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RITUALIZED DEVOTION, ALTRUISM, AND MEDITATION: THE OFFERING OF THE GURU MANDALA IN NEWAR BUDDHISM

1. INTRODUCTION

The culture of the Newars of the Kathmandu Valley, Nepal, is, in metropolitan South Asian terms, archaic. Urban, sophisticated and with a rich ritual and religious life, the Newars preserve old patterns of South Asian culture, including Buddhism. This was what drew Sylvain Lévi to Nepal and to write the history of Nepal. "Nepal," he wrote, — and by that he meant the Kathmandu Valley (a still current though now contested usage) — "is India in the making" (Lévi 1905 I: 28). Consequently, when handled sensitively, a knowledge of Newar Buddhism as practised today can tell us much about Buddhism in the late first millennium AD in India.¹

The present article is intended as a contribution to this knowledge of Newar Buddhism. By showing the similarity of presentday practice to the Kriyā-samuccaya, a ritual digest roughly 900 years old, I hope to illustrate the continuity of modern Newar Buddhism with the late Tantricized Mahāyāna Buddhism prevalent in north India just before the Muslim conquest. The centres of Newar Buddhism are the three cities of the Kathmandu Valley, Kathmandu itself, Lalitpur (Pāṭan), and Bhaktapur. Of the three Lalitpur is the most strongly Buddhist and, since my research was conducted there, this description applies to Lalitpur in the first instance.² The priests of Newar Buddhism come from a sub-section of Newar Buddhists' sacerdotal caste: this caste is made up of both Śākyas and Vajrācāryas, but only the latter may be family priests (purohita) for hereditary patrons (jajmān, jaymā).

2. METHOD OF STUDY

This description of the *guru maṇḍala* ritual, the most basic and widely known Newar Buddhist rite, synthesizes five written versions: two printed handbooks, two handcopied handbooks and the Kriyā-samuccaya. The Kriyā-samuccaya is an old source, but for the other four I have chosen the most recent sources I could, so as to be as close as possible to actual practice. As far as I know, the two handwritten sources are indeed still in

use. These written sources are supplemented by frequent observation of the rite as performed, and by the explanations of participants, especially priests. It must be stressed that for most lay people the ritual is a technical affair, something they perform many times throughout their life, but always under the instruction of a priest. Lay people recognize many elements of the whole, but usually they cannot reproduce it. By simple observation and discussion with priests and laity the anthropologist would not get very far in understanding the ritual. Just as the priest or pious layman rarely learns the ritual without written props, so the scholar cannot analyze its structure or content without them.

Having acknowledged the indispensability of written sources, one must remember how they are used. They are mnemonics for ritual specialists. Most of the utterances which accompany ritual actions are not understood by the laity, and are not recited so that they can even be recognized. Even most priests cannot analyze what they recite. This is not the place to question how far they understand it. In my opinion one should not draw hasty conclusions from the fact that most priests cannot parse their Sanskrit liturgy in the manner of a Sanskrit BA student. Priests often understand what the ritual is supposed to accomplish, both as a whole and in its parts, very well.

Locke (1980: 81—84) has already given a description of the guru maṇḍala rite, as well as of the kalaśa pūjā (Flask Worship) and homa (Fire Sacrifice).³ It is nonetheless worth providing another, independent description of the guru maṇḍala for several reasons: Locke does not translate the priest's utterances; he also followed a single printed version which added material not usually included;⁴ as with all rituals, the guru maṇḍala is performed in slightly different ways by the priests of different areas, and it is worth making an attempt to establish what is common to all variants.

Although in effect what is offered here might look like the edition of a text, there is unlikely to have been a single original version of the ritual; and even if there were, my intention is to convey the actual practice of contemporary Newar Buddhism, which is heterogeneous. The same priest may perform a given ritual in a more elaborate or more compressed form, depending on the time available. There are also several slightly variant ritual traditions within Lalitpur itself. Further research would be required, involving the consultation of many further manuscripts and interviews with priests, before one could specify which of the variations cited below are due to these different ritual traditions and which are due to other factors. It is hoped that the present article will be a useful first step for others who will carry on this research.

3. CONTEXT AND USE OF THE RITUAL

All complex Newar Buddhist rituals begin with the sponsor or patron performing (dane) the guru maṇḍala under the guidance of his or her Vajrācārya priest. As one Vajrācārya priest put it to his patron in my hearing: "Whatever religious act (dharma) one does, one must always begin with the guru maṇḍala." In the words of the late Amogha Vajra Vajracharya, in the preface to AV:

Just as no act is fitting in the Hīnayāna without undertaking to keep the rules (śīlagrahaṇa) nor in Hinduism without the gift of a cow, so in the Mahāyāna whatever auspicious act is undertaken it is wrong to do it without first worshipping the guru maṇḍala . . . It is the duty of every householder to keep this guru maṇḍala [book] in his house, to read it and to worship it regularly.

Guru maṇḍala, which in Newari may be shortened to guru manda, means 'the mandala of the guru'. The texts call the rite guru-maṇḍalārcana, 'offering of the mandala to the guru'. The guru in question is always understood to be the transcendental Buddha, Vajrasattva, though as Locke (1980: 81) points out, the text includes the Three Jewels (Buddha, Dharma, and Saṃgha) as gurus as well. In defence of the local understanding one could point out that the worshipper meditates on Vajrasattva; to the Three Jewels he merely pays obeisance (§5.8 and §5.3 below respectively). Vajrasattva is in particular the guru of Vajrācārya priests. He is also an embodiment of the absolute, a Tantric (and therefore esoteric) deity who is also exoteric. The worship of his mandala combines elements from the Mahāyāna and the Vajrayāna in a manner thoroughly characteristic of all Newar Buddhist rituals.

Pious Newar Buddhists sometimes perform the guru maṇḍala in the privacy of their god-room (dyaḥkwathā or āgaṁ) as part of their daily ritual. Priests should certainly do this. More usually, however, the ritual constitutes the introduction and the frame of every complex ritual, including esoteric ones. This means that all those who make use of Vajrācārya priests (the majority of Newars in Kathmandu and Lalitpur) frequently perform this ritual under the instruction of their family priest. All clean-caste Newars perform it during life-cycle rituals (or have it performed for them by their mother if the rite in question is one of those carried out in infancy). Husband and wife perform it together onto the same shared mandala at their wedding, and again at Tantric Initiation (if they take it together). Women who participate in Observances (vrata) perform it then; men perform it whenever they fill the role of sponsor of a complex ritual held in their home or in some guthi to which they belong.⁵

The ritual is performed in a ritually pure place. This means, if the worshipper is on his (more rarely, her) own, in a god-room which is regularly washed with pure water (nīlaḥ); otherwise in a room on the second floor of a house, or out of doors by a Fire-pit (yajñaśālā) in a place that has been smeared with cowdung. In the latter case the worshipper is the sponsor, and the priest recites the liturgy and tells the worshipper what to do because (in most cases) he does not know how to himself. Thus wherever I write below "the worshipper recites" this should be understood to mean, in these cases, "the priest recites for the worshipper". Laid out before the worshipper are a lamp with oil in it, a conch shell with water (ideally from a sacred river) on a tripod, a vajra and bell, a spirit-offering (balī) (in the simplest cases a rice-cone, gwaḥjā), and a worship plate (pujābhaḥ) containing flowers, incense, cotton wicks, red and yellow powder, each mixed to a paste, and food offerings (chopped up fruits), i.e. the Five Offerings (pañcopacāra).

When, as is usual, the guru mandala frames a complex ritual, the entire guru mandala is performed at the beginning, but the concluding sections (§5.15 onwards) are repeated at the very end. Ritual texts do indeed seem to indicate, contrary to what Locke was told (1980: 95), and illogical as it may seem, that the Dismissal is reduplicated in this way. As Witzel has pointed out (n.d.: 3), there is a further oddity here. Since the guru mandala frames the whole, one would expect the Dismissal (visarjana) of the guru mandala to be placed last, as indeed is the case with the framing rituals of the Tantric Hindu and Japanese Buddhist Fire Sacrifices. In fact, in the Newar Buddhist Fire Sacrifice, the Dismissal of the guru mandala is followed by the Dismissals of the Flask (kalaśavisarjana) and of the Spirit-offering (balivisarjana) (cf. Locke 1980: 102, 113).

There is a second point about the use of the guru mandala in complex rituals. According to pandit Asha Kaji Vajracharya, the guru mandala appears elsewhere in the Fire Sacrifice near its end, just before the series of rice-offerings to all participating gods made by all those present who are fasting (and not just the sponsor) (kīgaḥ tinegu): at this point the offerings to the Mt. Meru mandala (§5.10) are recapitulated. For some reason this recapitulation, which Asha Kaji explained as "half of the guru mandala", is known as rahasya (secret) mandala. I have not been able to confirm this. It is, however, certainly true that in the kīgaḥ tinegu rice-offerings which end any complex ritual, the two verses from the guru mandala (§5.13) which begin namo buddhāya gurave are used to make offerings to the Three Jewels.

4. WRITTEN SOURCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

The following written sources were used:

AV = printed handbook by Amogha Vajra Vajracharya (1972).

RB = printed handbook by Ratna Bahadur Vajracharya (1975).

G1 = handwritten paddhati from Kwā Bāhāh, Lalitpur.

G2 = handwritten paddhati from Dau Bāhāh, Lalitpur.

KSc = Kriyā-samuccaya by Jagaddarpana (Chandra 1977).

AV is the version followed by Locke (1980) and comes from Kathmandu. RB, G1 and G2 all come from Lalitpur. Of these three RB is the fullest and it is taken as the main text. All deviations, including those parts omitted by G1 and G2, actual working handbooks of which I obtained photocopies, are noted. In the main text, when synthesizing several manuscripts, I have tried to produce a single 'correct' version. Where following a single manuscript, and in the footnotes, I have cited the original uncorrected. Mantras and dhāraṇīs have been translated impressionistically; little else is possible, in view of their non-standard grammar, at least at the present stage of research. A summary of the rite according to each source is given in Table I.

TABLE I Summary of the *guru mandala* rite according to four handbooks and the Kriyā-samuccaya. Essential and basic parts of the ritual are given in capitals.

G1	RB	G2	AV	KSc (315 ² -318 ⁵)
5.1				
Purification	Purification	Purification	Purification	Triple
of the	of the	of the	of the	Refuge, Five
body. 5.2.	body.	body.	body.	Precepts, posadha with
(Dedication.)	(Dedication.)	Dedication.	(Dedication.)	abandoning of the Ten Unwholesome
5.3				Acts.
Obeisance	Obeisance	Obeisance	Obeisance	. 2015.
to gurus.	to gurus.	to gurus.	to gurus, dākas and dākinīs.	
5.4				
WORSHIP	WORSHIP	WORSHIP	WORSHIP	WORSHIP
OF CONCH.	OF CONCH.	OF CONCH.	OF CONCH.	OF CONCH.
5.5				
LUSTRATION OF MANDALA.	LUSTRATION OF MANDALA. and self.	LUSTRATION OF MANDALA. and self.	LUSTRATION OF MANDALA and self.	LUSTRATION OF MANDALA and self.

Table I (Continued)

G1	RB	G2	AV	KSc (315 ² -318 ⁵)
5.6	1 77 (4 - 13 - 1.			
EMPOWERMENT	Purification	Purification	Purification	Purification
BY	of body,	of body,	of body,	of body,
TATHĀGATAS,	REMOVAL OF	REMOVAL OF	REMOVAL OF	purification
POWDER	OBSTACLES,	OBSTACLES,	OBSTACLES,	of flowers,
OFFERING,	EMPOWERMENT	EMPOWERMENT	EMPOWERMENT	purification
REMOVAL OF	OF BODY,	OF BODY,	OF BODY,	of ground,
OBSTACLES.	Removal of	Removal of	Removal of	removal of
	sin,	sin,	sin,	obstacles.
	Empowerment	Empowerment	Empowerment	
	of seat,	of seat,	of seat,	
	protection,	protection,	protection,	
	POWDER	POWDER	POWDER	
	OFFERING,	OFFERING,	OFFERING,	
	Lustration	Lustration	Lustration	
	of mandala.	of mandala.	of mandala.	
5.7				
MEDITATION	MEDITATION	MEDITATION	MEDITATION	Making
ON MORAL	ON MORAL	ON MORAL	ON MORAL	mandala,
& WORLDLY	& WORLDLY	& WORLDLY	& WORLDLY	Drawing
BENEFITS,	BENEFITS,	BENEFITS,	BENEFITS,	8-petalled
WORSHIP OF	Empowerment	Empowerment	WORSHIP OF	lotus,
SUN & MOON,	of mandala	of mandala	SUN & MOON,	WORSHIP OF
PURIFICATION	by	by	Removal of	SUN & MOON,
OF HAND.	Tathāgatas,	Tathāgatas,	obstacles.	empowerment
	WORSHIP OF	WORSHIP OF		of body,
	SUN & MOON,	SUN & MOON,		speech and
	PURIFICATION	PURIFICATION		mind,
	OF HAND,	OF HAND.		protection,
	Removal of			empowerment
	obstacles,			of seat
	Consecration			and
	by Tathägatas.			mandala.
5.8				
VISUALIZATION	Meditation	VISUALIZATION		
OF	on emptiness,	OF		
VAJRASATTVA.	VISUALIZATION	VAJRASATTVA.		
	OF			
	VAJRASATTVA.			
5.9				
HAND GESTURE	HAND GESTURE	HAND GESTURE		
OF FLAMES,	OF FLAMES,	OF FLAMES,		
SUMMONING	Foot-water	Foot-water		
MANTRA.	offered to	offered to		
	Vajrasattva,	Vajrasattva,		
	5 'summoning'	SUMMONING		
	hand gestures,	MANTRA.		
	SUMMONING			
	MANTRA.			

Table I (Continued)

G1	RB	G2	AV	KSc (315 ² -318 ⁵)
5.10 OFFERINGS TO MT. MERU MANDALA.	OFFERINGS TO MT. MERU MANDALA.	OFFERINGS OF MT. MERU MANDALA.	OFFERINGS OF MT. MERU MANDALA.	OFFERINGS OF MT. MERU MANDALA (with Vajrasattva visualized in the centre).
5.11 OFFERING OF JEWEL MANDALA TO GURU.	OFFERING OF JEWEL MANDALA TO GURU.	OFFERING OF JEWEL MANDALA TO GURU.	OFFERING OF JEWEL MANDALA TO GURU	
5.12 WORSHIP OF SIXTEEN WORSHIP GODDESSES.	WORSHIP OF SIXTEEN WORSHIP GODDESSES.			
5.13 Obeisance to Vajrasattva & 3 Jewels, Triple Refuge, Confession of sin, Rejoicing in merit, BODHISATTVA VOW.	Obeisance to Vajrasattva & 3 Jewels, Triple Refuge, Confession of sin, Rejoicing in merit, BODHISATTVA VOW.	Obeisance to Vajrasattva & 3 Jewels Triple Refuge, Confession of sin, Rejoicing in merit, BODHISATTVA VOW.	Obeisance to Vajrasattva & 3 Jewels, Triple Refuge, Confession of sin, Rejoicing in merit, BODHISATTVA VOW.	Obeisance to 3 Jewels, Triple Refuge, Confession of sin, Rejoicing in merit, BODHISATTVA VOW.
5.14 CONFESSION OF SINS.	CONFESSION OF SINS.	CONFESSION OF SINS.	CONFESSION OF SINS.	OFFERING OF JEWEL MANDALA.
5.15 PRELIMINARY LIBATION OF SPIRIT- OFFERING. SPIRIT- OFFERING, visualization, empowerment.		PRELIMINARY LIBATION OF SPIRIT- OFFERING, libation to Hārītī and to Lords of Directions.	PRELIMINARY LIBATION OF SPIRIT- OFFERING, visualization, empowerment, libation to Lords of Directions, 5 'summoning' hand gestures.	Final verse obeisance to Vajrasattva.

Table I (Continued)

G1	RB	G2	AV	KSc (315 ² -318 ⁵)
5.16				
OFFERINGS	OFFERINGS	OFFERINGS	OFFERINGS	
TO LORDS OF	TO LORDS OF	TO LORDS OF	TO LORDS OF	
DIRECTIONS.	DIRECTIONS.	DIRECTIONS,	DIRECTIONS,	
		and to Ten	Worship of the	
		Wrathful	Sixteen Worship	
		Ones.	Goddesses.	
5.17				
	LIBATIONS TO	LIBATIONS TO	LIBATIONS TO	
	SPIRIT-	SPIRIT-	SPIRIT-	
	OFFERING &	OFFERING &	OFFERING &	
	AMRTAKUNDALİ,	AMRTAKUNDALI.	AMRTAKUNDALĪ,	
	'All purpose'		Meditation.	
	spirit-			
	offering.			
(5.18)				
			Offerings to	
			principal deity	
			of main worship.	
5.18				
HUNDRED	HUNDRED	HUNDRED	HUNDRED	
SYLLABLES OF	SYLLABLES OF	SYLLABLES OF	SYLLABLES OF	
VAJRASATTVA.	VAJRASATTVA.	VAJRASATTVA.	VAJRASATTVA.	
5.19				
DISMISSAL.	DISMISSAL.	DISMISSAL.	DISMISSAL.	

Other abbreviations used are as follows.

SAM = Sādhanamālā (Bhattacharya 1925, 1928).

NGMPP - Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project: this abbreviation prefixes the numbers of manuscripts microfilmed by the project and available from the National Archives, Kathmandu.

New. = Newari. Tib. = Tibetan.

5. DESCRIPTION OF THE GURU MANDALA RITE IN 19 SECTIONS

5.1. Purification

The worshipper begins by making in front of him a small circle of flour $(pwat\bar{a}y)$ and placing two rice cones $(gwahj\bar{a})$ on it at the points furthest from and closest to himself. Then he takes water from the conch shell on

his cupped right palm, sips it three times and sprinkles it on his body. While doing so he recites:

Om hrīm svāhā 3; om kāyaviśodhane svāhā; om sarvavighnān utsāre hūm.6

OM HRĪM SVĀHĀ 3; OM purification of the body SVĀHĀ: OM remove all obstacles HŪM.

This is an initial purification.

5.2. Dedication

Next comes the 'intention' or 'dedication' (saṃkalpa) of the rite. The worshipper touches the worship-plate with his right hand and recites the following dhāranī of Puspaketu:

Om namo bhagavate puspaketurājāya tathāgatārhate samyaksambuddhāya, tadyathā, om puspe puspe mahāpuspe supuspe puspodbhave puspasambhave puspāvakirne svāhā.

Om Obeisance to the Lord Puspaketu, Attained arhat, completely enlightened Buddha; in the same way: Om flower, flower, great flower, good flower, arising from flowers, born of flowers, strewn with flowers, SVĀHĀ.

RB explains this in exactly the way of the Tibetan texts (Beyer 1973: 145, 193, 206), saying that the recitation of the *dhāraṇī* causes the offering, though performed only once, to reap the merit of ten million (a *koṭi* of) offerings. Unlike the Tibetans however, who use the *dhāraṇī* specifically for offering flowers, the Newar ritual uses it for this more general purpose, the 'intention'. As might be guessed from my 'translation' the point of such *dhāraṇī* verses is not their meaning but their use. The short *dhāraṇī* form, which remains constant in many such verses, is well known to Newar Buddhists, all of whom know by heart the most common, the *durgati*, recited at death.

This is followed by the 'Now the great gift' verse locating the worship within the great continent of Bharatavarṣa (roughly: South Asia). This concludes with the name of the worshipper, his father's name, his gotra and the phrase "I offer this flowerplate" (... idam puṣpabhānḍaṃ saṃkalpayāmy aham).

In a normal ritual the patron now passes the ritual plate to the priest and touches his hand to his forehead (in obeisance). The priest holds the plate in his right hand and recites the verse:

Om ādau kalyāṇam madhye kalyāṇam paryavasāne kalyāṇam svārtham suvyañjanam kevalaparipūrṇam parisuddham paryavadātam brahmacaryam samprakāsayanti sma.

OM they proclaimed celibacy¹¹ which is auspicious in its beginning, auspicious in its middle, auspicious in its completion, an end in itself, beautiful, sheer and complete, wholly pure, wholly clean.

This is an extremely ancient recitation going back to the Buddha himself, since it occurs in numerous places in the Pali canon when the Buddha exhorts his monks to teach the Doctrine. Strictly speaking this is not part of the *guru maṇḍala* (and is not given in AV, RB or G1), but it is included whenever the *guru maṇḍala* forms the beginning of a complex ritual. The point is to acknowledge the right of the Vajrācārya priest to perform the rite for his parishioner.

5.3. Obeisance

The priest places the worship-plate beside the worshipper, who takes up some rice grains and sits with his palms together. In the ritual handbooks this is called 'prayer' (binti from vijñaptiḥ) and the priest instructs the sponsor and participants to 'pray' (binti yānāḥ cwaṃ!). The worshipper then recites:

Om gurubuddhah gurudharmah gurusamgham tathaiva ca guruvajradharaś caiva gurusarvam namāmy aham.

Om to the guru Buddha, the guru Dharma and the guru Samgha; to the guru Vajradhara too: to all the gurus I do obejsance. 13

Vande śrī-vajrasattva-bhuvanagurum Sarvabuddham bhavantam Nānārūpeņa yena timirabhayaharam Nirmitam merusamstham Dharmādhāram munīndram jinavarasubhagam Maṇḍalam vajradhātum Sarvānandaikarūpam sahajasukhamayam Dehinām mokṣahetum.

I do obeisance to the blessed *guru* of the universe, Vajrasattva: he is entirely enlightened and noble; by means of his various forms he removes the dangerous cataract (of ignorance), and is

found at Mt. Meru in his corporeal form; he is the foundation of the Dharma, king of sages, most fortunate as befits a conqueror; he takes the form of the 'vajra-sphere' mandala; ¹⁴ he is of one form with all bliss, the embodiment of the innate bliss, the cause of release for beings. ¹⁵

5.4. Worship of the Conch Shell

Now he worships the conch shell, first placing sandal paste on it with the fourth finger of the right hand, then a flower, and finally a circle of thread $(jajamk\bar{a})$ (which symbolizes clothing). He recites:

Om varunamūrtaye candanam namah.

OM obeisance to the form of Varuna (with) sandalwood.

Om varunamūrtaye puspam namah.

OM obeisance to the form of Varuna (with) a flower.

Om varunamūrtaye yajnopavītam namah.

OM obeisance to the form of Varuna (with) a sacred thread.¹⁶

He takes water from the 'spout' of the conch shell into the palm of his right hand and replaces it in the top of the shell; he does this three times in all while reciting:

Om guru ājñā. Om āḥ hūm vam vajrodake udake amṛtaṃ bhavantu hūm svāhā 3.

OM with permission of the guru: OM ĀH HŪM VAM vajrawater become nectar HŪM SVĀHĀ 3.17

"Having purified the water with this mantra, think that it has become nectar" (RB: 3). VAM is the seed mantra which causes Varuṇa, king of the holy serpents (nāga), to be present in the water.

Offering rice to the conch shell the worshipper recites:

Om nāgapāśātmako nityam jalarājo mahābala Nirvikalpeti vikhyāto varunāya namo 'stu te.

OM obeisance to you Varuna, who permanently takes the form of a serpent-noose, king of the waters, possessing great strength, famous for your indeterminate form.

5.5. Lustration of Mandala and/or Self

The worshipper now takes rice grains and water from the conch shell and drips them on the mandala; then he sprinkles water on himself. He recites:

Yathā hi jātamātreņa snāpitāḥ sarvatathāgatāḥ Tathā 'haṃ snāpayiṣyāmi śuddhadivyena vāriṇā.¹8 Oṁ āḥ hūṁ sarvatathāgatābhiṣeka-samāśriye hūṁ.

Just as all the Attained Ones were lustrated at the very moment of their birth, In the same way I shall lustrate (you) with pure divine water. O˙M ĀḤ HŪ˙M I take refuge in the consecration of all the Attained Ones HŪ˙M.¹9

5.6. Purification, Protection and Sacralization

All versions except G1, the most abbreviated, include here a second purification of the worshipper. As before he sips water three times and sprinkles it on his body, asking for the removal of all obstacles;²⁰ this is followed by the $dh\bar{a}ran\bar{\iota}$ of Puspaketu.²¹

For what follows this second purification G1 again presents an abbreviated version. According to it, the worshipper takes a leaf and throws pieces to right and left and recites:

Om āḥ hum, hum āḥ om, sarvatathāgatādhitiṣṭhantu²² svāhā. OM ĀḤ HŪM, HŪM ĀḤ OM, may all the Attained Ones be present SVĀHĀ.

Then he places yellow powder on the mandala and with the same stained finger places the 'used' $(p\bar{u}gu)$ powder on his own forehead. He recites:

Om suvarnatilaka-vibhusanam praticha svāhā.

OM accept the decoration of the golden spot SVĀHĀ.

Again he worships the mandala with rice and water:

Om protsāre hum, sarvavighnān utsāre hum. OM expell HŪM, remove all obstacles HŪM.

The other texts largely agree, differing, as usual, in details and in the order that ritual elements are performed. RB has the worshipper simply touch his head, neck and chest saying OM ĀḤ HŪM²³ and explains this as the threefold empowerment of body, speech and mind: through it one must imagine that a white Vairocana appears on the head, a red Amitābha on the neck, and a blue Akṣobhya on the chest (heart). The same procedure occurs during daily worship (nitya pūjā) (Gellner 1987a: 424). Then he throws rice to right and left reciting om sarvapāpāpanaye hūm, thinking that all his sin is removed. Then he places rice on his seat saying om tiṣṭha vajrāsane svāhā (OM stay on the vajra-seat SVĀHĀ). He places rice on his head and recites:

Om manidhari vajrini mahāpratisare rakṣa 2 mām sarvasattvānām ca hūm phat svāhā.

OM Great Pratisarā, jewel- and *vajra*-holder, protect, protect me and all beings HŪM PHAT SVĀHĀ.

RB (p. 6) explains: "This protects the body: by placing rice on the head with the mantra of the Pañcarakṣā [strictly, of one of the five Pañcarakṣā, Pratisarā] the protection of the body is 'fixed' (tāran jula). One should hold in mind that spooks, ghosts, witches (dākinī-śākinī), evil beings, the troupes of Māra (māragaṇa) and obstacles are all now unable to touch one." Then the worshipper puts on a spot of powder saying om vajratilaka-bhūṣaṇe (OM decoration of the vajra-spot SVĀHĀ).²⁴ Finally he pours rice and water onto the mandala while reciting:

Om vajrodake hūm, om vajragomaye hūm, om vajrabhūme hūm, surekhe sarvatathāgatādhitisthantu svāhā.

OM vajra-water HŪM, OM vajra-cowdung HŪM, OM vajra-ground HŪM, well drawn, may all the Attained Ones empower it SVĀHĀ ²⁵

5.7. Meditation on the Moral and Worldly Benefits of the Worship

Now the worshipper places his right hand, palm downwards, over the mandala.²⁶ He recites:

Dānam gomayam ambunā ca sahitam Sīlam ca sammārjanam Kṣāntiḥ kṣudrapipīlakāpanayanam Vīryam kriyotthāpanam²¹ Dhyānam tatkṣaṇam ekacittakaraṇam Prajñā surekhojjvalā Etāḥ pāramitāḥ ṣaḍ eva labhate Kṛtvā muner maṇḍalam.

Charity is ²⁸ cowdung and water, Moral conduct is sweeping, Patience is removing tiny ants, Heroism is carrying through the rite, Trance is onepointedness of mind at each moment, Wisdom is (drawing) blazingly clear lines. All six of these moral perfections are obtained by whoever worships the mandala of the Buddha.

Bhavati kanakavarnah sarvarogair vimuktah Suramanujaviśistaś candravad dīptakāntih Dhanakanakasamṛddho²⁹ jāyate rājavaṃśe Sugatavaragrhe 'smin mandalam yah karoti.³⁰

One is (reborn) golden in colour, free of all disease, Distinguished among gods and men, shining in glory like the moon, Rich in land and gold, taking birth in a kingly family, If one worships the mandala in this special abode of Lord Buddha.

Om vajramandale surekhe sarvatathāgatādhitiṣṭhantu svāhā. OM in the well-drawn vajra-mandala may all the Attained Ones be present SVĀHĀ.³¹

Now he places a flower on the top of his hand and turns it over so that the flower falls on the mandala, saying:

> Om candrārka-vimale svāhā. OM spotless sun and moon SVĀHĀ.

Then he rinses his hand while reciting:

Om hastaśodhane svāhā.

OM purification of the hand SVĀHĀ.³²

Now he makes another apotropaic offering, by waving a flower in a circle over the mandala and placing it in front of the spirit-offering, saying:

Om protsāre hūm sarvavighnān utsāre hūm. OM expel HŪM remove all obstacles HŪM.³³

Finally he makes another offering of water to the mandala, reciting:

Om āh hūm sarvatathāgata suvarņajaladhāre svāhā. OM ĀH HŪM all the Attained Ones stream of golden water SVĀHĀ.34

While doing this he should think that all the Attained Ones (tathāgata) have entered the mandala (RB: 9).

5.8. Visualization of Vajrasattva

Next the worshipper performs a meditation and visualization of Vajrasattva. This part of the ritual is never performed in Kathmandu (unless AV is very unrepresentative), but is always included in Lalitpur. First one meditates on emptiness:³⁵

Om svabhāvasuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ, svabhāvasuddho 'haṃ, sūnyatājñāna-vajra-svabhāvātmako 'haṃ, sūnyaṃ vibhāvya.

Om all things are inherently pure, I am inherently pure, my being is the vajra-essence of the knowledge of emptiness. (Thus) one should visualize emptiness.

RB translates this much as I have, and says that one should meditate on Vajrasattva while imagining that everything is empty. Asha Kaji Vajracharya explained the compound *svabhāvaśuddha* to mean that whatever religious act one does one must have a pure body and a pure nature.³⁶

The worshipper sits in a praying attitude:37

Om mantrādhisthita^{37a}-bhūmimadhye yamkārādi-caturbīja-samjātam mahābhūtam vāyvagnijalāvanimandalopari sumkāreņa merumandalam tadupari ratnasimhāsanam tasyopari padma-candre śrī vajrasattvam dvibhujam ekamukham śuklavarnam vajravajraghantādharam vicitrābharana-bhūṣitam śirasi cīvara-dhārinam indranīlavarnākṣobhyālamkṛta-maulinam gurubhaṭṭāra-kam dhyātvā.

OM let him visualize a mandala of the four elements, wind, fire, water and earth, arising from their four seed mantras, YAM etc., in the middle of an area empowered with mantras. On top of this the mandala of Mt. Meru arising from the letter SUM. On top of that a lion-throne of jewels, on top of that a lotus, and on top of that a moon-mandala.³⁸ On top of that meditate on Vajrasattva who has two arms, one face, is white in colour, holds *vajra* and *vajra*-bell, is adorned with different coloured ornaments, with a cloth of five colours wrapped around his matted locks,³⁹ his headdress adorned with Akṣobhya who is dark blue. Thus he should visualize the worshipful *guru*.

5.9. Worship of Vajrasattva⁴⁰

"Now Vajrasattva has come. But obstacles (vighna) will also come; to get rid of them one must show the hand gesture of flames (jvālāmudrā), which is like fire burning, and shows Vajrasattva's brilliance (tej)." 41 While doing this he recites: PHEM PHEM PHEM. He worships Vajrasattva, treating him as a guest, by offering 'foot-water' (pādyārgha) onto the mandala and reciting:

Om bhagavat śrīmat śrī śrī sadguru-vajrasattvabhaṭṭārakāya caraṇakamale pādyam argham ācamanam pratīccha hrīmh svāhā. OM Lord Vajrasattva, thrice-blessed, worshipful true teacher, accept the water-offering to your lotus feet and the sipping water HRĪMH SVĀHĀ.⁴²

RB gives next a series of five hand gestures and mantras called collectively ākarṣaṇamudrā (summoning hand gestures) which are omitted in G1 and G2.⁴³ I translate from RB (pp. 11–12):

Show the circle hand gesture (cakramudrā) while reciting om vajracakre hūm. This is the mantra for making all (the gods) enter the mandala. It draws them in. Show the goad hand gesture with om vajrānkuśa jah. The god Vajrānkuśa arises from the seed mantra JAH. One should think that he has caught Vajrasattva along with his troupe in his goad and brought them down from the Akanistha heaven. Show the noose hand gesture (pāśamudrā) with om vairapāśa hūm. Think that the god Vairapāśa, arisen from the seed mantra HŪM, has caught them in his noose and brought them down. Show the chain hand gesture (śikhah mudrā) with om vajrasphota vam. Think that the god Vairasphota, arisen from the seed mantra VAM, has caught them with his chain and brought them down. Show the possession hand gesture (āveśamudrā) with om vajrāveśa hoh. Think that the god Vajrāveśa, arisen from the seed mantra HOH, has made (Vajrasattva) hold the vajra and bell, has made (him) possess, has made him enter into the mandala.

This final gesture is an indication, only hinted at here, of the identity of deity and worshipper. During exoteric rituals when the *guru maṇḍala* is being performed by priests for parishioners, this is not stressed at all. It will be far from the thoughts of either party. In esoteric rituals, however, the identification is acted out in ritual and possession is made clear (see Allen 1973: 12, Gellner 1987a; 383, 461; 1988b; 1989).

The whole mantra — which we have just seen split into five — is now recapitulated to make the whole mandala of Vajrasattva present: OM JAH HŪM VAM HOH. Five grains of rice are laid out on the mandala, starting in the centre, then clockwise around the four cardinal points, starting with the 'east' (always the point nearest the worshipper). Although G1 and G2 omit the recitation of each mantra separately as in RB, both texts include this vital mantra which recapitulates the five seed mantras in one.⁴⁴

The same mantra is also the one used to draw Cakrasamvara down from the Akanistha heaven in the esoteric threefold visualization (trisamādhi): this points to a correspondence between the two deities, Vajrasattva and Cakrasamvara. In the classical texts (SAM: 461—2, 475) the four mantras JAH HŪM VAH HOH are thought each to accomplish a different action: respectively, bringing down (ākarṣaṇa), merging (praveśana) (of the Knowledge-deity into the Convention deity which is identical with the worshipper's own self), binding (bandhana) and subjecting to one's will (vaśīkarana).⁴⁵ The Knowledge-deity (jñānadevatā) is the deity-as-Absolute,

residing in heaven; the Convention- (or Vow-) deity (samayadevatā) is the deity visualized by the worshipper in the mandala and as identified with himself (Gellner 1987a: 476—81; 1989). RB, as we have seen, also interprets each mantra as accomplishing an action, but the first three are all associated with 'pulling down'.

5.10. Worship of the Mandala of Mt. Meru

Now the worshipper takes a 'flower' (swāṃ) and tears it into twenty-one offerings, placing each in turn on the mandala with a different recitation. In practice it is a leaf which is taken, usually of the flower known as sin-hāswāṃ. 46 One offering is made to each part of the mandala: three to Mt. Meru itself, four to continents, four to sub-continents, seven to the seven jewels (of a world conqueror, cakravartin), one to 'all the treasures', one each to the sun and moon. Strictly the bits of leaf should be offered in order in a circle. Locke (1980: 85) gives a diagram showing the layout of the mandala. In practice the offerings are usually just dropped on the centre of the mandala. In Tibetan Buddhism the self-same mandala of Mt. Meru is offered, but with thirty-seven parts, which are evidently meant to correspond to the list of thirty-seven limbs of dharma (dharmapaksa). 47

The mantra for each offering includes, for each part of the mandala, a separate seed mantra:

Om hah madhyamerave namah

OM HAH obeisance to the middle section of Mt. Meru.

Om ham adhomerave namah

OM HAM obeisance to the lower section of Mt. Meru.

Om hūm ūrdhvamerave namah

OM HUM obeisance to the upper section of Mt. Meru. 48

Om yam pūrvavidehāya namah

OM YAM obeisance to the continent Purvavideha.

Om ram jambūdvīpāya namah

OM RAM obeisance to the continent Jambūdvīpa.

Om lam avaragodānīyāya namah

OM LAM obeisance to the continent Avaragodānīya.49

Om vam uttarakurave namah

OM VAM obeisance to the continent Uttarakuru.

There then follow four sub-continents each called simply *upadvīpa*, with the seed mantras of, respectively, YĀM, RĀM, LĀM and VĀM.⁵⁰ Then there follow the seven jewels: elephant (*gaja*, YAM), man (*puruṣa*, RAM), horse (*aśva*, LAM), woman (*strī*, VAM), sword (*khaḍga*, YĀM), discus (*cakra*,

RĀM) and jewel (maṇi, LĀM).⁵¹ These utterances are each of the form om yam gajaratnāya namah. Finally to conclude:

Om vām sarvanidhānebhyo namaḥ
OM VĀM obeisance to all the jewels.
Om am candrāya namaḥ
OM AM obeisance to the moon.
Om ām sūryāya namaḥ
OM ĀM obeisance to the sun.
Śrī vajrasattva-gurave namaḥ
Obeisance to the guru, the blessed Vajrasattva.
52

Now finally the worshipper can worship the mandala as a whole. He makes a series of offerings: powder, flowers, circle in a thread, incense, light, fruit, food and popped rice (New. $t\bar{a}y$). For each of these he recites $o\dot{m}$ vajragandhe $sv\bar{a}h\bar{a}$ and so on.⁵³ The only exception is that popped rice is offered with the ancient and venerable verse:⁵⁴

Ye dharmā hetuprabhavā hetum teṣām tathāgato
Hy avadat teṣām ca yo nirodha evamvādī mahāśramaṇaḥ.
All things which proceed from a cause, their cause and the means of their cessation — all this the Attained
One explained: this is the teaching of the great renouncer [i.e. the Buddha].

KSc (317) stipulates that one should begin the worship of the whole mandala by offering a flower and then visualizing the *guru* Vajrasattva sitting on a moon and double lotus with Mt. Meru as his shrine room (kūṭāṃgāra).⁵⁵ Only then should one make the Five Offerings. This meditation must be the origin of that we have seen in the modern ritual above (§5.8). After this KSc proceeds directly to the *bodhisattva* vow (§5.13) before offering the mandala as a whole to Vajrasattva.

5.11. Offering the Ratna (Jewel) Mandala⁵⁶

Now the whole mandala, that is Mt. Meru and all its adornments, is offered to the Lord Vajrasattva. Those who know how to 'do a ratna maṇḍala', holding their hands, with rice and a flower, in a special hand gesture, do so; if they do not know how to, they hold their palms together. Where the priest recites for the worshipper(s), he also rings his bell. The following is recited:

Om caturatnamayam merum astasrmgopasobhitam⁵⁷ Saptaratnasamākīrnam dade 'nuttaradāyine. Gurubhyo buddhadharmebhyah samghebhyas ca tathaiva ca Niryātayāmi bhāvena sampūrṇa-ratnamaṇḍalaṃ. OM Mt. Meru, made of four jewels, with eight beautiful peaks, Adorned with the seven jewels, (all this) I give to the ultimate saviour. I offer with devotion 58 to the guru Buddha, the guru the Doctrine, and the guru the Monastic Community too, the whole of the jewel mandala.

The singular anuttaradāyine in the first verse implies that it is addressed to Vajrasattva alone.⁵⁹ As Locke points out, "By offering the mandala the devotee is offering the entire world to the deity. At the level of tantric yoga the mandala represents the human body."⁶⁰ It is the first interpretation which Newars support; they leave the second to yogins.

5.12. Worship of the Sixteen Goddesses (sodaśalāsyā)61

These are the sixteen 'dancing girls' whose inclusion in the daily worship of a Nepalese Buddhist, as described by Hodgson's paṇḍit, Amṛtānanda, puzzled Brough (1948: 672). Each goddess embodies a particular form of worship. They are invoked each with a seed mantra and a hand gesture, the utterance being of the form: om vajravīņe hūm (for Vīṇādevī). This sequence is summarized in Table II.

In most ordinary rites, the worshipper places a flower for each goddess while the priest reads out the mantras. Then, as always after worshipping these sixteen goddesses, the priest tosses his *vajra* once saying OM HŪM SVĀHĀ, rings his bell saying OM HOḤ SVĀHĀ and then tosses the *vajra* three times (i.e. three half turns) with the verse:

Om vajrasattvasamgrahāt vajraratnam anuttaram. Vajradharma-gāyinī vajrakarma kulodbhavah. Om takkijah hūm 3.62 OM, this, because it is held by Vajrasattva, is the ultimate vajrajewel. (The bell) which sings the vajra-doctrine, is born in the

5.13. Taking the Bodhisattva Vow

Now the worshipper recites various praises to Vajrasattva and the Three Jewels, culminating in the undertaking to attain supreme wisdom for the sake of all beings. Praying, he recites:

Om āḥ hūm śrīmat sadguruvara-caraṇakamalāya samyagjñānā-vabhāsanakarāya namo hūm.63

Buddha families of vajra and karma. OM TAKKIJAH HŪM 3.

OM AH HŪM obeisance to the best lotus feet of the blessed true guru, whose rays shine forth the true knowledge HŪM.

Namas te tu namas te tu namas te tu⁶⁴ namo namah Bhaktyā 'ham tvām namasyāmi guru nātha prasīda me. Obeisance to you 3, obeisance obeisance, With devotion I pay obeisance to you, guru and lord: be pleased with me.⁶⁵

Yasya prasādakiraņaiḥ sphuritātmakatvaṃ Ratnaprabhāparikara-prahatāndhakārāh

TABLE II
The Sixteen Worship Goddesses

Go	ddess	Distinguishing feature	Seed mantra	Colour according to NGMPP ms. D31/20
1	Vīṇādevī	lute	HÛM̈́	blue
2	Vamsādevī	flute	TRĂM	yellow
3	Mrdangadevi	drums	HRĪM	white
4	Murujadevi	double-headed drum	AḤ .	green
5	Lāsyādevī	dance	HŪM _.	black
6	Mālyādevī	garland	TRĀM	yellow
7	Gītādevī	sings Tantric songs	HRĪM	green
8	Nrtyadevi	dances	AḤ .	red
9	Puspadevi	flower	HŮM _.	white
10	Dhūpadevī	incense	TRĂM	black
11	Dîpadevî	light	HRĪM	yellow
12	Gandhadevi	vermilion	AH .	green
13	Ādarśadevī	mirror	HŪM _.	white
14	Rasavajrā	offers Five Nectars	TRĀM	red
15	Sparśadevi	touch	HRĪM	green
16	Dharmadhātuvajrā	holds Flask	AH	black

Notes:

^a Numbers refer to Figure 1.

b Offerings are made with utterances of the form om vajravīne hūm, except that the offering to Dīpadevī is with om vajrāloke hūm, to Rasavajrā with om rasavajre hūm, to Sparšadevī with om sparšavajre hrīm, and to Dharmadhātuvajrā with om dharmadhātuvajre ah.

c AV has huṁ for huṁ throughout, gandhavajre for vajragandhe under Gandhadevī, vajrāvalokite for vajrāloke under Dīpadevī, vajrādaršane for vajrādarše under Ādaršadevī, dharmadhātu-garbhe for dharmadhātuvajre under Dharmadhātuvajrā.

d Asha Kaji Vajracharya gives another goddess, Hāsyādevī (smiling and playing cymbals), in fifth position, and omits Rasavajrā.

^e NGMPP manuscript D31/20 confirms the schema gives in Table II and provides the colour indications listed. It gives the seed mantra of Sparśadevī as TRĀ, evidently a scribal error. The hand gestures shown in D31/20 often agree with, but sometimes differ from, those shown in Figure 1. It is the mantra which is crucial.

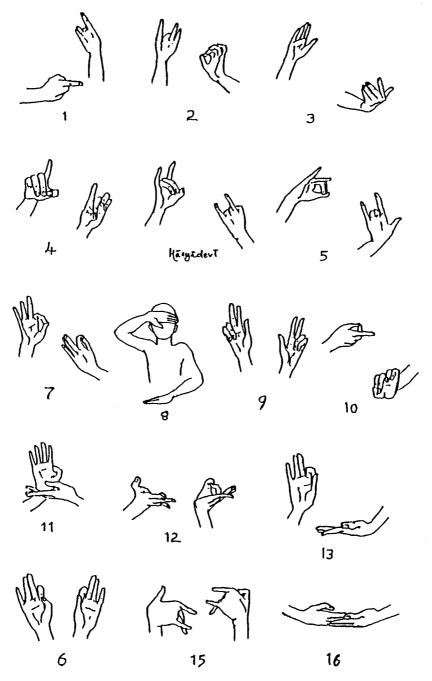


Fig. 1. The *mudrās* (hand gestures) of the Sixteen Worship Goddesses. Drawings by Carolyn Clarke; demonstrations of the *mudrās* by Asha Kaji Vajracharya. See Table II for key.

Paśyanty anāviladrśaih savilāsam uccaih Tasmai namaskrtir iyam gurubhāskarāya.

By the rays of his grace men have their darkness destroyed in the mass of his jewel radiance, and they witness with unimpeded eyes, intensely and with delight, the self's sudden appearance: to him, the sunlike *guru*, this obeisance is offered.⁶⁷

Namo buddhāya gurave namo dharmāya tāyine
Namaḥ saṃghāya mahate tribhyo 'pi satataṃ namaḥ.68
Sarvabuddhaṃ namasyāmi dharmaṃ ca jinabhāṣitaṃ
Saṃghaṃ ca śīlasampannaṃ ratnatrayaṃ namāmy ahaṃ.69
Obeisance to the guru Buddha, obeisance to the saving Doctrine,
Obeisance to the great Monastic Community, to all three
perpetual obeisance. I bow down to all the Buddhas, and to the
Doctrine proclaimed by the Buddha, and to the Monastic
Community which is accomplished in morality: I bow down to
the Three Jewels.

The verses which follow are evidently an old formula which combines into one concise set of verses "a confession of sins, a vow not to repeat them (akaraṇa-saṃvara), a rejoicing in merit, an offering of one's self, a triple refuge, and raising the thought of enlightenment" (SAM: 106).⁷⁰

Ratnatrayam me śaranam sarvam pratidiśāmy agham⁷¹
Anumode jagat-punyam buddhabodhau dadhe manah.
Ābodhau śaranam yāmi buddhadharmaganottamam⁷²
Bodhau cittam⁷³ karomy eṣa svaparārtha-prasiddhaye.
The Three Jewels are my Refuge, I confess all my sin. I rejoice in the merit of the world and dedicate my mind to full enlightenment. Until the attainment of enlightenment I go for refuge to the Buddha, the Doctrine, and the best of Associations [i.e. the Saṃgha]. I turn my thought to enlightenment to bring success both to myself and to others.

Utpādayāmi varabodhicittam
Nimantrayāmi bahu⁷⁴ sarvasattvān
Iṣṭām cariṣye varabodhicaryām.⁷⁵
Buddho bhaveyam jagato hitāya.
Deśānām sarvapāpānām punyāṇām cānumodanām
Upavāsam cariṣyāmi āryāṣṭāṅgam upoṣadham.⁷⁶
I raise the best thought of enlightenment, I invite all and every being. I shall carry out the best wisdom conduct as they desire,

May I become a Buddha for the good of the world. I confess all my sins and rejoice in (others') merits, I shall carry out the *upoṣadha* Observance with the Eight Precepts.

5.14. Confession of Sins (Pāpadeśanā)

Here the worshipper may break and offer the rice between his palms, or he may continue without a break:

Anādimati saṃsāre⁷⁷ janmany atraiva vā punaḥ Yan mayā paśunā pāpaṃ kṛtaṃ kāritam eva vā Yac cānumoditaṃ kiṃ cid ātmaghātāya mohataḥ Tad atyayaṃ deśayāmi paścāttāpena tāpitaḥ. Whatever evil on the endless wheel of rebirth, or simply in this very life, whatever evil was committed by me, an animal, or caused to be committed, And whatever was foolishly assented to for my own self-destruction, That evil I confess, stricken with remorseful feeling.

Ratnatraye 'pakāro yo mātṛpitṛṣu vā mayā⁷⁸
Guruṣv anyeṣu vā kṣepāt kāyavāgbuddhibhiḥ kṛtaḥ
Anekadoṣaduṣṭena mayā pāpena nāyakāḥ
Yat kṛtaṃ dāruṇaṃ pāpaṃ tat sarvaṃ deśayāmy aham.
Whatever wrong I have done to the Three Jewels, or to my
mothers and fathers, Or to other praiseworthy teachers, by abuse
of deed, speech or thought, By wicked me, corrupted by many
offences, Lords, Whatever vile evil was done — all that I confess.

This comes from the Bodhicaryāvatāra (II: 28—\$1), the classic poem on the path of the *bodhisattva*. AV gives an alternative formula, beginning with three different verses from the Bodhicaryāvatāra (II: 64—6), continuing with the standard formula for dedicating one's merit (*parināmanā*) taken from the Prajñā-pāramitā literature (Conze 1975: 277) and concluding with two verses (whose source I have not been able to locate) restating the intention to work for the good of the world.⁷⁹

5.15. Preliminary Worship of the Spirit-offering (Bali)

AV notes that one should insert here the recitation of mantras $(j\bar{a}payoga)^{80}$ if the *guru maṇḍala* is being performed as part of one's daily worship. RB indicates that one should perform bodily empowerments $(ny\bar{a}sa)$, recite mantras $(j\bar{a}pa)$ and offer incense and the Five Offerings. In other rituals, when the *guru maṇḍala* is simply the initial rite, the worshipper proceeds

immediately to pour rice and water onto the higher (i.e. the further way) of the two rice cones on his mandala. The longest versions, RB and AV, have first the utterance:

> Om hrim ācamanam prokṣaṇam pratīccha svāhā. OM HRĪM accept the libation of water SVĀHĀ.

This is followed by a meditation (bhāvanā):

Purato⁸¹ yamkāreņa vāyumaņdalam tadupari ramkāreņāgnimaņdalam tadupari trikoņam raktarephānkitam⁸² trimuņdakṛtacūdikopari⁸³ padmabhājanam. Tatra bhaktādikam bum⁸⁴ ām jim kham hūm lām mām pām tām vamkārajātam⁸⁵ pañcāmṛtapañcapradīpam paśyet.⁸⁶

In front he should see the mandala of wind arising from the seed mantra YAM. On top of it a fire mandala arising from RAM, and on top of it a triangle inscribed with a red RA. On top of this, on a base made from three skulls, a lotus- (i.e. skull-) vessel. There he should see the edible Five Nectars arising from the letters BUM, ĀM, JIM, KHAM, HŪM, LĀM, MĀM, PĀM, TĀM, VAM: he should see them as full of the Five Lamps.⁸⁷

This visualization is fully Tantric. Hence its omission from the shorter versions, G1 and G2. To conclude this section RB has the worshipper empower (adhiṣṭhān yāye) the spirit-offering with the mantras OM ĀḤ HŪM, followed by showing the Garuda hand gesture.⁸⁸

In G2 two rice and water offerings are made to the spirit-offering. First with:

Om akāro mukham sarbadharmānām ādyanūtpannatvā[t] hārati [sic] mahāyakṣanī imām bali[m] gṛhna 2 om ā hūm phaṭ svāhā. OM the letter 'a' is the foremost of all things because it is the first and because it is unarisen (everywhere inherent), Hārītī great spirit, accept this spirit-offering, OM ĀḤ HŪM PHAṬ SVĀHĀ.89

The second offering is made with:

Om bhagavam śrīmat śrī 2 indrādilokapāladevatāya caraṇa-kamale pādyam praticcha nama svāhā.

OM thrice blessed Lord Indra and other lords of the directions, accept this water on your lotus feet SVAHA.

The shortest version, in G1, has a single offering equivalent to the first of the two in G2, minus the words hārati mahāyakṣanī imām bali[m] gṛhna 2.

5.16. Offerings to the Lords of the Directions

Now the worshipper offers sixteen 90 pieces of 'flower' to the spirit-offering. First to the eight guardians of the directions, viz. Indra, Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera, Agni, Nirṛti, Vāyu, and Īśāna; then to Ūrdhvabrahmā (Brahmā of the upper direction), Sūrya Grahādhipati (the Sun, lord of the planets), Candra Nakṣatrādhipati (Moon, lord of the asterisms), Adhaḥṛthivī (The Earth below), the nāgas (holy serpents), yakṣas (spirits), asuras (demons), and finally to sarvadigvidig-lokapālas (to the protectors of all directions collectively). Each of these is offered with an utterance of the form om indrāya svāhā or om nāgebhyah svāhā. Now the worshipper makes the Five Offerings to the spirit-offering. G2 adds thread (jajaṃkā) also. It is at this point that AV has the worship of the Sixteen Worship Goddesses, and RB also indicates that it should be repeated here.

The worshipper takes rice between his hands and prays, with the following praises (*stuti*):

Indradāyo mahārājā lokapālā maharddhikāḥ Daśadikṣu sthitā devā lokapālān namāmy aham. Indra and the rest, great kings, world-protectors, possessing great power, gods, they stand in the ten directions: I bow down to the world-protectors.

G2 adds a second (ungrammatical) verse to the Ten Wrathful Ones who, in Tantric rituals, replace and 'tame' the ten (Hindu) world-protectors who are honoured and worshipped in exoteric Buddhist rituals:⁹²

Om namas te krodharājānām sarbadūṣṭanivāranī Trailokyabijayādīnām daśakroḍham namāmy aham.

OM obeisance to you, wrathful kings, obstacles to all evils, Victorious etc. over the whole universe: I bow down to the Ten Wrathful Ones.

Further offerings of beaten rice and yoghurt (*dhaubaji*), fruits, light, and popped rice are made.

5.17. Concluding Libations to the Spirit-offering⁹³

The worshipper pours water and rice over the spirit-offering and recites:

Indrādi-vajrī sahadevasaṃghair
Imaṃ ca gṛhṇātu⁹⁴ valiṃ viśiṣṭaṃ.
Agnir yamo nairṛti^{94a} bhūpatiś ca
Apāṃ patir vāyur dhanādhipaś ca
Īśāna bhūtādhipatiś ca devāḥ
Ūrdhvaṃ⁹⁵ ca candrārkapitāmahaś ca.
Devāḥ samastā bhuvi ye ca nāgāḥ
Dharādharā guhyagaṇaiḥ sametāḥ.
Pratiprati tv eka nivedayantu⁹⁶
Svakasvakaś caiva diśāsu bhūtāḥ.
Gṛhṇantu tuṣṭāḥ sagaṇaiḥ sametāḥ
Saputradarāḥ sahabhṛtyasainyāḥ⁹⁷
Puṣpaṃ baliṃ dhūpavilepanaṃ ca⁹⁸
Gṛhṇantu bhujantu pivantu cedam
Idaṃ ca karmaṃ saphalaṃ juṣantu.⁹⁹

May Indra with his thunderbolt along with the other gods, accept this special spirit-offering. Agni, Yama, Nirrti, and the Lord of the Earth [= Indra], ¹⁰⁰ Lord of the Waters [= Varuna], Vāyu and Lord of Wealth [= Kubera], Īśāna, who is lord of ghosts — these gods —, and above the moon, sun, and Brahmā (the grandfather). All the gods and the Nāgas in the earth, the earth, ¹⁰¹ and also all the secret troupes. Do each of you point out the spooks in your respective directions. ¹⁰² Accept, be pleased, along with your groups, and with your children, wives, servants, and soldiers, the flower, spirit-offering, incense, and unguent; Accept, eat, drink this (offering), And grant success in this work.

The worshipper takes more rice and water and offers another libation (the spirit-offering to Amṛtakuṇḍalī):

Om namo ratnatrayāya. Om namas caņdavajrapāņaye mahāvajrakrodhāya 103 daṃṣṭrotkaṭa-bhairavāya asi-musala-parasupāsa-grhītahastāya.

OM obeisance to the Three Jewels. OM obeisance to the Candavajrapāni (the fierce Vajrapāni), great and *vajra*-angry, fierce because of his distended fangs, holding knife, hammer, axe, and noose.

Om amṛtakuṇḍalī kha 2 khāhi 2 tiṣṭha 2 bandha 2 hana 2 daha 2 paca 2 garja¹⁰⁴ 2 tarjaya 2 visphoṭaya 2 sarva-vighnavināya-kānām¹⁰⁵ mahāgaṇapatijīvitāntakarāya hūm 2 phaṭ 2 svāhā.

OM Amṛtakuṇḍalī ('Nectar Earrings') eat eat, eat eat, stand stand, bind bind, kill kill, burn burn, cook cook, roar roar, threaten threaten, explode explode, to (you) the terminator of the life of the great generals of all the leaders of obstacles: HŪM HŪM PHAT PHAT SVĀHĀ. 106

RB concludes with the 'all-purpose spirit-offering' libation (sārvakarmikabali) which G2 placed at the end of the initial spirit offerings (§5.15, above) (AV does not use it at all):

Om akāro mukham sarvadharmānām ādyanutpannatvāt om āḥ hūm phat svāhā.

OM the letter 'a' is the foremost of all things because it is first and because it is unarisen (everywhere inherent) OM ĀḤ HŪM PHAT SVĀHĀ.

5.18. Recitation of the Hundred Syllables 107

In a complex rite this and the final section of the guru maṇḍala are repeated at the end of all the other rites, and are followed by the dismissal (visarjana) of the main rituals. With hands in a praying attitude, the worshipper reads the hundred syllables (śatākṣara) of Vajrasattva, while ringing the bell. Most Newar Buddhists know this by heart; in an Observance (vrata) with many participants, it is not uncommon to see them join the main priest for the first time during the ritual and recite with him:

Om vajrasattva samayam anupālaya vajrasattvatvenopatiṣṭha dṛḍho me bhava sutoṣyo me bhava supoṣyo me bhava anurakto me bhava sarvasiddhim me prayacchā sarvakarmasu ca me cittam śreyaḥ kuru hūm ha ha ha ha hoḥ bhagavan sarvatathāgatavajra mā me muñca vajrībhava mahāsamayasattva āḥ.

OM Vajrasattva, protect my vow, be present in your form as Vajrasattva, ¹⁰⁸ be firm for me, be pleased for me, be fruitful for me, ¹⁰⁹ be attached to me, grant me all the types of success, and make my thoughts auspicious in all works, HŪM HA HA HA HA HOH, Oh lord Oh Sarva-tathāgata-vajra, never leave me, be diamond, great being of the vow ĀH. ¹¹⁰

RB describes the recitation of the Hundred Syllables as "making firm" the rite (thūr yāye); in fact many Newars understand it as a request for forgiveness (kṣamāpaṇa) for mistakes during the rite. Indeed AV follows the Hundred Syllables with nine verses specifically intended as a request for

forgiveness,¹¹¹ but these are not included in the Lalitpur versions of the rite. One of these verses is a request for forgiveness for any omissions or faults in the mantras, the ritual acts, the visualizations or the utterances.

5.19. Rite of Dismissal

The worshipper pours water with rice on the mandala, first circling to the right, then to the left:

Om kṛto vaḥ sarvasattvārthaḥ siddhir dattā yathānugā Gacchadhvaṃ buddhaviṣayaṃ punar āgamanāya ca.¹¹² Om āḥ hūm vajramaṇḍalaṃ visarjanaṃ muḥ.¹¹³ OM you have fulfilled the aim of all beings and granted the corresponding success, Do you return to the realm of the Buddhas so that you may come again (when called). OM ĀḤ HŪM dismissal of the vajra-mandala MUḤ.

MUH is the mantra which effects the dismissal of the deities.

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS ON THE GURU MANDALA RITE

As Locke points out (1980: 91), "the Guru Mandala is a sort of primer of basic ritual acts that the Vajracarya must commit to memory for use in all his rituals." As with other rituals, there are shorter and longer versions, the more elaborate ones containing more esoteric references. And like other rites it contains, within a Vajrayāna framework, very ancient ritual utterances which can be classified as belonging to the Śrāvakayāna or Mahāyāna. Like other rites, it has regional variations. If AV is representative of Kathmandu, practitioners there omit the visualization of Vajrasattva always included in Lalitpur; and certain elements of the rite are performed in a slightly variant order (see Table I).

The guru mandala rite itself is very old, appearing with the same name, with minor variations in order, and only slightly less elaborated, in KSc. It is probably a thousand years old or more. Essentially the same rite is performed in Tibet, where, if Waddell (1978: 397) is right, it is believed to replicate Aśoka's gift of India to the Buddhist Monastic Association. The only essential part missing from the guru mandala as described in KSc is the final spirit-offering (bali). This should not be taken as evidence that the latter is a later accretion: spirit-offerings are described elsewhere in KSc. Its absence from the KSc description may simply be due to its position there as the introduction to a series of initiation rites. In any case all Tantric rites include such a final spirit-offering, and this is not a new development.

Indeed there are reasons for thinking that at the most simplified and abstract level, the ritual framework seen here, including the spirit-offering, goes back to the pre-Mahāyāna ritual still performed by Theravāda monks today (cf. Gellner 1987a: 537).

However it may be with these historical connections, the guru mandala expresses the devotion of contemporary Newar Buddhists to Vajrasattva, and therefore to the tradition of which the Vajrācāryas are the guardians. There is today a minority of Newar Buddhists who give their primary — or in some cases sole — allegiance to the newly established local representatives of Theravada Buddhism.114 If they still perform the guru mandala in the context of life-cycle rituals they regard it as mere ritual, an obligation imposed by their caste identity but without religious significance. In doing so, they deny not only the devotional attitude which is the lowest level of its meaning for Newar Buddhists but also its deeper significance. This includes the bodhisattva vow and confession of sins, i.e. two of the cardinal actions of Mahāyāna Buddhism, which are well understood by pious Newar Buddhists. Other important elements are the meditation on Vajrasattva and a hint of the higher visualizations of the Vajrayana, in which the practitioner identifies himself with the deity: this level of understanding is reserved for those who have taken Tantric Initiation (dīkṣā) and for Vajrācārya priests. The ordinary worshipper is not consciously aware of these higher levels, but firmly believes that the rite has such deeper meanings which he or she need only accept on trust.

NOTES

- ¹ Most recently this point has been made by Snellgrove (1987: 386). An excellent general introduction to Nepal is Gaborieau (1978). On Newar Buddhism see Allen (1973), Greenwold (1974a, 1974b), Locke (1980, 1985, 1989), Lienhard (1984, 1985), Lewis (1984), Gellner (1987a, 1987b, 1988a, 1988b, 1989).
- I am very grateful to the Leverhulme Trust Fund which supported me with a two-year Study Abroad Studentship, 1982—4, during which time most of the data presented here were collected, and to the Spalding Trust, Oxford, which funded a return trip in 1986. I would like to thank Richard Gombrich, Stephanie Jamison, Siegfried Lienhard, David Seyfort Ruegg, Alexis Sanderson, and Michael Witzel for helpful comments and suggestions on an earlier version. I am especially grateful to John Locke, S. J., who was unstituting with help and advice during my time in the field and to *pandit* Asha Kaji Vajracharya who taught me much of what I know about Newar Buddhist ritual. I have been extremely fortunate in the scholarly advice and instruction I have received; nonetheless, in a subject such as this, there are bound to remain errors of detail, and for these, of course, I take full responsibility.

 I Italicized words in the main text or in quoted explanations are in Newari, or (as here) Sanskrit as used in Newari. I use the spellings of Manandhar (1986) except for Sanskrit tatsamas. The liturgy given below is in Sanskrit. I follow the convention of Tibetologists of

giving mantras in capitals. I also capitalize English translations of technical terms (e.g. 'Observance' for *vrata*).

- ⁴ The printed handbook by Amogha Vajra Vajracharya, cited below as AV.
- ⁵ There is a considerable literature on the Newars' socio-religious organizations called *guthi*. See Nepali (1965), Toffin (1984), Quigley (1985), Vergati (1979, 1986), Gellner (1987a: ch. 7).
- ⁶ G1: garbhasamśodhane svāhā; hrīm svāhā 3; sarvavighnān tūśādhane hūm. G2 has just om hrīm svāhā 3. AV: om hrīm svāhā 3 kāyaviśodhane svāhā. According to Asha Kaji Vajracharya, all of these are abbreviations of Advayavajra's original version: ācamanam pratīccha svāhā 3; hūm svāhā amrtajīvante svāhā garbhaśodhane svāhā kāyaśodhane svāhā pādyaprakṣālane svāhā. "3" indicates that the preceding phrase is repeated three times.
- ⁷ As cited by Beyer (*ibid*.) the *dhāranī* omits *supuspe* and *om* following *tadyathā*. G2 precedes the *dhāranī* with a verse invoking the seven 'increases' (*vrddhi*; cf. note 21 below).

 ⁸ Given at Lienhard (1986: 20 fn. 56).
- ⁹ For this verse see Gellner (1987a: 306, 567-8).
- AV has the 'great gift' verse before the dhāranī, and concludes here: supuspadhūpadīpagandharasanaivedyādi-yuktam suvarna-puspabhājanam etc.
- ¹¹ Brahmacarya is understood to mean 'celibacy' by Newars. Originally it meant 'the holy life'.
- ¹² See Rhys Davids & Stede (1921: 27b). The Pali text lacks om, paryavadātam and sma. If one follows it, the Sanskrit should read sārtham savyañjanam, 'in its meaning and in its details'. The verb in the Pali is in the imperative.
- 13 G1 places this verse after the following ones and has here: om namah śriguruvajrasatvāya. G2 includes an instruction here to toss rice in the air three times (i.e. to the Three Jewels). AV, RB and G1 have tasmai śrīgurave (RB: -guruve) namah for the last pāda of the verse. According to Asha Kaji Vajracharya this is a modern reading, whereas all the old texts read as given. AV precedes the verse with: om gurubhyo namah 3. Before this it adds an obeisance to the Dākas and Dākinīs; according to Asha Kaji Vajracharya this is included only by Vajrācārya worshippers and only when the visualization of Cakrasamvara (see Gellner 1987a: 476f.) is also to be performed.
- ¹⁴ Following RB's translation. The vajradhātu mandala is a dharmadhātu mandala with a vajra on top (see Gellner 1987a: 403).
- ¹⁵ This meditation on Vajrasattva is omitted in AV and therefore in Locke. Instead it reads: samasta guru ājñā. In other versions this utterance belongs with the purification of the conch shell which follows.
- ¹⁶ RB omits the third of these offerings. AV omits them all. G2 reads: varunanāgarājāya for -mūrtaye and yajñopavītavastram for yajñopavītam. RB reverses the order of this and the following element.
- 17 G1 omits om guru ājñā and āh hūm. AV omits udake amrtam bhavantu and "3". G2 omits udake and inserts guru ājñā before vam. KSc reads: om vam vajrodake hūm svāhā. G2 reverses the order of this and the verse which follows.
- ¹⁸ AV: śuddhyatu divyavārinā. KSc, RB and G2: śuddham divyena vārinā. In both AV and RB this verse is used to lustrate only oneself, and not the mandala. Indeed KSc says that this and the following utterance are to be used for bathing (anena snānam), implying that the intent is to purify the worshipper only. However in numerous rituals this verse appears at the point of lustration (abhiseka) of the divinity (e.g. in SAM). A similar verse is used in Tibetan ritual (Beyer 1973: 149).
- 19 G1 omits this last line, and the sprinkling of the body. KSc omits āh hūm. AV has samaśriye and RB has samayaśriye for samāśriye. G2 has abhisyeka smaraśraye hūm for the whole line, and prefixes the previous verse by om abhisincintū (sic) mām sarbatathāgatastū. G2 also bridges this section and the next with two verses not found in other versions: first,

the verse *Pratibimbasamā dharmāḥ* (see Gellner 1987a: 286) while showing the mandala a leaf of *sinhaswām* with sandal paste on; second, the verse *Abhisekam mahāvajram*, while sprinkling oneself, as in the Consecration of a *Vajra*-master (Gellner 1987a: 437–447).

- ²⁰ AV and RB read: om hrīm svāhā 3 kāyaviśodhane svāhā, sarvavighnān utsāre (AV: utsāraye) hūm (cf. above, fn. 6). G2 has om samkhodaka ācamanam praticha svāhā. KSc (315) has: om hrīh svāhā (sprinkling on hands, feet and sipping); the Puspaketu dhāranī (to purify the flowers); om vajrabhūme hūm phat svāhā (sprinkling water on the ground); om vajrasatva sarvavighnān utsāraya svāhā (purification of the ground).
- ²¹ Instead of the Puspaketu dhāraṇī G2 has here the verse: om siddhir astu kriyārambhe vrddhir astu dhanāgame/ Posthir astu śarīreṣu śāntir astu grhādisu.
- ²² G1: -adhisthantu.
- ²³ In AV this is done with a flower and run together with the empowerment of the seat: om āh hūm 3 tiṣṭha vajrāsane hūm. Then follows the removal of sins and the other elements as in RB. G2 simply has rice thrown to left and right (as in G1) but with the following mantra: om ā hūm trikāyādhisthāna sarbapāpanapanaye hūm tiṣṭha vajrāsane svāhā. This is then followed by the Pratisarā mantra and placing rice on the head.
- ²⁴ G2 reads: om sūvarnatilaka-bibhūsanam praticha svāhā.
- RB reads vajragomaya. AV omits hūm before surekhe and inserts adhiṣthāna after tathāgata-. G2 reads for this whole mantra sequence: promchādaye hūm sarbabighnām chāre hūm, bajrabhūme hūm bajralese hūm, sulekhe 2, sarba-tathāgatas tū gūrū adhitiṣthamtū cha svāhā.
- RB however makes this a continuation without a break of the previous element; and AV has the worshipper offer rice and water here, and water only in the previous element. According to KSc these verses are recited while making (i.e. drawing) the mandala.
- ²⁷ AV, G1, G2 read kriyāsthāpanam.
- ²⁸ I.e. 'is fulfilled by purifying with'. As RB explains it, by carrying out each of these ritual actions one "attains" (*lāye*, *prāpta juye*, *lābh juye*) the moral perfection (*pāramitā*) mentioned. Cf. the remarks of Locke (1980: 96, fn. 37).
- ²⁹ Correcting all versions reading -*i*, -*i*, *ih* or *ir*.
- ³⁰ KSc, AV and G2 read *kāryakarmāni kṛtvā* for *maṇḍalam yah karoti*. This agrees with Advayavajra's Kudṛṣṭi-nirghātanam but not with what appears to be the source of these verses, Āryaśūra's Subhāṣita-ratnakaraṇḍaka-kathā (Vaidya P. L. 1959: 287). Vaidya (*ibid*.: ix) places Āryaśūra in the fourth century A.D.
- ³¹ This line is omitted by G1. AV adds adhisthāna before adhitisthantu and omits vajramandala. G2: om ā hūm sulekhe 2 sarbatathāgatas tū gūrū adhitisthamtū cha svāhā. KSc: om surekhe vajrarekhe adhitisthantu sarvatathāgatāh svāhā (used to draw an eightpetalled lotus in the mandala).
- This line is omitted by AV. G2 inserts praticha before svāhā.
- 33 In AV this reads om sarvavighnann utsaraye hum. G1 and G2 omit this offering.
- ³⁴ This offering is given only in RB.
- 35 G1 omits this. G2 places it after, not before, the meditation on Vajrasattva.
- ³⁶ Cf. Locke (1980: 99 fn. 51) quoting B. Bhattacharya who translated śuddha as 'perfect'. The Tibetans seem to split the mantra in two and use the two halves in different contexts (Beyer 1978: 144, 180, 332 & 379 for the first half, 333 & 444 for the second).
- ³⁷ G2: with rice between his palms, which he offers to the mandala at the end of the meditation.
- 37a RB: mantrādhitistha-.
- ³⁸ Following RB in taking *padmacandra* to refer to a lotus and a moon-mandala. The first part of this visualization is quoted by Hodgson (1972 I: 73).
- ³⁹ Following RB which distorts the Sanskrit cīvara-dhārinam ('wearing a monk's robe').
- 40 This section, like the previous section, is omitted from AV.
- ⁴¹ Asha Kaji Vajracharya, personal communication.

- ⁴² Omitted in G1. G2 has bhagabam śrīmat śrī satguru vajrasatba debabhaṭṭārakāya caraṇakamale pādyam praticha nama sbāhā.
- ⁴³ As noted, AV omits this whole section, but these five hand gestures are used in a different context: to empower the spirit-offering (see below, §5.15).
- ⁴⁴ G2 adds to it: kuśumāmjalinātha ho mandale vajrapuspa nyāsa. Asha Kaji Vajracharya gave an alternative recitation: om jah hūm bam hoh mandale tāndula puspam pratīccha svāhā. AV omits it because it omits the whole visualization of Vajrasattva.
- ⁴⁵ Alexis Sanderson kindly drew my attention to these passages. The Tibetan understanding seems to be slightly different from this: summoning, absorbing, binding, and dissolving respectively (Beyer 1973: 101).
- ⁴⁶ Buddleia Asiatica, known in Nepali as bhīmsenpātī.
- ⁴⁷ On the thirty-seven limbs of *dharma* see Dayal (1970: ch. 4). On the Tibetan Mt. Meru mandala, see Wayman (1973: 102—3) and Beyer (1973: 169). The number is made up to thirty-seven by adding four extra continents, the mountain of gems, the wishfulfilling tree, the cow of plenty, the harvest without ploughing, and eight of the sixteen Worship Goddesses (Lāsyādevī through Gandhadevī).
- ⁴⁸ RB, G1 and G2 agree on these three utterances. AV reads (for the centre of each): hah mahāmadhyamerave, hrīm madhyamerave and sūm sūksmamadhyamerave. KSc (316⁵⁻⁶) reads hah ūrddhamerave, hūm madhyamerave and hā adhomerave. In translating "section of" I follow RB.
- ⁴⁹ G2 reads aparagodāvarīye, as does AV. RB and G1 agree with KSc.
- ⁵⁰ Again RB and G1 agree with KSc; G2 and AV have the same mantras but unnasalized.
- ⁵¹ For these seven jewels RB and G1 agree. G2 has them in the order: elephant, man, horse, woman, jewel, sword, discus, 'all jewels'. G2 gives the same mantras for each except that the last four are unnasalized. AV has: elephant (YAH), horse (RAH), man (LAH), woman (VAH), sword (YÅ), discus (RÅ), jewel (LÅ), 'all jewels' (VÅ). KSc (317¹⁻²) has: elephant (YAM), horse (RAM), horse (slip of pen for man) (LAM), woman (VAM), discus (YÄM), sword (RÅH), jewel (LÄH), 'all jewels' (VÄM). KSc omits sun and moon. The Tibetan rite has yet another order (Beyer 1973: 169).
- ⁵² AV has CAM and SUM as the seed mantras of moon and sun respectively; and prefixes the obeisance to Vajrasattva with ÅH HUM.
- 53 RB and AV give only the Five Offerings (pañcopacāra) here, although RB indicates that other offerings may be made, finishing with flowers, rice, and water. RB agrees with KSc (3175) which also stipulates the Five Offerings and then says: "according to another (authority) one should offer whatever one has in this order." G1, the most abbreviated text, gives powder, flowers, thread, and food. G2 gives, as follows: powder, flowers, thread, food, fruits, incense, light, and popped rice. The food, incense, and light have an utterance of the form om vajra-naivedya samarpayāmi namah; fruit is offered with om vajra-darśana-phalāya nama svāhā.
- ⁵⁴ For historical references see Locke (1980: 95 fn. 44).
- ⁵⁵ I have discussed the term *kūṭāṃgāra* and the possibility of its being the ultimate origin of the Newari term *kwāpāḥdyaḥ*, used for the main non-Tantric deity in a Newar Buddhist monastery, in Gellner (1987b: 368-9, fn. 4).
- ⁵⁶ Before this G2 inserts the obeisance and confession of sins which all other versions place below.
- 57 AV: astadvīpopaśobhitam.
- ⁵⁸ Following RB in taking bhāvena as short for 'with bhāvabhakti'.
- ⁵⁹ All versions read *anutaradāyine* which should mean 'to the giver of the ultimate'. RB ignores the singular, and the verb *dade*, and, taking the two verses together, translates "to the Buddhas of the highest rank (*padavī*)." Perhaps the emendation *anutaratāyine*, 'to the ultimate saviour', is required and that is how I have translated the verse (cf. the verse to the Three Jewels in §5.13, where the Dharma is called *tāyin*). I owe this suggestion to Alexis

Sanderson. KSc (318²⁻³) gives the verse in reverse order and with some (occasionally unmetrical) variants: *Tato niryātayāmi bhāvena sampūrna-ratna-mandalah/ Gurubhyo bodhisattvebhyaś ca jagat-sarvajñatāptaye/ Astaśrmgamayam meru dvīpopadvīpaśobhitam/ Astaratnasamāyuktam dadāmy anuttaradāyine.*

- 60 Locke (1980: 87), following Wayman (1973: ch. 9).
- 61 G2 omits this. AV has it immediately after worshipping each of the directions below. In Tibet eight of the sixteen, Lāsyādevī through Gandhadevī, are included among the thirty-seven parts of the mandala of Mt. Meru (Wayman 1973: 103; Beyer 1973: 169; Kongtrul 1977: 101—2). In other contexts however all sixteen are offered: their arrangement and mantras are the same as in Nepal but the hand gestures differ (Beyer 1973: 159—62).
- 62 G1 omits the verse, leaving only the mantra at the end. AV (which places this sequence during the worship of the spirit-offering) has variant readings: *vajrasattva-samgrahodbhavo* in the first line and -*dharmagrāhine* (for *dharmagāyinī*) in the second. The mantra given at the end is the mantra of Takkirāja, one of the Ten Wrathful Ones. AV adds, after the triple repetition of the mantra: *takkirāja hoḥ*. The translation of the verse is difficult: RB takes it all as describing the *vajra* and explains it thus: "Because it is held by Vajrasattva, this *vajra*-jewel has no equal. It sings the *vajra*-doctrine and is born in the family of *vajrakarma*. Thinking all this one should toss the *vajra* three times" (RB: 17).
- ⁶³ AV reads here *namo'ham* and immediately runs on to the next line with *namaste 'stu namo namah*. G2 does the same but with *tu namāmi* for 'stu. G2 also precedes this whole utterance with the verse beginning *namo buddhāya gurave* (but minus the last *pāda*) which comes below in the other versions.
- ⁶⁴ Both RB and G2 write namaste 'tu which could well be an abbreviation of 'stu.
- 65 Following RB.
- 66 Correcting all versions which read spharitatmakatvam, -tvo or -tva.
- ⁶⁷ KSc (318³⁻⁵) ends its description of the guru mandala with this verse.
- 68 As noted above, G2 places this verse at the beginning of this section, except for the last $p\bar{a}da$ which occurs here on its own.
- 69 G2: namas tu te.
- ⁷⁰ Advayavajra's Kudṛṣṭi-nirghātanam (Shastri 1927: 5—6) gives these verses plus the verse above (*namo buddhāya*). From *ratnatrayam me* down to *jagato hitāya* occurs in the SAM (29, 154, and 291) and (omitting the verse beginning *ābodhau*) at pp. 106, 379. The first verse also occurs frequently on its own.
- 71 AV: aham; G2: esa.
- ⁷² Shastri (1927: 5) and SAM (29, 154, 291): buddham dharmam gunottamam.
- 73 RB: bodhicittam.
- ⁷⁴ Following SAM (29, 291, and 379). RB and G1: *iha*. KSc and AV: *ahu*. Shastri (1927:
- 5) and SAM (106 and 154): aham. G2: nimantrayāmi 'ham iha.
- 75 With AV. RB: -cārān. KSc: -cārikām. G2: -cārikānām.
- ⁷⁶ AV and KSc: krtopavāsam . . . (as text, unmetrical) and Shastri (1927: 6): Krtopavāsam carisyāmi āryyāstangika-posadham. G2: Krtopavāsam carisyāmi āryyāstāmgamārgam uposadham.
- ⁷⁷ G1, G2: anādigati-.
- ⁷⁸ G2: upakārena mātāpitrsū vā mayā.
- ⁷⁹ The second of these last two verses occurs during the laying down of the robe in the published version of the Monastic Initiation ritual by Padmashri Vajra Vajracharya which I have translated in Gellner (1988a). Advayavajra's Kudṛṣti-nirghātanam, which quotes the Prajnā-pāramitā's dedication of merit, also cites a similar verse (Shastri 1927: 9).
- ⁸⁰ The Buddhist Tantric scriptures, and associated ritual texts, tend to use the form jāpa, no doubt to differentiate themselves from the Hindus, who use the more common japa. It is the latter which is always used in speech (jap yāye) even by Buddhists.
- 81 AV: tato.

- 82 AV omits trikonam raktarephānkitam.
- 83 RB has -cūlika-.
- 84 AV: bhaktādiparipūritam/ Tatropari vum.
- 85 AV: kārāh jātāh.
- 86 AV: -pradīparūpam nispādya.
- ⁸⁷ Following RB's translation. The text of AV suggests a similar translation. On the Five Nectars and the Five Lamps, see Gellner (1987a: 499—505).
- ⁸⁸ In AV there is instead: Garuda hand gesture with mantra PHEM three times, a second offering of water with om indrādilokapālebhyah pādyācamanārgham prokṣamanam pratīccha svāhā, and then the five 'summoning' hand gestures (as above, §5.9, in RB's version, but minus the circle hand gesture, cakramudrā).
- ⁸⁹ The same mantra is used in Tibet in exactly the same way: in consecrating a food offering (Tib. *torma*, New. *gwahjā*) destined for fierce, protective deities (Beyer 1973: 220). On the symbolism of the letter 'a', inherent in all consonants, permanent, symbol also of negation, see Hôbôgirin, p. 1.
- 90 Both G1 and G2 specify fourteen, but sixteen are clearly required.
- ⁹¹ G2 has the order: Urdhvabrahmā, Adhahprithivī, Moon, Sun, asuras, nāgas, Lords of all directions (omitting yaksas). AV has: Urdhvabrahmā, Adhahprithivī, Sun, Moon, nāgas, asuras, yaksas, Lords of all directions.
- ⁹² G2 also reads virā for devā in the second line of the first verse, which hints at the Wrathful Ones of the Tantric rituals. AV has only one verse, but it combines the import of both from G2: Indrādayo mahāvīrā lokapālā maharddhikāh/ Kīlayanti daśakrodhā vighnahantā namo stu te. It is the Ten Wrathful Ones who bind the Hindu world-protectors, not vice versa as in Locke (1980: 90).
- ⁹³ This section is omitted in G1, the shortest version. AV inserts at the beginning of this section an extra libation with the following recitation: vibhrānām buddha-bimbam divasa-karadharam raśipā vindulekham, maitrīyam cārurūpam 'śivaśiravapuṣam' ([in fn.:] śirasi vara tanum) mañjughoṣañ ca gātram. Padmastham dandarūpam kuliśavara-tanum bajrinam bhīmanādam, jñānarūpam nihatabhavabhayam pañcamūrttim pranamya.
- 94 RB; grhnantu. G2: idam ca grhnatū.
- 94a Accepting nairrti, rather than nirrti for the sake of the metre. RB: nairrta. AV: nairti. G2: nairtya.
- 95 AV: urddhe. G2: sa-urdhas.
- ⁹⁶ G2 omits this and the next two lines.
- 97 AV: -saṅghaih. G2: saganasasainyā.
- 98 G2: pūspam bali dhūpam vali vidhim ca bhaktyā. AV includes another line before this in brackets: Hrstāh prasannāh sragagandhamālyaih.
- ⁹⁹ G2: jūgamtū. AV bhavantu. AV adds hum (sic) hūm phat svāhā. G2 indicates that one should offer light and popped rice and then proceed directly to the Hundred Syllables.
- 100 RB takes *bhūpati* to refer to Varuna's lordship over *nāgas*.
- 101 RB translates dharādharā as parvatarāja, king of the mountains.
- 102 Following RB's translation.
- 103 AV: mahākrodhāya.
- 104 AV: garjaya. RB omits tarjaya.
- 105 This word omitted in AV.
- ¹⁰⁶ AV appends a meditation for this spirit-offering: bhagavān śrī amrtakundali valipūjā nimittyārtham. Svābhāvaśuddhāh etc., as above, §5.8, down to -svabhāvātmako 'ham.
- ¹⁰⁷ AV includes here a series of offerings to the principal deity which may be included if the guru mandala is being used as an introduction to an elaborate rite. It begins with summoning verses (āvāhana vākya) offered with incense (translated at Locke 1980: 77); continues with a request (adhyeṣanā) beginning with Bodhicaryāvatāra III.25; then offerings of water, powder (translated Locke 1980: 78), thread, flowers (op. cit.: 77; this is the svastivākya frequently

used by Newar Buddhists), food (*ibid.*: 78), wine, milk, fruit, light (*ibid.*), popped rice, water and rice (recitation as in the 'all-purpose spirit-offering' above), and finally rice.

- 108 Following RB's translation.
- 109 RB: "Make me pleased, make me fruitful."
- 110 This recitation is equally important in Tibet (Beyer 1973: 144; Kongtrul 1977: Ch. 3). Implausibly, Beyer reads vajrasattva tvenopatistha ('let them be firm') and sarvakarma-sūca ('indicator of all karma') and bhagavān (not bhagavan). SAM (74, 145, 430) supports my reading. As in Tibet (Kongtrul 1977: 80) there are variant hundred-syllable mantras, in particular one of Heruka, but the present one is the exoteric and therefore more widely known and used version.
- In Tibet the Hundred Syllables are also used in this way but, in addition, great stress is given to it as a *preliminary* purificatory practice (Kongtrul 1977: 79; cf. Locke 1980: 82-3). Three lines of the verses given by AV are to be found at KSc: 3918-392.
- 112 Following the version of SAM (74, 417). SAM (417) has muh for ca at the end of the verse. G1, RB and AV read artham, siddhim (RB: siddham), datvā and yathānugāh in the first line. KSc (392⁵⁻⁶) and G2 read krtvaivam sarvasattvārtham siddhim datvā etc. AV and G2 have visaye for visayam in the second line.
- 113 AV omits visarjanam. G2 reads om å hum åkåsadhåtu gacha 2 vajramandalam bisarjanam. The same verse is evidently used in Tibetan ritual, ending with the mantra om vajre muh, though the verse is translated slightly differently by Beyer (1973: 224).

 114 On the Theravåda in Nepal, see Kloppenborg (1977), Tewari (1983), Gellner (1986: 131-7), and Bechert and Hartmann (1988).

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