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TIBETAN TEXTS FROM KHARAKHOTO
ON THE CULT OF VAJRAVĀRĀHĪ*

ALEXANDER ZORIN

Abstract

This paper introduces all the identified Tibetan texts from Kharakhoto preserved in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Science (IOM RAS) and the British Library that relate to the cult of the Buddhist goddess Vajravārāhī. It is a relatively wide circle of sources consisting of *sādhanas*, ritual texts, hymns, and yogic instructions that treat Vajravārāhī in several forms such as the Two-Faced Dancing One, Cinnamuṅḍā (the Severed-Head One), the Black One, and some others. Most of the texts are available only in fragments, making their study more complicated and limited. The paper consists of two parts and two appendices. The first part of the paper presents a brief survey of the manuscripts and their contents, the second one summarises main information extracted from them. Appendix I presents the full edition of texts and their tentative English translation, while Appendix II focuses on two *sādhanas* found in both the Kharakhoto manuscript and the *Sa skya bka' 'bum* [Collected Works of the Sakya], highlighting the textual discrepancies between them.

1. Introduction

Vajravārāhī, also rendered as Vajra Sow and identified with Vajrayoginī, the divine consort of Cakrasaṃvara, is one of the supreme deities in

* I started to work with the Kharakhoto manuscripts in Saint Petersburg before I had to emigrate from Russia in 2022. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and personally Eviatar Shulman for the opportunity to continue my studies there. I am also thankful to Carmen Meinert for her kind invitation to contribute to the *BuddhistRoad* project and for her valuable remarks on my paper, as well as to Vivien Staps for assistance in editing. Last but not least, I owe several important corrections to the anonymous reviewer of this paper.

In the appendix, I am presenting images of several Kharakhoto manuscripts held at the IOM RAS, where I had the privilege to study and work for unforgettable twenty years. These images were acquired for my research projects related to the Kharakhoto collection, and I believe it is important to introduce them to the academic community. However, I have chosen not to include images of folios that require conservation. I trust that they will be appropriately published by the IOM RAS in due course.



Tantric Buddhism. The cult of Vajravārāhī originated in India and evolved into an independent system no later than by the beginning of the second millennium CE (the first mentions of her name may be dated to at least the ninth century). One of the most influential lineages of instructions on her practice can be traced back to the 11th-century Indian *yogin* Nāropā (fl. 11th c.), who also propagated the Six Dharmas, or Teachings (Tib. *chos drug*) obtained from his own *guru*, Tilopā.

According to Kirill Solonin, this cult was part of “the major stems of Tibetan esoterism in Xixia”;¹ about thirty Tangut texts have been identified as “affiliated with the Vajravārāhī system”.² Some Chinese translations of texts on this deity were extensively studied by Shen Weirong³ and Carmen Meinert⁴, who drew certain parallels with Tibetan texts. However, until recently, the Tibetan manuscripts found in Kharakhoto that belong to this tantric circle were largely inaccessible to specialists. The situation changed after a group of scholars, including Alla Sizova, Anna Turanskaya, and myself, started investigating and cataloguing the collection of Tibetan texts from Kharakhoto preserved in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences

¹ Kirill Solonin, “Dīpaṃkara in the Tangut Context: An Inquiry into the Systematic Nature of Tibetan Buddhism in Xixia (Part 1),” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 68.4 (2015): 430.

² Kirill Solonin, “Dīpaṃkara in the Tangut Context: An Inquiry into the Systematic Nature of Tibetan Buddhism in Xixia (Part 2),” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 69.1 (2016): 21

³ Weirong Shen, “Studies on Chinese Texts of the Yogic Practices of Tibetan Tantric Buddhism Found in Khara Khoto of Tangut Xia [I]. Quintessential Instruction on the Illusory Body of Dream,” *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie* 15 (2015): 187–230

⁴ Carmen Meinert, “Embodying the Divine in Tantric Ritual Practice: Examples from the Chinese Karakhoto Manuscripts from the Tangut Empire (ca. 1038–1227),” *Revue d’Etudes Tibétaines* 50 (2019): 56–72; Carmen Meinert, “Creation of Tantric Sacred Spaces in Eastern Central Asia,” in *Buddhism in Central Asia I: Patronage, Legitimation, Sacred Space, and Pilgrimage*, ed. Yukiyo Kasai and Henrik H. Sørensen (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 244–271; Carmen Meinert, “Production of Tantric Buddhist Texts in the Tangut Empire (11th to 13th c.): Insights from Reading Karakhoto Manuscript ̄ 249 + ̄ 327 *Jingang haimu xiuxi yi* [The Ritual of the Yogic Practice of Vajravārāhī] in Comparison with Other Tantric Ritual Texts,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 44 (2021): 441–484; Carmen Meinert, “Beyond Spatial and Temporal Contingencies: Tantric Rituals in Eastern Central Asia under Tangut Rule, 11th–13th C.,” in *Buddhism in Central Asia II—Practice and Rituals, Visual and Material Transfer*, ed. by Yukiyo Kasai and Henrik H. Sørensen, 313–365. Leiden: Brill, 2022.

(IOM RAS). In 2020, our work resulted in a draft version of the catalogue, which has been continuously improved since then and is expected to be finally completed in the near future. Within the collection, distinct groups of texts related to various tantric deities were identified, including a set of manuscripts focusing on Cakrasaṃvara and Vajravārāhī. Among these manuscripts, two short texts have already been published.⁵

The primary objective of this publication is to introduce the remaining texts associated with the cult of Vajravārāhī. This will provide colleagues studying Tangut Buddhism with new materials that can be compared to relevant texts in other languages discovered in Kharakhoto. Additionally, a folio found in the collection of the British Library will be included alongside those held in the IOM RAS. To achieve this objective, the publication will first present a list of the manuscripts, along with brief characteristics of their contents. Subsequently, it will summarise the important details concerning the texts themselves and tantric practices associated with the goddess. In Appendix I, a complete transliteration and tentative translation of all the texts is provided. In Appendix II, two *sādhanas* are juxtaposed against their alternative versions found in the *Collected Works of the Sakya*.

In my study, I largely relied upon the comprehensive monograph on the cult of Vajrayoginī (that encompasses that of Vajravārāhī) by Elisabeth English.⁶ It contains a vast corpus of information on the history and features of this cult, and I referenced some of them, when necessary, in connection with my research material.

⁵ Alexander Zorin, “A Sādhana of Vajravārāhī Found in a Tibetan Manuscript from Khara-Khoto Preserved in Saint Petersburg,” *Xiyu lishi yuyan yanjiu jikan* 西域历史语言研究集刊 / *Historical and Philological Studies of China's Western Regions* 14 (2020): 231–239.

⁶ Elisabeth English, *Vajrayoginī: Her Visualizations, Rituals, & Forms: A Study of the Cult of Vajrayoginī in India* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2002).



2. Manuscripts Under Study

2.1. XT-28, XT-174, XT-192 (IOM RAS)

This manuscript is a ritual text on Cakrasaṃvara and his *maṇḍala* (Tib. *dkyil 'khor*),⁷ including his consort Vajravārāhī. It includes three fragments of a manuscript brochure, 24 folios in all, without foliation: fragment one—10 folios, fragment two—9 folios, fragment three—5 folios.⁸

Folio [1]⁹ of the first fragment concludes with two quatrains of verses in praise of Cakrasaṃvara and Vajravārāhī, composed in nine-syllable verses. The subsequent folio appears to be missing. The next existing folio [2] contains a hymn dedicated to Vajrayoginī, consisting of seven quatrains composed in the same meter as the previous ones. These verses describe the iconography of the goddess (mainly in the four odd stanzas), providing remarks on its symbolism (mainly in the three even stanzas). The goddess has two faces—the face of a sow and a wrathful one—which symbolise the two truths: relative and absolute. She holds a chopper (Skt. *kartrika*; Tib. *gri gug*)¹⁰ in her right hand and a bowl (with blood) in her left hand. She stands in a dancing posture with one leg raised. Her adornments include a crown embellished with the image of the Buddha Vairocana (Tib. rNam par snang mdzad).

2.2. XT-177 (IOM RAS)

XT-177 is a collection of texts on Vajravārāhī. It is a fragment of a *pothī* manuscript (Tib. *dpe cha*) marked with the letter *kha*, and consists of nine folios, nos 30 to 38.¹¹

We do not know if the manuscript was entirely dedicated to Vajravārāhī, but the extant nine folios seem to belong to her cult, even though the first text does not mention her directly. It is possible that she

⁷ In the tantric context, it often means the divine palace where the central deity resides along with their retinue, or, metonymically, simply the central deity and their retinue.

⁸ The dimensions of this manuscript are 9.7/9.8×18.1/19.4 cm.

⁹ Due to the lack of foliation, the assigned numbers are merely provisional and are thus enclosed in square brackets.

¹⁰ This tantric weapon is conventionally translated as a ‘chopper’ because of the width of its blade; but this is also a curved knife, hence an alternative translation would be ‘hunter’s knife’.

¹¹ The dimensions of this manuscript are 8.3×24.3 cm.

might have been referred to in the missing beginning part of the text. The fragment we have contains the following texts:

2.2.1. *rNal 'byor ma'i dbang yi (=gi) brdas mtshon don/ mkha 'gro ma rnams kyis shin du sbas pa'i man ngag/ zhal nas zhal du brgyud pa'i rim pa* [The Meaning of the Symbolical Marks of the Yoginī's Power, the Instruction Completely Hidden by the Ḍākinīs and Passed Down Through the Tradition of Face-to-Face Transmission] (XT-177, fol. 30r. l. 1 – fol. 30v., l. 1)

The beginning is missing, the title is found in the colophon. The extant fragment contains a series of explanations of certain yogic 'marks'. For instance, the first one:

The symbol of having nothing to accept or avoid in regard of the body's intoxication by alcohol¹² marks that, [when] the mind of the *yogi* is intoxicated by the intoxicating water of having no births, [one] does not abandon *saṃsāra*, does not grasp after *nirvāṇa*.¹³

The fragment has no reference to Vajravārāhī.

2.2.2. *Bla ma dam pa'i man ngag gi dbang bskur* [The Empowerments According to the Holy Guru's Instruction] (XT-177, fol. 30v, l. 2–fol. 31r, l. 1)

A short *sādhana*¹⁴ in which one's *guru* obtains the place of Vārāhī's consort. The empowerments are achieved, and the darkness of ignorance is purified. The text has an introductory quintain, composed in seven-syllable verses.

¹² In this and other places, the Tibetan word *chang* is used, which is often translated as 'beer', although nowadays it is a light alcoholic beverage of a slightly different kind. Since we do not know exactly what *chang* meant in the early second millennium, the generic translation 'alcohol' is preferred.

¹³ XT-177, fol. 30r, ll. 1–2.

¹⁴ This genre of tantric texts describes the process of the evocation of deities, focusing on the sequence of visualisation (including the divine iconography) but also often describing preliminary actions, offerings, and requests (often supplied with *mantras*), concluding actions, signs of accomplishment, and some others.



2.2.3. *Untitled (XT-177, fol. 31r, l. 2 – fol. 33v, l. 8)*

A *gaṇacakra* (Tib. *tshogs kyi 'khor lo*) ritual¹⁵ of Vajravārāhī. The colophon states that “[the instruction] appeared from the *guru*’s mouth. Netso Lotsawa translated it for me. I, Nuptön, fixed it in letters”. (XT-177, fol. 31r, l. 2 – fol. 33v, l. 8).

The ritual is performed inside a secluded place, such as the cemetery. A guard is stationed at the door to check all those who wish to enter. A corpse may serve as the master’s seat. Alcohol and meat, symbolical representation of wisdom and method, are the main ‘ingredients’ of the feast. Offerings are presented to “the *jñānaḍākinī* and the heroines.”¹⁶ The ceremony includes ritual music and dancing. Then, “Heruka with four faces and twelve arms or with one face and two arms”¹⁷ is visualised in union with his consort, and this brings a sense of delight. The text contains several stanzas recited during the practice, and the colophon and dedication of merits are also versified (seven-syllable verses are used in all cases).

A very similar Chinese text is discussed and partly translated by Carmen Meinert.¹⁸ It is worth comparing the two texts in full in the future.

2.2.4. *Mun pa’i nang na mdzes mi (=ma’i) dngos grub bsgrub pa’i thabs gsal byed sgron ma* [The Lamp That Enlightens the Sādhana of Tamasundarī] (XT-177, fol. 34r, l. 1 – fol. 35v, l. 3)

This instruction involves tantric eroticism. The name of the *ḍākinī* Tamasundarī (lit. Beauty in the Darkness) means that the practice is performed in complete darkness. Its result is the attainment of the *siddhi*

¹⁵ Literally ‘gathering circle’, meaning a collective ritual feast during which a tantric practice is performed.

¹⁶ XT-177, fol. 33r, l. 8. The term *jñānaḍākinī* (Tib. *ye shes mkha’ ’gro*), lit. ‘a sky-goer of wisdom’, denotes a fully enlightened being in a pure female body, here Vajravārāhī herself. Generally, the term *ḍākinī* designates a class of tantric female deities, embodying enlightened energies; they can become divine consorts of yogis; female practitioners also can be treated as *ḍākinīs*. Originally, this term referred to flesh-eating demonesses.

¹⁷ XT-177, fol. 33v, ll. 4–5.

¹⁸ Meinert, “Beyond Spatial and Temporal Contingencies”, 338–346.

(Tib. *ngos grub*)¹⁹ and control over all the *yakṣiṇīs* (Tib. *gnod sbyin ma*).²⁰ A slightly different version of the text is found in the canonical text *'Jam dpal gyi rtsa ba'i rgyud* [The Root Manual of the Rites of Mañjuśrī], but Tamasundarī is just one of several *ḍākiṇīs* whose practices are described. In this manuscript, she is treated as a *yidam* (Tib. *yi dam*, Skt. *iṣṭadevatā*)²¹—perhaps, one of the forms of Vajrayoginī.²²

2.2.5. *Mun pa'i nang na mdzes pa'i man ngag* [The Instruction on Tamasundarī] (*XT-177, fol. 35v, ll. 4–8*)

In spite of the title found in the colophon, a different *yakṣiṇī* called Khaṇḍarohā is described in this very short *sāghanā* aimed at defeating an epidemic. The retinue of Vajrayoginī includes the *ḍākiṇī* with this name but in that context Khaṇḍarohā has red color and four arms while XT-177 depicts her as black and two-armed (and with different attributes in her hands).

2.2.6. *Untitled (XT-177, fol. 36r, l. 1 – fol. 36v, l. 3): A Protective Ritual of Vajravārāhī*

The *yogi* is prescribed to seat in a secluded dwelling, looking towards Oḍḍiyāna. A wheel with seven terrifying Vajravārāhīs is visualised. The *mantra* is wrathfully recited. The ending suggests that a physical wheel for magical defense is created. If it is not just for one's own protection but also for the killing of vicious enemies of the *dharma*, it should be asked for from the *guru*.

¹⁹ The term may be translated as 'accomplishment', meaning the attainment of various goals in esoteric practices—usually various miraculous powers but also the ultimate goal, the practitioner's enlightenment.

²⁰ Originally, *yakṣiṇīs* and their male counterparts, *yakṣas*, were nature spirits in Indian mythology. In Buddhist literature, they are depicted as harmful demons. Nevertheless, some wrathful tantric deities, such as Mahākāla, are represented as their commanders (since the demons can be subdued and put into service). Sometimes, the term *yakṣiṇī* can be used in the same sense as *ḍākiṇī*.

²¹ *Yidam*, meaning a personal deity, the focus of meditation through which a practitioner tries to attain the enlightenment.

²² This and the following text are published, analysed, and translated in Zorin, "A Sāghanā of Vajravārāhī."



2.2.7. *Untitled (XT-177, fol. 36v, ll. 4–8): A Fierce Ritual Aimed at Killing an Enemy*

The *maṇḍala* of Vajravārāhī with six *yoginīs* is drawn, the name of the enemy is added, it is then placed inside an image made of ash from the cremation, and fierce actions are performed upon it.

2.2.8. *Untitled (XT-177, fol. 37r, l. 1 – fol. 38v, l. 5): A Ritual of the Torma [Offering] (Tib. gtor ma)²³ to Vajravārāhī*

The text starts with the formula of homage in which the first two syllables cannot be seen clearly: “Oh (?), homage to the *guru* from Vihāra (?).”²⁴ The colophon states: “These instructions [received] from the mouth of the *guru*, I, Nuptön, have put into letters.”²⁵

Visualisation and consecration of offerings are described, the cake offering is offered to the *jñānasattva* (Tib. *ye shes sems dpa'*)²⁶ and her retinue. The text contains a long prayer (mostly in seven-syllable verses), in which the *yogi* asks the goddess to eat the *torma* and to fulfill the desired aims, concludes the text. A similar, yet different text is found in volume 20 of the huge collection of texts that belong to the legacy of the Drukpa Kagyü school (Tib. *'brug pa bka' brgyud pa*) (see Appendix I).

2.2.9. *Untitled (XT-177, fol. 38v, ll. 6–8): Versified Instruction on the Protection [that Grants] the Fearlessness in front of the Epidemics*

Here, only the first three lines that contain eleven seven-syllable verses are present. The extant fragment seems to compose a rather long introduction: in the first seven verses, the topic (various dangerous diseases) and aim (protection from them) are formulated, the next

²³ This Tibetan word may be translated as ‘offering cake’; it covers a very wide range of colored and decorated dough figures mainly made of barley flour and butter with the addition of some other ingredients. During the rituals, they are offered to deities as a sacred meal treatment.

²⁴ XT-177, fol. 37r, l. 1.

²⁵ XT-177, fol. 38v, l. 5.

²⁶ Literally meaning ‘knowledge being’; this term refers to the actual tantric deity invited from their divine abode (known as ‘pure land’) and placed into an image of the deity (*samayasattva* [Tib. *dam tshig sems dpa'*], literally meaning ‘pledge being’) visualised by the practitioner.

incomplete fragment starts with mentioning “Ācārya Dorje Trülje (?)”²⁷ as a source of medical instructions.

2.3. XT-124 (IOM RAS)

XT-124 is a collection of ritual texts on Vajravārāhī. Fragments of a *pothi* manuscript, 15 folios with text, left edges (with margins?) are missing.²⁸ The item also has some illustrations that I am going to publish separately.

This is a problematic item because each folio lacks approximately one third of its length from the left. It means we do not have their numbers (if there was any foliation) and rather long parts of the texts. It made the search for their right order quite complicated; of course, the sequence of the folios when I started to deal with this item was random. It could have been easier if the texts could be identified and checked against other copies, but I only was able to identify two of them.²⁹ I suggest arrangement into three groups of folios and two separate folios that do not seem to belong to any of them. The original sequence of all the five temporarily defined units is unknown. Therefore, the numbers given by me below are nothing but provisional.

2.3.1. Fragment I (Five Folios)

(1) A Fire Offering Ritual (fol. [1.1]v, l. 1 – fol. [1.4]v, l. 4)

The text is well-structured, which allowed me to unite the folios that belong to it. The structure is presented below with certain reformulations of the subheadings to make them more concise. The numerous lacunas make this structure hypothetical in a few instances.

- fol. [1.1]r I. Preliminary practice
- (1) Explanation of [the objectives?] of the fire offering ritual
 - (2) The hearth
 - (2.1) Shape (size)
 - (2.2) Color

²⁷ XT-177, fol. 38v, l. 8. I am not certain about the second name, some letters are, regrettably, illegible. My tentative reading is *'phrul byed*.

²⁸ The dimensions of this manuscript are 8.5×16/18 cm.

²⁹ It is the comparison between the manuscript and the other versions of the texts that allowed me to measure approximately the size of missing left edges as one third.



- (2.3) [Other qualities?]
 (2.4) Wood to be burnt
 (2.5) Use of *kuśa* grass
- fol. [1.2]r (3) The substances to be offered
 (4) The substances to be burnt
 (5) The direction the performer faces
- II. The fire offering of the substances
- fol. [1.2]v IIa. [Preliminary stage?]
 (1) Lighting of a fire
 (2) Generating of the fire deity. The deity has four arms that have the following attributes: a rosary and small vase (in the right), a stick and [the gesture of giving] fearlessness (in the left).
- fol. [1.3]r A *mantra* and an invocation in seven-syllable verses are used to invite the *jñānasattva* of the fire deity.
- fol. [1.3]v (3) [The *pra* divination?]
 (4) Presenting of the substances to be burnt
- fol. [1.4]r (4.1) Preliminary presenting of the substances to be offered
 (4.1.1) [Operation with the spoons?]
 (4.1.2) [Generation of the host of deities?]
 (4.1.3) Preliminary presenting of the offerings to them
 (4.2) Presenting of the substances to be burnt [general remarks?]
- fol. [1.4]v IIb (?). [The actual rite of presenting of the substances to be burnt]
 (1) Presenting of the offerings in gratitude
 (2) A request about attaining the *siddhi* through the *torma* offering
 (3) The dedication [of merits?]
 (4) The departure of the *jñānasattva*
 (5) [Dissolving? of] the *samayasattva*

III. (?). The concluding rite with the substances to be offered to the fire deity

- (1) Treating of the fire deity
- (2) [Presenting of offerings] in gratitude <?>
- (3) A request about the desired *siddhi*
- (4) A request about forbearance, amendment of duplications and omissions
- (5) The departure of the *jñānasattva*, dissolving of the *samayasattva*

IV. (?). The analysis of the “receptacle” that shows [=performs?] the ritual

(2) A hymn to the fire deity (fol. [1.4]v, ll. 4–8)

This part seems to consist of four quatrains composed in seven-syllable verses. No iconographic details are provided in the extant fragments except for the epithet ‘greatly terrifying’.³⁰ In stanza two he is called “the son of the protector of the world,”³¹ stanza three praises “the one whose light of awareness burns the afflictions”³² and “the Great Compassionate,”³³ stanza four—“the chief of the protectors of the world.”³⁴ Thus, I assume that either the fire deity is considered an emanation of Avalokiteśvara (Tib. sPyan ras gzigs dbang phyug), or the second half of the poem is dedicated to the latter.

(3) Fol. [1.4]v, l. 8

This part consists of the initial pair of introductory seven-syllable verses, and presumably, the continuation of this text, *The Garland of Instructions on the Fire Rite* (fol. [1.5]r., l.1 – [1.5]v, l. 8 – <...>³⁵). The first line of folio [1.5] (presumably the concluding line of the introductory verses), contains the word *mahāmudrā* (spelled *ma ha mu tra*), but the context is not entirely clear. The same word starts the prosaic part of the

³⁰ XT-124, fol. [1.4]v, l. 4.

³¹ XT-124, fol. [1.4]v, l. 5.

³² XT-124, fol. [1.4]v, l. 6.

³³ XT-124, fol. [1.4]v, l. 7.

³⁴ XT-124, *ibid.*

³⁵ Here and in similar situations, it means that the end (or the beginning) of the text is missing.



text. It is well-structured. The structure is presented in the same way as that of the first text in this item.

- fol. [1.5]r I. The rite of the preliminary connection:
- (1) Shape of hearth
 - (2) Sticks to be burnt (?)
 - (3) [Arrangement of the sticks?]
 - (4) [Arrangement of other utensils?]
 - (5) The way to light the fire
 - (6) Substances to be burnt
- fol. [1.5]v II. The offering of substances to be burnt
- (1) Generation of the hearth
 - (2) Generation of the fire deity and the fire offering [to him]. The text is abruptly on the description of the deity's attributes (the same as above).
- missing (3) Lineage (?) of accomplishment
- (4) (?) offering,
 - (5) Generation of the goddess and the offering [to her]
 - (6) Generation of the six classes and the offering [to them].
- III. The rite of cultivation of 'the meaning' of the deity

2.3.2. *Fragment II (Five Folios)*

(4) *dPa'o gsum gi bsrung ba'* [Protection of the Three Heroines] (<...> – fol. [2.1]r, ll. 1–8)

The designation includes Cinnamuṅḍā (Tib. dBu bcad ma), i.e., the Severed-Head Vajraḍākiṅī, and her retinue, Vajravarnanī (Tib. rDo rje rab bsngags) and Vajravairocanī (Tib. rDo rje rnam snang ma). The *mantra* with their names is provided, and its recital is believed to neutralise epidemics. Except for the *mantra*, the entire extant fragment (including the short colophon) is versified, a seven-syllable meter being used. At least two quatrains precede the *mantra* and at least four follow it.

(5) *rDo rje rnal 'byor ma 'i nor bsgrub* [A Wealth Sādhana of Vajravārāhī]
(fol. [2.1]v, ll. 1–7)

Judging by a reference to the ‘main text’, it is a commentary. Here, the increasing practice is described. Manipulations with a skull are prescribed, the heart *mantra* (Skt. *hṛdaya*, Tib. *snying po*)³⁶ of the wealth increase by means of Vajravārāhī is to be written, a mirror is also used.

(6) *gNod sbyin mo yi bcud len* [Rejuvenation Practice with the Yaḥṣiṅī]
(fol. [2.1]v, l. 7 – fol. [2.2]r, l. 8)

The deity’s name here is the Beautiful One (Tib. Yid ’ong ba), and Padma[pa]ṭī. The deity becomes the *yogi*’s consort. Sex with anybody else is forbidden. The practice results in obtaining any appropriate common *siddhi* desired. This is a versified instruction, a seven-syllable meter being used; at least seven quatrains were written originally. The text is likely attributed to the Sakya hierarch Drakpa Gyaltsen (1147–1216, Tib. Grags pa rgyal mtshan) and can be found in the *Collected Works of the Sakya* under the title *Pa+dma pa ti 'i man ngag* [The Instruction on Padmapatī].³⁷ However, the two versions have a few discrepancies (see Appendix II).

(7) *gNod sbyin mo chen mo yi rtog pa 'i* [A Rite of the Great Yaḥṣiṅī]
(fol. [2.2]v, l. 1 – fol. [2.3]r, l. 4)

Holding the goddess by the hand, the *yogi* performs the fire practice. The successful practitioner will be praised by gods and obtain the appearance of a twelve-year-old. The text is likely attributed to the same author as the previous one and can be found in the *Collected Works of the Sakya*, immediately preceding it under the title *Tshangs pa 'i bu mo 'i sgrub*

³⁶ The term represents a sacred formula believed to encapsulate the essence of a specific deity or teaching.

³⁷ It is known that Drakpa Gyaltsen was visited by some Tanguts, and at least two of his texts are linked to these contacts. Notably, one of them was “on ten kinds of esoteric activities using rituals associated with Vajravārāhī” (Ronald M. Davidson, *Tibetan Renaissance: Tantric Buddhism in the Rebirth of Tibetan Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 349; I would like to thank Alla Sizova for this reference). Drakpa Gyaltsen’s instruction is entitled *Phag mo las bcu 'i gsal byed* [The Explanation of Ten Actions of Vajravārāhī]. It is not represented in any fragments of the manuscripts analysed in this paper.



thabs [The Sādhana of Brahmāduhitā (=Daughter of Brahma)] The two versions have a few discrepancies (see Appendix II).

(8) *Śrīvajrayogī[nī]nāma* [(A Sādhana?) of Śrī-Vajrayoginī] (fol. [2.3]r, l. 4 – [2.3]v, l. 2)

The black form of the goddess is evoked, though the iconographic details are not found in the text. The *torma* made with fresh meat is used, and several *mantras* are provided. “This is the instruction on the male accomplishment—when practised, the desired [things] appear.”³⁸

(9) *'Byung po dge ba' bsgrub pa'i thabs* [A Sādhana of the Virtuous Spirit] (fol. [2.3]v, l. 3 – fol. [2.4]r, l. 5)

The Two-Faced Goddess is evoked. The continuity of the text from 2.3 to 2.4 is hypothetical. Lama Tipupa (fl. 12th c., Tib. Ti pu pa), Rechungpa (1084–1161, Tib. Ras chung pa), and Dro Lotsawa (fl. 12th c., Tib. 'Bro lo tsā ba) are mentioned in the colophon as masters who passed down the *sādhana*. The person who recorded the text asked it from the latter. The ritual incorporates a mirror and, sometimes, dice divination (e.g., the trigram (?) *kho[n]* is mentioned), as well as the burning of a mixture consisting of feathers and brain taken from various birds and excrements of a black cat.

(10) *gSad pa'i las* [A Rite for Killing] (fol. [2.4]r, l. 5 – fol. [2.4]v, l. 1)

The text prescribes manipulations involving an effigy (Skt. *liṅga*, Tib. *ling ga*) made of a complex mixture of substances, and a fierce diagram drawn on a piece of cloth taken from a corpse.

(11) *Untitled* (fol. [2.4]v, l. 2 – fol. [2.5]v, l. 7): A *sādhana* of Cinnamuṅḍā

The motif of the three drops holds special importance in this instruction. These drops include (1) the outer drop, represented by a decorative mark on a woman's forehead with *sindūra* powder;³⁹ the (2) secret drop, possibly referring to a drop of menstrual blood; and (3) the drop of true reality, symbolising the inseparability with the blissful emptiness of clear light. The involvement of the *guru* in counteraction is

³⁸ XT-124, fol. [2.3]v, l. 2.

³⁹ In Sanskrit, *sindūra* refers to vermilion red or orange-red powder.

likely an essential part of the practice, although the gaps in the text make it difficult to grasp fully. Nuptön (fl. 11th c., Tib. rNubs ston) is mentioned in the first voice at the end.

2.3.3. *Fragment III (Three Folios)*

(12) <?> *bsrung ba'i man ngag* [The Instruction about a Protective (?)] (fol. [3.1]r, ll. 1–7)

A protective circle with a *mantra* is produced on a piece of cloth from a charnel-ground, and it is consecrated by the practitioner who generates oneself as the deity. The circle is hidden, and its power can be evoked by offerings, visualising the Black [Vajra]vārāhī with one face and four arms surrounded by four black *ḍākinīs*, and reciting the *mantra*.

(13) *Untitled* (fol. [3.1]r, l. 7 – fol. [3.3]v, l. 4): A Sādhana of Cinnamuṅḍā

The text is preceded by a *mantra*, and its exact placement, whether it pertains to the current text or concludes the previous one, is unclear. Detailed instructions involve the central deity and her retinue that includes Praṇavā, Vairocanī, Buddhaḍākinī, and Vajravaṇanī. Their visualisation and breath technics related to the ‘psychic winds’ (Skt. *prāṇa*, Tib. *rlung*)⁴⁰ are discussed, and the *mantra* is provided. The *torma* offering is made, and the blessing received. An additional colophon names Nuptön as a practitioner who took delight in the evocation rite.

(14) *Untitled* (fol. [3.3]v, ll. 5–7): *Mantras* of Vajravārāhī and Eight Goddesses of Her Retinue

These goddesses are Rūpinī, Kākāsyā, Ulūkāsyā, Śvānāsyā, Yamadādhī, Yamadūtī, Yamadaṃṣṭriṇī, and Yamamathanī.

2.3.4. *Fragment IV (One Folio)*

(15) *Untitled* (<...>– fol. [4.1]r, l. 1 – fol. [4.1]v, l. 5): A *sādhana* of the goddess (the name is not specified).

⁴⁰ In yogic practices, these ‘psychic winds’ are directed by the practitioner through breath to various directions along the subtle energetic channels visualised within the human body.



These are apparently additional instructions since it is recommended to learn details about the arrangement of the seed syllables from “the main text” (Tib. *gzhung*).⁴¹

The preliminaries include meditation on the pureness and essential emptiness of the Uru (Tib. dBu ru) region in Central Tibet. Contemplation results in a suddenly formed vision of the goddess (its instantaneity is compared with an image of a fish leaping in water). The *mantra* shall be recited, and, when the practitioner is tired, the *torma* offering is made. Routine activities after the end of the meditative session are to be done without leaving the ‘pride’ (Tib. *nga rgyal*) of the goddess.

(16) *Untitled* (fol. [4.1]v, ll. 6 – 8 – <...>): Instructions on the contemplation of the goddess (the name is not specified)

This part is just the beginning of the text that provides a few preliminary details of the practice, including the generation of light from the seed syllable (BAM) of the ‘source of *dharma*’ (Skt. *dharmodayā*, Tib. *chos ’byung*), the triangular diagram of Vajrayoginī mentioned several times in other texts, too.

2.3.5. *Fragment V (One Folio)*

(17) *Untitled* (<...>– fol. [5]r, l. 1 – [5]v, l. 9–<...>): Various ritual instructions (the rite involves a disciple)

This includes *mantras*, elements of visualisation, signs, offerings, thoughts of the practitioner, and some others. The text was well-structured, but the extant fragment does not allow to reconstruct its divisions.

2.4. *XT-147 (IOM RAS)*

XT-147 is a ritual text on Vajravārāhī. It is one folio from a *pothī* (?) manuscript, of which the left edge (with margins?) is missing.⁴²

Judging by several references to the ‘main text’, it is clearly a commentary. The process of visualisation of Cinnamūḍā inside the ‘source of *dharma*’ is described. The 37 deities *maṅḍala* of Vajravārāhī is

⁴¹ XT-124, fol. [4.1]r, l. 5.

⁴² The dimensions of this manuscript are 8.5×18.3 cm.

mentioned, without any details on that. Although both the beginning and the end of the text are missing, we can probably consider it a *sādhana*.

2.5. IOL Tib M 957 (British Library)⁴³

This manuscript is titled *Jo mo'i mngon rtogs* [The Visualisation of the Divine Lady].⁴⁴ The folio is damaged: large parts of the text are rubbed away (the cause of this is unclear).

The designation used by me as a title of the text is written as a subheading above the beginning of the text. The larger part of the fragment is dedicated to the topic of the purification of the substances to be offered: alcohol and meat. Among other procedures, the *torma* is made “to the mouths of the twelvefold divine father and mother” (Tib. *yab yum bcu gnyis po*), i.e., most probably, twelve-armed Cakrasaṃvara and Vajravārāhī. The end of the topic of the purification of the substances is found on the fourth line of the verso side and is clearly shown graphically. The remaining lines contain instructions on visualisation of the *guru* and deities: it is mentioned that [Vajra]vārāhī is surrounded by six goddesses. The outer, inner, and secret offerings are likely to be discussed. Like the previous text, it can be also categorised as a *sādhana* (especially since the subheading specifies the visualisation process).

3. Synopsis of Major Details Concerning the Texts and Practices They Describe

3.1. Forms of Vajravārāhī

The five manuscripts contain 29 individual texts, complete or in fragments, which identify the forms of the goddess described:

⁴³ The belonging of this text to the Vajravārāhī cycle was identified by Tsugehito Takeuchi and Maho Iuchi in their catalogue of the Stein Collection. See Takeuchi Tsugehito and Iuchi Maho, *Tibetan Texts from Khara-Khoto in the Stein Collection of the British Library* (Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, 2016), 85. They also recorded the exact site in Kharakhoto where it was found: K.K.V.b. This is the *stūpa* where the majority of Tibetan texts kept in London was taken from (Ibid., 7, 18), and this holds true for most of the P. Kozlov collection in Saint Petersburg as well. Sadly, his excavations were not properly documented, and we do not know where exactly the manuscripts kept at the IOM RAS were discovered.

⁴⁴ IOL Tib M 957 consists of one folio from a *pothī* manuscript (no. 28), with the dimensions 8.9×23.2 cm.



- (1) manuscript number one includes two fragments from one text;
- (2) manuscript number two contains 9 texts;
- (3) manuscript number three 17 texts;
- (4) manuscript number four a fragment of one text; and
- (5) manuscript number five as well.

The best-known form, the two-faced Vajravārāhī, standing in dancing-pose (Skt. *ardhaparyāṅka*, Tib. *skyil krung phyed pa*) and holding a chopper and a skull, is distinctly represented in the hymn from the text devoted to Cakrasaṃvara and his retinue (1). This combination seems to contradict the statement of Elisabeth English that the goddess does not bear a sow's head when depicted as Cakrasaṃvara's consort.⁴⁵ However, before this complicated and fragmentary manuscript is analysed in-depth, I cannot say for sure whether the hymn depicts the goddess in this exact function.⁴⁶ It is worth noting also that she is called here both [Vajra]yoginī and Vārāhī.⁴⁷ The two-faced goddess is also mentioned in *A Sādhana of the Virtuous Spirit* (3.9), without any iconographic details in the extant fragment.

It is not clear which form of Vajravārāhī is intended to be visualised in a *sādhana* (2.6) that prescribes the generation of a wheel with seven (identical?) terrifying Vajravārāhīs but, perhaps, the very absence of the name indicates her main form which is the two-faced One. We can be sure, at least, that she is depicted in red due to the consistent use of red imagery in the depiction of her generation. Notably, the practitioner is instructed to take a seat looking towards the legendary land of Oḍḍiyāna, that is closely connected with *ḍākinīs* and tantric supernatural powers.⁴⁸

Four texts belong to the tradition of Cinnamuṇḍā, the Severed-head One. She is also known as Trikāyavajrayoginī (literally meaning 'triple-bodied Vajrayoginī') because the two attendants from her retinue, Vajravarnanī and Vajravairocanī, are also considered her emanations, and

⁴⁵ English, *Vajrayoginī*, 104.

⁴⁶ It may be, for instance, an individual fragment treating Vajravārāhī as a separate goddess that was just inserted in the collection of texts associated with Cakrasaṃvara's *maṇḍala*.

⁴⁷ The identification of the two goddesses is discussed in English, *Vajrayoginī*, 102–107.

⁴⁸ English, *Vajrayoginī*, 43–44.

together they compose the triple-bodied goddess. This name is not attested in the manuscripts under study, but the designation ‘the three heroines’ is used in *The Protection of the Three Heroines* (3.4). It has no iconographic features but provides their *mantra*. Another text (3.11) starts with an address to Cinnamuṅḍā, but the extant fragment does not describe her, nor informs us about her attendants. However, the numeral three plays an important role in this instruction (e.g., three ‘drops’ embodied by her, triple offerings at the end) that may refer to the tripartite divinity. One more text (3.13) describes a practice that involves Cinnamuṅḍā, also called Buddhaḍākinī as the central figure in this group, and both her attendants. Finally, the fragment (4) mentions Cinnamuṅḍā and the thirty-seven deities *maṅḍala* but the extant folio stops on the moment of the invitation of the latter from Akaniṣṭha.⁴⁹

A *sādhana* of *Vajravārāhī* that describes a complex collective ritual (2.3) mentions “the *jñānaḍākinī* and the heroines” (Tib. *mkha’ ’gro dang dpa’ mo rnams*), but it is not clear whether the word ‘heroines’ refers to the two attendants of Cinnamuṅḍā or to the retinue of some other form of *Vajravārāhī*. At the concluding part of the ritual, sexual union with Heruka who possesses four faces and twelve arms, or one face and two arms (two standard forms of *Cakrasaṃvara*) is practiced.

The union of ‘divine father and mother’ (Tib. *yab yum*) is also mentioned in the fragment stored in the British Library (5), and in this text six goddesses join their *maṅḍala*, while the divine consorts are called ‘twelfefold’ (Tib. *bcu gnyis po*), likely meaning that they have twelve arms, although the Tibetan wording is not typical to signify the number of arms. Such designations are rather used to encode the number of deities in the *maṅḍala*, and a popular form of *Cakrasaṃvara* does have twelve attendants. However, this composition is normally called ‘thirteenfold’, thus including the central figure of consorts. Moreover, the fragment tells us that *Vārāhī* is surrounded by six goddesses, not twelve. Perhaps, six armor goddesses (Tib. *go cha’i lha mo drug*) are meant here.⁵⁰ The

⁴⁹ Here, this is the name of the pure realm where buddhas reside in their body of bliss (Skt. *saṃbhogakāya*).

⁵⁰ English, *Vajrayoginī*, 164. Cf. a Nepalese icon dated from ca. 1100 that depicts *Cakrasaṃvara*’s *maṅḍala* with six goddesses held in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. See



maṇḍala of Vajravārāhī alone (without her consort) and six *yoginīs* on the petals around her is also to be drawn and used for a fierce ritual in 2.7.

The text 3.14 is a series of *mantras* of Vajravārāhī and the following goddesses: (1) Rūpinī (perhaps, a mistake),⁵¹ (2) Kākāsyā, (3) Ulūkāsyā, (4) Śvānāsyā, (5) Yamadādhī, (6) Yamadūtī, (7) Yamadaṃṣṭriṇī, and (8) Yamamathanī. In the ‘forty-one-fold *maṇḍala*’, as English puts it, they belong to the outer part (gates and corners)⁵² but this group can also have an independent role when the circle of protection is created.⁵³

Two texts contain instructions on the visualisation of the black Vajrayoginī/Vajravārāhī (the designation of colour should not be taken literally since the actual colour is rather dark blue or blue). In a short ritual text (3.8) it is briefly suggested that something should be generated as black—the lacuna hides a part of the sentence, but it is highly likely that the goddess herself is meant because the previous line refers to the visualization of Vajrayoginī and concludes with the expression “the special quality” (Tib. *kyad par*) that may allude to her black colour. Another short text (3.12) provides just a few additional details: Black Vajravārāhī possesses one face and four arms and is surrounded by four black *ḍākinīs*. I was not able to identify this form precisely. The well-known wrathful black Vārāhī has two arms and eight attendants.⁵⁴ English mentions that “Vajrayoginī also has connections with another Akṣobhya-family heruka, called Mahāmāyā [...] His consort is Buddhaḍākinī—“ḍākinī of the Buddha(s)”—and he is worshiped in embrace with her at the centre of a *maṇḍala* of four *ḍākinīs* (who also appear elsewhere within a *maṇḍala* of a wrathful black form of Vajravārāhī)”⁵⁵ This Buddhaḍākinī

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/38021> (last accessed July 17, 2023). The sevenfold *maṇḍala* of Vajravārāhī and six armour *mantra* are discussed in Carmen Meinert, “Production of Tantric Buddhist Texts,” 475, no. 49 and 474, respectively.

⁵¹ Rūpinī is one of the four principal attendants in the ‘forty-one-fold-*maṇḍala*’. See English, *Vajrayoginī*, 59. The group addressed here includes Sūkarasyā instead of Rūpinī.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 59.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 134–136.

⁵⁴ Martin Willson and Martin Brauen, *Deities of Tibetan Buddhism: The Zurich Paintings of the Icons Worthwhile to See* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2020).

⁵⁵ English, *Vajrayoginī*, 46–47.

may be blue in color, and she has four arms,⁵⁶ but we can only guess whether she should be identified with Black Vajravārāhī from the Kharakhoto manuscript.⁵⁷

The text 2.5 instructs about Khaṇḍarohā, the beautiful *yakṣinī* whose body is black and who possesses one face and two arms in which she holds a lasso and an iron hook. She is evoked to heal a sick person from a contagious disease. She is said to abide on the northern side of Sumeru. It is difficult to say how she relates to Vajravārāhī—as her own emanation or as a subordinate deity. The *ḍākinī* with this name is known as one of the deities of Cakrasaṃvara and Vajravārāhī *maṇḍalas* but her iconography there is different.

The text on Khaṇḍarohā follows the *sādhana* of Tamasundarī (2.4) and that may be a reason why its colophon mistakenly names the latter: “The instruction on Tamasundarī is complete”.⁵⁸ These two texts, as well as a pair of texts that describe practices with the *Yakṣinī* Padmapatī (3.5) and the Great *Yakṣinī* (Padmapatī, too?) (3.6), belong to the stratum of erotic and peaceful manifestations of the goddess. The name Tamasundarī signifies ‘the Beauty in the Darkness’, and the *yogi* achieves union with her in complete darkness, thereby her iconography is concealed. Padmapatī is not explicitly described, but she is also called the ‘Beautiful One’, indicating her possession of graceful features. Practices of these deities bring about youth, control over *ḍākinīs*, wealth, etc., thus embodying the lustful side of the cult of Vajravārāhī. Tamasundarī’s *sādhana* commences with homage to Vajravārāhī, she is also referred to as a *yidam*, suggesting her likely status as an emanation of the great goddess.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Willson and Brauen, *Deities of Tibetan Buddhism*, 48–49. While she is definitely blue on the picture, the *sādhana* in this same edition depicts her as red (another possible colour of her body). *Ibid.*, 251.

⁵⁷ English also draws attention to a blue *ḍākinī* whose iconography resembles Vajravārāhī in the *thangka* from Kharakhoto. See English, *Vajrayoginī*, 46. However, in this case she is two-armed. The *thangka* is kept in the State Hermitage (access code XX-2396): <https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/25.%20archaeological%20artifacts/477200?lng=en>, last accessed July 17, 2023).

⁵⁸ XT-177, fol. 35v, l. 7: *mun pa'i nang na mdzes pa'i man ngag rdzogs s.ho.*

⁵⁹ She modestly emerges as one of the eight *yakṣinīs* who grant desires in *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* [The Root Tantra of Mañjuśrī], not being treated as a *yidam* there. See Zorin, “A Sādhana of Vajravārāhī,” 233.



The text 3.4 that was mentioned above in relation to Cinnamuṇḍā and that is closely preceding the instructions on *Yakṣinī* Padmapatī and the Great *Yakṣinī*, commences with double mentioning of *mahāmudrā* that has a direct relation to tantric eroticism and attaining *siddhis*.⁶⁰ However, the extant fragment does not add any details that could explain the use of the term in the instructions concerning the fire sacrifice (Skt. *homa*, Tib. *sbyin sreg*).⁶¹

3.2. Names of Masters

Six texts provide names of masters who transmitted the instructions. Four of them were recorded by a certain Nuptön, Teacher from the Nup (Tib. *rNubs*) family, as follows from the colophons usually written by him from the first voice:

- (1) 2.3: “Lotsā[wa] Netso translated it for me. I, Nuptön, fixed it in letters.”
- (2) 2.8: “These instructions [received] from the mouth of the guru, I, Nuptön, have put into letters.” The name of the guru mentioned here is not recorded. Perhaps, the same figure is indicated in the homage formula that commences the text, namely “guru from Vihāra” (if my reading is correct, the first two syllables cannot be seen clearly).
- (3) 3.11: “Instruction <...> Nuptön: “I <...>.” Due to the lacunas, we do not know if any source of the instruction was mentioned.
- (4) 3.13: “an instruction on recital [?] <...> in which the Lama Nuptön took delight.” The lacuna may hide the name of the master who passed the instruction to Nuptön. Even though the pronoun “I” is not used here, the

⁶⁰ English, *Vajrayoginī*, 91–94.

⁶¹ Of course, the presense of the term *mahāmudrā* in Kharakhoto manuscripts is not surprising at all, since “in the later period of the Tangut reception of Tibetan Buddhism [there] was a strong Tangut adherence to a number of Kagyü masters, who, serving as preceptors in the Tangut State, instructed mainly tantric practices to their Tangut audience” (Ma Zhouyang, *An Inner Asian Buddhist Revolution: The Rise of Tibetan Buddhism in the Tangut Xia State* (PhD. Diss., Harvard University, 2023), 123). See also a recent publication of a Tangut fragment kept at the IOM RAS that contains the term *mahāmudrā* and mentions a sow (apparently, Vajravārāhī): Chung-pui Tai and Viacheslav Zaytsev, “Tibetan Buddhism Practice of the Great Seal (*mahāmudrā*) as Recorded in Tangut Fragments with Tibetan Phonetic Glosses: An Annotated Sentence-based Reading of Tang. 1075/Fr. 6(11),” *Tangutskaia i kitaiskaia filologija. K iubileiu M. V. Sofronova* [Tangut and Chinese Philology. To the Jubilee of M. V. Sofronov] (Moscow: Institute of Oriental Studies, RAS, 2024), 363–395.

character of the record suggests first-hand knowledge and may refer to the same authorship.⁶²

The person mentioned in the first of the quoted colophons must be Lotsāwa Khu Netso (fl. 11th c., Tib. *lo tsā ba* Khu ne tso), who is credited with the translation of *Vajrayoginīstotra* (Derge Tengyur 1594) made jointly with its author, Atīśa Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna (982–1054, Tib. A ti sha Mar me mdzad dpal Ye shes), a.k.a. Dīpaṃkara. There were several eminent Buddhist masters from the Nup family in Tibetan history, but there is no doubt regarding the identity of Nuptön from the Kharakhoto manuscripts, as Lotsāwa Netso and he are mentioned together in various texts, including the *Deb ther sngon po* [Blue Annals]:

Further, sNubs-ston obtained this class of Vajravār[ā]hī Cycle from the Nepālese Ha-mu⁶³ and handed them (to others). Khu Ne-tso obtained (them) in Nepāl from Ha-mu dkar-po himself, as well as heard the system: from sNubs-ston,⁶⁴ and made several translations of it.⁶⁵

Thus, we see that both eleven-century masters shared new information about Vajravārāhī practices with each other, suggesting an absence of hierarchy between them. Another source, *Jo nang khrid brgya brgyud 'debs* [Supplication to the Lineage of the Hundred and Eight Guidebooks of the Jonang] by Kunga Drölchok (1507–1565/66, Tib. Kun dga' grol mchog), appears to add the actual name of Nuptön: “Lotsāwa Khu Netso, Maben Chöbardar, and Nuptön Gyal Yeseng appeared”.⁶⁶

⁶² (1) XT-177, fol. 33v, ll. 7–8; (2) XT-177, fol. 38v, l. 5; (3) XT-124, fol. [2.5]v, l. 5; (4) XT-124, fol. [3.3.]v, l. 5.

⁶³ I wonder whether the designation “the guru from Vihāra (?)” in 2.8 could refer to this Nepalese master, “Ha-mu”. The information about him provided in *Blue Annals* is too fragmentary. See George Roerich, *The Blue Annals by Gö Lotsawa*, vol. 1 (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1949), 394–396; see also Peter Alan Roberts, “The Biographies of Ras-chung-pa: The Evolution of a Tibetan Hagiography” (PhD diss., University of Oxford, 2000), 478–479.

⁶⁴ The name may be also spelled *gnubs*, but the Kharakhoto manuscripts provide a third form, *mubs*.

⁶⁵ Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, 396.

⁶⁶ *Khrid brgya'i brgyud 'debs brjod bde brgyud pa'i mtshan sdom zhes bya ba* [An Easy-to-Recite Supplication to the Lineage of the Hundred and Eight Guidebooks, a List of the Names of the Lineage Holders], fol. 144r, l. 7 reads: *lo tsā ba khu ne tso dang/ rma ban chos bar dang/ snubs ston rgyal ye seng byung*.



In one more text (3.9) the first voice is used again, but the author does not name himself. It could not be Nuptön, as the names provided in the colophon (sadly, having a lacuna) belong to a later period: Lama Tipupa (fl. 12th c.), Rechungpa (1084–1161, Tib. Ras chung pa, or rDo rje grags pa), and Dro Lotsawa (fl. 12th c., 'Bro lo tsā ba, or Shes rab grags pa). The person who recorded the text asked it from Dro Lotsawa. He, most probably, flourished in the second half of the 12th century.

Finally, the text 2.9 mentions “*ācārya* Dorje Trülje (?)”, the second name being a hypothetical reading. Nothing certain can be said about this person.

Two texts (3.7 and 3.8), in slightly different versions, are found in the *Collected Works of the Sakya*, among the texts attributed to the Sakya hierarch Drakpa Gyaltzen (1147–1216, Tib. Grags pa rgyal mtshan).

Although the latter had contacts with Tangut Buddhists, he did not himself travel to the Tangut Empire. As for the other masters mentioned above, their relation to the Tanguts remains unknown to me. Furthermore, there are no geographical designations in the manuscripts under study that could indicate a connection with the Tangut lands. As a matter of fact, there are only two non-mythological toponyms in these manuscripts: (1) ‘Oḍḍiyāna’ (2.6) that was mentioned above, and (2) ‘Uru’ (Tib. dBu ru) (3.15), ‘Central Horn,’ one of the four parts of Central Tibet, located around Lhasa.⁶⁷ It is prescribed to visualise Uru as a pure space, empty of dual perception. Thus, we can assume that the practice was to be performed by people who lived in Uru or knew it quite well.⁶⁸

3.3. *Genre and Style*

The texts of the manuscripts are rather homogenous in regard to their genres and style. Apart from two hymns, to Vajravārāhī and the fire deity

⁶⁷ Karl Ryavec, *A Historical Atlas of Tibet* (Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015): 44–47, 52–53, 56–57, maps 11–14.

⁶⁸ A different use of the toponym is attested in another Kharakhoto manuscript that describes a practice of Acala (Tib. Mi g.yo ba): there, at the end of the ritual, the wisdom being leaves for Uru, but the *yogi* asks him to continue coming to their place further on. See Alexander Zorin, “Tibetan Texts from Khara-Khoto on Acala and Jvālāmukhī Preserved at the IOM, RAS”, *Written Monuments of the Orient* 8.1(15) (2022): 43. In this case, the instruction is clearly addressed to people who do not live in Uru—not necessarily Tanguts, but this possibility cannot be ruled out.

(1; 3.2)⁶⁹, one text that contains cryptic instructions about ‘symbolical marks of the *yoginī*’s power’ (Tib. *dbang yi (=gi?) brdas mtshon don*) relating, apparently, to certain aspects of yogic experience (2.1), and a gathering of *mantras* of a particular *maṇḍala* of Vajravārāhī (3.14), they are either *sādhanas* or ritual texts. These two genres are tightly connected with each other.

(1) *Sādhanas* typically prescribe a sequence of actions aimed at visualising the deities to interact with them for various individual or collective purposes, the main of which is to attain supernatural powers and, ultimately, the enlightenment as the highest of them (both types of accomplishment are called *siddhi* in this context). Quite frequently, *sādhanas* include descriptions of ritual actions of various types. These practices involve reciting *mantras* and making offerings, not necessarily using material substances.

(2) A class of literature called ritual texts (Skt. *vidhi*, Tib. *cho ga*) may be considered a subordinate genre to that of *sādhanas* since they describe practices based on the yogic ability to visualise deities and make them perform needed actions. My reading experience shows that such texts pay more attention to the manipulations with material objects and their purposes tend to have more mundane and collective character, involving protection, increasing wealth, subduing, or annihilating malevolent forces for the sake of both practitioners and other people or sentient beings. At the same time, various aspects of visualisation of the deities whose help is required can also be described. Some rituals, such as *gaṇacakra* (lit. ‘a gathering circle’, designating a feast gathering), are praised as a powerful means to attain the desired accomplishments.⁷⁰ Thus, in certain cases, it may be difficult to distinguish between the two genres, especially if the title is missing. However, following the explicit designations found in the texts under study as well as their contents I define 14 of them as *sādhanas* and 11 as ritual texts.

⁶⁹ They do not have any titles, but their belonging to the genre of hymns of praise (Tib. *bstod pa*, Skt. *stotra*, *stuti*, *stava*) is undisputable, they contain praises of the deities, and some stanzas conclude with typical homage phrases, like ‘homage to’ (Tib. *la phyag ’tshal lo*) (1) and ‘[I] bow down to’ (Tib. *la dud*) (3.2).

⁷⁰ See Adzom Gyalse Gyurme Dorje, “A Concise Explanation of Gaṇacakra,” tr. Stefan Mang, accessed July 17, 2023. <https://www.lotsawahouse.org/tibetan-masters/adzom-gyalse-gyurme-dorje/concise-explanation-of-ganacakra>.



3.3.1. *Sādhanas*

The *sādhanas* can be roughly divided into three groups:

(1) those involving bodily counteraction with *dākinīs* and bringing worship of gods, rejuvenation, etc. (2.4, 3.6, 3.7);

(2) practices without sexual union, directed to achieve various mundane purposes such as cure of or protection against disease (2.5, 3.4), wealth (3.5), “male accomplishment” (Tib. *pho bsgrub pa*) (3.8), or “whatever is wanted” (Tib. *ci 'dod*) (3.9). The last of these texts is marked as *sādhana* in the title, but it could be easily included in the category of ritual texts because it pays a lot of attention to material aspects of the practice such as substances to be offered (the use of biological material taken from animals is also typical to secret rituals rather than individual yogic practices), mirror and dice divination;

(3) individual practices aimed at attaining empowerments and blessings, purification of the mind, realisation of the true reality (non-duality), self-generation as the goddess (2.2, 3.11, 3.13, 3.15, 3.16, 5). Performing routine activities without leaving the ‘pride’ of the goddess is especially prescribed in one text only (3.15).

It is worth mentioning that the available texts and fragments do not contain extensive iconographic descriptions of the deities that are often found in *sādhanas*.

3.3.2. *Ritual Texts*

Most of the ritual texts are easily divided into types according to their specific aims:

- (1) *gaṇacakra*, a feast gathering (2.3)
- (2) fire sacrifices or burnt offerings (Skt. *homa*, Tib. *sbyin sreg*) (3.1, 3.3)
- (3) fierce rites aimed at killing of an enemy (2.7, 3.10)
- (4) creation of magical protection (3.12),⁷¹ sometimes it can be used for both defense and killing (2.6)

⁷¹ In this text, it is specially prescribed that the *yogi* must generate oneself as a deity to create the protective circle.

- (5) cake offering (2.8)
- (6) protection against epidemics, etc. (2.9).⁷²

The remaining two texts have significant lacunas, and my categorisation of them as ritual texts is provisional. The fragment 3.17 prescribes counteraction with a disciple and use of certain magical objects (a mirror, a wheel) and substances (flowers and incense), but it also provides remarks relating to individual yogic experience (on various signs that appear during the meditation). The text 4 prescribes manipulations with material objects such as alcohol, food, a skull cup (Skt. *kapāla*, Tib. *thod pa*), etc., but it also contains some remarks on yogic experience. Moreover, this text is a commentary and, therefore, may fall into a looser genre of instructions to which the uncategorised text 2.1 likely belongs.

All these texts belong to the sphere of yogic and ritual manuals, hence an almost complete absence of stylistic elaborations. The versified parts include the two hymns (1, 3.2), three short *sādhana*s and rituals (2.9, 3.4, 3.6), and fragments within other texts: (1) 2.3 consists of several stanzas to be pronounced during the ritual; (2) 2.8 is a rather long prayer; (3) 3.1 contains a short invocation; and (4) 3.3 including introductory verses. They are all written in standard seven- and nine-syllables verses. One stanza in 2.3, attested several times in canonical literature (see fn. 98), appears frequently in original Tibetan instructions concerning ritual feasts, encouraging the participants to see the intrinsic purity of all *dharma*s, abandon discrimination of sentient beings into castes, animals, or inferior humans, and enjoy the feast:

Look—beautiful [are] pure *dharma*s.
[It is] inappropriate to make doubts about that.
Brāhmaṇas, dogs, and untouchables
Are of one nature: consider [them thus] and eat.⁷³

A stanza of this kind could be easily incorporated into a spiritual song (Skt. *dohā*, Tib. *mgur*), such instructions aim to reveal spontaneously a vision of the true reality and pass beyond mental conventions, including societal dogmas, that hinder it.

⁷² Only the beginning of the text is available, and its genre categorisation is hypothetical.

⁷³ XT-177, fol. 32v, l. 8 – fol. 33r, l. 1.



There are only two remarkable poetical comparisons in the manuscripts under study. One is found in the text 2.15: “from the sphere of the emptiness, like a fish leaping in water, the body of the goddess is suddenly manifested clearly”.⁷⁴ It compares the manifestation of the goddess’s body to the rapid movement of a fish leaping in water, suggesting a sudden and clear emergence or appearance. The other example is found in the versified text 3.17 of which only the beginning is available to us:

Upon the object of the ritual and [his] retinue epidemics and dysentery,
/swelling in throat and hunger, /pox and diarrhea—/they flow down like an
alcoholic beverage.⁷⁵

Although this comparison is not so subtle its very straightforwardness has qualities of freshness and certain ambiguity in the context of these manuscripts that often prescribe use of alcohol during rituals.

3.4. *Structure of Practices*

As the majority of texts are incomplete, the structure of practices described in them often appears just fragmentarily. There are two texts (both presenting the fire sacrifices) that originally had a well-defined structure, with the division into main parts, and points inside each of them, and subpoints inside some of the latter (3.1, 3.3). Regretfully, the manuscripts lack significant fragments of them. Therefore, the tables of their contents presented above are not perfectly valid. Nevertheless, we can see that they reflect slightly different approaches to the explanation of the similar material: the first text provides more details. Thus, it explains the preliminaries in five points and divides the second of them into five subpoints, while the second text has only six points in its respective part. However, it does not mean at all that the second text is just a shorter version of the first one. There are numerous differences in practical prescriptions regarding the same points. For instance, according to the first text, the fire should be lit by different people in accordance with various types of rites: (1) by brahmins (Skt. *brāhmaṇa*) for the peaceful rites, (2) by members of the warrior caste (Skt. *kṣatriya*) (or members of the royal family) for the increasing ones, (3) by prostitutes for the subduing ones,

⁷⁴ XT-124, fol. [4.1]v, l. 3.

⁷⁵ XT-177, fol. 38v, ll. 6–7.

(4) by cremators for the fierce ones, and (5) by barmaids for the rites aimed at obtaining *siddhis*. The second text simply prescribes that the fire is to be lit from a butter lamp using four sticks stuck into the hearth. A detailed comparison of these two texts, however, comes beyond the scope of this paper.

The text that describes the feast gathering (2.3) is worth paying special attention to, as it is free of lacunas and presents a detailed description of a complex and fascinating ritual. Its structure is quite clear and can be summarised as follows.

Firstly, the locus is specified: it must be a secluded place such as a charnel ground. Next, the preparation of ritual substances is discussed. Since this *gaṇacakra* involves both male and female participants (*yogis* and *yoginīs*), it is a feast of the union of method and wisdom. Alcohol is regarded as the substance of wisdom, meat as the substance of method. A rectangular *maṇḍala* is created, with alcohol placed in the middle of a red triangular ‘source of *dharma*’ (Skt. *dharmodayā*, Tib. *chos 'byung*, see below), and other substances arranged outside of it. Two cake offerings and flowers are also prepared.

An assistant presents the flowers and offers a prayer to the master of the esoteric ceremony (Skt. *ācārya*), who takes his place on the seat (recommended to be a corpse). Prior to entering the feast, the participating *yogis* and *yoginīs* cleanse themselves outside, while one *yoginī* serves as a guard, granting permission for entry. Upon entering, they pay homage to the master and take their seats in a row. The entire assembly enters a state of meditative absorption (Skt. *samādhi*, Tib. *ting nge'i 'dzin*), and the deity Vajravārāhī is generated through visualisation. A detailed description of the blessing procedure for the alcohol and meat is provided. Some verses are to be recited by the assistant and the master to inaugurate the feast. The master begins by making an offering of the *torma* to the *jñānasattva* (ie., Vajravārāhī herself) visualised at his navel, the goddess of taste on the tongue and the guru on the crown of the head. The alcohol and meat are then shared among the participants, and additional offerings are made to the goddess (called here ‘the awareness *ḍākinī*’ (Skt. *jñānaḍākinī*)) and her retinue (referred to as “the heroines”) and to the demons. Subsequently, a visualisation of a small fire offering seems to take place (this point is not absolutely clear to me). The *torma* is offered



once again, accompanied by the recitation of the *mantra*, and then taken outside.

Upon returning, the participants engage in music and dance as part of the yogic feast. At this point, Cakrasaṃvara and Vajravārāhī are visualised in union, and delight is experienced. The expressions used to describe this aspect are somewhat vague, leaving room for interpretation, and it is not ruled out that it implies the suggestion of physical sexual union (Tib. *yab yum*). This is the time to request a desired aim. Then, the *jñānasattva* leaves, the sand used to create the *maṇḍala* is collected (apparently, into some vessel), and it is utilised with water.

Another complete text (2.6) can be considered as an example of a *sādhana*. It consists of the following aspects:

(1) The seat and posture of the *yogi*.

(2) Visualisation consists of the following elements: a red triangular RAM appears from the sphere of emptiness; it then transforms into a red wheel with six spokes; a red HRI[H] atop a lotus, a corpse, and a sun appears in the center and in each spoke of the wheel; the light from these seven syllables fills the sky; the syllables transform into seven terrifying Vajravārāhīs; the similar wheel with seven syllables HRI[H] appears at the navel of the chief of them; around the central syllable there appears the *mantra* of Vajravārāhī.

(3) The *mantra* is recited, and the light emanating from the syllables is controlled in a certain way.

(4) If one wishes for the wheel to function as a defense against malevolent forces one has only to add the word RAKṢA to the *mantra*. For a fierce action, a special instruction should be requested from the *guru*.

The subject of killing of an enemy is explained in the next text (2.7). The *yogi* must abide in the wrathful ‘pride’ of Vajravārāhī. The *maṇḍala* with the name of the object of the rite is drawn with use of a pen and a piece of cloth or a leaf of a tree from a charnel ground. It is inserted into an effigy made of ash, and the instructions on how to oppress this symbolic figurine conclude the text.

The other texts could be also summarised in a similar manner, and this should be conducted in another study that aims at comprehensive analysis of *sādhanas* and ritual texts as genres. For the present paper, however, the

given examples are sufficient to illustrate variability of practices and, at the same time, my previous statement that the *sādhanas* pay more attention to the visualisation process while the ritual texts to material and physical aspects of the counteraction with the sacral sphere.

To conclude this topic, it is worth noting that the practices of Vajravārāhī described in the Kharakhoto manuscripts exhibit the same general features that are typical for this goddess and well-known from other materials, such as those utilised and presented by Elisabeth English or Carmen Meinert. The triangle diagram, that is called ‘the source of *dharma*’, is normally visualised as a symbolical locus from which the goddess manifests. It is typically red, the color of the goddess in her major forms. Six texts refer to it as to ‘*dharmodayā*’ (2.3, 3.11, 3.13, 3.15, 3.16, 4), and four more call it simply ‘a triangle’ but the meaning obviously remains the same (2.6, 2.8, 3.1, 3.3).

As a “source” or “origin,” the *dharmodayā* is also equated with the female sex organ or womb (*bhagaḥ, yoniḥ*). This imagery is highlighted by its inverted triangular shape (▽), which is a simulacrum of the pubis. As in north Indian post-Gupta scripts, ▽ happens to represent the letter *e*, so the *dharmodayā* is sometimes referred to simply as *e*.⁷⁶

In addition to it, the seed syllable of Vajravārāhī, BAM (VAM in Sanskrit), is normally employed when her mental image or *samayasattva* is generated. A number of *mantras* that relate to Vajravārāhī and some of the deities associated with her are also provided. Notably, the formulas found in XT-177 are all verified and can be reconstructed according to the Sanskrit variants published by English, while several of the *mantras* found in XT-124 do not have such clear parallels and I was not able to reconstruct their Sanskrit prototypes.

3.5. Codicological and Paleographical Aspects

Such an arrangement of the *mantras* might prove to be meaningful in connection with the following question that is also relevant to codicological and paleographic aspects of the study: Could XT-177, XT-124, and XT-147 have belonged to the same manuscript?

⁷⁶ English, *Vajrayoginī*, 149. In the Kharakhoto manuscripts, the use of the letter E in this sense is detected only once. See XT-124, fol. [1.5]v, l. 7.



The reason to ask this question is that XT-124 and XT-147 lack the left edge of the recto side, and we do not know whether they had any foliation. At the same time, calligraphy looks similar, and they all have eight lines per page.

Having no access to the manuscripts, I cannot check their paper but the notes I have in my disposal tell that it was presumably of Tangut origination, each folio made of two layers, and in XT-147 the layers had come unstuck, the folios of XT-124 were restored and their previous condition is unknown, while XT-177, just like the other two manuscripts used in this study,⁷⁷ have folios in rather good conditions, with their layers firmly stick together.

The simplest thing to check in this situation is to compare the size of the manuscripts: The dimensions of (1) XT-177 are 8.3×24.3 cm, of (2) XT-124 they are 8.5×16/18 cm, and of (3) XT-147 they are 8.5×18.3 cm. It seems that XT-177 is slightly narrower than the two others, but without double checking (which is currently impossible) I would avoid making conclusions in this regard. However, it is evident that XT-147 is significantly shorter than the other two manuscripts due to a small missing section on the folio, while XT-124 could potentially have a similar length as XT-177 as it lacks approximately one-third of its length. Thus, XT-147 definitely belonged to another manuscript than XT-177 and XT-124.

As for the latter two, the situation is more complicated. Visibly, they seem to have been produced by different scribes. In XT-177 the lines are quite even, and the size of upper and lower edges is stable, while in XT-124 the lines are wavier, and the size of edges is not regular.

XT-177 has a very noticeable feature: numerous fragments such as initial and final expressions of the texts or parts inside them, *mantras*, and other expressions that the scribe or somebody else (the owner?) thought to be important, were highlighted by brownish color (the original color is difficult to define). The surface of the folios of XT-124 is damaged by various spots, but one page, [1.4]b, certainly has fragments highlighted in the same manner, and, having realised that, one can see that other pages have them as well.

⁷⁷ However, I need to remark that the manuscript kept in the British Library is placed between two layers of polyester film, and the direct investigation of its texture is currently impossible.

Returning to the different sets of *mantras* in XT-177 and XT-124, one may wonder whether it is a sign that they reflect different traditions and, therefore, did not belong to one manuscript. The answer is likely to be negative, because both manuscripts contain texts written by Nuptön. Moreover, both have Sanskrit words unusually recorded with Tibetan letters: *su ka* (presumably, for Skt. *sukha*; XT-177, fol. 32v, l. 8), *rakta* (XT-177, fol. 37r, l. 7), *bhu ta* (for Skt. *bhūta*; XT-124, fol. [3.2]v, l. 6), *sa bha bas* (presumably, for Skt. *svabhava*; XT-124, fol. [4.1]r, l. 1).

However, XT-124 has another characteristic feature which is not attested in XT-177: numerous interlinear insertions written with smaller-sized letters. Meinert analysed interlinear sections in a Chinese translation of the text, *Jingang haimu xiuxi yi* 金剛亥母修習儀 [The Ritual of the Yogic Practice of Vajravārāhī] (Derge Tengyur 1542), according to the Kharakhoto manuscript kept in the IOM RAS (it is separated into two items, Φ 249 and Φ 327). She came to an assumption that “ritual experts must have participated in the redaction of this and related tantric texts, probably working under imperial patronage.”⁷⁸ XT-124 does not contain anything that would help to confirm or criticise this assumption, but if it holds true for the Chinese text, it is likely to be true for the Tibetan manuscript as well. Regretfully, I have nothing to add that could help answer other questions concerning the production and subsequent use of the manuscripts in various languages from Kharakhoto neatly formulated by Meinert.⁷⁹ They do remain open.

What is clear to me, however, is that the scribes who produced the Kharakhoto manuscripts in Tibetan shared a common style of calligraphy. This question should be discussed in a separate in-depth study; my belief is based on the personal experience of reading these texts and a preliminary comparison of some of them. In Figure 1 I provide examples of some letters taken from the four manuscripts kept in the IOM RAS:⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Meinert, “Production of Tantric Buddhist Texts,” 469.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 444–445.

⁸⁰ Since I tried to represent the same syllables rather than the same letters, I decided to take examples from various pages of XT-28, not only those that contain the fragments included in this study.

XT-28	XT-177	XT-124	XT-147

Figure 1. Samples of calligraphy in the Kharakhoto manuscripts XT-28 (column 1), XT-177 (column 2), XT-124 (column 3), XT-147 (column 4): row 1 reads *zhes*, row 2 *nyid*, row 3 *ltar*, row 4 *om* (with the subscript 'a'), row 5 *kun*.

These examples show generally a high level of similarity between all four manuscripts, although the style of XT-28 can be separated from the other three. I hope that further research will enable us to classify the handwritings detected in Kharakhoto manuscripts more precisely.

This table also shows that XT-177 and XT-124 were written by two different scribes. Moreover, XT-177 has another striking difference: each

text here starts with the *yig mgo* sign. In XT-124 this decorative element is never used. Thus, it is more probable that the two items belonged to different manuscripts, although we cannot rule out the other possibility since manuscripts are not rarely produced by two or more people.⁸¹

4. Conclusion

The texts discussed above and published below may be of considerable interest to scholars studying the history and practice of Tangut Buddhism. They provide concrete textual evidence that Tibetan traditions of the worship of Vajravārāhī were present in the Tangut state. These texts include material related to both main traditions that flourished successively in the land of the Tanguts: Kagyü, with its emphasis on *mahāmudrā* practice, and Sakya, whose earliest scriptural legacy features two texts represented in the manuscripts under study. These texts are found among Drakpa Gyaltsen's works, and this Sakya hierarch is credited with granting a special instruction on Vajravārāhī to one of his Tangut visitors. Unfortunately, this text has not yet been detected in the Kharakhoto collections. Moreover, the name of the teacher Nuptön is mentioned in the manuscripts several times. He is associated with Lotsāwa Khu Netso, who collaborated with Atīśa. It does not mean necessarily that Nuptön belonged to the Kadam tradition, but it might have been the case.

Even though fragmentary, the Tibetan manuscripts from Kharakhoto present to us several forms of the goddess described in compositions of various genres and invoked in rituals of different types, including fierce rites. I hope that the experts in Chinese and Tangut texts discovered in Kharakhoto will be able to find parallels between them and this new material (see, for instance, Tibetan and Chinese descriptions of the *gaṇacakra* ritual).⁸² Perhaps, it will also help to compensate lacunas in

⁸¹ See, for instance, the Kharakhoto scroll with texts on Mahākāla, Viṣṇu Narasiṅha, and Vajrapāṇi and the eight Nāga Kings, as published in: Alexander Zorin, *Buddiiskie ritual'nye teksty: po tibetskoj rukopisi XIII v.* [Buddhist Ritual Texts as Represented in a Tibetan Manuscript from the 13th Century] (Moscow: Nauka – Vostochnaya literatura, 2015).

⁸² Similarly, Haoran Hou was able to find some parallels of this kind between Chinese and Tibetan texts on the cult of Mahākāla. See Hou Haoran, "Mahākāla Literature Unearthed from Karakhoto," in *Buddhism in Central Asia II: Practices and Rituals, Visual*

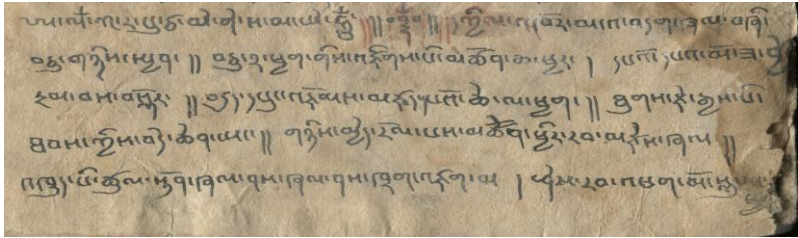
regard to those Tibetan texts that are only available in fragments, and to make a more satisfactory translation of them.

5. Appendices

5.1. Appendix I: Texts and Translations

The transliteration of the texts is based on the Wylie system, and a list of symbols is provided at the end.

5.1.1. XT-28: Fragments that Relate to Vajravārāhī from a Ritual Text on Cakrasaṃvara and His maṇḍala (XT-28, XT-174, XT-192)

Folio [1]v, ll. 5–9: Verses in praise of Cakrasaṃvara and Vajravārāhī, the next folio(s) missing		
VERSO		
		
Figure 2. Manuscript image of XT-28, fol. [1]v, ll. 5–9. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.		
5	... //dkyil 'khor mnga' bdag zhal bzhi	To the master of the maṇḍala, [who has] four faces,
6	bcu gnyis spyan //bcu {gnyis} ⁸³ phyag gis 'dzigs pi ⁸⁴	twelve eyes, / [Who] wields terri- fying weapons with twelve arms, / The hero surrounded by furious,

and Material Transfer, ed. Yukiyo Kasai and Henrik H. Sørensen (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 400–429.

⁸³ The manuscripts frequently employ Tibetan digits to represent numerals or other words that may be substituted, either partially or entirely, with digits. In this paper, these digits are substituted with their corresponding words enclosed in curly brackets.

⁸⁴ The scribe wrote 'dzigs instead of 'jigs; pi/bi here and further on, stands for pa'ilba'i.

	<i>mtshon cha phyar _/ _dpa'o dpa' mo za bye[d?]</i>	
7	<i>rngam bas bskor _//bdud dpung 'joms mdzad dpa'o che la phyag⁸⁵ //_ thugs rje rgyal pi</i>	devouring heroines, / The conqueror of Mara's armies, the great hero—homage! / To the one [who is] blissful
8	<i>thabs kyis bde chen yang //_gnyis myed rol pas mtshon phyir rab mdzes zhal_//_</i>	by means of the Compassionate Conqueror, / [Whose] face is exquisitely beautiful, being marked by the joy of non-duality, /
9	<i>'khyud pi tshul ston zhal nas zhal nas khrag 'dzag ma _/shes rab 'phag mo sku la (phyag)</i>	[Who] manifests in union [with his consort], with blood dripping from [her] mouth, / [Who has] the body of the Sow (Vārāhī) of Wisdom—homage!

Folio [2]r. l. 1 – [2]v, l. 5: A hymn to Vajravārāhī

RECTO

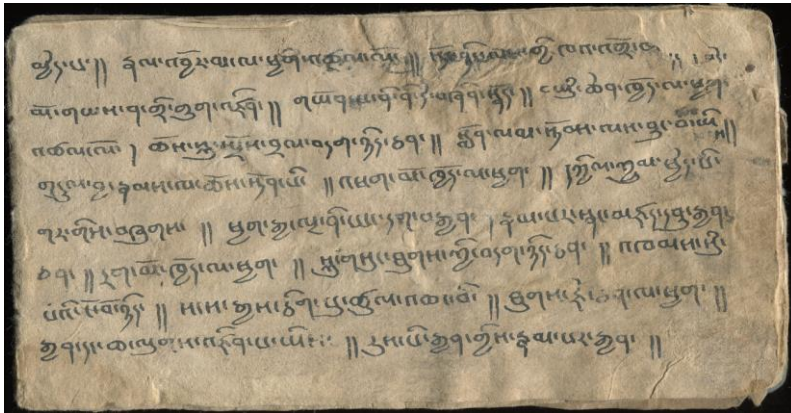


Figure 3. Manuscript image of XT-28, fol. [2]r. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.

1	<i>myed pa //_rnal 'byor ma la phyag 'tshal lo //_stong nyid las gyi kha' 'gro [?..]</i>	[...] / Homage to [Vajra]yoginī! The Karma- <i>dākinī</i> from the emptiness, / [?]
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⁸⁵ Here and further on *phyag* at the end of stanzas stands for *phyag 'tshal lo*.



2	<i>mo g.yas na gri gug 'dzin //_g.yon pa ni ni de bzhin snod //?yum chen khyod la phyag</i>	who holds a chopper [(<i>karttrka</i>)] in her right hand / As well as a vessel [(=bowl)] in her left hand, / Homage to you, the Great Mother! /
3	<i>'tshal lo /_chos sku spros bral bdag nyid can //_smon lam stobs las byung ba yi-s//</i>	The one whose essence is <i>dharmakāya</i> , free of changes, / Who appears [in <i>samsāra</i>] by force of the aspiration /
4	<i>gdul bya mams la chos ston pi _//_phag mo khyod la phyag _//_dkyil kyum⁸⁶ phyed pi _</i>	[And] teaches <i>dharma</i> to those to be tamed, / Homage to you, Vārāhī! / Standing in a dancing posture
5	<i>gar gis bzhugs _//_phyag rgya lnga ni yang dag brgyan _/rnam par snang mdzad dbu rgyan</i>	with one leg raised [(lit. half cross-legged)], / Adorned with the five seals, / Having a crown with Vairocana, /
6	<i>can //drag mo khyod la phyag _//sku gsung thugs kyi bdag nyid can _//_kham sum</i>	Homage to you, the Fierce One! / The embodiment of [the enlightened] body, speech and mind, /
7	<i>pa'i ngo bo nyid _//_sang rgyas cig pu tshul 'chang bi _//_thugs rje can la phyag //</i>	The one whose essence is [the mercy to?] the three realms, / The Compassionate one who holds / The manner of the Buddha only,—homage to [you]! /
8	<i>rgyan dang cha lugs 'dzin pa yis _//rus pi rgyan gyis rnam par rgyan //_____</i>	The one who keeps [all suitable] ornaments and attire, / Who is adorned with the bone ornaments, /

⁸⁶ My reading is *krung*.

VERSO

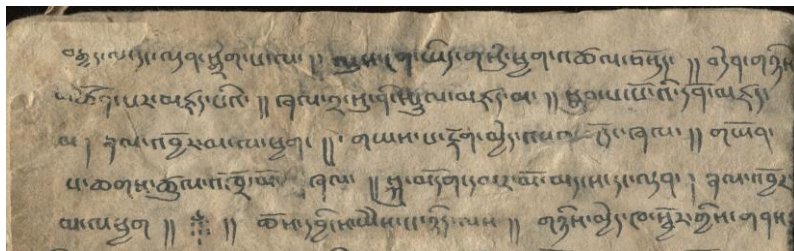


Figure 4. Manuscript image of XT-28, fol. [2]v, ll. 1–5. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS

1	[...] ⁸⁷ <i>dang ldan sgreg pa la // lus ngag yid gsum phyag 'tshal bstod _//bden gnyis</i>	The graceful one ⁸⁸ full of [beauty (?)], / The triple [entity] of body, speech, and mind—homage and praise [to you]! / The one
2	<i>mtshon par mdzad pa'i //zhal { gnyis } su ni sprul mdzad ma //sgrub pa po 'i don mdzad _</i>	who manifests as having two faces / To provide symbols of the two truths; / The one who accomplishes goals of the practitioner, /
3	<i>ma/_rnal 'byor ma la phyag // g.yas pa rtoq myed 'phag gdong zhal //g.yon _</i>	Homage to you, [Vajra]yoginī! / The one who has the sow's face of non-conceptuality at the right /
4	<i>_pa chags tshul 'khro mo [?] zhal _//sku mdog dmar mo mdangs dang ldan /rnal 'byor</i>	And the wrathful face of the way of appearance at the left, / The one whose body is red and radiant, / Homage to
5	<i>ma la+phyag _//_& _//...</i>	[Vajra]yoginī!

⁸⁷ The beginning of the line is missing; the syllables *brgyad la* that can be seen in the photograph belong to the next folio of this manuscript.

⁸⁸ I read *sgeg* instead of *sgreg* 'to belch'.

5.1.2. XT-177: A Collection of Texts on Vajravārāhī

The following table is divided into texts:⁸⁹

- (1) Fol. 30r, l. 1 – fol. 30v, l. 1 (the beginning is missing);
- (2) fol. 30v, l. 2 – fol. 31r, l. 1;
- (3) fol. 31r, l. 2 – fol. 33v, l. 8;
- (4) fol. 34r, l. 1 – fol. 35v, l. 3;
- (5) fol. 35v, ll. 4–8;
- (6) fol. 36r, l. 1 – fol. 36v, l. 3;
- (7) fol. 36v, ll. 4–8;
- (8) fol. 37r, l. 1 – fol. 38v, l. 5;
- (9) fol. 38v. l. 6–8 (the end is missing).

FOL. 30, RECTO: *kha__sum bcu*



Figure 5. Manuscript image of XT-177, fol. 30r. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.

Text (1)

1	<p><i>\$/_de'i don yang chang gis lus myos par bya ba' la blang dor myed pa'i brdas skye myed smyon chus rnal 'byor gyi sems myos nas 'khor bar myi 'dor /mye ngan las 'das</i></p>	<p>The meaning is [as follows]. The symbol of having nothing to accept or avoid in regard of the body's intoxication by alcohol marks that, [when] the mind of the yogi is intoxicated by the intoxicating water of having no</p>
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⁸⁹ See the details in the main text of the paper, pp. 6–11.

		births, [one] does not abandon <i>samsāra</i> ,
2	<i>pa' mi len bar mtshon /_de yang brda'i tshul gyis nus par 'jug par bla mas bzhed /_gzhan yang shes rab ye-es kyang de ltar mtshon /_me long la sin du ras g.yo</i>	does not grasp after <i>nirvāṇa</i> . It is made possible by means of the symbol, as described by the <i>guru</i> . Also, the wisdom-awareness [unity] is marked this way. The symbol of the empowerment with the mirror covered with <i>sindhura</i>
3	<i>gs pa'i dbang bskur ba'i brdas /_yid sems kyi dangs ma thog ma myed pa' nas /_yod myed la+sogs pa'i tha snyad las 'das pa' /_myed {bzhi}n du cho 'phrul</i>	marks the empowerment of the awareness that is like the mirror, since the purity of mind has no beginning and surpasses conventional designations such as 'existing and non-existing', etc.;
4	<i>sna tshogs su snang bas /_mye long lta bu ye-es kyi dbang mtshon /___de yang mye long gi gzugs rnyan gyis mtshon pa' yin /_me long la sin dhu ras g.yogs pa'i ba</i>	while non-existing, it appears in various miraculous manifestations. It is also marked by the reflection in the mirror. 'What does the symbol of the mirror that is covered with <i>sindhura</i>
5	<i>brdas ci mtsho[n] snyam na /_yid thog ma myed pa' nas yod myed kyi tha snyad las 'das pa' /_lhan {cig} skyes pa'i ye-es kyi ngo bor gnas pa' yin kyang /glo bur gyi</i>	mark?'—if [one] thinks [so], [then it] marks that the mind that has no beginning, surpasses conventional designations [such as] 'existing and non-existing', abides in the essence of the spontaneously born awareness,
6	<i>dri mas [st(?)]o[ng(?)]pa' (?) mtshon pa' yin te___/_de nas sin dhu ra phyis pa'i brdas ni shes bya glo bur ba' lhan {cig} skyes pa'i ye-es kyi dbyings su yal ba'i brda' yin no___/</i>	is also empty (?) of temporary defilements. Then, the thing to be known by the symbol of the wiped <i>sindhura</i> is that it is a symbol of the fading into the sphere of the awareness that is suddenly, spontaneously born.
7	<i>de ltar dbang {gsum} pa'i brdas lus ngag yid {gsum} gyi dag pa' {gsum} mtshon pa' yin te ___/_lus dag pa' bde stong</i>	Likewise, by the symbols of the three powers the three purities of the three—body, speech, and mind—are marked. The pure body

	<p>__/_ngag dag pa' brjod bral __/_yid dag pa cir yang myi</p>	<p>that is the unity of bliss and emptiness, the pure speech that is beyond words, the pure mind that is</p>
8	<p>rtog pa'i ye-es __/_ {gsum} mtshon pa' yin no __/_ de yang mtshon byed {gsum} po des ni /dag pa' {gsum} po de dag pa'i nus pa' 'jog par bzhed /rnal 'byor ma'i</p>	<p>the awareness that has no conceptuality—three are marked. Also, by these three marks the capacities of the three purities are defined.</p>
<p>FOL. 30, VERSO</p>		
<p>Figure 6. Manuscript image of XT-177, fol. 30v. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.</p>		
1	<p>dbang yi brdas mtshon don __/_ mkha 'gro ma rnams kyis shin du sbas pa'i man ngag __/_zhal nas zhal du brgyud pa'i rim pa' // __rdzogs s.ho __/a+ṭi //</p>	<p>The meaning of the symbolical marks of the <i>yoginī</i>'s power, the instruction completely hidden by the <i>ḍākinīs</i> and passed down through the tradition of face-to-face transmission, is complete. AṬI</p>
<p>Text (2)</p>		
2	<p>\$m#//&//_bla ma dam pa'i man ngag gi dbang bskur ni __/_rang gi mdun gi nam mkha la /_pad ma 'dab ma {brgyad}(?) pa 'am {bzhi} pa dmar por bsams la /_</p>	<p>The empowerments according to the holy <i>guru</i>'s instruction. In the space in front of oneself, the red lotus with eight or four petals should be visualised.</p>

<p>3 <i>de'i steng du byin rlabs kyi bsgrub thabs 'di ston pa'i bla ma {gsum} phag mo dang zhal sbyor du 'dug par bsam /_bla ma'i smyin 'tshams nas 'od zer {gcig} byung bas</i></p>	<p>The triple (?) <i>guru</i>⁹⁰ who taught this blessed <i>sādhana</i> is visualised upon it, [his] face in union with that of [Vajra]vārāhī. From the <i>guru</i>'s eyebrows one ray of light appears,</p>
<p>4 <i>rang gi dpral bar phog 'phrag dog gi dri ma dag pa' /lus shel dag pa' ltar song bas nga rgyal gyi mun pa' bsam na' ni /bum pa'i dbang gi dag bya'o/</i></p>	<p>comes into one's forehead and purifies stains of jealousy. When the body gets clear like crystal, the darkness of pride is visualised and is purified by the vase empowerment.</p>
<p>5 <i>yang bla ma yab-um snyoms 'jug byas pa'i byang sems rang gi lce thog du b[sam(?)] pas /_lus kyi rtsa stong phrag bdun bcu po tham-d /byang sems kyis rgyas pas _</i></p>	<p>Also, the <i>bodhicitta</i> of the <i>guru</i> in the 'father and mother' sexual union [is visualised?] on one's tongue, and all seventy thousand of corporeal channels get increased by means of the <i>bodhicitta</i>,</p>
<p>6 <i>'dod chags kyi dri(?) ma dag /_yid kyi mun pa' bsam ba' ni /_gsang dbang gi dag bya'o _/_de yi dus su bde ba' la myi rtog pa'i nyams skyes pa ni _/_</i></p>	<p>the stains of passion get purified. The darkness of the mind is visualised and is purified by the secret empowerment. The experience of the nonconceptual happiness that arises at this time</p>
<p>7 <i>shes rab ye-es kyi dbang ngo /_yang bla ma slob dpon yab- um gi thugs ka nas 'od zer byung bdag gi snying kar phog lus tham-d ga+'od kyis gang bas gti mug gi mun</i></p>	<p>is the empowerment of wisdom-awareness. Also, the light appears from the heart of the teacher, the <i>ācārya</i> [who resides] in the 'father and mother' union, [then] enters one's heart; the light fills the whole body and purifies the darkness of delusion.</p>

⁹⁰ The Tibetan literally reads 'three *gurus*', but it is hardly possible that three different people can be mentioned in this context. I interpret this expression as referring to a single *guru* who embodies three functions—perhaps, the causal, conditional, and *sahaja ācāryas*. See Catherine Dalton, "Enacting Perfection: Buddhajñānapāda's Vision of a Tantric Buddhist World" (PhD diss., University of California, 2019), 115, n. 149. I would like to thank Alla Sizova for this reference.

<p>8 <i>pa' dag [na(?)]s /ma rig pa'i mun pa' bsam bar bsam mo _/de ni dbang {bzhi} pa'i dag bya'o _/bla ma gdan dang bcas pa' rang gi spyi bo yi steng du dgyes {bzhi}n du</i></p>	<p>The darkness of ignorance is visualised. It is purified by the four empowerments. The <i>guru</i> with his cushion is visualised</p>
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FOL. 31, RECTO: *kha__so+{gcig}*

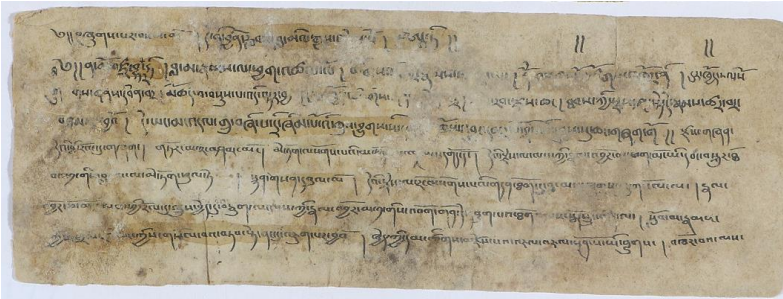


Figure 7. Manuscript image of XT-177, fol. 31r. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.

<p>1 <i>\$/bzhugs par bsam mo__/de ni byin rlabs bla ma 'i rgyas ['d]e[b]s so _/_?ā ti _// _// _// _// _</i></p>	<p>seated in joy upon one's crown of the head. This is sealed by the blessed <i>guru</i>. ATI</p>
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Text (3)

<p>2 <i>\$/na mo ba+dzra bha ×{ra}hi _/bla ma rnam la phyag 'tshal lo/_tshogs [??] rnam [...] _/rdo-e 'phag [m]o tshogs 'khor ni _/dur khy(sic!)od ?la+so</i></p>	<p>Namo Vajravārāhi!⁹¹ Homage to the <i>gurus</i>! The hosts <...>, the feast gathering of Vajravārāhī. In a secluded place such as a charnel ground, etc.,</p>
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⁹¹ “Homage to Vajravārāhī!”



<p>3 [\$/]_gs gnas dben bar/mchod ba bsdus pa 'di ltar bya_/_[?][?]yo [?][?][?]gs _/_[?][?]e [?][?][?]/_ [?][?][?] rab rdzas chang/thabs kyi rdzas sha ste de rnams tshar bar</p>	<p>the concise offering shall be made as follows. [...] The substance of [wisdom?] is alcohol, the substance of method is flesh: they</p>
<p>4 bzham [?] bya'o_/_de yang ma 'dal gru bzhi pa dri zhim po 'i chus byugs pi [...]chos 'byung dmar po bro[?][?][?]i [db]us su chang gzhas go_/_rdzas gzhan</p>	<p>shall be prepared. Also, the rectangular <i>maṇḍala</i> is smeared with fragrant water [...], alcohol is placed in the middle of the red 'source of <i>dharmas</i>'. Other substances</p>
<p>5 de'i phyi rol du gzhas /_gtor ma {gnyis} bsham mo /_me tog la+sogs pa'i mch(?)od[?][?] lnga yang dgod do /_de'i rjes la las kyi rnal 'byor ma phag mo yi dbang bskur tho</p>	<p>are put outside of it. Two <i>tormas</i> are arranged. Five offerings, such as flowers, etc., are displayed. After that, a <i>karma-yoginī</i>⁹² who had obtained the empowerment of <i>Vārāhī</i></p>
<p>6 b pa(?) {gcig} gis bla ma la me tog phul te_/_snyan gsan dbul lo_/_de'i rjes la ro la+sogs pa'i gdan thog du bla ma [b]zhugs [s]u gsol la /rnal _</p>	<p>offers the flowers to the <i>guru</i>. The prayer is offered. After that, the <i>guru</i> is asked to take a place on the seat such as a corpse, etc.</p>
<p>7 'byor pho mo[rna?]ms phyi rol du khru byed du bcug la las kyi rnal 'byor ma {gcig} gis 'bog gon de dbyug pa' thogs pas sgo srung b[zheng(?)] la /slob ma rnams _</p>	<p>Male and female <i>yogis</i> have to wash outside, one <i>karma-yoginī</i>, [who] puts on a baggy (?) garment and holds a stick, is put to guard the door. Disciples</p>
<p>8 kyis gral [?][?] kyis gsol ba' btab ste nang du 'jug par</p>	<p>one by one (?) shall ask permission and enter inside.</p>

⁹² I suppose the terms *karma-yoginī* and *karma-yogi* designate ritual assistants. A similar translation, 'a ritual servant', is suggested in regard to the equivalent Chinese term in Carmen Meinert, "Beyond Spatial and Temporal Contingencies," 336, etc. As mentioned earlier, the Chinese text she studied appears to be very similar to this Tibetan variant (see fn. 18).

<p><i>bya'o _/_⁹³khyed kyi dam tshigs mdzes pa' 'jal 'jal sngon po yi blugs _/_'khor ba' las</i></p>	<p>“Your <i>samaya</i> is beautiful, [you] appear in the blue untidy garment (?),</p>
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FOL. 31, VERSO

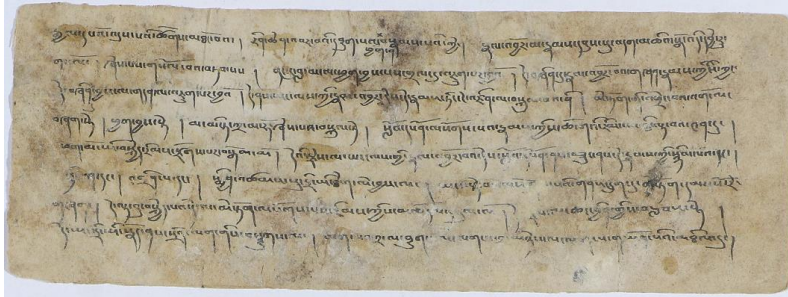


Figure 8. Manuscript image of XT-177, fol. 31v. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.

<p>1 <i>rgyal dpa'o 'dus pa'i tshogs mthong ba'/_rin chen 'bar ba'i dbyug pa' *(phyag na)bsnams pa'i kye /__rnal 'byor ma rnams dbus su bdag mchi' sgo 'di dbye ru</i></p>	<p>[you] see the host of heroes who defeated <i>samsāra</i>. Oh, the holder of precious blazing stick! I have appeared amidst the <i>yoginīs</i> — please, open the door [for me]!”</p>
<p>2 <i>gsol /zhes pas gsol ba' btab pas/_nang du bla ma la phyag byas pas gral du 'jug par bya'o _/_de bzhin du rnal 'byor ba' gzhan rnams kyi-is kyang</i></p>	<p>having expressed the aspiration, [each] shall pay homage to the <i>guru</i> inside and take the seat in the row. Likewise, other <i>yogis</i></p>

⁹³ This may be the beginning of a quatrain, composed in a loose (or broken) meter: the first verse consists of 12 syllables, the next two of 11 syllables, and the last one of 13 syllables.

3	<i>de bzhin *(du)byas la gdan la 'jug par bya'o_/de nas yang las kyi rnal 'byor (ba)des de rnams ting nge 'dzin la bskul ba' ni_/me tog gi 'phreng ba' 'go la</i>	shall do the same and sit on their cushions. Then, a <i>karma-yogi</i> ⁹⁴ summons them to the meditative absorption [(<i>sāmadhi</i>)] in the following way: [he] puts the garland of flowers on their heads,
4	<i>bzhag ste_/phyag byas ste_/ma ma ti kra ma ho zhes pa' bskul te/_/slob dpon la+sogs pa' rnams kyis cho ga'i rim pa' ci lta ba' {bzhin du _}</i>	pays homage, summons [them by words] MAMATI KRAMA HO. ⁹⁵ The <i>ācārya</i> and others [should], exactly according to the sequence of the rite,
5	<i>phag mo yi bskyed rims rdzogs par bsgom mo/_de'i rjes la yang las gyi rnal 'byor ba' des slob dpon nas bzung nas de rnams kyi snyim pa' dang /</i>	visualise the completion of the Vārāhī generation stage. After that, the <i>karma-yogi</i> puts, starting from the <i>ācārya</i> , a spot of fragrance on their united palms (?),
6	<i>snying ka dang /_'grin pa dang _/_smyin 'tshams su dri yi theg le byas la /_yang lte ba['] la+sog[s] pa'i gnas drug du me tog dmar po re</i>	heart, throat and eye-brows. Also, [he] places a red flower on the six places: the navel and so forth.
7	<i>gzhang /_de lta bu bskyed pa' de la me tog la+sogs pas rims kyis mchod pa dbul lo/_de['i r]j[e]s la chang byin gyis brlabs ste_/_</i>	The flowers and other offerings are presented in succession to the one thus generated. After that, the alcohol is blessed.
8	<i>de yang dri yi snod nas srin lag gis bskyugs la /_lag pa' {gnyis} la byugs la lag pa {gnyis} mnyes la lag pa g.yon pa'i mthil du /</i>	Also, from the vessel with perfumes [drops] are sprinkled by the fourth finger, both hands are anointed, both hands are smoothed, and on the palm of the left hand

⁹⁴ Here and in another case below, the text uses the term *rnal 'byor ba*, while in other situations, *rnal 'byor ma*. It is difficult to determine whether this indicates an intentional differentiation between male and female participants or if we should interpret *rnal 'byor ba* as *karma-yogi[ni]* here.

⁹⁵ [SA]MA[YA] MAMATI KRAMA H[ŪM] (?).

FOL. 32, RECTO: *kha_so+{ gnyis }*

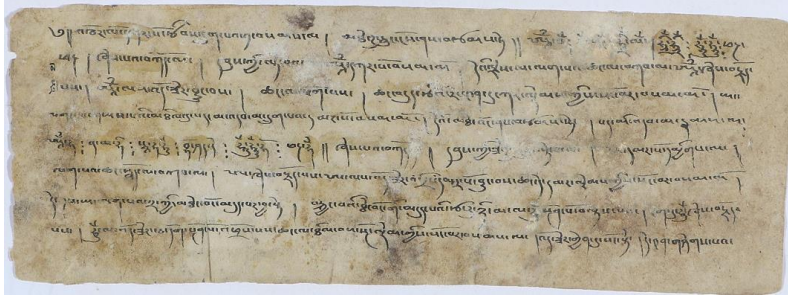


Figure 9. Manuscript image of XT-177, fol. 32r. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th cc.
IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR,
no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.

1	<p><i>\$/ / 'khor lo dkar po rtsibs drug pa' I bsams la/ _mthe'u cung ngos nas brtsams te _/ _o-'am ba(?)m/o-'am o-'am hrim mam /hrim hrim:hüm hüm:phat</i></p>	<p>a white wheel with six spokes is visualised. Starting from the little finger, [the <i>mantra</i>] is arranged: OM BAM! OM OM HRIM MAM! HRIM HRIM HÜM HÜM PHAT PHAT!</p>
2	<p><i>phat _/zhes pa' bkod la /_dbus kyi lte ba' [la/_]o-'am dkar po bsam mo _/ _de'i rjes la lag pa' chang la bkab la o- 'am zhes brjod</i></p>	<p>At the navel in the centre a white OM is visualised. After that, the alcohol is covered by the hands and OM is uttered.</p>
3	<p><i>pas _/o-'am las 'od zer byung bas _/_chang la phog pas _/_chang bdud rtsi' re {bzhi}n du kar ldems kyis song bar bsam mo /yang _</i></p>	<p>From OM the light appears and comes into the alcohol, the alcoholic <i>amṛta</i> is visualised to turn, accordingly, white. Also,</p>
4	<p><i>lag pa' g.yas pa'i mthil du pad ma 'dab ma drug pa' dmar po bsam mo _/ _de'i mthe bong nas brtsams ste _/ _pad mi 'dab ma rnams la:</i></p>	<p>on the palm of the right hand the red lotus with six petals is visualised. Starting from the thumb, [the <i>mantra</i>] is arranged on the petals of the lotus:</p>



<p>5 <i>o-'am ha:na ma hi:swā ha hum_:_bho shad de_:_hūṃ hūṃ ho_:_phaṭ haṃ_/_zhes pa' bkod d[e]_/_dbus kyi ze['u[br]u['i (?)] stengs la_/_[a(?)] dmar po dmyigs la_/_</i></p>	<p>OM HA, NAMA HI, SWĀHĀ HŪṂ, BHAUṢAT HE, HŪṂ HŪṂ HO[H], PHAṬ HAM!⁹⁶ In the middle, upon the anthers a red [letter] A (?) is observed.</p>
<p>6 <i>lag pa' chang snod la bkab la /_a zhes brjod pas a las 'od zer 'phros+dmar po byung bas chang de dmar ldems kyis song bar bsam mo_/_</i></p>	<p>The vessel with alcohol should be covered by hands, A is uttered, and it is visualised that the red light appears from A and the alcohol turns red.</p>
<p>7 <i>de nas yang lag pa' {gnyis} kyi mtheng bong mdud par bya ste_/_brkyang ba'i the bong gi mdud pa'i rtsa ru nyi ma la hum sngon po bltas pa'/'ngag du hum zhes brjod</i></p>	<p>Then, the thumbs of both hands are connected, on the tip (?) of the extended union of the thumbs a blue HŪṂ on the sun is seen, HŪṂ is uttered,</p>
<p>8 <i>pas /_hum la 'od zer kha dog sngon po 'phros pas chang la thim bas sngo ldem gyis song bar bsams la_/_'od zer gyen du song ste_/_de {bzhi}n gshegs pa'</i></p>	<p>the blue light irradiates from HŪṂ and, merging with the alcohol, transfers it into blue—it is visualised. The light moves upwards and,</p>

⁹⁶ The correct form of the *mantra* is rendered in English, *Vajrayoginī*, 303.

FOL. 32, VERSO

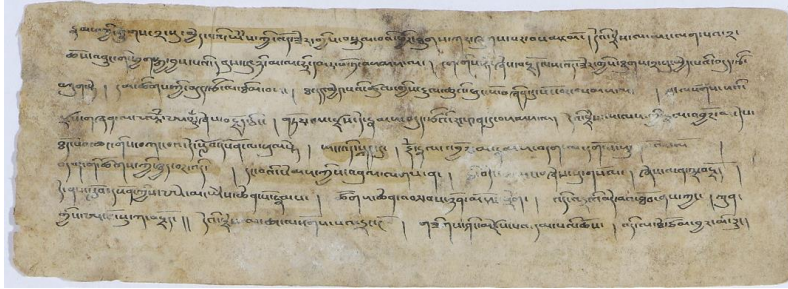


Figure 10. Manuscript image of XT-177, fol. 32v. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.

1	<i>rnams kyi thugs {gnyis} su myed pa'i ye-es kyi 'od zer gyis bskul ba'i phyir thugs kar zhugs par bsam mo /de'i rjes la yang lag pa' {gnyis}</i>	being invoked by the light of the awareness of non-duality of the heart of <i>tathāgatas</i> , enters the heart—it is visualised. After that, the hands
2	<i>chos 'byung gi phyag rgya byas pa'i dbus su nyi ma la hri dmar po l bsams la /_ngag gis ho zhes brjod pas 'od zer gyis thugs {gnyis} su myed pa'i bdud rtsi</i>	are put in the <i>mudrā</i> ⁹⁷ of the 'source of <i>dharmas</i> ', in its centre a red HRĪ[H] is visualised; HOḤ is uttered, the light summons the ambrosia [(Skt. <i>amṛta</i>)] of the heart non-duality,
3	<i>bkug ste /_dam tshigs kyi bdud rtsi la thim bas /_tha dad myed pa'i tshul gyis d-ngul chu'i phung po bzhin du song bar bsams la ___/_sha la+sogs pa'i</i>	merges with the ambrosia of the <i>samaya</i> pledge, ⁹⁸ by the mode of non-differentiating it becomes like a pile of silver — thus it is visualised. Upon flesh and other
4	<i>rdzas gzhan la o-'am a hum</i>	substances OM Ā[H] HŪM is uttered, through the four (?)

⁹⁷ In Tibetan, *phyag rgya* denotes ritual hand gestures symbolising various sacral actions in the tantric context; they are usually accompanied with corresponding *mantras*.

⁹⁸ *Samaya* (Tib. *dam tshig*) is a set of tantric vows that are extensions of the *prātimokṣa* vows (necessary for the full monk ordination) and bodhisattva vows and that can vary based on specific practices. Violating *samaya* can nullify all the benefits gained from one's practice.

	<i>zhes brjod cing _/gtor {bzhi}s(?) rdzas de rnams bdud rtsi'i rang {bzhi}n du bsams la/_de'i rjes la las kyi rnal 'byor ma des</i>	<i>tormas</i> these substances [get] the nature of ambrosia—thus it is visualised. After that, the <i>karma-yoginī</i>
5	<i>thod pa' chang gis bkang ba' de slob dpon la phul ste _/yang 'di skad du _/_rdo- e rnal 'byor ma rnams bdag la dgongs su gsol lo____/_</i>	fills the skull with alcohol, offers it to the <i>ācārya</i> , and [he] utters: “Vajrayoginīs (?), please, pay attention to me.
6	⁹⁹ <i>bdag gi tshogs kyi khyad bar 'di ____/_dang ba'i sems kyis 'bul lags na _/_ci bde [ba]r yang bzhes su gsol /zhes lan lnga brjod__/_</i>	This specialties of my assembly / Are offered with a pure mind. / Please, enjoy [it] joyfully.” It is uttered five times.
7	<i>de nas slob dpon gyis ¹⁰⁰e ma ye-es chen po rnams _/_tshogs chen 'bar bas nyon mongs sreg / __'di 'dra'i bde ba' thob nas kyang /kun</i>	After that, the <i>ācārya</i> exclaims: “Ema! the holders of great awareness, / Burn away afflictions through the blaze of the great assembly!” / Having obtained such bliss, /
8	<i>gyis a [ph?]o su ka brjod //__de'i rjes la chang la+sogs pa' drang ngo__/_ ¹⁰¹gzigs</i>	All say: “Sir, <i>sukha</i> [(= very well (?))].” After that, the alcohol, etc. are served. “Look—beautiful [are]

⁹⁹ Here begins a tercet composed of seven-syllable verses.

¹⁰⁰ Here begins a quatrain composed of seven-syllable verses.

¹⁰¹ Here begins another quatrain composed of seven-syllable verses. This stanza appears in several canonical texts, displaying different variations. The closest one to the Kharakhoto manuscript can be found in *Smṛtijñānakīrti*, *Ṣaṭṭatvavyavasthāna* (Tib. *De kho na nyid drug nam par gzhag pa*), in *sDe ge 'i bstan 'gyur* [Derge Tengyur], *rgyud*, vol. *ya*, fol. 169v, ll. 3–4. My translation of the first line follows variants that read the first two syllables as *ltos shig*, consisting of the verb ‘to look’ and the imperative particle, such as in *Śrīcatuḥpīṭhamahāyoginītantrarājanāma* (Tib. *rNal 'byor ma'i rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po dpal gdan bzhi pa zhes bya ba*), in *sDe dge 'i bka' 'gyur* [Derge Kangyur], *rgyud*, vol. *nga*, fol. 198v, ll. 3–4. The reading of *ltos shing* may be a corruption from *ltos shig* or an unusual qualifier for *chos* along with *mdzes pa* (lit. ‘visibly beautiful [are] pure *dharmas*’). The second possibility is realised in variants that start with *mtshong ba 'i chos* (lit. ‘*dharma* which is seen’), just like in *Śrīsaṃvarodayamahātantrarājapadminīnāmapañjikā* (Tib. *dPal sdom pa 'byung ba 'i rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po 'i dka' 'grel pa+dma can*), in *sDe ge 'i bstan 'gyur* [Derge Tengyur], *rgyud*, vol. *wa*, fol. 30r, ll. 6–7.

<p><i>shing mdzes pa' dam pa'i chos</i> <i>/_di la the tsom byar mi</i> <i>rung/</i></p>	<p>pure <i>dharmas.</i> / [It is] inappropriate to make doubts about that. /</p>
<p>FOL. 33, RECTO: <i>kha</i>___<i>so</i> 3</p>	
<p>Figure 11. Manuscript image of XT-177, fol. 33r. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.</p>	
<p>1 \$//_bram ze khyi dang gdol <i>pa' rnam</i> /_rang <i>bzhin</i> { <i>gcig</i> } [<i>tu?</i>] <i>dgongs ste gsol</i> _¹⁰²//_ <i>zhes brjod pas drang ngo</i> _/_ <i>slob dpon nyid kyi lag pa'</i> { <i>gnysis</i> } <i>bskor ba'i</i></p>	<p>Brahmins, dogs and untouchables / Are of one nature: consider [them thus] and eat,”—this is said and [the treatment] is served. The <i>ācārya</i> forms the <i>mudrā</i> of the turning [of the wheel of <i>dharma</i>]</p>
<p>2 <i>phyag rgya byas la</i> ___/g.yon <i>pa'i mthil zed /_de'i steng du</i> <i>lag pa' g.yas pa[s?]</i> <i>rtse</i> { <i>gsum</i> } <i>par byas la</i> /¹⁰³<i>bde bar</i> <i>gshegs pa' chos kyi chog</i> ___/___</p>	<p>with both hands; the left palm is turned into a receptacle, and [the <i>mudrā</i> of] the trident is formed by the right hand upon it. “To the sublime <i>dharma</i> of <i>sugata</i>, /</p>

¹⁰² The passage (in various versions) is found in several texts, including the “*Gu ru drag po mthing nag gnam lcags thog gi ral gri'i las byang phrin las myur 'grub ces bya ba* [The Practice Manual of the Dark-Blue Guru Drakpo Who Has the Sword of Meteoric Iron, Granting Swift Accomplishment of the Rites],” in '*Brug pa'i chos mdzod chen po bsam 'phel nor bu'i bang mdzod* [The Great Dharma Treasury of the Drukpa Kagyü, the Storehouse of Wish-fulfilling Gems], vol. 99, 341, where it is printed as follows: *gzigs shing mdzes ldan dam pa'i chos: 'di la the tshom byar mi rung: bram ze khyi dang gdol pa phag: rang bzhin gcig tu dgongs te rol.*

¹⁰³ Here begins another quatrain composed of seven-syllables verses.

<p>3 'dod chags dri ma myed pa' 'di _/gzung 'dzin nam par grol ba'i /_de bzhin nyid la bdag ^{*(phyag)} mtshal __/bla ma la rang gi lte ba'i ye-es sems ma /lce la</p>	<p>Free from all stains of passion, / The essence completely free from [division into] / Apprehended and apprehender—[I] pay homage,⁹ [is said]. The <i>guru</i> visualises the <i>jñānasattva</i> at his own navel,</p>
<p>4 ro'i lha mo __/_spyi bor bla ma bsams la /_gnas {gsum} po de ru g.yon pa'i srin lag dang __/_mthe bong {gnyis} kyis gtor zhing mchod __/_de nas yang ye-es sems</p>	<p>the goddess of taste on the tongue, the <i>guru</i> on the crown of the head. To these three abodes the <i>torma</i> is offered by the fourth finger and thumb of the left [hand]. Then,</p>
<p>5 ma la mchod pa'i bsam bas btung bar bya'o __/_de'i rjes la yang slob dpon gyis tshigs su bcad pa' gong mas slob ma la drang bar bya zhing /slob? mas</p>	<p>visualising that offerings are made to the <i>jñānasattva</i>, [the <i>guru</i>] shall drink [the alcohol]. After that, the <i>ācārya</i>, [reciting] the same stanza as above, treats the disciples, and the disciples</p>
<p>6 kyang bde bar gshegs pa' chos kyi mchog /__ces pa' la+sogs pa'i tshigs su bcad pas blang bar bya'o __/_de bzhin du gong ma rnams la yang shes</p>	<p>shall recite the stanza: “To the sublime <i>dharmā</i> of <i>sugata</i>”, etc., and accept [the treatment]. Likewise, [it] shall be understood as [addressed to]</p>
<p>7 par bya'o __/_de nas yang gal rims su thabs kyi rdzas l(?)nga mchod do __/_de yang dang po phud rnams btogs la gtor mar blugs la __/gtor ma</p>	<p>the highest ones¹⁰⁴. Then, the five substances of the method are offered in [a certain] sequence. Also, the best brewery is picked and poured onto the <i>torma</i>, the <i>torma</i></p>
<p>8 byin gyis brlabs la ye-es kyi mkha 'gro dang __/_dpa' mo rnams la dbul lo __/_gtor ma {gcig} 'byung po la gtang ngo __/_de nas sngar bzhin chang</p>	<p>is blessed and offered to the <i>jñānaḍākinī</i> and the heroines. One <i>torma</i> is thrown to the ghosts [(Skt. <i>bhūta</i>)]. Then, like before, the alcohol,</p>

¹⁰⁴ Or, perhaps: '[addressed to the *jñānasattva*] as in [the actions] of previous ones'.

FOL. 33, VERSO

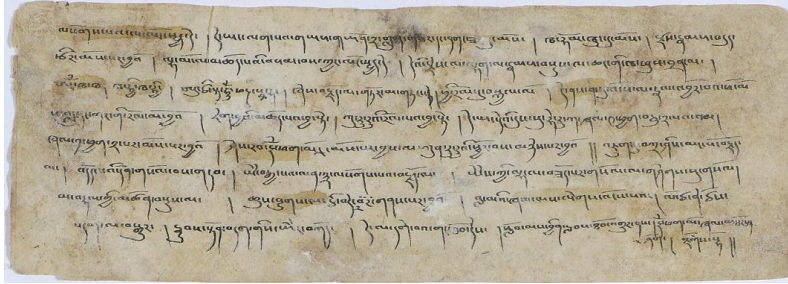


Figure 12. Manuscript image of XT-177, fol. 33v. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.

<p>1 <i>la+sogs pa' la long spyad de _/_de yang lag pa' g.yas g.yon { gnyis } glug gzar dang dgang za[r d]u mos _/_kha hom khung du mos /_rdzas rnams bdud</i></p>	<p>etc., are enjoyed. Also, large spoons to fill and pour in the right and left hands shall be focused on, the fire-pit shall be focused on, the substances</p>
<p>2 <i>rtsir mos par bya'o _/_lha mo la mchod pa'i bsam bas kyang long spyad de _/_de'i rjes la lhag la¹⁰⁵ rnams bsdus la chang gi kha phus bran la _/_</i></p>	<p>[understood] as ambrosia shall be focused on. Visualising that the offerings are made to the goddess, [they] are enjoyed. After that, the remnants are collected and poured out by turning the alcohol upside down.</p>
<p>3 <i>o-'am kha kha/kha hyi kha hyi _/_u tsi sta huṃ phaṭ swā ha /zhes brjod la gtor ma gtang ste/phyi rol du bskyal lo _/_de nas nang du 'ongs la rnal 'byor ba' pho mo</i></p>	<p>OM KHA KHA KHĀHI KHĀHI UCITA[M] HŪM PHAṬ SVĀHĀ! — [the <i>mantra</i>] is uttered, the <i>torma</i> is given and carried outside. Then, getting [back] inside, the <i>yogis</i> and <i>yoginīs</i></p>
<p>4 <i>s klu dang gar gi rol mo bya'o _/_reg bya'i mchod pa' bya ste /ku ru ru'i rol pa'</i></p>	<p>shall perform dancing music with <i>nāgas</i> ¹⁰⁶ (?). The offerings of tangible kind shall be made. The</p>

¹⁰⁵ My reading is *ma*.

¹⁰⁶ *Nāga* spirits (Tib. *klu*) are half-human, half-serpent beings who live in lakes, rivers, wells, etc., and may be both beneficial and potentially dangerous to humans.

	<i>bya ste _/de yang de'i dus su he ru ka zhal {bzhi} phyag bcu {gnyis} pa' 'am/_</i>	<i>kururu (?) play shall be performed. Also, at this time, Heruka with four faces and twelve arms</i>
5	<i>zhal {gcig} phyag {gnyis} par mos par bya'o _/shes rab rdo- e phag mor(?) mos par byas la kun ru ru'i sbyor bas mnyes par bya'o _/_'jug du bkra shis mang po brjod</i>	<i>or with one face and two arms shall be focused on. Vajravārāhī of Wisdom shall be focused on, and delight shall be taken in the ku(n)ruru (?) union. Many auspicious [words concerning] entering are pronounced,</i>
6	<i>la / _'dod pa'i don gsol bas gtab / _ye-e brgya pa' lan {gsum} la+sogs pa' brjod la _/_ye-es kyi lha la bzod par gsol la gshegs su gsol/</i>	<i>and the desired aim is requested. The [mantra] of one hundred syllables is recited three times, etc. The awareness deity is requested forbearance, and [then the <i>jñānasattva</i>] leaves.</i>
7	<i>_ma brdal gyi mtshon bsdus la _/_chus blugs la ci bde-r "bar" gnas par bya'o _/_¹⁰⁷ bla ma'i zhal mas legs 'ongs pa' /lo tsa ne tsos _</i>	<i>The colored [sand] of the <i>maṇḍala</i> shall be collected, poured on by water, and placed wherever it is convenient. [The instruction] appeared from the <i>guru</i>'s mouth. / Lotsā[wa] Netso</i>
8	<i>_bdag la bsgyur _/rnuks ston bdag gis ye-er bkod _/_de la dge ba' gang thob des _/rlob mas byin rlabs thob 'gyur nas /rdo-e phag mo zhal mthong sha <xshog / _rdzogs s.ho _/!</i>	<i>translated it for me. / I, Nuptön, fixed it in letters. / Whatever virtue [I have] acquired by this, / May it help [my] disciples to obtain the blessing / And have a vision of Vajravārāhī! [It is] complete.</i>

¹⁰⁷ The colophon and dedication of merits are versified. These are two tercets composed of seven-syllables verses.

Text (4): FOL. 34r, l. 1 – FOL. 35v, l. 3; and
Text (5): FOL. 35v, ll. 4–8¹⁰⁸

FOL. 36, RECTO: *kha__so drug*

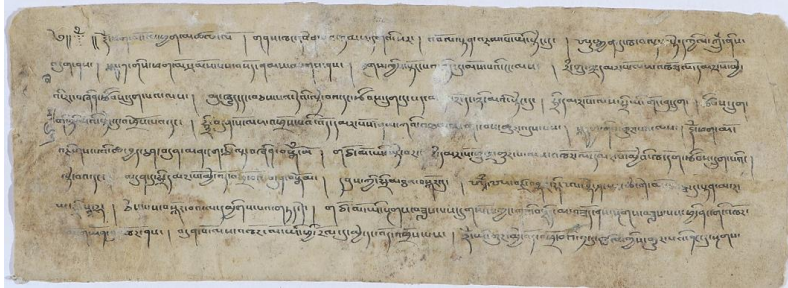


Figure 13. Manuscript image of XT-177, fol. 36r. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.

Text (6)

<p>1 \$// & //rdo-e phag mo la phyag mtshal lo__/_gnas khang dben pa' nyams dga'i sar /_'bol stan 'jam po yi steng du /_u rgyan du kha bltas ste dkyil krum gis</p>	<p>Homage to Vajravārāhī! Having seated cross-legged in a pleasant, secluded dwelling, on a soft, comfortable cushion, looking towards Oḍḍiyāna,</p>
<p>2 'dug nas /_skad {cig} gis phag mor mos pas bsod nams bsags nas /_sngags kyis stong pa' nyid du mos pa'i ngang las __/_ram gru {gsum} dmar po las 'khor lo dmar po mye</p>	<p>merits are gathered by instantaneous focusing on Vārāhī, and from the sphere of focusing on the emptiness by means of the <i>mantra</i> a red triangle with RAM¹⁰⁹ [appears] and from that—a red wheel, of the fire</p>
<p>3 'i rang bzhin rtsibs drug pa' las /_mu khyud dang bcas pa' de'i lte ba' dang rtsibs drug du pad ma dang ro dang nyi ma'i steng du /_hri dmar</p>	<p>nature, with six spokes, and in the center and the six spokes of [the wheel] that has a rim, [there appear] a lotus, a corpse, and a sun, upon which—a red HRI[H],</p>

¹⁰⁸ Published in Zorin, “A Sādhana of Vajravārāhī,” 231–239.

¹⁰⁹ One might expect to find Vajravārāhī's seed syllable BAM to be mentioned here. However, as is prescribed in another text, RAM is used in fierce rites (see p. 88).



	<i>po las hri yi gong bu drug _rtsibs drug</i>	and from that—six clusters of HRI[H];
4	<i>gi nyi ma 'i steng du 'phros pa' dang _hri bdun po las 'phros pa 'i 'od dmar pos nam ka 'i 'kh[or? lo?] gang bas chur 'dus pas /_skad {cig} gis gyur pa' las /rdo-e phag mo _</i>	the red light, that radiates from the shining upon the sun of the six spokes and from the seven [syllables] HRI[H], fills the wheel of the sky, gets gathered in water and instantaneously transforms into seven Vajravārahīs
5	<i>'jigs pa 'i cha byad can bdun man ngag ci lta bzhin bsgom mo _gtso mo yi lte bar [??]m dmar po gru {gsum} gyur pa las 'khor lo dmar po mye 'i kha dog rtsibs drug pa 'i /</i>	of the terrifying appearance— [this] is visualised according to the instruction. At the navel of the chief one, a red triangular [?] appears, from which [appears] a red wheel, of the fire color, with the six spokes,
6	<i>lte ba' dang /_mdun du hri dmar po mye 'od 'phro ba' bdun bsgom /_dbus kyi hri mtha' bskor du _/o-'am a ba+dzra 'bha ra hi a bhe sha ya che ge mo [sa?] rba du stan ma ra _</i>	and at its center and in front [of it] seven red [syllables] HRI[H], irradiating fire, are visualised. There is HRI[H] in the center, and around [it there is] OM A VAJRABHĀRĀHĪ ĀVEŚAYA such-and-such SARVADUṢṬĀN MĀRAYA
7	<i>ya hri sbā ha _/ces pas bskor ba' la dmyigs pa' gtad de /_ gtso mo yi sngags bzlas pas drug¹¹⁰ pos kyang gzi brjid ma bzod nas sngags bzlas pas phyi nang gi 'khor</i>	HRI[H] SVĀHĀ! ¹¹¹ Placed around like this, [the syllables] are observed. The <i>mantra</i> of the chief [goddess] is recited; when wrathfully [recited], the shining gets intolerable—[then], when the <i>mantra</i> is recited, the outer and inner wheels
8	<i>_lo g.yon du ['khor nas /_ bdun po las 'khor lo yi phyi rol du mye dang 'od 'phros</i>	are turned to the left; the fire and light are irradiated from the seven [syllables HRI[H]?] outside of the

¹¹⁰ My reading is *drag*.

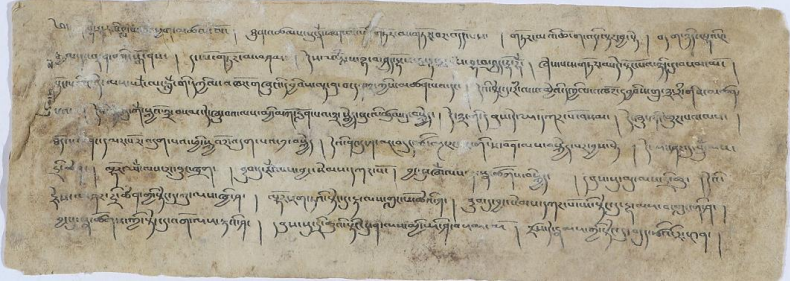
¹¹¹ This formula deviates slightly from the auxilliary heart *mantra* of the goddess, OM VAJRABHĀRĀHĪ ĀVEŚAYA SARVADUṢṬĀN HRĪM (or HRI[H]) SVĀHĀ. See English, *Vajrayoginī*, 67–68.

<p><i>pas_/_rdo-e yi gur mye 'od 'phro ba '[i] {gcig} du zhul gyis gyur pa'i nang du sngags _</i></p>	<p>wheel; the fire of the <i>vajra</i> canopy and light get reduced to one [shining?], inside which the <i>mantra</i>,</p>
<p>FOL. 36, VERSO</p>	
<p>Figure 14. Manuscript image of XT-177, fol. 36v. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.</p>	
<p>1 <i>ci ltar drag pa' {bzhi}n mtshon cha'i 'khor lo drag du g.yon du 'khor nas __/_bsgrub bya dmyal te __/_de dang dus mtshungs su nang gi 'khor lo yang g.yon du drag du</i></p>	<p>as [requested] for the fierce [rite], is turned fiercely to the left, [like] a battle wheel,—and the object of the practice is laid down. Simultaneously with it, the inner wheel is also turned fiercely to the left,</p>
<p>2 <i>'khor ba'i yeg 'bru dang bcas pa'i mye ltar 'bar ba' man ngag ltar bsam mo /__phyir zlog 'khor lo byed na __/rang bsrung ba' tsam yin na sngags la ra kṣa btags</i></p>	<p>and the shining appears like a fire with the rotating seed letters—this is visualised according to the instruction. When the wheel for repelling is created, if it is for one's protection only, [the command] RAKṢA [(guard!)] is attached to the <i>mantra</i>;</p>
<p>3 <i>la __/rnal 'byor ba'i bar chad bsrung ba ding(?)¹¹² bh(?)u ta'i bstan pa' la zhe gnag pa'</i></p>	<p>the magical wheel for the protection of the <i>yogi</i> from obstacles and killing of vicious</p>

¹¹² It is not quite clear what syllable is written here. Based on the context, my reading is *dang*.



	<i>gsad pa'i 'khrul 'khor___//bla ma dam pa' la zhus pa' //__rdzogs s.ho//</i>	[enemies] of the teaching of <i>Bhuta</i> [(=Buddha?)], is requested from the pure <i>guru</i> . Complete.
	Text (7)	
4	<i>\$/&_/rdo-e rnal 'byor ma la phyag mtshal lo___//rnal 'byor ba' gang zhig rdo-e phag mo yi bsgrub bya la dmigs ste/_ny'i mi gung la 'khros pa'i nga rgyal gyis</i>	Homage to Vajrayoginī! Any <i>yogi</i> who addresses to the practice of Vajravārāhī, [starts it] at noon, having the wrathful 'pride',
5	<i>mngon spyod kyi rdzas drur khrod kyi sol bas pad ma 'dab ma drug pa'i 'khor lo la /_ g.yon skor du rnal 'byor ma drug dang /_dbus phag mo yi rang {bzhi}n ye-es hri___/_</i>	uses (?) substances for fierce actions [taken] from a charnel ground, draws the <i>maṇḍala</i> of the lotus with six petals, that turn to the left, with six <i>yoginīs</i> [on them], and, in the middle, the Sow (Vārāhī) whose nature is the awareness [embodied in] HRĪ[Ḥ];
6	<i>bsgrub bya'i mying dang sbrel te bri bar bya ba' ni /drur khyod kyi ras mchod sbyin gyi shing gi lo ma la /_myi rus smyu gus bri'o/_dur khyod kyi thal ba' la /gzugs</i>	the name of the object of the rite shall be attached. [It is drawn] by a pen made of a human bone on a piece of cloth from the charnel ground [or] a leaf of a tree used at an offering ritual; [it is] put into the heart of an image
7	<i>brnyan byas pa'i snying kar bcug la /_ske tses bskul te ro bsregs pa'i sar b(?)rkos te ___/_nang du bcug dur khyod kyi mye la yang dang yang du bsro zhing ___/___</i>	[made] of ash from the charnel ground, [then it is] activated by black mustard and put inside a hole dug on the place where corpses were burned; having been continuously warmed on the fire of the charnel ground,
8	<i>myi rus kyi phu rus snying kar btab cing _/_tsher mas gang bar 'tshes nas myed par bya[s] la /snying kar chu tshan blugs na 'chi'o _//___rdzogs s.ho___/___</i>	a dagger made of a human bone is stuck into the heart [of the image]. [It] shall be filled with thorns, [then] broken and annihilated. When [some] hot water is poured

		into the heart, [the enemy] dies. Complete.
FOL. 37, RECTO: <i>kha___so bdun</i>		
		
<p>Figure 15. Manuscript image of XT-177, fol. 37r. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.</p>		
Text (8)		
1	<p>§ [he(?)]<i>bhe ha ra 'i bla ma</i> [<i>la</i>] <i>phyag mtshal lo /_thun</i> <i>'tshams su rdo-e phag mo yi</i> <i>gtor ma g tong bar 'dod pas</i> <i>___/ _gtor ma 'i cho ga 'di ltar</i> <i>bya ste ___bdag nyid lha 'i nga</i></p>	<p>¹¹³Oh (?), homage to the <i>guru</i> from Vihāra (?)! When, during the practice break, [one] wants to dispatch the <i>torma</i> of Vajravārāhī, this rite of the <i>torma</i> [offering] shall be performed. Holding the pride</p>
2	<p><i>rgyal dang ldan ba 'i sgo nas</i> <i>___/ ___dang po gtor ma bsham</i> <i>___/ _des o-'am sa bha ba shud</i> <i>dho sa rba dha rma[/]sa bha</i> <i>ba shud dho ham /_zhes pas</i></p>	<p>of the goddess, one first prepares the <i>torma</i>. Reciting [the <i>mantra</i>] OM S[V]ABHAVA ŚUDDHO SARVADHARMA S[V]ABHAVA ŚUDDHO 'HAM, [one] concentrates on the emptiness.</p>

¹¹³ A similar, yet different text titled in the colophon *Jo mo 'i gtor ma* [The Torma Offering to the Divine Lady] is located in “*dPal phag mo gru pas mdzad pa 'i phag mo 'i sgrub thabs lag mchod dang bcas pa bzugs so* [The Sādhana of Vārāhī along with the Hand Offering, Composed by Pel Pakmo Drupa],” in “*Brug pa 'i chos mdzod chen po bsam 'phel nor bu 'i bang mdzod* [The Great Dharma Treasury of the Drukpa Kagyü, the Storehouse of Wish-fulfilling Gems], vol. 20, 126–130. The general structure of the two texts is the same, some fragments are almost identical, but both have rather long additional fragments that do not correspond with each other, and some other discrepancies are also present. For instance, the later version starts with homage to Vajravārāhī.



	<i>gtor ma de stong pa' nyid du bsam mo _/</i>	
3	<i>stong pa'i ngang de las yaṃ la rluṃ gi dkyil 'khor gzhu'i dbyibs lta bu ba dan {gnyis} kyis mtshan pa' dang /_de'i steng du raṃ las mye'i dkyil 'khor dbyibs gru {gsum} raṃ gis mtshan</i>	From the sphere of the emptiness YAM [appears], from which—the circle of wind that resembles a bow in shape, marked by two banners; upon that RAM [appears], from which—the circle of fire in the triangular form, marked by RAM;
4	<i>pa' _/_de'i steng du kaṃ skya'o {gsum} bsam de zhu ba' las myi mgo rlon pa' {gsum} sgyed pu 'i tshul du bskyed /_de {gsum} gi dbus de a dkar po bsam /_de zhu zhing gyur pa' las _//</i>	upon that a whitish KAM—[thus,] three [syllables] are visualised. They dissolve, and three freshly cut human heads are generated in the form of a [three-legged] hearth. In the center of these three, a white A is visualised. It dissolves and transforms,
5	<i>thod pa[?]nang dmar por 'dug pa' phyi skya+bor 'dug pa' {gcig} bskyed _/_de'i nang du sha lnga bdud rtsi lnga rang [ra]ng gi sa bon las bskyed par byas ste _/_de yang shar du bru(?)ṃ las</i>	and a skull, red in the inside, and whitish in the outside, is generated. Inside it, five kinds of meat and five ambrosias are generated each from its own seed syllable. Thus, in the east from BRUM—
6	<i>dri chen /_lhor yaṃ las rang byung khrag _/_nub du dzam las byang sems dkar po /_ byang du kham las [?] sna tshogs bskyed ___/dbus su mu las dri chu _/de'i</i>	excrements, in the south from YAM—self-sprung [menstrual] blood, in the west from JAM—‘white bodhisattva’ [(i.e., semen)], in the north from KHAM various [bodily substances?] are generated, in the center from MU—urine.
7	<i>rjes la shar dri chen gyi steng du ku las khyi sha _/_lhor rag ta'i steng du rta las glang po che'i sha /_nub du byang sems dkar po yi steng du dha las ba glang gi sha _/</i>	After that, in the east upon the excrements from KU [appears] dog's meat, in the south upon the rakta [(menstrual blood)] from RTA [appears] elephant's meat, in the west upon the ‘white

		bodhisattva' from DHA [appears] bull's meat,
8	<i>byang du sna tshogs kyi steng du 'go las rta 'i sha _/dbus su dri chu 'i sting du na las myi yi sha bsam mo _/rdzas de rnams kyi steng du bdud rtsi 'i rang {bzhi}n /_</i>	in the north upon various [bodily substances?] from GO [there is] horse's meat, in the center upon the urine from NA [appears] human meat—[it is so] visualised. Upon these substances
FOL. 37, VERSO		
<p>Figure 16. Manuscript image of XT-177, fol. 37v. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.</p>		
1	<i>o-'am dkar po {gcig} bsam /o-'am de 'i steng du a dkar po {gcig} yongs su gyur pa' las ?/_kha chod kyi zla tshul du zla ba' /de 'i steng du bam dmar po de yongs su</i>	a white OM, having the nature of ambrosia, is visualised. Upon the OM a white A [appears] and gets transformed into a moon that serves as a cover, upon that a red BAM [appears], gets transformed
2	<i>gyur pa' las kha tam kha {gcig} bskyed /_de nas 'og gi rluṃ gis mye sbrar /_myes thod pa' dros pas rdzas rnams _/zhu [?] ba 'i rlang pas o-'am la phog pas de dros</i>	and from that a <i>khaṭvāṅga</i> ¹¹⁴ is generated. Then, the wind below blows up a fire, the fire heats the skull, the vapor from the dissolvment (?) of the substances comes into OM; it is heated [by that],

¹¹⁴ *Khaṭvāṅga* (Tib. *kha tam kha*) is a tantric staff with a trident adorned with some other symbols of tantric practice. It has a complex symbolism, see <https://www.rigpawiki.org/index.php?title=Khatvanga> (last accessed July 17, 2023).

<p>3 'od zer kha dog sna lnga'i rang {bzhi}n 'phros te ___/de bzhin gshegs pa' lnga'i thugs ka nas {gnyis} su myed pa'i ye-es kyis bdud rtsi bkug nas /dam tshig</p>	<p>and rays of light of five colors, [respectively to each] nature, are irradiated. The non-dual awareness [irradiated] from the hearts of the five <i>tathāgatas</i> draws the ambrosia,</p>
<p>4 s kyi bdud rtsi la thim ste ___/zla ba' dang o-'am zhu nas ___/kha tam kha'i dam tshigs da[ng(?)] ___/ye-es {gnyis} tha dad myed par bkugs nas kha tam kha yang ye-es _</p>	<p>merges with the ambrosia of the <i>samaya</i> pledge, and the moon and OM dissolve; the <i>samaya</i> of the <i>khatvāṅga</i> and the awareness get merged together without [remaining] difference; the <i>khatvāṅga</i> also dissolves</p>
<p>5 kyi bdud rtsi yi ngo bor zhu bar byas la ___/o-'am a huṃ lan {gsum} brjod de ye-es kyi bdud rtsir byin g[y?]is brlabs pa' na gtor ma sbyang ba'o ___/de'i rjes la phem</p>	<p>in the essence of the ambrosia of the awareness; OM ĀḤ HŪM is recited three times, and being blessed in the ambrosia of the awareness, the <i>torma</i> becomes cleaned. After that,</p>
<p>6 gi sgra brjod cing dra ba'i phyag rgya bcas la ___/skor dang skor myin gyi tshul gyis lan drug bskor la ___/lag pa' {gnyis} gshibs la kha phye [na]s ___/thod pa'i _</p>	<p>with the sound of PHEM and the <i>mudrā</i> of the net, [the goddess] is circumambulated six times by way of direct and reverse (?) circumambulation; both hands are put straight, [the palms (?)] open, and</p>
<p>7 phyag rgya [bca]s pa' de'i steng du ___/bdud rtsi nmam shes kyis gang ba'i thod pa' bsams la ___/o-'am rā li ho dza huṃ baṃ ho ba+dzra dha ki ni sa ma ya stom tri sha ho/</p>	<p>the <i>mudrā</i> of the skull is formed—upon that a skull that is full of the ambrosia-consciousness is visualised. [The <i>mantra</i>] OM [VAJ]RĀ[RAL]LI HO[H] JA[H] HŪM BAṂ HO[H] VAJRA ḌHĀKIN[YAḤ] SAMAYAS TVAM DRŚ[Y]A HO[H]!¹¹⁵</p>
<p>8 zhes lan {gsum} brjod de ___/des ni ye-es kyi dha ki rnams dang ___/sgo 'tshams kyi</p>	<p>is recited three times. The awareness <i>dāki[nīs?]</i> and the <i>dāki[nīs?]</i> who guard the gates are</p>

¹¹⁵ The correct form of the *mantra* is rendered in English, *Vajrayoginī*, 490.

<p><i>dha ki rnams la snyan gsan dbab cing gtor ma dbul lo_/_</i></p>	<p>invited by that, and the <i>torma</i> is offered.</p>
<p>FOL. 38, RECTO: <i>kha</i>____<i>so</i> 8</p>	
<p>Figure 17. Manuscript image of XT-177, fol. 38r. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.</p>	
<p>1 \$//<i>de'i rjes la lo ka'i dpa'o dang dpa' mo la+sogs pa' dbu-lo /_de yang sngar gyi phyag rgya ma bshig par byas la bsngo ba'i sngags ni _/_</i></p>	<p>After that, the <i>loka</i>'s [(=world's)] heroes and heroines, etc. make the offerings. Also, the <i>mantra</i> for the dedication of merits to make the previous <i>mudrā</i> indestructible is uttered:</p>
<p>2 <i>o-'am [kha kha]/_kha hyi kha hyi _/_sa rba yā kṣa rā kṣa _/_sā rbā bhud ta pre ṭa pī sha dza _/_un ma ta _/_ā pā smā rā _/:dha kā dha ki:_bhya dha yā:i maṃ 'bha liṃ:</i></p>	<p>OM KHA KHA KHĀHI KHĀHI SARVA-YAKṢA-RĀKṢASA-BHŪTA- PRETA-PIŚĀCA-UNMĀDA- APASMĀRA-ḌHĀKA-ḌHĀKI[N]YĀ- DHAYA, IMAṃ BHALIṂ</p>
<p>3 '<i>ghri hna:_ma ya(?):_sa ma ya:_ra kṣan du:_yā te baṃ:_ya te staṃ:_'buṃ dzā ta:_pi zha thā:_dzam grā thā:_ma tī krā mā thā:_[ma(?)_ma ma sa rba ka ra ta ya:_</i></p>	<p>GRHṆA[NTU], SAMAYA[M] RAKṢANTU [+MAMA SARVASIDDHIṂ PRAYACCHANTU], YATHAIVAM YATHEṢṬAM, BHUṆJATHA PIBATHA JIGHRATHA, MĀTIKRAMATHA MAMA SARVĀKĀRATAYĀ</p>

<p>4 <i>sad su ki/_ba shu dha yi sbā ha:_[ya]yā kṣā bha bhan dhu:hūm hūm phaṭ/_zhes pas bsngos la:_de'i rjes la phyogs skyong dang 'byung po la yang bsngo'o/_</i></p>	<p>SATSUKHAVIŚUDHAYE SAHĀYIKĀ BHABHANTU HŪM HŪM PHAṬ! ¹¹⁶ After that, the dedication of merits to the protectors of spatial directions and ghosts is also made.</p>
<p>5 <i>de'i rjes la bden ba'i stobs brjod de[o]_ ¹¹⁷bdag gi bsam ba'i stobs dang ni_/_de bzhin gshegs pa'i sbyin stobs dang/_chos kyi dbyings kyi stobs kyi su:</i></p>	<p>After that, the power of the truth is proclaimed: “By the power of my thought, / The power of the gift of <i>tathāgatas</i>, / The power of <i>dharmadhātu</i>,¹¹⁸ /</p>
<p>6 <i>sems can rnam pa' sna tshogs la /_don rnams gang dag bsams pa' kun _/[th]ogs pa' myed pa[r] 'byung 'gyu[r] {gcig}_/zhes gsungs pa dang /_</i></p>	<p>May all the aims cherished / By various sentient beings / Come [to them] without obstacles!”—and [then]:</p>
<p>7 <i>mchod sbyin gtor ma 'di bzhes la _/bdag cag 'khor dang bcas pa' la /_nad myed tshe dang dbang phyug dang/_dpal dang grags dang skal bzangs dang/</i></p>	<p>“Eat this <i>torma</i> offered to you. / Bestow my retinue and me / With health free of disease, longevity, power, / Prosperity, glory, fortune, /</p>
<p>8 <i>_long spyod phun sum 'tshogs pa' dang /_zhi dang rgyas la+sogs pa'i _/_las kyi d- ngos grub bdag la rtsol _/_dam tshigs can gyis _</i></p>	<p>Wealth in abundance! / May the accomplishment of peaceful, increasing / And other rites be bestowed on me! / May those bound by the <i>samaya</i> pledge</p>

¹¹⁶ The correct form of the *mantra* is rendered in English, *Vajrayoginī*, 296.

¹¹⁷ Here begins a versified prayer that consists of two quatrains and then, after a short break, three quatrains, and one dystich, all composed of seven-syllables verses. They are followed by a quintain of a mixed meter: verses 1, 3, and 5 have seven syllables; verses 2 and 4 have 14 syllables.

¹¹⁸ The term *dharmadhātu* (Tib. *chos kyi dbyings*), ‘the sphere of dharma’, in this context, refers to the true reality, the mind free of obscurities, where the enlightened ones reside.

FOL. 38, VERSO

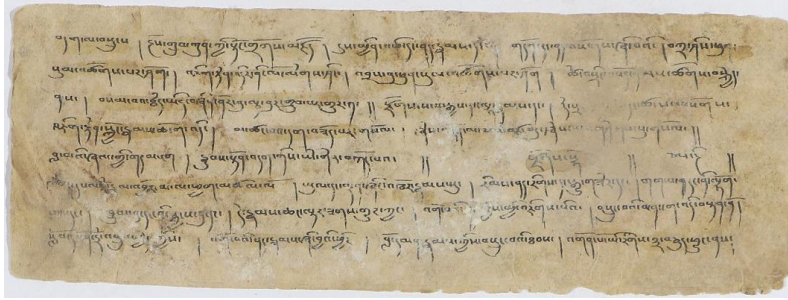


Figure 18. Manuscript image of XT-177, fol. 38v. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.

1	<p><i>bdag la bsrungs_/_d-ngos grub kun kyi stong grogs mdzod_/_ dus myin 'chi dang nad rnams dang /__gdon dang nad bsogs zhi ba'i /bkra shis phun</i></p>	<p>protect me! / Help [me obtain] all the <i>siddhis</i>! / May the untimely death, diseases, / Evil spirits and multiple illnesses / Be pacified in abundant</p>
2	<p><i>sum 'tshogs par shog /_'jig rten 'dir ni lo legs shing /_'bras bu phun sum 'tshogs par shog /__tshes bsring bsod nams tshogs bskyed</i></p>	<p>happiness! / In this world, may there be good harvest / And abundance of [good] fruit! / Having generated life-extension and a mass of merits, /</p>
3	<p><i>nas /_bsam ba' tham-d yid bzhin nor bu lta bur grub par gyur {cig} _/_rdzogs sangs rgyas dang lha rnams dang /_de sra[s bcas] dang tshangs la+sogs</i></p>	<p>May all the wishes become accomplished as if [by force] of the gem that fulfills all desires! Accomplished buddhas, gods, their sons, Brahma and other</p>
4	<p><i>'jig rten skyong rnams cho ga 'di /__ma tshang ba' dag bzod par gsol _/_zhes b[r]jod ma yang ba+dzra mu zhes pas gshegs su gsol //__</i></p>	<p>protectors of the worlds, please pay patience to this ritual, [however] incomplete [it may be]!” Having uttered this, [one] says VAJRA MU, asking [the <i>jñānasattva</i>] to leave.</p>
5	<p><i>bla ma'i zhal gyi gdam ngag_/_rnubs ston bdag gis ye ger bkod pa' ____//_____</i></p>	<p>These instructions [received] from the mouth of the <i>guru</i>, I, Nuptön,</p>

	<i>rdzogs s.ho ____//__aṭi ____//</i>	have put into letters. Complete. AṬI
Text (9)		
6	<i>\$/dpal rdo-e rnal 'byor ma la phyag mtshal lo__/yul dang ldan zhing 'khor rnam su _/_ rims nad rigs dang rgyu gzer dang /gag pa [g]dang ni lhog</i>	Homage to Glorious Vajrayoginī! Upon the object of the ritual [(lit. object-possessor)] and [his] retinue, / Epidemics and dysentery, / Swelling in throat and cancer, /
7	<i>pa'(?) dang _/_[']brum bu dang ni rny.yangs bu dang _/_ de rnam chang ltar zags gyur kyang _/_'go ba'i nad kyis myi 'jigs pa'i _/_bsrung ba'i man ngag 'di bstan no/</i>	pox and diarrhea— / They flow down like an alcoholic beverage. / The instruction on how to protect from the fear / Of contagious diseases will be shown.
8	<i>slob dpon rdo-e 'ph(?)ru[l(?) b(?)yed kyis _/_'go ba'i nad rnam zhi bya'i phyir _/_blo dman rnam kyis bsrung ba'i thabs /'gon po yi rigs {gsum} bcud phyung nas: _</i>	Ācārya Dorje [Trülje (?)], / [Wishing] to pacify contagious diseases, / Emitted the method of protection of those of lesser intelligence, / The essence of the three families of Protectors, [...]

5.1.3. XT-124: A Collection of Ritual Texts, Including those on Vajravārāhī

The following table is divided into texts:¹¹⁹

Fragment I:

- (1) fol. [1.1]v. l. 1– fol. [1.4]v, l. 4;
- (2) fol. [1.4]v, ll. 4–8;
- (3) fol. [1.4]v, l. 8 – fol. [1.5]v, l. 8;

Fragment II:

- (4) <...>– fol. [2.1]r, ll. 1–8;
- (5) fol. [2.1]v., ll. 1–7;
- (6) fol. [2.1]v. l. 8 – fol. [2.2]r, l. 8;
- (7) fol. [2.2]v, l. 1 – fol. [2.3]r, l. 4;

¹¹⁹ See the details in the main text of the paper, pp. 11–18.



- (8) fol. [2.3]r, l. 4 – fol. [2.3]v, l. 2;
(9) fol. [2.3]v, l. 3 – fol. [2.4]r, l. 5;
(10) fol. [2.4]r, l. 5 – fol. [2.4]v, l. 1;
(11) fol. [2.4]v, l. 2 – fol. [2.5]v, l. 7;

Fragment III:

- (12) fol. [3.1]r, ll. 1–7;
(13) fol. [3.1]r, l. 7 – fol. [3.3]v, l. 4;
(14) fol. [3.3]v, ll. 5–7;

Fragment IV:

- (15) fol. [4.1]r, l. 1 – fol. [4.1]v, l. 5;
(16) fol. [4.1]v, ll. 5–8-<...>;

Fragment V:

- (17) <...>- fol. [5]r, l. 1 – fol. [5]v, l. 9 -<...>.

FOL. [1.1], RECTO

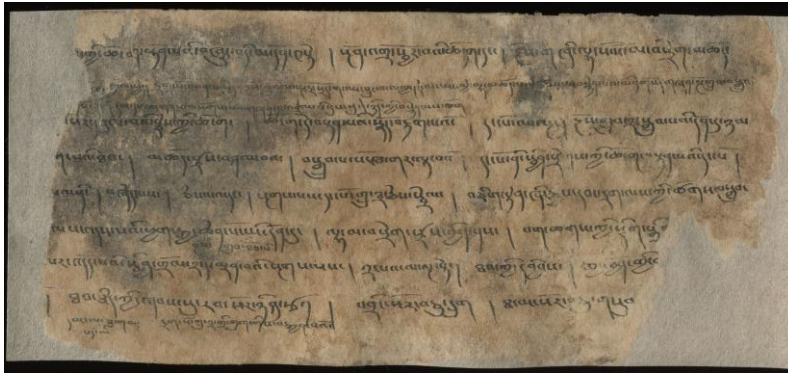


Figure 19. Manuscript image of XT-124, fol. [1.1]r. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.



Text (1)		
1	<p>[...] <i>kyi cho ga ston pa'i bzhung 'di la don {bzhi}+ste _/sngon 'gro sbyor ba'i cho ga dang /_d-ngos gzhi lha so so la bsreg mchod</i></p>	<p>[...] this main text that shows the rite of [?] has four parts: the ritual of preliminary practice, the fire offering of substances to the individual deity,¹²⁰</p>
i n t	<p>[Full-line interlinear insertion]</p> <p>i. [...] <i>la ny[i] ma phyed:_drag po la nam phyed:d-ngos grub la snga dro srod gang yang rung ba la bya / de la yang mye lha mchod pa' tsam yang+bsnyen pa' mi dgos:gzhan dngo grub bsgrub</i></p> <p>ii. [...] <i>dgos so _dbang dang rab gnas la+sogs pa' gzhan dang 'brel pi dus su de nyid kyi bsnyen pas chog</i></p>	<p>i. [...] the [subduing rite?]¹²¹—in the noon; the fierce [rite]¹²¹—in the midnight; the <i>siddhi</i>—in the morning or the evening, whenever convenient, should be performed. Then, only the offering to the fire deity [is performed], the [preliminary] service is not needed. [When] the <i>siddhi</i> for others (?) is accomplished</p> <p>ii. [...] is needed. When empowerment, consecration, etc., are connected with others, the [preliminary] service is appropriate for it.</p>
2	<p>[...] <i>par dbul ba'i rjes kyi cho ga _/cho ga de bstan pa'i snod brtag pa'o _/dang po la lnga /d-ngos grub {gnyis} sgrub pa'i don du nyam[...]</i></p>	<p>[...] the concluding ritual of presenting [offerings?], the analysis of the ‘receptacle’ that shows [=performs?] the ritual. [Part] one [=I]¹²¹ has five [points]. For the sake of the accomplishment of two <i>siddhi</i> powers [...]</p>
3	<p>[...] <i>g pa'i thab /_mchod rdzas bsham ba'/_bsgrub pa po kha gar lta ba'o _/dang po ni sbyin sregs kyi cho ga bstan pa'i dang po _/</i></p>	<p>[...] the hearth, the preparation of the substances to be offered, the direction the performer faces. Point one [=I: 1]. The explanation of the fire sacrifice ritual: the first (?)</p>
4	<p>[...] <i>pa' ni /bzhed pas /_ces pa' dang /sngags pas dang po</i></p>	<p>[...] asserted,”¹²² and “by the mantrin first the triangle” are</p>

¹²⁰ It is not clear whether the word *so so* (‘each; individual’) refers to the deity here. In other instances, it refers to the ritual substances.

¹²¹ To help the reader, the numbers according to the tables presented in the main text of the paper are added in square brackets (see pp. 11–13).

¹²² The beginning of this quote lies within the missing text.



	<i>gru {gsum} ces sbrel /_’jig rten zhi rgyas dbang drag las kyi tshogs bsgrub</i>	combined (?). The accomplishment of multitude of rites [aimed at supporting] the world’s peace, [wealth] increase, subduing and fierce [acts]
5	<i>[...]las ’das pa’i phyag rgya chen po yi ṅ(d-ngos _grub thob pi) don du /_’lha la bsreg rdzas byin nas /_’bag chags kyi sdiḡ sgrib[...]</i>	[...] for the sake of the great seal (obtaining the <i>siddhi</i>) of the supramundane [?] the burnt substances having been offered to the deity, the evil deeds and obscurations [connected with] karmic residues [...]
6	<i>[...]par ’dod pa’i smyin grol {gnyis} dang+ldan ba’i sngags pas /{gnyis} pa’ la lnga ste /_’thab kyi dbyibs/ rgyas+byon gyi b[...]</i>	[...] by the mantrin who has the desired maturation and liberation of [?]. [Point] two [I: 2] has five points. The shape of the hearth: [in regard to?] the increasing (?) [...]
7	<i>[...]/_’thab tham-d kyi zhabs su rab sor nyi+shu rtsa+{gcig}__/_’bring sor bcu drug__/_’tha ma sor bcu gsum[...]</i>	[...] as for the bottom part of all [types] of the hearth, the highest size is twenty-one fingers, the middle one sixteen fingers, the lowest thirteen [fingers] [...]
i n t	[Interlinear insertion] <i>dbang la ṅ(pad ma)zla gam:__drag po gru {gsum} gri gug gis brgyan pa’o</i>	[the hearth] for the subduing [rite] is decorated with the lotus and the moon, [that for] the fierce [rite] with the triangle and the chopper.

FOL. [1.1], VERSO

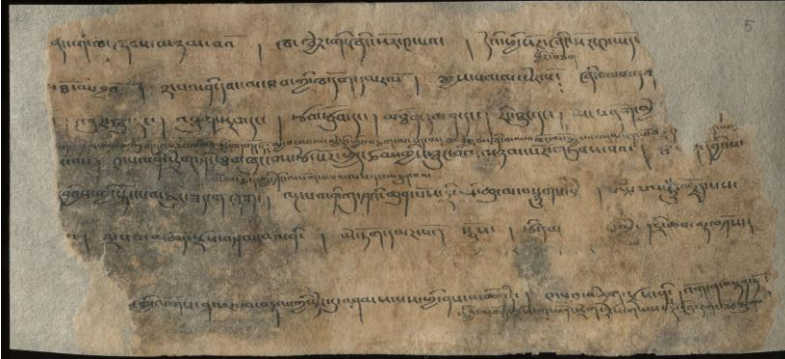


Figure 20. Manuscript image of XT-124, fol. [1.1]v. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.

1	<p>[...]nang gi kha zhabs mnyam ba'o_/_kha khyer gi zhing¹²³ sor {bzhi} pa' _/_de'i phyi sor: (phyir) zhing:(bcag) sor {bzhi} yod [...]</p>	<p>[...] the upper and lower parts inside [?] are equal. The width of the surrounding rim (?) is four fingers. The width of the outer [rim?] is four fingers [...]</p>
2	<p>[...]mtho bar bya'o_/_ {gnyis} pa' ni dbang la thab kyi kha dog dmar po_/_rgyas pa' la ser po:_zhi ba' la dka[r...]</p>	<p>[...] should be eulogised. [Point] two [=I: 2.2]. For the [rite] of subjugation, the color of the hearth is red; for the [rite] of increase [it is] yellow; for the peaceful [rite it is] white [...]</p>
3	<p>[...] _/'bur khung¹²⁴ dang /_'thug srab dang _/_rtsab rtsub dang /mthon dman dang /_ring thung dang /_yangs dog mye[d?...]</p>	<p>[...]without (?) [characteristics such as] having a protrusion or a concave (?), [not too?] thick or thin, soft or harsh, high or low, long or short, wide or narrow [...]</p>
i n t	<p>[Full-line interlinear insertion] ...s dang nyi ma las gri gug dang bcas pa' i 'phring ba dgod do'mye babs la mye ri phyir bcag la pad ma:kha khyer:ma zhi ba la 'khor lo</p>	<p>[...] ([...] from (?) the sun and [?] the rosary along with the chopper are arranged. Behind the fire mountain in falling flames, [there is] a non-calm</p>

¹²³ My reading is *zheng*.

¹²⁴ Apparently, *'bur khung* is equal to *'bur kong*.



	<i>rgyas pa' 'dul nag po ch[e].d[...].d mang(?)</i>	platform [with] Mahākāla taming the extensive maṇḍala [...].
4	<i>[...]s la /_{bzhi} pa' ni sreg shing ṣ(yom can gyi shing la+sogs pa' las dang mthun ba') thab khung bas rtse sor phyed tsam gyis thung ba': mnyam por gubs pa'/_tha [ba?]g dbyibs</i>	[Point] four [=I: 2.4]. The wood to be burnt (the wood of swaying [trees] (?), etc., that fits the rite) [should be] hearth-height (?), just one and a half finger in width, evenly cut, the shape of the plate (?)
5	<i>[...]dbyibs kyi stong pa' cung zad gzhas /_Inga pa' ni ku sha'i chun pos dri yi chu la bsnyugs ste_/o-'am a hum brjod pas</i>	[...] the emptiness of the shape [of the plate?] is briefly contemplated. [Point] five [=I: 2.5]. A bundle of kuśa grass is dipped in urine. OM Ā[Ḥ] HŪM is recited.
6	<i>[...] /_{gsum} pa' mchod rdzas bsham ba' ni ___me tog dmar po /_spos /_rtsi dam [...] mye ⟨?r[...].o[...].s/)_/ dri chab lha bshos /</i>	[...] [Point] three [=I: 3]. The substances to be offered are arranged: red flowers, incense, sandalwood (?) [... an oil?] lamp, fragrant water, divine cakes.
[space left blank, with no interlinear notes.] ¹²⁵		
7	<i>[...] gyi logs na phar ma 'dhal gyi steng du bshams pas phyi nas mchod de /_{bzhi} pa' ṣ(spyir mchod rdzas g.yon sreg rdzas g.yas rdo-e dri'u dgang zar blugs) bsreg rdzas ni:/og na bstan to/</i>	[...] out (?) on the side of [?], upon the maṇḍala [they] are arranged and offered later (?). [Point] four [=I: 4]. The substances to be burnt are displayed below. (In general, the substances to be offered on the left, the substances to be burnt on the right, the vajra, the bell, and the large spoon [in front?].) [...]

¹²⁵ Cf. Meinert, “Production of Tantric Buddhist Texts,” 453.

FOL. [1.2], RECTO

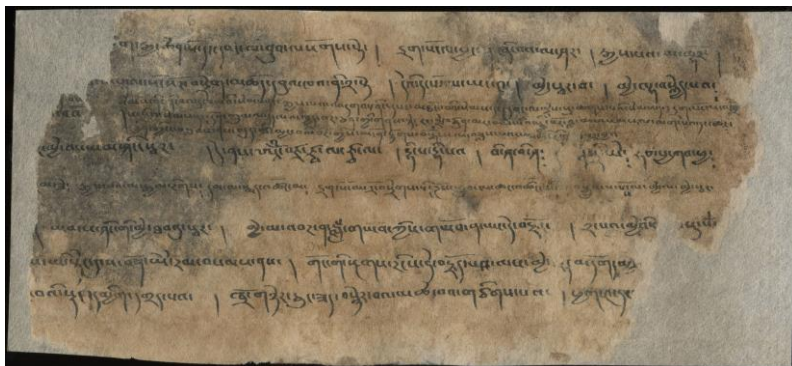


Figure 21. Manuscript image of XT-124, fol. [1.2]r. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.

<p>1 [...]g rgya chen po dang dbang la nub la+sogs ste _/_drag po la byang _/zhi ba' la shar _/rgyas pa' la lhor _/</p>	<p>[...] the great seal and for the subduing [rites it is] the west, etc.: for the fierce [rites] the north, for the peaceful [rites] the east, for the increasing [rites] the south.</p>
<p>2 [...] lha la so sor bsreg mchod dbul ba' ni {gnyis} ste _/_de'i dang po la yang {bzhi} /_mye sbar ba _/_mye lha bskyed pa':</p>	<p>[...] presenting of each substance to be burnt to the deity has two points, and the first of them has four points: lighting of a fire, generating of the fire deity</p>
<p>3 [...] ba'o ____/</p>	<p>[...].</p>
<p>i n t [Full-line interlinear insertion] i. [...]bas?- -¹²⁶sems ni zhi ba' dul pa'i sems dang rgyas pa' la dga' zhing dpang mthong ba'i sems dang/dbang la rjes su chags pa'i sems dang/drag po la 'gro ii. s pa'i¹²⁷ sems dang:don grub la dad pa' khyad bar can gyi gnas</p>	<p>[...]as for the mind—the peaceful tamed mind and the mind that rejoices and sees evidence of an increase [of wealth], the mind that is attached to subjugation and the mind that is trained (?) to the fierce [action]; and the faith in the accomplishment (?) is a position of</p>

¹²⁶ The manuscript has a dotted line that probably marks the place in the main text to which this interlinear text refers, but that part is missing so I am not completely sure.

¹²⁷ In this interlinear text, the letters *sa* and *pa* are almost indistinguishable, and these two syllables might also be read as *pa sa'i*.



	<p><i>ste:rang rje btsun mar mos pa'i spyi por bla ma bsams la lag pa' dang chang</i></p> <p>iii. <i>byin gyis brlabs nas bdud rtsi myang ba'i bar gyis mngon rtogs bsgoms la bzlas pa' yang ? ??[??] par bya' /</i></p>	<p>special qualities: [one] shall visualise the <i>guru</i> on the crown of oneself, adherent to the Venerable Mother, and, after the hands and the alcohol are blessed, while tasting ambrosia, [one] shall visualise the [fire deity?] in all the iconography and utter [the <i>mantra</i>?].</p>
4	<p>[...]<i>r mye la yam shing sbar</i> ____/ <i>de nas o-'am ba+dzra dzwa la dzwa la</i> ___/ <i>dhi sa dhi sa' _/bi sha bi sha: _/ma]ha sri ye:hab sya kab phyā:</i></p>	<p>[...] wooden sticks are burnt to light the fire. Then, OM VAJRA JVĀLĀ JVĀLĀ, DHISA DHISA, VIŚA VIŚA, MAHĀŚRIYE HAVYA KAVYA¹²⁸</p>
i n t	<p>[Full-line interlinear insertion] [...]<i>m ze:rgyas pa' la :rgyal rigs: dbang la smad 'tshong ma:_drag po la ro bsregs pi:d-ngos grub la chang 'tshong ma'i :bsgrub pa po <pa>la mye la mye sbar</i></p>	<p>[...for the peaceful rites]—<i>brāhmaṇas</i>, for the increasing [rites]—warrior caste [(<i>kṣatriya</i>)],¹²⁹ for the subduing [rites]—prostitutes, for the fierce [rites]—cremators, for the [rites aimed at attaining] the <i>siddhi</i>—barmaids [act] as those who light the fire for the practice performer.</p>
5	<p>[...]/ <i>yams shing gi mye thab du sbar _/mye ma 'bar na rlum g.y[o]ab kyis g.yos na yang de brjod _/_{gnyis} pa' mye'i [...]<i>su sam</i></i></p>	<p>[...] the fire is burnt in the hearth with wooden sticks. If the fire is not lighted, [it] shall be blown by a fan and the same [<i>mantra</i>] uttered. [Point] two [=IIa: 2]. The fire [...]</p>
6	<p>[...]<i>s yi steng du sa bon ye-e ram bsams nas /_gong gi sngags rings te brjod pa' las mye lha mdog+dm[yi]ar[...]</i></p>	<p>[...] upon [it] the seed syllable RAM is visualised, and the previous <i>mantra</i> is hastily uttered so that the fire deity, red in color [...]</p>

¹²⁸ Cf. the variant of the *mantra* found in the text “*sGrol ma dkar mo'i sbyin sreg* [The Ritual of Fire Sacrifice to White Tārā],” in *Gsung 'bum* [Collected works], vol. 12, by the Fourth Drukchen Padma Karpo (1527–1592, Tib. 'Brug chen Padma dkar po): *om a+gne ye a dhi bya a ti bya/ a bi sha a bi sha ma hā shrī bya/ ha bya/ ka bya/ ma hā na ye swā hā*.

¹²⁹ A royal family may be also meant, see Alexander Zorin, “The Figure of the King in the Tibetan Texts from Khara-Khoto,” in *Tibetan Rulers: Traditional Practices and Historic Ideologies*, ed. Ian MacCormack, Fernanda Pirie, and Daniel Wojahn (Kathmandu: Vajra Academic, forthcoming).

7	[...] <i>ba'i sdang dmyig dgrad pa' ___/ khro gnyer cung zad bsnyer ba' mche ba' gtsigs pa' ___/phyag {bzhi} dang [...]</i>	[...] glaring eyes are open wide, [he is] slightly frowning, with bare fangs, four arms and [...]
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FOL. [1.2], VERSO

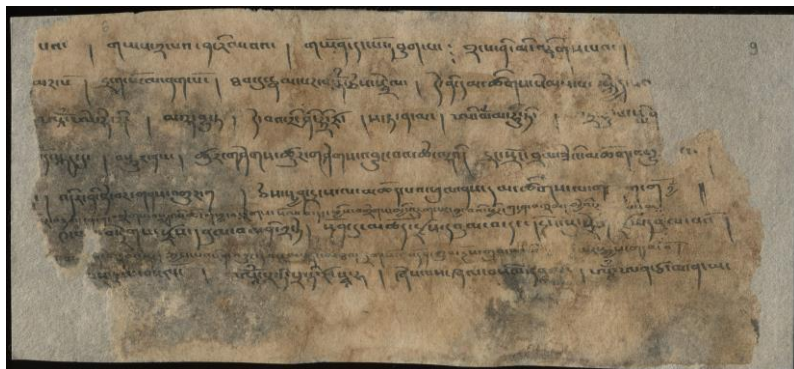


Figure 22. Manuscript image of XT-124, fol. [1.2]v. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.

1	[...] <i>pa' ___/ _g.yas {gnyis} pa' na ril ba' ___/ _g.yon dang po dbyug pa' ___/ {gnyis} pa ni mi 'jigs pa' / [...]</i>	[...] ¹³⁰ in the second right [hand] a small vase, in the first left one a stick, the second one [makes the gesture of giving] fearlessness [...]
2	[...] <i>mar po ___/ _drag po la nag po / _thab du rnam par bsgom ces sbrel / _de ni dam tshigs sems pa' bskyed pa' [...]</i>	[...] red, black in the fierce [rite] shall be visualised in the hearth. This is the generation of the <i>samayasattva</i> . [...]
3	[...] <i>o-'am e he hi ___/ _ma ha</i>	[...] OM E HE HI, MAHĀBHŪTA, DEVARṢI HRĪ[H] JA[H], SATA

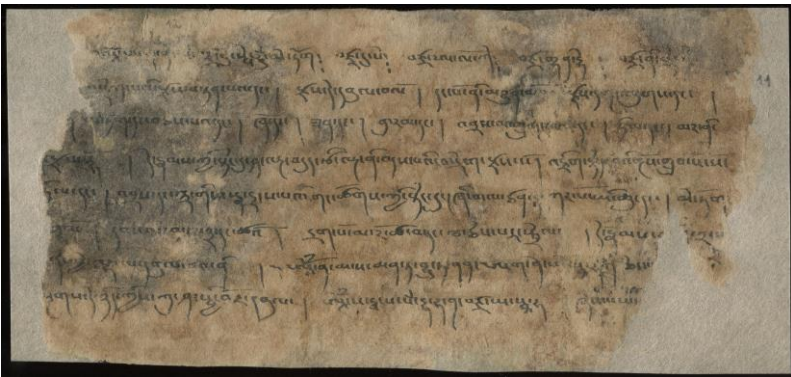
¹³⁰ Cf. a fragment from *Bhagavanmañjuśrīghoṣakrodhayamāntakahomavidhi* (Tib. *Bcom ldan 'das 'jam dpal dbyangs kyi khro bo gshin rje gshed po'i sbyin sreg gi cho ga*), in *sDe ge'i bstan 'gyur* [Derge Tengyur], *rgyud*, vol. *tu*, fol. 180v, l. 1: *me lha'i rtsa ba'i lha'i sku ni dmar ser ro/ zhi ba'i dus su pā paṃ ka dkar po zhal gcig phyag bzhi pa/ g.yas dang po dbyug tho/ /gnyis pa mi 'jigs pa' i phyag rgyal/ g.yon dang po phreng bal/ gnyis pa ril ba' aml' gun dhe'o//*.



	<i>bhu ta_/_de ba' ri shi hri dza _/_sa ta na ma /i bam ma hu ti _/_/[?] hr[i(?)] hu ? smin[...]</i>	NAMA, EVAM ĀHŪTI[M], [Ā]HARĀSMIN [...] ¹³¹
4	<i>[...b]od skad du _/_bsgyur nas /_ ¹³²tshur gshegs tshur gshegs 'byung ba' che lha'i/_drang srong bram ze'i mchog 'gyu[r pa(?)]' _/_</i>	[...] translated into Tibetan [as follows]: Come here, come here, great ghosts, / Heavenly sages, supreme brahmins [?] /
5	<i>[...] /_'dir ni nye bar gnas 'gyur {cig}___/_ces spyan drangs la mchod pa' phul nas dam tshigs la gzhas go^{&}__/_</i>	[...] / Stay close to here!" Thus [he is] invited, offerings are presented, and [he] is placed into the <i>samaya[sattva]</i> .
i n t	[Full-line interlinear insertion] <i>[...] pra(?) brtag ngan na bregs bskrad pi cho ga bya ba dr(?)egs sol ba dang phyis bregs myi 'jug par bya ba'i phyir ku sha bkram: mye'i ?[...]b(?)sam:</i>	[...] if the prognosis of <i>pra</i> [divination] (?) is bad, the rite to frighten enemies and obstacles shall be performed. To propitiate demons (?) and secure that enemies and obstacles will not return later, kuśa [grass] is scattered, fire [...] is visualised.
6	<i>[...]__ {bzhi} pa[?] bsregs rdzas dbul ba' ni {gnyis} te/_ sngon du mchod rdzas dbul ba dang /d-ngos su sreg rdzas dbul ba'o_/_</i>	[...] [Point] four [=IIa: 4]. Presenting of the substances to be burnt has two [aspects]: preliminary presenting of the substances to be offered and actual presenting of the substances to be burnt.
i n t	[Full-line interlinear insertion] <i>[...]dab(?) [...]zhi ba rnam snang/ rgyas pa' rin 'byung dbang la snang mtha':drag po la don grub d-ngos grub pa' yid[?] [??] par rgyas gdab :bo_/_</i>	[...] [for] the peaceful [rites] Vairocana, [for] the increasing [rites] Ratnasambhava, for the subduing [rites] Amitābha, for the fierce [rites] Amoghasiddhi. [...] is sealed.

¹³¹ Cf. the mantra in the text *dPal dgyes pa rdo rje'i bsreg blugs kyi cho ga bsdus pa blo dman ngal gso* [The Concise Ritual of Burnt-Oblations for Śrī Hevajra, Granting Rest to the Unwise] by Jamgön Kongtrül Lodrö Tayé (1813–1899, Tib. 'Jam mgon kong sprul blo gros mtha' yas). Fol. 2v, ll. 4–5 reads: *om e hye hi ma hā bhū ta de ba ri ši dwi dza sa+ta māṃ/ grI hi twā a hu tim/ ā ha rā+smin sa+nni hi to bha ba drI shyā dzaḥ hūṃ bam hoḥ sa ma ya stwaṃ a haṃ/*

¹³² It seems to be the beginning of a quatrain composed in seven-syllable verses, although the first verse consists of eight syllables.

7	[...] <i>pas dul(?) bsang ngo ___/ ___o-'am pra ti pra ti dza sbā ha ___/ _zhes pas zhal bsil dbul ___/o-'am an tsa ma na ya</i>	[...] ?? hidden. OM PRATI-PRATĪCCHA SWĀHĀ! with this [mantra] the washing water is offered. OM [S]AÑCAYANAYA (?)
FOL. [1.3], RECTO		
		
<p>Figure 23. Manuscript image of XT-124, fol. [1.3]r. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.</p>		
1	[...] <i>o-'am ag ni ye ba+dzra pu spe huṃ me tog: _ba+dzra du pe: _ba+dzra a lo ke: _ba+dzra ghan dhe: _ba+dzra ni bhe te ___/</i>	[...] OM AGNAYE VAJRAPUṢṢE HŪM: flowers. VAJRADHŪPE, VAJRA-ĀLOKE, VAJRAGANDHE, VAJRANAIVEDYE.
2	[...] <i>sreg pa'i rdzas bstan pa' dang / ___rdzas de dbul ba'o'/_ dang po ni mthun mo[ng g]i rdzas dgang lugs dang ___/</i>	[...] display of the substances to be burnt and offering of the substances. [Point] one [=IIa: 4.1.1]. The large spoons to fill and pour of the common type, and
3	[...] <i>/_me tog dang bcas pa' dang / _zho dang / _zan dang / _bu ram dang / _'bras ma grugs pa' dang / _til dang / _mar ni</i>	[...] along with flowers, curds, dough, raw sugar, whole grain rice, sesame, butter,
4	[...] <i>rdzas s.ho ___/ _de nmams kyi steng du sha lnga bdud</i>	[...] are the substances. Above them, five types of meat [and] five



	<i>rtsi lnga ni 'das pa'i bsreg rdzas so/_'jig rten ba'i d-ngos grub so so</i>	<i>amṛtas</i> are 'death' substances. Worldly <i>siddhis</i> , each
5	[...] <i>til dang /'bras dang {gsum} gis sna drangs pa '[i] gang tshogs kyi steng du /zhi ba la tsan dha kar po yi chu dang /me tog</i>	[...] above whatever is collected, first of all, three: [?], sesame, and rice,—in the peaceful [rites] white sandal juice, flowers
6	[...] <i>{gsum}+mo/_dbang la mngar {gsum} dang tsha'o/_drag po la ro tsha ba dang kha ces par sbrel/_/de rnams [...] {gnyis} ?[?]</i>	[...]—three; in the subduing [rites] the three sweets and salt; in the fierce [rites] hot tasting [substances] are attached to the so-called (?) mouth. They [...] two [?]
7	[...] <i>de mye lha la dbul ba' ni___/_o-'am na ma sa man ta bhu ta nan ag ne yi sbā ha /ces [...]i</i>	[...] That is offered to the fire deity: OM NAMA[H] SAMANTA BHŪTĀNĀM [(=BUDDHĀNĀM?)] AGNAYE SWĀHĀ! [...]
8	[...] <i>sngags de nyid kyis ku sha spyi bor dbul /_o-'am sa rba pa paṃ dha ha na ba+dzra ya sbā ha___/zhes pas ?[...]</i>	[...] with this <i>mantra</i> some <i>kuśa</i> grass is offered onto the top of the head. OM SARVA-PAPAM [ŚO]DHANE VAJRĀYA SWĀHĀ!—by this [...]

FOL. [1.3], VERSO



Figure 24. Manuscript image of XT-124, fol. [1.3]v. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.

1	[...] <i>sbā ha /__'bras ma grugs pa' phyag du dbul /_o-'am sam bha te sbā ha zhes zho dang z[an] [...]</i>	[...] SWĀHĀ! Whole grain rice is offered into the hands. OM SAMBH[Ü]TE SWĀHĀ!—curds, dough [...]
2	[...] <i>d yang 'bru'i bye brag dang /__'bras bu'i bye brag dang /_sman gi bye brag ci snyed pa dbul ba'i'?[...]</i>	[...] also of the offering of a variety of grains, a variety of fruit, a variety of medicine, whatever is found, [...]
3	[...]/ <i>ces pas dbul lo/_so so yi rdzas rnams kyang de dag ste /bsregs te rim pas dbul lo[...]</i> a	[...] with uttering (?) are offered. Each of these substances, all of them, being burnt, are offered successively [...]
4	[...] <i>'das pa'i rdzas 'bul /_ yang na sngags de nyid kyis tham-d dbu-lo /_rjes la yang dgang lugs {gsum} [db]ul lo[/]</i>	[...] the 'death' substances are offered. Once again, with this <i>mantra</i> everything is offered. Afterwards, with three (?) large spoons to fill and pour [...] is offered.
5	[...] <i>byin s]reg mchod dbul ba' {gnyis} ste /_mye lha mye 'od la bstims nas /_thab bsang ba' mkha 'gro bskyed pa' /</i>	[...] two [stages] of offerings within the fire rite: the fire deity enters the light of fire and

		generates a <i>ḍāki[nī]</i> who cleans the hearth
6	[...] <i>i lha mo yi snying po la ba+dza ra ksha huṃ btags la bsang ngo _/_ {gnyis} pa ni ñ</i> <i><dag pa' {gsum} gi sngags brjod pas> thab bsangs pa'i rjes thogs de nas</i>	<...> to the heart of the goddess VAJRARAKṢA HÜM is attached and hidden. [Point] two [=IIa: 4.1.2]. (By uttering the <i>mantra</i> of the three pure [things].) Right after the cleansing of the hearth by incense
7	[...] <i>_/_ ro dang nyi ma'i sting du rnam par myi rtop pa'i ye-es kyi bdag nyid sa bon gyi sngags la /_mkha 'gro</i>	<...> upon the corpse and the sun—the <i>mantra</i> of the seed [that has] the essence of the completely non-conceptual awareness, and (?) the <i>ḍāki[nī]</i>
8	[...] <i>i lha tshogs cho ga ci lta ba' {bzhi}n bskyed nas _/_ {gsum} pa' ni de la sngon du mchod pa' dbul te _/_/ _/_</i>	... just according to the rite, the host of deities is generated. [Point] three [=IIa: 4.1.3]. Preliminary presenting of the offerings to them.

FOL. [1.4], RECTO

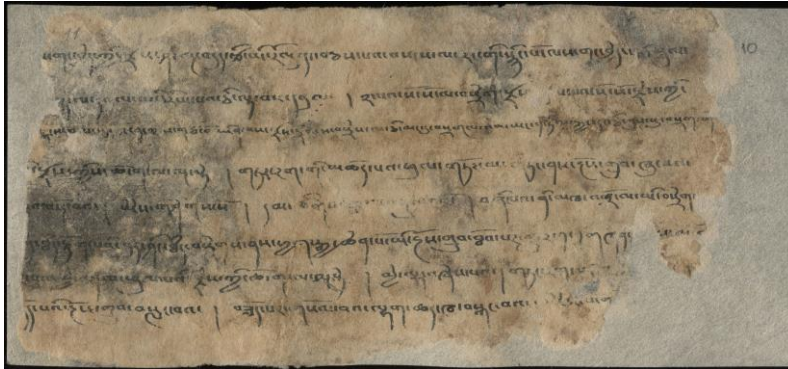


Figure 25. Manuscript image of XT-124, fol. [1.4]r. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.

1	[...] <i>gang byed kyi rdzas sha lnga bdud rtsi yi ri-lu dang bcas pa' bsangs la rang gi snying po las gang byed [?]o skul</i>	[...] substances for whatever [rite] is performed, five kinds of meat along with pills of ambrosia, are cleansed with incense; one's heart
---	--	--

		[produces?] a request to perform whatever rite is needed
2	[...]lha la dbul ba'i rim pa' ci lta bas dbul _/_ {gnyis} pa' so so la bsreg rdzas[??]s ba' so so rdzas kyi	[...] according to the sequence of the offerings to the deity, [the] offerings are made. [Point] two [=IIa: 4.2]. The substances to be burnt individually (?) [...] each substance
i n t	[Full-line interlinear insertion] [...]rk[y(?)]angs ba ya??? ngan k[??]s gtso bo yin bsang rdzas ðrnams bsres la ci mang du bsrag pa 'am yang na til rkyang dang ci nus su bsrag go	[...]?? is the main one. The incense substances are mixed and burnt as much as possible or else only (?) sesame is burnt as long as possible.
3	[...] rdzas kyis cho ga la lnga ste_/gtang rag gi mchod pa' phul gtor ma gtang nas d-ngos grub zhu ba'	[...] the rite [of presenting?] of the substances has five aspects: presenting of the offerings in gratitude, a request about [attaining] the <i>siddhi</i> through the giving of the <i>torma</i> ,
4	[...] 'bsngo ba' /_ye-es gshegs so/_dam tshigs ?? yang(?) ?u? ba'o/_bzhi pa' ni mkha 'gro ma yi bsreg	[...] the dedication; the departure of the <i>jñāna[sattva]</i> ; [dissolving?] of the <i>samaya[sattva]</i> . [Part] four [=III]. ¹³³ The burning [rite addressed to?] the <i>dākinī</i>
5	[...]n tham-d rtoḡ pa'i bud shing tham-d bsregs nas phyag rgya chen po yi d-ngos grub thob par gyur {cig}/gzhan [??]s m?og(?)	[...] all [?] [and] all the wooden sticks for the rite [?] having been burnt, may the <i>siddhi</i> of the great seal [(<i>mahāmudrā</i>)] be obtained! The other[...]
6	[...] pa' mye lha la phul pa'i rdzas kyi cho ga la lnga ste___/_mye lha bzhes pa' /gtang rag par[...]/	[...] The rite with the substances to be offered to the fire deity has five aspects: treating of the fire deity, [presenting of offerings] in gratitude [...]

¹³³ If the structure of the text suggested by me above is correct, the correct number would be '[point] three' (Tib. *gsun pa*). However, since the text has numerous lacunas, there can be no certainty in this regard. Another possibility is that one folio between folios three and four is missing.

<p>7 [...] <i>dod pa'i d-ngos grub bslang ba'/_bzod par gsol ba' lhag chad kha bskang ba' /ye-es [?]s g[...]</i></p>	<p>[...] a request about the desired accomplishment; a request about forbearance, amendment of duplications and omissions; the <i>jñāna[sattva ...]</i></p>
<p>FOL. [1.4], VERSO</p>	
<p>Figure 26. Manuscript image of XT-124, fol. [1.4]v. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.</p>	
<p>1 [...] <i>pa'o/_dang po ni mye 'od kyi ngang las mye lhar bzhengs par bsam mo /_ {gnyis} pa' ni bsreg rdzas ×(lhag ma)rnams dbu[...]</i></p>	<p>[...] Point one [=III: 1]. [The <i>yogi</i>] visualises that the fire deity appears from the sphere of the light of the fire. [Point] two [=III: 2]. The (remaining) substances to be burnt are offered [...]</p>
<p>2 [...] <i>pa' brjod pas so__/_Inga pa' ye-es nam mkha la gshegs _/_dam tshigs mye 'od thim bar bsam[...]</i></p>	<p>[...] is uttered. [Point] five [=III: 5]. [The <i>yogi</i>] visualises that the <i>jñānasattva</i> leaves in the sky; the <i>samayasattva</i> dissolves in the light of the fire. [...]</p>
<p>3 [...] <i>la gsang /__snod dang ldan ba' la bstan pa'o ___/'di {gnyis} kyi gzhung sla bas ma bshad do _/_rdo-e phag mo yi [...] drags</i></p>	<p>[...] hidden; shown to the worthy 'vessel'. The main source of these two is not to be easily explained [to anyone]. Vajravārāhī's [...] fierce</p>



i n t	[Full-line interlinear insertion] [...] <i>pa lo sby[i]n(?) pa' dang gsang ba'i sbyin sregs ting nge 'dzin bsgom ba' yang bya'o</i>	[...] the [?] offering and the secret offering shall be visualised [in the state] of meditative absorption, too.
4	[...]_____rdzogs <i>s.ho_____</i>	[...] complete.
	Text (2)	
	__&__ <i>hūm 'jig byed chen po mye'i lha'/_'dod pa' tham- d sbyin mdzad pa' _/bdag gzha[n]</i>	HŪM! The fire deity, greatly terrifying, / Fulfilling all the desires, / For me and others
5	[...] <i>drang</i>] <i>srong chen po nyid la 'dud _/___tshangs pa' 'jig rten 'gon gyi sras _/_mye lha'i rgyal po drang srong mchog _/_</i>	[...]to this great sage [I] bow down! / A pure one (Brahma?), the son of the protector of the world, / The king among the fire deities, the sublime sage, /
6	[...]od pa'i /_gza'i brjid chen <i>po khyed la 'dud //nyon mongs sreg pa'i ye-es 'od _/ mngon shes rdzu 'phrul shugs dang ldan/</i>	[...] / To you, whose shining of the light is great, [I] bow down! / The one whose light of awareness burns the afflictions, / Who has might of clairvoyance and miraculous power, /
7	[...]thugs rje chen po nyid la <i>'dud _/_bden ba'i tshig gis myi bslu bar /_'jig rten skyong ba' rnams kyi gtso _/___</i>	[...] to this Great Compassionate [I] bow down! / By true words, without cheating, the chief of the protectors of the world /
8	[...]rnam par dren pa' khyed <i>la 'dud ___</i>	[...] / To you, the great leader, [I] bow down!
	Text (3)	
	__&__ <i>grub pa' brgyud pa'i yi dam lha _/mkha 'gro 'khor tshogs lha rnam ky[i]/</i>	The <i>yidam</i> deity ¹³⁴ whose practice is transmitted, / [His] retinue of the <i>ḍākinīs</i> , the deities' /

¹³⁴ The Tibetan term *yidam* ('[binding] one's mind by pledge') corresponds with the Sanskrit word *iṣṭadeva(tā)* ('preferred divinity'). It denotes a personal (chosen) meditational deity, a fully enlightened being, which serves as the focus of the yogic practice.

FOL. [1.5], RECTO

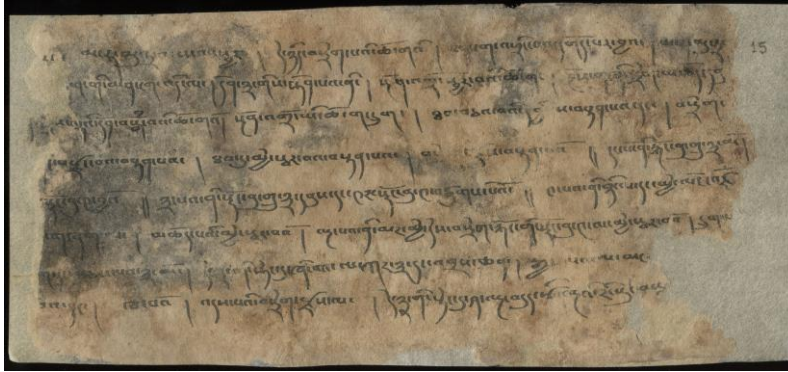


Figure 27. Manuscript image of XT-124, fol. [1.5]r. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.

1	[...]/_ma ha mu tra las(?) la sbyar _/de nyid bsreg pa'i cho ga'i _/[man(?) ngag 'phring ba' dgod par bya 'ma ha mu tra	[...] / Attached to the <i>mahāmudrā</i> rite (?). / Thus, the garland of instructions / On the fire rite will be arranged [below]. <i>Mahāmudrā</i>
2	[...] <i>g gi man ngag 'di la /don {gsum} gis ston pa' ni /_sngon 'gro sbyor ba'i cho ga /_d-ngos gzhi sreg mchod dbu</i>	[...] within these instructions three points are to be explained: the rite of the preliminary connection, the offering of substances to be burnt,
3	[...] [??]s(?) <i>lha'i don bsgom ba'i cho ga'o/_sngon 'gro yi cho ga drug /_thab bca' ba'i dbyi[b]s bstan pa' dang /bsrig</i>	[...] the rite of cultivation of the state of the deity. The preliminary rite has six [points]: explanation of the shape of the hearth,
4	[...]? <i>brdzang ba' bstan pa' _/_thab du mye sbar ba' bstan pa' /_bsreg rdzas bstan pa'o ___//_dang po ni rkong bu gru {gsum} mo/</i>	[...] explanation of dispatching [?], explanation of lighting fire in the hearth, explanation of the substances to be burnt. [Point] one [=I: 1]: the hole is triangular.
5	[...] <i>sdong bu {bzhi} bya'o ___//_ {gsum} pa' ni sdong bu gru {gsum} dbus dang {bzhi}r sdong bu {bzhi} btsugs pa'o_</i>	[...] four sticks shall be made. [Point] three [=I: 3]: the triangle stick is stabbed in the center and four sticks at each of the four

	//__{bzhi} pa' ni nyi ma dang mye long 'dzo_	[sides around it]. [Point] four [=I: 4]: the sun and the mirror
6	[...] gzhag la /_mchod pa'i mye sbar ba'o_/_lnga pa' ni mar mye des bsreg rkong gi sdong bu {bzhi} la mye sbar ba'o_/_drug pa	[...] placed, and the fire for offerings is lit. [Point] five [=I: 5]: by the butter lamp the fire is lit using the four sticks, in the hole for burning. [Point] six [=I: 6]:
7	[...]g dang bcas pa' {gsum} mo /_de {gsum} gi steng du zhi ba' la kar {gsum} dang 'bras chan /_rgyas pa' la mngar[...]	[...] along with [?]. Upon these three, in the peaceful [rite] three white things and cooked rice [are added], in the increasing [rite three] sweet [things] [...]
8	[...]ba' dang /___kha ba'o_/_ 'das pa'i bsreg rdzas la __/_ de {gsum} gi steng du sha lnga bdud rsi lnga'i ri su ¹³⁵ bs?[...]	[...] and snow. The 'death' substances to be burnt [include], upon these three, a little lump (?) of five types of meat and five ambrosias [...]

FOL. [1.5], VERSO

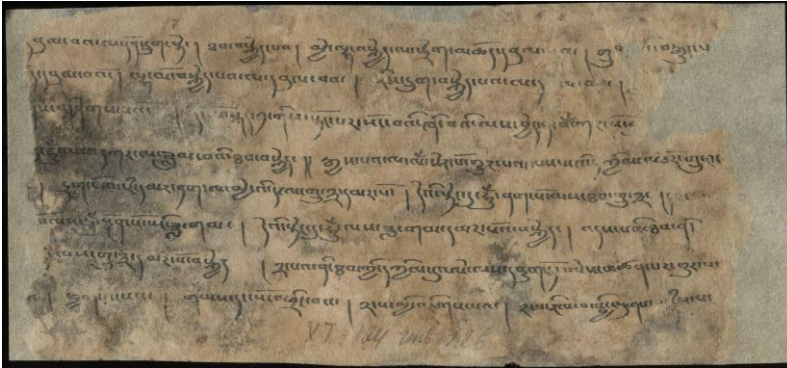


Figure 28. Manuscript image of XT-124, fol. [1.5]v. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.

1	[...]dbul ba' la don drug ste /thab bskyed pa'/_mye lha	[...] the offering has six points: the generation of the hearth, the generation of the fire deity and the
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¹³⁵ My reading is *lu*.



	<i>bskyed la sreg mchod dbul ba' /grub [pa(?)]'i brgyud pa[?]</i>	fire offering [to him], the lineage (?) of accomplishment (?)
2	<i>[...]d dbul ba'o /lha mo bskyed pa' la dbul ba' /__ris drug bskyed pa' la dbul ba' _/[...]</i>	[...] offering, the generation of the goddess and the offering [to her], the generation of the six classes and the offering [to them], [...]
3	<i>[...]na(?)s gshegs pa'o __/_ dang po skad {cig} gis stong par song ba'i zhi ba'i las byed na bam kar so ?u[...]</i>	[...] arrival. Point one [=II: 1]: if the peaceful [rite] is performed with an instantaneous accession into the emptiness, the white BAM
4	<i>[...] hum las dkar la zlum ba'i thab bskyed // _rgyas pa' la lam ser po gyur pa' las sa'i dkyil 'khor gru {bzhi}</i>	[...] the hearth is generated from the white and round HŪM; in the increasing rite—the rectangular earth <i>maṇḍala</i> from the yellow LAM
5	<i>[...] _/_ drag po la ram dmar nag la mye 'i da la gru {gsum} dmar po _/de'i steng du hum nag po las thab gru {gsum} _/d[bang(?)]?</i>	[...] in the fierce rite—in the dark red RAM, the red triangular fire <i>maṇḍala</i> , upon that the triangular hearth from the black HŪM. [??]
6	<i>[...]o las rlum sngon po yi zla gam /_de'i steng du hum las zla gam dmar po' bskyed /_ 'das pa'i thab ni __</i>	[...] the half-circle of a yellow wind from [?], upon that the right half-circle from HŪM are generated. The 'death' hearth
7	<i>[...] las gru {gsum} dmar po bskyed __/{gnyis} pa' ni thab kyi dkyil du e las dbyug to es mtshan par gyur pa</i>	[...] the red triangle from [?] is generated. [Point] two [=II: 2]. In the circle of the hearth [the syllable] E transforms into a staff marked with E,
8	<i>[...] _/_ phyag [g.]yas(?) _/_ g.yas dang po 'phring ba' /_ {gnyis} pa myi 'jigs pa' /_ {gnyis} pa ril ba spyi lugs bsnams pa _</i>	[...] the first right hand [holds] a rosary, the second one [shows the <i>mudrā</i> of] fearlessness, the third (?) ¹³⁶ one holds a round water jug;

¹³⁶ Apparently, the scribe erroneously wrote the number 2 twice, and it should have been the number 3 in the second instance.

FOL. [2.1], RECTO

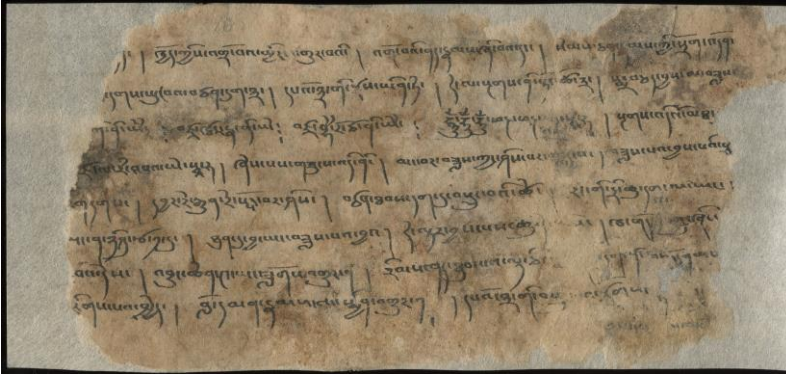


Figure 29. Manuscript image of XT-124, fol. [2.1]r. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.

Text (4)

1	[...] <i>d</i> / <i>_khyod kyis 'gro ba' myir 'gyur ba' i / _'go ba' i nad rnams zhi ba' dang / _sems can rnams kyi srog 'don</i>	[...] You pacify the diseases / That infect the human migrators / And save lives of sentient beings, /
2	[...] <i>chu(?)</i> <i>dags yung+ba' btsan dug {gsum} / _dpa'o {gsum} gi rdzas yin te / _de la sngags ni stong tsho {gsum} / _smra bcad byas la bzlas</i>	[...] acorus calamus (?), turmeric, and aconite / Are substances of the three hero[in]es. / Here, the <i>mantra</i> is silently recited / Three thousand times
3	[...] <i>dha(?)</i> <i>ki ni ye-e _: _ba+ dzra war rna ni ye: _ba+dzra bhai ro tsa ni yai _: _hūm huṃ huṃ phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ sbā hā / _sngags 'di' i mtha [??]</i>	[...] SARBABUDDHĀĀKINĪYE, VAJRAVARṆANĪYE, VAJRABHAIROCANĪYE HŪM HŪM HŪM PHAṬ PHAṬ PHAṬ SVĀHĀ ¹³⁷ —the final [?] of this <i>mantra</i>
4	[...] <i>dza la raṃ 'ba' ye sbā ha / _zhes pas gzungs 'di ni / _mang bar bzlas kyang shis par g[ta(?)d pa / _bzlas pa' byas pa' i sdu(?) [...]</i>	[...] JALA RAṂ [BHYOḤ (?)] SVĀHĀ—this is the <i>dhāraṇī</i> . While reciting [it] many [times], [one] fixates (?) upon its auspiciousness. / Having recited [...]

¹³⁷ The root *mantra* of Vajravārāhī is rendered in English, *Vajrayoginī*, 71.



<p>5 [...] <i>gdags /_dbyar re d-gun re sp(?)ong bar shis /_btsan thabs dag du bsrung ba'i tshe /_rang gi dri chu dag la yang /</i></p>	<p>[...] attached. / Every summer, every winter it is auspicious to be renounced (?). / When protected forcefully, upon (?) one's urine</p>
<p>6 [...] <i>yang na nyi+shu rtsa {gcig} du /_thun du bya yang bzlas pa' bya'/_de ltar byas pas chu de yis /_kha gdong [b]kru zhing [...]</i></p>	<p>[...] / Also, twenty-one [times] [it] shall be practiced, shall be recited. / When doing so, with this liquid / The face is washed [...]</p>
<p>7 [...] <i>ba' des /_byung chen {bzhi} yang zlogs 'gyur na/_rims nad thub pa' lta ci sm?[...] dag sding(?) bsod nams[...]</i></p>	<p>[...] by that / The four great elements' [bad influences] are reversed. / Needless to say, epidemics are subdued. / [...] merits [...]</p>
<p>8 [...] <i>?igs pa' myed /_blo dman rnam la smyin 'gyur {cig} (?)_ /_dpa'o {gsum} gi bsrung ba' rdzogs [s.]h[o]__ //__</i></p>	<p>[...] may the absence of [?] ripen for those of lesser intelligence! / The protection of the three hero[in]es is complete.</p>

FOL. [2.1], VERSO

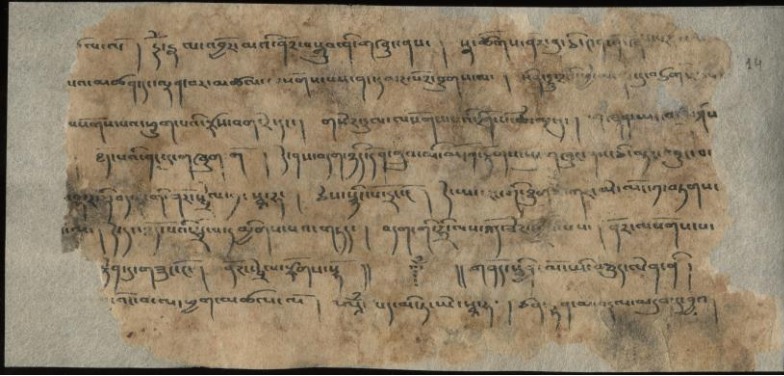


Figure 30. Manuscript image of XT-124, fol. [2.1]v. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.

Text (5)

1	[...] <i>phyag 'tshal lo/_rdo-ernal 'byor ma'i nor bsgrub ni gzhung nas /_sna tshogs nor bu ci {bzhi}n no zhes par ?[...]</i>	[...] homage! A wealth <i>sādhana</i> of Vajravārāhī. The main text says, “whatever precious stones of all kinds” [...]
2	[...] <i>pa' mtshan dang ldan bar mtshal la+sogs pas nang dmar por byugs la /_sin dhu ra'i phye ma [na]ng du btsags la</i>	[...] of good qualities (?) is smeared inside by vermilion, etc., and the <i>sindhura</i> powder is poured inside.
3	[...] <i>la+sogs pa' phyug pa'i rdzas bag re dang /_gser d-ngul la+sogs pa'i rin po che lnga da /_gzhan yang bkra shis</i>	[...] tiny bits of substances of richness such as [...]; five precious [substances] such as gold, silver, etc.; also, the auspicious
4	[...] <i>/_thod pa'i nang du gzhug go /_de nas bdag nyid don grub mi mngon rtogs su gzhung nas ci ltar 'byung ba'</i>	[...] put into the skull. After that, [in order to understand whether] one's aim is achieved, while it is uncertain, the main text [suggests]: “what appears
5	[...] <i>bha ra hi bdag gi nor sprel {gcig} sbā ha /_ces snying po drang ngo /_de</i>	[...] BHĀRĀHĪ, increase my wealth SWĀHĀ!”—the heart <i>mantra</i>

	yang rang gi thugs kar me long {gcig} btags	[(Skt. <i>hṛdaya</i>)] is drawn. Also, a mirror is attached to one’s heart.
6	[...] <i>la /de dang thod pa’i hri la dmyigs pa’ gtad /_bdag gi hri las ’od zer spros pas /nor la+sogs pa</i>	[...] non-observation of HRI[H] of the skull and that is established. One’s HRI[H] irradiates light. Wealth, etc.
7	[...] <i>rten du gzung ngo /__nor sprel rdzogs s.ho __// __& __//</i>	[...] held as the support. The wealth increase is complete. ¹³⁸
	Text (6)	
	<i>gnod sbyin mo yi bcud len ni /_</i>	Rejuvenation practice with the <i>yakṣinī</i> .
8	[... <i>yid</i>] <i>’ong ba la phyag mtshal lo /_o-’am _pad ma ti ye sbā ha /tsan dhan ma brdal mdun du bya ’/</i>	Homage to the [Padmapatī] Beautiful One [who bestows all things needed]! OM PADMA[PA]TĪYE SWĀHĀ! ¹³⁹ The sandal <i>maṅḍala</i> shall be made in front [of oneself].

FOL. [2.2], RECTO

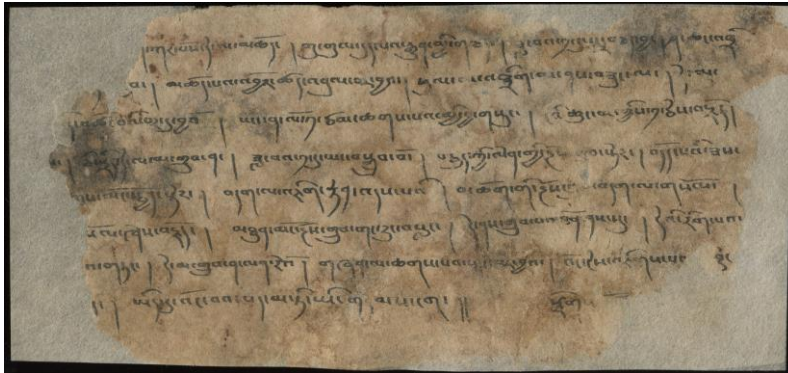


Figure 31. Manuscript image of XT-124, fol. [2.2]r. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.

1	[... <i>me to</i>] <i>g kar pos de la</i>	[The Beautiful One is observed in front [of the <i>yogi</i>]] / And she is presented with white [flowers], / Smoke of
---	--	--

¹³⁸ See more about this text in Appendix 5.1.1.

¹³⁹ The correct form should be PADMAPATĪYE, but it seems that the omission of the syllable *pa* allows to consider this line as the first seven-syllable verse.

	<i>mchod /_gu gul dud pa' rgyun myi gcad /_zla ba' {gcig} du smra bcad bya /sha chang 'khri</i>	guggul ¹⁴⁰ [is spread] without interruptions, / During one month the silent recital [of the <i>mantra</i>] should be performed. / Meat, alcohol, sex
2	<i>[...]ub /_mchod pa' 'byor tshad 'bul bar bya' /phul la 'khrig ma nas bzung la /de la _</i>	[shall be abandoned. / From the sixteenth till the full moon, ...] / The offerings, as much as are acquired, shall be presented. / [The offerings] having being presented, [she shall be] taken by the wrist of [her] hand / And
3	<i>[...] 'di(?) 'tsho ba' i bar du bya'o _/_yang na lo {gcig} tsam chags pa' myi bya gsung /_nga' i chung ma gyis {cig} ces brjod/</i>	[copulated with; / ...] [it] shall be performed until the recovery of [?]. / Also, it is taught: do not have sex for about a year. / [One shall] say: “Be my wife”,
4	<i>[...]s /_ci srid de la ma grub na /_zla ba' {gcig} du yang bsgrub bo /_bcud kyi len gyi d-ngos gr[u]b ster / 'dod pa' i zas</i>	[a smoke <i>maṅḍala</i> shall be offered to her. ...] / As long as [the goal] is not accomplished, it is to be practiced for one month. / The <i>siddhi</i> of rejuvenation will be given. / The desired food
5	<i>[...]s long spyod ster /_bdag la 'jig rten 'das pa' i /_mchog gi d-ngos grub bdag la gsol _/</i>	[...] pleasure will be bestowed. / “Give me the ultimate supramundane <i>siddhi</i> ! /
6	<i>[...]sol zhes brjod /_mthun mong d-ngos grub gang rung bslang /_de nas grub pa' thon nas su _/de' i rig pa'</i>	[...] give!”—is to be said. / A common <i>siddhi</i> , whichever is appropriate, is to be requested. / Then, after the accomplishment takes place, / Her <i>vidyā</i> ¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ A fragrant resin produced from *Commiphora wightii* and used in making incense.

¹⁴¹ *Vidyā*, or *vidyāmantra* (Tib. *rig pa*, *rig sngags*), ‘awareness mantra’, is one of the three major terms applied to sacral formulas, alongside *guhyanmantra* (Tib. *gsang sngags*; ‘retention mantra’) and *dhāraṇāmantra* (Tib. *gzungs sngags*; ‘retention mantra’), see Jamgön Kongtrül Lodrö Tayé, *The Treasury of Knowledge. Book Six, Part Four: Systems of Buddhist Tantra. The Indestructible Way of Secret Mantra* (Ithaca, Boulder: Snow Lion Publications, 2005), 377. According to Buddhaguhya’s commentary on the *Dhyānottaratantra*: “Awareness mantra comprises the female deity, her shape, the

7	[...]' <i>gtang /_de ma grub na lan re'o/_gzhan la chags pa' spang bar bya' /_ 'ong nges 'jigs pa'</i> [ci(?)] <i>byung</i> [?]	[shall be recited, / the smoke <i>mandala</i> of the three times] is to be given. / [Even] if there is no accomplishment, each time [the same shall be done (?)]. / Having sex with somebody else shall be abandoned. / [Whatever] fears are to appear
8	[...] <i>d /_yid du 'ong ba' pad ma ti yi gdams ngag // _____ _rdzogs</i> [s.h(?)] <i>o</i> [...]	[...], / One shall recite the <i>mantra</i> incessantly—it is taught]. The instruction about the Beautiful One, Padma[pa]tī is complete.

FOL. [2.2], VERSO

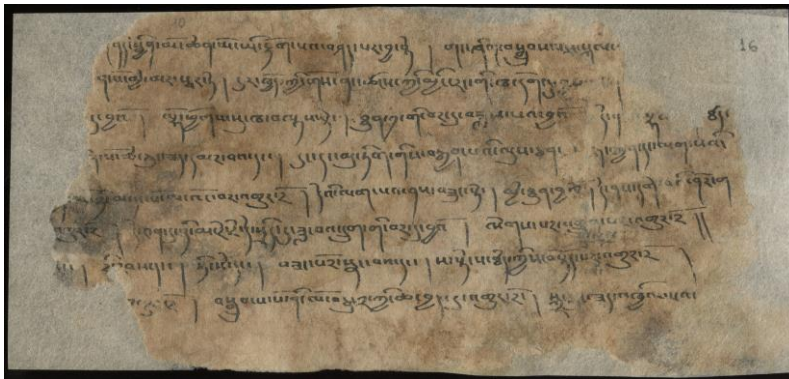


Figure 32. Manuscript image of XT-124, fol. [2.2]v. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.

TEXT (7)

1	[...] <i>gn</i> [<i>o</i>] <i>d sbyin mo chen mo yi rtog pa' bshad par bya ste /_gang zhig bsgrubs par</i> [<i>ng</i> (?)] <i>skal</i> [...]	¹⁴² [Then,] the rite of the great <i>yakṣiṇī</i> shall be explained. Who will practice [it], [will abide in auspiciousness.]
2	[...] <i>n po mye mar sbar te/_dur khrod kyi gos nang tshangs kyi</i>	[Now, the <i>sādhana</i> .] The butter lamp [with a large [amount of] melted butter]

utterances associated with her method, and seals [mudras, insignia,] and so on. The opposite to that, [the male deity, and so on,] is characteristic of secret mantra” Ibid., 102.

¹⁴² See more about this text in Appendix 5.1.2.

	<i>mying rang gi kha dog du(?) byas ?? / _[...]</i>	is lit. A dress from a charnel-ground [shall be taken], [this] dress with the lining made in color of hers [(ie. the <i>dākinī</i> 's?)] shall [cover her by [one] half, and serve as the master's skirt by [the other] half].
3	<i>[...]?u bya'o'/_lho phyogs su kha bltas ste /thun {gcig} gi bar du bzlas pa' /bya'o'___ [[(?)]_de na[s] lha' i(?) ...] tham-d</i>	[...] shall be made. Looking at the southern direction, during one session [of the practice, the <i>mantra</i>] shall be recited. Then, [[the one] adorned by] all the divine [ornaments,]
4	<i>[...]n po che cung zad dmar ba' dang /_dung dang mu tig gis brgyan pa' i lus can'/_ rkang rgyan dang lag pa' i</i>	[with her] body adorned by [vajras, lapis lazuli,] small red jewels (?), conch shells, and corals, with foot ornaments and [bracelets] on her hands,
5	<i>[...]lda)n(?) m(?)o nyi ma dang po la 'ong bar 'gyur ro'/_/ de' i lag pa' nas bzung ste / mye thun bya'o' /de nas dge ba' i nor ga</i>	[...] [the goddess] will arrive on the first day. Holding her by hand, one shall perform the fire practice. Then, of the virtuous wealth (?)
6	<i>[...] 'gyur ro'/_de {bzhi}n du nyi ma re re de srid du zla ba' drug gi bar du bya'o'/_/_legs par 'grub par 'gyur ro'/_/_</i>	[having given a share (?) of gold, [she] will depart (?).] Likewise, every day, till the sixth month, [it] shall be performed. [The result] will be achieved successfully.
7	<i>[...]dang(?) /_ri rabs dang /_ti se dang /_bzang por snang ba' dang /sa stengs tham-d kyis bstod par 'gyur ro'/_/_</i>	[One] will be praised by [the Brahma abodes, the Soma abodes,] Mt. Sumeru, [(Mt.)] Kailash, [abodes of] beautiful appearances (gods ?), and the entire earth.
8	<i>[...] 'gyur ro'/_/_bsgrub pa po ni lo bcu {gnyis} kyi cha byad du 'gyur ro'/_skra cung zad 'khyil pa' [___]</i>	[One] will be [praised by the entire Rudra abodes]. The practitioner will get the appearance of a twelve-year-old. [His] hair will turn slightly curly, [he will have the force of the wind and]

FOL. [2.3], RECTO

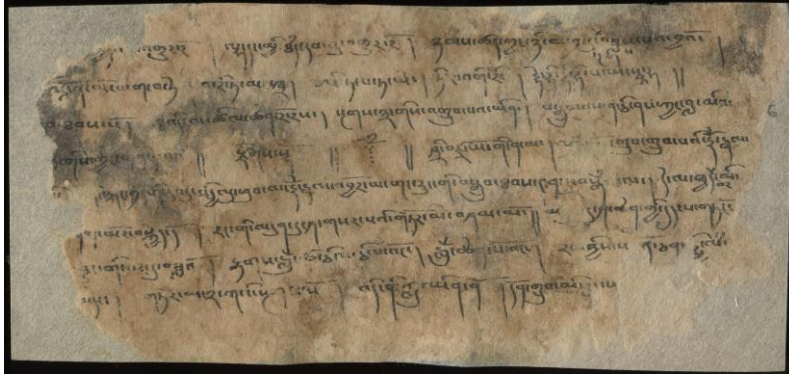


Figure 33. Manuscript image of XT-124, fol. [2.3]r. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.

1	<p>[...]my[e]d [par] 'gyur ro __/_ lha dang myi tham-d dbang du 'gyur ro __/_nyams tshad kyang nyi ma {gci} du ×(sngags) bzlas pa' bya'o __/_</p>	<p>will have [no obstacles anywhere]. All gods and humans will be subdued. To secure the achievement (?),¹⁴³ the mantra shall be recited during one day.</p>
2	<p>[...]o-'am na mo ba ga ba te / _ 'a ri ta ma[ng(?)] khra! __ a ti pa ta ye / _ ti ra 'gi ri __ /_ dhe dhi dhe hi sa ya sbā ha __ // __</p>	<p>[The mantra is as follows:] OM NAMO B[H]AGAVATE, A[PA]RI[MI]TA MANG(?) KHRA(?), ATIPATAYE, TIRA GIRI, DHE DHI DHE HI SA YA SVĀHĀ!</p>
3	<p>[...]sgru(?)b thabs so/ __ ? 'di la tshil chen ro ras /_ sngags {gsum} gis 'grub pa' yin /_ bsgrub nus na ci nas kyang bla ma'i</p>	<p>[...] The method of [accomplish- ment(?)] is [such]. Here, 'the great [(=human)] fat' and a piece of cloth from a corpse are accomplished with three mantras.</p>

¹⁴³ The expression *nyams sod byas pas/nyams tshad kyang* is not entirely clear. The terms *nyams tshad* or *nyams sod* are not found in any Classical Tibetan dictionaries. However, according to Melvyn Goldstein's dictionary of modern Tibetan, they carry the meaning of 'testing' or 'trying [something] out'. See Melvyn Goldstein, *The New Tibetan-English Dictionary of Modern Tibetan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 411. My tentative translation is based on this understanding and the context of a successful rite that may require an additional practice to solidify its achievement.

		If the accomplishment can be [fulfilled], by all means the <i>guru</i> 's
4	[...] <i>gis kyang gnas-de(?)</i> <i>bya'o(?) // ___rdzogs s.ho</i> ___//___&___	[...] this position (?) shall be performed. [The text is] complete.
	Text (8)	
	//_shri ba+dzra yo gi na ma /o-['a]ṃ [h(?)]oṃ grub grub pa'i rdo-e rnal	Śrī-Vajrayogi[nī]-nāma. ¹⁴⁴ OM [H(?)]OM! The practiced Vajra- yogi[nī]
5	[...]i[...]d skang {gcig} gi drung du spyi lu phub la rdo-e rnal 'byor ma gang rung gi bsgrub thabs {bzhi}n du bsgomṣ la /_de la khyad ^x {bar} mi	[...] in a hut near a tree (?), according to any convenient <i>sādhana</i> of Vajrayoginī, the visualisation [is performed]. Here, the special quality
6	[...]nag mor bskyed do___/ rang gi mdun du sha gsar pa'i gtor ma bsham mo //mdu[n] du sha chen gyi dud pa gta-ngo	[...] as the black [goddess] is generated. In front of oneself the <i>torma</i> with fresh meat is prepared. In front [of oneself] a knot (?) of 'the great [=human] flesh' is placed.
7	[...] byung gi bar du bzla'o___/ __rtags rluṃ tsha cil cil 'ong /_rluṃ chen po 'ong /__rab byis pa[th]od can [rm]yi lam	[...] until [the signs] appear, [the <i>mantra</i>] is recited. As the sign, flow of hot wind appears, a great wind appears; the highest one [are] a boy with a skull, [in] the dream
8	[...] dang /___gtor ma {gnyis} ka'i sngags so___/'di ni klu yin no___/don grub mi ?ng ?[...]	[...] and the <i>mantra</i> of two <i>tormas</i> . This is a <i>nāga</i> . ¹⁴⁵ The accomplishment ?? [...]

¹⁴⁴ Sanskrit for "Named Śrī-Vajrayogi[nī]".

¹⁴⁵ Maybe *ne'u le?* (lit. mangoose).

FOL. [2.3], VERSO

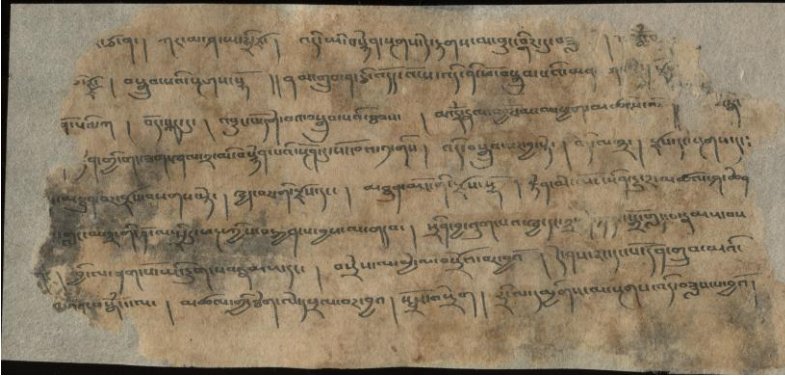


Figure 34. Manuscript image of XT-124, fol. [2.3]v. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.

1	[...] <i>r</i> [<i>a</i> (?)] <i>t</i> sa na /_kar ma sha ya hri dza /__di yi bsnyen sngags de rtags ma byung < <i>g-i</i> >bar du bzla[']o_o-'am ba+dzra[...]	[...] <i>RA</i> (?) <i>CA NA, KAR MA ŚA YA HRĪ</i> [<i>H</i>] <i>JA</i> [<i>H</i>]. This following <i>mantra</i> of worship shall be recited until a sign [of success] appears: <i>OM VAJRA</i> [...]
2	[...] <i>t</i> sa dzdza /_bsgrub pa'i sngags s.ho__//nam grub na ci 'dod 'ongs 'di ni pho bsgrub pa'i man [nga]g ste /rdzog[s...]	[...] <i>CA JJA</i> —the <i>mantra</i> of accomplishment. This is the instruction on the male accomplishment—when practiced, the desired [things] appear. [...]
Text (9)		
3	[...] <i>no pa'i ka</i> /_bod skad du /_byung po dge ba' bsgrub pa'i thabs __/ma rdo-e rnal 'byor ma la phyag mtshal lo_// [...] sgo	[... <i>sādha</i>]nopa[y]ikā. ¹⁴⁶ In Tibetan: A <i>sādhana</i> of the Virtuous Spirit. Homage to Vajrayoginī! [...]
4	[...] <i>rten gyi gang zag zhal</i> { <i>gnyis</i> } <i>mi bsnyen pa'i sngon</i>	[...] <i>The person who has not made preliminary service to the Two-</i>

¹⁴⁶ The term *sāadhanopayikā* is a full equivalent of Tib. *sgrub thabs* which, however, is a standard translation of Skt. *sādhana*. Unfortunately, we do not know what preceded this term in the text.

	<i>du song ba' {gcig} gis/_'di bsgrub par bya ste /'di la {gsum} /rdzas dang sngags dang:</i>	Faced one, has to accomplish it. There are three aspects: substances, <i>mantra</i> and [...]
5	<i>[...]dang mthun bar rdzas bsags ste /khyad bar gi rdzas dang /_mthun mong gi rdzas s.ho__/_rten me long sin dhu ra mtshal sha chen</i>	[...] the relevant substances are gathered: special substances and common substances. The basis, a mirror, <i>sindhura</i> , vermillion, 'great flesh' [...]
6	<i>[...] glang ma {gsum} gi sho la sri-du phaṭ kyis brgyan pa byas la gdab /_srin bya 'ug pa' khya¹⁴⁷ dang {gsum} ke(?) ka ta sgro glad pa rnam bsa[gs(?)]</i>	[...] ??? ¹⁴⁸ shall be decorated with PHAṬ in [full?] length and thrown. Feather and brain of the three—an owl, an eagle-owl, and a hawk,— [as well as?] of a crow [shall be] col[lected?...]]
7	<i>[...]g /_byi la nag po yi rtug pa' rnam dang _/_bsres la mye la bsro' bar bya'o__/_de nas r(?)ang dang po don grub ma'i</i>	[...] mixed with a black cat's excrements, shall be burnt in fire. Then, she whom one accomplished first (?)
8	<i>[...] b[yi(?)]n bsgoms la _/_ mtshal gyi theg le dpral bar bya '/spros bsreg/_hri la dmyigs la sngags 'di bzlas pa bya'o/</i>	[...] visualised and a vermillion drop shall be put on the forehead. The mixture shall be burnt. While concentrating on HRI[Ḥ], this <i>mantra</i> shall be recited:

¹⁴⁷ My reading is *khra*.

¹⁴⁸ The expression *glang ma {gsum} gi sho la* is completely unclear to me.

FOL. [2.4], RECTO

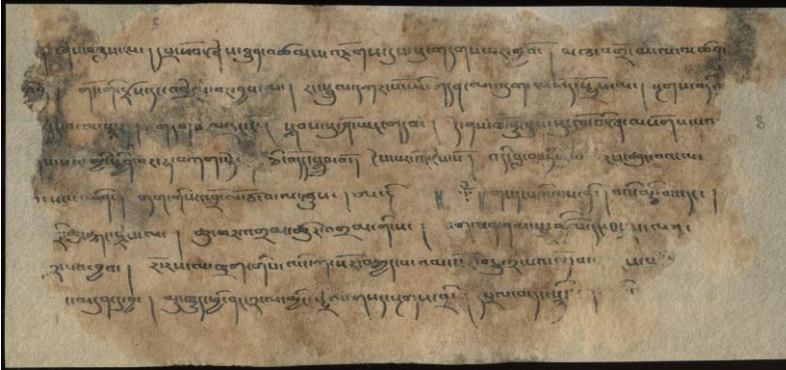


Figure 35. Manuscript image of XT-124, fol. [2.4]r. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.

1	[...]/_zhes bzlas la /dpra phob zhes thun 'tshams 'jogs dus su gdags par bya 'o /mkha 'gro mi la mtshan	[...] is recited. During a session break, the so-called 'pra' [mirror] divination shall be applied. To the <i>ḍākinī</i> (?) the name (?)
2	[...]bya ste/_gong gi rdzas dang 'brel bar byas la /_rang sbrul dkar po yi gdan la 'dug la 'od spros la /sngags 'di [?]	[...] shall be performed: having performed [it] together with the former substances, one sits on the white serpent throne, and light irradiates. This <i>mantra</i>
3	[...]de/de ba la sbā hā /_gdags la drang ngo /_skabs su sho yang gdab /_de nas kho byung dus su khro ba zhi la+sogs pa'	[...]DE, DE BA LA SVAHA!—is applied straight. At that time, dice is also applied. Then, when the <i>kho</i> [<i>n</i> trigram (?)] appears, the wrathful, peaceful, etc. [rites]
4	[...]?s pa' myi sbyin bar ha bkag ste /_ci 'dod sgrub bo /_nges par 'od nges so/_di bla ma ti bu [pas(?)]ras chung ba' la _	[...] without giving [?], HA (?) is obstructed; whatever is wanted will be accomplished. Certainly, the light is certain (?). Guru Tipupa [passed(?)] this to Rechungpa,



5	[...] <i>sangs yin /_bdag gis 'bro lo tsa ba la zhus _/a ṭi_____// _&//</i>	[...] purified (?). I asked [it] from Dro Lotsawa [(Tib. 'Bro lo tsā ba)]. ATI.
Text (10)		
	<i>gsad pa'i las ni /ba'i lei ba' dang /</i>	The rite for killing. Cow dung and
6	[...] <i>?ri chung rkang rjes la _/_chu phar 'gram tshur 'gram ni sa /_bag zan nam sbra tshil dang bsres la' [??]</i>	[...] earth [taken] from the footprint of the small [?] and from this shore and that shore of the river, mixed with dough or wax [??]
7	[...]{ <i>gnyis</i> } <i>pa' bya' /_ro ras la khrag gis ling ka sor brgyad pa 'am sor bcu {gnyis} pa' lto ba' [...]</i> s s[...]	[...] two shall be made. On a piece of cloth from a corpse, an effigy [(Skt. <i>liṅga</i>)] with the belly (?) of eight fingers or twelve fingers [shall be drawn] with blood [...]
8	[...] <i>mdun du bya /_mu khyud phyi nang {gnyis} la mying sprel gsad sngags bri /dpral ba dang snying [...]</i> i [...]	[...] in front [of oneself] shall be performed. In the outer and inner rims, the name and the killing <i>mantra</i> are written. The forehead and heart [...]

FOL. [2.4], VERSO

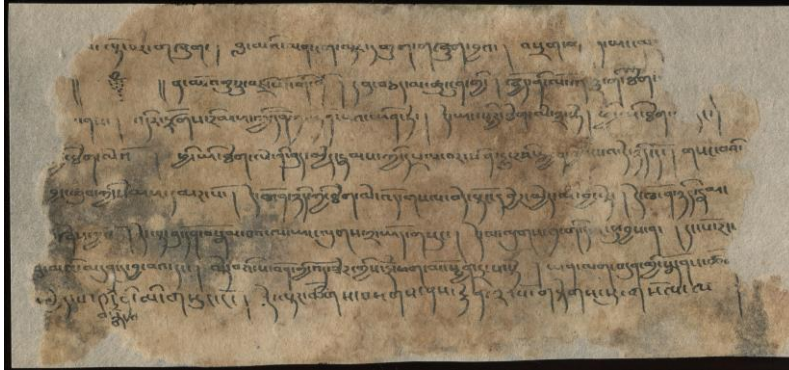


Figure 36. Manuscript image of XT-124, fol. [2.4]v. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.

1	<p>[...]s lto bar gzhug /_bla ma'i man ngag ltar dgug gzhug bya' /_bsrag g[...]g(?) yang m[...]</p>	<p>[...] is placed into the abdomen. According to the lama's instruction, [the deity?] shall be summoned and placed. Burning [...]</p>
Text (11)		
2	<p>[...] // __ & __ //na mo 'gu ru ba+dzra yo gi ni /dbu bcad ma chu ngun gyi /khyod ni lo ka {gsum} gi theg [...]</p>	<p>[...] <i>Namo guru Vajrayogini!</i>¹⁴⁹ Cinnamuṅḍā [(The Severed-Head One)], you—the drops of the three realms [...]</p>
3	<p>[...] nas /_'dir rdzogs rims kyi don {gcig} ston pa' yin te /_de yang spyir theg le {gsum} ste/ phyi yi theg [...]dang /</p>	<p>[...] Here, the meaning of the completion stage is shown. There are, in general, three drops: the outer drop, [?] and</p>
4	<p>[...]yi theg le'o __/_phyi yi theg le ni bud myed rnam kyi dpral bar sin dhu ra'i rgyan gy[i]+sp[r]a' de nyid do / gsang ba'i [...]</p>	<p>[...] the drop [of the true reality?]. The outer drop is the decorative [mark] put on the foreheads of women with <i>sindhura</i>. The secret [drop? ...]</p>

¹⁴⁹ Sanskrit for “Homage, *guru Vajrayogini!*”



<p>5 [...]byang chub kyi sems dmar po /_de kho na nyid kyi theg le 'od gsal bde stong dbyer myed la bya ste /de kho na nyid nam</p>	<p>[...] [is] 'red bodhicitta' [(menstrual blood)]. The drop of the true reality shall be made inseparable with the blissful emptiness of clear light: the true reality</p>
<p>6 [...] zhes bya 'o_/de lta bu don bsgom ba' la yang lugs {gnyis} yod gsung /_de la lugs {gcig} gi dbang du byas na_/dang po rang [...]</p>	<p>[...] is said. Similarly, in regard to the contemplation of the truth, two traditions are instructed upon. Here is [the sequence of] actions in accordance with one tradition. Point one. [...]</p>
<p>7 [...]bla ma'i mdun du bya ba' dang /_lte ba'i sa bon gyi 'od zer gyis rdo-e phag mo spyang drangs ste_/yan lag bdun gyi sgo nas tshog[s...]</p>	<p>[...] in front of the guru shall be performed; by the light from the seed in the navel Vajravārāhī is invited. By means of the seven-limbed (practice?) the assembly [...]</p>
<p>8 [...] myed pa {bzhi} ×{bsgo ba}ni mi gsung ngo /_de ltar tshogs bsags nas rten {gnyis} po gshegs su gsol la_/</p>	<p>[...] the four im[measurables?] are not talked about [[not] recommended]. Thus, the assembly being gathered, the two 'supports' are asked to arrive;</p>

FOL. [2.5], RECTO

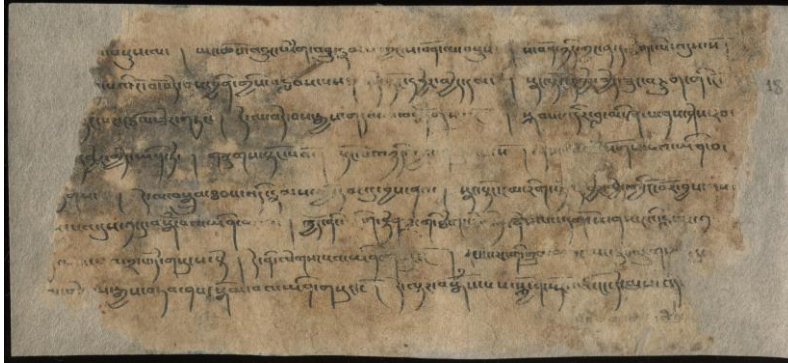


Figure 37. Manuscript image of XT-124, fol. [2.5]r. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.

1	<p>[...] <i>bsdu la _/ yang chos 'byung ye-ge 'bru rnams kyang sa bon la bsdu _/ sa bon nyid kyang na da theg le 'dus so/</i></p>	<p>[...] gathered; also, the ‘source of dharmas’ [with its] letters are gathered in the seed [syllable]. The seed syllable is the gathering of sounds and drops [(Skt. <i>nāda</i> and <i>bindu</i>)].</p>
2	<p>[...] <i>pa'i ngo bo bde bas byin gyis brlabs pas / _bde stong dbyer myed dam _/ _snang stong dbyer myed zung 'jug gi ngo _</i></p>	<p>[...] the essence of [?] is blessed happily (?), so that the essence of unity with the inseparability of happiness and emptiness, or the inseparability of appearance and emptiness</p>
3	<p>[...] <i>stong par wal zer gtang /_de la bde bas rgyas gdams bsgo gsang ngo _/ _skabs 'dir bla mi zhal nas shes rab</i></p>	<p>[...] sends clear (?) rays to the empty [?]. Here, the secret extensive instruction [was passed?] happily (?). On this occasion, from the <i>guru</i>'s mouth [the words?] of wisdom</p>
4	<p>[...] <i>dbyer myed yin te _/ _ gzugs stong pa'o / _stong pa' nyid [k(?)] yang gzu[gs] so _/ zhes [???la]+sogs pa' yin ba</i></p>	<p>[...] is inseparable: the form is emptiness, while the emptiness is the form”, etc. were said.</p>



<p>5 [...]dags ___/___de la bsgrub thabs 'di rnams kyi dbang du byas na' /_snang stong ngam rig stong dbyer myed kyi ngo bor byas nas/</p>	<p>[...] Here, having used these sādhanas, [one] turns into the essence of the inseparability of appearance and emptiness or insight and emptiness</p>
<p>6 [...]s pa' dus {gcig} du bsgom ba' yin ba' [?] /khyod ni 'j]ig rten {gsum} gi theg [l(?)e [st(?)e zhes pa' dgongs nas nga'i bla ma {gcig}__</p>	<p>[...] at one time is contemplated. “You are (?) the drop upon the three realms”, having considered, “My guru</p>
<p>7 [...]d [??] pa' {gnyis} po de gsungs ste_/_de ni legs pa' yin gsung ngo___/___dpa' rang gi grub m[tha(?)] yang zung 'jug [...]du __</p>	<p>[...] these two [?] are said. “This is good”, is said. [?] one's own tenets [?] at the unity</p>
<p>8 [...] ? b[d]e(?) [sang]s rgyas btab nas sgom ba' yin gsung ngo_/_de ltar bsgoms pas skyo na stong pa'i ngang de las 'd[...]</p>	<p>[...] having planted the Buddha- hood [?], [one] contemplates”, is said. When tired from such contemplation, [one passes (?)] from the sphere of emptiness [...]</p>

FOL. [2.5], VERSO

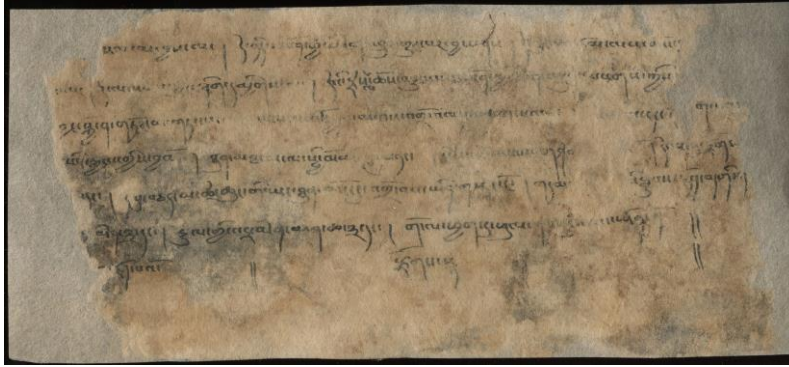


Figure 38. Manuscript image of XT-124, fol. [2.5]v. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.

1	<p>[...] <i>sal bar byas la /_de nyid sa bon gyi yeg 'brur gyur par byas nas_/_de 'ung [??] tсам las chos [...]</i></p>	<p>[...] is made clear; it transforms into the letters of the seed syllable, and just from [...]</p>
2	<p>[...] <i>s(?) pa /de la s[??] cung zhiḡ dmyigs pa '(?) /_de 'i rjes <la>chos 'byung la sa bon gyi yeg 'bru [gsang(?)] sngags kyis[...]</i></p>	<p>[...] is observed for a while. After that, on the 'source of <i>dharmas</i>' the letters of the seed syllable by the secret <i>mantra</i> [...]</p>
3	<p>[...] <i>kyang skyo na gtor ma gtang ?[...] yas(?) ?? sb(?)yo [??] ma {bzhi}s 'gro ba' [...]g pa' _/_/[...]? dang /[...]ga[ng (?)] ma[?]</i></p>	<p>[...] when tired, the <i>torma</i> is given [...] by the four [??] the migrators [...]</p>
4	<p>[...] <i>pa 'i rgyangs gyis bya 'o_/_thun mtha ma la spyi bo yi bla ma dang ___/[...] gsheḡ [...]_/_de[...rdzogs[?]</i></p>	<p>[...] shall be performed extensively (?). At the final part of the practice, the <i>guru</i> on the crown of the head, [...]</p>
5	<p>[...] <i>dang /_dbu bcad ma che chung gi yang thun mong du 'gro ba' yin gs[u]ng ngo _/_gdam[...i rnubs ston bda-gis/</i></p>	<p>[...] [it is] said to be the common version of short and long [practice] of Cinnamuṅḡā and [?]. Instruction [...] Nuptön: "I</p>

6	[...mu(?)]_men {gsum} dang /_d-ngul gyi 'dra(?) men man cha {gsum} dang /_go la phyag du phul [...] yin no ___// ___	[...] three sapphires (?), three portions (?) of the precious substance like silver, and coins (?) are offered.
7	[...]dzad pa'o ___// ___ _____rdzogs s.h[o]___// ___ _____// ___	[...] composed (?). Complete.

FOL. [3.1], RECTO

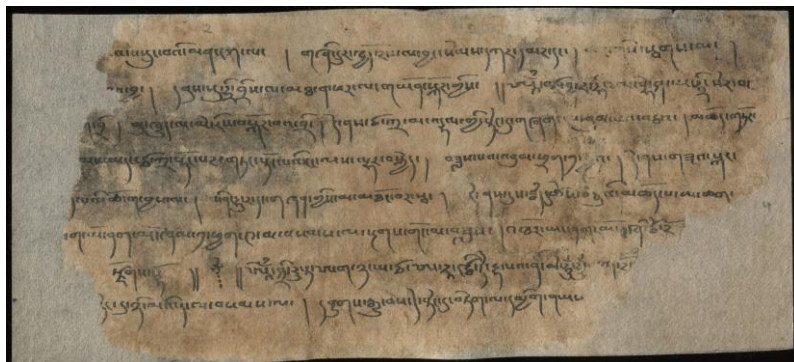


Figure 39. Manuscript image of XT-124, fol. [3.1]r. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.

Text (12)

1	[...] 'bsrung ba'i man ngag la ___/ _gzhi drur khyod ¹⁵⁰ ras la byang sems dkar dmar dang /_ [khrag?] gis(?) sbags la/ _/	The instruction on protection [...]. The basis, a piece of cloth from a charnel-ground, should be sprinkled with white and red bodhicittas and [blood?],
2	[...] 'bya /_dbus su hri bris la mtha na phar la g.yon skor gyis ___/o- 'am ba+dzra bha ra hi a bhe sha ya hri ser ba	[...] made. In the center HRI is written; outside, circling to the right, OM VAJRABHĀRĀHĪ ĀBHEŚAYA HRĪ[H] is [written] in yellow.
3	[...]g? bri /_mu khyud la me	[...] written. In the outer rim the drawing of flames is made. Then, it is put upon the maṇḍala (?) and

¹⁵⁰ The correct reading would be *dur khrod*.



	<i>ris bskor ba' bri /de nas tsa kra ma 'dhal gyi steng du gzhang la bum pa' bca' /mchod gtor</i>	the vase is placed. The <i>torma</i> offering
4	<i>[...]m pa' dang tsa kra stong par gtang stong pa'i ngang las lhar bskyed /__bzlas pa' 'bum phrag {gcig} bya' /de nas gza' skar</i>	[...] and the <i>cakra</i> [(circle)] are set into emptiness. [One] generates [oneself] as the deity from the sphere of emptiness. The recitation is to be performed one hundred thousand times. Then, the planets and stars
5	<i>[...]d pa'i cho ga byas la /__sin dhu ra dang gzhan gyis ma mthong bar sba' /__de nas dus tham-d+du+tshe bcu'i mchod pa ma chag</i>	[...] the ritual having being performed, with <i>sindhura</i> powder [the protective circle? is] hidden, being unseen by anybody. Then, at all times, the offering of the tenth day, without skipping,
6	<i>[...]phag mo nag mo zhal {gcig} phyag {bzhi} ma bsams la sngags gong ma bzlas /'khor yang nag mo bzhi tse ro [...]</i>	[...] the black Vārāhī with one face and four arms is visualised, the <i>mantra</i> is recited like before. As for the retinue, the four black [goddesses], playful (?) [...]
7	<i>[...]__rdzogs s.ho__//_&_//</i>	[...] complete.
	Text (13)	
	<i>o-'am shri ru ta ag nya ya tsa a rā(?) wi te dha sa' na me hum hum [?] ka ro [...]</i>	OM SRI RU TA AG NYA YA CA A RA(?) WI TE DHA SA NAME HUM HUM [?] KA RO [...]
8	<i>[...]s]teng du nyi ma'i da la bsams la /__dbyugs¹⁵¹ rgyu bas de steng du bteg la dmyig g.yas[...]</i>	[...] upon [the lotus?] the disc (?) of the sun is visualised. The movement of breath raises upon it, and the right eye [...]

¹⁵¹ My reading is *dbugs*, but the expression *ljags dbyugs* meaning 'breath' is attested in an article published in the *Sheja* newspaper, in April 1990. See Kevin Garratt, "Biography by Instalment. The Tibetan Periodicals *Sheja* and *Trunggö Böjong* on the Lives of Reincarnate Lamas," in *Religion and Biography in China and Tibet*, ed. Benjamin Penny (London, New York: Routledge, 2013), 198, 218.

FOL. [3.1], VERSO

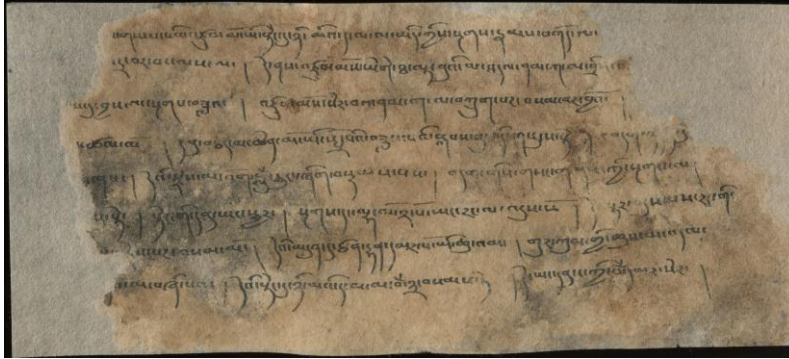


Figure 40. Manuscript image of XT-124, fol. [3.1]r. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.

1	[...] <i>g.yas pa'i 'dzub mo yi steng du nyi ma'i da la la yid kyis sngags mams bgod la</i> [...]	[...]on the disc of the sun [placed] upon the index finger of the right [hand] the syllables are arranged in the mind [...]
2	[...] <i>'dra bar bsams la /_de nas 'dzum+mos ye+ge tha lta bu'i ma 'dal nam ka la bris</i> '[...]	[...] alike visualised. Then, the <i>maṅḍala</i> like the letter THA is drawn by the index finger in the air [...]
3	[...] <i>s(?) du byas la sngags bzla' _/_ 'dzub mos ser ba' nam ka la bkrug par bsam bar bya'o _/[...]</i>	[...] having done, the <i>mantra</i> is recited. It should be visualised that [one] stirs the sky with hail by the index finger [...]
4	[...] <i>mtshal lo _/_dbu bcad ma chen mo yi spro ba'i bzlas pa'i skabs su 'di gsungs ste _/_?bdag nyid dbu[...]</i>	[...] homage! Great Cinnamuṅḍā, at the moment of the utterance of delight, says the following: “I, [Cinna]muṅḍā [...]
5	[...] <i>s(?) nas /_de'i rjes la 'og rluṃ¹⁵² cung zhig bsdams pas /_bdag gis gsang gnas kyi sngags la/_</i>	[...] After that, by blocking for a while the lower ‘psychic wind’, I [will utter?] the <i>mantra</i> of the secret place [...]

¹⁵² It is apparently equal to *rlung*.

6	[...] <i>s ste _/_steng gi dbu yang sbyar /_sngags dang lha mo {gnyis} po yang rang la 'dus so _/_de ltar 'dus pas rang gi</i>	[...], the upper head is also connected, the <i>mantra</i> and two goddesses are gathered in oneself. By gathering this way, one's
7	[...] <i>s(?) [??]es par bsam mo /_de'i mdun du tsan dhan dmar po yi chu 'am _/_gur kum gyi chus ma 'dal _</i>	[...] is visualised. In front of it, by water with red sandalwood or water with saffron the <i>maṇḍala</i> [?]
8	[...] <i>'dab ma bzhi pa'/_de'i steng du nyi ma'i da la la baṃ {gsum} bsams te _/_de yang dbus kyi baṃ dmar ser _/_</i>	[... with] four petals, upon it [and] on the disc of the moon three [syllables] BAM should be visualised. Namely, the middle BAM is orange

FOL. [3.2], RECTO

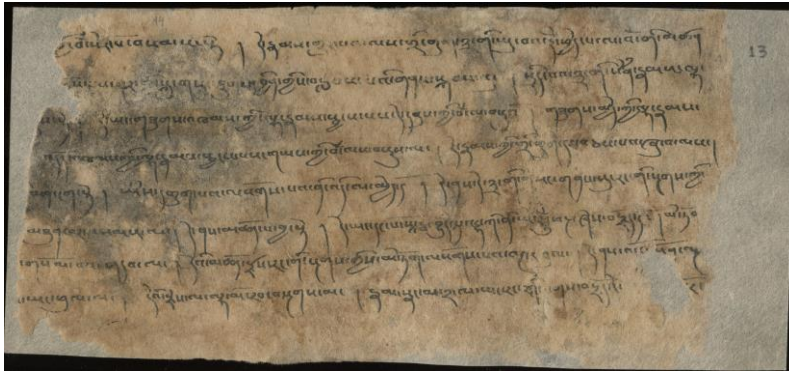


Fig. 41. Manuscript image of XT-124, fol. [3.2]r. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.

1	[...] <i>?yi baṃ ser po bsam pa ste _/_de rnams gyur pa' las gri gug {gsum} gi yu ba' rdo-phyed pa la baṃ gi mtshan</i>	[... and?] the yellow BAM are visualised, they get transformed into the mark of BAM on the chopper with the handle of three half- <i>vajras</i>
2	[...] <i>os pas(?) sngar gyi sku gsung thugs byin gyis brlabs pa'i gnas skabs su _/_srid pa' {gsum} gi sem-n rnams lha</i>	[...] in the situation of the blessing of the body, speech and mind of as previously [?], the sentient beings of the three realms [such as?] gods



<p>3 [...]<i>s ste /__de yang gzugs 'kham s kyi lha rnam s sbyang pas de dbus kyi bam la bsdu 'o __/gzugs myed kyi lha rnam s</i></p>	<p>[...]; furthermore, the gods of the realm of forms, being ‘trained’, are gathered in the BAM in the centre. The gods of the realm without forms</p>
<p>4 [...]<i>__ 'dod 'kham s kyi lha rnam s sbyang pas g.yas kyi bam las bsdu s la /_de rnam s kyi gri gug dang bcas pa' zhu ba las /</i></p>	<p>[...] the gods of the realm of desires, being ‘trained’, are gathered in the BAM on the right; they (?) dissolve along with the chopper, and from that</p>
<p>5 [...]<i>man ngag ste __/ye-es dgug pa' la+sogs pa' ni 'di la myed do __/_de nas de {gsum} gi gsang gnas su rang gi sngags kyi</i></p>	<p>[...] an instruction; summoning the <i>jñāna[sattva]</i>, etc., are not found here. After that, in the secret place of these three, one’s <i>mantra</i></p>
<p>6 [...]<i>mthun bar bsams la /_de nas mchod pa bya ste __/de yang dang po sā rba bhud ta 'dha ki ni ye hum phat zhes brjod do / me tog</i></p>	<p>[...] is visualised accordingly, after which the offerings are made; namely, the first one is recited as SARVA BHŪTA DĀKINĪYE HUM PHAṬ. The flowers</p>
<p>7 [...]<i>gsol bas gdab la /_de'i mchod rdzas rang gi sngags kyis me tog la+sogs pa' lnga dbul /de nas 'dod yon lnga</i></p>	<p>[...] requested; the substances to be offered in this case along with one’s <i>mantra</i>, the five starting from flowers, are presented. Then, the five objects of sensual pleasure</p>
<p>8 [...]<i>yang phul la /__de'i rjes la lha mo rab bsngags ma __/ rnam snang ma {gnyis} la yang rang gi sngags brjod de [...]<i>or</i></i></p>	<p>[...] also offered; after that, one’s <i>mantra</i> is also recited for the goddesses Varṇanī and Vairocanī</p>

FOL. [3.2], VERSO

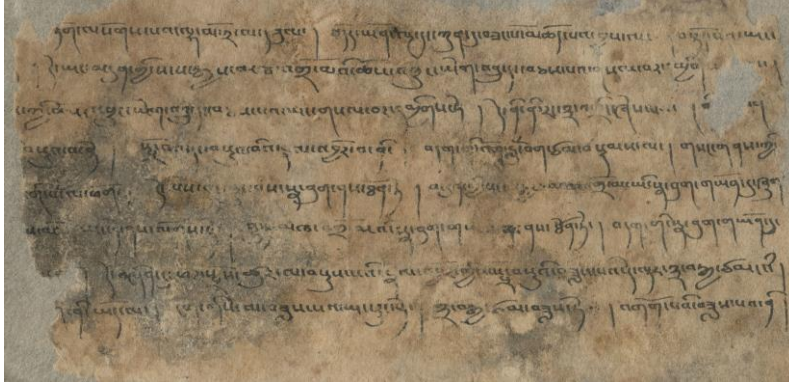


Figure 42. Manuscript image of XT-124, fol. [3.2]v. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.

1	[...] <i>tog la+sogs pa' lha mo</i> { <i>gnyis</i> } <i>la dbul /_ 'dod yon lnga</i> <i>dang kun du bzang po mchod</i> <i>pa' byas la _/bstod pa' yang</i>	[...] flowers, etc. are presented to the two goddesses. The five objects of sensual pleasure and the [world's?] excellence are offered; also, the praise
2	[...] <i>_/de yang mdun gyi sangs</i> <i>rgyas mkha 'gro ma 'i chos</i> <i>'byung yeg 'bru dang bcas pa'</i> <i>gsal bar dmyigs [??] /</i>	[...] Further, the 'source of dharmas' of Buddhaḍākinī along with the seed syllable are clearly observed
3	[...] <i>kyi chos 'byung yeg 'bru</i> <i>dang bcas pa' yang gsal bar</i> <i>dmyigs te _/de ni ni rang</i> { <i>gsum</i> } <i>'phring zhes pa' _/</i> <i>?i[...]<i>g_</i></i>	[...] the 'source of dharmas' of [?] along with the seed syllable are clearly observed; it is called 'the garland of three natures (?)'. ¹⁵³
4	[...] <i>bsdud' ba ste _/ __spro ba'</i> <i>dang bsdu' ba 'i 'rnal 'byor ba</i> <i>ni _/bdag gi 'og rluṃ bag tsam</i> <i>bsdams la /gsang gnas kyi</i>	[...] and] gathering: [when] the yogi [practices] dispersing and gathering, one's lower 'psychic wind' is bound for a while, in the 'secret place'

¹⁵³ The expression *rang* {*gsum*} is unclear. I assume that the syllable *bzhin* may be missing after *rang*.

5	<p>[...] <i>gi bam la phog :_de las bde(?) sr(?)ung bas sna bug nas thon te_/mdun gyi sangs rgyas mkha 'gro ma yi sna bug g.yon du zhug[s(?)]</i></p>	<p>[...] comes into BAM. Then, through keeping [the state of] bliss (?) [it is] emitted from [one's] nostril(s?) and enters into the left nostril of the Buddhaḍākinī in front of [oneself]</p>
6	<p>[...] <i>m mo/ yang de nas logs ste /_bhu ta mkha 'gro ma 'i sna bug g.ya[s(?)] [n] nas thon te /bdag gi sna bug g.yon du</i></p>	<p>[...]. Also, apart from that, [it] is emitted from Bhūtaḍākinī's right nostril [and sent] to one's left nostril</p>
7	<p>[...] <i>/_de bzhin du phar spros tshur la bsdu pa 'i rnal 'byor gyis spro bsdu 'i bzlas pa ' de ltar {gsum} brgya tsam 'am/</i></p>	<p>[...] Likewise, while dispersing out and gathering in [of the 'psychic wind'] is practiced, the dispersing and gathering [<i>mantra</i> (?)] is recited, this way just three hundred [times] or</p>
8	<p>[...] <i>? ni yod la/_ngag gis ma bzlas pa ' yang rung ste /_ {gsum} brgya tsam bzlas te ___/ 'gog pa 'i bzlas pa ' ni/</i></p>	<p>[...] is present; it is also appropriate not to recite [it] by mouth—just three hundred [times shall be] recited, and the silent recitation</p>

FOL. [3.3], RECTO

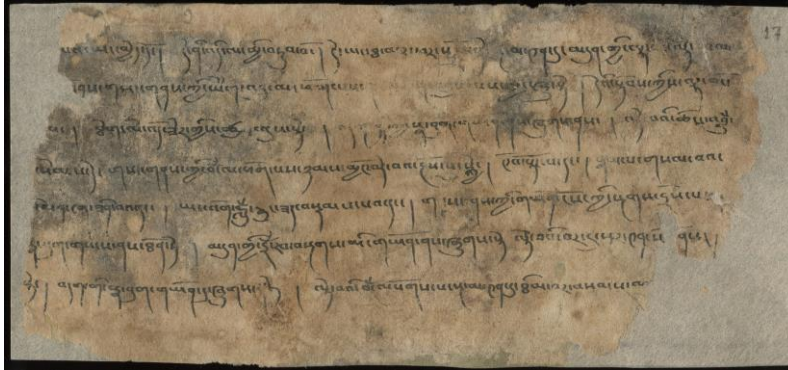


Figure 43. Manuscript image of XT-124, fol. [3.3]r. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.

<p>1 [...]<i>pa' yang myed do /__de ni 'di la myi btub bo /de yang tha mar phar spro [ba(?)] ste snga ma {bzhi}n du mdun gyi lha [yi(?)] lte [ba(?)] la</i></p>	<p>[...] also absent. It is not practicable here. Then, at the end, having spread [the light?] outward, like previously in the navel of the deity in front of [oneself]</p>
<p>2 [...]<i>nas gsang gnas kyi ye-ge 'bru la phog pas /__[?? ??]u[?] l(?)as kyang zhu ste _/de'i stobs kyis lha mo</i></p>	<p>[...] comes into the seed syllable in the secret place; [...] is requested [(gets dissolved?)]; by force of it, the goddess</p>
<p>3 [...]<i>s /__theg le 'od zer gyis tshur 'dus ste _/_bdag nyid kyi sna bug g.yon nas zhugs nas _/_lte ba'i chos 'byum</i></p>	<p>[...] being collected there by the rays of light from the drop, enters one's left nostril, then the 'source of dharmas' in the navel</p>
<p>4 [...]<i>sems de gsang gnas kyi bam la phog pas nyams myong bde ba' d-ngos su skye /_ngo bo stong pa dang /rnam pa gsal ba'</i></p>	<p>[...] the thought comes into BAM in the secret place, and the blissful experience is born directly. The essence, empty and entirely clear</p>
<p>5 [...]<i>man ngag zin ba' dang _/_yang 'og rlum cung zad bsdams pa' dang /g?sang nas</i></p>	<p>[...] the instruction is seized, the lower 'psychic wind' is blocked for a while, and the warmth (?) of</p>

	<i>kyi g.yon ngos kyi sngags dros pa</i> [?]	the <i>mantra</i> to the left side of the secret place
6	[...] <i>sna bug g.yas nas thon te_ /_mdun gyi rdo-e rab bsngags mi g.yon nas zhugs ste_lte ba'i bar du sngar {bzhi}n s[ong(?)] nas //</i>	[...] is emitted from the right nostril, enters the left nostril of Vajravārṇanī in front of [oneself] and moves (?), like previously, down to the navel,
7	[...] <i>ste /_bdag gi sna bug g.yon du zhugs [d]te /_lte ba'i bam la+sogs pa snga ma {bzhi}n du thim bar bsams la[...]</i>	[...], enters one's left nostril, [the syllable] BAM in the navel, etc., like previously, get dissolved — [thus] is visualised.

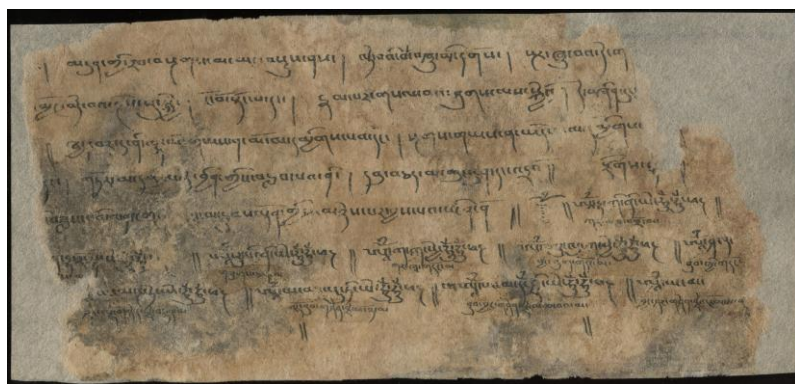
FOL. [3.3], VERSO


Figure 44. Manuscript image of XT-124, fol. [3.3]v. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.

1	[...] <i>/_mdun gyi rab bsngags ma yang bsdus nas /_lte ba'i bam bzhu mi dgos /_sngar zhu ba'de g[...]</i>	[...] Vajravārṇanī is also summoned in front [of oneself], BAM in the navel does not have to be dissolved. The previous dissolving[...]
2	[...] <i>myong bde ba'd-ngos su skye /_ngo bo stong pa dang /_rnam par gsal ba' thugs las skye'o/_de bzhin du [...]</i>	[...] the blissful experience is born directly. The empty and entirely clear essence is born from the mind. Likewise, [...]



<p>3 [...]//_khyad bar du ni lha mo g.yas na mo la dmyigs pa' dang /sngags g.yas na yod [pa(?)] la dmyigs [...]/</p>	<p>[...] Especially, observing the goddess at the right and observing the <i>mantra</i> found at the right [...]</p>
<p>4 [...]dang /_gtor ma dbul te byin gyis brlab pa' ni /_dbu bcad ma chung ngun dang 'dra'o//_____rdzogs s.h[o]____//__</p>	<p>[...], the <i>torma</i> is offered, the blessing [received] is like a tiny (?) Cinnamunḍā. Complete.</p>
<p>Text (14)</p>	
<p>5 [...] bzlas pa'i man ngag [...] bla ma rnubs ston gyis mnyes par byas pa' yin no____//__&____//o-'am dha ki ð{kar mkha 'gro ma}ni ye huṃ huṃ phaṭ_//</p>	<p>[...] an instruction on recital [?] [...] in which the Lama Nuptön took delight. OM ḌĀKINIYE [(The Well-Shaped One)] HŪM HŪM PHAṬ!</p>
<p>6 [...]n[i] {[...]s ma}bha ra hi ye(?) huṃ huṃ [phaṭ]____//_o-'am ru pi ni ð{gzugs can ma} ye huṃ huṃ phaṭ_//_o-'am ka ka ð{kar khwa gdong ma}sye huṃ huṃ phaṭ_//_o-'am u lu ka ð{byang 'ug gdong ma }sye huṃ huṃ phaṭ_//o-'am sha na ð{nub khyi gdong }</p>	<p>[...][ḌĀKI]NĪ BHĀRĀHĪYE HŪM HŪM PHAṬ! OM RŪPINĪYE (The Well-Shaped One) HŪM HŪM PHAṬ! OM KAKASYE (The Crow-Faced One) HŪM HŪM PHAṬ! OM ULUKASYE (The Owl-Faced One in the north) HŪM HŪM PHAṬ! OM Ś[V]ANA[SYE] (The Dog-Faced One in the west)</p>
<p>7 [...o-]'a[m] ya ma ð{shar lho gshen rje brtan ma} rda te ye huṃ huṃ phaṭ_//o-'am ya ma 'dru ð{lho nub gshen rje pho nya ma}ti ye huṃ huṃ phaṭ//[ya]o-'am ya ma daṃ ð{nub byang gshen rje mche ba' ma }shri ye huṃ huṃ phaṭ_//o-'am ð{byang shar gshen rje 'joms ma}ya ma _____</p>	<p>[...] OM YAMADĀṬĪYE (The Firm <i>Shinje</i> Demoness in the south-east) HŪM HŪM PHAṬ! OM YAMA-DŪṬĪYE (The Messenger <i>Shinje</i> Demoness in the south-west) HŪM HŪM PHAṬ! OM YAMADAMṢṬRI-[NĪ]YE (The Fanged <i>Shinje</i> Demoness in the north-west) HŪM HŪM PHAṬ! OM YAMA[MATHANĪYE] (The Destroying <i>Shinje</i> Demoness in the north-east)</p>
<p>8 [...]_____//__ _____//_____</p>	

FOL. [4.1], RECTO

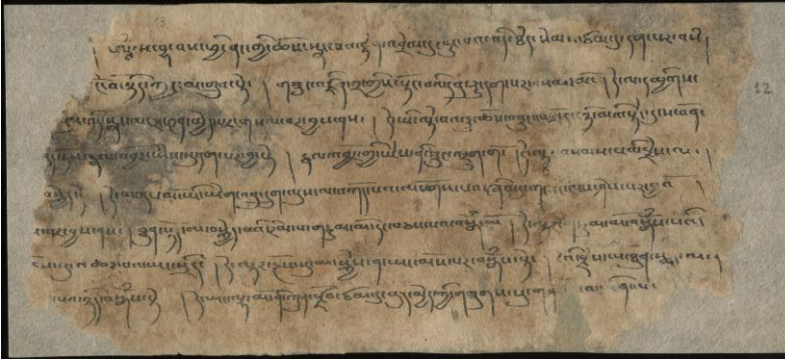


Figure 45. Manuscript image of XT-124, fol. [4.1]r. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.

Text (15)

1	<p>[...]/_o-'am sa bha bas phyi nang gyi chos snang ba' rien 'brel du byung ba' 'di tham-d sems tsam du dag par bsam/</p> <p>[...] OM! By s[v]abhāva [(nature)]¹⁵⁴ all the outer and inner dharmas, appearing [and] interdependent, are visualised as pure within 'mind-only'.</p>
2	<p>[...] ngom¹⁵⁵ bo nyid kyang ma grub ste _/gzung 'dzin {gnyis} gyis stong ba'i dbu ru dag par bsam mo /de la dmyigs</p> <p>[...] The essential nature is not established: [the whole] Uru (?), empty of both percept and percipient, is visualised as pure. Its observation</p>
3	<p>[...] ?us 'di snang la rang {bzhi}n myed par gsal bar byas nas /_de yi lie ba' ru(?) chos 'byung ras ro dang nyi ma'i steng du sa bon</p> <p>[...] this appears and is clarified as devoid of a self-nature; in its middle [there are] a 'source of dharmas', a corpse [drawn on?] cloth and upon the sun the seed</p>

¹⁵⁴ Cf. the *mantra* used on the preliminary stage of visualisation practices: OM SVABHAVA-ŠUDDHĀḤ SARVA-DHARMĀḤ SVABHĀVA-ŠUDDHO 'HAM, meaning 'OM All the dharmas are pure by nature, I am pure by nature'.

¹⁵⁵ Since the *anusvāra* is incorrect here, the vertical stroke above the *naro* sign may also be the ending of the preceding syllable's diacritic, the main part of which is missing.



<p>4 [...]ud tos rnal 'byor ye-es su dag par bya ste_/_rnal 'byor gyi ye-es ni zung 'jug go_/_de ltar bsams pa'i rjes la /</p>	<p>[...]? the <i>yoga</i> shall be made pure in awareness: the <i>yoga</i>-awareness [gets] indivisible. After such contemplation</p>
<p>5 [...]bskyed de_/_de yang dpa(?) +mo yi yeg 'bru drug lus la bkod pa' la+sogs pa' zhib du gzhung las shes par bya 'o___/</p>	<p>[...] is generated; furthermore, details about the distribution of the heroine's (?) six seed syllables on the body shall be learnt from the main text.</p>
<p>6 [...]s par byas nas /thun stod la bskyed pa'i rim pa gtum mo dang bcas pa' bsgom mo_/_de ltar gtum mo bsgoms pa'i</p>	<p>[...] having been made, at the initial part of the practice the stage of generation along with inner heat are cultivated. Thus, in cultivating inner heat</p>
<p>7 [...]os su 'char ba' yang srid_/_de ltar d-ngos su ma skyes na yang mos par bsgoms ste /de'i rjes la thun smad la /</p>	<p>[...] exists emerging as [?]. Thus, if not actually born, [it] is cultivated devotedly again; after that, at the ending part of the practice,</p>
<p>8 [...] pa' nyid bsgoms ste___/de yang lha mo ni kun rdzob tsam du bud myed kyi gzugs su gn[...] ba yin la _____</p>	<p>[...] is visualised; furthermore, on the level of the relative truth the goddess abides (?) in the female form</p>

FOL. [4.1], VERSO

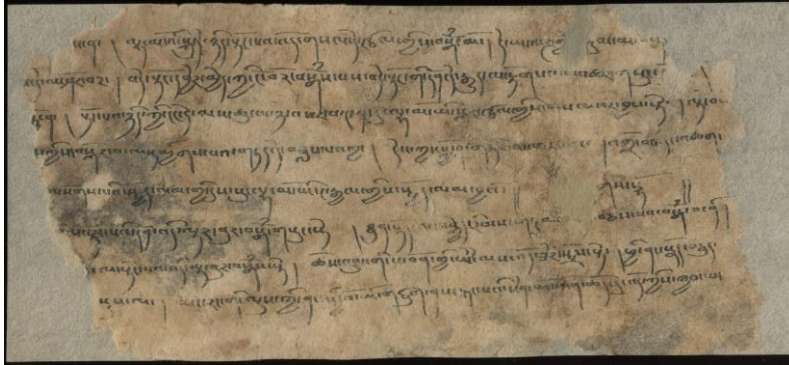


Figure 46. Manuscript image of XT-124, fol. [4.1]v. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.

1	<p>[...]s na /_lha mo 'i sku de nyid stong pa' 'od gsal de wal gyis bsgom mo /de yang sngat gyi[...]?m ma bsg[o...]</p>	<p>[...] the body of the goddess [as] the clear light of the emptiness shall be contemplated vividly. Also, the <i>mantra</i> [...] not prescribed (?) [...]</p>
2	<p>[...]s de ma shor bar /bde stong dbyer myed kyi ngo bor bsgoms pas bde stong gi don de rgyud la rtogs pa' 'tshar gsung ngo /[...]/</p>	<p>[...] without losing it, by contemplation of the essence of the inseparable bliss-emptiness the meaning of the bliss-emptiness is comprehended in one's consciousness, [it] has been explained.</p>
3	<p>[...]s kyo(?) na /_stong pa' nyid kyi ngang de las chu la nya 'phar ba {bzhi}n du lha mo yi skur wal gyis gsal bar byas ste /lte ba 'i[?]</p>	<p>[...] when tired (?), from the sphere of the emptiness, like a fish leaping in water, the body of the goddess is [instantaneously] manifested clearly; in the middle</p>
4	<p>[...] kyis bskor ba la dmyigs pa' gtad de bzlas pa' bya /_des kyang skyo na gtor ma gtad [pa'(?)] _/'gro ba' dang 'tshag</p>	<p>[...] directing [one's] attention to [?] surrounded by [?], [one] shall make recitation. When tired by that, [one] offers the <i>torma</i>. When going, walking</p>



5	<p>[...] <i>la+sogs pa'i spyod lam gyi dus su lha mo yi nga rgyal gyis spyod lam bya'o // [____ rdzo]gs s.ho ____ // ____</i></p>	<p>[...] and performing other basic activities, these basic activities should be performed in the 'pride' of the goddess. Complete.</p>
Text (16)		
6	<p>[...] <i>la stong pa'i don 'di ltar bur bsgom̄ gsung ste_/thun stod la bskyed rims gtum [mo]da[ng] bcas pa' bsgom̄ ba ni/</i></p>	<p>[...] the meaning of the emptiness is thus prescribed to be contemplated. At the initial part of the practice, the stage of generation along with inner heat are cultivated:</p>
7	<p>[...] <i>la stong pa' 'di lta bur bsgom̄s ste/_chos 'byung gi sa bon gyi ye-e las 'od zer spros ste /phyi nang snod bcud _</i></p>	<p>[...] the emptiness thus is contemplated; from the awareness of the seed of the 'source of dharmas' rays of light are emitted, the outer 'vessel' [(i.e., inanimate world)] and its inner 'content' [(i.e., sentient beings)]</p>
8	<p>[...] <i>sdus la /_yang rang gi lus kyi nang spyi bo yi gtsug nas rkang pa'i sen mo yan chod du 'od kyis khyab pas(?)</i></p>	<p>[...] gathered; also, the inside of one's body, from the crown of the head down to the toes, gets filled with light</p>

FOL. [5.1], RECTO

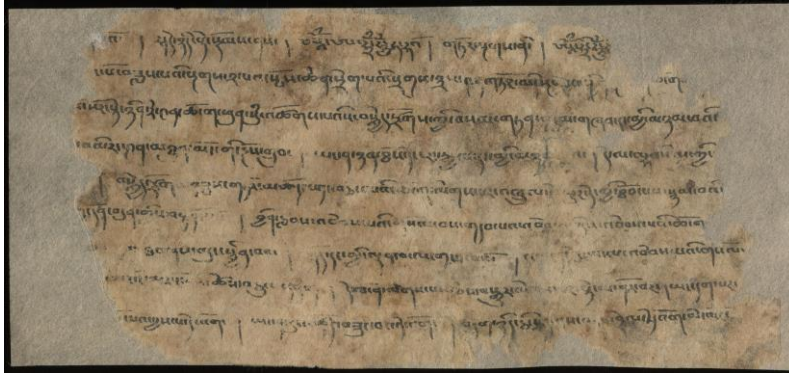


Figure 47. Manuscript image of XT-124, fol. [5.1]r. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.

Text (17)

1	[...] 'o ___ / <i>ha de nyid ste sdoms nas / _o-'am a hram hūm ha ha'o/_gtor sngags ni // _o-'am hri hūm h[...]</i>	[...] having added [(doubled?)] this very HA, [one gets:] OM A HRAM HŪM HA HA. The <i>mantra</i> of the <i>torma</i> : OM HRI[H] HŪM H[...]
2	[...] <i>dang(?) po bzlas pa'i sngags {gnyis} pa' spos chen sreg pa'i sngags {gsum} pa' gtor mi sngags ni[...]</i> cho ga [...]	[...] [First:] the <i>mantra</i> to be recited; second[:] the <i>mantra</i> to burn the great incense; third: the <i>mantra</i> of the <i>torma</i> [...] the rite [...]
3	[...] <i>sor ste nyin re {bzhi}n cho ga phun sum 'tshogs pa'is bskyed rdzogs kyi bsam gtan [snga(?)] ma gzhan dang myi mnyam ba'i [...]</i>	[...] by means of the supreme rites [performed] every day, the previous practice of generation and completion, unequal with others [...]
4	[...] <i>ba'i rang {bzhi}n mthun mong gi dngos grub / yang na nyan thos dang rang rgyal dang myi mnyam [ba]' / de la lha' skyes kyi [...]</i>	[...] the <i>siddhi</i> of the common nature of [?]; also, the one unequal with <i>śrāvakas</i> and <i>pratyeka-</i>



		<i>buddhas</i> ¹⁵⁶ has spontaneously arisen (bliss?) [...]
5	[...]/_bskyed rdzogs bzlas gtor mchod pa dang bcas pa'i cho ga legs par 'khrul te(?) myur de myi thob pas snyam ba'i [...]	[...] when rites connected with generation, completion, recital and <i>torma</i> offering are well-exercised (?) but the swiftness (?) is not attained, the mental [...]
6	[...] don bdun gyis bstan pa'o /_byin rlabs 'bebs pa'i gsol bas gdab pa' 'beb[s?] [ky(?)is 'bebs pa'i cho ga[...]	[...] by seven points is shown. The rite of bringing down through bringing down of the bestowal when granting of blessing is requested [...]
7	[...]thab(?) nas 'dung sbyin ba' /_['d(?)od dang myi ldan ba la gsang(?) pa(?)'o _/[??] la 'bebs pa'i gsol	[...] giving clothing (?) from the hearth (?), having no desire (?)—in secret. Bringing down of [??] is requested
8	[...] yar ngo mar ngo ba'i tshes bcu [pa(?) de dag /_de kho na legs pas ces(?) bsgyur le[gs par(?) ste ma nor bar / yang dag par	[...] the tenth dates of the waxing and waning moon are essentially good (?),” ¹⁵⁷ —thus translated, ‘good’ (?) being no mistake, perfectly
9	[...]o pa' byas pa de 'og _/_ yang na dus tshod bzung ba' de 'og _/bdag nyid ci sran(?) gsang [bar(?) 'brel te 'og me long	[...] after doing [?], or after grasping time, after connecting with whatever I endure (?) secretly, the mirror

¹⁵⁶ According to Mahāyāna soteriology, these are two types of saints of the ‘Lesser Vehicle’ (Skt. *hīnayāna*): (1) *Śrāvaka* (Tib. *nyan thos*), lit. ‘listeners-proclaimers’, are called so because they receive (listen to) the teaching from a *tathāgata* and proclaim to others (cause them to hear) the results of their path; see the discussion of this difficult term in <https://library.bdrclibrary.org/show/bdr:T2GS1043> (last accessed July 17, 2023). (2) *Pratyekabuddha* (Tib. *rang sangs rgyas*), lit. ‘self-buddhas’, are called so because such saints pursue enlightenment individually, without relying on another master; they teach others but silently, by showing bodily miracles.

¹⁵⁷ The beginning of this quote lies within the missing text.

FOL. [5.1], VERSO

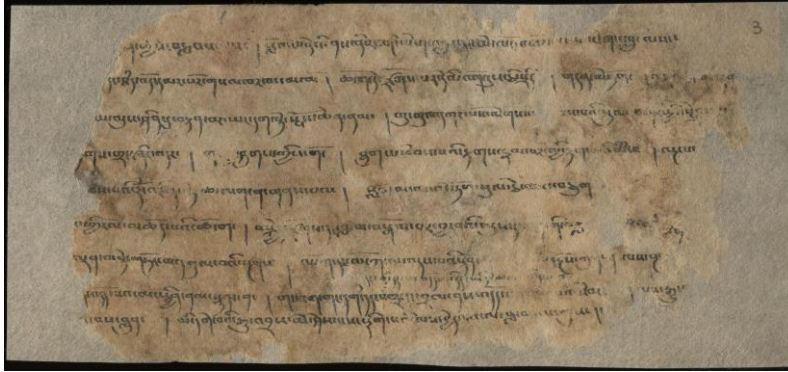


Figure 48. Manuscript image of XT-124, fol. [5.2]v. Kharakhoto, 12th–13th century. IOM RAS, photographed for the project supported by the RFBR, no. 18-012-00386 (2018–2020), with the permission of the IOM RAS.

1	[...]n gyis brlabs nas /slob ma de'i nas ni rang gi yeg 'bru dang me long 'khor l[o(?)] y[i(?)] yeg 'bru las [...]	[...] having blessed, from (?) that disciple one's seed syllable and the seed syllables of the mirror and the wheel [...]
2	[...]dang tham-d 'od dmar por gsal bar bsam mo/_cho ga de rdzogs par de'i 'go dus ci srid _/gdan me tog _/'g[...] n	[...] and everything is visualised as lucid in red light. At the completion of the rite, during the initial stage (?), the flower-seat [...]
3	[...]ma lus shin du brtan bar yang dag ste spos chen nam _/ gu gul dkar pos legs s[...] s pa'i s?ul ?g myi sprel dang(?)	[...] all very firmly perfect, by great incense or white guggul, ???
4	[...]r]tags grang zhing 'dar _/ g[s]u[ng] shugs gyis go _/ thugs phebs pa'i rtags rnam par myi rtag [pa?] 'i ye-es _/ lnga pa [...]	[...] the sign [(in regard to the body?)] is 'cold and tremble'. [The sign of] the speech is comprehended by [its] power. The sign of the pleased mind [is] the non-conceptual knowledge. [Point] five. [...]
5	[...]bs pa'i rdo-e 'dzin s(?)te cha lag na gnas pa'/_slob	[...] grasping the vajra, [one] abides in the auxiliary [practice



	<i>ma la me tog phul ces yang(?) bcug [...]</i>	and orders] the disciple: “Offer the flowers” [...]
6	<i>[...] phyi rol mchod pa'i cho ga /bskyed rdzogs dang bla ma bsgom bar bya ba'i 'dus da[???] gi bzl[...]??g</i>	[...] the rite of the outer offerings. Brief [(explanation?)] of the generation and completion and visualisation of the <i>guru</i> ??? [...]
7	<i>[...]ldan ba ste gtor ma dbul ba'i sngags _/ lo ka dang lo ka la 'das pa'i don [...] d-ngos kun /las snga [...]</i>	[...] possessing, the <i>mantra</i> of the <i>torma</i> offering[:] <i>loka</i> [(mundane)] and <i>supraloka</i> [supra(mundane)] goals(?) [...] all things, a previous rite [...]
8	<i>[...]d(?) 'dod pa' la sbyin nam snya[n(?)m na _/gang zag gang dag dad pa (dang pi dad pa 'dod [p]i dad yid ches [??] dad [pa]') {gsum} dang bral nas 'dod [...]sel[...d las gyu?[...]</i>	[...] given to the desire?”— when thinking [so], the person who, being detached from the three [kinds of] faith (inspired faith, aspiring faith, and confident <??> faith), ??? [...]
9	<i>[...] bas blun _/_mi dge ba'i rgyu 'bras ye shes pas sdig pa'i las byed pa' la bla ma la gus /[...]</i>	[...] stupid. Having knowledge about non-virtuous causes and results, in regard to the harmful actions [one] piously addresses to the <i>guru</i> [...]

5.1.4. XT-147: A Ritual Text on *Vajravārahī*¹⁵⁸

RECTO		
1	<i>\$/du¹⁵⁹[???]s pa ni bdud rtsi lnga la ltos pa' chang drug pa'o _/_de nyid gyi[s(?)] rgyal pa' rdo-e 'dzin pa' zhes pa' [s]te chang ngo/_myi myed ces[...]</i>	[...] ??? dependent on the five ambrosias there is alcohol—the sixth. Namely, the Conqueror known as Vajradhara [(corresponds with?)] alcohol. The secluded (?) [...]

¹⁵⁸ This item requires conservation, and the pictures I have are not suitable for the publication.

¹⁵⁹ The folio was in poor condition when the pictures were taken, and a few small areas, primarily at the edges, are not visible in them. The transliteration was prepared using the original manuscript, but I do not have access to it, and therefore, I cannot double-check those specific areas. In this edition, they are emphasised in bold script.

<p>2 <i>g.yon pa</i>[’(?)] <i>ste des</i> [’?] <i>chang la gru</i> {<i>gsum</i>} <i>bris pas na bris</i> [...] <i>zhes bya’o’_/_de rnams kyi don yang</i> ’?i[...] <i>par bya ste /sngar</i> [...]</p>	<p>the left one. By that, a triangle is drawn on [(the surface? of)] alcohol, that is known as [’?]. Their meaning [...] shall be made. Previously [...]</p>
<p>3 <i>la de’i rjes la yang lag pa’ byin gyis brlab par byas</i>[st]e <i>_/_de la yang lag pa g.yon pa’i the’u cung</i> [<i>nas</i>] <i>brtsams ste_/_o-’am</i> [...]</p>	<p>After that, the hands are blessed, and, starting from the little finger on the left hand, OM[...]</p>
<p>4 [...] <i>bkod</i> <i>_/_srin lag gis chang la gru</i> {<i>gsum</i>} <i>chos ’byung o-’am a hum zhes pas bris la dbus su</i> [<i>bam</i>(’?)] <i>bris bar bya’o</i>[...]</p>	<p>[...] is arranged. By the fourth finger a triangular ’source of <i>dharmas</i>’ shall be drawn on [the surface of] alcohol, while saying OM Ā[Ḥ] HŪM, and BAM shall be drawn in the centre. [...]</p>
<p>5 [...] <i>byin gyis rlob pa’ gzhan nas ’byung ba’ bzhin du shes par byas la chang des mchod pa’i yo byad byin gyis brlab par bya’o</i>[...]</p>	<p>[...] the blessing is understood as appearing from another one (?), and the offering implements shall be blessed by alcohol. [...]</p>
<p>6 <i>yeg ’bru rnams bkod pa’i gzhung ni ’og nas ci</i> ?? <i>ch</i>(’?)<i>e</i>[<i>n</i>(’?)] <i>po dang ni sor</i> [<i>mo</i>(’?)...] <i>ces pa la+sogs pa’o _/_de nas byin gyis brlab</i>[...]</p>	<p>The main text about the arrangement of the seed letters: “[...], etc.” Then, the blessed [...]</p>
<p>7 <i>rnams la mchod la</i> <i>_/_de yi rjes la yeg ’bru rnams zhu zhing tshul gyis lag pa</i> {<i>gnyis</i>} <i>la</i>:[...]<i>lh</i>(’?)<i>ung</i>(’?) <i>thod pa phor du brlugs ma lhag mas</i>+<i>nye bar bya ste _/_lag pa nying lag nam</i> [...]</p>	<p>offered. After that, the letters of seed [syllables] are received (?) and properly venerated in both hands (?) (with the remaining unused substance (?) in the cup-skull [’?]). The hands and secondary limbs (?) [...]</p>
<p>8 <i>gzhu</i>[...] <i>de rjes dang po mchog gi snod dag du zhes pa la+sogs pa ste</i> ??? <i>_/_de</i> [<i>de</i>] <i>yi rjes la yeg ’bru</i> {<i>gsum</i>} <i>dang bcas pa’i chang dang srin</i> [...]</p>	<p>[...] After that, first, the food, etc., [...] in the pure best vessel [’?]. After that, alcohol with the three seed letters and [...]</p>



VERSO		
1	<i>gyi dkyil du chos byung gru {gsum} bris la de'i dbus su yang bam bri ba'i dbu su me tog dmar po tshon bu gzhas ste /_de'i gzhang ni me tog[...]</i>	in the middle a triangle 'source of dharmas' is drawn, in its centre BAM is written, in its centre a red flower is placed. The main text about it: "The flower [...]"
2	<i>pa'o /de nas rang gi lte bar chos 'byung la ba dmar po bltas la des 'od kyis tshogs kyi rten rdo-e 'phag mo spyan drangs la /_snyi bo yi bla[...]</i>	Then, looking at the red BAM in the 'source of dharmas' at one's navel, [one visualises that] the light invites Vajravārāhī, the support of the assembly. [For] the guru (?) on the crown of the head [...]
3	<i>pa' dang /sdig pa' bshags pa' dang /rjes su yid rang ba dang /bsngo ba' dang /_skyabs su 'gro ba' dang /lam la gnas pa' dang /[...]</i>	confession of sins, rejoicing in [others' virtuous deeds], dedication of merits, taking refuge, residing the path, [...]
4	<i>tshogs ×(kyi)rten bu ma dang /_rdo-e rnal 'byor ma yid kyi[s(?)] gnyen par bsam mol_de'i rjes la 'og du bshad pa'i tshul dang /kun nas dag pa'i[...]</i>	multiple (?) support for the accumulation, [and] pleasing [(making friend with?)] the mind of Vajravārāhī are visualised. After that, a below-described way, and of the completely pure [...]
5	<i>?e[...i]i?? sngags drug gis dag pa' rnam pa' {gsum} bsgom ste /_gzhan nas 'byung ba {bzhi}n no_/_de ltar sngags {gsum} gis dag par byas pa[...]</i>	[...] purified by six mantras, three aspects are visualised: like appearing from another. Likewise, purified by three mantras [...]
6	<i>[...]s rang {bzhi}n ?y[...]' de sgyu ma tsam du mos par byas pa'i lte bar chos 'byung gi nang du 'go nas 'chad par 'gyur ba'i lha mo bsgrub [...]</i>	[...] [one] becomes assured in the illusoriness of the nature [?], [and] the goddess Cinnamundā is accomplished at [one's] navel in the 'source of dharmas'. [...]
7	<i>[...]bzhin du bskyed /_ye-es pa' dgug [d]gzhus la+sogs pa' bya [o]_/_sngar gyi ma 'dhal</i>	[...] also generated. The jñāna-[sattva] is drawn in, inserted, etc. A 'source of dharmas' is drawn on

	<i>gyi sting chos 'byung bris nas me tog dmar po tshon bu byas[...]</i>	the previous <i>maṇḍala</i> , a red flower is used to color (?) [...]
8	<i>[...]gyis brlabs pa'i chang de bzhang par bya'o_de'i rjes la rang gi lte ba'i bam las 'od 'phros te 'og min nas lha mo¹⁶⁰ bdun spyan drangs kha [...]</i>	[...] the blessed alcohol shall be placed. After that, the light radiates from BAM at one's navel, and the thirty-seven deities are invited from Akaniṣṭha. [...]
9	<i>[...]gzhug cing dbang du bya'o_de rnam kyi gzhung ni de rjes la yang rdo-e 'chang steng+du /_mtshan bzangs sbyar ba las skyes zhes pa la+sogs ste[...]</i>	[...] shall be placed and subdued. The main text about them: “After that also upon Vajradhara the [major] auspicious marks are born from the <i>yoga</i> ”, etc.

5.1.5. IOL Tib M 957: A Ritual Text on Vajravārāhī¹⁶¹

30		
RECTO: <i>nyer brgyad</i>		
1	<i>\$/ /_____/ / (jo mo'i mngon rtogs so dam pa rje btsun rnam la phyag 'tshal lo /____/ dpal rdo- e rnal 'byor ma sgom par 'dod pas/_shin[t?]u[...] 'i[...]</i>	(The visualisation of the Divine Lady.) Homage to the holy venerable ones! When [a <i>yogi</i>] wants to contemplate Śrī Vajrayoginī, very [...]
2	<i>su /_mchod gtor mong pa bshams te /_ [?] bde' ba la 'dug la dag pa {gsum} las dang po rdzas kyi dag pa bya ste /_de [yang(?)] grub[?]/</i>	[The <i>yogi</i>] should prepare an abundant amount of <i>torma</i> for the offering, take a comfortable seat, and among the three pure [actions], perform the first one—purification of the substances.

¹⁶⁰ Perhaps so was meant here.

¹⁶¹ The text was first published in the catalogue of the Stein collection. See Tsuguhito Takeuchi, and Maho Iuchi, *Tibetan Texts from Khara-Khoto in the Stein Collection of the British Library* (Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko, 2016), 85. However, comparison with the original shows it has several shortcomings, one line on the verso side is even missing completely. A good digital copy is available on the website of the International Dunhuang Project, and I also checked the manuscript itself in London.



3	<i>thun bzhi'i thun 'go' tham-d [la(?) bya /_[...] byin rlab bde(?)[r(?) 'd(?)us(?) [...] chang 'thung ba'i dus tham-d du bya'o[...]/</i>	[It] shall be performed at the beginnings of all the four meditation sessions. [...] blessing (?) [...] shall be performed on every occasion when alcohol is drunk.
4	<i>de la chang byin gyis rlob pa'i [...myi[... ni(?) /_[...]</i>	Here, the alcohol is blessed [...]
5	<i>gnyis kyi mthil du o-'am[...] mo [...]/_'dzub mo {gnyis} la hrim mom /_gung mo {gnyis} [la] hr[im?] hr[im?]/_sryn lag</i>	on the palms of both [hands?] OM, [...] on the two thumbs HRĪM MOM, on the two middle fingers HRĪM HRĪM (?),
6	<i>{gnyis} la hūm hūm /___the'u cung {gnyis} la [...]/_[...] 'bru(?) [st(?)e rnaṃs la[?] lag pa g.yas pa'i la rigs lnga [st(?)e[?...]]</i>	on the two fourth fingers HŪM HŪM, on the little fingers [...] grains: five classes (?) in the right hand [...]
7	<i>dang [dr(?)]ug bsaṃ /_g.yon [... lha m[...s la /_ngag du o-'am boṃ(?) la+sos(?) baṃ(?) /_yang na o-'am o-'am</i>	and six are visualised. In the left [...], verbally: OM BOM(?) and (?) BAM, also OM OM
8	<i>[?]m [...zhes pa long [...b]rjod g[...]sryn lag [...g.]yas pa'i mthil du gtor /g.yas pa'i sryn lag</i>	[...] pronounced. [...] [by the left] fourth finger [...] in the palm of the right hand—the <i>torma</i> , by the right fourth finger
VERSO		
1	<i>gis g.yon pa'i mthil du gtor ma['(?)]/_yab-um {bcu gnyis} po [?]e [...zhal du bdud rtsi sky[...gsol bas /___</i>	in the left palm—the <i>torma</i> [is put]. To the mouths of the 'twelfefold' divine father and mother [...] ambrosia [...] is offered (?),
2	<i>[dpa(?)g med kyi bde' ba sings sings skyes par bsaṃ mo /_de m(?)[...]su thal mo sbyo(?)[...s(?) pas /</i>	and the very clear [(immeasurable?)] bliss is born—it is visualised. [...] the united palms [...]
3	<i>[k?]yang seṃs bde' ba'i ngo bo zhu nas des yan lag dang nyi[d?] [??]g(?) tham-d la [??...]</i>	the essence of the bliss of the mind melts and to all the limbs of the body [...]

4	[ʔr]dzas kyi [ʔ]dag pa'o // ____ : ____//:de nas [...] snying ? [ʔ]r pam la [...]	[such is] the purification of the substances. Then, [...] in the heart, PAM [...]
	[Full-line interlinear insertion] <[...] byas(?) chos dang brjod pa' de'i 'phen pas [...] dpal(?)[ʔʔ] o-'am(?)[...]s [...]	[...] dharmas and the force of the speech [...] OM [...]
5	'dus(?) par [ʔʔ]b(?) / ____lus ngag yid {gsum} gyi sdig sgri[b rnam(?)]s kyis [...] sh[e]l sgong dag[ʔʔ] lngas(?)[...]	composed [...], by the evil deeds and obscurations of the body, speech and mind [...] lumps of crystal [...]
6	sgrib [...]stobs kyis mdun du bla ma dang bcas[...] ?d? phag(?) mo(?) g[os(?) p]'a(?) lha mo drug gis bskor ba / ____ [...] {gnyis} (?) gsal(?)[...]	by force of [purification? of] obscurations, in front of the [yogi] the guru and [ʔ] Vārāhī (?) [ʔ] surrounded by the six goddesses. [...]
7	br[ʔ]o[ʔʔ...]lus ngag yid {gsum} gyis phyag 'tshal lo / ____ / phyi nang gsang ba {gsum} gyi mchod [...] ?e na dngos	[...] homage by the body, speech and mind. The outer, inner and secret offerings [...]
8	'du by[...rna]l(?) 'byor lnga (?) yid kyis bya/ _: __/de nas thog [pa] my[e]d pa nas kyi sdig pa stobs b[ʔ]i[...]/ _? _/ _____	gathering [...] the five yogas shall be performed by the mind. After that, [collected?] by the evil deeds [performed] from the beginning- less [time] [...]



5.2. Appendix II: The Texts 3.6 and 3.7 (XT-124) as Juxtaposed to their Versions Found in Grags pa rgyal mtshan's section of the Collected Works of the Founding Masters of Sakya

The discrepancies in both the Tibetan texts and their translation are highlighted using three different colors:

- Fragments found only in the Sakya version are marked in **red**.
- Fragments found only in the Kharakhoto version are marked in **blue**.
- Fragments found in the Sakya version and possibly in the Kharakhoto manuscript, but unable to be verified due to defects in the latter, are marked in **green**.

5.2.1.

Grags pa rgyal mtshan, vol. nya of the <i>Collected Works of the Founding Masters of Sakya</i> .	XT-124, text 3.6
<i>pad+ma pa ti 'i man ngag bzhugs//</i>	—
The Instruction about Padmapaṭī	—
<i>\$/ gnod sbyin mo yi bcud len dang/ /dgos pa thams cad ster byed pa/ /pa+dma ti na yid 'ong ma/ /khyod nyid la ni phyag 'tshal lol /</i>	<i>gnod sbyin mo yi bcud len ni / [...yid] 'ong ba la phyag mtshal lo /</i>
Homage to you, Padmapaṭī the Beautiful One, who bestows rejuvenation of the Yakṣinī and all things needed! ¹⁶²	Rejuvenation practice with the Yakṣinī. Homage to the Beautiful One, [...]
<i>om pa+dma pa tī ye swā hā/ tsa+ndan ma+ṅdal mdun du bya/ /mdun du yid 'ong dmigs byas la/me tog dkar pos de la mchod/ /gu gul dud pa rgyun mi bcad/ /zla ba gcig tu smra ba bcad/ /</i>	<i>o- 'aṃ pad ma ti ye sbā ha /tsan dhan ma brdal mdun du bya' / [...me to]g kar pos de la mchod /gu gul dud pa' rgyun myi gcad / zla ba' {gcig} du smra bcad bya /</i>

¹⁶² The initial stanza contains almost the same words as the beginning of the Kharakhoto text, but the latter was not versified, as far as I can judge, and the first line serves as a subheading. Therefore, the English translation of two variants is somewhat different.

OM PADMAPATĪYE SWĀHĀ! The sandal *maṇḍala* shall be made in front [of oneself]. The Beautiful One is observed in front [of the *yogi*] and she is presented with white [flowers], smoke of guggul [is spread] without interruptions, during one month the silent recital [of the *mantra*] is (var.: should be) performed.

*sha chang 'khrig pa spang bar
bya/ /bcu drug nas bzung nya yi
bar/ /mchod pa 'byor tshad dbul
bar bya/ /phul la mkhrig ma nas
bzung la/ /de la chags pa spyad
par bya/ /nga yi chung ma gyis
zhes brjod/ /ma+ṅdal dud pa'ang
de la dbul /*

*sha chang 'khri [...]ub / mchod
pa' 'byor tshad 'bul bar bya'
/phul la 'khrig ma nas bzung la
/de la [...] 'di(?) 'tsho ba'i bar
du bya'o / yang na lo {gcig}
tsam chags pa' myi bya gsung /
nga'i chung ma gyis {cig} ces
brjod/ [...]s /*

Meat, alcohol, sex shall be abandoned. From the sixteenth till the full moon, the offerings, as much as are acquired, shall be presented. [The offerings] having being presented, she [shall be] taken by the wrist of [her] hand and copulated with; [it] shall be performed until the recovery of [?]. Also, it is taught: do not have sex for about one year. [One shall] say: “Be my wife”, a smoke *maṇḍala* shall be offered to her.

*ji srid de la ma byung na/ /zla ba
gcig tu yang bsgrub bo/ /bcud kyis
len gyi dngos grub ster/ /bdag la
'jig rten 'das pa yi/ /mchog gi
dngos grub stsol zhes brjod/ /thun
mong dngos grub gang rung
blang/ /*

*ci srid de la ma grub na / zla ba'
{gcig} du yang bsgrub bo / bcud
kyi len gyi d-ngos grub ster
'dod pa'i zas [...]s long spyod
ster / bdag la 'jig rten 'das pa'i /
mchog gi d-ngos grub bdag la
gsol / [...]sol zhes brjod / mthun
mong d-ngos grub gang rung
bslang /*

As long as [the goal] is not accomplished, it is to be practiced for one month. The *siddhi* of rejuvenation will be given. The desired food [...] pleasure will be bestowed. “Give me the ultimate supramundane *siddhi*! [...] give!”—is to be said. A common *siddhi*, whichever is appropriate, is to be requested.

*de nas sgrub pa thon nas su/ /de yi
rig pa bzla bya zhing/ /dus gsum
ma+ṅdal dud pa btang/ /de ma*

*de nas grub pa' thon nas su /
de'i rig pa' [...] 'gtang / de ma
grub na lan re'o/ /gzhan la chags*



<i>grub na lan re 'o/ /gzhan la chags pa spang bar bya/ /</i>	<i>pa' spang bar bya' / 'ong nges 'jigs pa' [ci(?)] byung[?] [...]d /</i>
Then, after the accomplishment takes place, her <i>vidyā</i> shall be recited, the smoke maṇḍala of the three times is to be given. [Even] if there is no accomplishment, each time [the same shall be done (?)]. Having sex with somebody else shall be abandoned. [Whatever] fears are to appear, [... one shall recite the mantra incessantly—it is taught]. ¹⁶³	
<i>yid du 'ong ba pa+dma pa ti'i man ngag rdzogs so//</i>	<i>yid du 'ong ba' pad ma ti yi gdams ngag // rdzogs [s.h(?)]o[...]</i>
The instruction about the Beautiful One, Padma[pa]tī is complete.	

5.2.2.

Grags pa rgyal mtshan, vol. <i>nya</i> of the <i>Collected Works of the Founding Masters of Sakya</i>	XT-124, text 3.7
<i>\$/tshangs pa'i bu mo'i sgrub thabs bzhugs/</i>	
The Sādhana of Brahmaḍuhitā (Brahma's Daughter)	
<i>\$/de nas gnod sbyin mo'i rtog pa bshad par bya ste/ gang zhig bsgrubs pas bskal par gnas par 'gyur ro/ /</i>	<i>[...]gn[o]d sbyin mo chen mo yi rtog pa' bshad par bya ste / gang zhig bsgrubs pa[r]s skal [...]</i>
Then, the rite of the great <i>yakṣiṇī</i> shall be explained. Who will practice it, will abide in auspiciousness.	
<i>de la sgrub pa'i thabs ni mar khu chen po'i mar me spar te/ dur khrod kyi gos la nang tshang mo rang gi kha dog tu</i>	<i>[...]n po mye mar sbar te/ dur khrod kyi gos nang tshangs kyi mying rang gi kha dog du(?) byas ?? / [...][...]?u bya'o / lho</i>

¹⁶³ The next text, “*Khol po pa ti'i man ngag* [The Instruction on the Master of Servants (?)],” in *Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum* [Collected Works of the Sakya], vol. *nya*, begins with the phrase *'ong nges 'jigs pa' ci byung*. It seems to have appeared in the manuscript XT-124 mistakenly. However, I assume that the end of this phrase—*yang sngags rgyun mi bcaḍ gsung*—was written subsequently. The final missing syllable concludes with the letter *da* but it is hard to say whether it was *bcaḍ* (meaning *gsung* was not written) or some other syllable.

<p><i>byas pa'i gos phyed kyis mo la bkab la/ phyed kyis bdag nyid kyi sham thabs bya/ lho phyogs su kha bltas te/ thun phyed dam/ thun gcig tu bzlas pa bya'o/ /</i></p>	<p><i>phyogs su kha bltas ste / thun {gcig} gi bar du bzlas pa' bya'o [?]</i></p>
<p>[Now, the <i>sādhana</i>.] The butter lamp with a large [amount of] melted butter is lit. A dress from a charnel-ground [shall be taken], [this] dress with the lining made in color of hers [i.e., the <i>dākinī</i>'s?] shall cover her by [one] half, and serve as the master's skirt by [the other] half. [...] shall be made. Looking at the southern direction, during a half of a session or up to one [whole] session [of the practice, the <i>mantra</i>] shall be recited.</p>	
<p><i>de nas lha'i rgyan thams cad kyis brgyan pa/ rdo rje dang bai+dū+rya dang/ rin po che cung zad dmar ba dang/ dung dang mu tig gis brgyan pa'i lus can/ rkang rgyan dang/ lag pa'i gdu bu dang ldan pa nyi ma dang po la 'ong bar 'gyur ro/ /</i></p>	<p><i>de na[s] lha'[i(?) ...]tham-d [...]n po che cung zad dmar ba' dang / dung dang mu tig gis brgyan pa'i lus can / rkang rgyan dang lag pa'i [...l]dan(?) m(?)o nyi ma dang po la 'ong bar 'gyur ro /</i></p>
<p>Then, [the one] adorned by all the divine ornaments, [with her] body adorned by <i>vajras</i>, lapis lazuli, small red jewels (?), conch shells, and corals, with foot ornaments and bracelets on her hands, [...] [the goddess] will arrive on the first day.</p>	
<p><i>de'i lag pa bzung la me thun bya'o/ /de nas dge ba'i gser man cha gcig byin nas 'gro bar 'gyur ro/ /de bzhin du bgrod de nang gcig re bzhin du ste/ ji srid du zla ba drug gi bar du bya'o/ /de nas sngags bzlas par byas te legs par 'grub par 'gyur/</i></p>	<p><i>de'i lag pa' nas bzung ste /mye thun bya'o /de nas dge ba'i nor g[ser...] 'gyur ro / de {bzhi}n du nyi ma re re de srid du zla ba' drug gi bar du bya'o / legs par 'grub par 'gyur ro //</i></p>
<p>Holding her by hand, one shall perform the fire practice. Then, of the virtuous wealth (?) having given a share (?) of gold, [she] will depart (?). Proceeding like that, every day, till the sixth month, [it] shall be</p>	



<p>performed. After that, the <i>mantra</i> having been recited, [the result] will be achieved successfully.</p>	
<p><i>tshangs pa'i 'jig rten dang/ zla ba'i 'jig rten dang/ ri rab dang/ ti se dang/ bzang po rab snang dang sa steng thams cad kyis bstod par 'gyur ro/ drag po'i 'jig rten thams cad kyis bstod par 'gyur ro/ sgrub pa po ni lo bryad dang bcu gnyis kyi cha byad can du 'gyur ro/ skra cung zad 'khyil ba dang/ rlung gi shugs dang ldan pa dang/ thams cad du thogs pa med par 'gyur ro/ /</i></p>	<p>[...]dang(?) / ri rabs dang / ti se dang / bzang por snang <i>ba' dang</i> / sa stengs tham-d kyis bstod par 'gyur ro / [...] 'gyur ro / bsgrub pa po ni lo bcu {gnyis} kyi cha byad du 'gyur ro / skra cung zad 'khyil pa' [...]my[e]d [par] 'gyur ro /</p>
<p>[One] will be praised by the Brahma abodes, the Soma abodes, Sumeru, Kailash, [abodes of] beautiful appearances (gods ?), and the entire earth. [One] will be praised by the entire Rudra abodes. The practitioner will get the appearance of an eight-year-old or a twelve-year-old. [His] hair will turn slightly curly, he will have the force of the wind and will have no obstacles anywhere.</p>	
<p><i>lha dang lha ma yin thams cad dbang du 'gyur ro/ nyams sod byas pas kyang nyi ma gcig tu sngags bzla bar bya'o/ lde la sngags ni 'di yin tel om na mo bha ga wa te/ wa ra ng.he mam kṣa a ng.hi pa ta ye a ri ghi ri de hi na ha sā ya swa hā/</i></p>	<p><i>lha dang myi tham-d dbang du 'gyur ro / nyams tshad kyang nyi ma {gcig} du ×{sngags} bzlas pa' bya'o / [...]o-'am na mo ba ga ba te / 'a ri ta ma[ng(?)] khra/ a ti pa ta ye / ti ra 'gi ri / dhe dhi dhe hi sa ya sbā ha //</i></p>
<p>All gods, <i>asuras</i> and humans will be subdued. To secure the achievement (?), the <i>mantra</i> shall be recited during one day. The <i>mantra</i> is as follows: OM NAMO B[H]AGAVATE, A[PA]RI[MI]TAMANG(?) KHRA(?) (var.: WARAN̄HE MAM KṢA), ATI (var.: AÑHI) PATAYE, TIRA (var.: ARI) GIRI, DHE DHI DHE HI (var.: DE HI NA HA) SA YA SVĀHĀ!</p>	



*tshangs pa'i bu mo sgrub pa'i
thabs man ngag tu byas pa
rdzogs so///*

[...sgru(?)]b thabs so/ ?'di la
tshil chen ro ras / sngags {gsum}
gis 'grub pa' yin / bsgrub nus na
ci nas kyang bla ma'i [...] gis
kyang gnas-de(?) bya'o(?) //
rdzogs s.ho //

The *sādhana* of Brahmāduhitā is [such] (var.: **presented as an instruction is complete**). Here, 'the great [(=human)] fat' and a piece of cloth from a corpse are accomplished with three *mantras*. If the accomplishment can be [fulfilled], by all means the *guru*'s [...] this position (?) shall be performed.

As is seen from these tables, the Sakya edition helps us to reconstruct the text lost from the Kharakhoto manuscript, although we can assume that there were discrepancies in these parts. Being unable to discuss them properly, we can only compare the parts available. Apart from the explicit titles that are found in the Sakya edition and are missing in the Kharakhoto manuscript, each of the variants has four to five passages that the other one lacks, with those of the Kharakhoto texts being longer. It suffices to note in this regard an additional instruction put after the colophon of the second text. Most of the unique expressions found in the Sakya version provide some additional details. For instance, in *The Sādhana of Brahmāduhitā*, *asuras* are mentioned in the row with gods and humans and the appearance of an eight-year-old is promised to the practitioner as another option alongside that of a twelve-year-old. Among the discrepancies in regard to the fragments found in both texts, we should pay attention to the beginning of the first *sādhana* as both variants have much in common and must have been based on the same prototext, yet they are very different in both form and contents. Without other variants, nothing more can be said on their relation to each other. Unfortunately, the discrepancies in the mantra provided in the second text did not help me to reconstruct its plausible Sanskrit original (if it ever existed).

Despite these discrepancies, we certainly see that the two redactions are based on the same texts. To make further conclusions, more textual material is required.



Abbreviations

Derge Tengyur IOL Tib J/M	Tengyur, Derge edition. Tibetan Dunhuang Manuscripts preserved at the British Library in London (formerly in the India Office Library [IOL]).
IOM RAS	Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences.
XT	Kharakhoto, Tibetan (Rus. Хара-Хото, тибетский).

Symbols

+	absence of syllable divider (Tib. <i>tsheg</i>)
—	blank space within the text area
⋮	connection of interlinear insertions with the relevant fragments in the main texts
x-yz	contracted syllables, e.g., <i>ye-es</i>
[...]	incomplete text.
(xyz)	information supplied by the author to the translation/transliteration
⟨xyz⟩	interlinear addition
⟨small script⟩	interlinear insertions, printed in smaller-sized letters
×	marker of interlinear gloss
\$ / \$#	opening ornamentation (Tib. <i>yig mgo</i>)
fol. [x.x]	provisional foliation numbers
—	syllable divider (Tib. <i>tsheg</i>)
o-’am	syllable OM with the subscript ’a
{gcig}, etc.	Tibetan digits rendered as words
:/:/:/	various atypical <i>shad</i> signs
&	various decorative signs marking the end or beginning of texts or parts of texts
/translation/	versed fragments in the translation

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