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PROLEGOMENA TO AN EDITION  
OF THE PAÑCARAKṢĀ

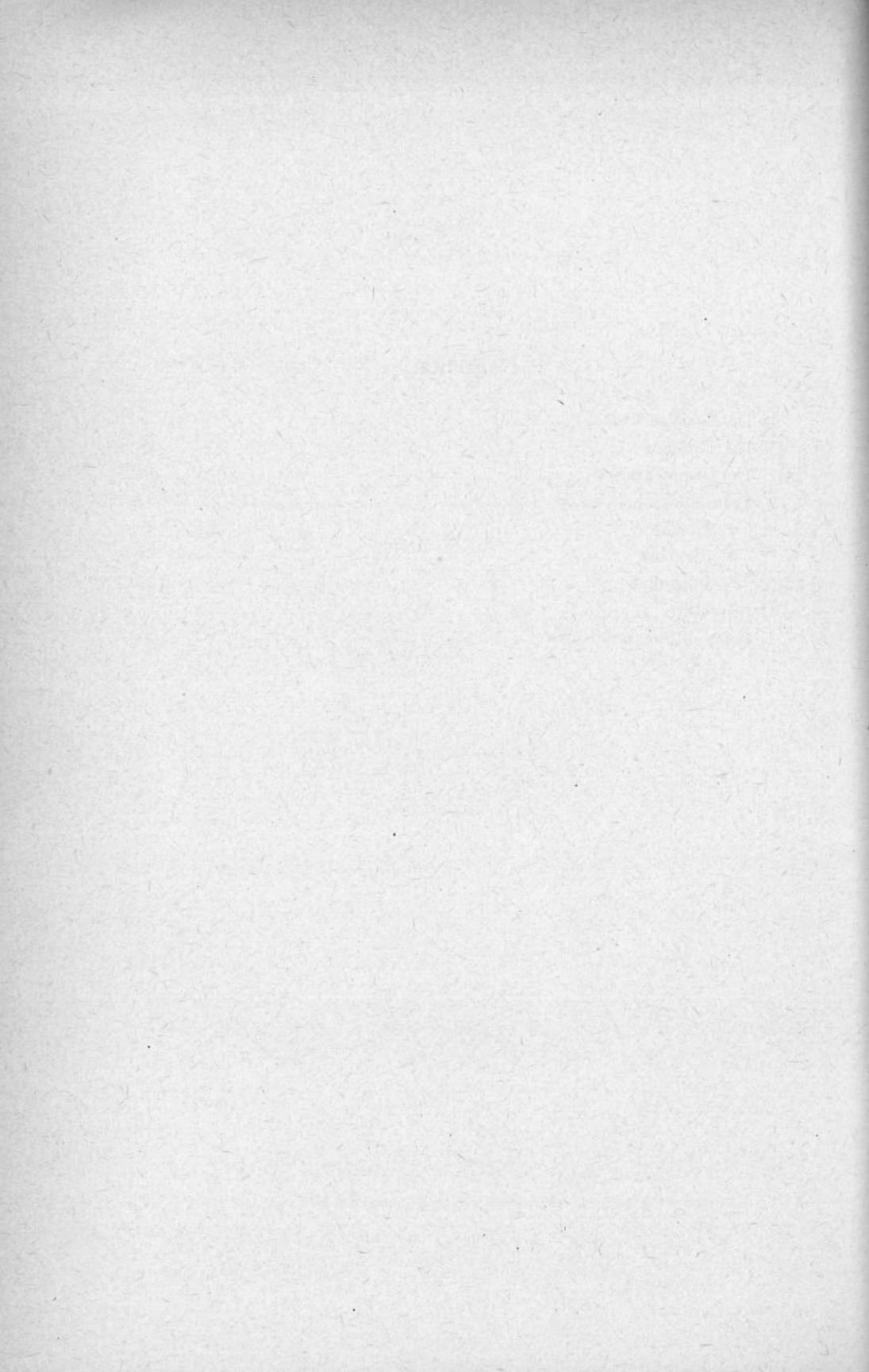
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## **Prolegomena to an Edition of the Pañcarakṣā.**

### **I. The Sanskrit Text.**

One of the most popular Mahāyānistic works is the Pañcarakṣā, a collection of five independent works. The collective title does not, however, occur in the Kanjur, though the texts themselves are to be found in the same order. This title must in any case be very old since there are so many Sanskrit manuscripts and Tibetan translations bearing it. In the Tanjur we meet furthermore two commentaries on the collection as a whole.

Our text owes its popularity to its tantristic value, because of which it has also been used in Buddhist oaths in Nepal (cf. B. H. Hodgson, Essays on Nepal and Tibet, London 1874, p. 18. Wright, Nepal p. 147 fn., Lévi, Népal II, p. 207). European libraries, according to the printed catalogues available, possess many copies of the Pañcarakṣā in Sanskrit. E.g. Bendall, Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library Cambridge (Cambridge 1883) Nos. Add. 1325, 1460, 1475, 1550, 1644, 1647, 1656, 1662, 1688, 1701; Winternitz-Keith, Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library (Oxford 1905) No. 1447, 1448; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Fonds Sanscrit, Nos. 67, 86; Paris, Soc. Asiatique Ms. Sanscrit No. 20; London, British Museum, Oriental 6903, 11124 (with miniatures), 11125 (abridged version with miniatures), India Office Library 1783.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Other MSS. of. these texts are mentioned by Rajendralal Mitra, Nepal Buddh. Lit., Calcutta 1882, p. 164 ff.

The five texts in the order in which they are found both in the Kanjur and in the independent manuscripts are as follows:

I **Mahāsahasrapramardana-sūtra.**

Ston čen po rab tu 'joms pa žes bya ba'i mdo.

Otani No. 177, Sendai No. 558, Ligeti No. 179, Bunyiu Nanjio No. 784, Beckh *Rgyud* 14, 91—125, Csoma 13, 1—39, Schmidt 14, 63—87.

II **Mahāmāyūrīvidyārājñī.**

Rig snags kyi rgyal mo rma bya čen mo.

Otani No. 178, Sendai No. 559, Ligeti No. 180, Bunyiu Nanjio No.'s 306—311, Beckh *Rgyud* 14, 125—169, Csoma 13, 39—86, Schmidt 14, 87—117.

III **Mahāpratisaravidyārājñī.**

Rig snags kyi rgyal mo so sor 'brañ ba čen mo.

Otani No. 179, Sendai No. 561, Ligeti No. 181, Beckh *Rgyud* 14, 169—197, Csoma 13, 86—117, Schmidt 14, 117—138.

IV **Mahāśītavani.**

Bsil ba'i chal čen po'i mdo.

Otani No. 180, Sendai No. 562, Ligeti No. 182, Beckh *Rgyud* 14, 197—212, Csoma 13, 117—134, Schmidt 14, 138—150.

V **Mahāmantra-anudhāri.**

Gsai snags čen po rjes su 'jin pa'i mdo.

Otani No. 181, Sendai No. 563, Ligeti No. 183, Beckh *Rgyud* 14, 212—220, Csoma 13, 134—143, Schmidt 14, 150—156.

Fragments of certain works of this group have been found in Turkestan (see the Petrovsky fragments published by Oldenburg). Among the Bower Manuscripts there is a longer fragment of the *Mahāmāyūrī* (see *Nāvanītakam* pp. 143—148). We may be justified in supposing that it is the *Mahāmāyūrī* that is the oldest, the central work of this group since the basis of the work, the story of the peacock king Suvarṇa-avabhāsa, can be traced back to Pali *jātakas*: No. 159 *Morajātaka* and No. 491 *Mahāmorajātaka* (ed. of Fausböll II 33 ff. and IV 332 ff.).

The other texts have been grouped around the Mahāmāyūrī. It is noted that the Chinese Tripitaka has no translations at all of Mahāśītavānī and Mahāmantra-anudhārī, and only one of Mahā-sahasrapramardana and Mahāpratisara, while Mahāmāyūrī has been translated again and again (in all 6 times) between the years 317 and 907. Furthermore the various MSS. and versions of the last three texts mentioned reveal some uncertainty about their Sanskrit titles: °pratisara and °pratisarī, °śītavānī, °śītavana and °śītavatī, °anudhārī, °anudhārī and °anusārinī occur in them.

The Turkestan finds referred to above contain fragments of Mahāmāyūrī and Mahāsaḥasrapramardana only, though this may, of course, be due to pure chance.

Oldenburg has published samples of the Pañcarakṣā in ZVOIRAO XI pp. 207—264, and especially (on pp. 218—261) the Mahāmāyūrī in extenso according to the India Office Library manuscript No. 1783. Later on Sylvain Lévi (JA 1915 pp. 19 ff.) treated the Yaksā-catalogue of this work (Oldenburg pp. 231—234), comparing certain other manuscripts at the same time, principally the Bibl. Nat. sanscrit 67 (marked D by Lévi).

It has not yet been possible to compare more manuscripts, but I have been able to establish that the Ms. D of Lévi and the Ms. Brit. Mus. Oriental 11124 show a common interpolation: a catalogue of Rāksasī has been inserted in the text of the Māhāmāyūrī after the passage corresponding to Oldenburg p. 244 line 17. The spurious character of this passage is proved by several peculiarities. Even the introductory words differ totally from the routine in the »genuine» catalogues in Mahāmāyūrī, e.g. (Oldenburg p. 243) *udgr̥hṇa tvaṁ Ānanda mahārākṣasīnāṁ nāmāni // tadyathā //* etc. (cf. further pp. 246, 252, 253, 256 etc.). The catalogues, further, are in general followed by a sentence like (Oldenburg p. 244) *tā apy anayā Mahā-māyūryā vidyārājñyā mama sarvasattvānāṁ ca rakṣāṁ kurvantu guptim paritrāṇam* etc., and this is totally lacking here. It must be presumed that the interpolated passage has been taken as such probably from a work of a medico-magical character and inserted in the text of Māhāmāyūrī. In the form in which it now is encountered

in our MSS. both the language and the metre are obviously incorrect on several points. One or more pādas have sometimes been dropped, and later copyists have tried to correct this deficiency by inserting additional pādas in the text. The London Ms. uses a special sign after every śloka, but here the copyist has often been uncertain where there the end of a complete śloka comes and has dared to place the sign after some ślokas only.

I give below the text of this interpolation according to the Ms. of Paris together with the variants of the London Ms. and some notes by my highly esteemed teacher and friend Helmer Smith. Photographs of the corresponding leaves of the Ms. of Paris follow.

1 (Ms. Paris fol. 75 b 2, Ms. London fol. 73 a 4):

yāś cānanda bhūmicarā yā rāksasyo mahardhikā [mahābalās]  
[tāsān] nāmāni kīrttayisyāmi vadatas tāni me śṛṇu //

nandā caīva sunandā ca pūtanā vraphnitā tathā  
viṣṇutā kusumā caīva dharmāvacara-rākṣasī //

5 aśodhitā ta ( $m^2$  thā) rākṣasī kakāmainikā caīva rākṣasī  
kakāminī ca rākṣasī

(a b-pāda on the place of an a-pāda, cf. below 11 a and c, 12 a and c,  
°mainikā to end is a correct pāda)

sunandā ca yamā caīva raudradattā ca rākṣasī //

puṣpagandhā ca puṣpā ca puṣpāhalālā ca rākṣasī  
puṣpamālā ca

asor viheṭhikā caīva varddhikā caīva rākṣasī //

ekākī vṛṣalā caīva rākṣasī ( $m^2$  rucakesinī) lalānavamitrā

10 candanāpi ca rākṣasī

ekākī pr̄ṣalā caīva rākṣasī / valalāvanā ca nandanāpi ca rākṣasī  
pingalā ca viśalā ca sudharmā [ca] caturottarā [śinī]

vimalā ca sudhā ca dramtturā rucakesinī //

āpurā gaśurā bhūṣilānandā ca rākṣasī

vṝṣṭiśilā nandā rākṣasī

kūpaka (fol. 76 a 1) rññā ca keśī ca śamkhamālā ca rākṣasī //

mahokṣitikā makṣakodā nāgadantā 'py aśallikā

15 śalyavrttir mahādvīpā pūtanā vāce rocanā //

cātharācanā

卷之三

१५। एवं विद्युत्तमाला विद्युत्तमा विद्युत्तमा विद्युत्तमा  
१६। विद्युत्तमा विद्युत्तमा विद्युत्तमा विद्युत्तमा विद्युत्तमा

३५  
विद्युत्तमाना विद्युत्तमाना विद्युत्तमाना विद्युत्तमाना विद्युत्तमाना  
विद्युत्तमाना विद्युत्तमाना विद्युत्तमाना विद्युत्तमाना विद्युत्तमाना

३४८

puṣpadantā ca dantī ca aśokā padumāvatī  
 cāpyaśokā padumāvatīstathā  
 (padumāvatī being a prakrit-form some copyist can have read *padmā-*  
*vatī tathā*, but *a-* in *aśokā* breaks the metrum).  
 vārālatadhilā caiva sivadāśī yaśodharā //  
 kapilī dhācalā vā ca  
 (perhaps *kapilī dhāvalā caiva*).  
 girimitrā bhadraruhā sūryakarṇṇā mahāgrasā  
 viśālā kākadantā ca keśinī lohināśikā //  
 (lohināśikā for *lohanāśikā* is strange)  
 20 mudgā śusīmā kośārī kumitrā caiva rākṣasī  
 kāmā bahukumanḍā ca viviktā caiva rākṣasī //  
 padumā nāma gandhāre kuntyām ca dhararākṣasī //  
 kuntyām ca dhara rākṣasī / padumā nāma rākṣasī  
 analā nāma valkale mahānāśā ca kāsmīre  
 padumā nāma gandhāre analā nāma valkale  
 aviśare ca kuñjarā subhadrā ca mathurāyām //  
 (to be read *Abhisāre?*).  
 mahānāśā ca kasmīre aviśare kuñjarā  
 25 sāke kuntarākṣasī rudradattā takṣasile //  
 subhadrā ca mathurāyām sāke kunta rākṣasī  
 sūryakarṇṇā ca sākale heśinī dvārā ( $m^2$  kā) (fol. 74 a 1) yām  
 rudradattā takṣasile sūryakarṇṇā ca sākale  
 kavicāyām ca bīmbaśī  
 heśinī dvārākāyām makāvicām ca bīmbaśī  
 (The reading in D is also a *b-pāda*).  
 kavicāyām puṣpadantī mihilānagare sthitā  
 kapicāyām puṣpadantī ca himilānagale sthitā  
 (Perhaps the *Kapiśa* or Kabul district is meant; the various readings  
 are obviously based on a ditto-graphy or contamination)  
 viśālā nāma dravyesu ujjayanyām ca pīngalā  
 (Ujjayanyām as locative also in the yakṣa-catalogue, verse 16).  
 30 pihitā nāma gudrahe (?) maśūvāyān turivāsinī  
 nandā kuñjavanorvyām ca vīmā vasati rākṣasī  
 tarhī tārupuṭātībhī rākṣasībhīḥ sadā vṛtā  
 tirupuruñjanī (?)  
 mapeṭā ca camenā ca varddhamāne nivāsinī

१५८ यहाँ तक कि विद्युत नहीं आया। यहाँ यहाँ इसी तरह बढ़ा  
वाला एक विद्युत उपकरण है। यहाँ यहाँ इसी तरह बढ़ा  
वाला एक विद्युत उपकरण है।

देवता परम अस्ति न देवता न देव ॥ ५५ ॥

यो काविद्युषं श्रीमद्भगवत्पूर्वकं । एवं इति श्रीमद्भगवत्पूर्वकं ॥

upetā ca kupeṭā ca kuṭi tathā (?) nivāsikā  
 upetya ca kupeṭya ca (?)

35 astyāyām rāksasī bhīmā piṅgalā nāma kathyate  
 astyadre (?)

pañcaputraśataiḥ sārdham̄ sarvāmadhyani pātini //  
 kasya tv araksitā putrā kasya hemadanodakam  
 hedamanodakam

ucchiṣṭā bhecarantī hasthasā ( $m^2$  yām ca) vidyate //  
 gaṇḍamālā śirobhūtvā (?) viśarppāś ca vicarddhikāḥ

40 piṭakā lohalingāś ca haranty ojāmsi dehinām //  
 (piṭaka for piṭikā 'pustule').  
 etāḥ prāṇaharā loke sadā mattāś carant' iha  
 satvānām upaghātāya praduṣṭā mamacetasām (?) //  
 pāñcikasya ca yā bhāryā hāritī nāma viśrutā  
 pañcabhir duhitrśataiḥ [h]s tiṣṭhate parivārītā //

45 pañcajāmātrśataiḥ pañcaputraśataiḥ vṛtā  
 puraskṛtā ca sā nityam̄ pañcabhis tu śivāṣataiḥ //  
 vimāne sarvatobhadre śucigandhe ( $m^2$  manāpake)  
 nagare pāṭaliputre ca varadeśe nivāsinī //  
 etāḥ sarvāś ca rāksasyo maharddhiko mahābalāḥ  
 (To be read maharddhikamahābalāḥ).

50 vasanti deśadeśeṣu prthak sutvālayeṣu ca  
 (To be read satvālayeṣu).  
 yo bhūto na pramuñceta śrutvēdām rāksasīgaṇāḥ  
 saptadhāsyā sphuṭen mūrdhā arjakasyēva mañjarī[ḥ] //

## II. Hṛdayas.

We encounter in the various mdo-mān collections Tibetan concentrated summaries, hṛdayas of the texts of the Pañcarakṣā cycle. I quote in the following the hṛdayas contained in the mdo-mān preserved in the Helsinki University Library (see my catalogue »Le Mdo-mān conservé à la Bibliothèque Universitaire de Helsinki», Helsinki 1952). In this drafting the main body of every hṛdaya seems to be metrically or quasi-metrically composed. The writer handles his Tibetan in a very personal way and was obviously ignorant of Sanskrit.<sup>1</sup>

(Ča. fol. 15 r 3) rgya gar skad du / ārya mahāsatā āpra- (4)  
mardaṇa sūtra / bod skad du / 'phags pa ston čhen mo rab tu  
'joms pa'i sñin po / sans rgyas dan / byan čhub sems (5) dpa' thams  
čad la phyag 'chal lo /

ston čhen rab tu 'joms pa mo /

lha mo nad kun 'phrog ma ste /

sdañ pa'i sems (15 v 1) čan 'joms pa mo /

phyag ston ldan žin dbu ston ma /

spyan gyi ni rnams brgyan ma /

bdag ni mos pas phyag 'chal lo /

(2) om a bhrum mahā svāhā / śra pramadhani / 'phags ma ston  
čhen mo'i sñin po rjogs sho //

rgya gar skad du / (3) ārya mahāmayuri hridaya / bod skad du /  
'phags ma rma bya čhen mo'i sñin po / rma bya čhen mo la phyag  
'chal lo /

<sup>1</sup> I have to express my gratitude to my friend Nils Simonsson, Lic. Phil. (Uppsala), for his valuable aid in elaborating the Tibetan passages of this paper.

dug dañ (4) klu'i bdud 'joms ma /  
rma bya'i rgyal mo gser snañ ma /  
sems čan rnams la bde gter ma /  
bdag ni gus pas phyag (5) 'chal lo /  
om ā man ma hā yū ri hūm phaṭ / 'phags ma rma bya čhen  
mo'i sñin po rjogs sho //

rgya gar skad du / (fol. 16 r 1) ārya mahā pratitira byed du ran  
ñi ta mahāyanasu (SIC !) / bod skad du / 'phags ma ( $m^2$  so so 'breñ  
ma'i sñin po) so so 'breñ ma čhen mo la phyag (2) 'chal lo /

sku gsun thugs kyi yoñs rjogs pas /  
dus gsum sans rgyas rnams dañ mchuñs gyur kyañ /  
'gro ba'i (3) don du lha mo'i skur ston ma /  
so so 'breñ ma khyod la phyag 'chal lo /  
om mañi dhari bjreni mahāpratisare hūm hūm phaṭ phaṭ svāhā  
( $m^2$  'phags ma) (4) so so 'breñ ma'i sñin po rjogs sho //

rgya gar skad du / ārya mahā sa hrīdaya (SIC !) / bod skad du /  
'phags (5) ma bsil ba'i mchal čhen mo'i sñin po / sans rgyas dañ /  
byañ čhub sems dpa' thams čad la phyag 'chal lo / (16 v 1)

bsil ba'i mchal kyi mdo thugs rje čan /  
rgyal čhen bžis ni bsrungs pa čhe /  
sdañ ba'i sems čan bzlog byed ma /  
phan (2) gnod brcer dgons khyod la 'dud /  
om a bjra ma tan si ri hūm / 'phags pa bsil ba'i mchal gyi sñin  
po rjogs (3) sho //

rgya gar skad du / arya mahā sutra anu ridaya (SIC !) / bod  
skad du / 'phags (4) pa gsañ snags čhen mo rjes su 'jin pa'i sñin po /  
sans rgyas dañ / byañ čhub sems dpa' thams čad la phyag (5) 'chal  
lo / 'phags ma gsañ snags čhen mo rjes su 'jin pa la phyag 'chal lo /  
rjes su 'jin ma mthu stobs (fol. 17 r 1) čan /  
gnod par sems pa'i bgegs 'dul ma /  
rgyan grags gčig nas mchams bčod čin (2)  
bsrungs ba'i dus su ñier gnas ma /  
gnod byed kun gyi rjes 'jin ma /  
'gro ba'i don du bdag phyag 'chal /

(3) om āḥ hūm / ma hā mantra anusari hūm phaṭ / 'phags ma  
bsaṅ snags čhen mo rjes su 'jin pa'i sñin po (4) rjogsho //

'di bston pas rtog gzuṇs ston par 'gyur ro // 'di rnams thams (5)  
čad gnubs lo ca ba byams pa dpal gyis sbyar ba'o / om va gi śva  
ri mum / om ma ni padme hūm / om bajrā pa ni hūm / bkris /

### III. The Commentaries.

The importance and popularity of the Pañcaraksā are also shown by the fact that we have several commentaries and explicative works for the whole collection as well as for its components. Thus, according to the Sendai Tanjur Catalogue there are Bsrūn ba lha'i čho ga (No. 3126), Pañcarakṣārcanavidhi: Bsrūn ba lha'i mčhod pa'i čho ga (No. 3128) and Pañcaraksāvidhi: Bsrūn ba lha'i čho ga. (No. 3596). As to Mahāsahasrapramardanī, we have a Śatasahasraṭīkā: Ston čhen po rab tu 'joms pa'i mdo'i 'bum 'grel lo (No. 2690) and Mahāsahasrapramardanīśādhana: Ston čhen po rab tu 'joms pa'i sgrub thabs (No. 3253), Ston čhen mo rab tu 'joms ma žes bya ba'i sgrüb thabs (No. 3379), Ārya mahāsahasrapramardanīśādhana: 'phags ma ston čhen mo rab tu 'joms ma'i sgrub thabs (No. 3587), Ston čhen mo rab tu 'joms ma'i sgrub thabs (No. 3121). There is also a Śatasahasraṭīkā to Mahāmāyūrī: Rig snags kyi rgyal mo rma bya čhen mo'i mdo'i 'bum 'grel žes bya ba (No. 2691), and several sādhana-texts (Nos. 3120, 3252, 3378, 3586). The Mahāpratisarā does not seem to be commented upon in a tīkā, though we have several sādhanas (No.'s 3251, 3376, 3583, 3584), a Cakralekhanavidhi (No. 3127), a Cakranibandhana (No. 3117), a 'Khor lo bri ba'i thabs (No. 3118), a Sruṇ ba (No. 3124) and Rig pa'i čho ga (No. 3125). Mahāśītavanī is explained in a Śatasahasraṭīkā (No. 2693) and several sādhanas (No.'s 3255, 3381, 3589, 3123) and Mahāmantra-anudhārī also in a Satasahasraṭīkā (No. 2692) and several sādhanas (Nos. 3254, 3380, 3588, 3122).

I am preparing an edition of these commentaries, and present below the Pañcarakṣārcanavidhi according to the Oslo Tanjur (volume Pu fol. 230 ff.).

(Pu fol. 230 r 2) rgya gar skad du / pañcarakṣārcanabiddhiḥ /  
 bod skad du (3) bsruṇ ba līṇī mchöd pa'i čho ga / bčom līdan 'das  
 ma so sor 'brañ ma la phyag 'chal lo / om āh dpal līdan rdo rje žes  
 pa la sogs pa ni

gnod sbyin sa za srin po chogs kyis skrag par byed čin brnag  
 dka'i jigs pa rnams dañ /

lo ſes ſer 'che nad dañ čhu srin rnams kyis (4) mnan pa'i 'gro  
 ba 'di gzigs nas /

brcer līdan thams čad mkhyen pa yis ni so sor 'brañ ma rtag  
 tu byuṇ ba yin /

bčom līdan 'das mi mchog gi dbañ phyug don kun phun chogs  
 mjad ma de la 'dud /

ōm āh hūm / svabhāba śuddhaḥ sarba dharmah svabhāba  
 śuddho 'ham / om ſūnyatā jñāna bajra (5) svabhāba ātmako 'ham /  
 sems čan thams čad ſe bar gzuṇ ba'i ſlad du bdag ſid so sor 'brañ  
 ma'i gzugs su bsgom par bya ſte / lag pa gyas su ām-yig gis ſi  
 ma'i dkyil 'khor dañ lag pa gyon par ā-yig gis zla ba'i dkyil 'khor  
 ro / lag pa'i duñ dag la hūm- (6) yig-gis rdo rje rce līna par rnam  
 par bsgoms nas / pan ſkor gyis duñ byin gyis? brlab po / om ma  
 ni dhari bajra ni mahā bratisare rakṣa rakṣa hūm hūm svāhā /  
 om ſarba bighnam? utpāraya hūm / om puspe žes pa la sogſ pas me  
 tog la sogſ byin gyis brlab bo / om āh hūm rakṣa rakṣa phaṭ  
 svāhā / om ? sthānam me rakṣa hūm / om yoga me rakṣa hūm /  
 om ātmānam me rakṣa hūm / de nas rai gi ſniñ? gar a-yig gis zla  
 ba'i dkyil 'khor de'i ſten du pram gyi yi ge bsams nas / de'i 'od  
 zer gyis bla ma dai byañ čhub (230 v 1) sems dpa' la sogſ pa ſnañ  
 bar byas ſiñ / sems čan gyi don byas ſiñ / 'og min gyi gnas su ſon  
 ſte / ſo ſor 'brañ ma čhen mo 'khor dañ bčas pa mdun gyi nam  
 mkha'i gnas su bltas ſiñ dgug go / om bajra cakre hūm / om bajram-  
 kuṣajah / om bajrapāśa hūm / om bajra sphoṭa bam? / om bajrā-  
 beṣahoh / om āh hī pañcarakṣāyai praṇarasatkarāya argham pra-  
 tīccha hūm svāhā / žes pa la sogſ pa'o / me tog dkod pa ni / om  
 maṇidhari bajri ni ma hā pratisare hūm hūm phaṭ svāhā / dbus ſu  
 'o / om amṛta bare brabar biṣuddhe hūm hūm phaṭ svāhā / ſar

ru'o / om amṛtabilokini garbha sam (3) rakṣaṇī ā karṣaṇī hūṁ hūṁ  
 phaṭ svāhā / lho ru'o / om bimale bipule jayabarejaya hūṁ hanī-  
 rurucale hūṁ hūṁ phaṭ svāhā / nub tu'o / om bhara bhara sam-  
 bhara sambhara indriyabala biśodhani hūṁ hūṁ phaṭ svāhā / byan  
 du'o / grva rnams su / om kālīye svāhā / mer ro / om kālā ratrīye  
 svāhā / (4) bden bral du'o / om kālākarṇīye svāhā / rluñ du'o /  
 om śritīye svāhā / dhan ldan du'o / om bajrāṁ kuśīye svāhā /  
 śar sgor ro / om bajrapāśīye svāhā / lho sgor ro / om bajra sphoṭīye  
 svāhā / nub sgor ro / om bajrabesiye svāhā / byan sgor ro / om  
 gandharbhebhyaḥ svāhā / śar (5) ru'o / om kumbhaṇḍebhyaḥ svāhā /  
 lho ru'o / om nāgebhyaḥ svāhā / nub tu'o / om yakṣābhyaḥ svāhā /  
 byan du'o / om megholkāyaiḥ ? svāhā / om śitāṁśave svāhā / om  
 raktāṁgakumārāya svāhā / om budhāya svāhā / om bhogāspadāya ?  
 svāhā / om asurottamāya svāhā / om kr̄navarnnāya svāhā / om  
 a (6) mṛtapriyāya svāhā / om jyotiketabe ? svāhā / om kṛttā-  
 kāya svāhā / om rohinye svāhā / om mṛgaśīrāyai svāhā / om  
 ādrāya ? svāhā / om punarbasabe svāhā / om puṣyāya svāhā / om  
 aśleśāya svāhā / om maghāya svāhā / om pūrbaphalguṇyai svāhā /  
 om uttaraphalguṇyai svāhā / om hastāya svāhā / (7) om citrāya  
 svāhā / om svātaye svāhā / om biśākhāya svāhā / om anuradhāya ?  
 svāhā / om jyesbāya ? svāhā / om mūlāya svāhā / om pūrba ād-  
 hāya ? svāhā / om uttarā ādhāya ? svāhā / om abhijitaye ? svāhā /  
 om śrābanāya svāhā / om dhanisīhāya svāhā / om satabhiśāya  
 svāhā / om pūrba (fol. 231 r 1) bhadrāya svāhā / om uttarabhadrāya  
 svāhā / om rebatyai svāhā / om aśvanyai svāhā / om bhariṇyai  
 svāhā / om īndrāya svāhā / om yamāya svāhā / om barunāya  
 svāhā / om kuberāya svāhā / om agnaye svāhā / om nairṛityāya ?  
 svāhā / om bāyabe svāhā / om iśānāya svāhā / om brahmaṇe svāhā /  
 (2) om prithibyai svāhā / om bemacitrebhyaḥ svāhā / žes pas mčhod  
 de /

kun da duñ dañ zla mdog 'dra /  
 rdo rje sems dpa'i bdag ūid mčhog /  
 phun sum chogs kun sbyin mjad ma /  
 so sor 'brañ ma khyod la 'dud /

kha dog gnag čin sgra čhen mo /  
 gdug pa 'jigs śin 'jigs (3) mjad ma /  
 gdul dka'i 'byuṇ po sdud par mjad /  
 khro mo'i rgyal la bdag phyug 'chal /

lha mo ye śes che las byuṇ /  
 gser mdog gi ni 'od mjad ma /  
 lha mo čhen mo rig snags rgyal /  
 rma bya la yaṇ bdag phyag 'chal /

kha dog mjes śin spyan rgyas pa /  
 čhu skyes (4) kha bye bžad pa mo /  
 dmār 'bar badma ? rāga ste /  
 'gro ba'i yum la phyag 'chal lo /

baidūrya yi 'od ltar snaṇ /  
 myos byed la brcon rnam par 'khor /  
 kākordha ni gčod mjad ma /  
 lha mo'i gzugs čan la phyag 'chal /

dban med bdag gis mi dge bgyis pa dan /  
 (5) bgyid du scal dan yi raṇ bgyis pa gaṇ /  
 de dag thams čad byaṇ čhub mčhog gi ni /  
 spyan sñar da ni so sor bśags par bgyi /

ma lus 'gro ba'i don rnams sgrub mjad pa /  
 zab čin gtiṇ med bde gšegs sras rnams kyi /  
 chogs gniṣ dan ni de las gžan la (6) yaṇ /  
 rtag tu bdag ni rjes su yi raṇ no /

žes pa ni / dan po'i rnal 'byor ro / de ma thag tu ? byams pa dan  
 sñin rje dan dga' ba dan btaṇ sñoms te ? chaṇs pa'i gnas pa bži  
 bsgom par bya'o / om svabhābaśuddhah / sarba dharmāḥ svabhāba  
 śuddho'ham / om śūnyatā jñāna bajra svabhā (7) ba ?tmako  
 'ham / de nas yam ram lam bam sum las gser gyi ri dan glin

rgya mchos 'khor yug tu yoñs su bskor ba / ram-yig gi ñi ma'i  
 dkyil 'khor / de'i steñ du hūm las skyes pa'i sna chogs rdo rje las  
 'od zer 'phros pa las rdo rje'i sa gži dañ rdo rje'i rab dañ rdo rje'i  
 gur dañ rdo rje'i bla re (231 v 1) bsgom par bya'o / de'i sten du  
 bhrūm-yig gis gru bži pa sgo bži pa rta babs bžis brgyan pa'i khañs  
 pa brcegs pa bsgom par bya'o / de'i dbus su bam-yig las skyes pa'i  
 sna chogs čhu skyes / de'i steñ du pram-yig gi sa bon las skyes (2)  
 pa'i 'od zer las skyes pa'i 'khor lo dkar po rcibs brgyad pa bsgom  
 par bya'o / rai gisabon dañ mchan pa yoñs su gyur pa las sna chogs  
 čhu skyes dañ zla ba la rdo rje skyil mo kruñ gis bžugs pa / dkar po  
 žal bži pa / gyas nag po / rgyab ser bo / gyon ljañ gu phyag (3)  
 brgyad pa / gyas kyi phyag dañ pos 'khor lo / gñis pas rdo rje /  
 gsum pas mda' / bži pas ral gri / gyon gyi dañ pos sdigs mjub dañ  
 rdo rje'i žags pa / gñis pas rce gsum / gsum pas gžu / bži pas dgra  
 sta bsname pa / spyan gsum pa / dbu la (4) mčhod rten gyis brgyan  
 pa / rgyan thams čad' kyis brgyan pa'i so sor 'brañ ma bsgom par  
 bya'o / de'i śar du hūm-yig sa bon las byuñ ba ston čhen mo rab  
 tu 'joms ma sna chogs čhu skyes dañ ñi ma la rol pa'i stabs kyis  
 bžugs pa / sku mdog nag mo / skra ser skya gyen du (5) brjes pa /  
 mi'i thod pa'i phren ba phrag par 'phyan ba / smin ma khro gñer  
 čan / mčhe ba gcigs pa'i žal rna rgyan dañ / dpun rgyan dañ / mu  
 tig gi do šal dañ gdu bu ste sna chogs pas brgyan pa / žal bži ma /  
 mdun nag mo / gyas dkar mo / rgyab ser mo / gyon (6) ljañ gu /  
 žal so so la spyan gsum ma / phyag brgyad pa / gyas kyi phyag  
 dañ pos mčhog sbyin / gñis pas lčags kyu / gsum pas mda' / bži pas  
 ral gri / gyon gyi phyag dañ pos sdigs mjub dañ žags pa / gñis pas  
 dgra sta / gsum pas gžu / (7) bži pas padma'i sten du rin po čhe  
 čha drug pa bsname pa / sna chogs pa'i rgyan gyis brgyan pa /  
 stobs čhen mo pha rol gnon pa / drag mo'i čha byad du sgom par  
 bya'o / lho ru sna chogs padma dañ zla ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi dbus  
 su / mam-yig las byuñ ba'i rma bya čhen mo ser mo (fol. 232 r 1)  
 sems dpa'i skyil kruñ čan / žal gsum ma / žal so so la spyan gsum  
 pa / rca ba'i žal ser mo / gyas nag mo / gyon dmar mo / phyag  
 brgyad pa / gyas kyi dañ pos mčhog sbyin / gñis pas rin po čhe'i  
 rgyun gyi bčam pa / gsum pas 'khor lo (2) bži pas ral gri / gyon gyi

phyag dañ pos snod kyi sten du dge sloñ / gñis pas rma bya'i  
 mdons gsum pas bum pa'i sten du sna chogs rdo rje / bži pas rin  
 po čhe'i rgyal mchan bsnams pa ? / rin po čhe'i čod pan čan / rgyan  
 thams čad kyis rnam par brgyan pa bsgom par bya'o / (3) nub tu  
 sna chogs pa dma'i sten du ñi ma'i dkyil 'khor gyi dbus su tram?-yig  
 las byun ba'i gsan snags rjes su 'brañ ba čhen mo dmar ba / žal  
 gsum pa / žal so so la spyan gsum ma / rca ba'i žal dmar mo /  
 gyas nag mo gyon dkar mo / phyag bču gñis ma / phyag (4) dañ po  
 dag gis čhos kyi 'khor lo'i phyag rgya byas pa / gñis pa dag gis  
 tin ne'i 'jin gyi phyag rgya / gsum pa dag gis mčhog sbyin žags pa  
 'jin pa / bži pa dag gis mi 'jigs pa dañ padmas mchan pa'i bum pa  
 'jin pa / lña pa dag gis rdo rje ? dañ rin po čhe 'jin pa / drug pa  
 dag (5) gis mda' dañ gžu 'jin pa / sems dpa'i skyil kruñ rin po  
 čhe'i čod pan čan / rgyan thams čad kyis brgyan pa / dar la bab  
 pa'i lan cho dañ ldan pa / do šal dañ gdu bus brgyan pa bsgom  
 par bya'o / byañ ? du sna chogs badma'i sten du zla ba'i dkyil  
 'khor gyi dbus su / šam-yig (6) las byun ba'i bsil ba'i chal čhen  
 mo ljañ gu / žal gsum ma / žal so so'i spyan gsum ma / rca ba'i  
 žal ljañ gu / gyas dkar mo / gyon dmar mo / gyas kyi phyag dañ  
 pos mi 'jigs pa / gñis pas rdo rje / gsum pas mda' / gyon gyi phyag  
 dañ (7) pos sdigs mjub dañ rdo rje žags pa / gñis pas rgyal mchan /  
 gsum pas gžu bsnams pa / rgyan thams čad kyis brgyan pa bsgom  
 par ? bya'o / mer sna chogs čhu skyes dañ ñi ma la nag mo gnag  
 čin phyag dag gis dun 'jin pa / bden bral du sna chogs čhu skyes  
 dañ (232 v 1) zla ba la dus mchan ma ser mo phyag dag gis dgra  
 sta 'jin pa / rluñ du sna chogs čhu skyes dañ ñi ma la rna ba nag  
 mo dmar ba / phyag dag gis rgyal mchan 'jin pa / dbañ ldan du  
 sna chogs padma dañ zla ba la dkar ba / phyag dag gis rce ? gsum  
 'jin pa / bži po 'di (2) rnams rdo rje'i skyil kruñ dañ / rin po čhe'i  
 čod pan čan / spyan gsum ma / dar la bab pa'i lan cho dañ ldan  
 par bsgom par bya'o / śar sgo jaḥ-yig las byun ba'i rdo rje lčags  
 kyu ma dkar mo phyag gyas pa lčags kyu'i chul / lhor hrūm-yig  
 las byun ba'i rdo rje žags pa (3) mo ser mo phyag gyas kyis žags pa  
 'jin pa / nub tu bam las byun ba'i rdo rje lčags sgrog pa dmar mo  
 phyag gyas rdo rje'i lčags sgrog gis mchan pa / byañ du ho-yig las

byuñ ba'i rdo rje 'bebs ma sno bsans phyag gyas kyis rdo rje dril bu  
 'jin pa / bži po 'di rnams sna chogs (4) badma dan ſi ma la rdo  
 rje'i skyil kruñ gis bžugs pa / spyan gsum ma / dar la bab pa'i  
 lan chos brgyan pa / rnam par bkra ba'i rin po čhe'i rgyan čan  
 bsgom par bya'o / šar lus 'phags por lha yul ba'i rnam par sna chogs  
 pa'i kha dog gi čha byad dan ldan pa'i dri za rnams so / 'jam (5)  
 bu glin du srin po ltar snañ žin geigs pa sna chogs pa'i čha byad čan  
 gyi grul bum rnams so / nub ba lan spyod du gdeñ kas mchan  
 ba'i mgo po sna chogs ba'i čha byad čan gyi rgyan 'jin pa'i klu  
 rnams so / byañ sgra mi sñañ du gnod sbyin gyi gzugs sna chogs  
 pa'i čha byad 'jin pa'i (6) lus nan ? rnams bsgom par bya'o / de  
 nas phyi rol du šar gyi phyogs su rta bdun ba'i ſin rta la gnas pa'i  
 ſi ma dmar po gyas dan gžan gyi phyag dag gis padma 'jin pa /  
 de'i gyon du zla ba ba la žon pa gyas dan gžan gyi phyag dag gis  
 ku muda 'jin pa / mer mig dmar (7) ra skyes la žon pa gyas  
 grikatṭā ? ra / gyon gyis mi'i mgo bo 'jin pa / lho ru gza' lhag ser  
 po badma la gnas pa mda' dan gžu 'jin pa / bden bral du phur bu  
 mdog dkar po glañ po čhe la žon ba phren ba dan spyi blugs 'jin  
 pa / nub tu padma la pa ba sañs dkar po phren skud ? (fol. 233 r 1)  
 dan spyi blugs 'jin pa / rluñ du rus sbal la spen pa nag po dbyug pa  
 dan phren ba 'jin pa / byañ du sgra gčan dmar nag ſi ma dan zla  
 ba'i 'jin pa / dbañ ldan du mjug rin gnag čiñ du ba'i mdog ral gri dan  
 sbrul žags 'jin pa'o / de nas pyi rol gyi khor (2) yug la šar gyi  
 phyogs su me thab kyi stan la gnas ba'i smin drug sno bsans / khyu  
 mčhog la žon pa'i snar ma dkar mo ? / ri dags la žon pa'i mgo nag  
 mo / sbrul čhen la gnas pa'i lag ser mo / padma la gnas pa'i nab so ?  
 ser mo / bum pa la gnas pa'i rgyal stobs nas (3) bya rog gi stan la  
 skag dkar mo / lho ru ma he'i stan la mčhu gur kum lta bu / rdo'i  
 stan la gre ljañ gu / rdo'i stan la sbo ljañ gu / glañ po čhe la žon  
 pa'i me bži dkar mo / rma bya la gnas pa'i nag pa ljañ gu / khyogs  
 la žon pa'i sa ri ser mo / lug la gnas pa'i sa gnag (4) gmo / nub tu  
 nan pa la gnas ba'i lha mchams sbo bsans / rus sbal la gnas pa'i  
 snon ser mo / la phug la gnas pa'i snrubs ser ma / stan nañ čhañs  
 čan la gnas pa'i čhu stod nag mo / ſin šar la gnas pa'i čhu smad

dkar mo / sen ge'i stan la gro bžin sno bsans (5) ro la gnas pa'i  
 byi bžin dkar mo / dom la gnas pa'i mon gru ser skya / sprin la  
 gnas mon gre nag mo / nañ pa la gnas pa'i khrum stod ljañ gu /  
 glañ la žon pa'i khrum smad ser mo / 'khor lo la gnas pa'i nam  
 gru ser skya / rta la žon pa'i dbyu ? gu dkar mo /

(inter lineas) man gru nas bru ?. rasura .. smad kyi bar gyi  
 bži bom phyil čhad pa kha skan ba yir yan gdan 'ri rnam mnes pa  
 sa .. ? .. byan dgom

(6) yi dags kyi stan la bra ſe ljañ gu ste / lha mo ſi ſu rca  
 brgyad po 'di rnam gyo ba'i stod gyogs gyon pa / thal ma sbyar  
 ba dag tu bsgom par bya'o / de'i phyi rol 'khor yug gsum pa la ſar  
 du / sa sruñ dkar po la žon pa'i dbañ po rdo rje 'jin pa / lho ru ma  
 he la žon pa'i (7) gšin rje nag po dbyug ba 'jin pa / nub tu čhu  
 srin la žon ba'i čhu lha dkar po gdeis ka bdun dañ ldan pa / sbrul  
 žags dañ dun 'jin pa / byan du mi la žon pa'i ku be ra ser po  
 lčags kyu dañ be čon 'jin pa / mer ra skyes la žon pa'i me lha dmar  
 po blugs gzar spyi blugs (233 v 1) 'jin pa / bden bral du ro la žon  
 ba'i srin ba'i bdag po snon po ral gri dañ phub 'jin pa / rluñ du ri  
 dags la žon pa'i rluñ lha snon po rluñ ras 'jin pa / dbañ ldan du  
 khyu mčhog la žon pa'i dbañ ldan dkar po / phyag na rce gsum dan  
 thod pa 'jin pa / 'di'i gyon lags su nañ (2) ba la žon pa'i chans pa  
 ser po gdon bži ba phyag bži pa thal mo sbyar ba'i phyag dag gis  
 bgrañ phreñ 'jin ſin dbyug pa dañ spyi blugs 'jin pa / bden bral  
 dañ čhu lha dag gi bar du nor 'jin ma ser mo phyag na gser gyi bum  
 pa / de'i gyon logs su gšin rje'i bran mo sno bsans ral / (3) gri dañ  
 phub 'jin pa'o / de nas yan lag dgod pa ni / ōm ah hūm sa sbāhā /  
 mig dag la bram / rna ba dag la bum / na dag la mam / kha dag la  
 ?am / reg bya dag jrim no ? / de nas rai gi ſñiñ gar gnas pa'i 'od  
 zer gyi 'od zer sna chogs pa'i 'jig rten gyi khams su spros te /  
 des ye (4) šes sems dpa' dañ dam chig sems dpa' lhan čig tu'o  
 mdañ čhu ltar ro gčig tu gyur bar bltas nas / abhi ſi ſica tu mām  
 sarba tathāgatā žes bas dbañ bskur bar gsol ba gdab bar byar  
 žin / ji ltar bltams pa cam gyis ni / žes ba la sogs pas čhu'i dbañ  
 bskur bar (5) bya'o / de nas mčhog pa dañ bstod pa bya ste /

sans rgyas thams čad skyed mjad čin /  
 sems čan kun la phan mjad ma /  
 sems čan kun gyi don bsgrub phyir /  
 bsrun ba lna la phyag bgyi'o /

gai nams chim pa ? cam gyis ni /  
 sems čan dge žin rgyal bar mjad /  
 phun (6) chogs thams čad sbyin mjad pa'i /  
 gza' nams dgu po khyod la 'dud /

rgyu skar ſi ſu rca brgyad po /  
 phyogs nams su ni bdun bdun gnas /  
 nad kun ſe bar ži bai' phyir /  
 de nams la ni gus phyag 'chal /

gai gi bsrun ba'i čho ga yis /  
 sems čan bde žin rgyal bar mjad / (7)  
 phyogs dan phyogs bral bžugs pa yi /  
 'jig rten skyon la phyag bgyi'o /

žes pa ni rnal 'byor gñis pa'o /

de nas dpral ba dañ mgrün pa dañ sñin ga ? nams su dkar po  
 dañ dmar po dañ nag po'i ōm āh hūm gi yi ge ſes par brtag par bya  
 žin / ji srid 'dod par bsgom (fol. 234 r 1) par bya'o / de nas sñin  
 ga'i sa bon gyi 'od zer gyis bkug pa'i dam chig sems dpa'i dkyil  
 'khor lta bu'i ye ſes sems dpa'i dkyil 'khor mdun gyi nam mkha'i  
 phyogs su bžugs bar bltas nas dgug pa la sogs pa ni snar bžin du  
 bya'o žes pa ni (2) phra mo'i rnal 'byor ro / de'i rjes su bzlas pa  
 bya ste / dgug pa la sogs pa čan snar bžin du ſes par bya'o / ſes pa  
 ni bzlas pa'i rnal 'byor ro / bhrūm las rin po čhe'i snod du kham-  
 yig las bza' ba la sogs pa / om āh hūm gis byin ? gyis brlabs nas /  
 de nams kyi 'od zer (3) gyis de bžin gšegs pa thams čad kyi ye ſes  
 bkug nas de ſnid du thim par bsam par bya'o / de nas 'jig rten skyon  
 ba nams dgug pa'i phyag rgya bstan la / mčhod yon la sogs bas  
 mchod de / om ma ha pra ti sa rā yai sbāhā / om ma hā sā hasra pra

mardaṇyai svāhā / om mahā (4) māyūryai svāhā / om mahā śīta-  
banyai svāhā / om ma hā mantrānusāriṇye svāhā /

sans rgyas bdag ūid čhen po ūid /  
rig pa'i lha mo stobs čhen mo /  
bdag gi khro gñer čan ūid dañ /  
lha mo sgron ma de bžin skyo /

rdo rje lčags ? sgrog dkar mo gañ /  
dkar mo čhen mo de bžin ūid / (5)  
rdo rje nag mo pho ūia mo /  
de bžin rdo rje'i pho ūia gžan /

žags bzañ rdo rje žags pa ma /  
rdo rje žags pa stobs čhen mo /  
de bžin nor čan skal čhen ma /  
padma 'khyil pa ūid dañ yan /

me tog so ma nor bu'i gcug /  
gser gyi skra ma ser skyā ma /  
gzi brjid čhen mo de bžin (6) du /  
nor čan lha mo glog phren ma /

srin mo dañ ni ral gčig ? ma /  
sans rgyas žin gi 'dren pa mo /  
thod pa čan ma skal čhen ma /  
de bžin nor čan lañ ka'i dbañ /

gžan yan sems čan rjes 'jin pa'i /  
rig ma mañ po 'di lta 'ste /  
nag po gcigs ma grul bum ma / (7)  
duñ čan ma dañ padma'i mchan /

'phrog ma skra ljañ dpal ldan ma /  
ser skyā mo ni ljañ gu ste /  
'phyan ma rab tu 'phyan ba mo /  
lha mo žags nag bum lho ma /

gśin rje'i pho ūa gśin rje'i srin /  
 'byun po za ma 'byun mo rnams /  
 gtor ma me tog bbug pa dri /  
 sgron ma'i da ? (234 v 1) ni so sor bžes /

žal zas dag kyan dbul bgyi žiñ /  
 dus kun du ni bsruñ bar mjud /  
 rnam pa kun ni bdag dañ ni /  
 'khor bčas ma lus sems čan gyi /

ñe bar 'che ñid thams čad dañ /  
 'jigs pa thams čad ñams par gyis /  
 de bžin rtag tu myur bar ni /  
 'chi (2) ltas kun dañ čher 'bab pa' na ? /

lo brgya ru ni 'cho gyur čig /  
 rtag tu ston brgya mthon bar šog /  
 rtag tu grub pa'i snags kyi gži /  
 bde legs dan ni gži chugs gyur /

slar yan mčhod de / ma rñed čes pa la sog pas bthod par gsol te  
 gšegs su gsol bar ? bya'o / (3) bsruñ ba lna'i mčhod pa'i čho ga rjogs  
 so // rgya gar śar phyogs kyi pañdita čhen po / nags kyi rin čhen  
 kyi žal sna nas dañ / gžon nu dpal gyis bsgyur ba'o //  
 gza' dgu'i mčhod pa'i čho ga bžugs / . . .

## IV. Translations.

### 1. Tibetan

The first translations of the *Mahāmāyūrī* into Chinese seem to be the oldest of all the translations of the works of this cycle. They can obviously be traced back to some older and shorter drafts of the text itself (cf. Lévi p. 24 and Watanabe). The last of the Chinese versions was checked and corrected by Amoghavajra, who is mentioned by Bu-ston as the translator of the *Pañcarakṣā* into Tibetan. The Tibetan version was thus younger and obviously also based on some longer draft.

The Tibetan version available to me is the xylograph marked H. 3503 of the Hedin Collection from the State Ethnographical Museum of Sweden, Stockholm. It bears *grva līa* as its collective title; in the older sources the work is called *bsruṇ ba līa*.

As translators into Tibetan Otani cites Śīlendrabodhi, Jñāna-siddhi, Śākyaprabha and Ye-ses-sde for *Mahāsahasrapramardana*, *Mahāmāyūrī* and *Mahāmantra-anudhāri*, and as later correctors of the first text Bžon-nu Dpal and Phyag-kho. Our Tibetan text contains colophons of *Mahāmāyūrī* and *Mahāpratisara*, the latter being translated by Jinamitra and Dānaśīla and Ye-ses-sde. The Mongolian Kanjur gives also the names of the translators of *Mahāśītavanī* (Ligeti p. 57 No. 181): *bandita Si lendr a bodhi kigel / Jnana siddhi lug a / Sakia prabha kigel / lochav a bande Je ses sde ber orči-gulugad sin e ajalgu bar žasažu magad tur bagulgabai / qojina 'Gos žalagu čog tu ber Phyags lochav a jin enedkeg un eke bičig eče arig-udgabai //* According to the colophon of the Mongolian *Mahāpratisari* in the Kanjur (Ligeti p. 56 No. 181) the same Phyag has, together with Kumāraśī, corrected the older translation by the

scholars mentioned above, after having collated it with the Sanskrit original: Phyag may be the same person as Phyag-kho in Otani No. 177. The History of Buddhism by Bu-ston tells us (p. 219) that Rin-čhen-grags-pa of Pha-ri invited the Pañdita Amoghavajra and translated the Amoghapāśa (Don-yod-žags-pa), the Pañcaraksā (Bsruiñ-ba-līna), the works of the cycle Vijaya vidāraṇī (Rnam-rgyal-rnam-'joms) etc. In Otani their names occur as translators of the Amoghapāśa-hṛdaya (No. 366) and Marīcī-nāma-dhāraṇī (No. 182 Ligeti No. 184, Lalou No. 20). It seems to me that the colophon of the last text belongs also to the Pañcaraksā cycle immediately preceding it. There are also extracts — hṛdayas — of the Pañcaraksā texts, the Nos. BB 10—114 in Lalou (= Aalto Nos. 11—15). The colophon of the last of them reads as follows: 'di bston pas rtog gzuñs ston par 'gyur ro / 'di rnams thams čad gnubs lo ca ba byams pa dpal gyis sbyar ba'o / om etc. In Lalou this colophon, which obviously also belongs to the extract of Mahāśamnipātaratnaketu-dhāraṇī (Lalou No. BB 9, Aalto No. 10), has erroneously been inserted after Mahāśītavanahṛdaya (No. BB 13). Amoghavajra is also mentioned as the translator of the śatasahasraṭīkā's of the Pañcaraksā cycle (cf. above).

## 2. U i g u r i a n

That there also has been an Uigurian version of the Pañcaraksā is proved by the statement in the colophon of the oldest Mongolian version, that the translators into Mongolian used the Uigurian version also (see p. 34 below). This very statement is met with in several Mongolian sources (cf. below) but has been misinterpreted (e.g. in Žirüken-ü tolta and consequently also by Schmidt in his Sagang-Secen edition p. 398) as meaning the Tangutan, i.e., in their opinion, Tibetan, version.

Among the fragments in the »Uigurische Sprachdenkmäler» by W. Radloff and S. Malov (Leningrad 1928) No. 103 (p. 194) is obviously one of a Pañcaraksā commentary. I have not yet, how-

ever, been able to identify this fragment, which seems to be very clumsily edited. The dhāraṇī transcribed by the editors as *mta piratisari ja parijari . . . mukāṇ sariṇ trmanam atirut . . . at nom a kūṇ pun svaka* should probably be read *mahā pratisarīye* (or -āyai) *pari . . . sarva dharmānām . . . ḥōṁ ā hūṁ phaṭ svāhā*. This fragment seems to be sufficient proof of the fact that also texts belonging to the Tanjur have been translated into Uigurian. In the same collection of Uigurian fragments we find a fragment of the Uigurian translation of the Mahāmāyūrī, viz. No. 60 (p. 109); cf. Sinor, On Turkish Buddhism in Central Asia, Kőrösi Csoma-Archivum I, Budapest 1939, p. 372 and p. 382. Here the translation of the editors has very little value, and even the text itself, of which there is no facsimile or photo available, has obviously been insufficiently established. Comparing it with the Sanskrit texts of this work, we can see that the pages of the first folios should probably be taken in inverse order. Thus, this fragment corresponds to the beginning of the legend of the golden peacock, known also in Pāli (cf. above p. 6).

I quote here the Uigurian text of fol. 1 in transcription with the identifiable Sanskrit correspondences:

a: 1	.....	munča
2	.....	γol
3	.....	n lar
4	.....	iläti
5	.....	miš ämgäk
6	[qamay] tynly laryy kujü	..... sarvasatvānāmśca
7	küzätü tutz un lar osz un	raksām kurvantu .....
8	lar qutrulz un lar : alqu	..... ? / sarvabha-
9	qorqynč lardyn qamay	yebhyah sarva-
10	ada lardyn : ič tas lar	upadravebhyah / (sarva)-
11	nyṇ bulyamaq yndyn :	upasargopayāsebhyah /
12	isig ig lardyn alqu	(sarva) jvarebhyah sarva-
13	ayryy lardyn : qamay jäk	vyādhibhyah / sarva-
14	ičkäk lärdin kördäči	grahebhyah ... paśyatu
15	bolzun lar jüz küz da typ	śaradām śatam .....

16	bu yduq mqamajur suduruy	(idam ārya mahāmāyūrī-
17	..... ta oq	sūtram)
18	..... zun lar	
19	..... un	
20	..... p	

<b>b:</b>	1 ke .....	
2	ö .....	
3	luq .....	
4	tip je .....	
5	arat .....	
6	taγ lar qa [n nyŋ kün urtu dyn]	parvata(rājasya)
7	jyŋaq ynda .....	dakṣiṇapārśve
8	altun öŋlüg atlyy	Suvarma-avabhāso nāma
9	..... la jun quš lar nyŋ	mayūra-
10	iligi qany bolur ärti :	rājā prativasati sma /
11	ol jmä jun quš lar nyŋ	so 'pi [mayūra rājā / ]
12	iligi qany : bu mqamajur uluy	anayā Mahāmāyūryā
13	jun quš atlyy taqy lar nyŋ	[here may be the name
14	iligi qany mqamajur suduruy	in Uigurian translation]
15	taŋda saju irtä turup	kalyam
16	söz läp ät öz in at	svastyayanam
17	maŋyal qylyp : küntüz .....	kṛtvā / divā
18	söz qa .....	
19	as .....	
20	qa .....	

### Notes:

- a:** 6 *qamay* conjectured according to the other versions; *küjü* *küzätü tutzun* also Tiš fol. 23 a, cf. *küjü* *küzätzünlär tutzunlar* Tiš. 21 a, perhaps = *paripālayantu* in the Sanskrit text, cf. further Suv. 192, 20 *küjü* *küzätü tutmaqyńye*.  
 7 *osz un lar qutrluz un lar*, perhaps = *rakṣantu* or *rakṣām kur-*

*vantu*, cf. Suv. 199, 15 *ozyu qutrulyu*, R-M 102 c *oszun qutrulzun*, TT III 63 *ozqu qutrulqu*, TT *oz-up qutrulup*.

8 *ada*, often *ada tuda*, cf. mo. *ada todgar* (cf. Tiš. p. 66); mo. *ada* = tib. *gdon gre bo* = Sanskrit *graha* is translated by Kowalewski I p. 64 'mauvais génie, démon, qui rend aliéné et enragé; vagabonde, homme errant' and *ada todgar* = *gdon gegs* or *gdon bgegs* 'mal causé par le démon'. Kowalewski mentions a Sanskrit word *ata* as etymon, and this can in my opinion be true as to the meaning 'vagabonde', derived from Sanskrit *at-* 'to go constantly', or *aṭ-* 'to roam, to wander'. Gabain p. 292 and p. 344 translates both *ada* and *tuda* with »Gefahr». Ramstedt K W p. 397 translates *tody<sup>d</sup>* = *totzar* with »Hindernis», which corresponds very well to the tib. (*gdon)gegs* = Sanskrit *vighna*, and in my opinion both *tuda* and *todqar* may be derived from Turkic *tut-* 'to take, to hold' (cf. the etymology of Sanskrit *graha*).

10 *ič taš lar nyŋ bulyamaq* 'contagion of a disease or an epidemic'  
= tib. *nad* 'go ba.'

13 *jäk ičkäk* (hendiadyoin) 'demons and vampires' (= *jäk* »eater» <*jä-* 'to eat', *ičkäk* »drinker» <*ič-* 'to drink'; Brockelmann p. 84 still derives *yäk* from Middle-Indian *yakka* (= Pāli *yakkha*)? < Sanskrit *yakṣa*).

14 *kördäči bolzun lar jüz küz:* cf. Tiš. 20 b etc. *jüz kuzkä täki sizlär uzun jasanlar* ~ *jīvatu varṣaśatam*.

16 *yduq* = *ārya*?

**b:** 6 perhaps should read: *tay lar qan nyŋ kün ortu(dyn) jyŋaq*, cf. Tiš. 18 b, 20 b etc.

9 *jun quš*: certainly = *mayūra* 'peacock'; supposing the reading *juj* of Radloff-Malov to be correct, this would give us an interesting case of the variation *ń* > *j* ~ *n* (cf. e.g. Ancient Turkic *qoń* 'sheep', Uig. *qon*, Middle Turkic *qoj*), since in Middle Turkic the word occurs as *jun* (Brockelmann pp. 97 and 166). The instances of this variation are registered by Räsänen p. 205 ff.; cf. further Gabain p. 3 ff. Since, however, we

almost certainly have to do with a word of non-Turkic origin, it is in my opinion better to read *jun* for *juj*.

13 *taqy* must be a substantive, and I would conjecture *jun quš atlyγ tarni lar nyŋ ilig qan*, if not \**arwis tarni* pro *atlyγ taqy*.

The same passage according to the Sanskrit MS D mentioned above: (fol. 47 v.) (*ye brāhmaṇā vāhitapāpadharmāś teṣāṁ namaś te ca rakṣa rakṣa* 2 *dānapateḥ*) *sarvasatvānāñ ca // paripālayantu me sarvabhayebhyah sarvopasargopāyāsebhyah sarvajvarebhyah sarvavyādhībhyah sarvaviṣebhyāś ca rakṣāñ kurvantu guptiṁ paritrāṇāṁ parigrahāṁ paripālanāṁ śāntisvastyayanāṁ daṇḍaparihāraṇāṁ śastraparihāraṇāṁ viṣadūṣaṇāṁ viṣanāśanāṁ sīmābandham dharanībandhañ ca kurvantu jīvantu varṣaśatāṁ paśyantu śaradāṁ śatām || bhūta-pūrvam Ānanda Himavataḥ parvatarājasya dakṣinapārśve Suvarṇa-avabhāśo nāma mayūrarājā prativasati sma / so 'py anayā Mahā-māyūryā vidyārājñā kalyāṁ svastyayanāṁ kṛtvā divā svastinā viharati : sāyaṁ svastyayanāṁ kṛtvā rātrau svastinā viharati /*

This text obviously represents, however, a later and lengthened draft; the translations can in general be traced back to more concise and shorter Sanskrit originals. Fragments of such shorter Sanskrit drafts also have been found and published. The Bower Manuscript has two fragments of Mahāmāyūrī, but the main part of the legend about Suvarṇa-avabhāśa is regrettably missing. The end of the preceding passage reads as follows (p. 146): . . . teṣāṁ namaś te ca yaśamitrasya parapālayantu svāhā — — sarvvabhayebhyah sarvopadravebhyah sarvopasargopāyābhyah sarvajvarebhyah sarvvavyādhībhyah sarvvagrahebhyah sarvaviṣebhyah rakṣāntuh // An almost similar fragmentary text in the Petrovsky collection has been published by Oldenburg (p. 209): . . . ] teṣāṁ namaḥskṛtvā itthāmnāmasya rakṣā . . . jīva varṣaśatām [paśyatu śaradām śatām || bhū]tapū-[rva]m Ananda Himavataḥ parvatarājas[ya dakṣinapārśve Suvarṇāvabhā]so nāma mayūrarājā pra[tivasati sma / so 'py anayā] Mahāmāyūryā vidyārājñā kalyāṁ sv[astyayanām kṛtvā divā svastinā viharati sma / sā[yam . . .

The same text in Tibetan translation: (II fol. 7 v. lin. 5 ss.) *de dag*

*gis bdag la sruṇ ba gyis śig / 'jigs pa thams čad daṇ / gnod pa thams  
čad daṇ / (lin. 6) nad 'go ba daṇ / 'khrugs pa thams čad daṇ / rims  
thams čad daṇ / nad thams čad daṇ / gdon thams čad dan / dug thams  
čad daṇ las (lin. 7) sruṇ ba gyis śig / lo brgya 'cho bar gyur čig / ston  
brgya mthon bar śog čig / kun dga' bo snon byuṇ ba ri'i rgyal po gaṇs  
ri'i lho phyogs kyi ḋos (lin. 8) la / rma bya'i rgyal mo gser du snan  
ba žes bya ba žig gnas te / de naṇ par rig snags kyi rgyal mo 'dis /  
bde legs su 'gyur bar byas te / (fol. 8 r. lin. 1) ḋin mo dge bar gnas /  
nub kar (!) bde legs su 'gyur bar byas te / mchan mo dge bar gnas so /*

The same passage in two Mongolian versions:

(**Aa** II fol. 7 v.) tede bügüdeger sakitugai namaji / qamug ajul  
qamug ada todgar / galdaqui ebečin kiged / qamug bulqalduqun /  
qamug kölčin / qamug ebečin / qamug adas kiged / qamug qour  
bügüde eče sakitugai / žagun on amituraqu bolču / žagun namur i  
üžekü boltugai // ananda erte urida kimavat agula jin emüneči  
eteget suvarna avabasa neretü tagus sibagun u qan bolču bülüge /  
tere tagus arvis un erketei maqa majuri jin ene tarni ji ber managarsi  
engke amugulang tu bolum üjledčü edür e engke amugulang ijer  
abai / üde engke amugulang tu bolun üjledčü söni de engke amu-  
gulang ijer abai /

(**Ba** II fol. 6 v.) tede bügüdeger sakitugai namaji qamug ajul  
kiged qamug ada todgar galdaqui ebečin kiged / qamug bajilduqui  
eče qamug qanijatun qamug ebečin qamug adas kiged / qour  
bügüde eče sakitugai / žagun nasulagad žagun on u namuri üžekü  
boltugai / qamug un bajasgulang erte urida agulas un qan časutu  
agula jin emüne či ülike (?) tur tagus un qagan altan gegegen  
gejigülugči neretü anu bolumui / tegünü managar ene uqagan u  
tarnis un qatun / jeke tagus sibagun inu / sajin žirgalang i ügegün  
üjledčü edür un (?) engke amugulang ijer abai / üde tu amugulang  
tu bolun üjledčü söni de engke amugulang ijer abai /

It is not quite certain that leaf 2 of Radloff-Malov also belongs to the same work. The longer drafts of the Mahāmāyūrī contain no passage directly identifiable with this Uigurian fragment, and the older and shorter versions are too fragmentary. If, however, the name of the monk *Kyjynty* (according the reading of the editors),

which Professor Gabain, according to her letter, would read *Xia-to*, can be read *Svāti*, we could, in my opinion, find certain similar passages in the *Mahāmāyūrī*, e.g. (Oldenburg p. 222 line 16):

sarve sattvāḥ sarve prāṇāḥ sarve bhutāś ca kevalāḥ  
sarve vai sukhināḥ santu sarve santu nirāmayāḥ  
sarve bhadrāṇi paśyantu mā kaś cit pāpam āgamat  
maitracittam̄ samāsthāya karomi viṣadūṣanam̄  
rakṣāṁ parigrahām̄ caiva tathaiva paripālanam̄.

And further (ibid. p. 225 line 4): *Svāter bhiksor mama sarvasat-tvānām̄ ca rakṣāṁ kuru guptim̄ paritrāṇam̄ parigrahām̄ paripālanam̄* etc. Cf. the fol. 2 b of Radloff-Malov: 1 . . . qamay 2 . . . u qamay 3 . . . u bir 4 . . . inčip mäni 5 . . . alqu qamay 6 . . . gimsiz bolzun 7 lar barca jäg ädgü lärig 8 körzün lär. näŋ kin (?) qa bašlyy larqa ajyy adalig 10 tolyaq kölmäzün. svati (?) tojyn 11 bašlap alqu qamay tynly laryy 12 ämgäk tolyaq kölmäzün. svati (?) 13 tojyn bašlap alqu qamay-y 14 ämgäklig tynlyy laryy küjü 15 közütü tutmaq yy qylur 16 mn. ädgü . . . gülük 17 . . . azuq . . . 18 . . . g köz (the reading corrected by Gabain).

### 3. Mongolian

The Pañcaraksā is also one of the first Buddhist works translated into Mongolian. The earliest version was effected by Čhos-kyi 'Od-zer (Hor čhos 'byun p. 164 ff.) during the reign of Külüg Khan (1308–1311 A.D.). He also made use of the Uigurian version, as is stated in the colophon of the oldest Mongolian drafting (cf. p. 37 below). The same statement is also to be found in several Mongolian works concerning the history of Mongolian writing and literature, e.g. Žirüken-ü tolta (Libr. Mong. 91 fol. 5 r, cited by Schmidt in his edition of Sagang-Secen p. 398 note 15), Monggol üsüg-ün toli (Samml. Asch 112: 5 fol. 3), Tegri-eče žajagatai bogda Činggis qagan-u tabig (= Činggis-un domog; Libr. Mong. 20 fol. 18 r). According to Poppe and Vladimircov the Asiatic Museum in Leningrad possesses

Mss. of this version from the times of the Yüan dynasty, but I have not been able to get a microfilm of them.

The Mongolian texts available I have provisionally classified as follows:

**A:** The drafts going back to the version of Čhos-kyi 'od-zer, of which we have two types with identical texts but somewhat different colophons. The Peking standard edition with the shorter colophon:

**Aa** is represented by the Stockholm xylographs 03. 11. 291, 15. 1. 699 (dated 1686 A.D.), H. 77, H 1180 A-E, H 1190, H 3504. The blocks are certainly older than the dating 15. 1. 699, as shown by me in my paper in Ethnos 1950 p. 7. We have the same edition in Coll. Schilling von Cannstadt Nos. 3527 and 3584, in the British Museum Oriental Dept. Mong. 32 and in the Grønbech Collection in the Royal Library of Copenhagen.

**Ab** is the Peking edition with a longer colophon, represented by Brit. Mus. Mong. 14.

**Ba** is the younger version by Šes-rab seiṅ-ge, represented by the Stockholm Ms. H 1829 (cf. my paper cited above).

**Bb** is the drafting of this latter version included in the Mongol Kanjur.

**C** is the youngest, corrected drafting, according to Mr Heissig from the second half of the 18th century, and represented by the other xylograph of the Grønbech collection.

I quote here in extenso the colophons of these versions and draftings.

**A:** Qutug-tu Pañcaraksā kemekü tabun sakija neretü jeke kölgen sudur.

Fasc. I fol. 1 v. — 36 r.

Jeke kölgen-ü jeke minggan jirtinčü-ji magad daruqui neretü sudur.  
(Mahāsaḥasrapramardana).

Fasc. II fol. 1 v. — 46 r.

Arvis-un erketei jeke tagus.

(Mahāmāyūrīvidyārājñī).

Fasc. III fol. 1 v. — 32 r.

Qutug-tu arvis-un erke-tei öber-e öber-e dagaqui neretü tarni.  
(Mahāpratisarāvidyārājñī).

Fasc. IV fol. 1 v. — 17 r.

Jeke serigün tün sudur.

(Mahāśītavani).

Fasc. V fol. 1 v. — 10 v.

Jeke niguča tarni-ji dagan barigči sudur.

(Mahāmantra-anudhārī).

**Aa:** Colophon:

(V fol. 11 v) ken tere ene badir a kalab un dotura / kedüi togatan  
burqan nugut törüzü / gem ügei žarlig nom i monggol irgen tur /  
ker, kürügsen siltagan i qurijan ügülesügei // ali čag tur ene sab  
jirtinčü bajigulugad / agui jeke dalai jin dumda minggan nabčitu  
5 (12 r) altan öngge tu lingqu a delgeregse i arigun orun taki tegri ner  
üžežü bürün // sajitur delgeregse altan lingqu a jin belge / sagar  
ügei ene kalab tur minggan togatan / sajibar odugsan burqan nugut  
törükü kemen / sajin kalab sajin kalab kemen žarlaldužugui // ali  
tere čag eče terigüležü bürün / amitan naiman tümen nasulaqui tur  
10 kürtele / altan kürdütu žakravat un qagan törüzü / amitan i arban  
bujantu mör tur žokijažuqui // tendeče amitan naiman tümen  
nasalaqui eče / terigüležü žagun nasulaqui čag un urida / tegüs  
dugulugsan karkasundi terigülen kanakamuni tegünčilen kasib  
itegel törüzü bürün // toga tomsi ügei olan amitan i / tonilqui qutug  
15 tur žokijažu dötüger tur / dugulugsan bagsi bidan u sikamuni /  
törübei amitan nasulaqui žagun čag tur // qubitan amitan dagalal  
ijer anu / gurban žüil ijer qojar kölgen i nomlažu / qotala ji qutug  
tur žokijažu čogčas un qočorli ügei nirvan tur oruba öbesüben /  
öber un beje ber nomugadgagad i dagusgažu / orubasu ber tere  
20 bogda nirvan tur / ölgeldün merged törüzü tegüni žarlig i (12 v)  
urgumal naran tur adali gejigülügsen i // erten u irüger un küčün  
ijer bodistva nar erketü külög qagan bolun törüzü / ejeležü öber  
un öber un ulus tagan / erdini sasin nom i delgeregülčügүi // uduri-  
gulsun nirvan bolču gurban minggan / öbermiče basa žagun on u

25 dotura / uridu bujan u küçün ijer čambudvid un / ümetü orgil onan  
 neretü gažar tur delekei dekin i nigen törü tur orugulsun / tegri ner  
 e üre sačugdagsan u urug tur / tengsel ügei bujan bilig un küçün  
 jeketü / temüžin neretü ere bogda törüzü bürün // činggir qada  
 metü jekergegčid un terigün i / čimeg i bagulču inu ken köl dürü  
 30 čimeg ijer takigulugsan u qojina aldar inu činggis qagan kemen  
 cambudvib tur čab bolčugui / bogda tegün u čag tur i / burqan u  
 nom i bükü monggol ulus a ese aldarsigulbasu ber burqan u erdem  
 i sonusugad mön degere / bursang qovarag ud i alban eče gargažugui  
 // qutug tu tegün u gutagar üj e tur inu / qubilgan büged törüğsen  
 35 u tula nere inu qubilai kemen qotal a jin orui deger e erkügdežü  
 qojina sečen qagan kemen aldarsižugui / erdem bilig ijer čimegdežü  
 jirtinčü dekin e (13 r) egenegten tusatu sedkil inu esrua metü /  
 edüi ken ber žasadag ügei ünen žorig inu erten u arsi nar un qagan  
 metü // bükü jin tula tere bogda burqan u nom bügüdeče degedü  
 40 ji ünen ijer abču bodistva bags ba blam a ji iregülčü bürin e burqan  
 u sasin i sonusgagulčugui // urida ügei tulgurčin monggol un üsüg  
 i / uran a sajitur žokijagulču bagsi bolugad / ünen sajin tonilqui  
 mör i üžügülügsen / orui jin čimeg bolgan kündüležügii / oo a  
 tere ber bügesü burqan u nom i / oor monggol ijer togulgažu ese  
 45 bolugsan ijer / olan a togulgan jadan nöküd ijen ču / olanggi da  
 ujigurčin kelen ijer sonusun ažugui // tegün u qojin a terigülegči  
 tere qagan u delekei jin ežen bolgan erke ögdegsen / tede köbegün  
 u gutagar üj e togulgažu tengsel ügei qajisa neretü törüzü bürün /  
 köbegün čag ača gan büged uridus tur / küsigürgegseen i külüg ijer  
 50 ijen ülüdgežü gür ulus un ežen bolgagdažu bürin e / külüg qagan  
 kemen aldarsigsan ken bügesü / ünen uduridugči ügülegčid un  
 naran / üžerežü čoski odser neretü kelemürči lüge (13 v) üje qojar  
 un arga bilig un küçün ijer oor monggol un ajalgu ber nom i del-  
 geregülčügii // sajibar odugsan burqan u nomlagsan / sakian u  
 55 degedü ene bančaraksa nom i / sajitur kičijen sedkižü süsüg i egüs  
 kiked kü / sačalal ügei duradču bičigülügsen bujan ijer // qagan  
 qatun terigülen altan urug ijer ba qamug amitan u ebedčin ada  
 todqur anu / qagarqai a qočorli ügegüi e arilču aliba qamug küseg-  
 sen küsel bügüde bütütügei // amarag tagalgad eke köbegün kiked /

60 amitan öber žagura ban eserkü teserkü žokildužu asuru ba eriküi kūsel bügüde bütüžü amugulang jin (!) üjles anu öber ijen bütükü boltugai //

Thereafter an obviously later addition on the older blocks (cf. Aalto, Notes p. 3 fig. 2): engke amugulang un qorin tabtagar on u bing bars žil un namur un dumdatu sara jin arban tabun tu sajitur bütügebei // öglige jin ežen tur bujan kesig nemekü boltugai // tegüčbei // mangghalam //

#### **Ab:** Colophon:

(V. fol. 11 v) until line 57 almost the same wording with following differences: 1. 22 erketü küçütü qagan, 1. 25 onon, 1. 27 tenggil, 1. 29 žergežegčid un terigün, 1. 29 nigen i köl tur i, 1. 32 aldarsigulbasu burqan, 1. 35 qotola, 1. 39 bogda anu burqan i, 1. 40 ünen ijer uqažu bodistu 'phags pa blama, 1. 44 tejin ber, 1. 44 oor monggol tur, 1. 50 üje tur anu, 1. 52 učiražu; after delgeregülčügi // tenggel ügei tere dajan jin (?) tegünü inu degedü bujan tu qagan ber burqan u nom i tegünçilen kü delgeregülkü jin ežen bolču / tegün eče agui da delgeregülügsen ažugu / tegün u qojina nigen qojar qad un čag tur / tegünçilen kü nom orčigulqui čültüjidežü bürün / tendeče basa mön kü külüg qagan u tegünçilen gutagar üj e tur inu / asuru üžeskülen tu quoa törülki inu / arigun orun taki tegri jin köbegün metü / amurlingga Külličenggüi nomugan inu / arja avalokati svari bodisatu metü / tusa tu bodi sedkil i asu turgaru / duran eče ülü anggičiragulugči bodisatu metü / togan temür qam u jeke sub tur inu / duldujižuda esen temür diu a da orčigulugsan / ečige eke dece edügülčü bi garudan i / ene ber e ji olugsan eče edüge / ežen qagan a sojurgažu naran ijer / erketü burqan u nomlagsan nom ünen ijer / (fol. 15 r) qajiramasun (?) burqan bagsi bidan u / qamug amitan u tusa jin tulada qagargai a iladda nomlagsan / qubia tu tusatai bančarakša neretü ene nom i // sajibar odugsan burqan a nomlagsan sakijan u degedü bančarakša ene nom i / sajibar odugsad un ene sudur i sačalal ügei kičijen duradču bičigülügsen ijer / ene nom i bičigülügsen u küčün ijer ežed qad ordu da žirgažu bürün / erigsen küsegseñ ijen tegüs bütügežü ečüs tur inu burqan bolqu boltugai / kei qura kereg čag ijer bolugad / gem ten

eber čar genedte usadtugai / kereg ijer tarijan tamu sun delgereged / kelekü ulus irgen nasuda žirgatugai / edüge monggol ulus a tusa boltugai / kemen ejin üjledügčid bičigčid usijagčid / ede terigüležü aliba törül tutum tur / erdeni tu jeke qoi tur kürtügei // dugulugsan burqan u qutug i ulus a orqu / tonilugsan erdem tu degedü törül i / todqar ügegүi e olču tede ber / törül ijen duradqu boltugai / sajin bei e kelen sedkil bolugad / sajin erdem bilig un sang bolču / sajin jabudal i sajitur üžügülügči sajin bagsi lug a ber učiražu boltugai / qotola eče degedü gurban erdenis un / qudal ügei nun adistid ijer (fol. 15 v) qojugsan ed ele qutug bügüde qočorli ügei magad (?) bütükü boltugai // qani monggaq oju tu jin tulada / qamug burqan bodisatu nar un nomlagsan žarlig / qamug amitan a tusa bolugad / qaranggus i anu gejigülkü boltugai / qagan qatun etc. as in **Aa**. Then: ülemži kereglekü amin nasun öğžü (?) nemežü / urtu egüride žirgatugai žiran (?) bürin örgülcü amitan žajagan tutum tur / ünen degedü törül tur törütügei // tejin u törü togta tabidčagči maguča (?) dulatugai / tarijan tömüsün elbeg bolču / tarni nom ülemži masi delgereged / darui (?) tur büged burqan u qutug tur kürtügei // uridu merged bandita nar un ünen tegüs dugulugsan ene bančarakša nom i / olan amitan u tusa jin tulada bičigülcü / örgülcü nögčigsen ijer ada todgar anu ariltugai // budunggui ojutu bertegčin u tulada / burugu bolugsan ijem amančilan öčimüi / burqan u adistid ijer žöb bolugsan / bujan ijen amitan a irügemüi //

### **Ba:** Tabun sakija

Fasc. I (36 fol.): Jeke minggan-i masi darugsan neretü sudur.

Fasc. II (40 fol.): Jeke tagus sibagun uqagan-u qatun.

Fasc. III (30 fol): Qutug-tu öber-e dagagči jeke uqagan-u tarnis-un qatun.

Fasc. IV (17 fol.): Jeke serigün oi neretü sudur.

Fasc. V (10 fol.): Jeke niguča tarni-ji dagan barigči sudur.

**Bb:** In the Kanjur no collective title. Vol. 14 (fol. 85 v. — 119 r.)

Jeke minggan-i masi darugči neretü sudur. (fol. 119 r. — 160 v.)

Jeke togus uqagan-u tarnis-un qatun. (fol. 160 v. — 189 r.).

Jeke togus uqagan-u tarnis-un qatun. (fol. 160 v. — 189 r.).

Qutug-tu öber-e öber-e dagagci jeke uqagan-u tarnis-un qatun.

(fol. 189 r. — 204 r.) Jeke serigün oi neretü sudur. (fol. 204 r. — 212 r.) Jeke niguča tarni-ji dagan berigči sudur. See Ligeti p. 56 f. Nos. 179—183.

**Ba:** Colophon:

(V fol. 10 r) enedkeg un ban dita silen dra bodi kiked Inčana (= Jñāna) sidi ba / saski a braba / gurban merged žokijažu / tübed un jeke kelemüči bande je ses de kemekü / sine žasagsan ajalgus ijer tübed kelen orčigulču orusigulugsan u qojin a / ene qutug tu tabun ajimag tu nom erdeni / daidu qoto da kemen esen temür neretü kümün duradqun ügülegtežü / sakialig ud un tojin serab sengge tübed eče monggol un ajalgus ber orčigulba //

**Bb:** Colophon:

After the above **Ba** wording follows (Ligeti p. 57 No. 183): ede ajalgus inu / monggol ulus un üsüg čulčaki olan bolugsan tur nge (?) žang (?) bodhi satuva kiked / uridu žajagan u küčün tur bujan u qojar čigulgan i qurijagsan / erkegünd un ulus un jeke nojan bujan tu nom un ežen darqan nojan / tegün ü köbegün anu / burqan bodhi satuva nar un qubilgan törügsen degedü bujan tu / sačalal ügei erdem tu mančusiri / erdeni bandita nom kelelegči merged un manglai bolugsan / burqan u sasin tur qagačal ügei bisirel i olugsan / dusi tajiži / gurbagula erkilen duradugsan u küčün tur / ajusi gusi / bogda qamug burqan bodhi satuva nar un qubilgan nigen činar ijer bütügsen dalai blam a jin včir tu köl un ölmei jin togusun i orui tur ijan abču / mön tere qutug tu dalai blam a qaračin u gažar žagasutai nagur un umar a tu dvib tur gaqai žil un kökeler sarada / hindkeg un tabin üsüg töbed tur delgerežü / monggol ulus tur burqan u žarlig nom tarni tur čulčaki kelegei jin tulada / mön tere bogda qutug tu dalai blam a ali gali neretü üsüg un josugar / ali gali jin ilgaburi tu / burugu bosučar ügei uridu žarlig un josugar / ene tabun ajimag tarni ji bürin / ajalgus tur orčigulču orusigulbai / tere bogda qutug tu dalai blam a uqagan u tarni / niguča tarni tede bügüde monggol ulus tur kelegei ažu ene ali gali üsüg i kičijen žokijabu / monggol ulus tur uqagan u tarni delgerenggüi bui kemen žarlig bolbai / egün u udq a siltagan inu / arban tümen silüg tü dotur a bardan a neretü gažar a esi üzögülčü / saributari

da umar a eteged žarlig bolugsan bui / tere čag tur či bida qojar nigen sagužu žarlig sonusugsan bolai / či ajul ügei žokij a kemen žarlig bolugsan ijer bi žokijabai / ene ali gali üsüg ud i včir a čakra / čag un kürdün / jerü dörben ündüsün töbed un kelen tur / orčigulugsad tur bui / uridu uridu kelemürčid öber e öber e keleten tur žokijagsan bui / tere josugar ajul ügei žokij a kemen žarlig bolugsan ijar sitüzü žokijaba bi / uridu ügei ji ende žokijagsan busu / ene üsüg ud enedkeg / töbed üsüg ud abču irežü nadur žagažu ög / bi tegün tur ülemži bisirel egüsgesügei / edüge ene bujan u küçün tur burqan u sasin arban žüg tur delgerekü boltugai //

**C:** Qutug tu Pañcarakṣā kemekü tabun sakijan nere tü jeke kölgen sudur.

Fasc. I fol. 1 v. — 40 r.

Jeke minggan i masi daruqui neretü sudur.

Col.: Jeke minggan i magad darugči neretü sudur tegüsbe.

Fasc. II fol. 1 v. — 52 r.

Jeke tagus uqagan u tarnis un qatun.

Col.: Jeke tagus uqagan u tarnis un qatun u tarsi tegüs be.

Fasc. III fol. 1 v. — 34 r.

Qutug tu öber e öber e dagagči jeke uqagan u tarnis un qatun.

Col.: putugtu jeke öber e öber e dagagči neretü tarsi tegüsbe // enedkeg un ubadini Jinamitra kiged Dānasīla luga / jekede dukijal dugulugči kelemürči bandhe Yešes sde ber arigudgažu / sine ajalgu ber žasažu nuta tur bagulgabai / žiči basa Kumāraśrī ber nom un boda Pyang locau a jin enedkeg un bičig lüge nejilegülčü arigudgan üjledügsen bolai // mamghalam //

Fasc. IV fol. 1 v. — 18 r.

Jeke serigün oi neretü sudur.

Col.: Jeke serigün oi tegüsbe // bandita Silendrabodhi kiged Jñānasiddhi luga / Śākyaprabha kiged locau a bande Yešes de ber orčigulču arigudgagad sine ajalgu bar žasažu nuta tur bagulgabai / qojina 'gos žalagu čog tu ber Pyang locau a jin enedkeg un eke bičig eče arigudgabai // mamghalam //

Fasc. V fol. 1 v. — 10 v.

Jeke niguča tarsi ji dagan barigči sudur.

Col.: Jeke niguča tarnis i dagan barigči sudur tegüsbe.

**C: Colophon:**

(V fol. 10 v.) masi čagan ülemži jeke asaran nigülesküi sedkil ijer masida (fol. 11 r.) čübügürügsen amitan nugud i uduridqui egürge ji abugsan tur / masi kižaglası ügei ilagugsad a čagan metü kemen sajisijasan / masi degedü sakia jin arslan tegün tur bisi-reküi ber mörgümü / alimad ber čog un mgur eče esrua jin egesig ijer amitan tur alagčilal ügei nigülesküi egüle nigülügsen eče / tusa žirgalang un ugugan i egüsgekü jin tula degedü nom un bal un quran i urugulugsanu doturaki tabun sakijan u kelimili ji keb tur sejilgeü salitur bütügen üjledbei / ngəs dwang bzang po ber / ejin üjledügsen bujan u küçün ijer amugulang žirgalang garqu jin orun jerü kiked ilgabasu nom un qagan bogda bcong ka ba jin esi uqagan u šasin u čagan sigür i sanasarun üžögür tur kürtele bajigulqui ber gurban gažar i qočorli ügei tögmel e tögürgekü boltugai / getülgegči qojatugar ilagugsan u üliger belgen eče anggičiragsan süsüg tegülder nges dwang bzang po tegün u ölmeyi jin lingqu a batutugad / urug köbegün selte sajitur delgeren čog uciral irqu (?) aldar badaraqui kiked / jirtinčü tur orusigsan qamug amitan inagsi činagsi / qoorala (?) künügekü jin sanaqa barildulg a amurlin nomčilan jabugad nasun kiked bujan čog učiral sine jin saran metü delgerezü tegün tegülder un čag taki žirgalang un čog i edlekü boltugai // om mani padme huum //

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TT I—V = W. BANG — A. VON GABAIN, Türkische Turfan-Texte.

## Index of Sanskrit Names

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- Dantī*: see *Puṣpadantī* 10 v. 16
- D(r)anturā* (n. of rākṣasī, also Old. p. 243, 20, cf. MW p. 469) 8 v. 11
- Dravyāś = Darvāś?* (n. of a people) 10 v. 29
- Dvārakā* (n. of the capital of Krṣṇa, on the western point of Güjarät; Lévi v. 13, 2, MW p. 504) 10 v. 26
- Dhaniṣṭhā* (the more modern name of the 24th lunar mansion or *Śraviṣṭhā*, MW p. 509) 18, 23
- Dhavalā* (n. of a rākṣasī; cf. above *Kapili*) 10 v. 17
- Nandanā* (n. of a rākṣasī; cf. MW p. 526) 8 v. 10
- Nandā* (n. of a rākṣasī, also Old. p. 240, 7 and p. 241, 13; cf. further MWp.526) 8 v. 3, 10 v. 31
- Nāgadantā* (n. of a rākṣasī, cf. MW p. 533) 8 v. 14
- Nairṛtya* (-ā?, *Nairṛta* or -*ti*, MW p. 570, Edg. p. 312, n. of a demon, n. of a rākṣasa, n. of the lokapāla of the South-West) 18, 27
- Padumā* (n. of a rākṣasī, as to the form cf. Edg. p. 314; cf. *padmā* as a name MW p. 584) 10 v. 22
- Padumāvatī* (n. of a rākṣasī, cf. *padmāvatī* as a name MW p. 585) 10 v. 16
- Pāñcika* MW p. 614, Edg. p. 339, Lévi v. 78, 1; 80, 1, Foucher, L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra II pp. 43, 56, 60, 103 etc.) 12 v. 43
- Pāṭaliputra* (the capital of Magadha, Lévi 1, 2; 67, 2) 12 v. 48
- Piṅgalā* (n. of a rākṣasī, also Old. p. 241, 13; 243, 16; cf. MW p. 625) 8 v. 11, 29, 35
- Pihitā* (n. of a rākṣasī, cf. MW p. 627) 10 v. 30
- Punarvasū* (n. of the 5th or 7th lunar mansion; MW p. 634) 18, 17
- Puṣpagandhā* (n. of a rākṣasī) 8 v. 7
- Puṣpadantā* (n. of a rākṣasī; cf. Lévi v. 63, 1) 10 v. 15
- [*Puṣpa*] *Dantī* (n. of a rākṣasī, according to Edgerton p. 349 also in Saddhar-map.; MW p. 639) 10 v. 28
- Puṣpamālā* (lectio facilior; n. of a rākṣasī) 8 v. 7
- Puṣpa[ha]lālā* (lectio difficilior; n. of a rākṣasī) 8 v. 7
- Puṣpā* (n. of a rākṣasī; cf. Edg. p. 350) 8 v. 7
- Puṣya* (n. of a lunar mansion, also called Sidhya and Tiṣya, MW p. 640) 18, 17
- Pūtanā* (n. of a rākṣasī, see MW p. 641) 8 v. 3, 15
- Pūrvaphalgunī* (n. of a nakṣatra, MW p. 643) 18, 18
- Pūrvabhbādra* (= *Purvabhādrapāda*, n. of a nakṣatra, MW p. 644) 18, 24
- Pūrvavāḍhā* (n. of a lunar mansion) 18, 21
- Prthivī* (n. of a deity) 18, 29
- Pr̥salā* (n. of a rākṣasī) 8 v. 10
- Bahukumanḍā* (n. of a rākṣasī) 10 v. 21
- Bimbasi* (n. of a rākṣasī) 10 v. 27
- Budha* (n. of the Planet Mercury etc. MW p. 734) 18, 13

- Brahman* (the Brahma, the Brahmanical caste) 18, 28
- Bhadraruhā* (n. of a rākṣasī) 10 v. 18
- Bharinī* (= *Bharanī*, n. of a nakṣatra, MW p. 747) 18, 25
- Bhūṣilānandā* (n. of a rākṣasī; *Nandā* being named before (3 a) we may think of *Ānandā* linked together with *Bhūṣilā*) 8 v. 12
- Bhogāspada Bhogāspada* (-ā?, n. of a deity) 18, 13
- Makṣakodā* pro *Maksikādā?* (n. of a rākṣasī) 8 v. 14
- Maghā* (n. of a nakṣatra) 18, 18
- Mathurā* (n. of various towns, see MW p. 777; Lévi v. 37, 1) 10 v. 24
- Mapetā* (n. of a rākṣasī) 12 v. 33
- †*Maśūvā* (n. of a place) 10 v. 30
- Mahāgrasā* (n. of a rākṣasī) 10 v. 18
- Mahādvīpā* (n. of a rākṣasī) 8 v. 15
- Mahānāsā* (n. of a rākṣasī, cf. Edg. p. 423) 10 v. 23
- †*Mahokṣitikā*, pro *Mahokṣikā?* (n. of a rākṣasī) 8 v. 14
- Mitrā* (n. of a rākṣasī, cf. MW p. 816) ? 8 v. 9
- Mihilānagara*, pro *Mithilā?* (the capital of Videha, MW p. 817) 10 v. 28
- Mudgā* (n. of a rākṣasī) 10 v. 20
- Mūla* (n. of a lunar mansion, MW p. 826) 18, 21
- Mṛgaśīra* (n. of a nakṣatra, MW p. 828) 18, 16
- Mṛtāpriyā* (n. of a deity) 18, 15
- †*Mainikā* (n. of a rākṣasī) 8 v. 5
- Yama* (the god Yama, also n. of various other deities, cf. MW p. 846 and Edg. p. 444) 18, 26
- Yamā* pro *Yamī?* (n. of a rākṣasī, cf. MW p. 846) 8 v. 6
- Yasōdhara* (n. of a rākṣasī) 10 v. 17
- Raktāngakumāra* (-ā?, n. of a deity, cf. MW p. 862) 18, 13
- Rucakeśinī* (n. of a rākṣasī; in general *ruci-*, cf. MW p. 882) 8 v. 9
- Rudradattā* (n. of a rākṣasī) 10 v. 25
- Revatī* (n. of a nakṣatra, MW p. 888, cf. Edg. p. 457) 18, 25
- [cāthā] *Rocanā* (n. of a rākṣasī, cf. MW p. 889, Edg. p. 457) 8 v. 15
- Rohiṇī* (n. of a nakṣatra, see MW p. 890) 18, 16
- Raudradattā* (n. of a rākṣasī, cf. *Rudradattā* 25b and *Raudrā* Old. p. 241, 31)  
8 v. 6
- Lalanā* [*caī>va*] (n. of a rākṣasī, cf. MW p. 897 and Edg. p. 461) 8 v. 9.
- Lohināsikā* pro *Lohitanāsikā?* (n. of a rākṣasī, cf. MW pp. 908–909) 10 v. 19
- Vajrapāśī* (n. of a goddess) 18, 8
- Vajraveśī* (n. of a goddess) 18, 9
- Vajrasphoṭī* (n. of a goddess) 18, 8
- Vajrāñkuśī* (n. of a goddess, see MW p. 914 and Edg. p. 468) 18, 7
- Varuṇa* (the god Varuṇa, also a yakṣa, Lévi v. 13, 3; see also MW p. 921 and Edg. p. 470) 18, 26

- (*Asor*)-*Vardhikā* (n. of a rākṣasī; cf. Edgerton p. 472) 8 v. 8  
*Vardhamāna* (n. of a mountain and district and of a town, now called Bardwān, MW p. 926) 12 v. 33  
*Valalā*[*vanā*] (n. of a rākṣasī) 8 v. 10  
*Valkala* (n. of a place; cf. MW p. 928 and Edg. p. 473) 10 v. 23  
*Vāyu* (the god of the wind, regent of the nakṣatra Svāti, a king of gandharvas, a yakṣa leander, see MW p. 942, Old. p. 236, 17) 18, 28  
*Vimalā* (n. of a rākṣasī, also Old. p. 243, 11, see further MW p. 979 and Edg. p. 496) 8 v. 10  
*Viviktā* (n. of a rākṣasī, cf. MW p. 987) 10 v. 21  
*Viśākhā* (n. of a lunar mansion) 18, 20  
*Viśalā* (n. of a rākṣasī, cf. Lévi v. 51, 2; Edg. p. 500, MW p. 990) 8 v. 11, 19, 29  
*Viṣṇutā* (n. of a rākṣasī) 8 v. 4  
*Vīma* (n. of a rākṣasī) 10 v. 31  
*Vṛṣalā* (n. of a rākṣasī, cf. *vṛṣalī* MW p. 1013) 8 v. 9  
*Vṛṣṭiśilā* (n. of a rākṣasī, cf. *Sīlā-vṛṣṭi* MW p. 1073) 8 v. 12  
*Vemacitra* (n. of a yakṣa Lévi v. 96, 1, n. of an asura king MW p. 1013, cf. further Edg. p. 509) 18, 29  
†*Vraphnitā* (n. of a rākṣasī) 8 v. 3  
*Śamkhamālā* (n. of a rākṣasī) 8 v. 13  
*Śatabhiṣaj* (n. of a lunar mansion) 18, 23  
*Śalyavṛtti* (n. of a rākṣasī) 8 v. 15  
*Śaka* (n. of a country; cf. MW p. 1061) 10 v. 25  
*Śākala* (n. of a town of the Madras, n. of a village of the Bāhikas, Lévi v. 25, 4, MW p. 1062) 10 v. 26  
*Śivadāsī* (n. of a rākṣasī, cf. *śivā* 12 v. 46) 10 v. 17  
*Śitāmśu* (n. of the moon, see MW p. 1078) 18, 12  
*Śravana* (n. of a lunar mansion) 18, 23  
*Śritī* (n. of a deity) 18, 7  
*Sudharmā* (n. of a rākṣasī, cf. MW p. 1225) 8 v. 11  
*Sudhā* (= *Sudharmā*?, n. of a rākṣasī, cf. MW p. 1225) 8 v. 11  
*Sunandā* (n. of rākṣasī, as n. of a yakṣinī in Sādhanamāla, see Edg. p. 599, MW p. 1226) 8 v. 3, 6  
*Subhadrā* (n. of a rākṣasī, as n. of a yoginī and of a yakṣinī in Sādhanamāla according to Edg. p. 601, cf. MW p. 1229) 10 v. 24  
*Suśīmā* (n. of a rākṣasī, also Old. p. 240, 22, cf. MW p. 1237) 10 v. 20  
*Sūryakarnā* (n. of a rākṣasī) 10 v. 18, 26  
*Svāti* (n. of the star Arcturus forming a lunar asterism, MW p. 1283) 18, 20  
*Hasta* (n. of a lunar mansion, MW p. 1294) 18, 19  
*Hāritī* (n. of a goddess, bhūtamātā, as a rākṣasī Old. p. 241, 12, Edg. p. 619) 12 v. 43  
*Heśinī* (n. of a rākṣasī, cf. MW p. 1305) 10 v. 26