

**The *Kālacakra and Tantric Deities* Preserved  
in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts**

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## 1. Introduction

The *Kālacakra and Tantric Deities* (Pl. 1) is one of the masterpieces of Tibetan paintings preserved in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. This work is painted in opaque watercolours on a cotton cloth 53.3 cm x 51.4 cm in size. This type of painting is generally called “*thang-ka*” in Tibetan.<sup>1</sup>

The deity Kālacakra is depicted prominently in the centre of this work. This supreme deity appears in the *Kālacakra-tantra*, regarded as the most important tantric text of the last few centuries of Tantric Buddhism in India. Kālacakra stands holding his consort, Viśvamātā, with red flames in the background. Four small deities are also depicted at the four corners of the central square. Other tantric deities occupy the area surrounding Kālacakra, and Indian and Tibetan monks are arranged in the upper rows. In the left corner of the bottom row, a monk and offerings are depicted.

Judging from the style and the figures of the monks, this work should be allocated to the tradition of the Sa-skyapa order, especially the Ngor sect. Furthermore, it is considered to be a product of the fifteenth century Tshang district of Tibet, where the Ngor sect flourished.

It is noteworthy that this painting depicting Kālacakra is related to the *Vajrāvalī* (VA), a ritual compendium compiled in India. The two deities and ten monks on the upper two rows represent the lineage of this text in India and Tibet. The tantric deities including the large Kālacakra correspond to the central deities of the *maṇḍalas* elaborated in the VA.

The VA is one of the main works of Abhayākara Gupta, who flourished from the eleventh to the twelfth centuries in northern India. The VA and two more his works, i.e. the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* (NPY) and the *Jyotirmañjarī*, were compiled as closely related ritual works, and were highly esteemed under the title of the “triple garland cycle” (*phreng-ba skor-gsum*) in Tibet.<sup>2</sup>

1 Togano (1986: Pl. III10–1), Leidy & Thurman (1997: Pl. 29) provide this data.

2 As for the VA, see Mori (1997). I use Bhattacharyya (1972) for the Sanskrit text of the NPY. The example of “triple garland cycle” can be found in Obermiller (1986: 219).



**Plate 1** The *Kālacakra* and *Tantric Deities* in the Boston Museum  
(Leidy & Thurman 1997: Pl. 29)

The NPY explains the *sādhana* (tantric meditation, literally means “accomplishment”) of *maṇḍalas* and deities residing them, and the *Jyotirmañjarī* deals with the *homa* ritual (burnt offering). The VA, which is regarded as the main work of the “triple garland cycle,” is a voluminous compendium of *maṇḍala* rituals (*maṇḍala-upāyikā*). It precisely explains the procedure of *maṇḍala* construction, *pratiṣṭhā* (installation ceremony) of statues and others, and *abhiṣeka* (consecration) of the disciple, with other minor rituals such as *homa* and *bali* (oblation). Both the *pratiṣṭhā* and the *abhiṣeka* require a *maṇḍala* as a ritual device, and thus Abhayākara Gupta explains its construction method first. The “triple garland cycle” can provide

rich information about the rituals performed in the Indian tantric tradition contemporary to Abhayākaragupta.

The VA shows the process of constructing a *maṇḍala* represented on the ground using five kinds of coloured powder. All the deities in it are substituted for symbols such as *vajras*, wheels, etc. It may be equivalent to the sand *maṇḍala* created by Tibetan monks even at the present time. On the other hand, the NPY deals with the meditation of the same *maṇḍalas* discussed in the *Vajrāvalī*. Abhayākaragupta introduces the iconographic elements of all the deities of *maṇḍalas*, e.g. the number of faces and arms, the attributes, facial appearances, postures, garments and ornaments. If we borrow Abhayākaragupta's own terms, the VA shows "drown *maṇḍala*" (*lekhyamaṇḍala*) and the NPY "envisaged *maṇḍala*" (*bhāvyaṁḍala*). The important fact is that the *maṇḍalas* in these two works are completely identical, though they differ in appearance from each other.<sup>3</sup>

The VA and the NPY are concerned with many kinds of *maṇḍalas* because Abhayākaragupta possibly collected the representative *maṇḍalas* transmitted in his age. The author, however, did not specify the number of the *maṇḍalas* discussed. He might be assumed to explain twenty-six *maṇḍalas* since the NPY consists of twenty-six chapters, but, actually, some chapters introduce two or more *maṇḍalas* by changing the central deities and / or the surrounding deities included in them. In Tibet, the number forty-two was generally regarded as the total of the *maṇḍalas* in both texts.<sup>4</sup> The central deities of these forty-two *maṇḍalas* are depicted in the *Kālacakra and Tantric Deities* in Boston Museum. In addition, the main figure of this painting, Kālacakra, is the last or forty-second deity in the series of these *maṇḍalas*. Due to this background, this painting can be called by the title "The central deities of the *maṇḍalas* included in the *Vajrāvalī / Niṣpannayogāvalī*," if we attempt to faithfully represent the intention of the painter.

Other examples related to the *Vajrāvalī* are available in Tibetan art. In this article I shall clarify the precise relationship between the painting in the Boston Museum and the VA, then indicate the significance of the discussed work with reference to other related works.

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3 I discussed the relationship between the "*bhāvya-maṇḍala*" and the "*lekhya-maṇḍala*" in Mori (1997).

4 For details of the counting method of the *maṇḍalas* in the VA and the NPY, see Mori (1998).

## 2. The Relationship to the *Vajrāvalī*

### 2.1 The central deities of the *maṇḍalas*

The following table shows the forty-two *maṇḍalas* explained in the VA and the NPPY according to the order given in both texts. The first number of each line corresponds to the sequence of forty-two *maṇḍalas*, and the second number to the twenty-six chapters in the NPY.

1	1	Mañjuvajramaṇḍala
2	2	Piṇḍīkramoktākṣobhyamaṇḍala
3	3	Śrīsampuṭatantroktavajrasattvamaṇḍala
4	4	Jñānaḍākinīmaṇḍala
5	5	Saptadaśātmakahevajramaṇḍala: Garbhahevajramaṇḍala
6		Cittahevajramaṇḍala
7		Vākhevajramaṇḍala
8		Kāyahevajramaṇḍala
9	6	Nairātmyāmaṇḍala (twenty-three deities)
10		Nairātmyāmaṇḍala (fifteen deities)
11		Kulukullāmaṇḍala
12	7	Vajrāmṛtamaṇḍala
13		Vajrahūmkāramaṇḍala
14		Vajraherukamaṇḍala
15		Amṛtakuṇḍalinmaṇḍala
16	8	Navātmakahevajracatuṣṭayamaṇḍala: Garbhahevajramaṇḍala
17		Cittahevajramaṇḍala
18		Vākhevajramaṇḍala
19		Kāyahevajramaṇḍala
20	9	Mahāmāyāmaṇḍala
21	10	Buddhakaṇḍāpāmaṇḍala
22	11	Vajrahūmkāramaṇḍala
23	12	Samvaramaṇḍala (four faces, sixteen arms)
24		Cakrasamvaramaṇḍala (one face, two arms)
25		Cakrasamvaramaṇḍala (one face, two arms)
26		Vajravārāhīmaṇḍala (red colour body)
27		Vajravārāhīmaṇḍala (blue colour body)
28		Vajravārāhīmaṇḍala (yellow colour body)
29	13	Buddhakaṇḍāpāmaṇḍala
30	14	Yogāmbaramaṇḍala
31	15	Yamārimaṇḍala
32	16	Vajratārāmaṇḍala
33	17	Māricīmaṇḍala
34	18	Pañcarakṣāmaṇḍala
35	19	Vajradhātumaṇḍala

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36	20	Tricatvāriṃśadātmakamañjuvajramaṇḍala
37	21	Dharmadhātuvāgiśvaramaṇḍala
38	22	Durgatipariśodhanamaṇḍala
39	23	Bhūtaḍāmaramaṇḍala
40	24	Pañcaḍākamaṇḍala
41	25	Ṣaṭcakravartinmaṇḍala
42	26	Kālacakramaṇḍala

Plate 2 demonstrates the arrangement of the central deities of these forty-two *maṇḍalas* in the *Kālacakra and Tantric Deities* of the Boston Museum. The numbers in the plate correspond to the first number of each line in the above list. The succession of the numbers in the plate shows that these numbers are not arranged at random, but, to some extent, in a particular and consistent sequence. The starting point is located to the upper left of Kālacakra and the successive numbers are arranged in the two left columns from top to bottom with a few exceptions and ending with the fifteenth deity. The sixteenth, Hevajra, occupies the upper right corner of the central square, not in the right column, where the seventeenth and the following deities are located like the opposite side. At the lower right corner, where the thirty-third deity resides, the direction of the succession turns left to reach the forty first deity, Vajrasattva, through two bottom rows. The final deity, Kālacakra, is the figure depicted largely in the *thang-ka*.

Thus, the arrangement of the deities in the painting is from left, right, then bottom around the central Kālacakra, and the successive two numbers occupy the two contacting squares of top and bottom, side by side, or obliquely, though some exceptions are recognized. It can be surmised that the painter who invented the arrangement of these deities must have referred to the order of the *maṇḍalas* in the VA.

The reason why Kālacakra was chosen to occupy the centre of the painting may reflect Abhayākaragupta's intention. As above mentioned, the *Kālacakra-tantra*, in which Kālacakra and his *maṇḍala* are explained, is the latest and a significant text of Indian tantric Buddhism. Abhayākaragupta deals with the Kālacakra-*maṇḍala* at the end of the series of *maṇḍalas*, because its system of outlines and iconography is rather different from other *maṇḍalas*. Moreover, the method of the *pratiṣṭhā* and the *abhiṣeka* elaborated in the VA largely depends on the same rituals in the tradition of the *Kālacakra-tantra*.<sup>5</sup> For Abhayākaragupta, the Kālacakra-*maṇḍala* occupies a

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5 I discussed the *pratiṣṭhā* in the VA with reference to the tradition of the *Kālacakra-tantra* in Mori (2002).

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A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
K	L	M					16	19	18
2	1							17	20
4	3							21	22
7	8			42				24	23
6	5							26	25
10	9	N				O		27	28
12	11							29	30
13	14	15	41	40	39	36		32	31
S	R	Q	P	38	37	35		34	33

- |                            |                                       |                          |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 Mañjuvajra               | 21 Buddhakapāla                       | 39 Bhūtaḍāmara           |
| 2 Akṣobhya                 | 22 Vajrahūmkāra                       | 40 Hevajra               |
| 3 Vajrasattva              | 23 Saṃvara                            | 41 Vajrasattva           |
| 4 Jñānaḍākini              | 24 Cakrasaṃvara                       | 42 Kālacakra             |
| 5 Hevajra (Garbhahevajra)  | 25 Cakrasaṃvara                       | A Vajradhara             |
| 6 Hevajra (Cittahevajra)   | 26 Vajravārāhi                        | B Vajrayoginī            |
| 7 Hevajra (Vākhevajra)     | 27 Vajravārāhi                        | C Abhayākara Gupta       |
| 8 Hevajra (Kāyahevajra)    | 28 Vajravārāhi                        | D Nāyakapa               |
| 9 Nairātmnyā               | 29 Buddhakapāla                       | EF unidentified monk     |
| 10 Nairātmnyā              | 30 Yogāmbara                          | G Śākyaśrībhadra (?)     |
| 11 Kurukullā               | 31 Yamāri                             | H ~ L unidentified monks |
| 12 Vajrāmṛta               | 32 Vajratārā                          | M Vajrabhairava          |
| 13 Vajrahūmkāra            | 33 Mārīcī                             | N Raktayamāri            |
| 14 Vajraheruka             | 34 Mahāpratisarā                      | O Mahācakra Vajrapāṇi    |
| 15 Amṛtakunḍalin           | 35 Vairocana                          | P Vaiśravaṇa             |
| 16 Hevajra (Garbhahevajra) | 36 Mañjuvajra                         | Q Mahākāla               |
| 17 Hevajra (Cittahevajra)  | 37 Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara<br>(Mañjuḥṣa) | R offering               |
| 18 Hevajra (Vākhevajra)    | 38 Durgatipariśodhana<br>(Śākyasiṃha) | S unidentified monk      |
| 19 Hevajra (Kāyahevajra)   |                                       |                          |
| 20 Mahāmāyā                |                                       |                          |

Plate 2 The disposition of the deities, monks etc. in the *Kālacakra and Tantric Deities*

special position in the collection of *maṇḍalas*.

As a rule, the forty-two deities depicted in the *thang-ka* correspond to the iconographic characteristics described in the *maṇḍala* meditation in the NPY, e.g. regarding the number of faces and arms, body colours, attributes, postures, mounts. Additional information in the NPY was also referred to. For instance, Mārīcī (33) and Mañjuvajra (36), located in the right corner, are depicted as residing in a *caitya*, which is mentioned in each chapter of the NPY (Bhattacharyya 1972: 40, 48).

The NPY does not provide any particular iconographic information on Vajrahūmkāra (13), Vajraheruka (14) and Amṛtakunḍalin, and the author directs the reader to investigate the *Vajrāmṛta-tantra* as source material (Bhattacharyya 1972: 18). In fact the *Vajrāmṛta-tantra* gives a brief description of these three deities,<sup>6</sup> though it is insufficient to depict them. It is obscure what extra information the painter of this *thang-ka* possessed, but, at least, it should be noted that they are depicted under conditions different from other deities.

## 2.2 The lineage of the transmitters of the *Vajrāvālī*

Next, I shift to the two deities and ten monks in the upper two rows. As a general rule of Tibetan *thang-ka*, the lineage of the teaching related to the main theme, i.e. deity, *maṇḍala* etc., are depicted in the upper part. If this holds true to this painting, the original preceptor and the transmitters of the VA may be arranged here.

The following lineages of the VA are available in the historical works of significant Tibetan scholars.

Bu-ston rin-chen-grub, *Bla-ma dam-pa rnams kyis rjes-su bzhung-ba 'i tshul: bka'-drin rjes-su dran-par byed-pa zhes-bya-ba*, (The Collected Works of Bu-ston, part 26 (LA), ff. 82.4–83.1)

1. Vajradhara, Vajrayoginī, Abhayākaragupta, Nāyakapa, Daśabalaśrī, Vikhyātadeva, Kha che Śākyaśrībhadrā, Bhūmiśrī, Vimalaśrī, Lo-tsa-ba Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, Dus-'khor-ba Shes-rab seng-ge, Bla-ma dPal-ldan-pa.
2. Vajradhara, Vajrayoginī, Abhayākaragupta, Nāyakapa, Daśabalaśrī, Vikhyātadeva, Kha-che Śākyaśrībhadrā, Glan-bad so-ba, gNyags rdo-rje 'dzin-pa, Khams-pa dkon-mchog rin-chen, Lo-tsa-ba mChog-dan, Bla-ma dPal-ldan-pa

<sup>6</sup> *Vajrāmṛtatantra*, TTP, no. 74, vol. 3, 145.3.8ff.



3. Vajradhara, Ḍākinī, Abhaya (ākaragupta), Legs-spyod 'byung-gnas sbas-pa, Nyer-spyod 'byung-sbas-pa, Ratnarakṣita, Zhang lo-tsa-ba Grub-pa-dpal, Khams-pa Śākya rdo-rje, dBus-pa sangs-rgyas-'bum, Lo-tsa-ba mChog-ldan, Bla-ma dpal-ldan-pa

Tsong-kha-pa blo-bzang gratgs-pa, *rJe rin-po-che blo-bzang gras-pa'i dpal gyi gsan-yig*, (TTP, no. 6138, vol. 152, 151.5.6–152.1.1)

4. Vajradhara, Vajrayoginī, Abhayākaragupta, Nāyakapa, Daśabalaśrī, Vikhyātadeva, Kha-che paṅ-chen, Bhūmiśrī, Vimalaśrī, Lo-tsa-ba Grags-[pa] rgyal-[mtshan], Bla-ma shes-[rab] seng-[ge], Bla-ma 'jam-dbyangs chos-kyi brtson-'grus, Bla-ma Chos-kyi dpal.

gZhon-nu-dpal, *Deb-ther sngon-po* (Roerich 1976: 801)

5. Vajradhara, Vajrayoginī (Vajravārāhī), Abhayākara (gupta), Nāyakapāda, sTobs-bcu dpal, Vikhyātadeva, Śrībhadra, Lalitavajra, Dharmagupta, Ratnākara, Padmavajra, Ratnakīrti, Buddhaghōṣa, Vanaratna

These five lineages unanimously list Vajradhara, Vajrayoginī (Ḍākinī, Vajravārāhī) and Abhayākaragupta as the first three figures. According to the *Deb-ther sngon-po*, Abhayākaragupta learned the teaching of the VA, which was originated from Vajradhara, through the oral transmission of Vajrayoginī, who was moved by his sincere devotion (Roerich 1976: 1046). The colophon of the *Jyotirmañjarī* also clarifies that Abhayākaragupta wrote this *homa* ritual through the empowerment (*adhiṣṭhāna*) of Vajrayoginī.<sup>7</sup>

Togano (1986) reports that there are the following inscriptions to the first four figures of the top row on the back side of the *thang-ka*: Vajradhara, Vajrayoginī, Abhayākaragupta, A na ya ka pa. The first three names correspond to those in the list of the lineage, and the fourth A na ya ka pa may be identical to Nāyakapāda, who appears at the fourth position in three lists (1, 4, 5). Unfortunately there is no inscription for the remaining nine monks. They can be divided into two groups by differences in garments: the first two monks wear an Indian costume and hood as Abhayākaragupta and Nāyakapāda have on the one hand, and the last five are depicted in Tibetan monk style with thick robes, on the other. The fourth monk wears a sort of combined costume, viz. Indian hood and Tibetan robe. I infer that this monk represents Śākyaśrībhadra who was exiled from India to Tibet and transmitted the tradition of Indian Buddhism including the teaching of the VA (Hadano 1957). His name, which is also indicated by Kha-che paṅ-chen / Śrībhadra, actually appears at the seventh position of the four lists of the

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<sup>7</sup> *Jyotirmañjarī*, TTP, no. 3963, vol. 80, 160.1.2.

lineage (1, 2, 4, 5).

The remaining monks are difficult to identify due to the lack of distinguishable features. The patterns of their robes and their facial appearances are similar to those of the monks of the Sa-skya pa lineage in some Tibetan paintings.<sup>8</sup> This fact suggests that the monks who follow Śākyaśrībhadrā represent the transmitters of the VA in the Sa-skya pa tradition.

### 3. Two Works Related to the *Vajrāvālī* in Tibet

#### 3.1 *Maṇḍala* series of the Ngor Monastery

In the first half of the fifteenth century, the *maṇḍala* series consisting of fourteen *thang-kas* was produced on the basis of the VA and the NPY in the Ngor monastery, Tshang district.<sup>9</sup> Kun-dga' bzang-po, the founder of the Ngor monastery and the Ngor sect, ordered their production to honour one of his teachers, Sa-bzang 'phags-pa. He invited Newar artists for this purpose to the Ngor monastery, and eventually the completed fourteen *thang-kas* were hung inside one of the buildings of the monastery.

The *maṇḍalas* and their deities depicted by the Newar artists in the series show, of course, a distinctive Newar style: e.g. round-shaped bodies and faces, distinguishable eyelids, and particular garment and ornaments. The strong red background is commonly observed. As the date of the works can be placed in the period when Kun-dga' bzang-po was the abbot of the Ngor monastery, they have remarkable importance as the representative work of the Ngor sect of this period. We can recognize a similar style and characteristics in the *Kālacakra and Tantric Deities* of the Boston Museum, but, as to the quality and technique, the *maṇḍala* series of the Ngor monastery can be ranked more highly.

It is supposed that the *maṇḍala* series of the Ngor monastery consisted of fourteen *thang-kas*, in which forty-five *maṇḍalas* were depicted. Three *maṇḍalas* from the *Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya* are added to the forty-two *maṇḍalas* of the VA. The *Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya*, which is a voluminous ritual text based on Abhayākaragupta's "triple cycle of garland" and some other works, was introduced into Tibet by Sa-bzang 'phags-pa.

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8 For example, Toganoo (1986: Pl. III9–5, 6, 7).

9 As for the *maṇḍala* series of the Ngor monastery, see Mori (1998, 2001).

In order to divide the forty-five *maṇḍalas* among fourteen *thang-kas*, some *maṇḍalas* may have been combined in the following groupings: four *maṇḍalas* in nine *thang-kas* each (I, II, IV, V, VI, VII, IX, XIII, XIV), five *maṇḍalas* in one (X). The remaining four *maṇḍalas* are depicted separately (III, VIII, XI, XII). Out of the fourteen, eight *thang-kas* have survived and three more *thang-kas* (III, XI, XII), which may have been copied on the basis of the original works, are available. The following table shows the scheme of the *maṇḍala* series of the Ngor monastery.

The order of the *maṇḍalas* in the fourteen *thang-kas* of the Ngor monastery is completely different from that of the VA itself. This new order reflects the classification of *tantra* and the root texts on which each *maṇḍala* depends. The first *thang-ka* (I) depicts the *maṇḍalas* of the Anuttarayoga-tantra class, especially the Father tantra (*pha rgyud*), and the following ten *thang-kas* (II-XI) represent those of the Mother tantra (*ma rgyud*) of the same class. Out of these ten, two *thang-kas* (II, V) combine the *maṇḍalas* of the same central deity, two (IV, VII) combine the *maṇḍalas* of the central deities who are closely related, and one (IX) combines four *maṇḍalas* belonging to the same root text. The *maṇḍalas* of the Yoga-tantra are divided into two *thang-kas* (XII, XIII) and two *maṇḍalas* of the Kriyā-tantra are added to XIII. The last *thang-ka* (XIV) consists of one *maṇḍala* from the VA and three *maṇḍalas* from the *Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya*, all of which belong to the Kriyā-tantra class.

The reason why four *thang-kas* (III, VIII, XI, XII) contain one *maṇḍala* each may be that all of them are comparatively large-scale *maṇḍalas*. In other words, all of them have the structure of so-called “complex *maṇḍala*,” i.e. the Pañcaḍāka-*maṇḍala* (III) has five small *maṇḍalas*, the Ṣaṭcakravartin-*maṇḍala* (VIII) has six, the Kālacakra-*maṇḍala* (XI) has three concentric *maṇḍalas*, the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-*maṇḍala* (XII) has four areas.

Abhayākaragupta did not intend the sequence found in the *maṇḍala* series of the Ngor monastery. In his two works, the VA and the NPY, he does not give any clue to an arrangement or combination of the forty-two *maṇḍalas* according to the tantric classification such as Kriyā, Caryā, Yoga and Anuttarayoga. The scheme of the order in the VA and the NPY was probably invented on the basis of similarities in the physical figures of *maṇḍalas*.<sup>10</sup> In explaining the outlines of all the *maṇḍalas* in the VA, Abhayākaragupta could do so in a “rational way.” If the *maṇḍalas* of the same or similar figure are successively described, he could simply say “the

<sup>10</sup> I suggested some reasons for the order of *maṇḍalas* in the NPY and the VA in Mori (1996).

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No.	class of tantra		name of <i>maṇḍala</i>
I	Anuttarayoga, Father	1	1 Mañjuvajramaṇḍala
		36	20 Tricatvāriṃśadātmakamañjuvajramaṇḍala
		2	2 Piṇḍikramoktākṣobhyamaṇḍala
II	Anuttarayoga, Mother	31	15 Yamāriṃḍala
		16	8 Garbhahevajramaṇḍala (sixteen arms)
		17	Cittahevajramaṇḍala
		18	Vākhevajramaṇḍala
III*	Anuttarayoga, Mother	19	Kāyahevajramaṇḍala
		40	24 Pañcaḍākamaṇḍala
IV*	Anuttarayoga, Mother	9	6 Nairātmīyāmaṇḍala (twenty-three deities)
		10	Nairātmīyāmaṇḍala (fifteen deities)
		11	Kulukullāmaṇḍala
		32	16 Vajratārāmaṇḍala
V	Anuttarayoga, Mother	5	5 Garbhahevajramaṇḍalā (sixteen arms)
		6	Cittahevajramaṇḍala
		7	Vākhevajramaṇḍala
		8	Kāyahevajramaṇḍala
VI*	Anuttarayoga, Mother	3	3 Śrīsamputatantruktavajrasattvamaṇḍala
		23	12 Saṃvaramaṇḍala (four faces, 16 arms)
		24	Cakrasaṃvaramaṇḍala (one face, two arms)
		25	Cakrasaṃvaramaṇḍala (one face, two arms)
VII	Anuttaaryoga, Mother	26	Vajravārāhīmaṇḍala (red body colour)
		27	Vajravārāhīmaṇḍala (blue body colour)
		28	Vajravārāhīmaṇḍala (yellow body colour)
		22	11 Vajrahūṃkāramaṇḍala
VIII	Anuttarayoga, Mother	41	25 Ṣaṭcakravartinmaṇḍala
		IX	Anuttarayoga, Mother
13	Vajrahūṃkāramaṇḍala		
14	Vajraherukamaṇḍala		
15	Amṛtakunḍalinmaṇḍala		
X*	Anuttarayoga, Mother		
		21	10 Buddhakapālamaṇḍala
		20	9 Mahāmāyāmaṇḍala
		30	14 Yogāmbaramaṇḍala
		4	4 Jñānaḍākinīmaṇḍala
XI*	Anuttarayoga, Mother	42	26 Kālacakramaṇḍala
XII*	Yoga	37	21 Dharmadhātuvāgīśvaramaṇḍala
XIII	Yoga, Kriyā	35	19 Vajradhātumaṇḍala
		38	22 Durgatipariśodhanamaṇḍala
		39	23 Bhūtaḍāmaramaṇḍala
		33	17 Māricīmaṇḍala
XIV	Kriyā	34	18 Pañcarakṣāmaṇḍala
		43	Vasudhārāmaṇḍala
		44	Grahamātrkāmaṇḍala
		45	Uṣṇīṣavijayāmaṇḍala

Asterisks indicate works not confirmed to survive. The numbers on each line correspond to those in the above table. The last three *maṇḍalas* (Nos. 43-45) are provided from the *Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya*, not the *Vajrāvalī*.

outline of this *maṇḍala* is the same as the previous one” for the successive *maṇḍala*. Moreover, in the VA the *pratiṣṭhā* and the *abhiṣeka* can be performed in one way respectively, regardless of which kind of *maṇḍala* was being prepared for these rituals. In other word, it is not necessary to consider the tantric class to which the *maṇḍala* belongs.

### 3.2 Five Hundred Buddhist Deities

The *Five Hundred Buddhist Deities* is another work partly based on the VA and it also has a close relationship with the *maṇḍala* series of the Ngor monastery. The full title of this work is “*Rin-byung rnar-thang brgya-rtsa rdor-'phreng bcas nas gsungs-pa'i bris-sku mthong-ba don-ldan*” and it is also known as the “*Five Hundred Deities of rNar-thang*.” It actually consists of line drawings of five hundred tantric deities with eulogies to each deity. Pander (1890) and Grünwedel (1970) introduced limited drawings from this material to the western world at an early date, and Clark (1937) included all the names of the deities in his index. The full material was reproduced in several publications including Lokesh Chandra (1986), Tachikawa *et al.* (1995). Recently, the paintings of the same work were published with detailed studies and commentaries (Willson & Brauen 2000), which greatly contributes to the field of Tibetan Buddhist iconography. Originally the *Five Hundred Buddhist Deities* was produced in woodblock print, but Lokesh Chandra’s edition shows hand-written line-drawings. Unfortunately, it contains a large number of mistakes due to careless references by the artist. The paintings are supposed to have been produced utilizing the woodblock print as a draft (Willson & Brauen 2000).

The *Five Hundred Buddhist Deities* is reported to have been edited by Pan-chen bla-ma IV (1782–1853). Each folio has three squares with the drawings of the deities in recto, and the corresponding eulogies in verso. This material consists of three parts: Rin-'byung, rNar-thang and rDor-'phreng. The first two parts are based on Tāranātha’s “*Yi-dam rgya-mtsho'i sgrub-thabs rin-chen 'byung-gnas*” (Tāranātha 1974) and its commentary entitled “*Yi-dam rgya-mtsho'i sgrub-thabs rin-chen 'byung-gnas kyi lhan-thabs rin-'byung don-gsal*” (Lokesh Chandra 1974) by bsTan-pa'i nyi-ma, the Pan-chen bla-ma IV (1782–1854). The last part, rDor-'phreng depends on “*rDzogs-'phreng dang rdor-'phreng gnyis kyi cho-ga phyag-len gyi rim-pa lag-tu blangs bde-bar dgod-pa*” (TTP, no. 6236) by Ngag-dbang blo-bzang chos-ldan, the lCang-skye I (–1690).

“rDor-'phreng,” which is an abbreviated title of the “rDo rje 'phreng ba,” the Tibetan title of the VA, contains the drawings of the following deities.

The *Kālacakra and Tantric Deities* Preserved in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts

No.	Tib.	Skt. etc.
453 (D1a)	gSang 'dus 'jam rdor	Guhyasamāja Mañjuvajra
454 (D1b)	rNam snang 'jam rdor	Vairocana Mañjuvajra
455 (D1c)	gSang 'dus mi bskyod pa	Guhyasamāja Akṣobhya
456 (D2a)	dGra nag gshin rje gshed	Kṛṣṇāri Yamāntaka
457 (D2b)	sNying po kyai rdor	sNying po Hevajra
458 (D2c)	Thugs kyai rdor	Citta Hevajra
459 (D3a)	gSung kyai rdor	Vāg Hevajra
460 (D3b)	sKu kyai rdor	Kāya Hevajra
461 (D3c)	rDo rje mkha' 'gro	Vajradāka
462 (D4a)	rDo rje bdag med ma	Vajranairātmā
463 (D4b)	rDo rje bdag med phyag gnyis ma	Two-armed Vajranairātmā
464 (D4c)	Ku ru ku le	Kurukullā
465 (D5a)	rDo rje sgrol ma	Vajratārā
466 (D5b)	Kyai rdor	Hevajra
467 (D5c)	Thugs kyai rdor	Citta Hevajra
468 (D6a)	gSung kyai rdor	Vāg Hevajra
469 (D6b)	sKu kyai rdor	Kāya Hevajra
470 (D6c)	bDe mchog rdo rje sems dpa'	Vajrasattva Saṃvara
471 (D7a)	bDe mchog	Saṃvara
472 (D7b)	bDe mchog phyag gnyis	Two-armed Saṃvara
473 (D7c)	'Khor lo sdom pa ser po	Pīta Cakrasaṃvara
474 (D8a)	Phag mo dmar mo	Rakta Vārāhī
475 (D8b)	Phag mo sngon mo	Nīla Vārāhī
476 (D8c)	Phag mo ser mo	Pīta Vārāhī
477 (D9a)	Khro bo hūṃ mdzad	Krodhahūṃkāra
478 (D9b)	rDo rje sems dpa'	Vajrasattva
479 (D9c)	rNam par snang mdzad	Vairocana
480 (D10a)	Rin 'byung	Ratnasambhava
481 (D10b)	sNang mtha'	Amitābha
482 (D10c)	Mi bskyod pa	Akṣobhya
483 (D11a)	Don yod grub pa	Amoghasiddhi
484 (D11b)	rDo rje bdud rtsi	Vajrāmṛta
485 (D11c)	rDo rje hūṃ mdzad	Vajrahūṃkāra
486 (D12a)	Khrag 'thung	Heruka
487 (D12b)	bDud rtsi 'khyil ba	Amṛtakuṇḍalin
488 (D12c)	Sangs rgyas thod pa	Buddhakapāla
489 (D13a)	Sangs rgyas thod pa	Buddhakapāla
490 (D13b)	Ma hā ma ya	Mahāmāyā
491 (D13c)	rNal 'byor nam mkha'	Yogāmbara
492 (D14a)	Ye shes mkha' 'gro	Jñānaḍākinī
493 (D14b)	Dus 'khor	Kālacakra
494 (D14c)	sNang mdzad rdor dbyings	Vajradhātu Vairocana
495 (D15a)	Shākya seng ge	Sākyasimha
496 (D15b)	Chos dbyings gsung dbang	Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara
497 (D15c)	'Byung po 'dul byed	Bhūtaḍāmara
498 (D16a)	'Od zer can ma	Mārīcī
499 (D16b)	So sor 'brang ma	Pratisarā
500 (D16c)	Nor rgyun ma	Vasudhārā

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501 (D17a)	gZa' yum rig pa chen mo	Grahamātrkā Mahāvidyā
502 (D17b)	rNam rgyal ma	Vijayā
503 (D17c)	rGyan drug phyag mtshan	Ṣaḍābharāṇa

The numbers at the left of each line correspond with Tachikawa *et. al.* (1995).

It is not difficult to confirm that this order precisely corresponds with that of the *maṇḍala* series of the Ngor monastery. Although the drawings are, as mentioned above, based on lCang-skya's text, the order of the deities was not his invention, but can be traced back to Kun-dga' bzang-po at least. lCang-skya's work describes the meditation of all the forty-five *maṇḍalas*, especially the iconographic characteristics of each deity, including three *maṇḍalas* from the *Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya*. Most of them are found in the NPY, but, according to lCang-skya's words, some additional information was transmitted in the tradition originating from Sa-bzang 'phags-pa.

The style of these drawings is thoroughly different from that of the *Kālacakra and Tantric Deities* of the Boston Museum and the *maṇḍala* series of the Ngor monastery, due to several factors: it was produced in the first half of the nineteenth century, it is included in the tradition of the Ge-lugs pa sect, it is woodblock printed, not painted, etc. The Newar atmosphere recognized in the previous two works has disappeared completely.

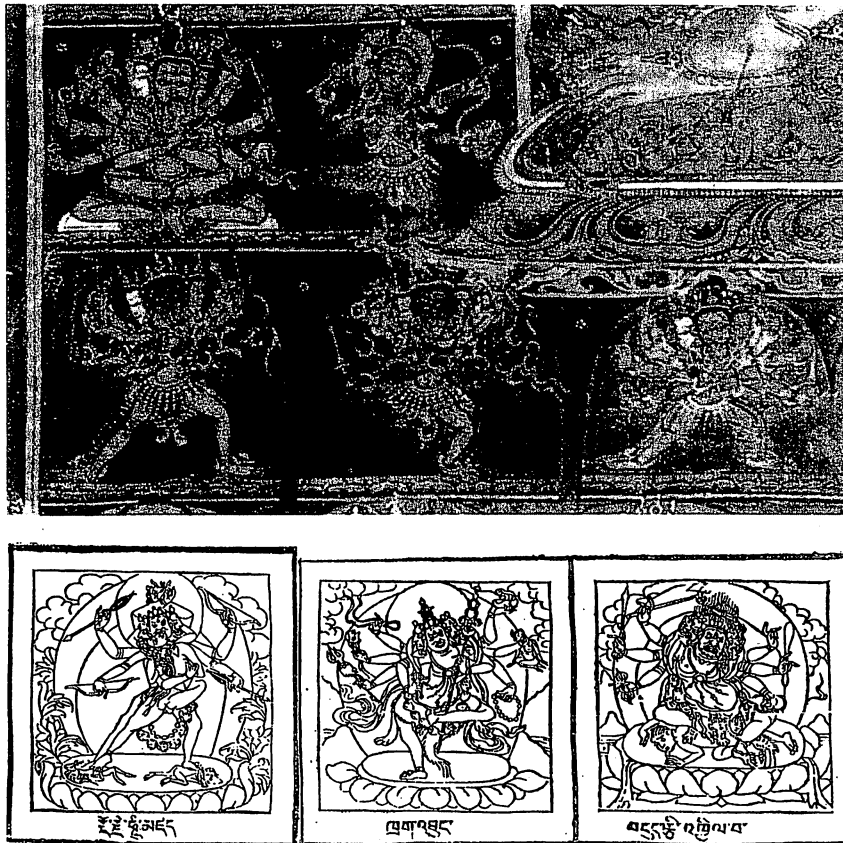
**Table 1** Comparison between the *Kālacakra and Tantric deities* and the *Five Hundred Deities*

fol. no.	<i>Kālacakra and Tantric Deities</i>	<i>Five Hundred Deities</i>
1b	depicted in a <i>caitya</i> , riding a lion	<i>caitya</i> and lion are not depicted
2c3a3b	no attribute in the right hand on the female deity	the female deity raises her right hand holding a <i>kartri</i>
6c	dancing in <i>ardhaparyāṅka</i> posture	<i>paryāṅka</i> posture
15c	standing on Ganeśa with four arms	standing on a man (?)
7b7c	the attribute of right hand of the female deity is a <i>kartri</i>	the attribute of right hand of the female deity is a <i>vajra</i>
8a8b8c	<i>kartri</i> in right hand, <i>khatvāṅga</i> in the left arm	<i>vajra</i> in the right hand, no <i>khatvāṅga</i>
13c	riding a lion, the consort has six arms	lion is not depicted, the consort has two arms
14c	riding a lion	lion is not depicted
16a	seven hogs of the same size are depicted in the throne, residing a <i>caitya</i>	one big hog is depicted in the throne, and seven small hogs are around the deity, <i>caitya</i> is not depicted

The *Kālacakra and Tantric Deities* Preserved in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts

The following table shows some examples of the iconographic differences between the *Kālacakra and Tantric Deities* and the *Five Hundred Deities*. It also should be emphasized that the three deities of the *Vajrāmṛta-tantra* not explained in the NPY are depicted in both works in a different appearance (Plate 3).

Of these differences, the lions and the *caityas* are mentioned in the NPY but are not depicted in the *Five Hundred Deities*, but, on the other hand, five deities (7b–8c) of the *Five Hundred Deities* possess attributes specified in the NPY. As seen in the examples of the three deities of the *Vajrāmṛta-tantra*, minor discrepancies can be recognized when the NPY does not provide



**Plate 3** Three deities of the *Vajrāmṛta-tantra*: (The upper plate is a detail of the *Kālacakra and Tantric Deities*, from left to right on the bottom row, *Vajrahūmkāra*, *Vajraheruka*, *Amṛtakuṇḍalinthe*; lower plate is from the *Five Hundred Deities* in the same order)



detailed information. At present I cannot clarify the source material on which the artists of each work depended, but, at least, I can indicate that they belong to different iconographic traditions.

#### 4. Concluding Remarks

The *Kālacakra and Tantric Deities* in the Boston Museum was reproduced in colour plates in two publications: Toganoo (1986) and Leidy & Thurman (1997).

Toganoo indicates the inscriptions written on the back side of the work, then he describes the iconographic characteristics in full detail. He recognizes that this *thang-ka* is related to the VA and he identifies all the deities in comparison with the *Five Hundred Deities*, especially the “rDor-phreng” section. Though his identification includes some mistakes, it should be noted that he assigns the correct names to the deities. Toganoo, however, possesses limited knowledge about the VA and the NPY, e.g. he treats the VA as a “more informative compendium than the NPY.” In addition, as he does not pay much attention to the difference in the order of the deities, he provides the serial numbers to the deities at random without referring to the order of the *maṇḍalas* in the VA and the NPY.

Leidy & Thurman’s caption dates this painting in the fifteenth century and ascribes it to the Sa-skyapa or Zhwa-lu sect. In the explanatory part there is no mention to the VA, the NPY, or Abhayākara Gupta. They divide the forty tantric deities in the surrounding part of Kālacakra into two groups: five deities on the bottom row and the remaining thirty-five deities. They regard the latter as “the whole panoply of unexcelled Yoga tantra deities” and call the former combined with the neighbouring Mahākāla and Vaiśravaṇa “seven protectors.” Such a classification and identification are obviously incorrect.

The significance of this work is that in it the central deities of the *maṇḍalas* of Abhayākara Gupta’s works are depicted in sequence. Two other works, the *maṇḍala* series of the Ngor monastery and the *Five Hundred Deities*, both of which are also related to the VA and the NPY, are available, but in those works the order of the *maṇḍalas* are rearranged in accordance with the classification of tantra.<sup>11</sup> At present, the *Kālacakra and Tantric*

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<sup>11</sup> Two more collections related to the VA are available. One is the collection of the bronze statues which used to be kept in Tz’u-ning Palace in Peking (Clark 1937). The new identification by Tanaka (1985) proved that they are disposed according to the tantric classification. The second one is a collection of drawings entitled “*Mitra dang rdor-phreng gi lha-tshogs kyi gtso-bo’i sku-*

## The *Kālacakra* and *Tantric Deities* Preserved in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts

*Deities* in the Boston Museum is the sole remnant of the original scheme.<sup>12</sup>

Although there is still a need to further examine the date and the place of this work, it is reasonable to allocate it to the fifteenth century Tshang district. Due to the good condition of the preservation, the authenticity of the contents, and the high quality of the technique, this painting should be counted as one of the remarkable works in the history of Tibetan paintings.

### Abbreviations

NPY: *Niṣpannayogāvalī*.

TTP: Tibetan Tripitaka, the Peking edition, Suzuki Foundation.

VA: *Vajrāvalī-nāma-maṇḍalopāyikā*.

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*brnyan mthong-ba don-ldan*” (Tsewang Taru 1985). This collection also includes the drawings of the central deities of the VA, but it must have been drawn with reference to the rDor-'phreng section of the *Five hundred deities*. As to the second collection, see Mori (1999a, 1999b).

12 The Pan-chen bla-ma I compiled a text of *maṇḍala* visualization, which enumerates the forty-two *maṇḍalas* in the NPY and the VA in the same order of these texts (Pan-chen blo-bzang chos kyi rgyal-mtshan 1973). However, the characteristics of the three deities of the *Vajrāmṛta-tantra* do not accord with those in the *Kālacakra* and *tantric deities* in the Boston Museum.

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