāya* is understood as the ritual master, who is responsible for checking references and the process-knowledge needed to complete the rites. At points, different tasks are assigned to each of these individuals, and it may be possible that even more priests are present, however, this is the minimum required to fill the needed roles. Complicating the assigning of roles slightly, there is also occasionally reference to the *guru*. However, this is an honorific applicable to either role, but in the current text, usually the *mūlācārya*.⁴⁵⁰ Thus, for example, the *tāḍana* protection, above, is bestowed by the *mūlācārya* specifically, while the initial instructions to examine the deceased and do long-life rituals are to be done, at the very least, by the *upādhyāya*.⁴⁵¹ Once again, when the last rites begin in earnest, the instruction is given for the *guru* (i.e. *mūlācārya*) and the *upādhyāya*. There is some latitude in the number of priests, as more can

verabreicht, mit der man bekanntlich in älteren Zeiten, altindischer Sitte entsprechend, einen angesehenen Gast bei dessen Ankunft im Haus bewillkommnet hat. In einzelnen buddhistischen Familien ist es außerdem Sitte, im Todesaugenblick die Aparamitāyurdhāraṇī zu rezitieren."

⁴⁴⁹ Todd Lewis, "Modern Guide," 15 (Newari: 31). While, in the "Modern Guide" the Newari itself states *arghajala*, Lewis translates it simply as *argha*, again pointing to the identity of the two.

⁴⁵⁰ According to Sarbagya Bajracharya, overall in this text there are thus two priestly roles to be filled. Grammatically, the evidence for the *guru* as the *mūlācārya* can best be seen in the expression *guru · upādhyāpanīsenā* {6r.5}, in which the plural marker *panīsenā* indicates that *guru upādhyā[ya]* are two people.

⁴⁵¹ Following the previous note, this is a somewhat inconsistent point, for though in this instance there is a plural marker (see previous note), at other points, *guru upādhyāya* is listed without, and it appears more likely that it is the *upādhyāya* alone, also referred to as *guru*, who is performing the ritual. As far as patterns, the *mūlācārya* is consistently named as the performer of the frequent *tāḍana* protections; however, he is also the one named for many of the tantric rites. Perhaps the best evidence or case when the *guru* is the *mūlācārya* can be seen at *sādhana* section and effort made to recall the *prāṇa* of the deceased: the preliminary *nyāsa*, a step the ritualist must do on his own body before engaging in rituals for others, is named as an activity for the *guru*. In the what follows, after performing a visualization of light rays seeking out the consciousness of the deceased, it is the *mūlācārya* who is named as taking up the vajra-bell and summoning the deceased back, then binding them into the body with the mantras used to bind deities. (See at 8v.3 for the *nyāsa* and 9r.3 for the drawing in and binding of the deceased.)

be called in, which may increase in more elaborate performances, but which thereby require an increased cost to be paid on the part of the family.⁴⁵²

In addition to the clergy and the deceased, the third important party to the funerary rites is the principle mourner. This individual takes the role of what would be the patron (*jajmān*) in other types of rituals, and is selected on the basis of the identity and relation to the deceased. While not specified in the current text, typically it is the eldest son in the case of a man, and the youngest son, in the case of a woman.⁴⁵³ Alternative arrangements are possible, should these individuals be unavailable. However, the one who plays the role, in any case, is not referred to as the patron. Instead, this person is named by means of their most important task among all of the funerary rites to be conducted, as the "pyre-lighter." In addition, at various other points, there are other individuals required, such as the bone washing rites on the third day, to be done by daughters who have married out of the family. These will be discussed as they arise. However, for the current context, the final group to be included is the family in general. This includes all those who have come to observe the rites. For the most part, their actual participation is limited to such moments as the initial bestowal of consecration if death is not too imminent, and the taking of seeds and grain for the *tādāna* rite. However, at certain points instructions also include whether it is an appropriate time to weep, or if it is a time when vocal expressions of grief are prohibited. In the day two rituals, a number of important rituals are carried out by a primary set of five family members, the pyre-lighter and four others. These, too, will be discussed in the following chapter at the relevant point.

One should also remember that, in general, the principle mourner acting as the patron does not know the details of the complex ritual sequences and liturgies sometimes prescribed, nor is he expected to. The majority of the time, when the text calls for the worshipper to recite something (for example), this act is, in fact, carried out by the priest on the patron's behalf. It is understood that this adequately counts as the acts being done by the patron. As an example, in the description just below, the *saṃkalpa* is done with the priest reciting the Sanskrit text of the *saṃkalpa*, while the patron need only touch the *pūjā* plate, symbolically offering it to the priest. However, if one were to look at the text at this point, one finds that it instructs the patron (i.e. here: pyre-lighter) to do the *saṃkalpa*.⁴⁵⁴

At the Time of Death {7r.6}

At this stage, the text understands death to actually take place. When it does, the guru is instructed to observe the orifice from which the *prāṇavāyu* departs the body (discussed above in the *Samvarodaya* and Newari discussion on signs of death), and places the 'nine

⁴⁵² This is not stated in the manual, however it is a general feature of the options available when sponsoring rites in the Newar tradition. In addition, it is possibly that the funerary association or other social organizations like the monastery might contribute to the cost, in the case of prominent community members.

⁴⁵³ This is true anecdotally, in the contemporary tradition, at least.

⁴⁵⁴ *pūjābha saṃ- {8v.2} kalpa yāye · mitayumhanaṃ · macāmha · juosā · thākāli nokva juosām jio.* (Doing the *saṃkalpa* with the *pūjā* plate, it is acceptable if the pyre-lighter is a child, but it is [also] appropriate for a more senior person to be designated.)

jewels' (*navaratna*) in the mouth.⁴⁵⁵ This moment brings about the first shift in location of the deceased and ritual setting; upon death, the deceased is moved to the ground floor of house, into the space appropriate for the performance of the necessary rituals. In particular, the first set of instructions prepare the body for the *utkrānti* ritual by arranging the deceased in an upright seated position, as if in meditation. Of some interest as unusually practical details, it gives specific instructions for the way the body should be supported in its upright position by means of strips of cloth wrapped at the neck and attached with nails embedded in a backrest. At this stage, the family is also told that they must not weep.⁴⁵⁶

For the next step, the materials for rituals including the Vajravārāhī *maṇḍala* are set out, along with an image, which is placed near the head of the deceased. The image may be of either Vajravārāhī, Amitābha, or Ṣaḍakṣar(in) (Lokeśvara). The prohibition against weeping mentioned previously is here continued, in a sense, with a requirement that no noise be made. In the interest of this aim, a cloth is to be wrapped around the clapper of the bell, preventing it from sounding.

At this point, there is an intervention in the text in the form of additional instructions noted in the margin. Because the grammar does not allow a coherent reading when the marginal note is included, and also due to the nature of the comment, it appears that the marginal note is providing extra steps or clarification, not just an error in the copying of the text. The note states that the horoscope, i.e. natal chart providing astrological information based on the birth of the deceased, should be brought. In addition, it adds that those who are doing the rituals should change from their ordinary clothing into the correct clothing suitable for performing the rituals.⁴⁵⁷ Finally, the face of the deceased is to be covered, most likely with the natal chart.

From this point, the ritual proceeds with the introductory sun worship (*sūryārgha*) found at the start of many Newar rituals. Likewise, the primary mourner is instructed to participate as the ritual master gives the *saṃkalpa*, or introductory statement establishing the time and place of the ritual, and calling beings to witness it. Particular conditions are here established, which say that the pyre-lighter may be a child (if the primary mourner, who is the pyre-lighter, is a child), but it can also be done by another designated elder. The *saṃkalpa* itself is not provided in full in the text, for this will vary with the specific circumstances, but its conclusion and purpose is stated: "for the purpose of the last rites *pūjā* of so-and-so, the deceased, for the sake of obtaining liberation from bad rebirths and [rebirth in] the realm of

⁴⁵⁵ Specific lists of the nine included substances vary, however they are in general precious minerals and other materials, included in extremely small, essentially symbolic, quantities and form.

⁴⁵⁶ For prohibitions on weeping during the funerary rites of Newar Hindus, see also Axel Michaels, *Homo Ritualis: Hindu Ritual and its Significance for Ritual Theory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 201. See also Péter-Dániel Szántó, "Buddhist Homiletics on Grief," *Indo-Iranian Journal*, no. 64 (2021): 291–347. As Szántó notes, weeping is sometimes forbidden because tears are said to feed the *pretas*. In light of this, it may be particularly interesting that in the current text (though not at this current point), there are moments where the expression of grief is noted explicitly as being appropriate, see, for example, 21r.1: " After that, all the family members, in order to show their sorrow, should weep." (Newari: thanaṃli jahānapim̃ saka- {21r.2} lasenaṃ · vairāga dhāye · khoyagu julo//)

⁴⁵⁷ According to Sarbagya Bajracharya, the clothing suitable for doing the ritual is typically a white, unstitched *dhoti*. The text does not specify, at the term used at this point is *kriyā conegu vastranaṃ*. Compare also the *homa* stage instruction discussed in Chapter Three, which also calls for special clothes to be donned, but in that instance calls them *trpyati vastranaṃ*.

Sukhāvātī..." Once again, seemingly redundantly, the text states that the lighting of the pyre may be done by a child, but it is also acceptable to designate another.

The preliminary steps of *sūryārgha* and the *saṃkalpa* can be considered ritual acts that form a part of the basic repertoire of Newar ritual tradition, both Buddhist and Hindu. Although not all elements are prescribed in all ritual contexts, these ritual acts are the building blocks out of which complex Newar rituals are constructed. Although the core rites in any given context are specific and diverse, the sequence of *sūryārgha*, a libation to the sun god Sūrya, and the *saṃkalpa* are two of the first that make up the basic pattern common to rites ranging from life-cycle rites to *homa* fire sacrifice.⁴⁵⁸ At the current stage, the rituals open with the pyre-lighter touching the *pūjā* plate with one hand, offering it while the priest recites the *saṃkalpa*.⁴⁵⁹ The *pūjā* plate contains materials for the *pūjā*, including flowers, incense, a lamp, colored *ṭikā* powder, food, water, other fluids (milk, alcohol, etc.), and a thread garland. These represent sense objects and the five senses.⁴⁶⁰

As with the rites to come, the priest is the performer, but many of the actions throughout are performed by proxy on behalf of the deceased or the principle mourner. In the case of the *saṃkalpa*, the priest recites the Sanskrit while the principle mourner "offers" the plate with *pūjā* materials (*pūjābha*). This is done by touching one hand to the plate, which contains various substances that will play a part in the rites to come. The full *saṃkalpa* is not included in the text, only the portion specifying the purpose of the rite.⁴⁶¹

Following this, the next portion of the ritual involves the restoration of the deceased's *prāṇa* to their body in preparation for subsequent initiations and, eventually, *utkrānti*. Here, as in the Newari comments treating the earlier verses, the *prāṇa* or *prāṇavāyu* (these terms used interchangeably in this text) stands for what, in technical discussions in Sanskrit texts, might instead be called the consciousness (*vijñāna*) and is, at any rate, the animating force of the deceased (previously, as a living being). At death, the *prāṇa* is understood to have departed the body and to be abiding indeterminately in the world. In general, there are prohibitions against the *prāṇa* being allowed back into the body, and a knife or other object made of iron is placed on the body after death to prevent this. This requirement is mentioned explicitly in the life-cycle manual "Modern Guide" examined by Lewis, which also states that it is necessary to keep iron in contact with the body so as to prevent the *prāṇa*'s reentry, an occurrence that would lead to the deceased becoming *agati*, or unable to take new rebirth (an undesirable consequence).⁴⁶² This practice is not limited to Newar Buddhism, but is also

⁴⁵⁸ Brief mention of *sūryārgha* is made in Gellner (*Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 283) and Michaels (*Homo Ritualis*, 110), as well as the concept of ritual repertoires, which has further been a key feature in the development of attempts to map out a grammar of Newar ritual, by Michaels and others. On the *saṃkalpa*, see Michaels, *Homo Ritualis*, 43-58.

⁴⁵⁹ In this instance, the priest is not mentioned explicitly, and throughout the text, the *saṃkalpa* is stated causatively as being something the principle mourner is "made to do." This is consistent with the sense that though in fact the vast majority of the rites are physically done by the priest, they are so done on behalf of others, whether the principle mourner or the deceased.

⁴⁶⁰ Lewis and Bajracharya, "Vajrayāna Traditions," 141.

⁴⁶¹ David Gellner has analyzed and translated the *saṃkalpa* typically used in contemporary Patan (*Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 191). The Kathmandu version differs slightly, see for example Ratna Kaji Bajracharya, *Kalaśārcanapūjāvidhi*, [first edition], 121-23).

⁴⁶² Lewis, "Modern Guide," 16.

attested in the Newar Hindu tradition.⁴⁶³ The current text does not mention this step. While it might be tempting to think this is because, in this case, the return of the *prāṇa* is desired, comparison with the "Modern Guide" reveals that the latter mentions both the placing of iron and the practice of *utkrānti*. It therefore seems more likely that the omission in the current manual cannot be taken as evidence for intentional absence.

The process of returning the *prāṇa* to the body requires meditation and visualization by the guru. In fact, the entire process bears a great deal of resemblance to the practice of *sādhana*, whereby a priest invites deities into a *maṇḍala* and self-generates as a deity using deity yoga.⁴⁶⁴ Thus, it is unsurprising that the first steps involve doing *nyāsa*, imposing mantras onto the priest's own body, and performing deity yoga.⁴⁶⁵

The *guru yoga* sequence begins with a visualization-in-front, consisting of the deities Samantabhadra, Vajrasattva, Vajradhara, Amitābha, Ṣaḍakṣarī (Lokeśvara), Padmasaṃbhava, and Vajravārāhī, stacked from top to bottom, respectively. This is followed by worship of the *ratna maṇḍala*, altogether elements of the *guru maṇḍala*, which, like the *sūryārgha* and *saṃkalpa*, are basic elements in the Newar ritual repertoire.⁴⁶⁶

Light rays are emitted from these deities, to be absorbed into the heart of the priest. Rays with the syllable *hūṃ* resting in the heart are sent out in the ten directions, wherever the *prāṇa* of the deceased is resting. Then, the priest summons the *prāṇa* back, using the *vajrāṅkuśa-mudrā*, and summoning it to a visualized syllable *Nṛ*, placed at the heart of the deceased. The *prāṇa*, which is described as being about the size of a drop (*bindu*), is then inserted back into the body.

This method of binding is in itself is well known, for it is the method employed to summon and bind deities in a *maṇḍala*, the initial step that serves to make the deities present for all rituals. In the context of *maṇḍalas*, the *vajrāṅkuśa-mudrā*, personified as the gate guardian Vajrāṅkuśa, is the first of four guardians/*mudrās* through whom the deities are invoked. First, there is the summoning, performed with the hook or goad (*aṅkuśa – vajrāṅkuśa*). Second, the deity is captured with the lasso or noose (*pāśa – vajrapāśa*). Third, the deity is bound with the chain (*sphoṭa – vajrasphoṭa*). Finally, there is *āveśa*, possession, after a fashion, and the presence is established. The mantras, consisting of the names of these deities plus the respective mantras *Jaḥ Hrīm* (normally *Hūṃ*) *Vaṃ Hoḥ*, are employed at the same point.

⁴⁶³ Rajendra Pradhan, "Sacrifice, Regeneration, and Gifts: Mortuary Rituals Among Hindu Newars of Kathmandu," *Contributions to Nepalese Studies (CNAS)*, 23 (1): 1996, 164.

⁴⁶⁴ For a comparison of the Śaiva process for catching souls that are to undergo funerary initiation, see Sanderson, "Religion and the State," 266 n. 89. It, too, operates by means of a sequence of syllable visualization and breathing exercises said to send power moving through the world to find the soul.

⁴⁶⁵ *Nyāsa* is a multivalent term that can mean the placing of mantras or syllables (and thus deities) at points upon the body (as is the case in body *maṇḍala* traditions), or upon an image. In both cases, it serves to divinize the body in question. At this point, the text is prescribing only the priest's *nyāsa*, rendering himself divine by placing mantras on his body. More detailed discussion of the forms of *nyāsa* will be included in Chapter Three, where *nyāsa* is performed upon the deceased as well.

⁴⁶⁶ Michaels, *Homo Ritualis*, 110. Given the relative brevity and non-explicit description in the text here, see Chapter Three for discussion of the *guru maṇḍala*. Although this is the first appearance, the longer discussion is presented in the following chapter due to relevant variations in its form at that point. See Chapter 3 pp. 157ff.

The syllable *Nṛ* employed in visualizations to stand in for the deceased is likewise widespread, and the syllable itself comes from the Sanskrit, man/human.⁴⁶⁷ As elsewhere, it is found in the context of the consciousness of a dead person being compelled to return to the body. So too, in rituals done without a body but with some form of substitute, the inscription of the syllable *Nṛ* or *Nrī* can be used with ritual using effigy cards (*byang chog*, *byang gter*), or even without the actual card.⁴⁶⁸ Much like the current context, such rituals then continue with the "reading [of] the 'pho ba," burning (i.e. cremation) of the card, and creation of *tsha-tshas* (i.e. Skt. *sañcaka*, though this term is rare and, frequently, the term *caitya* is used), a clear parallel to the present material.

With the *prāṇa* reinstalled in the body, the priest touches the head of the deceased and recites a mantra one hundred and eight times. The mantra is a modified one most likely based on that which appears in many *sādhana* sequences as a part of the creation of the circle of protection (*rakṣā-cakra*). In the current text, it appears such a context treating the deceased (discussed in Chapter Three at length). The current instance provides the mantra in the same modified way, and occurs, likewise, to have a protective function, particularly since it falls amidst other protective rites. In particular, the sequence accompanied by the repetition of *tāḍana* protection procedure, scattering seeds and grains to bind the cardinal directions and confer protection on those present. As before, it comes with the recitation of the "four face" mantra (*catur-mukha mantra*).⁴⁶⁹ The text notes that protection (*rakṣa*) and the elimination of hindrances (*nirvighna*) should be done for everyone, wrapping up these protective rites. The particular focus on the deceased can be seen in that the text specifies that the grain and seed mixture scattered in the rite should be thrown on the deceased person.

At this point, it is worth drawing attention to something, though its significance will become clearer in light of a very different arrangement in the rites discussed in Chapter

⁴⁶⁷ The use of *Nṛ* or *Nrī* in such a context is widespread. In funerary rituals undertaken with no body present but with an effigy card, writing out the syllable often stands in for the deceased, see for example Tadeusz Skorupski, "The Cremation Ceremony According to the *Byang-Gter* Tradition," *Kailash* 9, no. 4 (1982): 362. As for this larger scenario, it can be found in remarkably similar form even beyond the Newar tradition; see, for example, Matthew Kapstein's account of a Nyingma origin story for Great Perfection widespread in the fourteenth century, which involves both the use of the *Nṛ/Nrī* syllable and the reincorporation of the deceased's consciousness in their body: "The monarch Trhi Songdetsen [sic] had a daughter, called Princess Pemasel, who died when she was just eight. The ruler, becoming utterly distraught, at once sends for his guru, the Indian tantric master Padmasambhava, who explains at length the nature of the king's karmic connection with the daughter who is at once so well loved, and through her death has caused the monarch so much grief. The master then inscribes the mantra *Nṛ* in vermillion at the little girl's heart-center. Recalling her consciousness from the intermediate state by means of his Gnostic abilities, he coerces her to reanimate her body. After she reawakens, he transmits the liberating teaching of the *Innermost Spirituality of the Dākinī* to her, and it is through her that later rebirths as Pema Lendreltsel and as Longchen Rabjampa himself that this teaching is made available for the general edification of the faithful," (Kapstein, *Assimilation*, 48). The use of the syllable *Nrī* was a matter of some debate in the later Tibetan tradition, in discussions of ritual supports to be used, where there was debate over the precise syllable to be used. See detailed discussion in Lindsay, "Liberating Last Rites," 185-92. The syllable was also written on effigies in the Tibetan context, see Bryan J. Cuevas, "Illustrations of Human Effigies in Tibetan Ritual Texts: With Remarks on Specific Anatomical Figures and Their Iconographic Source," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 21 no. 1 (January 2011): 95-96.

⁴⁶⁸ See for example, Skorupski, "Cremation Ceremony," 362.

⁴⁶⁹ This appeared first at {6v.5}.

Three. Specifically, the current rituals are interesting in that they are concerned with and attempt to act upon the *prāṇa*, specifically. This means they take an interest in the metaphysical status of the deceased, and the performed rituals are intended to act upon it. To explain via contrast, what we do *not* see here is particular attention to the body. This is something that changes in Chapter Three, and, indeed, perhaps the biggest distinction between the two chapters is that this chapter addresses the disposition of the consciousness, while the next is concerned with the disposal of the body. This will be discussed in further detail below.

Vajravārāhī Rites

Once established, preparations begin for the performance of rituals propitiating Vajravārāhī, which constitutes the next step. Vajravārāhī is one of the foremost deities worshipped in tantric cults in Newar Buddhism. She appears both with and independent of Cakrasaṃvara, her consort, and she is included in the most common tantric ritual sequence, the *trisamādhi*, which focuses on Cakrasaṃvara. In short, the *trisamādhi*, or threefold meditation, is a version for worshipping a tutelary deity, which must be performed at the outset of complex rites.⁴⁷⁰ As such, she is also one of the deities into whose tradition one can take tantric initiation. In the normal order for the *trisamādhi*, the steps involved begin with identification with the deity in a number of steps, followed by consecration of both themselves and the deity with the Five Consecrations, also making offerings and reciting verses of praise. The steps after this, in brief, include breathing practices and visualization of subtle yoga, focused on Cakrasaṃvara and Vajravārāhī, dissolving and regenerating the *maṇḍala*, after which comes the recitation of mantras (*jāpa*), a visualization and offering (*balibhāvanā*) given to Cakrasaṃvara and consort, then the rest of the *maṇḍala* out to the cremation grounds, as well as worshipping the *pīṭhas* (specific locations, 24 in number), finally a benediction and the hundred syllable mantra. At the end of this comes the dismissal (*visarjana*), releasing the deities and sending them back to their own abodes.⁴⁷¹

The present introduction of Vajravārāhī brings the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, our current text, into sections that parallel the independent *utkrānti* text, catalogued as E701-11 in the NGMCP and called the *Utkrānti kriyā vidhi* (*UKV*) here, which will be discussed more fully in Chapter Four. The latter text makes clear that the sequence that comes next, after the usual preliminaries, act as a set: first come rites invoking Vajravārāhī, then the Five Consecrations (*pañcābhiṣeka*) are performed, and finally the *utkrānti* is undertaken. Once it has been concluded, steps are undertaken to prepare for the *homa* and eventual cremation of the body. In general, while the current text provides more detail in the sequence overall, some of the specific details relating to the Vajravārāhī rites, such as the *bhāvanā* describing her visualization, are omitted, and may instead be found in the *UKV*. Rituals relating to the actual *utkrānti* are also presented differently, and in more detail, as we will see below, and in Chapter Four.

The materials required for this set of rites were listed earlier in the text, at 7v.4-8r.5, and it is at this point that their use is explained. The *rahasya maṇḍala* is drawn with red powder.

⁴⁷⁰ Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 288.

⁴⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 290.

Here, both the instruction to draw the *rahasya maṇḍala* and the one to place an image of Vajravārāhī near the head of the deceased are given as marginal notes. At this point, for the first time, we turn to the Vajravārāhī *utkrānti* text just mentioned, the *UKV*, which clarifies these details somewhat.⁴⁷² In the introduction of the *UKV*, after the homage to Vajravārāhī, the ritualist is instructed to set up the *rahasya maṇḍala*, which is a *maṇḍala* for Vajravārāhī, and is drawn with red powder. It is (in the *UKV*) then surrounded by the vessels and implements employed, including the five *pañcaśāli* vessels, the *kalaśa* vase, lamps, sagun, and so forth. (The specific arrangement of these is explored in more detail in the current *Utkrānti-SDP* text in the following chapter.) Then, having made these arrangements, the *guru maṇḍala* is completed. Returning to our current text (i.e. the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual), this follows in the same sequence: setup, then the rituals, which begin with the *guru maṇḍala*.

Differing from this account, Gellner gives another description of the *rahasya maṇḍala*, wherein it is a portion of the *guru maṇḍala* recapitulated near the end of *homa* fire rituals. According to this, it repeats offerings to Mt. Meru, and is done just prior to the rice offering (*kīgaḥ tinegu*).⁴⁷³ However, Gellner notes at the same point that he was unable to confirm this description. In any event, it would seem as though the current description of a red powder *maṇḍala* for Vajravārāhī, as it is explicitly identified in the *UKV* is most likely an entirely different matter. One possibility might be that *rahasya maṇḍala* is not always a specific unique ritual element, but rather that it may be used to describe various things simply using its meaning "secret *maṇḍala*." This explanation has the flaw, however, that neither of these alternative descriptions seem to be describing ritual details that are particularly held within the secrecy category of Newar rites deemed to have restricted *guhya* (secret) status.

An image of Vajravārāhī is also supplied and placed next to the deceased. The usual requisite rituals including the *guru maṇḍala* are performed. Notably, here, offerings are specified as being made to the deity and the deceased only. This includes, in particular, the *ādi kokāye* ("taking down the *ādi*), an offering of water buffalo meat and alcohol, thus a tantric offering.⁴⁷⁴ Again, the *ratna maṇḍala* is made by sprinkling, and concluding rituals, including the hundred syllable mantra of Vajrasattva and the dismissal (*visarjana*), finish the

⁴⁷² However, in line with the *guhya* (secret) status of the Vajravārāhī tradition, the specific details of the actual *sādhana* (*deguli*) for Vajravārāhī are not included, even in the more detailed instructions of the *UKV*.

⁴⁷³ David Gellner, "Ritualized Devotion, Altruism, and Meditation: The Offering of the *Guru Maṇḍala* in Newar Buddhism," *IIIJ* 34, 1991: 164. Gellner cites this as according to Asha Kaji Vajracharya.

⁴⁷⁴ The focus on Vajravārāhī confirms the current ritual as (antinomian) tantric in a more reliable way than simply the presence of meat and alcohol among the offerings. That is, it is sometimes said that one of the differences between tantric and non-tantric rituals is that former may contain meat and alcohol, while the latter do not. However, as Gellner observes, meat and alcohol do in fact appear in exoteric rites. Even besides this, the reality is that almost all Newar rituals are complex combinations of tantric and non-tantric ritual elements. For example, in the non-tantric practices known as "observances" (*vrata*), the tantric rites of Kumārī pūjā are an integral part. In general as well, many tantric deities have exoteric forms, which appear in broader public contexts (*Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 287). On the distinction between tantric and non-tantric and, within the tantric, between public and secret (*guhya*), see also Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 251-58; 287-89.

section. These rituals still constitute the opening frame and preliminary rituals.⁴⁷⁵ The *sādhana* practice (*deguli samādhi*) directed to Vajravārāhī then follows, and a sequence of *pūjās* that employ the offering substances and implements described earlier.

For the next step, the priest performs the *sādhana* practice (*deguli samādhi*) directed to Vajravārāhī. This, which would involve its own complex sequence of steps, is not explained in detail, most likely for both secrecy reasons and practicality, in that there is likely to be a separate independent manual for such practices, just as there is for the *SDP*, though the latter is not secret.⁴⁷⁶ Then follows a sequence of ritual segments employing some of the materials earlier mentioned. The *samādhi bali*, *nirañjana*, the fruit consecration (*phalābhiṣeka*), *nandā bali*, and a poured beer offering (*chāye hāyake*) are all common ritual segments, with, for example, according to Locke, the *samādhi bali* being prescribed to follow *samādhi* meditations of a given deity, while the *nanda bali* (*nandā*, in the current text) serving to protect, and to purify the tools for *pūjā*, and is sometimes also offered to the *samādhi bali*.⁴⁷⁷ Neither of these offerings contain meat in the majority of cases, and are most often cooked rice, sometimes with other substances. According to the contemporary ritual manual *Vajrayan Pūjābidhi*, the *samādhi bali* is the six-pointed star or hash mark drawn in powder along with the *guru maṇḍala*.⁴⁷⁸ Sarbagya Bajracharya clarifies that it consists of for *goja* (i.e. equivalent of the Tibetan *gtor ma*, a dough cone offering) placed on the sides of the star pattern.

The offering of light (*nirañjana*), performed with the form called Red Fire (Roha-Agni), and the fruit initiation (*phalābhiṣeka*). Although the particular form Rohāgni does not appear widely elsewhere, the general step of *nirañjana* is a common one. Appearing especially in the ritual of vase worship—nearly as ubiquitous in Newar Buddhist ritual tradition as the *guru maṇḍala*, the usual target of the ritual is Khaṇḍarohā, and the common name element '*roha*' may suggest a connection here.⁴⁷⁹ Gellner describes the *nirañjana* is an apotropaic ritual in which items (a lighted wick, flower, mustard seeds, rice) are offered to a vessel of burning coals, which is touched to the vase in the context of vase worship and then removed to the threshold (*pikhālakhu*).⁴⁸⁰ Elsewhere, the *nirañjana* is described simply as an

⁴⁷⁵ This is discussed again in Chapter Three, however it should be noted here that it is not entirely clear in the text which *maṇḍala* is being dismissed at this point. The possibilities include the *guru maṇḍala*, the Vajravārāhī *rahasya maṇḍala*, and, although it is not a proper *maṇḍala* as such, the subset portion of the *guru maṇḍala* known as the *ratna maṇḍala*. The *guru maṇḍala* would seem to be more likely than the Vajravārāhī, since dismissing the latter before the main rites to Vajravārāhī seems unlikely. However, it is also a problematic explanation because, in the standard methods of the contemporary tradition, it is a key feature of the *guru maṇḍala* that it operates as a framing rite, and its conclusion and dismissal do not take place until after the main rituals have been completed, as Gellner has discussed (*Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 148-50). See further discussion of the particularities of the *guru maṇḍala* in Chapter Three.

⁴⁷⁶ For discussion of the *SDP samādhi*, see Chapter Four discussion of texts including B105-15 and E1490-3, as well as ASK 2242.

⁴⁷⁷ Locke, *Karunamaya*, 79-80.

⁴⁷⁸ Sarvajña Ratna Bajracharya, *Vajrayāna Pūjāvidhi Saṅgraha/A Collection of Bajrayan Buddhist Worshipping Procedure (thūtī pūjāvidhi munā)*, (Kendra Mhyapi: Nepāl Bauddha Saṃskṛti Saṃrakṣana, 2005), 3.

⁴⁷⁹ Khaṇḍarohā is a *ḍākinī* associated with Cakrasaṃvara, and since the current rite is connected with his consort, Vajravārāhī, they may be connected in this way as well. See Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 156.

⁴⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

offering of light.⁴⁸¹ In any event, it is a segment that is intended to prevent obstacles to the rite and invite auspiciousness. Also, it is commonly paired with the following ritual of pouring fruit over the head, in the current text identified by its Sanskrit name, *phalābhiṣeka*.⁴⁸²

Next come *bali* offerings, the *nandā bali*, and the pouring of rice beer (*chāye hāyake*). While the latter is being offered, the song "Subhāhu" is to be sung. The first *bali* offerings are a set of eight offered to the eight charnel grounds, according to the text, and thus the eight *Mātrkāś* (*aṣṭamātrkā*). The *nandā bali*, which comes next, has somewhat more varied interpretations. The term *nandā bali* appears in Lewis's edition of the *Modern Guide*, although only in the verse associated with the life-cycle rite "gift of a virgin girl" (*satabhedikā taye*), and is not there explained.⁴⁸³ According to Locke, as noted above, it has a protective and purifying function.⁴⁸⁴ According to Sarbagya Bajracharya, the *nandā bali* is a mixture of beaten rice, garlic, black soybeans, and puffed rice; alternatively, it may possibly be made with beaten rice, black lentils, and flowers.

The third, pouring rice beer (*chāye hayake*), is an offering of alcohol; the name *chāye* is in fact based on the Tibetan word *chang* (beer), and sometimes written (in older form) *chāga hāyake*. Normally, this offering involves rice beer poured onto a dish of raw meat, which is called a *mahābali*.⁴⁸⁵ This is often offered to Hāritī, although it is unclear if that is the case here. The *nandā bali*, in fact, is often offered to Hāritī, as well. However, according to Sarbagya Bajracharya, it is in this instance instead offered to the deceased. Furthermore, while a *bali* for Hāritī would normally contain meat, in this instance, where the recipient is the deceased, it does contain meat.

In the next several steps, the final offerings to and adornments of the deceased are supplied, first beginning with the smearing of ash on the forehead, accompanied by a mantra associated.⁴⁸⁶ The forehead of the deceased is adorned with a golden *īṅkā* and metallic "third eye" ornament (*yomū*) for the forehead. The eyes are marked with black powder/ash in the manner of kohl, and this constitutes the *añjana* consecration, along with the furnishing of a silver ring. Finally, if the deceased has taken *dīkṣā* in life, he or she will also be provided with the *gvayakā* thread and *kokhayā* scarf.⁴⁸⁷ The former relates specifically to tantric

⁴⁸¹ Ibid., 361, n. 17. Mori also describes *nīrājana*, though in his case the ritual is considerably extended and involves a number of other steps that do not seem to be so closely related. See Masahide Mori, "The Installation Ceremony in Tantric Buddhism," in *From Material to Deity: Indian Rituals of Consecration*, ed. Shingo Einoo and Jun Takashima (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers & Distributors, 2005), 205.

⁴⁸² Described also in Gellner and Locke, the *phalābhiṣeka* is called in Newari *sipha luyegu* and, like *nīrājana*, occurs widely in Newar ritual (Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 361 n. 21).

⁴⁸³ Lewis, "Modern Guide," 13, 27.

⁴⁸⁴ Locke, *Karunamaya*, 79-80.

⁴⁸⁵ Rospatt, *Renovations*, 201.

⁴⁸⁶ This mantra is identified as the *dhvajāgra* mantra and its content is *Om śrī hevajra he he ru ru ka hūm hūm phaṭ dākinī-jālasamvaraṃ svāhā*. The content connects it with the *Hevajra tantra* (and, before that, the *Sarvabuddhasamayoga*), the full name of which includes *Śrī Hevajra dākinījālasamvara* in its title, see D.L. Snellgrove, *The Hevajra Tantra: A Critical Study* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959). Tsuda discusses the meaning of *dākinījālasamvara* and the role of the term in *Hevajra* and *Samvara* literature as well (*Samvarodaya*, 54-57)

⁴⁸⁷ While women do not generally participate in these activities, as will be discussed, the *utkrānti* funerals have been performed for women in recent years, so it is possible that there have long been exceptions.

initiations and consists of a five-color thread, where each of the five threads is also composed of five strands.⁴⁸⁸ (This thereby differs from the *pasukha*, which is five single strands only.) The *kokhayā* scarf is also ritually related.⁴⁸⁹ Finally, a parasol is placed over the deceased. With this, the preparations and consecration of the deceased and the ritual materials is complete, as well as the preliminary ritual segments such as the *guru maṇḍala*. In what follows, a version of the basic *yogatantra* "five initiations" (*pañcābhiṣeka*) will be undertaken.

Pañcābhiṣeka

In the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual up to this point, we have so far seen the completion of the preliminary rituals common to many types of Newar ritual tradition, involving the setting up of ritual space, the empowerment of the priest and ritual implements and worship substances, and the invocation of the deity, in this case Vajravārāhī, through the methods of tantric *sādhana* practice. These acts are, by and large, the basics of the Newar Buddhist ritual tradition as it has developed up to the present day. More specific to the current elite funerary context, we have also seen numerous activities designed to purify the deceased and, at this point, to compel the consciousness, here called the *prāṇa*, to return to the deceased's body. Even this, however, is done by means of familiar techniques from the repertoire of tantric visualization practices, involving the visualizing of mantra syllables and light rays emanating from the guru's heart in all directions, and thence reabsorbing, drawing the deceased's consciousness back. Likewise, once returned to the body, it is the familiar tools of the four mantra syllables normally used to bind deities into images, *maṇḍalas*, or the ritualist, that are employed (*jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ*).

Thus, in what has occurred so far, the funerary rites of the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual draw on both the standard Newar Buddhist set of preliminary and framing rites, many of which, like the worship of Sūrya (*sūryārgha*) and the declaration of ritual intent (*saṃkalpa*) are common even to both Newar Buddhist and Newar Hindu tradition. So too, in the portions of the rite that do focus explicitly on the function of the larger ritual sequence, i.e. the funerary rites of an individual of elite status, the ritual resources draw in fundamental ways on the common tools of Buddhist tantric practice, the methods associated with *sādhana* practice. A glance at the sequence involved in the basic liturgy of Cakrasaṃvara reveals that the current rituals continue this utilization of standard techniques; in the Cakrasaṃvara sequence, after the main deity is invoked, worship by means of the five initiations is completed.⁴⁹⁰ In standard *sādhana*, this would be directed at the deity and the ritualist, who is likewise empowered as Cakrasaṃvara.

⁴⁸⁸ One contemporary guide to Newar Buddhist ritual implements defines this as *gvayake*- "A five colored strewn thread symbolizing six yoginis used in different religious and tantric ceremonies, such as *wonla* ceremony, *vajrābhiṣeka*, and others." See Kiran Bhai Vajracharya and Anil Bir Vajracharya, eds., *A Booklet on the Materials Used in the Worship Rituals* (Nyakhachowk, Lalitpur: Vishwa Shanti Library, n.d.), 10.

⁴⁸⁹ The term is written in the text as *kokhya gā*. Written *kokhaga*, it is defined as a "long strip of cloth (used as a sacred necklace)" See Kamal P. Malla, ed., *A Dictionary of Classical Newari: Compiled from Manuscript Sources- Cwasā Pāsā* (Kathmandu: Modern Printing Press, 2000).

⁴⁹⁰ Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 289.

Here, though, we find the key difference: in our ritual, it is not the ritualist or a student who is the recipient of the consecrations along with the deity, but rather the deceased (although the officiating priest did, of course, already empower himself through standard techniques, a prerequisite to performing the rites). In contrast to some other *SDP* initiation rites for the dead, there is, in these rituals, no place for rituals initiating a living student in addition to the deceased.⁴⁹¹ Indeed, neither the text nor contemporary Newar tradition give any sign that these rituals are intended to have a dual function, in which a priest both initiates students, and then performs initiations on the dead. The text does, at several points, mention a student, but these instances are exclusively in liturgical sections of Sanskrit intended for recitation, and occur there specifically because they are quotations from mainstream Indian Buddhist ritual sources on initiation, which have not been modified to indicate that the recipient is deceased. Looking at the Newari section, which describe the accompanying ritual actions, it is clear that the recipient of the rite is, indeed, the deceased, according to the nature of the specific ritual acts that are to be applied to the body. This points to the larger significance of what is here occurring, namely, that the deceased is, in a sense, being worshipped as the deity. The complete adornment and beautification of the deceased, such as being supplied with ornaments like the third eye and golden *ṭīkā*, and the setting up of a parasol over the deceased, already described, all speak to the fact that the deceased is being framed as divine and, to a degree, treated just as a student to be initiated, or an image to be consecrated and worshipped would be.

In particular, the next step consists of the *pañcābhiṣeka*, or five initiations (also called consecrations). The *pañcābhiṣeka* is fundamental in Newar Buddhism and employed particularly in three contexts; first, it is a component of the 'master initiation,' *ācāryābhiṣeka*, performed for Vajrācārya caste members as a life-cycle rite. This ritual, called *ācā lūyegu*, is performed at different points depending on the monastery and city (Kathmandu, Patan, etc.), and either before or after marriage, but in both cases is the key qualification that allows a Vajrācārya (caste) member to engage with clients/parishioners/patrons, do rituals on behalf of others, and do *homa* (fire sacrifice) rites.⁴⁹² Then, second, the *pañcābhiṣeka* is the first step in the voluntary practice of undergoing higher tantric initiation ("taking *dīkṣā*"). Finally, it is performed not only for in the life-cycle rite and for individuals on a voluntary basis leading to higher initiations, but also for images, *stūpas*, and other objects undergoing consecration.⁴⁹³

The textual basis for many Newar Buddhist rites, including Cakrasaṃvara initiations as well as the *pañcābhiṣeka* and master initiation (*vajrācāryābhiṣeka*), is the *Kriyāsamuccaya* (*Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya*, called in Nepal the *Kriyā Samuccaya*).⁴⁹⁴ This text, composed by Jagaddarpaṇa, also known as Darpanācārya, most likely in the late 13th c., was an

⁴⁹¹ Compare, for example, with the manual examined in detail by Lindsay, in which clear sections address first the initiation of students, and only after that any treatment for the meditative support, which may or may not be a body, see Lindsay, "Liberating Last Rites."

⁴⁹² Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 266-67. Gellner discusses the rites as done in Lalitpur (Patan). Locke does so as it is done in Kathmandu, see John K. Locke, "Newar Buddhist Initiation Rites," *CNS* 2 (1975): 14-17.

⁴⁹³ Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 267.

⁴⁹⁴ Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 267, 272.

influential ritual text, and it, too, was compiled from of a number of sources.⁴⁹⁵ Large portions of it are based on Abhayākaragupta's *Vajrāvalī*.⁴⁹⁶ Some portions also come from the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, also by Abhayākaragupta.⁴⁹⁷ Moreover, it additionally incorporates the entirety (minus colophon) of Śūnyasamādhivajra's *Mṛtasugatiniyojana*, a funerary manual for ritual masters that parallels the current text's combination of *utkrānti* plus *SDP* rites, though in lesser detail and with a scriptural basis in the *Guhyasamāja* tradition (rather than the current text's Cakrasaṃvara basis).⁴⁹⁸ Although it has now been made hereditary, and separated into two separate rituals instead of being a non-mandatory option supplementary to tantric initiation, the *Kriyāsamuccaya* is consistent with contemporary practice in that it distinguishes the master initiation as the requirement for those who wish to perform rituals for others (i.e. not just for themselves).⁴⁹⁹

The *pañcābhiṣeka* comes, in later tantric traditions, to be encompassed within the "vase" initiation (*kalaśābhiṣeka*), the first of four in the fourfold classification scheme, which would later come to be the foremost method of interpretation. However, for *yogatantra*, the five initiations combined with the master initiation are the complete set; no further ones had yet been developed, initially. With time, the *pañcābhiṣeka* was combined with (or came to be incorporated in) the consecration of the vajra master (*ācāryābhiṣeka*), and these, in turn, became only the first and lowest of a fourfold initiation sequence. In that system, which became standard in later Indian and Tibetan tantric Buddhism, this was followed by the development of the secret (*guhyābhiṣeka*), knowledge-wisdom (*prajñājñānābhiṣeka*), and "fourth" (*caturtha*).⁵⁰⁰

For the *pañcābhiṣeka*, the next section of the text switches to primarily Sanskrit quotation, drawn from a number of sources but most particularly and frequently from the *Vajrāvalī*. The ritual opens with a visualization sequence, which is given in Sanskrit. Unlike the Sanskrit passages from the *Samvarodaya*, with which the text opened, the visualization of the consecration is provided with no translation or added Newari discussion. Instructions given in Newari, furthermore, specify that these sequences are to be recited aloud. The initiations that follow will present the typical set: water, crown, vajra, bell, and name (the basic set of five), and the master (*ācārya*). It is also this section which begins to incorporate materials from the *SDP*.

⁴⁹⁵ Szántó, *Catuspīṭha*, 177. For this date, Szántó cites that the earliest manuscript of the *Kriyāsamuccaya* is dated 1305 CE, and draws heavily on Abhayākaragupta's (12th c.) works.

⁴⁹⁶ Sanderson, "Śaiva Age," 126 n. 294.

⁴⁹⁷ In particular, Szántó identifies works including the *Jñāneśvarīmaṇḍala* and on the *Yogāmbaramaṇḍala*, both compiled/copied by the Amṛtānanda for B.H. Hodgson, as essentially lifted from the *Kriyāsamuccaya*, in a passage that, in turn, is derived from the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* (Szántó, *Catuspīṭha*, 189).

⁴⁹⁸ On the *MSN*, see Tanemura "Manual," 2-6; as well as Tanemura, "Śūnyasamādhivajra," 110-136.

⁴⁹⁹ Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 268.

⁵⁰⁰ They are thus identified in the *Uttaratantra* portion of the *Guhyasamāja* as well as *Hevajra tantras*, however, for discussion of how these classifications are actually quite a bit more complex, see English, *Vajrayoginī*, 473 (citing Isaacson, "Unpublished Notes Towards an Edition of the Hevajrasekaprakriyā," (1996)). For a summary of sources on this subject, see for example English, *Vajrayoginī*, 473-74 n. 421, as well as, classic descriptions in, David Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism: Indian Buddhists and Their Tibetan Successors* (Boston: Shambhala Publications, Inc., 1987), 231-77. See also Bentor, *Consecration of Images and Stūpas*, 240-61.

While it may be argued that the *bhāvanā* sequences primarily serve as the material to be recited, at least according to the instructions provided, and in concert with the way such things are generally handled in the contemporary tradition, it is nonetheless interesting to consider their content.⁵⁰¹ The *Vajrāvalī*, Abhayākaragupta's synthetic work on ritual and *maṇḍala* rites, was composed in the early twelfth century and, together with its counterparts, the *Nispannayogāvalī* and *Jyotirmañjarī*, make up Abhayākaragupta's efforts to explicate Buddhist tantric ritual systems.⁵⁰² The text came to be extremely influential in Nepal.⁵⁰³

The *Vajrāvalī* aims to be synthetic and systematic rather than specific, but nonetheless, its content is often referred to in ways that seem to assume it is presenting detailed and practical information for the performance of rituals. However, comparison with the current *Utkrānti-SDP* manual provides an instructive demonstration of why this is not necessarily true. Specifically, although among Sanskrit mainstream Buddhist tantric texts, the *Vajrāvalī* would seem to have many practical details (more so than the *tantras*), it still stands a long way from ritual practice—at least in latter eras. As it appears in the current text, it supplies the liturgical passages, along with excerpts from other works. Moreover, some of these passages from the *Vajrāvalī* are quotations from yet other works. Such is the case, for example, with the verses at the opening of the water (*udaka*) initiation, which come from the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*.⁵⁰⁴

As for the initiations in the current text themselves, in the normal circumstances when the ritual is performed for living individuals, the particular actions consist of a somewhat flexible set of five. First there is the water (*udaka*) consecration, found in some instances elsewhere as the flask or vase consecration. Likely the two names simply indicate different aspects of the rite, since, in practice, it consists of sprinkling water from the central vase (*kalaśa*). It is this action which is matched with the visualization sequence, so that as the priest performs the mundane action of sprinkling water on the initiate, the content of the *bhāvanā* visualization shows the metaphor in play: that the student, dissolved as bodhicitta, cycles through the buddhas and emptiness in an almost-hydrological style cycle. The crown consecration entails the initiate being given a *vajrācārya*'s crown. The vajra consecration

⁵⁰¹ Gellner and Locke have written on how much of the Sanskrit is understood, and to what end, and what the *bhāvanā* segments actually are, see Gellner, Monk, *Householder, Tantric Priest*, 290; Locke, *Karunamaya*, 121. In general, they note that scholastic proficiency in Sanskrit is relatively rare, but ritual content is understood and transmitted through a variety of other forms, and that there are, ultimately, epistemological limits on what can be determined about visualization and comprehension in practice.

⁵⁰² Mori, *Vajrāvalī*, 12. See also notes in Chapter Two pp. 86 n. 182, and Isaacson and Sinclair supplementary reviews also noted.

⁵⁰³ In addition to its direct influence, the *Vajrāvalī* has also been extremely important in Nepal via the fact that large portions of it are reproduced in the *Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya*, which incorporates large portions of it. See Rospatt, "Local Literatures," 821-23.

⁵⁰⁴ That is to say, they are best known from the *GST*; the verses themselves may in fact predate it (Péter Szántó, personal communication). With regard to specifics, see the verse *bodhivajreṇa buddhānāṃ {10v.6} yathā datto mahāmahaḥ / mamāpi trāṇanā[r]thāya · khavajrādyaṃ dadāmy aham*; Just as Bodhivajra gave the great festival to the Buddhas, I give the foremost space vajra (*khavajrādyaṃ*) for the sake of my protection. Just as...my protection] A similar verse originates in Ch. XVI of the *GST* (verse 41 in Matsunaga, verse 58 in Fremantle), however where the *GST* verse ends "give me" (*dadāhi me*) the current verse concludes "I give" (*dadāmy aham*). Matsunaga edition *GST* version: *bodhivajreṇa buddhānāṃ yathā datto mahāmahaḥ / mamāpi trāṇanā[r]thāya khavajrādyaṃ dadāhi me*// See Y. Matsunaga, *The Guhyasamāja tantra* (Osaka, 1978); Fremantle, *Guhyasamāja Tantra*.

and bell consecration involve those object being handed into the initiate's right and left hands, respectively. In the name consecration, the initiate is bestowed with a vajra name. Finally, in the master consecration, the initiate holds the bell and vajra crossed over chest, as if embracing a consort, i.e. the *aliṅganā mudrā*. While the particularities are somewhat more complex in the *Utkrānti-SDP* text, these are the basic components, which are consistent with the way in which these initiations are presented in other contexts.⁵⁰⁵

The *pañcābhīṣeka* sequence in the current text is based, as stated, on the *Vajrāvalī*. Within the *Vajrāvalī*, however, it bears similarity to two separate passages, namely, the initiation of a student (*abhīṣeka*) and the installation of an image etc. (*pratiṣṭhā*). That the *Vajrāvalī*'s sections on student initiation and object/building consecration have common material is not surprising, and, indeed, the connections between these two types of rituals have long been recognized.

Another possibility should also be considered, regarding the origin versus direct inspiration of the current section. In addition to the *Vajrāvalī*, there may potentially be a source in the *Kriyāsaṃgraha* (*KsP*) of Kuladatta, a ritual text that was particularly favored in the Kathmandu Valley, and may even have been written there. The relation between the *KsP* and *VĀ* has yet to be fully explicated, with regard to the direction of borrowing or whether they both draw on a third unknown source.⁵⁰⁶ The sequence and particular identity of the *pañcābhīṣeka* as given in the *KsP* is consistent with the current text: water (*udaka*), crown (*makūṭa*), vajra, bell (*ghaṅṭa*), name, and the sixth, the master (*ācārya*).

The date of the *KsP* is uncertain, although the earliest surviving manuscript is dated to 1216 CE, providing a *terminus ante quem* for the work. Other evidence suggests the possibility that Kuladatta may have been active in the mid-11th c., although others have argued for later dates as well.⁵⁰⁷ That the *KsP* is popular as a source for ritual in contemporary Newar Buddhism, perhaps more relevant here, is also suggested by the fact that it is named as an authorizing text for the life cycle ritual manual studied by Lewis, the "Modern Guide" (*Nepal jana jivan kriya paddhati*), which, in its funerary sections, bears a fair amount in common—in its general outline, if not all details—with the current text.⁵⁰⁸

The similarities between *pratiṣṭhā* and *abhīṣeka* rites were observed by traditional scholars, as well, and, to go back to the *Vajrāvalī*, and the attested use of the expression

⁵⁰⁵ Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 268.

⁵⁰⁶ With regard to sources, there is also theorization that some portions of the *Kriyāsaṃgraha* may be based on Ānandagarbha's *Sarvavajrodaya*. However confirmation is difficult because the extant *Sarvavajrodayā* lacks the *ādiyoga* section, so it is impossible to tell whether the *devatā yoga* in the *Kriyāsaṃgraha* is from that source. It does, however, survive in Tibetan, so the likelihood is strong, however. See Ryugen Tanemura, *Kuladatta's Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā: A Critical Edition and Annotated Translation of Selected Sections* (Groningen, The Netherlands: Egbert Forsten, 2004), 6-8. See also Tadeusz Skorupski, *Kriyāsaṃgraha: Compendium of Buddhist Rituals, An abridged version* (Tring, UK: The Institute of Buddhist Studies, 2002).

⁵⁰⁷ Kuladatta is mentioned by Bu ston. He is also associated with a Tathāgatavajra, who, in turn, is connected to the Hiranyavarna Mahāvihāra, Patan's Golden Temple, which would give the mid-11th c. date. This is on the early end of estimates, with other sources giving somewhat later dates. See Ryugen Tanemura, *Kuladatta's Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā: A Critical Edition and Annotated Translation of Selected Sections* (Groningen, The Netherlands: Egbert Forsten, 2004), 5-8.

⁵⁰⁸ However, as Lewis and Tanemura observed, it should be noted that the "Modern Guide" identifies verses as being from the *KS* which do not in fact appear in the *KS*, at least not in recognizably similar form to anything there. See Tanemura, *Kriyāsaṃgraha*, 12; Lewis "Modern Guide," 26-28.

"*pratiṣṭhā* of a disciple" has been interpreted to mean *abhiṣeka*.⁵⁰⁹ However, as in Abhayākaragupta's discussion, there is an argument that participation is key, for without it such input, what occurs is essentially just a form of blessing, which is taken to be a lesser rite. However that may be, the fact stands that the current text draws on passages with extremely similar sections in both the *abhiṣeka* and *pratiṣṭhā* sections of the *Vajrāvalī*.

It is interesting to consider the passages that are quoted, not just for the actual *abhiṣeka* moments, but also the introductory *bhāvanā*. The *Vajrāvalī* passage is adopted wholesale, with all its mentions of the initiation of disciples, even though in practice there are no disciples being initiated; or, more precisely, the deceased is receiving the initiations as forms of purificatory consecration:

Here, place the *kalaśa* over the head of the deceased and say the words: { 11r.1 }

Those *tathāgatas*, together with their consorts, dissolve into droplets {=of *bodhicitta*} (*mahārāgeṇa dravībhūya*), [and cycle through the body by] entering the gateway of Vairocana, emerging on the vajra path.⁵¹⁰ The student, who [also] entered by the lotus mouth of the goddess by means of that,⁵¹¹ immediately after [the stage of being dissolved into] emptiness, should be visualized with firm conviction (*adhimucya*) {i.e. by the *ācārya*} as indivisible from the *jñānasattva*, having the form of Śaṃvara, who has the nature of Akṣobhya together with consort, emerging with two arms from the *hūṃ* vajra. [Those *tathāgatas*] emerge from the lotus, again {i.e. after having been dissolved} endowed with embodied forms having hands and faces, filling the sky and remaining,⁵¹² accompanied by the goddesses starting with Trailocanā, and consecrate the student, who has emerged from the lotus, with pure vases full of the nectar of enlightenment, poured⁵¹³ by budlike hands,⁵¹⁴ along with [offerings of] cascades of *kuṅkuma* (turmeric), flowers, dance, song, yak tails, garments, flags, banners, umbrellas. The auspicious song of the classes of yoginīs.

As for the initiations themselves, the similarities with initiation of the student are greater than the installation ceremony comparison.⁵¹⁵ This is notable, if one takes into consideration

⁵⁰⁹ Abhayākaragupta stated that "the consecration of an image and so forth should be performed as a consecration of a disciple; eminent scholars ['great chariots'] said that there is no difference [between the two]," although others disagreed, see Bentor, *Consecration of Images and Stūpas*, 25.

⁵¹⁰ The *nirgatam* in the ms (as opposed to the *nirgatya* in the *VĀ*) is problematic, but should go with the *tathāgatas*.

⁵¹¹ that] *tad* in the ms, where as *VĀ* reads *taddravair*, which clarifies the connection: by means of that dissolving into droplets, in the same way as the *tathāgatas* do.

⁵¹² *stham* in the ms is problematic and the *sthitaiḥ* of the *VĀ* is preferable.

⁵¹³ *varjita*] for *āvarjita* as in *VĀ*.

⁵¹⁴ budlike hands] *kara-kīśarayā* – Monier-Williams, *kara-kisalaya*: "hand-bud, the hand closed in the form of a bud." See Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 2nd Ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956).

⁵¹⁵ In essence, there are more shared quote and verses and bits between the current text and the *VĀ abhiṣeka* than the *pratiṣṭhā* sections. See also translation notes.

that there may in fact be more parallels, at a pragmatic level, between initiations of the deceased and *pratiṣṭhā* rituals, than there are with the initiation of students.

In a way, then, this suggests another parallel; that between these rituals and the consecration (*pratiṣṭhā*) of objects such as *stūpas*, images, paintings, and other items. In these rituals, a vessel is first prepared and then a deity is invited to inhabit the vessel. In certain ways, this resembles the embodiment as the deity and *maṇḍala* rites that occur as the basic acts of Buddhist tantric practice, however, with a difference; in the case of consecration rituals, the divine presence is entreated to remain in the consecrated object, rendering it permanently sacred and possessed of a numinous presence.

In particular, the inability of a deceased initiate to physically perform an active role in the ritual would seem to make it more likely that a *pratiṣṭhā* model would be relevant. However, conceptually this should not be the case, since the deceased's *prāṇa* has already been restored to the body. Given this, it is interesting that though the Newari speaks explicitly of the initiation being given to the deceased (with instructions like, "give water to the deceased to drink," "place the *kalaśa* over the head of the deceased," and so forth), but the quotation from the *Vajrāvalī* only ever speaks of the student—no adaptation to the material has been made to acknowledge the funerary context. The parallel text E701-11, which is in certain respects more detailed in its description of *utkrānti*, bespeaks the idea that it really is no difficulty that the deceased cannot physically participate; it includes a dialogue to be held between the priest and the deceased, with specific portions of the liturgy to be stated by the priest as though it is the deceased speaking them.

The particular status of the deceased in these *abhiṣeka* rites brings to bear interesting questions about the active participation of the deceased. On the one hand, the deceased's *prāṇa* (which would equate to the consciousness (*viññāna*), in classical texts) has been reinstalled into the body, so from a ritual perspective there is no problem—the deceased is (temporarily) revived, and engaging in rituals should be no problem. From a practical perspective, the fact remains that the deceased cannot do any of the actions a student undergoing initiation would normally be expected to perform—nor is there any claim that they should.⁵¹⁶ As with other forms of ritual, the actions that occur within the ritual are done in an "as if" manner.⁵¹⁷

Here, as elsewhere in Newar ritual tradition, there is prolific use of ritual elements and liturgical segments that appear in other contexts as well. For example, in addition to the actual verses that accompany the aspersion in the water consecration, we also find a well-known verse, one of the "auspicious verses" (*maṅgala-gāthā*). This is used often in Newar consecration rites, and is one of several that may be combined in varying circumstances, such that for monastic initiation, it occurs in a set of three to pair with the Three Jewels, in a set of five to pair with the Five Buddhas in tantric consecration, and in a set of eight to pair

⁵¹⁶ If, per chance, the deceased were to sit up and partake like/as a living individual, it would likely disrupt the ritual, not unlike, in the example given by Robert Sharf, what would happen if meat/flesh were substituted in place of Catholic communion wafers. See Robert H. Sharf, "Ritual," in *Critical Terms for the Study of Buddhism*, ed. Donald S. Lopez (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 257.

⁵¹⁷ Ibid.

with the Eight Auspicious Symbols. In the present context, it is this first one that is employed, and it is included within the section on the water consecration.⁵¹⁸

After the completion of the *pañcābhiṣeka*, the remaining rituals are done. This involves a sequence of subrituals, those that appear frequently in different kinds of complex Newar rituals, and even multiple times in the current manual, as discussed already. These include the *ratna maṇḍala*, the scattering of rice, the taking of sagun, and the application of ash and vermilion *ṭīkās*. In general, all of these rites can be classified as forms of worship offered to deities, and the common worship techniques on the Newar Buddhist ritual repertoire, where they make up portions of the closing frame.

In the next stage, a plate containing offerings of eight different kinds is required. Also required are sweets, ghee, rock sugar, and three types of beer for offering. These are offered, and then a purification with cooked rice takes place, accompanied by mantras. The above materials are now offered in the segment called "giving the five morsels" (*pañcagrāsa yātake*). The text provides only the list of five winds and the instruction to offer the five morsels to the deity. In the contemporary tradition, according to Sarbagya Bajracharya, this involves offering five times in a specific and differing ways. That is, a pinch of the substances is held and offered to the deity five times. Each time, the handling/picking up of the substances is to be done with a different arrangement of the fingers, and these are mapped on to the five bodily winds (*prāṇavāyu*). Hence, in the first, corresponding to *prāṇa*, one takes a bit of the mixture of substances between one's ring finger and thumb, and dabs it on the mouth of the deceased. For the second, corresponding to *apāna*, one takes the mixture with one's middle finger and thumb. Third, for *samana*, one takes the material with index finger and thumb. Fourth is associated with *uḍāna* and one takes the mixture with one's pinky and thumb, and lastly, the fifth is associated with *vyāna* and one takes the mixture with the thumb and another finger.⁵¹⁹ These are given with the mantra, *Oṃ obeisance to all the buddhas, I give the best strength, the best splendor*.⁵²⁰ The involvement of the five bodily winds also appears in the text E701-11.

⁵¹⁸ David Gellner, "A Newar Buddhist Liturgy: Śrāvākayānist Ritual in Kwā Bāhāḥ, Lalitpur, Nepal," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 14 no. 2 (1991a): 250 n. 23. For another version, see Locke, *Karunamaya*, 218 n. 21. The version in the current text at {11v.3} is an approximation of the verse: *Yan maṅgalaṃ sakalasattvaḥḍisthitasya/ sarvātmakasya varadharmakulādhīpasya/ niḥśesadoṣarahitasya mahāsukhasya/ tan maṅgalaṃ bhavatu te paramābhiṣekaḥ*. Translation: "May there be, in this supreme consecration, auspicious blessings (*maṅgala*) for you—the auspicious blessing of the one who oversees the family of the true dharma (*varadharmakulādhīpasya*), who is all encompassing, who is established in the hearts of all beings, who is free from all faults, who is great happiness." This verse occurs most closely in the *Nityakarmapūjāvidhiḥ* (based on the edition in Ngawang Samten and Janardan Pandey, eds. in *Dhīḥ Journal of rare Buddhist Texts Research* 33 (2002), p. 155-66), and in a citation by Gellner, for an appearance it makes in the Newar Buddhist shrine worship liturgy from Kwā Bāhāḥ (Gellner, "Liturgy," 245.) Perhaps worth further study, the verse is even more widespread in variants, with two slightly differing versions also appearing in both the *abhiṣeka* and *pratiṣṭhā* sections of the *Vajrāvalī*, the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana* (discussed in Chapter 4), and the *Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya*. The variants are adopted distinctly among the range of Newar-Sanskrit manuals examined here, with versions also appearing in the *UKV (Utkrānti kriyā vidhi)* described in Chapter Four and the *SDP Samādhi*, discussed briefly in Chapter Four. The particular version found in the current passage is the same as that in the *UKV*, in particular.

⁵¹⁹ Sarbagya Bajracharya, personal communication

⁵²⁰ *Oṃ namo samanta-buddhānāṃ ojo-varaṃ tejo-varaṃ dade svāhā. (14v.3)*

After this, three types of rice beer are offered.⁵²¹ Then, once again, the *pañcaśāli* is offered. This was first mentioned earlier in the text, and is a tantric offering in five metal bowls which contain meat, fish, egg, yogurt and oil. This mixture, called *khañ* may alternatively be meat/fish (counted as one), and wine added, to make five. As another alternative, the meat and wine may be offered after. This offering is first mentioned as being set up at the *āgama* (tantric shrine) earlier in the ritual sequence for the first day.⁵²²

In concluding the current sequence, the final set of rituals enable the disposal of waste materials and leftovers from the rites, by means of the Dhumāṅgārī pūjā. Dhumāṅgārī, or the "Remains deity," receives the leftovers of the rite and feast, which are thrown out at the disposal site.⁵²³ Final purifications are done, including purifying/rinsing the mouth and sweeping the ground.

SDP Deities, Blessings, and *Utkrānti*

Just as the disposal of the ritual materials indicated the end of the preceding sequence, the next portion is marked as a new starting point by the repetition of framing acts that constitute the *guru maṇḍala* and related rituals, such as the drawing of a lotus and the *ratna maṇḍala*.⁵²⁴ The next ritual sequence brings us, at last, to the point where explicitly *SDP*-related material becomes the focus of the rites. With both the priest and deceased now consecrated as deities, the entire ritual is carefully reframed as an *SDP* ritual through a preliminary summoning of the nine *uṣṇīṣa* buddhas that form the core of the *SDP maṇḍala*. After that, blessings are bestowed along with verses of praise, which are then followed by the departure, once again, of the *prāṇa* through the process of *utkrānti*.

Having done this, the priest recites a benediction on behalf of the deceased:

"Oh [name of the deceased], Let [you] be free of all sins from your (*chana*) past lives, and let [you] be freed of negative rebirths. Becoming absorbed in the *tathāgata Śrī Amitābha*, let [you] obtain the path of liberation."

Once again, *tāḍana* protection is done. And at this point, for the first time, the central rituals and textual material relating to the *SDP* are introduced. This takes the form of a set of mantras recited 108 times by the *upādhyāya*.⁵²⁵ With some minor variation, the first nine of these resemble the mantras assigned to the buddhas of the nine *uṣṇīṣa maṇḍala* that begins at the start of Chapter Two in the Sanskrit and later Tibetan translation of the tantra. That is, including Śākyamuni, Vajrapāṇi, Jayoṣṇīṣa, Cakravartin, Vijaya, Tejoraśi, Sitātapatra, and

⁵²¹ It is not stated but according to SB these three types are red, white, and thick (personal communication).

⁵²² See the current text at 6v.3 and again at 8r.2 Present section it is occurring at 14v.5.

⁵²³ Gellner notes that the deity is associated with the disposal site and is also known as Remains Deity *kalaḥ wāye dyaḥ*, see Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 81.

⁵²⁴ As noted, these rituals are a part of the basic repertoire and included in most complex rites. See discussion in Chapter 3 pp. 155-58.

⁵²⁵ The *upādhyāya* is one of the priests present, who is responsible for correct ritual performance. Throughout the text, the ritual performers are identified in a number of ways, but the text's ultimate requirement is for two priests at a minimum: the main guru and the *upādhyāya*.

Vikiriṇa.⁵²⁶ There are further mantras, which include two that are assigned to the offering goddesses Mālā and Gītā, as well as three associated with the prevention of births in the three negative states: as a hell being, a *preta*, or an animal, all three of which also appear in the tantra, at the same point of the invocation of the *uṣṇīṣa* deities in Chapter Two.⁵²⁷ These are not the mantras that can be formed by framing the deities' names with an "om" before and a "hūm" and/or "svāhā" after, as commonly occur in tantric literature, however. Rather they are the sequence of somewhat longer invocations that are correlated with those deities in the tantra.⁵²⁸

Aside from the expected minor variability in the deity names (i.e., from the *tantra*), the mantras differ in an important way from how they appear in the tantra. Specifically, they are presented alongside an instruction that the name of the deceased is to be inserted at the start of each mantra.⁵²⁹ It is notable that these mantras in general match those assigned to the buddhas in the nine *uṣṇīṣa maṇḍala* of chapter two, rather than the one that appears in chapter one.⁵³⁰ This will be a point worth recalling in Chapter Four, for some of the texts, which also form a part of the Newar ritual tradition, instead employ a hybrid set of *uṣṇīṣa* deities, with half matching the second chapter and half matching the first chapter *maṇḍalas* in the *SDP*'s Sanskrit (and later Tibetan) version.⁵³¹

The text continues but does not proceed to further *SDP* rituals at this point. Despite applying the *SDP* mantras, it does not at this point invoke the full *SDP maṇḍala*. Rather, the text moves on to the section on *utkrānti*. Here, we return once again to the practice of ejecting the consciousness; however at this point it is no longer a practice for the living, in preparation for the moment of death; rather, we find, now, the third form: the practice to be undertaken by a priest on the behalf of a deceased person.

Even at the outset, there are curious features in this section, in particular, multiple references to Tibetan tradition. The first thing the text does is gloss *utkrānti* with the Tibetan term, 'pho ba,' transliterated into the Newar script: "After that, the *utkrānti yoga*, that is to

⁵²⁶ Absent is a mantra resembling that of the final *uṣṇīṣa* buddha, Vidhvamsaka, who in the tantra is assigned *Om hūm phaṭ sarvāvaraṇāni sphotaya huṃ phaṭ* (Skorupski, *SDP*, 181, translation and identification of the deity correspondences, 35).

⁵²⁷ These correspond to 15v.2-16r.1.

⁵²⁸ To be clear, the immediate opening of Chapter Two in the tantra does not identify the deities linked with each of the mantras. However, later in the chapter, their names are given when their *mudrās* are listed and described (see, for example, Skorupski's edition, 41a). The assignment of the mantras to the deities is clarified by the commentaries, such as the Vajravarman, as referred to by Skorupski (Skorupski, *SDP*, 35). However, it is also evident in the structure of the ritual presented in the chapter (of the tantra). In fact, the name-based mantras do not appear anywhere for this set of *uṣṇīṣa* deities (i.e. the set found in Chapter Two). Such mantras do appear for the Chapter One *uṣṇīṣa* deities, on the other hand.

⁵²⁹ Thus the first, for Sākyamuni, reads: [Name] *Om sarvapāpadahana-vajra hūm phaṭ*, (with such-and-such name indicated with *amukasya*).

⁵³⁰ There are elements in common in both, and what constitutes enough similarity to count as the same *maṇḍala* may be a matter of degree/qualitative, but on the whole the resemblance is closer to the chapter two forms. Because the outer deities in a *maṇḍala* can be more variable, the usual way of distinguishing the two is by means of the names of the *uṣṇīṣa* deities that they contain. See *Uṣṇīṣa* Table in Chapter One for the sets of names for each set of deities in the *SDP*.

⁵³¹ See Chapter Four and discussion of B105-15 for a brief treatment. This text, the *SDP samādhi*, in truth requires additional research beyond the scope of this study.

say 'pho ba,' is done."⁵³² What follows does not elaborate on the nature of this gloss, although reference to Tibetan parallels will be made at the end of the section. Rather, the priest is instructed to once again do the visualization of the deities in front, in the sky, as was described in the earlier section, at 8v.3.⁵³³ In the following step, the *prāṇavāyu* of the deceased is manipulated within the body, although this section gives relatively sparse detail, describing a process of sending the wind up and down in the body, moving evenly. When compared to the *utkrānti* sections of texts that contain explicit *utkrānti* visualizations, the terseness of the current description is evident; for instance, the versions presented the **Dvikramatattvabhāvanā-mukhāgama* of Buddhajñānapāda and in the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana* both describe very precise practices involving the visualization of syllables that are propelled up and down the body before being ejected from the crown of the head.⁵³⁴

It is likely here that the lack of detail is either due to the limitations on space or the requirement for secrecy—or perhaps both. Unlike the *SDP* rites, *utkrānti* is considered a *guhya* ritual, practiced with restriction on who may access and know about it.⁵³⁵ It is similarly the case that details are not provided for the Cakrasaṃvara or Vajravārāhī segments previously provided, and these three sections are all on subjects for which there are secrecy strictures. (This is not the case for the *SDP*-based content, which is, accordingly, less secret and more fully explicated.) That other texts are required is made explicit in the next statement, which instructs the ritualist to seek out the explanation for the rest of the ritual in other texts. Here, we come to the second curious reference to Tibetan tradition, for the instruction says that one should look to the books on the rest of the ritual, described as being "according to the *Lāma* (i.e. Tibetan) tradition."⁵³⁶

Tibetan Connections

This statement is, in fact, quite curious. This is not because Tibetan and Newar Buddhism in the Kathmandu Valley have had no contact with one another—scholars have demonstrated through a number of cases that they did. However, these are most often accounts of Newar householders taking initiations with Tibetan masters, collaborative translation projects of Sanskrit texts into Tibetan, or Tibetans studying with Newar teachers. Furthermore, most of these circumstances are attested in Tibetan hagiographies of influential lamas.⁵³⁷

⁵³² {16r.1} *thanaṃli · utkrānti joga dhāye · phvāgyawā yāye*// The transliterated term is written in the manuscript as *vphāgyav.ā*, displaying a transformation by metathesis of the v and ph, and the use of a dot to specify the w sound at the end, in order to reproduce "'pho ba" as it is pronounced.

⁵³³ Specifically, the section in question reads: {8v.3} After that, [he] will do *guru yoga*. First of all, in the sky, Samantabhadra contemplation (*dhyāna*) [should be done]. Below that, Vajrasattva should be placed. Below that, Vajradhara should be placed. Below that, Amitābha should be placed. Below that, Ṣaḍakṣarī (Lokeśvara). Below that, Padmasaṃbhava. Below that, Vajravārāhī contemplation should be done.

⁵³⁴ Catherine Dalton, Personal communication. See also Catherine Dalton, "Enacting Perfection: Buddhajñānapāda's Vision of a Tantric Buddhist World" (Berkeley: University of California, Berkeley, 2019). On the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana*, see Tanemura ("Manual," "Sūnyasamādhivajra").

⁵³⁵ Lewis and Bajracharya, "Vajrayāna Traditions," 151. This continues to be true in the present day.

⁵³⁶ {16r.3} *lāmāyā mathanaṃ · sapalāt bone samastaṃ · dhyāna durgu saphulī svayā*

⁵³⁷ These type of accounts, and historical relations between Tibetan and Newar Buddhists, have been studied by Lewis, see Todd T. Lewis and Lozang Jamspal, "Newars and Tibetans in the Kathmandu Valley: Three

The occurrence of cross-cultural *ritual* influence is much rarer. Lewis describes a single instance, of a sort: at the end of the annual city assembly of all saṅgha members (New. *de ācārya guthi*), participants are given butter-salt tea in the Tibetan style.⁵³⁸ As Lewis notes, this suggests some sort of historical ties between the Tibetan and Newar saṅghas. However, other than this, most of the interaction Lewis mentions is of the nature of Newar householders receiving initiations from Tibetan lamas, that is to say connections between human relationships (as opposed to ritual/textual).⁵³⁹ Although it might be reasoned that this implies some sort of textual links, the fact is that the ritual literature supplies no widely recognized examples of crossover at the level of ritual manuals. For one thing, questions emerge—would this imply texts translated from Tibetan to Newari? Though a great deal of translation took place in the Valley, undertaken collaboratively between Newars and Tibetans, these are translations of Sanskrit texts into Tibetan, in the long-term process of translating Indian Buddhism into Tibetan, not Tibetan into either Sanskrit or Sanskrit/Newari.⁵⁴⁰ There are exceptions, such as the lineage involving the Indian Vanaratna in the 14th-15th century, where the back-translation of lineage names into Sanskrit from Tibetan demonstrates a tradition passed down to Vanaratna from Tibetan masters.⁵⁴¹ However, this is yet again connections between people, rather than any integration in ritual content.⁵⁴²

If Newari texts based on Tibetan ritual tradition are not attested, we might still ask what else might be meant by the current text's reference to Tibetan methods could mean. One possibility, though a speculative one, is that the reference is not to a specific Tibetan textual

New Translations from Tibetan Sources," *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 36 (1988): 187–211. See also Benjamin Bogin, *The Illuminated Life of the Great Yolmowa* (Chicago: Serindia Publications, 2013), 54-56; 100-102; and Lewis and Bajracharya, "Vajrayāna Traditions," 135; 184 n. 84. In addition, see Hubert Decler, "Bajracarya Transmission in XIth Century Chobar: Bharo 'Maimed Hand's' Main Disciple Vajrakirti, the Translator from Rwa," *Buddhist Himalaya* 6, no. 1–2 (1994-1995): 1–17. However, Decler's account differs somewhat from that given by Davidson, as summarized above pg. 133 (from Davidson, *Tibetan Renaissance*, 130-36). On Vanaratna, see also Ryan C. Damron, "Deyadharmā—A Gift of the Dharma: The Life and Works of Vanaratna (1384-1468)" (Dissertation, Berkeley, CA, University of California at Berkeley, 2021).

⁵³⁸ Lewis and Bajracharya, "Vajrayāna Traditions," 135; 184-85 n. 84

⁵³⁹ It has long been possible for Newars to ordain in the Tibetan monasteries which have had a presence in Nepal since relatively early times, into which Tibetans could ordain (Lewis and Bajracharya, "Vajrayāna Traditions," 92). Likewise, in recent years, Tibetan teachers have sometimes been brought to teach as a reaction to disenchantment with Newar traditional practices and the influence of Protestant Buddhism (*ibid.*, 123). There have also been expansions in the Tibetan monastic institutional presence in the 20th c., in part as a result of Tibetan refugee settlements in Nepal. However, these have not been especially influential with the Newar community (*ibid.*, 168).

⁵⁴⁰ Davidson, *Tibetan Renaissance*, 126.

⁵⁴¹ This is the case with the *Marmopadeśa*, as discussed in Harunaga Isaacson, "Himalayan Encounter: The Teaching Lineage of the Marmopadeśa," *Manuscript Cultures*, no. 1 (Autumn/Winter 2008): 2–6. Vanaratna was, indeed, well-traveled and an exemplar of complex connections and travel between India, Nepal, and Tibet. Records of his teaching indicate that he most likely attained some facility in the Newari language (Damron, "Deyadharmā," 132). He also is noted as having written texts on popular Dhūmāṅgārī traditions in Nepal, in which he added alternate iconographic options based on a dream of his own (*ibid.*, 119). This could, in a sense, be seen as contact between traditions, but it yet remains more of a human link than the textual kind that would help answer questions about the statements in the current text.

⁵⁴² That is to say, while connections between people are a prerequisite for ritual connections, evidence of the former does not necessarily imply that the latter occurred.

source, but rather an indicator that the *utkrānti* method is associated with Tibetan ritual tradition in a general way, and is, therefore, the most accessible way to describe the ritual considering the text's intended audience of ritual practitioners. It could, in other words, be referencing a popular notion or stereotype, i.e. that the ritual is more characteristic of Tibetan practice than of Newar.

While this finds no direct confirmation in the contemporary tradition, and is impossible to confirm given the absence of historical evidence making such ideas explicit, one point that would support this theory is the fact that (acknowledging that they have a number of differences), Tibetan *'pho ba* is a far more common practice among the followers of Tibetan Buddhism than is *utkrānti* among the Newars. In the Tibetan context, the practice is extremely widespread and there are few restrictions on who may practice it, given that one has a teacher willing to teach it. Likewise, in death, *'pho ba* has become an almost expected part of the full process in later periods.⁵⁴³ In contrast, in the Newar context, the funerary practice is reserved for elite members of the saṅgha who must possess higher tantric initiations. Perhaps this state of affairs could lead to a general sense that the ritual is somehow Tibetan in its origins. In the end, though, this is speculation and cannot be confirmed.

After this, the usual closing segments for ending the ritual are completed, with lamps being lit and placed encircling the deceased, and individuals younger (relative to the deceased) offer full-body prostrations. The *maṇḍala* is worshipped, rice is scattered and *sagun* taken, and payment (*dakṣiṇā*) is given to the priest in exchange for the blessed food offering (*samaca*).⁵⁴⁴ Finally, all of the materials from the ritual are cleaned up and disposed of, either at the crossroads, or disposal area at the threshold of the house. At the end, added by means of a *kākapāda*, the additional instruction has been added that a *maṇḍala* should be placed in the same place, but then *not* swept away.⁵⁴⁵

Śaiva Connections and Discussion

At this point, it will be useful to step back and consider the rituals that have taken place so far, in a larger context. We have mainly restricted discussion to the Buddhist context and the rituals' immediate textual sources, i.e. in the case of the *utkrānti* described as a deathbed practice, the *Samvarodaya tantra* (and, in the case of the *pañcābhīṣeka*, the *Vajrāvalī*, as well as the alluded-to Vajravārāhī rites). However, the *Samvarodaya tantra* can be linked to further foundational works, in particular, the *Catuṣpīṭha* and the *Śamvara/Laghusamvara* (i.e. *Cakrasamvara*) *tantras*. These, in turn, have close connections with the traditions of Śaiva tantra. In fact, Śaiva Tantra offers an important case for comparison, not only for the close connections between Buddhist and Śaiva tantric literature in general, but also in terms of specific practices and concepts, among which we find both similarities and distinctive differences from Buddhist tradition as presented in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual.

⁵⁴³ As noted in Chapter 1, it was not present in Tibetan texts from Dunhuang.

⁵⁴⁴ In general, the expected recipient of the *samaca* would usually be the patron (bereaved family) of the deceased. However, it should be noted that this is not explicitly stated.

⁵⁴⁵ According to Sarbagya Bajracharya, this should be a Vajravārāhī *maṇḍala*, however, the text does not specify, and the marginal notation makes it uncertain if this is an original part of the text accidentally omitted, or an addition supplied later.

The *Utkrānti-SDP* manual provides a source, rare among Sanskrit texts, for examining the process of Buddhist funerary *utkrānti* as a part of a larger sequence, including not only preparatory practices and rites done by the dying person before and during the moment of death, but also the postmortem ritual performed by a priest on behalf of the dead. Although scholarship has been undertaken on works containing both forms in Tibetan literature, research on Sanskrit-language funerary rites is sparser. The combination of both the *svārtha* (for oneself) and *parārtha* (for others) versions of *utkrānti* in this manual set it apart from other works in Sanskrit, such as the *Samvarodaya* (the quoted section of which only deals with the deathbed form), and the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana* (which only addresses a version to be performed after death).⁵⁴⁶ Moreover, it offers insight not just into these two rites, but—perhaps even more important—also into the practices that take place in between the two instances of the rite, as well as additional ones that follow the second (i.e. the postmortem) instance. These, which consist of initiation practices and other related supplemental rites, are an additional point where comparison to Śaiva forms of practice can prove useful.

The text itself emphasizes and draws explicit attention to the twofold forms of practice—rituals for oneself and rituals for others—when it transitions from the *Samvarodaya*-based section providing instructions to either allay death or to complete the *utkrānti*, to the funerary rites initiated by the *vajrācārya*. The verses numbered here as 12-14, found also in the *Pāpaparimocana*, precede the actual instructions for the last rites (*antyeṣṭi*) and serve to identify their appropriate subject/recipient while emphasizing the critical importance of completing numerous rituals for that subject's welfare. The ambiguity in the identity of the appropriate subject involves the question of whether "those who are incapable of [performing the] rituals [for themselves]," is intended to mean individuals who do not know the method to do the rituals, or if it means individuals who are dead already, and therefore unable to help themselves.

The Newari text does not explicitly answer this, although its final comment makes the latter option more likely, since it specifies, "for this reason, numerous rituals should be done for the deceased person," and makes no mention of that person's abilities as a factor. This is also more likely given that, traditionally in the Newar (contemporary) context, the individuals who are granted *utkrānti* funerals are ones who have an elite ritual status. Some form of restriction to advanced practitioners, indeed, goes back as far as the mention in the *Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya*, that recipients should be *vajrācāryas*; but it is even more restricted in the present in actual practice.⁵⁴⁷ Even before the current era represented in living memory, the lack of other nineteenth century manuals in archival and library holdings is

⁵⁴⁶ As has been discussed, the *Samvarodaya* has been edited and partially translated by Tsuda, while a number of studies on the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana* have been done by Tanemura ("Manual"; "Śūnyasamādhivajra").

⁵⁴⁷ Although the author of the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana*, Śūnyasamādhivajra, does not specify, in Jagaddarpaṇa's preamble the same text, which was incorporated into the *Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya*, he says that it should only be done for *vajrācāryas*. Other sources, even among traditional Sanskrit texts, differ; another surviving ritual manual, by Padmaśrīmitra, based on the *Guhyasamāja* tradition, states that the ritual is for *ācāryas*, but also others who have practiced meditations of tantric deities such as Vajrasattva or others. Also, interestingly, in this formulation it can be done for either a man or a woman (Sanderson, "Śaiva Age," 127 n. 295). The *vajrācārya* qualification would of course exclude women. However, in the present Newar tradition, while rare, there have been at least a couple *utkrānti* funerals performed for eminent (spiritually or in the community) women in recent years (2015-2017), for example, so it seems to be a rule with some room for variation.

suggestive of the practice's relative rarity, compared with the many and varied manuals for such things as the *SDP samādhi* and the ritual manuals teaching the "ten rites" (*daśa-karma* - the life-cycle rites -*samskāras*), to name but two examples.⁵⁴⁸ These verses, finally, give a unique example of the variation in Newari commentary, as they are also found with accompanying Newari text in a copy of the *Pāpaparimocana* preserved in Cambridge, but in that text, the Newari discussion is entirely different.

To consider the non-Buddhist connections, we can begin with *utkrānti* taken strictly, rather than in the larger complex that I have generally been referring to as the "*utkrānti* funeral." At its basic level, this is the combination of (a) the notion that consciousness (or the life force, or the soul, outside of Buddhism) ceases or departs at particular points on the body (apertures or "gates"), in the moment of death, with (b) the idea that these gates correspond to, and are indications of, particular fates for the deceased after death. Consistent across formulations, too, is the idea that the best option among departure points is the crown of the head (the *brahma-randhra* or fontanelle).⁵⁴⁹ This much is not *utkrānti*, but rather the set of traditions related to divining the signs of approaching death and signs that occur at death (*mṛtyunimitta*). *Utkrānti* comes into play with the 'reverse engineering,' so to speak, involved in turning the divinatory power of noting the point of departure upon itself, and seeking to manipulate the consciousness so that it departs from the most auspicious gate.⁵⁵⁰

The tradition of the signs of death and correspondence to specific postmortem fates is the oldest layer in this sequence, and indications of it can be found in the *Upaniṣads*, the Kashmirian recension of the *Bhagavad-gīta*, and the Buddhist *Abhidharmic* literature, to move from distant to more proximate traditions relative to our current material.⁵⁵¹ To move yet closer (in time, particularly), not only did the later Brahmanical tradition keep the idea, so too was it adopted into Śaiva practices that diverged from it.⁵⁵²

Within Śaiva tradition, the practice most likely originated as a moment-of-death meditation, but it came to be framed as a voluntary practice that was the purview of advanced meditators, thus giving it the translation sometimes found, of "yogic suicide."⁵⁵³ In this formulation, it is an option for advanced practitioners, and not associated with suicide

⁵⁴⁸ The *SDP samādhi* is discussed briefly in the fourth chapter of this dissertation. The life-cycle rites manuals, which typically contain all of the life-cycle rites through marriage, but usually not death rites on account of their inauspiciousness, are quite numerous, see for example (NGMCP catalogue numbers): A0886-14, A0920-09, A0920-09. While these manuals typically do not contain funerary rites, there are others that do. Aside from the ones discussed in this dissertation, there are numerous manuals that teach the procedure for the offering of *piṇḍas* to the deceased and ancestors, as well as the previously mentioned 'victory over death' texts (*Mṛtyuvañcana*, *Mṛtyuñjaya* e.g. C 0014-14, A 1158-07). A similar range of types can also be found in the Asa Saphu Kuti collection.

⁵⁴⁹ The references to this are sometimes somewhat obscure, compare for example the *Samvarodaya*'s and *Mṛtasugatiniyojana*'s "upper way" (*ūrdhvena*) and the *Catuspītha*'s "abode above," which has been interpreted by commentators to mean the Formless Real or a "special incarnation." However, though the same term, the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana* promises rebirth in a pure buddha realm or liberation. See discussion earlier in this chapter for specific references.

⁵⁵⁰ That this is the historical origins and sequence of development is somewhat speculative, however the points of departure divination is the earliest to appear in texts, and it is a logical set of consequences to consider.

⁵⁵¹ Szántó, *Catuspītha*, 456.

⁵⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵⁵³ Nina Mirnig, "Liberating the Liberated: A History of the Development of Cremation and Ancestor Worship in the Early Śaiva Siddhānta" (University College, Oxford, 2009), 25.

or the injunctions against it.⁵⁵⁴ There is evidence that the Buddhists, while adopting the practice from Śaiva models, were significantly less comfortable with the proximity of such a formulation to suicide.⁵⁵⁵ This can be seen in the way that careful comment is made in a widespread verse also included in the current *Utkrānti*-SDP manual (via the *Samvarodaya*), to the effect that one must carefully observe the signs of death and delay *utkrānti* until the correct time, i.e. the moment of death, lest one be doomed to hell for doing it in an untimely early fashion (as stated in the 10th and 11th verses of the current text/ 38c-d and 39 of the *Samvarodaya*).⁵⁵⁶ With Buddhism, the practice does not seem to appear until the eighth century, when it emerges first in the grey semi-scriptural **Dvikramatattvabhāvanā-mukhāgama* of Buddhajñānapāda before coming to be fully incorporated in the *Catuspīṭha* as the first properly scriptural source—a progression very likely to indicate adoption from outside the Buddhist fold and gradual acceptance of something initially considered somewhat questionable from a Buddhist perspective.⁵⁵⁷

However, this is all a conversation concerning only the first half of the subject as it is here being considered, that is, the practice as done by an individual for themselves at the moment of death. We must also look at the *parārtha* version of the practice undertaken by a priest after death, and at the initiations and blessings that precede it but follow the self-administered form of the rite. Here, we turn again to Śaiva models, but in this case not those associated with a relatively rare and extremely elite practice (that of *utkrānti*), but rather with the mainstays of Śaiva funerary practice for initiates. Specifically there are two ritual forms with relevant parallels, the first of which is the liberating cremation or initiatory cremation, and the second is the rite to rescue the dead (*mṛtoddhāradīkṣā*). These bear no direct relation to the practice of *utkrānti* and, indeed, some sources specifically prescribe that those who have undergone *utkrānti* do not receive an initiatory cremation, but rather are simply burned in the fire/ fire as Śiva (*śivāgni*).⁵⁵⁸ The parallels in both cases are only partial, and do require some discussion for their relevance to be clear.

Initiatory cremation is a rite where the cremation process is supplemented with a repetition of the *nirvānadīkṣā*, the main rite the Śaiva initiates undergo, which is fully liberating except for the remaining karma necessary to live out a lifespan.⁵⁵⁹ In the regular (non-funerary) form of this ritual, the priest leads the initiate's soul to rise up out of the top of the head to be united with a form of Śiva several inches above the head and transfers the elements in the body temporarily out into a string which is purified through burning, before

⁵⁵⁴ Mirnig, *ibid*.

⁵⁵⁵ Szántó, *Catuspīṭha*, 457.

⁵⁵⁶ "The *utkrānti* is to be performed when the proper time has come. If it is done at the improper time, one strikes down the gods. The act of striking down the gods alone gets one burned in hell. For that reason, the wise man should know the signs at death. [10/SU: 38c-d]/ The mere [act of] striking down the deities will result in a man being cooked in hell. / Therefore, the wise one should know the signs of death." [11/SU: 39] As noted in Szántó regarding the murder of the deity, this is usually understood to mean that "the yogin murders the deities that are the constituents of his person in Tantric thinking," and the origin for the idea goes back to the *Guhyasamāja* (17.50ab): *pañca skandhāḥ samāsenā pañca buddhāḥ prakīrtitāḥ* (Szántó, *Catuspīṭha*, 4.3.55, pp. 468-69)

⁵⁵⁷ Szántó, *Catuspīṭha*, 457.

⁵⁵⁸ Mirnig, "Liberating the Liberated," 69.

⁵⁵⁹ Davis, "Cremation and Liberation," 48.

reinstalling the initiates purified soul in the body.⁵⁶⁰ In the funerary form of the rite, the soul is led out of the upper opening in the head, but it is not again reinstalled, but rather left to be an equal with (or, depending on school, in identity with) Śiva.⁵⁶¹ Thus, like *utkrānti*, the general notion of sending the consciousness out of the crown of the head is practiced, but Śaivism distinguishes this as something separate from *utkrānti* (which it also has), so it cannot be said that the Buddhist *utkrānti* is equivalent to the Śaiva initiatory cremation, precisely. The second of the two relevant practices is the rescue of the dead (*mṛtoddhāradīkṣā*), which is a similar procedure in which the absence of a body or the consequence of inauspicious death calls for the use of an effigy, which is initiated and then cremated in lieu of the deceased's body, or in addition to it.

To make the comparison with the Śaiva initiatory cremation, we turn now to the larger complex of rites, between and beyond the two instances of *utkrānti* that take place. At the outset, differences should be acknowledged. One of the biggest is that from the perspective of the ritual, calling the Buddhist practice postmortem initiations is a misnomer. Because the consciousness has been reinstalled and bound in the body of the deceased, the individual is, for the duration of the time prior to the final *utkrānti*, not deceased. For this reason, the initiations are closer to the ordinary rituals done for living initiates than the Śaiva cremation *nirvāṇadīkṣā* is to the living version of that rite. Outside of that ritual context, there are, however, similarities.

Another point with interesting implications is one of similarity. Some distinctions between the Buddhist *abhiṣeka* and the Śaiva *dīkṣā* (both of which I have been translating as initiation, though in fact the Śaivas have distinct rituals for both terms) according to some is that the Śaiva *dīkṣā* (*nirvāṇadīkṣā* specifically) is considered automatically liberating, leaving only residual karma that is destroyed in the crematory fire, Buddhist *abhiṣekas* are not.⁵⁶² In most cases, *abhiṣeka* is instead only the opening of the way and access to practice in a particular tradition.⁵⁶³ And herein lies an interesting difference, for in the case of the Buddhist funerary initiations, there is no indication in the liturgy of any intention for subsequent practice on the part of the deceased, i.e. such as is found in portions of the tantra where initiates are lectured on their duties and responsibilities in keeping their new vows.⁵⁶⁴ In part, here, there may be the difference where Buddhist authors were restricted by the

⁵⁶⁰ Davis, *Oscillating Universe*, 89ff.

⁵⁶¹ Davis, "Cremation and Liberation," 49.

⁵⁶² On the *nirvāṇadīkṣā*, see Davis, *Oscillating Universe*, 89ff. Regarding the distinction in Buddhist *abhiṣeka* being its purpose in practice, see Isaacson, "Observations," 263. Regarding *dīkṣā* and *abhiṣeka* in their various Vedic and subsequent Brahmanical forms, see Shingo Einoo, "Is the *Dīkṣā* to be performed by the Priest," in *Rites Hindous, Transferts et Transformations*, Eds. Gerard Colas and Gilles Tarabout (Paris: Editions de l'EHESS, coll. Purusārtha, 2006: 79-91), citing Gonda (1965). See also Davis, *Oscillating Universe*, 43. There is much scholarship on Buddhist *abhiṣeka* generally, see fuller discussion in Chapter 3 and earlier in this chapter, but also, for example, Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, and the above-mentioned Isaacson.

⁵⁶³ Isaacson, "Observations," 263. However, see also Davidson, who argues that *abhiṣeka* encompasses a variety of ritual procedures, not all of which necessarily lead to tantric practice. See Ronald M. Davidson, "The Place of *Abhiṣeka* Visualization in the Yogalehrbuch and Related Texts," in *From Turfan to Ajanta: A Festschrift for Dieter Schlingloff on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday*, ed. Eli Franco and Monika Zin, vol. 1 (Lumbini, 2010), 184.

⁵⁶⁴ Address of the deceased is not unheard of, though it does not happen in this text, but see chapter 4 for a different *utkrānti* manual, the *UKV*, which does contain it.

need to retain individual effort as still the ultimate base for liberation, while the Śaiva model based on Śiva's grace requires no such careful negotiation of agency and autonomous effort.

This then begs the question, how are Buddhist postmortem initiations meant to work, if not as permission for practice nor as instant liberation. While the Tibetan commentarial tradition is richer may well provide clear answers for the Tibetan understanding, as far as the Newar tradition and surviving Sanskrit literature goes, the resources to answer this question are limited. Perhaps the most immediate and relevant context may be found quite locally, for the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual at least, both in its own sequence of steps and in the mainstream (non-funerary) uses of initiation in Newar Buddhism. Within the text itself, there are several points at which, leading up to the moment of death, different instructions are given about the extensiveness of the ritual—if there is time, a more extensive version should be done, or it should be administered to all who are present; if death is imminent, the rite should be done for the dying person and the deity alone, for example. There is, in a way, a strong sense of trying to complete as many rituals as possible before death occurs.

As the rituals proceed, the intervention of returning the deceased's consciousness to the body is an important step, for it solves the problem of how the consciousness can be guided out the preferred gate if it has already vacated the body at the time of death, as well as justifying the practice of rituals for the living such as the initiation.⁵⁶⁵ However, it also is the very thing that creates the opportunity for such initiations to take place. The chronology here is difficult to verify, and thus, the logical relationship this implies is somewhat speculative. However, there are points in favor of it. One is that though many things are uncertain, the early origin of the initial manipulation of the consciousness out of the crown of the head in the hopes of a good postmortem fate certainly appears earlier than the records of Buddhist postmortem initiation.⁵⁶⁶ The other is that, according to Mirnig, there is evidence that within Śaiva Siddhanta, the manipulation of the soul as a practice preceded the introduction of initiations in the cremation.⁵⁶⁷

Another point should be mentioned as well. In relation to the form of *utkrānti* performed by another (*parārtha*), a similar practice is also recorded in Jain texts, with a (surprisingly) decidedly more aggressive application, whereby an individual sends one's own consciousness out of the crown of the head to enter into the body of another, suppressing and "liberating" the body of its previous owner, and then taking control of the vacated body for up to a day.⁵⁶⁸ This coercive mode of practice shares with the funerary method the fact that it is a rite done by another, although it differs in the state of being (living or dead) from which it is initiated, and (it would seem) the identity of the beneficiary of the process. It does, however, open an interesting connection in another direction—that of the killing "liberation" rituals of Tibetan tantric texts, such as are found at Dunhuang, where methods

⁵⁶⁵ Though not addressed in any of the materials examined here, there were debates on the necessity (or absence thereof) of recalling the consciousness. See Lindsay, "Liberating Last Rites."

⁵⁶⁶ That is to say insofar as the manipulation of the consciousness/*prāṇa*/soul was already being practiced earlier than its introduction into Buddhism, but Buddhist tantra did not develop *utkrānti* practices until post-*yogatantra* phases.

⁵⁶⁷ Mirnig, "Liberating the Liberated," 35.

⁵⁶⁸ Frederick Smith, *The Self Possessed: Deity and Spirit Possession in South Asian Literature and Civilization* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 289. This rite is known as *parapūrapraveśa* (entering the city (i.e. body) of another) and, in Tibetan, *grong 'jug*. Thanks to Péter Szántó for this note.

teach the compassionate liberation of one's enemies by forcefully propelling their consciousness out of their body, then to be consumed by the deity in a *maṇḍala* ritual.⁵⁶⁹

Conclusion: Locating the SDP

This chapter has addressed the content of the first half (by manuscript length, not ritual time) of the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, beginning with a presentation of the signs on the body indicating rebirth destination and the practices for delaying death (if desired), or performing *utkrānti* upon oneself (if not). It has presented the rituals that begin in the final hours before death, and then continue after death—marked by the departure of the *prāṇa* from the body—has occurred, up to the second and final exit of the *prāṇa* (or consciousness, in the Sanskrit) at the conclusion of the postmortem *utkrānti* sequence. What follows this, to be described in the next chapter, are the continued funerary rites on the first day, consisting of *homa* and other preparations, ultimately leading to the cremation on the second day, and subsequent rites that continue for the seven days after death.

It will be apparent from this presentation that the sequence of rites so far has primarily emphasized the *utkrānti* and other practices absent from the *SDP*, drawing more on works of higher *yogatantra*, centered around deities such as Vajravārāhī and Cakrasaṃvara, rather than the *SDP's yogatantra* orientation centered on Vairocana/Śākyamuni. It is, thus, not coincidental that I have called the manual, as a whole, the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, naming the *utkrānti* portion first, despite this dissertation's overall focus on the *SDP* traditions. Indeed, if one wishes to consider the construction of the *SDP maṇḍala* as the core of *SDP* rites, its construction does not occur until the third day, and the steps involving the purification and disposal of the ashes. These are the rituals to which we turn next.

⁵⁶⁹ Jacob Dalton, "Sometimes Love Don't Feel Like It Should: Redemptive Violence in Tantric Buddhism," in *Sins and Sinners: Perspectives from Asian Religions*, Eds. Phyllis Granoff and Koichi Shinohara (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012), 295-308.

Chapter Three

Chapter Three Introduction: The Last Rites (*Antyeṣṭi*)

In the last chapter, we have seen the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual's treatment of the pre-, peri-, and post-mortem rites up to the transfer of consciousness (*utkrānti*), performed by a priest on behalf of the deceased. In this chapter, we examine the 'last rites' (*antyeṣṭi*), which begin immediately after the transfer of consciousness and lead to the cremation of the corpse on the following day (day two), and thence on to the subsequent days' rituals. As this is the portion of the manual with the strongest connection to the *SDP*, the chapter thus helps to locate the *SDP* within the later ritual tradition, considering both the source material and its incorporation in the overall ritual sequence. By including a detailed description of the rites themselves, the chapter also contributes to scholarship on one of the less-examined aspects of Newar Buddhist funerary practice at the local ritual literature level. Finally, linking this chapter with the preceding ones, we will return to the subject of initiations conferred on the dead, here considered as a tantric approach to purification and the containment of death pollution, and a key to the way tantric technology emerged as a competitive system in the important domain of death rituals.

Although the last rites include the most heavily *SDP*-influenced material in the manual overall, their derivation from the tantra is by no means straightforward. The generic name itself, *antyeṣṭi*, marks its relation to the pan-Indic tradition of funerary manuals that exist as a literary genre independent of the longer sequence presented in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual. The term is not specific to Buddhism, and *antyeṣṭi* is also found among Brahmanically-based and Śaivite funerary rituals. Moreover, while numerous *antyeṣṭi* manuals are listed in the catalogue of the National Archives of Nepal (and/or catalogued in the Nepal German Manuscript Cataloguing Project (NGMCP)), the vast majority of these are not Buddhist.⁵⁷⁰

Indeed, there are very few extant Sanskrit manuscripts dealing with tantric Buddhist funerary rituals, and studies of them are rarer still.⁵⁷¹ Although the term "*antyeṣṭi*" itself is, thus, somewhat generic as a reference to funerary manuals, it is nonetheless apt for the current set, as the most notable feature of the cremation, as we will see, is that it is

⁵⁷⁰ A cursory examination of the catalogue for *antyeṣṭi* manuals reveals, for example, (catalogue i.d. numbers based on the NGMCP): A 1224-23 *Antyeṣṭikarmavidhi*, *Antyeṣṭipaddhatti* (of which there are a great many copies), B 0178-21 *Antyeṣṭividhi* (noted as a Śaiva text), B 0358-25 *Antyeṣṭi prayoga*, B 0359-08 *Antyeṣṭiprajñā sapinḍavidhi*, C 0015-06 *Antyeṣṭi vidhāna*. None of these, however, is Buddhist.

⁵⁷¹ Ryugen Tanemura, "Manual," 2-6. Tanemura's studies on the *Mrtasugatiniyojana* are some of the only such existing studies. (Although not in its title, the *MSN* does identify itself as an *antyeṣṭi-vidhāna* of the *Guhyasamāja*, in its colophon: *śrībhadrāpādāpādmād āsādyā mahopadeśam antyeṣṭeh/ kṛtam antyeṣṭividhānam śrīguhyasamājanīyedaṃ*// 46 (Passage according to Tanemura's edition: Tanemura, "*Śūnyasamādhivajra*," 110-136.) Tanemura has also worked on one other similar funerary text, see Ryugen Tanemura, "Padmasrīmitra's *Maṅḍalopāyikā Antasthitikārmodeśa* Preliminary Edition," *Modern Tantra* 現代密教 23 (2012): 103–21. See discussion of both in Chapter Four.

performed as a *homa* sacrifice—the "last sacrifice" (*antya-iṣṭi*), mirroring the funerary 'last sacrifice' of the Vedic fire priests (*agnihotrin*), and the later traditions largely based on it.⁵⁷²

In addition to drawing on the broader, pan-Indic *antyeṣṭi* genre, the section's non-*SDP* features include much that is specific to Newar Buddhist ritual systems. As the detailed description of the ritual sequence will show, the *antyeṣṭi* participates fully in this system, and includes many elements shared in common with other types of Newar rituals. Indeed, although some of the most important moments are connected with the *SDP* deities of the *Navoṣṇīṣa Maṇḍala*, if counted in terms of manuscript folios treating the topic, the detailed descriptions of the preliminary and concluding "framing" rituals constitute the largest portion of the section.

While the Newar-influenced frame rituals are much the same in both portions of the manual (the *utkrānti* and *antyeṣṭi*, as treated in the last chapter and this chapter), the rites within differ, and with them, the role of the *SDP*; whereas the *SDP* was used in Chapter Two as a frame for the *utkrānti*, here it is the center, framed by other rites. More generally, where the *utkrānti* was the central and climactic rite for the first part of the manual, the cremation is the culmination of the *antyeṣṭi*. Along with this shift, there is also a turn to different deities, specifically to those of the *SDP*'s *Nine Uṣṇīṣa Maṇḍala*, instead of the Vajravārāhī focus in the earlier rituals. Given the difference in respective source texts concomitant with these shifts, there is a transition from the *yoganiruttara* systems of the *Samvarodaya* and its sources, to the *yogatantra SDP*. There are certainly points of overlap between these, as will be examined below, but this is the general movement within the text. In fact, this kind of combination is a common feature of *SDP* ritual manuals, whether Tibetan or Sanskrit-Newari. This will be discussed at some length below, but for now suffice to say, its significance is confirmed by comments made by both traditional commentators and modern scholars about other texts that have the same arrangement.⁵⁷³

Although it takes place on only the first of the seven days dealt within the manual, the transition from transfer of consciousness to last rites represents the first and most significant shift in the content of the rituals. Along with new central rituals and their respective preparatory rites, there are also new deities, source texts, and ritual systems. Conceptually, this coincides with a pivot in the apparent subject of the rites. Although the recipient is the deceased individual overall, the transfer of consciousness fundamentally concerns (as the name suggests) the disposition of the consciousness, while the last rites also attend to the materiality of death, and deal with the physical body. This highlights the centrality of the cremation within the last rites sequence, since the cremation is functionally concerned

⁵⁷² Davis, "Cremation and Liberation," 47. Although the Śaivas interpret the etymology differently, with *antyeṣṭi* not only the 'last' but also the 'supreme' sacrifice, both the Vedic and Śaiva versions see the cremation as a form of offering in the sacrificial fire. However, despite the term's origins, *antyeṣṭi* does not always imply a cremation, and *antyeṣṭi* manuals exist elsewhere that prescribe burial or other treatments. See, for example, one of the only studies on an individual *antyeṣṭividhi*, in Diwakar Acharya, "The *Anteṣṭividhi*: A Manual on the Last Rite of the Lākuliśa Pāśupatas," *Journal Asiatique* 298.1 (2010): 133–56. (The latter method is, however, a relatively uncommon one.)

⁵⁷³ Among traditional commentators, the combination of *yogatantra* and higher *yogatantra* elements in *SDP* manuals was, on occasion, the subject of considerable debate; see Lindsay, "Liberating Last Rites," for a detailed discussion of debates between Bo dong Paṅ chen and Go rams pa, over the manuals composed by Grags pa rgyal mtshan in 13th c. Tibet.

directly with the physical side of death and the disposal of the corpse. After the cremation, this attention to the material aspects of death persists, and is directed towards the purification and disposal of the remaining ash and bone fragments, along with the amelioration of death pollution.

However, looking beyond the consideration of what each section focuses on practically, we will here consider the linguistic and ritual indicators that mark this shift, which, ultimately, point to a greater focus on the materiality of death in this and later portions of the text. This shift relates primarily to the first of the two main ritual components, the preparation of the deceased for cremation, and their purification through the tantric technology based upon *sādhana*. However, these rituals cannot be undertaken until the complex sequence of Newar preliminary rites has been completed, the next subject described.

Day One Rituals

Before the rituals commence, the space, materials, and participants need to be prepared. Because the sequence of rites will proceed without intermission and the priest(s) are prohibited from stopping or leaving once they have begun, it is important that all the necessary materials are provided at the start. For this reason, the instructions open, much like a recipe, with a listing of the materials and ritual implements that should be supplied for use, and a listing of the rites.⁵⁷⁴ In many cases, the consumable materials will be provided by the family of the deceased, or, in some cases, by the funerary society (*guthi*⁵⁷⁵) in which they were a member.⁵⁷⁶ The ritual implements are supplied by the priest, or can be purchased at particular ritual materials shops.⁵⁷⁷ Specific details of these items vary between the traditions of Kathmandu, Patan, and Bhaktapur, and there are also pamphlet-type publications available that list the ritual materials and implements.⁵⁷⁸

Many of the materials used in these framing rites are common, but not all. A feature distinct to the funerary context, in particular, is the fact that the implements, specifically the sword, staff, vajra, and bell, which are required at certain points, must be made out of wood. This is a consequence of the fact that funerary rites are ritually polluting, so tools used in

⁵⁷⁴ In historical manuscripts such as the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, the list is not set off or formatted distinctly, but rather listed in running text. In modern published manuals, however, the lists are often physically separated and placed at the head of the section, in precisely the same way as a cooking recipe might arrange its ingredients in a table at the start of the instructions.

⁵⁷⁵ The *guthi* is the general type of social organization, of which there are many different types in Nepal. Only some of these are concerned with funerary preparations. See discussion of the *guthi* system in Gellner, *Monk Householder and Tantric Priest*, 232-36.

⁵⁷⁶ For the discussion of the provision of materials by the family, I thank Sarbagya Bajracharya. On the subject of the responsibilities of the funerary *guthis* in Newar communities, see Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 246; Gutschow and Michaels, *Handling Death*, 84ff.

⁵⁷⁷ Thanks to Raju Shakya for the chance to visit one such shop and see a variety of the materials listed below.

⁵⁷⁸ On variations, there is, for example, the *anti* vessel, a type of pitcher for holding alcohol. The term *anti* is used in the current text, and also listed in Kölver; however, in Patan, as reported by Sarbagya Bajracharya, it is more commonly called "*thaka*" (spelling speculative, based on oral report). See also pp. 97 n. 349. On ritual implement manuals, see for example, Vajracharya and Vajracharya eds., *Materials Used in Worship*.

them cannot subsequently be used for other purposes, but must be destroyed.⁵⁷⁹ For this reason, there are wood or paper versions of many of the tools that might usually be made of metal. As such, they are both less expensive and capable of being burned, the prescribed way to dispose of such tools.⁵⁸⁰

In addition to the required materials for the establishing the altar and hearth (for the *homa*), and substances for offering, some of the "items" listed are products of ritual preparation in themselves, typically ones extremely common in the Newar ritual repertoire. There is an interesting contrast, here, in the extremely detailed and comprehensive nature of the list of requisites in comparison with the abbreviated reference to certain common subrituals. It may suggest the practical nature of the manual, and its orientation towards trained ritualists who benefit from the reminder of the ingredients and substances to prepare, but once prepared, need no detailed description of the initial rituals they know by heart. That is, while the listing of the extensive set of materials to be gathered is useful, there is no need to discuss common ritual segments, owing to the expertise assumed of the reader. Where the rites, subsequently, come to have more specialized and less common elements, greater detail is provided.

Not only do the ritual space and materials need to be prepared, the participants must also be readied. At this point the text first specifies that the pyre-lighter (New. *mi-tayumha*), as the patron (*jajmān*) is called in this context, should don specific ritual-appropriate clothing.⁵⁸¹ The rituals then begin with the *saṃkalpa*, or declaration of ritual intent. For this, the pyre-lighter touches the plate of offerings (*pūjābha*), presenting it to the priest, while the priest states the *saṃkalpa*. The *saṃkalpa* establishes the time and place of the rite, as well as its participants and purpose. These are established not just at the mundane level, but also the cosmic, in the order from general to specific. Thus, the time is established starting broadly with the age or aeon, and then narrows in scope to the present moment. Similarly, the *saṃkalpa* announces the location, beginning at the grand scale of the Buddhist cosmos and setting the rite on the continent of Jambudvīpa, etc., before focusing in, to the local level. As for the participants, the *saṃkalpa* also identifies the participants and provides kinship data.⁵⁸² In application, the specific identities, time, and place of any given ritual

⁵⁷⁹ Rospatt, *Renovations*, 16. The general principle behind this is not unique to the funerary circumstance, in a way; that is, it is generally true that ritually charged objects and substances from rituals require proper handling and disposal as a matter of course, from many different kinds of rituals. In some circumstances, the appropriate means of disposal may (as in the current case) involve incineration, while in others, dispersal or release in water may satisfy the requirements. In general, this answers the concern that ritually charged substances could be misused to cause harm by negative forces (Alexander von Rospatt, personal communication). In the case of funerary contexts, there is the added issue of death pollution, which cannot be prevented altogether but must be mitigated as much as possible.

⁵⁸⁰ The current text names only the four items: sword, staff, vajra, and bell as being made of wood. These objects appear as items supplied to the deceased during the funeral procession. Although it is not explicit, it is also possible that the *homa* ladle and spoon are similarly to be made of wood, see Rospatt, *ibid*.

⁵⁸¹ As was introduced in the Chapter Two section on Ritual Participation, the patron in the context of funerary rituals is typically identified as the "principal mourner" in scholarship on South Asian funerary practices, and is the member of the surviving family who is most directly involved in the completion of funerary rites. In the current context, it notable that the individual is identified by the most important responsibility they must undertake, that of lighting the pyre, thus the name "pyre-lighter" (New. *mi-tayumha*).

⁵⁸² The *saṃkalpa* has already been discussed in Chapter Two, as well, see pg. 154-55. On the subject in pan-Indic traditions, see Michaels, *Homo Ritualis*, 43.

performance, which are critical to the *saṃkalpa*, are unique and so must be filled in by the ritualist (although there is traditional phrasing for doing this). The ritual manual itself provides the portion that remains constant in any given performance, namely, the declaration of the rituals at hand and their intended purpose or hoped-for results. In this instance, the *saṃkalpa* is dedicated, "for the purpose of undertaking the funerary cremation *homa* and worship, in the pursuit of liberation from negative rebirths, and for the sake of obtaining the fruit of a good rebirth."⁵⁸³

In a complex sequence of rituals such as is presented here, there are multiple points at which a new *saṃkalpa* is prescribed, and, indeed, this is the second instance in this text, with the first prefacing the *utkrānti*.⁵⁸⁴ When a new *saṃkalpa* is stated, it indicates a new ritual and, within the larger complex of rites combined overall, it marks a segment with new purpose and intention. Notably, it is not the case that a new *saṃkalpa* is stated at the start of each day; it is not time but ritual content that distinguishes the segments for complex sets of combined rituals. In the current text, there are four primary and one secondary or implied *saṃkalpas*. The first prefaced to *utkrānti* rites already discussed in the previous chapter. The current one is the second, and its key task is the "last rites cremation ground sacrifice place *homa* and worship." As for its purpose, it is twofold, as stated: the liberation from negative rebirth, and the securing of a good rebirth.

As compared with the first *saṃkalpa*, this one establishes the context for the events leading up to the cremation, or, more precisely, to the arrival at the cremation ground on day two. If compared with the other *saṃkalpas* that occur at different points in the course of the following seven days' sequence, the consistency between them is notable. Uniformly, all of them state that they are for the prevention of negative rebirths. Furthermore, most also state in positive terms either that they are intended to assure success in reaching Sukhāvātī, or, more generally, a good path.⁵⁸⁵ What this destination promises, though, is a matter with some variable interpretation. As Gellner observes, Sukhāvātī is a common promise and aim for rebirth, but how people interpret its meaning in relation to *nirvāṇa* can depend on individual knowledge and expertise, with some saying that they are the same, and others that they are not. To add to the complexity, the Newari expression *nirvāṇ juye* can be used simply as a euphemism for death, which may also influence individuals' understanding.⁵⁸⁶

When the *saṃkalpa* has been stated, the preliminary rites may commence.

⁵⁸³ As a formal ritual statement, the *saṃkalpa* is stated in Sanskrit rather than Newari. Here, the included portion reads, in diplomatic transcription, *antakrīyā-śmaśāna-yajña-homa-pūjānārthaṃ · sarvadurgati-mocanārthaṃ · satagāti-mārga-phala-prāpte-[{]17r.6[}]rthaṃ* (middle-dot punctuation is as in manuscript, see introduction to edition).

⁵⁸⁴ The *saṃkalpas* in the present text occur at 8v.1, 17r.5 (the current one), 22r.6, 24v. Another, not stated explicitly, is mentioned at 22v.3., the *pāmaka* [vessel] *saṃkalpa*, which takes place during the larger sequence that includes the actual cremation; however, this is only mentioned and its liturgy is not stated explicitly. In addition, there are several others implied in the course of the rituals overall, in those rites for which a separate manual is prescribed, such as those discussed in the following chapter.

⁵⁸⁵ In three instances: *durgati mocanārthaṃ sukhāvātī bhūvana prāpterthaṃ*, and in one instance (the current one): *sarvadurgati mocanārthaṃ · satagāti mārga phala prāpterthaṃ*. At a later point, there is in fact one further mention of a *saṃkalpa*, the *pāmaka* vessel *saṃkalpa*, to be done at the cremation ground. However, this is not given in detail beyond the note that it should be done. See at 22v.3.

⁵⁸⁶ Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 131.

The first steps, after the *saṃkalpa*, are the *guru maṇḍala* and associated activities. The *guru maṇḍala* is the most ubiquitous practice in the Newar ritual tradition, closely followed in popularity only by the next one appearing in the sequence, the *kalaśārcana pūjā*.⁵⁸⁷ The *homa*, which comes after that, is also extremely common, if less ubiquitous than the first two. In the current context (and commonly, across Newar Buddhist rituals), all three of these—the *guru maṇḍala*, *kalaśa pūjā*, and *homa* sacrifice—serve as framing rituals. In general, this means that they are introduced at the beginning, but their closing sequences do not take place until after the completion of the central rite. After the main ritual, closing rites involving *bali* offerings, as well as the basic concluding sequence of the frame, end the processes first initiated at the outset of the entire ritual set.⁵⁸⁸

In the present text, the central rites consist of the invocation of the deities of the *SDP maṇḍala*, the purification and worship of the deceased's body, and the invocation and worship of the particular form of Agni whose fire is to be used in the cremation. The treatment of the body involves the placing of mantras (*nyāsa*), verse and mantra recitation, ritual bathing (*snāna*), and typical worship rites like the fivefold offering (*pañcopacāra pūjā*). The generation of Agni involves not just the establishing of the *homa* fire for the fire offering that serves as the framing rite, but also the generation and worship of a specific form of Agni called *Kravya-Agni* ("Cremation/Flesh Fire"). This fire is then preserved overnight and carried to the cremation ground the following day, where it is employed to light a new *homa* fire. Then, that fire, in turn, provides the source for lighting the pyre. Thus, the *homa* in this set of rituals has a double role, both as a standard introductory act, where it takes the ordinary form of the ritual, and then as a specially summoned form identified with cremation, and part of the main ritual segment overall.⁵⁸⁹

Rituals Commence

With the ritual formally initiated, the priest begins by performing the *guru maṇḍala*, the most ubiquitous ritual segment in the Newar tradition.⁵⁹⁰ The *guru maṇḍala* directs worship towards *Vajrasattva* as the ultimate guru.⁵⁹¹ The visualization establishes the universe

⁵⁸⁷ The nesting structure of the *guru maṇḍala* has certain curious features and may not be fully symmetrical; see discussion below, as well, where the irregularity may be relevant. For descriptions in general, see Locke, *Karunamaya*, 81-114, as well as Gellner, "Ritualized Devotion," 164ff. The *guru maṇḍala* is the most ubiquitous of Newar Buddhist rites, while the *kalaśārcana pūjā*, which is somewhat more elaborate, is done frequently but not in some cases (for example, it is omitted from the preparatory steps of the *lātya* ancestor ritual, i.e. the *śrāddha* rite done at forty-five days after death, see Gutschow and Michaels, *Handling Death*, 40ff (though focused on the Newar Hindu version, they also address Buddhist practices).

⁵⁸⁸ As will be expanded on below, the framing purpose is slightly complicated later in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual in the case of the *homa* on account of how a part of the central ritual in this instance involves the kindling of the fire/generation of Agni who will be invoked for the cremation.

⁵⁸⁹ In the form employed in cremation, Agni's role is as the "flesh-eater," though terms vary. See Timothy Lubin, "The Vedic *Homa* and the Standardization of Hindu *Pūjā*," in *Homa Variations: The Study of Ritual Change across the Longue Durée*, ed. Richard K. Payne and Michael Witzel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 143.

⁵⁹⁰ For a thorough description of the *guru maṇḍala*, see Gellner, "Ritualized Devotion," 161-97, and Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 148ff. A slightly different version is also provided in Locke, *Karunamaya*.

⁵⁹¹ Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 150.

centered on Mt. Meru and composed of precious substances, which the priest offers to Vajrasattva. This portion is referred to as the *ratna-maṇḍala*, although it is sometimes simply called "the *maṇḍala*" in the instructions, where it is generally accompanied by the scattering of rice (*maṇḍala thile ki (gva) tine*).⁵⁹² Sub-rituals follow, including the repetition of common ones already noted.⁵⁹³

Preparations of the space are noted in brief, abbreviated as "five cow products, placing vermillion, spreading the *maṇḍala*, scattering rice, the hundred syllables, the dismissal." Five cow products (*pañcagavya*) refers to a rite of purification by means of a mixture of milk, curd, ghee, urine, and dung. The mixture is sprinkled upon the vessels for the deities arranged in the ritual space with a piece of *darbha* grass. The second, abbreviated as "placing vermillion," entails the empowering of red powder, worshipping it, and dabbing it onto items used in the ritual. The third is the previously mentioned (*ratna*) *maṇḍala* accompanied by the sprinkling of rice. After this, the "hundred syllables" refers to the recitation of the hundred-syllable mantra of Vajrasattva to compensate for any errors in the performance of the rituals, and finally there is the dismissal (*visarjana*) to release the deities invoked in the ritual back to their abodes.

While it may be performed on its own, often (including in the current text), the *guru maṇḍala* serves as a framing device, to some degree, and so following the *ratna maṇḍala* there should then begin the main ritual activities of overall ritual, and only after that, the concluding dismissal of the *guru maṇḍala*. David Gellner has noted that there is an oddity in the frame arrangement, in that the *guru maṇḍala* is not dismissed in the reverse order relative to the *kalaśa pūjā*, but rather its dismissal takes place first, leading to a repetition of the sequence *guru maṇḍala* dismissal, then *kalaśa pūjā* dismissal, instead of the opposite.⁵⁹⁴ However, the current text does not seem to display this sequence arrangement, and the *guru maṇḍala* appears to be completed and serve as a prefacing ritual more than a framing one. Closing ritual elements (spreading the *maṇḍala*, scattering rice, the hundred syllables, dismissal) occur immediately, before the main rituals and even before the rest of the *kalaśārcana pūjā*, which does frame the central rites. In fact, given this, it is not entirely clear if the spreading of the *maṇḍala* and scattering of rice refers to the first instance where this happens in the introduction, or where it occurs in the closing activities. This would make a difference, for in the first instance the *maṇḍala* is the *ratna maṇḍala* and is performed after the placing of the *īṭkā*. In contrast, if it is intended to be the closing instance,

⁵⁹² This is not, however, the only understanding of the term *ratna-maṇḍala*. When performed as a part of *nyāsa*, imposing mantra syllables on an entity, in the contemporary tradition, it may be a *mudrā* with hands together, facing up, middle fingers facing up, other fingers twisted around each other (as reported by Sarbagya Bajracharya). It is not, in this case, an act of sprinkling water, though that comes later. This is consistent with Gellner, that those who know how, make a certain *mudrā* while offering the *ratna-maṇḍala* (*Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 178). See also subsequent discussion of the *ratna-maṇḍala* when it is the "water *bali*" offering, which Gellner notes but points out that it does not include water itself.

⁵⁹³ For a clear summary of the worship of deities in vessels and sequence of the *guru maṇḍala*, see Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 149-51, for a brief overview. For more detail, see Gellner, "Ritualized Devotion," 161-97.

⁵⁹⁴ Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 149. Gellner writes based on Witzel (n.d.).

it would refer to a *maṇḍala* of specific deities—often the five buddhas (*pañcabuddha*), Tārā, or others.⁵⁹⁵

After these rites, the priest moves on to "practicing meditation" (*samādhi yāye*).⁵⁹⁶ This entails recitation of the visualization (*bhāvanā*), consisting of a description in Sanskrit of the appearance and generation process of the deity.⁵⁹⁷ The priest performs the *sādhana*, identifying with the primary deity, who is also summoned to dwell in the main vase (*kalaśa*) and worshipped. The *sādhana* is a key ritual that not only empowers the priest to do the rituals to come, but also empowers the offering materials and tools, and offers worship to the deity.⁵⁹⁸ In addition, this element is one of the features that grants the overall proceedings their specifically Buddhist tantric aspect, differentiating even elements with very similar Brahmanical counterparts, such as the *homa*.⁵⁹⁹

The present text prescribes the *Durgatipariśodhana samādhi*, and so the *SDP maṇḍala* deities are the focus. In general, meditation at this stage is most frequently focused on the threefold meditation (*trisamādhi*), usually of Cakrasaṃvara, which is the most well-known, and there is an understanding that the *trisamādhi* may be used in place of specific *samādhis* for other deities.⁶⁰⁰ The current text does, however, specify the *SDP samādhi*. Although in later sections of the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, *bhāvanā* visualization passages are included in the text, the description at the present point is minimal. We may speculate that this could be due to either (or a combination of both) the well-known nature of the rituals, or their provision in other supplementary manuals, but it is not possible to determine this with certainty, given the available sources.

Continuing with the examination of the *SDP-utkrānti* manual, the steps of the *kalaśārcana pūjā* continue, with the next task being the ritual purification and empowerment of the implements and vessels which serve to host the deities summoned to the rite. Here, in the present context, not only are the vessels for the vase worship blessed and empowered, but also the materials that will be needed for the following fire sacrifice (*homa*), including requisite vessels, ladles for making offerings into the fire, and firewood. The *homa* is here, as is customary, inserted within the *kalaśārcana pūjā*, prior to the main actions of the central ritual.

Embedded within the vase worship, the fire sacrifice (*homa*) is the next sequence commonly found prefacing many complex rituals.⁶⁰¹ More expensive and less common than

⁵⁹⁵ On the *guru maṇḍala*, in addition to this rough outline, see Gellner, "Ritualized Devotion," 161-97. Locke (1980) also wrote on the subject, though with some differences, as noted by Gellner.

⁵⁹⁶ The phrase *samādhi yāye* is a combination of the Sanskrit noun and Newari verbal components; the Newari term for *samādhi* is *deguli*. However, the current text uses the hybrid expression as written here.

⁵⁹⁷ The question of the degree to which the Sanskrit *bhāvanā* is, in practice, visualized versus whether the practical emphasis is on the recitation is a complex issue and cannot be fully determined. See, for example, Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 290-91.

⁵⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 155; see also 287-92.

⁵⁹⁹ Locke, *Karunamaya*, 103. In addition, see related point about the visualization entailed in *homa* being absent from the Newar Hindu version, in Lewis and Bajracharya, "Newar Buddhist *Homa*," 306.

⁶⁰⁰ This may especially be the case if the occasion-specific deities and their *samādhis* are less well-known to the performer. There is textual precedent and permission for this attested in traditional sources discussing the deconsecration of Svayambhu *caitya*, see Rospatt, *Renovation*, 235 n. 27).

⁶⁰¹ Descriptions of fire sacrifice (*homa*) as performed in Newar Buddhism can be found in Lewis and Bajracharya ("Newar Buddhist *Homa*," 291-313) and in Gellner (*Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 157ff).

the basic vase worship alone, *homa* is performed both on its own and as a framing ritual. Here, both versions are found; that is, an ordinary *homa* is undertaken at the outset, and an extension and separate invocation of a distinct form of Agni occurs again as a central rite. In addition, while vase worship occurs without the fire sacrifice on certain occasions, the fire sacrifice is always accompanied by vase worship, and both rites serve to frame further rituals.⁶⁰²

Although the description of it as a framing rite suggests a secondary importance, this is not necessarily the case; according to some accounts, the *homa* is the most central rite in the ritual tradition, for its auspiciousness and, according to some interpretations, the fact that it completes and is said to ensure the success of whatever specific rituals are at hand.⁶⁰³ From a cultural perspective too, the rite's importance is signaled in the fact that the authority to perform the *homa* sacrifice is one of the defining features that distinguishes those of the Vajrācārya caste from the Śākya.⁶⁰⁴

Homa has a long history, stretching back to Vedic and Avestan traditions of fire sacrifice, the *yajña* (Sanskrit)/ *yasna* (Avestan).⁶⁰⁵ Its geographical range spans Asia, as well, with versions of the *homa* reaching as far as Japan.⁶⁰⁶ The ritual has long been a subject of scholarly interest, although the emphasis in such scholarship has shifted over time, expanding from a focus on the continuity and persistence of the ritual form, to include interest in the opposite: its evolving forms and the ways in which it has in fact been quite mutable.⁶⁰⁷ Certain elements do persist, such as the specialized tools and typical substances offered, the importance of specially shaped *homa* hearths, and particular patterns of alternation between fire and water elements in the ritual structures overall.⁶⁰⁸ So too, in almost all traditions, the fire is Agni, and consumes the offerings, after which further offerings are made to additional deities.⁶⁰⁹ At the same time, important changes have shaped the forms and meanings of fire sacrifice traditions over the centuries, whether by the combination of elements from diverse sources, the creation of new rituals, or the

Lewis and Bajracharya's description outlines the Patan version of the rite, while Gellner's is based on the Kathmandu version, which differs somewhat.

⁶⁰² Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 151.

⁶⁰³ Interpretations and opinions vary, and this is not stated explicitly in the text. However, see Gellner, quoting Amogha Vajra Vajracharya, for example, in Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 159.

⁶⁰⁴ Lewis and Bajracharya, "Newar Buddhist *Homa*," 293.

⁶⁰⁵ For discussions of the connections between the Sanskrit and Avestan materials, see for example Holly Grether, "The Ritual Interplay of Fire and Water in Hindu and Buddhist Tantras," in *Homa Variations: The Study of Ritual Change across the Longue Durée*, ed. Richard K. Payne and Michael Witzel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 47–66; Holly Grether, "Burning Demons and Sprinkling Mantras: A History of Fire Sacrifice in South and Central Asia" (University of California Santa Barbara, 2010). On the Brahmanical background of *homa*, see also P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra (Ancient and Mediaeval Religious and Civil Law)*, 1st ed., vol. 2.1 (Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1941), 206–211.

⁶⁰⁶ Musashi Tachikawa, "The Ritual Interplay of Fire and Water in Hindu and Buddhist Tantras," in *The Structure of Japanese Buddhist Homa*, ed. Richard K. Payne and Michael Witzel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 126–40.

⁶⁰⁷ Payne, "Introduction," 9.

⁶⁰⁸ Grether, "Ritual Interplay," 47–66.

⁶⁰⁹ Richard K. Payne, "Introduction," in *Homa Variations: The Study of Ritual Change across the Longue Durée* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016b), 3.

"routinization of visionary experience."⁶¹⁰ Besides the distinction, already problematized in scholarship, between form and meaning of rituals, another division within meaning, between semantic change and syntactic is also a factor.⁶¹¹ Where the former involves shifts in specific meanings, like the identity of deities, the latter (which is more difficult to enact), involves changes in the overall structure and its underlying metaphor, such as the superimposition of a tantric *maṇḍala* upon the hearth.⁶¹²

As for former, the shift from Vedic fire sacrifice to Buddhist *homa* is theorized to have taken place over a number of steps. One of these was the shift from the three-fire *yajña* of the *śrauta* system to the single-fire domestic householder sacrifice, which occurred as a part (though only one of many) of the shift from large-scale Vedic rites, requiring numerous ritual specialists and great expense, to smaller single-officiant householder rituals, changes traced in the *Purāṇas* and *Āgamas* after the time of the *Vedas* and *Brāhmaṇas*.⁶¹³ Later, although offerings the begin with Agni persisted, the tantric version of fire sacrifice diverged from Vedic by emphasizing self-purification and self-deification.

In its metaphors, the Buddhist ritual fire's destructive property, the ability to burn and destroy sins, is valued, and, also, fire is at the same time identified with wisdom. At the same time, patterns of framing that combine water (ablutions, aspersion, consecrations) and fire elements (offering via incineration) have fundamental parallels from the Avestan and Vedic up to including the Buddhist *homa*, since, after all, *abhiṣeka* and *snāna* are essentially water rites.⁶¹⁴ Nor is understanding cremation as sacrifice new—connections may exist to Vedic material, and certainly do to *Upaniṣādic*, including the *Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad*, and, less elaborately, the *Chāndogya*.⁶¹⁵

Although the transformation from the three-fire *yajña* of the Vedic sacrifices to the single fire rites prescribed in the *Gṛhyasūtras* was a significant one, another transformation, closer in time and relevance to the rites being considered here, was as crucial. This was the transformation that took place with the introduction of tantric elements, making the Buddhist *homa* yet again different. Specifically, the tantric influence incorporated visualization and made the process not just essentially a votive offering made into a fire, but a sequence that entailed the visualization and summoning of Agni (as it did already) as well as the principle deity to be propitiated, the identification with the deity, the rites and worship

⁶¹⁰ These three categories are but one suggested way of analyzing the types and processes of change, suggested in the thorough literature review by Payne (*ibid.*).

⁶¹¹ The problematization of the form/meaning, or action/meaning distinction has been discussed thoroughly, including by Catherine Bell and others. See Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory Ritual Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992). For an overview of scholarship in ritual theory, see Robert H. Sharf, "Ritual," in *Critical Terms for the Study of Buddhism*, ed. Donald S. Lopez (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 245–70.

⁶¹² Payne, "Introduction," 22.

⁶¹³ Lubin, "Vedic *Homa*," 143ff.

⁶¹⁴ Grether, "Ritual Interplay," 47-66.

⁶¹⁵ Tadeusz Skorupski, "Buddhist Permutations and Symbolism of Fire," in *Homa Variations: The Study of Ritual Change across the Longue Durée*, ed. Richard K. Payne and Michael Witzel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 71-75.

offered up—essentially the process of *sādhana*, including its key element of deity yoga (*devatā yoga*).⁶¹⁶

While the *SDP* contains *homa* descriptions, it is not one of the primary authoritative sources for the practice in the Newar Buddhist ritual tradition. There are a number of root tantras acknowledged as sources for *homa* in contemporary Newar Buddhism.⁶¹⁷ In addition to these, among ritual works, an important reference source is the *Kriyāsaṃgraha-pañjikā* (*KsP*). The *Kriyāsaṃgraha* is an influential ritual guide that came to be the basis for the performance of a number of rites, particularly involving initiation and, even more, the rituals prescribed for establishing and constructing monasteries and other buildings, and consecrating *stūpas* and images, including the installation rites (*pratiṣṭhā*) for installing deities within such objects.⁶¹⁸ Although dating the *KsP* has proved challenging, with estimates in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, there is at least reasonable evidence to suggest that Kuladatta may have composed the *KsP* in the Kathmandu Valley.⁶¹⁹ However, though the forms may draw on these mainstream tantric Buddhist sources, the current manuscript's rituals are described entirely in Newari, and so cannot be said to be sourced directly (at least not in the form of quotation) from such works.

The *homa* begins with the *adhiṣṭhāna*, empowering the ritual materials, by touching the *catvā* ladle to the *bheota* vessels and saying "*Oṃ vajrasattva āḥ*."⁶²⁰ Written in a marginal note, the text adds that *kuśa* grass *svastikas* should be made at this time, and worship should be done.⁶²¹ Next, thirty-two pieces of wood are placed on the *bheota* vessels, and this

⁶¹⁶ Richard K. Payne, "Homa: Tantric Fire Ritual," in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016a).

⁶¹⁷ According to Naresh Man Bajracharya, in the contemporary tradition, among tantras, these include the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (ch. 14), the *Guhyasamāja tantra*, the *Cakrasaṃvara tantra*, the *Hevajra tantra*, the *Kṛṣṇayāmāri tantra*, the *Samvarodaya tantra* (ch. 23), and the *Kālacakra tantra* and commentary, the *Vimalaprabhā*, and the *Vasantatilaka* (though not a tantra) (Lewis and Bajracharya, "Newar Buddhist Homa," 307-08).

⁶¹⁸ The *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* has partial translations by Ryugen Tanemura focusing on *pratiṣṭhā* (Tanemura, *Kriyāsaṃgraha*), and Skorupski (Tadeusz Skorupski, *Kriyāsaṃgraha: Compendium of Buddhist Rituals, An abridged version* (Tring, UK: The Institute of Buddhist Studies, 2002)). Naresh Man Bajracharya notes its importance in Newar Buddhism (Lewis and Bajracharya, "Vajrayāna Traditions"). On its role in connection with Newar Buddhist rituals such as image consecration and life-cycle rites, see Alexander von Rospatt, "Remarks on the Consecration Ceremony in Kuladatta's *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* and Its Development in Newar Buddhism," in *Hindu and Buddhist Initiations in India and Nepal*, ed. Astrid Zotter and Christof Zotter (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag, 2010), 197–260.

⁶¹⁹ Tanemura, *Kriyāsaṃgraha*, 5ff. Tanemura discusses the questions surrounding dating the text, noting, at minimum, the *terminus ante quem* of 1216 CE, based on its oldest extant manuscript. There is some suggestion of an earlier date, in the form of Newar sources suggesting Kuladatta was working 1045-1089, see von Rospatt for a discussion of the scholarship ("Remarks on the Consecration," 197 n. 1).

⁶²⁰ According to Lewis and Bajracharya, this is called the *homa kuṇḍa adhiṣṭhāna* ("Newar Buddhist Homa," 299).

⁶²¹ Although the current text does not specify, the Lewis and Bajracharya version requires that the *jajamāna* (patron) make the *kuśa svastikas*, which are considered the "seat" (*kuśāsana*) (Lewis and Bajracharya, "Newar Buddhist Homa," 299). In addition, though the current text only says that *pūjā* should be done, the version described by Lewis and Bajracharya state that at the point the specific rites consist of the *puṣpādi pūjā*. In this ritual sequence one visualizes the deity and invites them, asking for *adhiṣṭhāna*. They then worship the deity with fragrance, cloth, flowers, food, milk, light, liquor, puffed rice, and the rice with flower and coin. Doing

wood should be either the *khāyuvaisi* wood (the same as was required to be the vajra, bell, and other items intended for funerary *homa*), or it may be *svasi* (wood).⁶²² This, too, is blessed and worshipped.⁶²³

The lighting of the fire is done in two different stages. The first is referred to in the current text as the *cahoma*.⁶²⁴ The same term is used in a modern ritual manual published by Sarbagya Bajracharya, although the etymology of the term is unclear.⁶²⁵ Small pieces of wood in a clay bowl are lit with the flame from the lamp. *Pūjā* is done and grain is offered into the *cahoma* fire. This step seems to correspond to the preliminary ritual identified by Lewis and Bajracharya as the "*Bhūta Agni sthāpana*." According to their description, the *puṣpādi pūjā* is done to this flame, and thirty-two grains are offered. For the main *homa* fire, a further step is required. The procedure to establish the main fire (*agni sthāpana*) is done by taking a bundle of burning kindling from the lit bowl and placing it in the hearth to ignite it. Thus the *cahoma* is a preliminary fire lit, worshipped, and then employed to light the main fire. One then takes some of the lit kindling (*sintā*) from the *cahoma* fire and continues with establishing Agni (i.e. lighting the main fire).

In addition to the specification that certain of the implements be made of wood, the present ritual sequence also seems to differ in another way, namely, that the main fire, too, is kindled within a (larger) clay vessel. This is not normally the case, for non-funerary *homās*.⁶²⁶ However, it is consistent with the comment made by Lewis and Bajracharya, that for *nara-āhuti*, the fire should be kindled in a clay vessel, which serves as the *agni kuṇḍa*.⁶²⁷

When compared with the standard *homa* outlined by those authors, the differences are apparent even in the preparatory arrangements: where the standard (non-funerary) version involves placing the thirty-two pieces of wood in the *homa* hearth (*homa kuṇḍa*), the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual instructs that they be placed in the *bheota* vessel. Here we find the point that Lewis and Bajracharya make: in the *nara-āhuti* (cremation *homa*), a round clay bowl is used for the first day *homa*, taken to the cremation ground the following day, and the

so, one then requests that Vajrasattva, as the cosmic buddha, grant *siddhis*. See Lewis and Bajracharya, "Newar Buddhist *Homa*," 298.

⁶²² *svasi* in Kölver as *svasiṃ*, "kind of firewood for oblations." According to SB, the wood should be longish pieces, but ones that are small enough fit in the *bheota*. Being placed there, they should be stacked in layers first square and then triangular in shape. (The text itself does not specify the manner of stacking.) (The specific qualities of the wood are, in addition, dependent on the type of rite, so these qualities will not necessarily apply to other types of *homa* rituals.)

⁶²³ Again not stated explicitly, but for comparison the same portion in the Lewis and Bajracharya outline indicates that the *pūjā* to be done consists of sprinkling the wood with water from the conch and performing the *pañcopacāra pūjā*, a fivefold offering of flowers, incense, light, fragrance, and food (Lewis and Bajracharya, "Newar Buddhist *Homa*," 11, 13).

⁶²⁴ *cahoma*] The precise meaning of this term is unclear, and the term is not used in Lewis and Bajracharya's or other descriptions of the process. Although the change in vowel length is somewhat unlikely, if it were a factor, possibilities might include that it is intended as *cāhoma* - with *cā* as in earthen/clay, referring to the fact that it is fire kindled in the clay vessel. See also following note.

⁶²⁵ Bajracārya, *Vajrayāna Pūjāvidhi Saṃgraha*, 50ff. The fact that the *ca* has a short vowel makes somewhat difficult the interpretation that the term is in reference to this being performed in a clay (*cā*) bowl. The term does not appear in Newari-English dictionaries.

⁶²⁶ While *kuṇḍa* alone can mean vessel, in the context of *homa* (and also in its most common usage) it usually means the brick-built hearth.

⁶²⁷ Lewis and Bajracharya, "Newar Buddhist *Homa*," 304-05.

flame within it employed to light the pyre. This bowl, they say, "serve[s] as the *agni kuṇḍa*." That is to say, in cremation *homa*, not only is the smaller *cahoma* fire for the *bhūta agni sthāpana* kindled in a clay bowl, but (separately) the main *homa* rite is done with a hearth built inside a clay bowl. Moreover, the version in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual consistently refers to the hearth as the *yajñasālā* (usually written *jajña* or *jajñasālā*), not the *kuṇḍa*.

At this stage, the text becomes rather terse, and does not provide the details for all of the steps in each of the oblation. It names the three to be done as the first oblation (*prathama-āhuti*), knowledge oblation (*jñāna-āhuti*), and deity oblation (*devatā-āhuti*). In between the knowledge and deity oblations, the text also gives the instruction, deity worship (*deva pūjā*), which is itself expanded with a marginal note to read "deity *maṇḍala pūjā*" (*devatā maṇḍala pūjā*). Of these three identified oblations—the first, knowledge, and deity—the deity oblation (*devatāhuti*) is the one directed to the primary deity invited to the ritual, i.e. the central deity of the *maṇḍala*, in this case, Śākyamuni.

The first, knowledge oblation, and the deity oblation are standard segments, also found in that order in ordinary (non-funerary) Newar *homa* rites. The current text's account is not entirely consistent with modern published versions of the *homa* rite, however, for it lacks any mention of the conventional [form] oblation (*samaya-āhuti*), or rites involving the conventional form of Agni (Samaya-Agni).⁶²⁸ This step, ordinarily a precursor to the knowledge form of Agni or the knowledge oblation, corresponds to the conventional form of the deity, which, in the process of *sādhana*, must first be visualized in order to bring down the knowledge form.⁶²⁹ However, neither the *samaya-agni bhāvanā* nor the *samaya-agni āhvahana* (invocation of Samaya Agni) are mentioned here.⁶³⁰ The reason for their absence is difficult to determine in the absence of other versions or a survey of various texts; it may be simple omission, or perhaps understood as included in the other ritual steps, and therefore assumed. It may also vary among sources, and not be included among some.⁶³¹

The Main Rituals

The rites heretofore discussed in this chapter have resembled, in most respects, the standard sequence of introductory procedures that typically precede numerous complex Newar rites. After setting up the ritual space, declaring the *saṃkalpa* (statement of ritual intent), the opening frame sequence of the *guru maṇḍala*, *kalaśārcana pūjā*, and *homa*, are

⁶²⁸ See the outlines for *homa* in Lewis and Bajracharya ("Newar Buddhist *Homa*," 300-301), and Gellner (*Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 157).

⁶²⁹ Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 288-90.

⁶³⁰ The particular form (and orthography) of these terms, especially *āhvahana*, is as given in Lewis and Bajracharya, "Newar Buddhist *Homa*," 299. Their description is also the baseline for Newar *homa* being used, since it is one of the only published accounts. However, it should be remembered that, in practice, as with much of the Newar ritual tradition, other variations may differ in actual use. They do not further explain these elements, which do not appear in the current text.

⁶³¹ These options are all variations on the assumption that this difference is not, ultimately, very significant. If this is not the case, and the absence is intentional and significant, one possibility is worth mentioning, namely that it may relate to the sections to follow, where a *samayasattva* form is mentioned shortly thereafter in the text. However, I deem this less likely, since this subsequent instance is neither in the context of a conventional [form] oblation, nor a conventional form of Agni (Samaya Agni), but rather the next segment in the rites—the incorporation of the deceased and their identification with the *samayasattva*.

completed, setting the stage for the main rites. The rites that follow have two main objectives: the first is the preparation of the body, and the second is the preparation of the fire that will be employed in the cremation. To begin with the first of these, it is worth noting that the rituals of this chapter so far have *not* been focused on the deceased, although they are undertaken in the presence of both the deceased and the hearth and altar. Rather, their focus has been—as with all tantric preliminary rites—the empowerment of the priest to be able to do the rituals, the purification of the offerings to be used, the summoning and propitiation of deities into flasks and vessels on the altar, and into the fire, which, too, is worshipped. Thus, at this point, the priest has been empowered to make offerings to the deities, the deities made present and have been worshipped, and the fire is ready to receive offerings.

Preparation and *Bhāvanā* for the Deceased

Circle of Protection (*Rakṣā-cakra*)

Ritual attention then turns to focus on the deceased. The next section title, written along the side of the manuscript, identifies this section as the *bhāvanā* for the deceased, and *nyāsa*.⁶³² All the more striking, the rituals that follow are not merely for the deceased in the sense of being undertaken on their behalf, but, more specifically, they engage the body itself, actively making it a part of the ritual. The next sequence bears much in common both with the general process of deity generation and with specific portions of the *SDP samādhi* focused on rituals with the bones, as will be discussed later. At the same time, notable differences suggest that the process is not entirely parallel. The central among these acts is the invocation and worship of Śākyamuni as the central deity of the *SDP Navoṣṇīṣa* (*Nine Uṣṇīṣa*) *maṇḍala*, along with the deities of that *maṇḍala*, to empower and purify the deceased.

The sequence is initiated with the mantra *Om vajrajvālānalārka hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ*.⁶³³ This is recited by the priest while he touches the head of the deceased with a vajra. Although the deity named Vajrajvālānalārka appears as the head of the vajra family in some *yogatantra* materials, in the *SDP* chapter one and, later, in the Cakrasaṃvara tradition preminent in Nepal, the deity and mantra come to be associated with one of the preliminary steps in *sādhana* practice, namely the installation of the circle of protection (*rakṣā-cakra*).⁶³⁴

⁶³² The *bhāvanā* is, as has been discussed, the term used for the visualization sequences that are described in Sanskrit and undertaken by means of recitation a numerically significant number of times. The content of a *bhāvanā* is the arrival and physical attributes and appearance of the deity in question. *Nyāsa* involves the placing of mantras or syllables (and thus deities) at points upon the body (as is the case in body *maṇḍala* traditions), or upon an image or *maṇḍala*.

⁶³³ The manuscript actually reads *Om jvaṃ vaṃ jaṃ jvaṃ lāṃ naṃ lāṃ kkaṃ hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ* 3. However, spoken aloud by SB, he pronounced it in the way recognizably similar to how it is usually written in mainstream Sanskrit Buddhist works. At this point, according to SB, the body "is the *jñānasattva*." See following discussion regarding this interesting statement.

⁶³⁴ English, *Vajrayoginī*, 134ff. The mantra continues to be a part of the protective circle creation process into the traditions of the higher tantras, such as the Vajrayoginī corpus examined by English, although the precise procedures for the rest of the protective circle vary among different traditions.

The mantra comes at the end of this sub-ritual, and is connected with the installation of the outer ring of fire that, along with the other elements of the protective circle, serves to protect the ritual space in which the practitioner is doing the *sādhana*.⁶³⁵

It is notable that in the context of the current text that this mantra appears alone, i.e. there are neither other mantras nor further description or any explicit mention of the creation of the circle of protection. This raises questions about whether the mantra is, indeed, referencing the tantra's usage and implying a circle of protection, or if it is being used in some other way in the current context. While it is true that the root tantras as a rule do not portray rituals in the way the ritual manuals they inspire do, there are reasons to think that the circle of protection context from the tantra is the correct frame of reference here. One reason for this is that, as the text continues, further elements of *sādhana* follow, consistent with a practice that might first call for at least a reference to the circle of protection. A more persuasive reason, though, is that other texts dealing with ritual practice tradition also have this sequence, or similar variants of it; the sixth chapter of the *KsP*, on deity yoga, also contains it.⁶³⁶ Attesting to the influential status of the *KsP*, and perhaps the most plausible direct source, the *SDP samādhi* also contains the sequence.⁶³⁷ In the *SDP samādhi*, the sequence of mantras and the accompanying drawings of hand gestures (*hasta mudrās*) are provided in the same sequence as the more detailed description provided in the tantra.⁶³⁸

Comparison case: the *SDP* Tantra

Looking to the tantra, there is a considerably more detailed description. In the tantra's account of *sādhana*, immediately after sitting down and meditating on emptiness, the practitioner should visualize himself as the deity Vajrajvālānālārka, and empower his body, speech, and mind with mantra syllables. Then he establishes the "protective circle" (*rakṣā-cakra*), a step which calls on various fierce deities to protect the various directions from obstructions to practice. Consecration with mantra of Vajrajvālānālārka follows.⁶³⁹ This is to be accompanied by the hand gesture of Vajra-terintirī, and another mantra, *Oṃ tuṃ*, which is identified with the donning of "vajra armor," a preparation for the practitioner doing the

⁶³⁵ Ibid., 134. In the *SDP*, this occurs in Chapter One, see (9b) in Skorupski, *SDP*, 11.

⁶³⁶ That is, the sixth chapter on deity yoga in the *KsP* runs in parallel to the first chapter of the Sanskrit and later Tibetan translation of the *SDP*, so the *SDP* is a more remote source, while the *KsP* is a more proximate one, and the *SDP samādhi* even more immediate.

⁶³⁷ The *SDP samādhi* is not a meditative section with the current text, though the name might lead one to think that it could be. It is a separate text, surviving in a number of manuscripts, that teaches certain *SDP* subrituals. The current text, later on, refers to it but does not duplicate its content, so it is likely one of the auxiliary manuals a ritualist would have to turn to if insufficiently familiar with the rites on their own. See mentions briefly in Chapter Two and with Summary in Chapter Four. However, as noted in the former, this work remains in need of more comprehensive study on its own.

⁶³⁸ For example, comparisons may be made with the *SDP Samādhi* as preserved in manuscripts catalogued as B105-15 (3r) of the NGMCP and ASK 2242 (3).

⁶³⁹ Skorupski, *SDP*, 134. The mantra there is "*Oṃ vajrajvālānālārka huṃ abhiṣiṅca mām iti*."

rites. Also associated with these steps, the tantra states that the practitioner is consecrated with the vajra garland.⁶⁴⁰

Comparison case: the *SDP samādhi*

This is an instructive moment for the comparison between genres and consideration of how ritual manuals compare to their scriptural sources when they do run in parallel, for in comparison to the *SDP samādhi* texts mentioned previously, we see that the same sequence of mantras is provided, along with the hand gestures, but without comment on the meaning. That is to say, though the tantra describes the segment in terms of deities visualized and consecrations undergone, the practical procedure description in the *SDP samādhi* consists of a list of the sequence of mantras and *mudrās* required. Here, we find different levels of information are here provided if one examines the various texts and their genres, though they describe the same rites. Of two versions of the *samādhi* (B105-15 and ASK 2242), the former gives only the mantras and diagrams of the *mudrās*, while the latter provides this as well as a snippet of text based on a passage in the *Kriyāsaṃgraha*.⁶⁴¹

⁶⁴⁰ Skorupski, *SDP*, 12 (Eng.), 134 (Skt./Tib.). The deity by that name is also mentioned in the *maṇḍala* of fierce deities mentioned in Part III n. 324 (Skorupski).

⁶⁴¹ In the *KsP* this occurs at 6-2-1-3 in Tanemura's outline (Tanemura, *Kriyāsaṃgraha*).



SDP Samādhi (ASK 2242-3). The *jvālānalārka* mantra appears on the lower part of the *thyasaphu* in the image above. Mantras in order:

2242.2 (First row, left to right): *Hūṃ aḥ hūṃ aṃ*, *Oṃ gṛhna vajra samaya hūṃ*, *Oṃ vajranalārka hūṃ hūṃ abhiṣiṅca māṃ*

224.3 (Second row, left to right): *Oṃ tuṃ tūṃ tū[ṃ]*, *Oṃ vajrajvālānalārka hūṃ*, *Oṃ vajranala daha paca matha bhañjana hūṃ phaṭ*

Bhāvanā for the deceased (invoking Śākyamuni)

As in the tantra's account of *sādhana*, in our current text (the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual), this mantra section precedes the sequence visualizing the deity. With the protective circle complete, the main portion entitled "*bhāvanā* for the deceased" (*mṛtakayāta bhāvanā*) invokes Śākyamuni, of the *SDP*, next. The description closely resembles a portion of the *SDP maṇḍala* visualization provided by Abhayākara Gupta in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*

(*NPY*).⁶⁴² The quoted section is not the entirety of the *NPY* passage, for between the initial description of the palace and setting, and the description of the deity, the *NPY* contains additional information, detailing the colors of the directional quadrants and parts of the *maṇḍala*.⁶⁴³ In this portion, the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual instructs the ritualist to recite the Sanskrit passage out loud.⁶⁴⁴

The *bhāvanā* sequence in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual itself presents Śākyamuni presiding in a palace on Mount Sumeru, and gives detailed iconographic information, stating that the deity is gold, bears the *dharmacakra mudrā*, is richly adorned, and is seated on a lion throne upon a yellow eight-spoked wheel within a palace on Sumeru, enclosed by a vajra net.⁶⁴⁵ In drawing on the *NPY*, the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual again draws on the works of Abhayākaragupta, as it had already in its use of the *NPY*'s companion volume, the *Vajrāvalī* (*VĀ*).⁶⁴⁶

Following the recitation of the *bhāvanā*, the manual continues with the syllables used to summon and bind deities in a *maṇḍala*, *Jaḥ Hūṃ Vaṃ Hoḥ*, and the instruction is given to do the *bhāvanā* seeing "the form of the *jñānasattva* on the head of the deceased."⁶⁴⁷ Finally, there are the three mantras: *Oṃ the deceased svāhā*. *Oṃ the form of the samayasattva svāhā*. *Oṃ the purification of all sins vajra hūṃ phaḥ*.⁶⁴⁸ There is, however, no direct mention of a meditation on emptiness, at this point.

Here we seem to have, in brief form, a version of the generation process used to summon and install deities in a receptacle (whether human or inanimate, i.e. an image, etc.), one of the basic building blocks of Buddhist tantric ritual.⁶⁴⁹ That is, they form stages both in *sādhana* (the context of the initial mantra) that relate to deity yoga (*devatāyoga*), but also the necessary step in connected rituals that employ *sādhana* such as initiation (*abhiṣeka*) and consecration/installation (*pratiṣṭhā*) of deities, whether in a living person, or in an object such as an image, a vase, or a *maṇḍala*. This process has been widely written about, as it forms a key basic element in deity yoga, one of the basic practices employed in much of

⁶⁴² Yong-Hyun Lee, *The Niṣpannayogāvalī by Abhayākaragupta: A New Critical Edition of the Sanskrit Text (Revised Edition)* (Seoul: Baegun Press, 2004).

⁶⁴³ The section appears parallel to *Utkrānti-SDP* sections 19r.2-19r.4. In Lee's edition of the *NSP*, see the *SDP maṇḍala*, which is the 22nd in the set. See Lee, *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, 78.

⁶⁴⁴ The instructions use the term *bone*, which has the specific sense of speaking out loud. Although generally audible recitation is how *bhāvanā* sequences are performed in Newar rituals, other instances of *bhāvanā* instructions in the text so far have not used the verb implying recitation out loud. Rather, they have used verbs of doing: *bhāvanā yānāo taye* (3r.5, 3v.2, for example), or just *bhāvanā taye* (12Br.3). It is interesting to consider here whether this is an intentional difference, and recalls the performative element and fact that the priest is not alone but accompanied by the family and the deceased as well.

⁶⁴⁵ {18r.2} Then, visualize Śrī Śākyamuni Bhagavan Mahāvairocana brightly blazing, adorned with all ornaments, making the dharmacakra mudrā, golden colored, on a lion throne upon an eight spoked yellow wheel in the midst of the palace on Mt. Sumeru [made of?] wind, fire, water, air (the four elements), within a vajra net.

⁶⁴⁶ On the *VĀ*, see such as in the *pañcābhiṣeka* and other sections discussed in the previous chapter.

⁶⁴⁷ *thanāṃli mṛtakayā · śirasā · jñānasattva rūpa bhāvanā yānāo* {18r.1}

⁶⁴⁸ *Oṃ mṛtakāye svā-{18r.5}hā// Oṃ samayasattva rūpāye svāhā// Oṃ sarvapāpaviśodhana-vajra hūṃ phaḥ svāhā//*

⁶⁴⁹ "Receptacle" is the term used by Bentor in her work on consecration (*pratiṣṭhā*), one of the major ways in which this practice is applied. (The other major one is initiation or empowerment (*abhiṣeka*), as will be discussed.) Bentor, *Consecration of Images and Stūpas*.

Buddhist tantra and coming to prominence especially with the emergence of the *yogatantras*, like the *SDP*.⁶⁵⁰

Sādhana is the method by which tantric practitioners manifest and engage with the deities. The portion apparently present in the current text draws only on what came to be seen as the first half, or generation stage (Skt. *utpattikrama*; Tib. *bskyed rim*).⁶⁵¹ In this stage, the practitioner first meditates on emptiness, then visualizes the iconographic form of the deity whose presence is sought for the ritual. This form of the deity is known as the *samayasattva*, and the purpose of the generation stage is to merge this form with another, the *jñānasattva*, the union in emptiness of which constitutes the deity's "actual presence," in a sense. The *jñānasattva* is said to be "like" the *samayasattva* in appearance, but is also understood to be transcendent, in a sense existing as the ultimate reality of the deity.⁶⁵²

In the present sequence, as noted, there is no explicit mention of the preceding meditation on emptiness, but we do find the visualization of the form of the deity, of the *samayasattva*, and the *jñānasattva*. The *samayasattva*, moreover, is, by the successive mantras, envisioned as or within the deceased, and the *jñānasattva* is described as envisioned at the head of the deceased. According to Sarbagya Bajracharya, too, it is at this point that "the corpse/deceased is the *jñānasattva*."⁶⁵³ In what sense is this meant? In general, the expectation with the context involving the *samayasattva* and *jñānasattva* would be that they should merge. The most common non-funerary contexts in which a *jñānasattva* is summoned and installed are primarily for the purpose of initiation/empowerment (*abhiṣeka*) or consecration/installation (*pratiṣṭhā*). The first may be as a part of the basic deity yoga performed upon oneself, or may be for the initiation of a student being introduced to a new ritual system. The second may be performed upon a variety of different kinds of objects, including images, *stūpas*, and monasteries, and may be repeated multiple times in rites of reconsecration.⁶⁵⁴

⁶⁵⁰ On *yogatantra* generally, see for example Weinberger, "The Significance of Yoga Tantra." See also previous discussion pp. 28; 76; 85.

⁶⁵¹ However, since the distinction and difference of generation/completion stages did not emerge until after the appearance of the *SDP* (which does not contain it), it is somewhat anachronistic in this context, and I give it this way only for reference, since it is a more familiar system. (For other references and a review, see English, *Vajrayoginī*, 171.) At the same time, it should be remembered that this manual is not a purely *SDP* work, uninfluenced by developments in tantra after the *SDP*'s early-eighth century composition, but rather is unavoidably influenced by later understandings where such a category does exist.

⁶⁵² A number of commentators reflected on the problem of how, if the *jñānasattva* is the reality of the deity and is therefore all-pervasive and beyond form, it could either take the form of a visualized iconographic deity or be put *into* anything, given its omnipresence. The accepted solution to this conundrum was the understanding that ritual operates at the level of conventional truth anyway. This does not negate the need for ritual practice for most people, since ritual remains a useful practice for the unenlightened, and the methods of accessing ultimate reality depend upon practice at the level of the conventional—essentially the same justification for the existence of Buddhism writ large, once the tradition itself was understood as equally a manifestation of emptiness. See Bendor, "Literature on Consecration (*Rab gnas*)," 290-311.

⁶⁵³ Sarbagya Bajracharya, personal communication, April 23, 2016.

⁶⁵⁴ Foundational work on *pratiṣṭhā* was done by Gonda, see Jan Gonda, "Pratiṣṭhā," in *Sanjñāvyākaraṇam*, *Studia Indologica Internationalia*, vol. 1 (Poona/ Paris: Center for International Indological Research, 1954), 1–37, reprinted in Gonda, "Pratiṣṭhā," in *Selected Studies*, vol. 2 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975), 338–74. See also Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*; More recently, see Yael Bendor, "Sūtra-Style Consecration in Tibet and Its Importance for Understanding the Historical Development of the Indo-Tibetan Consecration Ritual for

In both of these contexts, the portion included here is not the core rite referred to by the term, but rather only the preliminary portion that ensures the deity's presence and participation in the ritual. This is not to say such does not occur in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual; it does, in the initiations bestowed prior to the *utkrānti*, as discussed in the previous chapter, the full form of the five initiations (*pañcābhiṣeka*) as taught in the *Vajrāvalī* is undertaken. Here we have no such extensive quotation or structuring from a classic canonical source, however. The sequence of mantras specifically citing the deceased and the *samayasattva* found here is not one I have located in other texts and does seem to be peculiar to the *SDP* tradition when combined with the third mantra, one specifically from the *SDP*. Although it does not go through with either an initiation or a consecration in the present instance, strictly speaking, some of the rituals that follow, such as the application of mantras and ritual bathing, are also accompanying elements in initiations and consecrations, so it is useful to consider these practices when looking to understand the purpose of the current rite.

There is a need, at this point, to consider terminology and English translation practices because English standards of usage are somewhat irregular.⁶⁵⁵ That is, *abhiṣeka* is sometimes translated as 'initiate,' and sometimes as 'empower.' In particular, but not exclusively, work with Tibetan sources sometimes uses empower, presumably to take advantage of the parallel between "power" and *dbang* in "empowerment" / *dbang bskur*. When it comes to rites for the dead, although the Sanskrit employed is the same (*abhiṣeka*), it is common to find, instead, 'consecrate.'⁶⁵⁶ The preference against using 'initiate' with the dead may be a reflection of the fact that the dead do not participate in the same way as the living, and the bestowal of *abhiṣeka* therefore comes, in a way, to have much in common with the consecration of objects, despite the fact that such a practice is more commonly *pratiṣṭhā* rather than *abhiṣeka*. These distinctions may on some level be meaningless, for scholars as influential as Abhayākaragupta wrote that there is essentially no difference between the *abhiṣeka* of a student and the *pratiṣṭhā* of an image.

Although few have addressed this question with regard to the dead, alternative opinions exist on related issues concerning the nature of receptacles and initiation among commentators on the Tibetan tradition. On the one hand, some Tibetan commentators, as discussed by Bendor, asserted that for *abhiṣeka*, the initiate is not passive; the "active participation" in the form of taking up vows and commitments, without which, "its purpose

Stūpas and Images," in *Tibetan Studies: 5th IATS Seminar Proceedings* (Narita: Naritasan Shinshōji, 1992), 1–12; Bendor, *Consecration of Images and Stūpas*; Bendor "Literature on Consecration (*Rab gnas*)"; and finally, Smith, *The Self Possessed*. In the context of *yogatantra* and the *Kriyāsaṃgraha-pañjikā* (*KsP*), see Tanemura (*Kriyāsaṃgraha*, 2004) and Skorupski (*Kriyāsaṃgraha*, 2002). On the consecration of the *KsP* in Nepal, see Rospatt, "Remarks on the Consecration."

⁶⁵⁵ Initiation/empowerment/(consecration): Skt *abhiṣeka* / Tib. *dbang bskur*; consecrate (objects): Skt. *pratiṣṭhā* / Tib. *rab gnas*. Moreover, this is further complicated by the fact *dbang* (the Tibetan term) should actually be in Sanskrit *adhikara*, meaning the right and responsibility (Péter Szántó, personal communication). Thus, there is no one-to-one translation for the trio initiation, empowerment, and consecration, but rather, these are divided up amongst the two terms *abhiṣeka* and *pratiṣṭhā*. Bendor notes the inconsistency of English when it comes to these terms as well (English, *Vajrayoginī*, 31).

⁶⁵⁶ And then, for example, there are also instances where consecrate is used with living subjects as well, for example see Skorupski, *SDP*—For use with the dead (10, 81, 132, 242); and with the living (46, 192). At the same time, in explaining *abhiṣeka*, he writes "A pupil is initiated..." (109).

cannot be accomplished. The only result would be blessing (*byin brlab*) and planting the seeds for future occasions."⁶⁵⁷ On the other, Abhayākara Gupta, an influential authority on consecration rituals, is explicit in stating that "the consecration of an image and so forth should be performed as a consecration of a disciple; eminent scholars ['great chariots'] said that there is no difference [between the two]."⁶⁵⁸ Others however, have disagreed, not on the grounds of participation, but rather on the nature of what exactly consecrating an image does.⁶⁵⁹

Much of the differentiation by commentators has involved the explanation that *pratiṣṭhā* of an image in fact has no effect on the installed deity, because the practice overall operates on the level of conventional truth (the deity needs no consecration), and is done for the benefit of merit and faith in the practitioner. This, as others have noted, is ultimately applicable (and has been applied) to all ritual; it is therefore not analytically useful for any particular discussion of different rituals. It is particularly unlikely in the current context, since it would imply that funerary rites are done only for the benefit of the survivors, a functionalist view not widely espoused by emic perspectives.⁶⁶⁰ In fact, it may not matter from such perspectives either, if the understood nature of the consecrated entity is actually conceived rather nebulously or considered as merely a matter of conventional truth, as Bentor reports.⁶⁶¹

However, at the same time, there are problems with identifying the current text's description with either of these (*pratiṣṭhā* or *abhiṣeka*). The first *sādhana* steps of both consecration and initiation involve the visualization of emptiness/visualization of the receptacle as empty, which does not appear in the current text. Likewise, conclusions are missing; that is to say, for the *pratiṣṭhā*, the final act is to request that the deity remain in the receptacle in perpetuity, while for *abhiṣeka*, there is the idea that it purifies, bestows permission and the ability to undertake future practice.⁶⁶² Neither of these things happen in the present case. Moreover, we must remember that most of these opinions on the subject are based on commentators on the Tibetan tradition, even if it is their opinions on Indian works. As for the local Newar context, the full dimensions are not entirely clear beyond the sense that the deceased "is" the *jñānasattva*.⁶⁶³

⁶⁵⁷ Bentor identifies Mkhas grub rje as an example, suggesting others too take this position. Bentor also notes briefly that this has interesting implications for the initiations bestowed on large groups of people in public ceremonies, as happens frequently in Tibetan contemporary traditions. See Bentor, *Consecration of Images and Stūpas*, 28 n. 80; citing Ferdinand D. Lessing and Alex Wayman, *Mkhas Grub Rje's Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras* (The Hague: Mouton, 1968), 308-37.

⁶⁵⁸ Bentor, *Consecration of Images and Stūpas*, 25. However, it should be noted here that the quote does not say *pratiṣṭhā* and *abhiṣeka* are the same, it simply says "*pratiṣṭhā* of the student," which has been interpreted to mean *abhiṣeka*.

⁶⁵⁹ For example, the twentieth-century Bhutanese scholar Brag phu dge bshes argued that "consecrating a *lha*" (i.e. *pratiṣṭhā* of an image) does not require such participation because it operates on the level of conventional truth only, as the *lha* needs no consecration and undergoes it only for the devotion and merit of the practitioners. See Bentor, *Consecration of Images and Stūpas*, 10ff.

⁶⁶⁰ While it may certainly be the case that Buddhist philosophers have taken this position, the practical reality of funerary rites on the ground is, for most people, a context quite remote from such notions.

⁶⁶¹ Bentor, "Literature on Consecration (*Rab gnas*)," 293.

⁶⁶² Bentor, *Consecration of Images and Stūpas*, 22.

⁶⁶³ Sarbagya Bajracharya, personal communication, April 23, 2016. See discussion above.

Another issue is that much of the literature discussing the union of the *jñānasattva* and *samayasattva* is based on larger discussions of the extended process, which further includes the "aspersion" for which *abhiṣeka* is named. This does not occur in the present case. That does not mean the process is unknown in the text; the earlier portion does have the complete *abhiṣeka*, prefaced by installation of both the deceased's consciousness and the deity, prior to the *utkrānti*. What happens here is somewhat more idiosyncratic, as are its use of sources. Where the earlier passage quotes extensively, or adopts wholesale, large chunks of the sixth chapter of the *VĀ* on deity yoga,⁶⁶⁴ the current passage only draws briefly on an excerpted and abbreviated portion of the *NPY*.⁶⁶⁵

There are, moreover, several irregular elements, if the section is to be understood as one in which the deity is generated in the deceased. In the most common arrangement for tantric Buddhism, the process that seems to be here represented entails first the visualization of the *samayasattva*, which is then merged with the 'actual' deity in the form of the *jñānasattva*, which is said to resemble the *samayasattva*.⁶⁶⁶ These two united, constitute the deity's actual presence in the ritual context in which it occurs. There are, of course, varying factors. Some, for example, take the presence of the *jñānasattva* on a somewhat less literal level, giving credit to the basic contradiction that since the *jñānasattva* in fact is transcendent and all-pervasive, it need not (in fact cannot) be "installed in" anything.⁶⁶⁷ This, again, however, leads back to the conclusions that ritual is for the benefit of the human actors, which (as previously noted) is not a productive direction to take in conversations attempting to discuss ritual and its practice at a conventional level.

We have already mentioned two distinctions that differentiate the current process from either the initial steps of *abhiṣeka* or *pratiṣṭhā*, namely that in the first case there is no intent of subsequent practice and in the second there is no intention or formal request for the deity to remain in the deceased as would occur for an image or *stūpa*. However, the installation of deities, even in other contexts, is known to have other purposes, and it is worth looking at these. The larger context in the present rite is that of the *homa* that will lead to cremation, and much of the present process is likely to operate as further forms of purification for the deceased. This is not unheard of as a purpose for both consecration and initiation. *Abhiṣeka*

⁶⁶⁴ Although it is also true that another layer of influence or more proximate source than the *VĀ* may also be present in the *Ācāryākriyāsamuccaya* (*ĀcKrS*), called the *Kriyā Samuccaya* in Nepal, and a central work for the Newar tradition, see Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*; mentioned also in Lewis, et al., *Popular Buddhist Texts*, and Gellner, "A Newar Buddhist Liturgy."

⁶⁶⁵ Note, though, the consistency in the text that for both of these separate sections is an Abhayākaragupta text that the original source. This is one of the continuities that give the text an overall unity, despite the differences in the *utkrānti* and *SDP* portions.

⁶⁶⁶ There are numerous general descriptions of this process as it appears in both the Tibetan and Indian Buddhist traditions, though due to those specific contexts, the descriptions sometimes vary somewhat, but the basic meaning is the same. See for example Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*; Bendor, *Consecration of Images and Stūpas*; "Literature on Consecration (*Rab gnas*); Smith, *The Self Possessed*; Orzech et al., *Esoteric Buddhism*; Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*; Davidson, "Observations"; Musashi Tachikawa, "Maṇḍala Visualization and Possession," in *New Horizons in Bon Studies*, ed. Samten Karmay and Yasuhiko Nagano, *Bon Studies 2* (Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 2000), 227–47; Ryūchi Abé, *The Weaving of Mantra: Kūkai and the Construction of Buddhist Esoteric Discourse* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999); Shinohara, *Spells, Images, and Maṇḍalas*; Lessing and Wayman, *Mkhas grub rje*.

⁶⁶⁷ Bendor, "Literature on Consecration (*Rab gnas*)," 294.

visualization found in Central Asian texts, according to Davidson, may have served not as a precursor to tantra, but rather (among other things) as a form of purification.⁶⁶⁸ Davidson also points to a number of different uses for term *abhiṣeka* in pre-Buddhist literature, including purification.⁶⁶⁹ This, however, refers mainly to the specific act of aspersion, and at that point edges into territory that blurs into the basic role of bathing or washing (*snāna*), a context removed from the current issue: the summoning of the deity that occurs prior to that in the fully Buddhist *abhiṣeka* and *pratiṣṭhā*.

It may be that the third mantra listed (*Oṃ sarvapāpaviśodhana-vajra hūṃ phaṭ svāhā*), followed by the practices that come next, is the key to understanding this to a greater degree, despite the suggestiveness of the *utpattikrama* language of *samayāsattva* and *jñānasattva*. The third mantra highlights two elements, namely the *SDP* influence and the action of purification of the deceased. Although the first two are not widely found, the third mantra above is recognizable as one of the mantras from the basic set that appears in the *SDP*.⁶⁷⁰ It appears in the listing of mantras at the outset of chapter two in the *SDP*, i.e. the introduction of the Nine *Uṣṇīṣa maṇḍala* upon which the current text is based.⁶⁷¹ Perhaps more relevant to the local ritual tradition (and this manual) than the citation from the tantra is the parallel that appears in the *SDP samādhi* discussed above and also briefly in the following chapter. There it appears after the construction of the *SDP maṇḍala*, in sections providing instructions variously called *bhāvanā* for the bones (*asti bhāvanā*) or washing of the bones (*asti prakṣāḷana*, equivalent to *asti sile*).

The parallel context for the *samādhi* text, while not our main focus, may shed light on the current passage in the *SDP-utkrānti* manual. Namely, if the "*bhāvanā* for the bones" in

⁶⁶⁸ Davidson, "Abhiṣeka Visualization," 186. In particular, Davidson points out that not only is it not a matter of two options, but rather that there is a whole range of activities that entail the aspersion or sprinkling of water in some form—thus placing bathing rites (*snāna*), too, somewhere in the constellation of all these practices (and, likewise, making *abhiṣeka* stand out rather less).

⁶⁶⁹ Ibid., 184.

⁶⁷⁰ Perhaps more relevant to the specific ritual tradition here discussed, versions similar to the mantra also appear in the *SDP samādhi* discussed briefly in Chapter Four. There it appears in the NAK texts E1490-3 at 15b.4, B105-15 at r59.1 and ASK 2242 v8.2. In all these cases, it appears within the set of (mostly) similar mantras to those that begin *SDP* chapter two. In the *samādhi* generally, it takes place after the construction of the *SDP maṇḍala*. In ASK 2242, there is a further side marginal title identifying these pages as a part of the *bhāvanā* for the bones (*asti bhāvanā*). This is consistent with E1490-3, which identifies the section instead by the Sanskrit equivalent, *asti prakṣāḷana vidhi* (15b.2). The whole upcoming section in the *SDP-utkrānti* manual bears many similarities with this and surrounding rites with the bones. The most significant difference is that these rituals in the *SDP-utkrānti* manual are being done before the body of the deceased, whereas those taught in the *SDP samādhi* are a part of the post-cremation treatment of the bones. It may be the case that the *asti bhāvanā* in question entails a similar divinization of the bones.

⁶⁷¹ Various similar mantras appear at different points in the *SDP*, unsurprisingly given that portions of the mantra repeat a section of the *SDP* root mantra. However, the closest rendition in the *SDP* appears in the beginning of chapter two, where a series of mantras are given, of which it is the second. (There is some irregularity in form as to whether various sources read *sarvāpāpa* or *sarvāpāya*, the version at the start of chapter two in Skorupski's edition reads *Oṃ sarva-apāyaviśodhanavajra hūṃ phaṭ*, while the immediately preceding one reads *Oṃ sarvapāpaṃ dahanavajra hūṃ phaṭ*, a possible source of confusion between the *p* and *y* (Skorupski, *SDP*, 180; text 38a). According to Skorupski, Vajravarmaṇ matches up the mantras in this set with the main deities of the nine *uṣṇīṣa maṇḍala* that opens Chapter Two. In the listing, the mantra *Oṃ sarva-apāyaviśodhanavajra hūṃ phaṭ* is assigned to Vajrapāṇi, here considered to be the first "*uṣṇīṣa*" listed after Śākyamuni. The other mantra, *Oṃ sarvapāpaṃ dahanavajra hūṃ phaṭ*, is the one assigned to Śākyamuni.

that context and text is indeed a portion of the "purification of the bones," it suggests an interpretation of the current section as perhaps also a form of purification, only, in this case, for the corpse prior to cremation. That is, although, by the text, it seems that the deity is being called into the corpse, a simultaneous purpose may in fact be purification of the corpse rather than any installation of the deity within it.

It is certainly not unique that a corpse be treated as divine, or that it be part of a process of purification. While we have just looked at the introductory mantras and *bhāvanā* passage in light of the initial steps of *sādhana*, the basis for both *abhiṣeka* and *pratiṣṭhā*. Knowing that the central moment of these rites does not appear, it might be asked whether this is a relevant comparison to bring up. For one thing, although it does not appear here, there are specific mentions of *abhiṣeka* of the deceased in the *SDP* tantra itself, where promises of purification are given if one places the deceased in the *maṇḍala* and "consecrates" it (by means of *abhiṣeka*).⁶⁷² Second, there is the consideration of what follows, which we now turn to: the practices of placing mantras (*nyāsa*) and ritual bathing (*snāna*).

Nyāsa and *Snāna*

In the next phase of the ritual, two further methods of purification and divinization are prescribed, namely the placing upon the body of mantras (*nyāsa*) and the act of ritual bathing (*snāna*). These are common subrituals for Buddhist *sādhana* practice, but also rites that have their own histories of independent development. These methods are also pan-Indic in their range and can be found in various forms across traditions.

The first *nyāsa* sequence, of the two presented, is called the "*bhūta nyāsa*, or six part *nyāsa* for the deceased."⁶⁷³ This was explained to me as a gloss—the deceased is, in some sense, a *bhūta* (though not in the sense of the technical class of beings, rather in the generic sense of being a spirit), and so "*bhūta nyāsa*" is essentially the same as "*nyāsa* for the deceased."⁶⁷⁴ However, another option may more fully explain the section's textual basis. It

⁶⁷² Skorupski translates: "Whatever dead bodies of men, women, gods, *nāgas*, *yakṣas*, *rākṣasas*, *pretas*, animals, those in hell and so forth are consecrated after being (9a) placed in the *maṇḍala*, even if they have been reborn in hells, they are instantly freed and reborn in the assemblies of gods" (Skorupski, *SDP*, 10). See also Skorupski, 68 (63a section on the Four Rites), 84 (the funerary section) and also Vv comment, "Next he places the corpse and the offerings in the *maṇḍala* and consecrates it" (84).

⁶⁷³ The Newari reads, *thanaṃli bhūta nyāśa dhāye · mṛtakayāta khaṭaṃga nyāśa*.

⁶⁷⁴ In technical terms, it is more common in Newar tradition as well as Brahmanical, broadly speaking, for the deceased prior to the completion of the funerary activities to be considered a *preta*. However, even this is potentially a point of confusion, for it is not *preta* in the sense of the Buddhist five or six rebirth realms (*gati*), where a *preta* rebirth is one possibility. Rather it is a more temporary status assigned to the deceased before they have fully transitioned to their permanent post-mortuary state. This is also the usage in Newar Hindu tradition and in the shared ancestral rites (*śrāddha*) performed by both Buddhist and Hindu Newars, where the aim is to transform the deceased from the state of *preta* into an ancestor or *pitṛ*. These ancestral rites have been widely written about, for the Hindu traditions, see for example Gutschow and Michaels, *Handling Death*; Johanna Buss, "*Preta, Pitṛ* und *Piśāca*: Rituelle und Mythische Totenbilder im *Pretakalpa* des *Garuḍapurāṇa*, dem *Garuḍapurāṇasārōddhāra* und der *Pretamañjarī*" (Thesis, Heidelberg, Universität Heidelberg, 2006); David M. Knipe, "*Sapiṇḍikaraṇa*: The Hindu Rite of Entry into Heaven," in *Religious Encounters with Death: Insights from the History and Anthropology of Religions*, ed. Frank E. Reynolds and Earle H. Waugh (University Park PA; London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1977); Pradhan, "Sacrifice," 159-94. (Note

shares with this interpretation the fact that this *nyāsa* sequence is very clearly *nyāsa* performed upon the deceased's body, not upon that of the ritualist (although performing *nyāsa* upon oneself is a part of the self-consecration by the ritualist found in *sādhana* practice). This alternative takes 'bhūta' not in the sense of a spirit, but rather that of element or bodily constituent. In the Sāṃkhya tradition, as well as a number of others, the *bhūtas* are gross elements that make up the world. In the Vaiṣṇava tradition of the Pāncarātra, as described by Gavin Flood, *bhūtaśuddhi* is a ritual method for purifying the elements of the body. In this practice, the macrocosm of the cosmos is mapped onto the body. As Flood says, "this purification of the body through dissolving its constituent elements into their cause would seem to be characteristically tantric practice."⁶⁷⁵ This is done through *nyāsa*, or the placing of mantras. That is to say, *bhūtaśuddhi* is a process done by means of *nyāsa*. It is plausible that the current texts identification of a practice it calls *bhūta nyāsa* is therefore related, even if not drawing directly on such non-Buddhist sources. Consideration of the actual rite that follows gives further support for this, but also connects to closely-linked Buddhist practices relating to the body *maṇḍala*.⁶⁷⁶ The *bhūta nyāsa* presents pairings of mantras with five body parts and a sixth assigned to "all the limbs," with the name of the body parts provided in Newari, or both Newari and Sanskrit.

The association here is with the senses, although the name "six-part (*aṅga*) *nyāsa*" is also found as a description of other, unrelated practices, for example in the Śaiva tradition. These, however, involve a different set of six locations.⁶⁷⁷ The present text does not mention elements, which may be one reason the contemporary tradition does not connect it with the purification of the elements in that sense. However, if we turn to the *Piṇḍīkṛta-sādhana*, an important ritual manual attributed to Nāgārjuna (the tantric commentator) and based on the *Guhyasamāja tantra* in the Ārya commentarial tradition, we can see what appears to be the same ordering of body parts listed alongside elements and matched sense aggregates, thus providing a Buddhist precedent for the name.

As translated by Rhonwen Sayer, following "the practice of complete union," a sequence is included that is of interest for our current text, listing body parts, associated with the *skandhas*, and elements:

One should dissolve [lit. kill, extinguish] the assembly of the Tathāgata(s) (and) obtain the highest attainments, just as the meaning of this is made clear at length in the 'Vajramālā'. [38]

that above studies by Buss, Knipe, and Pradhan focus on Newar Hindu tradition. Gutschow and Michaels discuss traditions specific to Newar Buddhism briefly.)

⁶⁷⁵ Gavin Flood, *The Tantric Body* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2006), 109 n. 42.

⁶⁷⁶ That is, the purification of the elements appears in non-Buddhist and Buddhist sources, although the latter are sometimes derived from Śaivism (Flood, *Tantric Body*, 107, referencing Sanderson). At the same time, there is a close connection to Buddhist body *maṇḍala* practices (Rae Erin Dachille, "The Body *Maṇḍala* Debate: Knowing the Body through a Network of Fifteenth-Century Tibetan Buddhist Texts" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2015), 39. On specific body *maṇḍala* practices in relation to the *Vajrayoginī* system, see English, *Vajrayoginī*, and in relation to the *Guhyasamāja* system, see Dachille ("Body *Maṇḍala* Debate").

⁶⁷⁷ For example, see the Vaiṣṇava Pāncarātra tradition described by Flood, where the six are applied to the heart, head, tuft, armor, weapon and eye after having been applied to the hands (Flood, *Tantric Body*, 114).

The form aggregate, mirror-like (awareness), the *earth element*, the *eye faculty* and form: these five things become completely joined with the two wrathful ones. [39]⁶⁷⁸

In just the same way, the next associations bring together the feeling aggregate (*vedanā*), the awareness of equanimity, the water element, and the ear faculty/sound. Next comes discrimination/perception (*saṃjñā*), along with the fire element and nose faculty and smell. Then follows compositional factors/mental formations (*saṃskāra*) along with awareness of accomplishment, the wind element, and the tongue/taste faculties. So far, we have matched the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual's sequence of eyes, ears, nose, mouth/tongue.

The parallels with the *Piṇḍīkṛta-sādhana* become less explicit after this point, but it is likely that they do continue. The *Utkrānti-SDP* manual goes on to end with the head, heart, and all the limbs. In the *Piṇḍīkṛta-sādhana*, the next aggregate treated is, as expected, consciousness (*vijñāna*) and it is associated with clear light. It is plausible that this might be matched with the head, the next bodily location listed in our text. The final verse in the section of the *Piṇḍīkṛta-sādhana* turns then to other matters, focusing on emptiness and the *dharmakāya*. The fact that there are differing numbers of elements (four) and aggregates (five, in this listing), than the six mantras and body parts of the current manual's list is a reasonable explanation for why the matched elements and body parts do not continue in the parallel listing of the *Piṇḍīkṛta-sādhana*.

It should be noted that, according to Sayer's translation, the completion of the body *maṇḍala* involves a separate *nyāsa* process, which takes place somewhat further in the text. In this passage, the five skandhas are again invoked and paired with syllables. However the pairings are associated not with the elements but with the five buddhas, and then with other deities presumably found in the *maṇḍalas* employed in that text, and the body parts they are matched with are different and fall in a different sequence than our current segment: crown of the head (Om, Vairocana), mouth (Āḥ, Amitābha), heart (Hūṃ, Akṣobhya), navel (Svā, Ratnasambhava), feet (Hā, Amoghasiddhi), as well as others. These include goddesses such as Moharati and bodhisattvas such as Kṣitigarbha and Maitreya, dealing with body parts such as ears, tongue, joints, etc.⁶⁷⁹ This, again, does not occur in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, although a further instance of *nyāsa* does take place, and is in that instance associated with *maṇḍala* deities—those of the *SDP* nine *uṣṇīṣa maṇḍala*. However, that occasion is no longer *nyāsa* treating the deceased's body, as is occurring here (and would be occurring with a living practitioner in the context of the *Piṇḍīkṛta-sādhana*), but rather a return to rites treating the fire and invoking the deities of the *SDP maṇḍala* into it—at that point a return to the normal procedures for Newar Buddhist *homa*, as will be discussed below.

Interestingly, in comparison with the rites involving the bones from the *samādhi* texts, the *bhūta nyāsa* is the one segment which is not present at all; the preceding *bhāvanā* occurs, the following verses to the five buddhas and bathing (*snāna*) occur (including the showing of the mirror), but not the *bhūta nyāsa*. The most logical reason for this might be the most obvious difference between these two sets of rituals: while this current rite

⁶⁷⁸ Sayer, "The *Guhyasamāja Piṇḍīkṛta-sādhana*," 80-81.

⁶⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 85.

involves the still-intact corpse, the *samādhi* manual rite is a treatment for the bones and ash, which no longer contain distinct body parts that would allow such placement of syllables.

Snāna (Bathing)

The next section opens with a sequence of purification rites found frequently in complex rites, usually as a set. This sequence involves incense, the *nirāñjana/nirājan* (in Newari), the offering of a key, and the showing a lamp within a grain measure (*mata-pham*) and fruit offering.⁶⁸⁰ These, particularly the *nirāñjana*, key, and lamp in the *pham* vessel, are apotropaic rites found in a wide range of rituals, including the *kalaśārcana pūjā* and the welcome ceremony (*lasakusa*) such as occurs during weddings.⁶⁸¹ In the *kalaśārcana pūjā* they are preparatory, a part of the second step of worshipping the *kalaśa*, performed after the priest has done the *trīsamādhi* (or other) meditation and summoned the deities into the flasks and implements.

These preface the bathing rite, *snāna*.⁶⁸² For the latter, the priest is first required to recite the "auspicious verses" (*maṅgala-gāthā*). These verses appear frequently in Buddhist tantric ritual literature, including the *SDP*. That they are also popular in the Newar practice is also indicated by the fact that they are not included in full here, i.e. because they are well-known and included in the common repertoire of practicing priests. The first is referenced only by its first line, (*Oṃ [y]at maṅgalaṃ...*). Varying numbers of such verses, each with the same start and structure, appear widely across the ritual literature here discussed—including also the *SDP samādhi* and the *sādhana* literature. According to a modern ritual manual, they are in fact from a set of eight, each associated with one of the eight auspicious symbols.⁶⁸³ Often, they are likewise paired with the set of eight bodhisattvas. Since there are typically several of these "*yat maṅgalaṃ...*" verses, it is unclear which, precisely, is intended, or how many of the various groupings should be included. It is also possible that the number to be done is an optional choice left to the discretion of the officiating *vajrācārya*.⁶⁸⁴

⁶⁸⁰ The term *nirāñjana* itself means spotless, and this first sequence is purificatory; Gellner describes *nirāñjan yāyegu* in the following context: "A small clay saucer with burning coals is brought: a lighted wick, mustard seeds, a flower, and rice are offered to it, it is touched to the Flask and taken out of the house and placed at the threshold (*pikhālakhu*). The invocations which accompany this rite request Khaṅḍarohā and Vajrasattva to remove sins and obstacles," see Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 156.

⁶⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 361 n. 17-20; Michaels, *Homo Ritualis*, 108.

⁶⁸² While certainly purificatory, *snāna* also has aspects of a consecration, with water symbolically representing waters of the four oceans. An important feature is the fact that there can be both elements of removal and of supplementation; that is, just as processes of purification "take away" pollution or defilements, these processes also can have an additive effect, supplying the person or object with positive qualities or characteristic—such as the virtues understood to belong to the four oceans just mentioned. On the subject of the range of types of rites involving water, and the spectrum between purification and consecration, see Davidson, "*Abhiṣeka* Visualization."

⁶⁸³ In the *Utkrānti kriyā vidhi*, discussed in Chapter Four, the verse associated by the modern manual with the *bilva* fruit appears, there being a quotation from the *Vajrāvalī*. In the current text, this same verse appears in full at 11v.3-5, where it is a part of the water consecration (the first of the *pañcābhiṣeka*). In the *SDP samādhi*, discussed in Chapter Four, several more of the verses appear, which, together with several not taking the "*yat maṅgalaṃ*" form, make up the full count of eight that then are associated with the eight auspicious substances.

⁶⁸⁴ It is at points like this, also, that other sources would be required. Although there are a number of these verses widely circulating, it is not possible to determine here which should be used, and may be a choice

After that, the core of the bathing ritual is performed by means of a sequence of mantras, the showing of a mirror, and the sprinkling of water (after pouring it into a conch). The mantras are associated with the presiding buddhas of the five buddha families, and also found in the *SDP*, although not as prominently in the extant Sanskrit/later Tibetan version of the text as in the earlier Tibetan translation. The corresponding buddhas or family names are not explicitly listed here but appear widely in the *yogatantra* traditions centered on the five buddha array. The first is a version of the root mantra of the *SDP*, associated with Vairocana and the *tathāgata* family. The sequence proceeds in the standard order by which the families are named when placed on a typical five buddha *maṇḍala*, starting in the east (at the bottom in visual representations) with the vajra family, then continuing clockwise to name the ratna (jewel) family in the south, padma (lotus) family in the west, and karma (action) family in the north.⁶⁸⁵

However, for a subset of the mantras, a more specific reference point can be found in the text of the *SDP* itself. The mantras are written out in full in chapter two, within the *maṇḍala* of Vajrapāṇi, the second *maṇḍala* in that chapter, and reveal that, of those given, three are similar with minor differences at the end, one is identical, and one does not appear, though the mantra that does appear in its stead is recognizably of the same buddha family affiliation.⁶⁸⁶ These are presented at the outset of the teaching of the *maṇḍala*, before the description of the *maṇḍala* is provided. Within the *SDP*, several purposes for these mantras are mentioned, and include a range from "suppresses evil rebirths," to "pacifies sorrows of sentient beings," to "destroying the dwellings of Māra," and so forth. In this instance, their

depending on circumstance and preference. For this reason, the full set of these verses is not included here. However, the current text has in fact already included one such verse, at an earlier point: In Chapter Two, within the section of the *SDP-Utkrānti* manual involving the *pañcābhiṣeka*, there appeared one verse at {11v.3} (current discussion is treating {18v.2}), see also pg. 140 n. 518. The verse in that instance, then, could very well be included here, not only because it was previously mentioned but also because it is one of the most common in the set, and often appears as the first, in sources where multiple are included. The version in the current text at {11v.3} is an approximation of the verse: *Yan maṅgalaṃ sakalasattvahr̥disthitasya/ sarvātmakasya varadharmakulādhipasya/ niḥśesadoṣarahitasya mahāsukhasya/ tan maṅgalaṃ bhavatu te paramābhiṣekaḥ*. Translation: "May there be, in this supreme consecration, auspicious blessings (*maṅgala*) for you—the auspicious blessing of the one who oversees the family of the best dharma (*varadharmakulādhipasya*), who is all encompassing, who is established in the hearts of all beings, who is free from all faults, who is great happiness." As noted in the Chapter Two discussion already, this verse occurs most closely in the *Nityakarmapūjāvidhiḥ* (based on the edition in Ngawang Samten and Janardan Pandey, eds. in *Dhī Journal of rare Buddhist Texts Research* 33 (2002), p. 155-66), and in a citation by Gellner, for an appearance it makes in the Newar Buddhist shrine worship liturgy from Kwā Bāhāḥ (Gellner, "Liturgy," 245).

⁶⁸⁵ This is to say, the standard organization for the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* of the *STTS*, with Vairocana at the center, then Akṣobhya (E), Ratnasambhava (S), Amitābha (W), and Amoghasiddhi (N). Note that a *maṇḍala* with the family configurations, but with slightly different buddhas named, occurs as the first *maṇḍala* of the earlier translation of the *SDP*, but does not in the later. However, the five families pattern is ubiquitous even when the particular *STTS maṇḍala* does not appear, due to that text's broad influence.

⁶⁸⁶ The mantra of the same family is that for the lotus family; the one in the current text is of the "*padme padme*" form, while that in the *SDP* is one of the ones that begin "*amṛte amṛte*," which Skorupski notes that Vajravarmaṇ identified as being associated with Amitābha (Vv 154-5-2). See Skorupski, 44 n. 23. The current text's mantra appears as *Oṃ padme 2 mahāpadme · padmodbhave · padmasambhava · sukhāvatyāṃ lokadhā{19r.1 }tu gachantu svāhā//*. The different, but same-family one that appears in the *SDP* in a similar set is *Oṃ amṛte 'mṛte 'mṛtodbhave 'mṛtasambhava 'mṛtavikrāntagāmini sarvakleśakṣayaṃkari svāhā//* (See Skorupski, *SDP*, 188.)

use does not appear to be in conjunction with bathing rites, nor with funerary procedures, although they do relate to the general subject of the avoidance of bad rebirths.⁶⁸⁷

As such, for funerary rites a more relevant instance of the same mantras occurs elsewhere, and though it provides only the start of each of them, the set is the same. Specifically, at the end of the first chapter of the *SDP*, in the section on Rites for the Dead, the six mantras appear—five for the five families, plus one concerning merit.⁶⁸⁸ In this context, the rituals involve applying a variety of substances to the bones, similarly in a bathing rite.⁶⁸⁹ Such substances are not, however, named in the current *Utkrānti-SDP* manual.

In the *SDP* section on rites for the dead in the *SDP*, these all are followed with previously recited benediction, purification of the path through the recitation of the mantras of the other deities, starting with the four sense-offering goddesses (*Dhūpā*, etc.), and continuing with the other deities in the *maṇḍala* (which was constructed earlier).⁶⁹⁰ After that, the text prescribes a *homa* rite, as well as previously performed (and not now specified) rites. The question arises, whether this portion of rites for the dead, treating the bones, can, in this context, be considered also to have a connection with the bathing ritual in the current portion of the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, even though the current portion of the manual is focused on the corpse, since the cremation has not yet occurred. That is to say, while there are similarities in this section of the manual between the manual and portions of the *SDP* focused on the dead; however, while the *SDP*'s portion focus on a post-cremation stage, this manual treats the body at an earlier stage than that. Both sections have purificatory aspersion and related mantras, although the current text also lists other substances whereas the *SDP* only mentions water.

For bathing, the mantras are recited together with particular actions. The first of these is the pouring of water from the conch shell. Then, continuing the mantras, a mirror is displayed. These actions involve not only bathing, but also the "mirror consecration," *darpaṇa-abhiṣeka*, and, indeed, the verse that accompanies this action is one that is found in other texts' sections on the mirror consecration, including the *Kriyāsaṃgraha*,

⁶⁸⁷ See Skorupski, *SDP*, chapter II, *maṇḍala* 2 (*Maṇḍala* of Vajrapāṇi), 42a (English: 44; Sanskrit: 188).

⁶⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 44(Eng.)/188(Skt). In the *SDP*, they are given only as: *Oṃ śodhana ityādīmantreṇa...Oṃ kaṃkaṇṭyādīmantreṇa...Oṃ ratne ratna tiyādīmantreṇa...Oṃ amoghāvaraṇetyādīmantreṇa...Oṃ amṛte amṛta ityādīmantreṇa...Oṃ puṇye puṇya ityādīmantreṇa...*(36b). This is also the general order that the five buddhas are listed in when a *maṇḍala* is described and the buddhas are identified E-S-W-N going clockwise. It is noted here because in the chapter two section that gives the full mantras, the order differs somewhat. (The chapter 2 instance occurs *SDP* chapter II, *maṇḍala* 2, 42a, while the chapter 1 instance occurs at 36b.)

⁶⁸⁹ Specifically, in the *SDP*, after the first (Vairocana), the second (Akṣobhya/vajra family) is associated with purification with the five cow products (*pañcagavya*), the second (jewel family) with scent, the third (karma family) with cow milk, the fourth (lotus family) with liquor, and the last (the 'merit' mantra, not one of the five families) with water (what Skorupski translates as "with water betwixt and between," Skorupski, *SDP*, 33. This is at *SDP* Ch. 1, 36b. (33(Eng)/176(Skt).

⁶⁹⁰ The *maṇḍala* appears to be in reference to the one constructed earlier in the chapter, since this section falls within the 'rites in the *maṇḍala*' section. The presence of the five buddha family-related mantras is thus an invocation of the families but not necessarily the heads of those families themselves—much in the way that the *pañcabuddha* system and sets of five (e.g. the five buddha knowledges—*pañcajñāna*) pervade *yogatantra* traditions.

Guhyasamāja-maṇḍala-vidhi of Dipaṅkarabhadra, and *Sarvavajrodayā*.⁶⁹¹ Finally, water is sprinkled (on the mirror) and the consecration and refuge is recited: *Om āḥ* consecration of all the *tathāgatas*, I go for refuge *hūṃ*.⁶⁹² In addition to the above discussion of passages with similar elements in the *SDP*, it should also be noted that in some versions of the *SDP samādhi*, there are also related parallels. Like the current text, the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, these are inspired by but diverge from the current text, and are complex enough, in and of themselves, that further research is required on them than can be included here. In brief, in the *samādhi* text, the *snāna* rite, like that in the *SDP*, appears in conjunction with rites to purify the bones. The five buddha mantras appear in E1490-3 and ASK 2242 following the sequence of mantras that comes from chapter two of the tantra, the set that is the same source as the third mantra (the purification mantra, discussed above, from the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual). In these texts, unlike the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, the mantras are given only in abbreviated form; however, they are also accompanied by Newari instructions indicating the substance to be used in the current step. The first, thus, is milk, the second is curd, and so forth (found at: E1490-3 at 15b.11-15b.13 and ASK 2242 at 40b.4-41a.3). This, thus again, recapitulates the content of the tantra, and its absence in the *SDP-utkrānti* text leaves open the question of whether it is here implied by the specified mantras alone.

After that, but before the placing of/offering to the *SDP* deities in the flower *nyāsa*, instructions are given for doing a "*dhā maṇḍala*,"⁶⁹³ giving the *ṭikā*,⁶⁹⁴ the *samaye*,⁶⁹⁵ the sacred thread (*jajaṅkā*), the *dhālā* pot of rice beer, and a lamp.⁶⁹⁶ The *dhā maṇḍala* is somewhat obscure, but possible insight is suggested by a couple of mentions in the contemporary tradition. In the *homa* rite described by Lewis and Bajracharya, a *dhāramaṇḍala* is listed within the section on *devapūjā*, although no detail is given.⁶⁹⁷

⁶⁹¹ The mirror verse in the current text reads *Om pratibimb[a]samā dharmā ākṣā [akāśa?] śuddhā hy[19r.5] [a]nāvi[l]ā// agrāhya-ānanabhi[l]āpyās ca · hetukarmmasamudbhavaṃ* If we attempt translation of this form of it: "Dharmas are like reflections (in a mirror): pure as space, [], ungraspable (*agrāhya*), inexpressible (*anabhilāpa*), arisen from the causes and action." The version published and recorded generally differs only in the word *ākṣā* (understood here as possibly *akāśa*) in Newar sources, which elsewhere generally reads *acchāḥ*. Of this verse, Gellner notes that it is a common verse in Newar Buddhist rites of all sorts. He also observes that sometimes instead of *acchāḥ*, the verse may read *svacchāḥ* at points, see Gellner, "Newar Buddhist Liturgy," 250 n. 26. Of the alternate version (with *svacchāḥ*) (likely the original), it can be found in a variety of mainstream Sanskrit Buddhist texts, including the *Vajrāvalī*, and included in the section of that within the *Ācāryākriyāsamuccaya*, and also the *Sarvavajrodaya*.

⁶⁹² {19r.6} *Om āḥ sarvatathāgatābhiṣeka · samaśriye hūṃ//* (*Samaśriye* should probably read "*samaya-śriye*" – "you who have the splendor of the *samaya*..." however it appears in this reduced form in the text.)

⁶⁹³ The *dhā maṇḍala* involves the pouring of water and sprinkling of rice, essential an abbreviated form; however, see also following description and references.

⁶⁹⁴ *ṭikā* – i.e. the mark with vermillion.

⁶⁹⁵ *samaye*] *samaca*- tantric food offering including ginger, garlic, mustard seeds, spinach seeds.

⁶⁹⁶ This portion should not be understood as directed at the deceased person specifically, but rather is a standard part of the process and general worship ritual.

⁶⁹⁷ As a point for comparison, in the *homa* rite outlined by Lewis and Bajracharya, the *dhāramaṇḍala* is created in the first stages of the section entitled deity *pūjā*. The immediate local context of the section involves usual introductory rites (*pādya/argha*-foot/mouth rinsing water, *āhvāhana*, *dhūpa* - incense, and *nirañjana* - "removing any associated with the deity but unwanted enemies or problems" (Lewis and Bajracharya, 2016: 298). Then *snāna*, the *dhāramaṇḍala*, offerings of *sinha* (red and yellow powder/vermillion), thread, flowers, food, fruit, milk, liquor, and a lamp to the deity. Soon after follows the offering into the fire of grain and ghee which constitutes the *devatā āhuti* (deity oblation), identified by Lewis and Bajracharya as the main deity

Somewhat more detail is provided by Gellner in the description of the normal morning ritual of Kwā Bāhāḥ, if it is the same as what is there identified as the *dhāmanḍa*.⁶⁹⁸ Gellner describes this as a "small lotus-*maṇḍala* outside the door of the shrine," and its treatment occurs as the seventh step of the ritual sequence he describes. The process involves the sprinkling of water and rice, a point on which Sarbagya Bajracharya was in agreement.⁶⁹⁹ Essentially, it entails pouring water upon a *maṇḍala* that has been traced in rice on the ground; thus, essentially a very abbreviated type of *maṇḍala* worship. In that context, it is accompanied by a verse which may also be implied here, although this is somewhat speculative. The verse (Gellner translation) in that context is: *Protsāre hūm sarvaviḡnān sāre hūm vajrabhūme hūm vajralekhe hūm sulekhe sulekhe sarvatathāgata guru adhitiṣṭhantu svāhā*. (Remove *hūm* remove all obstacles *hūm* on the vajra-ground *hūm* which is written with the vajra *hūm* well written, well written: May all the attained ones, oh guru, be present *svāhā*.)⁷⁰⁰

The bathing rite and surrounding rituals are largely not specific to funerary ritual but can be found in a variety of contexts where deities are being treated and worshipped, as well as (as noted) some of the *pañcābhiṣeka* rites discussed in the previous chapter. In particular, this is true of the verse that accompanies the showing of the mirror (*pratibimba...* - 19r.5), and likewise is preceded by one of the auspicious "*maṅgala-gāthā*" verses.⁷⁰¹ In the liturgy from Kwā Bāhāḥ, the particular verse among the prescribed is the "*sakalasattva-hṛdi-sthitāsyā*" one, so it is possible that is intended in the current text as well.⁷⁰² This verse previously appeared in the current text section on the *pañcābhiṣeka* and was discussed above, where it, too, was the first of several in a series.

Not only are the *maṅgala-gāthā*, bathing, and mirror verse in parallel with the liturgy examined by Gellner, so too there is a parallel (somewhat later) in the but-briefly described "*dhā maṇḍala*" that occurs subsequently. To some degree, it is possible that these parallels may be ascribed to the fact that these are all common ritual elements that appear widely in Newar Buddhist ritual practice.

Speaking to the larger context, what appears to be happening here is a modified *sādhana* rite directed at the deceased, which is itself embedded in a *homa* rite. The standard steps of the *homa* are only described in extremely condensed form: "Light the bundle of kindling, the verse from above, establish the fire, do the oblations: the first oblation (*prathamāhuti*), knowledge oblation (*jñānāhuti*), deity (*maṇḍala*) *pūjā* [and] oblation for the deity (*devatāhuti*)." What this does not explain are the detailed steps of the standard *homa* which appear within this set of rites. However, the rites for the deceased diverge from the normal

specific to the rite (i.e. as opposed to Agni, the standard starting deity for fire sacrifice) See Lewis and Bajracharya, "Newar Buddhist *Homa*," 300.

⁶⁹⁸ Gellner, "Newar Buddhist Liturgy," 236-52.

⁶⁹⁹ Sarbagya Bajracharya, personal communication.

⁷⁰⁰ Gellner, "Newar Buddhist Liturgy," 246. This form of the mantra does display the characteristic switching of *r* and *l*, resulting in *sulekhe* instead of *surekhe*, common in Newar as well as East Indian sources. The *protsāre* is likely a pronunciation-induced change from the imperative *protsāraya*, thus suggesting a reading of "scatter away all obstacles." (Thanks to Péter Szántó for this note.)

⁷⁰¹ On the mirror verse, see above pp. 181 n. 691.

⁷⁰² On the verse that appears earlier at {11v.3}, see (in Chapter Two) pp. 140 n. 518 and (Chapter 3) 179 n. 684.

homa sequence at this point, so the concluding offerings, including the *bali* offerings, are not done until the conclusion of the rites for both the deceased and the cremation fire. This is important to specify, because if it is not, it may not be clear that within the outer framing rites that are done as a matter of course, a number of the rituals and particular forms of worship are repeated; however, there is a difference in that in the latter instance, they are directed to benefit the deceased and will be specific to the funerary context, rather than general preparation of the *homa* fire and deities and so forth. Such worship of the fire, including bathing, was most likely already entailed in the brief summary of the sacrifices prior to the *bhāvanā* for the deceased. As Locke notes, this sequence of rites (in *homa* or elsewhere) constitutes the worship of the deity.⁷⁰³ The many similarities to tantric initiation, consecration, and *homa* are therefore not surprising.

Flower (*Puṣpa*) *Nyāsa*

To be clear, in the present context, the *puṣpa nyāsa* differs from the above instances relating to the body *maṇḍala*, including the *bhūta nyāsa*, in that at this point the focus is on the *maṇḍala* deities and the fire, not on the deceased. The text does not explicitly say so, but the sequence of the present section—insertion of the ritual for the deceased aside—falls in sequence of the *homa* rite as reportedly performed without any funerary element, and is thus a part of the basic *homa*, not the customization and core ritual for the deceased.

This current section concludes with the flower *nyāsa*, in which the seed syllables of the main deities of the nine *uṣṇīṣa maṇḍala* of the *SDP* are recited as flowers (or pieces of flowers) are cast. Here, at last, one version of the set of deities constituting the full *SDP maṇḍala* employed in the Newar tradition is invoked. The mantras identify the deities in the "Om [deity name] *svāhā*" format, and as a group, the deities in this relate to the first chapter "nine *uṣṇīṣa*" *maṇḍala* centering on Śākyamuni and eight *uṣṇīṣa* buddhas (19r.7-20r.1).⁷⁰⁴ This is an interesting feature in light of the fact that previously, in the section prior to the *utkrānti* (15v.1-15v.6), the mantras of the *SDP* deities were invoked, but there they matched most closely the second chapter's version of the Śākyamuni nine *uṣṇīṣa maṇḍala*. It should be noted that, when appearing prior to the *utkrānti*, the mantras given did not name the deities the way the current set do, so there was perhaps more ambiguity concerning whether the deities of chapter two were in fact intended. What is not in doubt is that the closest parallel to the earlier mantras is the set found in chapter two. Hence the observed disjunct between the fact of using the two different versions of the *SDP maṇḍala* is present.⁷⁰⁵ In

⁷⁰³ In Locke's discussion, he further specifies in the case of *homa* that though that is the straightforward content, the significance reflects on the priest, who, having done the *sādhana*, also is "a phenomenon now dissolved into the void of the fire." See Locke, *Karunamaya*, 111. However, that is of less importance in the present context, where the goal is simply to distinguish the rites done for the fire from those done for the deceased.

⁷⁰⁴ With regard to this, and specifically the count of eight—as noted in the Introduction, the *maṇḍala* is traditionally called the "Nine *Uṣṇīṣa*" *maṇḍala*, though this count of nine requires the inclusion of the eight *uṣṇīṣa* buddhas as well as the central deity, Śākyamuni.

⁷⁰⁵ In discussion with Sarbagya Bajracharya, he noted at one point that some versions of the deity set in our text differed from the version of the *SDP* most commonly used by Newars. The differences lie in the names of half of the *uṣṇīṣa* buddhas (i.e. four of the eight who surround Śākyamuni), primarily.

addition, it should be noted that this current *maṇḍala* differs from that in the *SDP* in that it lists only the first four (rather than eight) offering goddesses, omitting Puṣpā, Dhūpā, Avalokitā/Dīpā, and Gandhā. In addition, the current *maṇḍala* does not mention the four gate guardians, Aṅkuśa, Pāśa, Sphoṭa, Āveśa, who are included in the version in the *SDP*.⁷⁰⁶ However, these are relatively minor variations, in line with (as previously noted) the variability that is more the rule than the exception when it comes to *maṇḍala* configurations as represented in different texts.

With regard to the differing *uṣṇīṣa* buddha names in the Chapter One and Two versions, it is interesting to consider whether the received Newar tradition has established a third *maṇḍala* that offers a compromise, or splits the difference between the two different *uṣṇīṣa maṇḍalas* from the two chapters. Indeed, it is striking that two such similar *maṇḍalas* appear in the text, and this may well point to the discontinuities between the first chapter of the Sanskrit/earlier Tibetan translation, and the rest. As noted, the "earlier" Tibetan translation (of which there is no Sanskrit version surviving) does not have an *uṣṇīṣa* buddha *maṇḍala* in its first chapter.⁷⁰⁷ Instead, taking its place is the five buddha configuration centered on Sarvavid Vairocana. There has been some scholarship that suggests there are problems with the transmission of the so-called earlier version, and the suggestion that though it is found only in the "later" version (and Sanskrit), the first chapter from those works may contain quite early material.⁷⁰⁸ Some scholars have also suggested it is possible that this section may have circulated independently before being added as the first chapter, replacing the five buddha *maṇḍala*.⁷⁰⁹

Finally, having been invoked, the deities of the *maṇḍala* are honored with the set worship sequence abbreviated *paṃ la ghaṃ stu ta*, as discussed before the first syllables of worship with the fivefold offering (*pañcopacāra*: offering of *ṭīkā*, flower, incense, light, puffed rice), the sixteen offering goddesses (starting with *Lāsyā*), the ringing of the bell

⁷⁰⁶ In addition, there is the minor variation that Vajrapāni listed as the last of bodhisattvas in the current text does not appear thus in the *SDP*. However, this is, again, a minor difference.

⁷⁰⁷ As introduced previously, although ostensibly earlier, there are peculiarities with the first Tibetan translation version which call its dating into question, as noted by Van der Kuijp and Wayman. See Introduction. See also Alex Wayman, "The Disputed Authorship of Tibetan Canonical Commentaries on the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra*," in *Buddhism and Its Relation to Other Religions : Essays in Honour of Dr. Shozen Kumoi on His Seventieth Birthday* (仏教と異宗教：雲井昭善博士古稀記念 / 編者雲井昭善博士古稀記念会, Bukkyō to Ishūkyō : Kumoi Shōzen Hakushi Koki Kinen / Hensha Kumoi Shōzen Hakushi Koki Kinenkai (Kyōto-shi: Heirakuji Shoten, 1985).

⁷⁰⁸ Van der Kuijp, "Notes," 109-125.

⁷⁰⁹ Nihom raises the possibility of circulation in Southeast Asia, on the basis of inscriptions of mantras, see Max Nihom, "Remarks on Two Translated Passages from the Buddhist Tantric Literature," *Asiatische Studien* 49, no. 2 (1995): 429–44. However, in a follow up to this, Griffiths points out that a possibly more plausible source of the same verses might in fact be the *Sarvavajrodayā*, which contains a more complete match than the *SDP* provides, see Arlo Griffiths, "Written Traces of the Buddhist Past: Mantras and *Dhāraṇīs* in Indonesian Inscriptions," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 77, no. 01 (February 2014): 137–94. On connections between Nepal and Southeast Asia with regard to developments of tantra, recent research has also been completed by Iain Sinclair, see I. Sinclair, "From Melayu to Thamel and Back: The Transmigration of the Eight-Armed Amoghapāśa," in *The Creative South: Buddhist and Hindu Art in Mediaeval Maritime Asia* (Singapore: ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute, 2022), 9-65.

(*ghanthā vādana*), the singing of praises (*stuti, stotra*), and the libation (*tarpana*).⁷¹⁰ Finally, there is a verse of praise and worship for the central deity, Śākyamuni, once again.⁷¹¹

The flower *nyāsa* shares some general features in common with the earlier *bhūta nyāsa*, but there are also significant differences. The fact of multiple steps of imposing mantras is common in tantric ritual.⁷¹² At its most basic, it consists of imposing mantras on an object or body by touching it while saying the mantra. In some traditions, it is prescribed that one should visualize the form of the deity represented by the mantra. With such a foundational practice and seemingly simple method, there have been a plethora of interpretations and applications. At a basic level, though, a central idea is that the mantra's power is identical with the power of the deity, or even more directly, the mantra is the sonic form of the deity, and its imposition instills that power into the object that has received the *nyāsa*.⁷¹³

For Frederick Smith, *nyāsa* overlaps with *pratiṣṭhā* and *abhiṣeka* as all share conceptually in a notion of possession, in particular a Sanskritized form of possession. This he supports by saying that these things share "a vocabulary and structure of selfhood" comparable to other Indic types of possession—even if many of the traditions actively differentiate such things more commonly thought of as such, such as shamanic possession.⁷¹⁴ The connection between *abhiṣeka* and possession has also been highlighted by Tachikawa, who also noted the traditional distinctions that do not consider the Buddhist form to be equivalent, particularly forms of these things that appear in Japanese and Tibetan tradition.⁷¹⁵ Gavin Flood also explores this process for its role in creating the body as, in a sense, a tantric text. Through the process of entextualization, or inscribing the body with a text, which he finds to be one of the most basic features of tantric practice across its various sectarian forms, wherein, as a whole, it serves to divinize the body. As he writes, "The empowering of the body, which means its divinization, is arguably the most important

⁷¹⁰ As previously discussed, the *pañcopacāra* is an offering of *ṭikā*, flower, incense, light, puffed rice. Gellner notes that this is distinct from the "five gifts" (*pañcopahāra*), which consist of sense offerings of a mirror, bell, vermilion/saffron paste, food, and thread (*jajaṃkā*). See Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 106). However, anecdotally, there may at times be some lack of clarity in the distinction between the two terms.

⁷¹¹ {20r.2} "Om̐ homage to Śākyasiṃha, who is pure and by nature unblemished, is free from (*vivarjītam*) existence and non-existence, is free of any conceptualizing thought (*vidhūta-sarvasaṃkalpa*)." Skt: *Om̐ vidhūta-sarvasaṃkalpa · bhāvābhāvā- {20r.2} vivarjītaṃ// śākyasiṃhaṃ namaskṛtvā · śuddhaṃ prakṛtinirmalaṃ*. This appears elsewhere at 26v.3 in the current text, and then also in the *samādhi* texts discussed in Chapter Four. However, there it is a part of a larger passage that makes up the 'confession' or apology for errors unwittingly incurred.

⁷¹² Compare, for example, the stages of the body *maṇḍala* included in the *Piṇḍīkṛta sādhana*, translated by Sayer, where we find both the earlier *nyāsa* of the elements and later one with deities (Sayer, "The *Guhyasamāja Piṇḍīkṛta-sādhana*," 85). See also above discussion and comparison with that text in the section on the *bhūta nyāsa*.

⁷¹³ Richard H. Davis, *Ritual in an Oscillating Universe*, 47. Davis is of course writing about Śaivism, but the principle in the case of this basic idea is the same.

⁷¹⁴ Smith, *The Self Possessed*, 406.

⁷¹⁵ Musashi Tachikawa, "Maṇḍala Visualization and Possession," 234. With regard to the Japanese tradition, Tachikawa specifically makes the comparison to Shugendō practitioners, though also noting that they do not consider their practices as counting as possession. However, more closely related, Sharf observes that Shingon tradition does not consider *sādhana* practice as possession, although its purpose is (like possession) to "efface the agency of the practitioner and invoke in his place the presence of the deity." Rather, this is understood as "reciprocal resonance [with the deity]" See Sharf, "Thinking Through Shingon Ritual," 81.

quality in tantric traditions, but a quality that is only specified within particular traditions and texts."⁷¹⁶ The variable nature of tantric practice (based on the diversity and idiosyncrasy of its manuals), and its consequence of being a text-specific effect on the body, is interesting for the current discussion, since it suggests a different application of using a tantric textual system as an organizing tool for analysis, not entirely unrelated to the current project. However, in short, in the present context, the flower *nyāsa* differs from the offering of flowers in that the flowers are understood as the medium used to transport the mantras, facilitating successful offering.⁷¹⁷

Bhāvanā of Kravya-Agni (Cremation Fire)

We have just seen the *antyeṣṭi* rites of the first day that serve to enact multiple purifications of the body of the deceased, in preparation for its cremation in a sacrificial fire. This constitutes the first of the two main *antyeṣṭi* tasks required in the first day. We now turn to the final portion of the first day's rites. Where the last set focused on the deceased and on the process of making the deceased divine and purifying them, this part turns to the cremation fire, the other necessity for a cremation (besides the deceased's body). With this shift, we begin to deal more directly with the cremation, since the form of Agni who is here invoked is the one who will be tasked with the cremation of the body. The invocation of the cremation fire Kravya Agni begins with placing flowers in the hearth while performing the *bhāvanā* of Kravya Agni, who is described in the Sanskrit visualization sequence as being yellow, with blue spikey hair and a crown coil. He bears one face and four hands that hold a sword, a *kuṇḍikā* pitcher, an *akṣamālā*, and a trident. Along with this visualization, ghee should be offered into the fire, the *pañcopacāra pūjā* performed, and a song of praise (*stuti*) sung. Finally, the libation (*tarpaṇa*) is offered. And then, at last, the oblation proper is offered by pouring ghee and grain into the fire with the mantra, *Oṃ kravyāgnaye svāhā*.⁷¹⁸

The name Kravyāda is attested as far back as the *Ṛg Veda*, where it appears in 10.16.9: "I am dispatching the flesh-consuming fire far away. Removing the stains, may it go to King Yama! May this other fire carry oblation to the gods."⁷¹⁹ Much later, Kalkin, writing on the Buddhist tradition of the *Kālacakra*, gives this verse and identifies *kravyāda*, the flesh-consuming fire, with liberation, "that which ends cyclic existence."⁷²⁰ Kravyāda is also

⁷¹⁶ Gavin Flood, *The Tantric Body*, 11.

⁷¹⁷ Davis, *Oscillating Universe*, 153.

⁷¹⁸ Occuring at 20v.2. The focus is on the hearth here for the specific form of Agni to be used in the cremation, whereas in the earlier instance it was involved with *homa* in its role as a framing rite.

⁷¹⁹ Vesna A. Wallace, "Homa Rituals in the Indian Kālacakra-Tantra Tradition," in *Homa Variations: The Study of Ritual Change Across the Longue Durée*, ed. Richard K. Payne and Michael Witzel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 260. Wallace cites Dwivedi and Bahulkar, Eds., *Vimalaprabhāṭikā of Kalkin Śrīpūṇḍarīka*, Ch. 3 p. 74 citing the *Ṛg Veda* 10.16.9: *kravyādam agniṃ prahiṇomi dūraṃ yamarājño gacchatu ripravāhaḥ/ ihaivāyam itaro jātavedā devebhyo havyaṃ vahatu prajānan//*, see Wallace, "Homa Rituals," 264 n. 43.

⁷²⁰ According to Wallace's description, the *kravyāda* fire is first identified as one of three basic types of Agni/fire. The first is that produced by lightning (*dakṣiṇāgni*), the second is the household fire (*gārhyapatya*), and the third is "consecrated fire (*āhāvanīya*), or the flesh-consuming fire (*kravyāda*)." According to this specification, it does sound as though initially the meaning of flesh is simply any form of (animal) sacrifice, an

attested elsewhere, including instances where it is connected with actual cremation fire, as opposed to only the metaphor thereof. In general, there are many names for Agni, that differ depending on the purpose of the fire.⁷²¹

However, based on what is present, the remaining rites for this form of Agni are relatively straightforward, more so than the activities treating the body and *maṇḍala* in the previous segment, although there are some points that may have interesting implications. The first question for this final portion is who the buddha being honored in this instance actually is. Based on its location following the invocation of a deity, one might expect it to refer to that deity. However, in this case, the deity in question is Kravya Agni, who is not a buddha and would seem an odd target for such praise. Another, perhaps more likely, possibility is that it may be Śākyamuni, the central deity previously dealt with, and the center of the *SDP maṇḍala*.

The shift from an initial worship of the fire god when the fire is being established, to the following worship of the buddha who is the focus of the rite, is consistent with the usual way in which Agni is, in a sense, the access point through which the *homa* is made possible. However, in the present context, this section also involves a core rite where Agni is not just the access point as the fire into which the offerings are made, but rather the central figure in the ritual. A curious point, here, though the *bhāvanā* involved the iconographic form of Agni, the widespread invocation found in various forms across *homa* rites that addresses Agni directly and invites him, "Om come, come..." etc. (*Om ehi ehi...etc.*) appears nowhere here.⁷²²

Description of non-funerary Newar *homa* rites serve as a base for comparison, and previous scholarship has noted some ambiguities that are relevant to the present case. Ordinarily there are portions of a ritual focused on Agni who has been summoned to the fire in the opening frame sequence, and there is the deity to whom the overall ritual is being dedicated, the one normally abiding in the water vessel. In a typical *homa*, there are portions where one or the other of these is worshipped alone, but it remains the case that the Agni rites preface those for the deity. While the opening rites are clearly for Agni, the start of the section called "deity *pūjā*" and "deity oblation" (*devatā āhuti*) has been given a little more varied interpretation. According to a brief outline by Gellner, this is the "oblation to the

association that would link back to the early Vedic context, although in his following discussion Kalkin does seem to specify it as cremation fire, see Wallace, "Homa Rituals," 260.

⁷²¹ In the current text alone, a form called Red Agni (Roha-Agni) was previously mentioned during the *nirañjana* portion of the earlier proceedings, and another called Destroyer-Agni/Fire of Dissolution (Samhāra-Agni) will be called on during the cremation. The name Kravya-Agni appears and is employed in the same way in the Newar Hindu cremation practices (Gutschow and Michaels, *Handling Death*, 163 n. 172.). Likewise, the naming of specifically purposed forms of Agni is a longstanding one, found across Buddhist and Brahmanical traditions. The *Kriyāsaṃgraha*, for example, lists several, although the Kravya form is not among them. This is unsurprising, given that the *Ks* does not address funerary practice. However, another manual similarly containing life-cycle rites, and likewise discussed by Tanemura, the *Hiraṇyamālāśakriyāvidhi*, does include Kravyāda-Agni (Tanemura, "Kriyāsaṃgraha," 77). Elsewhere, in the *Mahāvairocanābhisaṃbodhi tantra*, eleven types of fire are listed, of which the last is Kravyāda (Hodge, *Mahāvairocana*, 385). There are other, earlier sources as well, although again, not all refer to funerary ritual circumstances.

⁷²² Compare, for example, that found in Wallace, "Homa Rituals," 258.

principle deity.⁷²³ Likewise, in Lewis and Bajracharya, the deity *pūjā* and oblation section seems to address the deity rather than Agni (although it states only "offering to deity."⁷²⁴ However, in the description provided by Locke, he suggests it is rather the *jñānasattva* or combined *jñānasattva/samayāsattva* that has been invoked in the fire (i.e. presumably Agni), which he defends on the grounds that in his case the preceding section was the invocation and unification of that deity and is followed by welcoming rites and worship. However, he also notes that some informants claim the recipient is "the one before whom the *pūjā* is being performed," presumably, meaning not Agni. Moreover, some understood the worship as being directed to guardian deities or all sundry deities, i.e. the *cakra pūjā*, not just those invited specifically.

To return to the present case, it is interesting that it would seem that the special occasion of a cremation calls not just for the form of Agni who comes as a matter of course to the framing *homa*, but also to a specially-named form who receives a *bhāvanā* treatment and worship much in the same manner that the main deity was treated earlier, when worshipped in the deceased. However, what is not found here, or at least not made explicit, is any secondary instance of mentioning the summoning and unification of the *samaya* and *jñāna* forms of Agni, as occurred earlier with the framing *homa* steps. Thus, it may be that this section specifies a certain form of Agni, but at the same time, does not entirely consider it a separate entity—as indeed makes sense, since it has throughout been dealing with one continuously burning fire.

This section also closes in an interesting way, for after the offering of grain and ghee into the fire directed towards the cremation Agni (indicated by the recitation at the same time of Agni's mantra), we then have a conclusion that once again incorporates the deceased. It concludes the section with offerings of grain and ghee, and the instruction: "With the ladle give salutation to the deceased. One should be made to bow down/give salutation to the ladle for the deceased."⁷²⁵ There is some ambiguity here, regarding whether the causative refers to the principal mourner being made to do the actions by the priest, or whether there is some form of proxy action happening on behalf of the deceased, i.e. the ladle is touched to the deceased's forehead because this is standing in for the deceased touching their forehead (bowing down). To some degree, this parallels the ambivalence, discussed previously, in the deceased as the recipient and also, by proxy of the priest and the *parārtha* ritual, the agent in an "as if" sense, of the initiation, and, here, the *yajamān* (patron) of the sacrifice. Whichever is the case, the grammar does at least indicate that in some sense the deceased is being honored: "give salutation to the deceased." This is interesting, because the immediate previous segments have in fact been directed to the Cremation Agni, and it was sometime past, in the rites relating to the *bhāvanā* for the deceased and the *bhūta nyāsa*, that we last involved the deceased. One possibility here might be that the *bhāvanā* for the deceased and such are in fact not sequential precursors to the Cremation Agni *bhāvanā* and worship, but rather that they partially frame them, with the entire rite to Cremation Agni falling within, and then the final concluding worship to the deceased bringing up the end of the rite, before the concluding matters of the *bali* rites, and so forth, commence.

⁷²³ Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 157.

⁷²⁴ Lewis and Bajracharya, "Vajrayāna Traditions," 300.

⁷²⁵ *vrihi dūye · ghela dūye vākya uthyaṃ// sūlāpata mṛtakayāta ani yātake//*

Bali for the Eight Cremation Grounds

The next portion of the first day's rites is the *bali* offering for the eight cremation grounds. *Bali* offerings are, in one sense, another basic category of the rites that make up the Newar ritual tradition, much like *homa*. However *bali* offerings also make up a portion of the closing rituals and serve as a complement to the *homa* as "non-fire offerings."⁷²⁶ In Newar ritual, *bali* offerings are an essential portion of the closing sequence of most complex rituals, where they may be offerings to the protective deities (*lokapāla bali-arcana*), and in some contexts are in fact visualized offerings of the senses and sense objects.⁷²⁷ However, in other cases, *bali* offerings very much are material offerings, most typically dough or rice cones, as well as, at times, animal sacrifices.⁷²⁸ In the context of Newar *homa* rites, they are usually offerings to the guardians of the directions and sometimes other deities.⁷²⁹ As has been discussed earlier in this chapter on the *antyeṣṭi*, we have already seen the *samādhi bali* and *nanda bali*, two of three most common types of *bali* employed in Newar Buddhism, according to Locke. Here, the third type, fully the *lokapāla bali*, makes an appearance, though it is called only *bali*.⁷³⁰ This *bali* offering is a standard concluding portion of the ritual sequence, in this case the *homa* rite, although it also closes out *kalaśārcana pūjā* rituals. As the full name suggests, this (*lokapāla-*)*bali* is made to the guardians of the directions. The connection with the eight cremation grounds comes in the details. According to Locke, the offering is made first by placing sixteen flowers for deities around the *bali*, similar to the *guru maṇḍala*.⁷³¹ The *bali* is consecrated with a recitation to Vajrasattva, and the recitation of the names of the goddesses of the cremation grounds. The ritual is completed with a prayer requesting protection for the king and for the sponsor (*jajmān*), of the ritual, and the overall procedure is intended to protect the ritual from hindrances by requesting that the guardians of the directions ward them off.⁷³²

⁷²⁶ Lubin, "Vedic *Homa*," 151.

⁷²⁷ Lewis and Bajracharya, "Vajrayāna Traditions," 141.

⁷²⁸ Gellner, Monk, *Householder, Tantric Priest*, 149. See also Gutshow and Michaels on the distinction between *bali* and *bau*: the latter being an "offering to the spirits; either ettened husked rice with turmeric or rice husk with red pepper" (*Handling Death*, 211). As for *bali*, interestingly, in the Hindu tradition examined by Gutschow and Michaels, the three named offerings at a certain point in the cremation are named *kāka*, *svāna*, and *preta balis*, rather than, in the tradition generally as discussed in the Buddhist side, as *kāka*, *svāna*, and *preta piṇḍas*.

⁷²⁹ As in, according to Michaels, guardians of the directions and Kurukullā, see Michaels, *Homo Ritualis*, 243.

⁷³⁰ As discussed in Locke and mentioned earlier, the *samādhi bali* follows meditation (*samādhi*) of a deity being worshipped, the *nanda bali* is protective and serves to purify the tools for *pūjā*, and may even be offered to the *samādhi bali* as well. These *balis* all mainly contain cooked rice, although they may contain other substances as well. None of these *balis* contain meat, although in certain *guhya* rites, meat may be called for. See Locke, *Karunamaya*, 79-80.

⁷³¹ Locke, *Karunamaya*, 89-90. (This is for description within the context of the *gurumaṇḍala*. In that context, they also receive *the paṃ la ghaṃ stu ta*.)

⁷³² *Ibid.*, 79. This description differs slightly from the post-*homa bali* rite as described by Lewis and Bajracharya ("Newar Buddhist *Homa*"), although the differences may be largely a result of emphasizing different aspects/information. The outline provided by Lewis and Bajracharya prescribes the patron offer water to the *bali*, the priest displays the *garuḍa mudrā*, the patron offers water again to the *bali*, the priest displays the *ākaraṣaṇamudra* and offers a flower, which the patron places on the *bali*. Then the *paṃ-lā-ghaṃ-stu-ta*

The current rite prescribes the *bali* rite should be accompanied also by the *pīṭha pūjā*, which likewise appears in the standard *homa* described by Locke. For this rite, which focuses on the set of mythical sites for tantric practice, the patron is to offer a flower to the *guru maṇḍala*, the priest recites five mantras associated with different kinds of *pīṭhas*, which are represented by lumps of earth placed in a small bowl.⁷³³ This is followed by typical offerings of the *pañcopacāra pūjā*, flowers, rice, and water, mantras to *pīṭha* deities, the throwing of rice in the air by all participants, and a mantra recited by the priest, dedicated to Vajrasattva.⁷³⁴

Final Homa Offering/Concluding Rites

The final stage for the first day's *homa* rite, and conclusion to all that has come before, is undertaken with the typical sequence that repeats many of the steps invoking and worshipping the deity, leading up to the offering of the full oblation (*pūrṇāhuti*).⁷³⁵ When offering the full oblation, not everything is cast into the fire; some of the grain must be reserved for rituals the following day, at the cremation ground.⁷³⁶ The typical concluding steps that are carried out include the hundred-syllable mantra of Vajrasattva, the expiation/apology for errors unwittingly incurred in the ritual (*kṣamāpaṇa*), the benediction (*āśīrvāda*), the *dakṣiṇā* paid to the priest,⁷³⁷ the bestowal of the *sagun*, and the *īṭkā* given to the participants. *Sagun*, which is given at many occasions but especially ones that involve setting off on a journey, is auspicious and, in particular, protective. The *maṇḍala* is dismissed (*visarjana*), and the remains of the *bali* offering disposed of at the crossroads and in front of the house, which are specifically prescribed locations for disposal of ritual refuse.

Unlike more common rituals that conclude with these sequences, not everything is cleaned up and put away: grain for offering in the fire is set aside, as well as the five vessels—the *kuṇḍhālā kalaśa* and the four *ampa* vessels. These will be taken to the cremation ground on the following day. The body of the deceased, placed on the bier now, should be surrounded by a circle of lamps, the face covered. At this point, family members

sequence is done, the priest offers rice/flower/water, giving it to the patron to offer to the *bali*. This is done four times while the priest recites four different mantras, the patron pours milk on the *bali* (and/or alcohol), and the *puṣpādi pūjā* is done (see earlier note, sequence involving full series invoking deity, worshipping the deity, and requesting Vajrasattva bestow *siddhis*) (301). There is no discussion of the *pīṭha pūjā* in Lewis and Bajracharya's account, however.

⁷³³ According to Locke, these five kinds are *pīṭha*, *kṣetra* (fields), *chandoha* ('a place where singers gather'), *melāpaka* ('meeting places'), and *śmaśāna* (cremation grounds). These are then divided into regular and *upa*-prefixed ones, numbering ten total. The *Hevajra tantra* adds also *pilava* and *upapilava*, (Locke, *Karunamaya*, 112 n. 63 referencing Snellgrove, *Hevajra Tantra*, 68-69).

⁷³⁴ Locke, *Karunamaya*, 112.

⁷³⁵ The preliminary steps involve those we have seen before, including the spreading of the *maṇḍala* and scattering of rice, the stage called by Lewis and Bajracharya *kiga tine* (although written in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual more frequently as *ki tane*). In their account, this consists of: the patron "is asked to make a *maṇḍala* with white stone powder on the ground and put ten flower pieces on it to do the [*pañcopacāra pūjā*], to put flower and rice with water on it," and then all the patrons offer rice with the priest, see Lewis and Bajracharya, "Newar Buddhist *Homa*," 302.

⁷³⁶ According to Sarbagya Bajracharya, and also based on what follows in the instructions for following days.

⁷³⁷ According to Sarbagya Bajracharya this constitutes the primary *dakṣiṇā* to be offered.

are allowed to (and should) weep and show their grief. This contrasts with the earlier period immediately after death, when displays of grief were prohibited (see at 7v.4). This completes the rituals for the first day of the funerary rites.

The setting aside of the remaining grain and water vessels for use in the following day's oblations means that unlike in the standard *homa* sequence, the "oblation of the remains" (*śeṣa āhuti*) is not carried out.⁷³⁸ The text also specifies that the rite of the protection of the *yajña* (*yajña rakṣa*), imparted by the priest by applying soot to the forehead of the patrons, should not be done. Likewise, related to this, the manual does prescribe a stage for blessing the participants/ "students," the *śiṣya adhvāsana* [sic].⁷³⁹ There is some variation in these elements, but as for the broader meaning, the key point at this stage is the preservation of the fire. That is, by retaining the same continuously burning flame and abstaining from the closing rites, this fire is conceptually the same and of a piece with the fire that will be employed the following day at the cremation ground *homa* and cremation. Since this is a fire that has just been the locus for the invocation and worship of a specific funerary form of Agni, it is likely that the reason for the requirement of continuity of the fire is because this form, *Kravya-Agni*, is intended to remain in residence in the fire and be available for the task of undertaking the *homa* cremation. By using a source of fire that has been maintained continuously from the previous *homa* ritual, that can be accomplished.

Through the overlapping and layering of these rituals, there is a considerable amount of repetition. This can be explained in part by drawing on Locke's explanation that many of the typical Newar rites—the *guru maṇḍala*, *kalaśa pūjā*, *homa*, *maṇḍala* rites, and initiations are all in part "a ritualization of the *sādhana*." As he writes, "The structural lines of the *sādhana* remain, though often obscured by the profusion of ritual detail and removed from the context of meditation and yoga. Furthermore, elements from the *sādhana* and its ritual practice have been excerpted from their context to function as pure ritual acts."⁷⁴⁰ Locke gives as an example the way that the mantra syllables *jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ* originate with the specific context of joining the *samayasattva* and *jñānasattva* during *sādhana*, but then come to be used in any context where a deity has been summoned and must be bound or compelled to stay.⁷⁴¹ This also, in a way, explains the summoning and binding of the deceased's consciousness in the body using those same syllables.

Day Two: Cremation

Procession to the Cremation Ground

⁷³⁸ See for example steps 68-78 in Lewis and Bajracharya, "Newar Buddhist *Homa*", and Locke, *Karunamaya*, 113.

⁷³⁹ See for example steps 48-49 in Lewis and Bajracharya. "Newar Buddhist *Homa*," 301. This involves the patrons of the ritual holding strings from the vase, receiving flowers placed on the head, the completion of *nirāñjana* and *lohā-Agni rakṣā*, and the pouring out of the fruit *abhiṣeka* (*phala abhiṣeka*) on each person's head. Note that Locke's description of the *homa* also omits this step.

⁷⁴⁰ Locke, *Karunamaya*, 120.

⁷⁴¹ *Ibid.*

The primary activities of the following day are the procession to the cremation ground, rites conducted there, and the cremation.⁷⁴² This is then followed by purification rites that treat the surviving family, ritual spaces, and remaining ash and bone fragments. The second day rites start in the same location as previous rituals—the home of the deceased—and concern the final preparation of the body itself, to start. Previously, the deceased was positioned sitting upright on the bier, supported by a backrest.⁷⁴³ In the current stage, additional details are dealt with: the body is dabbed with oil, the horoscope attached to the forehead, the 'five jewels' are placed in the mouth, as well as *sagun* of dried fish and hard-boiled egg.⁷⁴⁴ The body, overall, is then wrapped with a series of shrouds. The first of these is the *kāpata* cloth, which is wrapped around the head to securely attach substances placed in and over the mouth, specifically the five jewels (in powder form, typically), and egg and dried fish (an auspicious form of *sagun*). Then the mouth is covered with a bronze *khvalā* vessel, which is, in turn, secured with the *kāpata* cloth and the whole arrangement sewn into place.

Next, a saffron-colored *paugā* cloth, an ornate brocade cloth called *kvayeciṃ*, and, finally, a second embroidered brocade cloth are added to wrap the body. Flower garlands are also draped on and four containers of curd and beaten rice are supplied. Meanwhile, the clothes of the deceased are taken and left at the prescribed ritual disposal location.⁷⁴⁵

In the next stage, the bier or palanquin is placed in the courtyard and elaborately adorned. Paper cards are inscribed with symbols of the Eight Auspicious Objects, and representations of the Four Great Kings (of the cardinal directions) are attached along the sides and to the corners of the bier to protect the deceased. Further decoration includes the four items used in the preparation of the vehicles/chariots used for the transport of deities in *yātra* processions, namely the parasol, flag, pennant, and yak-tail whisk.

At this point an option is given—the text says that it is not necessary to have the *pākhākum*.⁷⁴⁶ This is a vessel suspended on chains/strings, to be hung beneath the eaves of the home and filled with burning cow dung. Though not necessary, the text says that some people will include this. The more important step, and certainly mandatory, focuses on the *bheota*, the vessel last seen in the *homa* offered the previous day. This clay bowl is the means by which the fire is transferred from the *homa* hearth at the home to the cremation ground. This takes the form of burning coals, which are placed in the *bheota* (supplied and employed on the first day). At this point, the *bheota* is identified with the hearth

⁷⁴² The text uses the terms "second day," "third day," and so forth. However, this count is intended from the day of death, not the day after. Thus this section is the beginning of the day after death, and all that has already happened is intended to occur on the same day as death.

⁷⁴³ See at 7r.6.

⁷⁴⁴ The application of *sagun* serves an apotropaic role offering protection for journeys, and the use of it here particularly highlights the nature of the preparations preparing the deceased for the afterlife journey.

⁷⁴⁵ According to Sarbagya Bajracharya, this is done by those female relatives who are ritually pure, a qualification based on the condition that they not be menstruating or pregnant. So too, it may be that they are those who are married out to other families and therefore exempt from the death pollution of close family. The particular details on what clothing is included is not clarified; however, anecdotally, it is unlikely to be their entire wardrobe.

⁷⁴⁶ *pākhā/kum* - Kölver, 1994 s.d. *Pākhā* are the eaves of a building. + *kuye*, to be covered by the eaves, but also potentially *kogaye*, to hang down. For the offering described in Kölver (1987) as *pākhā-jā* "portion of rice suspended in a bamboo basket from the eaves as an offering to the deceased on the seventh day after his death"

(*jajña(śālā)*).⁷⁴⁷ Finally, noted via marginal comment, a sword and staff are placed on the right and left sides of the deceased, respectively.⁷⁴⁸ As the procession begins, music is also to be played to accompany the procession. The funeral party then makes its way to the cremation ground. As it progresses, the pyre-lighter should pour water from the *kunḍhālā kalāśa*. Others including the senior and other members of the family should pour water from the *ampa* vessels. Those five individuals assigned to pour water thus should, the text specifies, remove their (right) sleeve to bare their shoulder in respect. Meanwhile, the priests proceed in the procession "purifying the path" by doing recitation.⁷⁴⁹ Although the text is careful to specify that the water is being carried by the pyre-lighter and four relatives, it is interesting at this point that no specification is given as to who should carry the vessel containing embers of the *homa* fire, arguably a key role at this point in the rites.⁷⁵⁰

Arrangements at the cremation ground will have been made previously, so that everything is prepared when the procession arrives. These preparations consist, first, in the construction of the *homa* hearth (*jajñasālā = yajñasālā*) from eighty unbaked bricks. Mirroring the preparation of the *homa* hearth from the first day, the bricks are wrapped around with the ritual *kumhakā* thread and the *cakha khīpa* rope.⁷⁵¹ The *bheota* vessel, which was used to preserve the fire over night and carry the burning coals from the home to the cremation ground, should be placed, along with various types of grain.

At the Cremation Ground

When the funeral procession arrives, the bier is placed upon the wooden logs specified for the cremation, and the deceased is symbolically provided with water to drink by the members of the funeral procession, the mourners who walked along in the procession. Next, the pyre-lighter should remove his clothes, possibly only the right sleeve, though the text

⁷⁴⁷ This has implications for the meaning of some of the arrangements involving hearth and fire, and textual difficulties discussed below.

⁷⁴⁸ The sword and staff were previously mentioned as requisites in the text and noted that they should be made of wood. (The current mention is at 21v.4; the previous appears at 16v.7.) See also discussion pg. 154 n. 567.

⁷⁴⁹ Most likely this is recitation of the *Durgatipariśodhana dhāraṇī*, which is, in fact, the most often-used portion of the *SDP* in Newar Buddhism.

⁷⁵⁰ According to Sarbagya Bajracharya, this is done by an individual responsible for carrying ritual implements. Further information he supplied included the overall sequence and additional individuals not mentioned in the current text. It cannot be determined whether this would also apply to the current text's rite, but I include it here as an example. According to him, the procession involves: order of funeral procession from the front: 1. musical group 2. straw holders 3. holder of ritual objects- also the *bheotas* etc 4. priests 5. pyre-lighter (holds *kundhala kalasa* and pours water from it. This is the same vessel used to make Vajravārāhī *maṇḍala* earlier) 6. deceased person- surrounded by 4 bier carriers and 7. 4 water carriers/pourers outside of them. (sometimes they are at the back instead)- they are the other family members. 8. then other family? I'm not sure 9. *guthi* members (hold incense, recite *SDP dhāraṇī*). Though appearing to be fairly minor in that enumeration, the final group, the death *guthi*, should be noted in particular. Death *guthis* are one of the most important functional *guthi* social organizations and are responsible for assisting in certain aspects of the funerary proceedings. In fact, it is somewhat interesting that they are not mentioned at all in the current text, given how important often are, as described, for example, by Gellner, *Monk Householder Tantric Priest*, 246-47.

⁷⁵¹ *cakha khīpa* - Kölver, 1987, s.d. *khīpa* – rope. The rope is of dried reeds, but the etymology of *cakha* is unclear.

only indicates "upper garment." (As before, the purpose is likely the respectful baring of the right shoulder.) He should wash his face and put some water on his head, then return and touch the *pūjābha* plate to do the *saṃkalpa*. This time, the *saṃkalpa* is for the *homa* and cremation, which will now follow.

The rituals begin, with the priest again empowering himself and doing other preliminaries. The five important vessels—the *kundhā kalaśa* and the four *ampa* vessels—are placed near the deceased. The text notes that it is inappropriate to take *sagun* at this time. Further preparations are made by the priests, including spreading sand in the ritual space, making a *guru maṇḍala* near the feet of the deceased, as well as an effigy made of *kuśa* grass (*kuśaputrikā*). In addition, it states, the *upādhyāya* should do the *saṃkalpa* of the *pāmaka* vessel, although the details of this are not given.

Next, the details for the *piṇḍas* are provided. While in Newar Buddhist (and Hindu) funerals, there are typically three *piṇḍas*, the current text specifies that only two should be used. Specifically, it calls only for the crow (*kāka*) *piṇḍa* and the dog (*svāna*) *piṇḍas*. Furthermore, it specifies that the third typically included in the set—the *preta piṇḍa*—is not to be made. This has interesting implications, depending on how the purposes of each of these *piṇḍas* are understood. The names of the *piṇḍas*, in some sources, give purposes that are somewhat self-explanatory: that the *kāka* (crow) *piṇḍa* is to prevent rebirth as a crow, the *svāna* (dog) *piṇḍa* is to prevent rebirth as a dog, and the *preta* (spirit/ghost) is to prevent rebirth as a *preta*.⁷⁵² However, there are also anecdotal sources that give other suggestions, such as that the crow *piṇḍa* represents the ancestors, the dog *piṇḍa* represents Yama or Bhairava, and the *preta piṇḍa* represents the deceased.⁷⁵³

While it is risky to speculate, it is interesting to consider why there is a proscription against doing the *preta piṇḍa* rite as normally occurs. An intriguing possibility might be that it has to do with the fact that this is not an ordinary funeral. Already we have seen the ways in which it is extraordinary—first, foremost, that it contains the practice of *utkrānti*, a practice restricted to those with elite ritual status. Concordant with this is the fact that the cremation is being done with the fire taken from the *homa* rite—thus the entire cremation is a *homa* rite, indeed the kind known as a human oblation (*narāhuti*). Perhaps the lack of the *preta piṇḍa* is a consequence of the special status of the deceased who has been undergoing these rituals.⁷⁵⁴

Having done the *saṃkalpa* for it, the ritual of the *pāmaka* vessel is performed. This requires the pyre-lighter to first circumambulate the deceased and the pyre, and then crush

⁷⁵² Lewis, "Modern Guide," 17 (Eng)/33 (New). In that manual, the purpose is more generalized: the *kāka piṇḍa* prevents birth as a bird generally, while the *svāna piṇḍa* prevents birth as an animal (not just dog). As a reminder (and mentioned previously) *preta* in this context generally does not refer to the rebirth destiny that is included among the major forms in which one can take birth. Despite the common name, *preta* in these contexts is usually in reference to a spirit state, prior to rebirth.

⁷⁵³ This is separate from the *sapiṇḍikaraṇa*, "unification with the ancestors," a ritual where there are three *piṇḍas* representing three past generations of ancestors, with whom the recently deceased is physically unified by combining his *piṇḍa* with the first three. On the *sapiṇḍikaraṇa*, discussion pp. 248 and also see Knipe, *Sapiṇḍikaraṇa*, 159-94.

⁷⁵⁴ A benefit of further research on other types of Newar Buddhist funerals would be the ability to clarify whether there are other instances where this proscription is made.

the vessel and drop its contents (charcoal and/or grain) in front of the deceased.⁷⁵⁵ The guru performs *samādhi* and those who poured the streams of water from the five vessels during the procession are instructed to "act as/be considered to be" principle donors/patrons (*thākālis*).⁷⁵⁶

The lighting of the *homa* fire and thence the pyre come next, and there are a number of steps involved.⁷⁵⁷ At this point, reference to the manuscript is necessary, for there is a discrepancy between the instructions provided in the main body of text on the page, and those added with a marginal note and written along the margin. To clarify the arrangement, the text might be presented thus:

After that, do *pūjā* to the oblation wood (*svasi*). [marginal note 1] Place in the unfired *bheota* vessel. Do *pūjā*. Furthermore (*hanam*) cause the torch (bundle of kindling) to be lit, do [i.e. say] the *vākya*/recitation, hand [it] over to the pyre-lighter, make [the pyre-lighter] circle the deceased and cause him to place the fire in the *bheota*. [marginal note 2] Do *pūjā* according to precept.

Marginal notes:

[1] Place in hearth, do *pūjā*, cause the *cahoma* to be lit.

[2] Cause the fire to be placed in the hearth.

There are, in a sense, two options being presented here, but they are not two different traditions; rather, they are the description based on two sets of circumstances. The critical point about the cremation fire, and the thing that distinguishes the *homa* fire that kindles it, is that it is meant to be continuous/the same fire as that which was used to summon the cremation form of Agni on the first day. The importance of the *bheota* vessel is that it is the means by which the cremation fire, in the form of embers, is transported from the home of the deceased (the site of the rituals up to this point) to the cremation ground (traditionally at a riverside ghat). The difference in the kindling process is that if the embers are brought in the *bheota*, kindling with the *cahoma* will not be necessary (as compared, for example, with the freshly-made fire of the previous day).

To expand on this interpretation, the passage and marginal comments, as they appear in the text, emphasize the role of the hearth in the treatment of the fire and make explicit the pre-lighting of the *cahoma*. The first relevant portion of the main text involves three steps: placing the oblation wood in the *bheota*, doing *pūjā*, and lighting the torch/bundle of kindling (*simta-pvā*). This sequence of three (as well as the earlier *pūjā* to the wood) replicates the process described earlier for the preceding day's *homa* rite, where the bundle of kindling (i.e. torch) was lit first and used to light the actual *homa* fire. However, in the

⁷⁵⁵ The text does not specify, but generally in Newar funerary contexts, circumambulation is reversed—instead of the typical Buddhist clockwise direction, the circumambulation instead goes counterclockwise.

⁷⁵⁶ Sarbagya Bajracharya suggests this means that they go and sit in a row with the priests, and do *pūjā*

⁷⁵⁷ According to SB, this differs from the way the fire is now lit in the contemporary tradition, where it is lit "all at once," without these separate stages. It might be possible that the discrepancy in the marginal comments relates to this difference, although it does not appear as if the marginal comments are in a different hand or are a later addition.

previous day's rites (and consistent with the standard *homa* described in Lewis & Bajracharya), the sequence actually had three steps: the lighting of the *cahoma* (i.e. the *bhūta agni sthāpana*), from which is lit the bundle of kindling/torch, from which is lit the hearth. Here, in the main body of the text, this initial step involving the *cahoma* is not mentioned.

It is, however, mentioned in the first marginal comment, to which we now turn. This comment, like the main text, gives a sequence of three instructions and, like the main text, its middle step is doing *pūjā*. The differences (from the previous day's *homa*) lie in the first and third steps; in the first, where the main text says to place the wood in the *bheota*, the marginal note says to place it in the hearth. Then, in the third step, where the main text says to light the bundle of kindling/torch, the marginal note indicates that one should light the *cahoma*. The instructions continue, with the main text indicating that a verse is to be recited and the bundle of kindling/torch handed over to the pyre-lighter, who circumambulates the deceased.⁷⁵⁸ Upon returning, according to the main text, the fire should be placed in the *bheota*. Then, the second marginal text intervention adds that the fire should be placed in the hearth. Finally, (from the main body of the text) *pūjā* should be done. Here, as in the first instance, the marginal comment diverges and specifies the hearth rather than the *bheota* as the destination for the fire, post-circumambulation. Thus, while the main text does not mention the hearth at this point, the marginal comments do not mention the *bheota*. The *bheota* is an important difference, since it is not used in ordinary homas, as there is no need to transport embers from one location to another, usually.⁷⁵⁹

The question at stake for the second day's rite is whether that fire, once brought to the cremation ground, continues to be kept in the *bheota*, or whether it is transferred to a ground-based hearth. The main text seems to indicate that the locus of the fire is the *bheota* throughout. One option for the marginal comment is that it differs, and intends that the fire be shifted from the *bheota* to the hearth on the ground. The second option is that it still considers the fire to be located in the *bheota*, but wishes the reader to understand that in this situation, the *bheota* is *servicing as* the hearth. That is, in this latter reading, the marginal comment does not contravene the action in the main text, but rather supplies the meaning, that those action are standing in for other actions.⁷⁶⁰

⁷⁵⁸ The object that the pyre-lighter circumambulates is not stated explicitly. However, this is the most likely interpretation given the prior action wherein the deceased was thus circumambulated for the rite with the *pāmaka* vessel (at 22v.4: · mṛtakayāta chacā- {22v.5} ke uyakam), and also give that it agrees with contemporary reports of usual cremation practices.

⁷⁵⁹ Lewis and Bajracharya, "Newar Buddhist *Homa*," 305. Lewis and Bajracharya give a relatively brief description of the 'human oblation' (*nara āhuti*) *homa* specified after *utkrānti*. Though brief, the description specifically emphasizes that this *homa* is to be done within a clay bowl. (Note that here, "funerary *homa*" refers to the *homa* completed separately multiple times before the cremation on a normal-sized fire, while I am using "cremation *homa*" to refer to the cremation, which is in this case understood to be a form of *homa* offering as well, but which, for practical reasons, must be completed on a pyre transformed as a hearth for sacrifices rather than a standard hearth.)

⁷⁶⁰ This interpretation is similar to that suggested by Sarbagya Bajracharya, who understood that while the fire is in the *bheota* throughout, the actions described are being done to the hearth symbolically. One issue this does not explain is how then to relate the large brick constructed hearth described at the start of the second day's rites. If the fire remains in the *bheota* throughout, what need is there of a large, separately constructed brick *homa* hearth? This again brings up the question, as earlier mentioned, of whether it is possible that the

The difference between the bundle of kindling/torch (as mentioned in the main text) and the *cahoma* (mentioned in the marginal note) is somewhat more difficult to interpret. According to the standard *homa* procedure published by Lewis and Bajracharya, there are two distinct steps: the small clay bowl containing pieces of kindling (*siṃtā*) is lit; then, from it, a bundle of kindling is lit and used to light the main hearth fire for the *homa*. The current main body text does not mention the *cahoma* at all at this point, only the bundled kindling/torch, while in the parallel point the marginal note has only the *cahoma*. If the pattern for *bheota*/hearth from the previous note is the same (where the *bheota* is the hearth throughout), this would mean that in this ritual either the bundle of kindling serves as the *cahoma*, removing one of the steps shared by both the previous day's *homa* and the description in Lewis and Bajracharya, or that the step involving the *cahoma* is assumed and not stated explicitly.⁷⁶¹ Both are possibilities. However, the preparations for the second day *homa* do mention the *cahoma*, saying that it is "of the *bheota*," which makes the interpretation of the *cahoma* as the bundle of kindling more difficult.

Here, turning to Lewis and Bajracharya's outline may be helpful, for it contains a distinction between the "small pieces of *sintā* (a specific wood) placed in a pot" (the *cahoma*) and "bundle of *sintā* (wood) lit from clay bowl flame, then put into *homa kuṇḍa* fire."⁷⁶² Looking to our text, the initial description of the *cahoma* does not give its contents, but the following mention of the kindling does specify it to be "a bundle of" (*siṃta-pvā*), in both the first day's *homa* description and the current main body text concerning the second day. That is, though the *sintā* wood is mentioned but once, both the wood in the *cahoma* and the torch are, in fact, made of *sintā*, the difference between them being that the torch is a bundle (*pvā*) whereas the *cahoma* uses it simply in the conventional meaning of the translation "kindling," i.e. small pieces of wood to be used in the initial lighting of a fire, more likely in a pile than a bundle. The disadvantage of this reading is that it means the relationship between the main body text and the marginal note differs from that of the *bheota*/hearth.

Thus the key factor is that unlike the *homa* on the previous day, the second day cremation ground *homa* is being rekindled rather than started from scratch—indeed, there should already be fire burning in the *bheota*, preserved from the previous day, thus making

brick construction is in fact for the pyre rather than the *homa* that is burned before its lighting. That the pyre is sometimes called the hearth (*jajña*) is supported by the fact that the actual instruction to light the fire that burns the body is given referring to the locus of the fire as the *jajñe kuṇḍala* (see 24r.1). Though the latter part does not appear earlier, *jajña/jajñe* or *jajñaśālā* are the words used earlier (and here translated) as hearth. The obstacle to this reading is the fact that in typical cremations, a raised brick pyre is not constructed. This issue remains problematic, furthermore because the arranging of the cremation ground *homa* materials (i.e. tying with various threads + rope, etc.) is described but once. If that description is of the pyre, it is nicely consistent with the commonly stated claim that *utkrānti* cremations are performed as *homās* (human oblation – *nara-āhuti*). However, it would mean that no description of hearth preparations is given for the initial *homa* done at the cremation ground. Key here is the problematic interpretation of the earlier line: (22r.2) *bhegatayāgu cahom yānāo tayegu*. (Further notes also in translation.)

⁷⁶¹ The previous day's rite, with two steps: *hanaṃ cahoma cyātake · vrihī duye pūjā// hanaṃ siṃta pvā cyāke · vākya uthyaṃ {17v.5} jajñasa agnīsthāpana*. Next, light the *cahoma* and do *pūjā* offering grain [into the fire in the *cahoma*]. Next, light the bundle of kindling (*siṃta-pvā*). Reciting the above verse, establish the fire/Agni (=the actual *homa* fire).

⁷⁶² Lewis and Bajracharya, "Newar Buddhist *Homa*," 299.

the entire sequence symbolic because the fire is already lit. If that is the case, it would make sense that the fire on this day could go directly to the bundle of kindling/torch (which is needed for the circumambulation) rather than via the intermediate step of lighting the *cahoma* first. In sum, then, the purpose of the marginal comments seems to be to simply give the equivalences for what would be happening in an ordinary *homa*, i.e. the sort assumed to be more familiar to the presumed reader of this ritual manual. It may or may not be a matter of symbolic equivalences or simply variations from the standard procedure; in any case, the present actions are those indicated in the main body of the text.

From this point, there are still several steps before the actual cremation can occur. The *śuddhi* formula is now recited, ("all dharmas are by nature, I too am by nature pure") and the priest is instructed to visualize the *SDP maṇḍala*. In this instance, the instruction to visualize the *maṇḍala* is given in Sanskrit, i.e. it is a part of the invocation, ending, like the *bhāvanā* sequences occurring earlier, with "let one visualize" (*bhāvayet*). As has been noted, *bhāvanā* passages in the Newar tradition are often recited out loud.⁷⁶³ The Sanskrit of the current passage seems to indicate that one should visualize oneself (i.e. the priest) *as* the *SDP maṇḍala*.⁷⁶⁴ However, as the next step continues with the *homa* rites of offering grains into the fire, it seems likely that on some level, there is also an understanding of the *SDP maṇḍala* as being/being in the *homa* hearth as well. The oblations offered at this point are also being offered to the form of Agni concerned with the fire for consuming corpses, Kravya-Agni, the text makes clear.⁷⁶⁵ One then continues with the fivefold offering (*pañcopacāra pūjā*, ringing the bell, *mudrās* to the sixteen offering goddesses, singing of praises (*stuti*), and water libation (*tarpaṇa*)). This is in general consistent with the twofold focus that *homa* generally takes, where there is (first) the invocation and worship of a form of Agni, to whom the offerings are made, and there is also (second) the deity of choice, whichever one is being invoked in the particular ritual at hand. In the context of Buddhism, the compounded description of the hearth as a *maṇḍala* can be seen in the *SDP*'s third chapter, in the portion dedicated to rites for the dead. There, it describes the way the hearth should be constructed in the form of a *maṇḍala*, setting the signs of deities at the appropriate points, and adorning the hearth as one would a *maṇḍala*, also including performing the consecrations and deity yoga to accompany it.⁷⁶⁶

Next there are *mudrās* and mantras for the five *tathāgatas*. Although the five *tathāgatas* do not appear in the *SDP maṇḍala* used throughout this ritual manual, as before, it is not surprising to see signs of their presence. Even assuming no influence from the earlier Tibetan version, where the first chapter's *maṇḍala* is a five-buddha *maṇḍala*, the five buddhas are ubiquitous in Newar Buddhism. Thus it is possible that the particular set are those of the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*, i.e. the main *maṇḍala* of the *STTS*, the most influential

⁷⁶³ Whether they are accompanied by visualization is, of course, epistemologically inaccessible in the case of the historical tradition, and limited to self-report of practitioners, in the contemporary. Gellner has discussed this matter, and the degree to which *sādhana* is done as visualization is a complicated question because it depends not only upon reading texts, but also upon the oral tradition and upon differing expectations as to the criteria by which successful ritual performance is judged, see Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 290. The topic was also earlier discussed by Locke, *Karunamaya*, 121.

⁷⁶⁴ *āmānaṃ · śrīdurga-}{23r.3}tipariśodhanamaṇḍalaṃ bhāvayet//*

⁷⁶⁵ *kravyāgnyā-āhuti pūre 2 svāhā*, thus the oblation to Kravya-Agni {23r.4}.

⁷⁶⁶ Skorupski, *SDP*, 83(Eng)/244 (Skt, Tib). Located in *SDP* Chapter Three.

among the *Yogatantras*, rather than those of the *SDP*'s earlier version (which does not survive in Sanskrit, and therefore is not a part of the Newar tradition).⁷⁶⁷

Obscurely, at this stage, there is also an instruction for a visualization establishing the "twenty-five *tattva-jñānas*." While the *tattva-jñānas* are a concept in non-Buddhist traditions like the Śaiva and Sāṃkhya, the usage in the current context is not entirely clear. It seems unlikely that the non-Buddhist concept of constituent entities is what is here intended.⁷⁶⁸ Furthermore, the accompanying mantra is associated with Śākyamuni in the *SDP uṣṇīṣa maṇḍala*. This suggests that there is some Buddhist local context for the step, if the mantra is to be used with, or is an elaboration upon the instruction to perform the visualization. It is possible that it even indicates the deities of the *SDP maṇḍala*, since listing the first mantra in a series is a common way to indicate the series as a whole. That is to say, since the mantra it is associated with is the first in the sequence of *SDP* deities, and since providing the first of a set of mantras is a standard way to indicate the entire sequence, it is possible that this instruction calls for the recitation of *SDP maṇḍala* deity mantras, either the whole set, or a subset of twenty-five.⁷⁶⁹

Then, in preparation for the actual cremation, the brocade cloth arranged upon the deceased is removed. The text does not state what is to be done to this cloth afterwards, specifically whether it is included in the implements that are eventually cast into the cremation fire, such as the wooden vajra, bell, staff, and *homa* ladles. While one might expect the answer to be yes, comparison with the Newar Hindu cremation rite documented by Gutschow and Michaels includes the use of a temporary cloth placed on the deceased as a shroud, but then removed and kept within the "treasure box" (*dyahpālimcā*) maintained by the caretaker of the funerary association (*guthi*).⁷⁷⁰

A *kalaśābhiṣeka* is again performed, and the five people who have carried water and acted as patrons offer spoonfuls of water to the deceased, accompanied by a mantra that suggests imagery of the water as nectar.⁷⁷¹ The same five people pour water from the vases while circumambulating the deceased. The family members who are present and younger

⁷⁶⁷ To be sure, the differences are essentially in name only, given that the arrangement of both the *STTS* five-buddha *maṇḍala* and the *SDP* earlier Tibetan Chapter One *maṇḍala* give deities that have different names but similar attributes and family affiliation. The *STTS maṇḍala* is centered on Mahāvairocana, surrounded by Akṣobhya (E), Ratnasambhava (S), Amitābha (W), and Amoghasiddhi (N). The *SDP* earlier Tibetan Chapter One *maṇḍala* is centered on Sarvavid Vairocana (slightly different iconography than the *STTS* form), surrounded by Sarvadurgatipariśodhanarāja (E), Ratnaketu (S), Śākyamuni (W), Vikasitakusuma (N). See Skorupski, *SDP*, 311 n. 5.

⁷⁶⁸ In discussion, Sarbagya Bajracharya suggested that the meaning here is "visualizing emptiness," although how precisely this relates, or what it means for the meaning of *tattva-jñāna* in this context, is not clear.

⁷⁶⁹ Given the various versions of the *SDP*, even of the *nine uṣṇīṣa maṇḍala* alone, there are a number of ways one might derive the twenty-five. For example, it could be achieved with the central deity + eight *uṣṇīṣas* + 8 offering goddesses + 8 bodhisattvas. Alternatively, it might be obtained with the same central set of nine (8+1) + the sixteen *bodhisattvas* of the Bhadrakalpa (and no indication of the offering goddesses). Other potential deities for inclusion might include the directional protectors (10) and/or the gate guardians (4), although deriving a set of twenty-five with these is somewhat harder to derive.

⁷⁷⁰ Gutschow and Michaels, *Handling Death*, 89.

⁷⁷¹ *Om amṛte 2 amṛtodbhave amṛtodbhave · amṛtavikrāntagāmine svadhā hūm* {23v.2}

than the deceased are instructed to bow down to the deceased.⁷⁷² A marginal note at this point adds a brief instruction for another *maṇḍala* (*maṇḍala thile*) which in this case is most likely not a full deity *maṇḍala* but rather the "water *maṇḍala/bali*" or similar. The perfunctory marginal mention of it, at least, suggests it as a relatively minor step. The rituals are completed along with recitation of the mantra of Kravya-Agni. Once this is done, the further standard rites of *pañcopacāra pūjā*, *lāsyā*, *ghanṭha vādana*, *stuti*, *tarpaṇa* are undertaken, and finally the *maṇḍala* is dissolved.

Next comes the lighting of the pyre. Here, there is some ambiguity in options made available, possibly in order to create a failsafe/back-up option if the fire accidentally goes out between its first-day kindling and its second-day use to light the pyre. The instructions at this point give two alternatives: For those who used a *bhājaṃ* vessel to transfer the coals, one is to light a bundle of cane.⁷⁷³ If the coals were not placed in the *bhājaṃ*, the cane should be burned in the *cahoma* hearth. The term *bhājaṃ* has not appeared previously in the text, but it most likely refers to what is elsewhere called the *bheota/bhegata*, as both are clay pots and the latter was earlier specified as the means to transfer the fire.

In this instance, an option not mentioned before is considered, namely that such a pot was not used to transport the fire earlier. If that should be the case, instead of lighting the torch from this preserved fire, one should light it from the *cahoma* fire. It is curious to consider, for if that happens, the question arises of what was used to light the *cahoma* fire earlier in the rite. The text, as discussed, is somewhat obscure in that section, but the current passage clarifies that the *cahoma* is a separate fire from the one in the clay pot, and it can be kindled independently of it. Given the emphasis placed on the notion that *utkrānti* cremations are done as *homa* rites, and that the *homa* rite the first day is continuous with that on the second and the cremation, it would seem odd for this, a separate relighting, to be an intentional and equally acceptable option. One possibility might be that it is a sort of failsafe—an option provided in the event that the fire goes out sometime in the interim between the end of the first day's *homa* and the rites at the cremation ground (an entirely plausible scenario, given that keeping the fire burning overnight and then moving it both present potential practical challenges).

Once more, the fire is circumambulated three times, and then the actual pyre is lit by the pyre-lighter. The mantra employed as the pyre is lit incorporates the name of the deceased and is directed towards the fire as Saṃhāra-Agni. This recalls again the language used in the *saṃkalpa* (22r.6), which invoked Saṃhāra-Agni. The fire is set to the head and in front of the deceased.⁷⁷⁴ Here, it should be noted, that the pyre is called a ritual hearth (*jajñe*

⁷⁷² A marginal note at this point adds "spread the *maṇḍala*" (*maṇḍala thile*) which in this case is most likely not a full deity *maṇḍala* but rather the "water *maṇḍala/bali*" or similar. The perfunctory marginal mention of it, at least, suggests it as a relatively minor step.

⁷⁷³ The *bhājaṃ* vessel is either a closed-top wooden vessel, or the optional *pākhakum* vessel mentioned as a vessel for coals earlier (but described as option). Given the impracticality of using a wooden vessel and the fact that the *pākhakum*, too, was deemed optional, the latter seems more likely. It is also possible that the *bhājaṃ* is simply the same as the *bheota*, and this is acknowledging an option not previously mentioned—that the fire was not brought to the cremation ground from the previous day's rites, or that it was but went out and had to be restarted.

⁷⁷⁴ Recall that the deceased is still sitting up in meditation posture, if necessary by being tied to a back-rest for support.

kuṇḍalayāgu), confirming the idea that the burning pyre is conceived, too, as a sacrificial fire, as should be expected for a "human oblation" (*nara-āhuti*).⁷⁷⁵

Here, a parallel can be drawn with the cremation methods used for disposing of a *yaṣṭi* (central pillar) during the renovation of the *caitya*.⁷⁷⁶ It is documented both textually and in the contemporary tradition that the central pillar is cremated in a *homa* fire, in the manner of a funeral done for someone receiving *utkrānti*.⁷⁷⁷ Although there are certain differences in the procedure as done for the *yaṣṭi* and the fire is actually ignited by *caitya* assistants (*semgumis*), the broader similarities are considerable.⁷⁷⁸

Once the body is completely burned, the oblation of the remains (*śeṣāhuti*) proceeds. A standard part of the *homa* rite, this involves the burning of all the remaining sacrificial substances (ghee, grain, etc.) supplied for the rite. Specific to the cremation context, in this instance it also includes the implements and tools used—all mentioned earlier as being made of wood (for the specific purpose of being disposable in fire). In addition to the vajra, bell, sword, and staff, the ladles and spoons (*sulupā, catvā*) are also burned. This is a portion of the purification procedures, since these tools, once used for funerary rites, will now bear pollution that makes them unsuitable for use in future rituals.⁷⁷⁹

Not only tools, but also participants must be purified after the cremation, and to this end everyone present is instructed to go down to the river (as cremation grounds are located at riverside ghats), look to the southern direction, and bathe/sprinkle water on themselves, in particular brushing water on their eyelids. Coming back, the *bali piye* is to be done.⁷⁸⁰ In this rite, as individuals return to the house, where they are offered mustard and sesame seeds and ghee, and invited back into the house with the key (*tācā*). This ritual is a common element, which is also seen in other types of rites.⁷⁸¹ Here, as at other times, the rite serves a purifying function. This completes the rituals of last rites and the cremation. However, it is not the end of funerary rites overall. Once the body has been completely reduced to ash and small bone fragments, these are divided into two portions. One portion is placed in a safe,

⁷⁷⁵ To refer back to the earlier question of whether the text's references to the *yajña/yajñasālā/jajña* are referring to the hearth, the pyre, or both (and therefore what much of the pre-cremation preparation focuses on), this section gives a direct example of the pyre being referred to as *jajñe*, though it also adds *kuṇḍala* in the line "Set fire at the head and set fire in front of the deceased. Make the fire of the hearth burn, and [let the body] be destroyed." (*chelasa {24r.1} mi tayāo mṛtakayā nheone taye · jajñe kuṇḍalayāgu mi cyātakāo · samhāra yāye//*). Interestingly, just above, the *cahoma*, too, was called *jajña*, which at least makes plausible the possibility that the term is being used broadly, referring to multiple hearths that are serving in some form as sacrifice places.

⁷⁷⁶ Rospatt, *Renovation*, 179ff.

⁷⁷⁷ However, although it is sometimes said that the *yaṣṭi* too receives *utkrānti*, the textual sources do not confirm whether this is the case or not (Rospatt, *Renovation*, 238). Likewise similarly: After the cremation, the *yaṣṭi*, like senior figures receiving an *utkrānti* funeral and *homa* cremation, the ashes are not disposed of immediately as in the case of ordinary funerals. Rather, they are disposed of three days after the cremation (on the fourth day after death), and are used made into an ash *caitya* (*bhasmacaitya*) and, potentially, mixed with clay to make *tsha-tsha* style mini-*caityas* (technically, *sañcakas*), and also discarded at specific *tīrthas*—remarkably similar steps to those that follow in the current text.

⁷⁷⁸ Rospatt, *Renovation*, 236.

⁷⁷⁹ See earlier discussion of the materials and preliminary set-up for the *homa* at the beginning of the chapter.

⁷⁸⁰ This is also mentioned in Lewis, "Tuladhars," 315. See also Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 156-57; 361 n. 17.

⁷⁸¹ Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 361 n. 17.

secret, protected place in the home. The other portion remains at the cremation ground, where it is gathered into a pile, surrounded and covered by bricks in the form of a *caitya*, and left overnight. This completes the rites of the second day.

Mourning and coping with death pollution are central aspects to the rites of the later days; however, the ritual manuals are not focused on discussions of meaning, and so reveal little about interpretations given at this stage. As reported by Gellner, practices and beliefs are highly variable, both among communities and between individuals. In terms of the categories discussed here, Gellner observes one relevant point, which is that mourning is not separated from responding to death pollution, and the degree to which death pollution is conceived of as pollution, a kind of defilement, is extremely variable. The Newari expression used for practices related to dealing with death pollution is "observing restrictions" (*bāre yaye*), which is not very explicit about the reason for the practice.⁷⁸² While some people will equate this pollution to the kind distinguishing caste groups, and therefore restrict whom they will take water from, others consider this to be an extreme interpretation, according to Gellner's investigations.

A key point of contrast between rites of the *utkrānti* funeral and those where no *utkrānti* is performed involves timing. While in the current manual, the cremation takes place on the second day after the densely packed ritual schedule for the first day, more non-*utkrānti* funerals initiate the cremation already on the first day.⁷⁸³ Similarly, not just absent in the first-second day, in ordinary funerals no *homa* is performed until the conclusion of death rites on the seventh day among Newar Buddhists, and on the twelfth day, among Newar Hindus.⁷⁸⁴ In these instances, the *homa* forms a part of the purification of the home (New. *gha:su*; Skt. *grha-śuddha/ hasta-śuddha*), although it may also be understood to be of benefit to the deceased, at that stage in the *preta* state before rebirth.⁷⁸⁵ The fourth and seventh days are both important in the sequence of how long death pollution lasts in general, and similarly here, it is at the fourth and seventh days that principle purification rites are done.⁷⁸⁶

Day Three: Drawing the *SDP Maṇḍala* and Washing the Bones

The primary rites on the third day are the drawing of the *SDP maṇḍala* (and associated rituals with that *maṇḍala*) and the ritual of washing the bones (*asti sile*). In drawing the *SDP maṇḍala*, the text prescribes a rather substantial quantity of gold and silver—a portion of why the total ritual sequence presented in this text is likely to be quite expensive.⁷⁸⁷

⁷⁸² Gellner also discusses other terms used to describe the experiences of mourning and observing restrictions, including *dukhā cwane* (to remain in sorrow), and *du māle* (to have to observe death pollution) (ibid., 206).

⁷⁸³ Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 211.

⁷⁸⁴ Lewis and Bajracharya, "Newar Buddhist *Homa*," 295.

⁷⁸⁵ Ibid., 295-96.

⁷⁸⁶ Compare with Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 206-209.

⁷⁸⁷ Specifically, it prescribes a gold disk 12 *raṭi* in weight and a silver disk 16 *maṃsa* in weight. Both of these are to be placed at the center of the *maṇḍala*. A *raṭi* (also called *raktika*, *laṭi*) is a measure for gold. There are eighty *raṭi* in one *masa/maṃsa*, here used as the measure for silver. This difference in quantity here is quite stark, then, for it is calling for 12 *raṭi* of gold and of silver, what would amount, using the *raṭi* measure as well, to 1280 *raṭi* of silver, over ten times the amount of gold called for.

However, these quantities are not unique to this elaborate form of funeral, and the *SDP samādhi* description of building the *maṇḍala* also prescribes the same golden and silver disks.⁷⁸⁸ One difference, which may speak to the different scale and expense of the ritual here described versus general ones, is that while in the present text it calls for a gold disk twelve *raṭi* in weight and a silver disk sixteen *māṃsa* in weight, the similarly constructed *maṇḍala* in the *SDP maṇḍala* discussed in the following chapter requires a gold disk of the same weight, but the corresponding silver disk need only be six *māṃsa*, not sixteen, in weight.⁷⁸⁹

Collected together with it, the necessary vessels and items should be supplied: a large vase inscribed with the *dharmacakra mudrā* (*tadu kalaśa*), a smaller vase (*sahaja kalaśa*)⁷⁹⁰ as well as the double-cup *dhaupati* pot for curd, a lamp (presumably the *sukunḍa* lamp), the five cow products (*pañcagavya*) *pātra* vessel, *thāpiṃ* beer vessel, *bāli-pāta* vessel, and *gvapacā*.⁷⁹¹ The text then describes the usual rites to be done when setting up a *maṇḍala*, including the arrangement of the materials, the declaration of intent (*saṃkalpa*), the introductory sequence including guru *maṇḍala* and other previously described segments, the *SDP samādhi*, worship of the deities of the vessels earlier mentioned—all as is standard. Although the description of preliminary steps matches many in the standard Newar repertoire, and the *maṇḍala* is likewise conventionally established, of interest here is how the rite for washing the bones is inserted and framed as a subritual of the *SDP maṇḍala*. In other texts, the washing of the bones, or *asti sile*, is explained in its own right, and appears in far more detail than here.

Another notable feature of the third day's rites is that the family member who is required to participate in the ritual (act as the *thākali*, in the text's words) is not (as has mostly been the case) the pyre-lighter who is considered generally to be the "principle mourner." Moreover, where the pyre-lighter is generally understood to be a man, either eldest son for a man's death or youngest son for a woman's death, the participating family member in this case is in fact a woman.⁷⁹² The representative of the family on this day is to be one of the married daughters of the deceased, although she is not considered the patron (*jajmā/ yajamāna*) by doing so.⁷⁹³ Although this is not stated in the text, the unusual involvement of

⁷⁸⁸ It should be noted that although the materials described are the same, what is then done with the *maṇḍalas* differs. The other texts' (*samādhi* text) version gives some ritual involving a vase placed atop a tripod and bones in a vessel, and a "bone *maṇḍala*" which is quite different from the present text.

⁷⁸⁹ In the current text, see 24v.1. As for the *samādhi* texts: though present in B105-15, E1490-3 does not have this section, but diverges to give what seems to be a ritual that is *bhāvanā* for the bones (which bears some similarities to *bhāvanā* for the deceased, above).

⁷⁹⁰ The reason for the name "*sahaja kalaśa*" is unclear, and though Newari has, derived from Sanskrit, the word *sahajana*, meaning naturally/easily (see Malla, 2000, S.D.), that does not seem to clarify this term.

⁷⁹¹ There is some question, but it is possible that the *pañcagavya* is in the *pātra*, though the grammar is not specific enough to tell. The *bāli-pāta*, as mentioned earlier, may serve as an offering for the ten directional protector deities.

⁷⁹² Lewis, "Modern Guide," 17. Of course, in practice there are numerous exceptions substitutions that may be necessary, depending upon what family member relationships are available, and for other reasons.

⁷⁹³ The reason for this is most likely due to the fact that the portion of the ritual involving the *SDP maṇḍala* needs to remain ritually pure and free from death pollution. The special situation of married daughters is that, since Newar marriage practices involve marriage of daughters out of the family, those daughters who have married out are not subject to death pollution in the way that the closest family is (Rospatt, personal communication).

women at this stage in the ritual—particularly women who by their kinship status are not subject to death pollution—indicates that this part of the seven days' rites is considered pure or unpolluted, as compared with those rites on other days. Further confirmation of the non-polluted status of this segment of rites is the inclusion of *sagun*, which as we have seen was proscribed at preceding cremation ground rituals (and will be again, on the following day).

Instructions identify the married daughter by her key role here, just as the principle mourner has been referred to throughout the text by his key role as pyre-lighter. In the present case, the daughter's role is as bone washer.⁷⁹⁴ She first participates in the *sūryārgha* and the *saṃkalpa* with the *pūjā* plate. The *saṃkalpa* specifies that it is the third day, that the purpose of worship is the bone purification, and that the rite is in the service of liberation from negative rebirths and achieving rebirth in Sukhāvātī. As is standard, the priest begins with a *guru maṇḍala*. He then proceeds with the *SDP samādhi*, and the standard rites of worship involving the *kalaśa*, *sagun*, lamp, beer vessel (*thāpiṇ*). In addition, worship is done with the vase inscribed with the *dharmacakra mudrā* (*tadu kalaśa*), and an image of a required deity, though the deity is not named. The ritual of washing the bones is to be done according to instructions which are not included in the current text, but, rather, appear in the ancillary work.

Just as the details of the bone washing are not supplied, the current text's description of the rites for the third day gives no further detail on the use or subsequent treatment of the *SDP maṇḍala* that was set up. Looking to the use of the *SDP maṇḍala* in contemporary (non-*utkrānti*) funerary ritual, we find there is considerable variation.⁷⁹⁵ For example, another account of the contemporary tradition holds that the *SDP maṇḍala* is created on the second day, constructed on the ground floor of the home of the deceased. *SDP* recitation is undertaken by several priests, attempting to reach 125,000 times by the seventh day (i.e. between the second and seventh). Then the *maṇḍala* is moved to a *stūpa*, powder from the *maṇḍala* given as *ṭikā* to family members, and finally the *maṇḍala* (powder) is dispersed in the river

However, there is some doubt about whether this is necessarily equivalent. A wider study of manuals and regional traditions would be needed to determine if it is generally the case, but as compared with the example given in the manual Lewis translates, *Modern Guide*, there is a difference here in that where in the current text the *SDP maṇḍala* is principally constructed on third day after death, Lewis's manual prescribes it for the sixth day. This may be a matter of regional differences, given the lack of information about the provenance of the current text and the well-known fact that traditions differ—certainly between towns, but also even between monasteries. Likewise, the difference could also relate to the time difference, as discussed, though there are many common elements, the

⁷⁹⁴ *asthi silī mha mhyāca-mucā thākāli yāsyam pūjā*.

⁷⁹⁵ Use of the *maṇḍala* in the contemporary tradition includes elements that may remain extratextual (and it is likely that this has long been the case). For example, looking to the use of the *SDP maṇḍala* in contemporary (non-*utkrānti*) funerary ritual, we find that the *maṇḍala* serves a divinatory function. After it is set up, it is to be covered with a large upside-down bowl serving as a protective cover, large enough to prevent the powder of the *maṇḍala* from being disturbed. This is then set aside until the following day. When the cover is removed the following day, an examination is made to determine if there are any places on the *maṇḍala* where the powder has smeared, or flaws/imperfections occurred in the *maṇḍala*'s arrangement. The locations of those marks or flaws within the design of the *maṇḍala* indicate specific corresponding rebirth destinations.

current text is not contemporary or in use in the present day. One might wonder if this is a difference caused by the presence versus absence of the manual including *utkrānti*. However, although Lewis's manual does not emphasize or draw attention to itself as a manual giving instructions for the elite funerary *utkrānti*, it in fact does include this step, albeit mentioned with extreme brevity.⁷⁹⁶

The fourth day in both the current text and the one Lewis translates share some features, however, specifically the washing of the bones on the third day. So too, the ashes and bones are thrown into the river progressively, although in the *Modern Guide*, this is done on the fifth, sixth, and seventh days; in contrast, the current text places such activities on the fourth, fifth, and seventh days.⁷⁹⁷

Day Four: Treatment of the Ashes and Remaining Bone Fragments

On the fourth day, rituals continue, though they are not as involved as on the first two days. For these rituals, the required participants are the main priest, an assistant who serves as a porter to carry the ritual supplies (*bharyā*), and the pyre-lighter. The fourth day is focused on rites at the cremation ground and at *tīrtha* sites; first, the pacification of the ashes, and then (at the *tīrtha*) the ash effigy and *caitya pūjā*.

First, going to the cremation ground, a clay *kalaśa* and *gvapacā* vessel should be consecrated and the *guru maṇḍala* and *samādhi* undertaken. However, at this juncture, *sagun* should not be given to anyone. This is likely an indication that these rites are polluting and the auspicious and protective act of receiving *sagun* is inappropriate in this context, as was discussed previously.

Then, in addition, the standard rite of *kalaśa pūjā* is to be done, and then *pūjā* to the pile of ashes that was left at the cremation ground covered in bricks in *caitya* form. Here, the bricks are removed, and the ashes arranged in the shape of a body, with bits of bone placed for the joints, the five jewels placed at/in the mouth and a cowrie shell placed for the mouth, and two black *hathaṃ* seeds placed for eyes. *Tāḍana* protection should be done, scattering yellow and black mustard seeds and puffed rice, and reciting the mantra, "Om for the vajra burning all sins of so-and-so (i.e., the name of deceased) hūm phaṭ."⁷⁹⁸ Then again the closing rites: *pañcopacāra* (fivefold offering of *ṭikā*, flower, incense, light, puffed rice) is to be done, the *maṇḍala* spread, rice scattered, the hundred syllable mantra of Vajrasattva recited, confession for errors committed, and dismissal.

At this point, the ashes and bones have been divided into three sets: one portion of bones was taken to the home and placed in a protected place. Of the other portion, which remained overnight in the brick *caitya* at the cremation ground, the part including the "important

⁷⁹⁶ Lewis's translation of the "Modern Guide" Newari section on *utkrānti* reads: "After death, one does *utkrānti* yoga. To do this before death is not appropriate. If done then, we will go down to hell quickly. So that only if we know death has come should this be done." This translates the Newari, which also includes Sanskrit verses not included by Lewis (see chapter two): *sinā vaneva utkrānti yoga yāye sināya mavaṃkaṃ utkrānti yoga yāy majyu yāta dhāsā yākanam narake lāvani.*" (15/31(New)). Regarding *utkrānti*, Lewis says only that it is "a secret rite performed in front of the body by the *vajracārya*. It is done today only for laymen who have taken the *dīkṣā* initiation" (Lewis, "Modern Guide," 44).

⁷⁹⁷ Lewis, "Modern Guide," 17.

⁷⁹⁸ *Om amukasya sarvapāpadahanavajrāya hūm phaṭ*

bones" used to make the ash image is kept, and the other part, containing the rest of the bones and all ashes, is taken to a specific riverside holy site (*tīrtha*) where it is formed into a second *caitya*. This latter activity is what is presently described and is a part of worship of the *nāgas*. The rite at the *tīrtha* is called the *bhasmeśvara caitya pūjā*.

For the *nāgas*, the second *caitya* is kept, and nine sets of small leaf plates/piles of coarse rice paddy are placed in the center and at cardinal and intermediate directions, and added to these are nine tufted cotton garlands (*pūjā mālās (puima)*) are placed. While offering *argha* water, the Sanskrit text of the *nāga pūjā* is then recited. Here, the text is modified to include specific mention of the funerary context, with the purpose stated as, "For the heaven-gone one, so-and-so, for the sake of purification of the path to negative rebirths and for the sake of the good path/rebirth, obtaining the level of Sukhāvātī."⁷⁹⁹ There is, at this point, a parenthetical note giving the visualization/*bhāvanā* that is to be done for the *nāga bhāvanā*. The disposal of the ashes in the river after the completion of a *nāga pūjā* is not specific to the *homa* cremation; it occurs in other types of *homa* rites, as well, and is called the *bhasma-pravāha*.⁸⁰⁰ Thus this section is not specific to the funerary context, since propitiating the *nāgas* when doing rites by the river is standard procedure. The incorporation of the name of the deceased, and its framing thereby as a *parārtha* rite, does specifically customize it to this context, however.

After doing this, pouring water from the conch, one is to recite the "Vairocana *dhāraṇī*" twenty-one times, although the content of that *dhāraṇī* is not provided. In addition, *caitya pūjā* is to be done. Spreading the *maṇḍala*, the Śāykamuni mantra that appears in the *SDP* mantra (*Oṃ mune mune mahāmune svāhā*) is recited along with the stotra beginning *Oṃ vidhūta sarvasaṃkalpa*. This verse appeared previously in the text already, and it also appears in texts of the *SDP samādhi*, and also such works as the *Kriyāsaṃgraha*. Other *stotras* are prescribed but not identified, after which one should do the closing rites of the hundred syllables, confession, benediction (*āśīrvāda*), and dismissal.

Next, one is to "make the deceased be absorbed into the sky,"⁸⁰¹ while at the same time releasing the ashes to flow away into the river. This is identified in the text as "the ritual of making the ashes flow away" (*bhasma pravāhana vidhi*). At this point, in the evening of the fourth day, people bring food to the mourning family.⁸⁰²

In the partially-parallel description of the post-crematory rites given in the *Modern Guide*, there are a few differences, though the description overall is quite general. The washing of the bones occurs over multiple days (though a different set than in the current text). The *bhasma caitya* is also made with the ashes, although it would appear to be prescribed for the third day. There is no mention of the *nāga pūjā*, although it is possible it is included in the rites at the river (i.e. letting the ashes flow). Also similarly in both texts,

⁷⁹⁹ *amukadivamgatasya · durgatimārga viśodhanārthaṃ {26r.6} sugatimārga · sukhāvātīm bhuvana prāpterthaṃ*

⁸⁰⁰ Lewis and Bajracharya identify the "thousand oblations" (*lakṣa āhuti*) and *ahorātra homas* as onoes where the *nāga pūjā* must also be done (Lewis and Bajracharya, "Newar Buddhist *Homa*," 295).

⁸⁰¹ "Make the deceased be absorbed into the sky," meditatively, that is: *ṃṛṭaka ākāśa bhūvana*-{26v.5} *sa līna yāye*. See also in Kölver, *liṃ juye* – to become absorbed in a deity, *liṃ cāye* – to purify (for religious purposes) (Kölver, 1994, S.D.). See also Manandhar, (1986), *līna juye* – to merge into (Manandhar, 1986, S.D.). This is all to say, meditate on the deceased becoming absorbed into heavenly space.

⁸⁰² Sarbagya Bajracharya notes that they are also supposed to cry and express grief verbally at this point.

there are *caitya* rites, and though Lewis's text refers only to placing ashes in a copper or brass *caitya*, both do prescribe the extended disposal at the five *tīrthas*, as discussed below.⁸⁰³ Altogether, there are both common features and points of difference between the two texts, but, in the absence of a wider examination of different manuals with known dates and provenances, it is difficult to say whether these are characteristics that differ simply due to their different origins (i.e. different monasteries, different towns, different times), or for some other reason.

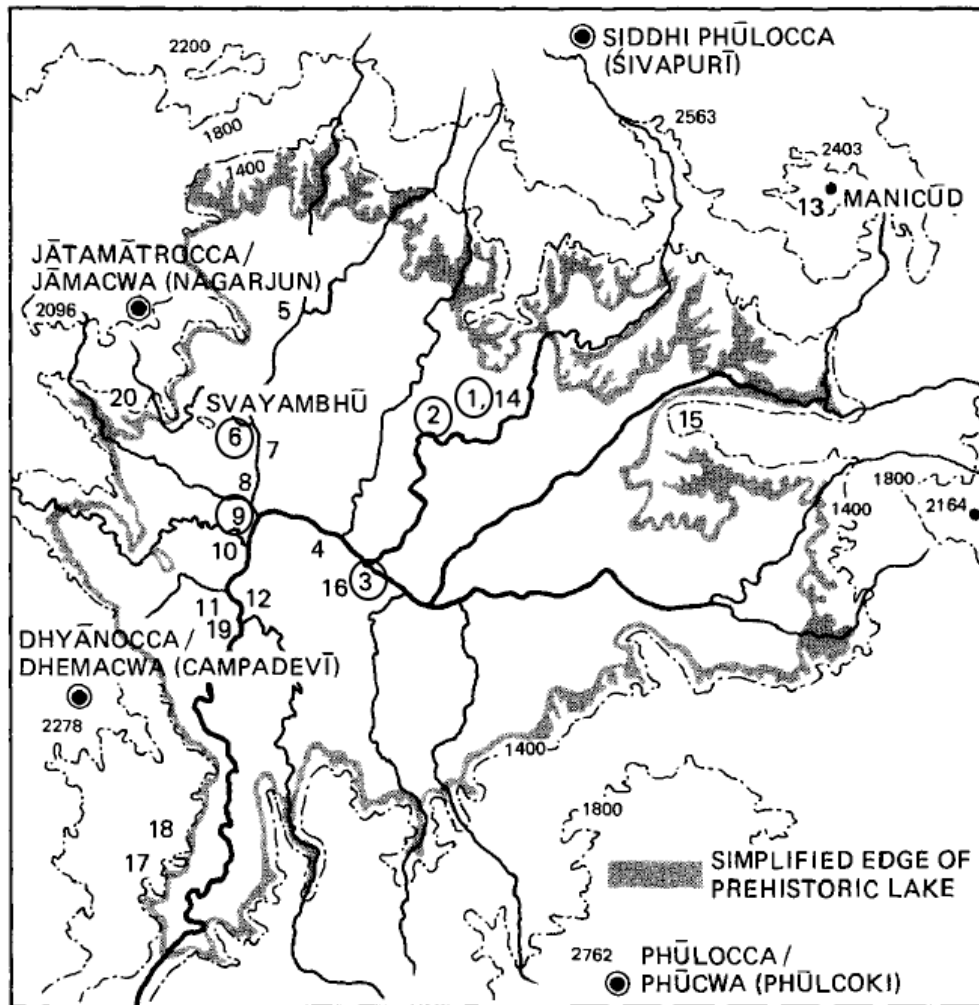
Days Five Through Seven

As for rites on the fifth day, the manual instructs a repetition of the bone washing ritual (*asti sile*), though it does not give details. In this process, more of the bones—those not already washed away in the river on the previous day, i.e. those from the ash image and those kept in the home—are treated. In each of these repetitions of the process, a portion of the bones are thereby disposed of, by being dispersed in the river. However, it is important that each time, only a portion of the ash and bones are used, leaving some for further ritual activities extending through the first year after death.

The sixth day involves no formal activities and is not mentioned in the current text. According to the contemporary tradition, this is because there are no prescribed ritual activities, and it is a day of rest.⁸⁰⁴ However, on the seventh day, the final day of the primary ritual sequence, activities resume. The bone washing is done a third time, a *maṇḍala* is made, the bones are placed in a *gvapacā* pot and taken to the *tīrtha*, and *pūjā* performed. Differing from previously, small clay *caityas* are made and fragments of bone as well as the five jewels, five pieces of whole grain are placed inside them. These are offered at five specific *tīrthas*: Gokarṇa, Guhyeśvari, Śaṅkhamo, Tekhu Duhāna, and Bhacā Khusi. It is important, however, that while these resemble the Tibetan *tsha-tshas*, they differ in that they are not preserved as permanent reliquaries; rather, they too are eventually disposed of in the river. Here on the seventh day, the seventh day rice offering is cooked, preparing one *kula* of rice for an offering to the spirits (*pākhāja*). Seven varieties of beans are also prepared.

⁸⁰³ Lewis, "Modern Guide," 18.

⁸⁰⁴ Sarbagya Bajracharya, personal communication.



Map: N. Gutschow

Tīrthas located at: (1) Gokarṇa, (2) Guhyeśvari, (3) Śaṅkhamo, (9) Tekhu Duhāna, and (6) Bhacā Khusi. (Map and original numbering adapted from Gellner, *Monk, Householder and Tantric Priest* pp. 194; original source N. Gutschow.)

Further purifications are also in order. Those required to do so go to the river and wet their head. If a mother has died, men must shave their beards and eyebrows. If a father or uncle has died, only the beard must be shaven. Further purification is done with flour-water dough (*ātī*), the myrobalan fruit, sesame, oil cake, and oil. In addition, the guru hands over white mourning clothes.⁸⁰⁵ Further *pūjā* is performed. On the way back to the home from the *tīrtha*, a different route should be taken and, visiting the crossroads (*pikhā lakhu*). At home the purifying items of betel nut and flower are used, and a home purification rite is performed. If necessary, the text says, a temple purification rite may also be called for. Final rites now include the handing over of food and clothing to the guru, the *samaya* food

⁸⁰⁵ According to SB, these clothes were purchased by the family but not taken to the home, rather, stored at the guru's house until this point. This may be a means to prevent the new clothes from becoming impure from the death pollution at the home.

offering, the *kalaśābhiṣeka*, and the final feast. Once over, the leftovers from the feast are to be deposited at the *cvāsa*, the specific location for disposing of ritual refuse.

This concludes the rites as they are to be done for Buddhist patrons. In an addendum, however, some additional instruction is provided on how to adapt the rituals for a for those who wish to do it as a ten day sequence rather than a seven day one. Although not stated explicitly, the seven day sequence is commonly associated with the Vajrācārya and Śākya castes (i.e. the "Buddhist" ones), while the ten day sequence is more common among the Tuladhars and others.) This concludes the final rites, mourning, and purification. The text continues a little further, however. It encourages the ritualist to do rituals involving additional *maṇḍalas*—ideally the five *tathāgatas*, and if that is not possible, then an Akṣobhya *maṇḍala*. *Pūjā* and *samādhī* are done, and further protection of some of the bones that have not yet been disposed of. These rites should be done every three days for seven times (i.e. thus seven times spread out over twenty-one days). One should recite the five *tathāgata dhāraṇī* if possible, and if not, that of Akṣobhya, for a thousand, ten thousand, or a hundred thousand times (or some other representative number of times).

This is the conclusion of the text, with no colophon given, although there is space at the end of the page indicating that the text is complete. It is possible, then, that this was at some point combined in a larger manuscript with its colophon at the end only.

With this complete description of the text in some detail, we can now turn to consider this work in terms not only of what it contains, but also what it does not contain, of relevant or related material. We have discussed, at the end of Chapter Two, the initiations and *utkrānti* in context of Śaiva and Brahmanical rituals, including both parallels and points of divergence between the traditions. The ritual connections to non-Buddhist practices do not stop at the end of the postmortem *utkrānti*, however, and a great many of the subrituals in the cremation and subsequent days' sequence have clear parallels in non-Buddhist contemporaneous practices. This includes longstanding Brahmanical actions, but comparison with Newar Hindu death rituals also reveal that there are a number of aspects that are specifically Newar in character.

Before discussing the particular ritual elements that have similar counterparts outside of Buddhism, consideration of existing scholarship on Newar death rituals (both Buddhist and Hindu) raises a particular question, namely the practice of postmortem ancestral rites involving the creation and offering of *piṇḍas* made of balls of dough, which serve to sustain and feed the deceased after death, while in the *preta* state. *Piṇḍas*, in their own right, do appear in our text, namely the two specifically named *piṇḍas* for avoiding inauspicious rebirths, the "dog" and "crow" *piṇḍas* (*svānapīṇḍa* and *kākapīṇḍa*, respectively). The third that is normally found with these, the "spirit" or *pretapiṇḍa* but it is stated that this *piṇḍa* should not be made. These two (and mention of the third) *piṇḍas* play a roles at a specific point in the sequence, namely the activities to be undertaken at the cremation ground, prior to the cremation of the body. This, as we have discussed, takes place on the second day after death. Although the text extends to describe activities throughout the critical first seven days after death, there are no further mentions of *piṇḍa* rituals. The end of the text also goes beyond the seventh day, providing in short summary the instruction that certain rites should be continued or repeated for seven or up to twenty-one days thereafter, and even in this section, no instructions make reference to the extended *piṇḍa* rituals that often follow.

Specifically, there is no mention of *śrāddha* rites, as they are termed in Brahmanical tradition, practices sometimes called forms of ancestor worship, but which are, more properly, rituals intended to support and sustain the deceased while in the postmortem intermediate *preta* state, and help them transform into a permanent state as ancestors (*pitṛ*), in their primary Brahmanical interpretation the desired path for the dead. In the interpretation normally given these activities by Newar Buddhists, there is a slightly different explanation given to the intended outcome of such procedures, whereby it is unification with the buddhas rather than ancestors that is sought. Apart from this interpretation, the complex rites are, in large part, very similar across the traditions and involve practices in the days immediately after death, as well as at 1.5-, 3-, and 6-month, and 1-year anniversaries of the death. While the latter periods, beyond the first month, are not dealt with in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, and it might be that the brief prescriptions for the eighth day and beyond are unlikely to be complete anyway, it does leave questions about the first seven days.⁸⁰⁶ The manual deals with these seven days in considerable detail, and refers the ritualist, where necessary, to other texts describing those rites not explained in the current work. However, it makes no mention at all of any of the typical *piṇḍa* sequences that would ordinarily occur during the same timespan dealt with in the text. Absence in the text is not evidence of its absence from the ritual sequence, so there are grounds only to say that it is the case that these two types of rituals—*utkrānti* and *antyeṣṭi* last rites, and the *śrāddha* rites—are not considered appropriate for inclusion together in this text. Further research and more sources would be required to determine if is a matter of the texts, and whether it is a matter of the rituals, if there is any chance that this version of the funerary procedure, due to its differences with the inclusion of *utkrānti* and the *homa* cremation, does not involve the typical assortment of such *piṇḍa* rituals.

A possible reason for the separation of these types of rituals might involve the fact that they are, in a sense, focused on different aspects of what happens at death, and what aspects of it need to be managed. In the case of the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, it is the disposition of the consciousness or *prāna*, while the second half focuses on the disposal of the corpse, purification and dispersal of physical remains, and purification of death pollution in the bereaved. In the *piṇḍa* rituals, the task at hand is in providing the deceased, while in a postmortem *preta* state, with a corporeal body and sustenance adequate to survive the immediate postmortem journey. The reason this latter type of ritual has been of interest to scholars of Buddhism, or at least the noted emphasis in scholarship on the subject, is the complexity of a ritual that can be used to ensure that it both attends to the Buddhist destinies of rebirth realms and the Brahmanical concept of unification with the ancestors. However, the complexity for interpreting a system that engages in both *utkrānti* and the *piṇḍa* rituals would not necessarily be an issue any more than that of understanding the reason for the *utkrānti* and all of what comes after it.

As far as *śrāddha* literature is concerned, this is not to say there is no overlap with the *SDP*, even if there is none in this particular case of an *utkrānti* text. The *SDP samādhi*, prescribed in the course of the preceding rituals and preserved in a number of surviving (if

⁸⁰⁶ That is to say, the rites described within the text and assigned to the period beyond day seven are not the focus of the text and are in general presented briefly and as if they are beneficial but far less necessary than those of the first seven, the text's main topic.

partial) manuscripts, in at least some instances is contained collected with a variety of other death rituals, and some of these contain *piṇḍa* rites. It is unclear whether such inclusion is in the manner of an anthology, however, since the text is missing pages, and in some cases the *SDP samādhi* appears to be complete with nothing else included. It is, however, not possible to answer questions based on absences. There are further points involving the *Utkrānti-SDP* process that can be explored by drawing on additional texts that are available for analysis, as will be done in the following chapter.

Chapter Four

Chapter Four Introduction

In the previous two chapters, we have examined the *Utkrānti-SDP* ritual manual (Hs.or.4326), which provides instructions for the seven days of rites in a Newar Buddhist *utkrānti* funeral and cremation *homa* sacrifice (*nara-āhuti*). This chapter engages with literature that either furthers the understanding of this text or (more generally) of the types of rituals—*utkrānti* and *SDP*-related—that it contains. As such, it continues the previous chapters' focus on the Newar tradition and extra-canonical ritual manuals. It also develops the discussion by drawing on sources from the mainstream pan-Indic Buddhist Tantric literary corpus.

The texts included here supplement those that have already been discussed in differing ways. Among them, the *Utkrānti kriyā vidhi* (*UKV*) overlaps with a portion of the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual while presenting certain alternate ritual arrangements—parallel versions, of sorts, though at some points the difference may only be in the amount of detail provided, while at others it may be true alternative methods. The *Mṛtasugatiniyojana* and (to a lesser degree) *Maṇḍalopāyikā* are works that, like the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, share the overall structure of *utkrānti* followed by *SDP* rites, however they come from the earlier Indian tradition and offer examples of a different style or genre of manual.

I. *Utkrānti kriyā vidhi* (*UKV*) E701-11

Summary of Utkrānti kriyā vidhi (*UKV*) E701-11

The *Utkrānti kriyā vidhi* (*UKV*) is a bilingual Newari-Sanskrit postmortem *utkrānti* manual microfilmed by the NGMCP as E701-11. The *UKV* is one of the only texts recorded with a title that includes the term *utkrānti* within the NGMCP. It is a brief text, shorter than the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual described in the two preceding chapters, at only twenty booklet-style pages. Where the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual gives instructions not only for the seven day sequence after death but also for the pre-death preparations, the *UKV* is more specialized, and provides parallels only for the rites of the first day, namely the initiations/consecration of the deceased, *utkrānti*, and *homa* sacrifice. It does not, as the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual does, instruct the ritualist to consult alternative texts at the postmortem *utkrānti* stage. The work neither fully duplicates what is found in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, nor does it supply all of the information that the latter lacks. It is not, therefore, a kind of "puzzle piece" capable of filling in what is not supplied by the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, transitioning smoothly from one text to the other. Indeed, attempting to fit the texts together would make certain segments redundant, such as the *pañcābhiṣeka* and *homa* rites, while providing contradictory instructions at other points. It is best thought of as a kind of parallel version, which can be put into conversation to gain a preliminary idea of the kind of content the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual may omit, and the variations that are possible.

	Utkrānti-SDP manual		UKV
1r	Rites preceding and at time of death (including the <i>svārtha</i> moment-of-death <i>utkrānti</i>)	n/a	n/a
8v	Preliminary rites	1.1	Preliminary rites
8v	Vajravārāhī rites (1 st set) (*less detailed than in UKV)	1.11	Vajravārāhī rites
	n/a	4.2	Vajravārāhī rites (additional)
9r	Summoning the consciousness* (methods differ)	4.10	Summoning the consciousness* (methods differ)
10r	Vajravārāhī rites		Vajravārāhī rites (combined with preceding section)
10v	<i>Pañcābhiṣeka</i>	5.7	<i>Pañcābhiṣeka</i>
15r	n/a (priest gives benediction)	17.4	Dialogue with the deceased and vow
16r	<i>Utkrānti</i>	19.1	<i>Utkrānti</i>
18r	<i>SDP samādhi</i>	19.12	<i>Cakrasaṃvara samādhi</i>
19r	" <i>bhāvanā</i> for the deceased"	20.1	(limited detail – worship of the deceased)
21r	<i>Homa</i> and preparation of the cremation fire	20.2	<i>Homa</i> and preparation of the cremation fire (not as detailed)
22r-29v	(Text continues on to the rites for day 2)	n/a	(End of this text)

Synoptic Comparison Table of *Utkrānti-SDP* and *UKV* Parallels

The *UKV* begins with the standard sequence of *guru maṇḍala* and preliminary rites by the priest.⁸⁰⁷ Stated in brief fashion, these routine elements parallel those found in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual. The self-empowerment of the priest, as in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, is done with a focus on Vajravārāhī, but with the Sanskrit *bhāvanā* visualization sequence for Vajravārāhī, a segment not present in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual. In addition to the constructed *maṇḍala* and the envisioning of the Vajravārāhī, the *UKV* calls explicitly for a painted image of a *maṇḍala* centering on Vajravārāhī, and the next steps empower and worship this *maṇḍala*, while also turning attention towards the deceased. After this set of rites has been completed, an offering is made to the deceased alone. Subsequently, the Vajravārāhī *samādhi* is performed. Conventional framing ritual *pūjās* with the standard

⁸⁰⁷ The details of these routine elements, as well as the repeated forms of worship and offerings sequences (i.e. *puṣpa nyāsa*, the offering of *ṭikā* (*sindhu*), the ash mark (*mohanī*), the fivefold offering (*pañcopacāra pūjā*) here and in what follows are not elaborated on in this section since they have been discussed in detail in Chapters Two and Three.

worship elements of vase, curd, and lamp *pūjās*, *māmakī pūjā*, and worship of the *maṇḍala* deities then follow.

After this, the ritual focus shifts from the empowerment of the priest and the *maṇḍala* to the deceased. A critical step at this point is the summoning and reinstallation of the *prāṇa*, completed here by means of a mantra calling on Vajravārāhī.⁸⁰⁸ The method employed differs from that used in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual and involves summoning by means of a mantras and the invocation of the deceased by name. *Taḍana* protection and further mantra recitation is undertaken, after which the *pañcābhīṣeka* takes place. The *pañcābhīṣeka*, like the one in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, quotes the *abhiṣeka* portion of Abhayākara Gupta's *Vajrāvalī*, including the same *bhāvanā* passage translated and discussed in Chapter Two. The *pañcābhīṣeka* portion of the *UKV* differs from that in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, however, in that it ends after the bestowal of the bell initiation/consecration (*ghanṭhābhīṣeka*), omitting the master initiation (*ācāryābhīṣeka*).

What follows in the *UKV* also differs from the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual. The *UKV* invokes the Five Buddhas (*pañcabuddha*), here partly represented with five types of ornaments or jewelry. Although the text does not provide detailed explanations at this point, this, together with the instruction to provide a tiger skin (or something symbolizing one)⁸⁰⁹ for the deceased suggests that these are further steps to adorn and treat the deceased as a deity—as the *pañcābhīṣeka* already has.

A set of mantras follows, containing forty-seven in all. Although the exact set could not be matched to a *maṇḍala* and deity set, a number of the mantras and their sequence bear resemblances to mantra sets found within the *Laghusaṃvara*.⁸¹⁰ With the importance of

⁸⁰⁸ As was discussed previously, within the Newari-language segments, the entity that undergoes *utkrānti* is referred *prāṇa/prāṇavāyu*, not the consciousness/ *vijñāna*, as it is in some mainstream theoretical literature on *utkrānti*. This is most likely a difference in colloquial language usage, not a conceptual one. As this section is entirely in Newari, I here follow the text in referring to the *prāṇa*, but consciousness is to be understood as synonymous in this particular instance.

⁸⁰⁹ The tiger skin might also be intended for ritualist.

⁸¹⁰ See discussion and note in Chapter Two. The mantras, as they appear in the manuscript, are: {13.7} *Om śrī vajra he he ru ru ka hūm phaṭ ḍākinī*{13.8} *jālasaṃvaraṃ svāhā*// *Om hrīm haḥ haḥ hūm* {13.9} *hūm phaṭ*// *Om vajra vaircaṇīye hūm hūm phaṭ svāhā*// {13.10} // *Om sarvabuddha ḍākinīye hūm phaṭ svāhā*{13.11} *Om ḍākinīye hūm phaṭ*// *Om rāme hūm phaṭ*//{13.12} *Om khaṇḍaro he hūm phaṭ*// *Om rūpīnīye hūm* {13.13} *phaṭ*// *Om bodhicittāṃṛta bhāṇḍe hūm phaṭ* {13.14} *Om kara 2 pracaṇḍe hūm phaṭ*// *Om kuru 2*{14.1}*caṇḍākṣīye hūm phaṭ*// *Om bandha 2 prabhā mati* {14.2} *ye hūm phaṭ*// *Om grāśya 2 mahānāsāya hūm* {14.3} *phaṭ*// *Om kṣobhaya 2 vīramatīye hūm phaṭ* {14.4} *Om hrīm hrīm kharvarīye hūm phaṭ*// *Om hūm hūm* {14.5} *laṃke śvarīye hūm hūm phaṭ*// *Om pheṃ pheṃ drum* {14.6} *chaye hūm phaṭ*// *Om phaṭ 2 airāvātīye* {14.7} *hūm phaṭ*// *Om daha 2 mahābhairavīye hūm phaṭ*{14.8}*t*// *Om paca 2 vāyuvege hūm phaṭ*// *Om bha*{14.9}*kṣa 2 vasarudhirānta mālā balaṃ vine su*{14.10}*rābhakṣīye hūm phaṭ*// *Om gṛhna 2 sapta pā*{14.11} *tāla gata bhūjamaṅga sarpaṃ vā tarjaya 2 śyā*{14.12}*mā devīye hūm phaṭ*// *Om ākaṭya 2 sūra* {14.13} *dre hūm phaṭ*// *Om hrīm hrīm haya karṇaya hūm phaṭ*{14.14}*t*// *Om jñam jñam khaḡānanāya hūm phaṭ*// *Om* {15.1} *kṣyāṃ 2 cakra vege hūm phaṭ*// *Om hām hām khaṇḍa*{15.2}*rohe hūm phaṭ*// *Om hreṃ 2 saudaṇīye hūm phaṭ*// {15.3} *Om hūm 2 cakravarmīnīye hūm hūm phaṭ*// *Om ki*{15.4}*li 2 suvale hūm phaṭ*// *Om siri 2 mahāba*{15.5}*le hūm phaṭ*// *Om hili 2 cakravartīye hūm phaṭ*{15.6}*t*// *Om dhiri 2 mahāvīryye hūm phaṭ*// *Om kā*{15.7}*kāsye hūm phaṭ*// *Om jalakāsye hūm phaṭ*// {15.8} *Om svānāsye hūm phaṭ*// *Om sukarāsye hūm phaṭ* {15.9} // *Om yama ḍātīye hūm phaṭ*// *Om yama dūtīye* {15.10} *hūm phaṭ*// *Om yama daṃṣṭrīye hūm phaṭ*// *Om yama* {15.11} *mathanīye hūm phaṭ*// *Om caṇḍe grahāya svā*{15.12}*hā*// *Om gahvalāya svāhā*// *Om jvālām kulā*{15.13}*ya svāhā*// *Om kalamka bhairavāya svāhā*// {15.14}*Om aṭṭatahāsāya [=aṭṭahāsāya] svāhā*// *Om raśmi va*{16.1}*na hūm tāsanāya svāhā*// *Om ghorāndhakā*{16.2}*rāya svāhā*// *Om kiri 2 ravāya svāhā*{16.3}

Cakrasaṃvara in the Newar tradition, the connection with Vajravārāhī, and more specifically the *Cakrasaṃvara samādhi* prescribed later in the *UKV*, it is likely, even if we have not identified a precise source text, that the set was drawn from the Cakrasaṃvara tradition. Beside the list of brief mantras for deities, the opening quoted section of two mantras that follow this series further confirms this, as they most closely resemble the *mūlamantra* for the *Laghuśaṃvara*.⁸¹¹ Further mantra recitation, repeated seven times, follows, after which comes the performance of what may be tantric songs (identified by titles based on their opening lyrics) and the bestowal of blessings. The next stage involves the communal feast (*sahabhोजना*), during which food offerings are made to the deceased.⁸¹² This portion again parallels the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual. Finally, there are recitations of the *mūla-mantra* of Vajravārāhī.

Continuing in the sequence given in the *UKV*, the next segment is a unique one, not found in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual in any form. It consists of a dialogue in which the priest directly addresses and interacts with the deceased, giving instructions for making correct progress on their journey after death. This section provides the deceased with guidance and reassurance, and promises the efficacy of the text in effecting their salvation. At its conclusion, the deceased is to respond with a vow promising dedication to the guru.⁸¹³

Upon completion, primary participation reverts to the priest and principle mourner, who makes further offerings. Finally, the priest engages in a number of acts that lead up to and include the postmortem *utkrānti yoga*. This series invokes a number of practices, ritual and meditative, which are well-known, to varying degrees, outside of the funerary context, much as *utkrānti* is (in its non-postmortem form). These—including the *utkrānti*—are not, however, described in detail. This lends a curious note to the fact that the text does identify itself as an *utkrānti vidhi* but yet does not include certain critical sections.⁸¹⁴ After the concluding framing rites, most of the ritual materials are disposed of, but the *maṇḍala* is retained for further use the following day.

This, in a sense, completes the rites associated with the *utkrānti* in the *UKV*, corresponding to the portion of the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual discussed in the latter half of Chapter Two. However, the *UKV* continues with the further steps including preparations for the *homa* rite done on the first day/day of death. As described in Chapter Three, this *homa* is critical, for it serves the dual purpose of its standard role as a framing ritual, and its purpose

⁸¹¹ This resemblance based on comparison with the Sarnath edition of the *Laghuśaṃvara*. The mantras in our current text are quoted as *Om namo bhagavate vīraṇi {16.4} vīreśvarāyaṇi hūm phaṭ// Om namo mahāka{16.5} lpāgni sannibhāye hūm phaṭ// ityādīni*. The segment they quote, which comes at the start of the *mūlamantra*, reads *Om namo bhagavato vīreśāya mahākalpāgnisaṃnibhāya*. (*Laghuśaṃvara/Laghusaṃvara (Herukābhidhāna)* based on Pandey, CIHTS Edition. Falls at the end of *paṭala* 25.

⁸¹² This is in this case the *sahabhोजना*. The specification is made to supply the *pañcagrāsa* and *pañcaśāli*, which may refer to the "five meats" and "five liquors," respectively, although this remains somewhat unclear in the text. The *pañcaśāli* was mentioned in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, but appeared in a slightly different context, and was there associated with the *śāligrahana*, at the start of the rituals. In that instance, the contents of the offering was wine, rice beer, buffalo meat, fish, and egg (according to Sarbagya Bajracharya, contents not specified in the text).

⁸¹³ This dialogue is discussed in detail below.

⁸¹⁴ The reasons for this are unclear. This could be because the segments are well-known; however, given the specific ones here, it may be more likely that it is to preserve their secrecy, since they are not especially common elements and are the core of the *utkrānti*, an essentially secret rite.

specific to this context, namely the kindling of the cremation fire as sacrifice (*nara-āhuti*).⁸¹⁵ This involves the performance of the *Cakrasaṃvara samādhi*. Then come offerings for the deceased, a step also found in more elaborate form in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual.⁸¹⁶ The rituals end with the disposal of the ritual materials other than the fire (kept in the *bhegata/bheota* vessel) and five pots, which are reserved for the following day's funeral procession and cremation. These rites complete the remainder of the first day of rituals, according to the sequence given at the parallel point of the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual. The text ends with a statement that the foregoing are the instructions for doing *utkrānti*, and then turns to the beginning preparations for cremation, revealing these two elements to be closely connected. This is perhaps not surprising, given that the cremation for an *utkrānti* funeral also differs from ordinary funerals in being performed as a *homa* sacrifice, the *nara-āhuti*.

To summarize this comparison broadly, the *UKV* covers a subset of the rites dealt with in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, namely those that take place from death through the first day. This means that, unlike the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, the *UKV* does not provide instructions for the rites that precede death and are intended to delay death for some time, nor does it teach the method for individuals to perform *utkrānti* on themselves at their moment of death. Both texts involve Vajravārāhī rites followed by the *pañcābhīṣeka*; though with certain differences. For one thing, while the *UKV* proceeds from the evocation of Vajravārāhī by the priest, to the establishing of an image (also Vajravārāhī), to the reinsertion of the *prāṇa*, and continuing on to the *pañcābhīṣeka*, the *Utkrānti-SDP* follows a slightly different sequence. After the priest has empowered himself and performed the *bhāvanā*, the *prāṇa* is summoned. Then after protective rituals have been completed (present in both texts), the Vajravārāhī image and *maṇḍala* are introduced after a repetition of the *guru maṇḍala*, the framing worship rituals are done and the *samādhi* of Vajravārāhī (or a substitute) is completed—that which was done at the very start of the main rites in the *UKV*.⁸¹⁷ After this and various subrituals, the *pañcābhīṣeka* is performed.

The *UKV* supplies significantly more material after the *pañcābhīṣeka*, in the dialogue with the deceased, which has no equivalent in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual. What appears to be the closest parallel in the *Utkrānti-SDP* involves no dialogue, but only a benediction by the priest, on behalf of the deceased (15r.3). Likewise, there is also a difference in the deity and the level of instruction—following the above, the *UKV* directs the ritualist to do the *Cakrasaṃvara samādhi*, while in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, it is the *SDP*. In general, the latter's description is also far more detailed; whereas the former does not give the ritual details, stating only that the one who has undergone *utkrānti* is to be worshipped as a deity.⁸¹⁸ This corresponds in the *Utkrānti-SDP* to the "*bhāvanā* for the deceased."⁸¹⁹

⁸¹⁵ As a reminder, owing to the cremation's nature as a *homa* sacrifice, *homa* rites play a double role, both as part of the common framing rite used in Newar Buddhist rituals, and as a part of the core ritual being framed here, as was discussed in the previous two chapters.

⁸¹⁶ In the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, it is not *Cakrasaṃvara* or Vajravārāhī but the *SDP samādhi* that is employed at this point.

⁸¹⁷ Substituting in the *Cakrasaṃvara samādhi* at this point would be a common choice. However, due to secrecy restrictions, detail on it is difficult to supply.

⁸¹⁸ E701-11 at 20.1

⁸¹⁹ Hs.or.4326 at 18r.1

The remaining portions of the *UKV* are focused on the *homa* and preparation of the fire, which, as in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, is kindled in a *bhegata/bheota* vessel for transport to the cremation ground. In both cases, it and the five vessels to be used at the cremation ground ritual are preserved, while the other remains of the ritual are disposed of properly. While the details supplied in the case of the *Utkrānti-SDP* are much more extensive, the general outcome and activities accomplished at this point are very similar.

Discussion of Notable Sections

I. Establishing the *prāṇa* – Overview

One of the key moments in the ritual sequence that makes the *utkrānti* possible is the summoning of the consciousness back into the body. In the Newari-Sanskrit manuals, this is understood as the seeking out, summoning, and reinstallation of the *prāṇa*. As was discussed in Chapter Two, death initially occurs when the consciousness departs through one of the bodily orifices ("gates").⁸²⁰ The orifice by which it departs foretells the rebirth destination of the deceased. Of the possible rebirth options, departure via the crown of the head is deemed most auspicious (leading to rebirth in a Buddhist heaven/Pure Land or liberation), while departure via the anus is the least (leading to rebirth in one of the hells). The purpose of *utkrānti* at its core is to "redo" the departure under controlled circumstances that seal off departure access to the orifices leading to negative fates and force the consciousness to depart from the crown of the head, ensuring a positive fate. Since this takes place (in the case of postmortem *utkrānti*, the subject under consideration here) after death, it poses a very basic challenge: how can the consciousness be directed out of the body when it is no longer in the body in the first place? The solution to this is that the consciousness must first be returned to the body. Once this has been accomplished, the fact of a temporarily "revived" subject also presents opportunities for further rituals of initiation and empowerment, and the bestowal of purificatory blessings—acts which constitute a significant segment of the ritual sequence that follows.

The task of returning the consciousness is accomplished in different ways in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual and the *Utkrānti kriyā vidhi (UKV)*. Although the reinstallation of the consciousness is limited to *utkrānti* funerals within the Buddhist tantric tradition, the methods employed are not entirely novel ones, but draw on tantric ritual techniques beyond the funerary and even beyond uniquely Buddhist practices. In non-funerary Buddhist ritual, parallels can be found in rites that deal with initiation, consecration, possession, and other manipulations of either the consciousness or of deities. Beyond Buddhism, forms of Tantric

⁸²⁰ These orifices include not only the usual bodily openings but also several specific to Indic medical traditions, namely the crown of the head (*brahmarandhra* – fontanelle), navel, and forehead (*bindu* or *ūrṇā*), and so on, the others down to the anus (which results in birth in hell). The specific number varies depending on several factors, including whether the ears, nostrils, and eyes are counted as a single opening or a pair, and whether the text distinguishes the penis as the source of one or two—the urethra ("path of urine") from the "path of life" (i.e. semen). The specific arrangement differs depending on the text in this, a tradition predating Buddhism and found as early as the *Upaniṣads*. See Alex Wayman, *The Buddhist Tantras: Light on Indo-Tibetan Esotericism* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1973), 139-50.

Śaivism make use of rituals which are different but share some elements in common—an unsurprising trait since it is likely that the Buddhist techniques were adapted from some of the same non-Buddhist precursors.⁸²¹

Background: The *Utkrānti-SDP* manual (Context: previously discussed method from Chapter Two)

Before introducing the method described in the current text, the *UKV*, it will be useful to review the sequence given in the text already described in the preceding two chapters. In the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, the process of returning the *prāṇa* can be divided into two phases. The first phase serves to seek out and locate of the *prāṇa*, wherever it has gone after leaving the body at death. Although the particular logic is not given in detail, the method suggests that the *prāṇa* could be anywhere—the trope of the "ten directions" is used. The ritualist is to visualize sending light rays bearing the syllable *hūm* from their heart in the ten directions, to wherever the *prāṇa* is abiding. This section also explains the mechanism allowing this process; the ritualist first absorbs light rays emitted by the deities previously visualized, which were absorbed into the ritualist's heart. Afterwards, the ritualist is able to dispatch the investigative rays.

Having located and meditated upon the location of the *prāṇa*, the next step is to compel it to return to the body. Here there are two processes in play, and both draw on techniques employed in other types of rituals, both Buddhist and non-Buddhist. The first involves planting the seed syllable *nṛ* upon the heart of the deceased. The use of this syllable or another derived from the Sanskrit for "man/person" (e.g. other texts may recommend *nrī*, *nṛta*) serves to identify the target, i.e. where the *prāṇa* is supposed to go.⁸²² The use of this syllable is widespread and also used in rituals of substitution, where an effigy is intended to stand in for an individual, and more generally as a way to identify the recipient of a rite. In effigy rites, then, it transforms the actual object used in the ritual into its symbolic equivalent—whatever the rite is supposed to act on or benefit. Though not explicitly in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, elsewhere, options are given to use either the name of the deceased (or other recipient—as the case may be, depending on the rite), inscribed and placed in the ritual enclosure during the ritual performance, or to use the *nṛ* syllable as a generic equivalent, applicable to all.

When the target (the deceased's body) has been marked with the *nṛ* syllable, the summoning, installation, and binding can begin. Here another familiar reference appears, for this process is completed by means of the same mantra syllables that serve, in many Buddhist tantric textual systems, to summon and bind deities in context where a divine presence is desired. Specifically, the consecration of images, the populating the *maṇḍala* with deities (or vases therein), and the embodying of deities by those performing deity yoga (*devatāyoga*) in many texts all make use of these syllables, namely *Om vajrāṅkuśa jah*. *Om vajrapāśa hrīm*. *Om vajrasphoṭa vaiṃ*. *Om vajrāveśa hoḥ*.⁸²³ In the current context, the summoning and binding also make use of the vajra-bell and vajra, sequentially. In the case

⁸²¹ The Śaiva influences and relevant rites are discussed earlier, at the end of Chapter Two. See also Sanderson, "Śaiva Age," 126.

⁸²² Skorupski, "Cremation Ceremony," 362.

⁸²³ In Buddhist *maṇḍala* traditions these four are also personified as the four gate guardians of the *maṇḍala*.

of the latter, a second mantra supplements the process, recited while the vajra is touched to the deceased's head. Although its form is somewhat changed, this mantra is derived from the mantras used in the "protective circle" set up during preliminary yoga preparations in *sādhana* sequences, including the one based in the *SDP*.⁸²⁴ Following this, there are rites of protection that secure the ritual arena and purify it. Although some of these have appeared before, they are here repeated with the deceased's *prāṇa* fully restored to their body.

Although it may simply be that the mantras are considered efficacious for the task—they are named after the implements their roles, to some degree, perform—it is nonetheless interesting that here again the deceased is associated with the deities, here in the way they are treated. This has been true in far more direct fashion elsewhere in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, but it nonetheless bears repeating. It also raises questions about the degree to which a parallel may exist between this installation and the installation of a deity in a vessel chosen for them to occupy, whether temporarily or permanently, as occurs in the consecration rites for building, images, and maṇḍalas. The possibility is further suggested by the fact that even the term used in those rituals is the same, namely, "establishing the *prāṇa*" (*prāṇa pratiṣṭhā*).

The *UKV*

The process for reinstalling the *prāṇa* in the *UKV* bears certain similarities and a number of differences compared to the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual. To start with, it gives no procedure for searching and locating the *prāṇa*'s external resting place; it lacks the visualization of light rays provided in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual. When the summoning and binding process begins, parallels do occur, namely, the touching of the vajra to the head of the deceased. There is, likewise, the shared empowerment and scattering of the combination of seeds and grains. However, the *UKV* does not use the mantras for summoning and binding deities, as the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual does. It instead uses a modified form of a mantra associated with Vajravārāhī. This base mantra, *Oṃ vajravairocanīye ho hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā*, can be found in Cakrasaṃvara-related literature and commentaries, as well as the *abhiṣeka* section of the *Vajrāvalī*.⁸²⁵ As has already been mentioned, the *abhiṣeka* section provides a source text for both the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual and the *UKV*, though not necessarily including the Vajravārāhī mantra in their extracts.⁸²⁶

The mantra is not used in this form, as the *hṛdaya* of the deity Vajravārāhī, in the context of summoning the deceased's *prāṇa*, however. Instead, specific funerary elements are added, namely the words "enter the body of the deceased" (*mṛtakasya śarīre praveśaya*) are inserted into the middle of the mantra. This is a remarkable departure from much of what has come before. Specifically, it is one of very few occasions where the Sanskrit liturgical content refers explicitly to the deceased. That is, it is the only instance, in any of the

⁸²⁴ In the current text, the mantra appears as *Oṃ jvaṃ vaṃ jaṃ hvāṃ lāṃ naṃ lāṃ kkaṃ hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ 3*, however when recited out loud by Sarbagya Bajracharya, it was recognizable as the so-called *jvālānalārka* mantra: *Oṃ vajrajvālānalārka hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ*.

⁸²⁵ Despite appearances, the Vairocanī is indeed Vajravārāhī, and has no connection to Vairocana.

⁸²⁶ Note that, in the *UKV*, the *abhiṣeka* section has not yet occurred; it follows after the return of the *prāṇa* here under discussion.

Newari-Sanskrit manuals here discussed, where the word "deceased" (*mṛtaka*) is explicitly used. In general in the Newari-Sanskrit manuals, the quotations of material used liturgically (mantras and *bhāvanā* segments) come from Sanskrit sources that, in themselves, have nothing to do with funerary ritual, i.e. the *Vajrāvalī*. In some cases, this may be because the deceased is, ritually speaking, not dead at certain points. Since death occurs with the expulsion of the *prāṇa*, and these rituals seek to reverse that, it likewise makes sense that here, for once, it is absolutely critical that the focus is on the body as dead, prior to the reinstallation. However, in other cases it may simply be that the adaptation of the liturgical (Sanskrit) source to funerary matters occurs in the Newar author's contribution, not the original Indic context.

The second essential part of the reinstallation process in the *UKV* follows, with the summoning via repeated recitation of the name of the deceased. Whereas the *nṛ* mantra established the target in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, here, the specific name of the individual is used. When this has been done, the *UKV*, like the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, turns to the *tāḍana* and other protective rites layered on when the deceased has been returned.

Direct Address and Instructions for the Deceased

In addition to the reinstallation of the *prāṇa*/consciousness, the *UKV* features a segment in which the priest speaks to and instructs the deceased directly. This constitutes a different form of engagement with the dead than we have seen in the *UKV* so far, and likewise, there is no parallel section in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, nor am I aware of anything comparable in other extant postmortem *utkrānti* manuals in Sanskrit.⁸²⁷ As such, this portion of the text offers a chance to explore this role of the deceased in their own funerary rites, and to contribute to discussions of the practice of direct discourse with the dead, a subject that has been highlighted in scholarship on Buddhist texts in Tibetan but not those in Sanskrit (or Newari-Sanskrit). It may be possible to read the "now you should concentrate singlemindedly" within the quotation, but the syntax is unclear on this point. The quotation mark occurs before the statement "you should not be worried," so the simplest reading, that the entire statement is a quote, i.e. what is to be said to the deceased, is somewhat problematic. As translated here, the quotative (*dhakā*) may serve to emphasize the state of being dead.

Passage translation:

- (1) Make the deceased person listen:
- [Priest:] (2) Now you should concentrate single-mindedly.
- (3) You should not be worried that "you are dead."

⁸²⁷ There are Tibetan texts that teach funerary rituals that include both *utkrānti* and *bar do* techniques, such as the one outlined by Skorupski in "Funerary ritual for rebirth in Sukhāvātī abode," see Tadeusz Skorupski, *The Buddhist Forum Volume VI* (Tring, UK; Berkeley: The Institute of Buddhist Studies, 2013), 136ff. Note that these do contain direct address. However in that case, it is clearly a part of the *bar do* segment, separate from and subsequent to the *utkrānti*.

- (4) [I] will give you directions for the way to cross over [to liberation].
 (5) Realize with the mind "Now liberation will be given to me."
 (6) Leaving behind all attachment, do not grasp at the illusion of [repeated] rebirth; try to go to liberation.
 (7) So far now, you don't know anything about the world beyond/[the way to] the next world.
- (8) If you have committed any sins, they will be purified, and then [I] shall send [you,] doing *utkrānti* which came out of the mouth of Śrī Vajradevī.
- (9) If [it is given that] there are different kinds of *utkrānti*, know that "there's no *utkrānti* as powerful as this one [i.e. the one revealed by Vajradevī]."
- (10) Now offer the *ratna maṇḍala* to all the gurus, starting with the illustrious Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha.
 (11) Make the deceased person say (make it be as if):
 (12) "Whatever you say, I shall do. All my wealth, starting with my body, success, [and] life, I offer to the guru. Starting from today, I make you (bid you?) anoint/consecrate [me]. Oh have mercy/give me favor!"

Here, the pyre-lighter is made to offer the *ratna maṇḍala*, with the verse that starts "*Oṃ haḥ homage to great and middle Meru,*" etc. [He is] made to place 22 handfuls of rice in the bronze *dema* [plate]. Place a *tola* of gold. Doing *pūjā*, make offerings [with the mantra that starts], *Oṃ caturatnamaye tyādi*.

From this point, the text moves back to focusing on interactions between the priest and the chief mourner.

Analysis

If we divide the dialogue passage above into statements and group them in sequence, we find that statements 1-3 focus on the deceased's mental state and thoughts, statements 4-7 address the desired outcome or destination for the deceased, statements 8-10 involve assurances of the efficacy of the text and its ritual, and statements 11-13 treat the offering and vow made by the deceased. Each of these sets can also be further analyzed.

1. Statements 1-3: focus on the mental state, thoughts, and participation of the deceased

- (1) Make the deceased person listen.
 [Priest:] (2) Now you should concentrate singlemindedly.
 (3) You should not be worried that "you are dead."⁸²⁸

⁸²⁸ *ā chaṃ eka{17.5}citta yānān cha sita dhakā chaṃ dhaṃdā {17.6} kāya-mvā.*

The first statement is an instruction to the priest, that the deceased should be made to listen. While containing an instruction for the priest, its causative verbal form (*nyamke*) applies to the deceased, whose presence has been established earlier, and whose attention is now sought. This is one of two instances where the priest is to command action on the part of the deceased. The second occurs at the point of the vow, where the the priest is to make the deceased speak (*dhāyeke*) the vow. Although these are the only two statements directed to the priest concerning what he should make the deceased do, as statements to encourage active participation, they complement a number of other instructions the priest gives the deceased. Together, they suggest a level of effort and participation sought from the dead.

The second and third statements together include one instruction for what the deceased should do, and one for what they should avoid, both with regard to their mental state. First, they should have the focus and clear-minded awareness suitable for (and usually described in the context of) meditative states. Second, they should not be afraid of the fact that they are dead. These both speak, in the most general sense, to the widespread concept of a "good death"—that one should go to death clear-minded and without fear or agitation.⁸²⁹ Within the context of Buddhism, it also ties in to the notion that one's mental state at death can determine one's rebirth destination. Although this is occurring after death, in this situation it is still relevant because the deceased's rebirth destination has not yet been decided, and therefore it might be said that this is yet part of death as a process rather than a single momentary event.⁸³⁰

Finally, the phrasing of the third statement is interesting in containing a quotative word (*dhakā*) indicating a direct quote. If, as translated, the quotation applies to what immediately precedes it ("[you] died/are dead") it would seem to suggest this is being used in an emphatic sense. Further instances of quoted segments occur in what follows, but their usage is generally to mark statements that the deceased should think, say, or contemplate, made clear (in one instance) with a first-person pronoun. However, the second person pronoun in the current instance makes a similar interpretation difficult.

⁸²⁹ This concept is found across religions and cross-culturally and has been discussed broadly. For an overview, see Cuevas and Stone, "Introduction," 15.

⁸³⁰ Recent scholarship in anthropology has addressed the diversity of ideas about when death occurs and whether it should be conceived as a biomedical moment or a more drawn out process, an issue with contemporary political significance in the contexts of the politics of brain death and organ donation in America and Japan, as examined in Margaret Lock, *Twice Dead: Organ Transplants and the Reinvention of Death* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002). However, more broadly, death as a process for the living has long been recognized in anthropology going back to scholarship in the tradition of Durkheim, including Hertz ([1907] 1960), Van Gennep (1960), Turner (1969), and more particularly on South Asia, Bloch and Parry (1982) and Metcalf and Huntington, who have focused variously on the transformational process, liminal states, and other elements that involve death as process. See Robert Hertz, *Death and the Right Hand* (Aberdeen: Cohen & West, 1960); Arnold Van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage: A Classical Study of Cultural Celebrations* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960); Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1969); Maurice Bloch and Jonathan P. Parry, *Death and the Regeneration of Life* (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Peter Metcalf and Richard Huntington, *Celebrations of Death: The Anthropology of Mortuary Ritual* (Cambridge [Eng.]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

II. Statements 4-7: Focus on afterlife outcomes and method/technique

- (4) [I] will give you directions for the way to cross over [to liberation].
 (5) Realize with the mind "Now liberation will be given to me."
 (6) Leaving behind all attachment, do not grasp at the illusion of [repeated] rebirth; try to go to liberation.
 (7) So far, you don't know anything about the world beyond/[the way to] the next world.⁸³¹

The next group of statements focuses on the function and desired outcome of the rituals being done, and the method to be used, including effort required of the deceased. The fourth statement (fourth overall; first in this section) moves on from the previous section's emphasis on what the deceased should and should not do, to instead describe what the ritual master or priest promises to do. It also references the desired outcome of funerary rites, as do the two statements that follow it, such that, combined, they mention liberation (*mokṣa*) twice and "crossing over/winning [liberation]" (*tare juyigu*) once. Statements five and six both exhort the deceased to contemplate or see themselves succeeding in the endeavor of seeking liberation or the path towards it. This repetition also adds to the earlier emphasis on the importance of the deceased's mental state. The sixth statement contributes an element that both provides guidance in how this is to be done and supplies doctrinal content, telling the deceased to abandon attachment. The seventh describes the state of awareness of the deceased, perhaps as warning or as preface to the encouragement to be delivered in what follows in the next group of statements.

All four of the statements refer to future fate of the deceased; in three cases naming liberation or an expression referring to it, and in the fourth case to "the world beyond" (*paraloka*), which, though Sanskrit in origin, is included in the Newari lexicon with meanings that include liberation or simply the world after death or (with a verb) "to die."⁸³² However, this is itself an important detail, for it warns of the danger of overtranslation. It is worth asking whether these expressions truly point to liberation, or whether the embedded traditions of Buddhism have influenced the Newari language so that some of the expressions ostensibly relating to liberation refer simply to death in general, not to the exemplary death of one bound for liberation. This seems to be the case with the expression in the fourth statement, where "to cross over" (*tare juyigu*) may mean liberation, but may also be simply an expression for death. In short, it may be overtranslating to suggest that these statements refer to liberation more explicitly we have seen before, such as in the *Samvarodaya* listing of rebirth destinations, or in those listed in other texts relating to the goal *utkrānti* (such as

⁸³¹ *chaṃ-ta tare juyigu · laṃ kenā { 17.7 } biye · ā ji-ta mokṣa choyā · biyina · dha { 17.8 } kā manam bhāpi// thugu janmayā māyā kā { 17.9 } ye mvāla māyā byākaṃ totā · mokṣa wane { 17.10 } gu · sva · ā chaṃ paralokayāgu · chūṃ masyu ni*

⁸³² In Manandhar: "the next world (after death);" in Malla: (under *paralaka*): "the other world, deliverance;" in Kölver: (*paralvak*): "the world beyond." Together with *~juyē*, however, it simply means to die. Perhaps clarifying the intent, Sarbagya Bajracharya suggests that the key point is not just knowing about "the next world," but rather knowing "[the way to] the next world," which would then add to the emphasis on method here. See Manandhar, *Newari-English Dictionary*; Malla, *Dictionary of Classical Newari*; and Kölver, *Dictionary of Contemporary Newari*.

the *Mrtasugatiniyojana*, discussed below), or in the stated *saṃkalpas*, which tend instead to refer to the more commonly sought rebirth destination, Sukhāvātī.⁸³³ As has been discussed, the heavenly rebirth in Sukhāvātī is a well-attested wish expressed frequently in Newar Buddhist literature and inscriptions.⁸³⁴

On firmer interpretive ground, the sixth statement points to the doctrinal focus and specific method to be employed, stating "Leaving behind all attachment, do not grasp at the illusion of [repeated] rebirth; try to go to liberation." This directs the deceased to concentrate correctly, and the first two parts of the statement are repetitive, emphasizing the importance of avoiding attachment. It is not just attachment in general that must be avoided (although that is also true), but—as the second part specifies—attachment to this life (*thugu janmayā*). Then, the third portion provides the alternative, i.e. what one *should* focus on if not one's attachment to this life, i.e. the way to liberation. Again, as we saw in the first set of statements this combines instructions for what one should not do together with what one should do, for maximum clarity on the matter. The text does specify "*this (thugu) life (janmayā, lit: birth),*" so it seems as if the focus here is not necessarily on the required act for liberation, i.e. rejecting birth in the world generally, and more to do with the concern that the deceased will not move on in the correct way, but linger and perhaps even fall into the state of being *agati*, where they are unable to move on and persist as a resentful spirit.⁸³⁵ In general, then, this group of statements gives a double emphasis on non-attachment, first in general and then in regard to this lifetime specifically, both followed again with an entreaty to try for liberation.

III. Statements 8-9: On the efficacy of the text and its rituals

(8) If you have committed any sins, they will be purified, and then [I] shall send [you], doing utkrānti which came out of the mouth of Śrī Vajradevī.

(9) If [it is given that] there are different kinds of utkrānti, know that "there's no utkrānti as powerful as this one [i.e. the one revealed by Vajradevī]." ⁸³⁶

The third grouping, consisting of statements 8-9, relate to the source and efficacy of the rituals included. The eighth statement presents some challenges for translation, but essentially seems to make two points, first, that sins are to be destroyed, and second, that these rituals are efficacious on account of Vajradevī, i.e. Vajravārāhī, being their originator, as is expected given the *UKV*'s primary focus on Vajravārāhī.⁸³⁷ Also important is the fact

⁸³³ For a discussion of Sukhāvātī as a rebirth destination goal in Newar Buddhism, as well as the general tendency within Buddhism to aim for Buddhist pure land/heavens rather than outright liberation, see discussion in Chapter Two.

⁸³⁴ Todd T. Lewis, "Sukhāvātī Traditions in Newar Buddhism," *South Asia Research* 16, no. 1 (Spring 1996): 1–30.

⁸³⁵ The risk of being *agati* was mentioned in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual and is also noted by Gellner, see Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 132.

⁸³⁶ *chūṃ masyu*{ 17.11 } *ni chaṃ nhyāko pāpa yānā tayāgu da*{ 17.12 } *tasāṃ pāpa byākaṃ phukāḥ śrī vajradevī*{ 17.13 } *yāgu mhutuṃ pihāogu utkrānti yā*{ 17.14 } *nā choye// lakṣigu utkrānti datasāṃ*{ 18.1 } *thuli gemgu utkrānti madu dhakā bhāpi* { 18.2 }

⁸³⁷ I.e. as demonstrated by her invocation in the opening homage of the text.

that this line explicitly identifies the ritual that has been discussed and is being praised is, indeed, the *utkrānti* specifically. This point will be one to return to in the following section, particularly when considering what portions of the *utkrānti* are included in the instructions provided, and what portions are omitted.

The text also contains statements about itself and the ritual's efficacy, and it is also notable that by including them at this point, the information is in part being conveyed to the deceased while they are in the temporarily revived state (i.e. with *prāṇa* reinstalled), and not simply the surviving family. Specifically, they are informed first that the ritual is associated with Vajravārahī (here Vajradevī). Then, this particular version of *utkrānti* is lauded as being superior to many other kinds. Among the many different texts on (and versions of) *utkrānti* that exist, the text asserts, this is the best one, none is more powerful (lit. "weightier").

Containing self-referential praises of their own efficacy is characteristic of many Buddhist texts, so it is not surprising to see this here. What is somewhat surprising is that it is considered one of the very few portions of the overall ritual complex that is important to direct at the deceased. Although often praise and testimonials can serve as advertising, the deceased will have no future need of it. Therefore in this context it serves instead to instill confidence in the current ritual's probability of success. Having confidence or faith in the efficacy of a ritual is an important element to the ritual's success, and it further bolsters the reassurances already given that were designed to comfort and calm the deceased, allowing them to achieve the correct state of equanimity.

In light of all this, it is worthwhile to ask why it is that it is at this point that effort or participation from the deceased is sought. The issue of participation was previously discussed in the preceding chapters, where it was observed that initiation rites are not adapted or modified in ways that acknowledge the deceased's state and inability to literally perform their part in the actions that make up the ritual. In those instances, we discussed that fact that from a ritual perspective, the deceased might at that point be considered present and in some sense aware (in that their consciousness is present), and so perhaps no adaptation is needed. However, should that be the case, one might expect something more like what appears here to be included. When we look at what appears here, there is in fact acknowledgement of the deceased as being dead—this is the way the scripted conversation opens, either acknowledging that the deceased knows they are dead, or explaining to them, in case it is not clear. This element is distinct, and differs from anything found in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual.

However, it is also interesting that this is not yet the actual *utkrānti*, and there are several steps to go first. It raises the question of what, precisely, is happening at this point in the text that requires the presence and participation of the deceased. One possibility is that the key point is the vow in combination with the positive mental state being encouraged.

IV. Statements 10-12: Ratna maṇḍala and vow

(10) Now you offer the *ratna maṇḍala* to all the gurus, starting with the Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha.

(11) Make the deceased person speak thus (make it be as if):

(12) "Whatever you say, I shall do. All my wealth, starting with my body, success, [and] life, I offer to the guru. Starting from today, I make you(/bid you) anoint/consecrate. Oh have mercy/give me favor!"⁸³⁸

Here, the pyre-lighter is made to offer the *ratna maṇḍala*, along with the verse [that starts] *Oṃ haḥ homage to great and middle Meru, etc.* [He is] made to place 22 handfuls of rice in the bronze dema [plate]. Place a *tola* of gold. Doing *pūjā*, make offerings [with the mantra that starts], *Oṃ caturatnamaye tyādi*.

Following this, we turn to what seems to be the first ritual act since the beginning of the dialogue/direct address portion. The instruction is given to offer the *ratna maṇḍala* to all the gurus, starting with the Three Jewels. Although the priest does it, the command "you" together with the following vow, which is to be made as if by the deceased, places this act as one to be done by the deceased. Statement ten is therefore a statement by the priest to the deceased (as "you"-statements in the preceding passage have been), while statement eleven is an instruction for the priest. This instruction takes the form of a causative, something the deceased is to be made by the priest to do himself, in this case, speak the vow that follows. This vow is in Sanskrit and appears to take a the standard form as an *abhiṣeka* phrase and vow to the guru, most likely this accompanies that which was just mentioned above. It offers loyalty and the offering of one's own body, success, and life to the guru.⁸³⁹ Finally, it closes with a plea for favor/blessings

Unlike the Newari of the entire section addressing the deceased up to this point, the vow the deceased is to make (in Sanskrit), does not specifically reference the dead or their condition as being dead. We have spoken in previous chapters about how the Newari portions of these texts are customized to the needs of the dead, while the Sanskrit portions are not, reflecting their origin in other, earlier literature and often non-funerary contexts, as well. This is again true in this case.

The vow takes a standard (traditional) form, for which reason, perhaps, the ways its content does not fit the present context ought not be granted too much weight. There are several elements inconsistent with a rite for the deceased. For one thing, there is the timing, that the vow states a promise for the future—whatever you say, I shall do...starting from today..." etc.—a notion at odds with the aim of delivering the deceased beyond their ties to the life they have just left. So too, what is offered makes little sense for one dead: "All my wealth, starting with my body, my success, and my life, I offer to the guru." Thus it seems that while the Newari portions of the text can accommodate the reality of the rite's specific purpose, when it comes to the standardized Sanskrit ritual segments, these are incorporated without being modified for the circumstances. When the late date of this text is considered, this should not be at all surprising—the Sanskrit is included here without modification, just like (and for the same reason as) the *bhāvanā* segments and mantras are.

It would in fact be extremely surprising to find the Sanskrit to have been adapted explicitly. Although the lack of adaptation cannot, therefore, provide insight, the choice of texts, at least, may. That is, while the *SDP* is certainly funerary in origin, it is but one of the

⁸³⁸ Thus the *ratna maṇḍala* is first offered on behalf of the deceased, and then after by the patron/pyre-lighter.

⁸³⁹ *yathā jñā{18.5}payati · tathā kariṣyāmi// mama śarī{18.6}rādi dhana saṃpatti jīvaṃ ca sarvaṃ gura{18.7}ve praḍhaukayāmi// adyārabhya tava ni{18.8}ṣecayāmi · kṛpām kuru//*

texts used for the rituals, and many of the other Sanskrit texts that have been quoted are, in most cases, not funerary at all. This gives rise to the possibility that many of the rituals studied here have specifically Newar origins, at least in the combinations in which they appear, and that no funerary-specific Sanskrit liturgical option was utilized, perhaps because none was available.

Other Contexts: Direct Address and the Mental State of the Deceased

Within the Newar tradition, there are very few available sources to contextualize this segment of the ritual sequence. It is thus necessary to look beyond that tradition, in particular because doing so does provide a relevant potential parallel. It should be stated at the outset that this comparison does not necessarily imply a source-based relationship between the traditions (although it does not rule it out), but rather seeks to draw on the concepts and language that have been developed to discuss these aspects in a more well-studied tradition.

The first feature highlighted in this section is the direct address of the deceased. Direct speech, or direct address of the deceased, here means speech explicitly addressed, with second person pronouns and/or the appropriate second person grammar, to the dead person, intended to be spoken as a part of the formal scripted liturgy of the ritual. Within the broader context of Indic and pan-Buddhist tradition, the closest similarities occur in the Tibetan literature pertaining *bar do*-based funerary practices. *Bar do* funerary traditions employ the occasion of death and the time immediately thereafter as an opportunity for liberation. In these traditions, guidance is given to one recently dead, explaining their state and guiding them through the experience of the intermediate period (*antarābhava*) after death and before rebirth. Successful negotiation of the *bar do* experience can lead one to liberation immediately, while mistakes will lead one to rebirth in one of the five/six rebirth destinies within *samsāra*. Thus, it is, as in the title of the most well-known of these works for English speakers, a form of 'liberation through hearing' these instructions.⁸⁴⁰ As such, it is self-evident, even in the name alone, that direct address of the deceased is a key component.

Direct address of the dead has not been observed to be widespread in Indian Buddhist tantric literature. Some, in particular Imaeda, have argued that it may be an indigenous Tibetan feature in funerary texts, one derived from pre-Buddhist ritual sacrifice traditions where the subject addressed was originally animals sacrificed as vehicles for the dead.⁸⁴¹ Indeed, the practice can be found much earlier than the later tantric Buddhist heyday of *bar do* traditions, including in Dunhuang texts. In the latter, such as PT 239, also studied by

⁸⁴⁰ This is, of course, the so-called *Tibetan Book of the Dead*, its Tibetan more properly the *Great Liberation upon Hearing in the Bardo* (*Bar do thos grol chen mo*). The global history of these works has seen much study, but the works come, more broadly, from the larger literature relating to the *Self-Liberated Wisdom of the Peaceful and Wrathful Deities* (*Zhi khro dgongs pa rang grol*). See also mention of the subject and *bar do* rites in the Introduction.

⁸⁴¹ A statement suggestive of the Tibetan origin of *bar do* tradition was already made, though briefly, by Bacot, in his introduction to the 1933 edition of the Evans-Wentz translation of the *Bar do thos grol/ Tibetan Book of the Dead*. See Imaeda, *Bar do*, 152-53.

Imaeda as well as Kapstein, direct address is present but the entire edifice and structure of the *bar do* system has not yet developed.⁸⁴² In a certain way this, then, bears greater resemblance to the current *UKV*, where also we find direct address, but not in the context of the complete *bar do* system.

To add to the fact of the presence of direct address simply in the grammatical sense, there are also parallels in the content of that address. Within the *bar do* traditions, the deceased is given instructions and reassurances as they pass through the potentially frightening and overwhelming experiences that are said to occur while in the intermediate state, in particular, to guide their emotions and help them retain a state of equanimity and awareness. As we have seen, the instructions for the deceased in the *UKV*, although they do not catalogue a progression of stages of experiences the deceased should go through (as *bar do* texts would), do address similar concerns, touching on the deceased's awareness of themselves as dead, the fact that they should not be afraid, the fact that they will be guided by the ritualist to achieve a positive rebirth/liberation. The types of instruction do part ways, at a certain point, however. Namely, the *bar do* texts emphasize procedures the deceased does for themselves, while the ultimate mechanism in the *UKV* is the *utkrānti*, which is carried out by the priest and does not require the deceased to exert effort.⁸⁴³

Due to the complexity of the full *bar do* system, comparison with later era Tibetan texts may not be especially helpful. However, the earlier works, such as PT 239, mentioned above, do not contain all the elements of the *bar do* system but do contain direct discourse that is comparable to the *UKV*. This text, also called *The Way to the Land of the Gods/ Lha yul du lam stan pa*, already introduced above, starts by drawing the attention of the deceased, and identifying them as such. The doctrinal discussion in PT 239 focuses on impermanence, and the fact that it has befallen the deceased—again, here, a variant on the *utkrānti* text's concern that the deceased not be attached to their life, although not phrased particularly in terms of impermanence *per se*. Though that is something of a difference, the next category bears further similarity, namely in the instructions to control and guard one's thoughts, and strive to maintain a good mental state. This appears equally important in both cases. Further, both continue with the worship of the Three Jewels. Then there is an emphasis on accepting one's circumstances—this comes back to the importance of knowing and accepting that one is dead, and not clinging to life. Finally, there is prayer or refuge, of a sort, though where in the *utkrānti* text it is to the Three Jewels and the gurus in general, in PT 239 it is specifically to Avalokiteśvara.

Utkrānti and Remaining Rites in the *UKV*

At the close of the direct address portion, the *ratna maṇḍala* is offered and further offerings made. Though the segment is a common one that appears elsewhere in standard Newar ritual sequences it is notable in that it adds, in addition to a large quantity (22

⁸⁴² Kapstein, *Assimilation*, 7-9; Imaeda, *Bar do*, 150ff.

⁸⁴³ It should be noted that there are texts that include multiple systems in the later Tibetan tradition. See for example the "Funeral Rites for Rebirth in the Sukhāvātī Abode," a text composed by Karma chags med in the 17th century, in which *utkrānti*, *bar do*, and *SDP* funeral rites are all combined into a single sequence (in that order). See Skorupski, *Buddhist Forum VI*, 142ff.

handfuls) of rice, one must include 1 *tola* of gold (approximately 11.6 grams, or 3/8 troy ounce). While in the contemporary tradition (and potentially earlier) this would not be taken as a literal amount, it is nonetheless the case that it is intended to be a considerable amount. Though not the only feature of the *utkrānti* funeral responsible for its costliness, it is a contributing factor.

In comparison to the detailed and elaborate sequences that precede it, the *utkrānti* and accompanying rites are prescribed with little fanfare at this point. They fall within a sequence of breathing rituals and rites for the manipulation of the subtle body that may be familiar from, though not a direct adaptation of some of the practices best known in the Six Yogas/Dharmas of Naropa. The sequence consists of *prāṇāyāma* breath exercises, repeated nine times, followed by *guru yoga*, *kumbhaka yoga*, *caṇḍāli yoga*, *utkrānti yoga*, and *śmaśāna yoga*. Although the *utkrānti* is the portion of the overall ritual complex that helps to identify it at the outset of the text (i.e. *Utkrānti-kriyā-vidhi*), and although there are many points where the *UKV* is more detailed than the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, the *utkrānti* is not one of them, and is essentially only mentioned in brief.

The reluctance to describe the *utkrānti* ritual in detail may well be owed to the rite's *guhya* status, in recognition of secrecy requirements. This raises the question of whether there is yet another level/type of *utkrānti* manual, one which does provide the actual details, but which has remained unavailable to scholarship. It is intriguing that both the *Utkrānti-SDP* and the *UKV* are described as *utkrānti* manuals (the *UKV* explicitly so), while functionally providing only what are ultimately the accompanying rites and the most minimal direction at the required point where it should occur.

Although this means that comprehensive discussion of inner mechanisms and subrituals of the postmortem *utkrānti* is not yet possible on the basis of Newari-Sanskrit practice manuals alone, it may be possible to gain some idea of the ritual on the basis of another work preserved in Nepalese manuscripts, the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana* (*MSN*) ("Compelling Positive Rebirths for the Dead"). The *MSN* has already been mentioned in earlier chapters in reference to the postmortem *utkrānti* that it teaches, and in the following section (4.2) will be discussed in greater detail. Although it is an entirely Sanskrit source from the mainstream of Indian Buddhist literature, specific textual links connect it to Nepal and make it a potentially valuable point for comparison, even if it does not provide the level of fine practical detail that the Newari-Sanskrit manuals usually do. In the interest of keeping descriptions of individual texts unified, the full remaining discussion of the *utkrānti* will be provided in the next section, where the focus is on the *MSN*, while in the current, the remainder of funerary rites included post-*utkrānti* in the *UKV* will be described.

At this point, we can understand the *utkrānti* itself to be complete, but the text is not over; next come preliminary instructions for the *homa* that will be prepared in advance of the *homa* cremation. The *UKV* only discusses the kindling of the fire on the first day (i.e., the day of death), not the cremation, which, according to the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, takes place on the second day (see also Chapter Three). This will not be discussed in depth here, as significant attention has already been paid to the process in the more detailed *Utkrānti-SDP*. However, it is worth noting that the *UKV*, too, emphasizes the role of the clay *bheota* vessel in which the fire is kindled and transported to the cremation ground, a matter that remained somewhat ambiguous in the former text.

The text of the *UKV* calls next for the *Cakrasaṃvara samādhi*, at a point where, in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, the *SDP samādhi* is instead prescribed. The preparations for the *homa* and cremation continue, then, in the *UKV*, although the description of the summoning rite for Agni is not provided in detail, nor is the distinction made between the general form of the framing-*homa* Agni, and the specific one invoked to be in the cremation fire. The critical element by the end of these first day preparations is that they conclude with the setting aside of the five vessels that will be carried to the cremation ground the following day, as well as preservation of the fire, secured in the *bheota* pot.

We have already mentioned briefly some of the ways the current text differs in comparison to other texts with *utkrānti* rites. In this section we will talk about those differences in a more specific way. In Chapter Two here, canonical descriptions of *utkrānti* were partially discussed in the section addressing the opening verses, which were taken from the *Samvarodaya tantra*. However, the *utkrānti* taught there was specifically the form to be rehearsed and then used at the time of death, the ritual done upon oneself. For the current focus, considering the version to be done after death, different sources are needed. In the next section, this will be done by the examination of the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana*, mentioned briefly in previous chapters. As for the present *UKV*, we may end by repeating our observation that the *utkrānti* manual lacks the actual visualization sequence that would complete the act of propelling the consciousness of the deceased from the crown opening, the core element in *utkrānti*. It is possible that this omission is due to the increased *guhya* status of such a ritual; just like the details of the *Cakrasaṃvara* and *Vajravārāhī samādhis*, this is an area where heightened restrictions are followed, with regard to limits on who may access such texts. The next section will, in contrast, give a clear idea about what sections might include.

II. *Mṛtasugatiniyojana*

Mṛtasugatiniyojana: Introduction

Whereas the texts examined thus far have been works of extra-canonical ritual literature, this section focuses on two that had a more pan-Indic influence. The *Mṛtasugatiniyojana* of Śūnyasamādhivajra and the *Maṇḍalopāyikā* of Padmaśrīmitra are Sanskrit ritual manuals that teach tantric Buddhist funerary rites and, as such, are some of the only works of this nature that survive in Sanskrit. Their relevance for the current study is that they contain postmortem *utkrānti* followed by rituals based on the *SDP*, along with a number of auxiliary subrituals, thus following a similar sequence to that found in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual treated in previous chapters. While their similarities have implications for understanding the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual and may shed further light on certain of its features, the ways in which they differ are equally instructive. Although both the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana* and *Maṇḍalopāyikā* may be useful in this respect, the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana*'s ritual sequence parallels the *Utkrānti-SDP* more closely than the *Maṇḍalopāyikā*'s does, and so the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana* will be our primary focus, with relevant comments on the *Maṇḍalopāyikā* made when appropriate. Although the *utkrānti* portion of the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana* was previously referenced in the context of the *utkrānti* section of the

Utkrānti-SDP manual and *UKV*, further consideration will here be given to the text as a whole.

Preliminary studies of the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana* and *Maṇḍalopāyika*, including editions of both, have been published by Ryugen Tanemura along with critical apparatus in Japanese and also discussed by Alexis Sanderson and others.⁸⁴⁴ The *Mṛtasugatiniyojana* survives in two manuscripts, one located in the Tokyo University Library, and one in the Kaiser Library, Nepal, microfilmed by the NGMPP.⁸⁴⁵ With regard to other accessible sources, the inclusion of almost the entirety of the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana* within another ritual work, the *Ācāryākriyāsamuccaya* by Jagaddarpaṇa/Darpaṇācārya, means that there are a number of other surviving manuscripts containing the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana* along with other content.⁸⁴⁶ The *Maṇḍalopāyikā* is extant in one manuscript, also in the Tokyo University Library.⁸⁴⁷ The *Maṇḍalopāyikā* does not appear in the Tibetan canon, but there are two translations of the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana* included in it.⁸⁴⁸ The *Maṇḍalopāyikā* is most likely from the late 11th or 12th c. CE. The *Mṛtasugatiniyojana* is likewise from the 11th to 12th c. CE, although the dating (and identity) of its author, Śūnyasamādhivajra, remains somewhat uncertain.⁸⁴⁹

Sources and Influences

Within the colophon of the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana*, the text names the *Guhyasamāja tantra* (*GST*) and the *SDP* as sources for its methods. As Tanemura notes, this does not imply a claim that the *GST* itself teaches funerary techniques; rather, according to Tanemura, it may be that the *MSN* employs a mantra/visualization system that is based on the *GST*.⁸⁵⁰ The *MSN* further explains that the purpose of combining these two systems is so that the *SDP* portion may supplement and fulfill ritual requirements not satisfied by the *GST* portion.⁸⁵¹

⁸⁴⁴ Tanemura, "Manual"; Tanemura, "Śūnyasamādhivajra"; Ryugen Tanemura, "Padmasrīmitra *Maṇḍalopāyikā* *Antasthītikarmodeśa* Preliminary Edition," *Modern Tantra* 現代密教 23 (2012): 103–21; Ryugen Tanemura, "Padmasrīmitra 作 *Maṇḍalopāyikā* の規定する葬送儀礼について," *印度學佛教學研究* 第 60, no. 2 (2012): 1038–1033; Sanderson, "The Śaiva Age," 127 n. 295–97.

⁸⁴⁵ Tanemura, "Manual," 2. Tokyo MS No. 307, NGMCP C47-9.

⁸⁴⁶ Tanemura suggests that it was the *Ācāryākriyāsamuccaya* which most likely borrowed from the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana* (rather than the other way around), giving as evidence the irregular sequence of opening statements in the former (Tanemura, "Manual," 4 n. 23).

⁸⁴⁷ Tanemura, "Manual," 2 n. 1

⁸⁴⁸ These are Toh. 1907 and 1908. The titles they bear in Tibetan are not direct translations of their Sanskrit names.

⁸⁴⁹ Tanemura has examined evidence for dating the *MSN*, but not settled definitively on an answer, on account of discrepancies among manuscript colophons. The date of copying is not given in either manuscript, but Tanemura judges, based on script and size, that the manuscript is not earlier than 13th c. In conclusion, if the colophon is to be trusted, and the identity correspondence given in the *Deb ther sngon po* is to be trusted, the text would be 11th–12th c. (since Maitrīpa's dates are 1007–1085). If it is not to be trusted, it remains an open question. See discussion in Tanemura, "Manual," 3.

⁸⁵⁰ Tanemura, "Manual," 4 n. 8

⁸⁵¹ The text says: "What ritual action is not satisfied by the *Guhyasamāja*, with regard to its fulfillment, [one should] resort then to that which is stated in the *SDP* (47)." (*yaḥ chrīguhyasamājān na pūryate karma tasya paripūryai / śrīmaddurgatīśodhanatanantroktam hy āsritam karma// 47/*)

Expanding upon this, the *GST* portion is the basis for the "yoga to rescue the dead" (more literally, to "enliven" them) (*mṛtasamjīvanayogaḥ*), which draws on material from the fourteenth chapter of the *GST*, according to Tanemura.⁸⁵² Later, after the completion of the *abhiṣekas* and departure of the consciousness, the *SDP* is employed in a segment for the purification of the remaining ash/bones, sourced from material found in the first chapter of the *SDP*.⁸⁵³

Based on the text's explanation, Tanemura suggests a division between the textual systems, where the *GST*/former portion liberates or sends the deceased to a better rebirth, while the *SDP* prevents obstructions that may hinder the efforts of preventing bad rebirths. The text itself does not state this complementarity of purpose so explicitly, although it is the logical one based on what each portion of the ritual generally seems to do. However, as is often the case with ritual manuals, the text provides very little commentarial discussion of intent or meaning, so this remains speculative. However, even with such a division of purpose, it is possible that the combination is a *post hoc* explanation rather than deliberate decision guiding the creation of the ritual sequence. This may be the case both given (externally) broader observations about the *SDP*'s use over time and (internally) the inherent logic and redundancies of joining the two sets of rites. These factors will be discussed at greater length below, examining this text in light of the broader *SDP* tradition's development.

It is also the case, as suggested by Tanemura, that remarkably little is actually drawn from the identified source texts—just a few lines at certain points, along with a set of mantras. That is to say, it is not the quantity of quoted text that is the determining factor for how these attributions are made; other texts quoted without being identified.⁸⁵⁴ This is even more the case in the *Maṇḍalopāyikā*; as Tanemura notes, the *Maṇḍalopāyikā* states that it is based on the *GST*, but it in fact reproduces material from the *Catuṣpīṭha tantra*. Thus, while the author's statements in both the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana* and *Maṇḍalopāyikā* make specific claims about the sources of their ritual, such claims do not tell us about these works' full textual heritage and the sources.

The *Mṛtasugatiniyojana* has, in turn, influenced other works. As already mentioned, it is incorporated almost in its entirety in the *Ācāryākriyāsamuccaya*, and signs point to it as being the earlier/origin of the borrowing.⁸⁵⁵ The *Ācāryākriyāsamuccaya* is better known as the *Kriyāsamuccaya* in Nepal, where it has been an influential ritual text, including being

⁸⁵² This is not, however, the *utkrānti*, which takes place after the yoga to rescue the dead. The fourteenth chapter of the *GST* does not contain *utkrānti*. The section cited starts at *GST* 14.11. Also noted by Tanemura at this point is quotation of the *Mṛtyuvañcanopadeśa* 4.10-14. See Tanemura, "Śūnyasamādhivajra," 116, n. 7. Tanemura seems to be referring, within the fourteenth chapter, to the preliminary protection of the ritual space, the practice, and the ritualist.

⁸⁵³ Tanemura points specifically to lines 16-26 (Skorupski, *SDP*, 176) that deal with the "beating of the bones" (*asthyāditāḍana* etc.). Those lines also include the purification (*prakṣālyam*) of the bones, both relating back to the *asti sile* (Newari) rites found in the *Utkrānti-SDP* text as well as *SDP samādhi* literature.

⁸⁵⁴ Other sources with parallels but not explicitly identified include the *Mṛtyuvañcanopadeśa* of Vāgīśvarakīrti lines 4.10-14 (Tanemura, *Śūnyasamādhivajra*, 115 n.7), *Sādhnamālā* quoted no. 159 (*Prajñāpāramitāsādhana*) vol. 1, p.322, ll.8-10 (Tanemura cites at pg 115(122) n. 8), the *GST* is again quoted at 13.80-83 ((Tanemura, *Śūnyasamādhivajra*, 114, n. 16.).)

⁸⁵⁵ Tanemura, "Manual," 4 n. 23.

one of the sources for the *Utkrānti-SDP* text, as discussed in previous chapters.⁸⁵⁶ Tanemura has suggested that the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana*, via its inclusion in the *Ācāryākriyasamuccaya*, provided a basis for funeral rites in the Kathmandu Valley. This he based on its similarity to a brief outline written by Amṛtānanda and given by Hodgson and thence the India Office Library.⁸⁵⁷ The Amṛtānanda text, edited by John Brough, is not itself a ritual manual but rather an overview or summary, but it is possible that Tanemura did not consult direct examples of actual Nepalese manuals like the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual (unsurprising, given their scarcity in the archive). This may then confirm a connection, not previously noted, between the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana* and texts like the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual and modern Newar practice, by way of the *Ācāryākriyāsamuccaya*.

The Utkrānti procedure of the MSN

Like the Newari-Sanskrit manuals, the *MSN* places the *utkrānti* after a sequence wherein the consciousness was reinstalled in the body, then initiated or consecrated. The *MSN* does not explicitly identify this segment as the *pañcābhiṣeka*, nor include it fully, but rather makes reference to the visualization sequence and consecration. That is to say, its entire section is only a paraphrase of something likely equivalent to a single *bhāvanā* sequence in other texts. This sequence consists of the descriptions of vases, clouds of deities bestowing blessings, and the pouring or sprinkling of water. In the *MSN*, unlike the Newari-Sanskrit texts, the key acts are visualized with the presiding deity being Locanā. This is consistent with the *MSN*'s stated ties to the *Guhyasamāja tantra*, the deity to whom the *MSN*'s opening homage is directed.⁸⁵⁸

The description of the expulsion of the consciousness given in the *MSN* is a visualization sequence in which one imagines a vajra at the tip of the penis that blazes upward, propelling the consciousness from where it rests in the heart so that it rises up through the body and departs from the top of the head. The entire procedure is described in three verses (v.14-16) and there is no corresponding information of ritual acts to be done aside from the visualization. However, it is a more substantial and direct description than that which is provided by either of the Newari-Sanskrit manuals. Relating this to other pre- and peri-mortem version of Buddhist *utkrānti* found in texts like the *Samvarodaya* (i.e. thus also the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual's first mention), as well as *Catuṣpāṭha* and **Dvikramatattvabhāvanā-mukhāgama*, there is relatively little information available here, compared to the kind that

⁸⁵⁶ In particular, the *Kriyāsamuccaya* quotes large passages of the *Vajrāvalī*, and may have been the more direct source of borrowing in the compilation of the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual's *abhiṣeka* section. Sakurai argues that the *abhiṣeka* section of the *Kriyāsamuccaya* is most likely from the *Vajrāvalī* (as far as direction of borrowing). See Tanemura, "Manual," 4 n. 24.

⁸⁵⁷ Tanemura, discussing Brough on Hodgson IOL vol. 29 no. 8, see John Brough, "Nepalese Buddhist Rituals," in *Collected Papers*, ed. Minoru Hara and J.C. Wright (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1996), 57 (Originally published in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XII, 3-4, 1948, 668-676: 671)

⁸⁵⁸ The edition of the *MSN* published by Tanemura provides no section break identifying the *pañcābhiṣeka*, nor the preliminary *ādiyoga* that precedes it. All of these are listed under the general heading of "*Mṛtasamjīvanayoga* and *Utkrānti*." (The headings are not based on section titles within the *MSN* but rather a part of the apparatus Tanemura has included.) The consecrations in the *MSN* are described in verses 10-13, and the *utkrānti* itself in verses 14-16.

they provide. Where the other accounts describe processes of up and down movement propelled by mantra syllables eventually resulting in elevation up through the head, the imagery here is of a vajra alone, and there is only mention of movement upward. Even the distinction that has been made by Szántó between earlier versions of *utkrānti* lacking a basis in the theory of channels (*nāḍī*) in the body versus later ones which do employ the concept cannot be made here, although it can be said that no channels are specifically described as they are in the *Utkrānti-SDP/Saṃvarodaya*, for example.⁸⁵⁹ Likewise not explicitly mentioned in the *MSN* are the breathing practices noted in the *UKV* and connected with *utkrānti* in works such as those of the tradition of the Six Yogas/Dharmas of Naropa.⁸⁶⁰ In the *MU*, the actual *utkrānti* is similarly brief, occupying only verses 28-31, which contain a visualization sequence in which deities draw the deceased's consciousness up and out of the body, and then send it to Sukhāvātī or a similar realm.⁸⁶¹

Examination of MSN in light of the Newar manuals UKV and Utkrānti-SDP

Initial Sections and *Utkrānti* (with outline)⁸⁶²

Verses:	<i>Mṛtasugatiniyojana</i>
1-4	Prep of ritualist, site, materials
5	<i>Maṇḍala</i> (including circle of protection)
6	Self-empowerment and worship of the deity
7-8	Recall and binding of the consciousness
9-10	Consecrations/Initiations for the deceased
11-13	Main vase consecrations (<i>pañcābhiṣeka</i> implied)
14-16	Actual <i>utkrānti</i> rite
17-20	<i>Utkrānti</i> -related description of rebirth destination and gates/orifices
21-23 +prose	<i>Homa</i> and Funeral procession visualized with Indic deities
24-26	Cremation
27-35 +prose	<i>SDP maṇḍala</i> , vase worship, bone beating (27-33), bone washing
36-39	Auspicious verses (<i>maṅgala-gāthā</i>)
40-42	Appropriate offerings given to the officiant
43-45	Scattering of the bones
46-47	Concluding comments and colophon

Mṛtasugatiniyojana ritual sequence/verse outline

The *MSN* differs from the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual from its outset in its not referring to the corpse at all prior to the summoning and reinstallation of the consciousness in it. Instead, the opening benediction and introduction is followed by verses concerning only the correct

⁸⁵⁹ Szántó, *Catuspīṭha*, 458.

⁸⁶⁰ Stuart Ray Sarbacker, *Tracing the Path of Yoga: The History and Philosophy of Indian Mind-Body Discipline* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2021), 179-80.

⁸⁶¹ Sanderson, "Śaiva Age," 127 n. 297.

⁸⁶² The verse numbering used here is based on Tanemura's edition (Tanemura, *Mṛtasugatiniyojana*, 2013).

preparation of the ritual master, and the conditions of the site. There is, in these, an influence coming from the typical opening of *sādhana*s, where the ideal location is first described and is typically a peaceful isolated place.⁸⁶³ Here (i.e. in the context of a funeral), it would not make sense for the ritualist to seek out a an isolated spot in the way *sādhana*s council; the funerary rites are performed first at the home of the deceased and then at the cremation ground.⁸⁶⁴ Yet the opening instructions do call for "the home of the deceased, in solitude" (verse 2). Although the home of the deceased makes sense, the reference to solitude is not consistent with other sources on funerary rites and may be a lingering reference to the peaceful isolated meditation sites often recommended for *sādhana* practice, such as in the *sādhana* section of the *SDP*.⁸⁶⁵ The portrayal of the ritualist is not primarily a practical one, either, but rather gestures towards the iconography of the central deity to be assumed by the ritualist—namely he is to be dressed in white, anointed with scent, garlanded with flowers, peaceful (verse 1).⁸⁶⁶

The *MSN* likewise offers few specifics when it comes to the offering materials, substances, and ritual implements that need to be provided at the outset of the rituals, mentioning, for example, "the yogi, who has supplied all of the offerings" (verse 2⁸⁶⁷), who should have a vajra and bell. Even these, mostly, relate to the preparation of the ritualist in the context of general deity yoga, describing the clothes and ornaments they should wear (verse 3⁸⁶⁸), and so forth. For ritual materials, offering substances such as water, scent, and

⁸⁶³ Compare, for example, with the start of the *sādhana* section of the *SDP* - although in this case it is more likely that the model, if anything, would be the Locanā and/or *GST* based traditions since they are the focus in the earlier part of the ritual sequence. In general it is a fairly widespread and ubiquitous way of starting, in any case. For the *SDP* example, see Skorupski, *SDP*, 132.

⁸⁶⁴ Although previously mentioned is this starting point in the *SDP*, the *SDP* at that point is not teaching funerary rituals, but rather the overall text, of which funerary rites are only a subset, and one that appears much later than this opening.

⁸⁶⁵ It is certainly possible that in this context it is taken to mean that it should be done in a peaceful area within the home; however, it nonetheless remains the case that the instruction is reminiscent of the kind that often appear in instructions for yogis.

⁸⁶⁶ These are, of course, typical instructions given for ritualists. Here and in the footnotes that follow, the relevant verses from the *MSN* (1-20) are provided with translation. In most cases I have followed the Tanemura edition readings; specific deviations will be indicated. This only provides the first twenty verses of the *MSN*, as those are the ones that provide the most relevant information. It should be noted that this is a preliminary effort, and there may yet remain some problems with some of them. Although information from the Tibetan translation of the *MSN* is mentioned in several instances, the version here relies on the Sanskrit. Verse 1: Having bowed to the Goddess called Locanā, who brings life to the dead and delights in the welfare of others, I will propound "Compelling Positive Situations [of Rebirth] for the Deceased" through [her] practice of reviving the dead. |1| (Sanskrit: *praṇipatya locanākhyāṃ devīm mṛtasaṃjīvanīm parārthatarām || mṛtasaṃjīvanīyogān mṛtasugatiniyojanaṃ vakṣye ||1||*)

⁸⁶⁷ Verse 2: In the home of the deceased, in solitude, the yogi, who has supplied all of the offerings, bears a crown of white flowers, is anointed with white scent, and is peaceful. |2| (Sanskrit: *mṛtasadmani suvivikte yogī sarvopahārasaṃyuktaḥ | dhṛtasitakusumoṣṇāṣaḥ sitagandhavilepanaḥ śāntaḥ ||2||*) Note that here the Tibetan gives more specifics: enjoyments (i.e. the seven outer sense offerings) and the 18 leisures and fortunes (*dal 'byor nyer spyod kun ldan pa*). The meter, here and for the most part, is *ārya*.

⁸⁶⁸ Verse 3: He is adorned with white clothing and ornaments, or, for a start [i.e. at the very least], he is faithful. [He] bears a vajra and vajra-bell, and should be seated on a high soft seat. |3| (Sanskrit: *sitavastrāṅkāraḥ prāgāśyas tadadhimokṣavān yadvā | dhṛtavajravajraghaṇṭas tiṣṭhen mṛduvistare tuṅge ||3||*)

flowers are mentioned (verse 4⁸⁶⁹) but there is no detail given (i.e. it mentions "sandalwood and other scents" only), and of the *maṇḍala*, the text rather laconically says only, "Having made the *maṇḍala*, he should beautify it with white flowers" (verse 4).

Verse 5⁸⁷⁰ completes the *maṇḍala* and is followed by brief mention and abbreviated mantras indicating that one should, as is done in *sādhana*, complete the ritual protections of oneself and of the ritual space. This would seem to be the circle of protection, all of this falling within the preliminary yoga portion of *sādhana* practice. This also is the point at which the ritualist engages in deity yoga and assumes the role of the deity, though this is only mentioned by reference to the *pañcābhisambodhi* step: "having seen his own seed syllable on the moon disk at the heart," etc. (verse 5).

All of verses 2-5 involve the preparation for the ritual, and focus entirely on the site, materials, and ritual master. There is no reference to the deceased, and indeed there is nothing to indicate that this is the start of a funerary ritual at all. It seems, therefore, that the *MSN* is not a practical manual suitable for real-time consultation in the course of ritual performance. One of the striking things about the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual and the *UKV* is that they include distinct set-up instructions relating to the materials to be supplied. That is to say, although there are many elements within the Newari-Sanskrit manuals that are abbreviated and require outside knowledge, the manner of the abbreviation differs from that of the *MSN* in ways that are more useful for facilitating the actual enactment of the rites. In the *MSN*, all descriptions are fairly abbreviated—it is not a long text—especially the early step of providing all the materials that will be needed in the rite. The Newari-Sanskrit manuals, on the other hand, sometimes abbreviate steps for rites—procedures—that are well known to all ritualists likely to find themselves doing the rite; however, they do not abbreviate what precedes such sections, namely the listing all of the materials needed to begin. This prior section, set apart and before any of the ritual description, is so placed for the practical reason of providing someone setting up and acquiring the requisites for the rite a place to find them conveniently listed. It is, in a sense, the list of ingredients found at the top of a written recipe. In modern printed manuals for practical use, such information appears often in actual list form right before the step-by-step instructions. Although not set off graphically in a list style format in the current work, these segments in the Newari-Sanskrit manual serve the same purpose. Aside from serving the practicality of ensuring everything is in order for the ritual to begin, this may also reflect the more specific tradition in some Newar Buddhist rituals that the priest, once he has seated himself and begun the ritual proceedings, may not get up or move.

As a part of the preliminary rites, the protection of the yoga, oneself, and the place is thereafter completed using mantras originating in the *GST* and referenced by their first lines

⁸⁶⁹ Verse 4: [The yogi should place] in front [of himself] white sandalwood and other scents, and the mixture of the five nectars and water. Having made the *maṇḍala*, he should beautify it with white flowers. [4] (Sanskrit: *sitacandanādīgandhaiḥ pañcāmṛtasalilasamyutaiḥ purataḥ | maṇḍalam upalipyā sitaiḥ kusumair upaśobhitam kuryāt* ||4||)

⁸⁷⁰ Verse 5: He should murmur the argha [water] offering etc.using the correct invocation with [each of] their own mantras ending in *svāhā*. Having seen his own seed syllable on the moon disk at the heart, he should protect the seats, etc. [5] (Sanskrit: *arḡhādikaṃ svamantraiḥ svāhāntaiḥ samjapet sacodanakaiḥ | hṛccandre nijabūjaṃ dr̥ṣṭvā sthānādikaṃ rakṣet* ||5||)

in the *MSN*. In what follows, the rituals described are highly abbreviated and in some cases it may not be possible to tell what is intended to be included. Verse 6⁸⁷¹ seems to cover all of the rituals of self-empowerment and initial worship of the deity, briefly referring only to practices connected with Locanā, which preface the key actions in verses 7⁸⁷² and 8⁸⁷³: the recall of the consciousness and its insertion back into the body. It is simply to be done "in accordance with the instructions," which contrasts with the *Utkrānti-SDP* account, the same stage of which includes a visualization, *nyāsa*, mantra recitation, and other acts. Similarly, such critical details for actual performance, such as the *saṃkalpa* (declaration of ritual intent) occur at this point in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual but are absent from the *MSN*.

With regard to the summoning and installation of the consciousness, a detailed comparison has already been offered in the initial discussion of this portion of the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual and again to some degree with the relevant portion of the *UKV*. Suffice it to say, though the methods differ, both make use of a sequence of visualizations using mantra syllables to draw the deceased into the corpse and bind it there. Thereafter, consecrations of the deceased follow for verses 9⁸⁷⁴ and 10⁸⁷⁵, leading principally to main vase consecrations that seem to be referenced in verses 11⁸⁷⁶ and 12⁸⁷⁷. These verses are not explicitly identified by name as relating to the *pañcābhiṣeka*, but they describe an aspersion rite with imagery

⁸⁷¹ Verse 6: The yogi who knows the correct procedure should meditate on the yoga of Locanā in accordance with the instructions. From the top of the heart syllable, a highly accomplished shining wheel should emerge. |6| (Sanskrit: *pravidhāya locanāyā yogam vidhivad vidhānavid yogī | nīścārayet susiddham cakraghrṇim hṛdayabījāgrāt* ||6|| (*counted as verse 9 in etext))

⁸⁷² Verse 7: (As this verse presents some problems, I here give Sanderson's translation): Then he should draw down the consciousness [of the deceased] that is in the world beyond, [visualizing it as] bright red in color or with the shape of the letter A (the dharmamukham), resembling the unflickering flame of a lamp in a windless place. |7| (Sanskrit: *tato nayet suraktavarṇam paralokasamsthitaṃ jñānam | dharmamukhākṛti yad vā nivātanīṣkampadīpanibham* ||7|| (*Since this is Sanderson's translation, I have also included the verse as constituted by him (which differs slightly from the Tanemura), see Sanderson, *Śaiva Age*, 127-28.

⁸⁷³ Verse 8: [He] should propel that consciousness which has been brought near into the heart of the deceased through the head. Then [he] should see the corpse as endowed with consciousness when it has arisen (i.e. jerked upwards as it has been revived) and is resting again. |8| (Sanskrit: *ānītaṃ taj jñānam mṛtasya hṛdaye praveśayec chirasā | tata utthāya niṣaṇṇaṃ taṃ paśyej jñānasampannam* ||8||)

⁸⁷⁴ Verse 9: Having propelled "Moharatī into the heart of that one [=the deceased]" by means of that blazing garland of rays, having made the body empty, he should see it as having a remainder(?) of cognitivity(?). |9| (Sanskrit: *taddhṛdi moharatīti kṣiptvā tadraśmimālayājvalayā | śūnīkṛtya tadeham paśyed vijñaptipariśeṣam* ||9||)

⁸⁷⁵ Verse 10: After that, the one who recites "Moharatī" should meditate on the appearance of Locanā. Having done so, [he] should empower in all aspects the eyes, etc., the body etc. [of the corpse]. |10| (Sanskrit: *tad anu ca moharatīti prapaṭhaṃs taṃ locanākṛtiṃ dhyātvā | tac cakṣurādi kāyādy adhiṣṭhitaṃ sarvathā kuryāt* ||10||)

⁸⁷⁶ Verse 11: [He] should consecrate it with the nectar of the vase of shining fluids(?), [and imagine that it is being consecrated] by clouds of goddesses who are born from the abiding root mantra which is on the moon disk in the heart of the goddess located in the [owner of the] consciousness's heart. |11|* (*This translation somewhat provisional.) (Sanskrit: *hṛjjñānadevatāhṛdi candre sthītamūlamantrair enaṃ | devīmeghair amṛtair jyoṭīrasakalaśagatair abhiṣīncet* ||11||)

⁸⁷⁷ It should be sprinkled, that is, by that which has a mass of light, which, because it throbs, is a mandala that pervades the whole sky and is emanated from his own body—that then is the clouds of Locanā. |12| (Sanskrit: *nīścāritaiḥ svadehād vyāptākhilagaganamaṇḍalaiḥ sphāraṇāt | raśmipīṇḍāyamānaiḥ siñced anu locanāmeghaiḥ* ||12||)

very similar to the opening *bhāvanā* sequence presented before the first of these rites, the water (*udaka*) *abhiṣeka*, in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual.

Here again, the central deity referred to is Locanā, rather than Vajravārāhī (as is given in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual), and Locanā is visualized at the heart of the deceased. Besides the aspersion by deities imagery in verses 11-13, verse 13⁸⁷⁸ includes mention of a crown as well as vajra-bell, likely referring to some of the subsequent *abhiṣekas*. This appears to complete the descriptions of the *abhiṣekas*. Whereas in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual a number of additional forms of worship intervene, in the *MSN* the completion of the *pañcābhiṣeka* is followed immediately by the three verses (verses 14-16⁸⁷⁹) that described the actual *utkrānti* itself. Thus, together, the *MSN* can be divided with verses 2-13 constituting the rescue of the dead (*mṛtasamjīvanayoga*), and verses 14-16 the *utkrānti yoga*.

The *utkrānti yoga* section (as opposed to the rite itself) can further be understood to continue to verse 20, for the subsequent verses 17-20⁸⁸⁰ identify which rebirth destinations are indicated by the consciousness departing from from each of the gates (orifices) on the body. The *Utkrānti-SDP* manual similarly contains such a section, but it appears in the pre-/peri-mortem version of the rite based on verses from the *Samvarodaya* (as discussed in Chapter 2), not in the portion of the manual dealing with the postmortem *utkrānti*.

As for the specific list of rebirth destinations, the three auspicious possibilities (according to the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual) are departure from the navel, the

⁸⁷⁸ Verse 13: (This verse is somewhat problematic, and versions in Tanemura's edition and the etext differ. However, for a provisional attempt:) In the same way, [the ācārya] should sprinkle [the corpse] by means of [a vase?] filled with water upon which her [i.e. Locanā's] mantra has been recited. And he should bestow on his head a tiara and a vajra and a bell in his two hands. (Sanskrit: *tanmantrajaptaśalilāpūrṇena niyamena ca tathā siñcayet | dadyāt śīrasi ca makūṭam hastayuge vajravajraghaṇṭā ca* ||13||) (In this case, the Sanskrit included is based not on Tanemura's edition but rather on the etext constituted by Péter Szántó; thanks also to him for discussion of this verse.)

⁸⁷⁹ Verses 14-16: (Verse 14:) Then, the mantrin should imagine the tip of piece of kuśa grass to be a sharp single-pointed vajra, place it at the aperture of the [corpse's] penis and imagine that it looks like it is burning. |14| (Sanskrit: *tad anu kuśāgraṃ mantrī vibhāvya tīkṣṇaikasūcīkavajram || nīkṣīpya vajrarandhre dhyāyāt tad dahanasamkāśam* ||14||) (Verse 15:) Then, [that one] with the concentrated mind should compel the glittering consciousness propelled upwards by the wind-fanned flames [exiting] from the tip of the penis. (Sanskrit: *tadanu samāhitacittā tat hṛdi vinyastavisphuratjñānaṃ | samcodayej jvaladbhir vajrāgnair mārutoddhṛtaiḥ* ||15||) (Verse 16:) He should visualize it rising up through the upper path to liberation or a pure buddha field, like quicksilver touched by a burning flame. |16| (Sanskrit: *udgacchantam dhyāyād dahanārciḥsprṣyamānapāradavat | ūrdhvādhanā vimuktiṃ buddhakṣetraṃ viśuddham vā* ||16||)

⁸⁸⁰ Verses 17-20: Verse 17: If it goes out by another path, the consciousness falls into the ocean of samsara. Therefore the ascent should be done via the upper path. |17|(Sanskrit: *yadi yāty anyena pathā jñānaṃ saṃsārasāgare patati || tasmāt tasyotkramaṇaṃ kuryād ūrdhvena mārgeṇa* ||17||) Verse 18: [If] by the head, it should go to the formless realm; if by the urna hair it is said to go to the form realm. If by the eyes, [it goes to] the human state, if by the ears [it goes] to the accomplishment gods' realm. |18| (Sanskrit: *śīrasārūpyam gacched ūrṇakośena rūpadhātvaḥkhyam | nayanābhyāṃ manujatvaṃ karṇābhyāṃ siddhidevagatim* ||18||) Verse 19: [If] by the nostrils, it goes to the yakṣa state, [if] by the mouth, it should go out to the gandharva state. [If] by the navel, [it goes] to the desire realm gods, [if] by the penis ["the path of the semen"], [it goes to] the hungry ghost state. |19| (Sanskrit: *nāsābhyāṃ yakṣatvaṃ gandharvatvaṃ mukhena niryāyāt | nābhyā kāmyāmaratām retomārgeṇa pretagatim* ||19||) Verse 20: [If from] the urethra [urine opening], to the animal level, [if by] the excrement path, to the hell level. The consciousness will assuredly go, therefore it should stay away from those paths. |20| (Sanskrit: *mūtrādhanā tīraścām yoniṃ varcaḥpathena narakagatim | gacchen nūnaṃ jñānaṃ tasmāt tān vajrayen mārgān* ||20||)

forehead/*bindu/ūrṇā*, and crown of the head, and the destinations in each of these cases match (respectively, desire realm, form realm, formless realm).⁸⁸¹ After these three, there are some differences. The most significant is that the *MSN* counts one more possible orifice than the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual does, because the former distinguishes the penis ("path of semen") and urethra ("gate of urine"). It differs in the destination of those that depart via the ears (*kinnaras* in the *Utkrānti-SDP* and "realized gods" (*siddhadeva*) in the *MSN*), the destination via the mouth (*Utkrānti-SDP*: *pretas*; *MSN*: *gandharvas*). The *preta* option in the *MSN* is assigned to the penis, i.e. the distinction that is not made by the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual. Finally, the remaining pairs, eyes to human rebirth, nostrils to *yakṣa*, anus to hell, are the same. Unlike the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, the *MSN* makes no mention of the last element, the possibility of remaining *agati*, becoming a *bhūta*, *preta*, or *piśāca*.⁸⁸²

Homa

These lists bring the *utkrānti* section to an end, and within the *MSN*, the following verse (verse 21) moves immediately into the *homa* procedure for the first day. The *MSN* lists the *homa* as the next rite in its sequence; however, it does not provide detailed instructions for the practice, instead referencing methods presumed to be well known. Alternative options are given for either simpler or more complex versions of the performance, and mention is made of Mahāyāna *sūtras* such as the Perfection of Wisdom, etc. These are to be recited, although no further details are provided. Paired with the *homa*, and wrapping up the rituals done at the home of the deceased, this sequence concludes with the bestowal of payment and gifts to the priest. These should be paid in accordance with what is appropriate given the wealth of the sacrificer (i.e. in this case the principle mourner who is a surviving relative). This brief treatment contrasts markedly with the extensive description of *homa* in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, and even the relatively abbreviated description in the *UKV*.

While the *MSN* does not elaborate on the *homa* process, it does give an expanded description of the funeral procession, one which exceeds both the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual and the *UKV* in detail.⁸⁸³ What's more, it describes not just the physical steps for moving the corpse and mourners from the home of the deceased to the cremation ground; it also provides the visualizations that transform the ordinary funeral procession into a divine entourage. Given first in a prose passage and then verses 21 to 23, the emphasis is on the symbolic identities of the participants in the funerary procession, such that each role is assigned an identity with one among Indic gods who serve as World Protectors/ directional

⁸⁸¹ This is as is presented in the verses, i.e. the *Samvarodaya* portion. As discussed in Chapter Two, the Newari interpretation differs on some points, namely in not giving a clear account of destination in the case of the destination for the *bindu/ūrṇā*, reading it instead as concerning the shape of the consciousness (taking the form of a drop, rather than from the *bindu* (drop) to the form realm), and the crown of the head, which is identified in the Newari with the somewhat unclear "fruit of liberation" (which could, but need not, mean liberation).

⁸⁸² The *UKV* does not include such a list. There is also ambiguity here, regarding the *agati* state, and whether it is the same of the *preta* state. As noted before, the *preta* that is the normal form for beings immediately after death is not the same as the rebirth destination/stage that can be reached as one of the three bad options. However, anecdotally, it is not entirely clear whether *agati* is understood as something other than the ordinary pre-rebirth *preta* stage. It is, at any rate, an undesirable state to remain in for too long.

⁸⁸³ The funeral procession does appear, however, in the *SDP samādhi* literature.

deities, identifying the first nine by name. The ritualist, who leads, is explicitly identified with Vajradhara and is instructed to repeat the mantra of Locanā and the purification mantras from the *SDP*. This procession of Indic gods resembles a common motif of processions with the Buddha, where it is the Indic gods who accompany him, another feature reminding of the special treatment of the deceased here.⁸⁸⁴

In contrast, the emphasis in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual is not on the procession itself, but rather on the preparation of the deceased for transport. The deceased is placed on the bier, which is elaborately adorned. In addition, attention is given to the objects and material that must be taken to the cremation ground, and the preparation of the sacrifice place at the cremation ground. These details are not provided for in the *MSN*, and gestured at but only briefly in the *UKV*. In a similarly general way, the cremation is described in the *MSN* in verses 24 to 26. This, as discussed in Chapter Three, differs significantly from the considerable detail given by the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual.

The *SDP* Rites

The *MSN* next turns to the treatment of the ashes and bone fragments that remain after the cremation is over. Here the influence of the *SDP* is most directly apparent, as it draws on the "rites for the dead" at the end of the first chapter (in the Sanskrit and later Tibetan versions) of the *SDP*.⁸⁸⁵ In fact, this entire section of the *SDP* addresses the treatment of the bone remnants after cremation, not the earlier handling of the body. The *SDP* segment is extremely brief and gives little detail about what the process of cleansing the bones entails.

The Newar tradition presented in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual does include a version of these rites, which fall under the heading of the *SDP maṇḍala* and the rites for cleansing the bones. The rites for cleansing the bones in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual are to be done on the third, fifth, and seventh days after death. However, it does not give instructions for them in detail, and reference must be made to further texts. The two types of texts that contain detailed explanations of this element are the *SDP Samādhi* and *asti sile* manuals, specific single-purpose ritual manuals for cleansing the bones (New. *asti sile*; Skt. *asthi prakṣāḷana*). The *SDP-Utkrānti* manual, however, provides important context for the ritual sequence overall, in that it indicates the ashes and bone fragments that undergo this process are not the entire sum of what has been left after the cremation. As was discussed in Chapter Three, the remnants after cremation on the second day were divided into several portions, some of which remained on the cremation ground in a *stūpa* and some of which were brought back to the home of the deceased. The current portion of the ritual involves the treatment of the bones that were returned to the home after cremation and were placed in a secure location within a clay pot.

Another notable detail only found in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual is that the main the family member whose participation is needed at this stage is not the principle mourner (i.e. the one who plays the central role for much of the ritual, including lighting the pyre).

⁸⁸⁴ The particular form of this motif from Nepal is often identified as the Lumninī yātrā. See Gudrun Bühnemann, "The Buddha's (Return) Journey to Lumbinī (Lumbinīyātrā)" (unpublished draft, n.d.).

⁸⁸⁵ This is the section that occurs in Skorupski (Skt.) 176 ll. 16-26, primarily (as Tanemura also notes, "Manual").

Rather, in this instance it is to be done by a married daughter of the deceased. The significance of the role of married daughters is that, having married 'out' (i.e. into another family), they are the only blood relatives not subject to the death pollution that affects their family of birth, on the occasion of a death.⁸⁸⁶ This, among other things, likely indicates that this portion of the ritual sequence is not considered a ritually impure or polluted one, unlike many of the prior rites dealing with the body of the deceased or involving visits to the cremation grounds.

What the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual does not specify with regard to the details that occupy verses 27 through 45 of the *MSN*, can productively be looked at instead with the *SDP Samādhi* and *asti sile* texts. In the *MSN*, the *SDP maṇḍala* is first created and empowered, including vase worship, between verses 27 and 31. Then comes the treatment of the bone fragments themselves. For this, they are to be placed in a perforated urn atop a vase. They are worshipped and then scattered or struck with white mustard flowers as the mantras of the *SDP* are recited. This, then, is the *asthi tāḍana* according to the *MSN*. Following it, the cleansing of the bones is done, *asthi prakṣāḷaṇa*. The *MSN* gives limited information in this segment, prescribing the purification of the bones with water from the empowered vase along with the recitation of the primary *SDP* mantra. This, it says, is the purification of the bones in the *MSN*.

As presented in Newar texts, bone purification involves slightly different details, although recognizable common elements can be found. Little explanation is given in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual (and none in the *UKV*), so we must turn to the *SDP Samādhi* text, surviving in several partial manuscripts, and a single-purpose ritual for the purification of the bones (*asti sile*, in Newari).⁸⁸⁷ In both types of texts, a *maṇḍala* is made and the bones to be purified are placed in a strainer. These are then bathed in a number of substances for the washing, including water, milk, buffalo milk, curd, honey, and others. Many of the standard Newar framing rituals are included, and in the *asti sile* version of the text, the ritualist performs a *bhāvanā* sequence with visualization describing the Śākyamuni of the *SDP*, in a passage that may be based on the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*'s treatment of the *SDP maṇḍala*.⁸⁸⁸ All of this general sequence, where it appears in the *SDP Samādhi* texts, takes place after the completion of the first yoga/ preliminary sequence (*the ādiyoga-nāma-samādhi*) and is then subsequently followed by the rites at the *tīrtha*, including the *nāga-bhāvanā* and the disposal of the ash.⁸⁸⁹ The following portions, identified as the mantras for seeing the realm of rebirth

⁸⁸⁶ This, however, is not stated explicitly in the text, it simply says that they (the term used is *mhyāca-mucā*) are to do it.

⁸⁸⁷ Although I am calling it a single-purpose ritual, the *asti sile* text may be from a larger anthology. The manuscript exists in the collection of Sarbagya Bajracharya. Although there may be many versions teaching the ritual in texts catalogued by the NGMCP, the fact that it is a subritual means they are unlikely to be labeled in their title with the name *asti sile*. This text, and the category of rites, is in need of further dedicated study focused on it specifically, and the current treatment is only partial at best.

⁸⁸⁸ There is some degree of uncertainty here—the manuscript of the *asti sile* text, which is the only one I had access to, is quite irregular in terms of orthography and variable in quality of both the text and the manuscript's preservation. So while the text generally follows the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, the possibility exists that there is a more detailed source elsewhere.

⁸⁸⁹ Within this, the segment described as the *asti (asthi) bhāvanā* is in need of further study. In particular, in the *samādhi* text it follows with a sequence of rites that resemble the rites done for the body on the latter part of the first day (i.e. after the *utkrānti* has been completed but prior to the cremation). The primary difference,

and purifying the path, may also appear in the bone *bhāvanā* (*asti/ asthi bhāvanā*), of which this is a part in the *samādhi* text, however it is difficult to verify since they are there abbreviated to just their opening phrases.⁸⁹⁰

The "auspicious songs" (*maṅgala-gāthā*) that come next in the *MSN* are three of a larger set found widely across Buddhist tantric literature. Those that appear in the *MSN* at this point (a set of three) overlap but are not identical with those in the *samādhi* text.⁸⁹¹ In the *samādhi* text, moreover, these appear during ritual segments with the bones that include the *dhūpa*, *nirañjana*, *snāna*, water from the vase, and *bhoka luyē*—segments discussed in the *Utkrānti-SDP* segments of Chapter 3, but which are essentially a part of the worship service of the deities and, in this case, the bones.

At this point, the *MSN* moves on to the remuneration of the priest, but it first recommends, again, after the *gaṇacakra*, that the *SDP maṅḍala* and *vidhi* be completed. As the *MSN*, unlike the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, does not provide a specific timeline of events to be done each day, it is not clearly indicated if this is a continuation or separate instance of the *maṅḍala* first constructed on the third day after death. That it follows the *gaṇacakra* and comes just before the *dakṣiṇā* suggests this is a seventh-day rite as well. However this is not entirely certain and there is no explicit statement that the *SDP maṅḍala* should be made multiple separate times. As a point of comparison, the "Modern Guide" ritual manual described by Lewis places the bone washing ritual on days 3, 5, 6, and 7. It establishes the *SDP maṅḍala* and locates the *asthi tāḍana* rituals on the sixth day.⁸⁹² The verses that accompany the instructions for compensating the officiant, verses 40 through 42, assert that the family should give to the *ācārya*, and promise benefit both from the material requisites for the deceased and the merit that is transferred to them from the actions of their relatives.

The final section of the text deals with the disposal of bones and ash that remain. The *MSN* gives several options for this. It says, first, that having been purified they should be worshipped, and then they should be sent away in a specific sacred river or scattered in the wind from a specific mountain top. The mention of worship is brief and does not provide detail, but it is possible that this includes some of the steps at the *tīrtha* described in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual, including the making of *caityas* and ash figures (*bhasma-mūrti*), and the delivery to the five *tīrthas*. The *Utkrānti-SDP* manual likewise assigns disposal in a river as the final step; it does not give dispersal in the wind from a mountain as an option.

The *MSN*'s last verses contain its colophon as well as the previously-discussed statement about the text's content being a combination of *Guhyasamāja* and *SDP* material.

here, is that the recipient of the rites is the fragments of bone, not the body of the deceased. This subject is requires further research.

⁸⁹⁰ The *MSN*'s mantra for seeing the realm of rebirth or path is *Oṃ ratne 2 ratnasambhаве ratnakiraṇe ratnamālāviśuddhe śodhaya sarvapāpān hūṃ trāṭ*. The *MSN*'s mantra for purifying the path is *Oṃ padme 2 padmobhаве sukhāvatyāṃ gacchatu svāhā*. In the manuscript E1490-3, one of the copies of the *SDP Samādhi*, the bone *bhāvanā* sequence includes reference to mantras to be done: *Oṃ ratne 2 Oṃ a{15b.13}mṛte 2 ty ādī//*, which may continue but could also differ in their remaining portions, and is a section where the parallel portion in B105-15 and ASK 2242 are missing from the manuscripts, which are incomplete.

⁸⁹¹ That is, verse 36 of the *MSN* shares a and d *pādas* with one in the *samādhi* (E1490-3), and verses 37 and 38 of the *MSN* may be equivalent to the one in E1490-3, but the latter have a number of variant and corrupt readings so it is difficult to tell whether it is intended to be the same. (See E1490-3, 16a.3-16a.6.)

⁸⁹² In the "Modern Guide" the rite is called *asthi tāraṇa*, but it is likely intended as the same one. Lewis glosses this as "safe passage for the ashes *pūjā*" (Lewis, "Modern Guide," 18; 44 n. 68).

Specifically, it says that "what ritual action is not satisfied by the *Guhyasamāja*, with regard to its fulfillment, [one should] resort to that which is stated in the *SDP*."⁸⁹³ This was already discussed above, but again stands as one of the more interesting elements of the text, as it is explicitly in line with the tendency of the *SDP* to be combined with other ritual systems.

⁸⁹³ yac chrīguhyasamājān na pūryate karma tasya paripūryai / śrīmaddurgatīśodhanatanantroktam hy āśritaṃ karma// 47 // (Tanemura, "Śūnyasamādhivajra," 117).

Epilogue

This dissertation has examined ritual manuals from two historical contexts—tenth century Dunhuang, and nineteenth century Nepal. Not only are these points culturally and historically remote from one another, but the ritual manuals originating from them are written in different languages, and they are even based on versions of the Buddhist canon preserved in different languages. Moreover, fundamental to each context is the fact that the cultures they emerged from were never homogenous, either culturally or in terms of religious forms. Though only slightly referenced here in Chapter One, Dunhuang was a multi-lingual, multi-cultural center, and not just Tibetan and Chinese but many other influences were present and probably known to the individuals involved in the production and use of the Buddhist ritual manuals. Similarly, as discussed in more detail in Chapters Two through Four, the Newar Buddhists of the Kathmandu Valley have long lived in a religiously plural society, and it is actually somewhat fraught to attempt to draw clear and distinct lines between what constitutes Buddhism and what does not. Nonetheless, there is no doubt that these texts were a product of very different the specific cultural contexts, even beyond the specific features of the Buddhist practices they present.

To some degree, then, this dissertation has been an experiment in what—if anything—can be gained by placing two such sets of sources side by side. The goal here has been to place them in conversation, but not in a comparative way. In a sense, one initial question ends up being whether a shared canonical tantra is an adequate unifying element to identify things drawing on its authority as belonging to "a tradition" (which is, in its own right, an ambiguous term). There are things that could be criticized about such an effort, such as the strangeness of claiming canon sources are quite remote from practice, but then using one as a basis for defining a group of texts selected primarily for their proximity to practice. However, perhaps there is an answer to this already present in the fact that the variability in ritual manuals means that the only minimum bar to inclusion is that the manual find its legitimation and authority in the canonical tantra. This also has the virtue of being a guideline that would be at least moderately recognizable as such, within the tradition.

There have, at various points, been curiously opposite claims made on behalf of death rituals—on the one hand, that they are resilient and conservative, resisting change (or, at the very least, making claims to immutability and using it as a source of authority). At the same time, elsewhere, death rituals have been asserted to be some of the most localized. These two perspectives are not actually at odds—the observation of Buddhist death rituals being very localized is simply the Buddhist perspective on local rituals that have persisted and been incorporated within Buddhist ones—thus "resilient." One could easily go in circles, examining variations in rituals and trying to decide whether the elements that are the same are therefore conservative, or whether the elements that are new are thus adaptable—and how does one decide which is more notable characteristic?

One thing that does seem evident in the examination of the ritual manuals in this study is that, setting aside whatever one expects death rituals to be, at the end of the day, these ones are very much Buddhist tantric rituals, even in the elements most specific to a funerary context. That is to say, the technology they employ is all familiar to the broader system of

yogatantra to which the *SDP* belongs to. They make use of initiations and *sādhana* techniques, not only to empower the ritual officiant, but also to empower and purify the deceased. This occurs in a number of different moments and varying circumstances in different rites, but even beyond differences in the general process, the various techniques utilize the building blocks of basic Buddhist tantric practice. If tantric Buddhist funerary rituals are tantric at the core, and then adapted to a funerary context, it is then interesting to consider applying the ways tantric techniques—actually do champion change. Namely, though tantric technology in textual sources is couched in the necessary assertions of antiquity claiming to be *buddhavacana*, in practice, there is still an intent to persuade people using it to try something new (to them)—arguably at least as visible a factor to the individuals making the decision to try the new technique as any *nidāna*'s introductory narrative about being taught by a buddha. Moreover these have relevant examples, in material related to ours—in particular, conversion narratives like the post-imperial Tibetan *Sba' bzhed* and Dunhuang text PT 239 ("Showing the Path to the Land of the Gods" *Lha yul du lam bstan pa*), discussed in Chapter One, both of which encourage the adoption of Buddhist funerary practices either through narrative (perhaps after the fact), or ritual.

Another feature of these manuals is hybridity, which takes more than one form. The fact that authors of ritual manuals have the agency to adapt within a repertoire has been noted in previous scholarship, but it is not just the matter of some choice, but also that that choice is not limited strictly to material originally composed for a funerary context. In the texts discussed here, material came from all different portions of the *SDP*, not just those on rites for the dead. Even more, within the Sanskrit-Newari texts, the Sanskrit liturgical sections draw freely on works ordinarily considered to have nothing to do with death or funerary concerns, like the works of Abhayākara Gupta (the *Vajrāvalī* and *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, in particular). However, given certain aspects of some of the rites, perhaps this is not surprising. In particular, the rituals involving *utkrānti* take great pains to arrange the deceased in such a way that rites completed are not, ritually speaking, being done upon the dead. And, even portions not involved in that particular rite, as we have seen, have often treated the deceased more as a deity, whether specifically Śākyamuni, or in a more generalized manner of "divinization." There is more to be said on this subject, but research has yet to be done treating the parallels with, for example, the types of Japanese Buddhist funerals based on *abhiṣeka* and postmortem ordination, or the bestowal of precept names.⁸⁹⁴

To consider more concrete matters, this study focuses, for three of its four body chapters, on Newar Buddhism, and is very much a preliminary effort, given the relative dearth of scholarship on the subject. There is much work to be done, even among the texts mentioned in brief but not explored in the current study. The *Utkrānti kriyā vidhi* (*UKV*) discussed in Chapter Four would benefit from further research; even more, the *SDP Samādhi*, though relevant to Newar funerary rituals and involving the *SDP*, could not fully be accommodated within this study, and requires more work. There is, in addition, a Sanskrit work called the *SDP Abhisamaya sādhanā*, preserved in at least two copies, both

⁸⁹⁴ Jacqueline Stone and Mariko Namba Walter, *Death and the Afterlife in Japanese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008). See also, Mark L. Blum, "Contextualizing Japanese Practice of Posthumous Kaimyō" (Berkeley: (unpublished draft), 2015).

Nepalese although one of which is preserved at the Royal Asiatic Society, London.⁸⁹⁵ This text, which is also longer, replicates large portions—but not all—of the later Sanskrit version of the *SDP*, and then adds other material, as well. It, likewise, might provide further insight into the range of materials relating to funerary rites and the *SDP* in the Newar tradition.

⁸⁹⁵ The RAS copy is catalogued as Hodgson 51, which is also preserved with a copy of the *SDP* (Hodgson 50). Another copy, poorly preserved and with extremely variable orthography, was microfilmed by the NGMCP twice, as A934-13 as well as A39-7. It is interesting because it is written on palm leaf in a hybrid Bhujimol script and may be from the sixteenth century (as estimated by Kashinath Tamot).

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Appendix 1 Uṣṇīṣa Buddha Names—Additional Information for Table 1

SDP Chapter 2 *Uṣṇīṣas*:

According to Vajravārman:⁸⁹⁶

- C Śākyamuni
- E Vajrapāṇi
- S Jayoṣṇīṣa (Rgyal ba'i gtsug tor)
- W Uṣṇīṣacakravartin (Gtsug tor 'khor los gyur ba)
- N Uṣṇīṣavijaya (Gtsug tor rnam par rgyal ba)
- SE Uṣṇīṣatejorāṣi (Gtsug tor gzi brjid phung po)
- SW Uṣṇīṣavidhvamsaka (Gtsug tor rnam par 'joms pa)
- NW Uṣṇīṣavikirīṇa (Gtsug tor rnam par 'thor ba)
- NE Uṣṇīṣasitāpatra (Gtsug tor gdugs dkar po)

According to Kāmadhenu:⁸⁹⁷

- Śākyamuni
- E Vajrapāṇi
- S Jayoṣṇīṣa
- W Cakravartin
- N Vijaya
- SE Tejorāṣi
- SW Vidhvamsaka
- NW Vikirīṇa
- NE Sitāpatra (Gdugs dkar po can)

Chapter One of Tib B (the later translation) and Sanskrit:⁸⁹⁸

- E Śākyamuni
- S Vajroṣṇīṣa
- W Padmoṣṇīṣa
- N Viśvoṣṇīṣa
- SE Tejoṣṇīṣa
- SW Dhvajoṣṇīṣa
- NW Tikṣṇoṣṇīṣa
- NE Chatroṣṇīṣa

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- C Śākyamuni (Shag kya thub pa)
- E Uṣṇīṣasitāpatra (Gtsug tor gdug dkar po)
- S Uṣṇīṣacakravartin (Gtsug tor 'khor lo skyur ba')
- W *Uṣṇīṣa-padmagarbha (Gtsug tor pad ma'i snying po)
- N Vimaloṣṇīṣa (Gtsug tor dri ma myed pa)
- SE Uṣṇīṣatejorāṣi (Gtsug tor gzig brjid kyi phung po)⁸⁹⁹
- SW Uṣṇīṣavikirīṇa (Gtsug tor rnam par 'thor ba)

⁸⁹⁶ See Skorupski, *SDP*, 37 n. 6.

⁸⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹⁸ See Skorupski, *SDP*, 25. Although the names are listed earlier, they are added as clarification notes in the translation, and do not appear in instances where their mantras or mudrās are listed in some cases.

⁸⁹⁹ Note that in ITJ 384 the list is given C-E-S-W-N-NE-SE-SW-NW. It has been changed here, beginning the intermediate directions with SE rather than NE, in order to match and be easier to compare with the order that appears in the SDP and the table on page 79.

NW Uṣṇīṣavijaya (Gtsug tor rnam par rgyal ba)

NE *Uṣṇīṣa-jālinīrabha (Gtsug tor dra ba can gyi 'od)

Appendix 2:

IOL Tib J 384 (Translation)

For the sake of clarity, the pagination of the manuscript has been retained as it stands in the digitized version of the text available at from the International Dunhuang Project archive, but it is presented here in the revised sequence, as argued for in Chapter One.⁹⁰⁰ Thus it begins, following a blank page (v5) and a page with a drawing of crossed vajras (v6), with the text on v7. The pagination the proceeds in concertina-order v7-v16, before flipping over and running r1-r16, and finally returning at the end once again to the verso with v1-v4. In this sequence, a missing folio v17/r0 is hypothesized as a lacuna at the point where the reader flips at the end of one side from verso to recto. Refer to the Chapter One section "Manuscript Reading Order" on these matters.

{v5} [blank]

{v6} [diagram of crossed vajras]

{v7}

{v7.1} §Out of the ten million (*bye*) gods and spirits, the Blessed One, by means of the nature of skillful means, driven by great compassion, {v7.2} does benefit for sentient beings, embracing them with his compassion, [he] explains the scripture:

From what teacher did it come, {v7.3} who made it, on whose behalf is it essential?

With regard to that, for this *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatejoraśi* {v7.4}, the teacher is Vajrapāṇi and the performer is Śākyamuni. As for the subject, {v7.5} it is done for the benefit of Deva Vimalamaṇi.

Vimalamaṇi {v8.1} encountered hindrances to his *samādhi*⁹⁰¹ and because of that he fell from Trayastriṃśa to the three bad realms of rebirth. {v8.2}

Then, Vajrapāṇi ordered Śākyamuni,⁹⁰²

⁹⁰⁰ The text can be accessed at

http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_scroll_v.a4d?uid=202239358;recnum=5236;index=1 (or by going to the International Dunhuang Project search page and entering "IOL Tib J 384").

⁹⁰¹ (v8.1) *skom [sgom] ba'i ting nge 'dzin la bar chad du gyur te*

⁹⁰² Note that this is the same structure used at the start of the frame story given in the subsequent *maṇḍala* 2, the "Drāviḍa *maṇḍala*" below.

"Śākyamuni, go! Deva Vimalamaṇi {v8.3} has grown lazy (*le lo*) in his *samādhi* and fallen into the three bad realms of rebirth. Recite this mantra, which is *hṛdaya* of all the mantras, {v8.4} the *tantra*⁹⁰³ to all the *sūtras*, the *vinaya* for the *śravakas*, {v8.5} one hundred and eight times, and make Deva Vimalamaṇi return to Trayastriṃśa!" {v9.1}

Then, after Śākyamuni went before {v9.2} Vimalamaṇi in the three bad realms and recited the mantra one hundred and eight times, Vimala's defilements were purified, {v9.3} however, just before going to Trayastriṃśa,⁹⁰⁴ he did not recite 'the mantra that cuts through defilements.' [In such cases,] if one does not recite 'the mantra that cuts through defilements,' {v9.4} one will not return to Trayastriṃśa. After reciting the mantra from Śākyamuni 'that cuts through defilements' one hundred and eight times, {v9.5} [Vimalamaṇi] returned to Trayastriṃśa.

{v10.1} The mantra:

**Oṃ trocane trocane trasane trasane pratihana sarvakarmāvara mitrani svāhā.*⁹⁰⁵ {v10.2}

However, alternatively,⁹⁰⁶ [there was] a father called Lus myi bde, and a mother called Skyu ma lham mdzes. {v10.3}

After the mother became pregnant,⁹⁰⁷ when the child was about to be born, a female Brahmin soothsayer {v10.4} was summoned.⁹⁰⁸ Since there was a child within that womb, [they] asked her to analyze the signs.⁹⁰⁹ {v10.5}

⁹⁰³ The word *tantra* here is transliterated (*tan tra*) rather than translated. This is not unusual in Dunhuang materials.

⁹⁰⁴ *ma phyin tsam na*] right before (going to Trayastriṃśa).

⁹⁰⁵ The irregularity of the text in general, and of mantra transcription in particular, makes it a risk of overtranslation to too forcefully assume what may have been intended, so this hypothesized option is intended as a compromise, to be supplemented by diplomatic text and possible correspondences, as in: diplomatic: *oṃ tro tsa ne |tro tsa ni | dras ne | dra sa ne | pra ṭi hana | sarva gar ma | 'par myi tra ni sva hā* |. This most closely resembles mantras found in the SDP early translation once and later translation three times, as well as an even closer instance in *Utkrānti-SDP* manual of Chapters Two and Three. The *SDP* mantra, which is placed in sequence to most likely represent Akṣobhya, or the representative of the Vajra Family/Eastern direction, reads: *Oṃ kaṃkani kaṃkani rocani rocani trocanī trocanī sarvakarmāparaṃparāni svāhā* | The closer parallel in the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual reads: *Oṃ kaṃkani 2 rocani 2 trocani 2 samtrāśini 2 pratihata · hara 2 sarva-karmāvarana {18v.6} viśodhane svāhā* || (correspondences noted here with underlining).

⁹⁰⁶ *rnam cig du na > rnam pa gcig tu na – atha vā*] As suggested by Khenpo Yeshe, "Another way of talking about this purification and eradication process, this is another narrative" no closer connection than that (personal communication).

⁹⁰⁷ *yum gyi khong pa na bu yod*

⁹⁰⁸ *bra mdze 'i bud myed || mtshan mkhan {v10.4} zhig bkug ste ||*

⁹⁰⁹ This line is somewhat ambiguous, as it appears almost to read *nge'i khong na bu yod bas || mtshan rtogs shig par gleng*, which might then be read, rather, as "since there is a child within me, please give [us] a prophecy/analyze the signs." This reading would be more likely if the following segment, *bud myed kyis smras pa*, is taken to refer to it, rather than to the following statement concerning the soothsayer. However, in the passage, *bud myed* previously referred to the soothsayer, so this is the more likely reading.

The woman [soothsayer] said,

"Within the mother, there is a child; an infant boy (*khye'u*) is to be born. When this boy is born, he will become the enemy of the father," [she] said.

After the boy was born, {v11.1}, he was given the name Ma skyes sgra⁹¹⁰. While he lived on friendly terms⁹¹¹ with his father, [his father's] power⁹¹² grew, and his servants and wealth⁹¹³ {v11.2} flourished.

Ma skyes sgra summoned⁹¹⁴ an old⁹¹⁵ minister named Panasa {v11.3}, "[My] father's power is great, and his servants and possessions also expand; since I would like to have power like that of my father, how can I achieve that?" he asked.

The minister {v11.4} Panasa told him, "Prince, your power will not grow so long as you do not conspire shrewdly against the your father."⁹¹⁶ {v11.5}

Then the prince Ma skyes s[gr]a⁹¹⁷ yet conspired shrewdly against the king.⁹¹⁸

{v12.1} Because of [her] grief from that, Skya ma lha mdzes also passed away. And then,⁹¹⁹ because of the sin from the crafty murder on of his father, {v12.2} the prince Ma skyes s[gr]a was born within the six realms of rebirth.⁹²⁰

In the six realms of rebirth, he was born and dwelt first as a monkey,⁹²¹ second as tigers {v12.3} and lions, third as black (*dom*)⁹²² and brown (*dred*)⁹²³ bears, forth as crows and

⁹¹⁰ This name is interesting in closely resembling the Tibetan translation used for Ajātaśātrū, *Ma skyes dgra*, differing only in the final syllable (*sgra* (or sometimes *skra*) vs. *dgra*) and in a way that (depending on historical sound variations) might sound similar. The story of Ajātaśātrū, too, involves an ambitious royal prince overthrowing his father (in the latter's case, the king Bimbisāra). The connection to the name Ajātaśātrū is noted in the catalogue entry for IOL Tib J 384, however there seems to be an error in the form of the name attributed in the text (in IOL Tib J 384, it is *Ma skyes sgra* or *Ma skyes skra* throughout, not *Dgra myi skye* as listed), see Dalton and Van Schaik, *Tibetan Tantric Manuscripts*, 120.

⁹¹¹ Alternatively, while he lived being supported by his father: *yab dang 'grogs ste 'dug pa las*

⁹¹² *mnga thang*

⁹¹³ *longs spyod*

⁹¹⁴ *bgug>bkug*

⁹¹⁵ *rga ba*

⁹¹⁶ *rgyal bu yab thabs kyis ma bgros ka bar du*. Alternatively, if *bgros* is intended as *dkrong* - to kill, and *thabs* – some method. "If you do not use some method" (because father is powerful, so some particular method or craftiness is needed).

⁹¹⁷ *skra>sgra* (Orthography for the name selected to follow the most common form used).

⁹¹⁸ Based on what follows, it can be understood that this implies that the son killed the king.

⁹¹⁹ *yang*

⁹²⁰ *'gro ba ris drug*

⁹²¹ *sbre'u > spre'u*

⁹²² Asiatic black bear, *Selenarctos thibetanus* (or *Ursus thibetanus* – which may be the more current name) (JV Dictionary).

⁹²³ Himalayan brown bear, *Ursus arctos isabellinus* (JV Dictionary).

skegs birds,⁹²⁴ fifth as dogs and pigs, and sixth as snakes. {v12.4} Having been born and dwelling in [these] six kinds of rebirth, [he] then remembered in his mind the sin of killing both mother and father, and {v12.5} heavy remorse (*'gyod sems drag po*) arose in him. Since he dwelt and did not know any method to purify [his] defilements, {v13.1} the Blessed One Śākyamuni came on Ma sky[e]s s[*g*]ra's behalf, and set up the *maṇḍala* of *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatejorāśi*. {v13.2}

Placed in the center is Śākyamuni. {v13.3} Drawn on the eight spokes, on the tip⁹²⁵ on the east, Uṣṇīṣasitāpatra; on the tip on the south, Uṣṇīṣacakravartin; on the tip on west, *Uṣṇīṣa-padmagarbha(?); on the tip on the north, Vimaloṣṇīṣa; on the tip in the northeastern intermediate direction, *Uṣṇīṣa-jālinīprabha;⁹²⁶ on the tip in the southeast, Uṣṇīṣatejorāśi; on the tip in the southwest, Uṣṇīṣavikiriṇa;⁹²⁷ on the tip in the northwest, Uṣṇīṣāvījaya. Outside of that, on the northeast of the four corners,⁹²⁸ on the corner, the goddess *Dhūpā,⁹²⁹ in the southeast, Puṣpā; in the southwest, Alokā/Dīpā;⁹³⁰ in the northwest, *Gandhā.⁹³¹ On the area outside of that, directly (*drang po*) in the east, Mañjuśri brandishing a *gengs po*;⁹³² directly in the south, Maitreya⁹³³ brandishing a blazing trident⁹³⁴ (*triśula*); directly in the west, the Lord Avalokiteśvara, brandishing a vase in hand; in the northern direction, Samantabhadra, {v15.4} with a blazing vajra in hand; in the northeast intermediate direction, Kṣitigarbha,⁹³⁵ brandishing a crossed vajra;⁹³⁶ in the southeast intermediate direction {v16.1} Ākāśagarbha,⁹³⁷ brandishing a jeweled mace;⁹³⁸ on the southwest

⁹²⁴ A bird with yellow or yellow red (*kham ser*) feathers and a beak and feet that are very long (*shin tu ring*) (according to OT entry). Listed only as "*skegs* bird" in IW entry.

⁹²⁵ *lce*] The word actually present is *lce*, more commonly tongue. However, see also usage in the Amoghapāśa (third) *maṇḍala*; it may be that it is a wheel of the cakra weapon type, thus bearing points, as shown for example in the *SDP maṇḍala* drawing Pelliot tibétain no. 389 in the Bibliothèque nationale de France and the Amoghapāśa *maṇḍala* EO 3579 in the Musée Guimet. See Tanaka, *Illustrated History*, 40 and also n. 133, below, which treats the later *maṇḍala* described in the current text at {r16.3-v3.2}. It is also possible that the *lce* is intended to be the somewhat graphically-similar *rtse*, although it is written consistently enough in the current manuscript that it does not seem to simply be a quirk of the author's handwriting.

⁹²⁶ In the early translation of the *SDP* (Tib A) first chapter main *maṇḍala* centering on Sarvavid Vairocana, Jalinīprabha (no "*uṣṇīṣa*" in the name) appears as one of the bodhisattvas in the southern direction. This may be unrelated in this context, however.

⁹²⁷ *'dor ba > gtsug tor nam par 'thor ba*

⁹²⁸ *grub bzhi*

⁹²⁹ *lha mo pog por ma*] normally Dhūpā is Bdug spos ma and Gandhā is Dri chab ma. Pog por is glossed as Spos phor, or incense bowl burner or pot of incense. This is a nonstandard translation into Tibetan, which could be due to an origin prior to standardization but, given the probable 10th c. origin and general idiosyncrasy, may be more likely to be individual variation. See also Chapter One discussion and citations of oral and visual scribal copy mistakes present in the text.

⁹³⁰ *mar mye ma*] Although not the most common form, this variant does occur in dictionaries.

⁹³¹ *dri cham ma > commonly dri chab ma*. These goddess in the same order listed as *SDP* at 41a and following.

⁹³² *geng po*] Possibly *ging* – small drum, or *rdo rje gang ba* – hand-sized vajra.

⁹³³ *byams pa mu tri*

⁹³⁴ *dri shul 'bar ba – triśula*

⁹³⁵ *sa'i snying po*

⁹³⁶ *rdo rje rgya gram*

⁹³⁷ *nam ka'i snying po*

⁹³⁸ *rin po che dbyug tog > thogs*

intermediate direction, Samantabhadra, brandishing in hand {v16.2} an endless knot (*dpal be'u*); in the northwest intermediate direction, Tejorāṣi, brandishing in hand a vajra net(?).⁹³⁹ On the area outside of that, {v16.3} in the northeast intermediate direction, Śiva/Īśāna⁹⁴⁰ with a white body, brandishing a trident (*triśula*) in hand; in the east, Indra⁹⁴¹ {v16.4} with a yellow body, brandishing in hand a vajra *gengs po* (*hand-sized vajra?*); in the southeast intermediate direction, Agni, red-yellow, wearing the garb {v16.5} of a hermit, brandishing a zhugs thab;⁹⁴² in the south, Yama⁹⁴³ with a body white and black, brandishing in hand a skull staff...⁹⁴⁴

[*v17-*r0] [Hypothesized missing folio, see Chapter One discussion of content.]

{r1.1} ...golden vases with adorned spouts...

***»⁹⁴⁵ On the black outer area, arrange garlands of [white?] pearls.⁹⁴⁶ Set up the four Gate Guardians. {r1.2} At the four gates, correctly set up the lintel (*toraṇa*) and encircling rim (*nābhika*). In the four corners of the maṇḍala, set up vajra half-moons.⁹⁴⁷ {r1.3} Thrust the four swords, together with mirrors, into the four gates, and thrust the four arrows with silk ribbons into the four corners. {r1.4}

»⁹⁴⁸ For the ritual for analyzing the site⁹⁴⁹ of the maṇḍala: First, one should clearly visualize oneself as pure⁹⁵⁰ {r1.5} and meditate on emptiness.⁹⁵¹ After the [self-]consecration,⁹⁵² the earth goddess, and *nāgas* and *rakṣasas* and so forth⁹⁵³ {r2.1} should be brought together.

For the offerings, after consecrating [them] with the *hṛdayas* of the five families, offer the five precious substances⁹⁵⁴ and five kinds of grains that have been acquired. {r2.2}.

⁹³⁹ *rdo rje dra ba*

⁹⁴⁰ *dbang ldan*

⁹⁴¹ *rgya'i byan* > *Brgya byin*

⁹⁴² *zhugs thab* | fire maṇḍala/homa hearth

⁹⁴³ *gshin rje*

⁹⁴⁴ *thod dbyug* – *khatvaṅga*

⁹⁴⁵ The text is separated here by the Tibetan punctuation of a *rdel dkar gsum* (three dots) and an opening-text *brda rnying yig mgo mdun ma* (curled bracket), as the marks are identified in Tibetan unicode names.

⁹⁴⁶ *mu tig kar ra* | *kar ra* could also plausibly be "white" rather than just a part of the form as transliterated of *mukṭihāra*.

⁹⁴⁷ For the arrangement of the vajra half-moons see, for example, Stein painting 173.

⁹⁴⁸ Opening-text *brda rnying yig mgo mdun ma* (curled bracket).

⁹⁴⁹ *sa gcad* | Though this term does appear occasionally in other texts, it is also possible that what is here intended is the more commonly seen *sa dpyad*, the step for analyzing the suitability of the ground in geomantic terms.

⁹⁵⁰ lit. *chos gyi byings* [dbyings] *rnam par dag bar myigs* [dmigs] - *dharmadhātu*

⁹⁵¹ lit. *phyag rgya chen por skom* [bsgom] - *mahāmūdra*

⁹⁵² *byin gyis brlabs*

⁹⁵³ *sa'i lha mo rtan ma dang/ klu dang srin la sogs* | Depending on the degree to which this is a localized text, the translated identities between Indic and Tibetan spirit and deity categories may or may not go so far as to convert these deities to their Indic counterparts.

⁹⁵⁴ Five precious substances: gold, silver, turquoise, coral, pearl.

After that, for the consecration mantra for breaking the ground: *Oṃ vajra khana khana {r2.3} huṃ phaṭ*.⁹⁵⁵ For the mantra for beating the earth: *Oṃ vajramudgara ākoṭaya 2 hūṃ phaṭ*.⁹⁵⁶ [For] purifying [with] perfumed water:⁹⁵⁷ {r2.4} *Oṃ vajra 'brid te [amṛte] huṃ phaṭ svāhā*.⁹⁵⁸ After building⁹⁵⁹ the *maṇḍala*, the first should also be done.⁹⁶⁰

After that, lay the lines. {r2.5} The mantra for casting the lines:⁹⁶¹ *Oṃ vajra sutra huṃ phaṭ*.⁹⁶² The mantra for planting the four corner acacia⁹⁶³ stakes: *Oṃ vajra {r3.1} kila kilaya sarva duṣṭana huṃ phaṭ*.⁹⁶⁴ Set the boundary with white mustard seeds.⁹⁶⁵ *Oṃ vajra oṃ bri ta te hana hana {r3.2} huṃ phaṭ*.

After⁹⁶⁶ blessing the five vases, set them in the bodhisattva positions.⁹⁶⁷ Plant the swords at the four gates. {r3.3} Plant the four arrows at the four corners. Empower⁹⁶⁸ the *maṇḍala*.

⁹⁵⁵ This mantra appears similarly as the mantra for breaking ground (*brko ba*) of the building or rampart (*brtsig pa*) at 16b.4 in IOL Tib J 439/712. The Sanskrit term for this step is *bhūkhanana*, which may be the inspiration for the mantra.

⁹⁵⁶ Tibetan transcription appears as *Oṃ vajra maṭa kara Akod ṭaya. A kod ṭaya huṃ phaṭ* This appears similarly as the mantra for beating the earth in IOL Tib J 439/712 at 16v.4, transcribed there as *Oṃ vajra mata kara A kod da ya A kod ta hung phaṭ*. For these steps, breaking and beating the ground the *Vajrāvalī* has (Tib.) *brkos shing brdung pa*, (Skt.) *khanitām koṭitām*, but the only mantra it gives at that juncture is *Oṃ bhūḥ kham*.

⁹⁵⁷ Subscript *l* makes this line unclear - *spos chab la sal* or *spos chab slal*, possibly for *spos chab la gsal*.

⁹⁵⁸ This appears similarly at the end of IOL Tib J 439/712, 16v.5, as *Oṃ vajra avrite hum phaṭ svāhā*. With the nasalization from the *a*, it is most like *Oṃ vajra amṛte hum phaṭ svāhā*.

⁹⁵⁹ *brtsigs*

⁹⁶⁰ *dkyil 'khor brtsigs nas 'go ma yang bgyi*] This instruction is absent from the parallel passage in IOL Tib J 439/712, which moves directly from the mantra for the perfumed water to the mantra for laying the lines, below. It may be that this is an out-of-sequence instruction to repeat a portion of the current activities once the *maṇḍala* has been constructed. A more likely possibility may be that it refers to the first direction—east—that should be started.

⁹⁶¹ Irregular orthography: *gdig gdab pA'i sngags*.

⁹⁶² This appears as *Oṃ vajra sutra hung phaṭ* in IOL Tib J 439/712 16v.5.

⁹⁶³ *seng l[d]eng*] acacia or khadira wood.

⁹⁶⁴ The mantra appears for the same purpose in IOL Tib J 439/712 16v.5. For further comparison, the *STTS* and Abhayākaragupta give as the "pegging impediments" *Oṃ vajrakīla kīlaya sarvaviḥṇan hūṃ* or similar (Mori, *Vajrāvalī*, 64 n. 124). The *duṣṭān* in the present text is reminiscent of a relevant parallel mantra in the *GST*, which reads *Oṃ gha gha ghāṭaya sarvaduṣṭān phaṭ phaṭ kīlaya sarvapāpān phaṭ phaṭ hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ vajrakīla vajradharo ājñāpayati sarvaviḥṇānām kāyavākcittam kīlaya hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ* (cited, with translation given, in Mori, 64 n. 125, from *GST* Ch. XIV, see Fremantle, *GST*, 314).

⁹⁶⁵ The parallel with IOL Tib J 439/712 cuts off here, with the end of that manuscript. This instruction, *yungs kar 'tshams [em: mtshams] gcad pa*, is for the purpose also of setting the perimeter and chasing obstacles away.

⁹⁶⁶ This would seem to correspond with the end of the preparation of the ground (first part), and the beginning of the construction of the *maṇḍala* (second part) according to Abhayākaragupta and the *Vajrāvalī* (Mori, *Vajrāvalī*, 55). However this does not exactly correspond with the former sequence, for in the *Vajrāvalī*, the vases are placed, deities invited, and so forth, and then only after that are the lines cast and colors scattered.

⁹⁶⁷ *byang cub sems dpa'i snam bu la dgod*] The meaning in context is not entirely clear. It may be a poetic phrasing meaning 'in the corners,' but that would not clarify where the fifth one should go (Khenpo Yeshe, personal communication).

⁹⁶⁸ *mnga' gsol* – In Bentor, *mnga' dbul* is translated as 'enthronement offerings', and is described as a ritual incorporated into Buddhist initiation rituals but potentially independent: "the first offerings made to the receptacle upon its consecration," also related to coronation rituals and new birth bathing/anointing, offering

With the stride of the lion,⁹⁶⁹ circle the *maṇḍala* {r3.4}. Offer the five kinds of offerings at the four gates.

After that, sit down on the seat, grasp a pointer⁹⁷⁰ in the hand, {r3.5} and explain the history of the *maṇḍala*. Entreat sentient beings to listen. Offer the thirty-five offering cakes⁹⁷¹ together with butter lamps.⁹⁷² {r4.1}

After doing the adornment [of the *maṇḍala*], prepare the three part *gtor ma*.⁹⁷³ For that, for the first *gtor ma*, make the offering to the Four Great Kings, the Ten Directional Protectors, {r4.2} and the lords of the *maṇḍala*.⁹⁷⁴ Offer prayers of aspiration {r4.3} and request protection for the *maṇḍala*. For the main [part] of that,⁹⁷⁵ for the benefit of sentient beings,⁹⁷⁶ make prayers of aspiration and dispatch the *gtor ma* of karmic retribution.⁹⁷⁷

crowns, etc. In the current context, having the receptacle blessed before it can be used makes enough sense here. See Bentor, *Consecration of Images and Stūpas*, 39.

⁹⁶⁹ *seng ge'i 'gros*

⁹⁷⁰ *chag shing*] This is most likely intended as *phyag shing*, pointer. (As written it is splint, explained as for a broken limb, which does not seem to fit here. However, *chag pa* can be a bunch or tuft or cluster, or "broken," such as a broken off piece of a stick. This detail is somewhat obscure, but calls to mind the tradition of holding a "lecture baton" (*ru yi*) or fly whisk while giving Buddhist sermons, see, for example, Kieschnick, *Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture*, 145.)

⁹⁷¹ *lha bshos*

⁹⁷² *zhugs mar*

⁹⁷³ One part to the ten direction protectors, one part to the beings of the six realms, one part to the demons and obstructors (Cabezón, *Ritual Typology*, unpublished draft). The catalogue cites for comparison IOL Tib J 573. That text's first section starts with the Buddhas of the Ten Directions, the second part/torma is called the "general offering *gtor ma* cake" (*spyi gtor*). and the third part/torma is called the "karmic creditor offering cake" (*lan chags gtor ma bsngo ba*). (Dalton and van Schaik, *Tibetan Tantric Manuscripts*, 274). In Cabezón, *Tibetan Ritual*, the full name is *lan chags bgegs kyi gtor ma*, and it is said to be "for blocking karmic debts" (126 n. 55).

⁹⁷⁴ *mnga' bdag rnam*s

⁹⁷⁵ main part] This could either be main or middle part. If it is referring to the middle of the three *gtor mas*, it would correspond with other accounts wherein the second *gtor ma* is dedicated to beings in the six realms/sentient beings. However, the current text is obscure and does not clearly discuss these all fully.

⁹⁷⁶ Compare 'benefit to sentient beings,' here, with the purpose stated for the general offering *gtor ma* (the second in the three part *gtor ma* ritual) in IOL Tib J 573, which starts out, among other things, with the benefits of love, compassion, joy, and equanimity—the Four Immeasurables.

⁹⁷⁷ *gtor ma* of karmic retribution] *lan chags kyi gtor ma* - In IOL Tib J 573, it seems that the three are the *gtor mas* (1) for the protectors, (2) the general *gtor ma*, and (3) the *gtor ma* of karmic retribution. However, in this text, it seems that the *gtor ma* of karmic retribution is being counted as the second of the three tormas, for it is followed by the After that (de nas) and the "final *gtor ma*" (*gdor ma [gtor ma] mtha' ma'i dus su*). See Dalton and van Schaik, *Tibetan Tantric Manuscripts*, 274.

{r4.4} Then, when it is time for the final *gtor ma*,⁹⁷⁸ there is the system for expelling [it] from the *maṇḍala*.⁹⁷⁹

{r4.5} The ritual master first sets up a lion throne and sits on the eastern side. Then, when it is time to enter⁹⁸⁰ the *maṇḍala*, {r4.6} [he] moves the seat to the western side and faces towards the east.

When leading (*drang*) [the patron?] through the eastern door, {r5.1} whether the patron is alive or dead, [they should be made to] sit (*sdod*) [there] and offer.⁹⁸¹

After taking some white mustard seeds into the hand, [the ritual master] delimits/sets the boundary. {r5.2}

Then, recite the mantra for opening the doors to the *maṇḍala*.⁹⁸² For the mantra: Esame [Asame] trisame mahasamaya {r5.3}.⁹⁸³ Repeat it three times.⁹⁸⁴

After that, from the hand of the vajra master, the vajra is bestowed with [its] tips protruding⁹⁸⁵ [to the initiate] to hold. {r5.4} [and the patron] is drawn to the center of the *maṇḍala*, [and seated] on a pure seat spread out [for him].

⁹⁷⁸ This sequence is somewhat unclear. One possibility would be "after the *gtor mas*"—thus allowing the torma of karmic retribution to remain as the third one, in line with IOL Tib J 573. (More distant comparison may also be relevant: the *Rgyud sde kun btus*'s *SDP homa* and cremation manual at one point lists five or six *gtor mas*, for: the directional guardians, ghosts, lords of the soil, the six classes of beings, hungry ghosts, and obstructive spirits (274-75) (it is uncertain whether the obstructive spirits one (*bgegs gtor ma*) is all of the preceding ones together or a separate category in the list, hence the uncertainty in number).

⁹⁷⁹ This instruction is somewhat obscure, but may refer to the disposal of the *gtor ma*, and with it expulsion of those things the *gtor mas* are intended to propitiate, in the case of the *lan chags gtor ma*, the obstructive spirits (*bgegs*).

⁹⁸⁰ enter] Here, and at several points in this and the parallel text IOL Tib J 439/712, verbs of entry and exit seem to be switched, although not consistently. For support in reading the current word (*dk/yil 'khor nas byin ba'i dus na*), see for comparison the parallel point in IOL Tib J 439/712 (15v.7), in which this is very clearly the moment of entry into the *maṇḍala*: *dbus su phyin pa dang* (16r.1 in IOL Tib J 439/712). From current context, too, it seems more likely that the current action to be taken is entry, especially given what follows. The form given in the manuscript (*nas byin*) is problematic for the *nas* given that the *byin* could be intended simply as movement (*phyin*), not necessarily departure (*'byin*) (based on the forms in Hill, *Verb lexicon*). However, unexpected case particle use also appears in IOL Tib J 439/712, with *nas* and *du* employed with the verb *dbyung* (14r; 15v.7-16r.1), with *nas* used for entry to the *maṇḍala* (*dkyil 'khor nas dbyung zhing/ dbang bskur khros bgyi bar 'byung ste...*) (Jacob Dalton, personal communication).

⁹⁸¹ *bul/phul*?

⁹⁸² Though it does not say so here, in IOL Tib J 439/712, it is the patron who says this (Jacob Dalton, personal communication).

⁹⁸³ In IOL Tib J 439 this mantra is recited by the patron before he is led into the *maṇḍala* (Jacob Dalton, personal communication). This mantra, at least, takes place in the general vicinity of tossing the flower in other texts. There has, however, been no flower tossing, here.

⁹⁸⁴ The ritual master says this portion.

⁹⁸⁵ *rdo rje byung ba'i rtse mo*

» »⁹⁸⁶ Uttering the words of the empowerment, {r5.5} [the master] lifts up (*blangs*) the primary vase in the center and places (*gtsugs du bzhag*) [it] at the crown of the head [of the initiand⁹⁸⁷],

(1⁹⁸⁸) The Blessed One Śākyamuni [is visualized] as if extending his golden right hand from afar (*rgyang*) {r5.6} and granting the empowerment, "may auspiciousness and the empowerment be attained."⁹⁸⁹

(2) {r6.1} Regarding the empowerment of the jewel that is the householder, by way of blessing, "May the unsurpassed empowerment be attained."

(3) From giving the jewel that is the queen into the hand, {r6.2} "May the same empowerment be attained; may they attain the empowerment endowed with the power of the five vehicles."

(4) {r6.3} By giving the jewel that is the horse into the hand, "May the empowerment of the all-knowing horse, endowed with the attributes (*yan lag*) of magical emanation⁹⁹⁰ be attained."

(5) {r6.4} From the empowerment into the hand of the jewel that is the general, by way of blessing, "may the the unsurpassed empowerment of the general, which is defeating all opponents, be attained."

(6) From the empowerment into the hand of the jewel that is the wheel, {r7.1} "may the severing of cyclic existence and the unsurpassed empowerment to dwell in a pure realm free of *saṃsāra* be attained."⁹⁹¹

(7) From the {r7.2} empowerment of the precious jewel, "May the unsurpassed empowerment of enjoying (*spyod pa*) the precious wish-fulfilling jewel be attained."

[*Eight Auspicious Substances*]

{r7.3} (1) The merchant's daughter offered *bilva* [fruit] (*shing byil ba'*) to the hand of the Blessed One Śākyamuni, let there be auspiciousness. {r7.4}

⁹⁸⁶ *dang kyog* symbols delimiting next section.

⁹⁸⁷ i.e. the corpse, in the case of a deceased subject.

⁹⁸⁸ Numbers do not appear in the manuscript but are here added for convenience. The first set of seven are the seven jewels/signs of a cakravartin, and set of eight that follows are the eight auspicious substances (or variants thereof).

⁹⁸⁹ The actual offering in the first instance is not stated; in the case that it matched the seven signs/jewels of a cakravartin, the expected one would be an elephant. One possibility is that elephants lay outside the author's experiences and so they chose to omit it, although it is true that there are references to elephants in other Dunhuang texts, e.g. IOL Tib J 716.

⁹⁹⁰ Traditionally this is the ability of flight.

⁹⁹¹ Free of *saṃsāra*, that is to say, free of transmigration.

- (2) Just like the auspiciousness from the blessing of [offering] *durva* grass into the hand of the Blessed One, may the present patron {r7.5} receive auspiciousness.
- (3) Just like the auspiciousness of the merchant's daughter offering the mirror of wisdom to the Blessed One, {r8.1} may the present patron receive auspiciousness.
- (4) {r8.2} Just like the auspiciousness of the offering of a right-spiralling conch into the hand of the Blessed One, may the present patron also receive auspiciousness.
- (5) {r8.3} Just like the auspiciousness of fish [offered] into the hand of the Blessed One, may the present patron receive auspiciousness.
- (6) {r8.3} Just like the auspiciousness of the merchant's daughter offering curd into the hand of the Blessed One, may the present patron receive auspiciousness. {r8.5}
- (7) Just like the auspiciousness of offering a crown of silk⁹⁹² to the head of the Blessed One, may the present patron {r9.1} receive the same auspiciousness.
- (8) Empowerment with the lotus (*bad mas*) is the same. May the unsurpassed empowerment of the flower garland be attained. {r9.2}

* After that, ablution is done. The last tormā is dispatched (*glud gdor du btang*) for the ransom. After going out of the *maṇḍala*, at the four gates {r9.3} bow (*phyag bgi*), and circle the *maṇḍala* three times.

After that, place the vases on the ground in various places (*sa sar*) Do the confession/repentance prayer. {r9.4} Teach/demonstrate impermanence and cleanse/wash the surface of the *maṇḍala*.

~Part Two Drāviḍa maṇḍala (r9.4-r14.5)~

*** Regarding this noble Drāviḍa maṇḍala—from what teacher {r9.5} did it come, what performer transmitted it,⁹⁹³ for whom is it[’s creation] essential—[these things] will be explained.⁹⁹⁴

{r10.1} Regarding the explanation of the Drāviḍa maṇḍala, the maṇḍala is so named for the place. Concerning that name, "Drāviḍa," {r10.2} there is a red country, with highlands/upper [valley] pointing towards the north and looking down on (*lta ba'*)

⁹⁹² crown of silk, i.e. turban.

⁹⁹³ transmitted it] *byed pa po ni su bstan* – that is to say, who transmitted it from the heavenly realm of its first teaching to the human realm.

⁹⁹⁴ is to be explained] *yul ni gang du bshad* – alternatively, this could be "the place where it is happening, or the object/whatever is explained. but bshad probably applies to all of it. Then again we are told about the physical place in this version, while we are not in the Amoghapāśa version, which likewise lacks this line.

lowlands/lower [valley] to the south. *Kuśa* grass grows there. {r10.3} Because the wind blows from the north, all the grass is bent over towards the south.

{r10.4} There was a clan of people dwelling in that country called the Shag⁹⁹⁵ (Shakya?), and from among them, the noblemen were once killed by eighteen great obstructors, {r10.5} and were no more.

Among any who remained, [the ritual] is for that person. The teacher was Vajrapāṇi; the performer, {11.1} the Bodhisattva (*bo te svat tva*).

As for⁹⁹⁶ the recipient,⁹⁹⁷ it was done to benefit any Shag clan member(s) who remain. Then Vajrapāṇi, the Bodhisattva, "You must go!" {11.3} and ordered him to [go] tame the eighteen great obstructors for that remaining Shag person.⁹⁹⁸

After the Bodhisattva went to the remainder of the Shag people,⁹⁹⁹ {r11.4} the eighteen obstructors said, "One comes, a great being who has variegated¹⁰⁰⁰ hair, yellow robes, and a golden sword {r11.5} worn crosswise¹⁰⁰¹—he will lead us astray/deceive us!"¹⁰⁰²

Then the Bodhisattva entered the *samādhi* of invisibility¹⁰⁰³ {r12.1} and though the eighteen great obstructors searched (*btsal*), [they] did not find [him].

Then, with the *samādhi* of visibility, {r12.2} the Bodhisattva made just his left forearm¹⁰⁰⁴ visible and placed in his palm white mustard seeds and the eight grains {r12.3}, and the eighteen obstructors said,

⁹⁹⁵ Shag Clan - According to the Treasury of Lives, there was a Tibetan clan by the name of Bzhag, about which a limited amount is known. It was a traditionally Bon clan and Gomchen Barwa was one member, living from the late eleventh to early twelfth century in Upper Nyang (*nyang stod*). (TBRC/BDRC resource i.d. C11MS177) It is, however, more likely that this is a transliteration of an Indic word, especially if the named *maṇḍala* and described country are located in India. Van Schaik suggests the name to be a transliteration of Drāviḍa, although this does not clarify a specific location. In that case, Shag could be Śaka, i.e. the (Indo-)Scythians or, more immediately, the clan of Śākyamuni.

⁹⁹⁶ There is a dittography at this point, repeating the segment: As for the recipient, it was done to benefit any Shag [clan member(s)] who remain. Then Vajrapāṇi; the Bodhisattva: {11.2} "You must go!" Although it is not crossed out, it seems that the author may have wished to remedy the omission, initially of the command (which is previously included in the margin), and may have considered the *lags* instead of *la* at the end an error as well.

⁹⁹⁷ *gang zag*, so subject, more precisely, but contextually here, recipient.

⁹⁹⁸ Other reading: "for the remaining Shag person." At this point, there is dittographic error with the repetition of the lines: As for the recipient, it was done for the benefit of the Shag people who are left behind. After that, Vajrapāṇi, Bodhisattva: "You must go!" {r11.3}

⁹⁹⁹ Another slightly difficult reading, *shag gyi myi cig po'i {r11.4} drung du phyin nas* looks somewhat as though it is the sole survivor.

¹⁰⁰⁰ variegated] *byi swa'i* > *viśva*

¹⁰⁰¹ *rel [ral] khar ser po phred dkar gyon ba* – This expression slightly unclear, but *phred...gyon* suggests 'worn crosswise.'

¹⁰⁰² *slu 'o gri 'o* > *slu khrid*

¹⁰⁰³ i.e. he became invisible.

¹⁰⁰⁴ *lag pa g.yon grub mo phan chad*

"Since this is the great one's hand, come here!"¹⁰⁰⁵ and the eighteen obstructors gathered upon the palm of the hand. {r12.4}

"Get out of here!"¹⁰⁰⁶ [he said, and] clapped [his] two hands together forcefully, and the eighteen great obstructors {r12.5} [were banished, and] could no longer come any nearer than 84,000 yojanas.¹⁰⁰⁷

Then the bodhisattva set up the Drāviḍa maṇḍala, named for that country. {r13.1}

The seat at the center is the place of the Vajra Sentinel (*rdo rje bya ra ba*).¹⁰⁰⁸ {r13.2} From him, eight light rays emerge, and from the light rays of Vajra Sentinel, eight wrathful ones emerge.

In the eastern direction, *Prajñāntakṛt*¹⁰⁰⁹ {r13.3} *Aparājita da mahakrodha huṃ phaṭ*. He brandishes in hand a vajra-mace.¹⁰¹⁰

¹⁰⁰⁵ Alternative explanation: the "Come here!" (*dir shog cig ces*) is voiced by the Bodhisattva, calling the eighteen obstructors. This interpretation, while further from the grammar of the text, makes more sense in terms of ritual, where the mustard seeds have already been included in the story in reference to their role in the ritual, and it make sense that there would be a stage at which the ritual master calls the obstructors together before banishing them.

¹⁰⁰⁶ 'ga' *tsha byer [byir] zhes byas ste* – This expression is a bit obscure but may be 'get out of here!' (Thanks to Khenpo Yeshe for this suggestion.)

¹⁰⁰⁷ *tshun chad du* – even up to; *dpag tshad* - yojana

¹⁰⁰⁸ No other name than Vajra Sentinel (*rdo rje bya ra ba*) is ever given to identify the central deity in this *maṇḍala*.

¹⁰⁰⁹ *phrad nyan ta krit*. The first four cardinal directions – *Prajñāntakṛt*, *Yamāntakṛt*, *Padmāntakṛt*, and *Vighnāntakṛt* appear in the *Guhyasamāja* (Fremantle, 32ff.), as well as Dunhuang texts IOL Tib J 331 (5r.4-5) where correspondences are given indicating that these are *Aparājita*, *Yamāntaka*, *Hayagrīva*, and *Amṛtakuṇḍali*. Together with the latter ones, *Acala*, *Mahābala*, and *Nilatantra* (*Niladaṇḍa*?) given just below, these make up seven of the Eight Wrathful Ones. The eighth, omitted in this text but required for northwest direction, is identified as *Ṭakkirāja* in the *Guhyasamāja* (Fremantle, 81) as well as the Dunhuang text IOL Tib J 318, discussed in Kapstein, "Na Rak." Meanwhile, in Skorupski, the equivalent place in the first *maṇḍala* of the earlier translation is occupied by *Trailokyavijaya* (Although this, it should be noted, is based on *Buddhaguhya's* writing, not the Tantra itself. Skorupski *SDP*, 313 n. 5). In addition, in this text, the seventh listed deity of the set is given as *Nilatantra*, while it is identified as *Niladaṇḍa* in the *Guhyasamāja*, IOL Tib J 331, IOL Tib J 318, and *Buddhaguhya's SDP* writing quoted by Skorupski. It is possible *Nilatantra* here is a confused transliteration of *Niladaṇḍa*. With regard to the first four (cardinal direction) deities, the directional assignments do not agree with the set as found in the *GST* and various Dunhuang texts. Here, *Aparājita* comes first (*prajñāntakṛt*), followed by *Yamāntaka*, then *Hayagrīva* and *Vighnāntaka*. Elsewhere, the order given (proceeding from the east, clockwise) is *Yamāntaka*, *Aparājita*, *Hayagrīva*, (*GST* 81, ll 99-110: *Vajrāmṛta*, rather than *Amṛtakuṇḍali*), and so on. In IOL Tib J 331, the order is *yamāntakṛt*, *prajñāntakṛt*, *padmāntakṛt*, *vighnāntakṛt*, i.e. the same as the *GST* (5r.4-5). Curiously, although IOL Tib J 331 indicates that the deity is *Aparājita* and *prajñāntakṛt* is part of the mantra, at places such as *GST* 33, it very much appears as though the deity may also be identified as *Prajñāntakṛt*.

¹⁰¹⁰ Here and in what follows, there is some ambiguity. It might also be read in this instance *Vajrapāṇi*, brandishing a mace. However, although this works well in this instance, the following deities end up with far more curious names, in addition to then curiously naming a different set of deities from that noted by the mantras. Contrary to the expected listing of attributes with "Vajra" in their name, the shared name component is the *phyag na/pāṇi*, "in hand." While this continues to work well for *Ratnapāṇi*, it becomes somewhat odd for

In the southern direction, *Yamāntakṛt*, *yamānta huṃ phaṭ*. {r13.4} [He] brandishes a jeweled-mace in hand.

In the western direction, *Padmāntakṛt*, *hayagrīva huṃ phaṭ*. [He] brandishes a lotus in hand.¹⁰¹¹

{r13.5} In the northern direction, *Vighnāntakṛt*, *amṛtakundali huṃ phaṭ*.¹⁰¹² [He] brandishes a *yakṣa*-mace in hand.

On the northeastern border, {r14.1} *Arya*¹⁰¹³ *Acala huṃ phaṭ*.¹⁰¹⁴ [He] brandishes a sword in hand.

On the southeastern border, *Mahābala huṃ* {r14.2} He brandishes an axe (*gra sta*) in hand.

On the southwest border, *Niladaṇḍa*¹⁰¹⁵ *huṃ phaṭ*. [He] brandishes a vajra staff¹⁰¹⁶ in hand.¹⁰¹⁷

the fourth, *phyag na gnod byin*, which comes out to Yakṣapāṇi, when one might more commonly expect to see Vajrayakṣa or Yakṣavajra. This may be a matter of an error at the time of translation –knowing the names share a component, but picking the wrong one to carry across. However, reading the list as one of attributes, as done here, may be a more plausible reading. There is further ambiguity regarding the first, second, and fourth. The first and second could potentially have been read as two implements: vajra and mace, and jewel and mace. However, this makes for a more difficult reading with the fourth, which by that logic would come out as yakṣa and mace, though yakṣas are not traditional implements to be held. Since it makes more sense to read the fourth as yakṣa-mace, the former instances have also been read in the same way, as, respectively, vajra-mace and jeweled-mace.

¹⁰¹¹ There is further evidence here that the *phyag na* should be read as description rather than name. Although *phyag na pad ma* would translate as the (plausible) Padmapāṇi, the statement given is only *phyag na pad ma [b]snams*. If the *padma* is part of the name, it leaves no object for the deity to be brandishing.

¹⁰¹² This mantra is also somewhat garbled in the transliteration, reading *oṃ bri/ dha/ dha kundali huṃ phaṭ*

¹⁰¹³ This is the only mantra of the intermediate directions with something written before the name of the deity. In the *Guhyasamāja*, we see *vajra acala huṃ phaṭ*, and in other sources like the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa tantra*, the *Oṃ acala hūṃ phaṭ* appears. In the *Vajrāvalī*, *Oṃ ā acala hūṃ hūṃ* appears. *Argya* here thus has no parallel, although it could plausibly be *ārya*.

¹⁰¹⁴ Here the format for the listing changes with the intermediate directions. In the *GST*, *vajra acala huṃ phaṭ* appears, but nothing resembling *argya* or *argha* does (Fremantle, *GST*, 81).

¹⁰¹⁵ Here written *nilatantra*, but orthography with t's and d's throughout the text make it likely this is *niladaṇḍa*, with an added mistaken 'r'.

¹⁰¹⁶ *gdengs po* – probably a transliteration of *daṇḍa*, the usual attribute of Niladaṇḍa. However, *rdo rje gdengs po* does appear elsewhere, at least some of the time as the name of a deity, which does not help to clarify the implement being described here.

¹⁰¹⁷ Missing from this listing is the deity, mantra, and attribute of the northwestern direction. In IOL Tib J 318, another Dunhuang text associated in the *Sarvadurgati* system, a similar list appears in which the missing deity would be Ṭakkirāja, according to Kapstein, who writes on IOL Tib J 318 (Kapstein, "Na rak"). Another similar list appears in Buddhaguhya's discussion of the *SDP*, where according to Skorupski, the list is similar but with Trailokyavijaya instead of Ṭakkirāja (Skorupski 313 n. 5. (It should be noted that in both IOL Tib J 318 and *SDP* *Buddhaguhya's writing, the form of the Niladaṇḍa appears, whereas in IOL Tib J 384 the form of the name given is Nilatantra, which may also be intended to be Nilakaṇṭha.) Inexplicably, in the catalogue

On the outer rim {r14.3} of the *maṇḍala* are the four offering goddesses in the four corners; [their] signs should be placed.¹⁰¹⁸ On the yellow platform area, the ten protectors of the directions {r14.4} should be set up. On the area outside of that, on the sashes,¹⁰¹⁹ arrange pearl garlands.¹⁰²⁰ On the four corners¹⁰²¹ place vajra half-moons.¹⁰²² Place the {r14.5} protectors.*

((3)) Amoghapaśa Maṇḍala

Regarding setting up the *maṇḍala* of Amoghapaśa: the noble Avalokiteśvara, enacting the welfare of sentient beings, {r15.1} embraces [them] with [his] compassion and enacts the [enlightened] activities; the Amoghapaśa *maṇḍala* is set up and worshipped. {r15.2}

For that, each side¹⁰²³ of the *maṇḍala* should be made four-by-four handwidths¹⁰²⁴ in size. {r15.3} Make a eight-petalled lotus at the center of the *maṇḍala*.¹⁰²⁵ In the middle, place the vase for the lord Avalokiteśvara. On the outside of that, in the four corners of the *maṇḍala*, place the four offering goddesses. {r15.4} Raise¹⁰²⁶ the vajra rampart. On the outside of that, place the symbols of the Five Families. On the yellow outer area's surface, set up the ten directional protectors. {r15.5} Spread the five colors.¹⁰²⁷ Outside of that, on a black area, set up garlands of pearls. At the four gates,{r16.1} set up the four door guardians. Plant four swords with mirrors at the four gates, and plant four arrows with various silk ribbons¹⁰²⁸ in the four outer corners. Make the *torāṇas* and encircling rim as appropriate. {r16.3} These are syllables on the *maṇḍala*, no need to make them deities neither time seems like deities, so it is really just the fact of mentioning bodhisattvas that is weird.

listing, the missing northwestern deity is listed as number six out of eight, even though by rights, moving counterclockwise, it should be listed last.

¹⁰¹⁸ As far as the identity of the offering goddesses that appear here, the location and passage parallels with IOL Tib J 579 (10v-11r), makes it most likely that it is the outer offering goddesses, Puṣpā, Dhūpā, Dīpa/Alokā, Gaṇḍhā referenced here, not the inner set (Lāsyā, Mālā, Gītā, Nṛtyā). The present *maṇḍala* is the Drāviḍa *maṇḍala*, while IOL Tib J 579 is *SDP*, so the evidence from that text is not absolutely conclusive.

¹⁰¹⁹ *lcugs ka la* > *lcug gu* – sash. Also *lcug ma* = small branch of a vine, rod, switch

¹⁰²⁰ *mu tig kara* > muktiḥāra, pearl garlands

¹⁰²¹ *zur*

¹⁰²² For a parallel, see Pelliot Chinois 4519, which has crescent moons in the corners. (It does not, however, have anything that might resemble pearls.)

¹⁰²³ *ngos*

¹⁰²⁴ *chag*

¹⁰²⁵ It seems likely that the eight listed below are on the petals. Petals format also seems like it recalls the Amoghapaśa system, with its connection to Avalokiteśvara, while *SDP* systems tend to use the wheel, see Kapstein, "Na rak," 165.

¹⁰²⁶ *gdang*

¹⁰²⁷ "Five colors" is included both in translation and in transliteration of the Sanskrit (*pan tsa rang ga'* = *pañcaraṅga*).

¹⁰²⁸ *mad tar sna* > *mda' dar sna*

// At the heart of the central deity, *phra ti byi sha sta ya; 'bru ta ya*. (prativiśiṣṭāya buddhāya**)¹⁰²⁹

On the point¹⁰³⁰ of the wheel in the east, {r16.4} *ba gā bā ti tad hya thā; oṃ byi shu dha yā* (**bhagavate tad yathā oṃ viśodhaya**)

On the point of the wheel in the south, *sa man na dha* (**asamasama samanta**)

On the point of the wheel in the west, {r16.5} *gagati gagana ā bā hā bha hā svāranā* (**gati gahana āvabhāsa spharaṇa**)

{ 1 – blank }

{v2.1} On the point of the wheel in the north, *ga ga ti; ga ga na* (**gati gahana**)

On the point of the wheel on the northeastern edge, {v2.2} *sva bha bha/ byi shu dhe* (**svabhāva/ viśuddhe**)

On the point of the wheel in the southeast, *A b+hi shin tsa tu nam* (**abhiṣiṅcantu māṃ**)

On the point of the wheel on the southwestern edge, *sug tab ra bar tsan* (*sugata vara vacana**)

{v2.3} On the point of the wheel on the northwestern edge, *A mṛda; b+hi shi ke ra* (*amṛtābhiṣeka**) /*/

As for the seating arrangement¹⁰³¹ of the bodhisattvas, on the eastern side, {v2.4}

Mahāmantra. On the southern side, *Pa te A ha ra* (*pāne*; Dunhuang elsewhere: *padhai āhara*). On the western side, *A ha ra* (*āhara*). On the northern side, *A yu san* (*āyuh san*).

{v2.5} On the northeastern intermediate direction, *Dha ra ni* (*dhāraṇī*). On the southeastern intermediate direction ('*tshams* > *mtshams*), *Sha sho dha ya* (**śodhaya śodhaya**) . On the southwestern intermediate direction, *Ga ga na bi shud dhe* (**gagana viśuddhe*?*). On the northwestern {v3.1} intermediate direction, *Uṣṇīṣavijāya*.**

¹⁰²⁹ What follows, for this *maṇḍala*, comes (with some slight reordering) almost directly from *Uṣṇīṣavijāya dhāraṇī*: *Namo bhagavate trailokya prativiśiṣṭāya buddhāya bhagavate | tad-yathā oṃ viśodhaya viśodhaya | asamasama samantāvabhāsa spharaṇa gati gahana svabhāva viśuddhe | abhiṣiṅcatu māṃ | sugata vara vacana | amṛtābhiṣeke mahāmantra pāne | āhara āhara āyuh sandhāraṇi | śodhaya śodhaya gagana viśuddhe | uṣṇīṣa vijaya viśuddhe | sahasra-raśmi samcodite | sarva tathāgatāvalokana ṣaṭ-pāramitā paripūraṇi | sarva tathāgata hṛdayādhiṣṭhānādhiṣṭhita mahāmudre | vajra-kāya saṃharāṇa viśuddhe | sarvāvaraṇāpāya-durgati pari-viśuddhe | prati-nivartayāyuh śuddhe | samayādhiṣṭhite maṇi maṇi mahāmaṇi | tathātā bhūta koṭi pariśuddhe | visphuṭa buddhi śuddhe | jaya jaya vijaya vijaya smara smara | sarva buddhādhiṣṭhita śuddhe | vajre vajra-garbhe vajraṃ bhavatu mama śarīraṃ | sarva sattvānāṃ ca kāya pari-viśuddhe | sarva gati pariśuddhe | sarva tathāgatāśca me samāśvāsāyantu | sarva tathāgata samāśvāsādhiṣṭhite | budhya budhya vibudhya vibudhya | bodhaya bodhaya vibodhaya vibodhaya | samanta pariśuddhe | sarva tathāgata hṛdayādhiṣṭhānādhiṣṭhita mahāmudre svāhā ||* (See Chapter One discussion of variants.)

¹⁰³⁰ [*lce*] The term in each case is actually *lce*, tongue. It may be that this is a wheel-form *maṇḍala* of the sort where the wheel is the cakra weapon, which is equipped with points. Although the use of *lce* is unusual, the sense of tip is not unreasonable. Alternatively, it could be in error for *rtse* (tip). On cakra-form *maṇḍalas*, see for example discussion of the differences between *maṇḍala* bases made of the dharmacakra (smooth) versus those formed from the weapon cakra (with points) in Tanaka, *Illustrated History*, 40. See also Dunhuang examples such as the Amoghapāśa *maṇḍala* EO 3579 (from the Musée Guimet) and the *SDP* seed-syllable *maṇḍala* Pelliot tibétain no. 389 in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

¹⁰³¹ *bzhugs tabs* (for *stabs*, or possibly *thabs*)

If one is making the *Durgatipariśodhanatejoraśi maṇḍala*, {v3.2} service (*sevā*) should be performed for the central deity. After that, service should be performed for the eight *uṣṇīṣas*. {v3.3} Service should be performed for the four offering goddesses. Then service should be performed for the eight bodhisattvas. {v3.4} Outside of that, on the edge, service should be performed for the ten directional protectors, and also the four gate guardians.

** {v4.1} For doing the service for setting up the *Drāviḍa maṇḍala*, in the center, perform service for Vajra Sentry. {v4.2} Perform service for the four offering goddesses and the ten directional protectors and the four gate guardians, which come just like above (*gong nas byung ba bzhin du*). {v4.3}

**// For setting up Amoghapaśa's maṇḍala, perform service for the central deity, lord Avalokiteśvara. {v4.4} Service should be done unerringly for the Five Families. Service should be done for the four offering goddesses and the ten directional protectors and {v4.5} the four gates.

IOL Tib J 384 (Tibetan Text)

For the sake of clarity, the pagination of the manuscript has been retained as it stands in the digitized version of the text available at from the International Dunhuang Project archive, but it is presented here in the revised sequence, as argued for in Chapter One.¹⁰³² Thus it begins, following a blank page (v5) and a page with a drawing of crossed vajras (v6), with the text on v7. The pagination the proceeds in concertina-order v7-v16, before flipping over and running r1-r16, and finally returning at the end once again to the verso with v1-v4. In this sequence, a missing folio v17-r0 is hypothesized as a lacuna at the point where the reader flips at the end of one side from verso to recto. Refer to the Chapter One section "Manuscript Reading Order" on these matters.

Tibetan punctuation (*dang kyog* marks, etc.) is marked with notes when it occurs. Orthography is irregular, as is common in Dunhuang texts. Suggested emendations are included in brackets following the word as it appears in the manuscript. In cases where there is some uncertainty, a question mark may also be included. This is omitted for variants that are particularly common in Dunhuang texts, i.e. the *myi* for *mi*, etc. (There is, of course, a degree of ambiguity in what counts as common, but an attempt has been made to balance the integrity of the transcription with clarity for reading.) For issues that are particularly critical to the translation, a footnote discussing the matter accompanies the translation and/or Tibetan text.

{v5} [blank]

{v6} [diagram of crossed vajras]

{v7}

{v7.1} § || sngun lha srin ma bye ba nas || mchom ldan 'das thugs rje che zhin thabs mkhas pa'i rang zhin gyis | {v7.2} sems shan [sems can] gyi don mdzad pa las || thugs rjes bzung nas || gzhung bshad pa ||

ston pa bo ni gang lags {v7.3} byed pa bo ni su || gang zag na gang gi ched du gces ste bgyis ||

de la ngan tshong thams chad [cad] rnam par {v7.4} sbyong ba gzig rjid kyi phung po 'di 'i || ston po ni || phyag na rto [rdo] rje byed pa bo ni shag kya thub pa || gang sag {v7.5} ni || lha nor bu dri ma myed pa'i don ched du bgyis ||

rno [nor] bu dru mi myed pa yang sum bcu rtsa gsum {v8.1} gyi gnas nas || skom [sgom] ba'i ting nge 'dzin la bar chad du gyur te || ngan tshong gsum gyi gnas su ltung bar gyur {v8.2} ro ||

¹⁰³² The text can be accessed at

http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_scroll_v.a4d?uid=202239358;recnum=5236;index=1 (or by going to the International Dunhuang Project search page and entering "IOL Tib J 384").

de nas phyag na rdo rjes shag kya thub pa la bga' sal pa ||

shag kya thub pa khyod song la || lha nor bu dri ma myed {v8.3} pa || ting nge 'dzin la le lor gyur ste || ngan song gsum gyi gnas su ltung bas || sngags thams {v8.4} shad [cad] kyi ni snying po || mdo sde thams chad kyi ni || tantra || nyan thos thams shad [cad] kyi ni 'dul ba'i || {v8.5} sngags 'di sa brgya rtsa brgyad lzas la || lha'i bu dri ma myed pa yang || sum bcu rtsa gsum gyi gnas {v9.1} su || phyin bar gyis shig par bka' sal ||

de nas shag kya thub pas || ngan song gsum gyi gnas na || nor {v9.2} bu dri ma myed pa yang¹⁰³³ 'i? drung du phyin nas || sngags brgya rtsa brgyad bzlas nas || dri ma myed pa yang skrib pa byang {v9.3} bar gyur ste || sum bcu rtsa gsum gyi gnas ma phyin tsam na || sgrib pa rnams par gchod pa'i {v9.4} sngags ma bzlas pas || sum bcu rtsa gsum gyi gnas su ma phyin bar gyur

shag kya thub pas skrib {v9.5} pa rnam par gcod pa'i || sngags rgya rtsa brgyad bzlas pas || sum bcu rtsa gsum gyi gnas su phyin {v10.1} bar gyur ro || sngags la | Om̐ tro tsa ne | tro tsa ni | dras ne | dra sa ne | pra ṭi hana | sarva gar ma | par myi tra ni {v10.2} svahā [*] ||

yang rnam cig du na || yab ni lus myi bde zhes bya ba zhig yod || yum ni skyu ma lham {v10.3} mdzes || yum gyi khong pa na bu yod nas | bu 'byung du nye tsam na || bra mdze'i bud myed || mtshan mkhan {v10.4} zhig bkug ste ||

nge'i khong na bu yod bas || mtshan rtogs shig par gleng ||

bud myed kyis smras pa | {v10.5}
yum gyi khong pa na bu yod pha ni khye'u du 'byung || bu 'di skyes na || yab gyi dgrar 'gyur ro zhes gleng ||

bu byung nas {v11.1} ma skyes sgrar mying btags || yab dang 'grogs ste 'dug pa las || yab kyi mnga' tang [thang] ni che || longs {v11.2} sbyod ni rgyas ||

ma skyes sgra la rga [dga'] ba'i blon po || pa na se zhes bya ba bgug nas || yab ni mnga' tang [thang] che nas | {v11.3} long sbyod kyang dar || bdag ni yab kyi mnga' tang 'dra bar 'dod na || ci ltar byas na 'grub ces dris pa dang ||

blon {v11.4} po pa na sa gsol pa || mnga' tang che bar myi 'gyur | {v11.5} ro zhes mchi'o ||

de nas rgyal bu ma skyes skras kyang rgyal po yab thabs kis bgros par kyur'o ||

de'i {v12.1} myi [mya] ngan gyis yum Skya ma lha mdzes kyang 'das par gyur || rgyal bu ma skyes skra yang || pha thabs kyis bsad {v12.2} pa'i stig [sdig] pas || 'gro ba ris drug skyes par gyur ro ||

¹⁰³³ The *yang* is enclosed within a rectangular box, and context suggests it may be an error.

'gro ba ris drug la || sbre'u ste gcig || stag dang {v12.3} seng ge dang gnyis || dom dang dred dang sa? gsum || bya rog dang skeg ga dang bzhi || khyi dang phag dang lnga || sbrul {v12.4} dang drug || 'gro ba ris drug gi nang na skyes shing 'dug pa las || pha ma gnyis bsad pa'i stig [sdig] yid la {v12.5} dren te 'dug pa las || 'gyod sems drag por skyes ste || skrib pa sbyang ba'i thabs ma shes nas dug pa la {v13.1} bcom ldan 'das shag kya thub pas || ma skyas skra'i don ched du gshegs nas || ngan tshong rna par sbyang ba'i | {v13.2} gzig brjid kyi phung po'i rgyal 'khor gcig bzhengs gsol ||

dbus kyi gtso bor shag kya thub pa bzhugs | {v13.3} 'khor lo rtsibs rgyad pa gcig bris || shar phyogs kyi 'khor lo'i lce la || gtsug tor gdugs dkar {v13.4} po || lho phyogs kyi 'khor lo'i lce la || gtsugs tor 'khor lo skyur ba' || nub phyogs kyi 'khor lo'i lce la || gtsug tor pad ma'i snying po || byang phyogs kyi 'khor lo lce la || gtsug tor dri ma myed pa || byang shar {v14.1} 'tshams kyi 'khor lo lce la || gtsug tor dra ba can gyi 'od || shar lho 'tshams kyi 'khor lo'i lce la || gtsug tor {v14.2} gzig brjid kyi phung po || lho nub 'tshams kyi 'khor lo'i lce la || gtsug tor rnam par 'dor ba || nub byang {v14.3} tshams kyi 'khor lo'i lce la || gtsug tor rnam par rgyal ba' || de'i phyi rims su || gru bzhi byang shar 'tsham {v14.4} s kyi gru la || lha mo pog por ma || shar lho'i 'tshams su || men tog ma || lho nub 'tshams su {v15.1} mar mye ma || nub byang 'tshams su dri cham ma || de'i phyi rims kyi snam bu la || shar drang por || gjams {v15.2} dbal phyag na rdo rje gengs po snams || lho drang por || byams pa mu tri || phyag na dri shul 'bar ba snams {v15.3} nub drang por sbyan ra gzig 'pyug [phyug?] || phyag na bum pa snams || byang phyogs na || kun du bzang po || phyag {v15.4} rdo rje 'bar ba snams || byang shar gyi tshams na || sa'i snying po || phyag na rdo rje rgya gram snams || shar lho'i {v16.1} 'tshams na || nam ka'i snying po || rin po che dbyug togs snams || lho nub kyi 'tshams na kun tu bzang po || phyag {v16.2} na dpal beu snams || nub byang gyi 'tshams su || gzig rjid kyi phung po || phyag na rdo rje dra ba snams || de'i phyi rims {v16.3} kyi snam bu la || byang shar gyi 'tshams su || dbang ldan sku mdog dkar | phyag na dra shul snams || shar rgya'i byan [brgya byin] sku {v16.4} mdog ser || phyag na rdo rje gengs po snams || shar lho'i 'tshams su || me lha dmar ser || drang srong gyi cha {v16.5} byad du bzhugs || phyag na zhugs thab snams || lho gshin rje sku mdog | dkar || nag phyag na thod byug snams

[At this point should come the theorized absent folio, *v17-r0 comes at this point. After reading *v17, the concertina is turned over and reading begins at *r0.]

{r1.1} ser bum ba kha rgyan can snams [rnams]

*»¹⁰³⁴ phyi rims [rim] gyi snams bu nag po la | mu tig kar ra [muktiḥāra¹⁰³⁵] kot [bkod] || sko [sgo] srungs ba zhi {r1.2} kod [bkod] || sko [sgo] bzhir rta babs dang mu khyud legs par bgyi || dkyil 'khor gyi grwa bzhir || rdo rje zla gam dgod || ral {r1.3} gyi bzhi mye leng [me

¹⁰³⁴ The text is separated here by the Tibetan punctuation of a *rdel dkar gsum* (three dots) and an opening-text *brda rnying yig mgo mdun ma* (curled bracket), as the marks are identified in Tibetan unicode names.

¹⁰³⁵ Unclear whether the transliteration is simply for *muktiḥāra*, or if the *kar ra* could be intended as the addition of white color (*dkar*).

long?) dang chas pa [bcas pa] || sko [sgo] bzhir gzugs [zugs] || mda' bzhi dar sna dang chas pa [bcas pa] || grar gzugs {r1.4}

» || dkyil 'khor gyi sa gcad pa'i chog la || thog ma bdag chos gyi byings [dbyings] nam par dag bar myigs [dmigs]{r1.5} la phyag rgya chen por skom [bsgom] la || byin kyis rlabs [byin gyis rlabs] nas ni || sa'i lha mo rtan ma [brten/bstan ma] dang | klu dang srin la sogs {r2.1} bsogs pal [bsogs pa la] || sbyin pa ni rin po che sna lnga dang || 'bru sna lnga las bsogs pas || rigs lnga'i snying {r2.2} pos byin gyis rlabs nas || sbyin bar bgyi |

de nas byin gyis rlabs sa sgo ba'i [sa rko ba'i] sngags la || OM VAJRA KHA NA KHA NA {r2.3} HŪM PHAṬ || sa rdung ba'i sngags la || OM VAJRA MA ṬA KA RA A KOD ṬA YA || A KOD ṬA YA HŪM PHAṬ || spos chab la sa la {r2.4} pa [slang ba?¹⁰³⁶] || OM VAJRA 'BRI TE HŪM PHAṬ SVAHĀ || dgyil [dkyil] 'khor brtsigs nas 'go ma yang bgyi ||

de nas thig gskud [skud] || gdig [thig] {r2.5} gdab pa'i sngags || OM VAJRA SU TRA HŪM PHAṬ || seng leng [ldeng] gyi phur bu grwa bzhir gzugs pa sngags la || OM VAJRA {r3.1} KI LA KI LA YA KI LAYA || SA RVA DU STA NA HUM PHAṬ || yungs kar 'tshams [mtshams] gcad pa || OM VAJRA OM BHRID TE HANA HANA {r3.2} HUM PHAṬ ||

bum ba lnga byin kyis rlabs nas || byang cub sems pa'i snams bu la dgod || sko bzhir ral gyi [ral gri] bzhi {r3.3} gtsugs || grwa bzhir mda' bzhi gtsugs || dgyil khor [dkyil 'khor] gyi mnga' gsol || seng ke'i [seng ge'i] gros kyis dkhyil khor [dkyil 'khor]{r3.4} skor || sko [sgo] bzhir chod pa nam lnga bul ||

de nas gdan la bzhugs nas || chag shing [phyag shing] phyag du bzung nas || dkyil {r3.5} khor gyi lo rgyus bshad || sems shan [sems can] nyan du gsal [gsol] || lha bshos sum bcu stsa lnga || zhugs mar dang chas {r4.1} par gyi ||

rgyan bkod nas || gdor [gtor ma] cha gsum shams [bshams] nas || gdor [gtor] ma dang po la || rgyal chen bzhi phyogs skyong {r4.2} bcu dang || kyil 'khor gyi mnga' bdag rnams la mchod pul [phul] bar bgyi || smon lam gsol zhin [zhing] dkyil khor ['khor] {r4.3} srung du snyan snyungs gsol || de'i bu ma [dbu ma] la || sems can de gang gyi don ched du || smon la bad [smon lam btab] cing lan chags {r4.4}kyi gtor ma gdang [gtang] || de nas gdor ma mtha' ma'i dus su || dkyil khor ['khor] nas byung ba'i lugs lags pas |

{r4.5} cho ga mkhan thog ma seng ge khri bshams pa te shar phyogs na bzhugs || de nas dgyil [dkyil] 'khor nas byin¹⁰³⁷ {r4.6} ba'i dus na || nub phyogs su gdan sbos [spos] nas || kha shar phyogs su gzigs ste || shar phyogs gyi sko [sgo] drang {r5.1} po na || yon bdag gson shid gang yang rung ste || stod du bul ||

¹⁰³⁶ Unclear subscript *l*, *spos chab la sal* or *spos chab slal*, possibly for *spos chab la gsal* or *slang ba*.

¹⁰³⁷ *nas byin*] Here, though the combination with *nas* suggests exiting/going out, it is more likely to mean go (*phyind / phyin*) than depart (*'byin*), since the movement (consistent with IOL Tib J 439/712) is into the *maṅḍala*. See chapter notes for further discussion.

phyag tu yungs kar bzhes nas || 'tshams gcad {r5.2} par bgyi || de nas dkyil 'khor gyi sko bye
ba'i sngags bzlas || sngags la || E SA ME || TRI SA ME | MA HA SA MA YA | {r5.3} lan
sum [gsum] du brjod ||

de nas cho ga mkhan gyi phyag nas || rdo rje byung ba'i rtse mo la 'dzin du sal [stsal]¹⁰³⁸ ||
dkyil 'khor gyi {r5.4} dkyil nas tshur || gtsang stan bris [bres] pa'i dkyil du bzhag nas

| » »¹⁰³⁹ | dbang skur [bskur] ba'i tshigs bshad la || dbus kyi gtso {r5.5} bo'i bum pa blangs
nas || sbyin bo gtsugs du bzhag ste ||
bcom ldan 'das dpal shag kya thub pa || phyag g.yas {r5.6} pa gser gyi mdog can rgyang nas
|| dbang skur [bskur] ba bzhin du || bgra [bkra] shis shing dbang thob par gyur cig ||

khyim bdag {r6.1} rin po ches dbang skur [bskur] pa te || bgra [bkra] shis pa bzhin du ||
dbang dam pa thob par gyur cig ||

btsun mo rin po che phyag du {r6.2} byin nas || dbang skur [bskur] ba de bzhin du theg pa
lnga'i stobs dang ldan bas dbang thob par gyur cig ||

rta rin {r6.3} po che lag du byin bas || cang shes kyi rta rdzu 'phrul yan lag dang ldan ba'i ||
dbang thob par gyur {r6.4} cig ||

dam ga [dmag dpon] rin po che phyag du skur [bskur] bas || phas gyi rgol ba tshar bcaad de ||
bgra [bkra] shis pa bzhin {r6.5} du dmag gi dbang dam pa thob par gyur cig ||

'khor lo rin po che lag du skur [bskur] bas || 'khor ba'i {r7.1} rgyun bcaad cin [cing] || myi
'khor ba'i gnas dag pa na 'dug ba'i dbang dam pa | thob par gyur cig ||

nor bu rin {r7.2} po che'i dbang skur [bskur] bas || yid bzhin gyi nor bu rin po che la sbyod
pa'i dbang dam pa thob par gyur cig ||

(1)¹⁰⁴⁰ bcom ldan {r7.3} 'das shag gya thub ba'i phyag du || tshong pon [dpon] gyi bo mos ||
shing byil ba' [bilva] phyag du phul nas || bkra' shis par {r7.4} gyur cig ||

(2) bcom ldan 'das kyi phyag du || rtswa dur ba byin gyis rlabs nas || bkra' shis pa bzhin du ||
ding gyi yon {r7.5} bdag bkra shis par gyur cig ||

(3) tshong pon [dpon] gyi bo mos || bcom ldan 'das kyi phyag du || yi shis [ye shes] gyi myi
[me] long {r8.1} phul bas || bkra' shis pa bzhin du ding kyi yon bdag bdag bkra' shis par
gyur cig ||

¹⁰³⁸ *stsal* – see for comparsion 14v.6 in IOL Tib J 439

¹⁰³⁹ *dang kyog* symbols delimiting next section.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Numbers placed here for convenience; they do not occur in the manuscript.

(4) bcom ldan 'das kyil phyag {r8.2} du || dung g.yas su 'kyil ba phul te || bkra' shis pa bzhin du dung [ding] gi yon bdag kyang bkra' shis par gyur(r?) cig ||

(5) {r8.3} bcom ldan 'das kyil phyag du || nya phul Te bkra' shis pa bzhin du || ding gi yon bdag bkra' shis par gyur cig ||

(6) {r8.4} bcom ldan 'das kyil phyag du tshong pon gi bo mos || zho phul te bkra' shis pa bzhin du || ding gyi yon bdag kra' {r8.5} shis par gyur cig ||

(7) bcom ldan 'das kyil dbu la || dar gi chod pan [cod pan] phul Te bkra' shis pa bzhin du || ding gyi yon {r9.1} bdag kyang bkra' shis par gyur cig ||

(8) men tog bad mas dbang ba skur ba bzhin du || men tog 'phreng ba'i dbang dam pa thob {r9.2} par gyur cig ||

*| de nas khros bgyi || gtor ma mtha' ma glud gdor du btang || dgyil khor nas phyung nas || sko bzhir phyag {r9.3} bgi [bgyi] zhin [zhing] dkyil 'khor lan gsum bskor ||

de nas bum pa sa sar bzhag || 'gyod sangs gyi smon lam gdab || myi rtag ba'i {r9.4} tshul bstan te || dgyil 'khor zhal bsil |

*** | 'phags pa 'dra byi'i dra'i [Dravida] dkyil 'khor 'di || ston pa po ni {r9.5} gang las || byed ba po ni sus bstan || gang zag gang kyil ched du gces te byas || yul ni gang du bshad ||

de la {r10.1} 'dra byi tra'i [Dravida] kyil [dkyil] 'khor bshad pa ni || yul las kyil [dkyil] 'khor gyi mtshan du gsol ste || yul 'tra byed tra [Dravida] zhes bya {r10.2} ba na || lung pa phu ni byang du gzugs || mda' ni lhor lta ba' || lung pa mar [dmar] po zhig yod || rstwa U shal de na skye | {r10.3} byang nas rlung langs bas || rtswa thams shad [cad?] lho 'phyogs [phyogs] ter [der] 'dus ||

lung pa de na gnas pa'i myi rus ni shag ces {r10.4} bya || pha tshan chen po zhig dug pa las || bgegs chen po bcho rgyad kyis || shag pha tshan ched po [chen po] zhig || zhi {r10.5} ste myed par gyur ste || myi gcig cig lus pa las || myi de'i don ced du || ston pa po ni phyag na rdo rjes mdzad | {r11.1} byed pa po ni || bo de sbad twa lags ||

[gang zag ni shag myi cig lus pa'i don ced du bgyis || de nas phyag na rdo rjes || bo {r11.2} de svad twa ^khyod song la^ lags ||]¹⁰⁴¹

gang zag ni shag myi cig lus pa'i don ced du bgyis || de nas phyag na rdo rjes || bo de swad twa khyod song {r11.3} la || zhab¹⁰⁴² | shag myi cig po'i bges [bgegs] bco rgyad thul cig par bka' stsal ||

¹⁰⁴¹ There is a dittography here, with this passage occurring twice. There is reason to think the second instance is the one the author intended, although they did not scratch/mark out the first instance as an error.

¹⁰⁴² There is a large space after the *shabs* at this point.

bod de swad twas [bodhisattva] shag gyi myi cig po'i {r11.4} drung du phyin nas || bges [bgegs] bco brgyad kyis || myi ced po'i lus la byi swa'i [viśva] skra yod pa gos ser rel khar ser po ({r11.5} phred dkar gyon ba zhig 'ongs bas || 'di ni 'o skol la slu 'o gri 'o [slu khrid] zhes zer ||

de nas bod de swad twas || myi snang ba'i ting {r12.1} nge 'dzin la bzhugs nas || bgas [bgegs] cen po bco brgyad kyis btsal te ma rnye ||

de nas khod | bod te swad twas || snang pa'i {r12.2} ting nge 'dzin la || lag ba g.yon pa grub mo phan chad snang bar byas || lag pa'i thil du yungs krar [dkar?] 'bru rgyad [brgyad] cig bzhag {r12.3}pa dang bgegs bco rgyad kyis ||

myi chen po'i lag ba 'di yod pas || dir shog cig ces || bags [bgegs] bco rgyad [brgyad] lag {r12.4}thil steng du 'dus ||
'ga' tsha byer [byir] zhes byas ste || lag pa gnyis drag du brdabs pas || bags [bgegs] ched po bco {r12.5}brgyad kyang || dpag tshad brgyad khri bzhi stong tshun chad du nye ma nus ||

de nas bod de swad twas || yul las mtshan du {r13.1} gsol ba'i kyil khor || 'dra byid dra bzhengs su gsol ||

dbus sa stong (steng) du bzhag pa ni || rdo rje bya ra ba'i sa yin | de la {r13.2} zer brgyad byung ba ni || rdo rje bya ra ba'i 'od zer laks || 'od zer de las khro bo rgyad byung ||

shar phyogs na || phrad nyan ta krid || {r13.3} A pa ra tsita da ma ha kro da huṃ phaṭ || phyag na rdo rje dbyug ba thob snams ||

lho phyogs na || *ya man ta krid ya man ta huṃ phaṭ* || {r13.4} phyag na rin po che byug togs snams ||

nub phyogs na || *pad man ta krid ha ya gri ba huṃ phaṭ* || phyag na pad ma snams |

{r13.5} byang phyogs na || *byid nan t-ha krid Oṃ bri | dha | dha kun dal huṃ phaṭ* || phyag na gnod sbyin byag tho snams pa ||

byang shar gyi 'tshams {r14.1} na || *A rgya A tsa la* || *huṃ phaṭ* || phyag na ral gi bsnams ||

shar lho'i 'tshams na || *ma ha pal huṃ phaṭ* || phyag na {r14.2} dgra sta snams pa ||

lho nub kyi 'tshams na || *ni la tan tra huṃ phaṭ* || phyag na rdo rje gdengs po snams pa |* |

phyi rims {r14.3} kyi dkyil 'khor || grwa bzhir mchod pa'i lha mo bzhi'i || phyag mtshan dgod || snam bu ser po la || phyogs skyong {r14.4} bcu dgod || de'i phyi rims snam bu ltsugs ka la || mu tig ka ra dgod || zur bzhir rdo rje lza gam dgod || sko srungs {r14.5} dgod ||*

A mo ka bag sha'i dkyil 'khor bzhengs su gsol ba na || 'phags pa sbyan ra gzigs kyi dpang
phyug gis | {r15.1} sems shan [can] gyis don mdzad par || thugs rjes gzung zhin [zhing]
phrin las mdzad par gnang ste || A mo ka pāg śa'i dkyil 'khor {r15.2} gcig bzhengs su gsol ||

de la kyil khor ngos re la chag bzhi bzhi gyi || dkyil 'khor gyi dbus su pad ma kha brgyad pa
gcig{r15.3} bgyi || dbus su sbyan ra gzigs 'bang phyug gyi bum pa dgod || de'i phyi rims kyil
khor grwa bzhir mchod pa'i lha mo bzhi dgod {r15.4} rdor rje ra ba gdang || de'i phyi rims
su rig?s lnga'i phyag mtshan dgod || phyi rims snam bu ser po la || phyogs skyong bcu
{r15.5} dgod || pan tsa rang ga' (pañcaraṅga) mtshon [tshon] sna lnga spel ste gdang || de'i
phyi rims snam bu nag po la || mud ti hara (muktiḥāra) dgod || sko bzhir {r16.1} sko srungs
bzhi dgod || sko bzhir ral gi bzhi myi long dang chas pa bzhi gzugs || mad tara sna [mda' dar
sna] dang chas bzhi ~~dgod~~¹⁰⁴³ {r16.2} ba | yang grwa bzhir [bzhir] gzugs || rta bas (rta babs)
dang mu khyud ci legs su kyi || {r16.3}

** || dbus gyi gtso bo'i snying po la || *phra ti byi sha sta ya* || 'bru ta ya ||
shar phyogs kyi 'khor lo lce la | {r16.4} ba gā bā ti tad hya thā || Om byi shu dha yā ||
lho phyogs kyi 'khor lo lce la || sa man na dha
nub phyogs kyi 'khor | {r16.5} lo lce la || ga ga ti || ga ga na || A bā hā bha hā | svā ra nā ||

{v1}[blank]

{v2.1} byang phyogs kyi 'khor lo lce la || ga ga ti || ga ga na ||
byang shar 'tsams gyi 'khor lo lce la || sva bha bha| byi shu dhe |
{v2.2} shar lho'i 'khor lo lce la || A bhi shi?n tsa tu nam ||
lho nub tshams kyi 'khor lo lce la || sug tab ra bar tsan ||
{v2.3} nub byang 'tsams kyi 'khor lo lce la || A mred ta | b+hi shi ke ra | * |
byang cub sems pa'i bzhugs tabs la || shar phyogs {v2.4} na || ma ha man tra || lho phyogs na
|| pa te A ha ra || nub phyogs na || A ha ra || byang phyogs na || A yu san || {v2.5} byang shar
'tsams na || dha ra ni || shar lho 'tshams na || sha sho dha ya || lho nub 'tsams na || ga ga na | bi
shud dhe || nub {v3.1} byang tshams na || U sni sha byi tsa ya || ** ||

ngan tshong rnam par skyong ba'i gzig rjid kyi phung po'i dkyil {v3.2} 'khor mdzad pa'i dus
na || da | ? | dbus gyi gtso bo'i snyen pa kyi || de 'og du | gtsug tor brgyad kyi snyen {v3.3}
pa gyi || mchod pa'i lha mo bzhi'i snyen pa gyi || de nas byang cub sems pa rgyad gyi snyen
pa gyi || de'i {v3.4} phyi rims su phyogs skyong bcu'i snyen pa kyi || sko srungs bzhi la yang
|| snyen pa phul | * |

dra byid 'dra'i [Draviḍa?] {v4.1} kyil khor bzhengs su gsol ba'i || bsnyen pa mdzad pa la ||
bus [dbus] gyi kyi gtso bo || rdo rje bya ra ba'i snyen pa kyi [bgyi] || {v4.2} mchod pa'i lha
mo bzhi dang || phyogs skyong bcu dang || sko srungs bzhi gong nas byung ba bzhin du
snyen pa bgyi || {v4.3}

¹⁰⁴³ *dgod* seems to be crossed out

** || A mo ka pa sha'i kyil khor mdzad pa'i dus na || dbus gyi gtso bo sbyan ra gzigs dbang
phyug gyi snyen {v4.4} pa kyi || rigs lnga rim pa myi nor bar snyen pa bgyi || mchod pa'i lha
mo bzhi dang || phyogs skyong bcu dang {v4.5} sko srungs bzhi snyen pa bgyi'o ||

Appendix 3:

Although the *Utkrānti-SDP* manual is well preserved and clearly written by a skilled hand, it nonetheless contains many of the orthographic and other irregularities common in Nepalese manuscripts. This is true in both the Sanskrit and Newari sections, and creates a considerable obstacle for constituting a text. While the best option would be to compare a number of manuscripts, multiple witnesses were not available. The edition that follows this translation is, for the most part, a diplomatic version, although occasional notes have been added at certain points in an effort to balance the integrity of the transcription with clarity for reading. The Sanskrit has been normalized at certain points, depending on the feasibility of rendering a coherent text.

Utkrānti-SDP manual (Hs.or.4326) (Translation)

I. Treatise on Utkrānti Yoga and the Signs of Death¹⁰⁴⁴

Doing *Utkrānti* Yoga:

{1v.1}

§ *Om* homage to Śrī Vajrasatva, homage to the three jewels!

Now, doing *utkrānti* [...]

*When various signs appear—the breathing is constantly disturbed—[doing] the yoga of exhaling and inhaling, purify the body maṇḍala.*¹⁰⁴⁵ [1¹⁰⁴⁶]

{1v.3}

¹⁰⁴⁴ This title does not appear here on the ms, I have added it as it appears at the end of this portion of the text. The subtitle, here below, "Doing Utkrānti Yoga," appears in red along the left margin of the manuscript, as do subsequent titles at the beginning of sections.

¹⁰⁴⁵ *svās[a] chijjati chijjati* "breathing is constantly disturbed," where *chijjati* is a form of *chid*, possibly reflecting a middle Indic pronunciation (Szántó, *Catuspīṭhatantra*, 210. As in the current text, the expression occurs the section on "the bodily signs of death," 1.2.4 as *śvāsā chijjati cchijjati* (Szántó, *Catuspīṭhatantra* (vol. 2), 15).

¹⁰⁴⁶ This corresponds to verse 28 in Chapter XIX of the *Samvarodaya*. The chapter of the *Samvarodaya* is called the *Mṛtyunimittadarśanotkrāntiyoga-pāṭala*, and of the thirty-nine verses it contains, the current text reproduces verses 28-39, with the omission of verses 37 and 38a-b, and several other variant line readings, such as 30c-d.

Now, moreover, another method¹⁰⁴⁷ for victory over death:¹⁰⁴⁸ First of all, [one should] do the yoga of exhaling and inhaling, and do 100,000 mantra recitations. After that, one's breath will be fully restored. After five years (or more),¹⁰⁴⁹ death occurs and the life force¹⁰⁵⁰ will depart.¹⁰⁵¹

{1v.6}

When the time of death has come, the supreme utkrānti yoga:

one should fill the channels leading to the nine gates with inhaled breath. [2¹⁰⁵²]

¹⁰⁴⁷ *bandhana*] as "method" by extension of the more usual Sanskrit meaning of binding or bond—in the sense of asserting control systematically, i.e. a method. Given that the passage is introducing a method of *utkrānti*, reading it as a binding, with an implicit object of method: "Another binding [method] for victory over death." A more remote and grammatically challenging possibility might involve *bandhana* as a particular breathing practice. Such is mentioned by Szántó in discussion of Bhavabhaṭṭa's commentary and the *Catuspīṭha tantra*. Though the description does not match the current case, Szántó comments that, "Although the *tantra* does not refer to this specifically [i.e. *bandhana yoga*], it very much seems that this is a preliminary, purificatory procedure for *utkrānti* (Szántó, *Catuspīṭha*, 455).

¹⁰⁴⁸ *mṛtyujayelapeyāta*] "for victory over death," *mṛtyu* + *jaya*, (Skt.) victory over death, with the addition of the *lape* + *yāta* (New.). The *lape* is a causative verbalizer (-ing: bringing about victory), and the *yāta* denotes the finite function (for the purpose of).

¹⁰⁴⁹ The idea is "after five years or more," i.e. one will gain at least five more years of life from this, not that it will be precisely five. According to Kashinath Tamot, this promises a minimum addition of five years. Beyond that, one might die, but with this practice it should be extended at least five years. More generally, both Kashinath Tamot and Sarbagya Bajracharya felt that five was not particularly important here—more like "after some period of time." However, slightly different in implication, Sarbagya Bajracharya also suggests that it indicates a duration of recommended practice, and that some people might do it more quickly, but some it would take five years: "Some people complete the practice very fast, for some people it will take longer. But generally, one should do it for years" (Sarbagya Bajracharya, personal communication).

¹⁰⁵⁰ *prāṇa*] Life force in a general sense. See discussion of this versus consciousness in the Newar versus Sanskrit portions of this text. (C.f. Tsuda, 248, for canonical cases where life force and consciousness are very different, contrasting the way they seem to be used synonymously in the current text.)

¹⁰⁵¹ *mṛtyu juyāo · prāṇa onīo*] "death occurs and the life force will depart" According to Kashinath Tamot the tenses and ordering here are curious, reading, "death, having occurred (tense: completed), the life force will depart (tense: future)." Typically, the departure of the life force occurs and is the cause of death, one would expect the life force to depart and then death to occur. Here, not only are the words reversed, but the tense indicates the life force departs after death. It is possible this ordering relates to the fact that this is an *utkrānti* text, and the life force will be called back into the body for the ritual.

¹⁰⁵² Corresponds to verse 29 of the *Samvarodaya*.

Through the *kumbhaka* [breath], the blocking [of] the gate[s]; purifying the aperatures of the gates.¹⁰⁵³ Exhaling, speech departs; being calm, of pacified mind, [3¹⁰⁵⁴]

One should seize one's consciousness (*viññāna*), otherwise one will go to the beyond. [4a-b¹⁰⁵⁵]

{2r.3}

Alternatively, [for one who] does not wish to put off death: [that is, for] someone who is dying and thinks, "I don't want to keep living." When sickness befalls [him], at that time breathing will become heavy, then *utkrānti* yoga should be done. If one asks how [to do it], for releasing the life force (*prāṇa*), as for (*velasa*) the openings of the nine gates, [and] as for the nine channels, [one should] close all the openings. With the *kumbhaka* (breath-stopping) yoga, all breathing should be suppressed. At that time, the nine gates will be blocked. At that time, the nine gates are purified and, having exhaled, [the breath is] sent out. At that time the ending of the *prāṇa* (*prāṇānta*) is brought about.¹⁰⁵⁶ At that [same] time, [one] should keep awake and, in particular, do the *jñāna bhāvana*, being absorbed in Śrī

¹⁰⁵³ This translation differs from Tsuda's, which reads, "Through 'stopping the breath' (*kumbhaka*), he should check the doorways; this is the purification of the holes of the gates" (302). However the *Samvarodaya* verse it is based on differs from the current text, reading *kumbhakena stambhayed vāraṃ dvārarandhraviśodhanam*, as opposed to the current text's *kumbhakena stambhanaṃ dvāraṃ · dvāraṃ raṃdhrasya śodhanaṃ*. At the same time, some of Tsuda's sources do read *dvāraṃ* rather than *vāraṃ*, and he seems to have translated it as 'gate,' leaving the main difference in the interpretation of *stambhayed/ stambhanaṃ*. In support of reading it as "stopping/blocking the gate," compare a (different) verse from *utkrānti* portion (4.3.43ab) of the *Catuspīṭha tantra*, which Szántó translates as "[The yogin] should first start with [performing] a *kumbhaka*-type breathing, maintaining which] he should block all the [nine] gateways." Note that this is a not the same verse: the *Catuspīṭha* verse reads *kumbhakaiḥ pūrvam ārambha sarvadvārāṇi stambhanaṃ/ pañcasphoṭika stūpānāṃ dvāraruddhasya bhāvanam// 4.3.43*, but mentioned here in that it shares in saying that the gates are stopped. (Szántó, *Catuspīṭha*, 461-62). *Kumbhaka* (stopping the breath) is described by Tsuda as part of a trio, along with *recaka* (exhalation) and *pūraka* (inhalation), that make up "the yoga of breathing." These also are said to correspond to the three bodies of the buddha, with *recaka* associated with the *nirmānakāya*, *pūraka* associated with the *dharmakāya*, and *kumbhaka* associated with the *samboghakāya* (based on other portions of the *Samvarodaya*) (Tsuda, *Samvarodaya*, 69).

¹⁰⁵⁴ Corresponds partially to verse 30 of the *Samvarodaya*. This line (*pādas* c and d of verse 3) diverges significantly from the equivalent, verse 30c-d, in the *Samvarodaya*. Where here the line reads *recakaṃ vākya niṣkramaṃ · praśānta śāntamānasaṃ//*, the *Samvarodaya* has *recakena recayed viśvaṃ praśāntaṃ śāntam āvahet//*. Tsuda translates the latter as "Through exhalation he should make (these veins) completely empty; he will make (everything) calm, completely calm," but comments that it is unclear and makes reference to the Tibetan: *bum pa can goms pa las rlung brtan par gyur pa na/ sems brtan pa skye bar 'gyur ro//* (Pañj. Vol. 51, 104-4-7), or in the Sde dge, *brtan par skye bar*, neither of which are of any help with the current variant verse. (He does, however, note that a similar verse appears in the *Vajradāka*, chapter 21, though I have not yet been able to track that down to compare it.)

¹⁰⁵⁵ Corresponds to verse 31 of the *Samvarodaya*. The Newari commentary is placed in between the first and second halves of this verse and reads the first half with the preceding verses, though this changes the meaning considerably from reading the two halves together.

¹⁰⁵⁶ This is somewhat ambiguous, as *prañānta* could also be taken as the end of life, i.e. the end of the life force (*prāṇa/ prāṇavāyu*), as is elsewhere indicated here. However, it is more likely in context to refer simply to holding the breath. See discussion in Chapter Two.

Parameśvara,¹⁰⁵⁷ Vajradevi, and Amitābha. Alternatively, one can be absorbed in Sakyamuni.¹⁰⁵⁸ In this way, *saṃsāra* is crossed.

And the wise one should do the joining of vowels (āli) and consonants (kāli). [4c-d¹⁰⁵⁹]

Place the syllable hūṃ in the heart, and place the 1.5 syllables¹⁰⁶⁰ below and above, and the wind syllable in the lower part of that [body], and all of the winds facing down.¹⁰⁶¹ [5¹⁰⁶²]

The one who possesses the yoga should make the two syllables form a perfect union/saṃpuṭa,¹⁰⁶³ and should recite the three¹⁰⁶⁴ syllable mantra twenty-one times in succession. [6¹⁰⁶⁵]

The gate of wind through which the wind of consciousness blows away is thought [to bring] the bestowal of the accomplishment of liberation to whomever goes to it. [7¹⁰⁶⁶]

{3r.3}

The joining of *āli* and *kāli* [syllables]: The wise ones [should] do the joining.¹⁰⁶⁷ If one asks how, [one should] do the meditation (*bhāvanā*) [placing] the syllable *hūṃ* in the heart with the thought, 'the seed syllable (*bījākṣara*) is there.' If one asks how, one should think of the *hūṃ* syllable remaining in the upper part [of the heart], and below, a pair of wind seed [syllables] (*vāyubīja*). If one asks how the two wind seeds are to be joined, [one should] use the *kumbhaka* [breath] and complete the joining. Pronounce the two wind [syllables] *twenty-*

¹⁰⁵⁷ It is possible that this is Cakrasaṃvara. According to Sarbagya Bajracharya, it may also be "nature deities" such as Prākṛtī.

¹⁰⁵⁸ The two options recommended here seem to be either a tantric one involving Śrī Parameśvara, Vajradevī, and Amitābha, or a non-tantric version focused on Śākyamuni.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Corresponds to verse 31 of the *Samvarodaya*.

¹⁰⁶⁰ The .5 syllable may refer to the (*candra*)*bindu* on a syllable, so 1.5 syllable mantra could be *Oṃ*.

¹⁰⁶¹ This differs from the *Samvarodaya*, which reads "place...the seed syllable of wind facing downward in the lower part of it" (32c-d): *vāyubījan tu tadadhobhāge tad adhomukham*.

¹⁰⁶² Corresponds to verse 32 of the *Samvarodaya*.

¹⁰⁶³ According to Skorupski on the *Samputa* tantra, "*saṃpuṭa*" in general means "a hemispherically shaped dish or a hollow space between two dishes put together. In Tibetan versions of the tantra by that name, it is translated as either *yang dag par sbyor ba* or *kha sbyor*. Skorupski tentatively translates them as "perfect union" and "mystic embrace." But he also says, "fundamentally there is a limited meaning that one can deduce from the Sanskrit term *saṃpuṭa* or from its Tibetan translations." The beginning of the tantra of that name gives various explanations, including that it symbolizes nondual union of wisdom and means, etc. or other tantric pairs. Perhaps agreeing with the limited meaning comment, Tsuda, in the *Samvarodaya* translation, leaves it in Sanskrit, saying "joining (these two) in the form of *saṃpuṭa*."

¹⁰⁶⁴ Three syllables] At this point, the *Samvarodaya* again reads 1.5 syllables. It is possible that copy errors recording the first 1.5 syllables as *dakṣaraṃ* instead of *dvyardhākṣaraṃ* were then reinterpreted in the current instance as *trekṣaraṃ*. See discussion in Chapter Two.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Corresponds to verse 33 of the *Samvarodaya*.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Corresponds to verse 34 of the *Samvarodaya*.

¹⁰⁶⁷ joining] Alternatively: "The wise ones pay homage." Manuscript reads *jojalape*, "pay homage," but with the *y > j* orthographic variation, *yojalape*, "to join," is possible and preferable since the passage is commenting on the Sanskrit *ālikālisamāyuktaṃ · yojaye[c] [ca] vicakṣaṇa// hṛdaye hūṃkāra saṃyojya*, concerned with joining the syllables. This seems to present a *sādhana* practice.

one, that is to say twenty-one (21) times.¹⁰⁶⁸ One should imagine, with the mind, that the wind [syllable] takes the form of whichever [deity] is the *parameśvara*. Whatever person meditates using that yoga, for them, the life force will go out to the universe, to the divine, to be absorbed in Śrī Parameśvara. Doing [these practices] to this extent, [even] if the life force goes on a bad path (i.e. out a bad orifice, towards a negative rebirth), it is certain to end up on a good path. One who does this [practice] will certainly not take further births, but having attained *siddhis*, will go on to accomplish liberation.

Furthermore, the highest division is explained, listen oh initiate.

If consciousness departs from the navel, one will be born in the heavens of the desire realm. If it departs by the forehead (bindu), one will take birth embodied in the form realm. [8¹⁰⁶⁹]

And if [it departs] by way of the crown of the head, [one goes to] the formless realm, these are the auspicious departure points on the body, as distributed over the realms [of rebirth].¹⁰⁷⁰

[If it departs] by the nostrils, one becomes a yakṣa, if it departs by the two ears, one becomes a kinnara. [9¹⁰⁷¹]

{4r.4}

The meaning: The differentiation according to highest middle and lowest is told.¹⁰⁷² The Lord tells it to Vajrapani.

If anyone's *prāṇavāyu* [exits] from the *maṇḍala* at the navel, that one will get a place in the realm of heaven. If one asks how it departs, the *prāṇa* will take the form of a bindu and go out.¹⁰⁷³ Again, if it departs by the crown of the head, one obtains the fruit of great liberation.¹⁰⁷⁴ If [it departs] by the nose, one will be born in the family of *yakṣas*; if by the ears, one is born in the realm of the *kinnaras*. If it goes by the eyes, one is born as a king of men in a goddess realm.¹⁰⁷⁵ If it goes out by the mouth, one is born in the realm of the

¹⁰⁶⁸ The Newari text writes out twenty-one in Sanskrit and then also in Newari, along with providing the numerals: *ekaviṃśati dhāye · niyeccha ko 21 yānāo*.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Corresponds to verse 35 of the *Samvarodaya*.

¹⁰⁷⁰ The manuscript has *hṛdi* where in the *Samvarodaya* it reads *gati*. This alternate reading is likely an attempt at correcting a corrupted syllable, and the *Samvarodaya* reading has been given here.

¹⁰⁷¹ Corresponds to verse 36 of the *Samvarodaya*.

¹⁰⁷² The distinction here is between highest, middle, and lowest possibilities for rebirth, depending on the orifice on the body from whence the consciousness departs, as will be enumerated.

¹⁰⁷³ This conflicts with the meaning of the Sanskrit verse involving the words "bindu" and "rūpa."

¹⁰⁷⁴ Manuscript reads *brahmāṇḍanaṃ*, but it most likely for *brahmārandhra*, the opening understood to exist at the crown the opening at the crown of the head, the fontanelle. Note, however, that the verse says only *urdhvana*. The problem remains that this would seem to be the highest path, and yet the text promises only birth in the formless realm—not the liberation previously spoken of (*mokṣasiddhi*).

¹⁰⁷⁵ This most likely means the human realm. In the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana*, departure through the eyes leads to rebirth in the human realm, while in the *Catuspīṭha* (4.3.39) it results in birth "as a king among men" (Szántó, 460; (Skt: 217)). The present phrasing is obscure, with the manuscript stating that one will be born as a king among men in a goddess realm." The "goddess realm" is difficult to parse. One possibility is that it is taking *devī* in the meaning of queen, and the usual *dvandva* in Sanskrit of king and queen has been separated, and the *bhūvanasa* (in the realm) supplied

pretas. If it goes out of the urethra, one is born among the species¹⁰⁷⁶ of animals such as a snake [or] bird (*jhagala pakṣi*). If the *prāṇavāyu* goes out of the anus, one becomes *agati*, or becomes a *bhūta*, *preta*, or *piśāca*. There is nothing other than this (i.e. no other birth fates).¹⁰⁷⁷

*The utkranti is to be performed when the proper time has come. If it is done at the improper time, one strikes down the gods. The act of striking down the gods alone gets one burned in hell. For that reason, the wise man should know the signs at death.*¹⁰⁷⁸ [10¹⁰⁷⁹]

The mere [act of] striking down the deities will result in a man being cooked in hell. Therefore, the wise one should know the signs of death. [11¹⁰⁸⁰]

{5r.1}

The meaning: [As for] one who does not do *bhāvanā* of the gods,¹⁰⁸¹ that person's path will certainly go all the way to hell. Because of this, knowing the signs of death, one should do *utkrānti* yoga. Doing such activities, one will certainly go to an auspicious rebirth level.

This is the chapter on utkrānti yoga and the ascertainment of (the signs) at death.

[The Funeral Ceremonies]¹⁰⁸²

[Day One]

{5r.6}

Now the funeral ceremonies are described.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Birth among the species of animals] Manuscript reads *tiryak jānīsa janma juyū; jāti + sa* (Newari locative) may be intended for the *jānīsa*, thus "among the species."

¹⁰⁷⁷ It is unclear whether this refers only to the final fate assigned to those whose *prāṇavāyu* departs from the anus, or if it is inclusive/conclusive of the entire set. From eyes to anus, the parallel verses from the *Samvarodaya* (verses 37 and 38a-b) are omitted above. In the *Samvarodaya*, the equivalent verses seem to diverge, and read: *caḡsubhyāṃ yadi gate devi narakājyo bhaviṣyati / vaktradvārajñ ca pretānāṃ mūtreṇa triyacā tathā // 37 // apāne narakāṃ yānti mokṣāṇāṃ gatir anyathā / 38a-b* There are some differences, such that the Sanskrit does not specify beyond animals in general, and for the anus, only hell is mentioned, not *bhūta*, *preta*, *piśāca*, however, it is impossible to tell whether this is the Newari author's interpretation, or the result of working from a different Sanskrit verse than is preserved in the *Samvarodaya*.

¹⁰⁷⁸ In the *Samvarodaya* this is padas c-d of a verse, the first half of which is not included here. I have read it as though it goes with the following verses as that is how the Newari has taken it..

¹⁰⁷⁹ Corresponds to verse 38c-d of the *Samvarodaya*.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Corresponds to verse 39 of the *Samvarodaya*.

¹⁰⁸¹ This most likely means more than just the *bhāvanā*, rather all of the *utkrānti* yoga.

¹⁰⁸² This title does not appear here on the ms.

The funeral rites ought to be done properly according to precept, for the sake of liberating embodied beings who are drowning in the ocean of saṃsāra. [12]¹⁰⁸³

{5v.1}

Here is the standard (*pramāna*) for doing *utkrānti*: If one asks, for what purpose [is it done], [the answer is that], people in the world are overcome (*pārajuyāo*) by the ocean of *saṃsāra*. For them to go to liberation, many rituals need to be performed.

{5v.3}

And as it is stated in the [authoritative] texts on death, the purification of all of the obstructions (āvaraṇas) should be done for all beings, especially those who are incapable of [performing the] rituals [for themselves]. [13]

*For those powerful ones who cross on their own, there is no use for a boat.
For those deficient ones, who cross [by way of] a boat, the rituals are more weighty. [14]*

{5v.6}

The meaning: As it is told in the text on death, one should undergo all varieties¹⁰⁸⁴ of purification. All of the living creatures¹⁰⁸⁵ who are not able to do the rituals¹⁰⁸⁶ are deficient.¹⁰⁸⁷ For [those] living [creatures], the *nirvāṇa-karma* rituals should be done.

{6r.3}

Again, if [one] made¹⁰⁸⁸ a boat for someone who is born in the world and able to cross the ocean on their own, there wouldn't be any purpose to it. A boat is necessary only for those who are not able to cross over the ocean. For this reason, numerous rituals should be done for the deceased person.

(location: at the home) {6r.5}

First of all, for doing the final rites (*antakriyā*), the guru upādhyāya, examining the sickness of the sick [person], should do a long-life *sādhana* in accordance with the proper rites and rituals. After all the *pūjās* have been done for the sake of long life and for the attainment of the path of liberation (*mokṣagati*) at the end [of life], and after the entire vase *abhiṣeka* has been done for the sick person, the vase should be hung up near the head side of the sick person.

(location: āgama) {6v.3}

¹⁰⁸³ These verses, 12-14, can also be found in the *Pāpavimocana*. See Chapter Two discussion.

¹⁰⁸⁴ all varieties] *samastaṃ prakāraṇaṃ*

¹⁰⁸⁵ all of the living creatures] *samastaṃ prāṇi janayā*

¹⁰⁸⁶ not able to do the rituals] *kriyā yāye ma phoyāo*

¹⁰⁸⁷ degraded (or fallen?)] *hīna juopiṃ*- Complex form combining Sanskrit (*hīna*) and Newari *juopiṃ* (from *juye?* or from *jū vane*) – to fall accidentally/happen occur v>o possible change. Kashinath Tamot and Sarbagya Bajracharya: fallen/degraded person, "a person who cannot purify and get enlightenment." (pi is the plural) *prāṇipānista* = *prāṇi* –living creature (ie breathers?) *pani* = plural, *sta* = dative.

¹⁰⁸⁸ If one made] *dayāo conasāṃ*

After that, again, at the *āgama* (tantric shrine), the *pañcaśāli* offering materials should be set up.¹⁰⁸⁹

(location: home- not explicitly stated)

[The priests(?)] led by¹⁰⁹⁰ the *mūlācārya*, for the sake of giving protection (*tāḍana*) to everyone,¹⁰⁹¹ should hold puffed rice, whole grain, white sesame, yellow mustard seeds and black mustard seeds. The *mūlamantra*¹⁰⁹² should be recited 108 times, and the *caturmukha-mantra* should be recited 108 times, and in this way, protection (*tāḍana*) should be done.¹⁰⁹³

After that, according to precept, the whole *pūjā*, *citta pūjā*,¹⁰⁹⁴ *dakṣinā*, the *śāligrahana*, and *abhiṣeka*¹⁰⁹⁵ should be given for the sick person and everyone (i.e. the family), and *samayācakra* should be taken. If the sick person is about to die,¹⁰⁹⁶ the *abhiṣeka* should be done for the sick person alone. The dismissal (*visarjāṇa*) should be done. Everything should be purified.

{7r.3}

After that, when the *prāṇavāyu* is ready to burst,¹⁰⁹⁷ all of the family members should give water to drink from the vase [to the sick person]. Alternatively,¹⁰⁹⁸ if it is possible [for the sick person] to receive the foot-washing water offering, then place water in a copper *kvalāpāta* vessel, [and] dip the feet of the sick person [in it].¹⁰⁹⁹ [Also] place a little bit of water in the navel.

{7r.6}

¹⁰⁸⁹ Pañcaśāli is done with five metallic containers containing red wine, rice beer, water buffalo meat, fish, egg, i.e. tantric offering.

¹⁰⁹⁰ led by] *pramukhanaṃ* - this is somewhat unclear, and might alternatively be the "the *mūlācārya*, first..."

¹⁰⁹¹ everyone] *samastayātaṃ* - Most probably the dying person and relatives present for and participating in the ritual.

¹⁰⁹² Main mantra of the deity.

¹⁰⁹³ Sarbagya Bajracharya: Not stated, but this involves scattering the seeds and grains around the sick person and outside of the house

¹⁰⁹⁴ *citta pūjā*- placing the *ṭikā* in exchange for payment of *dakṣina*

¹⁰⁹⁵ *abhiṣeka*] This may not be a full initiation *abhiṣeka* central to tantric literature, but rather a simple aspersion with water that completes this ritual (Rospatt, personal communication).

¹⁰⁹⁶ about to die] *rogī taoco julasā* – if the sickness intensifies, that is.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Kashinath Tamot thought rather: burst out/been broken] *phutaye* –from the Nepali word *phutnu*. However, *phuye* (*phuta*), the Newari word, means to be spent, finished, used up, which seems to fit as well. Sarbagya Bajracharya explained this portion as being, "the *prāṇavāyu phutaye* is when the *prāṇavāyu goes*."

¹⁰⁹⁸ Sarbagya Bajracharya reports that this is not really alternatives, despite the *atha vā*; if possible, both water for drinking and foot-washing water should be offered.

¹⁰⁹⁹ A parallel to this stage appears in the Life Cycle rites guide described by Lewis (2002), which he translates as "having poured empowered *argha* water on the legs..." (15). Here, in the Newari, the word used is clearly *arghajala* (31).

After death, place the nine jewels in the mouth.¹¹⁰⁰ If is is after death, [the guru] observes where the *prāṇavāyu* has departed from.¹¹⁰¹

(Movement to ground floor of deceased's house)

An eight-petalled lotus is drawn in a suitable place.¹¹⁰² A pure/white shroud¹¹⁰³ is laid out and the deceased should be placed sitting up¹¹⁰⁴ in *vajrāsana* [on it]. [The deceased] should be covered up with an upper garment/cloth.¹¹⁰⁵ On the right and left, nails should be placed [in the backrest, up high on either side of the neck¹¹⁰⁶]. A cloth¹¹⁰⁷ should be tied around the neck and tied to where the nails are nailed, [and by this], support¹¹⁰⁸ [for the back] should be fixed. No family members should weep.

{7v.4}

After that, the guru (/and?) upādhyāya should sit. All the necessities should be prepared. In front of the deceased, a *rahasya maṇḍala* should be drawn with red *āvīra*¹¹⁰⁹ powder.¹¹¹⁰ In the middle, place one *kūla*¹¹¹¹ of rice. Gold and silver [plates engraved with eight-petalled] lotuses [are added].¹¹¹² The five jewels [are added]. If possible, a golden *dharmodayā* (triangular piece of gold) should be placed.¹¹¹³ Over that, place the Vajravārāhī *maṇḍala*. Put around the outside [of the *maṇḍala*] a circle of the *balis* for the eight charnel

¹¹⁰⁰ Anecdotally, this practice has become rare in the contemporary tradition, and only a small piece of gold may be used due to the cost of the navaratna. Occasionally, a piece of gold may be broken off of an item of jewelry that the family possesses (Sarbagya Bajracharya, personal communication).

¹¹⁰¹ That is, from which orifice on the body from whence the *prāṇavāyu* has exited.

¹¹⁰² a suitable place] *jio thāsa*. Sarbagya Bajracharya comments that at this point, the corpse is moved to the ground floor of the home.

¹¹⁰³ shroud] *gā*

¹¹⁰⁴ sitting up] *phe katuke*

¹¹⁰⁵ upper garment/cloth] *gāna*

¹¹⁰⁶ As described by Sarbagya Bajracharya.

¹¹⁰⁷ cloth] *kāpatana*

¹¹⁰⁸ support] *āra*—appears in dictionary under *ār*.

¹¹⁰⁹ *āvīra*] *āvīraṇam*—New: *abīr* (var. *abīr*, *abhir*); Skt: *āvīracūrṇa*—red *ṭīkā* powder used at Holi, and here, in the making of the *rahasya maṇḍala*. For the *rahasya maṇḍala*, see also {9v.4}.

¹¹¹⁰ This section parallels the Vajravārāhī *utkrānti* manual E701-11, starting in that text at {1.3}. (See Chapter Four.) In the *utkrānti* manual, it states that the *rahasya maṇḍala* is made for Vajravārāhī with red powder and surrounded with the five *pañcaśāli* vessels, the *ādi-anta* vessels, the *kalaśa*, *sagun*, lamps, etc. similar to the present text, although the present text is more elaborate.

¹¹¹¹ *kūla*] A measure used for grain.

¹¹¹² In *Materials Used in the Worship Rituals: lun pale, who pale* – "a golden or silvery plate consisting of eight petalled lotus engraved on it used during kalashapuja or ten life cycle rituals."

¹¹¹³ A triangular piece of gold which is 1 tola (approximately 11.6 grams) and very expensive. The term *dharmodayā* appears in the *Samvarodaya*, where it is used in the abstract sense of "the origin of dharma" and as a description (i.e. origin of dharma) of the *kuṇḍa*, or hearth pit at one point. See Tsuda, 315. A relevant comparison and connection to the physical form can be found in the *Catuspīṭha*, where *dharmodayā* is a downward-pointing triangle. In the latter context, it is used to describe the vulva, according to commentaries. Given the beginning of the Vajravārāhī *maṇḍala* about to begin, the reference to the vulva may be relevant. Szántó, 401-402.

grounds.¹¹¹⁴ Also place the *nandā bali*.¹¹¹⁵ Stitched leaf cups (*dvo*), the Five Banners,¹¹¹⁶ and *goja* [dough cones]¹¹¹⁷ offerings should also be included and placed. A *dhālā kalaśa*,¹¹¹⁸ the *sagun* curd plate,¹¹¹⁹ surrounded with the five metal bowls of the *pañcaśāli*, *ādi aṃta* vessel,¹¹²⁰ *bahi* vessel¹¹²¹, the *pātra* plate¹¹²² of the five cow products, and lamps are set up. Again, near the head of the deceased, [an image on paper of¹¹²³] either Vajravārāhī, Amitābha, or Śaḍakṣarī (Lokeśvara) are placed. Again, on the clapper of a bell, a cloth should be wrapped. Noise should not be made.

(Additions:¹¹²⁴)

^1 The horoscope/natal chart should be brought (*jāta lhānā*). For those who are doing the funeral rights,¹¹²⁵ the entirety¹¹²⁶ of [their] former clothing should be removed, and clothing for doing rituals¹¹²⁷ should be put on.¹¹²⁸^

¹¹¹⁴ *balis* for the eight charnel grounds]

¹¹¹⁵ The *nandā bali* is beaten rice, garlic, black soybean, puffed rice. See Lewis, "Modern Guide," 13— it appears in the manuscript in the *saṃkalpa* section for life cycle rite "14. gift of a virgin girl." There is no description, however.

¹¹¹⁶ *pañcapratāpa*

¹¹¹⁷ *goja*] Equivalent to the Tibetan *torma* (*gtor ma*) – "a ritual torma made of moistened beaten rice formed into the shape of a triangle with the circular base used for offering to the deities" In the ritual implement guide, *A Booklet on the Material Used in the Worship Rituals* (Vishwa Shanti Library: Nyakhachowk, Lalitpur) and *A Booklet on an Exhibition of Charya Dance & the Materials Used in the Worship Rituals* (Vishwa Shanti Library: Balipha, Patan).

¹¹¹⁸ *dhālā kalaśa*] A ritual pitcher with a spout, used to contain water. Sarbagya Bajracharya reports that an alternative "Tibetan style" vessel is often used in the present in its place.

¹¹¹⁹ *sagun* curd plate] *dhaupatti* – "two metallated container used for keeping curds each having two bowls. It is used during auspicious ceremonies like wedding ceremonies, and others." Kiran Bhai Vajracharya and Anil Bir Vajracharya, eds., *A Booklet on the Materials Used in the Worship Rituals*.

¹¹²⁰ *ādi aṃta*] *anti* vessel, in Kölver under "*anti*"—This is a spouted pitcher to hold liquor during rituals, and this is the term used in Kathmandu. In Paṭan, it is called "thaka," according to Sarbagya Bajracharya.

¹¹²¹ *bahi/bāhi* vessel] Similar or the same as the *thapiṃ/thapin*, but referred to as *bahi* exclusively in funerary ritual contexts. This name is specific to funerary rituals. In "Materials for Worship" guide: "*thapin*—a clay or metal container used for keeping fermented beer during secret Buddhist tantric ceremonies."

¹¹²² *pātra*] clay plate, in this case; not a skull cup, though the term is sometimes used for skull cups as well.

¹¹²³ Image on paper] according to Kashinath Tamot.

¹¹²⁴ These additions are marked along the bottom and right margin, however they seem to be of the nature of further information supplied, not a scribal error correction, and the second seems to be an expansion of the first. Though there are marks in the text that at first appear as two separate *kākapādas*, the second is more likely an arrow directing to the placement at the first mark, since it falls between two words that are unlikely to be intended to be separated (*saṃkalpa yātake*).

¹¹²⁵ Literally, "if one is doing the funeral rites."

¹¹²⁶ entirety] *samastam*

¹¹²⁷ clothing for doing rituals] *kriyā conegu vastranam* - typically, a white unstitched *dhoti* (Sarbagya Bajracharya, personal communication).

¹¹²⁸ The text here also contains an instruction to perform the *saṃkalpa*, however it this is redundant with the repeated command just below. The most likely sequence, despite the somewhat irregular *kākapāda* insertion marks, is that the (2) instruction is a further clarification of the (1)—i.e. it tells what should be done with the natal chart.

^2 Cover the face of the deceased [with the natal chart].^

{8r.5}

After that, sun worship should be done. [The primary mourner] should be made to do the *saṃkalpa* [with the] *pūjā* plate. [As for that,] it is acceptable if the pyre-lighter (i.e. primary mourner) is a child, but it is also appropriate for one of the elders (eldest or second) to do it.

(the *saṃkalpa*):

...For the purpose of the last rights *pūjā* of so-and-so, the deceased, for the sake of obtaining liberation from bad rebirths and [rebirth in] the realm of *Sukhāvātī*...

Doing the *saṃkalpa* with the *pūjā* plate (*pūjābha*), it is okay if the pyre-lighter is a child, but it is [also] appropriate for a more senior person to be designated.¹¹²⁹

{8v.3}

After that the guru imposes mantras on the body (*nyāsa*).

After that, [he] will do *guru yoga*. First of all, in the sky, Samantabhadra contemplation (*dhyāna*) [should be done]. Below that, Vajrasattva should be placed. Below that, Vajradhara should be placed. Below that, Amitābha should be placed. Below that, Śaṭakṣarī (Lokeśvara). Below that, Padmasaṃbhava. Below that, Vajravārāhī contemplation should be done. As for *pūjā*, the *ratnamaṇḍala*.¹¹³⁰ Mantra recitation should be done as much as possible for all of these.¹¹³¹

<Marginal note:> ^But as for¹¹³² the recitation of Śaṭakṣarī (Lokeśvara), the 32 syllable recitation, should be done as much as possible or 1000 times.^

{9r.1}

The rays of light [emitted by] these [deities] should be absorbed by [the priest] himself, coming to rest in his own heart. The *Hūṃ* rays, which are abiding in his own heart, are sent out in the ten directions, in whatever direction and whatever place the *prāṇa* of the deceased person is abiding.¹¹³³ Having well reflected on this, the **mūlācārya** should take up the vajra-bell and perform the summons with the *vajrāṅkuśa mudrā*. The seed syllable *Nṛ*¹¹³⁴ should

¹¹²⁹ Here the author has repeated the instruction just given prior to the *saṃkalpa* starting line.

¹¹³⁰ This is a *maṇḍala* of white powder in front of the guru along with the *gurumaṇḍala*. Here it is neither with water nor a *mudrā* (See earlier footnote about *guru yoga*.) The other meaning of *ratnamaṇḍala* is water *bali*, which is the offering of a *maṇḍala* made of water (*lakha bali*), see Rospatt on the *kalaśārcanapūjā*, in which it is done in this way (Rospatt, *Kalaśārcanapūjāvidhi*). In that context, it is done with Mount Meru and offered to Vajrasattva.

¹¹³¹ This is the recitation of mantras for Sataṅkṣari, Amitābha, Vajravārāhī/or Vajrasattva. It may be (though it is not written) the previously mentioned 32 syllables, and it can be done up to 1000 times (Sarbagya Bajracharya, personal communication).

¹¹³² But as for] *hanaṃ*

¹¹³³ Alternatively: The *Hūṃ* rays, which are abiding in his own heart, are sent out in the ten directions, and in whatever direction the *prāṇa* of the deceased person is abiding, [the rays] come to rest/will [go] to stay in that place. By this means, the priest determines where the deceased's *prāṇa* has gone.

¹¹³⁴ *nṛ*] Or, according to Sarbagya Bajracharya, *nṛta*. Refers to the deceased, recalling the Sanskrit *nṛ* - person.

be placed at the deceased's heart and absorbed into it. The *prāṇavāyu* should be inserted [back into the body], ^taking the size/measure of a drop (*bindu pramānaṃ*).^

Om vajrāṅkūśa jah. Om vajrapāśa hrīm. Om vajrasphoṭa vaṃ. Om vajrāveśa hoḥ. {9r.6}
The binding [of the deceased's *prāṇavāyu* back in the body] should be done.

Again, the vajra is to be touched and held on the deceased's fontanelle, and one set¹¹³⁵ of mantra recitations is to be done:

{9v.1}

Om jvaṃ vaṃ jaṃ hvāṃ lāṃ naṃ lāṃ kkaṃ hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ 3, [repeated] 108 times.¹¹³⁶

{9v.2}

Again, [one should] hold yellow and black mustard seeds, puffed rice, and whole grain and, reciting one set (i.e. 108 repetitions) of the *caturmukha* mantra, scatter [those substances] in the four directions [and] bind the directions. Again, led by the *mūlācārya* (and?) *upādhyā[ya]*, with this very mantra, the protection (*tāḍana*) is to be placed for everyone. Protection (*rakṣa*) and the elimination of hindrances (*nirviḡma*) are to be done for everyone.

^Again, [the substances] should be thrown [on] the deceased person. ^ (Is the priests doing it)

{9v.4}

After that, ^draw a *rahasya maṇḍala*.¹¹³⁷ Place an image of Vajravārāhī near the head of the deceased.^ The *guru maṇḍala*, *pūjā* of the plate (*pātrapūjā*)¹¹³⁸, *pañcaśāli*,¹¹³⁹ *pūjā* with the *anti* vessel,¹¹⁴⁰ and placing of the the *ṭikā*, [should be done]. Again, [one should do the *pūjā* of] the image of the deity, the *maṇḍala pūjā*, the ash marking,¹¹⁴¹ and the *ādi kokāye* offering,¹¹⁴² which should be offered to the deity and the deceased only. It is not suitable for it to be given to any of the others (besides deity and deceased). Spread the *maṇḍala*,¹¹⁴³

¹¹³⁵ *chajā*] One set, i.e. once around using a *mālā* (rosary), or 108 times, according to Sarbagya Bajracharya. This seems to be confirmed by the text, which follows the mantras with "108 *dhā*," or repetitions. According to Kashinath Tamot, the term *chajā* comes from colloquial *cha dhā*, "one repetition."

¹¹³⁶ It is likely that this mantra is derived from *Om vajrajvālānalārka hūṃ*. C.f. later at 17v.6, where a similar mantra occurs. At 17v.6, the vajra is similarly being touched to the head of the deceased during recitation. At that point, according to Sarbagya Bajracharya "the corpse is the *jñānasattva*."

¹¹³⁷ As mentioned previously, done in red powder. See above at {7v.5}

¹¹³⁸ *pātra pūjā*] *pūjā* employing the clay plate.

¹¹³⁹ *pañcaśāli*] See previously at {6v.3}, tantric offering in five bowls.

¹¹⁴⁰ *ādi pūjā*] Mentioned previously for the required vessels, the *ādi-anta/anti*. See above at {8r.2} *ādi aṃta*. The vessel is a spouted pitcher that holds alcohol.

¹¹⁴¹ ash marking] *mohani phaye*, a ritual involving making a mark or *ṭikā* with ash produced by covering a flame and then collecting the soot that forms on the under side of the covering.)

¹¹⁴² *ādi kokāye*] alcohol and water buffalo meat, offering for the gods (not specified) and *aṣṭamātrkāś*.

¹¹⁴³ *maṇḍala*] in this case, the *ratna maṇḍala*, according to Sarbagya Bajracharya.

scatter rice, recite the hundred syllable mantra (i.e. of Vajrasattva), and do the dismissal (*visarjana*).

{ 10r.1 }

After that, practice the meditation¹¹⁴⁴ of Vajravārāhī. Do the *pūjā* offering the *samādhi bali*.¹¹⁴⁵ Again,¹¹⁴⁶ [doing *pūjā* to] the *dhālā* kalaśa, *sagun*, lamps, *thāpiṃ*¹¹⁴⁷ vessel; *pūjās* should be done according to precept. Again, the *pūjā* of the *maṇḍala*, image, deity [should be done]. The *pūjās*, up to including *nirañjana* [light offering] of Red Fire (Roha-Agni) and the fruit offering should be done according to precept.¹¹⁴⁸

{ 10r.5 } After that, the *balis* for the eight charnel grounds and the *nandā* bali should be offered [while¹¹⁴⁹] the "Subāhu" song is sung and the *chāye hāyake*¹¹⁵⁰ *pūjās* should be done according to precept.

After that, ash is smeared¹¹⁵¹ on the deceased and the *dvajāgra* mantra [is to be recited]:

Om śrī hevajra he he ru ru ka hūm hūm phaṭ dākinī jālasamvaraṃ svāhā//

With the *puṣpamudrā*, the third eye,¹¹⁵² and golden *ṭikā*¹¹⁵³ should be attached [to the face], and after, the *añjana*¹¹⁵⁴ consecration (ash rubbed onto the eyes) is placed, and a silver ring [is added].

¹¹⁴⁴ practice the meditation] *deguli samādhi* —redundant here, as *deguli* is the Newari word for *samādhi*.

¹¹⁴⁵ *Samādhi bali* – See Chapter Two discussion.

¹¹⁴⁶ Here, many of the implements previously mentioned as being set up are now being employed. See initial listing at { 8r.2 }.

¹¹⁴⁷ *thapiṃ*] Although not previously mentioned, the *thapiṃ* is said to be equivalent to the *bahi*, the difference being that the term *bahi* is used exclusively in funerary contexts. (For *bahi*, see { 8r.2 }.) According to Gellner, in secret tantric rituals, vase worship is done to the *thapiṃ* filled with red beer, rather than a vase (*kalaśa*) filled with water, and this is specifically a ritual dedicated to Māmakī. (This vessel then is also called the *guhya kalaśa*).

¹¹⁴⁸ *nirañjana*] Alternatively *nilañjana* in Newar sources, is a common ritual element involving the offering of light (Gellner, *Monk Householder Tantric Priest*, 361 n. 17.)

¹¹⁴⁹ while] The "Subhāhu" song, which I was unable to locate, is to be sung at the same time as the offering is made, according to Sarbagya Bajracharya.

¹¹⁵⁰ *chāye hāyake*] Typically an alcohol offering, normally to Hārītī, although it is uncertain if that is the case here. According to Sarbagya Bajracharya, the *nandā bali* (mentioned above) is normally to Hārītī, but here it is to the deceased person. Normally in Hārītī *bali* there is meat, but there is no meat in this ritual.

¹¹⁵¹ Ash is smeared on the forehead (Sarbagya Bajracharya, personal communication).

¹¹⁵² *yomū*] metallic eye ornament for the forehead, representing the third eye.

¹¹⁵³ golden *ṭikā*] *lucī*

¹¹⁵⁴ Possibly *añja* (na may be a suffix): in Gutschow and Michaels: *añjaḥ* - outlining the eyes in black with a "mixture of soot and oil" (*Handling Death*, 89).

If [the deceased has taken] *dīkṣā*, the *gvayakā* thread¹¹⁵⁵ and a *kokhāya* scarf¹¹⁵⁶ are all (*samastam*) hung [round the neck of the deceased].

[The deceased] should be covered with a parasol.

Imparting the Five Consecrations¹¹⁵⁷

{10v.3} Imparting the five consecrations.

Place one handful of flowers for the deceased and do the *bhāvanā*:

Oṃ visualize the student¹¹⁵⁸ having the form of Vajradhara, mounting (praviṣya) the moon and sun [disks] upon the eight-petalled lotus drawn in powder.¹¹⁵⁹

Perform the summoning: jā hūm vaṃ hoḥ.

{10v.5}

Just as Bodhivajra¹¹⁶⁰ gave the great festival¹¹⁶¹ to the Buddhas, I give the foremost space vajra (khavajrādyam) for the sake of my protection.¹¹⁶²

Here, place the *kalaśa* over the head of the deceased and say the *vākya*:

{11r.1}

Those tathāgatas, together with their consorts, dissolve into droplets {=of bodhicitta} (mahārāgeṇa dravībhūya), [and cycle through the body by] entering the gateway of Vairocana, emerging on the vajra path.¹¹⁶³ The student, who [also] entered by the lotus mouth of the goddess by means of that,¹¹⁶⁴ immediately after [the stage of being dissolved into] emptiness, should be visualized with firm conviction (adhimuñcya) {i.e. by the ācārya}

¹¹⁵⁵ *gvayakā* thread] *gvayakā* - See ritual implement guide, *Material Used in the Worship Rituals*, 10. A five color thread with five strands woven, each of which themselves contain five threads. (Differs from the *pasukha*, which is five single threads. The *gvayakā* is used for more tantric purposes, as well.)

¹¹⁵⁶ *kokhyaḡā*] See entry *kokhaga* (Malla). See also modern term *kaśāḡa* shawl.

¹¹⁵⁷ Written on left margin.

¹¹⁵⁸ Starting here, the text draws on standards for empowering a student, employing textual passages that are not necessarily customized for the deceased. That is to say, the student here and in following passages should be understood to be the deceased person.

¹¹⁵⁹ Passage source not located.

¹¹⁶⁰ Bodhivajra] In the original *GST* context, Bodhivajra refers to the cosmic buddha of the *GST*.

¹¹⁶¹ great festival] *mahāmaha[h]*, similar to *utsava*.

¹¹⁶² Just as...my protection] A similar verse originates in Ch. XVI of the *GST* (verse 41 in Matsunaga, verse 58 in Fremantle), however where the *GST* verse ends “give me” (*dadāhi me*) the current verse concludes “I give” (*dadāmy aham*). See: Matsunaga edition *GST* version: *bodhivajreṇa buddhānāṃ yathā datto mahāmahaḡ / mamāpi trāṇanārthāya khavajrādyam dadāhi me//*

¹¹⁶³ The *nirgataṃ* in the ms (as opposed to the *nirgatya* in the *VĀ*) is problematic, but should go with the *tathāgatas*.

¹¹⁶⁴ that] *tad* in the ms, where as *VĀ* reads *taddravair*, which clarifies the connection: by means of that dissolving into droplets, in the same way as the *tathāgatas* do.

as indivisible from the jñānasattva, having the form of Śaṃvara, who has the nature of Akṣobhya together with consort, emerging with two arms from the hūṃ vajra.

[Those tathāgatas] emerge from the lotus, again {i.e. after having been dissolved} endowed with embodied forms having hands and faces, filling the sky and remaining,¹¹⁶⁵ accompanied by the goddesses starting with Trailocanā, and consecrate the student, who has emerged from the lotus, with pure vases full of the nectar of enlightenment, poured¹¹⁶⁶ by budlike hands,¹¹⁶⁷ along with [offerings of] cascades of kuṅkuma (turmeric), flowers, dance, song, yak tails, garments, flags, banners, umbrellas.

The auspicious song of the classes of yoginīs.

{11v.3} Give water to the deceased to drink and say the vākya:

May there be, in this supreme consecration, auspicious blessing (maṅgala) for you—the auspicious blessing of the one who oversees the family of the true dharma (varadharmmakulādhīpasya), who is all encompassing, who is established in the hearts of all beings, who is free from all faults, who is great happiness. {11v.5}

Clean the eyes (i.e. eyelids) and sprinkle the head [with water]. {11v.6}

###Again the vākya: *I give the consecration of the great vajra, to which homage is paid by the triple world, {12Ar.1} born from the locus (ālaya) of the three secrets of all the buddhas###¹¹⁶⁸*

Again, with water poured [from] the conch, the vākya:

Om I give the consecration of the great vajra, to which homage is paid by the triple world, born from the locus (ālaya) of the three secrets of all the buddhas.¹¹⁶⁹

Om consecration of the vajra water, suratas tvaṃ ahaṃ.

Again the vākya:

¹¹⁶⁵ *sthaṃ* in the ms is problematic and the *sthitaiḥ* of the VĀ is preferable.

¹¹⁶⁶ *varjita*] for *āvarjita* as in VĀ.

¹¹⁶⁷ budlike hands] *kara-kīśarayā* - MW *kara-kisalaya*: “hand-bud, the hand closed in the form of a bud.”

¹¹⁶⁸ This section has been excised with a row of dots along the top of the letters. It is possible that the author forgot to place the appropriate Newari instruction to pour the water from the conch first, and so marked out the *vākya*, only to rewrite it just below.

¹¹⁶⁹ This verse appears in the GST Ch. 16 verse 40 (Fremantle) and 57 (Matsunaga etext) (as well as the GST *maṅḍala vidhi* verse 326): *abhiṣekaṃ mahāvajraṃ traidhātukanamaskṛtam / dadāmi sarvabuddhānāṃ triguhyālayasambhavam*. (Fremantle’s edition and translation lack the *ālaya*, however, and has instead *vajra*.)

*Just as Bodhivajra gave the great festival to the Buddhas, oh give to me the foremost space vajra (khavajrādyam) for the sake of my protection.*¹¹⁷⁰

{12Ar.5} Again, place the pātra plate on the head and the vākya:

Oṃṃ hūṃṃ jaḥ hūṃṃ the syllables empowered (adhiṣṭhitam), drawn (ānītam) by means of the light rays [?of] the heart syllable of vajra Akṣobhya, having seen [him] become one with the jñānasattva, pay honor!

{12Ar.6} Give the abhiṣeka (water) and make [the deceased] drink. The vākya:

Oṃ I give the consecration of the great vajra, to which homage is paid by the triple world, born from the locus (ālaya) of the three secrets of all the buddhas

{12Av.2} Again the bhāvanā and the verse:

*Oṃ visualize the student, unified with the jñānasattva, having the form of Ratnasambhava, being consecrated by the celestial tathāgatas.*¹¹⁷¹

{12Av.4} (?)And for the crown: Put on the tathāgata crown. If one doesn't have a tathāgata crown, it is suitable to put on a bronze crown. The vākya:

Oṃ abhiṣeka of the great vajra, to which homage is paid by the triple world, for the purpose of your worship: the crown arisen from the Five Families.

Again rotate the crown (once with each of the below mantras?), and the vākya:

*Oṃ vajradhāteśvarī consecrate hūṃṃ//{12Br.1}
Oṃ vajravajrinī consecrate bhruṃṃ//
Oṃ ratnavajrinī consecrate trāṃṃ//
Oṃ dharmmavajrinī consecrate hrīṃṃ//
Oṃ karmmavajrinī consecrate aḥṃṃ//*

Put on the crown.¹¹⁷² {12Br.2}

*Oṃ consecration of the vajra crown. suratas tvam aham.
Oṃ vajra joy ho.*

¹¹⁷⁰ Just as...my protection] Here the verse that first appeared at 10v.6 appears again, however here it matches the versions originating in Ch. XVI of the GST (verse 41 in Matsunaga, verse 58 in Fremantle), with the GST verse ends “give me” (*dadāhi me*) as opposed to the previous appearance in this text of “I give” (*dadāmy aham*).

¹¹⁷¹ Although not identical, parallels appear in the *Vajrāvalī (abhiṣka)*: *tatas taṃ bodhivajreṇetyādinā gurum adhyeṣitavantam āṃ-ratnaja-ratnasambhavarūpinam jñānasattvenaikīkṛtam nabhaḥsthatathāgatadevībhiḥ kumbhair abhiṣicyamānam rūpavajrādibhir upanīyamānamaṅgalagūtikam bhāvayet //*

¹¹⁷² Again? Precise motions unclear.

Again do the *bhāvanā*:

Oṃ upon the student hrīm; upon the lotus, upon the head, in his own nature indivisible from the jñānasattva—visualize the vajrācārya having the nature of Amitābha.

{12Br.5} Touch the throat, forehead, and heart with the vajra and place it on the right side [of the deceased?]. The *vākya*:

*Oṃ today you are consecrated by the buddhas with the vajra empowerment. This is of all the buddhas. Hold to [it] for vajra accomplishment.*¹¹⁷³

Oṃ I do vajra consecration. suratas tvam aham.

Again do the *bhāvanā*, the *vākya*: {12Br.6}

Oṃ upon the student, born from the syllable khaṃ, visualize Amoghasiddhi, arisen from a khadga blade. Visualize Amoghasiddhi, with the bell, indivisible from the jñānasattva

Again, with water poured [from] the conch, and the *vākya*:

I give the consecration of the great vajra, to which homage is paid by the triple world, {12Bv.1} born from the locus (ālaya) of the three secrets of all the buddhas.

Vajra lord I consecrate you, abide, you are the vajra pledge hoḥ vajra bell A Aḥ. {12Bv.4}

Giving the bell, touch it to the throat, forehead, and heart.

Oṃ I consecrate the vajra bell, suratas tvam aham.

Again the *vākya*: {12Bv.5}

Since dharmas have not originated and are devoid of [agency (satkāra)?] there are neither buddhas nor buddhahood, nor sentient beings nor souled beings (jīvaka).

The great lord, not separate from formless emptiness and compassion and the dharmodaya—may they both cause awakening.

And again, *bhāvanā*. {13r.1}

After that, [the master] should visualize Vairocana as born from the circle made up of the letter *bhum*, and the student not separate from the *jñānasattva*, and should hold the vajra-bell onto his head.

¹¹⁷³ Appears in the *SDP*.

Touch the vajra bell to the head. Again, with water poured from the conch:

Oṃ have recourse to protection the abhiṣeka of all the tathāgatas hūṃ {13r.3}

After that, display the lamp. Take the name and make a tikka with yellow powder:

Oṃ may your name be Vajrasattva.

Again, do the *bhāvanā* and the *vākya*:

Visualize the guru also in the form of Vajrasattva. {13r.5}

With regard to the student, [he should] depend on (=visualize) [the teacher] with the form of Vajrasattva, established on a lion throne upon a multicolored eight-petalled lotus, [the throne] adorned with all kinds of ornaments, decorated with parasols, banners, canopies, and penants.

Then meditate on the bell, born from the syllable āḥ

This bell sound should be remembered as the companion of all the buddhas

You should always grasp it as the thought of the highest enlightenment by the buddhas

[As for] the vajra and bell, for the embrace (*āliṅgaṇa*) *mudrā*, place the vajra on the left side, and the bell on the right side.¹¹⁷⁴

{13v.2}

Again, recite the *vākya*:

The samaya of the bell together with its sound is for binding to the realization of suchness which is caused by the teachings of the 84,000 dharma entities (skandhas)

The mudrā is proclaimed to be the samaya, due to the firmness of the image in the mind// the mudrā is proclaimed by that which is the firmness of all images.

The buddha and the share which is the śakti, which have the nature of wisdom and means [are?] the great bliss.

{13v.5} Again do the *bhāvanā* and the *vākya*:

¹¹⁷⁴ Sarbagya Bajracharya here explains that the vajra and bell are held up to/ put into the hands of the deceased by the *mūlācārya* or *upadhyaṃya*, with the arms crossed over the chest diagonally. Then more water is sprinkled from the conch and the vajra and bell are removed.

Oṃ aḥ consecration of all the tathāgatas [samasriye hum svaha], " then thinking of the crest of Akṣobhya, and the other tathāgatas and their consorts, let [them] enter just there by the form of the jñānasattva. {13v.7}

[Comprising the tathāgatas and devīs, identified with Vajrasattva,] make the bell sound with the dharma. Establish by firm conviction at the heart, the vow and mahāmūdrā.

{14r.1} Again, with water poured from the conch, the vākya:

Oṃ I give the consecration of the great vajra, to which homage is paid by the triple world, born from the locus (ālaya) of the three secrets of all the buddhas

Oṃ consecration of all tathāgatas, I go to for protection hūṃ.

{14r.3} Again placing a golden and a vermillion powder tikka [on the deceased], the vākya:

Oṃ firmly established [with] the vajra, svāhā

Embracing the prajñā, 16 years old, with his arms, the sprinkling of the acarya is meant to come from the union of bell and vajra.

The highest mind maṇḍala epitomizes the lotus (foundation of the maṇḍala), {14r.5}

The knowledge, which is the supreme accumulation of thought, is the so-called 'kuṭāmḡaram' (central shrine room). The five skandhas collectively are proclaimed as the five buddhas. This abhiṣeka cannot be undone, and is the supreme master initiation.

{14r.7} This completes the five consecrations and the master consecration.

After that, when one finishes doing pūja according to precept for the deceased, do the cakra pūjā, spread the [ratna] maṇḍala, scatter rice, offer sagun, [apply] ash tikka (*mohanīnaṃ*) to the forehead and around the eyes of the deceased. The vermillion tikka powder for all ^[xxx is given].¹¹⁷⁵

{14v.1} Here on this [copper] plate one set of the eight food items should be placed. One piece of sweet (*madhi*), ghee, hard black rock sugar (*sākha*) should be placed in front of the deceased. Three types [of rice beer: red, white, thick,] should be offered.¹¹⁷⁶

And do the cooked rice purification with the vākya:

Om homage, I give the best of strength, the best splendor of all the buddhas. Repeat seven times.

¹¹⁷⁵ Marks in the manuscript indicate a marginal note to be inserted here, but it has been obscured/rubbed out.

¹¹⁷⁶ Alternatively, it is possible that the "three types" refers to the just-mentioned items of sweets, ghee, and rock sugar. The interpretation of three types of beer according to Sarbagya Bajracharya.

Offer to the deity, giving the "five morsels" (*pañcagrāsa yātaka*):¹¹⁷⁷ *prāṇo 1, apāṇāya 2, samānā 3, {14v.4} [uḍ]ānāya*¹¹⁷⁸ *svāhā 4// Om vyānāya svāhā 5.*¹¹⁷⁹

[Then] the three varieties [of rice beer] should be given for drinking.¹¹⁸⁰

{14v.5} Afterward, [the deceased] should be made to receive the "five saucers" (*pañcaśāli*).¹¹⁸¹ The song "*kolāi*" should be sung without instruments.¹¹⁸² [Everything to the end of the ritual] up to the curd and *mūcū*¹¹⁸³ should be included.¹¹⁸⁴ Take water.¹¹⁸⁵ {14v.6} The Dhumāṅgārī pūjā is done:¹¹⁸⁶ ##Empty all of the *pañcaśāli*.##¹¹⁸⁷ Send [and] scatter [the remains] at the *kalaṃkha* (crossroads).¹¹⁸⁸ All the rest ^of what was offered to the deity^

¹¹⁷⁷ The *pañcagrāsa* is explained as offerings of rice and the eight substances (previously mentioned) on the plate, which are done with particular ritual gestures that map on to the five winds (*prāṇavāyu*). Taking the substances, is done in a specific way for each: 1st done with the ring finger and thumb, dabbed on the corpse's mouth, 2nd done with middle finger and thumb, 3rd done with the index finger and thumb, 4th done with the pinky and thumb, and 5th done with the thumb and another finger (Sarbagya Bajracharya, personal communication).

¹¹⁷⁸ *uḍānāya*] Ms reads *dānāya*. Here and for all of the winds, see the chapter for correct forms of the terms.

¹¹⁷⁹ The five *prāṇa vāyu*: *prāṇa, apāna, uḍāna, samāna, vyāna*.

¹¹⁸⁰ Sarbagya Bajracharya indicated that the three varieties is again an offering of the rice beer, as previously mentioned, following the *pañcagrāsa* rite.

¹¹⁸¹ The *pañcaśāli*, a tantric offering of five metal bowls, also called *khaṇi*. It contains meat, fish, egg, yogurt, and oil. Alternatively, according to Sarbagya Bajracharya, the *khaṇi* may be the yogurt, oil, salt, egg, and fish mixed together, with meat and wine added after. Alternatively, the meat/fish may count as one, and wine added to complete the set of five. This offering is first mentioned as being set up at the *āgama* at 6v.3, again at 8r.2. See note to 6v.3 for discussion.

¹¹⁸² The song "*kolāi*" It is possible that this may be the song *Kolāire*. The latter is a tantric song by Kāṅhapā Ācārya, noted in Gellner as being mentioned by Asha Kaji Vajracharya, although the context in that case is a fire ritual (Gellner, 1992, 375 n. 38). The song is previously identified and translated in Wayman (1973, 134), and Snellgrove, Hevajra 2.4.6ff (1959, 101). The translations given in Snellgrove and Wayman differ, although both refer to transgressive tantric rites that include consuming meat and alcohol, and sexual practices. While this may not be precisely relevant here, the *pañcaśāli* is a ritual segment that appears in many contexts (see previous appearance in this text, for example).

¹¹⁸³ *dhau mūcū*] This term is somewhat problematic. According to some sources, *mūcū* is boiled meat gravy, given together with the curd. In the context of rites of this nature, however, it might also be that it is related in some manner to *mūla*, referring to the root vegetables- mixture of white radish, carrots, peas (mu-la) etc. that are included with curd towards the end of similar sequences.

¹¹⁸⁴ Sarbagya Bajracharya: This is placed in front of the *tabo* (the large plate containing eight items, mentioned above).

¹¹⁸⁵ Sarbagya Bajracharya: here it means after eating, washing the hands and cleaning the mouth.

¹¹⁸⁶ Sarbagya Bajracharya: previously mentioned was her song—*kolāi*. Gellner notes that Dhūmāṅgārī is the deity identified with the spot where the leftovers of the feast are throw, and she is also known as Remains Deity (*kalaḥ wāye dyaḥ*).

¹¹⁸⁷ This instruction is darkened, and there is some question whether the intent is to cross out an error or to highlight the instruction, where the ink used for highlighting has darkened to obscure the letters. Though it looks as if it has been marked out, this is not generally how correcting errors is done, so it is more likely that it was intended as highlighting.

¹¹⁸⁸ Crossroads, but also *cvāsa*.

should be collected and thrown out at the *pikhā lukhu* (threshold).¹¹⁸⁹ Purify the mouth.¹¹⁹⁰
##Sweep the ground(?)##¹¹⁹¹

<location: still ground floor of the house>

{ 15r.1 } After that, in front of the deceased, draw an eight-petalled lotus. One brass *demā* plate should be placed [on the lotus]. Decorate a *ratna maṇḍala* of rice and do *pūjā*. Place gold [coin], silver [coin], jewels and *dakṣiṇā*; all should be placed [in front of the body]. Recite the *caturatna śloka*. Offer everything to the *guru*.¹¹⁹²

{ 15r.3 } After this, the *guru* should say the benediction three times, calling out the name of the deceased, [Saying,] "Oh [name], May [you] be free of all sins from your (*chana*) past lives, and may [you] be freed of negative rebirths. Becoming absorbed in the *tathāgata Śrī Amitābha*, may [you] obtain¹¹⁹³ the path of liberation."

{ 15r.6 } After that, the *mūlācārya* places puffed rice, whole grain, yellow and black mustard seeds, white sesame, a jasmine flower studded with durva grass blades (*situ tiyā dvāpho-svām?*)*¹¹⁹⁴ doing the *tāḍana* protection for the deceased.¹¹⁹⁵ The mantra:

Oṃ burn all the sins of such-and-such a person vajra hūṃ phaṭ. Repeat 108 times.

{ 15v.1 } The upādhyāya (priest) should do the protection/purification (*tāḍana*) of the bodily substance (*asthi*), doing the *vākya*:

[Such-and-such a named person] *amukasya Oṃ sarvapāpadahana vajra hūṃ phaṭ*//¹¹⁹⁶
amukasya { 15v.2 } *Oṃ sarvapāpaviśodhane*¹¹⁹⁷ *hūṃ phaṭ*//
...*Oṃ sarvakarmāvaraṇa*¹¹⁹⁸ . *bhaśmikuru hūṃ phaṭ*//
...*Oṃ bhrūṃ vināśāya*{ 15v.3 } [*a*]varaṇānī *hūṃ phaṭ*//
...*Oṃ viśodhanāy[ā]varaṇāni hūṃ phaṭ*//¹¹⁹⁹

¹¹⁸⁹ "Threshold" translation according to Gellner, 1992, 156. So it seems that the leftovers from the feast are thrown out at the *kalaṃkha* (special site), and the other ritual materials are disposed of at *the pikhā lukhu* (another site, in front of the house).

¹¹⁹⁰ Sarbagya Bajracharya: Normally this is *pan* (with betel nut) but actually in death rituals it is not, here it would be sprinkling with water.

¹¹⁹¹ That is, clear everything up from the ritual (Sarbagya Bajracharya, personal communication).

¹¹⁹² The above is an abbreviated instruction for the *guru maṇḍala*.

¹¹⁹³ obtain – *lāye*, lit. "catch"

¹¹⁹⁴ According to Sarbagya Bajracharya. Alternatively, in Gutschow and Michaels, *daphvasvaṃ* is interpreted as "a brass vessel with water covered by flowers" (*Handling Death*, 109).

¹¹⁹⁵ Spread out on the body, according to Sarbagya Bajracharya.

¹¹⁹⁶ This sequence of mantras, or ones quite close to it, appear at the opening of *SDP* Chapter 2 (in the Sanskrit).

¹¹⁹⁷ Although the compound *sarpapāpaviśodhane* is found, including in the *SDP* primary mantra, when appearing in the above sequence of mantras (also found in the *SDP*), the compound is often *sarpapāyaviśodhanavajra*. This begins the explicitly *SDP*-related sections of the manual.

¹¹⁹⁸ In the *SDP*: *sarpakarmāvaraṇāni*

¹¹⁹⁹ From this point, the sequence and mantras are somewhat jumbled as compared to the *SDP*. *SDP* at this point reads *Oṃ druṃ* (Skorupski edition source variants: *bhrūṃ*) *viśodhayāvaraṇāni hūṃ phaṭ*.

...*Oṃ sarvakarmāvaraṇāni hūm*{15v.4} *phaṭ*//¹²⁰⁰
 ...*Oṃ jvala 2 dhaka 2 hana 2 āvaraṇāni hūm phaṭ*//
 ...*Oṃ bhrūṃ sara 2 prasara 2 āva*{15v.5} *raṇāni hūm phaṭ*//
 ...*Oṃ hana 2 sarvāvaraṇāni hūm phaṭ*//
 ...*Oṃ hūm sarvvavaraṇāni hūm phaṭ*//¹²⁰¹
 ...{15v.6} *Oṃ troṭa*¹²⁰² *2 sarvāvaraṇāni hūm phaṭ*//
 ...*Oṃ chinda*¹²⁰³ *2 sarvāvaraṇāni hūm phaṭ*//
 ...*Oṃ daha 2 sarvanarakagati*-{15v.7}*hetun hūm phaṭ*//
 ...*Oṃ paca 2 sarvapretagatihetun hūm phaṭ*//
 ...*Oṃ matha 2 sarvatiryaggatihetun hūm phaṭ* {16r.1}

Doing Utkrānti

{16r.1} After that, the *utkrānti yoga*, that is to say, "'*pho ba*" is done. First of all, in the sky, in the same way that meditation (*dhyāna*) was done before, all the deities in sequence should be invited. [The priest] takes the deceased's *prāṇavāyu* [which has been reinstalled in the body] [and makes it] evenly (*barobara*) go up and down (i.e. inhale and exhale) (*thatakavata*), and be absorbed (*līna yāye*). [The priest] should look at the book on *dhyāna* [that has] all the recitation of the rest of the ritual (*sapālat*) by means of the Lāma (i.e. Tibetan) tradition.

{16r.4} After that, encircle [the deceased] with lamps respectfully, and the junior individuals only (i.e. among the mourners, only those junior in relation to the deceased) should offer five-limbed 'prostrations like a staff' (ie full prostration).

{16r.5} After that, do the *cakra pūjā*,¹²⁰⁴ spread the *maṇḍala*, scatter rice, offering curd (*sagun*), and soot, and the remuneration (*dakṣiṇā pūjā*) (given to the priest). Offer the blessed ritual food (*degu samaca*¹²⁰⁵>*samaya*) [to the deceased(?)] [and] put the alcohol pot (*bāhi*¹²⁰⁶) in the hand¹²⁰⁷ [of the deceased?]. The deity and eight cremation grounds and

¹²⁰⁰ Omitted in *SDP*

¹²⁰¹ Omitted in *SDP*

¹²⁰² Appears as *traṭa* in *SDP*.

¹²⁰³ *SDP* mantra is the longer form: *Oṃ chinda chinda vidrava vidrava sarvāvāraṇāni hūm phaṭ*.

¹²⁰⁴ *cakra pūjā*] This consists of the *jajamāna* doing the *pañcopacāra pūjā* in all four directions (Lewis and Bajracharya, *Newar Buddhist Homa*, 18.)

¹²⁰⁵ *degu samaca*] *samaya*(?) edible offering then given to participants (like *prasād*). According to Sarbagya Bajracharya it may be a mixture of buffalo meat dipped in curd-oil mixture (*khañ*) and put along with rice beer on the hand of the deceased only. Alternatively: tantric food offering including ginger, garlic, mustard seeds, spinach/sesame seeds.

¹²⁰⁶ *bāhi*] equivalent to the *thāpiṃ*, but this term only used in funerary context (Sarbagya Bajracharya). For *thāpiṃ* see *Materials Used in the Worship Rituals: thapin*—a clay or metal container used for keeping fermented beer during secret Buddhist tantric ceremonies. See also Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 151) who comments that the *thāpiṃ* is filled with red beer and used to worship Māmakī.

¹²⁰⁷ *bāhi lahiye*] Either more technically "hand over" (if *lahiye* is taken as coming from *lahlhlāye* – to deliver, hand over, surrender). *lahiye* appears as is in Kölver with the meaning "to tame, train, domesticate, feed and care for, rear" which might also work, with a slightly extended meaning.

nandā bali should be offered to the deceased only.¹²⁰⁸ They should not be given to others. A little bit of the ritual food (*samaca*) should be offered [to the deceased(?)]. The dismissal (*visarjana*) should be done and the *pāñcaśāli*, eight cremation grounds and *nandā balis* should all be swept away (*dhvaye*). Take the *bali*: take complete *pāñcaśāli* and place it into the *bali* and send it out, and dispose of it at the crossroads (*thana lukhu*) and at the threshold of the house (*pikhā lukhu*). After everything has been swept up (cleaned up), ^one *maṇḍala*¹²⁰⁹ should be placed in the same place.¹²¹⁰ That should not be swept away.^

[*Homa* Preparation]

{ 16v.3} After that, in order to do the *homa*, set up: wrap *pāñcasutraka* threads and *kūmhakā* thread, and wrap *cakha khipa* [rope] around the [bottom part of] two unfired *bheota* vessels. Place two unbaked bricks down. Then draw an eight-petalled lotus and place the *bheotas* in the middle. Display (*boye*) all varieties (*tā*) of grain around it. { 16v.5}

Place a *kundhā* vase (*kalaśa*) in the middle. On the right and left, place four *ampa* bowls.¹²¹¹ For *sagun*, set up the double-chamber curd pot (*dhaupati*),¹²¹² one *thāpiṃ* [beer] vessel, the *samādhi bali*,¹²¹³ the *guru maṇḍala*, the plate of the five cow products, lamps, Ganeśa, Mahākāla, [and] the two round balls.¹²¹⁴ Place one sword and one staff [made out of] wood from the china-berry (*khāyuvai*) tree.¹²¹⁵ Also [of] china-berry wood vajra, bell, *sulupa*¹²¹⁶ [spoon/small ladle], and *catvā*¹²¹⁷ [large ladle] should be prepared (*dayake*). Have the bier prepared.¹²¹⁸

With each (*pattim*) of the vases (i.e. the *kundhā kalaśa* and the four *ampa* vessels), place all together [in them and on top of each]: five peacock feathers, five straw pieces of a broom,

¹²⁰⁸ This restriction to the deceased may go as far back as the *samaca*.

¹²⁰⁹ According to Sarbagya Bajracharya, this should be a Vajravārāhī *maṇḍala*.

¹²¹⁰ *anantuṃ*] in the same place – from *ana* – there, and *tuṃ* - emphatic particle.

¹²¹¹ *ampa* vessel] Written in ms. as *apacā*: small, clay, with spout

¹²¹² *dhaupatti*] two-sided vessel for curd (see *Materials Used in the Worship Rituals*, 58 pg. 16).

¹²¹³ *samādhi bali* - This involves 4 dough cones (New. *gvāja/goja* / Tib. *gtor ma*) offered at the sides of the *maṇḍala*. In the middle is a drawn triangle type shape in powder.

¹²¹⁴ *gvārā ni gvārā*] Two round balls: Sarbagya Bajracharya – of clay, however this is not stated explicitly.

¹²¹⁵ *khāyuvaiśi siyāgu*] In UK dictionary as *khāibaḥsi*, wood of the China berry tree, *Melia azedarach*.

¹²¹⁶ *sulupa*] Ritual implements guide (*Materials Used in the Worship Rituals*): *sulupa* – "A metallised rectangular object with a long handle used for *homa* sacrifice or fire *pūjā*" (#105, 29) This is the usual implement for *homa* called the *sruva* in Sanskrit. In Kölver: *salāhpāḥ n.* (-pāta-, -pā) vessel for an oblation 2. (-pā) flat ladle used for an offering (of butter and grain).

¹²¹⁷ *catvā*] *catam* is flat ladle (for serving cooked rice) (Kölver). It is not clear if this then the equivalent of the *pātrī*.

¹²¹⁸ *khata*] bier in the case of a funeral, but the same term is used for palanquin, typically the word ordinarily used for the carrying litter of a deity image (Kölver).

five pieces of *kuśa* grass, five bundles (*thu*) of the five kinds of tree leaves (*pañcapallava*¹²¹⁹), five grains, five nectars [should be prepared], and the *kisali* cups.¹²²⁰

Again, outside the *bheota* vessels, the *balis* for the eight charnel grounds, eight leaf cups (*dvo*), eight *gvaḥja*—all these should be set up.

{ 17r.4 }

Here, wearing ritual clothing¹²²¹, the pyre-lighter should do the *saṃkalpa* [touching] the *pūjābha* plate.

For the purpose of the the last rites charnel ground sacrifice homa worship, for the sake of liberation from negative rebirths, for the sake of obtaining the fruit of a good rebirth.

{ 17r.6 }

After that, the *guru maṇḍala*, five cow products, placing *īṅkā*, spreading the *maṇḍala*, scattering rice, the hundred syllables, dismissal.¹²²²

After that, do the Durgatipariśodhana *samādhi*¹²²³ and the *samādhi bali*.

(next: worship of vessels)

{ 17v.1 } Again, do *pūjā* according to precept to the *kumḍhā* [vase], and [four] *ampa* bowls, the double chamber curd pot (*sagun dhaupati*), Ganeśa, Mahākāla, ^sword, staff, ^ beer pot (*thāpim*), and lamp (i.e. all the vessels that have been placed on the altar; the deities are also summoned into the vessels at this point).

¹²¹⁹ *pañcapallava*] *pañcapallava* – in ritual implements guide (*Materials Used in the Worship Rituals*): "A five kinds of tree leaves used for consecration of new buildings, bali offerings, and other life-cycle rituals" (#65, 18)

¹²²⁰ *kisali*] The *kisali* cups are filled with rice, betel nuts, and a coin. *Materials Used in the Worship Rituals*: "It is used as an object of offering to the main deity before the entrance of the Buddhist sangha or used as registration fee to perform any religious ceremonies [sic.] (#11 pg. 4)

¹²²¹ ritual clothing] *trpyati vastranam*, in this case, a *dhoti*, according to Sarbagya Bajracharya. The text's term, *trpyati vastranam*, is somewhat difficult to parse. Might it mean clothing satisfactory/sufficient for performing the ritual? Or perhaps relate to the definition of *trp* which is "to kindle"? Sarbagya Bajracharya specified that this should generally be a white *dhoti*, which is consistent with the description given for *śrāddha* rites in Lewis. The term *tārpya* may explain matters—it can be found as "a garment made of vegetable fiber worn in funerary rites in Hinduism, as well as other kinds of rites of renewal," with theorizing it may be made from *trpā* grass or the *triparna* plants. However, also, the term appears in: "Savitar is said to give the *tārpya* to the dead man to wear in Yama's realm in place of the garment he wore when alive. However in the *rājasūya* rite, the sacrificer wears. In the 5 day consecration rite the king wears garments including the *tārpya*." See *A Dictionary of Hinduism: Its Mythology, Folklore and Development 1500BCE-1500CE*. Margaret and James Stutley, Routledge, 2019). It is interesting here that it is the pyre-lighter who is putting on these clothes, for in descriptions of Indic use, it is either the deceased or the recipient of *abhiṣeka* who is to wear the garment.

¹²²² This is a highly abbreviated description of the *guru maṇḍala*.

¹²²³ Including NGMPP A918/10, H216/14, E1490/3, C80/4.

{17v.2} After that, the blessing (*ādhiṣṭhāna*) is done, [touching] in the middle of the *bheota* vessel with the *catvā* spoon [made] of the wood of the *khāyuvaisi* tree, [and saying] *Oṃ vajrasattva āḥ*. ^make *kuśa* grass into *svastikas* and establish them.^ *Pūjā* should be done.
 {17v.3} Again, either *svasi* wood or *khāyuvaisi* wood [may be used and] *pūjā* should be done: place 32 pieces of wood in the *bheota*.

Next, burn the *cahoma* and do *pūjā* offering grain [into the fire in the *cahoma*].

Next, light the bundle of kindling (*siṃta*¹²²⁴), [recite] the verse from above, establish Agni/the fire (*agnisthāpana*), doing the sacrifices (*āhuti*): the first (*prathamāhuti*), the knowledge (*jñānāhuti*),¹²²⁵ the deity ^*maṇḍala*¹²²⁶ worship [and] the deity (*devatāhuti*) sacrifice.

[Start of main ritual:]

{17v.6} After that, keep touching the head of the deceased and recite one time the mantra: *Oṃ vajrajālānalārka hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ*.

Bhāvanā for the Deceased and the *Nyāsa*¹²²⁷

{18r.1} After that, do *bhāvanā* [visualizing] the form of the *jñānasattva* on the head of the deceased(?), [do] ###the attraction jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ//### and place one (bundle of?) flowers and recite aloud¹²²⁸ the *bhāvanā*:

{18r.2} Then, visualize Śrī Śākyamuni Bhagavan Mahāvairocana brightly blazing, adorned with all ornaments, endowed with the dharmacakra mūdrā that is being held, golden colored, on a lion throne upon an eight spoked yellow wheel in the midst of the palace on Mt. Sumeru [made of?] wind, fire, water, air (the four elements)¹²²⁹, within a vajra net.¹²³⁰

jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ//

¹²²⁴ *siṃta*] KPM *simata* – literally wood-lamp, "finely split (pine) wood used as a wick," ergo kindling.

¹²²⁵ Missing as compared to other versions is the *samayāhuti*.

¹²²⁶ *devapūjā* is written within the line, but expanded with a marginal note adding *deva^tā maṇḍala^ pūjā*.

¹²²⁷ Although the title is listed before the line and pagination for 18r, it does appear on 18r, not 17v. Its placement here is intended to make clear that the start of the section does include the brief bit at the end of 17v, visualizing the *jñānasattva* on the head of the deceased.

¹²²⁸ Although the *bhāvanā* is generally always recited, the specification of the verb *bone* particularly emphasizes that it should be out loud.

¹²²⁹ *nalajalovī?* > *vāyu-jvalana-jala-urvī*: 4 elements

¹²³⁰ Cf. Nispannayogavali section on the *SDP*: **vajrapañjarasyābhyantare vāyujvalanajalorvīsumerūpari kūtāgārasya madhye**'bhyantaramaṇḍale **pītamastārācakram** nīlavajrāvalīvalayitam | kecittvaṣṭārācakram nīlamāhuḥ | anyastvasya vedī nīlā pūrvamāraṃ śubhraṃ dakṣiṇaṃ kṛṣṇaṃ paścimaṃ raktaṃ uttaraṃ haritamityāha| cakrasya vedyāṃ viśvasarojasthasimhopari **śrīśākyasiṃho bhagavān mahāvairocanaḥ suvarṇavarṇo dhṛtadharmacakramudraḥ** |

Again, place flowers on the head of the deceased and the *vākya*:

Om the deceased svāhā//

Om the form of the samayasattva svāhā//

Om the purification of all sins vajra hūṃ phaṭ svāhā//

Do the fivefold offering, scatter puffed rice and whole grain.

After that, do the *bhūta nyāsa*, that is to say, the six-part *nyāsa* for the deceased; the *vākya*:
{18r.7}

Om kṣim, both eyes;

jom, both ears;

kham, the nose;

gam, the mouth and tongue;

skam, the head;

śam, the heart (Skt), heart (New).

hūṃ all the limbs

Touch [these points] with the vajra.

{18v.1} Bathing

After that, incense, *nīrāṃjana* light, the key, and lamp in the *phaṃ* measuring cup (*mata pham*) should be shown.¹²³¹

Then, the bathing, and the verse:

*Om that auspicious verse, etc...*¹²³² //

*Om homage to the bhagavan, Sarvadurgatipariśodhanarāja, {18v.3} the tathāgata, the arhat, the perfect buddha, and also: Om purifier 2 purifier of all sins, {18v.4} pure, completely pure, completely pure of all obstructions svāhā.*¹²³³

¹²³¹ These, particularly the *nīrāṃjana*, key, lamp in the *phaṃ* vessel (*mataphaṃ*) are apotropaic rites found in a wide range of rituals, including the *kalaśārcanapūjā* and the welcome ceremony (*lasakusa*) such as occurs during weddings. (Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 156 n. 17-20; 361; Michaels, *Homo Ritualis*, 108).

¹²³² There are a number of widely circulating verses of benediction that this may refer to. See discussion in Chapters Two and Three.

¹²³³ *Om namo bhagavate · sarvadurgati · pariśodhana{18v.3} rājāye · tathāgatāyārhate · samyaksaṃbuddhāye// tad yathā// Om śodhane 2 sarvapāpavi{18v.4}śodhane · śuddhe viśuddhe · sarvakarmmāvaraṇāni viśuddhe svāhā//* This and "purification mantra" and the following five appear in this order in the *SDP* funerary section at the end of the first chapter. In this portion of the *SDP*, the ritualist is instructed to draw the sins out of the deceased by means of syllables and the *mūdrā* of Trailokyaviṃjaya. Then he purifies the bones, places them in a white cloth, and uses the listed mantras. Each is associated with purification with a different substance: the five cow products, scent, cow milk, liquor, water (Skorupski, *SDP*, 33). This is the first time the *SDP dhāraṇī* appears in the text. Versions vary somewhat; compare with a modern printed *pūjā vidhi* (pg 118): *Om namo sarvadurgatipariśodhanarājāye tathāgatāyārhate samyaksaṃbuddhāye// tadyathā// Om śodhane 2 viśodhane 2*

realm of rebirth purification mantra//
(Tathāgata family)

{18v.5}

{18v.5} *Om kaṃkani 2 rocani 2 trocani¹²³⁴ 2 saṃtrāsini 2 pratihata · hara 2 sarvakarmmāvaraṇa {18v.6}viśodhane svāhā//*
(Vajra family)

Om ratna 2 mahāratne · ratnasamḥave · ratnāṃkiraṇē · ratnamālāviśuddhe · śo{18v.7}dhaye 2 sarvapāpān hūm phat//
(Jewel family)

Om padme 2 mahāpadme · padmobhave · padmasamḥave · sukhāvatyāṃ lokadhā{19r.1}tu gachantu svāhā//
(Lotus family)

Om amoghāṃ pratihata hara 2 sarvakleśopakleśa kṣayaṃkari sarvasattvānāṃ ca hūm {19r.2}phaṭ svāhā//
(Karma family)

Place water from the conch..

Om merit 2 great merit, immeasurable merit, generator of the birth of knowledge, merit, {19r.3} and long life.¹²³⁵

Om dharma nature, purification of all saṃskāras, arisen from space, pure in nature, {19r.4} including the great method svāhā.¹²³⁶

sarvapāpaviśodhane śuddhe viśuddhe sarvakarmmāvaraṇaviśodhane svāhā// But compare also: A modern Newari dhāraṇī chant book as well as Lienhard (146) gives it as: *Om namo bhagavate sarvadurgatipariśodhanarājyā tathāgatāyārḥate saṃyaksambuddhāya. Om śodhane śodhane viśodhane viśodhane sarvapāpaviśodhane sarvapāpaviśodhane śuddhe viśuddhe sarvakarmmāvaraṇaviśodhane svāhā.* However, the listing in the tantra at 6b, which it identifies as the "mūlavidyā," gives the slight variant: *Om namo bhagavate sarvadurgatipariśodhanarājyā tathāgatāyārḥate saṃyaksambuddhāya. tadyathā Om śodhane śodhane sarvapāpaviśodhani śuddhe viśuddhe sarvakarmmāvaraṇaviśodhani svāhā.* (So in fact the current text is closest to the SDP 6b, except for the ending on *sarvakarmmāvaraṇani viśuddhe* (current) vs. *sarvakarmmāvaraṇaviśodhani.*

¹²³⁴ trocani] SDP: troṭani

¹²³⁵ Om puṇya 2 mahāpuṇya apāramitapuṇya aparimāyā puṇya jñā{19r.3}nasamḥāropacitte

¹²³⁶ Om sarvasa[m]skāra pariśuddhe · dharmate · gagaṇa samu[d]gate · svabhāva viśu{19r.4}ddhe · mahāne parivāre svāhā// In the SDP this appears as: *Om sarvasaṃskārapariśuddhe dharmate gaganasamudgate svabhāvaviśuddhe mahānāyāparivāre svāhā. Om dharma nature, purification of all saṃskāras, arisen from space, pure in nature, including the great method svāhā.* (bad) (Where it appears in the SDP (30b), it is stated to be the mantra for setting up the (bodhisattvas) on the two sides of the gate in the eastern direction gate (dvārapārśva?) in the maṇḍala, specifically two on each side: Maitreya, Amoghadarśin, Apāyajaha, and Sarvaśokatamonirghātanamati (Skorupski 30b-31b).

Show the mirror.

All dharmas are like a reflection (in a mirror): clear, pure, {19r.5} and uncontaminated, impalpable (agrāhya), inexpressible (anabhilāpa), arisen from the causes and action (hetukarma).¹²³⁷

Bathe, sprinkling water, with the *vākya*:

Oṃ āḥ consecration of all the tathāgatas, I go for refuge hūṃ.¹²³⁸ {19r.6}

Do the *dhā maṇḍala*, *ṭīkā*, sacred thread, offer a flower, *samaye*,¹²³⁹ *dhālā* pot of rice beer,¹²⁴⁰ lamp.

Flower *Nyāsa*

After that, do the flower *nyāsa* with the *vākya*:

Oṃ mune 2 mahāmune svāhā//
Oṃ vajroṣṇīṣā{19v.1}ye svāhā//
Oṃ ratnoṣṇīṣāye svāhā//
Oṃ padmoṣṇīṣāya svāhā//
Oṃ viśvoṣṇīṣāya svāhā//
Oṃ te{19v.2}joṣṇīṣāya svāhā//
Oṃ dhvajoṣṇīṣāya svāhā//¹²⁴¹
Oṃ tīkṣṇoṣṇīṣāya svāhā//
Oṃ chatroṣṇīṣāya svā{19v.3}hā//
Oṃ lāśyāyai svāhā//
Oṃ mālāyai svāhā//
Oṃ gītāyai svāhā//
Oṃ nṛtyāyai svāhā//
Oṃ{19v.4} maitrīyāye svāhā//
Oṃ amoghadarśine svāhā//
Oṃ sarvāśokaṭamāya svāhā//

¹²³⁷ Oṃ pratibimb[a]samā dharmā ākṣā śuddhā hy{19r.5} [a]nāvi[ī]ā// agrāhya-ānanabhi[ī]āpyāś ca · hetukarmmasamudbhavaṃ This is the standard verse associated with the mirror consecration (*darpaṇābhiṣeka*) and is also used in daily worship of a monastery (see Gellner, 1992: 161). See also Chapter discussion.

¹²³⁸ {19r.6} Oṃ āḥ sarvatathāgatābhiṣeka · samaśriye hūṃ// This appears in the VĀ, both *pratiṣṭha* and *abhiṣeka* sections, as well as the *Sādhanamālā*. Similar mantras appear also in the *Kriyāsaṃgraha* and *Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya*, though sometimes lacking the *āḥ*.

¹²³⁹ *samaye*- *samaca*- tantric food offering including ginger, garlic, mustard seeds, spinach seeds.

¹²⁴⁰ *dhālā* is a pot for rice beer but is different from the *thāpiṇ*.

¹²⁴¹ Note that, from this point, this text gives the different set of *uṣṇīṣas* from: E1490-3, the *aṅga nyāsa* list at the very end, which instead of dhvajoṣṇīṣa, tīkṣṇoṣṇīṣa, chatroṣṇīṣa, (the last 3) has: vajravidhvāmsiniye, vajravikiriṇīye, śītātapatre. In addition, that list does not include the bodhisattvas, only the *uṣṇīṣas*, the 8 offering goddesses, 4 gatekeepers (aṅkusa etc). However in the *puṣpa nyāsa* listed in ASK 2242, the latter is again different: after Śākyamuni, it starts with Vajrapāṇi, then it interpolates Śāṅkhacakravartine between Vajroṣṇīṣa and Ratnoṣṇīṣa, then has after Tejoṣṇīṣa: Dhvajoṣṇīṣa, Catroṣṇīṣa, Vajravikiriṇa, Śītātapatra.

Oṃ gandha{19v.5}hastine svāhā//
Oṃ suraṃgame svāhā//
Oṃ gagaṇagaṃjāya svāhā//
Oṃ jñānaketu svāhā//
{19v.6} Oṃ amṛtaprabhāya svāhā//
Oṃ candraprabhāya svāhā//
Oṃ bhadrapālāya svāhā//
Oṃ jālinīprabhāye svāhā//
Oṃ vajragarbhāya svāhā//
Oṃ akṣayamatīye svāhā//
Oṃ pratibhānakūtāye svāhā//
Oṃ samanta{20r.1}bhadre svāhā//
Oṃ vajrapāṇāya svāhā//

PAM (Fivefold offering: tikka, flower, incense, light, puffed rice),
LA (Lāsya- sixteen offering goddess mudrās),
GHAM (ghaṇṭha vādana- ringing bell),
STU (stuti- songs),
TA (tarpaṇa- libation: water in front of pātra is given).

{20r.2} Oṃ homage to Śākyasiṃha, who is pure and by nature unblemished, is free from (*vivarjitam*) existence and non-existence, is free of any conceptualizing thought (*vidhūta-sarvasaṃkalpa*).

V. Bhāvanā of the Flesh-Fire/Kravya-Agni at the Sacrifice Hearth¹²⁴²

After that, the *bhāvanā* of the flesh-fire/Kravya-Agni. Place a handful of flowers in the sacrifice hearth. {20r.3}

Visualize the deity Kravya-Agni there in the midst of blazing flames, yellow in color, with one face, four hands, bearing a sword, a kuṇḍikā pitcher, an akṣa mālā (type of mālā), a trident, with blue (piṃgla) spikey hair (urdvākeśa), with a coil in the form of a crown (evaṃ bhūtām)

Offer grain into the fire; mantra recitation; ghee in a *nivāsi* (=khāyuvaisi catva-Sarbagya Bajracharya) should be offered into fire.

Oṃ to Kravāgni svāhā!

Do the pañcopacāra pūjā and recite/sing the praises (*stuti*).

I bow to that buddha, [the one who has] renounced the great terror of death, renounced the river Vaitaraṇi, renounced growing (saṃjāta) to a state of dejection (vaimana > vimanas). I bow to you, the buddha, [the one who] has traversed/rescues (u[t]īrṇṇa? uttīrṇa)[from?]

¹²⁴² This is still at the home.

worldly existence (*bhavakānta – kānta*> *kam-desire*) [those born at the level/station (*yonī*) of hell beings, animals, pretas, gods, āsuras, and men.

Libation.

After that, offer the oblation with one round of mantra *jāpa* [chanting]:

Om kravyāgnaye svāhā. {20v.2}

Offer grain into the fire, offer ghee into the fire, with the previous verse. With the *sūlāpata* ladle, give salutation to the deceased. One should be made to bow down/give salutation (*ani*) to the *sūlāpata* ladle for the deceased.

Giving the *Bali* of the Eight Cremation Grounds

(39-46?) After that, the eight cremation ground *bali* should be offered according to precept. The *pīṭha pūjā* etc. is to be done.

[Concluding Rites]¹²⁴³

Spread the *maṇḍala*, sprinkle rice, do everything [in the *homa puja*] completely (*pūrṇā yāye*). Do the full oblation (*pūrṇa āhuti*). The patrons of the ritual taking the protection of the *yajña* [imparted by priest through applying soot to forehead] (*yajña-rakṣa*) should not be done.

{20v.5} Of all the grain, a little bit should remain to take to the cremation ground. (63) The hundred syllables [of *Vajrasattva*], expiation (*kṣamiārpana*), benediction (*āśirvāda*) should be given. *Sagun* blessing should be given, *īṅkā* should be given, *dakṣiṇā* should be given [to the priest]. The oblation of what remains should not be placed [in the fire], it should be placed at the cremation ground. Dismiss the *maṇḍala*. Set aside the *kuṇḍhā* [*kalaśa*] and *ampa* vessels. Throw out the whole *bali* at the crossroads and threshold of the house. The fire that was made in the sacrifice hearth should not be extinguished but should be kept [lit] there in the same place (and not let go out).

{21r.1} After that, a circle of lamps, as much as possible, should be lit (around the bier). The face of the deceased should be kept covered. After that, all the family members, in order to show their sorrow, should weep. This is the extent of the rituals [up to] the first night.

//❁//❁//

The Next Day: Undertaking the Funeral Procession

{21r.3} After that, the next day, in order to do the funeral procession, prepare everything as necessary.

¹²⁴³ This heading not present in manuscript.

In front of the deceased, spread *sauva*¹²⁴⁴ cow dung [on the ground floor of the house]. Upon a straw mat, seat [the deceased], [with] the face uncovered. Spread a token amount of *kvacikaṃ* oil-flour mixture on the head. The natal chart/horoscope should [be tied around to] cover [the forehead] facing downward. In the mouth, place the five jewels, egg, and dried fish. [then] cover [the mouth] with one round small bronze *khvalāca* vessel and wrapped with a [white] *kāpata* cloth [securing it there]. On the right and left edge/fringe of the *kāpata* cloth stitch, with a needle, a strong seam [sewing the two edges together to make a tube],¹²⁴⁵ and [leaving the needle attached to the thread,] lay it on top of the [deceased's] head. Cover [the corpse] with a [saffron-colored] *pauga* shroud. Beautifully cover it with a beautiful (*vālāgu*) brocade *koyeciṃ* cloth, and an embroidered brocade cloth. Hang flower garlands around [the corpse]. Place four containers of curd and beaten rice. At the *chāsa* site [the ritually pure female relatives¹²⁴⁶] dispose of the [deceased's] clothes.

{21v.1} After that, place the bier at the threshold of the house¹²⁴⁷ and decorate it as much as possible with [drawn representations of] the parasol, victory banner, flag, yak-tail whisk—the eight auspicious things,¹²⁴⁸ [drawn representations of] the Four Great [Directional] Kings, five kinds of greenery. Place flower garlands. Everything should be prepared. It is not necessary to bring a *pākhākum*; however, some [people], some places will bring it [i.e. to transport the fire]. [Here, i.e. in this manual,] for transferring the embers to the hearth (at the cremation ground), the *bheota* (ms. here: *bhegvata*) vessel is used for carrying [them].

After that, bring the deceased down and place him on the bier ^and on the right side place a sword blade and on the left put a staff.^ Many songs should be played by musicians.¹²⁴⁹ The gurus should purify the path [by] doing *pāṭha* recitation [of *Durgatipariśodhana dhāraṇī* or mantras]. Taking up the procession (*utsava yāsyam*), the funeral procession should proceed.

{21v.6} The pyre-lighter should pour [water] from the *kumdhā*. Others, the senior and second [the four carrying *ampa* vessels] pour streams of water from the *ampa* vessels. Each should remove their sleeve [in order to bare their right shoulder].

¹²⁴⁴ *sauva* - cow dung; sometimes mixed with red clay but here only cow dung (Sarbagya Bajracharya, personal communication).

¹²⁴⁵ So is this just a cloth sewn around the head tightly to keep the *khvalā* vessel in place over the mouth? Or does it envelope the whole body, in which case is it still going to be tight enough to keep the *khvalā* in place? Sarbagya Bajracharya said envelopes the whole body, I think? And Kashinath Tamot was unclear but at soe point I got the idea that it was just at the head.

¹²⁴⁶ According to Sarbagya Bajracharya: those who are not menstruating or pregnant. This includes clothing and also personal possessions. There may be a great deal of such material, but is quickly removed by lower castes in charge of doing so (Sarbagya Bajracharya).

¹²⁴⁷ *pikhālakhu*

¹²⁴⁸ Eight auspicious things: parasol, treasure vase, lotus, conch, endless knot, pair of golden fish, victory banner, dharmacakra. See also Lewis, *Modern Guide*, 16.

¹²⁴⁹ This line somewhat unclear. While Pulu Pulu is a caste, and according to Kashinath Tamot and Sarbagya Bajracharya this involves the playing of music by low-caste (butcher) musicians, *pulu* is also a bamboo mat used to wrap the deceased, and the verb *dayakam*, to make or fabricate, seems odd here. It is also possible the word should be read with what follows. The section overall reads: *anega bājana · kāhā · {21v.5} pula 2 dayakam*.

Again, [prepared] at the cremation ground earlier, [one should have prepared] eighty unbaked bricks and nine pieces of wood. In front of that¹²⁵⁰ [pyre??] one should prepare the hearth. Again, away from the hearth, 3.5¹²⁵¹ [cubits] long and 2 cubits wide, lay the bricks¹²⁵² building up the hearth. Tie a dried reed rope¹²⁵³ and a *kumhakā* thread and the *pasuka* thread [around the hearth]. Make the *cahom* of the *bhegata* [=bheota, from earlier] vessel. Use varieties of grain to make a display.

After that, the palanquin of the deceased should be placed on top of the nine pieces of wood. The deceased should be made to drink water by all those who went with the funeral procession, those who carried the palanquin, and the mourning [family members]. {22r.5} The pyre-lighter is made to take off his clothes/sleeve. In the river, he is made to wash his face and puts some water on his head, and then comes up [the bank to the cremation site], and [is made to touch] the *pūjābhala* [plate] while being made to say the *saṃkalpa*:

For the sake of doing the homa ritual of cremating the deceased through saṃhara-agni (the fire of dissolution), for the sake of liberating from negative rebirths, for the sake of obtaining the heaven of Sukhāvātī. {22r.7}

The guru does the *nyāsa* meditation and having done it, does the *guru maṇḍala*. The *kumdhā kalaśa* and all the *ampa* vessels are established behind the deceased. One should not place *sagun dhaupati* [=curd and *tikka* in brass bowls]. {22v.1}

After that, the *upādhyāya* should spread sand in a suitable place in front of the deceased. The pyre-lighter should be made to do the rituals at the feet. The *guru maṇḍala*, establish one *kuśa-putrikā* effigy, do *pūjā*, spread out the parasol-leaves there. The *saṃkalpa* of the *pāmaka* [vessel should be done].¹²⁵⁴

The crow *piṇḍa* should be placed on [the *upādhyāya*'s] own left side, the dog *piṇḍa* should be placed on the right side. One should not mould a *preta piṇḍa*; two *piṇḍas* only is sufficient. Do the *pūjā* according to precept. {22v.4}

After that, [pyre-lighter] should hold the *pāmaka*, circumambulate the deceased one time, and crush it in front.¹²⁵⁵ Again, after the *samādhi* of the guru, anyone who has poured the streams of water in order to do the *kumdhāra kalaśa* and *ampa* vessel *pūjās* should be considered as/act as principal donors (*thākālis*)

{22v.7}

¹²⁵⁰ *oyāṃ* - normally him, but here maybe the bricks and lumber;

¹²⁵¹ 3X either 3.5 cubits, or 3x3= 9 cubits..

¹²⁵² *svāta* – put together

¹²⁵³ *cakha khipa*

¹²⁵⁴ *pāmaka* – See entry in Koelver: *makaḥ* (*pāh-*) – earthen pot (used as a stove), *pāḥmakaḥ* - kind of earthen pot. See also under *athaḥ* - "-makaḥ - open mouthed vessel for charcoal (cf. *vaḥlāḥ bhegaḥ*)"

¹²⁵⁵ Kashinath Tamot, Sarbagya Bajracharya: In front of the deceased.

After that do pūjā to the oblation wood. (^Place in the hearth. Do pūjā. Make the cahoma burn.^) Place in the unfired bheota vessel. Do pūjā. Furthermore, make the bundle of kindling burn, do the recitation, hand over to the pyre-lighter, make [him] circumambulate the deceased and place the fire in the bheota. (^Place the fire in the hearth.^) Do pūjā according to precept.

{23r.2} After that, place one handful of flowers and do *bhāvanā*:

*Oṃ all dharmas are by nature pure, I too am by nature pure.*¹²⁵⁶
Visualize oneself as the maṇḍala of Śrī Durgatipariśodhana.

Do *pūjā* according to precept. Offer various grains into the fire. Place ghee in the chinaberry (*khāyuvaisi*) ladle (*sulupāta*) [offer it as] the oblation to Kravyāgni, [saying] *pūre pūre svāhā*.

PAM (Fivefold offering: *tikka*, *flower*, *incense*, *light*, *puffed rice*),
LA (*Lāsyā*- sixteen offering goddess *mudrās*),
GHAM (*ghanṭha vādana*- ringing bell),
STU (*stuti*- songs),
TA (*tarpaṇa*- libation: water in front of *pātra* is given).

After that, the *mūlācārya* should stand up, remaining in front of the deceased, holding the vajra-bell. [He should] make and display (*kene*) the *mudrās* of the five *tathāgatas* at the head of the deceased, in the four directions. In each (*patim*) of the respective places [i.e. in the four directions], he should make and display the *mudrās* of the five *tathāgatas*.

Again, going to his own seat (*āśrama*), [the *mūlācārya*] should do one set of mantra recitations [while] establishing the twenty-five *tattvajñānas* in the sky:

Oṃ mune mune mahāmune svāhā.

After that, remove the brocade that was kept as the cover [of the corpse/covering the corpse], do *kalaśa abhiṣeka*, have the five people¹²⁵⁷ each take a spoonful (*cha tulu*) [of water] and offer it to the deceased to drink, saying the *vākya*:

Oṃ nectar nectar, born from nectar, mighty (?) nectar, one who goes svadhā ḥuṃ. Repeat 3 times

{23v.3} After that, the [same] five people pour streams of water circumambulating the deceased three times. Again, at the place where (*thasa*) the *piṇḍas* are being moulded (*thayā*), pour a stream of water three times, and then place [the five vessels, *kundhālā kalaśa*

¹²⁵⁶ More literally, "the own being of all dharmas is pure," but conventionally translated as above in widespread sources.

¹²⁵⁷ The pyre-lighter (who carried the *kundhālā kalaśa*) and the four other relatives who carried ampa vessels.

and ampa vessels] in their former place.¹²⁵⁸ As for those who are younger [than the deceased] (*kvajipiṃ jukosenam*), they should bow down (*ani yāye*) to the deceased. {23v.5} ^Spread the *maṇḍala*¹²⁵⁹^ After that, do the completion (*pūrṇa yāye*), pouring all the grains and everything onto the fire [and saying]:

Kravyāgnaye svāhā.

PAM (Fivefold offering: *tikka*, *flower*, *incense*, *light*, *puffed rice*),
LA (*Lāsyā*- sixteen offering goddess *mudrās*),
GHAṂ (*ghaṇṭha vādana*- ringing bell),
STU (*stuti*- songs),
TA (*tarpaṇa*- libation: water in front of *pātra* is given).

Decomission¹²⁶⁰ the *maṇḍala*.

{23v.6} After that, if (*haosā*), moving the embers, they were conveyed placed in a *bhājam*, light the torch (ie bundle of cane) [with the fire in that vessel] If it was not (*mahosā*) [transferred in the *bhājam*], light the torch in the *cahoma* hearth. Circle [the pyre] three times. Light the fire [i.e the pyre].

So-and-so [i.e. inserting the name of the deceased], *the heaven-gone one*, *Samhara-Agni*, *svadhā hūm*.

{24r.1} Set fire at the head and set fire in front of the deceased. Make the fire of the hearth (*jajñe kuṇḍalayāgu*) burn, [and let the body] be destroyed.

{24r.2} After that, the oblation of the remains. Everything should be offered into the fire; everything, the *sulupā* ladle, *catvā* spoon, *vajra*-bell— should be offered up into the fire. The dismissal (*visarjana*) having been done, [everyone] should go to the river (*śusisa=khusisa*), look south (*ko svasyam*) and bathe (*mola hlaye*). Everyone should splash water on their eyes (*mikhā piye*). Coming back, the *bali piye* should be done [with] yellow and black mustard seeds should be burned so that they pop (*muyake*) [to purify the returning mourners].

This is the ritual of final rites and the *jalāgni saṃskāra* ritual.



~Covering and leaving the bones and ash~

¹²⁵⁸ Sarbagya Bajracharya: ie in front of the priest.

¹²⁵⁹ Most likely the water *maṇḍala*, *lankha bali*, not a full form deity *maṇḍala*.

¹²⁶⁰ Lit. sweep away, destroy.

{24r.5} After that, once the deceased's [body] has been decayed, various jointed bones¹²⁶¹ should be placed in an auspicious/good place. The remaining bones and all of the ash (*nau*) should be gathered (*munāo*) into a pile (*dvo*), covered over (*bhunāo*) with bricks in the form of a *caitya* and, covered, remain there.

[Third Day¹²⁶²]

~The third day drawing the *maṇḍala* and washing the bones~¹²⁶³

{24v.1} After that, on the third day after death, draw the Durgatipariśodhana *maṇḍala*. Gold and silver lotuses, the five jewels, a gold disk 12 *raṭi*¹²⁶⁴ in weight, and a silver disk 16 *maṃsa* in weight should be placed in the middle and the *maṇḍala* established [upon them]. The five grains should be spread in a circle. The *tadu kalaśa*, *sahaja kalaśa*, *sagun dhaupati*, lamp, five cow products, *pātra* vessel, *thāpiṃ* vessel, one *bāli-pāta* vessel, (one) *gvapacā* of bones should all be set up.

Pūjā should be done by the bone-washer, a married daughter (*mhyāca-mucā*) of the deceased, who serves as the patron (*thākāli*). For doing sun worship and the declaration of intent (*saṃkalpa*) and the purpose (*nimitta*):

{24v.5} *On the third day, [for the purpose of] empowering the maṇḍala; for the purpose of the washing of the bones pūjā, for the liberation from bad rebirths of the deceased one, for obtaining the heaven of Sukhāvātī.*

{24v.7} The *guru maṇḍala* should be done. [Purification with] the five cow products, applying *ṭikā*, spreading the *maṇḍala*, scattering rice, dismissal. Do the Durgatipariśodhana *samādhi*. [Do] *pūjā* to the *kalaśa*, *sagun*, lamp, *thāpiṃ* vessel, [and] [do] *pūjā* to the *tadu kalaśa* and the deity icon, according to precept.

{25r.2} After that, the ritual of washing the bones: do *pūjā* according to precept. Do *pūjā* of the *maṇḍala*.

<location: at house, *maṇḍala* etc. are left in place>

~Fourth Day~¹²⁶⁵

<location: cremation ground>

¹²⁶¹ *sāhā* 2 *pattimyāgu · kvoca*] This expression is somewhat odd but most likely means the remaining bone fragments that fail to burn entirely into ash.

¹²⁶² With death on Sunday, this is now Tuesday. At the home. This heading "Third Day" does not appear in the ms.

¹²⁶³ Title noted on margin

¹²⁶⁴ *Raṭi/raktika/laṭi* is a relatively small measure used for gold. There are eighty *raṭi* in one *masa/maṃsa* (Malla).

¹²⁶⁵ For instance, if death on Sunday, this is now Wednesday.

{25r.3} After this, on the fourth day, in order to do the ritual (*kriyā yāyeta*) of the pacification of the ashes, the guru, the pyre-lighter, together with a porter [=assistant for carrying *pūjā* materials]¹²⁶⁶, should go to the cremation ground. One clay *kalaśa* and one *gvapacā* vessel should be set up.¹²⁶⁷ *Sagun dhaupati* should not be given. The *guru maṇḍala* and *samādhi* should be done.

{25r.5} *Kalaśa pūjā* and *pūjā* to the pile of ashes should be done. When dismissal has been done, all the bricks should be removed (*polāo*) [from the ash-brick *caitya*] and set aside (*chakhe choye*). All the ashes should be collected and arranged in the form of a body (*mhalu thaye*): the bones of the various joints should be taken and placed at each of the respective joints [of the ash effigy]. The five jewels should be put in the mouth [of the effigy]. One cowrie shell should be placed at the mouth and two *hathaṃ* (black seeds) should be placed making eyes [of the effigy].

{25v.1} Mixing yellow and black mustard seeds and puffed rice mixed together, one should do the *tādana* protection of the ashes (*bhasma*), [with] the mantra:

Om for the vajra burning all sins of so-and-so hūṃ phaṭ. Repeat 108 times.

{25v.2} [Do] the fivefold offering¹²⁶⁸, spread the *maṇḍala*, scatter rice, the hundred syllable, confession, and dismissal. The necessary (*malako*) bones should be taken [from the ash effigy].

<at the *tīrtha*>

{25v.3} All the rest,¹²⁶⁹ the ash and all of the bones, should be collected,¹²⁷⁰ put in a straw basket¹²⁷¹ to do [rites at] the *tīrtha*: make a pile (*do cine*) [of the ashes and bone], cover it with sand, building a *caitya*, affixing (*chuke*) one cowrie shell as a mouth and two *hathaṃ* seeds as eyes. Gold and silver lotuses and the five jewels should be put inside [the *caitya*]. The *guru maṇḍala* should be constructed. Do *pūjā* to the *caitya* lord of the ashes.

¹²⁶⁶ bhariyā- helper/ assistant (lit: carrier of loads) Sarbagya Bajracharya: the *pūjā* materials porter.

¹²⁶⁷ Set up, i.e. and consecrated etc.

¹²⁶⁸ As before, of *ṭikā*, flower, incense, light, puffed rice.

¹²⁶⁹ At this point, the bones and ash have been divided into three sets: (1) bones stored at the house, (2) important bones from the ash image that have been saved, (3) other bones and all the ash from the ash image that have been brought to the *tīrtha* and made into another *caitya*. (So the ash has been: *caitya* at cremation ground, then effigy at cremation ground, then *caitya* at *tīrtha*.)

¹²⁷⁰ *oyāo* – from *vaṃye*, see Koelver (vaMye) and Shresthacarya (1981) pg. 89 *vaṃye*.

¹²⁷¹ In a straw basket – *sumhale-sa* – see Koelver, *sumali*, also perhaps related Malla, *suchālimi*, mod. *su chāli me*(?).

{25v.7} Then, coarse rice paddy¹²⁷² that was collected should be piled (placed) in nine piles in the cardinal and intermediate directions.¹²⁷³ Place nine tufted/twisted cotton garlands (*pūja mālā*).¹²⁷⁴ Do the *pūjā* to the nine *nāgas* according to precept. Offer *argha* water [while saying] the *vākya*:

<Marginal note giving the visualization that is to be done for the *nāga bhāvanā*:

^^The *nāga* meditation:

Om swiftly (*jhātiti*) after [being dissolved in] emptiness, visualize, in the middle of the pericarp of a double lotus, *vajra Varuṇa*, in the east blue *Ananta*, {25v.9} in the south *Padma*, in the west *Takṣaka*, in the north *Vāsuki*, in the northeast (*iṣāne*) *Mahāpadma*, in the southeast (*agne*) *Śaṅkhapāla*, in the southwest (*nairṛti*) *Karṭika*, in the northwest (*vāyuyve*) *Kulika* and beyond these, all the *nāgas*.

Om homage to the three jewels. {26r.1} *Om* homage to the glorious nine *nāga* kings. *Om* *Ananta*, *Vāsukī*, *Takṣaka*, *Karkkoṭaka*, *Padma*, *Mahāpadma*, {26r.2} *Śaṅkhapāla*, *Kulika*, *Varuṇapāla*, goddesses, great goddesses, *Somaśikhi*, *Mahāśikhi*, *Daṇḍhadhara*, {26r.3} *Mahādaṇḍhadhara*, *Apālāla*, *huru* 2 *Nandopananda*, *Sāgāra*, *Mahāsāgāra*, *Anavatapta*, {26r.4} *Mahātapta*, *Śrīkānti*, *Mahākānti*, *Surūpa*, *Mahāsurūpa*, *Mahodara*, come! {26r.5} Great lords of the *nāgas*, earth, sky and heaven; **for the heaven-gone one of such-and-such a name, for the sake of the purification of the path to negative rebirths for the deceased and {26r.6} for the sake of the deceased's obtaining the heaven of Sukhāvātī and the path to good rebirths**, Please accept this *arghaṃ* water for the lotus feet (*carāṇa-kamalāya*) of the nine *nāga* kings, *Śrī Varuṇa* and so forth.¹²⁷⁵ {26r.7}

Do *pūjā* [pouring water] with the conch.¹²⁷⁶

{26v.1} After that, the guru and the patron take a flower and, while touching it to the *caitya*, recite the *Vairocana dhāraṇī* 21 times.

After that, do the *caitya pūjā* according to precept. Spread the *maṇḍala*, scatter rice, [say] *stotra* verses:

Om sage sage great sage *svāhā*!

¹²⁷² *puoki* – See Kölver (1994) and Manandhar entries for *puvā*. However, according to Sarbagya Bajracharya, this kind of rice is quite rare now.

¹²⁷³ Nine] i.e. the center as well as four cardinal and four intermediate directions.

¹²⁷⁴ *pūja-mālā*] garland of tufted cotton, standard part of *nāga pūjā*. See KPM entry *pūja* (not *pūjā*): "a cotton roll (twisted cotton garland for *nāgapūjā*)...Mod. *puiñ*."

¹²⁷⁵ The first part of this appears in the Padmaśrīmitra's *Maṇḍalopāyikā*, although not the *Antasthitikarmoddeśa* last rites portion published by Tanemura. The portion in bold is specific to the current funerary purpose, and customizes the rite for the dead (can also be compared with the *SDP Samādhi* e.g. E1490-3 etc.).

¹²⁷⁶ End of the *nāga bhāvanā*.

Om homage to Śākyasiṃha, who is pure and by nature unblemished, {26v.3} is free from (*vivarjitam*) existence and non-existence, is free of any conceptualizing thought (*vidhūta-sarvasaṃkalpa*).¹²⁷⁷

{26v.4} Other *stotras* should also be recited, as much as possible.

[Do] the hundred syllables, confession, benediction, and dismissal.

{26v.5} [Meditatively] merge the deceased into heavenly space.¹²⁷⁸ Washing away¹²⁷⁹ with water, all the ashes should be made to flow away¹²⁸⁰ [in the river] [while reciting]:

Oṃ ghili ghili hūṃ jaḥ svāhā

{26v.6} This completes the ritual of making the ashes flow away.

After that, at night [on the fourth day], people bearing food [come to the home of bereaved family] in accord with custom,¹²⁸¹ and all around the *SDP maṇḍala* lamps are lit as much as possible.¹²⁸²

~Fifth Day~¹²⁸³

{26v.7} After this, on the fifth day, according to precept, the washing of the bones is completed.¹²⁸⁴

¹²⁷⁷ This verse has come up before, in this text at 20r. 2, at the end of the *bhāvanā* for the deceased, *snāna*, and *puṣpa nyāsa*, and prior to the *bhāvanā* for Kravya Agni. It also is quite close to the passage that starts (the incomplete beginning of) the *SDP samādhi* B105-15 at 1r.3, in a slight variant sequence that then goes on to the visualization of Vajrajvālānālārka and the protective circle. More relevant, it appears roughly similar to a verse in the version of the *samādhi* E1490-3, where it also falls in the context of a *nāga bhāvanā*, and in that case also providing the *mūdrās* for the *nāgas*.

¹²⁷⁸ *līna yāye*] See Manandhar (1986), *līna juye* - to merge into. See also Kölver (1994), *liṃ juye* - to become absorbed in a deity, and *liṃ cāye* - to purify (for religious purposes). This is all to say, meditate on the deceased becoming absorbed into heavenly space.

¹²⁷⁹ *dhvakāo*] See also the decommissioning of the *maṇḍala* (*dhvaye*) at 23v.6, the cleaning away of ritual materials (*dhvaye*), but not the *maṇḍala* (*dhvaya mo*) at 16v.1-2. To sweep away or destroy.

¹²⁸⁰ *cuyake*] To make ashes from sacrifices flow away in the river, or, in this case, the ashes of the deceased.

¹²⁸¹ *lokācāra phaye*] This expression/moment was described by Kashinath Tamot and Sarbagya Bajracharya as one where people from the community come to the family of the deceased, bringing them food, and at this time it is customary to weep (C.f. immediately after death at 7v.3 when weeping was prohibited (*suṃkhoye madu*) and at the end of the first day, when it was prescribed (*khoyagu julo*). This is not clearly attested in dictionary entries; however, see Manandhar (1986): *lvaḥk* > *lvaḥkācār* means custom or convention, and + *yāye* = to do something for the sake of etiquette or good manners. For *phaye*, to bear, see Shresthacarya (1981), *phaye* - to hold, to bear, to receive, to sustain.

¹²⁸² *phakvo*] "As much as possible" - This could either mean the number of lamps lit, or the length of time kept burning.

¹²⁸³ With death, for example, on Sunday, this is now Thursday. This date note does not appear in the manuscript.

¹²⁸⁴ The washing of the bones/purification rite done on the fifth day treats the bones stored in the good/sacred/auspicious place in the house, and the bones removed from the ash effigy and not made to flow in

~Seventh Day~¹²⁸⁵

{27r.1} After that, on the seventh day, according to precept, [one should] do the washing of the bones,¹²⁸⁶ the *maṇḍala*, [and should] send the *gvapa* pot of bones to offer (*taya kala choye*) at the *tīrtha*, [and] place the *pūja mālā*.¹²⁸⁷

{27r.2} Make clay *caityas*, and put the five jewels, and five grains of puffed rice, five whole grain, and [fragments of] bone inside [them]. Place *pūja mālās*¹²⁸⁸ and send the *kala* [brass tray containing these] to be offered at the five *tīrthas*:¹²⁸⁹ 1. Gokarṇa¹²⁹⁰, 2. Guhyeśvari¹²⁹¹, 3. Śaṅkhamo¹²⁹², 4. Tekhu Duhāna¹²⁹³, [5.]¹²⁹⁴ Bhacā Khusi.¹²⁹⁵

{27r.5} After that, one should cook rice (*jā thuye*), one *kula* in measure (*pramānaṃ*), [for/symbolizing] seven [*kula*]. One *kula* of rice should be cooked for the under-eaves offering (*pākhā jā*). Seven varieties (*tā*) of pulses (*ketā*) should be placed, and the "seventh day rice offering"¹²⁹⁶ given.

<At the river bathing place¹²⁹⁷>

the river after the *caitya* rite at the *tīrtha* on day four. For preceding treatments: Cf. (day 2) 24r.5 initial division of bones and ash and construction of brick-ash *caita* at the cremation ground, with other bones brought to house; (day 4) 25r.3ff- pacification of the bones/ash rite at cremation ground (*bhasma śānta kriyā*); also: (day 4) 25v.3ff - *bhasmeśvara caitya* rite at *tīrtha*; (day 4) 26v.5 "making the ashes flow" on fourth day.
¹²⁸⁵ With death, for example, on Sunday, this is now Saturday. On the sixth day, nothing is done ritually—rest is taken, household tasks done, i.e. clothes are washed (Sarbagya Bajracharya, personal communication). This date note does not appear in the manuscript.

¹²⁸⁶ This again would be a repetition of the rite performed previously on day 5, but not detailed in the text. "Washing of the bones" texts appear independently and treat this separately.

¹²⁸⁷ This repeats on the seventh day the bone washing that was also done on the fifth day. This, like those rites and the fourth day rites including ash *caitya* and *nāga pūjā*, are done at the *tīrtha*.

¹²⁸⁸ Again see previous note concerning the *pūja mālā*.

¹²⁸⁹ *asti gvapa tīrthasa taya kala choye pūja-mālā tasyaṃ*] *kala choye* See Manandhar, *kalaḥ ~chwaye-* to send items of worship in [a *kalaḥ*] vessel to a shrine. See also Rospatt description of disposal of the ashes from the *bhasmacaitya* after the cremation of the central pillar (*yaṣṭi*) of a *caitya* (Rospatt, *Renovations*, 241): *pañcatīrtha rātakara choya* – which in that context means the ashes are "sent off to [the five *tīrthas*] so that they reach there," although they are in fact all immersed at a single *tīrtha*. In the current text, however, it appears that the five *tīrthas* are in fact visited, based on the definition of *kala choye*.

¹²⁹⁰ Gokarṇa – Called Puṇya, located at the confluence of the Bāgmatī and Amoghaphaladāyaṇī rivers.

¹²⁹¹ Guhyeśvari – Called Śānta, located at the confluence of the Bāgmatī and Māradāyaṇī rivers (Gellner, *Monk Householder Tantric Priest*, 195).

¹²⁹² Śaṅkhamo – i.e. Śaṅkara, called Śaṅkhamūl, at the confluence of the Bāgmatī and Maṇirohiṇī rivers (Gellner, *Monk Householder Tantric Priest*, 195).

¹²⁹³ Tekhu Duhāna – presumably Tyekhu Dobān, called Cintāmaṇi, located at the confluence of the Bāgmatī and Keśavatī (Gellner, *Monk Householder Tantric Priest*, 195).

¹²⁹⁴ Numeral 5 is missing, other numbers are present in the ms.

¹²⁹⁵ Bhacā khusi – Called Nirmala, at the confluence of the Kusumāvātī and Keśavatī rivers (Gellner, *Monk Householder Tantric Priest*, 195). Of the others, Gokarṇa, Śaṅkhamo [=Śaṅkhamūl], and Tekhu [=Teku] are the three main *tīrthas* on the Bāgmatī. See map from Gellner in Chapter Three.

¹²⁹⁶ Seventh day rice offering – *nhasa nhumā biye*, see entry under *nhay|-nhumā* (Kölver, 1994).

¹²⁹⁷ Location note – not part of manuscript.

{27r.6} Going for purification: in the river, wet the head and shave the head:
If the mother [has died], the facial hair (*gvāca*) and eyebrows (*mikhā-phusi*) should be shaved; if the father or uncle, [only] the facial hair should be shaved.

{27v.1} Bathing: First of all, the flour dough (*ātī*¹²⁹⁸), myrobalan fruit, sesame, oil paste,¹²⁹⁹ oil cake—at this stage, with token measures¹³⁰⁰ [of these, one should] bathe. The guru hands over mourning clothes,¹³⁰¹ the five cow products should be offered,¹³⁰² one handful of water should be sprinkled for Śrī Sūrya, and do *pūjā* with rice¹³⁰³ Again, foot-washing water (*pādargha*) should be offered to the *guru*; if [the *guru* is] younger, a handful of water for washing the hands (*hastārgha*) should be sprinkled [instead].¹³⁰⁴ Sprinkle the five cow products¹³⁰⁵ and return to the house [from the bathing place]. {27v.4} The path (*la*) that was taken going (*onāgu*) [to the river bathing place/cremation ground] should be (*ma*) changed (*hilā*) at one point (*cha thāsa*) on the way going (*oye*) back. At the threshold of the house, leave (*tote*) the five cow products. Take betel nut and flower [to purify the mouth(?)]¹³⁰⁶

<location: at the home¹³⁰⁷>

Do the home purification *homa* and, if necessary, do the temple purification *homa*.¹³⁰⁸ In the appropriate place (*māla thāsa*), daily food (*nhikaṃ bhaja*¹³⁰⁹) and main clothing (*mu*

¹²⁹⁸ *ātī*] According to Manandhar, "Cooked rice and wheat flour mixed for offering an oblation" although it indicates use at a different time than is given here, stating that it is offered during the cremation by the pyre-lighter, rather than the current purificatory sequence (Manandhar, 1986).

¹²⁹⁹ oil paste] *kvola cikam - kolacekana* (Malla, 2000) is paste of oil and powdered rice. It may also just be oil. Modern form *kvamcikam*.

in dictionary though *kolacekana* is oil and rice paste. Original translation just had oil.

¹³⁰⁰ "With token measures"] *pramāna-naṃ* – Alternatively, "symbolically" the idea being small amounts that symbolically represent larger amounts. The text does not state whether it is only those who were required to shave/cut their hair, i.e. the family members affected by death pollution who must do this, but that is likely.

¹³⁰¹ As explained to me, this is the white mourning clothing purchased earlier by the family of the deceased. It was not stored in the home but rather given to another (the *guru*, here) in order to prevent death pollution affecting it. It is here handed over to the mourners (presumably the pyre-lighter, or those most affected by the death pollution), and will be worn for the period of mourning. In the contemporary tradition, at least, during later stages of the mourning period, the permitted colors of the wardrobe gradually shade from white to beige and darker brown. Thanks to Kashinath Tamot, Sarbagya Bajracharya, and Raju Shakya for this information.

¹³⁰² Probably the standard purification by means of them (*pañcagava śodhana*).

¹³⁰³ *ki gvanam*] Differs from the usual way of expression in this text, which usually uses *tine/tane* (scatter/add) and no instrumental.

¹³⁰⁴ This should be age of the *guru* in comparison to the age of the primary mourner. The age of the deceased is not relevant at this point. Also, even though *hole* means sprinkle, this means a handful of water in the palm only (Sarbagya Bajracharya, personal communication).

¹³⁰⁵ That is to say, sprinkle the *pañcagavya* while making the journey back to the house; see also below.

¹³⁰⁶ Normally this is betel nut and flower which are symbolically touched to the lips.

¹³⁰⁷ Location reference not in the text.

¹³⁰⁸ It is not indicated what circumstances determine whether the temple purification is necessary. Sarbagya Bajracharya comments that when this is done at the home, it is with rice beer in a *thāpiṃ* metallic pot and buffalo meat. When it is at the temple, there will be no meat or liquor.

¹³⁰⁹ *nhikaṃ bhaja*] related to the *nitya pūjā* daily ritual.

*vastra*¹³¹⁰) should be handed over (i.e. offered) to the *gurus* [in payment]. The *samaca*¹³¹¹ food offerings¹³¹² [should be given]. The *kalaśābhiṣeka* [should be done]. The feast [should be held] and the remains offering (*kalaṅkha bali*) [of the feast] should be thrown out [at the *cvasa*].¹³¹³ Those who were involved in completing the rituals¹³¹⁴ should be given the face-purification (*mukhaṃ śuddhi*).¹³¹⁵

{28r.1} ¹³¹⁶ If the purification is [done at] ten days, the home purification and *homa* should be done in the same way.¹³¹⁷

Here conclude the last rites and the mourning and purification rituals.

{28r.2} After that, if it is possible, draw the Five Tathāgatas *maṇḍala*. If it is not possible, draw one Akṣobhya *maṇḍala*. Do *samādhi*. Do the rites according to the ritual precepts. Do *pūjās* including the *tadu kalaśa*, the *devamaṇḍala pūjā*, the protection of the bones¹³¹⁸—as were done earlier. All of the ritual materials (*cinha*) and bones are used (*kenegu*) in rituals as it is written in all of the books [of other rituals].¹³¹⁹

{28r.6} Again the *maṇḍala pūjā* and the bone *pūjā* should be done seven times, every three days¹³²⁰ over twenty-one days. If this is not possible, [every day] for seven days do the *maṇḍala pūjā* and *asti pūjā*. If it is possible, recite the *dhāraṇī* of the Five Tathāgatas. If it is not possible to do that, recite the Akṣobhya *dhāraṇī*. [Do the recitation] in total for a measure of a thousand, ten thousand, or one hundred thousand times; or recite the *dhāraṇī* a number of times representing¹³²¹ that. ❀

¹³¹⁰ Parsing ambiguity—*nhikaṃ bhaja mu vastra*, but also possible, *nhikaṃ bhajam vastra*.

¹³¹¹ *digu samaca*] Normally *samaya*, this form of *samaca* possibly related to *samayācāla*, as in customary food at a *ganacakra* (see Malla). *digu* is also the midday meal taken by the priest (see Kölver).

¹³¹² There are conflicting reports of what this consists of, between different published accounts—generally includes rice, beer, meat, etc.

¹³¹³ *oātaka*] causative of scatter/throw out. Somewhat unclear but might be from *bvāye* (in various compounds has a sense of fall or drop down, i.e. *yetaṃ bvāye*, *kva bvāye*, *lhvaṃ bvāye*) or *bvaye* (to fly, flutter, be blown around).

¹³¹⁴ *kriyā sagpakva*(?)] Has the meaning of 'those who have completed the rituals' (as according to Sarbagya Bajracharya and Kashinath Tamot), but the derivation is somewhat obscure. *Sagpakva* for *supakva*, well-ripened, gives most plausible meaning for "having completed all the rituals."

¹³¹⁵ Typically betel nut or pan for purifying the mouth. However, according to Sarbagya Bajracharya, in the case of a funerary context, it would only involve sprinkling water.

¹³¹⁶ Anecdotally, the ten day version (instead of the current text seven days) is associated more with the Tuladhars and other castes (not the Śākyas and Bajracharyas).

¹³¹⁷ *ugu pramānaṃ*] In this case, the sense of *pramānaṃ* is according to the same rules/specifications.

¹³¹⁸ With the bones still saved at the sacred place in the house. Compare Lewis on *asti tāraṇa* (for *tāḍana*), which he translates as "safe passage for the ashes pūjā," however in his case that is done on the 5th, 6th, and 7th days. (Lewis, "Modern Guide," 18; 44 n. 68)

¹³¹⁹ I.e. perhaps for example the further *ūrtha* trips over 12 months, which is a known practice but not dealt with here.

¹³²⁰ Literally three days alternating/intermittently (*svanhu ata*), see *ataḥ* (Kölver), seven times (*nhasa pola*), over the span of (*nhutaka*) 21 days (*nhu*).

¹³²¹ *pramānanam*] A number of times that represents the larger numbers.

Utkrānti-SDP manual (Hs.or.4326) (Text)

(From Berlin Staatsbibliothek, in Lienhard catalogue pg. 90-91)

Utkrānti-SDP Manual (Hs.or.4326)

References: Catalogued in Siegfried Lienhard and Thakur Lal Manandhar, *Nepalese Manuscripts Part 1: Nevāri and Sanskrit* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GMBH, 1988), 90-91, and located in the collection of the Staatsbibliothek Berlin.

Notes:

Italic text indicates Sanskrit text, normal non-italic indicates Newari. (Sanskrit words incorporated into the Newari are at times treated as Newari, since the language has adopted a large amount of Sanskrit terminology.)

§ – siddham mark (start section sign)

☸ – puṣpika (end section sign)

· – marks as in Ms. These individual dots at the mid-point of the line do not necessarily indicate meaningful breaks, however they have been retained below.

+++ – Ms. page torn off/damaged and missing text unknown

^...^ added marginal text (i.e. inserted with *kākapādas*, etc.)

- text erasure/marked through in between

[] text supplied or emended

crossed out – blacked out (but legible)

(?) uncertain transcription

om. – omitted

^ external sandhi (occasionally noted)

Nasal variations in the script:

ṁ = ordinary single-dot

ṁ̄ = two dots or reduced candrabindu

Ṁ = large hollow dot

Page and file reference for digital images: 1v = 4, 2r = 5, 2v = 6, 3r = 7 etc.

utkrānti joga yāyagu¹³²²

¹³²² *utkrānti joga yāyagu*] *y > j* is a common orthographic variation throughout the text. This title is written along the left side in red. The first folio contains black text with red highlighting of the first line, red *daṇḍas*, and this side title, also written in red. The remainder of the manuscript is in black ink only.

{1v.1} §¹³²³ *Om namaḥ śrī vajrasatvāya// namo ratnatrayāya// //atha m-utkrānti¹³²⁴*
yāy+++{1v.2}mi//

recakaṃ · pūrakaṃ yoga · śodayed dehamaṇḍalam//
nānānimittasamprapta · svās[a] {1v.3}chijjati chijjati// [1¹³²⁵]

//āo hanaṃ mevatā · baṃdhanam · mṛtyujayelapeyāta · nhā- {1v.4}pāṃ · recaka · pūraka ·
yoga yānāo · jāpa yāye laka chi 100,000 thanaṃli svā- {1v.5}sa purṇa juyāo · nā da
dasyaṃli¹³²⁶ · mṛtyu juyāo · prāṇa onīo//

//mṛtyukā{1v.6}le tu samprāpta · m-utkrānti yogam uttamaṃ//
navadvāragataṃ nāḍi · pūrakena tu pūrayet//

 [2¹³²⁷]

ku[m]{2r.1}bhakena¹³²⁸ stambhanaṃ dvāraṃ¹³²⁹ · dvāraṃ raṃdhrasya śodhanaṃ/¹³³⁰
recakaṃ vākya(?) niṣkramya · praśānta śāntamāna{2r.2}saṃ//

 [3¹³³¹]

vijñānaharaṇam kāryya · m-anyathā pāragāminā//

 [4a-b¹³³²]

¹³²³ *Siddhi* mark punctuating the beginning of the section.

¹³²⁴ In Newari-influenced Sanskrit texts and bilingual Newari-Sanskrit texts, a nasal *m* is sometimes placed before vowel-initial words following vowel-final words. Such cases in the current edition will be indicated with an *m-* to indicate their presence but make clear that they are not a part of the Sanskrit word. Sometimes, the parsing seems alternatively to shift an accusative final nasal to the start of the following word, for example, see the contemporary manual *Piṇḍa vidhāna*, which at one point reads, *kuśavastra mupatiṣṭhitāṃ* (*Piṇḍa vidhāna*, pg. 8).

¹³²⁵ This and the following appear as successive verses from the *Mṛtyunimitta utkrānti* section of the *Samvarodaya tantra*. This begins with the *Samvarodaya* verse 28 (according to Tsuda's edition): *recakaṃ pūrakaṃ yogaṃ śodayed dehamaṇḍalam / nānānimittasamprāpte svāse cchijati cchijati //28//* Shinichi Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya-Tantra: Selected Chapters* (Tokyo: The Hokuseido Press, 1974).

¹³²⁶ *nā da dasyaṃli*] "after five years or more" *nā*: five; *da*: year; *dasyaṃ-li*: after keeping/doing—similar form as *thanaṃ-li*. A possible alternative etymology might also relate to *dayṃdasam* (var. *dayṃdasakaṃ*) adv. annually, yearly. Ulrike Kölver, Iswarananda Shresthacarya and Daya Ratna Sakya Nirmal Man Tuladhar, *A Dictionary of Contemporary Newari* (Bonn: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, 1994).

¹³²⁷ Equivalent to verse 29 in the *Mṛtyunimitta utkrānti* section from the *Samvarodaya*.

¹³²⁸ *kumbhakena*] The final *na* syllable is marked for deletion with dots along the top, probably for deletion due to being extrametrical. However, it is necessary for the grammar of the verse. (Marking practices according to Kashinath Tamot, personal communication.)

¹³²⁹ Though grammatically, the accusative should have a finite verb, or the nominal *stambhanaṃ* should have a genitive, here it is given as *stambhanaṃ dvāraṃ*.

¹³³⁰ This verse differs from Tsuda's in the *Samvarodaya*, which reads, *kumbhakena stambhayed vāraṃ dvārarandhraviśodhanam*. It is also extrametrical, and it appears in the manuscript that the *na* of *kumbhakena* was at some point marked out with dots across the top in recognition of this, although the *na* is necessary for the grammatical structure. See note above.

¹³³¹ Verse 30 in the *Mṛtyunimitta utkrānti* section from the *Samvarodaya*, however there is variation and especially *pādas* c-d differ. The *Samvarodaya* verse reads, *kumbhakena stambhayed vāraṃ dvārarandhraviśodhanam/ recakena recayed viśvaṃ praśāntaṃ śāntam āvahet// 30 //* (Tsuda, *Samvarodaya*, 132.)

¹³³² Verse 31a-b in the *Mṛtyunimitta utkrānti* section from the *Samvarodaya*: *vijñānaharaṇam kāryam anyathā pāragāminām/*

//atha vā · mṛtyu vaṃca- {2r.3} nā ma yāsye · ji mvāye mayala dhakaṃ · mṛtyu juyegu bhālapu mhana · gva velasa¹³³³ · roga {2r.4} duvisyaṃ¹³³⁴ oyu velasa¹³³⁵ · svāsa valavānu juyāo oyu · thva velasa · utkrānti yo- {2r.5} ga · yāye · gathya dhālasā · prāṇa tolateyāta · nava dvārayā · pvāla dani velasa {2r.6} nava nāḍī · dani velasa · thva pvāla dakvaṃ tināo · kuṃbhaka · yogana¹³³⁶ · svāsa dakvaṃ kune thva {2v.1} velasa · navadvāra staṃbhana juye · thva velasa navadvāra śodhana yānāo · recaka yānāo {2v.2} pita haye · thva velasa prāṇānta juyuo thva velasa · jāgarttanā¹³³⁷ yāye jio · vi- {2v.3} seṣanaṃ¹³³⁸ · jñānayā bhāvanaṃ · śrī parameśvara · vajradevī · amṛtābhayāke līna {2v.4} juye¹³³⁹ · atha vā śākyamuniyāke līna juye · saṃsāra pāragāmi yāye// //

{2v.5} ālikālisamāyuktaṃ · yojayec [ca¹³⁴⁰] vicakṣaṇa// [4c-d¹³⁴¹]

hr̥daye hūṃkāra saṃyojya · d-[vyardh]a-[a]{2v.6}kṣar[am]¹³⁴² adhordvaṃ tu sthāpayet//
vāyubījan tu¹³⁴³ r¹³⁴⁴-adhobhāgā · sarvavāyu adhomukhaṃ// [5¹³⁴⁵]

vāyubī{3r.1}{j}a¹³⁴⁶ dvayaṃ kāryya · saṃpūṭīkr̥tya yogavān//

¹³³³ Three part relative-correlative: *gva velasa* (when..), [*va*] *velasa* (at that time), then (*thva velasa*).

¹³³⁴ Ṃ] Used to indicate occasions of the use of a large hollow dot instead of the smaller solid *anusvāras*. I am not certain about the significance of the difference, but have marked it.

¹³³⁵ *roga duvisyaṃ oyu velasa*] Sickness (Skt: *roga*), *duvisyaṃ*—go inside (from *du-bi-syaṃ* = in-go-ing), *oyu*—comes. See also note above, this is the second of a three-part Newari construction, *gva velasa – va velasa – thva velasa*, so Kashinath Tamot suggested supplying a *va* between the *oyu* and *velasa*. It is not, however, in the ms, so I have noted it here instead.

¹³³⁶ *yoga-na*] here *-na* is the Newari instrumental ending

¹³³⁷ *jāgarttanā*] *jāgara* or *jaḡarana yāye* can mean to keep vigil, keep watch, or remain awake, based in the Sanskrit *jāgara*, awake, wakefulness.

¹³³⁸ *viśeṣanaṃ*] Although though this is no doubt intended to be *viśeṣanaṃ*, due to challenges with presenting consistent orthography based on inconsistent manuscript details, only the fully Sanskrit portions are generally being edited in part. Newari passages, including Sanskrit words adopted into them, are left as a diplomatic transcription in most instances (and will be indicated if not).

¹³³⁹ *līna juye*] to become absorbed in—from the Sanskrit past passive participle *līna* from the verb *lī*, with the meaning absorption of mind, in combination with the Newari *juye*.

¹³⁴⁰ *yogayec [ca]*] *ca* missing from manuscript, but implied by the saṅdhi for *yogayet ca* and likely a simple haplographic error.

¹³⁴¹ Verse 31a-b in the *Mṛtyunimitta utkrānti* section from the *Saṃvarodaya*: *ālikālisamāyuktaṃ yojayeta vicakṣaṇaḥ*//

¹³⁴² *d-[vyardh]a-[a]kṣar[am]*] Reduction in syllables is a frequent occurrence in Newar texts. For the reconstruction of the manuscript's *dakṣara* to the *Saṃvarodaya dvyardhākṣaraṃ*, thanks to Kashinath Tamot.

¹³⁴³ Marked with dots to cross out. Here, as previously (with the *na* in *kuṃbhakena*), the *akṣara* 'tu' has been marked for deletion with dots across the top to correct the meter. However, the syllable is present in the *Saṃvarodaya* and needed for the sense.

¹³⁴⁴ *r-]* Like the *m-* present a number of times above, provides separation between the adjacent vowels' final and initial sounds.

¹³⁴⁵ Varies from verse 32, especially the c-d *pādas*, in the *Mṛtyunimitta utkrānti* section from the *Saṃvarodaya*. The *Saṃvarodaya* verse reads, *hr̥daye hūṃkāra saṃyojya dvyardhākṣaraṃ adhordhvan tu sthāpayet/ vāyubījan tu tadadhobhāge tad adhomukham*// 32 //

¹³⁴⁶ *vāyubīja*] for ms. *vāyubīryya*, the *yy > j* is a common orthographic variant.

*uccārayet*¹³⁴⁷ *trekṣaram*¹³⁴⁸ *mantra · m-ekaviṁśatipari{3r.2}kramāt//* [6¹³⁴⁹]

vijñānaṃ vāyurūḍhasya · vāyudvāraṃ ca cetasā//
yena yena hi gacchante · {3r.3} mokṣasiddhipradāyakāḥ// [7¹³⁵⁰]

//ālikāli samāyoganaṃ · vicakṣaṇapani- {3r.4} sena jojalape¹³⁵¹ · gathe dhālasā · hūmkāra
hṛdaye · bījākṣara du dhaka · bhāvanā {3r.5} yānāo taye¹³⁵² · gathe dhālasā · udho bhāganam
hūmkāra cona · thvayāṃ kvasaṃ · vāyubī- {3r.6} ja · nigu juyāo cona dhaka bhālope · thva
vāyubīja · nigu · gathe saṃjoga yāye dhālasā {3v.1} kuṃbhaka yānāo · saṃjoga yāye jula//
thva vāyu niguliṃ · uccāraṇa¹³⁵³ yānāo · ekaviṁśati {3v.2} dhāye · niyeccha ko 21 yānāo ·
gvamha para^meśvara^yāke¹³⁵⁴ guguli vāyu rūpa jula · ugu- {3v.3} lī rūpa · mananaṃ
bhālapāo cone · gvamha puruṣana¹³⁵⁵ · thugulī · jogasa · bhāvanā yā- {3v.4} nāo conō¹³⁵⁶ ·
omhayā · bramhāṇḍanaṃ īśvara prānavāyu · pihā onāo · śrī para- {3v.5} meśvarayāke · līna
juyuo¹³⁵⁷ · thuli yāsyamli · mabhiṃgu mārganaṃ · prāna pihā ona- {3v.6} sām · avasyanaṃ¹³⁵⁸
bhiṃgu mārgasa lāyuo// thatheyāka-mhayā · avasyanaṃ¹³⁵⁹ · lipatasa janmakā-
{4r.1} ya mūmvāla jala// icchā siddhi lānāo · mokṣasiddhi onyu¹³⁶⁰ jula//

//punaḥ uttamabheda {4r.2} kathyate · śṛṇu guhyakā¹³⁶¹ //

¹³⁴⁷ *uccārayet*] Between script and orthography, the manuscript is inconsistent in its disambiguation of *ch*, *cch*, and *cc*. Compare for example the *gacchante* on the same folio {3r.2} and also the *chijjati* earlier, on {1v.3}, all of which appear to be similar (and mostly appear as one would expect the Newar Lipi script, in which the manuscript is written, to form *ch*).

¹³⁴⁸ *trekṣaram*] In the *Samvarodaya* this again appears as *dvyardhākṣaram* (1.5 syllables), as it did previously. (In the current text, previously, the manuscript read *dakṣara*, which may be a condensation of *d/vyardha/akṣaram*. It is possible that the copyist error produced the *dakṣara* and that was reinterpreted as *trekṣaram* in this later appearance, thus the product of two errors. However, in the present case this has not been emended on account of uncertainty about the passage overall, and the fact that the current *trekṣaram* does give a clear reading (which the previous *dakṣaram* did not).

¹³⁴⁹ Verse 33 in the *Mṛtyunimitta utkrānti* section from the *Samvarodaya*: *vāyubījaṃ dvayaṃ kāryaṃ sampuṭīkṛtya yogavān// uccārayed dvyardhākṣaram mantraṃ ekaviṁśatiparikramaiḥ// 33//*

¹³⁵⁰ Verse 34 in the *Mṛtyunimitta utkrānti* section from the *Samvarodaya*: *vijñānavāyurūḍhasya vāyudvāraṃ tu cetasā/ yena yena hi gacchante mokṣasiddhipradāyakam// 34//*

¹³⁵¹ *jojalape*] To pay homage, but here it may actually be for *yojalape*, 'to join,' commenting on the *yojayet*.

¹³⁵² *bījākṣara du dhaka · bhāvanā yanāo taye*] That is, keep doing (*yanāo taye*) the meditation (*bhāvanā*) in which one imagines "the *bīja* syllable is there" (*bījākṣara du dhaka*).

¹³⁵³ *uccāraṇa*] In this instance the *cc* is clearly and correctly distinguished from the *ch/cch* (seen f.n. 26 above).

¹³⁵⁴ *para^meśvara^yāke*] As noted in notes this indicates text inserted with *kākapādas*.

¹³⁵⁵ *puruṣana*] Nominative form in Newari—hybrid form: Sanskrit base *puruṣa* + New. nom. suff. *-na*.

¹³⁵⁶ *conō*] future form.

¹³⁵⁷ *juyuo*] equivalent to *juyū* (also future form).

¹³⁵⁸ *avasyanaṃ*] for *avaśyanaṃ*. Ms. not emended in accord with retaining Newari prose sections mostly as they appear in the ms. as long as meaning can be determined with existing orthography. See following instance as well.

¹³⁵⁹ *avasyanaṃ*] See note on previous instance, above.

¹³⁶⁰ *onyu*] normally *onō* would be future, but here there is a spelling change *onō* > *oniu* > *onyu* (*gu*)

¹³⁶¹ *punaḥ...guhyakā*] This opening line is highlighted in red.

nābhi kāmika svargeṣu · bindunā rūpadehinā// [8¹³⁶²]

ūrdhvanā-^{4r.3}rūpadhātuś ca · śubhaṃ te hṛdi¹³⁶³ bheditaṃ//
yakṣo bhavati nāsānāṃ · karṇābhyaṃ kinnara-^{4r.4}s tathā// [9¹³⁶⁴]

//artha¹³⁶⁵// *uttama · madhyama kaniṣṭha · bhedanaṃ kane · śrī bhagavānaṃ va-*
{4r.5}j[r]apāṇi-yāta kana//

gvamha manuṣyeyā prāṇavāyu · nābhi maṇḍalanaṃ onasā · svarga bhuvanasa {4r.6} vāsa
lāta// gathya onī dhālasā · bindu rūpa juyāo · prāṇa pihā onyu// hanaṃ bramhāṇḍanaṃ
{4v.1} pihā onasā · mahāmokṣa phala lāta¹³⁶⁶// nhāsanāṃ onasā · jakṣayā kulasa janma juyu//
nhasa-^{4v.2}patanaṃ pihā onasā · kinnarayā bhūvanasa janma juyu// mikhānaṃ pihā onasā ·
devī bhūvana-^{4v.3}sa · naraṛājā jūyu// mhutunaṃ pihā onasā · preta bhūvanasa · janma
juyu// mutra dvā-^{4v.4}ranaṃ onasā · sarppa jhagala pakṣi · tiryyak jānīsa · janma jūyu//
penapānaṃ prāṇa-^{4v.5}vāyu pihā onasā · agati juyu · bhūta preta · piśāca jūyu · aṃnyathā
jūya madu// ###¹³⁶⁷

{4v.6} //utkrānti kālasaṃprāpta · m-akāla¹³⁶⁸ deva pātanaṃ// [10¹³⁶⁹]

devatā-pāta-mātreṇa · narake pacyate na-^{5r.1}ra//¹³⁷⁰

¹³⁶² Verse 35 in the *Mṛtyunimitta utkrānti* section from the *Samvarodaya*. Tsuda's edition of the *Samvarodaya* verse reads: *uttamādhambhedena kathyate śṛṇu guhyaka/ nābhiḥ kāmika svargasya bindunā rūpadehinaḥ// 35 //*

¹³⁶³ *hṛdi*] In the *Samvarodaya*, it is instead *gati*, which gives a better reading.

¹³⁶⁴ Verse 36 in the *Mṛtyunimitta utkrānti* section from the *Samvarodaya*. *Samvarodaya: ūrdhvenārūpadhātuś ca śubhan tad gatibheditam / yakṣo bhavati nāsābhyaṃ karṇābhyaṃ kinnaras tathā // 36 //* (Then, missing in the current manuscript: *cakṣubhyaṃ yadi gate devi naraṛājyo bhaviṣyati / vaktradvārajñ ca pretānāṃ mūtṛeṇa triyacas tathā // 37 //* *apāne narakaṃ yānti mokṣāṇāṃ gatir anyathā//* (38a-b))

¹³⁶⁵ *artha*] This is highlighted in red.

¹³⁶⁶ Past tense of *laye*, "to obtain" in this case.

¹³⁶⁷ *###*] indicate something has been erased/scratched off at this point. The beginning of the following line also shows signs of having been modified/erased and rewritten.

¹³⁶⁸ *m-akāla*] This is in fact, according to the *Samvarodaya*, a case simply of mistaken parsing of the accusative on the previous word. However, given the specific case here, a second subsequent reason is possible; the *m-* is unnecessary for the Sanskrit of 'untimely,' but the Newari equivalent negation prefix of Sanskrit *a-* is *ma-*, so it may be the case here that the Newari negation has been supplied to the Sanskrit word in a redundancy.

¹³⁶⁹ *Samvarodaya* verse 38c-d: *utkrānti kālasaṃprāptam akāle devaghātanam// 38c-d //*

¹³⁷⁰ In the life-cycle guide studied by Lewis, a version of this verse appears at the parallel point in the discussion of *utkrānti*. The Sanskrit is somewhat more difficult to follow, however, and the Lewis transcription reads: *utkrānti kālasaṃ prāpta makāle deva ghāta kam/ Devaghātena mātreṇa narake pacyate dhruvam//*. The Newari commentary is recorded as *Sinā vaneva utkrānti yoga yāye sināya mavaṅkaṃ utkrānti yoga yāy majyu yāta dhāsā yākanaṃ narake lāvani/* (Lewis translation: "After death, one does *Utkrānti yoga*. To do this before death is not appropriate. If done then, we will go down to hell quickly. So that only if we know death has come should it be done." This is the translation of the Newari comment only, not the Sanskrit verse (Lewis, "Modern Guide," 15).

*tasmāt mṛtyuś ca cihnāni*¹³⁷¹ *jñāyate*¹³⁷² *tu vicakṣaṇa*//¹³⁷³ [11¹³⁷⁴]

//artha// gvaṃha maṇuṣyenaṃ · deva- {5r.2} tāpānisayāgu · bhāvanā mayāta omha
maṇuṣye · avasyenaM · naraka paryāMta gati onīo// {5r.3} thvateyā kāraṇasa · mṛtyuyā
cihnasiya kāo · utkrānti yoga yāye māla// {5r.4} thugūli karmma yānānaṃ · avasyenaM ·
śubha gatisa one dayu jūla//

//i- {5r.5} ti mṛtyu nirṇaya¹³⁷⁵ · utkrānti yoga paṭala śubhaṃ//¹³⁷⁶ ☸¹³⁷⁷

//atha a[n]tyesti-kriyām¹³⁷⁸ āha//

{5r.6} antyesthi-kriyā samyak · kartavyāM vidhinā yadi//
saṃsār[ā]rṇava-magnānām¹³⁷⁹ · ni[r]vṛty-arthaṃś ca {5v.1} dehinām//¹³⁸⁰ [12]

//thana utk[r]ānti yāye pramāna · chuyā nintiṃ dhālasā · maṇuṣya loka

¹³⁷¹ *cihnāni*] Although the conjunct letter form for Sanskrit *hn* here appears the same as the form used for the Newari *nh*, these are not the same. Within conversations on the transliteration of Newari, there is debate on whether combinations for aspirated letters (not conjuncts) such as is found in *nhāpaṃ* (first/earlier/to begin with) should be rendered *nh-* or *hn-*. Opinion has not yet settled in favor of one way or the other. As it is indicating an aspiration on the letter, I have retained the *nh-* form even though it thereby conflicts with the usage in Sanskrit found here. For reference see: the Kölver (dictionary) renders it *nh-*, as does the Malla (dictionary) and the Manandhar/Vergati (dictionary); meanwhile, Jørgensen (dictionary) renders it *hn-*.

¹³⁷² *jñāyate*] the present passive form here is odd, and it is possible that an optative for such as *jānūta* would be better. Metrical concerns do not account for the manuscript's usage.

¹³⁷³ This, and the above verse appear in the life-cycle guide examined by Lewis (1994), although the Sanskrit there is somewhat more difficult to follow and translation does not provide the Sanskrit and Newari separately. The transcription there reads: *utkrānti kālasaṃ prāpta makāle deva ghāta kam/ devaghātena mātrena narake pacyate dhruvam*//. The Newari commentary is recorded as *sinā vaneva utkrānti yoga yāye sināya mavaṃkaṃ utkrānti yoga yāy majyu yāta dhāsā yākanaṃ narake lāvani*/ Then, the last line of Sanskrit is recorded as *tasmātmṛtyu cinhāni jñāyatetu vica kṣanāi*// with the Newari: *atheya kāraṇe kāla jñāna sikājaka utkrānti yāye*/ (31). The translation: "After death, one does *Utkrānti yoga*. To do this before death is not appropriate. If done then, we will go down to hell quickly. So that only if we know death has come should this be done" (Lewis, *Modern Guide*, 15). It is interesting to note that the Newari in the "Modern Guide" and the current text are completely different, despite containing generally similar sentiments.

¹³⁷⁴ *Samvarodaya: devatāghātamātrena narake pacyate naraḥ/ tasmād mṛtyucihnāni jñāyante tu vicakṣanaiḥ*// 39 //

¹³⁷⁵ *nirṇaya*] In the *Samvarodaya* this instead reads *nimitta*. However *mṛtyu nirṇaya*, ascertainment of death, is also an accurate description of the contents of the chapter, so it has been retained.

¹³⁷⁶ End of section in *Samvarodaya*, which reads: *iti Mṛtyunimittadarśanotkrāntiyogapaṭala ekonaviṃśatitamah*// //

¹³⁷⁷ ☸] *puṣpika* (end of section marker).

¹³⁷⁸ *a[n]tyestikriyām*] Here, and in what follows, the orthography of *antyeṣṭi* varies widely in the rendering of the *ṣṭ* but since it does not hinder meaning has not been emended in general.

¹³⁷⁹ This compound appears in the *Ārya Maitreya vyākaraṇam*: *saṃsārārṇavamagnānām sattvānām duḥkhabhāginām / trṣṇābandhanabaddhānām kariṣyāmi vimocanam* // MvyG_37 // Regarding the sentiment of the verse overall, compare with CP 1.4.1: *śṛṇu vajra yathāmārgam advayaṃ dvayavarjitaṃ/ saṃsārārṇavaghorāṇām uttīrṇaṃ jalaśatrukaiḥ*// (Szántó, *Catuspīṭha*, 66)

¹³⁸⁰ Meter defective in the a-pāda.

{5v.2} parisamastaM̄ · saṃsāra samudranaM̄ · pārajuyāo · mokṣa oneyā kāraṇasa · anega vidhi {5v.3} yāye māla//

//yathoktaṃ mṛtasūtre ca sarvvāvaraṇavisodhanaṃ//
kāryyā{5v.4}ya sarvvasatvānām̄ · kriyāhīnaṃ viśeṣataḥ// [13]

svayam-uttīrṇa-śaktīnām̄ · naukā-{5v.5}nām̄ kiM̄ prayojanaṃ//
naukā uttīrṇa-hīnānām̄ · teṣāṃ kriyā garīyasī// [14]

//artha// gva-{5v.6}mha manuṣyenaṃ · mṛtaka sūtrasa · lhānāo taothyam̄ · samastaM̄ prakāraṇaM̄ · śodhanā yāye māla {6r.1} samastaṃ prāṇi janayā · kriyā yāye ma phoyāo · hīna juopiṃ · prāṇipaniṣṭa · nirvvaṇa-ka-{6r.2}rma kriyā yāye māla//

//hanaṃ gomha loka jananaṃ · thaothyā thamaṇaṃ · samudra pāra o-{6r.3}ne phumhayāta · nāma dayāo conasāM̄ chuM̄ prayojana madu// samudra pāra one ma-{6r.4}phumhayāta mātra · nāma māla// thvateyā kāraṇasa · anega kriyākarmma yāye {6r.5} māla mṛtakayāta//

//nhāpāṃ antakriyā yāyeta · guru · upādhyāpanīsenā rogī-{6r.6}yā roga svayāo · vidhi-vidhānathyaM̄ · āyu sādhanā yāye māla// dirghāyu · antakālasa {6v.1} mokṣagatīprāpterthaM̄// samastaM̄ · pūjā yāye dhusyaM̄li · rogīyāta · kalaśābhīṣeka sama-{6v.2}staṃ biye dhusyaM̄li · kalaśa rogīyā phusasaṃ khāyāo taye jula//

//thanaṃli hanaM̄{6v.3} āgamaṣa · paṃcaśāli jolanaṃ · thāpanā yāye · mūlacāryya · pramukhanaM̄ sama-{6v.4}stayātaṃ · tāḍana tayata · tāy · akṣeta¹³⁸¹ · bhuyu hāmo¹³⁸² · ikā · prakā¹³⁸³ jonāo mū-{6v.5}lamantra dhā 108 caturmukha-mantra 108 japa yāsyāM̄ · tāḍana taye//

//thanaṃli vidhi-{6v.6}thyaṃ · samastaM̄ pūjā · cittapūjā · dakṣiṇā · śāligrahana · rogīyātaM̄ · abhīṣeka samastaM̄ biye {7r.1} samayācakra yāye// rogī taoco julasā · rogīyāta mātra · abhīṣeka biye · visa-{7r.2}rjana yānāo · samastaM̄ sucake//

//thanaM̄li prāṇavāyu · phutaye juyāo · tayāra {7r.3} juyu velasa · jalabhomchisenaM̄¹³⁸⁴ kalaśayāgu laM̄kha tonake · athavā arddha-{7r.4}jala lātake phatasā · sijayā kvalāpātaṣa · laM̄kha tayāo · rogīyā tu-{7r.5}ti thunāo taye · te phusaM̄ laM̄kha bhaticā tayā biye//

//mṛtyu jusyaM̄li · mhutusa{7r.6} navaratna taye// antakriyāyā juosā prāṇavāyu pihā omṅu svayāo · jio thāsa {7v.1} aṣṭadala padma cosyam̄ · śucigu gā lāyāo · vajrāśana yāsyam̄ phe katuke · gāna toka pusyam̄ {7v.2} jaosa · khaosa · nakī tānāo · kāpatana · galapotasa · kenakāo · nakī tānā {7v.3} gulī kenakāo · āra kayāo taye// jahānāpiṃ · sumkhoye madu//

¹³⁸¹ akṣeta] for aksatā/ ākhe/ ākhyah, whole grain (unbroken rice)

¹³⁸² hāmo] for hāmvaḥ

¹³⁸³ prakā] for paḥkā, yellow mustard seed

¹³⁸⁴ jalabomchisenaṃ] jala – family; bomchi > see bhvachi – all of the family members

//thanam- {7v.4} li · guru · upādhyā conāo · mālāko samastam tāla lātaka · mṛtakayā
 nheone {7v.5} avīranaM¹³⁸⁵ rahasya maṇḍala coye · dathusa jāki kūla chi 1 taye · lu · oha
 pale · paṃ {7v.6} ca[ra]tna · phatasā luyā dharmodayā taye · oyāM deone · vajravārāhiyāgu ·
 maṇḍala taye aṣṭa {8r.1} śmaśāna baliṃ cāka uyake pine// nandā bali sametaṃ taye · dvo ·
 paṃcapratāpa · gvajā same {8r.2} taṃ taye// dhālā kalaśa · saghaṃ dhaupati · pañcaśālinam
 uyake · ādi aMta · bahi · paṃca {8r.3} gavya pātra · mata samastaM thākalape// hanaM
 mṛtakayā phusasa · vajravārāhī {8r.4} juosām amṛtābha ṣaḍakṣarī juosām taye// hanam
 ghaṅṭhayā · selasa · kāpata- {8r.5} nām hināo · svāra ma oyekaṃ thāya mā//

{marginal insertions:}

^1 jāta lhānā amṭakṛyā yātasā ^nhā^pāyāgu osata samastaM tolatāo · kriyā conegu
 vastranam puyāo saMkalpa yāye ^

^mṛtakayā khvāla ulā taye 2 ^//

{Then back to continue with {8r.5}:}

thanamli sūryyārgha · pūjābha saMkalpa {8r.6} yātaka · mitayumham · macāmha juosā ·
 thākāli noko-panisenam jio//

divaMgata a- {8v.1} mukasya · antakriyā pūjanārtham · durgatimocana · sukhāvātī-bhūvana-
 prāpterthaM¹³⁸⁶//

pujābha saM- {8v.2} kalpa yāye · mitayumhanaM · macāmha · juosā · thākāli nokva juosām
 jio// //

{8v.3}

thanamli gurunam · nyāśa yāye · // thanamli guru joga · nhāpām · ākāśa-sa · samanta-
 {8v.4} bhadrayāgu dhyāna// thvayām kosa · vajrasatva taye// thvayām kosa · vajradhara
 taye// {8v.5} thvayām kosa amṛtābha taye// thvayāM kosa · ṣaṭakṣarī · thvayām kosa ·
 padmasambhava · thvayām ko- {8v.6} sa vajravārāhīyā dhyāna yāye · pūjā ratna-maṇḍala ·
 sakalayāguṃ phako japa yāye// ^hanam ṣaṭakṣarīyāgu japa · battisākṣara japa yāye phako
 1000^ thva pa- {9r.1} nīsayāgu raśmi · thaoke līna yāye · thao nugalasa conagu · hūm · raśmī ·
 jhigu diśāsaM {9r.2} pita choye · mṛtakayāgu prāṇa · gugu diśāsa cona · gugu bhūvanasa
 cona · thva bhīnakam bi- {9r.3} cāla yānāo · mūlācāryyena · vajraghaMṭha jonāo · vajrākūśa
 mudrānaM · sālā {9r.4} hayāo · mṛtakayā nugalasa · bīja · nṛ · tayāo līna yāye · prāṇavāyu
 du- {9r.5} thane ^bindu pramānam^ //

Om vajrāmṅkūśa jah// Om vajrapāśa hṛīm// Om vajrasphoṭa vaṃ// Om vajrāveśa hoḥ {9r.6}
 bandhana yāye//

¹³⁸⁵ avīranam] New: abir (var. abīr, abhir); Skt: āvīracūrṇa—red tīkā powder

¹³⁸⁶ prāptertham] ms. not emended, but presumably to be read prāptyārtham.

hanam mṛtakayā casapolasa · vajranam thiyekāo · japa chajā¹³⁸⁷ yāyegu mantra¹³⁸⁸//
{9v.1}

Om jvam vam jam jvam lam nam lam kkam hum hum hum phat 3 // dhā 108 // //

hanam ikā prakā tāye¹³⁸⁹ {9v.2} akṣeta jonāo// caturmukha mantranam¹³⁹⁰ japa chajā
yānāo · caturdigasaṀ hole · digabandhana {9v.3} yāye · hanam mulācāryya · upādhyā
pramukham · sakalayātam thvahe mantranam · tāra- {9v.4} na taye · sakalayātam rakṣā juyu
nirvighna juyu//
^hanaṀ mṛtakayātaṀ kayake māla 3^ //

thanamli¹³⁹¹ ^rahasya maṇḍala coye · mṛtakayā phusasa vajravārāhi devī pratimā taye¹³⁹²
guru maṇḍala {9v.5} pātra pūjā · paṁcaśāli · ādipūjā · sinha taye · hanam pratimā deva ·
maṇḍala pūjā · moha- {9v.6} ni phaye · ādi kokāye · devatāo · mṛtakao mātrayāta chāye ·
meva suyātam ma jio//
// {10r.1} maṇḍala thile · ki tane · śatākṣara · visarjana// //

thanamli · vajravārāhiyāgu · degu- {10r.2} li · samādhi yāye · samādhi bali biye pūjā// //

hanam · dhālā kalaśa · sagham · mata {10r.3} thāpiṀ pūjā vidhithyaṀ// hanam maṇḍala
pratimā devatā pūjā · nīlāmjana ro- {10r.4} hāgni · phalābhīṣeka paryyantam · vidhithyam
pūjā yāye// //

thanamli · aṣṭa- {10r.5} śmaśāna bali · nandā bali biye · subāhu gāthā · chāye hāyake ·
vidhithyam pūjā// //

{10r.6}

thanamli mṛtakayāta · bhaśmanam buyeke · dvajāgra mantra// Om śrī hevajra he he ru ru ka
hum hum phat {10v.1} dākinī jālasamvaram svāhā//

¹³⁸⁷ *chajā*] *ju* counter is a pair. one set, i.e. one time around a *mālā*, thus 108 times (Sarbagya Bajracharya). The text following the mantras confirms that the number of times to be repeated is 108.

¹³⁸⁸ *hanam...mantra*] It is difficult to tell, but the latter part of the final line has faint markings along the top, possibly just smearing, but also similar to editing marks indicating deletion. The line has been retained in the translation.

¹³⁸⁹ *tāye*] for *tāy*, puffed rice.

¹³⁹⁰ *caturmukha mantra*] See previously at {6v.5}.

¹³⁹¹ Corresponds with the beginning of the *Utkrānti kriyā vidhi* (E701-11). See Chapter Four.

¹³⁹² This portion has a section that appears as if more was originally written but then immediately washed off.

puṣpamudrānaṃ tiyake · yomū · lucī · ^amjanābhiṣeka lipatasa tayegu¹³⁹³ pūjā aṃgu ·
dikṣāyā- { 10v.2 } gu datasā · gvayakā · kokhāyagā¹³⁹⁴ · samastaṀ · kokhāyake//
chatranaṀ kuyeke//

paṃcābhiṣeka biye¹³⁹⁵

pañcabhiṣe- { 10v.3 } ka biye// //

mṛtakayāta svāna chaphola tasyaṀ bhāvanā// //

*Om raja { 10v.4 } sālīkhita · aṣṭadalakamalopari candrasūryyo praviśya ·
śiṣyavajradhara { 10v.5 } rūpaṀ vibhāvya// ākarṣaṇa// ja · hūm vaṃ hoḥ¹³⁹⁶// //*

*bodhivajreṇa buddhānāṃ { 10v.6 } yathā datto · mahāmaha//
mamāpi trānanā[r]thāya · khavajrādyaṃ dadāmy ahaṃ¹³⁹⁷// //*

thana kle- { 11r.1 } śa mṛtakayā śīrasa dīcakaṃ taye vākye// //

*Om¹³⁹⁸ trai¹³⁹⁹ tathāgatai prajñāsamāpannaiḥ ma- { 11r.2 } hārāgena · dravībhūya ·
vairocanadvāreṇa^antar-niveśya¹⁴⁰⁰ · vajramārgena · nirgataṃ¹⁴⁰¹ // tad¹⁴⁰² devī-
{ 11r.3 } padma¹⁴⁰³-mukhena · praveśitaṃ · śiṣyaṃ · jhaṭiti · śūnyatā^anantaraṃ · hūm vajra-
jāta · dvi- { 11r.4 } bhūja¹⁴⁰⁴ · sa · prajñā^akṣobhya¹⁴⁰⁵ · svabhāvaṃ¹⁴⁰⁶ · samvararūpaṃ¹⁴⁰⁷ ·
jñanasatva^abhinnāṃ m-adhimuṃcya¹⁴⁰⁸ //*

¹³⁹³ Placement of the inserted section is somewhat uncertain. The *kākapāda* appears to be between the *lucī* and the *pūjā aṃgu*, but Kashinath Tamot believed that the three things, *yomu*, *lucī*, and *pūjā aṃgu*, should go together. He instead thought it should be placed following *kokhāyake* (Kashinath Tamot, personal communication 8/10/17).

¹³⁹⁴ *kokhāyagā*] May be related to the modern term *kasāḥgā* shawl, see *kokhaga* in Malla, 2000, S.D.

¹³⁹⁵ This title is written along left margin.

¹³⁹⁶ Passage source not located.

¹³⁹⁷ This verse appears in the water consecration in the *Vajrāvalī*, *abhiṣeka* section (Mori, *Vajrāvalī*, 188), and this section of the text is edited in light of that (*Vajrāvalī abhiṣeka* = VvAb, below). Mori also cites its appearance in the *GST* (Ch. XVI, Matsunaga, *Guhyasamāja*, 91) and “*Hevajrasekaprakriya*” HSP (Finot 1934: 24). Matsunaga edition: *bodhivajreṇa buddhānāṃ yathā datto mahāmahaḥ / mamāpi trānanārthāya khavajrādyaṃ dadāhi me*

¹³⁹⁸ The Sanskrit in these passages has been marked for sandhi and parsed in more detail due to its longer length passages, although this has not been done for the shorter Sanskrit segments found in other sections.

¹³⁹⁹ *trai*] VvAb: *tais*

¹⁴⁰⁰ *niveśya*] VvAb: *niviśya*

¹⁴⁰¹ *nirgataṃ*] VvAb: *nirgatya*

¹⁴⁰² *tad*] VvAb: *tad-dravair*

¹⁴⁰³ *padma*] VvAb: *padme*

¹⁴⁰⁴ *dvibhūja*] VvAb: *om*.

¹⁴⁰⁵ *saprajñā^akṣobhya*] VvAb: *saprajñā^akṣobhya-rūpinaṃ*

¹⁴⁰⁶ *svabhāvaṃ*] VvAb: *om*.

¹⁴⁰⁷ *samvara-rūpaṃ*] VvAb: *om*.

¹⁴⁰⁸ *madhimuṃcya*] m added for word separation; VvAb: *om*., instead reads *abhiṣicya*

{11r.5} puna bhujā-mukha¹⁴⁰⁹-ādi-mūrttibhiḥ padmān niśṛtya¹⁴⁰⁹ · gagaṇam-āpūryya-sthaṃ¹⁴¹⁰ ·
 trailo-¹⁴¹¹{11r.6}cana¹⁴¹¹-ādi¹⁴¹¹ · vidyā-sahita¹⁴¹² · chatra · dhvaja · patākā · vastra cāmara¹⁴¹³-ādi¹⁴¹³ ·
 gīta · nrtya · puṣpa dhūpa¹⁴¹⁴ {11v.1}dīpa¹⁴¹⁵ kuṃkuma¹⁴¹⁵-ādi · vṛṣṭibhiḥ kara-kiśarayā¹⁴¹⁶ ·
 varjita¹⁴¹⁷ · bodhicitta¹⁴¹⁷-āmrta · pūrṇa · śīta¹⁴¹⁸-ka-¹⁴¹⁹{11v.2}laśais te¹⁴¹⁹ śiṣyaṃ · padmān
 niśṛtya¹⁴²⁰ · m-abhiṣiṃcyamānaṃ¹⁴²¹ · joginī gaṇa · maṅgalaṃ gītaṃ// //

{11v.3} mṛtakayāta tonake vākye//

Om yat maṅgalaṃ · sakalāsatva · hṛdi sthitasya · {11v.4} sarvvātmakasya · vara-dharmma-
 kulādhipasya · niśyēṣa-doṣa-rahitasya · mahā-¹⁴²²{11v.5}sukhasya · tat maṅgalaṃ bhavatu te ·
 paramābhiṣeka//

miṣāsa¹⁴²² piyake · chelasa¹⁴²²{11v.6} hāhā yāye//

// hanam vākya¹⁴²³//

abhiṣeka mahāvajra · traidhātuka namaskṛtam//
dadāmi {12Ar.1¹⁴²⁴} sarvvabuddhānāṃ · triguhyā[ā]yasambhavaṃ//

// hanam śaṃkham laṃkhanam hāya vākya//

Om abhi-¹⁴²⁵{12Ar.2}śekaṃ mahāvajraṃ · traidhātukanamaskṛkaṃ¹⁴²⁵//
 dadāmi sarvvabuddhānāṃ triguhyālaya sambhavaṃ//¹⁴²⁶

Om {12Ar.3} vajrodakābhi[ṣ]eka · suratas t[va]m aham//

¹⁴⁰⁹ niśṛtya] VvAb: niśṛtya

¹⁴¹⁰ gagaṇam-āpūryya-sthaṃ] VvAb: gaganam-āpūryya-sthirair

¹⁴¹¹ trailocana¹⁴¹¹-ādi] VvAb: locana¹⁴¹¹-ādi

¹⁴¹² sahita] VvAb: sahitaiś

¹⁴¹³ cāmara¹⁴¹³-ādi] VvAb: om. but has added: vāditra

¹⁴¹⁴ dhūpa] VvAb: om.

¹⁴¹⁵ dīpa] VvAb: om.

¹⁴¹⁶ kiśarayā] VvAb: kisalayā

¹⁴¹⁷ varjita] VvAb: āvarjita

¹⁴¹⁸ śīta] VvAb: sita

¹⁴¹⁹ te] VvAb: taṃ

¹⁴²⁰ niśṛtya] VvAb: niḥśṛtaṃ

¹⁴²¹ m-abhiṣiṃcyamānaṃ] VvAb: abhiṣiṃcyamānaṃ rūpa-vajra¹⁴²¹-ādi-devībhiḥ

¹⁴²² miṣāsa] = mikhāsa

¹⁴²³ Following underlined section has been marked with dots along the top—possibly for excision.

¹⁴²⁴ Manuscript pagination 12 is accidentally repeated for 2 folios, indicated here with 12Ar and 12Av and 12Br and 12Bv.

¹⁴²⁵ traidhātukanamaskṛkaṃ] As in ms., emended should be traidhātukanamaskṛtaṃ.

¹⁴²⁶ This verse appears in the GST Ch. 16 verse 40 (Fremantle) and 57 (Matsunaga etext) (as well as the GST maṅḍala vidhi verse 326): abhiṣekaṃ mahāvajraṃ traidhātukanamaskṛtam / dadāmi sarvvabuddhānāṃ triguhyālayasambhavam. (Fremantle's edition and translation lack the ālaya, however, and has instead vajra.)

hanam vākya// //

*bodhivajreṇa buddhā-^{12Ar.4}nāṃ yathā datto mamāmiha//
mamāpi trāṇānāthāya · khavajradyaṃ dadāhi me// //*

{12Ar.5} hanam pātramodasa taye vakye// //

*Om hūm jaḥ hūm kārādhiṣṭhitaṃ · vajra akṣobhya^{12Ar.6} hr̥dbīja · raśminā[^]ānītaṃ ·
jñanasatvaṃ ek̄bhūtaṃ dr̥ṣṭvā¹⁴²⁷ sampūjya//*

abhīṣeka tonake// vākya

*{12Av.1} abhiṣekaṃ mahāvajraṃ · traidhātuka namaskṛtaṃ//
dadāmi sarvabuddhānāṃ · triguhyālaya saṃbhavaṃ//*

{12Av.2} // // hanam bhāvanā vākya//

*Om śiṣya āratnasambhava rūpaṃ jñanasatvaṃ · ekī-^{12Av.3}bhūtaṃ · nabhastha ·
tathāgatarabhiṣiṃcyamānaṃ bhāvayet// //*

makūṭayābo · tathā-^{12Av.4}gata makūṭanaṃ puyake//
tathāgata makūṭa mudrasā · līlayā makūṭanaM puyake jio

{12Av.5} // // vākya//

*Om abhiṣekaṃ mahāvajraṃ · traidhātuka namaskṛtaṃ//
yuṣmākaṃ pūjanārthāya · maku-^{12Av.6}ṭa pañcaṃ kulodbhavaḥ// //*

hanam makūṭa hiyake vākya//

*Om vajradhāteśvarī abhiṣiṅca hūm//
{12Br.1} Om vajravajrinī abhiṣinca bhruṃ(?)//
Om ratnavajrinī abhiṣinca trāṃ//
Om dharmavajrinī abhiṣiṅca {12Br.2} hr̥m//
Om karmvajrinī abhiṣinca aḥ// //*

makūṭanaṃ puyake//

Om vajramakūṭābhiṣinca · sura-^{12Br.3}tas tom [=tvaṃ] ahaṃ//

Om vajra tuṣye ho// //

hanam bhāvanā taye//

¹⁴²⁷ dr̥ṣṭvā] manuscript seems to read tr̥ṣṭhā (emendation suggestion thanks to Harunaga Isaacson).

Om śiṣye hrīm̐ · padmopa-^{12Br.4}ri · siraśi · svabhāvātmakam̐ · jñanasatvabhinnāṀ · vajrācāryyām̐ amitābhātmakam̐ vibhāvya//

{12Br.5} thana vajrana · kathu kapā nugala · thiyakam̐ jaosa tayā biye vākye//

*Om adya[^]abhiṣikta ^{12Br.6} tvam asi buddhi · vajrābhiṣeṣataḥ//
ida tat sarvabuddhānām̐ · gr̥hna vajrasusiddhaye//*

Om vajrābhiṣiṃcā-^{12Br.7}mi · suratas tom [=tvam] aham̐// //

hanam̐ bhāvanā taye vākye//

Om śiṣye khaṀkārajātam̐ · khadgātpannam̐ a-^{12Bv.1}moghasiddhiṃ vibhāvya//

jñanasatvābhinnam̐ · ghaṅṭha ca[^]amoghasiddhiṃ · vibhāvya// //

hanam̐ · śaṀkha^{12Bv.2} lam̐khanam̐ hāye vākye//

*abhiṣekam̐ mahāvajram̐ · traidhātuka namaskṛtam̐//
dadāmi sarvabuddhānām̐ · triḡu-^{12Bv.3}hyālaya sambhavam̐//*

vajrādhipati tvām̐ abhiṣiṅcāmi · tiṣṭhavajra samayastvam̐ hoḥ vajra-^{12Bv.4}ghaṅṭha a aḥ//

kathu · kapā · nuga thiyakā ghaṅṭha biye//

Om vajra ghaṅṭhām̐ abhiṣiṃcāmi · su-^{12Bv.5}ratas tvam̐ aham̐// //

hanam̐ vākye//

*anutpanneṣu dharmmeṣu · satkāra rahiteṣu ca//
na buddhā^{12Bv.6} na ca buddhatvam̐ · na satva · naivajrī vakaḥ//*

*nirūpaṃ śūnyatā karūṅābhinna · jñanodaya mahādhipaḥ//
^{12Bv.7} dharmodayā bodhayatuṀ · dharmodayānupakam̐// //*

punaḥ bhāvanā//

*tadanu · bhūm̐-kāram̐ · cakrasaṃbhūtam̐^{13r.1} vairocana rūpaṃ vibhāvya//
śiṣyam̐ jñanasatvābhinnam̐ · śirasi · vajraghaṅṭham̐ dhṛtvā// //*

*vajraghaṅṭham̐ ^{13r.2} kapālasa thiyakā biye//
hanam̐ śaṃkha lam̐khanam̐ hāye//*

Om sarvatathāgatābhiṣeka samāśri-^{13r.3}ye hūm̐// //

thanamli mata kena// nāma chaya · cetanam ticake//

Om vajrasatva nā-*{13r.4}*mātvaM bhūrbhūva sva// //

hanam bhāvanā taye vākye//

gurunāpi · vajrasatva rūpaṃ vi-*{13r.5}*bhāvya//

śiṣye sarvvālamkārahūṣitaṃ chatra dhvaja vitāna · patākālamkrta · siMhāśa-
{13r.6} nasthaM · vicitrāṣṭhadalakamalopari · vajrasatva rūpenā varambya(?)// //

tadanu ākārajaṃ gh*{13r.7}*ṇṭā// iyaṃ sāsarvvabuddhānām · ghaṇṭāghoṣānurā smṛtā//
tvayāpi hi sadā dhāryya · bodhir āgro ji*{13v.1}*nir mmitā//¹⁴²⁸

vajraghaṇṭha āliṅgaṇa mudrāyāke · vajra depāsa taye · ghaṇṭha jaosa taye// //

{13v.2} hanam vākye bone¹⁴²⁹//

caturāśīti · dharmmaskandha · sahasrādeśanādi dārabhya · tathāgatā · nidhi · niyo
{13v.3} janāya// //

mudrā hi samayaṃ proktā · manomukti ḍṛḍhatvataḥ//
sarvvamuktidṛḍho yena*{13v.4}* tena mudrā prakīrtitāḥ¹⁴³⁰//

prajñopāyātmakaM śakti · aṃśa buddhaM mahāsukhā// //

{13v.5} hanam bhāvanā taye vākye//

Om āḥ sarvvatathāgatābhiṣeka iti paṭhann abhiṣimcet//
{13v.6} tato akṣobhya maulinaṃ vicintya//
aparaṃ tathāgata devī · tatraiva jñanasatva rūpena praveśayet//¹⁴³¹

{13v.7} vajrasatvena · saMgrāhya · ghaṇṭā dharmmena vādyate//
samayaM ca mahāmudrā · adhiṣṭhāya · hṛdāyate// //)

{14r.1} hanam śaMkha lamkhana hāye vākye//

¹⁴²⁸ tadanu...] with emendations from the VvAb: tadanu · ākārajaṃ gha-*{13r.7}*ṇṭa [VA: dhyātvā] // iyaṃ sarvvabuddhānām · ghaṇṭā ghoṣānurā [VA: ghoṣānugā] smṛtā// tvayāpi hi sadā dhāryya [VA: dhāryyā] · bodhir agro [agrā] ji-*{13v.1}*nir[VA: jinair] mmitā [matā]//

¹⁴²⁹ but here it is not as elsewhere, bhavanā bone, so perhaps not a significant instance.

¹⁴³⁰ VA: mudrā hi samayaḥ prokto manomūrtidṛḍhatvataḥ/ sarvvamūrtidṛḍhā yena tena mudrā prakīrtitā// (v. 5 followed by: iti jñānamurdām adhiṣṭhāya, follows: iti ghaṇṭāsamayaḥ tad anu tam...)

¹⁴³¹ Vajravali(abhiṣeka): om āḥ sarvvatathāgatābhiṣekasamayaśriye hūṃ svāhā iti paṭhann abhiṣimcet // tato 'kṣobhyamaulinaṃ vicintyāparatathāgatadevīs tatraiva jñānasattvarūpeṇa praveśya. See Mori, v.2, 434 (ch. 30 edition = ācāryābhiṣeka).

abhiṣekaṃ mahāvajraṃ · traidhātuka · namaskṛtaṃ//
dadāmi sarvvabuddhānāM{14r.2} triguhyālaya saṃbhavaṃ//

Om sarvatathāgatābhiṣeka · samaśriye hūṃ// //

hanaṃ lucita · sinhalaṃ ti{14r.3}ke vākye//

Om supraṭiṣṭhata vajre svāhā// //

pāṇibhyāM tu samāliṅga · prajñā vai ṣoḍa{14r.4}śābdikaM//
ghaṇṭhāvajrasamāyogāt · ācāryasyacana¹⁴³² mataM//¹⁴³³

maṇḍalaṃ padmaṃ ity uktaṃ{14r.5} manomaṇḍalam uttamaM//
kuṭāṅgāram iti jñanaṃ · citta kūṭaṃ samachayaM//
pañcaskandha sa{14r.6} māsenā · pañcabuddhaprakīrtitāḥ//¹⁴³⁴
ity avaiivartyābhiṣeka¹⁴³⁵ · paramācāryābhiṣekaḥ//

thuti · paṃcā-{14r.7}bhiṣeka · vajrācāryābhiṣekaṃ julo// //

thanaṃli mṛtakayāta vidhithyaM pūjā dhusyaMli¹⁴³⁶ {14r.8} cakra pūjā · maṇḍala thile
· ki tane · saghaM chāye mohanīnaṃ mṛtakayāta · ajalaṃ · uyeke · sakasyāṃ
sinhalaM¹⁴³⁷

{14v.1} thana thālabhūsa · ghāsātā 8 tasyaM bo chabo 1 taye · madhi 1 ghela · sāṣa¹⁴³⁸ ·
tasyaM · mṛtakayāta · ṇha cyā-{14v.2}take // thva tā 3 taye// bhūjā śodhana yāye vākye//

Om namo samanta buddhānāṃ · ojo varaṃ tejo varaṃ da-{14v.3}de svāhā// dhā 7 //

deo chāye// pañcagrāsa yātake// praṇo · 1 aprāṇāya¹⁴³⁹ 2 samānā 3 {14v.4} [u]dānāye svāhā
4// Om vyānāya svāhā 5//

¹⁴³² *syacanā*] for *secanaṃ*.

¹⁴³³ *Vajrāvalī (abhiṣeka)*, (prior source Hevajra tantra II.iii see Snellgrove): *pāṇibhyāṃ tu samāliṅgya prajñāṃ*
vai ṣoḍaśābdikāṃ/ ghaṇṭhāvajrasamāyogād ācāryasecanaṃ matam//

¹⁴³⁴ Source VĀ: *Kriyasamgraha: maṇḍalaṃ padmaṃ ity uktaṃ manomaṇḍalam uttamam/ kūṭāṅgāram iti jñānaṃ*
cittakūṭasamuccayam/ pañcaskandhāḥ samāsenā pañcabuddhāḥ prakīrtitāḥ//

¹⁴³⁵ *avaivartyābhiṣeka*] emended from *evaivartyābhiṣeka*

¹⁴³⁶ Alternate insertion point for marginal text, see following footnote.

¹⁴³⁷ Omitted text was written along the side but damage obscures, goes in at kakapada at end of final line or penultimate line. Option 1: *tiyeke.....ddhā...biye* Option 2: *??yevodaka ddh(v)āraṇa biye xxxxxxxx graṣā xxxx biye //*

¹⁴³⁸ *sāṣa*] variant of *sākha*. This is a typical Newari orthographic change.

¹⁴³⁹ Ms. reads *prāṇo prāṇāya* for the first two, instead of *prāṇāya* and *apānāya*.

thva sva-tām¹⁴⁴⁰ tonake// //

thanamli · paMcaśāli {14v.5} grāhana yāke// kolāi gīta hāle śunyaM// dhau · mūcū
paryyaṃtaṃ māla// laṃkha taye// dhu- {14v.6} māṃgāri pūjā ##pañcaśāliyāgu dakva ·
ponakā tayā choye##¹⁴⁴¹ · kalāmkhāsa oātaka¹⁴⁴² choye// ^deo chāyāgu^ vākī dakva {14v.7}
samastaM · oyāo · pikhā luṣusa oātaka // mukhasudhi biye ##ba[m?] pu ye##// //

thanamli mṛtakayā {15r.1} n̄haone¹⁴⁴³ · aṣṭadala · padma coye · kaṃśayā demā-pāta chi taye ·
jākiyāgu · ratnamaṇḍala boye¹⁴⁴⁴ · pū- {15r.2} jā yāye · suvarṇa · rupya · ratna · dakṣiṇā
samastaM tayāo · caturatnaM vāke bone¹⁴⁴⁵ · guruyāta dohape¹⁴⁴⁶ · ju- {15r.3} la// //

thanaMli mṛ[ta]kayā nāma kayāo · salate guruṃ · po 3 chana pūrvva janmasa {15r.4} yānāo
yāgu · sakala pāpa-mocana juya-mā · durgati-mocana juye-mā śrī amṛtābha {15r.5}
tathāgatayāke līna juyāo · mokṣapadavī laye-mā dhakaṃ aśīrvāda biye// //

{15r.6} thanamli · mūlācāryyena · tāye¹⁴⁴⁷ · akṣeta · ikā · prakā · bhoyu hāmo¹⁴⁴⁸ · situ tiyā ·
dvāpho-svāM tasyaM {15r.7} mṛtakayāta tāḍana taye kayeke · mantra//

^om(?)^ amukasya sarvvaM pāpa dahana vajra hūm phaṭ dhā 108//

{15v.1} upādhyānaṃ · asthi tāḍana vākye yāye//

amukasya Om sarvapāpadahana vajra hūm phaṭ//
amukasya {15v.2} Om sarvapāpaviśodhane hūm phaṭ//
Om sarvakarmmāvaraṇa · bhaśmikuru hūm phaṭ//
Om bhrūm vināśāya- {15v.3} varaṇāni hūm phaṭ//
Om viśodhanāyavaraṇāni hūm phaṭ//
Om sarvakarmāvaraṇāni hūm {15v.4} phaṭ//
Om hvala? 2 dhaka 2 hana 2 āvaraṇāni hūm phaṭ//
Om bhrūm sara 2 prasara 2 āva- {15v.5} ranāni hūm phaṭ//
Om hana 2 sarvāvaraṇāni hūm phaṭ//
Om hūm sarvvavaraṇāni hūm phaṭ//
{15v.6} Om troṭa 2 sarvāvaraṇāni hūm phaṭ//
Om chinda 2 sarvāvaraṇāni hūm phaṭ//
Om daha 2 sarvanaraka gati {15v.7} hetun hūm phaṭ//

¹⁴⁴⁰ *tām*] *tām* here is kind, a counter.

¹⁴⁴¹ *pañcaśāliyāgu...*] Text is blacked out but mostly legible. *ponakā* not *pātakā*, to make empty.

¹⁴⁴² *oātaka*] equivalent to *vātaka*

¹⁴⁴³ *n̄haone*] for *nheone*.

¹⁴⁴⁴ *boye*] decorate/display, here probably on top of the *dema* plate. Exhibiting/making up the ratnamaṇḍala on the *dema* plate and doing *pūjā*.

¹⁴⁴⁵ *bone*] *bone* appearing again, but not with *bhav*

¹⁴⁴⁶ *dohape*] see dictionary entry for *doharape*, to dedicate/offer.

¹⁴⁴⁷ *tāye*] for *tāy*

¹⁴⁴⁸ *hāmo*] for *hāmvaḥ*

Om̐ paca 2 sarvapretagatihetun hūm̐ phat̐//
Om̐ matha 2 sarvatiryyaggatihetun hūm̐ phat̐

Utkrānti yāye¹⁴⁴⁹

{16r.1} // // thanaṃli · utkrānti joga dhāye · phvāgyawā¹⁴⁵⁰ yāye// //
nhāpāṃ ākāśasa · nhāpā dhyāna {16r.2} yānāthyaṃ · samastaṃ devatā kramathyaṃ ·
bijyācake¹⁴⁵¹ · mṛtakayā prāṇavāyū · barobara¹⁴⁵² thatakvata yānā- {16r.3} o · līna yāye ·
lāmāyā mathanaṃ · sapalāt bone samastaṃ · dhyāna durgu¹⁴⁵³ saphulī svayā

{16r.4} thanaṃli ##cakra##¹⁴⁵⁴ mata chāyeke śraddā duthya hanaṃ kvajipi jukosenam̐ ·
daṇḍa-ota · pañca- {16r.5} praṇāma yātake//

thanaṃli · cakra pūjā¹⁴⁵⁵ maṇḍala thile · ki tane · sagmaṃ · mohanī chā- {16r.6} ye · dakṣiṇā
pūjā// degu samaca chāye · bāhi lahiye · devatāo · aṣṭa śmaśāna nandā bali {16r.7}
mṛtakayāta mātra · meva suyātaṃ mu mvāla · samaca bhatica chāye// visarjjana yāye ·
pañcaśā {16v.1} li · aṣṭaśmaśāna · nandā bali · samastaṃ dhvaye · bali oye · paṃcaśāli
samastaṃ · balisa taye {16v.2} thāna luṣusa oāke · pikhā luṣusa oāke · samastaṃ sucuke
dhusyaṃli ^maṇḍala chagu anantaṃ taye · dhvaya mo¹⁴⁵⁶// //

[Homa]

thanaṃli ho- {16v.3} ma yāyeta thākalape¹⁴⁵⁷ // kaci bheota gva 2 paṃcasūtrakā · kūmhakāṃ
hine · caṣa ṣi- {16v.4} patanaṃ hine// kaci apā nipā lāye// aṣṭadala padma cosyāṃ · dathusa ·
bheota {16v.5} taye · vrihī tā dakva boye//

kundhā kalaśa · dathusa taye · jaokhaosa · apacā gva {16v.6} 4 svane · sagmaṃ dhaupati ·
thāpiṃ gva 1 samādhi bau¹⁴⁵⁸ guru maṇḍala · paṃcagavya pātra · mata · gaṇeśa · {16v.7}

¹⁴⁴⁹ utkrānti yāye] Text written along left margin.

¹⁴⁵⁰ phvāgyawā] Written in ms *vphāgyav.ā*, with typical v-ph metathesis, then the v is written with a dot under it to indicate w (Kashinath Tamot). Attempt at phonetic rendering of 'pho ba.

¹⁴⁵¹ bijyāye -> caus: bijyācake, gods should be made present – invited. (aux. to do, high grade honorific). However also in dictionary under the entry *bicake* ("to welcome") etm. viyaya n. yacake – "to bring down the deity"

¹⁴⁵² barobara] Meaning uncertain; appears in dictionary, but only in a sentence I am unsure of. Sarbagya Bajracharya suggests "regularly" and Kashinath Tamot suggests "symbolically."

¹⁴⁵³ durgu] for daya-gu

¹⁴⁵⁴ The *cakra* is darkened with highlighting or marked out.

¹⁴⁵⁵ *cakra pūjā*] em., ms: *cākra*.

¹⁴⁵⁶ According to Kashinath Tamot – this suggests Kathmandu source because of the language—o ending being more characteristic of Kathmandu.

¹⁴⁵⁷ *thākalape*] for *thāpalape* - *thāparape*, to establish (from Skt. *sthāpana*).

¹⁴⁵⁸ *bau*] variant for *bali*. Gellner notes that *bau* sometimes means specifically *not* the dough cone *goja* implied by most *bali* spirit offerings, but rather, within large complex rituals, it may refer to blood and flesh offerings. See Gellner, *Monk Householder, Tantric Priest*, 149. However, in Gutschow and Michaels, *bau* is defined as "offering to the spirits; either husked rice with turmeric or rice husk with red pepper (*Handling Death*, 211).

mahākāla · gvārā ni gvārā svane · khāyuvaiśi siyāgu · khadga 1 daṇḍa 1 svane · hanam
khāyuvaiśi- { 17r.1 } yāgu · vajra · gaṇṭha · sulupā · catvā dayake · khata dayeke biye//

mhasakhā pā 5 tuphi kacā 5 kusu- { 17r.2 } bu · paṃca-pallava thu · paṃca-vṛhi · paṃcāmṛta ·
kisali samastaṀ · kalaśa pattiṃ taye// hanam bheotayāṀ { 17r.3 } pine · aṣṭaśmaśāna bali ·
dvo gva 8 gvaḍajā samastaṀ thāpanāṃ yāye// //

{ 17r.4 } thana tṛpyati vastranam pusyaṀ · mitayumhanam pūjābha saṀkalpa yāye//

antakrīyā ś- { 17r.5 } maśāna yajña homa pūjanarthaṀ · sarvadurgati mocanārtham · satagāti
mārga phala prāpte- { 17r.6 } rtham// //

thanaṃli gurumaṇḍala · paṃcagavya · sinha taye · maṇḍala thile · ki tane śatākṣara vi-
{ 17r.7 } sarjjana//

thanaṃli durgatipariśo[dha]na¹⁴⁵⁹ samādhi yāye · samādhibali// //
hanam kuṀdhā { 17v.1 } apacā · sagha dhaupati · gaṇe[śa] · mahākāla · ^khadga · daṇḍa¹⁴⁶⁰ ·
thāpiṃ · mata · vidhithyam pūjā// //

thanaṃli khāyu- { 17v.2 } vaiśi siyāgu¹⁴⁶¹ · catvānam · bheotayā · dhathusa ādhiṣṭhāna yāye ·
Om vajrasatva āḥ ^svasti luyakam kuśa sthāpanā¹⁴⁶²// pūjā yāya// { 17v.3 }

hanam svasi juosām · khāyuvaiśiyā si julasām pūjā yāye · bheotasa taye kā 32 { 17v.4 } pūjā//
hanam cahoma cyātake · vrihī duye pūjā//

hanam siṃta pvā cyāke · vākya uthyaṀ { 17v.5 } jajñasa agnithāpana · pūjā · prathamāhuti ·
jñanāhuti · deva[^]tā maṇḍala[^]pūjā · devatāhuti//

{ 17v.6 } thanaṃli mṛtakayā śirasa · vajranam thiyekam taye · japa chajā yāye mantra//

Om jvaṃ vaṃ jaṃ jvāṃ lāṃ naṃ { 17v.7 } *lāṃ kkaṃ hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ* 3// //
(equivalent to=*Om vajrajvālānalārka hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ*)

mṛtakayāta bhāvanā · nyāśa yāke¹⁴⁶³

¹⁴⁵⁹ Similarity of dha and śa make it likely that this is a case of haplography (error of omission).

¹⁴⁶⁰ ^...^ text inserted from the top margin.

¹⁴⁶¹ *khāyuvaiśi siyāgu*] Although this looks like a dittograph considering that just below it says *khāyuvaiśiyā*, possibly intended as simply *khāyuvaiśiyāgu* in the first case. However, Kashinath Tamot suggests this is not the case, and the repetition of the *si*, meaning wood, is intentional, and makes the precise meaning of *khāyuvaiśi siyāgu* to be "wood (si) of the *khāyuvai* tree (si)." The tree variety is listed in the UK dictionary under the spelling *khāibaḥsi*, translated as the China-berry tree, *Melia azederach*.

¹⁴⁶² Inserted from margin.

¹⁴⁶³ *mṛtakayāta bhāvanā · nyāśa yāke*] Title on margin, appears on 18r (i.e. after *bhāvanā yānāo*, below in this transcription).

thanaṃli mṛtakayā · śirasā · jñanasatva rūpa bhāvanā yānāo · ##ā- {18r.1} karṣana jaḥ hūṃ
vaṃ hoḥ//##¹⁴⁶⁴ svāna chaphola tasyaṃ bhāvanā bone//

tato vajrapaṃjalābhyantareṣva · [vāyujvalana]- {18r.2} jalo[r]vī¹⁴⁶⁵ · sumerupari ·
kūtāgārasya madhya · pītāṣṭārarakre · siṃhāśanopari · śrī śākyamuni bhaga- {18r.3} vān ·
mahāvairocana · suvarṇavarṇa dhṛta · dharmmacakra mudrā · sarvālaṃkārabhūṣitaṃ
dedīpya- {18r.4} mānaṃ¹⁴⁶⁶ bhāvayet//

jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ//

hanaṃ mṛtakayā śirasa svāna boye vākye//

Om mṛtakāye svā {18r.5} hā//

Om samasatva rūpāye svāhā//

Om sarvapāpaviśodhana vajra hūṃ phaṭ svāhā//

paṃcopacā {18r.6} ra pūjā · tāya akṣetanaṃ hole// //

thanaṃli bhūta nyāśa dhāye · mṛtakayāta khaṭaṃga nyāśa vākye//

{18r.7} Om kṣim · mikhā nikhyaṃ¹⁴⁶⁷//

jom · nhasapanā nikhyaṃ¹⁴⁶⁸//

kham · nhāsa//

gam · mhutu me//

skam · kapāla//

śam · hṛdaye nugāṃ//

{18v.1} hūṃ sarvāṃgasa · vajranaṃ thiye// //

snāna yātake

thanaṃli · dhūpa · nīrāṃjana · tācā · mata phaṃ toyē// //

{18v.2} hanaṃ s[nā]na yāke¹⁴⁶⁹ vākye//

Om jat maṅgalaṃ ty ādi X//

¹⁴⁶⁴ This section darkened in manuscript, either formerly highlighted with different ink that has darkened, or else crossed out.

¹⁴⁶⁵ Ms reads *nala jalovī*, the *nala* most likely due to metathesis of the *lana* in *jvalana*.

¹⁴⁶⁶ The *dedīpyamānaṃ* does not appear in the *NSP* instead.

¹⁴⁶⁷ *niṣyaṃ*] ms. reads *nikhyaṃ* (common spelling change)

¹⁴⁶⁸ *niṣyaṃ*] ms. reads *nikhyaṃ*. (common spelling change)

¹⁴⁶⁹ Ms. reads *sanāna yāke*, which is a result of *svrabhakti* inversion. Kashinath Tamot notes that *yātake* is an older form and *yāke* the younger, but both are causative.

Om namo bhagavate · sarvadurgati · pariśodhana {18v.3}rājāye · tathāgatāyārhatē · samyaksambuddhāye// tad yathā// Om śodhane 2 sarvapāpavi- {18v.4}śodhane · śuddhe viśuddhe · sarvakarmmāvaraṇāni viśuddhe svāhā//

gati śodhana mantra//

{18v.5} Om kaṃkani 2 rocani 2 trocani¹⁴⁷⁰ 2 samtrāśini 2 pratihata · hara 2 sarvakarmmāvaraṇa {18v.6}viśodhane svāhā//

Om ratna 2 mahāratne · ratnasambhave · ratnāṃkiraṇē · ratnamālāviśuddhe · śo {18v.7}dhaye 2 sarvapāpān hūm phat//

Om padme 2 mahāpadme · padmodbhave · padmasambhave · sukhāvatyāṃ lokadhā {19r.1}tu gachantu svāhā// .

Om amoghāṃ pratihata hara 2 sarvakleśopakleśa kṣayaṃkari sarvasattvānāṃ ca hūm {19r.2}phaṭ svāhā//

śaMkha laṃkha taye//

Om puṇya 2 mahāpuṇya aparamitapuṇya aparimtāyu puṇya jña- {19r.3}nasaMbhāropacitte

Om sarvasa[m]skāra pariśuddhe · dharmate · gagaṇa samu[d]gate · svabhāva viśu {19r.4}ddhe · mahāne parivāre svāhā//

nhasakaṃ kene//

Om pratibimbu samādharmā ākṣāsuddhā hy {19r.5} [a]nāviraṅ // agrāhyānanabhirāpyās ca · hetukarmmasamudbhavaṃ¹⁴⁷¹ //

snāna laṃkhanāṃ hāye vākya

{19r.6} Om āḥ sarvatathāgatābhiṣeka · samaśriye hūm// //

dhā maṇḍala: ceta · jajaṃkā svāna chāye · sama- {19r.7}ye · dhālā · mata// //

¹⁴⁷⁰ *trocani*] SDP: appears once (42b) as *troṭani* in Tib B/Sanskrit. *trocani* appears in Tib A in some manuscripts, after 28a (Skorupski, SDP, 162 n.14).

¹⁴⁷¹ This is the standard verse associated with the mirror consecration (*darpaṇābhiṣeka*) and is also used in daily worship of a monastery (see Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, 161). In the *Vajrāvalī* the most relevant appearance of the verse is within the mirror consecration (*darpaṇābhiṣeka*) (Mori, 438; 612 n.1). It also occurs in the section on the entry of the teacher (*ācāryapraveśa*). VĀ: *pratibimbamā dharmā acchāḥ śuddhā hy anāviraṅ // agrāhyā anabhiṣyās ca hetukarmmasamudbhavāḥ // 8 //* (Mori (edition), 390). Mori also cites the Tibetan, based on the MVAS (TTP No. 126, vol. 5.249.3.4-5): *chos rnam gzugs brnyan lta bu ste// rang (D dang) zhing dag la rnyog pa med// gzung du med cing brjod du med// rgyu dang las las byun ba ste//* It also appears in the *Ācāryakriyasamuccaya*, *Sarvavajrodaya*, *GST maṇḍala vidhi*, and elsewhere (though not usually as a mantra). However it does not appear in the SDP.

puṣpa nyāsa¹⁴⁷²

thanamli puṣpaṃ nyāsa vākya//

Oṃ mune 2 mahāmune svāhā//
 Oṃ vajroṣṇīṣā {19v.1}ye svāhā//
 Oṃ ratnoṣṇīṣāye svāhā//
 Oṃ padmoṣṇīṣāya svāhā//
 Oṃ viśvoṣṇīṣāya svāhā//
 Oṃ te{19v.2}joṣṇīṣāya svāhā//
 Oṃ dhvajoṣṇīṣāya svāhā//
 Oṃ tīkṣṇoṣṇīṣāya svāhā//
 Oṃ chatroṣṇīṣāya svā{19v.3}hā//
 Oṃ lāśyāyai svāhā//
 Oṃ mālāyai svāhā//
 Oṃ gītāyai svāhā//
 Oṃ nṛtyāyai svāhā//
 Oṃ {19v.4} maitrīyāye svāhā//
 Oṃ amoghadarśine svāhā//
 Oṃ sarvāśokaṭamāya svāhā//
 Oṃ gandha-{19v.5}hastine svāhā//
 Oṃ suraṃgame svāhā//
 Oṃ gagaṇagaṃjāya svāhā//
 Oṃ jñānaketu svāhā// {19v.6}
 Oṃ amṛtaprabhāya svāhā//
 Oṃ candraprabhāya svāhā//
 Oṃ bhadrapālāya svāhā//
 Oṃ jālinīprabhāye svāhā//
 Oṃ vajragarbhāya svāhā//
 Oṃ akṣayamatīye svāhā//
 Oṃ pratibhānakūtāye svāhā//
 Oṃ samanta-{20r.1}bhadre svāhā//
 Oṃ vajrapāṇāya svāhā//¹⁴⁷³ //

PAṂ LĀ GHAM STU//

Oṃ vidhūta-sarvvasamkalpa · bhāvābhāvā-{20r.2}vivarjitaṃ// śākyasiṃhaṃ namas kṛtvā ·
 śuddhaṃ prakṛtīnīrmalaṃ// //

¹⁴⁷² The placement for this label with regard to the text is somewhat unclear. It is written on 19r, but whether it applies before *dhā maṇḍala*, etc. is uncertain.

¹⁴⁷³ This, the inclusion of Vajrapāṇi, is not found in similar *SDP* lists. To reach the 37 deities of the primary *SDP maṇḍala*, one would have to exclude Vajrapāṇi and include the four other offering goddesses ((vajra)puṣpā, dhūpā, āvalokitā/dīpā, gandhā), and the four gatekeepers ((vajra)aṅkuśa, pāśa, sphoṭa, āveśa).

jajñasa kravyāgni bhāvanā¹⁴⁷⁴

thanamli kravyāgni bhāvanā · ja-{20r.3}jñesa svāna cha-phola taye//

tatra jvalitāgni madhye · pītavarṇa · ekamukhaṃ · caturbhu-{20r.4}jām ·
khadgakuṇḍikākṣamālāṃ · tridaṇḍī · piṅglordvakeśaṃ · jaṭā mukuṭaṃ evaṃ bhūtāṃ · kravyā-
{20r.5}gni-devatāṃ bhāvayet//¹⁴⁷⁵

vrihī duye ^japaṃ^ nivāsisa ghela tasyaM duye ·

Om kravyāgnaye svāhā//{20r.6}

paṃcopacāra pūjā stuti//

tyaktvāṃṛtyu mahāghorā · tyuktvā vaittaraṇīnadī// tyuktvā vaimānasaM {20r.7} jātāṃ · taṃ
buddhaṃ praṇamāmy ahaṃ// narakāṃ tiryyak yoniś ca · preta dev-āsura narā// uttīrṇa?¹⁴⁷⁶
bhavakāntā-{20v.1}raṃ tvaṃ buddhaṃ praṇamāmy ahaṃ¹⁴⁷⁷//

tarppaṇa// //

thanamli āhuti biye jāpa chajā//

Om kravyāgnaye {20v.2} svāhā//

vrihi duye · ghela duye vākya uthyaṃ// sūlāpata mṛtakayāta ani yātake// //

aṣṭaśmaśāna bali biye¹⁴⁷⁸

thanam-{20v.3}li · aṣṭaśmaśāna bali biye · vidhithyaṃ pūjā// pīṭhadi pūjā · maṇḍala thile · ki
{20v.4} gva tine · pūrṇā yāye · pūrṇahuti · jajña rakṣā kāye mumvāla// vrihi dakvaM bhāti 2
le-{20v.5}nake mā · dipasa yaneta// śatākṣara · kṣamārpana · āśirvāda// saghaM taye · citta
pūjā//{20v.6} dakṣiṇā// śeṣāhu yāye mvā · dipasa yāyegu// maṇḍala visarjana · kuṇḍhā ·
apacā chakhe taye// {20v.7} bali dakvaṃ · thāna luṣusa · pikhā luṣusa oke//

¹⁴⁷⁴ Title along left margin.

¹⁴⁷⁵ Closest parallel I have located to this (though still not identical) comes from the *Kriyāsaṃgraha*, chapter 6: 6-7-5 Causing jñānāgni to enter samayāgni (etext heading): **tatra jvalitāgnimadhye** paṃkārajapadmam ālambya, tadupari raṃjātāgnimaṇḍale rūkārodbhavapītavarṇam **ekamukhaṃ caturbhūjam** vāme daṇḍakamaṇḍalūdharaṃ savyavaradākṣamālādharmaṃ pītāmbarābharaṇayajñopavitinaṃ trinetraṃ **jatāmakuta**dhāriṇaṃ vajrasattvālamkṛtamaulinaṃ samayāgniṃ vibhāvya

¹⁴⁷⁶ Text unclear; however, the phrase appears in the *Piṇḍa vidhāna*, where it is *uttīrṇa*.

¹⁴⁷⁷ The *Piṇḍa vidhāna* contains a similar passage: *trptvānamastu mahāghorā trptvā vaittaraṇī nadī// trptvāyā manasaṃbuddhaṃ praṇamāmyahaṃ// nīlayā tīryakaścaiva preta deva surānarā// utīrṇa bhava kāntāraṃ tvaṃbuddhaṃ praṇamāmyahaṃ//* (Corrections not made on this basis due to the errors that also appear in the edition of the *Piṇḍa vidhāna* available to me.)

¹⁴⁷⁸ Title along left side.

jajñe yānāgu · mi ma syāsye anantum tayā taye

[Day 2]

{21r.1} thanamli phakva · cākamata choyeke// mṛtakayā khvāla · toka pusyaM taye//
thanamli jahānapim saka- {21r.2} lasenam · vairāga¹⁴⁷⁹ dhāye · khoyagu julo// thuti rātriyā
kriyā jula// * // * //

satiṣunu · sitham yaneta

{21r.3} thanamli satiṣunu · sithana yaneyāta · samastam mālako tāla lātaka// mṛtakayā nheo-
{21r.4} ne sauva thile · pulu cha pātasa · phe katuke · šala ule · kapālasa · kva · cikam ·
pramāna yāye {21r.5} jātanam · kopuyeke · mhutusa · paṃcaratna · kheja-nā tāye · khvalācā
cha gvalanam puye · kāpatam bhū- {21r.6} ne · jaom · khaom kāpatayā bhūlisa · valāka suye ·
mulu chelasa tiye// pauganam tokapu- {21r.7} ye · vālāgu · koyecim · tāsa · tini khāpanam ·
toka puye · svāna mālānaM · kokhāyakāo taye// dhau vo 4 {21v.1} taye · chāsasa osa oāke//
//

thanamli khata · pikhālakhusa tayā · mālako chāyape · chatra · dhvaja {21v.2} pratāpa ·
cāmala · aṣtamamgala · catur-mahārāja · paṃca-vatkala khatasa ghāye · svāna mālā · taye ·
sama- {21v.3} stam tayār yāye · pāṣākum thane mvā · ganam 2 pāṣākum thanā yanadu · mipu
sālāyāvo · jajña {21v.4} yānāgu · bhegvata yanegu ·

thanamli mṛtaka kvata hayā · khatasa tasyaM ^jaosa · khadga · depāsa · daṇḍa taye^ anega
bājana · kāhā · {21v.5} pula 2 dayakaM gurupanisena · mārḡā śodhana pāṭha yānāo utsava
yāsyam · sithana yane //

{21v.6} mitayumhanam · kumdhā hāyake · meva thākāli noko · jahānapanisena · aṃpayāgu
laṃkha dhārā hāyake · laṃ- {21v.7} co chapā 2 toye mā//

hanam dipasa · nhāpā lātakakam · kaci apā 80 yane · gukāsi 9 taneke · oyām nhe- {22r.1} one ·
jajñasālā dane · hanam jajñasālām nisyam · 3.5¹⁴⁸⁰ utayā · vyā ku 2 tayā · apāta svātakaM ·
jajñayā pramānam da- {22r.2} nā yane cakha khipa · kumhakā pasukām hinā taye ·
bhegatayāgu · cahom yānāo tayegu · vṛhitā samastam boyā {22r.3} taye// //

thanamli mṛtakayāgu · khata gukāsiyā deone taye// oāhāpim¹⁴⁸¹ · khataku vū- {22r.4} pim ·
ṣoyāompim¹⁴⁸² sakalasanam mṛtakayāta · laṃkha tonake · // mitayumhayāta · lana tota-
{22r.5} kāo · ṣusisa · ṣvālasike · molappāke thāhā oyāo · pūjābhala · saMkalpa yātaka//

¹⁴⁷⁹ *vairāga*] derived from *viraha* (grief).

¹⁴⁸⁰ 3.5] notation 3X

¹⁴⁸¹ *oāhāpim*] those who went, formed from "to go" but personalized and plural.

¹⁴⁸² *ṣoyāompim*] *khoyāompim* - *khvaye* to weep or lament.

*mṛ-}{22r.6}taka saṁhārāgni śmaśāna homa pūjā nimmerthaM mṛtakasya durgati
mocaṅārthaM sukhāvati bhūvana prāpte-}{22r.7}rthaM//*

gurunam · nāsa dhyāna yānāo · gurumaṅḍala dane// kuMdhā kalaśa apacā dakvaM mṛtakayā
lione svane {22v.1} sagham dhaupati taye mvā · // //

thanaṁli · upādhyānam · mṛtakayā nheone · jio thāsa · philāye mitayumha- {22v.2} nam · liko
kilā yātake · gurumaṅḍala · kuśaputrikā pu chi svāye · pūjā · kusā lapate · lāye · pāmaka saM-
{22v.3} kalpa yāye//

kākaṁḍa · thao depāsa tayake svānapinḍa jaosa taye pretapinḍa thaye mvā {22v.4} ni gva
mātra thayam gāka// vidhithyaM pūjā yāye//

thanaṁli pāmaka jonakaM · mṛtakayāta chacā- {22v.5} ke uyakam · takṣāke¹⁴⁸³ nheone//
hanaṁ ##ku[xx] gurunam##¹⁴⁸⁴ guruyā · samādhi dhusyaṁli · kuṁdhāra {22v.6} apacā pūjā
^yāyeta^ lamkha dhārā hāyeku-piṁ nhyāma-syena julasam thākāli yānā pūjā yānā taye
jyu¹⁴⁸⁵ .

thanaṁli {22v.7} svasi pūjā yāsyāM ^jajñasa tane · pūjā · cahona¹⁴⁸⁶ cyātake¹⁴⁸⁷ kaci
bheotasa taye · pūjā · hanaṁ siṁta-pvā cyātakāo · vākya yāsyāM · mitayumhayāta {23r.1}
lao lhāye · mṛtakayāta chacāka uyakāo bheotasa mi tayeke ^jajñasa mi tayake¹⁴⁸⁸ .
vidhithyam pūjā// //

thanaṁli mṛtaka- {23r.2} yāta · svāna chaphola tasyaM bhāvanā · //

Om svabhāva śuddhā sarvadharmānām · svabhāva śuddho haM//
ātmānam · śrīdurga- {23r.3} tipariśodhanamaṅḍalaM bhāvayet//

vidhithyaM pūjā · vrihī tā duye · khāyuvaisiyā sulupā- {23r.4} tasa · ghela tasyaM ·
kravyāgnā-āhuti pūre 2 svāhā PAṀ · LĀM · GHAM · STU · TA//

thanaṁli mulācāryya danā {23r.5} o · mṛtakayā nheone conāo · vajraghaṅṭha josyaM ·
paMcatathāgatayāgu · mudrā kayāo kene {23r.6} phusasaM · pyagu digasam · thāna patim ·
nā-mha tathāgatayāgu mudrā kayā kene// hanaṁ thaogu āśramasa oyā {23r.7} japa chajā
yāye · paṁcaviṁśati tatvajñana · ākāśasa sthāpanā yāsyāM//

¹⁴⁸³ Ms. reads *takṣāke*, for *tachyāke*, to break- *tachyāye*.

¹⁴⁸⁴ *ku[xx] gurunam* is darkened in the ms. First word is difficult to make out, possible: kuṅ- (maybe *kundhara* *apa* (to emphasize) as is written later (Kashinath Tamot, personal communication).

¹⁴⁸⁵ *taye jyu* – this expression unclear

¹⁴⁸⁶ *cahona*] for *cahoma*

¹⁴⁸⁷ Inserted from margin. Compare with 17v.4: *hanaṁ svasi juosam · khāyuvaisiyā si julasam pūjā yāye · bheotasa taye kā 32 {17v.4} pūjā// hanaṁ cahoma cyātake · vrihī duye pūjā//* See translation footnote for this as well, and Chapter Three discussion.

¹⁴⁸⁸ *bheotasa mi tayeke ^jajñasa mi tayake^*] *bheotasa...tayeke* is underlined, with *jajñasa...tayeke* written above, as though a clarification. (There is no *kākapāda*.) See Chapter Three.

Om mune 2 mahāmune svāhā// //

{23v.1} thanaṃli · kvayeciṃ · deom · tayā hayāgu · li kāye · kalaśābhiṣeka · nā-mhasenaṃ
mṛtakayā śīrasa cha tulu taya {23v.2} tonake vākya//

Om amṛte 2 amṛtodbhave · amṛtavikrānta gāmine svadhā hūm// pola 3// //

thanaṃ {23v.3} nā-mhasenaṃ laṃkha dhārā hāyakaM mṛtakayāta cāka uyeke 3//
hanaṃ piṇḍa thayā thāsa · laṃ- {23v.4} kha dhārā 3 dhā tayāo nhāpāyā thāsasaM taye//
kvajipiṃ jukosenaṃ · mṛtakayāta · ani yā- {23v.5} ye// ^maṇḍala thile^ thanaṃli pūrṇa yāye ·
samastaM duye ·
kravyāgnaye svāhā//

PAṂ · LĀṂ · GHAM · STU · TA//

maṇḍala {23v.6} dhvaye// //

thanaṃli · mipu sālā bhājaṃ tayā haosā · tipvāta cyātake · mahosā · cahoma jajñesa · ti-
{23v.7} pvāta cyātake · svacāka uyakaM · mi tayake//

amukā divaṃgatasya saṃhārāgnaye svadhā hūm//

chelasa {24r.1} mi tayāo mṛtakayā nheone taye · jajñe kuṇḍalayāgu mi cyātakāo · saṃhāra
yāye//

thanaṃli śeṣā {24r.2} -huti · dakkaṃ duye · sulupā catvā · vajraghaMṭha samastaM duyā
choye · visarjana yānāo · ṣusisa one · ko sva- {24r.3} syaM mola hluye · sakasyaM mikhā
piye// lihāo · pikhālaṣusa · baliṃ piye ikā {24r.4} prakā muyake · tācā jonakaM · duta yane//
//

iti antakryā jalāgni¹⁴⁸⁹ saskāra vidhi {24r.5} julo// ❀

kvaca nau tokapuyā tathya¹⁴⁹⁰

// thanaṃli · mṛtaka jīrṇa jusyaMli · sāhā 2 pattimyāgu · kvoca a- {24r.6} sti kāyāo haye ·
bhīna thāsasa taye¹⁴⁹¹ // vākī kvacaṃ · nau dakva dvo munāo · atapāṃ bhunāo · caityuyā
{24r.7} ākāra yānāo · tokapuyāo tathye// //

svanhu ṣunu maṇḍala coye asti¹⁴⁹² sile¹⁴⁹³

¹⁴⁸⁹ There is an apparent correction or smudging but the nature of the change is not clear.

¹⁴⁹⁰ Title on manuscript along left margin.

¹⁴⁹¹ Possible *thāsasa taye* or *thāsa sataye* (where *sataye* = *satye*, but see also Kölver (1994) *satiye* = *near*)

¹⁴⁹² Listed in the catalogue entry list of headings as *prasti*, which seems to be incorrect (Lienhard, *Catalogue*, 90-91).

¹⁴⁹³ Title on manuscript located along left margin.

thanaṃli mṛtaka juogu svanhu ṣunu · durgatipariśodhana {24v.1} maṇḍala coye · lu · oha pale · paṃcaratna · lu caki laṭi 12 oha caki maṃsa 16 dathusa tasyaṃ · maṇḍa- {24v.2} la thāpanā yāye · paṃca-vṛhīnaṃ · cāka uyake · tadu kalaśa · sahaja kalaśa · sagha dhaupati · mata · paṃ- {24v.3} cagavya · pātra ^thāpiṃ^ bālipāta 1 asthi gvacā samastaṀ thāpanā yāye// //

asthi si- {24v.4} lī-mha mhyāca-mucā thākāli yāsyāṀ pūjā// sūryyārgha · pūjābha. saṃkalpa nimitta//

{24v.5} tritīye divase · maṇḍalādhivāsana · asthi prakṣālana pūjā nimittiyarthaṀ · divaṃ- {24v.6} gatasya · durgatimocanārthaṀ · sukhāvatī bhuvana prāpterthaṀ// //

gurumaṇḍala · paṃcagavya {24v.7} sinha taye · maṇḍala thile · ki tane · visarjana// // durgati · pariśodhana samādhi yāye// {25r.1} kalaśa · saghaṃ · mata · thāpiṃ pūjā · tadu kalaśa pratimā-devatā pūjā vidhithyaṀ// //

thanaṃli {25r.2} asti sile vidhi vidhānathyaṃ pūjā · maṇḍalasaṃ¹⁴⁹⁴ · vidhithyaṃ pūjā// //

thanaṃli pyanhu ṣunu {25r.3} bhaśma-śānta kriyā yāyeta · dipasa · guruo mitaomha · bhariyā sametaṃ vane · cāyā- {25r.4} gu kalaśa gvacā gva 1 thāpanā · saghaṃ dhaupati mvā · gurumaṇḍala · samādhi yāye//

{25r.5} kalaśa pūjā · nau dosa¹⁴⁹⁵ pūjā yāye// visarjana yānāo · atapā dakvaṃ polāo {25r.6} chakhe choye · nau dakoṃ munāo · mhalu thaye sāhāsāhāyāgu · koca kayāo · sāhā- {25r.7} sāhāpattiṃ taye · paṃcaratna mhutusa taye · kau gva 1 mhutusa taye · hathaṀ gva 2 mikhā chaye//

{25v.1} ikā · pakā tāy kṣānāo¹⁴⁹⁶ · bhaśma tāḍana yāye mantra//

Om amukasya · sarvapāpadahana vajrā- {25v.2} ya hūm phaṭ// dhā 108 //

paṃcopacāra pūjā// maṇḍala thile · ki tane · śatākṣara · kṣamārpana {25v.3} visarjana · mālakā asti kāye//

bākī dakva · nau · kvoca dakvaṀ oyāo¹⁴⁹⁷ · sumhale- {25v.4} sa ^ta^yā¹⁴⁹⁸ tīrthasa yanāo · do cine · phinaṃ tokapūyāo · caitya dayeke · kau gva 1 {25v.5} mhutu chuke · hathaṃ gva 2

¹⁴⁹⁴ *maṇḍalasaṃ* – locative here, though the normal form of that would be *maṇḍalasa*.

¹⁴⁹⁵ *Do+sa* – pile, see the *dvo* earlier at {24r.6}; in Manandhar see *dvaṃ*, "a heap."

¹⁴⁹⁶ *tāy kṣānāo*] The *tāy* is slightly unclear in the script; *kṣānāo* may be *chyānāo*, mixture (Kashinath Tamot, personal communication).

¹⁴⁹⁷ *oyāo*] to glean or collect – see in Kölver under *vaṃye* (*vaṀye*), also in Sresthacharya (1981), *vaṃye*.

¹⁴⁹⁸ *sumhale-sa*] straw basked. Despite the similarity of the previously appearing *mhalu*, the form of a body, this is more likely related to *sumali* (Kölver, 1994), a basket, and perhaps *suchālimi* (Malla, 2000), a kind of basket. Sarbagya Bajracharya also said this is a straw basket (*su*= straw).

mikhā chuke lu oha pale · paṃcaratna dune taye guruma- {25v.6} ṇḍala dane · bhaśmeśvara
caitya pūjā yāye//

hanam pūo ki thanāgu¹⁴⁹⁹ · do¹⁵⁰⁰ gva 9 digvidigasa ta- {25v.7} ye · pūja-mālā¹⁵⁰¹ 9 taye · nao
nāga pūjā yai^{^^} [Nāga bhāvanā insert here-see boxed text below]^{^^} · vidhithyaM · argha biye
vākye// //

Oṃ namo ratna⁻¹⁵⁰²

(Marginal text to be inserted: *nāga bhāvanā*.)

^{^^}{25v.8} *nāga bhāvanā*//

*Oṃ jhaṭṭi sūnyatānantaram viśvāmbhoja karṇikāyāṃ madhya · vajravaruṇam · pūrve ananta
nīlaM {25v.9} dakṣiṇe padmam · paścime takṣeka uttare vāsuki iṣāne mahāpadma · agne
śaṃkhapāla · nairṭyuka kartika vāyuvye {25v.9, right margin cont'd:} kulikam · bahiś ca
sarve nāgānām vibhāvayet//^{^^}*

{26r.1} -trayāye// śrī navanāgarājāye namaḥ// //Oṃ¹⁵⁰³ ananta vāsukī · takṣaka ·
karkkoṭaka · padma · mahāpa{26r.2}dma · śaMkhapāla · kulika · varuṇapāla¹⁵⁰⁴ · devatī ·
mahādevatī · somaśikhi · mahāśikhi · daṇḍadhara{26r.3} mahādaṇḍadhara · apalāla · huru 2
nandopananda¹⁵⁰⁵ · sāgāra · mahāsāgara · anavatapta{26r.4} mahātapta · śrīkānti ·
mahākānti¹⁵⁰⁶ · surūpa mahāsurūpa¹⁵⁰⁷ · mahodara¹⁵⁰⁸ · āgaccha **gaccha**{26r.5}
mahānāgādhipati bhurbhuva sva · amuka-divaṃgatasya · durgatimārga viśodhanārthaM
{26r.6} sugatimārga · sukhāvātīm bhuvana prāpterthaṃ śrī varuṇādi navanāgarājāya-
caraṇa-kamalāya {26r.7} argham praticcha svāhā//

śaṅka pūjā// //

thanamli · guruo · jajomānam · svāna kāsyaM caitya {26v.1} thiyāo cone · vairocanayāgu ·
dhāraṇī bone dhā 21// //

¹⁴⁹⁹ *thanāgu*] which was kept (see Malla (2000): *thānāgu*, mod. *thaṃgu*, related to *duthānāgu*-inserted, kept inside).

¹⁵⁰⁰ *do*] see the *dvo* earlier at {24r.6} and *do* at {25r.5, 25v.4}, Manandhar dictionary under *dvaṃ*, "a heap."

¹⁵⁰¹ *pūja-mālā*] garland of tufted cotton, standard part of *nāga pūjā*. See Malla, 2000: *pūja* (not *pūjā*): "a cotton roll (twisted cotton garland for *nāgapūjā*)...Mod. *puiñ*."

¹⁵⁰² End of line 7 continues on to following folio, 26r. However, the marginal inserted text continues below, on what I have here numbered as lines 25v.8 and 25v.9, which runs off to the side of the page as well.

¹⁵⁰³ From here parallel with *Vajrāvalī* (*Pratiṣṭhā* section) (*VvP*), and Padmaśrīmitra's *Maṇḍalopāyikā* (*PM*) with several differences up to *mahānāgādhipati* etc.

¹⁵⁰⁴ *varuṇapāla*] The *VvP* has only *kulika pāla devatī*. *PM* has *kulika śapāla*. In this script the ś and ṇ look somewhat similar, so it is possible that śa > ṇa (or vice versa). Then only unaccounted for is "varu." In the *PM*, this is under the heading "balimantraḥ". In the *VvP*, it is under a heading: 3. *Puṣkariṇīvāpikūpapraṭiṣṭhāvidhi*.

¹⁵⁰⁵ *apalāla · huru 2 nandopananda*] *VvP*: *apalālahuluṇḍa nandopananda*; *PM*: *apalāṅgalunda nandopananda*

¹⁵⁰⁶ *mahākānti*] *VvP*, *PM*: *mahākānti ratnakānti*

¹⁵⁰⁷ *mahāsurūpa*] *VvP*, *PM*: *mahāsurūpa bhadrādika*

¹⁵⁰⁸ *mahodara*] *VvP*, *PM*: *mahodara śīli mahāśīli oṃ*

thanamli · caitya pūjā vidhithyaM//{26v.2} maṇḍala thile · ki tane stotra// //

Oṃ mune 2 mahāmune svāhā//

*Oṃ vidhūta¹⁵⁰⁹ sarvasaṃkalpa · bhā{26v.3}vābhāva-vivarjitaṃ// śākyasiṃhaṃ namasyāmi
śuddhaṃ prakṛtinīrmaṇaṃ//*

megu stotra pha-{26v.4}ko bone//

śatākṣara · kṣamārpana · āśīrvāda visarjana · // mṛtaka ākāśa bhūvana-{26v.5}sa līna yāye ·
laṃkhaṇaṃ dhvakāo¹⁵¹⁰ · nau dakvaṃ cuyake//

Oṃ ghili 2 hūm jaḥ svāhā// //

{26v.6} thuti bhaśma pravāhana vidhi jula// //

thanamli rātrisa lokācāra phaye · maṇḍalasa phakva {26v.7} cākra mata choyake// //

[Fifth Day]¹⁵¹¹

(§) thanamli nanhu ṣunum vidhithyaM asti sile jula// //

[Seventh Day]¹⁵¹²

{27r.1} thanamli nhasanhu ṣunu · vidhithyaṃ asti sile · maṇḍala · asti gvapa tīrthasa taya
kala choye pūja-{27r.2}mālā tasyaM//¹⁵¹³

hanaṃ cāyā caitya dayakaM dune pañcaratna · tāy gva 5 akṣeta gva 5 asti dune taye//
{27r.3} pūja mālā tasyaM nāgu tīrthasa taye kala choye · gvakarṇa 1 guhyeśvarī 2 śāṅkhamo
3 {27r.4} teṣu-duhānaṃ 4 bhacā ṣusisa// //

thanamli nhasa vo kula 1 pramānaṃ jā thuye {27r.5} pāṣājāyāta kula chiyā jā thūye · nhasa//
tā 1 ketā taye// nhasa nhumā biye//

¹⁵⁰⁹ Parallel with *SDP samādhi* texts E1490-3 and B105-15 here, but only for a little while. See *Kriyāsaṃgraha* also.

¹⁵¹⁰ *dhvakāo*] See also the decommissioning of the *maṇḍala* (*dhvaye*) at 23v.6, the cleaning away of ritual materials (*dhvaye*), but not the *maṇḍala* (*dhvaya mo*) at 16v.1-2.

¹⁵¹¹ Text note of day in sequence not in manuscript.

¹⁵¹² Text note of day in sequence not in manuscript.

¹⁵¹³ Note: idea that *tayāgu* – sending off for depositing at the *tīrtha*. sending container to *tīrthas*, placing on containers the *pūja mālā*.

duḥ- {27r.6} kha benakela one · ṣusīsa · mola pyāke · sa khāye¹⁵¹⁴ · māma juosā · gvāca ·
mikhā-phusi khāye mā {27r.7} abuju · kakā julasā · gvāca mātra khānāṃ gāka// //

mo hluyeta nhāpām ātī · ava¹⁵¹⁵ hāmo · kvo- {27v.1} la cikaM · khau// thvate pramānanam
mola hluye gūrunam · śokavastra lao hlāye · paṃcagavya bi- {27v.2} biye¹⁵¹⁶ · śrī sūryyāyāta
laṃkha pāsala¹⁵¹⁷ hole · ki gvanam pūjā yāye · hanam guruyāta pādārgha {27v.3} kvaji mha
juosā · hastārgha laṃkha pāsala hole// paM̄cagavyena hāsyaM̄ · kṣe lihā o- {27v.4} ye//
onāgula cha thāsa hilā oye mā// pikhā lukhusa paM̄cagavya tote// gva-svāM̄ {27v.5} kāye//

grhe śuddha homa · mālasā · vihāra śuddha homa yāye · guruyāta · māla thā- {27v.6} sa ·
nhikaṃ bhaja mu · vastra lao hlāye · digu samaca · kalaśābhiṣeka · bhojana · kalaṃkha bali
{27v.7} oātaka · kriyā sagpakva¹⁵¹⁸ mukham śuddhi// //

jhinhuM̄ duḥkha benakegu julasā ugu¹⁵¹⁹ pramānaM̄ {28r.1} gr̄ha śuddha homa yāye māla//
//

thuti antakryā · śokaśaucanakriyā samāptaM̄// {28r.2} // //

thanamli phatasā · nāmha tathāgatayāgu · maṇḍala coye · maphatasā · akṣobhya ma-
{28r.3} ṇḍala chagu coye · akṣobhyayāgu · samādhi yāye · vidhi vidhānathyaM̄ · tadu
kalaśa {28r.4} sametaM̄ pūjā · devamaṇḍala pūjā · asti tāḍana pūjā nhāpā yathyaM̄ · cinha
dakvaM̄ {28r.5} astisa kenegu samastaM̄ saphulīsa coyā taothyāM̄ yāye//

hanam maṇḍala pūjā {28r.6} astipūjā¹⁵²⁰ yāyegu · svanhu ata · pūjā yāye · nhasa pola · nhu 21
nhu taka¹⁵²¹ yāye māla// maphata- {28r.7} sā nhasanhu yamkam · maṇḍala · astipūjā · phatasā ·
nāhma tathāgatayāgu dhāraṇī bonake// {28v.1} maphatasā¹⁵²² · akṣobhyayāgu dhāraṇī bonake
· phakva 1000/ 10,000/ 100,000/ samkhyā {28v.2} pramānanaM̄ · dhāraṇī bonake// * //

¹⁵¹⁴ *sa khāye*] *saṃ khāye*, to ritually shave the head (Kölver, 1994).

¹⁵¹⁵ *ava*] i.e. *aba* > *amba*, myrobalan fruit.

¹⁵¹⁶ *bi-biye*] with the line break, a dittography has occurred here, repeating the *bi-* syllable.

¹⁵¹⁷ *pāsala*] for *pāsala*

¹⁵¹⁸ Letter and parsing somewhat unclear, *kriyā sagpakva* or *gyakva*. However *sagpakva* for *supakva*, well-ripened, gives more plausible meaning for "having completed all the rituals" as suggested by Sarbagya Bajracharya.

¹⁵¹⁹ *ugu* normally "at that time," but *u* + suffix as an adjective can mean "the same" (Malla).

¹⁵²⁰ *astipūjā*] Lienhard catalogue adds anty: (*anty*)*astipūjā*. Starting here to end, transcribed in Lienhard catalogue (Lienhard, 90-91).

¹⁵²¹ 21 *nhu taka*] up to the point of 21 days.

¹⁵²² The Lienhard catalogue note for final lines seems to be incorrect here (Lienhard, 90-91).