A Collection of Tantric Ritual Texts from an Ancient Tibetan Scroll Kept at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences

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One of the most valuable Tibetan manuscripts kept at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences (hereafter, IOM RAS) is the scroll Дх-178, included in the collection of Tibetan manuscripts from Dunhuang, where a library of Buddhist texts dated from the 5th to the first years of the 11th century was found in early 20th century. This is a clear mistake since at least two texts of the scroll were composed by the famous 12th century Tibetan yogi and translator Dpal rga lo, or Rgwa lotsawa. He spread some Tantric teachings such as those on Kālacakra and Mahākāla in Tibet. The texts on the cult of Mahākāla comprise the larger part of the scroll and is further evidence of the later dating of the scroll, since the cult of Mahākāla was brought to and established in Tibet from the mid-11th century when the famous Tibetan lotsawa Rin chen bzang po translated an important sādhana¹ of Mahākāla by the great Indian yogi Śābaripāda. During the 13th to 14th century, this cult was finally established by the Yuan Mongol dynasty of Chinese emperors who worshipped Mahākāla as their divine protector, and later this conception

* The study was supported by the Russian Foundation for the Humanities, project No. 08-04-00128a. I would like to thank Dr. Simon Wickham-Smith for his English proofreading.

¹ Sādhana is a genre of Tantric literature describing the stages of the yogic practices of various Tantric deities to be visualized and invoked to perform the divine actions.
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was borrowed by the emperors of the Qing Manchu dynasty. The greatest
collection of Tantric texts in Tibetan from Dunhuang kept at the British
Library has no single text on Mahâkâla\(^2\). The codicological features of the
scroll are also rather different from those of the Dunhuang manuscripts.

Nevertheless, our predecessors had some reasons to include the scroll
into the Dunhuang collection. It is quite probable that it was sent to St
Petersburg along with Dunhuang scrolls. This issue remains somewhat
obscure. In 1913, a pile of Tibetan manuscripts from Dunhuang
sent to the St Petersburg Academy of Sciences by the Russian consul in Ürümqi N.N.
Krotkov was passed to the Asiatic Museum (now the IOM RAS) following
the suggestion by academician S.F. Oldenburg. Up to present, these
manuscripts are kept in the boxes marked with the date of the meeting at
the Academy of Sciences when the decision was taken, viz. March 13, 1913.
The scroll Дх-178 is kept in the same box but without the inscription.
Hence, it is not quite clear if this text was also sent to St Petersburg by N.N.
Krotkov or if it was simply processed by the staff of the Asiatic Museum
around the same time as the Dunhuang scrolls\(^3\).

The scroll could be brought by Colonel P.K. Kozlov from his famous
Mongol Sichuan expedition, 1907-1909, during which he explored the dead
city of Khara Khoto and its library of Tangut texts and texts in some other
languages including Tibetan. In the collection of Tibetan manuscripts from
Khara Khoto kept at the British Library, there are some texts that vividly
reminds our scroll from the paleographic point of view (e.g. IOL Tib M 50

\(^2\) Dalton J., van Schaik S. Catalogue of the Tibetan Tantric Manuscripts from

\(^3\) The history of the IOM’s collection of Tibetan texts from Dunhuang is
scrutinized in my paper - Zorin A. The Collection of Dunhuang Tibetan Texts Kept at
the IOM RAS, in - Dunhuang Studies: Prospects and Problems for the Coming Second
A Collection of Tantric Ritual Texts from an Ancient Tibetan Scroll (Zorin) 121 or Tib M 604). This may be an oblique indication of its Khara Khoto origin. The fact that Dpal rga lo’s teacher at Bodh Gaya, Rtsa mi lotsawa, was an ethnic Tangut and that Dpal rga lo himself could relate to the Tanguts may link the scroll to the Tangut area, too5.

Most of the Khara Khoto texts are dated from the 12th through 14th century but, since Dpal rga lo died at the very end of the 12th century or during the first years of the 13th century, we can assume that the scroll could not have been produced earlier than the latter part of the 12th century. On the other hand, its use of old Tibetan orthography indicates that it must have been made no later than the 14th century. Hence, I suppose it is most probable that the scroll Дх-178 should be dated from the late 12th to 13th century.

1. Codicology and paleography

By 2008, the scroll Дх-178 appeared as eight separate long leaves, with

4 Dr. Sam van Schaik kindly drew my attention to these texts. Moreover, he was the first one to doubt the Dunhuang origin of the scroll Дх-178 and helped me with some difficult issues connected with this study for which I am extremely grateful.


6 Menshikov L.N. Opisanie kitaiskoy chasti collektsii iz Khara-Khoto (fond P.K. Kozlova). Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1984. P. 61-62. It is worth mentioning that, according to L. Menshikov, among the Chinese texts dated from the 14th century, there are numerous manuscript booklets containing, basically, texts of Tantric Buddhism, mostly ritualistic in their contents (ibid.).
some cursive Tibetan text on both sides. It was initially impossible to understand what text was written there because of the wrong order of the leaves. Nevertheless, after some shuffling, it proved possible to unite the leaves in the right order and so assemble the original scroll, the leaves of which had been attached one below the other. On the recto side of the eighth folio the text was interrupted to continue on the verso side of the same folio. Consequently, the end of the entire manuscript is found on the verso side of the first folio. In fact, each folio consists of two thin leaves which are just put one on the other, there are no traces of glue. The size of the folia is as follows:

1) f. 1: 65.7/58.5 x 26.6 cm (the folio is defective, there is a deep semicircular cut at the top); 2) f. 2: 66.0 x 26.8 cm; 3) f. 3: 65.8 x 27.0 cm; 4) f. 4: 64.5 x 27.0 cm; 5) f. 5: 66.1 x 26.8 cm; 6) f. 6: 65.2 x 27.0 cm; 7) f. 7: 65.6 x 27.2 cm; 8) f. 8: 66.0 x 27.1 sm.

The left and right sides were probably even but now they are more or less damaged with small cuts, the first folio being especially damaged since it had to be left outside when the scroll was rolled down, hence it is rather fragile at the top. There are some old brown spots indicating water damage, which are found at the edges of the manuscript, first of all the right sides of ff. 1–2. Fortunately, no traces of mildew are found.

According to analysis carried out by Dr. A. Helman-Ważny, paper of the scroll is composed of paper mulberry fibres (Broussonetia sp.). Her conclusion runs as follows - *Paper is handmade, very thin and good quality, and soft (not sized) what suggest purpose selection of this type for a particular manuscript. Yellow dye and very good quality of materials used suggest importance of this manuscript. Laid regular structure characterized by 7 laid lines in 1cm indicates that paper was made with movable type of papermaking mould equipped with bamboo sieve*. 

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7 Helman-Ważny A. *Fibre analysis of paper in Tibetan manuscript Dx 178* (e-
Each folio has vertical sidelines put on both the left and right sides: on the recto sides - 4.5 to 4.8 cm on the left one, 2.5 to 2.7 cm on the right one, on the verso sides of ff. 1-7 - 2 to 3 cm and 4.8-5.2 cm, f. 8 - 2.8 to 3 cm and 5.1 cm. It indicates that the scroll was intended to be unwrapped horizontally, probably for some Chinese or Tangut text but the Tibetan text was written in the opposite direction without any attention paid to the sidelines so that it covers the entire space of the folia. The text is written with black ink, a little bit darker than that of the sidelines. The space between the lines is as follows: f. 1 recto - about 1 cm on, all the others - basically about 0.5 cm, sometimes more. The lines are usually rather even. There are a number of glosses between some lines.

The manuscript was probably written by three scribes - but writings by two of them are only found on the first four pages of the verso side of the scroll and they alternate with that of the main scribe. The semicursive \textit{dbu med} script is used, the writing is legible, there are not so many blots and orthographic mistakes in the first and third parts of the scroll (concerning the structure see below) but the texts of the second part are corrupted to a greater extent, especially those of the mantras which can hardly be reconstructed. Abridged forms of some words such as \textit{rdo rje, ye shes, thams cad, yi ge} are used. There is no colophon in the end of the scroll hence we have no data on the names of the scribes, nor the time and circumstances of its production.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.3\textwidth]{syllable.png}
\caption{The ways the three scribes wrote the syllable ‘go’ - at left the main one}
\end{figure}

I would like to thank Dr. A. Helman-Ważny for her contribution to my study.
The following features of old orthography used in the scroll should be noted: 1) the use of the subjoined letter *ya btags* in some syllables such as *myi, myed*, etc., written now as *mi, med*, etc.); 2) the use of the follower ’a in the end of many syllables that do not have it now, e.g. in the particle *pa’* instead of *pa*; 3) the use of the diverted form of the *gi gu* diacritical mark. The secondary follower *da btags* found in more archaic texts such as those from Dunhuang is not attested in the scroll.

2. The structure

The texts of the scroll can be clearly divided into three parts although the scribes did not mark them at all -

1) 13 texts on the cult of Mahākāla represented in two forms such as the Raven Faced One and the Four Handed One;
2) 8 texts on the cult of Narasinha, or the Man-Lion, one of the ten avatars of Viṣṇu;
3) the last but rather long versified text on the mandala of Vajrapāṇi and the eight Nāga Kings.

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8 Occasionally, however, it is omitted either due to the scribes’ mistakes or the fact that the scroll might have been produced at the time when the gradual transition to the new orthography was occurring.

9 Some other features can be added such as the use of the prefix letter *ba*, e.g. *bsnyug gu*; joined up writing of the word *lasogs* or, if written separately, with the prefix letter *ba - la bsogs*; the double use of the subjoined *ra* in the word *gri gug - gri grug*; the writing of the genitive particle ’i separately from the word it relates to (= *yi* in modern orthography); the use of Tibetan ciphers for numerals, etc., sometimes the follower *sa* is added to 2 thus meaning *gnyis (two)*, or the Tibetan cipher for 1 can be used as the Imperative particle *cig*; the prefix letter or follower *ma* can be replaced with a special diacritical mark; etc.

10 The nāgas are serpent-like sentient beings in Indian mythology; in Buddhism they are treated ambiguously - on the one hand, they are thought to have kept many esoteric Buddhist texts preached by the Buddha and later brought back to the
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Three texts of twenty two presented are found in Bstan ‘gyur, the second part of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon, four (including the first of the former ones) in the collection of texts on the cult of Mahākāla and his retinue preserved by the Phag mo gru pa subschool of Bka’ rgyud pa school of Tibetan Buddhism11. In the following list these cases are indicated.

I. Mahākāla


3) Dpal nag po chen po’i las kyi cho ga (The Pūjā of Śrī Mahākāla’s Rite); in the Phag mo gru pa edition - Vol. 5, pp. 359-361).12

4) A description of the wrathful rite.

5) A group of fragments of ritualistic texts on the practice of Mahākāla and an invocation to him to perform divine actions.

humans by some great teachers and yogis such as Nāgārjuna, etc., on the other hand, the nāgas can cause bad diseases and harm people.

11 Bya rog ma bstan srūṅ bcas kyi chos skor. Collected Tantras and Related Texts Concerned with the Propitiation of Mahakala and His Retinue. Arranged according to the traditions transmitted by Phag-mo-gru-pa. Reproduced from the manuscript collection formerly preserved in the Khams-sprul Bla-braṅ at Khams-pa-sgar Phuntshogs-chos-khor-gliṅ by the 8th Khams-sprul Don-brgyud-ñi-ma. Vol. 1-7. India: Sungrab nyamso gyunphel parkhang, Tibetan Craft Community, 1973-1979. Unfortunately, in the copy of this edition, kindly given to me by the representatives of the TBRC electronic library, the sixth volume is omitted, hence I cannot ascertain if there are some other texts from the scroll. Đx-178 presented in this volume.

6) A series of five texts, two of which are directly attributed to Dpal rga lo; the texts are marked with Tibetan letters, from ka to ca, but the fourth one, nga, is put ahead (probably by mistake) and the text located between ka and ga is not marked with the relevant letter kha (presumably a defect of the scribe). The contents of the texts listed in the right order are as follows:

1. (ka) - *The Hymn to the Raven Faced Mahākāla* by Dpal rga lo (see the Appendix);
2. (kha?) - a hymn or a prayer to Mahākāla;
3. (ga) - an instruction on the practice of Mahākāla aimed at the oppression of the enemy, by Dpal rga lo (see the Appendix);
4. (nga) - an instruction on the oppression of the enemy’s speech;
5. (ca) - a description of the fierce rite aimed at killing the enemy and an instruction on pleasing Mahākāla (may be two different texts); in the Phag mo gru pa edition - Vol. 5, pp. 333–336.


9) An instruction on the practice with a black skull and visualization of Mahākāla.

10) A description of the wrathful rite.

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13 The text is represented in two versions, that of the scroll corresponds with the second of them.
11) An instruction on the killing of the enemy via the fire offering.

12) A description of the fierce rite, a hymn to the Raven Faced Mahākāla, an instruction on Mahākāla's invocation (may be different texts).

13) Bya rog gi sgrub thabs (The Sādhana of the Raven Faced [Mahākāla]).

II. Viṣṇu Narasinha

14) Khyab 'jug myi 'i seng 'ge dad pa'i lha (Viṣṇu Narasiṇha as the Personal Deity), on the expulsion of a demon out of a diseased person.

15) A group of ritualistic fragments (may be different texts) such as 1. the invocation of Viṣṇu Narasinha to perform the divine actions via torma offering and a hymn (see the Appendix); 2. a rite aimed at the protection of one's son; 3. a rite aimed at the protection against a hailstorm (see the Appendix); 4. an instruction on the production of an amulet; 5. an instruction on the curing of a disease; 6. on the protection against epidemic diseases.

16) A narrative about the killing of the asura Hiraṇyakaśipu by Viṣṇu Narasinha to save the former's son Prahlāda named here Thub rgyal nag po in Tibetan14.

17) Khyab 'jug myi'i 'og gtor gyi cho ga (The Rite of Torma Offering to Viṣṇu with the Human Body [and the Lion’s Head])15.

18) Khyab 'jug gi dgra 'o gsod pa'i thabs (The Method of the Killing of an Enemy by means of Viṣṇu)16.


16 See note 12 above.
19) *Khyab 'jug myi 'i seng 'ge'i ser khrir dbab thabs kyi cho ga* (*The Rite of Imposing of Viśṇu Narasiṅha on the Golden Throne*); a description of the wrathful rite.

20) A description of the wrathful rite.

21) The fire offering aimed at killing the enemy.

III. Vajrapāṇi and the eight Nāga Kings

22) A verse text primarily aimed at curing diseases and averting poisons caused by the nāgas; probably incomplete (for fragments see the Appendix)\(^{17}\).

3. The deities worshipped

Mahākāla was probably borrowed by the Buddhists from the Shivaite Tantras and reinterpreted as an emanation of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. He belongs to the class of the Dharma Protectors, those of the supramundane type. His functions are to eliminate both outer and inner obstacles for life and practice of the Buddhists such as enemies, diseases, personal afflictions, etc. Sometimes (and in our scroll, too), the deities of this type can be treated as *yidams*, personal deities, with whose divine mind the yogis try to substitute their own ordinary consciousness so as to attain the Enlightenment.

R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz mentions 72 or 75 forms of Mahākāla. Some of them were introduced by the Tibetans such as the Protector Trakshad

\(^{17}\) In my previous paper on the scroll [Zorin A. *On an Unique Tibetan Manuscript Mistakenly Included into the Dunhuang Collection*...], 24 texts were mentioned. After the subsequent study of the texts I had to rearrange some of them so as to include Nos. 6, 8, 9 into No.7, hence these four Nos. would constitute No. 6 in the new list, while No. 15 would be divided into two Nos. such as No. 12 of the new list, containing a group of ritualistic fragments, and No. 13, entitled *The Sādhana of the Raven Faced One*. 
with the head of the wild yak\textsuperscript{18} but the major forms were brought from India along with the relevant texts including \textit{The Tantra of Mahākāla}\textsuperscript{19}. Two of them are represented in the scroll Дх-178 but most texts are on one of them, the Raven Faced One, which is described by de Nebesky-Wojkowitz as follows:

\textit{Las mgon bya rog gdong can... “The mGon po of karma, who has the face of a raven”;} he is occasionally included among the more prominent dharmapālas, depicted on the tshogs shing and his worship is supposed to have been introduced by the Sa skya sect. The sadhana describes him as possessing a fierce, terrifying body of a dark-blue colour, with one face and two hands, his limbs being short and thick. He has the face of a raven, three-eyed and with a beak of meteoric iron. His right hand lifts a sacrificial knife with a thunderbolt-hilt, and with his left hand he leads towards his mouth a skull-cup filled with blood. His eyebrows and the hair of his face and head are radiant and stand on end. His sharp, blood-dripping beak is widely open and horrible shrieks as well as a fire-storm issue from it\textsuperscript{20}.

The iconography of the other form, the Four-Handed One, is represented in the sādhana by Nāgārjuna, No. 1 of the scroll, -

[Mahākāla] whose name is Raven
[Has] one face, four hands, at right
[He holds] a red coconut with the first hand,
A sword with the second one,
At left [he] holds a skull
Full of blood with the first [hand],

\textsuperscript{18} de Nebesky-Wojkowitz R. \textit{Oracles and Demons of Tibet. The Cult and Iconography of the Tibetan Protective Deities}. Delhi, 1998. (Classics Indian Publications.) P. 38.
\textsuperscript{20} de Nebesky-Wojkowitz R. \textit{Oracles and Demons of Tibet...} Pp. 48-49.
A khatvāṅga with the second one.  
[He is] wrapped with a tiger skin,  
[His] hair, beard and brows are yellow,  
[He has] three eyes, terrible fangs,  
[He is] adorned with skulls, jewels, and a snake.  
Upon the moon and lotus with variegated [petals]  
[He] resides in heroic posture.

The same description is given for an icon of the Four-Handed Mahākāla published at the most representative electronic resource of Tibetan arts - http://www.himalayanart.org. According the description by R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, though, the Four-Handed Mahākāla holds a chopper instead of a coconut. This contradiction is eliminated by the author of a gloss to the main text of the scroll running as Or else a chopper (see fig. 2). The retinue of the Four-Handed Mahākāla includes, curiously enough, the Raven Faced Mahākāla. Can it be the reason for Mahākāla of Nāgārjuna’s text to be named Raven?

Fig. 2. The fragment of the text with the gloss

Visṇu Narasiniḥ, the deity with the human body and the lion’s head, is the fourth of the ten avataras of the great Hindu God Visṇu. This

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21 Khatvāṅga is a long club sometimes with a trident on the end, an attribute of some deities.  
23 de Nebesky-Wojkowitz R. Oracles and Demons of Tibet... P. 46.  
24 The standard Sanskrit form of this name is Narasimha. The form Narasiniḥ, as used in the scroll, is more widespread in Nepal, and this might hint at the initial origin of spread of the cult in Tibet.
A wrathful emanation came to the world to kill the malevolent asura Hiranyakasipu. In iconography, Narasimha is often depicted holding the asura with the lower pair of hands (of 2 or 6 pairs) and exploding his belly.

According to No. 14 of the scroll that Viṣṇu is with the body of white color, one-faced, four-handed, with the orange rampant mane, [he] shakes his hair, has three eyes, and bared fangs, holds an iron stick in his right hand, grasps the enemy with his left hand and points his forefinger, presses the demon merrily with his two lower hands, eats the bowels that come from the [demon’s] belly, stands on the throne of the sun, moon and lotus in the heroic ālāḍha posture with his right leg extended and left leg bent, he is decorated with a serpent and bone ornaments. This description is at least not controversial with the Hindu tradition.

Functionally, Narasimha is treated as a Dharmapāla, a Protector of Dharma, who helps the Buddhists, fulfills their wishes and repels hindrances and enemies. Texts of the scroll depict various rites aimed at the use of Narasimha for these purposes. His use in magical rituals is attested in the vernacular Hindu tradition.

The data on the cult of Viṣṇu Narasimha which was spread in Tibet to some extent, are rare. It is possible that our scroll is the only extent source containing any information about this. Of course, it is not surprising that the cult of Viṣṇu Narasimha might have come to Tibet. Buddhist-Hindu syncretism is a common phenomenon in the regions influenced by Indian culture. Thus, in the hymns to the Buddha, Śiva and Viṣṇu found in Bali all three deities are treated almost the same way. The Newari people of

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27 Goudrian T., Hooykaas C. Stuti and Stava (Buddha, Śāiva and Vaiṣṇava) of
Nepal worship both the Buddha and Ganeśa and sometimes even Śiva. In the Tibetan canon there are some hymns and sādhanas dedicated to Ganapati, one of the forms of Ganeśa, considered also by Buddhists as an emanation of Avalokiteśvara. Moreover, the Bstan 'gyur contains five short sādhanas of Avalokiteśvara riding the lion, bird and Viṣṇu. The role of Viṣṇu as a vāhana here hints rather at the Buddhist myths on the subjugation of Hindu gods. The absence of canonical texts with him as a central figure is eloquent enough. Buddhist texts relating to Narasimha could well exist in Sanskrit and then be translated into Tibetan. However, since they were not included into the Tibetan Buddhist canon they were forgotten (although we cannot rule out totally a possibility that some local tradition might also bring such texts up to the present).

The iconographic group of Vajrapāṇi and the eight Nāga Kings is so far scarcely studied. As is well-known, Mahāyāna considers Vajrapāṇi as one of the eight great bodhisattvas, disciples of the Buddha and the major auditor

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and protector of Tantric texts received from the Buddha in the form of Vajradhāra. It is no surprise then that his image obtained an important place in the Vajrayāna tradition. The image of the Two-Handed Wrathful Vajrapāni is among the most wide-spread and familiar in Tibetan Buddhist arts. It is hard to say in which text exactly he appears along with the eight Nāga Kings. Probably, it was in The Sarvadurgatipariśodhana Tantra belonging to the class of yoga-tantra. The iconographic composition of the Mandala of Vajrapāni and the eight Nāga Kings fixed in a Sa skya pa icon of Nepalese style from the 15th century refers to this tantra. Vajrapāni is depicted there as an one-faced, two-handed deity of white color and peaceful appearance, the eight Nāga Kings located in petals of a lotus surrounding the central figure. The joint use of their images in one mandala can be connected with a legend on the taming of a gigantic serpent by the Buddha in Uddayana when he appointed Vajrapāni the protector of the nāgas against their enemies garudas. At the same time, Vajrapāni is a commander of the nāgas and can be depicted in the wrathful form - as in our scroll. The remarkable features of the text are that it does not mention at all the important function of the group as the givers of rain and that it implies another figure of a serpent nature named Sngags bdag (the Master of Mantras) who is actually addressed mainly for the aim of the rite described. Moreover, if he does not obey the invocation to avert poisons from a person Vajrapāni threatens him with a severe punishment. The text is not found in the Tibetan Buddhist canon being probably composed by a Tibetan author since some specific local objects are mentioned such as the Tibetan gnyan demons.

4. Textology

There are not so many Tibetan manuscripts belonging to the period of the formation of the Tibetan Buddhist canon, especially Tantric texts. Hence, our knowledge of this process is primarily based on the later editions and rather fragmentary. Therefore any new manuscript of this kind has a great significance for Tibetology. The scroll Đx-178 surely belongs to this group of the Tibetan writings.

The three texts of the scroll having counterparts in the Bstan 'gyur allow a comparison of the ancient scroll with the major later editions made in Beijing and Derge. The ancient edition is sometimes quite different from the canonical ones in respect of both separate words and entire passages. There are 46 cases of orthographic (including mistakes) and semantic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Đx-178</th>
<th>Beijing ed.</th>
<th>Derge ed.</th>
<th>Correspondence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bla ma la smod bstan la sdang</td>
<td>bla ma la dmod bstan la sdang</td>
<td>bla ma la smod bstan la sdang</td>
<td>Derge (orth.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gdug pa ma lus zhi byas te</td>
<td>gdug pa ma lus byi byas te</td>
<td>gdug pa ma lus zhi byas te</td>
<td>Derge (sem.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thod pa rin chen sbrul gyis brgyan</td>
<td>thod pa rin chen sprul gyis brgyan</td>
<td>thod pa rin chen sbrul gyis brgyan</td>
<td>Derge (orth.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de nas rang gis thugs ka'i</td>
<td>de nas rang gis thugs yii</td>
<td>de nas rang gi thugs ka yii</td>
<td>Derge (orth.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zhi rgyas dbang dang mgon spyod kyis</td>
<td>zhi rgyas dbang dang mgon spyod kyis</td>
<td>zhi rgyas dbang dang mgon spyod kyis</td>
<td>Beijing (orth.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>las rnams gang yin de bcol byal</td>
<td>las rnams gang yin de bcol byal</td>
<td>las rnams gang yin de rtsol byal</td>
<td>Beijing (sem.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bsod nams gang thob des ni 'gro ba ma lus pa'i</td>
<td>bris pa'i bsod nams gang thob pa des</td>
<td></td>
<td>bris pa'i bsod nams thob pa des</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
divergence. Just to show what kinds of divergence are attested I am supplying the table of them drawn for the first text (No. 1)

In 24 of 46 cases, the ancient scroll is closer to the Derge edition (9 orthographic and 15 semantic cases), in 22 to the Beijing edition (10 and 12 cases respectively). Hence, the scroll is closer to the Derge ed. in comparison with the Beijing edition but, in fact, it is rather far from both of them, which are basically closer to each other than to the former one. It suffices to mention that the last stanza of No. 1 in the scroll is marked with a change of poetic meter from the 7-syllabled one to the 11-syllabled one, while its counterparts keep the same meter. On the contrary, comparison of the four texts of the scroll with their counterparts in the Phag mo gru pa edition shows clearly that they belong to the same tradition. It is of a special significance that one of the texts is the same No. 1 that was compared with the canonical editions. There are also some divergences between the scroll and the Phag mo gru pa edition but they more often help to reconstruct the correct text of No. 1 than show the principal textual difference between the two editions. It is probably no surprise since translations and own writings by Dpal rga lo and his teacher Rtsa mi lotsawa are widely present in the Phag mo gru pa edition.

The texts of the second part, those on Viṣṇu Narasiṅha, were probably translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan, at least two of them have the traditional heading, rgya gar skad du (in Sanskrit), although in one case it is just Narasiṅha, in the other it is totally corrupted. Anyway, these texts could not be included into the Tibetan Buddhist canon since they are of manifestly syncretic nature. All the other texts were probably composed by the Tibetan authors but it is clear only in respect of two texts attributed to Dpal rga lo and the other one (No. 10) that mentions his poem.

Some fragments of the scroll (mostly the recto sides of ff. 1–7) use a number of interlinear glosses (see fig. 2). They are almost absent in the second part indicating that the commentator(s) did not have much to say
about the cult of Viṣṇu Narasinha. Sometimes, the glosses can deepen the understanding of the text. Thus, the main text of No. 3 states that an effigy figure should be made of earth and, according to the commentator, that it must be the earth from the place where the enemy walked; the fifth part of No. 5 mentions the reciting of a mantra (to invite Mahākāla as stated in a gloss) and the consequent appearance of the emanation the Protector, and the commentary describes the process in more details, viz. while reciting the mantra one shines a ray of light from one’s mouth which arrives in the Protector’s heart (and invites him to come); the text of No. 13 lists four mantras which are labeled by the commentator as the life mantra of the Wisdom Protector, the invocation and union mantra of the Karma Protector, the mantra of taking life and liberating the enemy, and the mantra of separation from a deity and liberating.

Some texts or fragments end up with the expression ati which is written as one ligature in most of the cases but in three cases the two syllables are given separately. It is hard to say what it actually refers to, there are two well-known similar expressions, ati (attested in the ancient atiyoga texts) and iti (Sanskrit mark for quotations, etc.), but the first would be rather strange as a final particle, while the other one is too different from ati; moreover, neither of them use the cerebral letter ṭa. I can only suppose that this ati was meant to convey the idea of sacredness of the texts.

A comparison of some texts of the scroll with later editions of Tantric texts shows that the ancient edition is rather corrupted in many respects and that their adequate translation would be quite hard without the more
carefully prepared editions. The remaining texts are not found anywhere else so far, hence their translation is often based on the translator’s intuition and can be but tentative.

5. Stylistics

Though the majority of the texts of the scroll are ritualistic in character and do not use any poetic devices some texts and fragments are nonetheless interesting from this point of view. Thus, there are several hymnal compositions such as parts ka and [kha] of No. 6, Nos. 7 and 8, fragments of Nos. 12, 15, 21 and 22; functionally, the hymns combine salutations and evocations so that even a simple description of divine deeds carried out by the deities is in fact an implicit call for them to go on performing their deeds. The versified sādhana, No. 1, is stylistically plain but the abovementioned change of meter in the last stanza, that of dedication of the merits, reminds us of classical Indian poetics, in which such a device is used to mark a new subject of discourse. Finally, there is a narrative which is quite simple, although interesting as a rare piece of prose writing in Tibetan Tantric literature.

The two canonical hymns, by Nāgārjuna and Buddhakirti, were translated into Tibetan with rather complicated 19-syllabled and 25-syllabled meters corresponding to the 21-syllabled sragdharā meter and 25-syllabled krauñcapadā or 26-syllabled bhujanga-vijṛmbhita meters, although I am not quite sure in the case of the second text, since this was, quite unusually, translated from a Prākrit as is stated at the colophon.

Both texts were, most probably, rather elaborate poetical compositions enriched with alliteration, word play, and sound symbolism. The Tibetan

translation could not keep all phonetic richness of Indian verses but incorporated some elements of sound symbolism important for structuring of the text, viz. Mahākāla’s exclamations conveying the description of his actions for the protection of the Doctrine or some features of his iconography. They are found in 20 of 32 lines of the main part of the first text such as in the first stanza -

_HŪṀ HŪṀ PHAＴ! - with these fierce exclamations [you are] able to cover the three realms entirely,
HA HA TA TA! - with these exclamations [you are] constantly terrifying,
KĀṀ KĀṀ KĀṀ! - [you are] adorned with a garland of skulls on the head, [you have] the body black as a raven’s beak,
BRUṀ BRUṀ BRUṀ! - [you] frown in an utterly fierce way, terrifying, your mouth gaping, devouring flesh,
Using your brown hair and whiskers to [horrify], the Protector of the [Buddha’s] Field, you guard [me]!

Sound symbolism is also used in Buddhakīrti’s hymn and that by Dpal rga lo, but in a more specific way in the latter which deserves a special consideration.

This text is preceded with an initial sentence stating that Dpal rga lo composed the hymn spontaneously when he personally saw Mahākāla during his practice. It reminds us about the probably most famous Buddhist text on Mahākāla, a short praise of the Six Handed Wise Protector, by the great Indian yogi Śābaripāda who saw Mahākāla when practicing in a cave near modern-day Rajgir, in Bihar, and he praised him, raising his eyes gradually from the feet to the face of the deity who could not be looked upon in his entirety32. This order of praise is however rather unique. Dpal

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32 Here is my English translation of this short hymn made from a small pamphlet
rga lo starts with the general description of Mahākāla’s figure (the name of the location, his standing amid a great fire, his being raven faced, big and black) and then focuses on some details (the bulging belly, snake decoration, ferocious three-eyed face, attributes held in the two hands, yellow plaits, garland of blood-soaked heads, mouth with grinning tusks, tiger’s skin as a skirt, etc.). Lexically, this part, consisting of 24 lines, is rather plain and standard. The next line indicates that Mahākāla is followed by a host of spiteful serpent demons (klu gdon) and after four lines of an invocation a rather long passage consisting of seven lines follows that describes another kind of Mahākāla’s retinue such as an horde of yakṣas whose horrible appearance conveys the idea of their extreme ferocity. The four lines in between contain a short description of Mahākāla’s activities. As was stated, the plain description of divine deeds is internally an invocation to continue making them. In this case, his ability to trample

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To Him who wears bracelets on his feet and tramples on Vināyaka, / To Mahākāla with the tiger skin on the girdle, / To the Six-Armed One ornamented with the snake necklace, / To Him who holds the chopper with the top right hand, the rosary with the middle one, / And beats the damaru fiercely with the low one, / While in his left [hands] he holds the skull, three-pointed khaṭvāṅga / And the hook with which he catches [violators of the vows], / To Him whose face is fierce and grinning, / Who has three fierce eyes and rampant fiery hair, / Whose forehead is covered with sindhūra powder, / Whose crown is ornamented with the image of Buddha Aksobhya, / To Him who wears the necklace of fifty bleeding human heads, / Who is ornamented with the crown of five dry skulls, / To Him who appeared out from the tree and who received the torma, / To the Glorious Six-Armed One I bow down! / I pray [you], the Wrathful One, to protect the Doctrine of the Buddha, / Glorify, the Wrathful One, the high status of the Jewels, / Pacify all obscurations, bad circumstances / Of us, the teacher and retinue of disciples, / Bestow [us] with all the siddhis desired!

33 Both kinds of the retinue are mentioned by de Nebesky-Wojkowitz in the relevant fragment on the Raven Faced Mahakala of his Oracles and Demons in Tibet (p. 49).
the earth, to ‘liberate’ (i.e. cut off somebody from his evil karma), or even to erase, is an essential quality of a Protector of the Doctrine who is invoked by the yogi to accomplish his rite. So the composition of the properly hymnal part consists of an iconographic depiction of the main figure, the brief characteristics of his protective activity, ending with an invocation (accomplish the rite) and a brief description of his retinue, which is strangely split into two parts.

The second part of the text, a prayer, consists of 21 lines that start with an invocation to Mahākāla to follow his own vow and protect the Doctrine. Then the most peculiar part of the text follows where wrathful activities of Mahākāla are compared with the severe forces of nature such as thunderstorm, hailstorm, and blizzard.

\[
\text{Do not dally, do not dally, take the kila,} \\
\text{Drain the sea of blazing fire of sins} \\
\text{[With the sounds] UR UR CHEM CHEM, gather the clouds} \\
\text{And with every terrible thunder} \\
\text{Shine the intolerable light of lightning again and again,} \\
\text{From thunders above to blizzards below,} \\
\text{Strike down vajra all-embracing hail,} \\
\text{Pour rain of blood [from] the forehead,} \\
\text{Reduce to dust the violators of the vows!}
\]

The stylistics of this part seem to be inspired with original Tibetan lore of the magical and spiritual tradition that is so brilliantly reflected in the songs of Tibetan yogis such as Mi la ras pa. At the same time, the use of sound symbolism such as UR UR CHEM CHEM for the sound of great fire, etc. is a common feature of Indian Tantric hymns, too. In the first part of the hymn, there also are two cases of sound symbolism, reflecting the sounds with which Mahākāla frightens the violators of vows and enemies of the Doctrine. The text ends with a passage that repeats the invocations to Mahākāla to serve the Buddhist Doctrine and accomplish the rite according
to his own vow. There is no dedication of merits.

It is worth mentioning that except for the title bearing the term *bstdod pa*, hymn, the text does not have any lexical marker of this genre such as *phyag 'tshal lo* (homage), *'dud* ([I] bow down), *phyag 'tshal bstod* (homage and praise), etc. It is no way an unique case with the Indo-Tibetan hymnal literature. Tantric hymns can consist of two major parts such as an iconographic description, even without the expression of worship or devotion at the end of it, and a prayer. Initially, Buddhist hymns in Sanskrit consisted of stanzas of praise containing names and epithets of the Buddha or other divine figures without special parts for direct prayers. Consequently, the texts of this genre started to include prayers getting transformed into a synthetic cultic kind of literature even though hymns and prayers remained functionally different aspects of Buddhist rituals. It is interesting enough that the Tibetan Buddhist canon has very few prayers as separate texts though in the sūtras typological distinction between hymnal stanzas (*bstdod pa*) and short prayers (*gsol ba*) addressed to the Buddha is always clear.

The function of the hymn is to please Mahākāla and invoke him to accomplish the rite that may mean the fierce action against the inner or outer hindrances preventing the yogi from getting a desired result. The mentioning of severe aspects of his figure only may indicate that the hymn was composed specifically for subjugating or fierce rites. It is even more probable if we take into consideration that most of other texts of the scroll describe 'black' magic rituals such as those directed to kill or harm the enemy.

Thus, the text by Dpal rga lo is an interesting piece of Tibetan religious poetry from the early stage of its history. It is one of the first hymnal texts composed by a Tibetan author. We can see how he followed the patterns of Indian literary canons using traditional composition and rather plain stylistics in describing the appearance and abilities of the deity.
At the same time, a passage of severe imagination imports a specifically Tibetan poetic sense of divine power represented in terms of formidable natural phenomena. It seems that later Tibetan religious mainstream poetry lost this touch of originality being preoccupied with developing refined stylistics borrowed from Indian poetics.

While the three texts considered above do not use lexical markers of the genre the scroll presents some examples of more standard hymns, e.g. a hymn to Viṣṇu Narasinha (a fragment of No. 15) consists of several stanzas each of them ending with either phyag 'tshal bstod or just bstod, e.g.

*To the one who has rampant orange hair,*
*Three eyes and grinning mouth,*
*The white body and bone ornaments,*
*Who is seated on the throne of the sun, moon, lotus and corpse,*
*To you, Viṣṇu, the great god, - [I pay] homage and raise the praise!*

No. 22 has a series of seven stanzas of praise to the eight Nāga Kings (the eighth one is missed) each of them ending with phyag 'tshal bstod, too. This is a good example of a hymn to a group of objects worshipped. The first stanza runs as follows -

*To the great Nāga King Vāsuki,*
*Whose white body has no single spot,*
*Who rules over the nāgas of the East,*
*The serpent-headed one, - [I pay] homage and raise the praise!*

The ornate style of classical Sanskrit poetry borrowed by the Tibetans is reflected in several passages of the same text, although not in a particularly elaborate way -

*...In the land of the crooked lakes of the nāgas*
*In the land of the crooked dark blue [of waters]*
*There are shores of four substances such as*
Sand in the east, gold in the south,
Copper in the west, iron in the north;
In the land of such [a beauty]
Golden lotuses with eight petals [grow];
In the middle of such an abode
[There is] the throne of four precious substances;
Onto such a throne,
Please, Master of Mantras, descend!

A narrative fragment rendering the main myth of Viṣṇu Narasīnha is a rare piece of prose literature among the Tantric texts. Though rather simple in style, it combines narration, poetry and iconography of the deity -

...Having failed to compose [a salutation], [a youth] wondered everywhere in great sadness and met Viṣṇu Narasīnha. “Who are you and where are you going?” - [Vishnu] scared him suddenly. “I am a son of the asura Hiranyakaśipu named Thupgyel Nakpo34. My father told me - ‘If you don’t homage and praise me variously I will kill you and eat’. I failed to compose verses of unexhausted praise to the father and am wondering now being assured that I am going to be killed”. Viṣṇu Narasīnha said: “If I kill your father can it displease you?”. Thupgyel replied: “Nobody can kill him. The thing is that he has eight kinds of attributes and eight siddhis”. When answered by [Viṣṇu] “What are they like?” - [he said:] “The eight attributes are never shown. The eight siddhis are as follows: [he] can be killed during the day, can’t be killed at night, [can’t be killed inside the doors], can’t be killed outside the doors, a human can’t kill [him], a non-human can’t kill [him], [he] can’t be killed with a weapon, can’t be killed with something that is not a weapon“. Viṣṇu uttered: “I know a way [to

34 Thub rgyal nag po; it can hardly be equivalent to the Indian name of Hiranyakaśipu’s son, Prahlāda.
avoid them all“, - and taught him the words of a salutation such as

   The gods, the gods abide in the purity of the heaven,
   The sages abide in the mountains, in the mountains,
   The nāgas live in the streams, in the streams,
   All, all abodes are Viṣṇu.

[The youth came to his father] and paid homage and praised not him
but he praised Vishnu. “Well then, is here an abode of Viṣṇu, either?” - [the
father] asked shutting the precious door frame with an iron door. “Of
course, here too” - [the son] replied and in the frame the Protector
[Narasiṅha] appeared having a white human body and the lion’s head, three
eyes, rampant orange mane ablaze, one face, four hands, holding with the
first right hand an iron stick, with the left one grasping the demon’s neck,
with the lower two hands holding a garland of corpses at his waist,
devouring the bowels, adorned with the bone ornaments, trampling on a
corpses. “Of course, here too” - [he] said and killed [Hiranyakaśipu], took his
eight attributes and obtained his eight siddhis and passed them all to the son
Thupgyel Nakpo.

The story is followed with a final passage which can be interpreted as
a colophon. It states that Thupgyel Nakpo (obviously the character of the
text) composed a sādhana of Viṣṇu Narasinha (it is not clear if the text is
supposed to be this sādhana, if so it may be due to the presence of the
iconographic description) and then claims that some Buddhist authors
composed texts on Viṣṇu Narasinha and this is the only reason for the
clearly Hindu story to be included into the Buddhist context.

6. The cult aspect

Rituals constitute the core of Tibetan religious culture, as was
brilliantly shown in the classical monograph by S. Beyer Magic and Ritual
in Tibet. The Cult of Tārā. Monks start mastering the science of rituals
from their childhood, first learning sacred texts by heart, then training in 
the visualization of various deities so that they can finally imagine them in 
the fullness of their iconography along with their retinue, sometimes rather 
numerous, and other details of their mandala. The most highly qualified 
monks can see this picture at one moment. Visualization serves as an 
important instrument for attaining the various goals of Buddhism, from the 
very concrete aims of particular rituals such as curing of diseases or 
obtaining wealth up to the final realization of Enlightenment, in which a 
yogi visualizes himself as his personal deity, *yidam*, substituting his own 
consciousness with the divine mind, the so-called ‘pride’.

Very roughly, the structure of any ritual consists of the following main 
stages - 1) preparatory practices, 2) visualization of a deity; 3) making 
offerings, making hymns and prayers and invocations to perform divine 
actions by means of mantras; 4) torma offering and final purifying and 
benevolent practices.

Preparatory practices reflect some fundamental ideological principles 
which all the monks learn and engage in from their first steps in monastic 
life. Great compassion to the uncountable sentient beings of the universe 
serves, in Mahāyāna Buddhism, as the method for attaining their ultimate 
goal, complete Enlightenment. Starting their Tantric practices, the monks 
take refuge in the Three Jewels, arouse *bodhicitta*, the consciousness 
striving for the Enlightenment for the sake of all beings, they realize the 
emptiness of both themselves and all the phenomena, and meditate on the 
four immeasurable, which are love, compassion, joy and equanimity. This is 
the obligatory basis for making any rite successful. As Beyer states, *any 
society that regards magic as a real and potent force would certainly desire 
its magicians to possess the attitudes of renunciation and benevolence 
outlined above*. *Tibetan culture has erected a system wherein the very 
exercises that allow the acquisition of magical powers guarantee their proper 
use*. Since the preparatory practices are implied for any ritual they are
either briefly mentioned or missed completely in the ritualistic texts. It is also true to the scroll Ḍh-178 though one text does contain some details, viz. part ga of No. 6 (see the Appendix).

Visualization consists of four main stages - first the yogis produce a symbolic image of their deity, then they ‘vitalize’ its body, speech and mind by locating the syllables OM ĀḤ HŪṀ at the head, neck and heart, then invite the real deity, jñānasattva, from the Pure Land and place them into the symbolic deity with the mantra JAH HŪṀ BAM HOḤ (each of the four syllables corresponds with invitation, immersing, absorption and transmission acts respectively), and finally ‘seal’ the deity in a virtually created vessel. The visualization is outlined in The Sādhana of Mahākāla by Nāgarjuna (No. 1) as follows -

One has to produce one’s yidam this way -
Having seen in front of oneself
The black syllable HŪṀ placed on the lotus and sun,
[One sees] the shining [eradiating] from it,
Taming any evil
And ascertaining happiness for all the migrators,
After which dissolving [again in] HŪṀ,
And this syllable HŪṀ gets transformed immediately
Into Mahākāla whose name is Raven...
Then, with the light coming from a seed
At one’s own heart
[One has to] invite the jñānasattva,
One has to invite, immerse, absorb and delight36 [him]
With the offering of JAH HŪṀ BAM HOḤ.

36 = to transmit here.
The role of offerings, hymns and prayers in ritual practices is extensively explored by Beyer, so I will not write on this here. It suffices to mention that the hymns are an essential means to establish contact with a deity, as is explicitly stated in No. 10 of our scroll, which claims that for the invocation of Mahākāla one has to use the abovementioned hymn by Dpal rga lo, part ka of No. 6.

In case of fierce rites which are widely represented in our scroll special mantras and offerings are used. Thus, ritual cakes, called in Tibetan torma, are made of certain specific substances including blood, flesh (even human flesh), urine, etc. They are considered to be pure from the standpoint of Ultimate Reality to which the yidams belong. Mantras used for these rites contain some wrathful imperatives such as MARA MARA, kill-kill!, or BANDHA BANDHA, bind-bind!, etc.

Moreover, the fierce rites use skulls37 and effigies, or linga figures. The latter ones represent the enemies against whom the rites are performed38. They may be both drawn images and figures made of clay or other materials. Thus, No. 4 instructs - If it is needed that Mahākāla would perform a fierce action, draw the [enemy’s] figure on paper, write the mantra OṀ MAHĀKĀLA such-and-such MĀRAYA HŪṀ PHAT39 in his heart, insert [the paper] into the torma, after which perform the invitation

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39 OṀ! Mahākāla, kill such-and-such! HŪṀ PHAT!
and immersing [of the Protector]. Then one has to recite the mantra of the invited [deity] and offer the torma. This fragment describes rather a simple way to produce the linga. Some other texts suggest more complicated methods using skulls, blood, poisons, etc., in which the effigy is often oppressed physically: it can be cut into pieces and then burnt and the ash scattered in the direction of the enemy’s place.

The fire offering is a special ritual performed for the same aims. It is described in Nos. 11 and 21. According to the second one, the fire is lit with use of special sticks made of sandalwood or juniper. The substances to be burnt include butter, white sesame, wooden sticks, milk, curds, rice, kuśa grass, a pen from the charnel ground, barley, wheat, rough barley, peas, boiled rice, medicines; they are burnt in the fire along with special mantras uttered and the god of fire is pleased with a hymn; the text ends up with a mantra invoking the deity to kill the enemy.

It would be a mistake to consider the texts describing fierce rites found in many scriptural collections including the Tibetan Buddhist canon, as indicating some hidden aggression of Buddhism. First, these texts belong to the group of secret instructions, which resumes their unavailability to the unauthorized. Second, it is claimed that mechanic performance of a rite, without suitable preparation of the mind, is ineffective. Third, the conception of the enemy may be interpreted in at least three different ways, such as a Mara causing afflictions, i.e. one’s own inner obstacles, an evil demon harming the Buddhist Teaching, and corporeal people who threaten the Dharma, or even its citadel of Tibet.

According to the Buddhist belief, harmful beings, both spirits and humans, especially violators of vows, collect bad karma with their evil actions so their killing can be interpreted as a benevolent deed, even 'liberating' them from their next migration to the lower realms. This idea is manifestly expressed in the lines of No. 10 -

**During the fierce rite, the practitioner**

**Must think about defending the Doctrine,**

**Must think about liberating the violators of vows.**

It means that any fierce action must be performed with the totally pure intentions. Anyway, its aim cannot be fulfilled, according to the Buddhist view, if the practitioner is stimulated with egoistic passions which can only put them in a dangerous state themselves\(^4\).

\(^4\) Some more details on the place of fierce rites in Tantric Buddhism are offered in my paper - Zorin A. *Texts on Tantric Fierce Rites from an Ancient Tibetan Scroll Kept at the IOM RAS...*
150 A Collection of Tantric Ritual Texts from an Ancient Tibetan Scroll (Zorin)
tentative English translation are included into the Appendix to this paper
and in some previous papers specified above.

APPENDIX.
Texts and Translations

1. Text No. 6 (two parts)
KA. *The Hymn to Mahākāla* by Dpal rga lo

When the great Dpal rga lo abided at the great charnel ground Sitavana, he
saw manifestly Vajra Mahākāla and at the same moment praised him with
this king of hymns:

```
dur khrod chen po bsil ba yi 'tshal
zhes bya ba na | dpal chen po rga
lo bzhugs pa'i tshe | rdo rje nag
po chen po zhal mngon sum du
gzigs nas | de nyid kyi tshe bchod
pa'i brgyal po 'dis bstod do |
```

1 hum dur khrod chen po bsil ba'i
mtshal [][[]]
jigs su rung ba'i bskal pa
yi42 [[]]
me ltar 'bar ba'i klong dkyil
na [][]
ma ha ka la bya rog gdong [][]
hum la byung ba'i nag po
che [][]
thung la sbrom ba'i gsus po
che [][]
ha ha zhes sgrogs 'jigs par
byed [][]
dug sbrul gdug pas sku la43
brgyan [][]
gtum po spyan gsum 'bar ba
ste [][]

10 phyag g.yas 'bar ba'i gri gug
phyar [][]

42 Orig. *pa'i*. The corrections of this text specified in the notes are made according
to the *Phag mo gru pa* edition.

43 Orig. *skul.*
A Collection of Tantric Ritual Texts from an Ancient Tibetan Scroll (Zorin) 151

Breaking the hearts of violators of vows,
At left holding a skull full of blood.

[Oh] blood drinking Vajra Rākṣasa,
With yellow, upwards blazing plaits of hair,
[You] have the garland of bleeding human heads;
[Oh] Vajra Yakṣa, overthrowing the enemies,
With blood dripping from the mouth,
Grinning with sharp wrathful tusks,
Always rejoicing at flesh and blood,
Cutting off the enemies’ lives,
Having a shirt of tiger’s skin,

Bright [like] one hundred thousand suns,
From [your] mouth, for the violators of vows,
MĀRAYA HUM HUM PHAT sounds break forth.
Surrounded by the retinue of black nāga demons,
[You] trample upon the earth,
Liberate everyone [or] reduce to dust,

---

44 Orig. gen.
45 Orig. slon (?)
46 Orig. 'phring (?)
47 Orig. mchi'
48 Orig. 'o (?)
49 Orig. gis.
50 Orig. tham.
A Collection of Tantric Ritual Texts from an Ancient Tibetan Scroll (Zorin)

Fill up the entire space with your emanations.
Raven Faced, accomplish the rite!

[With those who have] sharp teeth, red hands,
Lips soaked with blood,
Who have eaten half the body [each],
Filled themselves up

With kidneys, hearts and bowels,
Who run while eating -
[You are] surrounded with a hundred thousand piśācas.
There is nothing you cannot make, none you cannot tame,
[So] nurse the protectors of the Doctrine.
Strike the enemies of the Doctrine.

Mighty One, the time has come to accomplish the vow.
Do not dally, do not dally, take the kila,
Drain the sea of blazing fire of sins

[With the sounds.] UR UR CHEM CHEM, gather the clouds
And with every terrible thunder
Shine the intolerable light of lightning

---

51 Equal to rdul du rlogs.
52 Orig. gtong.
53 Orig. gis.
54 Orig. snyin.
55 Orig. kyis.
56 Orig. gis.
57 Orig. g.ye la.
58 Orig. klog.
The Hymn to the Raven Faced Mahākāla composed by the great Dpal rga lo at the great charnel ground Sitavana is complete.

The Instruction on the Self-Sufficient Practice of Mahākāla by Dpal rga lo

The line is apparently incomplete missing two syllables.

Orig. ba gas.

Orig. raM (?)

Orig. la.

Orig. gyis.
dang nag po chen po dang sangs rgyas
dang byang chub sems dpal thams cad
spyin drangs la mchod de phyag
’tshal nas |

sdig pa thams cad ‘jigs pas bshags
byig cing ||
‘gro ba'i dge la dga' bas yi rang ’o ||

dkon mchog gsum po la yang skyabs su
mchi’ ||
rdzogs pa'i byang chub du yang sems
bskyed do ||
zhes brjod pa'o tshad myed pa bzhi
bsgom ba 'o | sems [can] thams cad
sangs rgyas kyi bde ba dang ldan bar
bya'o snyam ba ni byams pa'o | sdug
bsngal dang bral bar bya'o snyam ba ni
snying rje'o bde ba dang ldan bar
bya'o snyam pa ni dga' ba'o 'jig rten
gyichos brgyad snags pa'o snyam pa ni
btangs snyoms so |

de nas om sva bha ba shu nyo sa rva
dha rma sva bha ba shu nyo ham | zhes
pa bdag dang dngos po thams cad stong
par bsam mo | de'i ngang las sna
tshogs pad ma nyt ma'i steng du | hum
nag po la byung ba'i dpal nag po chen po
zhal cig phyag gnyis pa | sku mdog
nag po spyan sum pa | ’bar ba chen po
gyas dang gyon pa'i phyag na gre gug

HŪM of one's heart, one invites the
Teacher, Mahākāla, all Buddhas and
Bodhisattvas, makes the offerings and
pays homage, and recites the following
words -

I repent all my terrible crimes,

And rejoice happily with the migrants' virtues.
I take refuge in the Three Jewels

And produce the consciousness striving for the complete Enlightenment.64

[Then] one meditates on the four immeasurables such as love
[embodied in] the thought - [I will] bestow all the sentient beings with the
Buddha's bless; compassion [embodied in] the thought - [I will] liberate
[them] from sufferings; joy [embodied in] the thought - [I will] make
[them] happy; equanimity [embodied in] the thought - [I will] purify the
eight worldly dharmas.

Then, reciting [the mantra] OM
SVABHAVA ŠŪNYO SARVA-
DHARMA-SVABHAVA ŠŪNYO
'HAM65, one meditates upon oneself
and all the phenomena as being empty.
Out of this nature one produces the
black HŪM rested on the sun disc and
variegated lotus, and out of it appears
Śrī Mahākāla with one face, two hands,

64 The stanza is found also in The Sādhana of Śrī Mahākāla by Pingapatiika
included into Bstan 'gyur [Dpal mgon po nag po bsgrub pa'i thabs / Šrimahākāla-
sādhana: the Derge edition, No.1764, rgyud, sha, f. 255b].

65 OM! All phenomena are empty by the nature, I am empty. In the edition of the
scroll the syllables shu do are used twice hinting at Sanskrit śudho (pure), if this is
true then the translation would be OM! All phenomena are pure by the nature, I am
pure. But this is rather dubious, I preferred the more standard formula of the mantra.
Jñānasattva is an actual deity invited from their own Pure Land and placed into their symbolic body visualized by a yogi beforehand.

OṀ to Vajra Mahākāla! HŪṀ HŪṀ PHAT!

Amṛta is, according to Indian mythology, the divine drink giving immortality to the gods; in Buddhism it was reinterpreted as an elixir, pure substance to which, in Tantric context, some conventionally impure things can refer, too; thus, the five kinds of amṛta are excrements, urine, blood, human flesh and sperm.
2. Text No. 15 (two fragments)

[The torma offering]

na mo ‘gu ru | khyab 'jug myi'i seng 'ge la gtor ma 
gtong ba ni | snod rin po che gas chag 
med pa gcig gi nang du | zan dang sha 
dang chang dang khrur ba lasogs pa ba 
bshams la | oṃ ā hum gsum gis bdud 
rtṣir byin kyis brlabs la | rtṣa'i sngags 

Namo guru (Homage to the Teacher)! 
The torma offering to Viṣṇu Narasimha. 
One has to put gruel, meat, brew, cakes, 
etc., into a precious vessel without any 
 cracks, [transform] them with the 
blessing of OM AH HUM into amṛta 
and make the offering reciting the root 

69 The text of the mantra in the scroll is corrupted - dad ya tha | om ma ha ka la ya 
| sha sa na | a pa ka ri e ta | a pas tsi ma ha ka la ya yam | i dam rad na da ya | a pa 
ka re na | ya tig pra tig jnya | sma ra si dhi | e mam du shta sa ta | kha kha kha hyi 
kha hyi | ma ra ma ra | 'ghre rna 'ghre rna | bhan dha bhan dha | ha na ha na | da 
ha da ha | pa tsa pa tsa | 'dir na me ke ni | sa rva du shta ma ra ya hum hum phat. 
Many parts of the mantra are supplied with glossas which translate Indian syllables 
into Tibetan and the commentator made them according to the corrupted text, e.g. 
the expression sma ri si dha (instead of the correct smarasi tadā) is translated as 
bzhes la dngos grub. My edition is based on the canonical text of The Tantra of Mahākāla [Dpal nag po chen po'i rgyud / Śrimahākālatantra. Derge edition, No.667, 
rgyud, ba, f. 190b]. The English translation is as follows - Thus: OM to Mahākāla, the 
Protector of the Doctrine! This is the last hour for those harmful to the Three Jewels. 
If you remember your vow, eat, eat, eat away, eat away this malevolent being! Kill, 
kill! Grasp, grasp! Bind, bind! Destroy, destroy! Burn, burn! Roast, roast! During one 
day, make all the evil die! HŪṀ HŪṀ PHAṬ! I thank my colleague, Dr V. Ivanov 
(the IOM RAS) for his help in edition and translation of the mantra.
la ’di btags la ’bul lo || óm i dam ’bha li te ’gri hna || kha kha kha hi kha hi || ’bha li te svā ha || zhes lan gsum ’am lan bdun ’am bzas ’bul lo || gtor mas mchod de bstod pa ni ’di itar bya’o ||

hum ’kha’ dang sa kun72 khyab ba’i ’jug pa ’bus ||

ʼthogs myed mthu ldan ’jig rten kun skyob pa ||

lha chen khyab ’jug sku la phyag ’tshal bstod ||

mi’i lus la se[ng] ’ge’i mgo bo can ||

sku mdog dkar po ’khras nas dmar ||

myi dang myi ma yin gi mthu ’jun pa’ || 73

myi yi se[ng] ’ge gzhig bsgrub ’jigs la bstod ||

g.yo pa’75 thil kyis sa skun gnon mdzad zhabs ||
g.yas skum g.yon rkyang mdor bstabs bzhugs pa yis ||

ma ru pa’76 srin po steng na gang ya [ng] gnon ||

ʼjig rten ’gon po khyab ’jug khyod la mantra such as OM IDAM BALIM TE70 GRHNA KHA KHA KHAHI BHALIM TE SVĀHĀ!71 three or seven times. Having performed the torma offering, one has to offer the following hymn -

HŪM! To the one who penetrates all the sky and the earth,
Performing support and extinction in various ways.
The mighty one who has no obstacles and gives refuge to the entire world,
To the great god Viṣṇu - [I pay] homage and offer praise!
The one who has the human body and the lion’s head,
And the white body, red with wrath74,
Who tames the power of humans and non-humans,
The destroying and frightening Man-Lion, be praised!

The one who oppresses the earth, shakes [it] with the soles of [his] feet,
Who stands in the dancing posture with the right [leg] bent, the left [leg] extended,
Who tramples on the Rākṣasa Marupa, -

You, Viṣṇu, the protector of the world,

---

70 The original text has an obviously erroneous form ’bha li ta.
71 OM! Take this torma! Eat this torma! SVĀHĀ!
72 Orig. skun.
73 The original text has some excessive syllables and is probably corrupted - myi dang myi yin gcig gis tshul ’thu’ol ’jun pa’.
74 Some syllables are probably missing; I suppose the meaning is that the body of Narasīṇa is stained with the rākṣasa’s blood.
75 Orig. g.ya’ I.
76 Orig. ma ru sa.
To the four-handed one, holding an iron club with the first right [hand],
And dharmacakra\textsuperscript{77} with the first left [one],
Not releasing with the left [one],
defeating powerfully with the right [one],
To Viṣṇu, the defeater of the evil, - [I pay] homage!

To the one who grasps the mahānāga\textsuperscript{78} with the lower left and right [hands],
At the waist and crushes [him] thrice\textsuperscript{79},
To Viṣṇu, the slayer of the evil one, - [I pay] homage!

To the one who beats thrice the violators of the vows,
Who enjoys the bowels taken out [of the enemy’s body],
Who uproots all the enemies, poisonous demons,
To you, the Protector of the Doctrine, - [I pay] homage!

To the one who has rampant orange hair,

\textsuperscript{77} Orig. \textit{du ma ga ya}, that is probably the corrupted Tibetan rendering of some Sanskrit term; since Narasīṇha usually holds a club (\textit{gadha}) and a wheel (\textit{cakra}) in his upper hands I suggested \textit{dharmacakra} as a tentative version.

\textsuperscript{78} Orig. \textit{ma he na ga}. \textit{Mahe} means a buffalo in Sanskrit so the literal translation would be a buffalo nāga but I doubt there could be such beings in Indian mythology, hence I suggested another reading such as mahānāga (\textit{the great nāga}). It is not quite clear though if this term can be applied to the asura Hiranyakaśipu defeated by Narasingha.yakaśipu defeted by Narasingha.

\textsuperscript{79} Here and below my translation is tentative - \textit{gsum pa} means \textit{the third}; probably, \textit{gsum po(ṛ)}, by three, is supposed here.
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Three eyes and grinning mouth,

The white body and bone ornaments,

Who is seated on the throne of the sun, moon, lotus and corpse,

To you, Visnu, the great god, - [I pay] homage and raise the praise!

Homage and praise to the terrible and mighty one!

Homage and praise to you, the Man-Lion!

Homage and praise to the body of Narasinha!

Homage and praise to the tamer of the horde of malevolent demons!

Homage and praise to the oppressor of the harmful beings!

Homage and praise to the one who grinds the malevolent beings into dust!

Please, bless me the yogi!

Taste this torma, the amta of pure substances.

And perform the divine actions in accordance with the holy intentions! - these are the words of [Visnu Narasinha's] invocation to perform the divine actions.

...
yourself having the pride of own [deity] Viṣṇu, turn to the direction of the hail-storm, take a chopper made of iron used to kill people and cut all the clouds. Then visualize [yourself] burning the eight magic substances on the fire which is intolerable to your diseases.

The ash of burnt torma and offerings and the entire fire should be thrown towards the hail-storm. One has to accomplish the pride of own deity Viṣṇu, recite mantras and apply the magic substances. This way any hail-storm caused by the eight gods and rākṣasas, mighty gods, nāgas, etc., will be averted.

This was quickly uttered by the Teacher Vairocana. ATI!

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3. Text No. 22 (four fragments)

[The invitation of Vajrapāṇi]

...‘og min lcang lo can gi pho brang na ||
  bcom ldan phyag na rdo [r]je ni ||
  sku mchog ‘jigs pa myi bzad pa’ ||

dbu skra kham gyen du greng ||
  phyag brgyad mche gtsigs ‘jigs pa che ||

... In the palace at the Plaited [Pure Land], in Akaniśṭha\(^{81}\),
[There abides] Bhagavan Vajrapāṇi,
With the supreme body, terrible and intolerable,
With the rampant hair,
Eight hands\(^{82}\), terrible grinning fangs.

---

\(^{80}\) Actually, my ( nga ‘i). It may be the sign that the instruction was given from the first-person point of view. Since it is somehow contrary to the style of the other parts of the text I use the imperative and modal forms.

\(^{81}\) The Pure Land of Vajrapāṇi.

\(^{82}\) There is a clear mistake in the original text - zhabs brgyad (eight legs).
thing nag 'bar ba'i sku mchog can  ||  With the supreme body, shining and
dark blue,
spyan dmyig bzlog pas 'jigs pa che  ||  Terrifying with his repelling look,
'khor nyer 'bar ba drag gtum che  ||  [Surrounded] with the shining fierce
lus la klu'i brgyan gis brgyan  ||  retinue,
'go la rgyal rigs sbrul kar bkra  ||  Having the body adorned with the nāga
dke la bram ze [sbrul] ser bkra  ||  decorations:
skup na rje'u rigs sbrul dmar bkra  ||  The head is beautiful with the Kṣatriya
sked pa rmangs rigs sbrul sngo bkra  ||  white snake,
rkang pa rdol rigs sbrul nag bkra  ||  The neck is beautiful with the Brāhma-
zhabs gnyis dgyad pas klu rnams gnon  ||  na yellow snake,
'khor du 'khor ogal 'bum gis bskor  ||  The shoulder is beautiful with the
phyag g.yas gser gi rdo rje phyar  ||  Vaiśya red snake
phyag g.yon dril bu dkur brten pa  ||  The waist is beautiful with the Śūdra
klu rnams 'dul ba'i 'thu'o che  ||  blue snake,
'dir byon 'dir bzhugs 'phrin las mdzod  ||  The feet are beautiful with the Caṇḍāla
Oppressing powerfully the nāgas with
the two feet84,
Surrounded with the retinue of one
hundred thousand wrathful kings,
Holding a golden vajra in his right hand,
Resting a bell on his hip with the left
hand;
The mighty one, taming the nāgas,
Come here, reside here, perform the
divine rites!

Sngags bdag spyan drang ba ni / The invitation of the Master of Mantras
nyi ma byang phyogs pha gi na  ||  There, in the northern region of the
rol mtsho bdun gi nang shed na  ||  sunset,
ma dros pa'i gnas mchog na  ||  In the land85 of the seven Blissful lakes,
In the supreme abode of Mānasaro

83 There seems to be a mistake in the original text - zhags gnyis (two lassos).
84 There is a clear mistake in the original text - sku brten (icon, image).
85 ? - nang (g) shed na.
86 Mānasaro is the sacred lake at Kailāśa Mountain and the name of a nāga who
abides in it.
In the land of the crooked lakes of the nāgas,
In the land of the crooked dark blue [of waters]
There are shores of four substances such as
Sand in the east, gold in the south,
Copper in the west, iron in the north;

In the land of such [a beauty]
Golden lotuses with eight petals [grow];

In the middle of such an abode
[There is] the throne of four precious substances;
Onto such a throne,
Please, Master of Mantras, descend!
In the first of the previous kalpas,
In presence of Bhagavan Śākyamuni
And the Protector Vajrapāṇi

What was promised - that vow [you] have kept,
[You were] empowered as the Master of Mantras,
Empowered as the great nāga,
Empowered as the ruler of the three realms,
Empowered as the mighty one in the world.

During the five hundred years of the dark age
Serve with all the yogas,

Keep the samaya\textsuperscript{87} to act as a servant,
Keep the samaya to act as an attendant,
Keep the samaya to act as a helper,
Keep the samaya to be like a slave!
Boy, youth, act here and now!

\textsuperscript{87} The tantric vow.
spyon ||
sbrul ’go bdun pa da tshur spyon ||
zur pud lnga pa [da] tshur spyon ||
sku mdog gtso ma gser dang mtshungs ||
lcang lo lnga pa’i dbu rgyan can ||

phag g.yas gser gi rdo [r]je bsnams ||
’dir gshegs rgyal ba’i bka’ la nyon ||
’dir gshegs dam tshigs sngags la nyon ||
’dir spyon ’dir bzhus phrin las mdzod ||
de ring klu mchod rigs kyi mdos ||
klu mchod mdos kyi las mdzod cig ||

...
rgyu bsbyor yon kyi bdag po la ||

gdol can klu’i gdug rtsvub phyung ||

ba su rigs kyi gdug rtsvub phyung ||

sa bdag klu nyan gdug rtsvub phyung ||

sa bdag srin po gdug rtsvub phyung ||

gdug rtsvub thams cad phyir phyung la ||

sngags kyi [bdag po] tshur nyon cig ||

do nub myi90’di myi gtong zhing ||

/do nub ‘di myi gtong na ||

khyod la shi sa bstan pa yin ||

dam tshigs sngags kyi byin brlabs dang ||

khro bo yag sha mye dbal gis ||

khyod kyi snying nas tshig ’gyur cig |

mdze nad sna tshogs khyod [la] ’ong ||

dmyig du bye mtshan ’bar ba ’ong ||

’on pa dang ni long bar byed ||

bla myed ’bras bu thob myi ’gyur ||

de phyir dam las ma ’da’ bar ||

spu sdu g ma bya mdangs kyi [mthu]91 ||

klu rgyal slog92 myed mthu stobs

[me]. For the sake of the benefactor giver of
the offerings,

Avert the horrible poisonous Caṇḍāla
snake!

Avert the horrible poisonous snakes of
the Vasu family!

Avert the horrible poisonous nāgas-
sabdaks89!

Avert the horrible poisonous rākṣasas-
sabdaks!

Avert all the horrible poisonous
[beings]!

The Master of Mantras, listen to this!

If the infection does not release this
person tonight,

If the disease does not come down
tonight,

You will be shown the place of death.

The blessed [power] of the mantra of
samaya

And the flames of the fire of wrathful
yakṣas

Shall burn you down!

Various kinds of lepra shall obtain you,

Your eyes shall be filled with burning
hot sand,

[You] shall turn deaf and blind,

Shall not obtain the supreme result.

Therefore, without turning away from
[your] vow,

Avert the powerful shining of the
beautiful pea-cock.

The inevitable magic power of the nāga

89 Sa bdag - earth lords, a kind of demonic beings.

90 No ya btags in the original text.

91 The syllable is erased in the scroll; mthu is one of the possible variants to fill the
gap.

92 The original text has sog here but it is probably a mistake. The way the syllable
The praise of the eight Nāga Kings

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[dang ||
reg pa’i dug rnams phyung phyung cig |
litas pa’i du [g] rnams phyir phyung cig |
sbyor ba’i dug rnams phyir phyung cig |
yid kyi dug rnams phyir phyung cig |
gdug pas dug lnga bskyed pa ste ||
dug lnga nad rnams slong bar byed ||
nad rnams thams cad ‘dud mdzad pa ||
sngags bdag khyod la phyag ’tshal bstod ||
...]

[kings93, And the poisons of touch,
Avert the poisons of looking,
Avert the poisons of union,
Avert the poisons of mind!
To the one who produces the five poisons due to being poisonous,
Arouses the diseases from the five poisons,
Commands over all the diseases,
To you, the Master of Mantras, I pay homage and raise the praise!
...]

[The praise of the eight Nāga Kings]

[klu rgyal chen po nor rgyas bu ||
sku mdog kar po skyon ma gos ||
shar phyogs klu rnams ’dul mdzad pa ||
sbrul ’go can la phyag ’tshal bstod ||]

[To the great Nāga King Vāsuki,
Whose white body has no single spot,
Who rules over the nāgas of the East,
The serpent-headed one, - [I pay] homage and raise the praise!]

is written makes me suppose that the scribe was going to add some subscribed letter but did not do it for some reason; my choice of la btags follows the context, the other possible variant, with ra btags, i.e. srog, seems to be less reasonable.

93 This line and the previous one seem to be on a wrong position here - they are dubbed in the later fragment of the text, which corresponds with this one, in rather a different way: the peacock’s shine and the nāga kings are invoked to avert the diseases while here they are to be averted themselves.

94 The fifth poison, that of exhaling (kha rlangs dug), is missed in the list given above but mentioned in the later part of the text. The subject of the five poisons, with alternative terms for some of them, is treated by A. Wayman [Wayman A. Researches on Poison, Garuda-birds and Nāga-serpents based on the Sgrub thabs kun btus, in - Journal of the Tibet Society, 1987. P. 63-80].

95 Orig. ’dod.
klu rgyal chen po ’jog po ni ||
sku mdog gser po sbrul ’go can ||
byang phyogs rnams ’dul mdzad pa ||
sbrul zhags bsnams la ||

To the great Nāga King Takṣaka,
Whose body is golden, the serpent-headed one,
Who rules over the nāgas of the North,
The holder of a snake lasso, - [I pay] homage and raise the praise!

klu chen rgyal po stobs rgu ni ||
sku dmar po sbrul ’go can ||
nub phyogs klu rnams ’dul mdzad pa ||
mthu chen khyod la phyag ’tshal bstod ||

To the great Nāga King Balavān,
Whose body is red, the serpent-headed one,
Who rules over the nāgas of the West,
To you, the mighty one, - [I pay] homage and raise the praise!

klu rgyal chen po pad ma’i rgyal ||
sku mdog sngon po skyon ma gos ||
lho phyogs klu rnams ’dul mdzad pa ||
yon tan be con phyag na snams ||

To the great Nāga King Padma,
Whose body is red, the serpent-headed one,
Whose body has no single spot,
The holder of a club of merits, - [I pay] homage and raise the praise!

klu rgyal chen po pad ma che ||
sku mdog kar ser sbrul ’go ca[n] ||
byang shar klu rnams ’dul mdzad pa ||
skyon ma gos la phyag ’tshal [b]stod ||

To the great Nāga King Mahāpadma,
Whose body is light yellow, the serpent-headed one,
Who rules over the nāgas of the North-East,
The stainless one, - [I pay] homage and raise the praise!

klu chen rgyal po dung skyong ni ||
sku mdog kar sngo sbrul ’go can ||
shar lho klu rnams ’dul mdzad pa ||
dug rnams ’dul la phyag ’tshal [b]stod ||

To the great Nāga King Śaṅkhapāla,
Whose body is light green, the serpent-headed one,
Who rules over the nāgas of the South-East,
The tamer of poisons, - [I pay] homage and raise the praise!

klu chen rgyal po rigs ldan ni ||
sku mdog ser dmar sbrul ’go can ||
nub byang klu rnams ’dul mdzad pa ||

To the great Nāga King Kulika,
Whose body is orange, the serpent-headed one,
Who rules over the nāgas of the North-West,
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nad rnams ’dul la phyag `tshal bstd | \ The tamer of diseases. - [I pay] homage and raise the praise!96


Rje btsun dpal rje nag po chen po la bstd pa / Śrībhāṭṭārakamahākālas–

96 The stanza in praise of the eighth Nāga King, Ananta, the ruler of the nāgas of the South-West, is missed.


Researches and translations


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