



# Newsletter of the NGMCP, Number 6

Spring-Summer 2008

## Editorial

The sixth issue of the *Newsletter of the NGMCP*, which it is my pleasure to present herewith, is an occasion to introduce new things and to look forward, but also, even more importantly, an occasion to look back. To begin with the new: with this issue we will be starting a changed schedule, appearing with increased regularity but at a slower pace. From now onwards a *Newsletter* will be released twice yearly: a Spring-Summer issue and an Autumn-Winter one, with a minimum page-count of 24 per issue.

New are also two of the contributors to this issue, both young scholars who already have remarkable experience in working with Sanskrit manuscripts. Kazuo Kano, an assistant professor at Koyasan University in Japan, joins forces with Kengo Harimoto, of the NGMCP in Hamburg, to present an early manuscript fragment of an otherwise unknown commentary on the *Tattvasaṅgraha* of Śāntarākṣita. Identified some twenty years by Prof. Kazunobu Matsuda, the well-known ‘manuscript-hunter’, this fragment has never before been studied in detail or published. Here Harimoto and Kano edit and translate the first of two surviving folios, with material which they show to be important for our understanding of the history of the Sāṃkhya system. A similar study of the second folio is forthcoming in a future *Newsletter* issue.

The second contributor whom we welcome for the first time in this issue is Péter-Dániel Szántó, who holds MA degrees in Tibetology and Indology from ELTE University, Budapest, and is at present a doctoral student in Oxford University. Szántó presents a pioneering study of a group of texts which deal with initiation into the *Catuspīṭha*, a major, but virtually unstudied, tantric Buddhist system. Szántó is able to clarify the relationships between a number of texts, and sheds much light on their complex history.

We have also, as is customary, a book notice in this issue. Kengo Harimoto introduces a publication which edits and translates, for the first time, an early and influential work on *hathayoga*. The author, James Mallinson, has used a large number of manuscripts, including no less than six which were filmed in Nepal by the NGMPP; unusual is that to elucidate the practices taught in the text he has conducted extensive fieldwork with living *hathayoga* practitioners.

I am proud of the fine and ground-breaking contributions which appear in this issue; they would suffice to make it a memorable one. It is, in my view, a landmark also for other reasons. Firstly, it marks the half-way point of the projected duration of the Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project. Begun in 2002, the project is expected to be concluded in 2014. A retrospective of the first six years is planned for the next issue of the *Newsletter*. I do not take this as an occasion for self-congratulation; but I think it can be said that much has been done in the first six years of this project, and we are looking forward to increasing our activity in the coming years, and to doing even more towards uncovering, making available, and making scholarly use of the treasures of the manuscript collections of Nepal.

Finally—and I have saved what is for me personally the important as the last—I would like to note another anniversary: this Spring-Summer issue appears not long after the 70th birthday of Prof. Albrecht Wezler, the founder of the NGMCP and my predecessor as holder of the chair for classical Indology in Hamburg. Cause for congratulation and for celebration indeed! Without his foresight, the NGMCP would not have come into being, and as a result a very large number of important indological discoveries (some of the more recent of which have been introduced in the six issues to date of the *Newsletter of the NGMCP*) would not have been made. Sāṃkhya, which is central in the paper by Harimoto and Kano, has long been one of the main focuses of Prof. Wezler’s scholarship; and the breadth of interest, extending to countless little-known areas, that has been so noticeable throughout his long and distinguished career will, I hope, lead him to peruse also the other contributions to this issue with attention and pleasure. To our founder, and our teacher, most respectfully *namah*; to all our readers: Happy reading with the *Newsletter of the NGMCP*!

Harunaga Isaacson

## Antiquarian Enquiries into the Initiation Manuals of the Catuṣpīṭha

Péter-Dániel SZÁNTÓ<sup>1</sup>

### Introduction

The aim of this paper is not to deal extensively with the contents of the *Catuṣpīṭha* initiation manuals. That is far too difficult a task to be undertaken at the moment, due to the paucity of material on one hand, and the ‘barbaric’ language peculiar to these works on the other. My aim is merely to present a certain corpus of manuscripts, mostly from the microfilm archives of the NGMPP, and try to clear up some points of confusion regarding them.

### The Initiation Manuals

The *maṇḍalopāyikā*<sup>2</sup> is a genre of works in Tantric Buddhist (*Vajrayāna/Mantranaya/Mantramahāyāna*) literature prescribing in greater or lesser detail the *modus operandi* for initiating a would-be member of a Tantric cult.

In the core part of the ceremony described in these works, the officiant (*ācārya*) introduces the initiand (*śiṣya*) to the schematically arranged pantheon (*maṇḍala*) of the cult, provides the desired consecrations (*abhīṣeka*), subjects the initiand to pledges (*samaya*) and vows (*samvara*), and gives specific teachings (*upadeśa*) relating to the scriptural cycle that he is a master of. At the end of the ceremony the consecrated *śiṣya* becomes an initiate with the right—and indeed, duty (*adhikāra*)—to undertake meditative visualization of the central deity and his/her retinue (*devatābhāvanā*), to perform the rites taught by the cult, and to confer initiation himself, provided that he<sup>3</sup> had taken the Consecration of the Officiant

<sup>1</sup>I wish to thank Prof. Harunaga Isaacson and Iain Sinclair for their corrections, comments, and constant support.

<sup>2</sup>Lit. ‘method (*upāya*) for the *maṇḍala*[- rite]’. The affix *-kā* should perhaps be understood as qualifying ‘anthology (*saṃhitā*)’, ‘booklet (*pustikā*)’, or ‘work (*racanā*)’. Sometimes *maṇḍalopikā* is also seen in the Sanskrit titles preserved (or back-translated) in the Tibetan Canon. Perhaps this should not be readily dismissed as a corruption. According to Pāṇini 5.3.80 (BÖHTLINGK 1887:259) this is a justified abbreviation in the view of the ‘Eastern’ grammarians. However, it should be noted that this rule applies to male names only (cf. 5.3.78 *ibid*).

<sup>3</sup>I use the male pronoun here in accordance with the usage of our texts. Although there is some evidence that women could be and were initiated as well, the references to initiand/s are overwhelmingly male. The singular also follows the practice of the manuals, although there can be a number of initiands in the rite. In this case the most prominent of them will act on behalf of the others in the more crucial phases. Since this person can dispose of wealth, I tend to think that the paradigmatic initiand the authors had in mind was a well-to-do male householder. Beyond the laity monks and *yogins* are also in the foreground. However, the identification of the agents taking part in the ritual is and was controversial. The investigation of this matter is beyond the scope of this paper.

(*ācāryābhīṣeka*). The rest of the prescriptions in these manuals relate to a large number of auxiliary rites which may or may not require active participation on the initiand/initiate’s part. They are, nevertheless, considered essential.

The need for such manuals is quite evident: scriptures rarely provide clearly formulated and unambiguous prescriptions for initiation (or anything else for that matter). A *tantra* at best will usually provide the broad framework for the rite, leaving plenty of room for interpretation and detail.

### Initiation in the Catuṣpīṭhatantra

The *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* (CAPĪTA) is a typical example. The tantra teaches initiation explicitly only in IV.1. whilst saying next to nothing about essentials such as the number and the proper order of consecrations. The synoptical outline of CAPĪTA IV.1. is as follows:

- vv. 1–8. teach the characteristics of a proper officiant (*ācārya*) and the way an initiate should regard him;
- vv. 9–14. give the initiand the rules of conduct (*caryā*) concerning his officiant;
- vv. 15–17. contain a terse list of the consecrations with very unusual names: *mantrābhīṣeka*, *adaityabalyabhīṣeka*, *yogābhīṣeka*, and *ācāryābhīṣeka*;<sup>4</sup>
- vv. 18–19. describe the way the initiand should petition the officiant and the way the officiant should accept him;
- vv. 20–27. contain formulas to be recited by the initiand such as the refuge (*śaraṇagamana*), the vow (*samvara*), and the triple purification (*trivīśuddhi*);
- vv. 28–33. the blindfolded initiand is led in front of the maṇḍala (here called *balibhūmi*), then the blindfold is removed and formulas are recited;
- vv. 34–45. the initiand is given the pledge-water (*samayodaka*) mixed with the five nectars (*pañcāmṛta*), he then supplicates in front of the officiant who gives him the rules of conduct and some spiritual instructions;
- vv. 46–48. describe offering the fee (*gurudakṣiṇā*);
- vv. 49–61. contain a mixture of topics describing amongst others the dangers the initiate will have to face if he breaks his allegiance and vows, further general ethical rules, and some verses glorifying the rite.

With this the chapter ends.

Unfortunately the only extant Sanskrit commentary we have to this passage is that of Bhavabhaṭṭa. The other

<sup>4</sup>It is here that one of the most important commentators, Bhavabhaṭṭa, forces the text to include the series of consecrations up to the ‘Fourth’ (*caturthābhīṣeka*).

two Indian exegetes, Kalyāṇavarman and Durjayacandra, comment only up to the end of the third chapter (*pīṭha*).<sup>5</sup>

Despite our lacking his commentary to the fourth chapter, it is quite evident that Kalyāṇavarman must have thought that the actual teaching of the initiation rite is hinted at in CAPĪTA II.3.<sup>6</sup> At this point in the commentary he makes a huge digression comprising more than one third of his work<sup>7</sup> to give the additional details of the ceremony. On the other hand Bhavabhaṭṭa and Durjayacandra understand this sub-chapter as teaching the meditative visualization of the deities that make up the *maṇḍala*.

### An Insertion in CaPīTa ms. A.

Kalyāṇavarman does not seem to have been the only one who thought that CAPĪTA II.3. did not provide enough information on the initiation rite. This was also the case with one of the scribes<sup>8</sup> of one of the earliest CAPĪTA

<sup>5</sup>From Smṛtijñānakīrti's colophon to his translation of Kalyāṇavarman's work we are informed that the commentary (i.e. the CAPĪPA) was never completed: "These [chapters of the commentary] to three *pīṭhas* were written by the practitioner Kalyāṇavarman who thought compassionately of sentient beings. It is said that when [he was writing] the introduction to this [last] *pīṭha* the *ḍākinīs* forbade [him to continue]. Or, it is said that just when he was about to begin the commentary [to the fourth *pīṭha*] he met the *ḍākinī*'s face to face and thus achieving realization he disappeared. Hence [I], the Indian *upādhyāya* Smṛtijñānakīrti, have begun writing a commentary to the fourth *pīṭha* of the Catuṣpīṭha according to what I have heard from my consecrated masters." Tōh. 1608. 43<sup>r</sup>–43<sup>v</sup> *de dag gdan gsum na sgrub pa po Dge ba'i go chas sems can la thugs rjes dgongs nas mdzad de | gdan 'di'i ('di'i em.) 'di ni D) gleng gzhi'i (gleng gzhi'i em.) gleng bzhi'i D) nang na mkha' 'gro ma rnam kyis ma gnanng ngo zhes kyang zer | ṭi ka mdzad pa'i thad ka na (thad ka na em.) thad ka nas D) mkha' 'gro ma dang zhal mjal nas grub ste mi snang bar song ngo zhes kyang zer || phyi nas rgya gar gyi mkhan po Smṛ ti dnyā na kī rtis bla ma'i brgyud (brgyud em.; rgyud D) las thos pa ji bzhi du de ltar gdan bzhi pa'i gdan phyi ma'i ṭi ka 'di brtsams so ||* Smṛtijñānakīrti's addenda to Kalyāṇavarman's translation, i.e. his own commentary to the fourth *pīṭha*, is most likely to have been written directly in Tibetan.

Durjayacandra's MiPAPA seems to be unfinished. He is certainly the latest commentator since he knows Yogāmbara, the male buddha superimposed on the originally exclusively female *maṇḍala* of the Catuṣpīṭha.

That both works seem to be unfinished is a curious coincidence rather than a sign that originally there were only three chapters in the tantra. It is certain that Kalyāṇavarman knew the fourth chapter, since he cites a lemma from it.

<sup>6</sup>Kalyāṇavarman's introduction to CAPĪTA II.3.: *evaṃ(evaṃ em.) eva CAPĪPA) bhāṣitasya yogināḥ maṇḍalalikhanaṃ antareṇa uttamasiddhir na bhavatīti śṛṇu vajra mahārāja saṃsārapārālakṣaṇam ityādīnā maṇḍalapaṭalam ārabhate. CAPĪPA 18<sup>v</sup>*

<sup>7</sup>CAPĪPA 18<sup>v</sup>–32<sup>r</sup> out of 44 folios.

<sup>8</sup>There were at least three scribes working on this manuscript. The first, up to fol. 37<sup>v</sup>, is the most legible and orderly. Thence another scribe took over who worked in an angular Newari script up to fol. 49<sup>v</sup>. It seems to me that from this point the first scribe took over again, however, there seems to be much more space between the *akṣaras* and it is possible that this is the work of yet another scribe. From fol. 64<sup>r</sup> the final hand takes over, writing in a hurried form that foreshadows the *pracalitanevārākṣara*, with occasional variations.

mss. to which I have assigned the sigla A.<sup>9</sup>

In contrast to all other mss. of the CAPĪTA and what the three commentators seem to have read, this ms. is unique as it contains three large batches of extra verses in CAPĪTA II.3. (i.e. the '*maṇḍala*'-chapter). The first, of 222 verses (or rather 'units', as I count mantras, instructions, section closers as 'verses'), which starts after II.3.7ab, was apparently intended to replace the root-text up to and including II.3.54ab. The second, of 70 verses, is nested between II.3.81ab and II.3.81cd. The third and shortest, of 36 verses, starts after II.3.137. and ends before II.3.143. They are all in the same hand, that of the first scribe, who was responsible for copying the greatest part of the text.

All the passages mentioned above contain material typical of initiation rites. Thus, for example, the first batch of verses<sup>10</sup> deals with such topics as the ritual takeover of the ground for drawing out the *maṇḍala* (*bhūmiparigraha* or *bhūmiyācanā*), the ritual purification of the thread and the coloured powders that will be used for tracing out the *maṇḍala* (*sūtraprokṣaṇa* and *rajaḥprokṣaṇa* respectively), the outlining of the *maṇḍala* (*sūtrapātana*), ritually placing the vases for consecration in their proper place (*kumbhasthāpana*), and so forth. The second batch<sup>11</sup> teaches amongst others the *mudrās* and *mantras* of a series of deities (Pokkaṣī, Ghorī, Ugri, Kapālī and several worship-goddesses) and a host of brahmanical gods (Hari, Brahman, Rudra, Śakra, Indra, Kubera, Bhūtādhipati, Nāgādhipati) along with the *mantras* of their consorts (Lakṣmī, Varāhī, Sarasvatī, Brahmānī, Māheśvarī, Gaṅgā, Aindrānī, Tilottamā, Śaci, Rambhā, Vasumatī, Hārīti, Laṅkeśvarī, Raktapriyā, Bhogavatī and Utpalāpriyā). None of these deities are present in the original CAPĪTA. The third batch<sup>12</sup> describes the assignation of deities to guard the doors of the *maṇḍala* and three types of *bali*-offering: one for *devas*, one for *nāgas*, and one for *yakṣas*.

These are no doubt intentional insertions. It can hardly have been the case that the scribe was copying a ms. with shuffled folios from the *mūla* and another text describing the initiation rite. For all insertions occur beginning with a new and complete verse, never in the middle of a *pāda*. Were it the case that the folios were shuffled, I find it unlikely that all the pages would have begun and ended neatly with complete verses. It is possible however that the scribe was copying a text in which the insertions were

Since nothing suggests that the foreign hands are making up lost portions in the text, I believe that all folios were penned in a short space of time, the scribes taking turns.

<sup>9</sup>This ms. has been miscatalogued as a *śaiva* tantra and in lack of a better title, it has been named the *Prakarāṇatantra*, no doubt because of its colophons which usually end '*iti prakaraṇe . . .*'.

<sup>10</sup>CAPĪTA, ms. A 17<sup>r</sup>–25<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>11</sup>CAPĪTA, ms. A 26<sup>v</sup>–28<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>12</sup>CAPĪTA, ms. A 30<sup>r</sup>–31<sup>v</sup>.

already present. If one reads ms. A. of the CAPĪṬA in the absence of other witnesses, one would have great difficulty identifying the insertions, for they emulate the grammatical (or rather, ungrammatical) style of the tantra. Since stylistically these verses do not stand out clearly, they would not have prompted a copyist to suspect contamination.

The inserted passages in ms. A. match closely with material found in two works from among the satellite texts of the CAPĪṬA. As I will argue below, the insertions are more likely to have served as the ancestor of both these works than the other way around.

## The Catuṣpīṭhamaṇḍalopāyikā of Caryāvratipāda

The *Catuṣpīṭhamaṇḍalopāyikā* (CAPĪMAU) survives in its entirety in a single, old, palm-leaf manuscript in Bhujimol characters, now kept at the National Archives (NAK 5-89/1 [= NGMPP A 1298/6 and duplicate B 30/35]).<sup>13</sup> The short colophon informs us that it is the work of Caryāvratipāda.<sup>14</sup>

This manuscript is not dated but it looks remarkably similar in measurement and scribal hand to a manuscript in the National Archives of another work, the *Yogāmbarasādhanopāyikā* (YOSĀU, NAK 3-366 [= NGMPP B 23/10]) of Amitavajra,<sup>15</sup> which is dated to the 13th regnal year of Vighrahapāla.<sup>16</sup> Since the subject

<sup>13</sup>This ms. is described in DBGP1:140–142 with a useful list of the chapter colophons. Janardan Pandey mentions another fragment of this work in the National Archives (14 folios, *devanāgarī*) as no. 125, but it is not entirely certain what he means by this number. His report states that this additional ms. ends in the 15th chapter of the CAPĪMAU. Probably the manuscript is NAK 3-602 [= NGMPP A 142/10, A 1275/7], but this remains to be confirmed.

<sup>14</sup>Fol. 30<sup>v</sup>: *kr̥tir iyaṃ maṇḍalopāyikā Caryāvratī[sic]pādānām iti.*

<sup>15</sup>For the Tibetan translation of this work see Tōh. 1619. = Ōta. 2491. There the work is attributed to Rnam par rgyal ba'i dbang po'i sde, i.e. Vijayendrasena. He seems to have been a Newar scholar (cf. LO BUE 1997:637). It is not impossible that Amitavajra was his initiation name. The '*Brug pa bka'* brygyud scholar Padma dkar po (1527–1592) mentions Vijayendrasena in a lineage list (the *yab bka'* dbang brygyud appendix to his *Gdan bzhī yum bka'i cho ga, The Collected works [gsuñ-'bum] of Kun-mkhyen Padma-dkar-po – reproduced photographically from prints from the 1920–1928 Gnam 'Brug Se-ba Byan-chub-glin blocks*, vol. Tsa pp. 635–642.) as the disciple of Senavarman, an elusive character who is otherwise known only as the one who petitioned Kalyāṇavarman to write his commentary (cf. CAPĪPA 1<sup>v</sup> *pañjikā likhyate seyaṃ prārthanāt Senavarmaṇaḥ*). In the lineage list Vijayendrasena is followed by Pham mthing pa, another Newar who is reputed to have attended on Nāropāda, and then two Tibetans, Mar [pa do pa] (cca. 1042–1136) and Rngog [lo tsā ba] (1059–1109). Thus, if Padma dkar po is correct, it is quite possible that even if the two, Vijayendrasena and Amitavajra, were not the same person, they were at least contemporaries.

<sup>16</sup>This is most likely Vighrahapāla III who ruled during the third quarter of the eleventh century and possibly a decade further. His copper plate grants (the Āngāchi grant from his 12th regnal year and the Bangāon plate from his 17th regnal year) show similar palaeographical features with these manuscripts. See EPIGRAPHIA

matter is related (Yogāmbara is later considered the chief deity of the cult propagated by the CAPĪṬA) and the two mss. look significantly alike, it is probably not unreasonable to suspect that they formed part of the same collection. Thus we may surmise that this work was already in circulation by the last quarter of the eleventh century (or a little later if the dating is auctorial) together with the CAPĪMAU.

Pinning down the author, Caryāvratipāda, is a bit difficult. He may or may not be the same person as Kṛṣṇa/Kāṇha, who bears this epithet in the colophon of the *Vasantatilakā* (VATī)<sup>17</sup> and several other works.<sup>18</sup> The earliest reference I am aware of for this author comes from the *Samvarodayā nāma maṇḍalopāyikā* (SAUMA-U)<sup>19</sup> of Bhūvācārya,<sup>20</sup> who mentions him twice.<sup>21</sup> The only surviving and incomplete ms. of the SAUMA-U was

INDICA vol. XV, No. 18. and vol. XXIX, No. 7. respectively.

<sup>17</sup>*iti caryāvratīśrīKṛṣṇācāryeṇa gurūpadeśam āgamyā śrīHeruka-bhaṭṭārakasyādeśac ca svapnagatam avadhārya . . .* VATī p. 89. Cf. Vanaratna *ad loc. cit.*: *tathāgataḥyasthitena caryāvratīnā mayā Kṛṣṇenedaṃ Vasantatilakākhyam daśanirdeśātmakam kṛtam . . .* *ibid.* p. 90.

<sup>18</sup>Dpal 'khor lo sdom pa zhes bya ba'i sgrub thabs (\*Śrīcakrasamvarasādhana) Tōh. 1445. 276<sup>v</sup> *dpal 'khor lo sdom pa'i sgrub thabs slob dpon chen po brtul zhugs spyod pa'i zhal snga nas mdzad pa rdzogs so*; Bcom ldan 'das dpal bde mchog 'khor lo'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga (\*Bhagavacchrīcakrasamvaramaṇḍalavidhi) Tōh. 1446. 92<sup>v</sup> *bcom ldan 'das dpal bde mchog 'khor lo'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga slob dpon chen po brtul zhugs spyod pa nag po pas mdzad pa rdzogs so*; Tshigs su bcaḍ pa lnga pa (\*Pañcagāthā), Tōh. 2282. 138<sup>r</sup> *brtul zhugs spyod pa'i slob dpon chen po nag pos mdzad pa'i tshigs su bcaḍ pa lnga pa rdzogs so*; Sdom pa bshad pa (\*Samvaravyākhyā), Tōh. 1460. 10<sup>v</sup> *slob dpon chen po brtul zhugs kyi spyod pa la zhugs pa nag po pas mdzad pa rdzogs so*. On the latter work see below.

<sup>19</sup>The title is misread and thus the work is incorrectly catalogued as *Svarodayānā-maṇḍalopāyikā* in MATSUNAMI 1965:160. This misreading is slightly corrected by PETECH 1984:44 to *Svarodayāmaṇḍalopāyikā* (Note that Petech misreads the catalogue number: 454 instead of 450). The date is rather NS 174 than Matsunami's NS 178 and Petech's NS 176. The folios of the ms. are shuffled at present. It should be kept in mind that when I quote from this codex below, I am referring to the restored pagination and my provisional verse numbering. The Tibetan 'translation' is canonical (Tōh. 1538.). It is unsigned and of such a low quality that I am inclined to believe that it is no more than a rough first attempt which somehow found its way into the Canon.

<sup>20</sup>His name was variously reconstructed as \*Bhuvamati (Bhu ba blo ldan), \*Madhyadeśīkamati (Dbus pa blo ldan), \*Ariṣṭadhīmat (Dbu pa blo ldan) or simply Dhīmat – no doubt because of an attribute in the closing verse: *śrīmadRatnagirau sthitvā sarvasattvārthahetunā | kr̥teyaṃ maṇḍalopāyikā Bhūvācāryeṇa dhīmatā ||* [= v. 790.] SAUMA-U 56<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>21</sup>*abhiṣekaṃ tad evoktaṃ Caryāvratikramāgatam* [= v. 181cd] SAUMA-U 15<sup>r</sup>; *dvibhujās caikavaktrās ca Caryāpādamatena hi* [= v. 214cd] SAUMA-U 18<sup>v</sup>.

There is a further, rather curious, interaction between this work, the SAUMA-U, and the Sdom pa bshad pa = \*Samvaravyākhyā (Tōh. 1460.) of \*Caryāvratī Kṛṣṇa. The SAUMA-U seems to contain the entire work between 18<sup>r</sup> and 26<sup>r</sup> [= vv. 210cd to 320]. This is either an incorporation on Bhūvācārya's part, or there was a fragment of his work independently translated into Tibetan with the authorship credited to Caryāvratī Kṛṣṇa owing to doctrinal and practical similarities. The investigation of this problem is beyond the scope of the present paper, but I find the second scenario much more likely.

copied in NS 174 = 1054 CE. The author could not have been much earlier than this date since he also mentions Dārikāpāda<sup>22</sup> who is credited with a work related to the Kālacakra.<sup>23</sup>

Some further indirect evidence may be gathered from the CAPĪPA. In his commentary to CAPĪTA I.2.30. Kalyāṇavarman directs the reader to the/a *Maṇḍalopāyikā/maṇḍalopāyikā* for the visualizing meditation of Vajrasattva.<sup>24</sup> Such an instruction is indeed to be found in the CAPĪMAU,<sup>25</sup> but of course we may not state with certainty that he is referring to either Caryāvratipāda's CAPĪMAU or some other work with the same title or designation, such as that of Āryadeva's, dealt with in the next section of this paper. For the time being I will assume that he does. Thus, since the ms. of the CAPĪPA is dated 1012 CE, all circumstantial evidence seems to point to the late tenth/early eleventh century as the *terminus ante quem* for this author.

In order to ascertain Caryāvratipāda's authorship, we need to make a longer digression and deal with the Tibetan carrier of his work. The canonical Tibetan translation<sup>26</sup> bears the reconstructed title \**Śrīcatuṣṣpīṭhatantra-rājasya maṇḍalopāyikā vidhipaṇḍi*[sic] *sārasamuccaya nāma* from *Rgyud kyi rgyal po dpal Gdan bzhi pa zhes bya*

<sup>22</sup>*uktam śrīDārikāpādair adhiṣṭhānasya lakṣanam* [= v. 193ab] SAUMA 15<sup>v</sup>; *Indrabhūteḥ krameṇaiva Sañcāre Dārike mate* [= v. 211ab] SAUMA 18<sup>r</sup>–18<sup>v</sup>; *likhitā Dārikāmate* [= v. 323b] SAUMA 26<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>23</sup>Tōh. 1355. *Rgyud kyi rgyal po dpal Dus kyi 'khor lo'i dbang gi rab tu byed pa'i 'grel pa* (\*SrikālacakratantrarājaSekaprakriyāvṛtti). Dārikāpāda (if the two authors are one and the same person) thus probably does not predate the early eleventh century.

There are references to several other *siddhas* and scriptures in this text which might help establish a relative chronology. Authors named include Jālandharapāda, Kacchapati, and Indrabhūti. Scriptures mentioned include the *Samcāra* (i.e. the *Yoginīsaṃcāra*), the *Herukābhyaḍaya*, *'samājīkatantras'* [sic! for *sāmājīka*] (i.e. scriptures related to the *Guhyasamāja*), the *Vajrāmṛta*, and the *Sarvabuddha* (i.e. the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālasamvāra*). With the exception of the *Yoginīsaṃcāra* this list of tantras looks quite ancient, so it is possible that the argument related to Dārikāpāda should be overruled with the hypothesis that there were two Dārikāpādas (or, even more likely, someone adopted his name to write a Kālacakra work).

<sup>24</sup>*ayam upadeśah: maṇḍalopāyikoktakrameṇa kṛtavajrasattvayogah vajrasattvam aham paṭhet vajrasattvo 'ham iti kṛtāhaṃkāro bhāvayed ity arthaḥ* CAPĪPA 9<sup>v</sup>–10<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>25</sup>*candramaṇḍalamadhyastham vajrasattvābhicititam | padma-āsanam āsīnam himakundasamaprabham* || [= v. 2.14.] *dviḥbhujam sattvaparyāṅkaṃ pañcabuddhābhīśekharam | vajram hrdaya-pāṇasya ghaṅṭhā vāmakāṭiṃ nyaset* || [= v. 2.15.] *sarvābharanagātras tu suśobhāvastrabhūṣitam | raśmijvālām anekāś ca vajrasattvam aham paṭhet* || [= v. 2.16.] CAPĪMAU 2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>26</sup>Tōh. 1613. = Ōta. 2484. Translated by Gayadhara (or Gaṅgādhara?) and 'Gos Khug pa lhas btsas, a duo otherwise responsible for translating a number of important works related to the CAPĪTA (Tōh. 1607. = Ōta. 2478, the longest known commentary to the tantra, i.e. the CAPĪNI of Bhavabhaṭṭa; Tōh. 1616. = Ōta. 2487, a *sādhana* by the same author; Tōh. 1620. = Ōta. 2492, an auxiliary work on the four 'realities' by Jetāri).

*ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga Snying po mdor bsags pa*,<sup>27</sup> most likely to be a later construction deriving from the closing verses of the CAPĪMAU.<sup>28</sup> There is no strong evidence inside the work for this title, such as its occurrence in chapter colophons. Furthermore, the practice of extracting and back-translating titles from works seems to have been fairly common in Tibet.

Another, more serious, problem is the attribution of this work to Āryadeva in the colophon.<sup>29</sup> The attribution is seemingly strengthened by the second quarter of the obeisance verse, where the author salutes Nāgārjuna (Klu sgrub). For centuries to come Tibetans apparently were under the impression that this translation is indeed an initiation manual in the spirit of the \*Ārya school of the *Guhyasamāja* exegesis.

This can be ascertained for example from the Collected Works of Bo dong phyogs las rnam rgyal,<sup>30</sup> who 'wrote' an initiation manual to the Catuṣṣpīṭha cycle. This work (ET vol. 108., pp. 1–117.) is in fact the same as the CAPĪMAU from the second chapter onwards minus the final colophon. The title page and the introduction, however, make it clear that he too thought the work to be in the spirit of the \*Ārya scholars ('Phags lugs).<sup>31</sup>

Caryāvratipāda's authorship was eventually restored by Si tu pa Bstan pa'i nyin 'byed (1699/1700–1774), but only in the colophon of his revised translation of the work.<sup>32</sup> It did not seem necessary to him to have new carvings made for the colophon page of the Tibetan CAPĪMAU. With the precision of a good scholar Si tu records how he came into the possession of this manuscript and the circumstances of his work on it:

*dkyil 'khor sgrub pa'i thabs 'di ni dpal Spyod pa'i  
brtul zhugs zhabs kyi mdzad pa'o || de ltar Rdo rje  
gdan bzhi'i dkyil 'khor cho ga Snying po mdor*

<sup>27</sup>Tōh. 1613. 113<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>28</sup>*de la dngos po tsaṃ bsduṣ pa | snying po mdor bsags zhes bya ste* | Tōh. 1613. 137<sup>v</sup> corresponding to *tasya saṃgrahavastūni piṇḍa-sārasamuccayam* [= v. 28.28.] CAPĪMAU 30<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>29</sup>*slob dpon chen po Ārya de bas mdzad pa'i rgyud kyi rgyal po dpal Gdan bzhi pa zhes bya ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga Snying po mdor bsags pa zhes bya ba rdzogs so*. Tōh. 1613. 137<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>30</sup>Born in Ngam ring in Gtsang in 1375/6 and died in 1450/1. Also known as 'Jigs med grags pa, and Chos kyi rgyal mtshan. Although by far the most prolific Tibetan author ever (ET numbers 137 volumes), he seems to have fallen in relative obscurity. Later *dge lugs pa* authorities confuse him with *Jo nang* Phyogs las rnam rgyal, and classify him as an adherent to the controversial, and even persecuted, *gzhan stong* doctrine. Cf. SMITH 2001:192.

<sup>31</sup>The title page has: *Gdan bzhi'i dkyil chog 'Phags lugs bzhugs so*. The work begins unceremoniously with the following: *da ni rgyud kyi rgyal po dpal Gdan bzhi pa zhes bya ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga 'Phags lugs bshad par bya ste | ji skad du Snying po mdor bsags pa las | ...* The rest is Caryāvratipāda's work.

<sup>32</sup>The fourth work in Volume 7 (Ja), pp. 165–227. in *Ta'i Si-tu-pa Kun-mkhyen Chos-kyi-'byun*[sic]-*gnas-bstan-pa'i-nin-byed kyi bka'* 'bum = *Collected works of the great Ta'i Si-tu-pa Kun-mkhyen Chos-kyi-'byun*[sic]-*gnas-bstan-pa'i-nyin-byed*, Palpung Sungrab Nyamsong Khang, Kangra, 1990.

*bsags zhes pa 'di'i rgya dpe Bal yul nas btsal te dpal 'Brug pa rin po che Bka' rgyud phrin las shing rta mchog gi zhabs nas | Mdo khams su nged la lta rtogs byed dgos phebs cing rten dang bcas stsal ba las lo shas brel g.yeng gis lus pa slar mi zad pa'i lor 'gyur rnying dang bstun nas zhus dag bgyis par bal dper ma dag pa mang yang 'gyur rnying du chad pa 'ga' re 'dug pas bsab cing bcos dgos nges 'ga' re yang bcos pa bcas me pho khyi lor Thub bstan chos 'khor du legs par grub pa Si tu bstan pa'i nyin byed kyi sug las so ||<sup>33</sup>*

This means to accomplish the *maṇḍala*-initiation is the work of the venerable Caryāvrati. Now, the Sanskrit manuscript of this *maṇḍala*-rite of the *Catuṣpīṭha* called the 'Condensed Essence' was obtained from Nepal. 'Brug pa rin po che Bka' brgyud phrin las shing rta mchog<sup>34</sup> permitted that it should be seen and examined by me, and [thus] sent it to Mdo Khams along with a support (*rten*).<sup>35</sup> Due to [my] distracting engagements, for a few years it remained neglected. Then, in the year of Inexhaustibility I have compared it with the old translation (*'gyur rnying*). As far as re-editing (*zhus dag*) goes, although the Nepalese manuscript has many corruptions (*ma dag pa*), the old translation contained some lacunae (*chad pa*). These I saw quite necessary to restore. [I also made] some corrections (*bcos pa*). [All] this was well achieved in the year of the Male-Fire-Hound [= 1766 CE] in Thub bstan chos 'khor [through] the work of Si tu Bstan pa'i nyin 'byed.<sup>36</sup>

It is interesting to note that Si tu pa did not make an issue out of this restoration, although I find it highly improbable that he was not aware of Āryadeva's putative authorship in the Tibetan opinion.

The parallels for the inserted passages in CAPĪTA ms. A. can be found in the CAPĪMAU in the following locations:

ins. 1 CAPĪTA ms. A. 17<sup>r</sup>-25<sup>v</sup> = CAPĪMAU 3<sup>v</sup>-11<sup>v</sup> [= vv. 4.2-10.23]

ins. 2 CAPĪTA ms. A. 26<sup>v</sup>-28<sup>r</sup> = CAPĪMAU 14<sup>v</sup>-15<sup>v</sup> [= vv. 15.32-66] & CAPĪMAU 13<sup>r</sup>-13<sup>v</sup> [= vv. 13.1-35]

ins. 3 CAPĪTA ms. A. 30<sup>r</sup>-31<sup>v</sup> = CAPĪMAU 18<sup>v</sup>-20<sup>r</sup> [= vv. 19.1-33]

<sup>33</sup> *Op.cit.* p. 227.

<sup>34</sup> This is 'Brug chen VII. 1718-1766, who, although his junior, is listed as Si tu pa's teacher.

<sup>35</sup> This is most likely a reference to some accompanying gift, such as a statue.

<sup>36</sup> This monastery in Derge was Si tu's main seat.

The most striking difference between the two versions is that the name of Yogāmbara is missing from CAPĪTA ms. A whereas the CAPĪMAU mentions him twice. Thus (the passages are given here in diplomatic transcription):

*tato vajrasattvamayaṃ dehācārya kṛtasyātmakam |*  
(Ms. A 20<sup>r</sup>)

*tato yogāmbaraṃmayaṃ dehācārya kṛtam ātmakam |*  
(CAPĪMAU 6<sup>v</sup>)

"Then the officiant should visualize his own body as ... "

&

*asya buddhamahāvajra dhyāpaya nādhyacetasā |* (Ms. A 21<sup>r</sup>)

*asya yogāmbarībuddhaḥ dhyāpayen madhyacetasā |*  
(CAPĪMAU 7<sup>v</sup>)

"He should meditate on this ... with an equipoised mind."

It is quite evident that the text has been tampered with. The CAPĪTA does not mention Yogāmbara at all, and nor do the two earlier commentators, Bhavabhaṭṭa and Kalyāṇavarman. It is only in Durjayacandra's commentary that we find Yogāmbara as the main deity of the cult, but even this commentator does not find the name of the deity in the text.

On the other hand it is quite natural that if someone wanted to superimpose Yogāmbara, he would change not the text of the tantra, but rather that of the *maṇḍalopāyikā*. Many *ācāryas* following and propagating the cult might never have read the basic text. They simply officiated at the rituals and gave the relevant teachings according to the orderly arranged manuals.

## The *Catuṣpīṭhamāṇḍalopāyikā* of Āryadeva

The material treated above can be met with in a hitherto unidentified fragment in ms. NAK 5-37 [= NGMPP A 138/10]. This paper ms. of 118 folios containing the CAPĪTA and two fragments, was once part of a composite codex together with NAK 5-38 [= NGMPP B 112/4], which contains in its present state an incomplete CAPĪ-NI.<sup>37</sup> The two fragments of the NAK 5-38 are: a) 72<sup>v</sup>-73<sup>v</sup> a seemingly incomplete word by word commentary to the

<sup>37</sup> The fact that these four works now in two ms. bundles were a composite codex can be determined from their shape, scribal hand, and a secondary set of folio numeration which stretches over into the commentary. The missing portions of the CAPĪNI must be misplaced somewhere in the National Archives, since there is an apograph of this composite codex, which contains the entire work of Bhavabhaṭṭa. These copies were made by Mānabajra Bajrācārya in European-style stitched booklets. Their present whereabouts is somewhat doubtful. Microfilm copies are available in the IASWR collection: MBB-I-41 for the CAPĪTA (« NAK 5-37 [= NGMPP A





beginning of the tantra. The listing of *pratīkas* and the terse commentary suggests that it was used as a teaching aid for exposing the tantra; and b) a fragment in the same linguistic style as the tantra discussing elements related to the initiation rite and other material.

Fragment b) begins abruptly in the middle of a *pāda*. We may surmise from this that the scribe of the composite codex had only a fragmentary manuscript at his disposal. The text is very corrupt.

There are several internal colophons (given here in diplomatic transcription):

1. iti pūrvasevābodhanapaṭala samāptaḥ || (fol. 4<sup>v</sup>/75<sup>v</sup>)
2. iti bhūmipari-graha dvitīya paṭala samāptaḥ || (fol. 6<sup>r</sup>/77<sup>r</sup>)
3. iti maṇḍalapaṭalas tṛtīyaḥ || (fol. 30<sup>r</sup>/101<sup>r</sup>)
  - iti pañcapanīkākramanirdeśaḥ samāptaḥ || (fol. 37<sup>v</sup>/108<sup>v</sup>)
4. iti caturthapaṭala samāptaḥ || (fol. 40<sup>v</sup>/111<sup>v</sup>)
  - iti prajñāvajrāvātāraṇayoḥ samāptaḥ || (fol. 47<sup>v</sup>/118<sup>v</sup>)<sup>38</sup>

The text ends on the same page, but there are some additional verses before the closing formula *ye dharmā*, etc. This second part of the manuscript is not dated.<sup>39</sup>

Up to the third chapter, i.e. what is described here as the *maṇḍalapaṭala* is by and large the same text as the CAPĪMAU. Thus, the *pūrvasevābodhanapaṭala* corresponds to CAPĪMAU 2.3b, second word (this is where the fragment starts) to the end of chapter 3; the second section of the fragment, i.e. the *bhūmipari-graha*, corresponds to CAPĪMAU ch. 4. The rest of the CAPĪMAU is closely parallel to the fragment's third section, that of the *maṇḍala*: up to first half of ch. 8 in the CAPĪMAU the text is essentially the same; from here, up to ch. 16 in the CAPĪMAU the subject matter is similar, but the text is arranged differently; the parallel resumes with ch. 16 of the CAPĪMAU and from there on the two texts run closely parallel to each other once again.

What follows in the present fragment (i.e. the 'fourth *paṭala*') is actually the text which in the Tibetan Bka'

138/10] first 71 folios); MBB-I-42 for an unidentified short commentary to the beginning of the tantra and the fragment treated above (« NAK 5-37 [= NGMPP A 138/10] 72<sup>v</sup>-73<sup>v</sup> and 73<sup>v</sup> up to the end of the ms. respectively), and MBB-I-43 for the apograph of CAPĪNI ms. N (NAK 5-38 [= NGMPP B 112/4]). I am extremely grateful to Iain Sinclair (Hamburg) and Daniel Stender (Bonn) for their help in procuring a copy of MBB-I-42.

<sup>38</sup>The final section has been incorrectly described as an independent work, the "*Prajñāvajrāvātāraṇayoga*" in DBGp1:206-207. The editor is wrong in stating that the tantra is on folios 1-110. As I have shown above, the CAPĪTA ends in fact on fol. 71.

<sup>39</sup>The colophon to the first part, i.e. the end of the CAPĪTA, has NS 265 = 1145 CE, which is obviously too early for this paper ms. and must be the date of a direct or indirect ancestor.

'gyur is considered the first auxiliary tantra to the CAPĪTA, the *\*Mantrāṃśa* (Sngags kyi cha).<sup>40</sup> However, it should be noted that the *\*Mantrāṃśa* stretches much further than what seems to be the erstwhile end of the work in this fragment.<sup>41</sup>

Although this fragment does not state anywhere that it was authored by Āryadeva, there is an important piece of evidence that suggests that it was considered to be so by at least one learned author. Incidentally, from this evidence it also follows that the Tibetan attribution of the CAPĪMAU to Āryadeva was not without basis.

This piece of evidence is an anonymous, short, and very knowledgeable commentary to the first 35 verses<sup>42</sup> taken from what is called the 'fourth' chapter (*caturthapaṭala*). The long title of the work is: *Catuṣpīthamaṇḍalopāyikā-yāś caturthapaṭalabhāṣitamantroddhāralakṣaṇasya pañjikā* (henceforth CAPĪMAUMAPA). It survives in a single, damaged palm-leaf ms. dated 1153 CE.<sup>43</sup> There is a modern apograph of this ms. in left-slanting *devanāgarī* under NAK 5-80 = NGMPP A 141/17.<sup>44</sup> After the *maṅgala*-verse the author states in his *pratījñā*:

*Catuṣpīthamahātāntrād uddhṛtya jñānasāgarāt |*  
*kṛtam śrīDevapādena Maṇḍalopāyikāmṛtam ||*  
*tasya caturthapaṭale<sup>45</sup> mantroddhārasya lakṣa-*  
*ṇam |*  
*gurupādaprasādena vijñātam yan mayā<sup>46</sup> śubham ||*  
*tad vicakṣur aham śrutvā kalyāṇasakhībhaṣaṇam |*

<sup>40</sup>The full title is: *Dpal gdan bzhi pa'i bshad pa'i rgyud kyi rgyal po sngags kyi cha* = Tōh. no. 429. Tr. by Gayadhara and Shākya ye shes. The other auxiliary tantra, which already has Yogāmbara as its major figure, is the *\*Catuṣpīthavikhyātatantrārāja* (Dpal gdan bzhi pa'i rnam par bshad pa'i rgyud kyi rgyal po) = Tōh. no. 430. Tr. by Smṛtījñānakīrti and revised by Bu ston. The present reconstruction of the Sanskrit title is evidently a back-translation. I propose it should read *-vyākhyātāntra-* instead of *-vikhyātatantra-*. In Bu ston's long recension of the *Rgyud sde spyi'i rnam par bzhag pa* (The Complete Works of Bu-ston, Part 15 (Ba). Śatapīṭaka Series, International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi, 1969. p. 462.) this latter tantra is called *Rnal 'byor ma thams cad gsang ba* (perhaps to be reconstructed as *\*Sarvayoginīguhya[ka]*).

<sup>41</sup>The text corresponds to Tōh. 429. 231b6-244b3. The Tibetan text ends on 260a2.

<sup>42</sup>The lemmata in this commentary match the verses on fol. 30<sup>r</sup>/101<sup>r</sup> line 1-32<sup>r</sup>/103<sup>r</sup> line 1 in NAK 5-37 (Tōh. 429. 231b6-233a4 in the Tibetan translation).

<sup>43</sup>Note that it is miscatalogued as *Catuṣpīthamaṇḍalopāyikā* on the NGMPP library card. The correct number of folios is 13, and not 12. The ms. is shuffled. The sequence of the microfilm frames is: 1<sup>v</sup>, 12<sup>v</sup>, 12<sup>r</sup>, 11<sup>v</sup>, 11<sup>r</sup>, 10<sup>v</sup>, 10<sup>r</sup>, 9<sup>v</sup>, 9<sup>r</sup>, 8<sup>v</sup>, 8<sup>r</sup>, 7<sup>v</sup>, 7<sup>r</sup>, 6<sup>v</sup>, 7<sup>r</sup> bis, 6<sup>v</sup> bis, 6<sup>r</sup>, 4<sup>v</sup>, 4<sup>r</sup>, 3<sup>v</sup>, 3<sup>r</sup>, 2<sup>v</sup>, 2<sup>r</sup>, 13<sup>r</sup>, 13<sup>v</sup>. The numeration, although old, seems to be wrong, I find that one folio is misplaced.

<sup>44</sup>The apograph is also miscatalogued as *Catuṣpīthamaṇḍalopāyikā*. The fact that it is an apograph of NAK 1-1679 2/24 can be easily determined: the scribe wrote only the *sūtra* for each missing *aṣṭara* and the colophon states that the copy was made from an old Newari ms. (*ity antalekhaputāt(?) prācīnanevārākṣaralikhītāt prācīnatāḍapatrapustakād uddhṛtya 1987 vaikramābde likhītām idaṃ pustakam*).

<sup>45</sup>caturthapaṭale] *conj.*; caturthapaṭala Ms.

<sup>46</sup>yan mayā] *conj.*; padmayā Ms.



*vicariṣye dṛḍhīkartuṃ mano nityaṃ svakīyakam* ||  
(CAPĪMAUMAPA 1<sup>v</sup>)

Glorious [*Ārya*]*devapāda* composed the nectar of immortality that is the *maṇḍalopāyikā*, having extracted it from that ocean of wisdom, the great tantra in Four Chapters. Through the grace of my master (*guru*) I have come to know an agreeable exposition of the ‘raising of spells’ [contained] in the fourth chapter of that [work]. I, the blind one (*vicakṣuḥ*) [i.e. unable to understand it myself], after having heard the speech of my mentor (*kalyāṇasakhi* = *kalyāṇamitra*), shall proceed to [have it written down], in order to make my mind constantly firm.

I am not quite sure that I have interpreted every verse correctly. The essentials should suffice for the time being. What the author says is that: a) there was a *maṇḍalopāyikā* composed by [*Ārya*]*deva*; b) it is based on the CAPĪTA; c) it has at least four chapters; d) the fourth chapter partially deals with the extraction (lit. ‘raising’) of encoded *mantras*. This information tallies with the colophon we find in fragment b) of the second part of NAK 5-38 (but it does not agree with the chapter colophons in the CAPĪMAU).

The fact that *Āryadeva* is here called Śrīdevapāda for purely metrical reasons becomes clear later on in the work when the mythical history of the tantra is given. Unfortunately this passage is marred by physical damage to the manuscript:

*atraiva ca pada* + + + + + + + + + + +  
+ + + + + + + + + + + (*man*)+(*ras tu*)  
*yad aṣṭādaśalakṣaṃ śrīCatuṣpīṭhamahātantrarā-*  
*jaṃ bhagavatā śrīVajradharaṇa śuddhāvā* + +  
+ + (*2<sup>v</sup>*)*nikāye*<sup>47</sup> *bhāṣitam* || *tasmāc chrīVajra-*  
*pāṇinā samhr̥tya dvādaśasahasrikaṃ tantrarā-*  
*jaṃ śrīmadOḍiyāne ’śītīkotiyogayoginībhiḥ* | *pra-*  
*bodhya ta* + + + + *taṃ tasmād api śrīNā-*  
*gāṛjunabhaṭṭārakena tatra gatvā mahāguptena*  
*śrutvā dvādaśaśatikamūlatantraṃ*<sup>48</sup> *loke pracā-*  
*ritam* || *etac cchrutvā Āryadevapādena tantrarā-*  
*jasya*<sup>49</sup> *maṇḍalopāyikāṃ kṛtvā tasyāś caturthena*  
*paṭalena mantrasya vinyāsādi kṛtam iti sambā-*  
*ndha uktaḥ* || (CAPĪMAUMAPA 1<sup>v</sup>–2<sup>r</sup>)

And in the same [verse] ... .. the great king of tantras, the glorious Four Chapters in 180,000 [verses], which was uttered by the Lord, the Bearer of Vajra, in the congregation of ... [=

gods] of a pure abode.<sup>50</sup> Then Vajrapāṇi, having condensed [the long tantra] into the king of tantras in 12,000 [verses] in the glorious [land of] Oḍiyāna, ... (*prabodhya?*) ... by 80 crores of *yogins* and *yoginīs*. From that [12,000 verse version], the glorious lord Nāgārjuna disseminated in the world the basic tantra in 1,200 verses after having gone there [i.e. to Oḍiyāna] and after having heard [the 12,000 verse version] in great secret (*mahāguptena?*). Having heard this [1,200 verse tantra], the venerable *Āryadeva* composed a *maṇḍalopāyikā* for this king of tantras, and in the fourth chapter of that he taught (*kṛtam?*) [procedures relating] to mantras such as their positioning [on the body]. With this the ‘connection’ (*sambandha*) is explained.

## Conclusions

The CAPĪTA in its original form lacked detailed injunctions for the *maṇḍala* initiation ritual. For this reason, an author, emulating the un-grammatical style of the tantra, started to write supplementary verses which found their way into one ms. transmission of the basic text (witnessed here by ms. A). These verses form a kind of proto-*maṇḍalopāyikā*, one that still does not recognize Yogāmbara as the main deity of the cult.

At some point, most likely towards the end of the tenth century, a full *maṇḍalopāyikā* emerges. It is not only an initiation manual, but a wide-ranging anthology of many kinds of practices. This version incorporates the verses of the proto-*maṇḍalopāyikā* and tweaks the text to state that Yogāmbara is the presiding deity of the cult. There is also an effort to appropriate this ‘new Catuspīṭha’ into the \**Ārya* exegetical school of the Guhyasamāja. By the twelfth century the text is thought to have been authored by *Āryadeva*.

The CAPĪMAU of Caryāvratipāda is most likely to have been a separate recension of an extract from the work of *Āryadeva*, the one that deals strictly with the *maṇḍala*-initiation (i.e. what originally were but three chapters of the work). New chapter colophons are given to the text, making it consist of 27 chapters. This is not a unique occurrence. Another work attributed to Caryāvratipāda has also been identified in this article as part of the SAUMAU of Bhūvācārya.

<sup>50</sup>It has been suggested by Prof. Harunaga Isaacson that the portion missing here might have read *śuddhāvāsadevanikāye* or *śuddhāvāsakāyikadevanikāye*. This conjecture is substantiated by CAPĪTA I.1.1c *śuddhāvāsikāvasthānam* and the commentary to that verse by Bhavabhaṭṭa (CAPĪNI Kaiser ms. 1<sup>r</sup>): *śuddhāvāsikāvasthānam iti—śuddhāvāsikā devās, tān avatīti śuddhāvāsikāvah, sumeruḥ. tatra sthānaṃ sthītir yasya sa tathā. sumeruḥpr̥ṣṭhe kūṭāgārāvasthā ity arthaḥ*. The subject here is *bhagavān*, the speaker of the tantra (the neuter stands for masculine). It is also possible that the reading was *śuddhāvāsikadevanikāye*.

<sup>47</sup>+ + + nikāye] Ms. pc., nikāyo Ms. ac.

<sup>48</sup>mūlatantraṃ] *em.*; mūlatantraṃ Ms.

<sup>49</sup>tantrarājasya] *conj.*; tantr+ + (j)asya Ms.

The CAPĪMAU is translated into Tibetan with the not unfounded attribution to Āryadeva. This Tibetan conviction stretches on for at least six centuries. In the meantime the Caryāvratipāda CAPĪMAU continues to circulate in Nepal as an independent work. A copy is retrieved from there in the 18th century and re-translated by the Tibetan scholar Si tu paṅ chen. He does not change the author in the edition of the Canon he supervised.

What remained of Āryadeva's work after extracting the first three chapters and circulating it as an independent work, that is, chapter four and onwards, is separately translated into Tibetan as the \**Mantrāṃśā*, one of the two auxiliary tantras to the CAPĪTA. However, the Tibetan \**Mantrāṃśā* is twice the size of the surviving Āryadeva recension. The single surviving ms. of this work seems to end half-way through the text.

It is quite evident that the Tibetan translators encountered the *Catuṣpīṭha* tradition at a stage where it was still (or, yet again?) quite malleable.

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M MBB-I-49. 127 folios, palm-leaf, Old Newari script. Undated, 12–13th century.

N NAK 5-38 [= NGMPP B 112/4]. 74 folios, paper, Common Newari script. Undated, modern. Originally in composite codex with ms. D. of the *mūla*.

N<sub>A</sub> MBB-I-43, apograph of N. 138 pages, paper, Common Newari script. Undated, modern.

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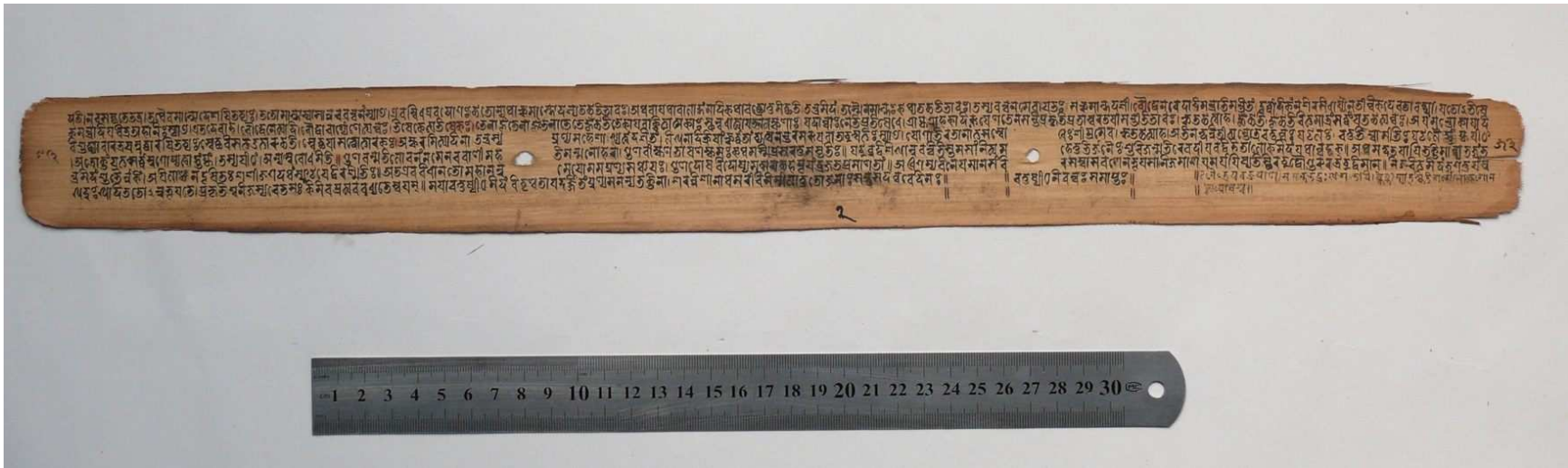
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