

STUDIES IN INDIAN AND TIBETAN BUDDHISM



VAJRAYOGINĪ

HER VISUALIZATIONS,
RITUALS, AND FORMS

ELIZABETH ENGLISH

VAJRAYOGINĪ

Studies in Indian and Tibetan Buddhism

THIS SERIES WAS CONCEIVED to provide a forum for publishing outstanding new contributions to scholarship on Indian and Tibetan Buddhism and also to make accessible seminal research not widely known outside a narrow specialist audience, including translations of appropriate monographs and collections of articles from other languages. The series strives to shed light on the Indic Buddhist traditions by exposing them to historical-critical inquiry, illuminating through contextualization and analysis these traditions' unique heritage and the significance of their contribution to the world's religious and philosophical achievements.

Members of the Editorial Board:

Tom Tillemans (chair), *University of Lausanne*

José Cabezón, *University of California, Santa Barbara*

Georges Dreyfus, *Williams College, Massachusetts*

Janet Gyatso, *Harvard University*

Paul Harrison, *University of Canterbury, New Zealand*

Toni Huber, *Victoria University, New Zealand*

Shoryu Katsura, *Hiroshima University*

Thupten Jinpa Langri, *Institute of Tibetan Classics, Montreal*

Frank Reynolds, *Emeritus, University of Chicago*

Leonard van der Kuijp, *Harvard University*

Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, *University of Lausanne*

E. Gene Smith, *Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center, New York*

Ernst Steinkellner, *University of Vienna*

STUDIES IN INDIAN AND TIBETAN BUDDHISM

VAJRAYOGINĪ

Her Visualizations, Rituals, & Forms

A Study of the Cult of Vajrayoginī in India

Elizabeth English



Wisdom Publications • Boston

Wisdom Publications
199 Elm Street
Somerville, Massachusetts 02144 USA
www.wisdompubs.org

© 2002 Elizabeth English

All rights reserved.

No part of this book may be reproduced in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or by any information storage and retrieval system or technologies now known or later developed, without permission in writing from the publisher.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
English, Elizabeth

Vajrayoginī : Her visualizations, rituals, & forms : a study of the
cult of Vajrayoginī in India / Elizabeth English

p. cm. — (Studies in Indian and Tibetan Buddhism)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-86171-329-X (alk. paper)

1. Vajrayoginī (Buddhist deity) 2. Tantric Buddhism—Rituals.

I. Title. II. Title: Vajrayoginī. III. Series.

BQ4890.V344E65 2002

294.3'42114—dc21

2002011148

ISBN 0-86171-329-X

First Wisdom Edition

06 05 04

5 4 3 2

Designed by Gopa and Tedz

Cover photo: See List of Illustrations

Wisdom Publications' books are printed on acid-free paper and meet the guidelines for permanence and durability set by the Committee on Production Guidelines for Book Longevity of the Council on Library Resources.

Printed in the USA.

To my teachers

Publisher's Acknowledgment

The Publisher gratefully acknowledges the generous help of the Hershey Family Foundation in sponsoring the printing of this book.

Contents

List of Illustrations	
Color Plates	xi
Line Drawings	xv
Abbreviations	xvii
Preface	xix
 Chapter 1: Vajrayoginī and the Buddhist Tantras	 I
The Buddhist Tantric Systems	I
The <i>Guhyasamayāsādhana-mālā</i> and Its Authors	9
Sādhana Collections	18
Tantric Sādhana	24
 Chapter 2: The Cult of Vajrayoginī in India	 35
The Influence of Nondual Śaivism	37
Transgressive Discipline (<i>vāmācārah</i>)	41
The Emergence of Vajrayoginī	43
The Emergence of Vajravārāhī	47
Dancing-Pose (<i>ardhaparyāṅka</i>) Vajravārāhī	50
Twelve-Armed Vajravārāhī in Dancing Pose	54
Six-Armed Vajravārāhī with Consort	60
Six-Armed Vajraḍākinī Vajravārāhī in Warrior Stance	62
Red Vajraghoṇā Vajravārāhī	66
White Vajraghoṇā Vajravārāhī	68
White Vajravārāhī	69
Two-Armed Vajrayoginī in Warrior Stance	71
Four-Armed Vajrayoginī in Warrior Stance	73
Red Vajravārāhī with Foot Raised	74
White Vajrayoginī with Foot Raised	75
Vajrayoginī in the Falling-Turtle Pose	77
Vidyādhari Vajrayoginī	79
Flying Vidyādhari Vajrayoginī	82
Vajravilāsini Vajravārāhī	84

Guhyavajravilāsini	86
Trikāyavajrayoginī (Chinnamastā)	94
Conclusions	102
Chapter 3: Study of the Vajravārāhī Sādhana	109
Outline of the Sādhana	109
MEDITATION STAGE I	113
Benediction	113
Preliminaries	114
Bodhisattva Preparations	119
Worship	120
Brahmavihāra Meditations	123
Development of Wisdom	125
Creating the Circle of Protection	131
The Cremation Grounds	136
The Cosmos and Temple Palace	144
Self-Generation through the Awakenings	149
Self-Visualization As Vajravārāhī	154
Armoring	163
Pledge and Knowledge Beings	166
Consecration	169
Inner Yogic Practices	171
The Mantra	178
Dwelling As Vajravārāhī	181
MEDITATION STAGE 2	182
Fivefold Maṇḍala	182
MEDITATION STAGE 3	186
Thirteenfold Maṇḍala	186
Terms for Aspects of the Maṇḍala	187
MEDITATION STAGE 4	188
Thirty-seven-fold Maṇḍala	188
Circles of Mind, Speech, and Body	188
The Maṇḍala As Wisdom	190
The Maṇḍala As Doctrine	192
The Maṇḍala As Cosmos	194
The Sacred Sites (<i>pīṭhas</i>)	195
The Ten Places (<i>deśas</i>)	196

Body Maṇḍala	197
Mantras for the Complete Deity Maṇḍala	203
RITUAL PRACTICES	205
Tantric Ritual	205
The <i>Bali</i> Ritual	206
Tasting Nectar (<i>amṛtāsvādanam</i>)	208
<i>Bali</i> Offering with Mantras	211
Rite of Completion	215
External Worship	216
Worship on the Hand (<i>hastapūjā</i>)	218
Alternative External Worship	220
Internal Oblation	221
Concluding Verses	223
<i>Vajravārāhī Sādhana</i> by Umāpatideva	225
Meditation Stage 1	227
Meditation Stage 2	249
Meditation Stage 3	255
Meditation Stage 4	257
Ritual Practices	287
Cremation Grounds	311
Conventions, Abbreviations, and Symbols	315
Conventions in the Translation	315
Abbreviations and Symbols in the Sanskrit Text	316
Abbreviations and Symbols in the Apparatus	317
Other Editors	319
Silent Editorial Standardizations	319
Manuscript Sources	321
The Manuscripts of the <i>Guhyasamayasāadhanamālā</i> (GSS)	321
Textual Transmission	326
Editorial Policy	328
Textual Notes	329
Insignificant Variants	349
Appendix: Summary of Sādhana in the <i>Guhyasamayasāadhanamālā</i>	355
Notes	383

Bibliography	515
Index	541
About the Author	564

List of Illustrations

Color Plates

Front cover: Vajravārāhī tangka (detail). Central Tibet, c. 1200–1250. Private Collection. Photograph by John Bigelow Taylor. Photograph © 1998 The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The central Vajravārāhī is in ardhaparyāṅka pose standing upon a sun disk on a corpse. The tangka depicts her against a backdrop of the eight cremation grounds (reproduced here on the back cover). She is flanked by the three armoring goddesses to the left, Saṃtrāsini (green), Caṇḍikā? (grey?), Vajravārāhī (red); and three to the right, Saṃcālīnī? (yellow?), Mohinī? (white?), and Yāminī (blue-black). Armor Vajravārāhī has three heads and six arms, and the rest hold skull bowl and staff (left) and ḍamaru and chopper (right). Upper and lower registers of the full tangka hold figures datable to the twelfth century from a Bka' brgyud lineage. Published: Kossak and Casey Singer 1999, plate 21.

Plate 1: Vajravārāhī tangka. Central Tibet, twelfth–thirteenth century. Courtesy of Anna Maria Rossi and Fabio Rossi.

The central Vajravārāhī is in ardhaparyāṅka pose against a backdrop of the eight cremation grounds. She is flanked by eight goddesses (holding skull bowl and ḍamaru in their two arms); four have animal heads, possibly black crow and black dog (left), and red owl and white hog (right). (These goddesses are similar to the goddesses of the outer maṇḍala in GSSII; but the latter have four arms, holding staff and skull bowl, ḍamaru and chopper; the animal heads on the gate goddesses are: black crow (east), green owl (north), red dog (west) and yellow hog (south); and the intermediate goddesses are bitonal.) The central frames of the vertical registers depict four ḍākinīs to left and right, in warrior stance with various attributes in their four arms. Below them are Śākyamuni and four-armed Avalokiteśvara (left), and Mañjuḥrā and Vajrapāṇi (right). The upper register contains siddhas and monks. The bottom register has six dancing deities (possibly offering goddesses), with a monk (far left) and bodhisattva (far right). Published: Christian Deydier Oriental Bronzes Ltd. 1997, item 14: 44–45; Rossi and Rossi 2002, plate 4.

Plate 2: Red Dākinī. Khara Khoto, twelfth–thirteenth century.
The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

In her four arms, the dākinī holds skull bowl and single-pointed staff (left), chopper and damaru (right), and she dances in ardhaparyāṅka pose upon a bull. Published: Piotrovsky 1993, no. 33.

Plate 3: Blue Dākinī (Nairātmyā?). Khara Khoto, twelfth–thirteenth century. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

The blue dākinī holds a skull bowl (left) and a vajra (right), with a trident-staff. She dances in ardhaparyāṅka pose upon a male crowned figure, and her blazing hair flies upward. The earth-touching Akṣobhya on Nairātmyā's headdress would normally be blue. Published: Piotrovsky 1993, no. 35.

Plate 4: Vajravārāhī (Tib.: rDo rje phag mo). Tibet, fifteenth century. Gilt copper, ht. 41.5 cm. Photo by Ulrich von Schroeder.

Po ta la collection: Li ma lha khang; inventory no. 1680. Located on the third floor of the Pho 'brang dmar po, the "Red Palace." Lhasa, Central Tibet (dBus). Published: von Schroeder 2001, vol. 2, plate 266D (photo: 1997).

Plate 5: Māricī (Tib.: 'Od zer can ma). Tibet, c. 1700.
Gilt copper, ht. 13.8 cm. Photo by Ulrich von Schroeder.

This form is identical to the "Vajraghoṇā" form of Vajravārāhī. Here, the hog-headed Māricī holds a noose and skull bowl (left), with staff tucked into the crook of her left arm, and a goad and vajra (right). Jo khang / gTsug lag khang collection; inventory no. 99[A]. Lhasa, Central Tibet (dBus). Published: von Schroeder 2001, vol. 2, plate 267A (photo: 1992).

Plate 6: Animal-headed Vajrayoginī. Tibet, nineteenth century.
Painted clay. Courtesy of the British Museum (OA1948.7–16.24).

Plate 7: Vajrayoginī, Nāro-khecharī. Eastern Tibet, eighteenth century.
From the collection of the Shelley and Donald Rubin Foundation.

This Karma bKa' brgyud tangka depicts a warrior-stance form of Vajrayoginī

holding skull bowl and chopper and carrying a khaṭvāṅga staff. She stands atop the bodies of pink Kālarātri and black Bhairava. At the top center is the buddha Vajradhara, at the left is the Indian mahāsiddha Tilopa holding a fish in his upraised left hand, and at the right is a seated Tibetan yogi wearing a white cotton upper robe and a yellow meditation belt. At the bottom left is the wrathful deity Humkāra, and on the right is g. Yu sgron ma, a female deity of Tibetan origin holding what appears to be a large drum in her right hand and a stick in her left. 33 x 23 cm. Ground mineral pigment on cotton. Himalayan Art no. 61.

Plate 8: Vajravārāhī tangka (with details of Severed-head Vajrayoginī). Nepal, fourteenth century. John and Berthe Ford Collection.

Detail (left) shows Severed-head Vajrayoginī, Trikāyavajrayoginī (Chinnamastā/Chinnamundā), with Vajravairocanī (right, yellow) and Vajravarṇanī (left, red). Detail (right) shows a red Trikāyavajrayoginī with Vajravarṇanī (right, “dark”) and Vajravairocanī (left, yellow). Published: Pal 1975, plate 45, and 2001, catalog entry 126, p. 216 (full tangka); Benard 1994, plate 3 (detail); and Bühnemann 2000, plate 24e (detail).

Plate 9: Severed-head Vajrayoginī (Chinnamastā/Chinnamundā) tangka. Tibet/Nepal, c. 1900. Linden Museums, Stuttgart.

The self-decapitated form of Vajrayoginī appears without attendant yoginīs Vajravairocanī and Vajravarṇanī to right and left. Above her to the left is a dancing, ardhaparyaṅka-pose form of Vajrayoginī; above center is a flying form (see p. 82); and above right is the “raised-foot” form (see p. 74). Published: Herrmann-Pfandt 1992, plate 6.

Plate 10: Painted Mongolian woodblocks. Tibet, c. 1850. Ethnographic Museum of the University of Zürich.

Reproduced in Willson and Brauen 2000.

- a. Armor Vajravārāhī (IWS 62)
- b. Maitrī’s Ḍākinī (IWS 78)
- c. Accomplishing (Arthasiddhi) Vārāhī (IWS 80)
- d. Vārāhī with Raised Leg (IWS 84)
- e. Tortoise-legged (Kūmapādi Vārāhī) (IWS 85)
- f. Nāro’s Ḍākinī (IWS 87)

Plate 11: Tangka of Cakrasaṃvara in union with Vajravārāhī. Khara Khoto, twelfth–thirteenth century. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

Cakrasaṃvara appears against a backdrop of the cremation grounds within a sixty-two deity maṇḍala. Two of the outer goddesses of the gates are recognizable here: Kākāsyā (crow-faced, black, to the east) in the center of the bottom register, and Ulūkāsyā (owl-faced, green, to the north) in the center of the vertical frame to the right. Of the bitonal intermediate outer goddesses, we can recognize: Yamadādḥī (southeast/bottom left corner), Yamamathanī (northeast/bottom right corner) and Yamadaṃṣṭriṇī (northwest/top-right corner). The remaining visible figures are the gods and goddesses (in union) of the twenty-four sites. Two additional deities are also depicted: two-armed Heruka, blue (center of second row from top), and four-armed Acala (center of second row from bottom). See Piotrovsky 1993: 156–58 for attributions for this maṇḍala, “Paramasukha Cakrasaṃvara, Yab-Yum, Luipa Maṇḍala.” Published: Rhie and Thurman 1991, no. 92; Piotrovsky 1993, no. 26.

Plate 12: Tangka of Cakrasaṃvara Maṇḍala. Central Tibet, c. 1100. Private Collection. Photograph by John Bigelow Taylor. Photograph © 1998 The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

This sixty-two-deity maṇḍala is set against a backdrop of the cremation grounds. Figure 32 provides a key to the maṇḍala as it is adapted for Vajravārāhī and her retinue. Table 23 includes the names of the male deities. Published: Kossak and Singer 1999, plate 2.

Plate 13: Tangka of Vārāhyabhyudaya Maṇḍala. Courtesy of Anna Maria Rossi and Fabio Rossi.

See figure 5 for key. Published: Rossi and Rossi 1993 as “Vajravārāhī Abhibhāva Maṇḍala” (sic); and reproduced in the Rossi Collection online (Asian Art).

Plate 14: Tangka of “Vajrayoginī in Kechara Paradise.” Tibet, eighteenth century. Collection of Tibet House, New York.

A Sa skya tangka in the lineage of Nāropa. Vajrayoginī stands inside a dharmodayā within a three-dimensional temple-palace. The animal-headed goddesses (Kākāsyā, etc.) are visible at the gates. The upper tiers of the palace hold Sa skya masters.

Plate 15: Tangka of the cosmos according to the *Abhidharmakośa*. Tibet. Ethnographic Museum of the University of Zürich, inventory number 13560 (92.5 cm x 60 cm).

Reproduced in Brauen 1997.

Plate 16: Palm leaves from *kuṭila* Newārī manuscript (K) of the *Guhyasamayāsāadhanamālā* (GSS). Nepal, twelfth–thirteenth century. Copyright Bodleian Library, University of Oxford (ms. Sansk c. 15 (R)).

- a. f. 14v showing alphabet in *kuṭila* Newārī script.
- b. f. 70v showing colophon to Vajravārāhī Sādhana by Umāpatideva (continued on f. 71r).

Line Drawings

FIGURE	PAGE
1 Nāro-khecarī, Mongolian woodblock print (IWS/T 77, LC 587)	xxii
2 Nāro-khecarī, Mongolian woodblock print (IWS/T 87, LC 597)	xxiii
3 Indra-khecarī, Mongolian woodblock print (IWS/T 79, LC 589)	51
4 Twelve-armed Vajravārāhī (Dharmacāri Āloka)	55
5 Vārāhyabhyudaya maṇḍala (diagram) (Dharmacāri Āloka)	58
6 Six-armed Vajravārāhī with consort (Dharmacāri Āloka)	61
7 Maṇḍala of six-armed Vajravārāhī with consort (Dharmacāri Āloka)	62
8 Six-armed Vajraḍākinī Vajravārāhī (Dharmacāri Āloka)	63
9 Maṇḍala of Vajraḍākinī Vajravārāhī (Dharmacāri Āloka)	65
10 <i>Arthasādhana</i> -Vārāhī, Mongolian woodblock print (IWS/T 80, LC 590)	67
11 White Vajravārāhī (GSS38) (Dharmacāri Āloka)	69
12 Two-armed Vajrayoginī in warrior stance (Dharmacāri Āloka)	71
13 Vajra chopper (<i>vajrakarṭṛī</i>) (Dharmacāri Āloka)	72
14 Four-armed Vajrayoginī in warrior stance (Dharmacāri Āloka)	73

15	Red Vajravārāhī with foot raised (Dharmacāri Āloka)	75
16	Mongolian woodblock print (IWS/T 84, LC 594)	76
17	Vajrayoginī in falling-turtle pose, Mongolian woodblock print (IWS/T 85, LC 595)	77
18	Vidyādhari Vajrayoginī, Mongolian woodblock print, “Maitrī-khecari” (IWS/T 78, LC 588)	79
19	<i>Dharmodayā</i> with mantras and bliss swirls	80
20	Flying Vidyādhari Vajrayoginī (Dharmacāri Āloka)	82
21	Vajravilāsini (Dharmacāri Āloka)	85
22	Guhyavajravilāsini (Dharmacāri Āloka)	86
23	Trikāyavajrayoginī (Dharmacāri Āloka)	94
24	Dagger deity: Kākāsyā (Dharmacāri Āloka)	135
25	The cosmos (Dharmacāri Āloka)	145
26	Double vajra (Dharmacāri Āloka)	147
27	Vajravārāhī (Dharmacāri Āloka)	155
28	Vajra (Dharmacāri Āloka)	156
29	Skull staff (<i>khaṭvāṅga</i>) (Dharmacāri Āloka)	157
30	Armor Vajravārāhī, Mongolian woodblock print (IWS/T 62, LC 572)	165
31	Armor Yāmini, Mongolian woodblock print (IWS/T 63, LC 573)	165
32	Thirty-seven-fold Maṇḍala of Vajravārāhī (Dharmacāri Āloka)	191
33	Body maṇḍala (Dharmacāri Āloka)	200
34	Preparation of nectar (Dharmacāri Āloka)	209
35	Flame gesture (Dharmacāri Āloka)	211

Drawings in Endnotes

i	“Sahaja Reversed,” Mongolian woodblock print (IWS/T 88, LC 598)	406
ii	“Vajravārāhī in the tradition of Brāhmaṇa Śrīdhara,” Mongolian woodblock print (IWS/T 86, LC 596)	408

Abbreviations

Additional abbreviations and symbols related to the Sanskrit edition and apparatus can be found on pages 315–19.

ADK/B	<i>Abhidharmakośa/bhāṣya</i>
ADUT	<i>Abhidhānottaratantra</i>
Asian Art	http://www.asianart.com/mandalas/index.html
Asu/N	<i>Arthaviniścayasūtra/Arthaviniścayasūtra-Nibandhana</i>
BBK	Bongo Butten no Kenkyū. See K. Tsukamoto et al. 1989
Blue Annals	<i>The Blue Annals</i> . See Roerich 1949–53
D	Devanāgarī paper ms. of GSS
GST	<i>Guhyasamājatantra</i>
GOS	Gaekwod's Oriental Series
GSS	<i>Guhyasamayasāadhanamālā</i>
HĀ	<i>Herukābhisamaya</i>
Himalayan Art History	http://www.himalayanart.org Tāranātha's <i>History of Buddhism in India</i> . See Chattopadhyaya 1970
HT	<i>Hevajratantra</i>
IASWR	Institute for the Advanced Study of World Religions, New York
IWS	<i>Icons Worthwhile to See</i> . See Willson and Brauen, 2000
JV/Jvālāvali	<i>Jvālāvalīvajramālātantra</i>
K	<i>Kuṭila</i> Newārī palmleaf ms. of GSS
KSTS	Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies
KYT	<i>Kṛṣṇayamāritantra</i>
LC	Copies of Mongolian icons published by Raghu Vira Chandra and Lokesh Chandra 1961–72, 1986
Legends	<i>Masters of Mahāmudrā</i> . See Dowman, 1985
Mkhas grub rje	See Lessing and Wayman 1978
N	Newārī, early twentieth-century paper ms. of GSS

NAK	National Archives, Kathmandu
NGMPP	Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project
NP	Narthang Pantheon
NYĀ	<i>Niṣpannayogāvalī</i>
Ota/Q	The Tibetan Tripitaka: Peking Edition—kept in the Library of the Otani University, Kyoto. Reprinted under the supervision of the Otani University, Kyoto. Edited by Daisetz T[eitaro] Suzuki. Tokyo-Kyoto, 1961.
PED	Pali-English Dictionary, ed. T.W. Rhys Davids and W. Stede. 1921–23. London: Pali Text Society.
PU	<i>Pradīpoddyotana</i> commentary on the <i>Guhyasamāyatantra</i> by Candrakīrti
<i>Sacred Art of Tibet</i>	<i>Wisdom and Compassion: The Sacred Art of Tibet</i> . See Rhie and Thurman 1991
Sed	Sarnath Edition of <i>Abhisamayamañjarī</i> (GSS5) published in <i>Dhīḥ</i> Review of Rare Buddhist Text Series (no. 13, 1992: 123–54)
SM	<i>Sādhanaṃālā</i>
ŚP	Śatapiṭaka Series
SpUT	<i>Samputodbhavatantra</i>
SS	<i>Sādhanasamuccaya</i> (Designation for SM used in BBK)
STTS	<i>Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha</i>
SUT	<i>Samvarodayatantra</i>
T/IWS	Mongolian woodblock prints numbered according to Tachikawa et al. 1995 and Willson and Brauen 2000
TĀ	<i>Tantrāloka</i> by Abhinavagupta
TJS	<i>Tattvajñānasiddhi</i>
Toh/D	<i>A Catalogue-Index of The Tibetan Buddhist Canons (Bkaḥ-ḥgyur and Bstan-ḥgyur)</i> . Edited by Hakuju Ui, Munetada Suzuki, Yenshō Kanakura, and Tōkan Tada. Published by Tōhoku Imperial University, Sendai, 1934.
VĀ	<i>Vajrāvalī</i> by Abhayākara Gupta
VT	<i>Vasantatilakā</i>
YRM	<i>Yogaratnamālā</i>
YS	<i>Yum skor</i>
YSCT	<i>Yoginīsaṃcāratantra</i>

Preface

MY INTEREST in the Buddhist tantras—and in sādhanā meditation in particular—really began while I was in Oxford studying under Professor Alexis Sanderson. It was the inspiration of his research, as well as his personal encouragement, that led me one day to a Sanskrit manuscript in the Bodleian Library dating from the twelfth or thirteenth century, and preserved on palm leaves in a lovely, rounded *kuṭīla* script. The text comprised a collection of some fifty sādhanas—meditation and ritual works—all of which were concerned with the practice of Vajrayoginī, a deity of the highest tantras. With Professor Sanderson's help, and the untiring support of Dr. Harunaga Isaacson, I set about the tasks of editing the texts and attempting to understand their contents. Without the knowledge of these two outstanding scholars, I could hardly have begun to fathom the complexity of the Buddhist tantric traditions, let alone begin my doctoral thesis. The thesis was completed in 1999 and was entitled *Vajrayoginī: Her Visualisation, Rituals and Forms*. This book is an adaptation of that thesis.

Taken as a whole, the texts in the manuscript form a so-called garland of sādhanas (*sādhanaṃālā*), which in this case includes praise verses and commentarial passages alongside the ritual and meditation manuals of the sādhanas themselves. This book focuses upon one Sanskrit sādhanā from this unique collection, the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* by Umāpatideva. At the same time, I hope to give a flavor of the breadth and richness of the other works in the *Guhyasamayasādhanaṃālā*. For while they all center upon Vajrayoginī as the generic deity, they describe many manifestations. Indeed, the collection contains over fifty iconographical descriptions, within which we can discern about twenty distinct forms of Vajrayoginī, some of whom—such as Vajravārāhī—are significant tantric deities in their own right. In fact, although the collection receives the late title *Guhyasamayasādhanaṃālā* (GSS), the *Secret Pledge Sādhana Collection*, a more suitable title might have been the **Vajrayoginīsādhanaṃālā*, the *Vajrayoginī Sādhana Collection*. I have therefore attempted to draw from all its major works in the course of this study and, in the opening chapters, I survey the diverse forms and practices of Vajrayoginī in India, according to this collection. In

this way, I hope the book will serve a double purpose: examining, from our textual evidence, the cult of Vajrayoginī in India prior to 1200 C.E., and shedding light on tantric sādhanā meditation.

The decision to base the study upon a single sādhanā from the *Guhyasamayāsādhanaṃālā* was made for several reasons. While scholarly interest in the Indian Buddhist tantras has increased in recent years, our knowledge of their vast array of texts remains in its infancy and will only improve as scholars produce critical editions of surviving texts along with informed study based upon them. The difficulty of drawing accurate conclusions from the texts currently available is due to the fact that the umbrella term “Buddhist tantra” actually covers a bewildering variety of methods, practices, and systems. These competed in India within a highly fertile and inventive environment over several centuries. Even contemporary accounts in the eleventh to twelfth centuries that describe a range of different systems, such as Abhayākara-gupta’s encyclopedic *Vajrāvalī* or Jagaddarpaṇa’s derivative *Kriyāsamuccaya*, cannot be taken as conclusive evidence for practice on the ground, as those authors themselves struggled with the various currents of opinion without necessarily reaching their own conclusions. In addition, the meanings of many terms remain obscure and will only come to light when a far broader field of reference is available.

Given this complexity, and the need to clarify so many aspects of tantric practice, I chose to focus my study upon a single feature of the whole. Key pieces of the overall picture are therefore missing. I give only the briefest sketch of the initiations that were the necessary preliminary to sādhanā practice, and only a hazy description of the place of sādhanā in the tāntrika’s overall scheme of spiritual practice. And there are many points where my conclusions are at best provisional. Within these limitations, I have attempted to highlight those practices that characterize the Indian traditions of Vajrayoginī. In so doing, I hope to reveal how our particular author adapted earlier sources and responded to his own scriptural heritage, absorbing new trends and reflecting different developments within the highest Buddhist tantras.

The sādhanā that I have edited, translated, and studied here is the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* (GSS11) by Umāpatideva, an early-twelfth-century author from northeastern India. This work is a fruitful subject because of the length, clarity, and excellence of its composition. It was also desirable to choose a work from the *Guhyasamayāsādhanaṃālā* collection that was as yet unpublished, because some primary sources dealing with Vajrayoginī and Vajravārāhī are already available in recent editions, including some

studies in European languages. For a long while, the main academic accounts of Vajravārāhī and Vajrayoginī were the iconographical descriptions given by Benoytosh Bhattacharyya in *The Indian Buddhist Iconography* (1924) and by Marie Thérèse de Mallmann's *Introduction à l'Iconographie du Tāntrisme Bouddhique* (1975), both of which contain some errors (e.g., n. 228). These works draw heavily on Bhattacharyya's edition of the *Sādhnamālā* (1925 and 1928), which contains fewer than a dozen complete Vajrayoginī/Vajravārāhī sādhanas, all of which also appear in the *Guhyasamayasādhnamālā*.¹ More recent studies also focus on selections from the *Sādhnamālā* sādhanas, such as the short study of Vajravārāhī by Mallar Mitra (1999: 102–29), which is too brief to be fully comprehensive. A beautiful collection of sculptures of the deity from different phases of Tibetan art have been published by von Schroeder (1981, 2001); however some of his iconographical comments are also erroneous (e.g., n. 83). A few other Sanskrit editions of Vajrayoginī sādhanas have been published, such as the short *Vajravārāhīsādhana* by Advayavajra (=GSS3) by both Louis Finot (1934) and Richard O. Meisezahl (1967), a *Trikāyavajrayoginīsādhana* (=GSS25) by Max Nihom (1992), and a handful of sādhanas from the *Guhyasamayasādhnamālā* in *Dhīḥ* (namely, GSS5, GSS10, GSS26, GSS42, and GSS43), as shown in the appendix. Published editions of highest tantric texts also provide an important resource for a study of Vajrayoginī/Vajravārāhī, especially those from the Cakrasaṃvara tradition, such as the *Yoginī-saṃcāratantra* with both its available Sanskrit commentaries, edited by J. S. Pandey (1998), and some chapters of the *Samvarodayatantra* (possibly a later Nepalese composition)² edited and translated by Shin'ichi Tsuda (1974).

The paucity of publications for the Indic Vajrayoginī tradition is in stark contrast to the number of Sanskrit manuscripts that must once have existed. *Bongo Butten no Kenkyū* (BBK) catalogs just over a dozen Vajrayoginī texts not found in the *Guhyasamayasādhnamālā*, appearing within works such as the *Yab skor* (BBK: 261) and *Yum skor* (BBK: 273–77), commentaries on the *Tattvajñānasiddhi* (BBK: 279–80), the *Jvālāvalivajramālātāntra* (BBK: 493–94), as well as the later Nepalese *Vajravārāhīkalpa* in thirty-eight chapters (BBK: 261)—although many sādhanas listed here are also found in our collection (details in the appendix). We can deduce the existence of yet more Indian Vajrayoginī sādhanas from the number of translations in the Tibetan canon that have no extant Sanskrit original. In an index to the Bka' 'gyur and Bstan 'gyur published in 1980, there are about forty-five sādhanas with Vajrayoginī or Vajravārāhī in the title, very few of which have (as yet)

been correlated with a Sanskrit original by the compilers of the index.³ The popularity of the Vajrayoginī transmissions in Tibet is remarked upon in the *Blue Annals* (Roerich 1949–53: 390), which states, “The majority of tantric yogis in this Land of Snows were especially initiated and followed the exposition and meditative practice of the system known as [the *Six Texts of Vajravārāhī*] *Phag-mo gZhung-drug*” (p. 390).⁴ What is now known of her practice derives mainly from Tibetan Buddhism, in which Vajrayoginī (Rdo rje rnal ’byor ma) and Vajravārāhī (Rdo rje phag mo) are important deities.

Perhaps the main emphasis on forms of Vajrayoginī/Vajravārāhī (the names often seem to be used interchangeably) is found in the bKa’ brgyud schools. This lineage is traced back to the siddha Tilopa (c. 928–1009), who had many visions of the deity, and who passed on oral transmissions to his pupil, Nāropa (c. 956–1040). Nāropa also had many visions of ḍākinī forms, the most famous of which is recounted in his life story, dated to the fifteenth and sixteenth century,⁵ in which Vajrayoginī appears to him as an ugly old hag who startles him into abandoning monastic scholasticism in favor of solitary tantric practice. However, this account does not appear in the earliest biographies (Peter Alan Roberts, personal communication: 2002).⁶

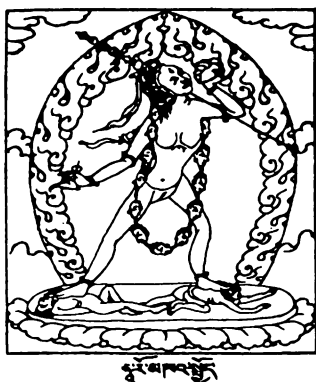


Fig. 1. *Nāro-khecarī*.
Mongolian woodblock print
(IWS/T 77, LC 587)

The form of Vajrayoginī especially associated with Nāropa in Tibet is *Nā ro mkha’ spyod*; “Nā ro [pa]’s tradition of the ḍākinī” or “Nāro’s khecarī” (lit., “sky-goer”). This form is discussed below, as it is closest to that of Vajravārāhī described in the Indian sādhana translated here by Umāpatideva.

Several different practices of Vajravārāhī/Vajrayoginī were transmitted in the numerous traditions of the Tibetan bKa’ brgyud school, through various



Fig. 2. *Nāro-khecarī*.
Mongolian woodblock print
(IWS/T 87, LC 597)

teachers; for example, through the translator, Mar pa (Mar pa Chos kyi blo gros, 1012–97) into the Mar pa bKa' brgyud, and through Ras chung pa (Ras chung rDo rje grags pa, 1084–1161) into the several branches of the Ras chung sNyan rgyud, and yet another through Khyung po rnal 'byor, founder of the Shangs pa bKa' brgyud (eleventh–twelfth centuries) apparently from Niguma (sometimes said to be Nāropa's sister). This complex matrix of lineages continued in Tibet within the various bKa' brgyud traditions. In the Karma bKa' brgyud, the oral transmission was written down in the form of a *sādhana* by the third Karma pa, Rang byung rdo rje (b. 1284) (Trungpa 1982: 150). However, it is a *sādhana* by the sixth Karma pa (mThong ba don ldan, 1416–53) that serves as the basis for the main textual source in this school. This is the instruction text composed in the sixteenth century by dPa' bo gTsug lag phreng ba (1504–66).⁷ Vajravārāhī also appears in bKa' brgyud versions of the *guruyoga*, in which the devotee worships his guru (in one popular system, Mi la ras pa) while identifying himself as Vajravārāhī. Examples include the famous “four sessions” *guruyoga* (*Thun bzhi'i bla ma'i rnal 'byor*) of Mi skyod rdo rje, the eighth Karma pa (1507–54), and the *Nges don sgron me*, a meditation manual by the nineteenth-century teacher Jam mgon Kong sprul (1977: 119ff.), itself based on a sixteenth-century root text, the *Lhan cig skyes sbyor khrid* by the ninth Karma pa (dBang phyug rdo rje, 1556–1603). While Karma bKa' brgyud lamas around the world today frequently give the initiation of Vajravārāhī, they observe a strict code of secrecy in imparting the instructions for her actual practice; however, published accounts of some practices within some bKa' brgyud schools are now available.⁸

Vajrayoginī is also an important deity within the Sa skya school. According to Lama Jampa Thaye (personal communication: 2002),⁹ her practices

were received into the Sa skya tradition in the early twelfth century, during the lifetime of Sa chen Kun dga' snying po (1092–1158), first of the “five venerable masters” of the Sa skya. Sa chen received from his teachers the initiations, textual transmissions, and instructions for three forms of Vajrayoginī.¹⁰ The first is a form derived also from Nāropa, and again called *Nā ro mkha' spyod* or “*Nāro's khecari*” (although it is entirely different from the Tilopa-Nāropa-Mar pa transmission of Vajravārāhī in the bKa' brgyud in that the deity has a different iconographical form with a distinct set of associated practices). The second is a form derived from the siddha Maitrīpa, known therefore as *Maitrī Khecari* (*Metri mkha' spyod ma*; see fig. 18). The third is derived from the siddha Indrabhūti, known therefore as *Indra Khecari* (*Indra mkha' sypod ma*; see fig. 6). This form is sometimes also known as *Indra Vajravārāhī*, although as a deity in her own right, Vajravārāhī has received much less attention among Sa skya pas than the *Khecari* lineages.¹¹

These three forms are traditionally considered the highest practices within a collection of esoteric deity practices known as *The Thirteen Golden Dharmas of Sa skya* (*Sa skya'i gser chos bcu gsum*), as they are said to lead directly to transcendental attainment.¹² However, it was *Nāro Khecari* who became the focus of most devotion in the Sa skya tradition, and the practice instructions associated with her sādhanā were transmitted in the form of eleven yogas drawn from the siddha Nāropa's own encounter with Vajrayoginī. The most influential exposition of this system of eleven yogas emerged in the sixteenth century; known as *The Ultimate Secret Yoga*, it is a composition by 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse dbang phyug (1524–68) on the basis of oral instructions received from his master, Tsar chen Blo gsal rgya mtsho (1494–1560).¹³ Since that time, the eleven yogas “have retained great importance in the Sa skya spiritual curriculum” (*ibid.*). The practices have retained their esoteric status for Sa skya pas, and are “secret” in as much as one may not study or practice them without the requisite initiations and transmissions.

In the eighteenth century, it appears that the Sa skya transmission of *Nāro Khecari* and the eleven yogas entered the dGe lugs tradition. This seems to have occurred in the lifetime of the Sa skya master, Ngag dbang kun dga' legs pa'i 'byung gnas. His exact dates are unclear, but the next Sa skya lineage holder is his pupil, Kun dga' blo gros (1729–83). Ngag dbang kun dga' legs pa'i 'byung gnas is in fact the last of the Sa skya lineage holders given in dGe lugs sources (he appears as “Nāsarpa” in the list given by K. Gyatso 1999: 343–46), and from this point, the dGe lugs lineage prayers

reveal their own distinct sequence of transmissions (*ibid.*). The dGe lugs pa had originally focused upon Vajrayoginī/Vajravārāhī in her role as consort to their main deity, Cakrasaṃvara, following the teaching of Tsong kha pa (1357–1419). Cakrasaṃvara was one of the three meditational deities, along with Yamāntaka and Guhyasamāja, whose systems Tsong kha pa drew together as the foundational practices of the dGe lugs school. In this context, Tsong kha pa's explanatory text, *Illuminating All Hidden Meanings* (*sBas don kun gsal*) is apparently the main source on Vajrayoginī (K. Gyatso 1999: xii); and she has actually been described as Tsong kha pa's "innermost yidam, kept very secretly in his heart" (Ngawang Dhargyey 1992: 9). This claim, however, was probably intended to bolster Vajrayoginī's relatively recent presence in the dGe lugs pantheon, as the Sa skya tradition of eleven yogas was only popularized in the dGe lugs in the twentieth century, by Pha bong kha (1878–1941). According to Dreyfus (1998: 246), "Pa-bong-ka differed in recommending Vajrayoginī as the central meditational deity of the Ge-luk tradition. This emphasis is remarkable given the fact that the practice of this deity came originally [i.e., as late as the eighteenth century] from the Sa-gya tradition and is not included in Dzong-kha-ba's original synthesis." The Vajrayoginī practice passed on by Pha bong kha and his pupil, Kyabje Trijang, focuses on the set of eleven yogas; and despite their esoteric, and therefore highly secret, nature—and the absolute prerequisite of receiving correct empowerments—explanations of these practices have been published and are widely available in English: by Geshe Kelsang Gyatso (1991/99), Geshe Ngawang Dhargyey (1992), and Khensur Rinpoche Lobsang Tharchin (1997).¹⁴

The rNying ma has also drawn the practices of Vajrayoginī/Vajravārāhī into its schools. Her presence is read back into the life of Padmasambhava, the eighth-century founder of the rNying ma, who is said to have received initiation from Vajravārāhī herself following his expulsion from the court of King Indrabhūti (Dudjom 1991: 469). Other important rNying ma lineage holders are also traditionally associated with the deity. For example, in the life story of Klong chen Rab 'byams pa (1308–63), as given by Dudjom Rinpoche (1991), he is said to have received visions of both a white Vārāhī and a blue Vajravārāhī, who foretell Klong chen pa's own meeting with Padmasambhava (*ibid.*: 577, 581). It is also Vajravārāhī who leads him to the discovery of the treasure text (*gter ma*), *Innermost Spirituality of the Dākiṇī* ((*Man ngag*) *mkha' 'gro snying tig*), the meaning of which is explained to him by Yeshe Tsogyel (Ye shes mtsho rgyal) (*ibid.*: 586). This identification between Vajrayoginī/Vajravārāhī and Yeshe Tsogyel is significant—

although Yeshe Tsogyel tends to be identified at different times with most of the major female deities of the tradition, such as Samantabhadrī and Tārā (Dowman 1984: 12; Klein 1995: 17). In the account of Yeshe Tsogyel's life, a *gter ma* discovered in the eighteenth century (and now translated no fewer than three times into English), she is at times clearly identified with Vajrayoginī/Vajravārāhī (e.g., Dowman 1984: 38, 85, 178); indeed, her *sambhogakāya* is said to be that of the deity (e.g., Gyelwa Jangchub in Dowman 1984: 4–5, 224; Klein 1995: 147; J. Gyatso 1998: 247). The identification of Yeshe Tsogyel with Vajrayoginī/Vajravārāhī is also suggested by Rig 'dzin 'Jigs med gling pa (1730–98), whose *Ḍākkī's Grand Secret Talk* is revealed to him by a “paradigmatic” ḍākinī, whom J. Gyatso (1998: 247) concludes is Yeshe Tsogyel herself.¹⁵ Various *guruyoga* practices within the rNying ma also formalize the connection between Yeshe Tsogyel and the deity. For example, in 'Jigs med gling pa's mind treasure, the *Klong chen snying thig*, the devotee longs for union with his guru as Padmasambhava, while identifying himself (and his state of yearning) with Yeshe Tsogyel in the form of Vajrayoginī/Vajravārāhī. In other *guruyoga* practices, such as *The Bliss Path of Liberation (Thar pa'i bde lam)*, the practitioner identifies directly with Vajrayoginī, who becomes “the perfect exemplar of such devotion” (Rigdzin Shikpo 2002: personal communication).¹⁶

Over and above the deity's ubiquitous involvement in *guruyoga* meditations (a feature, as we have seen, of many Tibetan traditions), her popularity as a main deity in her own right is revealed by the growing number of liturgies devoted to her practice in the later rNying ma traditions. Robert Mayer (personal communication: 2002) mentions entire ritual cycles devoted to Vajravārāhī, such as a volume entitled, *Union of All Secret Ḍākinīs (mkha' 'gro gsang ba kun 'dus kyi chos skor)*. This was composed by the eminent nineteenth-century figure, 'Jams dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang po, who believed it to be the “further revelation” (*yang gter*) of a *gter ma* dating back to the thirteenth century. The original *gter ma* revelation was by the famous female rNying ma *gter ston* Jo mo sman mo, herself deeply connected with Vajravārāhī (*ibid.*; Allione 1984: 209–11). This volume is entirely dedicated to an important form of Vajravārāhī in rNying ma practice, which is related to the gCod tradition, from Ma gcig lab sgron ma (1031–1129) (Allione *ibid.*: 142–204). Here, the deity takes the wrathful black form of (*ma cig*) *Khros/Khro ma nag mo* or *Krodhakālī*, also sometimes identified as *Rudrāṇīlī* (Mayer *op. cit.*). Patrul Rinpoche (1994: 297–98) describes an iconographical form that, apart from its color, is much the same as that of *Indradākinī* (for a full *tangka* of *Krodhakālī* with

retinue, see Himalayan Art, no. 491). In full, however, this is an extremely esoteric practice and, in the case of the principal bDud 'joms *gter ma* cycles at least, is regarded as “so secret and powerful that practitioners are often advised to either take it as their sole practice, or not seek the initiation at all” (Mayer *op. cit.*).

Tibetans also recognize a living reincarnation *trulku* (*sprul sku*) of Vajravārāhī (rDo rje phag mo). The first trulku was a pupil of Phyogs las rnam rgyal (also known as 'Jigs med grags pa and as Chos kyi rgyal mtshan, 1376–1452), the learned Bo dong Paṇ chen of the monastery Bo dong E (probably a bKa' gdams pa foundation in 1049). A Bo dong pa Monastery was subsequently founded at bSam sdings by the side of Yar 'brog mtsho (Yamdrog Lake), referred to as Yar 'brog bSam sdings dgon pa, and it was here that the trulku of rDo rje phag mo became established (Rigdzin Shikpo 2002: personal communication). The first abbess is one of the most famous incarnations, memorable for escaping from an invasion in 1717/19 of the Dzungar Tartars by apparently causing everyone in the monastery to appear as a herd of grazing pigs. But later incarnations have also been revered, and famed for their connection with Vajravārāhī, until the present trulku (b. 1937/38) who became an eminent official in the Chinese administration (Simmer-Brown 2001: 185–86; cf. Taring 1970: 167; Willis 1989: 104).

The pervasiveness of Vajrayoginī/Vajravārāhī in Tibet is attested by her appearance also within the Tibetan Bön tradition. Peter Alan Roberts (personal communication: 2002) has translated a meditation text by Shar rdza bKra shis rgyal mtshan (1859–1934) that focuses on the development of the experience of “the wisdom of bliss and emptiness” (*bde stong ye shes*), with “heat” (*gtum mol/caṇḍālī*) as a sign of accomplishment. The work is entitled *The Inferno of Wisdom (Ye shes me dpung)*¹⁷ and draws on Bön compositions going back to the eleventh or twelfth century *gter ma* texts. It describes a wrathful, cremation-ground ḍākinī named Thugs rjes Kun grol ma (“She Who Liberates All through Compassion”) who is clearly a form of Vajravārāhī. She is ruby-red in color, adorned with skulls, and stands on one leg in the dancing posture; a black sow’s head protrudes from her crown, and she brandishes a chopper aloft, holds a skull bowl of fresh blood to her heart, and clasps a skull staff in the crook of her left shoulder. The symbolism governing her attributes, as well as the metaphysical context of emptiness, all appear in typical Vajravārāhī sādhanas in the Buddhist tantric traditions.

The practice of Vajrayoginī/Vajravārāhī is not exclusive to Tibet, however. In Nepal, Vajrayoginī is popularly worshiped as one of a set of four

vārāhīs or *yoginīs*: Guhyeśvarī (also worshiped as Prajñāpāramitā, Nairātmyā, and Agniyoginī), Vidyēśvarī of Kathmandu, Vajrayoginī of Sankhu, and Vajrayoginī of Pharping (Slusser 1982: 256, 327). There are several temples of Vajravārāhī and Vajrayoginī in the Kathmandu Valley, for example, at Chapagaon Grove (*ibid.*: 325–26, 341), and at the hilltop temple of Pharping (*ibid.*: 331). In Sankhu, Vajrayoginī is the tutelary deity of the town, and her temple is dedicated to the fierce cremation ground goddess “Ugratārā Vajrayoginī” (Slusser 1982: 72 with n. 141). Here, Vajrayoginī is also identified with Prajñāpāramitā, “mother of all tathāgatas,” and is considered the spouse of Svayambhū or Ādibuddha, who is housed in a smaller shrine on the same site, while in the Hindu version of the local myth, she is identified with Śiva’s consort, Durgā (Zanen 1986: 131). Gellner (1992: 256) comments that in Nepal, “Vajrayoginī seems...to play a role in uniting exoteric deities, such as Tārā or Kumārī and the Eight Mothers, with the consorts of the secret tantric deities, viz. Vajravārāhī...Jñānaḍākinī... and Nairātmyā.” Gellner goes on to describe tantric rites of initiation in current Newar practice that are taken mainly by Vajrācārya and Śākya males (*ibid.*: 169–270). Here, “Tantric initiation (*dīkṣā*) means primarily the initiation of Cakrasaṃvara and his consort Vajravārāhī” (*ibid.*: 268). The rites of initiation themselves are considered highly esoteric and are guarded with secrecy (*ibid.*: 273–80). Gellner’s description—gleaned with difficulty from a learned informant—provides a rare insight into the modern-day practices. The first part of the initiation focuses upon Cakrasaṃvara, and is based on handbooks that follow the twelfth-century exegetical work, the *Kriyāsamuccaya*. The second part of the rite focuses on the consort Vajravārāhī (or “Vajradevī”) and is based upon material taken from the *Samvarodayatantra*, but also upon as yet unidentified sources (*ibid.*: 272). Despite drawing from early tantric sources, the rites currently in use in Nepal have been substantially altered in the process of taming and adapting them to suit tantric initiates who are householders (*ibid.*: 300ff.). Nevertheless, the preeminence of Vajravārāhī in the tantric pantheon is retained in the modern Newar system. The series of rites that comprise the tantric initiation culminates with initiation into the practice of Vajravārāhī, thus indicating her supreme position within the hierarchy of Newar religious practice (*ibid.*: 280; cf. *ibid.*: 261–62).

From this brief overview of the practices of Vajrayoginī and Vajravārāhī outside India, it should be evident that we are dealing with a deity of major significance within tantric Buddhism. It is therefore unsurprising to find, within the burgeoning of modern publications on the highest tantras, a

number of works that also relate to the subject. Some impressive studies on the ḍākinī have appeared, such as the detailed monograph by Adelheid Herrmann-Pfandt (1992) and valuable explorations by Janet Gyatso (1998) and Judith Simmer-Brown (2001). Such studies tend to range also across other academic disciplines; notably, the image of the yoginī or ḍākinī has inspired a large body of crosscultural and feminist theological discourse.¹⁸

My own approach is predominantly textual: I have explored the contents of a major Sanskrit source that sheds light on the Indian origins of Vajrayoginī practice and underpins later traditions. The importance of the *Guhyasamayasādhanaṃālā* to the study of Vajrayoginī/Vajravārāhī can hardly be overstated. Within this, I have restricted the scope of my work to Sanskrit sources (and as I do not know Tibetan, I am greatly indebted to others in the few instances where I cite Tibetan texts). My aim has been, simply, to represent my sources as faithfully as possible, either by translating or summarizing their contents. Although this type of undertaking may itself be prone to, perhaps even determined by, all kinds of subjective and cultural interpretation and selectivity by its author, I have tried to present the material in a manner that is more descriptive than interpretive. For example, my use of the masculine pronoun throughout reflects the usage in my source material; this, despite the fact that the practice of Vajrayoginī/Vajravārāhī was—and certainly is—undertaken by women as well as men. What I hope emerges here is as accurate a record as I am able to give of the early origins of the cult from the textual evidence that remains to us.

I have begun in chapter 1 by locating Vajrayoginī within the complex traditions of the Buddhist tantras. I then turn to the *Guhyasamayasādhanaṃālā* itself and explore what is known of its provenance, both of its authors and of the tantric sādhanā that makes up the bulk of its contents. Chapter 2 forms a survey of all the different forms of Vajrayoginī within the *Guhyasamayasādhanaṃālā*, and also of the various ritual contexts in which these forms are evoked. It therefore gives an overview of the cult in India as it emerges from these texts. Chapter 3 is a study of one particular sādhanā from the collection, the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* by Umāpatideva, which is divided into its own distinctive meditation stages and final ritual portion. The Sanskrit edition (with notes) and the translation to the sādhanā follow chapter 3. The appendix gives a list of all sādhanaṃs in the *Guhyasamayasādhanaṃālā* (with witnesses where I have found them) and a summary of their contents.

Acknowledgments

It is a great delight to acknowledge the generosity of my teachers, colleagues, friends, and family. My debt to Professor Alexis Sanderson in guiding me through my doctoral thesis has already been recorded, and I thank him for his continued scholarly help and kind encouragement. Dr. Harunaga Isaacson has all along been a patient and untiring teacher and friend; with unique care, he commented upon earlier drafts of this book, never demurring when I presented him with everchanging versions. Despite all their corrections, many mistakes no doubt remain, the responsibility for which are mine alone. Many colleagues have also contributed substantially, with no small investment of time and energy, among whom I am particularly grateful to Professor Gudrun Bühnemann, Dr. Adelheid Herrmann-Pfandt, Lama Jampa Thaye, Dr. Robert Mayer, Rigdzin Shikpo, Dr. Peter Roberts, Dr. Geoffrey Samuel, and Dr. Jan-Ulrich Sobisch and also to the librarians of the Indian Institute Library, Oxford, and to Adrian Hale, formerly of Wolfson College library, Oxford. For their comradeship and help during the years of the doctorate, I would like to thank Dr. David Burton (Dharmacāri Asaṅga), Dr. Kei Kataoka, Philip Purves (Dharmacāri Vijaya), Dr. Judit Törzsök, Dr. Som Dev Vasudeva, and Dr. Wan Doo Kim, not forgetting musical interludes with Isabelle Phan, and the constancy of Girindre Beeharry. For his practical resourcefulness and kindness during my time at Oxford, I also thank Professor Richard Gombrich. My research was made possible by financial support from a number of bodies: the British Academy, the Boden Fund, and the Spalding Trust, and more recently from St. Martin's College.

In dedicating this book to my teachers, I am able to include my loving parents, with whom this journey really began. And I rejoice in the merits of Venerable Urgyen Sangharakshita, who inspired me to set out on the spiritual path, and whose example is a daily reminder of what is possible. I am also blessed with exceptional friends, among whom it is a joy to thank Tejananda—whose contribution would take a book in itself to acknowledge—and Vassikā. Indeed, my heartfelt gratitude goes to all my leonine friends who have helped in so many ways to bring this book about. Finally, my thanks go to E. Gene Smith at Wisdom Publications for looking favorably at my unwieldy doctoral thesis, and to my editor, David Kittelstrom, whose patient care and eagle eye have transformed it into a book.

The generosity of my publishers has allowed me to bring together sixteen color plates in this volume, and a large number of line drawings. For

helpful advice in this respect, I thank Mr. Robert Beer, Dr. Martin Brauen, Professor Lokesh Chandra, Dr. Günter Grönbold, and Professor Deborah Klimburg-Salter. Above all, it is a pleasure to thank Dharmacāri Āloka for his considerable contribution in providing so many fine line drawings, effortlessly conjured up, as it seemed, from the descriptions of the Sanskrit texts. These have been generously funded by The Spalding Trust, and Dharmacāri Padmakara. I hope that this study of Vajrayoginī will prove a useful offering to the ever growing literature on the rich traditions of Buddhism.

Elizabeth English
August 2002

1. Vajrayoginī and the Buddhist Tantras

THE CULT OF TANTRIC GODDESS, Vajrayoginī, flowered in India between the tenth and twelfth centuries C.E. at a mature phase of the Buddhist tantras. One of the most important sources for her practice in India is a collection of sādhanas. A sādhana is a meditation and ritual text—literally, a “means of attainment” (*sāadhanam*)—that centers upon a chosen deity, in this case, upon Vajrayoginī or one of her various manifestations. This particular collection was written and preserved in Sanskrit and drawn together under the late, collective title, the *Guhyasamaya-sāadhanamālā* (GSS). It is one of these sādhanas that is edited and translated in this book, and that serves as the basis for our exploration of the goddess, particularly in her form as Vajravārāhī.

Who is Vajrayoginī? The texts refer to her reverentially as a “blessed one” (*bhagavatī*), as a “deity” (*devatā*) or “goddess” (*devī*). She is divine in the sense that she embodies enlightenment; and as she is worshiped at the center of a maṇḍala of other enlightened beings, the supreme focus of devotion, she has the status of a buddha. In the opening verse to the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana*, the author salutes her as a *vajradevī*, that is, as a Vajrayāna or tantric Buddhist (*vajra*) goddess, and in the final verse prays that all beings may become enlightened like her, that is, that they may attain “the state of the glorious vajra goddess” (*śrīvajradevīpadavī*).

The Buddhist Tantric Systems

Tantric Buddhism is the wing of the Mahāyāna that revolves around mantra as a path or “way,” and that is known therefore as the Mantrayāna or Mantranaya, or as the Vajrayāna after one of its primary symbols, the vajra. A pithy definition of tantra is elusive.¹⁹ Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, and

other Indian religions including Buddhism all developed rich tantric traditions, and the term broadly denotes particular types of ritual employed within their various deity cults. “Tantra” also refers to the various bodies of literature within these traditions: scriptural and exegetical texts that provide instructions for attainments, both spiritual and mundane. One gains an idea of the size of the Buddhist tantric tradition alone when one considers that it evolved in India for a thousand years (from about the second century C.E.), and that this process has continued in Tibet and beyond for another thousand. The main production of tantric texts occurred in India between about the third and twelfth centuries. Some indication of the numbers involved can be gleaned from the sheer quantity of works translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan from the end of this period. The tantric portion of the Tibetan canon contains almost five hundred tantric scriptures and over three thousand commentarial texts; Isaacson (2001: personal communication) suggests there may exist as many as three thousand Buddhist tantric texts in Sanskrit, of which over a quarter—perhaps many more—have not been translated into Tibetan or any other language.²⁰ In order to locate Vajrayoginī and her cult within this vast spiritual corpus, it is worth beginning with a brief summary of Buddhist tantric literature. But with so many texts to consider, and with such an array of practices and methods revealed within them, where is one to begin? The problem of how to classify and codify the material has occupied scholars from at least the eighth century and does so even today as contemporary scholars continue to propose new ways of approaching and organizing the materials (e.g., Linrothe 1999). The result is that there are various systems for categorizing the Buddhist tantras that are by no means standard, and how these different classes of texts arose, or came to be known, is something of a mystery.

It seems that one of the earliest classifications of the Buddhist tantras occurred in the eighth century by Buddhaghūya, who recognized only two classes, *kriyātantras* and *yogatantras* (Mimaki 1994: 122, n. 17). The subject-matter of some tantras, however, was neither principally *kriyā* (*kriyāpradhāna*), nor principally *yoga* (*yogapradhāna*), but seemed to combine “both” (*ubhaya*); these were termed *ubhayatantras*, and later, *caryātantras* (Isaacson 1998). It is this threefold classification—*kriyā*-, *caryā*-, and *yoga*-tantras—to which an eighth-century scholar/practitioner, Vilāsavajra, confidently refers. Of these classes, the earliest tantric texts are found within the *kriyātantras* (“action tantras”), which appeared between at least the third century, when they are known to have been translated into Chinese

(Hodge 1994: 74–76), and at least the sixth century. The so-called caryā-tantras (“performance tantras”) were current from at least the mid seventh with the emergence of its root text, the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* (*ibid.*: 65ff.) Despite their status as “tantras,” religious teachings supposedly revealed by the historical Buddha, these classes hold essentially ritual manuals and *dhāraṇīs* concerned with supernatural, desiderative attainments (*siddhis*), such as locating treasure, alchemy, flying, invisibility, forcing access to heavenly realms, warding off evils, and so on; they make little reference to soteriological goals. Sanderson (1994b: 97 n. 1) comments on the enduring popularity of the kriyā- and caryātantras, even among translators of later soteriological tantras (such as Amoghavajra, d. 774), as well as their continuing importance in apotropaic rituals in Newar, Tibetan, and Japanese Buddhism. The fascination with *siddhis* of various types remains in later tantric literature, as the study of Vajrayoginī will show.

By distinguishing the kriyātantras (or the kriyā- and caryātantras) from the yogatantras, the eighth-century scholars were in fact pointing to the emergence of a new kind of tantra that had entered the Buddhist arena, probably from the late seventh century (Hodge *op.cit.*: 65–66, 58). The root text of the yogatantra is the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* (STTS), and like the caryātantras, it centers on the supreme buddha, Vairocana. However, it reveals an important shift in emphasis. This is the first work in which tantric methodologies, such as rites of consecration, mantras, and maṇḍalas, were directly aligned to soteriological as well as to desiderative goals. The significance of bringing a liberationist slant to bear on tantric methods was not lost upon commentators, who were clearly aware of the need to bring traditional Buddhist values into the tantric field. Vilāsavajra, for example, wrote a commentary based on the Vajradhātumaṇḍala of the STTS, in which he set out “to encode and interpret tantric ritual in Mahāyānist doctrinal terms” (Tribe 1994: 4).²¹ Portions of yogatantra text are probably the oldest incorporated into the literature of Vajrayoginī.

Even within Vilāsavajra’s exegesis, however, there was other liberationist material that did not fit easily into the yogatantra category, a fact he seems to have recognized by designating his root text, the *Nāmasaṃgīti*, a “mahāyoga” or “great tantra” (Tribe 1997: 128, nn. 11, 18, and 20). Indeed, new kinds of texts with marked differences in subject matter were beginning to emerge, and these were soon to be contrasted with the yogatantras and given the new designation “yoginītantras.” Within the soteriological tantric realm these two terms—yogatantra and yoginītantra—seem to refer to the two main divisions of Buddhist tantras, and commentators frequently

pair them together as the “yoga- and yoginītantras.”²² Thus, the commonest classification of tantric texts in India was probably fourfold: kriyā-, caryā-, yoga-, and yoginītantras (Isaacson 1998).

The yoginītantra class is characterized by the appearance of a new Buddha at the center of its maṇḍalas, namely Akṣobhya and his manifestations, supreme enlightened beings who belong to the vajra (“diamond” or “thunderbolt”) family of deities. These deities are wrathful in appearance with a startling affinity for places of death and impurity, the cremation grounds; they also manifest a vivid sexual symbolism.²³ One of the key cults within this class is based on the tantric deity Hevajra and was probably emerging around or after the tenth century.²⁴ In the *Hevajratantra*, Hevajra is seen to be a *heruka* form, that is, a type of wild enlightened being who dwells in cremation grounds with a retinue of cremation-ground deities and spirits. Other yoginītantra systems, probably roughly contemporary with the *Hevajratantra*, also center on this type of *heruka* deity: Cakrasaṃvara, Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa, Buddhakapāla, Mahāmāyāhva, and Kālacakra are all *heruka* forms who appear as lords of their own maṇḍalas. Their appearance, accoutrements, and behavior all relate to practices that ascetics undertook while dwelling in cremation grounds. These are the *kāpālīka* observances, or observances based on the skull (*kapālaḥ*, *kapālam*), chief tool and symbol for yogins of this kind. The *heruka* lord is also worshiped in embrace with his consort, while the retinue of male and female deities in his maṇḍala may also be in sexual union.

The principle of *śakti* begins to emerge in these texts as a potency manifesting in powerful female deities. It comes to the fore through the figure of the female consorts and the many types of goddesses, witches, or female spirits—yoginīs and ḍākinīs—who haunt the wilds and live in the cremation grounds. As *śakti* is increasingly emphasized, texts tend to redefine traditional Mahāyāna soteriology in the language of erotico-yogic techniques and mahāmudrā (p. 91). Thus, as one tantra explains: “The Mahāyāna is mahāmudrā, and yoginīs bring magical power.”²⁵ It is these texts that form the direct basis for the cult of Vajrayoginī. Within the yoginītantras we see a growing preoccupation with the yoginī, or enlightened female deity. In some maṇḍalas she is worshiped as the chief deity within a predominantly female maṇḍala, even though she is still in embrace with a male partner (e.g., see ch. 2). Eventually, cults emerged in which the male consorts disappeared entirely from view, leaving the female deity to be worshiped alone at the center of a new maṇḍala. Often the form of the maṇḍala is preserved exactly as it was before, except that the male deities have simply been

removed. This is typical of the maṇḍalas described in the sādhanas of the *Guhyasamayasādhanaṃālā*. Our study of the Vajravārāhī maṇḍala in Umāpatideva's *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* will show that it is modeled exactly upon that of Cakrasaṃvara, except that in Vajravārāhī's maṇḍala all the male gods of Cakrasaṃvara's maṇḍala have disappeared, leaving the goddesses without consorts, and supreme.

Our summary so far of the tantric systems has shown the cult of Vajrayoginī to be firmly grounded within the yoginītantra class. But this classification is more complex than I have made out. On the one hand, there were already texts akin to the yoginītantras well before the maturing of the Heruka cults in the ninth and tenth centuries; the *Sarvabuddhasamāyoga-ḍākinījālaśaṃvara* is one such "proto-yoginītantra" that is known to have been in existence in the mid-eighth century (Sanderson 1995).²⁶ Here, the lords of the maṇḍalas are heruka-type, esoteric deities, in sexual union with consorts and surrounded by retinues of female ḍākinīs. This tantra was still in use in Tibet in the eleventh century, "no doubt because of its evident kinship with the later yoginītantras" (*ibid.*). On the other hand, there were texts that sat uncomfortably within the yogatantra system, but that were not so markedly different that they fell naturally into the yoginītantra classification. This gave rise to another tantra class known as the "yogottara," literally that which is "higher than the yoga [class]."

Isaacson (*op.cit.*) suggests the term "yogottarat tantra" was a later designation. Certainly when Vilāsavajra refers to the *Guhyasamājatantra*, and to other texts that were later named as "yogottara," such as the *Vajrabhairavatantra* and the *Māyājālatantra*, he seems to be unaware of any such class (Tribe 1994: 5). This stratum of tantric literature arose about a century after the yogatantras, and its root text, the *Guhyasamājatantra*, was codified and translated into Tibetan in the eighth century (Matsunaga 1972; Snellgrove 1987: 183). The introduction of this extra "yogottara" classification seems to reflect the fact that in the course of its evolution, the Guhyasamāja system (including its exegetical literature) came to be seen as sufficiently different from the older yogatantras—and certainly superior to it—to require a different label (Isaacson *op.cit.*). As in the yoginītantras, the maṇḍalas of the Guhyasamāja (or Samāja) tradition are presided over by Akṣobhya and by vajra-family deities, who are often both wrathful and erotic in character. Since the tantras of the yoginī class were deemed superior even to those of the yogottara, Isaacson suggests that they probably received the additional designation "yoganiruttarat tantras," literally: "tantras of the highest (*nirut-tara*) [division] of the yoga [class]" (translation by Sanderson 1994b: 98 n. 1).

Even this fivefold classification of *kriyā-*, *caryā-*, *yoga-*, *yogottara-*, and *yoginītantras* (the system almost ubiquitously expounded in our secondary literature) was not necessarily a widely accepted solution by scholars/practitioners of the day. Mimaki (1994) lists seven different classifications from various Indian exegetes and tantras, without even touching on the fourfold schema described above as possibly the most common (i.e., *kriyā-*, *caryā-*, *yoga-*, and *yoginītantras*). Atiśa, for example, writing in the early mid-eleventh century, sought to clarify works that strayed between the *yoga* and *yogottara* camps by inserting between them two more tantra classes—*upāya-* (“means”), and *ubhaya-* (“dual”)—thus presenting a new sevenfold classification of tantras.

In Tibet, the classification of texts likewise presents a complex picture (Mimaki 1994: 121). Among the *gSar ma pa* schools, there is the famous system of Bu ston (1290–1346), which preserves the divisions of the *kriyā-* (*bya ba'i rgyud*), *caryā-* (*spyod pa'i rgyud*), and *yoga-* (*rnal 'byor gyi rgyud*), but which classes those of the *yogottara-* and *yoginītantras* together as the *anuttaratantra*, or “ultimate tantra” (*rnal 'byor bla na med pa'i rgyud*). This fourth class is itself subdivided into father (*phar gyud*), mother (*mar gyud*), and nondual tantras (*gnyis med rgyud*). Mother tantras, or wisdom tantras (*yeshes rgyud*) are further analyzed into seven groups, one of which (itself with five subdivisions) comprises tantras connected with Heruka (Tsuda 1974: 28). The classification of the rNying ma tantric canon is based on a ninefold system of classification, in which such categories as *mahāyoga* (noted above) re-emerge as a distinct group (Germano 1994: 241–51 with n. 114, Williams and Tribe 2000: 203).

Complicated as the divisions and subdivisions of the tantric corpus are, they have been made more so by mistranslations in use in the West. Sanderson (1993) has pointed out that the term *anuttarayogatantra* found in some secondary sources does not occur in Sanskrit enumerations of the different classes of tantras and is likely to derive from an incorrect back-formation from the Tibetan *rnal 'byor bla med kyi rgyud* or “yoganiruttaratantras.” (This refers to the class of Sanskrit works whose translations in the Tohoku catalogue are nos. 360–441, also termed *rnal 'byor ma'i rgyud* or “yoginītantra”; Sanderson 1994b: 98 n. 1). The term “yogānuttaratantras” (sometimes applied by secondary authors to *yoganiruttaratantras*) is also not attested in Sanskrit sources (Isaacson 2001: personal communication).

Within this vast and complex body of tantric literature, the practices of Vajrayoginī belong to the most developed phase of the *yoginītantras*. Vajra-

yoginī literature is unlike other systems within that class, however, in that it generally lacks its own tantras. It draws instead upon the scriptural texts of the Cakrasaṃvara cult: the Saṃvara-, or Śaṃvaratantras.²⁷ Sanderson (1995) summarizes the Saṃvara corpus as follows:

The root text (*mūlatantram*) is the *Laghuśaṃvaratantra*, also called *Herukābhīdhāna*- or *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* (BBK: 251). The text does not survive in its entirety; lost portions are accessible only through the early eleventh-century Tibetan translation, lemmata in tenth-century Sanskrit commentaries, and in secondary texts such as the *Abhidhānottaratantra*.

The *Abhidhānottaratantra* (BBK: 254). Its relationship with the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* is that of explanatory tantra (**vyākhyātantram*) to root text (*mūlatantram*), according to Buddhaguhya's terminology.

Vajradākatantra (BBK: 255).

Saṃvarodayatantra (BBK: 256).

Ḍākārṇavatatantra (BBK: 255).

Yoginīsaṃcāratantra (BBK: 258).

Herukābhyudaya (not surviving in Sanskrit).

Caturyoginīsaṃpūṭa (BBK: 259).

It is scriptures such as these—in particular, the *Yoginīsaṃcāratantra*, *Saṃvarodayatantra*, and *Abhidhānottaratantra*—that inform the sādhanas of the *Guhyasamayasādhanamālā*. One sādhana in the collection (GSS70) is based upon a unique Vajravārāhī scriptural source, the *Vārāhyabhyudayatatantra*, itself apparently extracted from the *Abhidhānottaratantra* (Sanderson 2001a). In another, there is even a reference to the *Lakṣābhīdhāna*²⁸ (sometimes identified with the *Khasamatantra*), which is a mythical work, supposedly vast and authoritative in ten thousand verses, and allegedly the source from which the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* itself was extracted (Tsuda 1974: 33). The same legendary authority is claimed in the *Yoginīsaṃcāratantra* following its description of the body maṇḍala, a core Cakrasaṃvara practice taken over with very little adaptation in Umāpatideva's *Vajravārāhī Sādhana*.

The Vajrayoginī tradition does not simply graft itself onto the scriptural rootstock of Cakrasaṃvara; it borrows equally freely from the Cakrasaṃvara tradition of commentary and exegesis. We will see how the authors of the *Guhyasamayasādhanamālā* rely on the liturgical and commentarial texts at

Table 1. *Authors and their works in the Guhyasamayasādhanaṃālā*

<i>Authors</i>	<i>Works in GSS</i>
Indrabhūti (or his lineage)	Vajrayoginīmukhāgama (GSS1) Pradīpāhutividhi (GSS14) Indrabhūtikrameṇa Vajrayoginīsādhana by Vijayavajra (GSS35)
Lūyīpāda	Vajravārāhisādhana (GSS2)
Advayavajra	Vajravārāhisādhana (GSS3) Sarvārthasiddhisādhana (GSS15) Vajravārāhisādhana (GSS31) Possibly Trayodaśātmikāvajraḍākinīvajravārāhisādhana (GSS16)
Śākyarakṣita	Abhisamayamañjarī (GSS5)
Śabara (and his lineage)	Guhyavajravilāsinīsādhana (GSS10) Vajrayoginīsādhana (GSS19) Vidyādhari vajrayoginyārādhana vidhi (GSS23) Possibly Vidyādharikramavajrayoginīsādhana (GSS21) Vidyādharikramabhāvanā (GSS22) [Vidyādhari-]ārādhana vidhi (GSS5, K3811)
Umāpatideva	Vajravārāhisādhana (GSS11)
Buddhadatta	Gopyahomavidhi (GSS13)
Virūpa	“Piṇḍārthāḥ Ṣoḍaśaślokaś Trikāyavajrayoginyāḥ” (GSS26) Trikāyavajrayoginistutiprañidhāna (GSS27) Trikāyavajrayoginīsādhana (GSS25) Possibly Vajrayoginīsādhana (GSS20) Trikāyavajrayoginī text in GSS5 (K3615) Vajrayoginīsādhana (GSS9, GSS30)
“Lakṣmī” (?)	Lakṣmīsādhana (GSS24)
Vilāsavajra	Samkṣiptavajravārāhisādhana (GSS29) Possibly GSS4
Sahajāvalokana- samādhivajra	Binducūḍāmañir nāma svādhiṣṭhānakrama (GSS32) Possibly GSS33
Dhyāyīpāda	“Paramagambhīropadeśo Vajrayoginyāḥ Karaṅkatoraṇakramaḥ Svādhiṣṭhānam” (GSS34) Possibly GSS33
Vijayavajra	Indrabhūtikrameṇa Vajrayoginīsādhana (GSS35)
Vibhūticandra	Vajravilāsinīstotra (GSS43)
Anaṅgayogin	Ḍākinīguhyasamayasādhana (GSS46)

their disposal, and how they are able to adapt them for the worship of Vajrayoginī. This is most evident in the ritual portion of the sādhanā, as described in chapter 3.

The Guhyasamayasādhanaṃālā and Its Authors

The most direct sources for our study of Vajrayoginī are the sādhanas of the *Guhyasamayasādhanaṃālā* (GSS). This is a group of some forty-six Sanskrit works drawn together as a collection centering upon Vajrayoginī and her manifestations. Fifteen of its works claim the authorship of named individuals, and it is to them that we now turn in order to gain some insight into the date of the compositions and the context in which they were written. Table 1 shows a list of our authors and the works attributed to them. Since in some cases an author's influence upon an unattributed work may be inferred, authorship of almost half the texts in the collection can be firmly or loosely established (details are supplied in the appendix).

Establishing the dates of these authors is a thorny subject. I tentatively summarize the dates discussed here on the time chart (table 2). Various life histories survive, chiefly in Tibetan, although informed by a hagiographical and sometimes sectarian agenda (Tatz 1987: 696). Among key sources on this subject is the famous *Legends of the Eighty-Four Mahāsiddhas* (*Grubthob brgyadcu rtsabzhi'i lorgyus*, hereafter *Legends*), which supplies accounts of the lives of Indrabhūti, Lakṣmīnkarā, Lūyīpāda, Śābara, and the slightly younger author Virūpa.²⁹ More information on their lineages, and episodes from their lives, can be gleaned from the *Blue Annals* (*Debther sNgonpo*), written by 'Gos Lotsawa (Locchāwa) (1392–1481), and the *History of Buddhism in India* by Tāranātha (1575–?), but neither of these works can be relied upon for accurate dating. Scholars have often attempted to date authors according to the testimony of transmission lineages, a risky enterprise that Kvaerne describes as “methodological error” (1977: 6). Illustrative of the problem is Dowman's attempt to date the *mahāsiddhas* using traditional Buddhist scholarship, according to which there are no fewer than three kings of Oḍḍiyāna called Indrabhūti (1985: 232ff; cf. Dudjom 1991: 441, 458–59, 485–87): Indrabhūti the Great, who may be as early as the seventh century (642 C.E. according to the Chinese *T'ang Annals*), an intermediate Indrabhūti, possibly of the eighth century (although apparently not recognized by Tāranātha, Dowman *ibid.*: n.233), and Indrabhūti the Younger, of the late ninth century. Davidson (2002), however, comments

that even pinpointing three Indrabhūti is “surely an underestimate” and points to “the tendency for traditional apologists and modern scholars to amalgamate the various personalities into one grand persona.” Dowman (*op. cit.*) also puts forward three possible candidates for Indrabhūti’s sister, Lakṣmīṅkarā, including a nun of similar name; however, even if we agree that this same Lakṣmīṅkarā is the author of our *Lakṣmīsādhana* (GSS24), the only certainty we can have is that she was no later than the Tibetan translator of the text, who was known to have lived 1059–1109.³⁰ Virūpa, traditionally the pupil of Lakṣmīṅkarā (*Blue Annals*: 390), is just as elusive, and may have lived as early as the eighth century (*Tāranātha History*: 197) or as late as the eleventh century, when he supposedly taught Maitrīpāda (also called Advayavajra) and Mar pa the translator (*Blue Annals*: 390). Similar problems beset the dating of the Mahāsiddha Lūyīpāda. Kvaerne (1977: 5–6), for example, hesitantly cites Tāranātha (*History*: 311), according to whom “Lui” was a contemporary of Maitrī (Advayavajra) in the eleventh century, and notes that in one tradition, Lūyīpāda’s guru was Saraha, who may have flourished in the eleventh century or earlier (see also Dasgupta 1946: 6). Davidson (1991: n. 24) notes that Lūyīpāda’s *Śrī-Bhagavadabhisamaya* was translated into Tibetan in the first part of the eleventh century, “apparently the earliest attested practice of the Cakrasaṃvara” in the Tibetan canon. However, Sa skya legends assert that Lūyīpāda was a scribe at the court of Dharmapāla in the late eighth century (Dowman 1985: 37). The dating of Śābara is even more problematic. He appears as an early teacher in several genealogical traditions (Dowman *ibid.*: 65; Kvaerne 1977: 6), but also as a teacher to later authors such as Vanaratna in the fifteenth century. Dowman therefore posits a line of teachers called Śābara, the only merit of which is that it echoes the legend of Śābara’s immortality, according to which he would still be teaching today. Another of Śābara’s pupils is said to be Advayavajra, whose dates have been discussed at length by Tatz (1987: 697) and shown to be tied to the reign of King Neyapāla in the eleventh century (1007–85).³¹ Śābara also apparently initiated Vibhūticandra into the sixfold yoga system (*ṣaḍaṅgayogaḥ*) (*Blue Annals*: 727). Stearns (1996: 127–71) places Vibhūticandra in the later twelfth to early thirteenth centuries at the time of the Moslem invasions. Vibhūticandra would thus be the youngest author in our collection.

Some of the younger contributors to the *Guhyasamayāsādhanaṃālā* are slightly easier to place because they admit their debt to earlier authors. One such is Śākyarakṣita, whose *Flower Cluster of Clear Understanding* (*Abhisamayamañjarī* GSS5) draws heavily on the *Clear Understanding of Heruka*

(*Herukābhisamaya*) by Lūyīpāda. Apart from the similarity of his title, Śākyarakṣita refers twice to Lūyīpāda's work, commenting on Lūyīpāda's method for establishing the vajra ground (*vajrabhūmi*, K2ov2) and knowledge circle (*jñānacakra*, K2iv6), and referring to it for an in-depth treatment of Vajravārāhi's thirty-seven-deity maṇḍala.³² Śākyarakṣita adds that this was taught "by my teacher in the Vajrāvalī," which reveals that his guru was Abhayākaragupta, abbot of the monastic university Vikramaśīla during the reign of King Rāmapāla (c. 1084–1126/1130).³³ If Śākyarakṣita was a younger contemporary of Abhayākaragupta, he would probably have flourished in the mid-twelfth century.

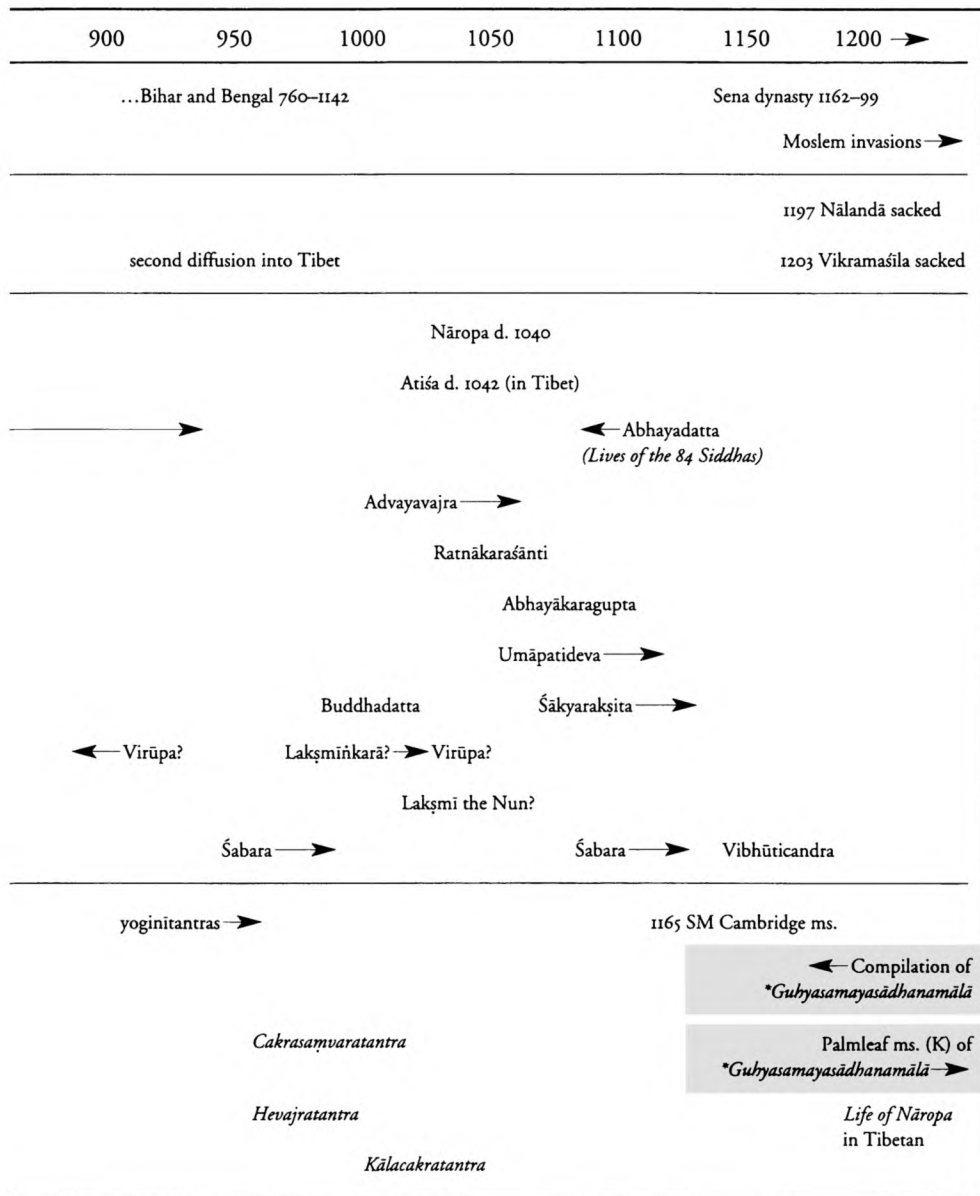
Our study of Umāpatideva's *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* (GSS11) will show that it shares much in common with Śākyarakṣita's work, in both its subject matter and use of sources. Fortunately, Umāpatideva's lineage and dates are on slightly firmer ground, and these place him in the same generation as Śākyarakṣita, perhaps as an older contemporary. The colophon to the Tibetan translation describes him as "one who has the lineage of the instructions of Virūpa, śrī Umāpatidatta" (Tib 49.7), and the dates of the translators link him fairly securely to the same period as Abhayākaragupta. The translators of Umāpatideva's two known texts in the *bsTan-'gyur* are Vāgīśvaragupta and Rwa Chos rab.³⁴ Rwa Chos rab was active in India and Nepal in at least the first quarter of the twelfth century, and was a pupil of the Nepalese paṇḍit Samantaśrī; Samantaśrī himself flourished in the early to mid-twelfth century and received the Kālacakra teachings from Abhayākaragupta (*Blue Annals*: 760–61; cf. *ibid.*: 756, 789).³⁵ Thus, the translation of Umāpatideva's works would seem to belong to the early to mid-twelfth century, and may even have been contemporary with the author. If Umāpatideva was of the same generation as Samantaśrī (whom he is unlikely to have postdated, since his translator was a pupil of the latter), he may also have been a pupil of Abhayākaragupta's.

In the absence of much reliable evidence for dating the authors of the *Guhyasamayasāadhanamālā*, we must look for other clues as to their origins. First, it seems that several authors in the *Guhyasamayasāadhanamālā* are associated with the early dissemination of tantric lineages. Indrabhūti, for example, is traditionally known as "the first *tāntrika*" and was credited with initiating several tantric lineages, including the yogottara, Hevajra, and Cakrasaṃvara traditions (*Blue Annals*: 869; Dudjom 1991: 485, 462; Dowman 1985: 233; SM vol. 2: xxxi). Lūyīpāda is particularly associated with the Cakrasaṃvara system, on the basis of which he is traditionally known as the "original guru" (*ādiguru*) of the mahāmudrā (Dowman 1985: 37). Accord-

Table 2. *Time chart*[†]

YEAR	600	650	700	750	800	850
RULERS	→ Gupta dynasties (Harṣa 606–47)			Pāla Dynasties of...		
EVENTS	Nālandā Founded	Vikramaśīla founded first diffusion into Tibet				
AUTHORS						Indrabhūti?
						Lūyīpāda? —————
				Virūpa?	Lakṣmīṅkarā? →	
				Śābara —————→		
WORKS	→ kriyātantras 1st–2nd cent. →	yogatantras late 7th cent. →	yogottaratantras	yogottaratantra exegesis and translation into Tibetan		
	caryātantras mid-7th cent. →	proto-yoginītantras →				
	STTS →		*Guhyakośa Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinijālaśaṃvara			

[†] The sources for these dates are mentioned in chapter 1 or elsewhere in the book, and in historical secondary sources given in the bibliography. Many dates are uncertain.



ing to the Tibetan tradition, he is one of three main transmitters of the Cakrasaṃvara system along with Ghaṇṭāpāda and Kṛṣṇapāda (*Blue Annals*: 389; Dawa-Samdup 1919: 9; Jackson 1994: 125). Śābara is also associated with the spread of mahāmudrā, according to the evidence of the *Guhyasamayāsādhanaṃālā* (see chapter 2), and is an important transmitter of the Śaḍaṅgayoga discipline (Padma gar dbang, cited Stearns 1996: 140). One tradition putatively connects Śābara with the origins of the Trikāya-vajrayoginī tradition through his lineal descendant Kṛṣṇācārya (Dowman 1985: 320; 7.19), although Benard (1994: 12–13) prefers to credit Lakṣmīṅkarā. In Tibet, Virūpa was regarded as the “first lama or *ādiguru*” of the Sa skya sect (Dowman 1985: 52; Dudjom 1991: 853). The fact that the *Guhyasamayāsādhanaṃālā* opens with two texts, one attributed to Indrabhūti (or elsewhere to Śābara; see GSSI in the appendix) and an almost identical work to Lūyīpāda, is significant. It asserts the antiquity of the collection, and hence its authenticity. Similarly, Indrabhūti’s authorship implies that the geographical source of the teachings is Oḍḍiyāna, the very homeland of esoteric spiritual revelation, as many tantric colophons testify.³⁶ The text itself (GSSI≈GSS2) reveals an East Indian influence, with its clear exchange of the consonants *v* for *b* in its *mantroddhāra*.

The fame of our later authors rests upon their scholarly transmission of the tantric teachings. The *Blue Annals* (pp. 841, 866, 976) refers to Advaya-vajra’s transmission of mahāmudrā, and associates him particularly with compositions of the *amanasikāra* class (e.g., *ibid.*: 842); it is in a text of this class, the **Siddha-Āmnāya*, that Advayavajra’s quest for a vision of Vajrayoginī is described, and in which he is requested by his guru, Śābara, to return to academic life to commit his new understanding to writing.³⁷ Advayavajra is one of the younger adepts who were working in the environment of the monastic universities in northeast India. These were centers of Mahāyāna and tantric learning established under the Pāla dynasties of Bihar and Bengal (760–1142 C.E.), which flourished until their destruction by the Moslem invaders between 1197 and 1207 (Dutt 1962: 380). The five outstanding foundations were: Vikramaśīla, founded—according to Tibetan sources—under Dharmapāla (770–810 C.E., *ibid.*: 359); Odantapurā and Somapura (also “Somapuri”) under Devapāla (c. 810–59 C.E., *ibid.*: 373–74); Jagaddala in Varendra (north Bengal), which probably flourished under Rāmapāla (1077–1120); and the oldest establishment, Nālandā, which had been sponsored at the end of Gupta rule by Harṣa (606–47 C.E.). Although less cultivated by Pāla kings, Nālandā remained a prestigious seat of Mahāyāna philosophy, and at its peak, Chinese sources state that it catered

to several thousand students, offering as many as one hundred lectures, tutorials, or debates a day on topics both brahmanical and Buddhist (*ibid.*: 333; Misra 1998 I: 241ff.). Vikramaśīla was the most renowned monastic university in the Pāla period, with Abhayākara-gupta at its head, and its various “schools” (*saṁsthāḥ*) conferring various posts, honors, and “degrees,” such as *dvārapāla* (gatekeeper), *paṇḍita*, or *mahāpaṇḍita* (*ibid.*: 360–63 following Tibetan accounts).

The reference to the academic milieu in the **Siddha-Āmnāya* is interesting because it illustrates the contrast between the life of Advaya-vajra, the yogin-paṇḍit working within the monastic universities, and the supposed source of his learning, the illiterate adept and mountain-dwelling huntsman Śabara. Although our younger authors may have lived and worked in the intellectually charged milieu of the monastic universities, their sādhanā texts reflect the culture of the earliest proponents of the systems. They lay down prescriptions to practice in wild, solitary places void of people, and it is this aspect of their own practice that is most attractive to legend. In many accounts, historical narrative breaks into mythic motif precisely at the point when the monk rejects formal academia in favor of tantric yogic practice. For example, the story of Advaya-vajra in the **Siddha-Āmnāya* (p. 11) first describes his formal training in grammar and orthodox (nontantric) Buddhist disciplines at monastic universities such as Vikramaśīla; it then recounts his tantric studies (possibly under Nāropa) at Nālandā, but only finally launches him on his higher tantric career when he leaves the monastic life and sets out on his magical journey to seek Vajrayoginī, prompted by a voice in a dream. In Tibetan accounts, Advaya-vajra was expelled from the monastery for keeping liquor and a woman in his cell (Tatz 1987: 700–701). The same motif of expulsion is found in the account of Virūpa’s life. According to the *Legends* (Dowman 1985: 43–52), this mahāsiddha first became a monk of Somapura monastery, but despite his initiation into the practice of sow-faced Vajravārāhī, he failed to see her even in a dream until, after twelve years, in a depressed state, he threw his rosary into the toilet. He attained mahāmudrā after another twelve years. Virūpa’s subsequent expulsion from Somapura (for eating pigeon pie) was accompanied by various miracles, such as walking on water and holding back the sun in a ploy to avoid settling his tab at the local tavern.

The distinction between the two lifestyles—formal academic versus wandering yogic—may not have been so marked in practice. The wandering life was an integral part of the monastic experience. Practitioners would move between universities in pursuit of various teachers, and periods of retreat and

prior service (*pūrvasevā*) were also an essential part of formal training. The perceived dichotomy may have been a natural advertising ploy for the techniques to be espoused, and a crystallization of the ideal of the solitary tantric yogin. This is an ideal firmly embedded in the Indian traditions. The Buddha's going forth is an important role model for any would-be Buddhist saint, and the inflation of this motif to actual expulsion from a monastery is one that provides a useful exegetical comment upon tantric praxis; it is precisely from their antinomian propensities that the practices of the highest tantras draw their power. The texts themselves seem to envisage both lifestyles. At their most extreme, they advocate a type of yogic existence that transcends ritual observances, such as rites of the maṇḍala, or oblations with mantras (see the first *upadeśaḥ* in GSS32, appendix), but at the same time, they envisage a ritual specialist capable of performing numbers of such rites, not just for his own sake, but on behalf of others (see, for example, ch. 3 §39).

In pursuit of either lifestyle, it seems it was not altogether necessary for the practitioner to be an ordained member of the Buddhist sangha. The higher tantric initiations (ch. 3), which include the empowerments for sexual praxis, were also open to householders. This is implicit in one of the erotico-yogic texts in the *Guhyasamayasādhanaṃālā* that refers to the "[householder's] own house" (*svagrhe*) as one possible meditation site (GSS34, appendix). Umāpatideva himself, author of the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana*, may have been a layman, as well as an initiate into the lineage of Virūpa. His name means "lord of Umā," that is, Śiva, while ordination into Buddhist orders would ordinarily have endowed him with a Buddhist name. If he were a lay scholar, it would seem that Umāpatideva still had access to the scriptural and exegetical sources available to those working in the monastic environment, judging by the extent of the redaction in the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana*.

This situation did not lie comfortably with some members of the monastic community, however. In her study of tantric antinomianism, Onians (2002: 292–93) comments that, "The tension between tantric monks and householders must reflect a time when tantric practitioners were found both in and outside monasteries, and the Sangha was compelled to reassert its primacy...." Thus, the *Kriyāsamuccaya* (f.3.2ff; Gellner 1992: 295) cites many tantric references to support the claim that a tantric teacher (*vajrācāryaḥ*) should be a monk, although the fact that it opens with a lengthy discussion on the matter raises the possibility of his not being so. Indeed, in his *Vajrācāryalakṣaṇavidhi*, Jagaddarpaṇa states that a tantric

teacher may be of three types: monk, novice, or householder (following the *Samvarāṇṇavatantra*), but he asserts the superiority of the teacher who is ordained by adding that, should all three be found together, the householder should not be worshiped, for this would be disrespectful to the Three Jewels.³⁸ Another tantric exegete prescribes certain “beginners” rites and observances (*ādikarma*) for the householder practitioner (*grhapatibodhisattvaḥ*),³⁹ suggesting, perhaps, that the qualifications of the lay practitioner were inferior to those of a monk. However, Isaacson (1999: personal communication) points out that the qualifications of the lay practitioner were not necessarily inferior to those of a monk, and that Jagaddarpaṇa’s opening discussion does not reveal his final position on the matter. Indeed, it may even have been the case that practitioners who had taken the *bhikṣusamvara* were sometimes forbidden or discouraged from the actual performance of transgressive practices.

With their emphasis on solitary practice, the *sādhana*s themselves give no indication as to how they would be practiced within a monastic routine. This is particularly pertinent where the *sādhana* involves sexual practices that would infringe the monastic vow of celibacy (*brahmacaryam*). In tackling this issue, exegetes tended to argue that the tantric observances incorporate and surpass, rather than negate or contradict, earlier vows of celibacy:⁴⁰ “[In taking tantric initiation] will he not then be guilty of abandoning his earlier vows [of celibacy]? No, for each subsequent observance transcends the preceding, just as the lay devotee becomes a novice and the novice a monk. When a person has become a monk is there the absence of the vows he took as a lay devotee, etc.? [Of course not.]” Jagaddarpaṇa (*Onians op. cit.*) actually redefines *brahmacarya*, so that for a nontantric monk it still refers to celibacy; but for a monk who has taken highest initiation (and whom he therefore understands to be spiritually superior), it refers to the retention of semen in the course of yogic sexual practices. However, the attitudes of tantric authors on this matter are complex, as Onians makes clear (*op. cit.*: 268–71): Atiśa, for example, has—with justification—been interpreted as insisting that for those who held full monastic ordination, the language of sexual yoga was open only to symbolic interpretation and was otherwise incompatible with monastic rule; and yet his conclusions are far more subtle than this and clearly depend upon the context in which celibates may perform the higher initiations and upon a rigorous application of the qualifications that would permit a monk to bypass or transcend his monastic precepts—crucially, the degree of insight with which sexual praxis is imbued. Such sophisticated apologetics are a reflection of

the difficulty that must have arisen in bringing tantric practices within the monastic fold. Indeed, there are accounts of iconoclasm among Sthavira-vādins unable to tolerate deities such as Cakrasaṃvara at Vajrāsana (Bodhgaya), which Taranātha himself recorded (1990: 279):

In a temple of Vajrāsana there was then a large silver image of Heruka and many treatises on tantra. Some of the Śrāvaka Sen-dhavas ["Siddhas"] of Singa island (Ceylon) and other places said that they were composed by Māra. So they burnt these and smashed the image into pieces and used the pieces as ordinary money.

But on these issues, the new tantric orthodoxy was clear, as the hagiography of Abhayākara-gupta testifies (*Blue Annals*: 1046; Willson 2000: 397–98). Painting the picture of an exemplary abbot-scholar of traditional Buddhist hue, the lifestory of Abhayākara-gupta describes his initial reluctance to embrace the new teachings, as he declines to welcome a woman into his monastic cell. When the woman turns out to be none other than Vajrayoginī in disguise, the monk sees the error of his ways, but finds that he has lost the opportunity ever to gain union with her in his lifetime. He is compensated with the promise that if he composed a “great number of commentaries on profound tantras and many rites of maṇḍalas,” he would soon become “a fortunate one”—a challenge he appears to have accepted.

Sādhana Collections

Having examined the Indian milieu in which Umāpatideva's *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* was written, it is time to look more closely at the compilation of the *Guhyasamayāsādhanamālā* itself. According to the approximate dating of their authors, some texts in the collection are possibly as old as the ninth century, but perhaps only date from the eleventh century, while others are later still, dating from the twelfth century. The collection closes toward the end of the twelfth century with the work of an author who was probably a living contemporary, Vibhūticandra (GSS43). Its upper date is fixed by the oldest surviving manuscript (K), which Sanderson (1995: personal communication) suggests is from the twelfth to thirteenth centuries. This date would be roughly contemporary with the earliest manuscript of another sādhana collection, the *Sādhanaśatapañcāśikā*, which dates from 1165 C.E. (Cambridge add. 1686). The *Guhyasamayāsādhanamālā* receives its title only

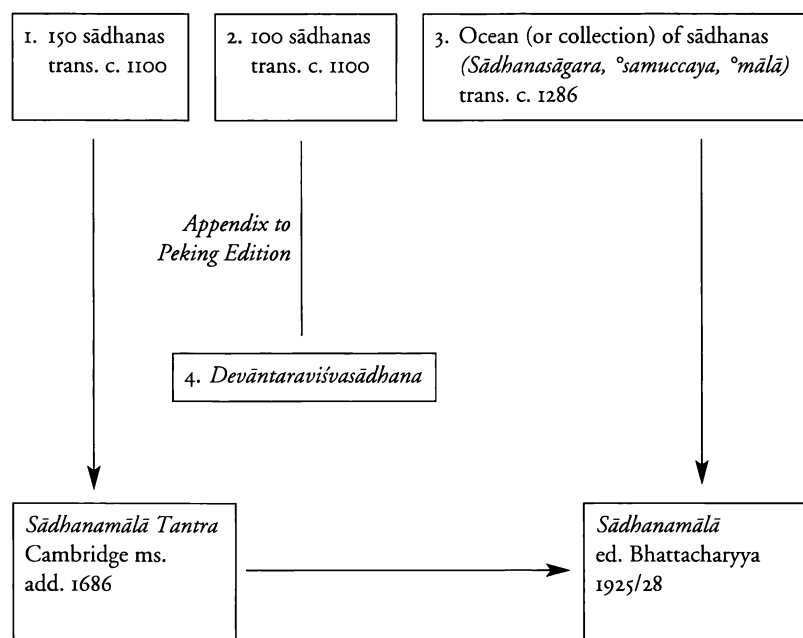
later; the name is found in the Devanāgarī manuscript (D) alone, in which the title of the last work in the collection (*Ḍākinī-guhyasamaya-sādhana-mālā-tantrarāja*) seems to serve as the basis for the collective title *Śrī-Guhyasamaya-tantra*.

The processes by which sādhana collections were compiled into recognizable collections has been studied by Bühnemann (1994), who suggests that scholars were engaged in collecting such works from the eleventh century on. Bühnemann discusses four sādhana collections in all, basing her work on the four collections that Bu ston (1290–1364) drew into his catalog of the *bsTan 'gyur* (summarized in table 3):⁴¹

1. The *One Hundred and Fifty Sādhana*s (**Sādhanaśatapañcāśikā*, *sGrub thabs brgya dang lnga bcu*),⁴² consisting of about this number of sādhana.
2. The *Hundred Sādhana*s (**Sādhanaśataka*, *sGrub thabs brgya rtse*), which contains about ninety-three sādhana.
3. The *Ocean of Sādhana*s (**Sādhanaśāgara* in Bu ston's catalog), also called the *Collection of Sādhana*s (*Sādhanaśamuccaya* in the Peking edition P4221–4466), and the *Garland of Sādhana*s (*Sādhana-mālā* in the colophon of some Sanskrit manuscripts), consisting of a large collection of 242 sādhana.
4. The **Devāntaraviśvasādhana* collection, which appears in the Peking edition as an appendix to the second collection, the **Sādhanaśataka*.

It is from these collections that Bhattacharyya (1925/28) produced his edition of the so-called *Sādhana-mālā*, accidentally conflating the largest collection of 242 sādhana (**Sādhanaśāgara*) with the collection of 150 sādhana (**Sādhanaśatapañcāśikā*).⁴³

What does Bühnemann's survey of the sādhana collections reveal about the manner and date of their compilation? Bühnemann shows that there are problems in fixing the contents of these collections since the Sanskrit manuscripts do not agree between themselves, either in the sequence in which sādhana appear or in the number of sādhana they contain, and the Tibetan translations do not seem to accord with the Sanskrit "originals." The compilation of substantial numbers of sādhana, or the addition of other collec-

Table 3. *Sādhana collections in the bsTan 'gyur*

tions to them, seems to coincide with the appearance of a title for the collection as a whole. This may have encouraged closure, as in the case of the **Sādhanaśatapañcāśikā*, which received its title only once it had collected its one hundred and fifty works (*ibid.* 1994: 11). Similarly, Bühnemann hints that Bu ston's third collection may have received its title **Sādhanasāgara* in the later recensions preserved in Tibetan from its final portion of texts, entitled *Devāntarasādhanasāgara* (*ibid.* 1994: 12). In some collections, the colophon to each individual sādhana also gives the collective title, but again this practice is not standard (*ibid.* 1994: 11–12). Such irregularities in a title's appearance in related recensions, and in the title itself, suggest that collective titles were a later feature of the sādhana compilations. Their introduction (possibly coupled with efforts to “round up” the collections to grandiose figures that then serve as collective titles) gives the impression that the sādhana collection was emerging as a genre in its own right. The datings given by Bühnemann indicate that the earliest translations into Tibetan of whole collections were made in the later eleventh century and around the turn of the

twelfth century and continued into the thirteenth century (and beyond), that is, in the period when the monastic universities under the Pāla dynasties were at their height. Records of the Sanskrit manuscripts confirm this picture. Comparing the evidence of the manuscript collections with the dates of likely authors, it is clear that the time between the composition of a sādhanā and its subsequent inclusion in a collection was often brief and that translation into Tibetan was also a rapid process.

These conclusions confirm what has been gathered of the *Guhyasamayasādhanaṃālā* collection. There are, however, notable differences. The *Guhyasamayasādhanaṃālā* is far smaller, containing only forty-six works. Moreover, it seems to have been relatively stable. Only one sādhanā (GSS8) is omitted in the later recension of the collection represented by the devanāgarī manuscript, a sādhanā that is anyway repeated identically later in the collection (GSS39). The *Guhyasamayasādhanaṃālā* was not translated into Tibetan, although some of its sādhanas appear in the *bsTan 'gyur* as part of other collections (details are given in notes to the appendix). Remarkable is that all forty-six sādhanas of the *Guhyasamayasādhanaṃālā* focus upon Vajrayoginī/Vajravārāhī. Other sādhanā collections, apart from being much larger, are more diverse. They include sādhanas relating to various deities, sometimes arranged accordingly in groups inside the compilation. There are, for example, groups of sādhanas within the so-called *Sādhanaṃālā* that focus on other female deities (ch. 2), but not one of these has been preserved as a separate collection in its own right.

The reason the *Guhyasamayasādhanaṃālā* remained a discrete collection and was not absorbed into another collection is unknown. Perhaps as a grouping it was too large to be placed inside another collection, or perhaps it had its own pretensions to reach a desirable “fifty.” Another suggestion is that this collection—with its single-minded concern with Vajrayoginī and its “contemporary” nature—may have been the initiative of a single scholar. This impression is heightened by its internal organization. The collection begins with traditional-style maṇḍalas of the Cakrasaṃvara tradition adapted to the female deity Vajravārāhī. There follows a gradual shift toward maṇḍalas exhibiting a more fully *kāpālīka* character, a trend that is further developed in the “skeleton arch” (*karaṇīkatorāṇa*) sādhanas, which reject the temple-palace structure of the maṇḍala altogether. Within this overall structure, the works seem to have been carefully, if approximately, grouped according to particular manifestations of Vajrayoginī, and to the type of work in question. These groupings may be roughly broken down as follows, with some sādhanas appearing in this list more than once where

different groupings overlap (the various forms of Vajrayoginī are discussed in chapter 2, and the sādhanas are described individually in the appendix):

GSS1≈GSS2

The first two sādhanas in the collection deal primarily with the hog-headed *ardhaparyāṅka*-pose Vajravārāhī, and are attributed to the prestigious figures Indrabhūti and Lūyīpāda.

GSS2, GSS3, GSS4, GSS5

The next manifestation is of Vajravārāhī in her classic warrior-stance form. She appears by herself (GSS2, GSS4), in her fivefold maṇḍala (GSS3), and finally in the full thirty-seven-fold maṇḍala (GSS5).

GSS3, GSS4, GSS5 (GSS11, GSS16)

The third sādhana (GSS3) is by another eminent figure, Advayavajra. It is the first in a group of essentially Cakrasaṃvara-based works, all similar in their exposition of the warrior-stance Vajravārāhī within a maṇḍala based on the temple palace. All sādhanas in this group salute Vajravārāhī in their opening reverence. Umāpatideva's *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* (GSS11) is also of this type. An interesting sādhana that belongs in part to the Advayavajra group and in part to the Śabara-related texts, is the sādhana of the thirteenfold Vajraḍākinī Vajravārāhī (GSS16).

GSS6, GSS7

The next group is of two sādhanas redacted from the *Abhidhānottara-tantra*, the first presenting a six-armed, seated manifestation of Vajravārāhī in embrace with her consort within a thirteenfold maṇḍala (GSS6), the second a twelve-armed *ardhaparyāṅka*-pose Vajravārāhī in a forty-one-fold maṇḍala (GSS7).

GSS8≈GSS39, GSS13, GSS14, GSS41

The oblation ritual (*homavidhiḥ*) that follows is one of a more dispersed group of oblation rituals in the collection.

GSS10, GSS43

There follow some distinctive, erotic practices of Vajrayoginī, notably Vajravilāsinī (GSS10), who is also the subject of a *stotra* (*stotram*) or praise work (GSS43).

GSS12, GSS17≈GSS45

Similarly amorous are the “raised-foot” (*ūrdhva-pāda*-) pose deities, first the red Vajravārāhī (GSS12), and then the white Vajrayoginī (GSS17≈GSS45).

GSS15, GSS18, GSS38

Next comes the red hog-headed “Vajraghoṇā” manifestation of Vajravārāhī (GSS15, GSS18), possibly related to a white manifestation of the same deity (GSS5, GSS38).

GSS19

The next section of the *Guhyasamayasādhanaṃālā* deals primarily with magical erotic forms of Vajrayoginī, such as a two-armed Vajrayoginī at the center of a fivefold maṇḍala (GSS19).

GSS20, GSS24, GSS25, GSS26, GSS27, GSS30≈GSS9

Another magico-yogic manifestation is the striking, self-decapitated Trikāvajrayoginī (“Chinnamastā”) in sādhanas GSS20, GSS24, and GSS25, and in verse works related to Virūpa, GSS26 and GSS27. This form is related to the deity to be visualized in GSS9≈GSS30.

GSS21, GSS22, GSS23

Another such group is that of the flying Vidyādhari Vajrayoginī forms of the Śābara school.

*GSS28?, GSS29, GSS30, GSS31, GSS39

Next, the *Guhyasamayasādhanaṃālā* contains a collection of repeated works that are almost identical to those transcribed earlier in the GSS, but with minor differences. This section includes: *GSS28 (≈GSS19?), GSS29 (≈GSS4), GSS30 (≈GSS9), GSS31 (≈GSS3), and GSS39 (=GSS8).

GSS32, GSS33, GSS34, GSS35

The collection then provides three *svādhiṣṭhāna*-method sādhanas (GSS32, GSS33, and GSS34), the internalized nature of which is also reflected in a rare four-armed form of warrior-stance Vajrayoginī (GSS35).

GSS36, GSS37, GSS38

Some unusual Vajrayoginī forms follow, such as the yellow Vajrayoginī in falling-turtle pose (GSS36), and two white warrior-stance Vajrayoginī forms, GSS37 and GSS38.

GSS42, GSS43

There are two Vajrayoginī *stotras* in the collection grouped together.

GSS40, GSS46

Finally, there are two commentarial works.

While these groupings are not entirely even, they are marked enough to suggest a conscious arrangement of the materials. What is even more striking is that this arrangement is complemented by the internal structure of the *Abhisamayamañjarī* by Śākyarakṣita (GSS5). Śākyarakṣita's work begins with classic sādhanas meditations on Vajravārāhī's thirty-seven-fold maṇḍala, after which it becomes a compendium of alternative visualizations of the deity in her different manifestations (see appendix). The catalog of visualizations supplied in the *Abhisamayamañjarī* mirrors the sequence of the *Guhyasamayasāadhanamālā* collection as a whole, so that the classic warrior-stance Vajravārāhī of the first part of the work is followed by the *ūrdhvapāda*-pose Vajrayoginī, Vajraghoṇā, the two-armed Vajrayoginī, and the Trikāyavajrayoginī forms. Thus, it looks as if the *Abhisamayamañjarī* may have been used as a blueprint for the arrangement of sādhana by the compiler of the *Guhyasamayasāadhanamālā*.

Tantric Sādhana

The importance of the *Guhyasamayasāadhanamālā* collection to the Vajrayoginī tradition, and its uniqueness as a collection, have now been established. However, the decision to edit and translate the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* by Umāpatideva (GSS11) still requires some explanation. Not only are there many sādhana in the *Guhyasamayasāadhanamālā* deserving of attention, but tantric literature in general is vast, and sādhanas themselves form only one genre within it. What, then, is the significance of the sādhanas within the tantras? And what is of particular interest in Umāpatideva's *Vajravārāhī Sādhana*?

A sādhanas is a progressive sequence of meditative and ritual procedures that focus upon a particular deity or set of deities. It is a relatively late addition to the tantric corpus. The first embryonic sādhana appeared only in the eighth century with the yogatantras, and their form was still not standardized by the time of the *Hevajratantra*. Perhaps one of the earliest references to sādhanas practices appears in the yogatantra scripture, the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra*, which recounts "a sādhanas taught by Śākyanātha" (p. 132 9b). The meditation is to be done "with the method of generation" (p. 130 8a: *utpattikrameṇa*), and it is described as "the highest deity yoga" (*devatāyogaṃ...uttamaṃ*). Despite the inclusion of material not generally found in later sādhana, it clearly sets out the key features of a mature sādhanas, all of which will be seen as distinct stages in the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* (GSS11) studied here in chapter 3. Thus, it includes the usual

preliminaries, the construction of a circle of protection, the accumulations of merit and wisdom, *pūjā*, and the merging of the maṇḍala in space with the maṇḍala in the heart.⁴⁴ The eighth-century commentator Buddhaguhya recognized the sādhanā material in the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* as distinct from the rest of the tantra, describing it as an “introduction” (*gleng gzhi* = *nidāna*) to “the actual text” (*mdo bshad*) dealing with maṇḍalas (Skorupski 1983: xxvii). Another yogatantra commentator, Vilāsavajra, also approaches the topic in his *Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī*. In adhikāra IV, Vilāsavajra produces his own proto-sādhanā, which includes key preliminary meditations and the generation of deities within a maṇḍala, but which lacks other established features of the later sādhanā, such as developed stages of generating oneself as the deity, or the merging of the pledge and knowledge forms of deities (Tribe 1994; 1997: 115–17, 123–25).

The eighth century also saw the emergence of the *Guhyasamājatantra* (GST), and the beginnings of the exegetical schools based upon it. This tantra begins to systematize the components of deity practice. It distinguishes a fourfold sequence of meditations as a prelude to ritual undertakings (e.g., GST ch. 12, vv. 60–65) that it refers to as: (1) service (*sevā*); (2) auxiliary attainment (*upasāadhanam*); (3) attainment (*sāadhanam*); and (4) great attainment (*mahāsāadhanam*).⁴⁵ These cover introductory and preliminary meditations (in the first and second stages), with the “urging” (*codanam*) and summoning of the deity, and its final visualization (in the third and fourth stages). A related schema in the *Guhyasamājatantra*, also in four stages, focuses just upon the generation of the deity. This is the “[set of] four vajras” (*vajracatuṣkā*), which corresponds in yoginītantra texts to the sequence of five awakenings. The *Guhyasamājatantra* also distinguishes a stage of “generation” (*utpatti*), from a stage of “completion” (*utpanna/niṣpanna*) (e.g., GST ch. 18, v. 84; see Wayman 1977: 23), an important classification that we will see in the mature sādhanas of the yoginītantra. The two stages or methods (*kramah*), the generation stage (*utpattikramah*) and the completion stage (*utpannakramah*, *niṣpannakramah*), were elaborated upon in the two schools of Guhyasamāja exegesis, each of which produced its own texts based on the classification.⁴⁶

The period of yogottara systematization took place in the ninth to tenth centuries in the setting of the great monastic universities (Mimaki and Tomabechi 1994: ix), a period that coincided with the emergence of the new yoginītantras. The highest tantra scriptures develop the deity meditations into sādhanā-type practices that bear much the same form as the mature sādhanā (e.g., *Hevajratantra*, *devatāpāṭala* 1.3 and *Samvarodayatantra*,

śrīherukodayanirdeśapaṭala ch. 13). The four stages of the yogottara system (*sevā*, etc.) are still current—both implicitly in a fourfold structure of the *sādhana*-type passages, and explicitly through direct reference (e.g., HT1.1.25; ADUT ch. 14: 317ff). It is also notable that the internal structure of these tantras may demonstrate the same sequence of meditative and ritual events as those we will see in our study of a mature *sādhana*. The *Samvarodayatantra*, for example, begins with the methods of generating the deity and his wider maṇḍala, followed by the ritual practices grounded in that self-generation.⁴⁷ The structure of the *Hevajratantra* is similar and also mirrors the composition of a *sādhana*.⁴⁸ The scriptural sources of the yoginītantras therefore draw closely on the methods of the *sādhana*, and may be seen as products of existing praxis that cultivated *sādhana* or *sādhana*-type techniques. Without an understanding of these stages within the *sādhana* practice, the intended meaning of the tantras is lost.

At the same time, this period saw important developments in the form and structure of the *sādhana* itself. Such developments were doubtless stimulated by the new trends of the highest tantras and perhaps also reflected the need to clarify the practices outlined in the scriptures. Thus, features of the *sādhana* already evident in the yogatantra corpus underwent gradual definition. The process is detectable in certain sets of *sādhana*s in the *Sāadhanamālā* collection, such as the sizable collections of *sādhana*s grouped around manifestations of Avalokiteśvara (SM6 to SM42) and Mañjuśrī (SM44 to SM84). Here one sees how the peaceful cults of princely cakravartin-style bodhisattvas are increasingly permeated by tantric elements, such as the preeminence of the guru, the use of transgressive substances, erotic and wrathful Śaiva-based iconography, erotico-yogic praxis, and cremation-ground motifs. The method of generating the deity is also refined, and evolves into the series of five awakenings found in the mature *sādhana*s, to be followed by the merging of its pledge and knowledge forms. By the time of the yoginītantra *sādhana*s of the *Guhyasamayāsāadhanamālā*, the form of the tantric *sādhana* was well established, and yet our study of the collection will reveal that the genre was still developing. In response to developments in the yoginītantra scriptures, some *sādhana*s will be seen to introduce cremation-ground (*kāpālīka*) features within the standard format of the *sādhana*, and others to reject mainstream formats altogether.

The *sādhana* is significant within tantric literature as a whole in that it mirrors and clarifies developments in content and method. As a genre it is particularly flexible, because its form may be easily adapted to cater to changing currents and trends in praxis. In this way, the *sādhana* is able to

elaborate and develop tantric practices that are lacking or marginal in the scriptural material itself. This is particularly pertinent in the cult of Vajrayoginī/Vajravārāhī, which has no scriptural corpus of its own, but borrows from the scriptural tradition of Cakrasaṃvara. One reason Umāpatideva's *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* is a useful subject for analysis is that it highlights the processes of redaction by which new tantric techniques were adapted from existing ones—that is, how the author borrows from scriptural and exegetical sources concerning the Cakrasaṃvara maṇḍala and its rituals, and alters them to describe the Vajravārāhī maṇḍala and its rituals. Since sādhana is not tied to a particular scriptural source, we will see that different works in the *Guhyasamayasāadhanamālā* draw on different parts of the Buddhist (and Śaiva) traditions and produce a range of forms and practices of Vajrayoginī.

Above all, sādhana is manuals of practice; they are the “means of attainment” (*sāadhanam*) whereby the goals of the highest tantras may be realized. Their prescriptions encompass a range of meditation techniques and ritual procedures, the length and complexity of which suggest a full-time commitment to the practices. As shown earlier, little in the sādhana suggests the practitioner's broader lifestyle. His daily routine is indicated only by general injunctions that are embedded into the sādhana itself, namely, to rise early, to wash, to perform the sādhana in a solitary place preceded by certain preliminary rites, to repeat it three or four times a day, and to perform various external rites on the basis of this meditation. Sādhana texts also say little of the previous spiritual practice that has prepared the practitioner for taking up the sādhana or of the initiations that have qualified him to do so. Such preliminaries are so fundamental to the tantric system that they are usually taken for granted by the author of a sādhana, whose audience is understood to be made up exclusively of initiates into the cult. As one sādhana in the *Guhyasamayasāadhanamālā* puts it, the practitioner should be someone “who has an undivided attitude of devotion toward his teacher and the Buddha, who has firmly seized the will to enlightenment, [and] who has correctly obtained initiation.”⁴⁹ The topic of initiation or consecration is a vast and complex one; it is discussed briefly in our study of the sādhana at the point when the meditator visualizes his own consecration by celestial deities, a process that mirrors the types of consecrations employed by tantric teachers in their initiatory empowerment of pupils. It is only after such initiations have taken place that certain practices may be undertaken, indeed, that the *sādhaka* becomes obliged to fulfil his vows to practice.

The role of the guru in this process is, of course, central. It is upon his authority alone that the tantric systems depend. It is the teacher who transmits teachings, authorizes praxis, and performs the initiations that qualify pupils to identify themselves with their chosen deity in the practice of deity yoga. The importance of understanding the guru to “be” the Buddha (that is, the central deity of the particular tantric cult), the benefits of worshipping him, and the evils of transgressing his instructions, are therefore favorite themes in tantric literature and often appear in frame verses to sādhana texts, for example:⁵⁰

The guru is the Buddha, the guru is the Dharma, and the guru is the Sangha. The guru is the glorious Vajradhara; in this life only the guru is the means [to awakening]. Therefore, someone wishing to attain the state of buddhahood should please the guru.

The post-initiatory observances are known as the observances of the pledge or *samaya* (*samayācārah*).⁵¹ Their supreme importance to the newly consecrated yogin is often emphasized by the texts with the insistence that the samaya be “protected.” The yogin does this by practicing it faithfully, and by maintaining a strict code of secrecy. Reminders that the practices are secret (*guhya*) and solemn injunctions to secrecy are therefore common, especially when the texts invert traditional ethical norms by prescribing transgressive disciplines, such as sexual yoga. This leads us back to the centrality of the guru, who is the source of teachings that may well remain purely oral. The first sādhana in the *Guhyasamayasādhanamālā* is itself described as the “Oral Teaching of Vajrayoginī” (*Vajrayoginīmukhāgama*), and its secret practices are said to go from “ear to ear, mouth to mouth.” The sādhana includes a description of a *parvapūjā* in which the yogin is to worship a young virgin and, while naked, make transgressive offerings of sexual fluids to the deity; it then enjoins secrecy, and reminds the yogin that if he wants to obtain siddhi, he must preserve the samaya. In a Vajraghoṇā pūjā (GSS18), midnight offerings include incense made of powdered human flesh, following which the text states that “this is not to be told to anyone.”⁵² Secrecy preserved and enhanced the efficacy of the teachings, and was understood to be the crucial context for their practice, the essential ingredient that gave the antinomian cults of esoteric Buddhism their power. It was (and still is) of crucial importance to the practices of Vajrayoginī/Vajravārāhī, who is described in one text as “mother of the *guhyakas* [lit: ‘those with secrets,’ i.e., initiates]” (n. 75).

Following his initiation into a sādhanā practice, the pupil would next undertake a prolonged period of mantra recitation, which forms a preparatory foundation for undertaking the sādhanā itself. This is referred to as “prior service” (*pūrvasevā*). Without this bedrock it is said that the sādhanaka “would stun, damage, and harm himself” (mKhas grub rje: 275–79). The number of mantra recitations required varies according to different systems. For example, in the Hevajra system (HT1.10.25ab) there are to be one hundred thousand for the lord of the maṇḍala and ten thousand for the maṇḍala retinue; similar numbers are given in the *Vajrāvalī* for the Kālacakra texts, while in the Saṃvara system, there are said to be both medium and brief periods of service (mKhas grub rje *ibid.*).⁵³

Since authors of sādhanas say little about the preparation and training undergone by a sādhanaka prior to his undertaking the practice, they assume that he has already acquired the necessary meditative, ritual, and conceptual skills. This most important meditative tool is the technique of visualization meditation. This demands that the practitioner be able to visualize the object of meditation, located either in space in front of him or at the center of his own body. Texts state that he should “see” (*paśyet*, *avalokayet*, *ikṣeta*) the object of meditation “very clearly” (GSSII v.17: *vispaṣṭataram*) and unwaveringly (SM123: 254); he should “contemplate” (*vi-cintayet*), “imagine” (*vi-bhāvayet*), “meditate upon” (*dhyāyāt*), or “be convinced of” (*adhimuñcet*) it. The manner of producing the visualized object in the mind is described as the arising or generation (*utpattiḥ*) of the object and usually begins with a mantra syllable representing the essence or source of the object to be visualized. This is known as its seed (*bijam*) or seed-syllable (*bijākṣaram*), and it has both an aural dimension, such as the sound of the mantra syllable *hūṃ*, and a visual dimension as the written form of that syllable, ॐ, seen with the mind. The seed-syllable then undergoes an imaginative transformation into the object for which it is the more essential symbol, which is expressed in Sanskrit as the object being “produced” or “born” (*-ja*, *-bhūta*, *-niṣpanna*), or—where there is a whole sequence of such visualizations—by their “evolution,” “development,” or “transformation” (*pariṇāmena*) into the final object.⁵⁴ The visualized forms are understood to be made of light; they are vibrant, incandescent, pellucid, and yet as insubstantial as any other simile for emptiness. They scintillate with the emission and retraction of light rays that function as powerful agents of the meditation, acting to remove ignorance and impurities, destroy obstacles, give succor to beings, or praise or coerce deities.⁵⁵

The locus of the visualization is significant because it differs according to different rites, and plays an important part in the classification of the *sādhana*. The deity may be visualized “in space” (*khadhātau*) in front of the meditator, as in the preliminary *pūjā*, or be generated within an external ritual object, such as a *maṇḍala* diagram drawn upon the ground or upon the meditator’s own hand. The process of generating objects of meditation is at its most elaborate in the section that deals with the yogin’s generation of himself as the deity. Here the generation is located at the center of the yogin’s own body, inducing in him the conviction that he “is” the deity. The *sādhana* is therefore a “means of attainment” because it is a tool for the transformation of the mundane into the the transcendental.

The application of the self-generation method at this stage generally classifies the *sādhana* as a generation-stage practice (*utpattikramah*, see ch. 3). In a self-generation *sādhana*, the subject of prescription changes in mid-course. The mundane personage of the practitioner who begins the practice is designated variously as the *sādhaka*, the yogin, the mantrin (literally, “the possessor of mantra”), or by some traditional laudatory epithet acknowledging that he is “a skilful one” (*vicakṣaṇah*), wise (*budhah*), or learned in mantric lore (*mantravit*). In the course of the self-generation, the meditator acquires the transcendental identity of the chosen deity. The new agent is described as “one conjoined with the deity” (*devatāyuktavān*), the practitioner of “deity yoga” (*devatāyogah*). He is the “yogin-as-deity” or, as in the context of our Vajravārāhī visualization, the “yogin-as-goddess.”

Another means of transforming a mundane object into a transcendental one is by symbolically equating one with the other. This is termed, literally, a “purification” (*visuddhiḥ*). The correspondence is made on the firm understanding or conviction (*adhimokṣah*, *niścayah*) of the mundane object “as” the supramundane counterpart. The yogin understands that the true essence or inherent nature (*svabhāvaḥ*) of the mundane element is ontologically equivalent to that of the supramundane, because both are empty (*śūnya*). The mundane is “purified” through the practitioner’s realization that emptiness pervades both sides of the equation. For example, a practice well attested in yogottara and yoginītantra sources is the purification of the yogin’s entire psychophysical being as a preliminary to undertaking the *sādhana*. Here, each of his five *skandhas*, his sense organs and the five elements in the body, are correlated imaginatively with a particular buddha, bodhi-sattva, or buddha-consort. The *visuddhi* is more than a means of imbuing an object with a symbolic value to an object, although a complex web of symbolic relationships may be implied, connecting together different levels

of reality. It is rather a “purifying correspondence” that associates the mundane with the supramundane on the basis of emptiness, and thereby purifies the former. As Sferra (1999) notes, in his discussion of the topic, the term *viśuddhi* indicates on one hand “pureness,” Buddha nature itself, “the ever shining and pure condition that is always present in all things.... On the other hand, the term indicates purification and therefore a process or a means.”

In addition to the *sādhaka*’s skill in visualization and meditation techniques, he is expected to be a ritual specialist. Tantric ritual in general revolves around the methods of the *sādhana*, which provide the means and the rationale for rites, both on private and public levels. In the sphere of private practice, rituals of worship and propitiation are generally prescribed following the main body of the *sādhana*, and we will see how, according to the highest tantric systems, they can be undertaken only on the basis of deity yoga. The transformation of the *sādhaka* into the deity during the course of the *sādhana* is therefore the necessary preliminary to all other ritual acts whatsoever, and it is really the transcendental deity itself—in this case, Vajrayoginī—who performs the rituals, and not the (unenlightened) practitioner. In the public arena, the transformative tools of *sādhana* meditation are just as crucial. For example, rites of consecration (*pratiṣṭhā*) play a key part in communal practice, as all objects for religious use must be consecrated, from buildings such as monasteries and stūpas, to objects such as statues of deities, painted images, the cloth on which those images are drawn, religious texts and manuals, initiation vases, ritual implements, and so on. In order to undertake the rites of consecration, the tantric officiant must first have generated himself as the deity by means of the *sādhana*, and then, in his transcendental persona, must set about transforming the mundane object into a receptacle for the deity to enter, recreating it as the locus in which the deity becomes present and established (*pratiṣṭhita*). In this process, the tools of *sādhana* meditation are employed to generate the form of the deity within the object, to infuse it with supramundane wisdom, and then to initiate it according to the tantric system of initiations. In her detailed study of the consecration of images and stūpas in tantric Buddhism, Bentor traces the elements of these complex public rites, and shows how they are in themselves a “special application” of the “basic transformative ritual” that is the *sādhana* (1996: especially 1–13; Tanemura 2002).

The transformative influence of the *sādhana* is intended to permeate the *sādhaka*’s entire life. Rites are sometimes distinguished according to whether

they are “outer” (**bāhyakriyā*) or “inner” (*adhyātmayogaḥ*) (e.g., mKhas grub rje: 219), and it is clear that the different elements of the *sādhana* cover both planes. On an outer level, *sādhana* prescriptions govern bodily actions and speech, as when the yogin performs his morning ablutions or prepares a suitable site for the meditation through mantra recitation. On an internal level, we have seen how mental, imaginal, and experiential faculties all come into play in visualization meditation to create the conviction of new transcendental reality. But the rites and meditations of the *sādhana* cannot really be so clearly divided. External ritual actions also play an important part in the yogin’s internal world, as the visualization meditations themselves also include bodily movements such as hand gesture (*mudrā*), verbal utterance (*mantraḥ*), or the complex mental activity of preparing and visualizing offerings to deities. In some meditations, the inner world the yogin has conjured up in the course of the *sādhana* is itself treated as if it were an “external” object and subjected to meditative practices that seek to internalize it even further, integrating it within his experience on less and less conceptual levels. Note, for example, the increasingly subtle meditations prescribed within the context of yogic meditations, practices such as the contemplation of iconic and aniconic forms of deities and “drops” that are perceived within the yogin’s own “veins” (*nāḍīs*) and “body centers” (*cakras*) (ch. 3). Looked at another way, the internal world that is created through the practice of deity yoga must also be externalized and made to imbue all the yogin’s outer actions in his daily life. This happens at the end of the *sādhana*, when the *sādhaka* is instructed to keep the internal convictions produced through his visualization meditation and to maintain an awareness of himself with the form and nature of Vajravārāhī while he goes about his everyday business. In this way, his whole life becomes a meditative ritual. The inner and outer levels are thoroughly interwoven and interconnected, and come together to forge the practitioner’s conviction that he *is* the deity on all levels of his being: on the external planes of his bodily and verbal action, on the internal planes of thought process and existential conviction, and on the subtle experiential dimensions beyond conceptualization. The method is thus perfectly allied to the goal of unification with the deity, or “deity yoga.”

The same methodology is reflected in the structure of the *sādhana*. It begins with a series of preparations that allow the *sādhaka* to assimilate himself to the outer and inner character of his chosen deity, and intensifies as he imagines himself reborn as Vajravārāhī and infused with her wisdom. Since the *sādhana* is to be performed at least once daily, it results in a

spiraling circularity. It establishes and reestablishes the yogin in a form that he already believes himself to possess. The significance of the sādhana within tantric literature therefore lies in the fact that it is the basic tool of all tantric praxis; it supplies the means with which the practitioner is to recreate ordinary reality as transcendental reality, and thus to achieve his—or her—ultimate aim.

2. The Cult of Vajrayoginī in India

THE SĀDHANAS of the *Guhyasamayasādhanaṃālā* present a rich and varied picture of the Vajrayoginī cult in India between the tenth and twelfth centuries. In this chapter, we will take a closer look at the tantric practices that underpin the cult, focusing first on the influence of nondual Śaivism. We then turn to the emergence of Vajrayoginī within the broader context of other female deity cults, and also of Vajravārāhī, who comes to be seen as one of Vajrayoginī's chief manifestations. The rest of the chapter is really a survey of the forms of Vajrayoginī that appear in the *Guhyasamayasādhanaṃālā* collection. These are gleaned from the sections in the sādhanas that deal with the generation—or more usually, self-generation—of the deity and describe her iconographical form and the setting in which she is to be visualized. Of the forty-six works extant in the collection, thirty-seven prescribe a visualization, or in some cases, several visualizations of the goddess, and so overall we find about fifty separate iconographical descriptions. In this way, drawing from the *Guhyasamayasādhanaṃālā* alone, we find almost twenty distinct forms of Vajrayoginī.

Although the sādhanas of the *Guhyasamayasādhanaṃālā* undoubtedly include the main forms of the goddess, variations were constantly emerging as the cult developed. A full survey of all of these would entail not just wider investigation of Sanskrit sources than I have managed, but a study of both written and artistic sources for the cult in Nepal, Tibet, and Mongolia; there are also the fascinating but largely unplumbed riches of the Tangut empire, which developed a strong Buddhist identity during its two-hundred-and-fifty-year existence (982–1229) at a time contemporary with the cult of Vajrayoginī in India. Among their conquests the Tanguts counted the city of Khara Khoto (c. 1030), from which many fine tangkas remain (e.g., plates 2, 3, and 11).

Within the *Guhyasamayasādhana-mālā*, we find that the commonest subject is the red, two-armed warrior-stance Vajravārāhī (fig. 27).⁵⁶ It is this form that is the focus of Umāpatideva's *Vajravārāhī Sādhana*, and in our study of that sādhana in chapter 3, we explore in depth the visualizations and meditations associated with her and her maṇḍala, and the various mantras and rites prescribed for her practice. In the survey of the forms and manifestations that follows, we find that Vajravārāhī even assumes something of the generic status of Vajrayoginī, as she herself takes on a number of different forms. However, the different forms of the goddess are also quite distinct in a number of ways. Although I distinguish them here on the grounds of iconographical differences, a truer method of differentiating the forms would be on the basis of the different mantras (often based on the Vajrayoginī root mantra), which—following Śaiva models—authors took great care to preserve. Following the iconographical descriptions of each form, I therefore give a brief account of the associated mantras and rituals; this also mirrors the structure of the sādhanas themselves.

Where possible, I have tried to find artistic representations to illustrate the various forms of the deity. In the case of some sādhanas, it has been possible to draw on a set of wooden block prints that were commissioned in Mongolia in 1810 in connection with an empowerment ceremony given by the fourth Panchen Lama, bsTan pa'i nyi ma phyogs las rnam rgyal (1781–1854) (Tachikawa et al. 1995: 7; Willson and Brauen 2000: xvii). The textual basis for the Mongolian icons of Vajrayoginī is a compilation of sādhanas that the fourth Panchen Lama produced especially for the empowerment ritual, known in brief as the *Rin lhan*. The basis for the *Rin lhan* is a cycle of over three hundred Tibetan sādhanas compiled in the early seventeenth century by Tāranātha (1575–1634), and commonly known as the *Rin 'byung brgya rtsa*. Tāranātha himself was drawing on translations of Sanskrit sādhanas that reach back to the time of the *Guhyasamayasādhana-mālā*; indeed some of the forms of Vajrayoginī in our collection are also described in the Tibetan texts of the *Rin lhan*, the fourth chapter of which is devoted to this deity.⁵⁷

The woodblocks were produced from the textual descriptions of the *Rin lhan*. The set consists of over five hundred miniature images of deities with their mantras, for use during initiations or as an aid to visualization. They have now been published at least three times, in different forms, and under different titles:⁵⁸ (1) as a set of prints from original woodblocks (Tachikawa et al. 1995); (2) as set of line drawings based on the woodblock prints, but

altered in some standard details; commissioned by Lokesh Chandra, and appearing in his various publications as part of the so-called “Narthang Pantheon” (between 1959 and 1988);⁵⁹ and (3) as a set of color prints, perhaps dating to around 1850, shown to have been carefully painted to the drawings of the woodblocks, and somewhat embellished (Willson and Brauen 2000).

To illustrate forms of Vajrayoginī from the *Guhyasamayasādhnamālā*, I draw on the set of woodblock prints commissioned by Lokesh Chandra. I am also able to reproduce in color the painted versions of several Mongolian icons in plate 10. Where no Mongolian icon is available (and where I have found no other artistic source), I have commissioned an original line drawing in a similar style by a contemporary English Buddhist artist, Dharmacāri Āloka. His line-drawings are careful conjectural reconstructions drawn according to the Sanskrit text, which we have conceived as an aid to the reader in imagining the forms of the deity described but with no claim to “authenticity” beyond that. Indeed, the Mongolian icons themselves are late Tibetan reconstructions in the style of their time and shed no light upon how these forms may have been conceived originally by the Indian authors of our texts.

The Influence of Nondual Śaivism

A formative influence upon the Vajrayoginī cult was that of nondual Śaivism. Pioneering research in this area by Sanderson (1993, 1994b, 1995, 2001b) has shown the highest Buddhist tantras to be startlingly reliant upon nondual Śaiva sources; so much so that it amounts to no less than what he calls “pious plagiarism” (1995). Sanderson (2001b) estimates that in the root text of the Cakrasaṃvara tradition, the *Laghuśaṃvaratantra*, “long passages, amounting to some two hundred verses, nearly a third of the whole, can be seen to have been redacted from Śaiva originals,” which—since this part of the Śaiva canon is itself only partly preserved—must indicate an impressive debt.

The Śaiva cults that leave their imprint most strongly upon the higher and highest Buddhist tantras are those belonging to the *mantrapīṭha* or “seat of mantras,” and the *vidyāpīṭha* or “seat of vidyās,” both of which are divisions within that stream of Śaiva dispensation termed the *mantramārga*, or “path of mantras” (Sanderson 1988: 668ff.).⁶⁰ Worship within the *mantrapīṭha* was of a type of Śiva called a “bhairava” (“terrible”), a wrathful, cremation-ground form of the god in union with an equally terrible

consort, such as Svacchandabhairava (or Aghora) and his consort, Aghoreśvarī. The cremation-ground elements are even more in evidence in the Vidyāpīṭha, where they relate principally to esoteric cults based upon feminine power (*śaktiḥ*) such as those of the Trika and the Krama. The Trika focuses on three goddesses, Parā, Aparā, and Parāparā, who have subordinate consorts in bhairava forms and retinues of male and female deities. The Krama cults manifest fierce forms of the goddess Kālī. In one of the highest forms of nondual Śaivism, the goddess is worshiped within a maṇḍala of twelve identical Kālīs; she appears alone without any consort, indeed, stamping upon the corpse of Bhairava, or wearing parts of his dismembered body for her ornaments (*ibid.*: 674–75).⁶¹ The Vidyāpīṭha perceived itself as related but superior to the mantrapīṭha, just as the Buddhist yoginītantras perceived themselves as related but superior to the yogottara-tantras. It is from the Vidyāpīṭha tradition that the yoginītantras drew most heavily.

Sanderson has pointed to a number of ways in which the Buddhist tantra is indebted to the Śaiva tradition (1988: 678–79; 1994b; 1995; 2001b), and what follows is a brief summary of his findings with just a few examples. First, the Buddhist tantra borrows on the textual level. One way it does this is to draw on Śaiva scriptural titles, with little or no adaptation to the new Buddhist context. For example, the Buddhist title *Yoginī-saṃcāratantra* points directly to the Śaiva chapter title *Yoginīsaṃcāra* (in the Kālī-centered *Jayadrathayāmalatantra*). Another Buddhist tantra title, *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālasaṃvara*, is closely influenced by the titles of two Śaiva works, the *Sarvavīrasamāyoga* and the *Yoginījālasaṃvara*, while the Buddhist *Hevajraḍākinījālasaṃvara* again draws on the Śaiva title *Yoginījālasaṃvara*.

As well as relying on Śaiva nomenclature, great portions of text are drawn wholesale from Śaiva sources. For example, Sanderson (*ibid.*, especially 2001b) has shown that the root Cakrasaṃvara scripture draws directly on Śaiva sources in the chapter teaching how to identify and distinguish members of the various families; thus the *Laghuśaṃvaratantra* (ch. 19) describes the characteristics of a class of yoginīs known as “lāmās” by drawing directly on the Śaiva *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* (ch. 29), and on the same theme the root text (chs. 15–17) draws directly from the third ṣaṭka of the *Jayadrathayāmalatantra* (*Yoginīsaṃcāra* section, the *Samayācāraceṣṭā-vidhāna paṭala*, vv. 116–48); it also incorporates portions from Trika texts such as the *Nīśaṃcāra* and the *Tantrasadbhāva*. The so-called explanatory tantra to the root text, the *Abhidhānottaratantra* (ch. 43), has drawn

directly on the *Picumata-Brahmayāmalatantra* (ch. 85) for the rules (*samayas*) that bind initiates; the *Samvarodayatantra* (ch. 15) draws also upon the *Picumata* (ch. 4) for the classification of skull bowls. As one may expect from such a heavy reliance upon the Śaiva texts, apart from the stunning number of parallel verses, there is also a high degree of overlap in stylistic convention and stereotypical expression, such as the common introduction: “Next I will explain...” (*athātaḥ sampravakṣyāmi...*). In these ways, the Śaiva texts serve not just to provide concrete materials on various topics, but become structural models for the new Buddhist compositions. This affected even the most unique element of any tantric practice, the mantra, which may not only be written down according to Śaiva conventions for preserving mantras intact, but are themselves in the style of the Śaiva vidyāpīṭha (*ibid.* 2001b: n. 52). A clear example of Buddhist recycling and adaptation of a Śaiva mantra is found in the *Guhyavajravilāsinī-sādhana* (GSS10) discussed below.

Second, the Buddhist tantras have taken their wrathful and erotic orientation from Śaiva praxis. The terrifying, cremation-ground character of the higher Buddhist tantras has its roots in Śaiva mythology. According to the myth (described variously in the Purāṇas), the original skull observance (*kāpālavratam*), or “great observance” (*mahāvratam*), was the result of a quarrel between Brahmā and the Vedic form of Śiva, Rudra. When Rudra ends the matter by plucking off Brahmā’s head, he finds he has committed the heinous crime of slaying a brahmin (*brahmahatyā*). He is then forced to undergo a period of extreme penance in which he lives in exile from society, dwells in cremation grounds (sites of the greatest impurity), smears himself with ashes of the dead, and begs for food using a bowl made of a human skull. Orthodox Dharmaśāstra (as mirrored by the myth) states that brahmin-slayers can only expiate their offence through a period of twelve years in exile, by inhabiting cremation grounds and by carrying a skull bowl (*kapālam*) and skull staff (*khaṭvāṅgaḥ*) when begging food. Manu, for example, states that “A priest-killer should build a hut in the forest and live there for twelve years to purify himself, eating food that he has begged for and using the skull of a corpse as his flag” (II.73, trans. Doniger 1991). The mythical role model of the penance of Rudra became the direct inspiration for early ascetic cults in the *atimārga* (“outer path”) stream of Śaivism, such as the Pāśupatas (dating from the second century) and in particular their more extreme offshoot, the Lākulas (Sanderson 1988: 664–66). Lākula ascetics adopted the outer appearance and behavior of Rudra as part of a progressive series of practices aimed at complete immersion in the god. Skull

observances were also adopted by ascetics in the mantramārga stream of Śaivism, who moved away from the liberationist goals of the atimārga, choosing instead to aim for the acquisition of supernatural power (*bhogah*). They wore bone ornaments and carried the skull staff of *kāpālika* observance, but modeled themselves instead upon terrifying cremation-ground ectypes of Śiva, whom they worshiped with impure substances such as alcohol, blood, and sexual fluids obtained from intercourse with a consort in orgiastic rites (*ibid.*: 667–71).

The Buddhist initiate into the esoteric cults of the yoginītantras likewise performed a skull observance, known as the “vow of the observance of heroes” (*vīracaryāvrata*), or the vajra (i.e., “Vajrayānist”) skull observance (*vajrakāpālikacaryāvrata*).⁶² As in the Śaiva tradition, this was based on the practitioner’s inner identification with his chosen deity and involved worship of the god with impure substances. In Abhayākara Gupta’s description of the “vajra skull observance” (Sanderson 1994b: 91, 98 n. 2), the male practitioner wears the attributes of the Buddhist deity Cakrasaṃvara. He adorns himself with a garland of skulls, a tiger skin as lower garment, a brahmanical thread made of sinews or human hair, a headdress, a garland, a vajra, armlets, anklets, and little bells, and he visualizes his consort as Vajravārāhī. While the Buddhist observance, like the Śaiva counterpart, also brings the promise of supernatural attainment (*siddhiḥ*), the goal is ultimately that of enlightenment.

Another feature of the Vajrayoginī cult that owes its origin to non-dualistic Śaiva developments is its emphasis on the worship of female deities. In the vidyāpīṭha traditions of Śaivism, the cremation-ground cults center on families of “mothers” (see p. 43): classes of wild yoginīs who drink blood, wear skull ornaments, and are enticed by impure offerings of bodily and sexual excretions (Sanderson 1988: 670ff.). In this context, the central goddesses of the Trika rise above their male consorts in status to become the chief deities of the maṇḍala, while esoteric forms of Kālī emerge entirely from the embrace of their consorts. As a sign of her supremacy, Kālī subjugates her former consort by trampling him underfoot. We will see Vajrayoginī and Vajravārāhī rise above the male forms in the same way in the Buddhist tradition, and with the same iconographical symbolism. Within the highest Buddhist tantras, however, the iconographical borrowings take an unexpected turn, as it is not the deities of outmoded Buddhist systems that are trodden down, but the Śaiva gods themselves. Thus, while the motif of subjugation is another example of the Buddhist reliance upon Śaiva norms, it clearly expresses the Buddhist superiority over those norms.

Transgressive Discipline (vāmācārah)

As in the esoteric Śaiva systems, *kāpālīka* and sexual practices in the Buddhist tantras are grounded upon a metaphysics of nonduality. Its purpose is to counter the ordinary, conventional dualism of the mind that naturally perceives aspects of the world as either “pure” or “impure.” By shattering these instinctive responses, *kāpālīka* practices radically challenge the unenlightened dualistic tendencies of the mind, attacking the innate dichotomy of subject and object and forcing it to break through to the experience of a nondual reality. In both nondual systems, the underlying method is that of “transgressive discipline” or “conduct of the left” (*vāmācārah*).

The “left” (*vāma*) in *vāmācāra* refers to the left hand, which in Indian society is reserved for impure bodily functions and signifies impurity. The rites of the highest tantras, however, specifically prescribe the use of the left hand. This forms a powerful contradiction of cultural norms that rely on the use of the right hand to maintain purity. Use of the left hand, especially within a ritual context, was from an orthodox standpoint, nothing short of socioreligious iconoclasm. Because orthodox brahmanical society relied upon the strictest preservation of purity, transgressive discipline set out to undermine sanctified distinctions between pure and impure wherever possible, embracing deeply felt taboos and relishing contact with sources of the greatest impurity. Thus, by taking place in cremation grounds, and requiring ornaments of human bone, *kāpālīka* observances place the practitioner in contact with that gravest source of impurity: death. Many highest tantric rites also involve the use of impure substances such as alcohol and bodily fluids, either for drinking or for washing. Sexual regulations, traditionally essential to the preservation of class and caste structures, are also overturned. Texts that prescribe sexual yogic practices often recommend the use of consorts from the most taboo groups such as close relatives, or untouchable and contaminated classes—a fact reflected in the names of goddess consorts such as *Śaundinī*, a female from the liquor-selling caste (GSSII v. 51i). The ideal consort is erotically provocative. Abhayākara Gupta states that, if possible, a consort should be young and beautiful, as well as an initiate (*samayinī*; lit: “holder of the pledge”).⁶³ Sanderson (1995) has commented on the difference between the two tantric traditions, stating that “If there is a significant difference between the iconographies of the rival systems, it is that the Buddhist is more explicitly erotic than the Śaiva.... In internalising the image of Śaivism, the Buddhist has exaggerated it.” Transgressive discipline is central to the practices and iconography

of Vajrayoginī. She is to be visualized within a cremation ground, naked but for ornaments of bone, and not only sexually empassioned, but “streaming” with blood (n. 382); a provocative juxtaposition given the traditional prescriptions that strictly separate intercourse and menstruation (e.g., Manu, 4.40–42).

Within the context of the ordained Buddhist sangha, prescriptions for sexual practices were (if possible) even more radical in that they required a deliberate, yet legitimate, inversion of the celibate monastic code. In this way, transgressive discipline not only overturns embedded cultural norms, it intentionally challenges the fundamental ethical and doctrinal tenets of Buddhism. Rather than eradicating the “poisons” (*kleśas*) of lust (*rāgaḥ*) and wrath (*dveṣaḥ*), as traditional Buddhism would have it, the yogin is to use his passions as a means of eradicating all defilements. The highest tantras explain this type of practice as operating through a “homeopathic cure” (Snellgrove’s translation of *viparītaṣādhikālpānāt*, HT2.2.47); it works on the same analogy as the curing of poison with another dose of poison, of flatulence by eating beans, of burns by heat, and so on (HT2.2.46–49). In the same way, the poison of passion is said to be cured by passion (HT2.2.51ab). In fact, “By whatever sin [ordinary] beings go to lower realms, by that same ‘sin’ a yogin quickly attains success.”⁶⁴

The first work in the *Guhyasamayasādhanaṃālā* ends with some typical tantric verses in praise of *vāmācāra*. These begin with a pun on the word *vāma* (left)/*vāmā* (woman); they then describe how socioreligious norms governing religious rituals and commensalism are to be broken, and instinctive notions of impurity put aside. The passage ends with a reminder that the “cure” worked by *vāmācāra* functions on the metaphysical plane through the principle of nondualism:⁶⁵

(v. 4) The entire universe, the three worlds including the animate and inanimate, have arisen from the left (*vāma-*) (or: have arisen from woman, *vāmā-*). The yogin whose discipline is always transgressive should step out with his left foot in front [when starting to walk], he should make offerings with the left hand,—

(v. 5) gratify deities and eat food with the left. The observance of five classes [namely, the four classes plus “untouchables”] is considered to be as one class.

(v. 6) One should abandon [notions of] “to be eaten” or “not to be eaten” [with regard to solid substances], and “to be drunk”

[or “not to be drunk” with regard to liquids], [and all] inhibition and shame. The yogin is free of all conceptualizations and has put aside all dualities, for he should dwell like a lion with the “assemblies of the net of yoginīs” (*yoginījālasaṃvaraiḥ*).

The Emergence of Vajrayoginī

These developments in the nondual Śaiva and highest Buddhist tantras provided the fertile soil in which the cults of female deities took root. The cremation grounds and mountainous wilds in which the deities of the higher tantras dwelt were the locus of powerful female spirits such as yoginīs and ḍākinīs and other classes of demonic female (which in Śaivism included *śākinīs*, *yakṣiṇīs*, and *rākṣasīs*).⁶⁶ Ḍākinīs are protean, flying, witchlike beings.⁶⁷ Their association with tantric practice had been longstanding—Sircar (1948: 105), for example, cites an early fifth-century Vaiṣṇava inscription in a temple in Mandasor that describes “a terrible abode, full of ḍākinīs.” The aim of much tantric yogic practice was to access the power of these terrible spirits by delighting them with the transgressive offerings, including offerings of sexual fluids, and inducing them to serve the yogin’s own interests. On the yoginī cults of the nondual Śaiva Trika, Sanderson (1988: 671) writes, “The goal of the initiate was to force or entice these *yoginīs* to gather before him and receive him into their band (*yoginīgaṇaḥ*), sharing with him their miraculous powers and esoteric knowledge.” Although the goddesses generally inhabited the power seats (*pīṭhas*) associated with the cremation grounds, they were also believed to possess women “and thereby to enter into the most intimate contact with their devotees” (*ibid.*). Human or divine, śāktis were divided into recognizable classes and families, the predominant being those of the eight families of the “mothers” (*mātrī/mātrīkā*), namely Brāhmī (or Brahmanī), Rudrānī (or Māheśvarī), Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Indrānī (or Aindrī), Cāmuṇḍā, and Mahālakṣmī (Sanderson 1998: 672; Heilijgers-Seelen 1994: 102).

In Buddhist sources, the taming of these powerful forces is a major theme of the legendary accounts of tantric adepts or siddhas. Mahāsiddha Kambala, for example, confronted a whole assembly of ḍākinī witches, forcing them to spew up the fragments of his woolen blanket, which they had cunningly stolen—and then eaten (Dudjom 1991: 486–87; Dowman 1985: 180–83). In common with the Śaiva *śākta* traditions, female spirits were particularly associated with the semimythical Oḍḍiyāna, a place name traditionally related

to the word *ḍākinī*, and thus to flight.⁶⁸ Oḍḍiyāna is described in the *Legends* as a kingdom divided into two halves, Śambhala and Laṅkāpuri, each having two hundred and fifty thousand towns. King Indrabhūti ruled Śambhala, while Laṅkāpuri was under the dominion of King Jalendra who married Indrabhūti's sister, Lakṣmīṅkarā. As for its geographical location, on the authority of the Buddha himself (as reported in the *Blue Annals*: 361), the kingdom of Indrabhūti is located "in the northern quarter, in śrī Vajrasthāna Oḍḍiyāna."⁶⁹ According to the legendary tales, ḍākinīs make many magical appearances in Oḍḍiyāna. In one version of Ghaṇṭāpāda's life, the adept travels to this land through divine intervention, where he encounters a female swineherd who becomes his instructress and later transpires to be none other than Vajravārāhī herself (Dowman 1985: 273). Because yoginīs were believed to take human form in this way, they were considered to be ideal consorts for yogins engaged in sexual yogic practice. Large portions of the redaction from Śaiva sources in the Cakrasaṃvara corpus concern the signs by which adepts may recognize and communicate with females belonging to one or other of the yoginī or ḍākinī families.⁷⁰ Because the vajra family is that to which the heruka forms of the yoginītantras belong, the human consorts of the vajra class were particularly valued. The *Hevajratantra* (HT1.6.8–9) recommends a girl from the vajra family (*vajrakanyā*) as the ideal consort (failing which, the text adds, one may be taken from the family of one's chosen deity, or from some other family).

The way in which Buddhist yoginīs are differentiated from female spirits of other tantric systems is by the characteristic tag *vajra*, the distinguishing mark of nondual Vajrayāna Buddhism. They thus become known as *vajra-yoginīs* and *vajra-ḍākinīs*. A commentarial text in the *Guhyasamayāsādhanaṃālā* opens by explaining the word *vajra* in *vajrayoginī* in just these terms: "[The word] *vajra* serves to exclude (*nirākaraṇam*) the yoginīs of the heretics and so forth."⁷¹ The term *vajrayoginī* was thus generic and denoted females—human or divine—who were analyzed in tantric texts by character and appearance into their various classes and families. As a solo deity, Vajrayoginī is the vajra-yoginī par excellence, "leader of the yoginī hordes."⁷² That she, too, has a generic quality emerges from the texts of the *Guhyasamayāsādhanaṃālā*. The great majority of sādhana begin with a salutation to Vajrayoginī, or name Vajrayoginī in a benedictory verse or introductory statement. However, less than a third of the forms subsequently described in the visualization are actually named "Vajrayoginī." We will see that most receive a different appellation and prove to be iconographically distinct.

Before we move on to look at the different forms of Vajrayoginī, it is important to note that her cult is but one of many female deity cults within the highest Buddhist tantras. Other vajra-yoginīs had also emerged, centering on female figures drawn from both exoteric and esoteric traditions. Some had been important female buddhas or bodhisattvas in their own right, or had appeared as relatively minor goddesses in their maṇḍalas but had now taken on tantric forms and become the focus of tantric worship. Others had been consorts to major male deities and had gradually risen in status to occupy the center of tantric maṇḍalas, with their male consort expelled. Many of the characteristics we find in the cult of Vajrayoginī are also found among such deities. They, too, draw upon the stock of tantric—often Śaiva-imported—imagery and method that existed within the highest Buddhist tantras; and within their individual cults, they also manifest in different ways, rich with varying iconographical forms and siddhi-related rites. There is a great deal of overlap between some of these manifestations and the forms of Vajrayoginī.

A plethora of tantric forms, for example, center on the well-known figure of Tārā, and these in themselves provide ample evidence for the abundance of female deity cults in India. Indeed, tantric manifestations of Tārā have so many forms that they would need a whole book to themselves. One such is Vajratārā, subject of a handful of lengthy sādhanas (e.g., SM93–97), including one by Ratnākaraśānti (SM110) who has a number different forms. Another is Jāṅguli (SM117–22), famous for protecting from snakebite (e.g., SM118 p. 247) and invoked during the construction of monasteries (Tanemura 2002: 67 n. 1), perhaps for this reason. Yet another is Ugratārā or “Fierce Tārā” (also known as Tārā of “Great China,” Mahācinatārā SM100–102), whom we have already noted shares a temple with Vajrayoginī in Sankhu, Nepal. There is also the irresistible Kurukullā (SM171–90; Beyer 1978: 301–10). Red in color, and poised to shoot a bow and arrow made of flowers, she is particularly associated with rites of love and subjugation, characteristics we will also see among the forms of Vajrayoginī. Two of Tārā’s former attendants (in her peaceful Khadiravaṇī-Tārā form) also rise to prominence in the tantric traditions as central deities in their own right, and both illustrate once again the way in which their tantric practices overlap with those of Vajrayoginī. Ekajaṭā is represented by only five sādhanas in the *Sādhanaṃālā* (SM123–27), but these describe about the same number of forms, including an extremely fierce manifestation with twenty-four arms and twelve heads; this sādhana ends with the visualization of a classic two-armed form of Vajrayoginī at one’s heart—red, fierce,

and dancing in the *ardhaparyāṅka* pose (SM123 p. 259). Of even more obvious significance to the cult of Vajravārāhī is the goddess Mārīcī who has sixteen sādhanas in the *Sādhnamālā* (SM132–47), and one in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* (no. 17). Within this small but diverse collection, over half a dozen forms of Mārīcī emerge, with multiplicities of heads, arms, and legs. Like most forms of Vajravārāhī, Mārīcī is also presided over by Vairocana, but her most striking similarity with Vajravārāhī is the hog motif that permeates her iconography. She has a chariot drawn by seven hogs (so that she is frequently compared to Sūrya, the Indian sun god, whose chariot is drawn by seven horses), and several of her subsidiary heads may be hogs' heads. Even in her single-headed form she said to "have the form of a hog" (SM141 p. 289: *śūkararūpā*). She also has four attendants who are all hog-headed, one of whom is called "Hog-Face," Varāhamukhī. The terrifying presence of the hog's head, in both cases, does not preclude the goddess' association with erotic forms of practice. Mārīcī's attributes include a branch of an Aśoka tree, as well as the bow and flowery arrow, and a hook and noose, all of which indicate the mode of attraction and love (and by association, the power to subjugate and bring others under one's control). Although she has many characteristics of a cremation-ground deity, Mārīcī's sādhanas usually state that she is to be visualized within a *caitya* (two more of her attributes are a needle and thread, part of a monk's domestic possessions), which is possibly why so many early statues of Mārīcī remain from the Buddhist monastic sites of India.⁷³ Plate 5 depicts a fairly late Tibetan statue of a goddess identified by von Schroeder (2001: 1054) as Mārīcī ('Od zer can ma). She has a single hog's head and four arms, identical, in fact, to our hog-headed, four-armed form of Vajravārāhī called Vajraghoṇā, who also holds a vajra and hook (right) and a skull bowl and noose (left), with a staff tucked into her left shoulder.

Many other examples of female deity cults could also be given, all bearing strong resemblances to that of Vajrayoginī. Nairātmyā, like Vajravārāhī, is another example of a consort to a preeminent heruka deity, in this case, Hevajra. She emerges in her own right as the heroine of her own maṇḍala based on Hevajra lines, as a handful of sādhanas in the *Sādhnamālā* and *Niṣpannayogāvalī* testify.⁷⁴ Her form, while blue in color and without a hog's head, is very similar to that of the *ardhaparyāṅka* Vajravārāhī. A wonderful illustration of a blue dākinī in this pose is the early thangka from Khara Khoto in plate 3 (Nairātmyā has the blue, earth-touching Buddha Akṣobhya on her headdress, indicating that she belongs to the vajra family). Vajra-

yoginī also has connections with another Akṣobhya-family heruka, called Mahāmāyā. The tradition of Mahāmāyā emphasizes the transcendence of the feminine principle in an unusual manner. Despite being a male deity, his name is feminine in gender, and he is referred to as “the mother of all *guhya*kas.” His consort is Buddhaḍākinī—“ḍākinī of the Buddha(s)” —and he is worshiped in embrace with her at the center of a maṇḍala of four ḍākinīs (who also appear elsewhere within a maṇḍala of a wrathful black form of Vajravārāhī).⁷⁵ Vajrayoginī herself appears in one instance as Buddhaḍākinī within the Trikāya Vajrayoginī sādhanas, and her main mantra includes the invocation of the mantra deity, Sarvabuddhaḍākinī. This epithet is in itself telling. While it is not the name of any independent form of Vajrayoginī, according to the Indian sources I have seen, it clearly asserts that—at least within the Vajrayoginī cult—Vajrayoginī is understood to be the “ḍākinī of all buddhas”; that is, she is the supreme manifestation of a Buddhist ḍākinī, the preeminent vajra-yoginī, and the summation of all tantric female deities.

The Emergence of Vajravārāhī

The most common form of Vajrayoginī in the *Guhyasamayasādhanaṃālā* is Vajravārāhī. Hailed as Vajrayoginī in the salutation of most of the Vajravārāhī sādhanas, Vajravārāhī is regarded as essentially the same as Vajrayoginī; that is, as a vajra-yoginī: “from inside that [*dharmodayā*] arises the goddess Vārāhī who is Vajrayoginī [or: Vārāhī who is a vajra-yoginī].”⁷⁶ Vajravārāhī’s name means “vajra-hog” (*varāhaḥ* is a hog or boar), or “Buddhist”-Vārāhī. Her origins lie in the brahmanical goddess, Vārāhī, who was widely worshiped as one of the seven or eight mothers (*mātrkā*s); indeed, she is still worshiped as such in Nepal, although clearly distinguished from the Buddhist goddess, Vajravārāhī (Gellner 1992: 96, Bautze-Picron 2000). Usually portrayed with the single face of a hog or a boar, the brahmanical Vārāhī is the female counterpart of Vārāha, Viṣṇu’s avatāra as a boar. She is often four-armed, holding hook or goad (left), noose (right), and hammer or mace and spear, and she is pot-bellied, fierce and powerful, invoked to destroy enemies (Bühnemann 2000i: 120–21; Donaldson 1995: 158ff.). The Buddhist deity inherits her wrathful character and, just as Vārāhī with her gruesome head, is intended to inspire terror in her enemies, so Vajravārāhī’s character is fierce and wrathful.

Like Vārāhī, Vajravārāhī does not always appear with a hog’s head, but

in one of the commonest forms of Vajravārāhī, a snarling hog's head attached sideways to the right of her head can be seen. Fearsome animal-headed forms are traditionally associated with protection, and this seems to be the purpose of the characteristic hog's head in Vajravārāhī's iconography. None of the Sanskrit sādhanas add anything more on its significance or symbolism, although the pig is traditionally associated in Buddhism with the root poison of ignorance (*mohaḥ*), and Tibetan literature reads Vajravārāhī's hog's head as the sublimation of that passion (e.g., Simmer-Brown 2001: 142). I have seen only one passing reference in Sanskrit sources in this connection: a goddess, Pramohā ("Deluder"), appears in an early yoginī-type maṇḍala who is said to have the face of the "primal boar" (i.e., Viṣṇu as Vārāha) with a "deluding gaze." Even here, however, the text's emphasis is upon her wrathful character.⁷⁷ Wrathful tantric deities are said to be "fearful to fear itself"—or "dangerous to danger itself" (e.g., HT2.5.8: *bhayasyāpi bhayānakam*)—and thus their wrath is understood to be an expression of their great compassion. Vajravārāhī, in common with other tantric deities, is described as "terrifying (*bhīṣaṇā*) with anger [which is in fact displayed out of] compassion (*karuṇākrodha*)."⁷⁸

The hog-faced goddess seems to have entered Buddhist scripture in the yogatantras. In the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* (ch. 6: 60), Vārāhī is named as one of the Śaiva all-mothers (*sarvamātrīs*) located in the hell regions, who upon her conversion to the Buddhist maṇḍala by Vajrapāṇi assumes the name Vajramukhī ("Vajra Face"). In the yoginītantras, a hog-faced goddess "Vārāhī" appears in Heruka maṇḍalas as one of many attendant goddesses, such as those surrounding the Yamāri forms in the *Kṛṣṇayāmāritantra* and commentary. As we have seen above, she is also one of a set of hog-faced attendants to Mārīcī, along with the hog-faced Vart(t)ālī, who is another form of the brahmanical Vārāhī and also associated with protection (Bühnemann *op. cit.*: 152–54). Vajravārāhī assumes greater importance in the maṇḍalas when she becomes the consort of the central Heruka manifestation; and in this role, her iconography changes. She appears in the *Hevajratantra* at the end of its proto-sādhana (HT1.3) as the "wisdom" (*prajñā*) consort of an alternative form of Hevajra with four arms. Here she is described as having the same form as her lord, that is, blue in color, and holding the skull bowl and vajra in her free hands (HT1.3.17), but without any mention of a hog's head. She is also described as an alternative consort to Hevajra in a couple of maṇḍalas in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*.⁷⁹ But Vajravārāhī really takes center stage within the Heruka maṇḍalas only when she is taken up as consort to Cakrasaṃvara. The tantric systems cen-

tered on Cakrasaṃvara worship him as a blue, Heruka, Bhairava-type deity with twelve arms, who holds Vajravārāhī in embrace (plate 11). Here the goddess assumes her own distinctive form, once again without any hog's head. She is red, two-armed, and maddened with lust. In her right hand she holds a vajra, and in her left she raises aloft a skull bowl overflowing with blood, which she pours into the open mouth of her lord so that he may drink. Vajravārāhī remains the consort of Cakrasaṃvara when he manifests in other guises, such as the form of Vajrasattva-Jñānaḍāka at the center of the *Ṣaṭcakra-vartimāṇḍala* from the *Abhidhānottaratantra*, in which the central couple is surrounded by five ḍāka-buddhas. Here she is named variously Jñānaḍākinī, Jñānadhātviśvarī, or Vajravārāhī (*Niṣpannayogāvalī*: 79). Her iconographic form tends to change in response to the form assumed by Cakrasaṃvara. For example, when she appears as consort of the six-armed Saptākṣara manifestation of Cakrasaṃvara, she likewise has six arms and nearly identical attributes, except that she holds a bow and arrow where Cakrasaṃvara holds a flayed human skin (SM251: 491). In yet another tantric tradition, Vajravārāhī is consort to the Heruka form of Hayagrīva.

As the yoginī cults took root, Vajravārāhī becomes the leader of the maṇḍala in her own right. Our survey of maṇḍalas in the *Guhyasamaya-sādhana-mālā* shows her to be the central deity, both in embrace with Cakrasaṃvara, and more commonly as a "solitary heroine" (*ekavīrā*) without any consort. Here we find that Vajravārāhī is capable of manifesting a number of different forms, and that she assumes something of the generic quality associated with Vajrayoginī. In Vijayavajra's *Vajrayoginīsādhana* (GSS35), for example, Vajravārāhī is the subject of the salutation, while Vajrayoginī is actually the deity of the visualization. Elsewhere, a commentator states that all ḍākinīs are born in the Vārāhī family.⁸⁰ Despite the richness of its iconography, the *Guhyasamayasādhana-mālā* is by no means exhaustive, and there were doubtless many variations of Vajravārāhī in other works of tantric literature and art. (For example, an eighteenth-century Nepalese tangka shows a rare image of Vajravārāhī with six arms and four variously colored hogs' heads attached to her central human face; Kreiger 1999, plate 22.) One of the most classic forms of Vajravārāhī is that described in the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* by Umāpatideva (GSS11), the subject of our study in chapter 3. This sādhana centers on the warrior-stance form of Vajravārāhī with no hog's head. Both wrathful and erotic in character, she stands in the center of a retinue of yoginīs within a thirty-seven-fold maṇḍala.

Dancing-Pose (ardhaparyāṅka) Vajravārāhī

One of the main manifestations of Vajrayoginī is as Vajravārāhī in the half-paryāṅka (*ardhaparyāṅka*) pose. This is the posture in which she stands upon her left leg, deeply flexed, and bends her right leg so that the sole of her foot rests upon her left thigh. She is dancing the wild *tāṇḍava* dance of Śiva at the end of the aeon. Dance (*nāṭyam*) plays a large part within classical Indian notions of dramatic art, and Buddhist tantric deities (following Śaiva norms) are often said to be equipped with the nine dramatic sentiments (*rasas*).⁸¹ Vajravārāhī appears with this form in the two opening sādhanas of the *Guhyasamayāsādhanaṃālā*, in two very similar texts, both ascribed to key tantric authorities. The *Oral Tradition of Vajrayoginī* (*Vajrayoginīmukhāgama* GSS1) is ascribed to Indrabhūti (and elsewhere to Śabara, see appendix), and the *Vajrayoginīsādhana* (GSS2) to Lūyipāda. Drawing on this older material, the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5 Sed p. 152, K37r3) also includes the form, as do two of the self-consecration (*svādhiṣṭhāna*) sādhanas (GSS32 K106r1, GSS34 K112r6).⁸²

In the West, the dancing image is perhaps the best known iconographical form of Vajravārāhī. In fact, B. Bhattacharyya (1924/1985:156) was so misled by its prevalence as to state that Vajravārāhī and Vajrayoginī are separate goddesses with individual stances: the *ardhaparyāṅka* pose for Vajravārāhī, and the warrior (*ālīḍhaḥ*) stance for Vajrayoginī—although the *Guhyasamayāsādhanaṃālā* sādhanas clearly show that both poses are used for both deities (and that the distinction between the two forms is anyway not so simple). Rather confusingly, von Schroeder invents the designation, “Vaśya Vajravārāhī” for *ardhaparyāṅka* forms of Vajravārāhī holding the chopper, although this is without any valid textual basis.⁸³ Examples of the dancing Vajravārāhī are reproduced here in plates 1, 4, and 8, and others are published elsewhere.⁸⁴ A couple of very similar versions of this form also appear among the Mongolian icons (fig. 3 below), based on two almost identical sādhanas in the *Rin ’byung brgya rtsa* (Willson and Brauen 2000: 257–58, 259). The first is the “two-faced Vajravārāhī in the dPyal tradition” (*rDo rje phag mo zhal gnyis ma dpyal lugs*) whose right hand holds the chopper facing outward;⁸⁵ the second is the form of Vajravārāhī associated with Indrabhūti, “[two-]faced Vārāhī, Indra[bhūti]’s ḍākinī” (*Phag mo zhal gnyis ma Indra mkha’ spyod*), whose right hand holds the chopper facing inward. The latter is one of a set of three ḍākinīs (*mKha’ spyod skor gsum* = *khecarī cycle*) comprising the forms of Vajrayoginī associated with Nāropa, Maitripa, and Indrabhūti.⁸⁶ Both forms of the

dancing Vajravārāhī are said in the Tibetan sādhanas to be presided over by Akṣobhya.



Fig. 3. *Indraḍḍākinī*
Mongolian woodblock print
(IWS/T 79, LC 589)

It is this form of Vajravārāhī that demonstrates her name, “Vajra Hog” or “Vajra Boar,” since her distinguishing feature is the small hog’s or boar’s face that protudes from the right of her head as her eponymous characteristic. As if to emphasize the terrifying nature of the hog’s head, our texts add that her main face is “angry.” She brandishes a vajra chopper aloft in her right hand, and in the left she holds a skull bowl to her heart. Her other attributes are the tantric bone ornaments typical of a cremation-ground goddess known as the sect marks, or signs of observance (*mudrās*; see ch. 3). Here (in GSS1=GSS2) she wears five *mudrās*: a chaplet, earrings, necklace, armlets, and girdle, all of bone found in a cremation ground. As leader of a *maṇḍala* (in GSS34), she wears the sixth *mudrā* also from a cremation ground: ash. There is no mention of a skull staff or corpse throne in any of the *Guhyasamayāsādhana* sources—although these do appear in some artistic representations of the goddess.⁸⁷ The influence of esoteric Śaivism is evident in the five skulls upon Vajravārāhī’s headdress, which are described as the “five Brahmas.”⁸⁸

Despite her wrathful nature, the iconography of the goddess is also overtly erotic. She is red like the China rose, “lovely with fresh youth,” and with “charming plump arms and feet.”⁸⁹ The letters of her mantra are to be visualized within a *dharmodayā* that is located inside the goddess’s sex; it is red in color, blazing, full to the brim with syllables, and whirling around “like a potter’s wheel.”⁹⁰ This visualization is externalized in a rite prescribed by Indrabhūti (GSS1 K8or5) that mirrors the vision of the whirling mantra syllables. The yogin draws the *dharmodayā* onto a stainless vessel containing

a paste of saffron and vermillion powder, inside which the mantra is written letter by letter. By the side of this he places a “swirl of bliss” (*nandyāvartaḥ*), makes both traditional and transgressive offerings, and then performs the worship of a young virgin (*kumārī*), the *kumārīpūjā*. The only other prescription in this text is that the rite is to be conducted on *parvan* days, here the tenth day of the lunar month.⁹¹ Another text in the *Guhyasamaya-sādhana-mālā* (GSS33) adds that the worship of the *kumārī* may be performed either “internally” (imaginatively) or externally.⁹²

On the tenth or eighth night of the light or dark [phase of the moon], he should always worship a virgin (*kumārīṃ*), imagined to be [Vajrayoginī under the synonym] Suruyoginī. Internally (*svāntar*) he should worship her at his side, externally (*bāhye*) [he should worship her] at the center within a maṇḍala (*cakra-*) drawn [on the ground]. [He should worship her] according to the pledge (*-saṃvare*) of the Cakrasaṃvara [maṇḍala of] heroes and heroines. He should worship [her] with whatever foods and delicacies [he can], also with [edibles] of the best to be licked and sucked.

The goddess’s main mantra—the “utterance” mantra (*japamantraḥ*) or root mantra (*mūlamantraḥ*)—is a combination of the main mantras for the warrior-stance Vajravārāhī (p. 179). Thus it includes the name elements Vajravairocanī (from the heart mantra) and Sarvabuddhaḍākinī and Vajravārṇanī (from the auxiliary heart mantra):

oṃ oṃ oṃ
sarvabuddhaḍākinīye vajravārṇanīye vajrabairocānīye
hum hum hum phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā

In order to preserve the mantra in its correct form, some Buddhist authors adopted the Śaiva practice of transcribing the mantra in code within the text and then giving instructions for the letter-by-letter “extraction” (*uddhāraḥ*) of each of its syllables.⁹³ This method is adopted by our two opening sādhanas, and accredited to a scriptural source, the *Samvarārṇavatāntara*. The text first describes the drawing of a *prastāra*, or “spread”; this is a diagram split into individual cells, the number of which is described (possibly intentionally) in rather cryptic terms (n. 95). These begin with a single cell at the bottom, three above that, five above that, and so on to thirteen, which forms the shape of an inverted triangle (as shown in table 4). The text

explains that the letters of the alphabet are to be written into each cell. Thus, we find that the *prastāra* echoes the visualization of the mantra described above, as it takes the inverted triangular “E” shape of the *dharmodayā*, or woman’s sex, filled with “whirling” syllables. The author then explains where each syllable of the mantra is to be found by providing a cipher known as the “extraction of the mantra” (*mantroddhāraḥ*). First, the text explains, the mantrin must find the letter in the cell above the “tha” (itself found on the second line). This turns out to be ॐ (“o”), which he must “adorn” with a dot ° within a semicircle ∪ to form the nasal ending, thus producing ॐ (om), the first syllable of the mantra; he should do this three times. Continuing in this way, the text explains how to “extract” the whole mantra from the diagram.⁹⁴

Further, I shall teach the performance of the supreme rite of the extraction of mantras (*mantroddhāra*-). The lovely triangular maṇḍala is produced from the *vajrāralli* known as the origin of existents (*dharmodayā*), also as the woman’s sex. On it he should write in sequence the eight sound-groups (*vargas*) according to their division into vowels and consonants. The arrangement of the cells (*koṣṭhaḥ*) [in the diagram] is to be done sequentially according to the teaching [by dividing them up as follows:] one [cell at the bottom], three [cells above that], five, seven, [and] nine [cells respectively above that], and eleven [cells on the topmost line].⁹⁵ Beginning with [the letter] *a* [in line one at the bottom, the yogin should draw in] the syllables [of the alphabet] on all sides up to and including [the letter] *ha*, in a clockwise direction, as described in the *Samvarārṇavatantra*.

[The method of extracting the mantra is as follows:] He should form the letter above *tha* “three times” (*trigunitam*), adorned with dot and semicircle [i.e., om om om], etc.

The mantra as extracted:

om om om
sarvabuddhaḍākinīye
bajravarṇṇanīye
bajrabairocanīye⁹⁶
hum hum hum
phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā

GSS mantra:

om om om
sarvabuddhaḍākinīye
vajravarṇanīye
vajravairocanīye
hum hum hum
phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā

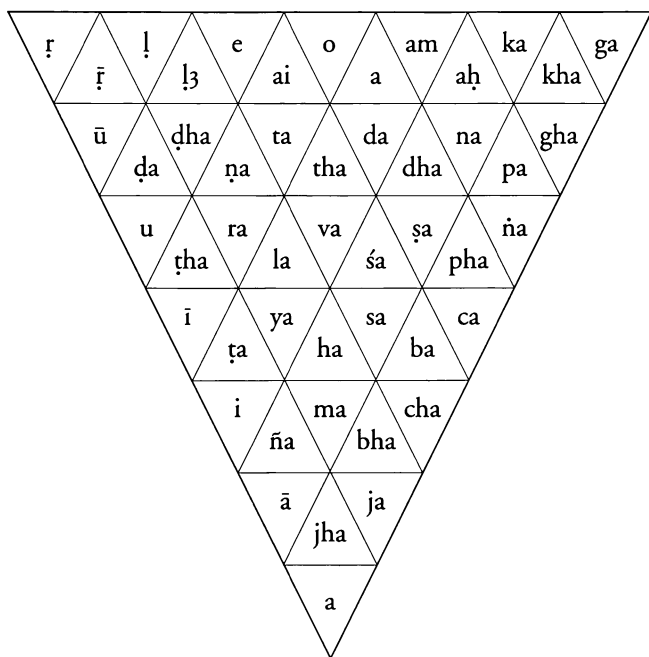


Table 4. *Root mantra of Vajrayoginī*

(The key for the extraction of the mantra of Vajrayoginī)

Twelve-Armed Vajravārāhī in Dancing Pose

Another dancing, half-*paryāṅka* pose form of Vajravārāhī appears in the *Sādhana of the Twelve-Armed Vajravārāhī* (*Dvādaśabhuja vajravārāhī-sādhana* GSS7), redacted from the *Vārāhyabhyudayatāntra/Abhidhānottara-tāntra* (see the appendix). This solitary heroine is modeled upon twelve-armed Cakrasaṃvara and occupies the center of a maṇḍala also based upon a Cakrasaṃvara model.⁹⁷

As may be expected, twelve-armed Vajravārāhī takes on many of the iconographical features of her former consort (plate 11).⁹⁸ There are, however, notable differences. Discarding Cakrasaṃvara's ax and skull bowl, she makes the flame mudrā (*jvālāmudrā*) at her forehead; she holds the vajra and bell in the gesture of embrace, revolving them in the "lotus-turning" gesture (*kamalāvartamudrā*), and also replaces his trident with a hook or

goad (*aṅkuṣaḥ/vajrāṅkuṣaḥ*). Her four faces, like his, take on the colors associated with the cardinal directions—black (east), green (north), red (west), and yellow (south)—but her eastern face assumes a form that is male on one side of its central axis and female on the other (*ardhanārīśvarī*).⁹⁹ Upon her headdress she wears Cakrasaṃvara's distinguishing sickle moon, and a double vajra at the center of the chaplet of skulls and vajras. In keeping with her position as leader of the maṇḍala, she wears all six signs of observance (*mudrās*). Her hair flies loose and she is “mad with lust.” She is depicted according to these prescriptions in figure 4, trampling the corpses of Bhairava and Kālarātri.¹⁰⁰



Fig. 4. *Twelve-armed Vajravārāhī*
Drawn according to the Sanskrit
text by Dharmacāri Āloka

Table 5. *Attributes of Twelve-armed Vajravārāhī*

Cakrasaṃvara			Vajravārāhī	
<i>Hands</i>	<i>Right</i>	<i>Left</i>	<i>Right</i>	<i>Left</i>
1st pair	Elephant skin	Elephant skin	Human skin	Human skin
2nd pair	Vajra	Bell	Vajra	Bell
3rd pair	Drum	Staff	Drum	Skull and staff?
4th pair	Ax	Skull-bowl	Flame gesture	Flame gesture
5th pair	Chopper	Noose	Chopper	Noose
6th pair	Trident	Brahmā's head	Hook	Brahmā's head

Having visualized himself as twelve-armed Vajravārāhī, the yogin then generates her maṇḍala. This contains forty-one goddesses, the same deities as those in the thirty-seven-fold maṇḍala, but with the addition of the four mothers, Māmakī, Locanā, Pāṇḍaravāsini, and Tārā. A Tibetan painting of the maṇḍala, based upon the *Vārāhyabhyudayantra* (though with some variations in the artistic depiction of the deities), is shown in plate 13. Because the text of GSS7 is both curtailed and corrupt (see appendix), I draw upon the *Abhidhānottaratantra* and the reconstructed text of the *Vārāhyabhyudayantra* (vv. 55–85) in the following summary of the practice.

On the four petals surrounding the central deity, the practitioner visualizes the goddesses—Dākinī, etc.—but with fierce, therianthropic forms. Dākinī (on the eastern petal) has a lion's face, Lāmā (north) the face of a hog, Khaṇḍarohā (west), that of an elephant, and Rūpiṇī (south), that of a horse. These goddesses are protean (*viśvarūpiṇī-*) *kāpālikā* deities, with three eyes and loose hair, and are seen naked, dancing in the *ardhaparyāṅka* pose, with Bhairava and Kālarātri beneath their feet. They hold skull and staff in two of their four arms, and the head [of Brahmā] and a chopper in the other pair. On each intermediate petal rests an ornate white vase, topped by a skull bowl containing the nectars, “semen, etc.” (*bodhicittādi-bhājanam*).

Around the central lotus in the cardinal directions are four multicolored lotuses. Upon these reside the four mothers: Māmakī, Locanā, Tārā, and Pāṇḍaravāsini. Māmakī, on the eastern lotus, is the presiding lady (*kuleśvarī*) of the vajra (Akṣobhya) family, and has three colors (i.e., three faces of three colors): black, white, and red. Locanā, to the North, presides over the karma (Amoghasiddhi) family, with faces of green, white, and red. Tārā, on the western lotus, is head of the padma (Amitābha) family; her faces are red, yellow, and green. Pāṇḍaravāsini, to the south, is leader of the śāśvata (Vairocana) family, with white, blue, and red faces. The mothers are naked, wearing only a garland of heads, and all the skull and bone ornaments, including—as leaders in their own right—the sixth mudrā of smeared ash. Underfoot, they dance upon the four mārās. They have six arms, and among their attributes, they hold the particular emblem (*cihnam*) of their family: the vajra, double vajra, red lotus, and wheel respectively. These emblems are probably clasped to their hearts, above a skull bowl held in the opposite hand. In another pair of hands they hold a head and either a ḍamaru or a bell (the texts are all corrupt at this point, and the details in plate 13 are not very clear); with the final pair, they wield a vajra and chopper, while the staff is tucked into the crook of their left arms.

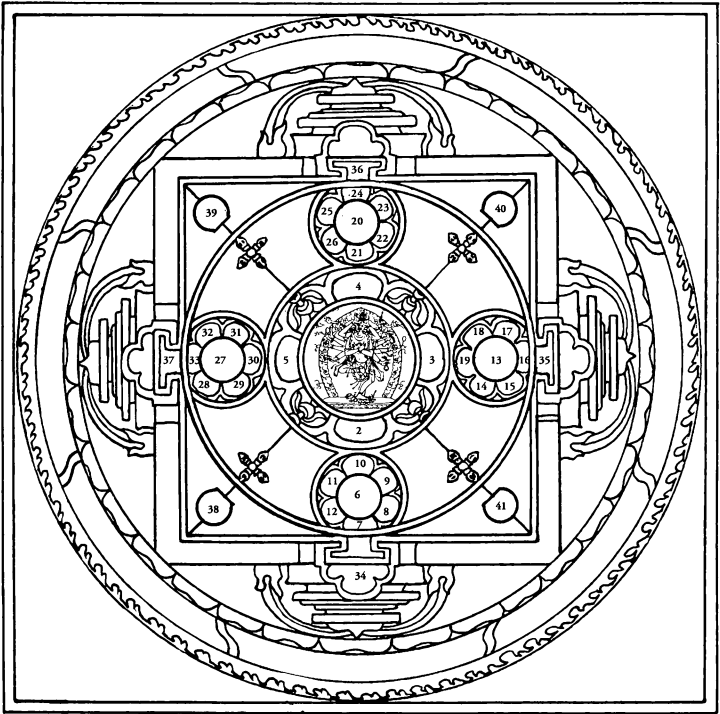
The four lotuses upon which the mothers stand each have six petals, and upon those the meditator sees a further six goddesses. These twenty-four deities are exactly those of the wheels of body, speech, and mind in the thirty-seven-deity maṇḍala of Vajravārāhī (as described in the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana*). Just as in that visualization, the goddesses are understood to reside in the sacred sites (*pīṭhas*), so here the six petals of each lotus are to be understood to be those twenty-four sites. The practitioner is to install (*nyaset*) each goddess upon each petal in turn. Assuming this visualization proceeds counterclockwise (see n. 441), the sequence is that given in figure 5, and the correlations with the sites the same as table 23 below. All these deities exhibit a typical *kāpālika* iconography as they dance, naked but for the five mudrās, upon the backs of corpses. Like their maṇḍala leader, they are also “half-male, half-female” (*ardhanariśvarī*), their two sides (perhaps just their faces) variously visualized as white and green (on the eastern lotus), black and yellow (on the northern lotus), red and yellow (on the western lotus), and yellow and red (on the southern lotus). In their four arms they brandish a bowl and staff, with a ḍamaru and their familial attribute. The visualization of this part of the maṇḍala is only complete when the meditator sees each of the four lotuses rimmed with the appropriate attribute: a ring of vajras in the east, of wheels (?) in the north, lotuses in the west, and double vajras (?) in the south;¹⁰¹ and in the intermediate directions (“in the corners”) a double vajra. The central lotus is also surrounded by its own ring, here of vajras, and this whole part of the maṇḍala (the central lotus plus the four surrounding lotuses) are finally protected by a ring of corpses and vajras. In plate 13 (a key for which is given on figure 5) these outer rims are shown only with empty white circumferences.

The deities of the outer maṇḍala are similar in type. They are also bitonal: Kākāsyā, black and red; Ulūkāsyā, green and red; Śvānāsyā, yellow and grey; and Sūkarāsyā, green and blue. In addition to the usual *kāpālika* iconography, they are to be visualized as “dwarfish in shape and squint-eyed” (K42r6; *vāmanākarāḥ kekarās ca*; cf. *Vārāhyabhyudayantra* v. 74c). In the corners of the outer maṇḍala stand Yamadādhī, Yamadūtī, Yamadaṃṣṭrīṇī, and Yamamathanī, but assuming terrible animal-headed forms of the buffalo, ass, camel, and horse respectively. All the outer deities wield skull bowls and the heads of Brahmā (left) and choppers and ḍamarus (right), with staves tucked into the crooks of the left arms.

The rites and meditations that follow are very similar to those described for the thirty-seven-deity maṇḍala in the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana*. Thus, having completed the visualization of the maṇḍala, the yogin imagines

himself worshipping all the deities with the traditional (nonesoteric) offerings. He also contemplates the maṇḍala as his own body, using the same sets of correlations for the body maṇḍala as described in chapter 3 below. Our text expands the *viśuddhis* to include the elements (*dhātus*), skandhas, and sense organs and fields (*āyatana*s), which introduces male deities into the contemplation (see table 9), while the *Abhidhānottaratantra/Vārāhyabhūdayatantra* also adds the equation of the mind with Akṣobhyavajra, speech with Amitābhavajra, and body with Vairocana. The *Vārāhyabhūdayatantra* gives in full the instructions (only hinted at in GSS7) for the melding of the pledge and knowledge circles, the consecration, and the chanting of mantras for all the deities of the maṇḍala. It also adds the contemplation of the maṇḍala as the thirty-seven *bodhipākṣikadharmas*. All these are as described below in the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* (§22ff.).

Fig. 5. *Vārāhyabhūdaya maṇḍala*



EAST

*Vajravārāhyabhyudaya maṇḍala key**Central Lotus*

1. Twelve-armed Vajravārāhī

Cardinal Petals

2. Ḍākinī (lion-faced)
3. Lāmā (hog-faced)
4. Khaṇḍarohā (elephant-faced)
5. Rūpiṇī (horse-faced)

Lotuses in Cardinal Directions

- | | |
|--|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. Māmākī (East) 7. Praçaṇḍā in Pullīramalaya 8. Caṇḍākṣī in Jālandhara 9. Prabhāvatī in Oḍḍiyāna 10. Mahānāsā in Arbuda 11. Vīramatī in Godāvārī 12. Kharvarī in Rāmeśvara | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 20. Tārā (West) 21. Śyāmā(devī) in Kalinga 22. Subhadrā in Lampāka 23. Hayakarṇā in Kāñcī 24. Khagānanā in Himālaya 25. Cakravegā in Pretapuri 26. Khaṇḍarohā in Gṛhadevatā |
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 13. Locanā (North) 14. Lañkeśvarī in Devikoṭa 15. Drumacchāyā in Mālava 16. Airāvati in Kāmarūpa 17. Mahābhairavā in Oḍra 18. Vāyuvegā in Triśakuni 19. Surābhakṣī in Kośala | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 27. Pāṇḍaravāsini (South) 28. Śauṇḍinī in Saurāṣṭra 29. Cakravarminī in Suvarṇadvīpa 30. Suvīrā in Nagara 31. Mahābalā in Sindhu 32. Cakravartinī in Maru 33. Mahāvīryā in Kulatā |

Outer Maṇḍala (gates)

34. Kākāsyā (crow-faced)
35. Ulūkāsyā (owl-faced)
36. Śvānāsyā (dog-faced)
37. Sūkārāsyā (hog-faced)

Outer Maṇḍala (corners)

38. Yamadāḍhī
39. Yamadūti
40. Yamadaṁṣṭriṇī
41. Yamamathanī

Six-Armed Vajravārāhī with Consort

In one sādhana of the *Guhyasamayasāadhanamālā*, Vajravārāhī is visualized in union with Cakrasaṃvara, but as the main deity of a thirteenfold maṇḍala. This is “Red Vajravārāhī” of the *Raktavajravārāhīsādhana* (GSS6), another work in the collection to be redacted from the *Abhidhānottaratantra* (*pāṭala* 33/35, see the appendix).¹⁰² Iconographically the sādhana is interesting, as it reverses the usual conventions for deities in union, and clearly states that it is Vajravārāhī—the female partner—who sits in the meditation posture holding her consort in the gesture of embrace. The text reads as follows:¹⁰³

And now I will teach the supreme sādhana of [Vajra-]vārāhī: Through the practice of the generation stage (*utpattikramayogena*), [the practitioner] should visualize, as himself, a body that is as bright as twelve suns, [red] like vermilion powder, [and red] like the *bandhūka* flower and the China rose. [Vajravārāhī should be visualized] with three heads and six arms. [She should be seen] replete with all [the bone] ornaments, sitting firmly (*su-*) in the *sattvaparyāṅka* [with the right foot placed on the left thigh and the left foot on the right thigh], with a garland of skulls as her headdress, her hair strewn about [her], [and] as beautiful. [She should be seen] with a vajra and bell [in her crossed arms, held behind her consort’s back], pressed against by the [kiss of the] lower [lip] of her consort. [She is visualized] holding a bow and arrow, [and] is poised [with the bowstring] drawn back to her ear; [she is seen] holding a skull bowl [in one hand] and a staff [lodged in the crook of the same arm] [and] is intent upon drawing in with a hook. She is [visualized] in the center of a red lotus, as one who grants all desires.

The deities are illustrated figure 6, with the female deity facing the viewer, and the male held in her lap. Traditional precedents for this in Tibetan art are extremely rare, although just such a reversal of iconographical norms is also found in the Mongolian icons (IWS/T 88, LC 598) based on the Tibetan text.¹⁰⁴



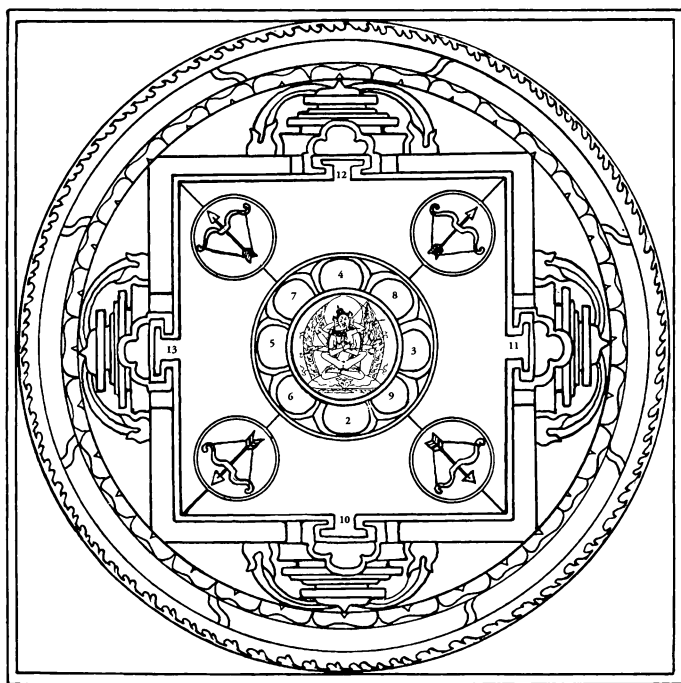
Fig. 6. *Six-armed Vajravārāhī with consort*

Drawn according to the Sanskrit text by Dharmacāri Āloka

*om śrīvajravārāhī āḥ vaṃ
hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā*

The maṇḍala is of a very different type from those discussed earlier. Eight retinue goddesses (Vajraguhyottamā, etc.) are installed around Vajravārāhī and her consort on the eight petals of the central lotus; the cardinal goddesses counterclockwise, and the intermediate goddesses clockwise (K39v2–6). Each is seated upon a corpse throne, with a male consort who holds them in the gesture of embrace with a vajra and bell. They are visualized as red in color, with three faces, three eyes, and six arms; their hair hangs loose, and they wear all the usual bone ornaments. In their six arms, they bear a vajra and bell, a skull bowl and staff, and a hook and noose, which they shake up and down with a threatening gesture. Four more goddesses (Vajrajālottamā, etc.) are visualized at the gates with the same form, although possibly with only two arms, holding a noose and a vajra (the text is ambiguous). Installed in each corner of the outer maṇḍala is a primed bow and arrow, traditionally the weapon of the love god, Kāma.

The deities in embrace, and their attributes symbolic of love and attraction, indicate the erotic mode of the sādhana. There is no mention of wrathful or terrifying characteristics, only of the compassionate, wish-fulfilling nature of the deities. In this respect, Red Vajravārāhī conforms more closely to the sensual Vajravilāsini forms described below, and shares with them an iconographical association with the erotic Śaiva goddess of the Śrīvidyā cult, Tripurasundarī (below). The sādhana ends with the recitation of mantras for all the female maṇḍala deities. Red Vajravārāhī's mantra is unusual in that it includes the vocative of the single mantra deity, Vajravārāhī (*om śrīvajravārāhī āḥ vaṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā*). The mantras of the retinue follow suit, with the name of each goddess inserted between a string of mantra syllables; these include *jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ*, syllables notable for their power to attract.¹⁰⁵

Fig. 7. *Maṇḍala of six-armed Vajravārāhī with consort*

EAST

Central lotus

1. Six-armed Vajravārāhī with consort

Cardinal petals

2. Vajraguhyottamā
3. Vajrasamayottamā
4. Vajratejottamā
5. Vajraratnottamā

Intermediate petals

6. Vajrajñānottamā
7. Vajravidyottamā
8. Vajrasiddhottamā
9. Vajrabhasmottamā

Outer maṇḍala (gates)

10. Vajrajvālottamā
11. Vajrāmṛtottamā
12. Vajrakrodhottamā
13. Vajradamṣṭrotamā

Six-Armed Vajradākinī Vajravārāhī in Warrior Stance

A six-armed form of Vajravārāhī in warrior stance is described a couple of times in the *Guhyasamayāsādhnamālā*. On one occasion, “Vārāhī” is to be

visualized as an armor goddess within the armoring section of the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5 K2IV5, see ch. 3). She has three faces (red, blue, and green), and her six arms hold a chopper, Brahmā's head, and hook (right), and a skull bowl, staff, and noose (left), as shown in the Mongolian icons (plate 10a and fig. 30).

The other six-armed manifestation appears in the *Sādhana of the Thirteenfold Vajradākinī Vajravārāhī* (*Trayodaśātmikavajradākinīvajravārāhīsādhana* GSS16). Here it seems that the armor goddess has developed into a "terrible leader, thirteenfold in nature."¹⁰⁶ Following the preparations for the sādhana, Vajradākinī Vajravārāhī is self-generated from *vaṃ* through the series of awakenings; she is self-visualized in a form that is both *kāpālīka* in character, and passionate.



Fig. 8. Six-armed
Vajradākinī Vajravārāhī.
Drawn according to
the Sanskrit text by
Dhammacāri Āloka.
Cf. plate 10a.

oṃ vajravairocanīye
hum hum phaṭ svāhā

She is seen adorned with all six mudrās, a headdress, and a garland of wet skulls, blazing like the fire at the end of the eon, and trampling underfoot Bhairava and Kālarātrī (named here Śambhu and Cāmuṇḍā). Her erotic nature is evident in her red color, her slim waist and firm breasts, and her fanged face, which is only "slightly snarling" (*iṣaddaṃṣṭrākarālinīm*). Her attributes are those of the armor goddess, except that she has only one face and substitutes a vajra (the usual attribute of warrior-stance Vajravārāhī) for the chopper, and an ax for Brahmā's head.¹⁰⁷ The source for this sādhana is once again the *Abhidhānottaratantra*.¹⁰⁸

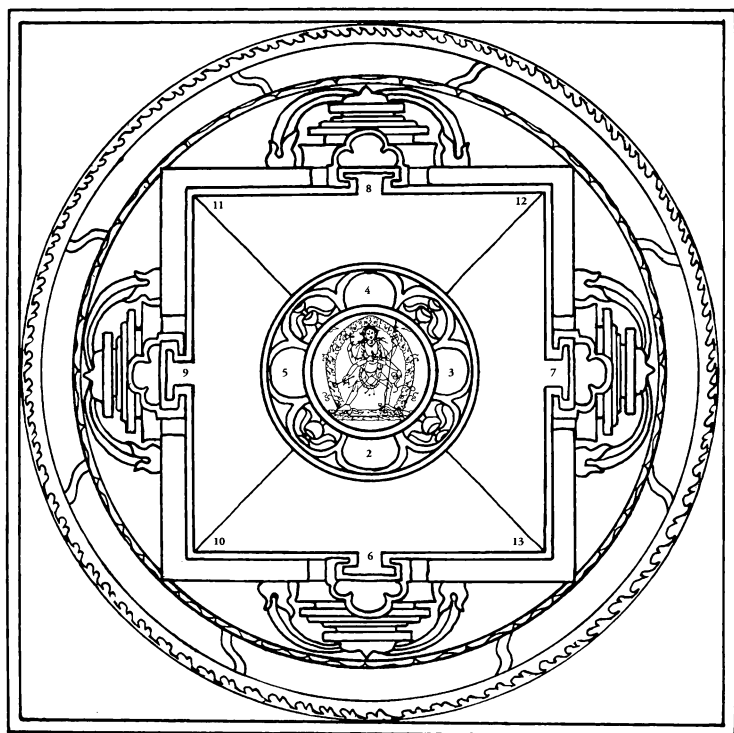
Vajraḍākinī Vajravārāhī is said to be “thirteenfold” in nature because she is a reflex of the thirteen-syllabled heart mantra. The yogin first visualizes her as the syllable *vaṃ*. He then emanates a thirteenfold maṇḍala from the thirteen syllables of Vajravārāhī’s mantra: *oṃ va-jra-vai-ro-ca-nī-ye hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svā-hā*.¹⁰⁹ Having created the maṇḍala in this way, he begins to generate the iconographic form of Vajravārāhī through the five awakenings, with a vajra empowered by the syllable *vaṃ* at her heart. Rays issue from this *vaṃ*, and through them the surrounding syllables of the maṇḍala are “urged” or “impelled” (K77 v.6: *saṃcodita-*) to transform into the ḍākinīs of the maṇḍala retinue. The names of these ḍākinīs reflect their mantric origins, thus the syllable *oṃ* gives rise to *Pranāvāvajraḍākinī* (*pranāvā* = *oṃ*), the syllable *vaṃ*, to *Vaḍavāvajraḍākinī*, the syllable *jaṃ* to *Jramitāvajraḍākinī*, and so on (see fig. 9). The stages of this fairly complex sādhana, and the subsequent rituals, are summarized in the appendix.

The maṇḍala retinue is described in some detail (GSSI6 K78r1–79r2). It begins first of all with the four ḍākinīs who are installed counterclockwise on the petals of the central lotus. They are visualized with one face, four arms, three eyes, and wearing all the tantric ornaments. They stand upon corpses in the dancing *ardhaparyāṅka* pose, naked with loose hair, their bodies sensuous, “with full breasts, celestial forms, captivating, their faces [only] a little furrowed, [and] amorous with [their] sidelong glances.”¹¹⁰ In their right hands, they hold a vajra and ḍamaru, in their left, a staff and a bowl filled with blood. On the intermediate petals are ornamental vases topped with a skull bowl, which are filled with the nectars, including semen (*bodhicittam*), first menstrual blood (*svayambhūkusumam*), urine (*vajrāmbu*), and human feces (*mahābhaiṣajam*).

At the outer gates are eight more ḍākinīs. In the cardinal directions (installed counterclockwise) four ḍākinīs are visualized dancing upon a “lotus moon” (*padmacandre*) and declaring their transcendence of male deities of other religions by trampling the corpses of Indra, Yakṣa (Kubera), Jala (Varuṇa), and Yama respectively. They hold the same attributes as the ḍākinīs of the inner maṇḍala, only substituting different implements for the ḍamaru, such as a hook (in the east) or a noose (in the north); the text for the other attributes is corrupt (K78v1–2). They wear the five mudrās and are also three-eyed, slim-waisted, and adorned with garlands of heads. Their hair stands upright (*ūrdhvakeśa-*) and they are described in erotic terms, as “naked, with huge vaginas, overcome with lust.”¹¹¹ At the corners of the outer maṇḍala (installed clockwise) are four wrathful ḍākinīs, also upon lotus moons and trampling corpses in the dancing pose. They are described

in similar terms, both as *kāpālika* deities and as goddesses with sensuous and erotic forms. All the vajra-ḍākinīs of the maṇḍala are said to have their hearts filled with innate bliss (*sahajānanda*-).

Fig. 9. *Maṇḍala of Vajraḍākinī Vajravārāhī*



EAST

Central pericarp

1. Six-armed
Vajraḍākinī Vajravārāhī

Cardinal petals

2. Praṇavāvajraḍākinī (white)
3. Vaḍavāvajraḍākinī (green)
4. Jramitāvajraḍākinī (yellow)
5. Vairāṇīvajraḍākinī (blue)

Outer maṇḍala (gates)

6. Roṣaṇīvajraḍākinī (blue)
7. Capalāvajraḍākinī (green)
8. Nihārīvajraḍākinī (red)
9. Yemalāvajraḍākinī (yellow)

Outer maṇḍala (corners)

10. Hūṃkārivajraḍākinī (white)
11. Hūṃnādivajraḍākinī (blue)
12. Phaṭaṇīvajraḍākinī (yellow)
13. Svākārīvajraḍākinī (red)

Red Vajraghoṇā Vajravārāhī

Vajraghoṇā Vajravārāhī is another warrior-stance manifestation whose practice is prescribed in several works in the *Guhyasamayāsādhanaṃālā*, the *Sādhana for [Gaining] Siddhi in All Things* (Sarvārthasiddhisādhana GSS15), the *Vajravārāhī Rite* (*Vajravārāhīkalpa* GSS18), and two alternative visualizations in the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5).¹¹² Vajraghoṇā means “vajra snout”; *ghoṇā* is a (hog’s) snout, and is thus a rough synonym of Vajravārāhī meaning “vajra hog.” This ferocious, therianthropic goddess has only the single face of a snarling hog, with three eyes and a terrifying frown; she is, in fact, identical to the Tibetan statue in plate 5. There is a scriptural source for the hog-headed deity in the *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra*. Here, Vajravārāhī/Vārāhī (the vajra-prefix is often dropped) is named as one of four outer goddesses in the maṇḍalas of the god Yamāri (installed counterclockwise: Vajra-Carcikā, Vajra-Vārāhī, Vajra-Sarasvatī, and Vajra-Gaurī); Vajravārāhī is to be visualized as “three-headed, six-armed, a hog, having a vajra in her hand, very blue.”¹¹³ The commentator, Kumāracandra, glosses *ghoṇām* as “having a hog’s face” (*ghoṇām iti śūkaramukhīṃ*), and the goddess’ mantra includes the vocatives “You with the vajra snout! You with the lovely snout!” In the Yamāri maṇḍala described by Kumāracandra, a three-faced Vajravārāhī also appears in which the central face is again that of the hog.¹¹⁴

From our available sources, however, the justification for calling this manifestation Vajraghoṇā is slim. One of our texts eschews the term *vajraghoṇā* altogether (GSS15), and another uses it only as an adjective, placing it within a string of adjectival (*bahuvrīhi*) qualifications (GSS18). The *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra* demonstrates the general fluidity in Sanskrit between qualifications and epithets by using the term both adjectivally, and nominally as the vocative in the mantra. Nevertheless, in the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5 Sed p. 149, K34r–v), *Vajraghoṇā* is clearly used as a proper noun, as it describes the visualization of the goddess as the “glorious Vajraghoṇā method,” and the associated rituals as the “Vajraghoṇā Sādhana.”¹¹⁵ The *Abhisamayamañjarī* possibly shows a more developed version of the manifestation, in part because it promotes the adjective to nominal form, and also because it presents an alternative visualization of a second Vajraghoṇā form, as described below. In a Nepalese sketchbook possibly dating back to the eighteenth century, the artist depicts a form of “Vajraghoṇā” (holding a trident skull staff, instead of a hook) (Bühnemann: 2003). The Tibetan text of the *Rin ’byung brgya rtsa*, however, depicts a form identical with that in our sādhanas, and takes the deity’s appellation from the title of the *Sarvārthasiddhisādhana* (GSS15),

referring to her as “Accomplishing (*Arthasiddhi*) *Vārāhī*” (*Phag mo don grub ma*) (Willson and Brauen 2000: 259. See plate 10c).

In the *Guhyasamayasādhanaṃālā* sādhanas, the series of awakenings that generates Vajraghoṇā/Vajravārāhī begins with a red triangular *dharmodayā* at the navel. Inside this, a blazing red *hrīm* is visualized at the center of a red, round-leafed lotus, resting (in GSS15) upon a sun disk placed upon a corpse. Vajravārāhī is self-visualized as the transformation of all this, standing in the warrior stance, also upon a lotus, corpse, and sun disk. She is four-armed and holds in her right hand a vajra and hook, and in her left, a skull bowl with staff, and a noose with a threatening gesture of the forefinger. She is bright red in color, while the yellow hair of her head streaks upward, standing on end. She has a dwarfish potbelly, and her tongue lolls as she laughs a laugh that is “unbearable to all evil beings.” (Laughter and wrath are connected in tantric iconography, as laughter is one of the means whereby deities spread terror.) She is visualized wearing the five mudrās and a garland of heads, and is otherwise naked.¹¹⁶ She is depicted in this way, without any bone ornaments, in the Mongolian icons (see fig. 10 and plate 10c). She is also drawn in an unusual stance, in which her outstretched right leg turns to rest upon its heel, with the toes pointing upward, while her head looks to her right. The Tibetan text explains this as “trampling on the three worlds in *ālīḍha* (right leg extended) in the manner of a wrestler’s throw (*gyad kyī dor stabs kyis*)” (Willson and Brauen *ibid.*).¹¹⁷



Fig. 10. *Arthasādhana Vārāhī*. Mongolian woodblock print (IWS/T 80, LC 590). Cf. plate 10c.

Heart mantra:

oṃ hrīm hūm hrīm braṃ (in GSS5);
oṃ hūm hrīm hām (in GSS18)

Auxiliary heart mantra:

oṃ vajravārāhī āveśaya sarvaduṣṭān
hrīm (or hrīḥ) svāhā

When he has completed the self-visualization, the yogin is to recite the mantras (for which the exact prescriptions vary). The heart mantra (given in

two of our three texts) is composed entirely of mantra syllables (*bijas*), including the heart syllable *hrīḥ* (*oṃ hrīm̐ hūṃ hrīm̐ braṃ* in GSS5; *oṃ hūṃ hrīm̐ hām̐* in GSS18). The auxiliary heart mantra also diverges from that of the main Vajrayoginī/Vajravārāhī tradition in its use of an imperative for vanquishing obstacles, of the sort familiar in *bali* rituals (*oṃ vajravārāhī āveśaya sarvaduṣṭān hrīm̐ svāhā*).¹¹⁸ The mantras for both rites that follow appear with some variants, but are similar to the heart mantra in that they consist of strings of syllables (*āḥ hrīm̐ hūṃ, hām̐, hīḥ, and pheṭ/phem̐*).

The rituals are to be performed by the *sādhaka* who has generated himself as Vajraghoṇā for the attainment of *siddhi* and has performed one hundred thousand recitations of the mantras. The wrathful character of the goddess is reflected in a desiderative worship that includes incense made from powdered human flesh, which is offered in front of an image of the goddess on a cloth for twenty-one days, and a nighttime *bali* offering (see ch. 3) made “for the purpose of quelling all *māras*.”¹¹⁹ For this practice, the utmost secrecy is enjoined and, indeed, is the precondition upon which “the vajrayoginīs (or Vajrayoginī) will empower [him].”¹²⁰

White Vajraghoṇā Vajravārāhī

An alternative form of Vajraghoṇā Vajravārāhī is taught in the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5 Sed p. 149, K34v5). According to this transmission, she is generated at the heart (rather than the navel), upon a red lotus. First, a sun disk is produced from *ām̐*. Upon this stands a red five-pointed vajra, empowered by a white *hrīḥ* that transforms into the goddess. Since the color of a deity is usually a reflex of the seed-syllable, this form of Vajraghoṇā is presumably white. She stands upon a lotus that is uniquely striped red and white, trampling in warrior stance “a sleeping man [symbolic] of ignorance.” In her heart is a replica red vajra on a sun disk, also presided over by a white *hrīḥ* on a sun disk. The text states that in other respects she is like the previous manifestation of red Vajraghoṇā (i.e., a therianthropic goddess with four arms). Unusually, however, this form of Vajraghoṇā is empowered by Akṣobhya, enthroned upon a multicolored lotus.¹²¹

That we are dealing with a white form of Vajraghoṇā is perhaps confirmed by her similarity to a white form of Vajravārāhī, who appears in another *sādhana* in the collection. We will see that the generation, self-visualization, and ritual prescriptions for each are strikingly similar.

White Vajravārāhī

The practice of “Noble White Vajravārāhī” is prescribed in the sādhana of that name (*Āryaśuklavajravārāhīsādhana* GSS38). This is the only other form of white Vajravārāhī in the *Guhyasamayasādhanamālā* and one in which the process of generation is very similar to that of white Vajraghoṇā. (A much fuller account of this form—or one very similar, with identical rites—is described in SM218–20; see appendix for details.) White Vajravārāhī is self-generated upon a sun disk (produced from *aṃ*) and from a white *brīḥ* that transforms first into a five-pointed vajra and then into Vajravārāhī. She also carries a white *brīḥ* on a sun disk at her heart and is presided over by Akṣobhya—apart from white Vajraghoṇā, the only form of Vajrayoginī in the *Guhyasamayasādhanamālā* to bear this buddha as the seal.¹²² White Vajravārāhī shares the explicitly wrathful character of the Vajraghoṇā manifestations. The text describes itself as a “fierce” sādhana, and the deity is said to bring fear to gods, antigods, and men. There are some differences, however, between the two forms. For example, white Vajravārāhī is generated following an emptiness meditation, and is thus produced from emptiness rather than at the navel. Most notably, there is no mention of a hog’s head in the iconography of white Vajravārāhī. She is self-visualized in the warrior stance, naked but for the five mudrās, and wearing a curious garland consisting of a row of skulls between two rows of vajras (although SM218 describes it rather as a garland worn on the headdress). She is two-armed and carries a vajra in her right and a skull staff in her left, with no skull bowl. Worship both before and after the self-visualization is performed by “Pracaṇḍā etc.,” which, judging from the fuller descriptions of SM218 (p. 427), refers to the presence of the twenty-four goddesses of the sites, within the maṇḍala circles of mind, speech, and body.¹²³



Fig. II. *White Vajravārāhī* (GSS38).

Drawn according to the Sanskrit text by Dharmacāri Āloka

*oṃ vajravairocanīye
hum hum phaṭ svāhā*

The similarities between white Vajraghoṇā and white Vajravārāhī are also borne out on a ritual level. The *japa* in both cases consists of the recitation of a white syllable *hrīḥ* that is visualized in garland form as a “mantra rosary” (*mantramālā*). In a yogic meditation (described in slightly more detail in the *Abhisamayamañjarī* GSS5 and SM218), the self-generated yogin-goddess sees a white *hrīḥ* syllable at the navel and imagines it revolving through him, exiting through the mouth and entering again at the navel. As it enters the navel, the *mantramālā* brings him the [mundane] power of all the arts and sciences as well as the mass of [supramundane] qualities of the buddhas. According to the *Abhisamayamañjarī*.¹²⁴

Next on his navel he should see a (white) *hrīḥ* on a red and white sun disk placed on a multicolored lotus. He should send forth from the opening of his mouth a mantra garland of that [syllable *hrīḥ*] in the form of a string of beads, white [in color, and] whirling like (*-yogena*) a wheel. Having obtained skill in medicine, astronomy, writing, and the sciences and arts by means of the jewel mantra of the many-faceted (*guṇagaṇa*) buddha, he should contemplate [this mantra garland], which burns all the ignorance of oneself and others, entering the opening of his navel. He should recite the mantra, avoiding the fault of doing it too fast [or too slow]. The mantra is *hrīḥ*. When he wants to arise [from the practice], he should make that mantra garland disappear into the *hrīḥ* in his navel, perform worship [*baḷi* rites, etc.], and dwell as he wishes [namely, in the form of the deity].

The texts describe further rites using the *mantramālā* (GSS5 Sed p. 150.8, K3514, SM218 p. 430, and briefly in GSS38 K123r2) for the acquisition of other siddhis, such as supreme learning, scholarship, powers of oration, invincibility in debate, and freedom from fevers and poisons—all of which would seem particularly handy in the political arena. For this, the tongue is first imagined in the shape of a lotus petal, and on it a flaming white *hrīḥ* forms a garland of fifty beads. So powerful is this practice, that—the texts claim—if a piece of chalk is consecrated with this mantra in this way, then the one who holds it, be he even a fool, will become a poet. Toward similar ends perhaps, the GSS texts also claim the power of this *mantramālā* for bending another to his will or subjugation (*vaśyam*), although the rather fuller *sādhana* that describes this rite in the *Sāadhanamālā* (SM219–20) states that the purpose of this rite is to bring beings into the four truths of the Buddhists (p. 432:

sattvān vaśikṛtya caturāryasatye avatāraṇāya...). Here in the rite of subjugation (*vaśyavidhiḥ*), the goddess must be visualized as red, and she holds only two attributes (i.e., with only two arms), namely, the noose in her left generated from *hriḥ*, and a hook or goad in her right (GSS5 Sed p. 150.14, K35V1, SM219). These attributes are another reminder of this deity's affinity with Vajraghoṇā.

Two-Armed Vajrayoginī in Warrior Stance

Most of the remaining forms in the *Guhyasamayasādhanaṃālā* collection appear in the portion of the collection that deals principally with Vajrayoginī manifestations of a magical and often erotic nature (also found, in brief, in the same portion of the *Abhisamayamañjarī*). First, we turn to a red, reversed warrior-stance form of Vajrayoginī, described within a *Vajrayoginīsādhana* attributed to Śabara (GSS19≈SM236), and in the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (K35v6–36r ≈ GSS28?). A white form of Vajrayoginī in reversed warrior stance, and holding the same attributes, is also described within a corrupt passage in the *Odḍiyānasvādhiṣṭhānakrama-Vajrayoginīsādhana* (GSS37), details for which are in the appendix.



Fig. 12. *Two-armed Vajrayoginī in warrior stance.*
Drawn according to the Sanskrit text by Dharmacāri Āloka.

Heart mantra:

oṃ vajradākinīye hrīm hūṃ phaṭ svāhā (GSS5, SM236)

*oṃ sarvasiddhiṃ prayaccha
hrī<m> hūṃ phaṭ svāhā* (GSS19)

Auxiliary heart mantra:

oṃ vajrayoginīye hūṃ phaṭ svāhā (GSS19, SM236)

oṃ vajravairocanīye hūṃ phaṭ svāhā (GSS5)

Root mantra:

*oṃ sarvabuddhadākinīye oṃ vajravarnanīye oṃ vajravairocanīye
hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā*

Here, Vajrayoginī is generated upon a multicolored lotus (produced from *paṃ*). Upon the lotus the yogin visualizes a sun disk (produced from a red *raṃ*), and upon that, a red syllable *hūṃ* (GSS19 K83v1). The seed-syllable is then imagined transforming into Vajrayoginī, who becomes the central deity of the usual fivefold maṇḍala. The visualization (which is never described as a self-visualization) is of Vajrayoginī within terrible cremation grounds, where she stands upon a yellow corpse in the reverse warrior (*pratyālīḍha*) stance (stepping to the right). She is fierce and naked and emits intense rays of light. Her color is red, and she is full of fresh youth, with large, firm breasts. She has three eyes, which are red, round, and rolling, brows that are contracted into a fierce frown, and a fanged mouth, with a lolling tongue. Her hair flies loose. She appears as the leader of a five-fold maṇḍala and therefore wears all six mudrās, including ash, and is replete with tinkling bells and strings of pearls. The *Abhisamayamañjarī* states that the goddess should be visualized with red hair flaming and standing on end, but adds that sometimes she is visualized with loose hair, and sometimes without the corpse throne. Her attributes are a skull bowl “full of blood” (GSS5 Sed p. 151, K36r1: *vāme raktapūrnakapāla-*) in her left hand, with a staff (in GSS19 only), presumably tucked into the crook of her left arm. In her right hand she holds a knife or chopper (*karṭṛī*) (instead of the vajra normally held by warrior-stance forms of Vajravārāhi).¹²⁵

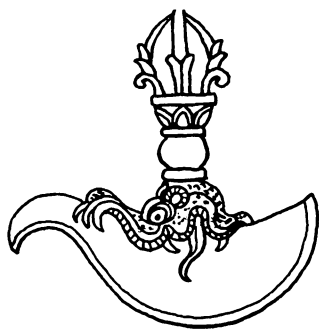


Fig. 13. Vajra chopper (*karṭṛī*).

The chopper (fig. 13) is especially associated with Vajrayoginī in the *Guhyasamayasādhanaṃālā* and symbolizes the “chopping off” of defilements. It is mentioned, for example, in the twenty-one-verse *stotra* (GSS42 v. 8): “Homage to you, Vajrayoginī! You who hold a skull bowl and staff on your left [and] a chopper on your right; who hold emptiness and compassion.”¹²⁶

The texts enjoin rites of “worship and so on” for this form of the goddess,

which are to be conducted in sites such as a cremation ground upon auspicious nights of the lunar calendar, namely, the eighth, tenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth in the moon's cycle.¹²⁷ Practice at these auspicious times was believed to enhance the power of female spirits such as yoginīs and ḍākinīs to such an extent that, in the Śaiva tradition, the mere mention of their names was prohibited: "He should not utter the word *ḍākinī* or any other [with a similar meaning] during any of the exceptional rituals [such as those that are required on *parvan* days]."¹²⁸ The fivefold maṇḍala is indicated by a set of offering mantras, which are prescribed for the petals of the central lotus in the cardinal directions. The mantras include the request that each goddess accept a "vajra flower" (presumably the purified form of an actual flower).¹²⁹ The usual tripartite root mantra for Vajrayoginī appears with some variants in the three texts, and there are distinctive heart and auxiliary heart mantras.¹³⁰ The texts also supply the mantra for a final *bali* ritual.¹³¹

Four-Armed Vajrayoginī in Warrior Stance

A four-armed form of Vajrayoginī in warrior stance is found in a single sādhana in the *Guhyasamayāsādhanaṃālā* in a section dealing with internalized practices: the *Vajrayoginī Sādhana in the Tradition of Indrabhūti*, by Vijayavajra (*Indrabhūtikrameṇa Vajrayoginīsādhana* GSS35). This sādhana takes the self-generation onto a more intensely internal level, as the yogin imagines the elements of the visualization within his yogic body.



Fig. 14. *Four-armed Vajrayoginī in warrior stance.*

Drawn according to the Sanskrit text by Dharmacārī Āloka.

*oṃ vajravairocaṇīye
hum̐ hum̐ phaṭ svāhā*

Following the emptiness meditations, the yogin first generates the cosmos, starting from a white letter *a* (GSS35 K118v1: *śukla akārāt*) that is said to have the nature of Causal Vajradhara. Then, from a green *hūṃ*, he produces a five-pointed double vajra, as the five limbs of his body (head, arms, and legs). In the center of that he sees a red inverted triangular syllable *e* (∇) transforming into a blood-colored origin of existents (here masculine: *dharmodayaḥ*) marked with vajras at its points, which he understands to be his torso. Within the *dharmodaya* is an eight-petaled lotus wreathed in fire, which represents his nine bodily orifices, while the four-petaled pericarp has the nature of four channels within the body.¹³² Vajrayoginī is then generated upon a ferociously bright sun disk, as the transformation of a white chopper that represents the central channel, Avadhūtī. Vajrayoginī herself is a vibrant, light red (“yellow-red, like blooming saffron”). She is seen as sixteen years of age, with delicate youthfulness and a laughing, wrathful face. She wears the five mudrās and a garland of fifty heads. Standing in the warrior stance, she is seen trampling the brahmanical gods, Brahmā, Indra, Viṣṇu, and Śiva, who represent the four *kleśas* (n. 362). Vairocana crowns her headdress. In two of her four arms, Vajrayoginī holds the vajra and bell in the crossed gesture of embrace, and in the other pair, a chopper (right) and a gleaming skull bowl (left), upon which she fixes her gaze as she holds it aloft. A skull staff rests in the crook of her left arm. From one of the following yogic meditations, it also emerges that the goddess has a red letter *a* at her heart.¹³³

The rites given for the practice are desiderative in nature and include esoteric offerings within an external *dharmodayā* that has been drawn upon the ground with transgressive substances (GSS35 K119v3), and various other rites of worship such as a hand worship and *bali* offering (K119v6–120r). There is also the ritual of accepting a pupil (K120r2–3) and the preparation of a protective amulet (*vidyāvidhiḥ*, K120r6) based on a thirteen-syllable mantra (presumably, the Vajravārāhī heart mantra).

Red Vajravārāhī with Foot Raised

The remaining forms of the deity in the *Guhyasamayasādhanaṃālā* assume an increasingly erotic and magically outlandish character, manifestations often associated with Oḍḍiyāna, home of flying *ḍākinīs*. One such adopts the striking pose “with the foot up” (*ūrdhvhvapādaḥ*). In this stance, Vajrayoginī stands upon her right leg and lifts the left above her head, wrapping

her left arm about it to hold it in place, while at the same time drinking from the skull bowl she still holds in that arm: "She should be visualized...continuously drinking the stream of blood in the skull bowl, having the posture of embracing her own left foot; [her left foot] is held up with [her] left hand, in which is held a skull bowl that is full of red [blood] on the inside and is white on the outside."¹³⁴



Fig. 15. *Red Vajravārāhī with foot raised.*

Drawn according to the Sanskrit text by Dharmacāri Āloka.
Cf. plates 9 and 10b.

Two forms with this pose are represented in the collection. The first appears in a *Vajrayoginī Sādhana from Oḍḍiyāna* (*Oḍḍiyānavinirgatavajrayoginīsādhana* GSS12≈SM225; also found in GSS5)¹³⁵ and is a red manifestation of Vajravārāhī. Here, Vajravārāhī occupies the center of the fivefold maṇḍala (as described in chapter 3), and her generation, iconography, and mantras all relate to the red warrior-stance forms of Vajravārāhī. She is generated from a vajra presided over by *vaṃ* and is endowed with the usual *kāpālīka* ornamentation, such as the bone girdle and garland of fifty human heads. Like the main warrior-stance Vajravārāhī, her attributes are a skull bowl and vajra, but no staff.

White Vajrayoginī with Foot Raised

Here, the deity is white in color, and is quite distinct from her red cousin. To do the practice, the yogin resorts to a solitary place in the midst of cremation grounds, and (self?)-generates Vajrayoginī from a white seed-

syllable, either *hūṃ* (GSS45) or *āḥ* (GSS17). He sees her standing upon a multipetaled lotus and sun disk, trampling underfoot the brahmanical and Śaiva deities: "She is to be visualized... with her foot raised, trampling Śakra [= Indra] and Brahmā, [and] with her lower foot [trampling] Bhairava and Kālarātri."¹³⁶ In her right hand is a vajra chopper (*vajrakarṭṭī*), and in her left, the skull bowl from which she drinks. The skull staff (*khaṭvāṅgaḥ*) is balanced in its usual place upon her left shoulder. Her white body emits an intense light, and she inspires extreme terror (in those who oppose her), with her fierce facial expression, fangs, and three eyes, which are red, round, and rolling. She is seen completely naked, without ornaments, her loose hair and large firm breasts emphasizing her erotic and youthful character. Her mantras, as well as her iconography, are typical of Vajrayoginī. The root, heart and auxiliary heart mantras are those supplied for the warrior-stance



Fig. 16. *White Vajrayoginī*
with foot raised
(*Phag mo gnam zabs ma*).
Mongolian woodblock print
(IWS/T 84, LC 594).
Cf. plate 10d.

om vajradākinī(ye) hrīḥ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā

om vajrayoginī hūṃ phaṭ svāhā
(*om vajrayoginī hūṃ phaṭ svāhā*: GSS17)

om sarvabuddhadākinīye vajravarṇanīye vajravairocanīye
hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā

form of Vajrayoginī (above), but the *bali* mantra is unique, naming the mantra-deity, Vajrayoginī (instead of Vajradākinī), amid the repetition of stuttering mantric syllables.¹³⁷

A Mongolian icon illustrates a form of this goddess. According to the underpinning Tibetan text, the visualization is of Vajrayoginī (who may hold either a vajra-marked chopper or a knife); however, the title given the form in the *Rin 'byung brgya rtsa* is "Vārahī with Raised Leg" (*Phag mo gnam 'zabs ma*), and Tāranātha (with perhaps a suspiciously different referent for "Indra") adds "Indra [i.e., Indrabhūti]'s Ḍākinī Crushing Opponents" (*Phas rgo 'joms pa'i indra mkha' spyod ma*).¹³⁸ Although the Mongolian title describes this form as a manifestation of Vajravārāhī, the icon nevertheless provides a satisfactory illustration of our form of Vajrayoginī in the *Guhyasamayāsādhana*mālā (fig. 16, plate 10d).

Vajrayoginī in the Falling-Turtle Pose

The combination of intense eroticism and intense terror is found in other manifestations; indeed, to the uninitiated, it is the goddess's overwhelming lust that would in itself be terrifying. One such form is found in the *Sādhana of Vajrayoginī with the Method of the Falling Turtle* (*Kūrmāpatanakramena Vajrayoginīsādhana* GSS36).



ཕག་མོ་འཇམ་མཁའ་མཁའ་མཁའ་

Fig. 17. *Vajrayoginī in falling-turtle pose.*
Mongolian woodblock print
(IWS/T 85, LC 595)
Cf. plate 10e.

om vajravairocaniye svāhā

The sādhana is unusual in our collection in that the deity is not self-generated but visualized directly in front of the yogin. Before beginning the meditation, he should first prepare an image of Vajrayoginī “in whatever way, with whatever form” (as an aid to the visualization). He may then generate her meditatively within a red *dharmodayā* upon a white lotus. At the center of the lotus, Vajrayoginī appears standing upon the flayed skin of Bhairava “with the method of the falling turtle.” This seems to be a reference to her stance, as it is the pose later prescribed for the yogin himself during the midnight *bali* ritual. She is yellow in color, naked, with dishevelled hair, and (only) two eyes, which she fixes upon the sādha. Her attributes are those of Vajrayoginī, the chopper and skull bowl. She laughs the terrifying laugh of Śiva, and is “terrifying because of her extreme desire.”¹³⁹

Having visualized Vajrayoginī as if she were present before his very eyes (*sākṣād iva*), the yogin is then to worship her with transgressive *bali* offerings of yogic substances (*yogidravayam*).¹⁴⁰ The *bali* mantra is based on the mantra deity Vajrayoginī, although the following *japa* mantra is the ten-syllabled heart mantra of Vajravārāhī (*om vajravairocanīye svāhā*). The text then continues with a *bali* ritual, again given according to Vajravārāhī texts. Thus, the yogin is to stand naked upon a hilltop at midnight (GSS36, KI2IV1: *niśisamaye*), with hair flying loose and his gaze directed upward as he performs the gestures and mantric utterances that will attract the vajrayoginīs.¹⁴¹ The sādhana outlines the hand gestures (*mudrās*) and mantras, adding that, as he performs them, the yogin is to assume the “falling-turtle” pose (*kūrmapatanapādah*).¹⁴²

The final instruction is not that the sādha should dwell as the deity but that he should continue to visualize her in front of him: “He should continually visualize himself embracing Vajrayoginī. He should imagine her as if she were his wife. Then before long Vajrayoginī will empower him. Being realized, she fulfills his desired [goal]: of this there is no doubt.”¹⁴³ The Mongolian icons illustrate a form of “Tortoise-legged (*Kūrmapādi*) Vārāhī,” Phag mo kurma pā di (IWS/T 85; LC 595). The text from the *Rin ’byung brgya rtsa*, although different from our sādhana in many respects, also describes this as an embodiment of a yellow Vajrayoginī with a similar stance: “Her two legs, in the tortoise posture, trample on black Bhairava, who is lying upside down on a white lotus and sun, holding a knife and skull and wearing a tigerskin loincloth and a human skin.”¹⁴⁴ This is depicted in figure 17 and on plate 10e.

Vidyādhari Vajrayoginī

Another group of sādhanas in the *Guhyasamayāsāadhanamālā* focuses on peaceful, erotic forms of Vajrayoginī. These sādhanas abandon the terrifying, cremation-ground aspects of Vajrayoginī practice and prescribe instead beautiful, mountainous abodes. In these works, Vajrayoginī is described as a *vidyādhari*, a lovely, celestial maiden. The classical association with vidyādhari is of beauty and lovemaking; one poet, for example, paints the heavenly damsels writing love letters on birch bark.¹⁴⁵



Fig. 18. *Vidyādhari Vajrayoginī*
“*Maitrī-khecarī*.”

Mongolian woodblock print
(IWS/T 78, LC 588). Cf. plate 10b.

The first vidyādhari form appears in the *Vajrayoginī Sādhana with the Vidyādhari Method* (*Vidyādharikramavajrayoginīsādhana* GSS21) and the *Vidyādhari Method Meditation* (*Vidyādharikramabhāvanā* GSS22). Here, the yogin visualizes himself as a red goddess with her foot raised up (*ūrdhvapāda*-). She is described in one text as the “garland (*mālā*-) Vidyādhari Vajrayoginī” after the flower garland that he sees balancing on the tip of her left hand in the form of a noose. In the palm of the same hand rests the skull bowl from which she drinks, fixing her gaze upon it as she does so. In her right hand she holds a vajra (and not the chopper otherwise associated with Vajrayoginī forms). There is no skull staff, and the vidyādhari is completely naked, being void of all ornaments. She is seen with the brilliant (fiery) form of destruction at the end of the aeon.¹⁴⁶

The Vajrayoginī root mantra appears in only one text (GSS22) and is based on the tripartite mantra of Vajrayoginī, although the number and sequence of the mantra deities seem confused.¹⁴⁷

A Mongolian woodblock print illustrates this form of Vajrayoginī, clearly showing the garland in her left hand (see the line drawing in figure 18). The related color plate, however, omits the garland, and embellishes the figure with ornaments and yellow (rather than black) hair (plate 10b). The Tibetan text calls this form “Maitri’s Dākinī, Playful Mantra-holder” (*Mai tri mkha’ spyod rig pa ’dzin pa rtsen ma*), which points to an association with Maitripāda/Advayavajra found also in the Sanskrit sources (notably, the **Siddha-Āmnāya*).¹⁴⁸ This form is also illustrated to the right of the main figure in plate 9.

In keeping with the feminine mood of the sādhana, the observance that the yogin undertakes on the basis of visualizing Vidyādhārī Vajrayoginī is the “mad observance” (*unmattacaryā*). This is described briefly both in the *Bhāvanā* (GSS22), and in the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5≈SM235).¹⁴⁹ It also appears in more detail in a chapter by K. Gyatso (1999: 207–10). According to our Sanskrit sources, the mad observance begins with a period of worship (*pūjā*) that lasts for six months and (in GSS22) with the prayer that the goddess grant the fruit of mahāmudrā. During this time, Vidyādhārī Vajrayoginī is generated and worshiped within the triangular *dharmodayā* that the yogin has drawn onto the surface of a highly polished mirror using vermilion powder. Taking more of the powder, the yogin inscribes her seed-syllable *vaṃ* outside the triangle at the corners and the syllables of her mantra inside it. He also draws four counterclockwise bliss swirls at the four points (the cardinal directions) surrounding the triangle.¹⁵⁰

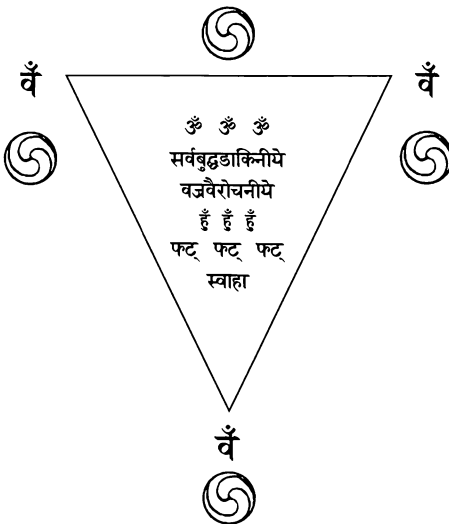


Fig. 19. *Dharmodayā*
with mantra syllables
and bliss swirls

He then makes the traditional offerings and recites the mantra. When he has finished, he takes the vermilion powder he has just used in the rite, and puts it to one side in a special container. He repeats this process at auspicious times for a period of six months, either on the eighth day of the lunar months (GSS5) or during a lunar or solar eclipse (GSS22). When the six months are up, the yogin takes his collected store of vermilion powder and places it inside the hollow stem of a *lāṅgali* (coconut) tree. According to Gyatso (*ibid.*), the *lāṅgali* is similar to bamboo (although bigger), in that the stem is also knotted, like a tube with natural blockages. In order to stopper the open end, the yogin must make a special plug that he carves on one side with a bliss swirl—he will later use this as a stencil for marking a bliss swirl on his own forehead. The yogin then takes the *lāṅgali* stem and buries it in a cremation ground, performing a further month of *bali* offerings and mantra recitation. (Gyatso describes how the yogin sits on the earth above the buried *lāṅgali* container, while an attendant stays nearby reciting the Heruka mantra to prevent interruptions.) This ends the preparation of the vermilion powder, and the yogin is now ready to set out upon the mad observance itself.

To undertake the mad observance, the yogin must remove the sacred vermilion powder from its secret burial site and use it to draw a sign upon his forehead—either a six-pointed star (GSS22) or a bliss swirl (GSS5; K. Gyatso 1999). He then wanders about as if he were mad, seeking alms in the village (GSS5) or in solitary sites. A scriptural source for the practice is found in *Samvarodayatantra* where, adopting the “crazy observance” (*vātulā caryā*), the yogin is to wander alone without companions, “like an agitated bird.”¹⁵¹ Wherever he meets a woman in a secluded place—by a deserted dwelling, an empty well, or such like—the yogin should circumambulate her in counterclockwise fashion. The aim is to discover, and propitiate, a living emanation of Vajrayoginī. He will recognize her by the fact that the bliss swirl upon his own forehead is magically transferred to hers. (Gyatso adds that to make sure, the yogin can check in his mirror to see if his own bliss swirl has indeed disappeared.)

The mad observance is based upon the principles of mahāmudrā, according to which all women are to be worshiped because all women embody the goddess, just as all men embody the god.¹⁵² Our texts claim the lineal tradition of Śabara (GSS5 Sed p. 153, K38r6≈SM235), an adept whose association with mahāmudrā is developed in the next Vidyādhari Vajrayoginī text (GSS23), and in the erotic sādhana of Guhyavajravilāsinī described below.

Flying Vidyādhari Vajrayoginī

The second vidyādhari in the *Guhyasamayāsādhanaṃālā* is a flying form of Vajrayoginī, with four three-eyed faces of different colors. She is described in the *Propitiation Ritual* (*Ārādhanaṇavidhi* GSS23) within a meditation rite (*bhāvanāvidhiḥ*). The text directs the meditator to see her with left leg in the raised-foot (*ūrdhva-pādah*) position, and the other “raised sideways” (so that both feet are in the air), her right foot positioned just below her right hand brandishing its red five-pointed vajra. As usual, she has her gaze fixed on the gleaming skull bowl that she holds in her left hand, but there is no mention of a flower garland in the form of a noose. Instead, the vidyādhari is ornamented by blossoming red *nāgakeśa* flowers (*Mesua roxburghii*). She seems to be even more erotic than the last. Her nature is feminine power (*śaktiḥ*) and innate bliss (*sahajānanda-*); her red, naked body is fresh and tender, her hair hangs loose, and she is visualized laughing a little with her body horripilating.¹⁵³ Her mantra is a variant of Vajrayoginī’s tripartite mantra.¹⁵⁴

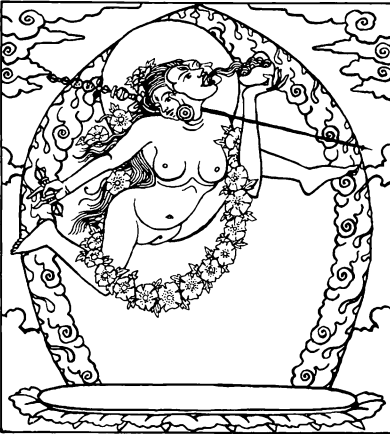


Fig. 20. *Flying Vidyādhari Vajrayoginī*.

Drawn according to the Sanskrit text by Dharmacāri Āloka.

Cf. plate 9.

*om sarvabuddhaḍākinīye
vajravarṇanīye vajravairo-
canīye huṃ huṃ huṃ
phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ ca svāhā.*

Both vidyādhari forms of Vajrayoginī (as well Guhyavajravilāsini, GSS10) inhabit a beautiful, mountainous setting. This is most fully described in the *Ārādhanaṇavidhi* (GSS23), which begins with a short hagiographical sketch

of the mountain-dwelling adept, Śābara. The text describes how Śābara had been granted a sādhana by Lokeśvara (the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara) that was guaranteed to bring about a vision of Vajrayoginī within six months. After this time, however, Śābara had still had no vision, and despite redoubling his efforts and practicing assiduously for twelve years, he failed to see her “even in a dream.” He became disheartened and was about to lose faith in the buddhas and give up completely when the goddess finally appeared to him amid the mountainous peaks:¹⁵⁵

Then, in a flash, there was suddenly a direct vision of the goddess adorned with color, arms, and so on to be described below. **[She appeared] between (madhye) the surpassingly captivating, most lovely mountains [called] Manobhaṅga (Destruction of the [Defiled] Mind) and Cittaviśrāma (Heart's Repose/Resting-place of the Mind)**; [these] had five peaks of different colors, and were adorned with gardens in which *nāgakeśara* flowers were blooming in colorful pools.

*or: *[She appeared] in the midst of the surpassingly captivating, most lovely mountains where the mind comes to rest because of the destruction of the defiled mind.*

It is not clear from this portion of text whether the yogin is to visualize a pair of mountains named Manobhaṅga and Cittaviśrāma, or whether the description is to be understood adjectivally as the mountain(s) “where the mind comes to rest (*cittaviśrāma*) because of the destruction of the [defiled]¹⁵⁶ mind (*manobhaṅga*).” Of the three other references to the mountains in the *Ārādhanavidhi* (GSS23), only one states unambiguously that there is indeed “a pair of mountains” (*parvatadvaya-*), but here there is no mention of the names Manobhaṅga and Cittaviśrāma.¹⁵⁷ The mountains are mentioned also in a few other sources. The *Guhyavajravilāsinīsādhana* (GSS10) seems to name them as a pair (though with a possible ambiguity, n. 169), and they are also described in the dual in the **Siddha-Āmnāya* (except for one occurrence in the singular), where they are located in the external world, in Dakṣiṇāpatha.¹⁵⁸

Manobhaṅga is also mentioned in the sādhana of Vajraḍākinī Vajravārāhī (GSS16), which claims the legendary authority of the *Lakṣābhidhānatānta*: “On Mount Manobhaṅga, which is the most essential [place] on earth, on

this peak [or: within this dwelling] (*tasmin kūṭe*), in a pavilion (*-maṇḍape*) that is the sole resting place of the mind (*cittaviśrāma-*) for the great-minded, [is] the terrible...leader Vajravārāhī.”¹⁵⁹ Although the verse does not mention the second mountain, Cittaviśrāma, it suggests that on the mountain peak (*kūṭam*) there is also a pavilion (*maṇḍapah/m*) that is the “resting place of the mind” (*cittaviśrāma-*). A similar kind of beautiful dwelling is also the abode of Vidyādhari Vajrayoginī (GSS21), who is to be seen “entering a jewel dwelling (*kūṭa-*) (i.e., hut) made of masses of [red flowers]—Māndārava, Aśoka, and Red Coral.”¹⁶⁰ In all these texts, there is a slight ambiguity as to whether *kūṭa* means a “peak” (*kūṭam*) or a “dwelling” (*kūṭaḥ*)—a problem that a second scribe attempts to clarify in GSS21 by inserting the gloss, “hut” (*grham*). The same verdant mountainous setting, with its fragrant, flower-strewn abode, is also found in the *Guhyavajravilāsinīsādhana*. This sādhana describes how the yogic partners are to meet in a beautiful glade or garden that is full of jewels and red flowers and resonant of love (below with n. 179). Both this sādhana and the **Siddha-Āmnāya* associate this magical setting with the adept Śābara. Indeed the mountain(s) and the delightful dwelling become Śābara’s abode, the place where he teaches the practice and the place in which a yogin may realize Vajrayoginī through sexual yoga practice with his consort.

Vajravilāsinī Vajravārāhī

Vajravilāsinī is a peaceful, compassionate form of Vajravārāhī. Her name Vilāsinī suggests “amorous playfulness” and “wanton charm,” and she is striking for her loving nature and the atmosphere of heightened sexuality that pervades her practice. The chief source in the *Guhyasamayāsādhana-mālā* is the *Praise of Vajravilāsinī* by Vibhūticandra (*Vajravilāsinīstotra* GSS43), although she also appears, with a rather different iconographical form, as “Secret Vajravilāsinī” in the highly erotic *Guhyavajravilāsinīsādhana* by Śābara (GSS10). There is a small class of goddesses, the ten *vajra-vilāsinīs*, who act as the agents of the consecration in the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5 K22v1), and perhaps Vajravilāsinī arose as a generic form of this *vilāsinī* type. Vajravilāsinī is also hailed within verses of obeisance in the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5 Sed p. 125, K14v3) and in two *stotras* to Trikāvajrayoginī by Virūpā (GSS26 and GSS27).¹⁶¹



Fig. 21. *Vajravilāsini*.

Drawn according to the Sanskrit text by Dharmacāri Āloka.

In Vibhūticandra's praise verses, Vajravilāsini is evidently a manifestation of Vajravārāhī: "O Vajravārāhī, you are the refuge of men, nāgas (= *ahi*), and gods, [merely] when they are intent on your name!"¹⁶² She is in embrace with her consort. The verses describe her engaged in lovemaking with Cakrasaṃvara, her eyes almost closed in the bliss of passion: "[You] whose lotus-like mouth is kissed by the honey-drinking [bee] who is Saṃvara, whose lotus heart is embraced by his two arms."¹⁶³

Vajravilāsini holds the usual attributes of Vajravārāhī, the skull bowl and vajra, but she disdains all other *kāpālika* accoutrements. She is adorned only with swinging earrings and a pearl necklace. Apart from the threatening gesture with which she holds the vajra, there is nothing wrathful about her, and she is addressed as one whose three eyes are red like the early sun, intent on removing the suffering of the world—to whom the supplicant appeals: "O mother, goddess, look upon me! How can you bear my unbearable grief?"¹⁶⁴ Indeed, through the power of her compassion she is reminiscent of Avalokiteśvara and Tārā, saving her devotees from the (eight) terrible dangers.¹⁶⁵

Danger from lions, elephants, fire, snakes, and thieves does not come near to one whose mind is intent on you!

Vajravilāsini's character is also intensely sensual, and Vibhūticandra invokes many classical references in praise of her beauty, such as the three folds of flesh on her belly (*trivaliḥ*, v.4), her lofty buttocks, and her firm breasts. Śaiva imagery intensifies the mood of love, as Vibhūticandra hints at the amours of Śiva, whose wife is "unable to bear the moon on his headdress"

[because of her jealous love]. Such references identify Vajravilāsini as the Buddhist counterpart of Śiva's consort in her amorous aspect.¹⁶⁶

Figure 21 shows Vajravilāsini as the (self-visualized) main deity with her two-armed consort. The praise verses do not indicate directly whether she is seated or standing, but we depict a seated figure because of her similarity with Guhyavajravilāsini, and also depict her as the main deity, that is, with the female form drawn facing the viewer (cf. fig. 6).

Guhyavajravilāsini

Another highly erotic form of Vajravilāsini appears in the *Secret Vajravilāsini Sādhana*, the *Guhyavajravilāsiniśādhana* by Śabara (GSS10); a verse-by-verse summary is given in the appendix. Although the text refers to her mainly as Vajravilāsini, I shall use the name Guhyavajravilāsini (Secret Vajravilāsini) after the title of the sādhana and after its opening salutation, in order to distinguish her from the goddess Vajravilāsini described previously.¹⁶⁷



Fig. 22. *Guhyavajravilāsini*.
Drawn according to the Sanskrit
text by Dharmacāri Āloka.

The practice of Guhyavajravilāsini is related to that of Vidyādhari Vajrayoginī in a number of ways. The teacher for both is the mountain-dwelling adept, Śabara (presumably a member of the wild mountain *śabara* tribe):¹⁶⁸

I, Śabara, the [ignorant] mountain-dweller who has no learning at all

shall speak a few words (lit., syllables) through the power of Lokanātha.

Both practices are also located in the mountainous setting of Manovibhaṅga and Cittaviśrāma, here named as the place where Śābara first learned the sādhana of Guhyavajravilāsinī from his teacher.¹⁶⁹

(v. 4) Having set foot on Manobhaṅga [and] on the delightful mountain [called] Cittaviśrāma, abundant with all sorts of jewels, fragrant with the odor of musk deer,

(v. 5) in that very lovely place where highly fragrant flowers grow (*-āśraye*), where the beautiful (*sundara*-?) mango trees glisten [and] the cuckoos coo low,

(v. 6) in a glade massed full of red[-flowering] *asoka* trees, on the lunar day of the “Aśoka-eighth,”¹⁷⁰ this [goddess] Vilāsinī was taught me by the teacher named Karuṇa.

Śābara’s association with the practice is also attested in the **Siddha-Āmnāya* within a hagiography of the tantric scholar Advayavajra (apparently an emanation of Nāgārjuna). In this text, we find several themes familiar from the *Guhyasamayasāadhanamālā* texts. Advayavajra (at this point bearing the ordained name Maitrīgupta) is prompted by a voice in a dream to leave his monastery and to set out, first for Khasarpaṇa, and then for Manobhaṅga and Cittaviśrāma in Dakṣiṇāpatha—the place where he will find the adept who will be his preceptor, Śābareśvara. The monk has some trouble locating the mountains, and it is only after a period of Tārā worship and the intervention of Tārā herself that he leaves Uḍra (Oḍḍiyāna) and travels for fifteen days to the northwest, reaching the (two) mountains the following day.¹⁷¹ Despite making maṇḍalas daily on the mountain (only a single mountain is mentioned) and fasting for ten days in meditation upon a rock, he fails to achieve a vision of Vajrayoginī, managing only to see her in a dream. In despair on the tenth day, he is about to cut off his own head when Śābara appears before him, consecrates him, and gives him the new name, Advayavajra.¹⁷² Advayavajra’s practice of Vajrayoginī is not immediately successful. His preceptor orders him to demonstrate how all appearances—even the Buddhist precept of nonviolence—are illusory (*prāṇātīpātāmāyā*) by chopping off the head of his companion, Sāgara, and then restoring it. Advayavajra has no problem with the first half of the task, but fails dismally in the second. Perhaps as a measure of his disappointment in his pupil,

Śabara immediately orders Advayavajra to return to his teaching post at the university; but Advayavajra, who is now rather unconfident about his credentials, demurs. Śabara, however, reassures him, declaring that the practice of Vajrayoginī will always bear fruit in the end.

A tale with some similarities is recounted by Tāranātha in his *History* (pp. 191–95), perhaps suggesting that this story is an adaptation of the mythology that surrounds Avalokiteśvara. Tāranātha's account describes the journey of the layman Śāntivarman, a contemporary of the pretantric Dignāga. In response to a dream, the king sends the upāsaka to seek the residence of Avalokiteśvara on Potala mountain, and to request his aid in countering famine and epidemic in Jambudvīpa. Śāntivarman first reaches the temple of śrī-Dhānyakaṭaka on the island of *Dhanaśrī, after which he travels first underground and then above ground to reach Potala. After eventually meeting the bodhisattva, Śāntivarman returns by himself, and while he is resting on the way, Avalokiteśvara joins him, coming "through the sky" to the place that henceforth becomes known as *Khasarpaṇa ("Sky-going"). Later, Śāntivarman makes two further visits to Potala, one of them at the behest of monks at Vārāṇasī to solve a textual problem in their scriptures.

Śāntivarman's and Advayavajra's stories share several features. Both undertake their journeys as a result of a dream, and both journeys are to mountainous regions accessible only through magical means. Both travelers fail at first to find the mountain and must engage in a period of meditation before meeting the deity/adept, but both finally receive a "direct vision" on the mountain. Both travelers pass through śrī-Dhānyakaṭaka and Khasarpaṇa, and finally, both are concerned to further the academic understanding of the scriptures. The earlier story may have come to inform the Advayavajra legend through the association of Śabara with Avalokiteśvara. Śabara's chosen deity (*iṣṭadevatā*) is the eleven-headed, thousand-armed form of Avalokiteśvara called Mahākaruṇika (*Blue Annals* p. 1044; Dowman 1985: 62). In the *Guhyavajravilāsinīsādhana* (GSS10), Śabara is taught by his teacher Karuṇa to visualize himself as Padmanarteśvara, a form of the bodhisattva Lokeśvara/Lokanātha (Avalokiteśvara), while the *Ārāadhanavidhi* (GSS23) is said to have to be taught by Lokeśvara in Śabara's form.¹⁷³ Śabara's iconography also echoes that of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. He wears a deerskin, carries a bow and arrow, and resides on a mountain. Both fulfill their vow by remaining forever in the world for the sake of sentient beings.

In addition to her shared lineage and location, Guhyavajravilāsinī bears iconographical resemblances to Vidyādhārī Vajrayoginī, as well as to

Vajravilāsinī. The first descriptions appear in the preparations to the sādhana, in which the partners are directed to wash and adorn themselves and, after making love, position themselves in the posture of the deities ready for the preliminary meditations and the self-generation (these elaborate prescriptions are summarized in the appendix). After evoking the deities through a series of awakenings consonant with practice of sexual yoga (K47v1 ff, vv. 38–45), the yogin is ready to visualize his consort as Guhyavajravilāsinī. He sees her as bright red, or perhaps yellow, in color, “clad [only] in her own loveliness.” She is thus naked, without any ornament except the pearl necklace, an *asoka* flower behind her ear, and an added streak of red lac across her forehead.¹⁷⁴ In her right hand she holds aloft a vajra chopper in a graceful arc; in her left she holds a noose. She is dizzy with the intoxication of love (*lolā-*), and her girdle swings to and fro with the movements of her love-play (*lilāndolitamekhalā-*). She is visualized making love to her consort in the following posture: “[seated] with her sex placed on the elevation of Padmanarta’s “banner” (i.e., penis), in the squatting (*utkuṭa*) posture,¹⁷⁵ giving seductive smiles with flirtatious glances... lovely with [her] flowing sex because of the touches of [his] throbbing penis.”¹⁷⁶

The yogin, her consort, does not visualize himself as Cakrasaṃvara but as Padmanarta; that is, as Padmanarteśvara, “Lord of the Dance (*nartak*) in the Lotus [Family],” the esoteric reflex of Avalokiteśvara. His self-visualization (K48r4, vv. 54–63) is given in terms as erotic and explicit as that of the goddess. Padmanarteśvara is said to embody the beauties of a sixteen-year-old youth; he is a vibrant red and, like his consort, is adorned only with an *asoka* flower behind the ear, a streak (of gold) across his forehead (K48r6, v. 56c), and a dangling pearl necklace. His attributes are a yellow lotus in the left hand and a vajra in the right. His eyes are half closed in ecstatic pleasure, as he reclines slightly on his back, his lower left leg somewhat contracted, and his right leg stretched out with his consort placed between them.¹⁷⁷ He visualizes himself “causing Vilāsinī to dance with his penis (*guhyavajreṇa*), which is very much in evidence.”¹⁷⁸ And he embraces her again and again, murmuring (*kūjita*) with pleasure, intensely passionate, and entirely absorbed in the “innate” (*sahaja-*) bliss.

The deities are shown in figure 22, in which we attempt to depict this anatomically challenging pose. We follow the conventions of the Mongolian icons in seating the deities upon a lotus, although none is prescribed in our text. Since the yogin is to place himself upon a “comfortable seat” (K472: *sukhāsanasamāsina-*), we show them seated upon a deerskin (cf.

IWS/T 88, LC 598). According to the text, the practice and the self-visualization take place “on a mountain or some such place, in a cave, in a place [full] of fragrant flowers, in a deserted dwelling, or if one wishes, in a garden or an empty wood.”¹⁷⁹

The *Guhyavajravilāsinīsādhana* is unusual in the *Guhyasamayāsādhana-mālā* collection in that the sādha visualizes himself as the male deity. But Vajravilāsinī is evidently the central deity. She is the first to be described as a result of the generation from the consort’s sex/*dharmodayā*, and the mantra concealed within the extraction of the mantra (*mantroddhārah*) belongs to her and not to the god. The female consort is also given a degree of independence from her partner in the worship that follows the consecration (K49r1–49v2, vv. 68–79). For example, each partner worships the other’s body with offerings of flowers, fruit, and incense (K49r4), gives the other betel nut, and recites loving verses, exchanging “sweet nothings.”¹⁸⁰ Furthermore, after the erotic rituals have been performed, the text describes how the female consort may perform the practice upon the male partner (K51v3, vv. 119–20). The sādha’s prescriptions for the behavior of the consort even continue in a section that covers the contingency of no consort being available, when the text describes a method of masturbation for each partner separately, combined with the visualization of the full sexual act.¹⁸¹

Sanderson (1999: personal communication) has pointed out that the iconographic and mantric form of Guhyavajravilāsinī is close to that of the Śaiva goddess of the Śrīvidyā cult, Lalitā (“Playful”)–Tripurasundarī (“Beautiful Goddess of the Three Worlds”). Tripurasundarī (also called Kāmeśvarī, “Lady of Love”) is depicted in the main scripture of the cult as red, with red garments, garlanded with red flowers, one-faced and four-armed, carrying a noose, hook, a bow and five arrows (the five arrows of the love god), and seated above lower gods on the body of white Sadāśiva.¹⁸² Guhyavajravilāsinī is similar to the Śaiva goddess in that she holds a noose, and like her, is red in color, of unparalleled beauty, and seductive by nature. Their names too are similar, as Tripurasundarī’s alternative appellation is “Lalitā,” which like “Vilāsinī” is suggestive of the sport of love. Most telling of Tripurasundarī’s influence, however, is Guhyavajravilāsinī’s mantra supplied in the mantra extraction (*mantroddhārah*, GSS10 K52r4, vv. 129–32). This reveals a distinctive five-syllabled mantra (*eṃ ṇlīm riṃ rūṇ blīm*), the syllables of which are a calque upon the five “arrow” syllables of the Śaiva goddess, as taught in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* (Sanderson *ibid.*).¹⁸³

The male consorts in the two traditions are also similar in that both are

“lords of love,” masters, or gods (*īśvara-*) of sexual pleasure (*kāmaḥ, surataḥ*). Tripurasundarī perches upon Kāmeśvara’s left thigh, while Vajravilāsinī makes love with Padmanarteśvara: “The practitioner is to visualize himself in this way as Padmanarteśvara, the lord of sexual pleasure, as though he were great bliss itself made manifest.”¹⁸⁴ As a form of Avalokiteśvara, Padmanarteśvara’s connection with the compassionate Vajravilāsinī goddesses seems particularly appropriate, and this is borne out on the mythical level by Śabara’s association with the practice, discussed earlier. In drawing upon the form of Padmanarteśvara in this way, Sanderson has suggested that the *Guhyasamayasādhanaṃālā* sādhanā may be using material from the lesser-known parts of the Buddhist tradition in order to accommodate new Śaiva-based elements within the Buddhist tradition. The name “Padmanarteśvara” itself is, of course, immediately reminiscent of Śiva as “Lord of the Dance,” Naṭarāja.¹⁸⁵

The soteriological goal of the practice is mahāmudrā. This is described here as one of the magical powers (siddhis) attainable by realizing Guhyajravilāsinī: “Having obtained [the siddhis of] subjugation and bringing near, paralyzing, slaying, and driving forth, the eye ointment [for invisibility], the preparation of the pill (*gudikāsiddhiḥ*), and many others, (v. 9) and [also] the state of mahāmudrā, I verbally entreated [Vajravilāsinī with the following words]: ‘When a practitioner visualizes you according to this method, may you grant him the fruit of that [practice]!’”¹⁸⁶

In the frame verses at the end of the sādhanā, the sādhanaka is assured that all female beings, celestial and human, will become his servants, and that after twelve years of constant practice, he will progress to mahāmudrā and become a siddha. In a similar vein, another mahāmudrā text ends with the guarantee that “he will wander about surrounded by women, like a lord of elephants [in rut] surrounded by bees.”¹⁸⁷ According to the methodology of mahāmudrā, women are necessary to the sādhanaka because they are his chief soteriological tool. In the words of the guru at the time of initiation, “She is an excellent ship that serves to cross over the water of the ocean of passion.”¹⁸⁸ Just as a great herbal medicine that is delicious to the taste strikes down an illness, so the “bliss of wisdom and means” (the union of female and male) “easily destroys the defilements.”¹⁸⁹ To this end, no effort is eschewed that will heighten sensual experience. Physical beauty, fragrance, and sweet words are all employed. As the practices are enjoined at night (four times a month on the two fourteenth-nights and eighth-nights, K44v6, v. 26), the yogin is instructed to use a lamp so that everything is illuminated, particularly the details of the body.¹⁹⁰ The violent passion that accompanies sexual

rapture in classical Indian eroticology is put aside, and the couple are advised not to wound each other with their nails, lest they regret it later.¹⁹¹

Although the practitioners do everything possible to enhance the sexual impulse, it is within a controlled context. The yogin is to make love to his consort, “only for as long as his mind is not stirred up.”¹⁹² An indirect comment on his skill in this respect is found in the visualization of the couple’s consecration, which is granted at the hands of celestial beings including the two famous *apsarases*, Rambhā and Tilottamā. These nymphs often appear in Purāṇic myths in order to distract advanced sages from their development of *tapas* when it is set to become a threat to the power of the gods. Their involvement in the consecration of a Buddhist yogin is a telling inversion of the Indian classical tradition. Its object is to prove that the *sādhaka* is able to manipulate the nymphs for his own ends rather than the other way around, and thus to demonstrate that his sexual love is under his command.¹⁹³

The yogin’s control over his mundane sexuality is achieved by one-pointed concentration upon the goal of his practice, *sahaja* bliss: “The mind is fickle because of excessive movement; because it is motionless (*niścālanāt*) [it becomes] the means (*mukham*) of enlightenment. His mind set on [the bliss of] *sahaja* (*sahajāśaktacetasaḥ*), he should make the goddess tremble in sexual play.”¹⁹⁴ In the Hevajra system followed by our author, *sahaja* bliss is understood to be the final stage in a series of four “blisses” or “joys” (*ānandas*). Each bliss arises at a particular “moment” (*kṣaṇaḥ*), the final, highest bliss occurring at the moment said to be free of both passion and nonpassion (HT2.3.8: *vilakṣaṇam*).¹⁹⁵ The ultimate, *sahaja* bliss is described here as that final moment of intensity when he “excites the goddess,” but retains his own semen:¹⁹⁶

(v. 90) The god and goddess should perform [the sexual movements of] churning and swinging (*manthānāṇḍolanam*)¹⁹⁷ according to their own mudrā (*svamudrā*). But one should realize that *sahaja* bliss has arisen in the moment of *vilakṣaṇa*. (v. 91) With his penis he should excite the goddess, and he should not emit his semen. If he emits his semen, how can there be great bliss? (v. 92) He should churn the ocean of the vagina through his desire for the ambrosia of *sahaja*, but in such a way that the poison (*kālakūṭam*) of passionlessness does not arise.

In these verses, the classical metaphor of “churning the ocean” is cleverly employed to place especial emphasis on the importance of passion.

Whereas the devas and asuras churned the ocean of milk to produce both the nectar of immortality and mortal poison (*kālakūṭam*), in contrast, the churning of sexual yoga should avoid the poison (passionlessness) and produce only nectar (*sahaja* bliss). In an inversion of traditional Buddhist values, tantric sexual yoga is based on the premise that there can be “no greater sin than passionlessness”: “In short, there is no place for passionlessness in a buddha.”¹⁹⁸

The erotic practices of the *Guhyavajravilāsinīsādhana* describe the process whereby *sahaja* bliss is transmuted into the soteriological goal of mahāmudrā. The necessary basis of the yogin’s erotic experience—as of all his experience—must be that of emptiness. This is a subject treated only cursorily here, however.¹⁹⁹ Instead, the recurring metaphor is of fusion and its power to induce the experience of nonduality. Thus, during the first of the “nine kinds of sexual play” (*navapuṣpī* vv. 80–92), the yogin-deity is said to “penetrate the body of his lover from head to toe.”²⁰⁰ Once a classical love simile, the fusion referred to in this context is repeatedly shown to extend beyond the lovers’ bodies to the macrocosm. The rays from the copulating goddess, or from her mantra, are of such intensity that they melt the three worlds into a single essence of blood, in the center of which the divine couple is visualized making love.²⁰¹

The sexual fusion is related to the yogic fusion of winds and drops. For example, during the “pendulum recitation” (*dolājāpah*, K50V5, vv. 102–09) the couple is in union, each imagining the five blazing syllables of Vilāsinī’s mantra circulating through their bodies. The syllables start on the sex of the female consort (*vidyā*), enter the male via his penis, exit through his nostril, enter the *vidyā* via her nostril, and again pass into her sex. The mantra is recited up to five hundred times as it revolves through their united bodies, resulting in the fusion of *nāda* and drop (*binduḥ*) within the internal bodily channels. This is followed by a repeated “mutual sucking” of the male and female sex.²⁰² At the end of the pendulum recitation, the practitioner imagines the “fusion of their identities” (*ātmamelakah*, K51R3, vv. 110–14), and the three worlds are visualized whirling around like a wheel in the liquid form of purified gold “blazing with the flavor of sameness,” and cutting off the defilements of the world down to the most subtle.²⁰³ Only then does it become extinguished and dissolve like a rainbow into the ocean of space, upon which space itself dissolves into *sahaja*, “the ocean of awakening that brings great success.”²⁰⁴ The text describing the yogic rituals ends with a Madhyamaka-type analysis of emptiness, in which reality is compared to dream experience because of its dependence upon causes (K51V1,

vv. 115–18). The experience of fusion, it suggests, is the correlative of the wisdom of sameness: for the yogin who is concentrated on this fact [of non-duality], and “steady in his continual practice of going to sameness,” will become a siddha and have the great power of mahāmudrā.²⁰⁵

Trikāyavajrayoginī (Chinnamastā)

The last manifestation of Vajrayoginī to be discussed here is Trikāyavajrayoginī, “triple-bodied Vajrayoginī.” She is also known as Chinnamastā, or Chinnamuṇḍā—“She Whose Head Is Severed”—because she is visualized holding her own severed head in her hand. In our texts, however, the emphasis is not so much upon her severed head as upon her threefold nature, that is, Vajrayoginī who manifests as three: the central deity plus two attendants named after the components of the tripartite Vajrayoginī mantra, Vajravairocanī (right) and Vajravarṇanī (left); the central figure as a single deity is known as Sarvabuddhaḍākinī (GSS27) or Śribuddhaḍākinī (GSS24). Following Virūpa’s nomenclature, I shall therefore refer to this triple-bodied manifestation of Vajrayoginī as Trikāyavajrayoginī rather than Chinnamastā.²⁰⁶ (See fig. 23 and plate 9.)



Fig. 23. *Trikāyavajrayoginī*.
Drawn according to the Sanskrit
text by Dharmacāri Āloka.

*oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākinīye oṃ
vajravarṇanīye oṃ vajravairocanīye
hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ
phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā*

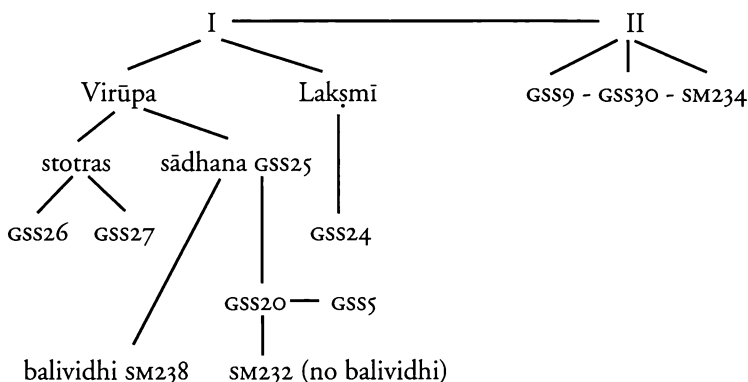
<i>Right</i>	<i>Center</i>	<i>Left</i>
Vajravairocanī yellow	Sarvabuddhaḍākinī yellow	Vajravarṇanī red
rasanā	avadhūti	lalanā

The *Guhyasamayasādhanaṃālā* contains a number of texts that describe Trikāyavajrayoginī. These fall into two groups:

1. The first group (I) comprises the *Lakṣmīsādhana* (GSS24), perhaps by Lakṣmī (see the appendix), the *Sādhana of Triple-Bodied Vajrayoginī* (*Trikāyavajrayoginīsādhana* GSS25), and two praise works (*stotras* GSS26 and GSS27) by Lakṣmī's pupil, Virūpa. This group also includes two other texts that are closely related to Virūpa's sādhana, the *Vajrayoginīsādhana* (GSS20≈SM232)²⁰⁷ and a portion of the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5 Sed p. 151, K36r5).
2. The second group (II) is centered on a text also called the *Vajrayoginīsādhana*, which appears in three nearly identical versions (GSS9≈GSS30≈SM234). Here the iconographical material is so scant that its relationship with Trikāyavajrayoginī is chiefly indicated by the form and arrangement of the offering mantras.

Table 6.

Trikāyavajrayoginī texts in Guhyasamayasādhanaṃālā and Sādhanaṃālā



According to the texts in group I, the self-generation of Trikāyavajrayoginī begins at the yogin's navel with the visualization of a blossoming white (or red, GSS24) lotus topped with a red sun disk produced from *raṃ*. Upon this, the yogin visualizes a red *dharmodayā* produced from the syllable *hrīm*, within which Vajrayoginī is generated, also from the syllable *hrīm*.

The second group of texts prescribes the generation of the deity at the heart upon a multicolored lotus but, as in the first group, within a vibrantly red *dharmodayā* and as a transformation of *hrīm*. There are significant differences between the two sets of sources in the way the central form of Vajrayoginī is then to be visualized. In group I, the texts are economical and focus their attention mainly on her stance. She is described as yellow in color and naked. Whether she should be seen with bone ornaments is therefore ambiguous; the (slightly different) text of GSS24 does prescribe them (which we follow in figure 23). Her legs are in the warrior (*ālīḍhaḥ*) stance (GSS24), which Virūpa's text does not name but describes, "with her right leg stretched out, and the left foot contracted" (GSS25, cf. GSS20, GSS5); in his *stotras*, however, he states that she is in the reverse warrior (*pratyālīḍhaḥ*) stance. Most strikingly, the goddess is visualized holding "her own head, chopped off with her own knife by herself." The left arm holding the head is stretched up to her left, while her right arm holding the chopper points down diagonally in line with her outstretched right leg. From the goddess's decapitated torso, three streams of blood are seen gushing up into the air. The first spurts out of the central bodily channel, *avadhūtī*, and flows directly into the mouth of the severed head in her outstretched hand. Blood from the channel on the left (*lalanā*) and the channel on the right (*rasanā*) also streams out and enters the mouths of the two yoginīs at her sides.²⁰⁸

The attendant yoginīs are named as Vajravarṇanī to the left side of the central figure and Vajravairocanī to the right. Vajravarṇanī is a dark color, probably blue (GSS25 etc.: *śyāmāvarṇāṃ*), or red (GSS24: *raktavarṇāṃ*), and Vajravairocanī is yellow. Each steps toward the central goddess, so that Vajravarṇanī to the left stands in the *pratyālīḍha* stance, and Vajravairocanī to the right stands in the *ālīḍha* stance. Their attributes are the classic skull bowl and chopper of Vajrayoginī, which they hold so that the chopper is on the outside, while the skull bowl is on the inside closest to the central figure. The attendant goddesses form mirror images of each other; they are naked with loose hair, and "between them, in space," the yogin is to visualize "a very terrifying cremation ground" (since the text is truncated, in figure 23 we depict them wearing the bone ornaments, despite no prescriptions for this).²⁰⁹ All three deities are depicted in the IWS, according to the *Rin 'byung brgya rtsa*, in which Vajravarṇanī is said to be green.²¹⁰

In the second group of sources (GSS9≈SM234≈GSS30), there is no mention at all of a severed head or of any other distinguishing feature. The fact that the goddess is a form of Trikāyavajrayoginī can only be inferred from

the presence of the two attendant goddesses by her side and by the mantras that follow. Her generation is described, however, beginning at the heart from a multicolored *paṃ* that transforms into a multicolored lotus and culminating in the goddess Vajrayoginī produced from a red *hrīm* and seen having the color “dark gold” (*kanakaśyāmāṃ*)—that is, red in color rather than yellow.²¹¹

The ritual component of the practice is a pūjā. In both groups of sources, the worship involves offerings to an external maṇḍala accompanied by an unusual sequence of offering mantras. The first sources relate how the yogin is to draw a square maṇḍala upon the ground and then generate the goddess through a sequence that mirrors the awakenings. Thus, a sun disk (a circle) is drawn inside the square, and a *dharmodayā* triangle is drawn on top of the circle with the syllable *hrīm* within. The sādḥaka may then worship either the seed-syllable or the iconographical form of the goddess, which he produces from the seed-syllable “placing [her] down” (*āropya*) in the center of the triangle.²¹² Having emanated the three goddess inside the *dharmodayā*, he is then to make offerings.

The offerings proceed with the recitation of offering mantras. These form three sets, which are listed almost identically in all our sources, group I and group II (see table 7). The mantras for the shorter sādhanas (group II) include the color of the goddess to whom the offering is made, as well as the vocative mantric element *vajrapuṣpe*—“O Vajra Flower!”—suggesting that the mantras are to be recited while offering a flower.²¹³ Other works prescribe either a fuller worship with traditional offerings or just with guest water.²¹⁴ Our sources also state where on the maṇḍala the offering is to be made; that is, to the central goddess, or to the yoginī on her left and right, so that in the course of the worship, all three goddesses are honored. (The allocations in group II, however, seem problematic.²¹⁵) The worship ends with the final recitation of the *japa* (“utterance”) mantra, which is the tripartite root mantra of Vajrayoginī.²¹⁶

The object of the first set of mantras is to worship the triple nature of Trikāvajrayoginī. The set opens with the tripartite *japa* mantra, which praises Trikāvajrayoginī as three deities in one. Individual offerings are then made to her in her three aspects, namely, to the central deity as Sarva-buddhaḍākinī, to the dark lefthand deity Varṇanī, and to the yellow right-hand deity Vairocanī. Having recited all three sets of offering mantras, the yogin may then make a final offering to Trikāvajrayoginī (in GSS25 and in group II), which seems to be another all-embracing mantra to her as three-in-one. In this worship, the goddesses are externalizations of the

Table 7. *Trikāyavajrayoginī offering mantras*

	Offering Mantras Group I ⁱ	Offering Mantras Group II ⁱⁱ
1st set	<p>In the center of the <i>dharmodayā</i>: <i>japa mantra</i>ⁱⁱⁱ</p> <hr/> <p>Center: <i>om sarvabuddhaḍākinīye hūṃ (phaṭ) svāhā</i></p> <hr/> <p>On the left: <i>om vajravarnānīye hūṃ (phaṭ) svāhā</i></p> <hr/> <p>On the right: <i>om vajravairocanīye hūṃ (phaṭ) svāhā</i></p> <hr/>	<p>In the center: <i>om sarvabuddhaḍākinīye vajrapuṣpe svāhā</i></p> <hr/> <p>In front: <i>om (sarva?)buddhaḍākinī yellow-colored vajrapuṣpe svāhā</i></p> <hr/> <p>†On the right/south†: <i>om vajravarnānī dark-colored vajrapuṣpe svāhā</i></p> <hr/> <p>†Behind/west†: <i>om vajravairocanī white-colored vajrapuṣpe svāhā</i></p> <hr/>
2nd set	<p>[Center] <i>om oḍḍiyāna vajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā</i></p> <hr/> <p>[Left] <i>om pūrṇagiri vajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā</i></p> <hr/> <p>[Right] <i>om kāmākhyā vajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā</i></p> <hr/> <p>Again in the center: <i>om śrihaṭṭa vajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā</i></p> <hr/>	<p><i>om dharmakāyavajrapuṣpe svāhā</i></p> <hr/> <p><i>om sambhogakāyavajrapuṣpe svāhā</i></p> <hr/> <p><i>om nirmāṇakāyavajrapuṣpe svāhā</i></p> <hr/> <p>In the center: <i>om mahāsukhavajrapuṣpe svāhā</i></p> <hr/>
3rd set	<p>[Center] <i>om dharmakāya vajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā</i></p> <hr/> <p>[Left] <i>om sambhogakāya vajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā</i></p> <hr/> <p>[Right] <i>om nirmāṇakāya vajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā</i></p> <hr/> <p>Again in the center: <i>om mahāsukhakāya vajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā</i></p> <hr/> <p>(GSS25 only) Again in the center: <i>om namaḥ sarvagurubuddhabodhisattvebhyo vajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā</i></p> <hr/> <p>[Japa mantra]: <i>om namaḥ sarvabuddhaḍākinī om namaḥ sarvavajravarnānī om namaḥ brīm sarvavairocanī hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā</i></p> <hr/>	<p><i>om oḍḍiānavajrapuṣpe svāhā</i></p> <hr/> <p><i>om pūrṇagirivajrapuṣpe svāhā</i></p> <hr/> <p><i>om kāmārūpavajrapuṣpe svāhā</i></p> <hr/> <p>In the center: <i>om śrihaṭṭavajrapuṣpe svāhā</i></p> <hr/> <p>Again in the center: <i>om namaḥ sarvabuddha-bodhisattvavajrapuṣpe svāhā</i></p> <hr/> <p>[Japa mantra]: <i>om sarvabuddhaḍākinīye om vajravarnānīye om vajravairocanīye hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā</i></p> <hr/>

NOTES TO TABLE 7

- i E.g., GSS25 (K92r3) (my numbering): (1) *tatra dharmodayāmadhye* “*om sarvabuddha-dākinīye*” *ityādīmantreṇa prathamam arcayet. tad anu* “*om sarvabuddhadākinī*” *hūṃ phaṭ svāhā*” *ity anenārgḥo deyaḥ, vāme* “*om vajravārṇanīye hūṃ phaṭ svāhā*” *dakṣiṇe* “*om vajravairocanīye hūṃ phaṭ svāhā*” *ity arcayet.* (2) “*om oddīyāna vajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā,*” “*om pūrṇagiri vajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā,*” “*om kāmākhyā vajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā,*” *punar madhye* “*om śrihaṭṭa vajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā.*” (3) “*om dharmakāyā vajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā,*” “*om sambhogakāyā vajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā,*” “*om nirmāṇakāyā vajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā,*” *punar madhye* “*om mahāsukhakāyā vajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā.*” [Texts diverge. GSS25 continues] *punar madhye* “*om namaḥ sarvagurubuddhabodhisattvebhyo vajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā.*” *dhyānāt khinno mantram jayet, tatrāyaṃ mantram,* “*om sarvabuddhadākinīye svāhā,*” “*om sarvabuddhadākinīye om vajravārṇanīye om vajravairocanīye hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā.*”
- *phaṭ*] GSS25 only • *vāme*] GSS25, GSS5; *paścād vāmaparśve* GSS20, *tatas tasyaiva tadvāmaparśve ca* GSS24 • *vajrapuṣpe*] GSS25, om. GSS20, GSS24, GSS5 (also in the following mantras) • *pūrṇagiri*] GSS20, GSS5; *pūrṇagiri* GSS25, GSS24 • *kāmākhyā*] in various mss. it appears as *kāmākhyā* and *kāmarūpa* • *śrihaṭṭa*] GSS25, GSS20, GSS24; *śrihaṭṭa* GSS5 •
- The mantras for the second and third sets of offerings are given in full only in GSS25 (K92r3). In GSS24 (90v3), GSS20 (84v6), and GSS5 (K36v6) the mantras are given in abbreviated form, e.g., GSS5: *om* <oddīyāna>^(mg2) *pūrṇagirikāmākhyāśrihaṭṭa* <dharma>^(mg2) *sambhoganirmāṇamahāsukhakāyākhyānām pratyekaṃ caturthyantam nāma vidarbhya omkāradīsvāhāntena pūjayitvā pūrvavat.* This *japa* mantra differs slightly in the different texts for groups I and II.
- ii In group II (GSS9 K45r.2, GSS30 K102r3, SM234 p. 455), the three sets of mantras are as follows (my punctuation and numbering): (1) *om sarvabuddhadākinīye vajrapuṣpe* <hūṃ>(SM234) *svāhā, madhye. agrataḥ om sarvabuddhadākinī pītavarṇā vajrapuṣpe svāhā. dakṣiṇe om vajravārṇanī śyāmavarṇā vajrapuṣpe svāhā. paścime om vajravairocanī gauravarṇā vajrapuṣpe svāhā.* (2) *om dharmakāyavajrapuṣpe svāhā. om sambhogakāyavajrapuṣpe svāhā. om nirmāṇakāyavajrapuṣpe svāhā. madhye om mahāsukhavajrapuṣpe svāhā.* (3) *om oddīyānavajrapuṣpe svāhā. om pūrṇagirivajrapuṣpe svāhā. om kāmarūpavajrapuṣpe svāhā. madhye om śrihaṭṭavajrapuṣpe svāhā. punar madhye om namaḥ sarvabuddhabodhisattvavajrapuṣpe svāhā. om namaḥ sarvabuddhadākinī om namaḥ sarvavajravārṇanī om namaḥ hrīm sarvavairocanī hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā.*
- (1) • *varṇanī*] GSS30, SM234; *varṇana* GSS9 • *agrataḥ om sarvabuddha*°] GSS9; *agrataḥ om buddha*° GSS30, SM234 • *vajravārṇanī*] GSS30, SM234; *vajravārṇana* GSS9 • *om vajravairocanī gauravarṇā*] SM234; *gauravarṇā om vajravairocanī* GSS9, GSS30 • (3) *sarvavairocanī*] SM234; *sarvavairocanīye* GSS9, GSS30
- iii This is omitted in GSS24, which begins with the offering mantras to Sarvabuddhadākinī in the center. In GSS25, GSS20, and GSS5 it appears in shorthand with *iti* (*sarvabuddhadākinīye ityādīmantreṇa*), which can only refer back to the *japa* mantra given after the visualization in GSS25 and GSS5. In GSS20 the *japa* mantra is omitted after the visualization (it appears instead at the end), and thus there is no referent for *iti* in this sādhana.

three central yogic channels or veins in the body, and each represents the channel from which she drinks the blood. In the *Trikāyavajrayoginīstotra* (GSS27), Vajrayoginī is said to be established within each channel in turn, and to manifest in each with a particular color²¹⁷ and a particular iconography.²¹⁸

(v. 2cd) In the central portion of this [*dharmodayā*-triangle] is the syllable *hrīm*, which is described as yellow in color. (v. 3) [Trikāyavajrayoginī] arises from it and is [also] yellow. She is by nature (*svayaṃ*) situated in the *avadhūti*, but in *lalanā* she is very dark, and in *rasanā* she has a white [color]. (v. 4) In the middle she is in the *pratyālīḍha* stance, naked, and charming in [her] yellow [color]. [Thus] the goddess Trikāyavajrayoginī is established in the three channels. (v. 5) This [goddess] as a single [goddess] is called Sarvabuddhaḍākinī.

Vajrayoginī's threefold nature is also extolled in the other *Trikāyavajrayoginīstotra* (GSS26) in which it becomes the central motif. Thus, she inhabits sky, earth, and the underworld, and makes the triple world tremble (v. 4); she is without dissolution or arising but is the agent of both (v. 7). The unification of her threefold nature into a single goddess represents the yogic goal of great bliss, the result of the conjunction of winds in the central channel: "Through the conjunction of *lalanā* and *rasanā*, she is *avadhūti*, great bliss."²¹⁹ This gives rise to a fourth category, namely, the unified, transcendent aspect of the threefold system. For example, Vajrayoginī has the dot (*binduḥ*), the subtle sound (*nādaḥ*), and the moon segment (*kalā*), (v. 5a) and yet she passes beyond them (GSS26 K93v1, v. 6a: *bindunādakalātītā*). The *stotra* goes on to identify Vajrayoginī with the four moments and blisses of the Hevajra system (v. 9cd) and the four bodies of the Buddha (v. 5cd).²²⁰ In the *sādhana*s, this fourth, transcendent aspect is represented by the unilateral mantra offering to the complete maṇḍala, the goddess unified as "one-in-three."

The second set of mantra offerings includes the name of four sites: Oḍḍiyāna, Pūrṇagiri, Kāmākhyā (= Kāmarūpa), and Śrīhaṭṭa (Syllhet in modern Bangladesh). This is reminiscent of the body maṇḍala, in which the Cakrasaṃvara/Vajravārāhī maṇḍala is understood to comprise twenty-four sites (*pīṭhas*) within the three worlds (ch. 3). Of those twenty-four sites, however, only Oḍḍiyāna appears in the maṇḍala of Trikāyavajrayoginī; indeed, this fourfold set seems to have been unique.²²¹ With the recitation

of these offering mantras, the yogin identifies the three goddesses with the first three sites, and the central goddess again (presumably as the transcendent “fourth”) with the fourth site.

The same procedure is followed for the third set of offering mantras, which identify the goddesses with the bodies of the Buddha. Similar correlations are seen in the *Samvarodayatantra* (ch. 4, vv. 22cd–27), in which the triadic yogic structure is identified with many different external triads, including both the triple world and the Buddha’s three bodies, and where it is said that by realizing the correlation between the outer and inner triads, the yogin attains buddhahood (v. 27cd).

The goals of the Trikāyavajrayoginī practice are enumerated chiefly in terms of the magical powers (siddhis) accrued. The *Lakṣmīsādhana* describes the rewards of mantra recitations in the prior service (*pūrvāsevā*): one *lakh* (one hundred thousand) calms obstructive spirits, two *lakhs* attract women, three *lakhs* conquer cities, four *lakhs* attract the king and five *lakhs* bring the practitioner whatever he desires (GSS24 K90v6-91r, cf. Benard 1994: 72–74). Liberationist goals are not forgotten, however, and the *stotra* describes the goddess’s power of liberating the practitioner “from the bonds of the oceans of existence.”²²² Unusually, liberation is also the stated goal of the *bali* offerings that end the sādhanas practices. The *bali* mantra in the Virūpa-based Trikāyavajrayoginī sādhanas (group I) is the only mantra in the GSS that states that it is “for enlightenment” (*saṃyaksambodhaye*).²²³ The fact that siddhi is not clearly distinguished from liberation in these texts is a reflection of Vajrayoginī’s supramundane status. Siddhi and liberation are the same in that both are realized by cleansing the mind of the obscurations that give rise to dual appearances. This is demonstrated by the iconographical symbolism of Trikāyavajrayoginī’s severed head. By chopping off her own head and surviving to drink her own blood, the goddess dramatically declares that she has transcended the world of dual appearances.

The motif of self-decapitation runs through other works in the highest tantras; indeed, it is not an uncommon theme in Indian mythology in general.²²⁴ For example, one Tibetan hagiography of Kāṇhapā/Kṛṣṇācārya describes how his two pupils, the yoginīs Mekhalā and Kanakhalā, are challenged to cut off their heads in a bid to convert the king. This they happily undertake, before dancing headless into space and disappearing into rainbow light. Tāranātha says that their actions started a head-chopping trend among ḍākinīs and that as an antidote Vajravārāhī herself appeared with a severed head among her devotees.²²⁵ The princess Lakṣmīṅkarā also used the device to prove to her father that in becoming the consort of her brother

Indrabhūti, she was innocent of an incestuous relationship. She chopped off her head and walked around the city while white blood flowed from her neck, after which the citizens called her Chinnamuṇḍā Vārāhī.²²⁶ For such adepts, the severing of their own heads usually indicates the severing of defilements. Thus, Gaṃpopa's final realization comes when he has a dream in which his head is cut off and rolls down a hill, symbolizing that his "grasping the idea of a self" (*ātmagrahaḥ*) is severed (Benard 1994: 96).

The **Siddha-Āmnāya* makes the same point, in a rather different fashion, when Advayavajra attempts to prove his mastery of appearances by temporarily decapitating his friend. He fails because he had not purified his mind of conceptualization (**Siddha-Āmnāya* p. 11.26: *vikalpasambhūtat-vāt*). Self-decapitation—or the breaking of some other fundamental Buddhist precept—therefore represents a moment of crisis. Thus, it is only when Advayavajra is about to cut off his head in despair at ever finding his guru that Śābara appears (**Siddha-Āmnāya* p. 11.22). Similarly, Nāropa's guru appears only after he has decided to cut his veins with a razor (Guenther 1963: 36). In the *Ārādhanaśāstra* above (GSS23), Śābara's failure leads him to doubt the truth of the lord's words, whereupon the goddess finally appears and tells him it is his own obscurations that are to blame. When Virūpa's practice of Vajravārāhī was fruitless, he was driven to throwing his rosary down the toilet, whereupon Vajravārāhī appeared, and set him on the path that led him ultimately to enlightenment (Dowman 1985: 43–52). In these accounts, it is only by reaching a breaking point that the yogin breaks through his defilements. By confronting his limitations in that crucial moment, he removes his final obscurations and gains access to the transcendent realm he has so dearly sought.

Conclusions

We have now seen a variety of forms of Vajrayoginī and Vajravārāhī, all of which reflect the *kāpālika* and/or *śākta* and yogic concerns of the highest Buddhist tantras. It remains to be asked whether we can tell anything of the origins and direction of the cult from our survey. Do the various manifestations present a dynamic picture of the cult of Vajrayoginī in a process of evolution and development; or do they instead represent a number of distinct if overlapping systems, so that it would be more appropriate to talk of the Vajrayoginī "cults" rather than of a single tradition?

The main feature that unifies the many manifestations of Vajrayoginī is the mantra, which, despite certain variants, revolves around the three epithets or mantra-deities, *sarvabuddhaḍākinī*, *vajravārṇanī*, and *vajravairocanī*. Vajravairocanī is the deity of Vajrayoginī's heart mantra, and Sarvabuddhaḍākinī and Vajravārṇanī of her auxiliary heart mantra. The three combine in the root mantra:

om om om
sarvabuddhaḍākinīye vajravārṇanīye vajravairocanīye
hum hum hum phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā

None of these mantra deities occurs commonly by itself. In the Trikāya-vajrayoginī visualization they are given iconographical form as external representations of the three inner channels of the body, but apart from this, there is only one other mention of an independent separate goddess based on the mantra epithets. This is Vajravairocanī, who appears in a rather surprising statement in the *Abhisamayamañjarī* in which (having just prescribed the visualization of Vajravārāhī as a solo deity) the author comments, "Furthermore, the goddess Vajravairocanī is called Vajrayoginī, and according to the scriptures and the teaching, there are many differences in the transmission."²²⁷ This seems to reflect the idea that once Vajravārāhī appears outside her Cakrasaṃvara-based maṇḍala, she may take on a different form (in this instance, that of Vajravairocanī) and is perceived as a manifestation of the generic deity, Vajrayoginī. How, then, did this identification between the two goddesses Vajravārāhī and Vajrayoginī come about?

Any attempt to look for the origins of the cult through the textual sources on hand can be little more than conjecture. We can, however, see two emergent trends at work in the *śākta* cults of the highest Buddhist tantras, and these seem to converge within Vajrayoginī tradition. One trend is the emergence of a Buddhist yoginī (a vajra-yoginī) with Vajrayoginī herself as the generic representative of that group. We have seen this same tendency at work in the forms of goddesses who represent particular classes of female, as in the attendant goddesses on the four petals, Ḍākinī or Lāmā, and possibly in the emergence of a single goddess called Vajravilāsinī. We also noticed Vajrayoginī appearing as the essentialized form of other female deities, such as Ekajaṭā and Buddhaḍākinī. The other trend is the rise of the solitary heroine Vajravārāhī. We have seen how Vajravārāhī gravitated from the outer reaches of Heruka maṇḍalas toward the center, to appear, on

occasion, as consort to Hevajra, and then as chief lady in the Cakrasaṃvara system. Finally, as Buddhism absorbed the impact of *śākta* Śaivism, Vajravārāhī assumed greater significance still and rose to the position of maṇḍala-leader within her own all-female maṇḍala. In this context, Vajravārāhī appropriated the maṇḍala and ritual systems of her former consort, and her own cult developed. These two trends converge as Vajravārāhī is identified with Vajrayoginī. The process seems natural enough. As the former consort of the deity, Cakrasaṃvara, Vajravārāhī is an outstanding example of a vajra-yoginī and easily associated with the essentialized form of all vajra-yoginīs, Vajrayoginī herself.

Whatever the factor that drew Vajravārāhī into Vajrayoginī's fold, once inside, she had a formative influence on the cult. First, she brought several different manifestations with her. For example, the dancing *ardhaparyāṅka*-pose form of Vajravārāhī with the protruding hog's head may have predated that of Vajravārāhī as Cakrasaṃvara's consort, since she still bears her eponymous hog's head, which the consort does not. There also seems to be a tradition of the hog-headed forms of Vajravārāhī belonging to the buddha family of Akṣobhya, rather than to the presiding deity of Vajravārāhī in the Cakrasaṃvara maṇḍala, Vairocana. A Tibetan source states that the hog-headed Vajravārāhī is presided over by Akṣobhya (n. 122); and the entirely hog-headed Vajraghoṇā Vajravārāhī, a goddess present in the maṇḍalas of the Yamāri herukas, is also presided over by Akṣobhya. As we have seen, the Vajraghoṇā form may have been emerging in its own right as the popularity of the wider cult grew, and this in itself hints at broader trends within the cults of female deity worship in India. Amid their ever-expanding pantheons, we find another popular hog-headed goddess: Mārīcī, in her many forms.

The interweaving of the Vajrayoginī and Vajravārāhī traditions might also explain the iconographical difference we noted between the manifestations that hold a chopper and those that hold a vajra. In the main, the chopper belongs to forms of Vajrayoginī, and to the *ardhaparyāṅka*-pose Vajravārāhī. The vajra generally belongs to warrior-stance forms of Vajravārāhī. The chopper may then be associated with the "older" forms of the yoginī-type goddess who was later essentialized as Vajrayoginī, while the vajra may date from Cakrasaṃvara's embrace of Vajravārāhī as his consort.

The merging of once separate forms may also explain discrepancies within the mantras. Not all sādhanas prescribe the tripartite root mantra of the Vajrayoginī tradition, and there are some exceptional mantras based on the mantra deities Vajravārāhī, Vajradākinī, and Vajrayoginī. For example,

the mantra deity Vajravārāhī is included in the mantra utterance for the three forms of Vajravārāhī: the Vajraghoṇā forms, the six-armed embracing Vajravārāhī, and a warrior-stance Vajravārāhī (in GSS2 K11v3). We also find the same mantra deities, Vajradākinī and Vajrayoginī, in mantras relating to the warrior-stance form of Vajrayoginī with a chopper, and to both the raised-leg-pose goddesses, white Vajrayoginī, and red Vajravārāhī. It seems to be Vajravārāhī-as-consort who bequeathed the tripartite root mantra to the Vajrayoginī tradition. The mantra element Sarvabuddhaḍākinī appears in the Cakrasaṃvara texts in the auxiliary heart mantra of Vajravārāhī (e.g., ADUT ch. 14, p. 288: *om sarvabuddhaḍākinīye hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā*), and the inclusive nature of this epithet *sarvabuddhaḍākinī* (“ḍākinī of all the buddhas”) is a testimony to Vajravārāhī’s importance as consort to Cakrasaṃvara and may have been another factor in equating her with the generic form of Vajrayoginī. The epithet “Vajravairocanī” probably arose because in the Cakrasaṃvara maṇḍala Vajravārāhī is assigned to the buddha family of Vairocana. I have found no clear directions as to the origins of the third epithet, *vajravārāṇī*. Although the three mantra epithets do not seem to have referred to separate forms of the goddess in the first instance, they may have acquired such status over time, as suggested by Śākyarakṣita’s (relatively late) reference above to a solo form of Vajravārāhī called Vajravairocanī. The same development seems to have affected the epithet *sarvabuddhaḍākinī* in later traditions. In Indian sources, I have not seen an independent goddess called Sarvabuddhaḍākinī attested outside the Trikāyavajrayoginī sādhanas. However, a deity iconographically identical with warrior-stance, chopper-wielding Vajrayoginī is referred to, on occasion, in Tibetan sources as Sarvabuddhaḍākinī, or Sangs rgyas thams cad kyi mkha’ ’gro ma (e.g., von Schroeder 1981: plate III E), although this seems rare. In fact, the appellation “Sarvabuddhaḍākinī” may be something of a Western usage, perhaps originating in a misreading of the *Sādhanaṃālā* sādhanas of Trikāyavajrayoginī.²²⁸

Another feature of the practice of Vajrayoginī in India is the tendency to associate particular forms of the goddess with charismatic founders of a lineage. This seems to have taken hold in Tibet, where there are three main transmissions of the goddess. As we have seen, Indraabhūti is associated with the transmission of the dancing *ardhaparyāṅka* form of Vajravārāhī with hog’s head, Indra-khecarī (*mKha’ spyod*); Advaya vajra/Maitrīpā(da) with the raised foot (*ūrdhvaṇāḍa*) form of Vidyādhari Vajrayoginī, known in Tibet as “Maitrī-khecarī”; and finally, Nāropa with the classic warrior-stance form of Vajravārāhī, Nā-ro-khecarī.

Although the transmissions were oral to begin with, we have seen how their “textualization” occurred very early. In a traditional Buddhist environment, this would have little effect on the esoteric nature of the worship and the still-primary role of the guru in granting initiation into the practices.

(This remains true even today. As Lama Jampa Thaye put it [2002: personal communication], “[The practices] remain ‘secret’ in as much as we cannot study or practise them without the requisite initiations and transmissions—although one may, of course, possess the books.” In other quarters, with the popular appeal of tantric Buddhism to Westerners and the willingness of Tibetan lamas to cater to that, the traditional structures no longer hold true. This situation has, of course, provided a rationale or justification for academics, who argue that if such information is to appear in the public domain, then it may as well be accurate and subject to the scholarly methods of the academy.)

In conclusion, our survey of the Vajrayoginī tradition in this chapter has revealed the general unity of the cult: Its mantras are relatively stable, and most forms of the goddess receive the generic labeling “Vajrayoginī.” However, it has also indicated the existence of separate currents within the tradition, based on its historical roots and the influence of separate teachers. The two main streams in the tradition center on the goddesses Vajravārāhī and Vajrayoginī, and it is perhaps unsurprising that some forms in the *Guhyasamayāsādhanaṃālā* have been seen to draw on both these traditions. Thus, the raised-foot-pose goddesses manifest as a form of white Vajrayoginī and as a form of red Vajravārāhī; the same is true of Vilāsinī, who in one manifestation is related to Vajravārāhī and in another to the Vidyādhārī Vajrayoginī; and both traditions are found to merge in the practice of the turtle-stance Vajrayoginī. This suggests that such forms are later developments in the cult, able to draw upon a mature iconographical stock.

Is it possible, then, to trace the evolution of the cult from our analysis of its contexts? It seems fairly certain that an early stage would be the definition of the solitary heroine (*ekavīrā*) within an all-female maṇḍala based on the Cakrasaṃvara system. This may have encouraged the identification of Vajravārāhī with the generic goddess Vajrayoginī and the proliferation of her forms in their terrifying and/or erotic aspects. Our analysis of Umāpatideva’s *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* will also show an increasing cremation-ground orientation within these practices, one of which is taken further still in the “skeleton arch” practices (GSS32–34). Here, the tradition seems to draw on forms of Vajrayoginī that survive in earlier tantric practices, and also from

sources that lie outside the main Herukatantra traditions, namely from esoteric Śaivism and perhaps from less influential portions of the Buddhist tantras. Finally—or perhaps simultaneously—we see specialist practices emerging from within these different streams of the Vajrayoginī tradition, as in the practices that reject the *kāpālika* culture altogether and cultivate the erotico-yogic soteriology of mahāmudrā.

The impressive number of forms in which Vajrayoginī manifests and the variety of her practices together reflect the richness and popularity of her cult in the land of its birth. According to tradition, of course, such diversity simply illustrates the power of the goddess's compassion and her mastery of skillful means as she caters to differences in "the character and disposition" of beings.²²⁹ Seen in this light, and despite all our efforts, any study of the goddess could only ever reveal a fraction of her true nature—for as the *Abhisamayamañjari* points out, Vajrayoginī's manifestations are, in reality, infinite:²³⁰

So one should understand the transmissions of the goddess such as these that have come down (*āyātā*) in the lineage of pupils from the teachings of the siddhas to be endless, because of the [endless] differences in the dispositions of those to be trained. This [work] has described this merely in outline. So (*ca*) having taken up one method among these methods [taught here], one should meditate imbued with faith and compassion, unattached, following the pledge, [and] free from doubt. One will inevitably succeed.

3. Study of the Vajravārāhī Sādhana

Outline of the Sādhana

THE *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* by Umāpatideva is one of the lengthiest sādhanas in the *Guhyasamayasāadhanamālā*. It comprises nearly eighty original Sanskrit verses interspersed with prose portions, much of which the author has redacted from elsewhere. The backstay of his work is the literature of Cakrasaṃvara, and it is from this source that Umāpatideva draws the description of Vajravārāhī and her thirty-seven-deity maṇḍala, as well as the ritual practices that follow. We will see how Vajravārāhī's maṇḍala is carefully adapted from the sixty-two-deity maṇḍala of Cakra-saṃvara, which appears in embryonic form in the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* (e.g., chs. 2–3) and in various presentations in its derivative literature, such as the *Yoginīsaṃcāratantra* (e.g., *paṭalas* 6–8), the *Samvarodayatantra* (e.g., chs. 8 and 13), the *Abhidhānottaratantra* (e.g., chs. 9 and 14), and in exegetical literature, such as Lūyīpāda's *Herukābhisamaya*.

The *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* forms a rewarding subject for study, because in it the processes and methodology of the sādhana are particularly clear. These are highlighted by its distinctive structural framework: it is divided into four “meditation stages” (*bhāvanākramas*), followed by a fifth section prescribing various external rites. It finishes with a few verses that form a sort of brief appendix, giving additional details of the eight cremation grounds. The four meditation stages describe progressively longer meditations based on the visualization of Vajravārāhī within her maṇḍala. The first meditation stage reads as a complete sādhana in itself. It opens and closes with the usual frame verses, prescribes the practitioner's preliminary actions, and then progresses to the yogin's generation of himself as Vajravārāhī. Ritual and yogic procedures are then mentioned in brief, and it ends, as is standard in a sādhana, with the repetition of the deity's mantra. The second meditation stage is brief, as it simply prescribes the visualization of a fivefold maṇḍala, that is, the central deity, Vajravārāhī, on the

pericarp of the lotus, surrounded by four more goddesses on the four main petals of the pericarp. The third meditation stage increases the maṇḍala to include the eight outer goddesses at the gates, thus creating a thirteenfold maṇḍala. The fourth meditation stage goes on to supply the goddesses of the twenty-four sites (*pīṭhas*) situated upon the three maṇḍala circles that surround the central petal in concentric rings; this brings the maṇḍala to its complete thirty-seven-fold form. For each meditation stage, Umāpatideva prescribes the necessary mantras for the attendant goddesses, as well as additional mantras for the central deity. Upon completing the maṇḍala, meditation stage four also describes the contemplative practices to be undertaken upon the basis of the full visualization. The full maṇḍala is shown in figure 32 (related to plate 12).

Umāpatideva's neat organization of the details of the practice serves a didactic purpose. It enables him to clarify the methods for each visualization associated with the full maṇḍala, and to offer each stage as a complete visualization in itself. Importantly, he is able to distinguish the mantras associated with the central deity at each stage. Other authorities on the maṇḍala follow the more usual method, which is to prescribe the progressive visualization of maṇḍala deities starting at the central pericarp and moving outward, thus: maṇḍala leader(s) on lotus pericarp → goddesses on surrounding lotus petals → goddesses of the twenty-four sites → outer goddesses.

This is the structure of the sixty-two-fold Cakrasaṃvara maṇḍala as presented in Lūyīpāda's *Herukābhisamaya*; and it is the structure of the other complete Vajravārāhī maṇḍala in the *Guhyasamayasāadhanamālā* collection, the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5) by Śākyarakṣita, which is also closely based on Cakrasaṃvara sources. In this lengthy work (summarized in the appendix), the *Abhisamayamañjarī* uses this progressive method to introduce the entire sādhanā for the generation of the thirty-seven-fold maṇḍala, from its preliminary procedures to its closing rites. Only then does it offer alternative practices. The first alternative describes a fivefold maṇḍala "for those wanting a medium-length version" (K33v5: *madhyarucis tu...*), as in Umāpatideva's second meditation stage. The *Abhisamayamañjarī* then gives the instructions for the visualization of Vajravārāhī alone "for those wanting a short version" (K34r1: *saṃkṣiptārthī tu yathoktarūpāṃ bhagavatīm eva kevalāṃ bhāvayati*), as in Umāpatideva's first meditation stage. The structural differences between these two important sādhana are summarized in tabular form in table 8:

Table 8. *Comparative structure of the Vajravārāhī Sādhana and Abhisamayamañjarī*

<i>Vajravārāhīsādhana</i> (GSSII) by Umāpatideva		<i>Abhisamayamañjarī</i> (GSS5) by Śākyarakṣita
meditation stage 1	sādhana for Vajravārāhī alone	sādhana for visualization of complete 37-fold maṇḍala including ritual practices
meditation stage 2	5-fold maṇḍala (with 4 goddesses on petals)	
meditation stage 3	13-fold maṇḍala (with 8 outer-goddesses)	
meditation stage 4	37-fold maṇḍala (with 24 site goddesses & contemplations)	5-fold maṇḍala (first alternative)
ritual practices	<i>bali</i> rituals, hand <i>pūjā</i> , etc.	single goddess Vajravārāhī (next alternative)
verse “appendix”	verses describing the cremation grounds	more alternative meditations for five other manifestations of Vajrayoginī
closing verses		closing verses

Umāpatideva’s handling of the ritual practices in the fifth section of the sādhana also has a didactic effect. It is standard that authors prescribe ritual procedures such as external worship at the end of a sādhana, as the sādhana is actually a preliminary to the rites—indeed to all activity—that the practitioner is to undertake in his new divine form. However, Umāpatideva is particularly careful to separate the rites from the body of the sādhana, which enables him to preserve the narrative flow of the four meditation stages. For example, in the first meditation stage he simply points out in passing the moment when the tasting of nectar ritual is to be performed (v. 28b), but he reserves the actual procedures for the later section that deals specifically with ritual practices (v. 59ff.). In this way, the ritual practices as given in Umāpatideva’s sādhana form a kind of extended

“ritual epilogue” to the main body of the work. This structure allows Umāpatideva to include other rites that may or may not be performed at the same time as the *sādhana*, such as the *bali* ritual and various external worship ceremonies, and it demonstrates that the rites may be performed using the visualization of the *maṇḍala* in any of its four stages. The same clarity of exposition is evident in Umāpatideva’s treatment of other material that is tangential to the main thrust of the meditation. Thus, he inserts the alternative visualization of the circle of protection at the end of the first meditation stage (v. 35), and details of the cremation grounds at the very close of the *sādhana* (vv. 70–76).

The lucid structural framework of the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* is matched by an elegance of style. In contrast to the formulaic Sanskrit prose and occasional “doggerel” (usually *anuṣṭubh*) of much *sādhana* literature, Umāpatideva employs the somewhat more poetic meter *upajāti*. The first meditation stage comprises thirty-five of Umāpatideva’s own verses with additional prose passages redacted from other texts to expand upon the terse prescriptions of the verse. For the description of the full *maṇḍala* in the second, third, and fourth meditation stages, Umāpatideva draws from a stock of source material (discussed below) and thus employs a combination of *anuṣṭubh* and prose. He concludes the *sādhana* with a return to his own verses in *upajāti* to explain the visualization of the cremation grounds and to close his composition with the dedication of merit. Within the classical conventions that mold his verses, Umāpatideva sets the prescriptive tone of the *sādhana* in the traditional fashion with the use of optative finite verbs applying to the *sādhaka* (“he should visualize,” “he should perform,” etc.), while his metrical reworking of the older material means that he avoids many stock descriptions found elsewhere in the Vajrayoginī literature. Nevertheless, in refining familiar phrases (for example, in his description of Vajravārāhī, vv. 19–24), it seems as if he is consciously aiming to preserve the flavor of the older passages—no doubt as a mark of respect for the tradition he sets out to describe.

Benediction

- v. 1 The sādhanā opens in traditional fashion with a verse of benediction (*maṅgalam*). This takes the form of an expression of obeisance and homage (*namaskāraḥ*) to the chosen deity of the practice (*iṣṭadevatā*) and gives voice to the devotion felt by the author. Our author, Umāpatideva, begins by saluting the lotuslike foot of the vajra goddess, which—in true poetic (*kāvya*) style—suggests both her extraordinary beauty and his inability to describe more than a single feature of so awe-inspiring a whole. Hinting perhaps at the goddess’s dance, Umāpatideva praises the divine qualities of such a foot, which is capable of destroying dichotomizing consciousness and engendering the realization of emptiness. For comparison, here are the benedictory verses to the other major sādhanā of Vajravārāhī in the *Guhyasamayasāadhanamālā*, the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS). These include a brief *namaskāra* followed by a prayer (*āśīrvādaḥ*) for the deity’s favor. Once again, salient features of the composition are highlighted, in this case, the manifold nature of Vajrayoginī’s forms and her evident compassion.²³¹

Homage to Vajrayoginī, whose nature is emptiness and
 compassion,
 who has manifold forms because of the diverse natures of people,
 who is irradiated by brightness (*vaiśadya-*), because she is
 thoroughly cleansed (*sudhāvāna*) by the nectar (*sudhā*) of perfect
 enlightenment,
 quiescent (*śāntā*) though she is [within], without she spreads
 redness because of her affection for the multitude of those to
 be trained.
 Bearing a vajra, a stainless skull bowl, and a skull staff of terrible
 splendor,
 may this blessed Vajravilāsini bring you prosperity!

The composition of a sādhanā is a religious undertaking and is therefore framed by benedictory verses at the start, and, in the final verse, with a dedication of the merit gained by completing the task. The merit generated by the opening expressions of homage serves an immediate practical purpose,

as it is believed to help the author through the mass of demonic obstacles eager to obstruct the progress of any pious endeavor.

Preliminaries

- v. 2 Umāpatideva's second verse describes the necessary preliminaries to the *sādhana*: finding a suitable site in which to practice and sitting down to meditate. The verse begins by dictating the type of spot the yogin should choose for meditation. The ideal places are wild and solitary, "pleasing to the heart" (v. 2c) of a tantric *sādhaka* because they are "suitable to practice."²³² While huts and temples are also listed in other yoginītantra texts, this is not typical of the Vajrayoginī tradition. Indeed, on the two occasions where indoor dwelling places are mentioned in the *Guhyasamayasādhana-mālā* (amid more terrifying alternatives), they are said to be deserted; Vajrayoginī practices clearly follow the most extreme wing of the Buddhist tradition.²³³ This is in stark contrast to the sūtra-type *sādhanas* (such as many in the *Sādhanamālā* collection) that prefer quiet resorts or temple shrines as sites for meditation, "delightful" (*manohara*) because they are beautified with fragrant water and flowers, and free of disturbances such as robbers, noise, or thorns.²³⁴

Having chosen the site for his meditation, the yogin then sits himself down "on a very comfortable seat, with yogic ease"—*Sādhanamālā* sources speak of soft cushions and tender pillows.²³⁵ Vajrayoginī texts occasionally mention two other types of seat. One is "made of a double vajra" (*viśva-vajramayī-*), which suggests a double vajra (fig. 26) drawn or embroidered onto a cushion or decorative hanging, or traced upon the ground; the other consists of a corpse.²³⁶ Once seated, the yogin assumes his meditation posture, probably the traditional cross-legged pose (*paryāṅkaḥ/vajraparyāṅkaḥ*), which seems to be the commonest position prescribed in the *Sādhanamālā*.²³⁷ In a passage that lists a number of seated meditation postures, Abhayākaragupta explains the *vajraparyāṅka* thus: "Having placed the left foot between the right calf and thigh, he should place the right [over the left] between the left calf and thigh. This is the *vajraparyāṅka* [posture]."²³⁸

Far more complex preliminary activities are prescribed elsewhere, and the yogin would undoubtedly wish to undertake a number of these before continuing. To start with, he would usually enact rituals for the protection of "place, person, and practice," which may involve time-consuming external

For the “protection of the place,” sādhanas usually prescribe a *bali* ritual, injunctions for which appear later in the *Vajravārāhi Sādhana* (v. 66ff.). This can be a very complex rite in which a special propitiatory food offering—a *bali*—is offered to local spirits, as well as to the deities of the maṇḍala. Alternatively, the site may be empowered by the utterance of a sequence of mantras performed with the appropriate hand gestures, or *mudrās*.²⁴⁰

For the purification of speech (*vāgviśuddhiḥ*), the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5) prescribes a threefold recitation of the syllables of the alphabet. The syllables represent the undifferentiated mantric form of the deities. They are visualized forming three circles around the meditator as the three circles (*cakras*) of the maṇḍala (see below), while light rays shine from the syllables and transform into a mass of deities who destroy all the obstacles impeding the practice. The *vāgviśuddhi*, which is referred to several times in the *Guhyasamayasādhanaṃālā*, is derived from Cakrasaṃvara literature. The longest version, although still confusingly terse, is found in the *Abhisamayamañjarī*. (The alphabet is shown in plate 16a from ms. K.).²⁴³

"om a ā i ī u ū ṛ ṛ̣ ṛ̥ ṛ̦ l̥ l̦ ū e ai o au am aḥ ka kha ga gha ṇa ca cha ja jha ña ṭa ṭha ḍa ḍha ṇa ta tha da dha na pa pha ba bha ma ya ra la va śa ṣa sa ha kṣa huṃ huṃ phat." Having thrice pronounced [the syllables of] this row of vowels and consonants [and seen each syllable emerging from his mouth as he does so], he should visualize [them] as located surrounding him, emitting five[-colored?] rays, [and as] having destroyed the mass of obstacles by means of the mass of deities of the three cakras that have been emitted [from the scintillating syllables (and are then retracted back into them)]. This is the purification of speech (*vāgvisuddhiḥ*).

The purification of mind—in fact, of body, speech, and mind altogether—is achieved with another preparatory ritual found in the higher tantras. This is the contemplation of the purifying correspondences (*viśuddhis*)—a method of establishing, or reestablishing, the yogin in union with the deity. Indeed, one Cakrasaṃvara text specifically prescribes it as a preliminary for a yogin who has lost the awareness of himself as the deity.²⁴⁴ The purification takes place on the basis that the yogin understands every part of his psychophysical being—viz. his five aggregates (*skandhas*), the sense organs with their respective sense fields (*āyatana*s), and the five elements (*dhātus*)—to be ontologically equivalent to the buddhas, because all share the nature of emptiness. Although this preparatory practice is not found in the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* (possibly because it includes the visualization of male deities), it is worth describing here because of its similarity to the armoring stage later in the *sādhana*. Our source is the *Abhisamayamañjarī*, and is again clearly based upon Cakrasaṃvara sources. It introduces the visualization as follows:²⁴⁵

He should be firmly convinced (*adhimuñcet*) of the purifying correspondence[s] for the skandhas and the rest [of his psychophysical being] since (*iti*) [rites] such as worship [that are performed] on the basis of the purified skandhas, etc., are a speedy cause of enlightenment. Of these, [the buddhas] Vairocana and so on [i.e., Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, Amoghasiddhi, and Vajrasattva (*sic*)] are firmly understood (*niśceyāḥ*) as [the skandhas,] “form” up to and including “consciousness,” by virtue of [both the buddhas and the skandhas] being like foam, bubbles, rays of light, the plantain plant, [or] illusions, [i.e., empty]. Akṣobhya [is understood] as *tathatā*. Alternatively it is simply the firm belief in Vairocana and the other deities that constitutes the purification of those [skandhas etc.].

The text then correlates each buddha individually with the skandhas, and describes the iconographical forms they are to assume as the meditator contemplates the correspondences. The buddhas assume a typically tantric appearance as they stand in the warrior (*ālīḍhaḥ*) stance, with three eyes, matted locks, and bearing the five signs of observance (*mudrās*). They hold tantric attributes “gracefully” (*śalīla*) in their right hands, and place their left “proudly” (*sagarva*) upon their girdles full of bells.

Next, the meditator correlates his sense organs and sense fields with

another set of deities who are the esoteric equivalents of the above: Kṣitigarbha, Vajrapāṇi, Khagarbha, Lokeśvara, Sarvanīvaraṇaviṣkambhin, and Samantabhadra. They are visualized holding an attribute in their right hands and a bell in their left. The author also provides alternative names that reflect their capacity to destroy the poisons: “Mohavajra because he destroys ignorance (*mohaḥ*), Dveṣavajra because he is the enemy of malice (*dveṣaḥ*), the three Īrṣyā[vajra], Rāga[vajra], and Mātsaryavajra because they destroy [respectively] envy (*īrṣyā*), all clinging (*sarvāsaṅgaḥ*), and miserliness (*mātsaryam*), and Aīśvaryavajra because he bestows all powers.”²⁴⁶ Finally, the yogin equates the four elements with the four goddesses Pātānī, Māraṇī, Ākarṣaṇī, and Narteśvarī, and the element space with Padmajvālinī. They also assume a *kāpālīka* form, and are visualized naked, with loose hair, holding tantric attributes in their four arms, while the fifth goddess has three faces and six arms. The text states that the goddesses are also known as Locanā, Māmakī, Pāṇḍarā, Tārā, and Dharmadhātuvajrā, namely, the traditional consorts of the buddhas and “mothers” of the yogatantra systems.²⁴⁷ These correlations and the salient iconographical features are summarized in table 9.

One other preparatory rite is worth mentioning, as it illustrates the purification of the practitioner’s body, speech, and mind through transgressive discipline (*vāmācāraḥ*). This is the mantra bath (*mantrasnānam*), which is performed using forbidden substances, such as alcohol, and conventionally “disgusting” bodily secretions and fluids. The practice forces the yogin to break through his instinctive, dualistic perception of matter as either pure or impure, and in so doing the transgressive substances become nectars capable of purifying his body, speech, and mind. This practice appears almost identically in the first two sādhanas of the *Guhyasamaya-sādhanamālā*, attributed to Indrabhūti (GSS1) and Lūyīpāda (GSS2).²⁴⁸

Next, in order to purify the body, speech, and mind, he should [take] the three (GSS2: four) kinds of divine liquid according to their availability, [namely, fomentations from] honey (GSS1: *mādhvī*; GSS2: *mṛdvīkā* and *mādhvikā*), molasses (*gauḍī*), [and] flour (*paiṣṭī*) and mix them with the five nectars [namely, semen, blood, flesh, urine, and feces] and place them in a chalice. [Then] having consecrated [the mixture] with the three-syllabled mantra [*om āḥ hūm*], he should perform a “mantra bath” (*mantrasnānam*) using this liquid on all the major and minor limbs [of the

Table 9. *Contemplation of purifying correspondences (viśuddhis)*

Skandhas	Purifying Deity	Color	Right Hand(s)	Left Hand(s)
form (rūpam)	Vairocana	white	wheel (aloft)	bell (at hip)
feeling (vedanā)	Ratnasambhava [Vajrasūrya]	yellow	jewel (aloft)	bell (at hip)
cognition (saṃjñā)	Amitābha [Padmanarteśvara]	red	red lotus (aloft)	bell (at hip)
volition (saṃskāraḥ)	Amoghasiddhi [Vajrarāja]	green	double vajra (aloft)	bell (at hip)
consciousness (vijñānam)	Vajrasattva	white	vajra (to the heart)	bell (at hip)
suchness (tathatā)	Akṣobhya vajra [śrī-Herukavajra]	black	earth-touching mudrā	bell (at hip)
Sense Organs and Fields				
eyes	Kṣitigarbha Mohavajra	white	wheel (aloft)	bell (at heart)
ears	Vajrapāṇi Dveṣavajra	black	vajra (at heart)	bell (at hip)
nostrils	Khagarbha Īrṣyāvajra	yellow	jewel (aloft)	bell (at heart)
face	Lokeśvara Rāgavajra	red	red lotus (aloft)	bell (at heart)
whole body	Sarvanīvaraṇa- viṣkambhin Mātsaryavajra	dark [green]	double vajra (aloft)	bell (at heart)
all sense fields	Samantabhadra Aiśvaryavajra	pure white	vajra (at heart)	bell (hip)
Elements				
earth	Pātani Locanā	yellow	wheel chopper	skull bowl skull staff
water	Māraṇi Māmakī	black	vajra chopper	skull bowl skull staff
fire	Ākarṣaṇi Pāṇḍarā	red	lotus chopper	skull bowl skull staff
wind	Narteśvari Tārā	green	sword chopper	skull bowl skull staff
space	Padmajālini Dharmadhātuvajrā	grey 3 faces: grey, red, & white	goat Brahmā's severed head chopper	skull bowl staff noose

body starting] from the left hand. He should sprinkle the substances to be offered with this same [mixture, i.e., using the ring finger (*anāmikā*) and thumb joined together to flick the substances]. Next, with these mantra syllables, <om vaṃ?> *hām yom*, *brīm moṃ*, *hrem brīm*, *hum hum*, *phaṭ phaṭ*, he should [first] purify the thumb [and fingers] of the left hand, [and then] utter the triple purification [see below]...

However brief or complex the preliminary rites are, their underlying purpose is to prepare the yogin for the essential goal of the sādhanā—the meditator’s inner transformation of himself into Vajravārāhī through a total assimilation of her appearance and character. The preliminaries pave the way for this inner process. Her fondness for cremation grounds and mountainous haunts is reflected in the lists of possible meditation sites. Her iconography is mirrored by the meditator’s seat, as she stands above a maṇḍala resting upon a crossed vajra (*viśvavajravedikā*), and upon a corpse throne. Her posture, too, may be imitated by the practitioner, as one *bali* ritual directs him to assume her actual pose, standing upon raised ground in warrior stance, naked, with loose hair and eyes raised (GSS31). He may also model his appearance upon that of the goddess, either by going naked with loosened hair, or by donning red hair band and red clothes in order to emulate her color.²⁴⁹ Practices based on the purifying correspondences or upon transgressive discipline prepare the yogin by reaffirming his understanding of nonduality, and paving the way for his inner identification with the deity who is a reflex of that reality. Taken as a whole, the preliminaries demonstrate the same objectives as the sādhanā: the yogin’s ongoing attempt to erode his perception of himself as a mundane individual and to reconstitute himself as Vajravārāhī. In the complex array of preliminary procedures, the ancient Indian adage is at play, that “one must become a god to worship a god.”²⁵⁰

Bodhisattva Preparations

- v. 3–
§2 The next portion of the sādhanā lays the spiritual foundations for the yogin’s transformation into the deity. It follows the career of the Mahāyāna bodhisattva who makes his resolve to attain enlightenment for the sake of all sentient beings, and then sets out upon the aeons-long path to attain the twin accumulations of merit (*punyaśambhārah*) and wisdom (*jñāna-*

sambhārah). The *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* follows the method standard in mainstream sādhanas, which is to cultivate a more speedy accumulation of merit through the practices of worship and the *brahmavihāra* meditations, and a more instant accumulation of wisdom through the contemplation of emptiness.²⁵¹ It is to the former that Umāpatideva now turns in the following verses and prose portions.

Worship

- v. 3 The worship is based on the Mahāyāna supreme worship (*anuttarapūjā*) in seven stages and includes both the visualization of offerings and the recitation of verses. The first step is to make abundant offerings to crowds of celestial beings. The yogin begins by visualizing a glowing red *vaṃ* (वं) in his heart, the seed-syllable of Vajravārāhī in her most essential form. The syllable quivers and shines with an intense spiritual energy and emits light rays that stream through all the pores of the meditator's body before "drawing down" (*ākaraṣaṇam*) the deities to be worshiped. Rays are a typical tool of a visualization meditation. They are a reflex of the power of the deity, capable of pervading the entire universe, purifying it, removing its suffering, and nourishing it. Sometimes they take the form of a hook or goad (*aṅkuṣaḥ*) that "urges" or "impels" (*saṃ√cud*) the deities to cooperate in the ritual.²⁵² In the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* (v. 3d), the rays draw down "a mass of buddhas and so on" from their dwelling place in the Akaniṣṭha heaven, where they reside in a body of enjoyment (*sambhogakāya*).²⁵³ A characteristic list of the beings to be worshiped includes "gurus, buddhas, and bodhisattvas" (e.g., v. 6a: *gurvādibhiḥ*).²⁵⁴ The precedence shown here to the guru is a reminder of his centrality within the tantric systems and his supreme significance to the yogin, who views him as the chosen deity itself. Some yoginītantra texts, however, supplant even the guru by introducing the yoginīs at the head of the list (*yoginīguru-buddhabodhisattva*-). This is effectively what happens in the worship section of the *Abhisamayamañjarī*, in which Vajravārāhī's entire maṇḍala circle is summoned for worship, as well as the teachers and other enlightened beings:²⁵⁵

Then, in the subtle space inside his own heart, he should visualize the red syllable *vaṃ* placed on a sun disk that has [itself] been produced from the seed-syllable *raṃ*, [and] having driven

out [his] inner impurity with rays from that [*vaṃ*], he should draw down the maṇḍala circle of the goddess to be described, and the teachers, buddhas, and bodhisattvas by means of [rays from the *vaṃ* syllable] pouring forth from every hair pore [of his body], and [then] he should visualize in front [of him] in space [the celestial hosts].

The divinities are suspended in front of the practitioner in a thronging mass, a scene familiar from Mahāyāna sūtras and the earlier tantras. The beings fill the entire universe, packing the ten directions of space so abundantly that it is said to resemble a sesame pod full of densely packed seeds.²⁵⁶

v. 4ab

The next verse in the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* instructs the yogin to worship the celestial hosts with imaginary offerings. These billow out like clouds from the rays of the seed-syllable in his heart or through the pores of his body.²⁵⁷ Here, in an abbreviated reference, they comprise the five offerings (*upacāras*), which usually refers to flowers, incense, lamps, perfumed powders, and food—although the exact sequence may alter according to the class of tantra (mKhas grub rje: 179–83). The worship visualization may become more elaborate still as sādhanas prescribe other offerings, such as water to drink and water for washing the feet, or other traditional sets of offerings, such as the seven jewels (*saptaratna*) or the eight auspicious symbols (*aṣṭamaṅgala*).²⁵⁸ This type of offering is referred to as “outer worship” (*bāhyapūjā*) and is distinguished from an “inner worship” (*adhyātmapūjā*) comprising offerings of the five sense organs (*kāmaguṇas*), which are represented by their respective sense objects: a mirror for form or sight, music for sound, incense for smell, food for taste, and cloth for touch.²⁵⁹

Both outer and inner offerings are prescribed in the worship section of the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (elsewhere termed the “secret worship,” *guhya-pūjā*).²⁶⁰ The *Abhisamayamañjarī* employs sixteen variously colored “worship goddesses” (*pūjādevīs*) to make the offerings. The first four goddesses offer the traditional gift of music and are named after the instrument they play: Vīṇā (lute), Vaṃśā (flute), Mr̥daṅgā (tabor), and Murajā (drum). The next four goddesses offer song and dance, and their names also reflect their actions: Hāsyā makes the laughing dance gesture (*hāsyābhinayaḥ*), Lāsyā the dance gesture of love (*lāsyābhinayaḥ*), and Nṛtyā (“dance”) the lotus dance gesture (*kamalābhinayaḥ*), while Gitā (“song”) holds “bell metal” (?*kaṃsikā*). The next set comprises Puṣpā, Dhūpā, Dipā, and Gandhā, who are the eponymous bearers of a flower, incense, lamp, and

fragrant powders. The final four goddesses hold offerings representing the bodily senses. Ādarśā (“mirror”) holds a mirror for the sense of sight; Rasā (“juice”) a dish of juice for taste; Sparśā (“touch”) a cloth (*viśvavastram*) for touch; and Dharmā (“existent”) the *dharmodayaḥ* or “origin of existents” as the object of the sixth sense, mind.²⁶¹ The goddesses also hold other tantric ornaments in their remaining arms. These are shown in the table below, which summarizes the text of the *Abhisamayamañjarī*.²⁶²

Table 10. *Sixteen worship goddesses*

Music Offerings 4 arms: instrument vajra & vajra-bell	Song & Dance Offerings 4 arms: dance gestures skull & staff	Other Traditional Offerings 4 arms: offering & ḍamaru skull & staff	Sense Offerings 4 arms: offering & ḍamaru skull & staff
Viñā – lute (blue)	Hāsyā – dance (red)	Puṣpā – flower (white)	Ādarśā – mirror (white)
Vamśā – flute (yellow)	Lāsyā – dance (blue)	Dhūpā – incense spoon (smoky)	Rasā – dish of juice (red)
Mṛdaṅgā – tabor (red)	Gītā – song (yellow)	Dipā – lamp stick (flame-colored)	Sparśā – cloth (green)
Murajā – drum (green)	Nṛtyā – dance (green)	Gandhā – conch shell of powders (red)	Dharmā – dharmodayā (dazzling white)

It is interesting that neither the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* nor the *Abhisamayamañjarī* prescribe transgressive offerings at this stage, as do other sādhana in the *Guhyasamayasāadhanamālā*. Perhaps our authors saw no reason to accommodate tantric norms at this point, since this portion of the sādhana represents the Mahāyāna phase of the spiritual tradition (the bodhisattva’s accumulation of merit) and is firmly grounded in Mahāyāna models of worship. It is tempting to see Umāpatideva’s sādhana as transitional, offering a practice that retains some traditional features, but in so doing, foregoing a complete integration of tantric methods.²⁶³

v. 4c, § I,
vv. 5–7.

Following the worship of the deities, Umāpatideva prescribes the seven-fold “supreme worship” (*anuttarapūjā*) of traditional Mahāyāna ritual and composes verses that were probably intended for recitation (vv. 5–7). The

seven steps of the pūjā begin here with “confession of faults.” This differs from the Mahāyāna model, which opens with “worship” (*pūjanā*), followed by “salutation” (*vandanā*, “bowing down to all the buddhas”).²⁶⁴ In the sādhanā, the stage of worship has already been performed (v. 4ab), and so Umāpatideva omits it, along with the salutation. This is typical of many other sādhanā writers, who tend to detach these two stages from the sevenfold model.²⁶⁵ Without the stages of worship and salutation, Umāpatideva is forced to add two more stages in order to preserve the sevenfold sequence, and he therefore finishes the pūjā with “resorting to the path” and “dedication of one’s body.” Not all sādhanā writers produce such a neat solution to the loss of the first two steps in the sequence. The *Abhisamaya-mañjarī* (GSS5 Sed p. 128, K17r2), for example, follows its elaborate visualization of the worship with a salutation in the form of the eight-part mantra. It then presents the Mahāyāna sequence from the third stage (confession), but adds, rather vaguely, that two more stages—“going for refuge” and “resorting to the path”—are to be done “beforehand” (which make seven). Table 11 lays out the Mahāyāna sequence beside Umāpatideva’s, and gives examples of the sequences adopted in other sādhana. The parallels illustrate the amount of variation and inconsistency at this point in the sādhanā, despite the fact that many authors cite verses very similar to those given by Umāpatideva. This seems to reveal a certain awkwardness in integrating the traditional Mahāyāna *anuttarapūjā* with the methodology of the sādhanā.

Brahmavihāra Meditations

- vv. 8–11 The sevenfold pūjā is followed by the four *brahmavihāras*, meditations dating back to the earliest Buddhist literature for the cultivation of loving-kindness (*maitrī*), compassion (*karuṇā*), sympathetic joy (*muditā*), and equanimity (*upekṣā*). These meditations are an established feature of mainstream sādhana, and although Umāpatideva’s verse glosses are the only ones in the *Guhyasamayāsādhana-mālā*, they are highly typical of sādhanā literature in general.²⁶⁶ Upon completing these meditations, the sādhaka is understood to have fulfilled his accumulation of merit.

Table 11. *Supreme worship (anuttarapūjā)*[†]

Mahāyāna	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
<i>Bhadracarjyā</i>	salutation	worship	confession of faults	rejoicing [in merit]	requesting [teaching]	prayer/ <i>bodhicitta</i> - <i>pāda</i>	dedication [of merit]		
Tantric Sādhana			1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>Vajravārāhi</i> <i>Sādhana</i> GSSII	visualized worship	visualized worship	confession of faults	rejoicing in merit	going for refuge	transfer of merit	awakening bodhicitta	resorting to the path	dedication of one's body
GSS ₅ (K17r)	visualized worship	& praise	confession of faults	rejoicing in merit	prayer	requesting [teaching]	dedication of merit	"preceded by" going for refuge	& resorting to the path
SM14 p. 38	visualized worship	visualized worship	confession of faults	rejoicing in merit	going for refuge	prayer bodhicitta	awakening	resorting to the path	
SM26 p. 64	visualized worship	visualized worship	confession of faults	rejoicing in merit	dedication of merit	going for refuge	resorting to the path	requesting [teaching]	awakening bodhicitta
SM46 p. 95	visualized worship	visualized worship	confession of faults	rejoicing in merit	dedication of merit	going for refuge	awakening bodhicitta	requesting [teaching]	dedication of one's body
SM48 p. 100	visualized worship	& salutation	confession of faults	rejoicing in merit	requesting [teaching]	going for refuge	resorting to the path	awakening bodhicitta	
SM67 p. 138	visualized worship	visualized worship	confession of faults	rejoicing in merit	dedication of merit	dedication of one's body	resorting to the path	going for refuge	awakening bodhicitta
SM71	visualized worship	& salutation	confession of faults	rejoicing in merit	dedication of merit	going for refuge			
SM110	visualized worship	visualized worship	confession of faults	rejoicing in merit	dedication of merit	going for refuge	resorting to the path		
SM171	visualized worship	visualized worship	going for refuge	dedication of merit	rejoicing in merit	dedication of mind			
SM218	actual worship with guest water, etc.	salutation	confession of faults and undertaking not to do wrong again	rejoicing in merit	going for refuge	awakening bodhicitta	resorting to the path	dedication of one's body	prayer & + requesting [teaching] of merit gained

Development of Wisdom

- v. 12 The bodhisattva's accumulation of wisdom is accomplished in the sādhanā through a meditation on the causal nature of reality and the emptiness of inherent existence. The verse, with its simile of the "moon in water," illustrates the illusory, dreamlike nature of a mind tainted by dichotomizing conceptualization, and points to the philosophy of the Cittamātra/Yogācāra.²⁶⁷ The yogin is to reflect upon this through the recitation of the two mantras on emptiness.

(§2) The first mantra (which I term for convenience the "purity mantra") expresses the fact that the inherent nature (*svabhāvaḥ*) of all existents (*sarvadharmāḥ*) and of the meditator (*aham*) are ontologically identical in that both are empty, and hence "pure": *om svabhāvaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ om svabhāvaśuddho 'ham* ("All existents [*dharmāḥ*] are pure by nature; I am pure by nature"). Other sādhana explain that by understanding all existents to be empty, the object (*grāhyam*) is purified, while by understanding the practitioner to be empty, the subject (*grāhakaḥ*) is purified.²⁶⁸ In other words, the first task of the meditator is to realize that all existents that are objects are merely conceptual constructs: they are "empty" of any mind-independent reality that may be imputed onto them by the dichotomizing or defiled mind, as in the first half of the purity mantra: "All existents (*dharmas*) are pure by nature." The second task is to apply the same understanding to himself, the subject, as in the second half of the purity mantra: "I am pure by nature." This leaves the meditator, in traditional Yogācārin terms, with nothing but the nondual flow of consciousness, empty of subject and object.²⁶⁹

A fuller formulation of the purity mantra is sometimes given. This is the "triple purification" (*trivīśuddhiḥ*), which asserts the identity of subject and

† The following is the approximate sequence of the *anuttarapūjā* in Mahāyāna texts. Crosby and Skilton (1995: 10) suggest variations to this structure in their updating of the classic study by Dayal (1932: 54–58). Commenting on Śāntideva's citations in his *Śikṣāsamuccaya* from the *Bhadracarayāprāṇidhāna-gāthā* (the final, floating chapter of the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*), they comment (p. 9): "We can infer from the frequency with which the *Bhadracarayā* was copied and quoted, that this provided, for several centuries at least, a widespread model for the Supreme Worship." The antiquity of this practice is attested by the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*'s translation into Chinese in the fourth century C.E., while elements of the *anuttarapūjā* also appear in Lokakṣema's *Ajātaśatrukaukṛtyavinodanā*, which was translated far earlier, in the late second century C.E. The "prayer" (*yācānā*) is the request to the buddhas to remain in saṃsāra for the sake of beings. It may be replaced by the awakening of the will to enlightenment (*bodhicittotpāda*).

object on the basis that they are pure in their inherent nature, pure because they are nondual (*vajra*), and pure because of the practice (*yogaḥ*).²⁷⁰

oṃ svabhāvaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ, svabhāvaśuddho 'ham iti.
oṃ vajraśuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ, vajraśuddho 'ham iti.
oṃ yogaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ, yogaśuddho 'ham iti.

Alternatively, the identification may be made on the basis of the pledge (*samayaḥ*) (e.g., GSS5 Sed p. 145, K30r4–5): *oṃ samayaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ, samayaśuddho 'ham.*

The second emptiness mantra (which I have termed here the “nonduality mantra”) is also a standard feature of mainstream sādhanas: *oṃ śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātmako 'ham* (“I am identical with the essence [*svabhāva*] of the nondual [*vajra*] knowledge of emptiness”).²⁷¹ The mantra is explained in the *Abhisamayamañjarī*, where it is encompassed within a short visualization meditation. This begins with the meditator seeing the external universe and the maṇḍala of deities (which was drawn down previously for the pūjā) dissolving into the “clear light” of emptiness. He then sees himself disappearing into clear light. First, he dissolves his whole body into the sun disk at his heart that supports the seed-syllable *vaṃ* (ॐ). He then dissolves the sun disk into the syllable, and the seed-syllable itself from bottom to top (the ॐ into the half-moon ~, and the half-moon into the final dot or “drop” °). As even the final drop dissolves into subtle sound or *nādaḥ*, and the subtle sound fades away into nothing, he is left only with emptiness. The meditation is designed to dissolve the yogin’s conventional perception that there is a difference between the world of objects (“the three worlds”), his visualization (the deity maṇḍala), and himself. The text then goes on to explain the “nonduality mantra,” *oṃ śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātmako 'ham*, breaking down the long Sanskrit compound into its grammatical parts. It states that the [meditator’s] “knowledge of emptiness” (*śūnyatājñāna*) is “nondual” (*vajra*), because *vajra* means “indivisible” or “nondual” (*vajram abhedyam*); this is the standard interpretation of *vajra* in the higher tantras.²⁷² The passage reads as follows.²⁷³

He should [first] cause the three worlds and the previous (?) maṇḍala wheel, whose nature is just illusion (*pratibhāsaḥ*), to enter clear light (*prabhāsvaraḥ*) itself. Likewise (*ca*) [he should dissolve himself into emptiness, first dissolving] himself into the sun disk [at his heart], that into the *vaṃ* syllable [on the sun

disk], that into the half-moon, that into the drop (*binduḥ*), that into the subtle sound (*nādaḥ*). He should even abandon the notion of that [subtle sound], having uttered the mantra with the recollection of its meaning:

om śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātmaḥ 'ham

om I am identical with the essence of the nondual (*vajra*)
knowledge of emptiness

The “knowledge of emptiness” (*śūnyatājñāna*) is “nondual” (*vajra*) [indicating a *karmadhāraya* compound]²⁷⁴ because of its indivisibility (*abhedyatvāt*). [When this compound is further compounded with *-svabhāva*, it forms a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound, meaning] the essence (*svabhāvaḥ*) of that [nondual knowledge of emptiness]. The meaning [of the *bahuvrīhi* compound with *-ātmaḥ* is]: “I have the nature (*-ātmaḥ*) of that [essence of the nondual knowledge of emptiness].”

Variations upon this mantra appear in other texts. First, the “knowledge” component is sometimes differently defined, as when the mantra is the means of contemplating different aspects of reality. In a relatively early appearance of the mantra, the meditator is identical with the “essence of the *dharmadhātu*” (*om dharmadhātusvabhāvātmaḥ 'ham*).²⁷⁵ Second, the grammatical structure of the compound is sometimes subtly altered to read: “I am identical (*ātmaḥ*) with the nondual essence (*vajrasvabhāva*) of X” (“X-*vajrasvabhāvātmaḥ 'ham*”), for example: “I am identical with the nondual essence of the body, speech, and mind of all yoginīs” (*om sarvayoginī-kāyavākcittavajrasvabhāvātmaḥ 'ham*).²⁷⁶ This must be a relatively early version of the mantra, because it is common in the *Guhyasamājatantra*, especially at the start of chapter 6, where it appears repeatedly in slightly different forms but with this same structure.²⁷⁷

The sequence in which the two emptiness mantras are given in the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* is significant. Our author follows the general pattern in *sādhana*s, which is to prescribe the purity mantra followed by the nonduality mantra. This is because the purification of subject and object (by means of the first mantra) leads one to the understanding (expressed by the second mantra) that there is simply a nondual consciousness, untainted by notions of subject and object. Thus: “Next he should utter the mantra ‘*om*—All existents are pure by nature. I am pure by nature.’ Then he should

contemplate emptiness for a while. Having done so he should identify with it (*ahamkāram utpādya*) [through meditating on the mantra] ‘*om*—I am identical with the essence of the nondual knowledge of emptiness.’”²⁷⁸

The Advayavajra-school sādhanas actually treat the purity mantra as an explanatory gloss rather than as an individual mantra. The Sanskrit loses the opening *om* for the purity mantra and restructures the sentence to make it look like an exegetical frame for the nonduality mantra.²⁷⁹

*śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvāḥ sarvadharmāḥ—
om śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātmako 'ham*

All existents have the essence of the nondual knowledge of emptiness—

“*om* I am identical with the essence of the nondual knowledge of emptiness.”

In some instances, these texts seem to present a third type of mantra altogether; one that combines the structure of the purity mantra (the comparison between “all existents” and “I”) with the compound of the nonduality mantra (“having the essence of the nondual knowledge of emptiness”): “Then [reflecting that?]*—all existents are identical (ātmakāḥ) with the essence of the nondual knowledge of emptiness—[one should be] meditating on the meaning of the mantra ‘om, I am identical with the essence of the nondual knowledge of emptiness (om śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātmako 'ham),’ which summarizes the essential nature of all things.*”²⁸⁰

In many sādhanas the “nondual knowledge” is described in terms of the yogin’s experience of “clear light” (*prabhāsvaraḥ*) or “radiance/manifestation” (*prakāśaḥ*), of his absorption in “innate bliss” (*sahajānandaḥ*), or of the “fusion of emptiness and radiance” (*yuganaddhaḥ*).²⁸¹ Anupamarakṣita (SM24) explains:²⁸²

He should meditate on the emptiness of all existents. Emptiness here is [to be contemplated] as follows: [All] this is just consciousness as radiance manifesting itself in various forms, as in a dream. There is nothing outside this consciousness. And because there is no object outside consciousness, there is no consciousness grasping it. So all existents are empty (*khasvarūpāḥ*). Their being devoid of (*śūnyatā-*) proliferations (*prapañca-*) is the

fact (*tattvam*) that they are void of all such conceptual elaborations (*kalpana-*) as object (*grāhya-*) and subject (*grāhaka-*); that is, their ultimate nature (*paramarthaḥ*). This is what is meant. One should reflect that the [whole] world of the animate and inanimate is of the nature of just nondual (*advaita-*) bringing forth (*prakāśa-*). This same emptiness he should make firm [or empower] with this mantra: “*om*—I am identical with the essence of the nondual knowledge of emptiness.”

However, the experience of nonduality (in whatever terms it is couched) is not the final goal of the sādhanā at this point. It is only a stepping stone and must itself be transcended by an understanding of emptiness that negates even the intrinsic existence of the nondual mind. This is why most sādhanas follow the meditations on emptiness with the instruction to remain for only a short while in the contemplation of emptiness as nonduality; the meditator is to remain in the contemplation, but “without resting on it [i.e., on emptiness] as an object” (*apratīṣṭhitarūpeṇa, apratīṣṭharūpeṇa*).²⁸³ This points to the Madhyamaka-based doctrine of universal nonobjectification (*sarvadharmāpratīṣṭhānavāda*), which claims that no experience should be “objectified” by the mind, that is, treated as an object with intrinsic existence—not even the experience of emptiness as nondual consciousness or mind. There are many brief references to this doctrine in the *Guhyasamayasādhanaṃālā*, including the well-attested verse: “Homage to you whose conceptualization is without discrimination, whose mind does not rest [on emptiness as an object] (*apratīṣṭhitamānasa*), who are without remembrance and recollections, without support!”²⁸⁴

The doctrine of universal nonobjectification arose to counterbalance the Yogācāra position on emptiness, which some exegetes saw as positing a really existent substrate to the mind.²⁸⁵ It is this Yogācāra-Madhyamaka synthesis of the eighth century to which our sādhanā writers are heir. Śāntarakṣita (c. 680–740 C.E.), who, with his pupil Kamalaśīla (c. 700–750 C.E.), spearheaded the reworking of Yogācāra expressions of emptiness, outlines this synthesis as follows: “Based on the [standpoint] of mind-only one must know the non-existence of external entities. Based on this standpoint [of the lack of intrinsic nature of all dharmas] one must know that there is no self at all even in that (which is mind-only). Therefore, those who hold the reins of logic while riding in the carriage of the two systems [Madhyamika and Yogācāra] attain the stage of a true Mahāyānist.”²⁸⁶

The effect of universal nonobjectification in the sādhanā is to endow a

purely relative or provisional value to the experience of emptiness engendered by the emptiness meditations. According to the *Madhyamaka* understanding of emptiness, even emptiness as the experience of nonduality may be (wrongly) taken hold of as a conceptual construct. But in fact, nondual consciousness, or nondual mind, is no different from anything else since it also lacks intrinsic existence and thus belongs to the realm of conventional truth. Seen from this basis, the nondual mind is—like everything else—merely illusory. This is the key to the following stages of the *sādhana*. The *sādhaka*'s insight into the dreamlike nature of the nondual mind gives him the power to produce or create whatever he chooses, and—crucially—to understand that those creations are just as “real” (or “unreal”) as anything else. In this way, he is able to re-create himself (indeed, the whole world) as the deity.

As the “accumulation of wisdom” in the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* is so brief, it omits two features often found in other *sādhana*s. First, the purpose of the emptiness meditations is said to be to abandon the “ordinary idea of self” (*prākṛtāhaṃkāraḥ*) that derives from epistemological error.²⁸⁷ During the self-generation that follows, the yogin will replace his ordinary or mundane personality, ego identity, or idea of self (*ahaṃkāraḥ*) with the divine *ahaṃkāra* of the goddess or deity (*devyahaṃkāraḥ*, *devatāhaṃkāra*). The emptiness meditations are sometimes likened to the death of the meditator, as he dissolves his ordinary self into the *dharmakāya*.²⁸⁸ He will undertake the following stages of the meditation in the form of an intermediate being—for example, as a *nāda* (an aspect of subtle sound) situated in space looking down from above. Only once the site has been meditatively prepared for the deity with the construction of the vajra ground and temple palace will the yogin gradually transform into the seed-syllable for the gestation and birth of the deity (K. Gyatso 1997: 80–88).

The second point commonly made is that the experience of emptiness is not only nonconceptual but blissful. The yogin must therefore make a conscious effort to rouse himself from the meditation, spurred on by his altruistic motivation. The early yogatantra *sādhana* of *Vilāsavajra* states that, while the yogin is absorbed in meditation on the purified *dharmadhātu*, he is separated from the actions that bring welfare to all beings; he continues with the next stage of the *sādhana* only because of the force of the previously formed bodhisattva vow in his mental continuum.²⁸⁹ In tantric *sādhana*s the bodhisattva vow is commonly formulated in terms of the deity's *ahaṃkāra*. It voices the *sādhaka*'s aspiration to “become” the

deity and to make the whole world have her form. Although couched in the language of deity yoga, such prescriptions end the accumulations of merit and wisdom in a manner befitting a full-fledged Mahāyāna bodhisattva, of whom it is said (albeit poetically) that he foregoes his entry into nirvāṇa for the benefit of sentient beings: “For a moment he should meditate on emptiness and so calm his mind. Having recollected his previous vow, he should again recall just the seed-syllable. Then he should abandon inactive emptiness, being filled with compassion for others, thinking, ‘I have betrayed [my fellow] creatures. [For] how shall I rescue them from the bottomless ocean of saṃsāra if I am in this state of complete quiescence?’”²⁹⁰

Creating the Circle of Protection

vv. 13–15, §3–§5 In the next stage of the sādhanā, the yogin aims to re-create the ordinary meditation site into a pure, adamantine realm, suitable for the “birth” of Vajravārāhī. This is described here in vv. 13–15 with a prose redaction taken from Cakrasaṃvara sources in prose paragraphs §3–§5. The newly created meditation site is referred to as the “circle of protection” (*rakṣācakram*), for, in the course of the visualization, the yogin imagines a protective shield of vajras that encompasses the entire universe.²⁹¹ Our sources describe a structure somewhat like that of a traditional temple. The outer walls define an immeasurable square precinct above which soars the domed “roof” (literally, “cage,” *pañjaram*) with a dangling canopy (in classical fashion) over the central point.²⁹² It is here, within an elaborate temple palace, that the deity will be generated.

vv. 13–14 The meditation begins with the visualization of *hūṃ*, the seed-syllable of a vajra. The yogin then sees the syllable transforming into a double vajra (fig. 26). Other sādhanā writers embellish the process, adding that the double vajra is also empowered by *hūṃ* at its hub, or that it is visualized on a sun disk and is blue in color.²⁹³ In our text the circle of protection is constructed from light rays that blaze out from the first double vajra. It consists of five component parts: the vajra ground, vajra roof, vajra canopy, a net (best understood here as a “shield”) of arrows (*śara-jālam*), and four outer vajra walls. In comparison, the sequence given in the *Abhisamayamañjarī* describes the installation of six parts, starting with the walls and including a ring of flames, all to be visualized simultaneously.²⁹⁴ (See table 12.)

Table 12. *Circle of protection*

	<i>Vajravārāhī Sādhana</i> (GSS11)	<i>Abhisamayamañjarī</i> (GSS5)
1st	ground (<i>bhūmiḥ</i>)	vajra walls (<i>vajraprākārāḥ</i>)
2nd	roof (<i>pañjaram</i>)	ground (<i>bhūmiḥ</i>)
3rd	canopy (<i>vitānaḥ</i>)	shield of arrows (<i>śarajālam</i>)
4th	shield of arrows (<i>śarajālam</i>)	vajra roof (<i>vajrapañjaram</i>)
5th	[four outer] walls (<i>prākārāḥ</i>)	vajra canopy (<i>vajravitānaḥ</i>)
6th		vajra flames (<i>vajravālah</i>)

Sādhana often elaborate on the circle of protection. Its parts are said to be composed of burning vajras, or of the blazing rays that issue from the vajras themselves. Where the vajras or rays interlace, they fuse together so entirely that they become “a single mass without interstices.”²⁹⁵ Commonly, the vajra ground is made of vajras that “reach to the bottom of the world” (e.g., GSS5 Sed p. 129, K18r1) and thus encompass the whole universe. Rays then issue out from the ground to produce the roof and canopy. Alternatively, the rays from the *hūṃ* may shoot upward to form the canopy, downward to produce the floor, and sideways to produce the walls.²⁹⁶ The arrows in the net, or “shield” of arrows, are also composed of vajras, as the *Abhisamayamañjarī* reveals: “above [the vajra ground is] an extremely dense shield of arrows (*śarajālam*) [clustered] in the form of five-pointed vajras.”²⁹⁷ The vajras are so vibrant and blaze with rays so intense that their effulgence engulfs the whole maṇḍala. This forms a protective outer layer of flames or fiery vajras that complete the circle of protection.²⁹⁸ When depicted in tangkas, the flames are either flame-colored, or the colors of the five buddha families—usually yellow, blue, red, and green (Beer 1999: 23)—symbolizing the supreme protection of wisdom. The direction in which the flames swirl is also significant. As Sanderson (1994a n. 47) has shown in an analysis of 139 maṇḍalas from the Ngor monastery’s collection (bSod-nams-rgya-mtsho 1989), the maṇḍalas drawn from tantras in the cycles of Śaṃvara and Hevajra in the yoganiruttara class nearly all depict the flames swirling

counterclockwise, while maṇḍalas of other tantric cycles depict the flames swirling in the auspicious, clockwise direction.

The creation of the vajra walls is often more complex still, as we see in the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* (v. 14 and §4). The yogin visualizes the syllables of four mantras, which he sees shooting out into the four directions of space, emitting “a net of quivering rays”:

oṃ sumbha nisumbha huṃ huṃ phaṭ.
oṃ grhṇa grhṇa huṃ huṃ phaṭ.
oṃ grihṇāpaya grihṇāpaya huṃ huṃ phaṭ.
oṃ ānaya ho bhagavān vajra huṃ huṃ phaṭ.

The blazing rays from the mantras “fasten in place” the four vajra walls in a gigantic square. This is confirmed by a parallel passage from the *Abhisamayamañjarī*, which also shows how the yogin generates the walls from the light issuing from the syllables (which, according to one Tibetan Cakrasaṃvara sādhanā, are themselves the color of their respective directions):²⁹⁹

With a snap of his left forefinger and thumb he should project out (*utsārya*) the mantras, [uttering] (*iti*)—*oṃ sumbha nisumbha huṃ huṃ phaṭ*—*oṃ grihṇa grihṇa huṃ huṃ phaṭ*—*oṃ grihṇāpaya grihṇāpaya huṃ huṃ phaṭ*—*oṃ ānaya ho bhagavān vajra huṃ huṃ phaṭ*. [Then,] with rays from the mantras beginning [*oṃ*] *sumbha* [etc.], in the directions east, north, west, and south respectively [i.e., counterclockwise], he should imagine four vajra walls [stretching] as far as he wishes, colored [respectively] black, green, red, and yellow, vast in size, blazing, [and] extending from the top of the world of Brahmā (“Brahmāṇḍa”) to the underworld (“Rasātala”).

In the Cakrasaṃvara tradition, this four-part mantra is prescribed as a method for installing the complete circle of protection, and is referred to as the “four-faced mantra” (*caturmukhamantraḥ*).³⁰⁰ The function of the walls is to define the outermost limits of a meditation ground that encompasses the cosmos. In some texts, they are said to form a “vajra binding” (*vajrabandhaḥ*) or a “boundary” (*sīman*), that is, the topographical limit of the area that the sādhanā is to bring under his control.³⁰¹

The circle of protection is installed in some sādhanas simply through the

recitation of a set of six mantras.³⁰² Most of the mantras refer to the feature they install (the noun in stem form), and revolve around the seed-syllable of the vajra, *hūṃ*. For the shield of arrows, however, the mantra is based on the seed-syllable of the arrow (*trāṃ*), while the mantra for the final ring of flames is the invocation of Vajrajvālānārka. Vajrajvālānārka appears in the yogatantra corpus as the wrathful head of the vajra family (see Ricca and Lo Bue 1993: plate 44). His connection with the circle of protection is found in the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* (p. 134), where his mantra follows its installation. The installation mantras are shown in table 13. Various features of the circle of protection are also visible on tangka paintings encircling the temple palace, as in plates 12–14.

Table 13. *Mantras for installing the circle of protection*

1	ground (<i>bhūmim</i>)	<i>oṃ medinī* vajribhava vajrabandha hūṃ</i>
2	walls (<i>prākārām</i>)	<i>oṃ vajraprākāra hūṃ vaṃ hūṃ</i>
3	roof (<i>pañjaram</i>)	<i>oṃ vajrapañjara hūṃ paṃ hūṃ</i>
4	canopy (<i>vitānam</i>)	<i>oṃ vajravitāna hūṃ khaṃ hūṃ</i>
5	arrow shield (<i>śarajālam</i>)	<i>oṃ vajraśarajāla trāṃ sāṃ trāṃ</i>
6	ring of flames	<i>oṃ vajrajvālānārka hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ</i>
<p>* • <i>medinī</i> conj.; <i>medinī</i> K (GSS3, GSS31). I emend on the basis of GSS5 (K18r3), which preserves a vocative, <i>medinī</i>. However, <i>medinī</i> is attested in the Tibetan translations to the Advaya vajra texts SM251 and SM217 (Sanderson 1994a), and in the <i>Vārāhyabhyudayatānta</i> (from ADUT 4.28).</p>		

v. 15,
§3–§4

The next verse in the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* continues the visualization of the circle of protection by explaining how to purify the space within. It describes a method for expelling any demonic beings (v. 15 *māras*) or negative obstacles (§4 *vighnas*) that may have become trapped inside the vajra zone during its construction. This is done by means of eight fearsome goddesses. The first four (Kākāsyā, Ulūkāsyā, Śvānāsyā, and Sūkarāsyā) occupy the cardinal directions. They are produced from the same four mantras that the yogin has just imagined producing the four vajra walls (*oṃ sumbha nisumbha*, etc.). The remaining four goddesses (Yamadādhī, Yamadūti, Yamadaṃṣṭrīṇī, and Yamamathanī) occupy the intermediate directions and are produced from the brilliant rays emitted by the four mantras. These rays

are said to issue from the corners where the four mantras—that is, the walls—intersect. It appears that the mantras and the walls are the same thing here. Although the mantras previously “became” the walls (in v. 14/§4), now the walls are understood to “be” the mantras.³⁰³ The “four-faced” mantra is clearly associated with protection. In an earlier text (STTS ch. 6: 56), the mantras appear in the context of subjugating Śaiva deities. Here, the mantric units *sumbha* and *nisumbha* provide an unmistakable reference to violent defeat, as they were originally names of terrible *asuras* who could be subdued only by the goddess Devī herself.³⁰⁴

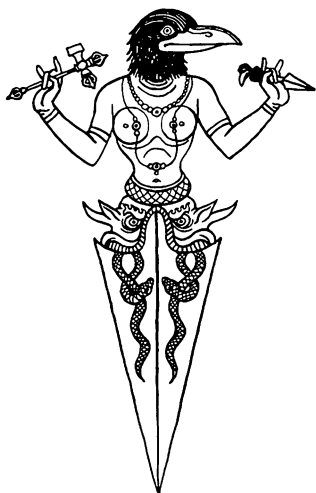


Fig. 24. *Dagger deity: Kākāsyā*.
 Drawn according to the Sanskrit
 text by Dharmacāri Āloka.

As we may expect, the eight goddesses produced by these mantras in the sādhanā have gruesome forms (§4). Below the navel, they assume the shape of a ritual stake or dagger (*kīlaḥ*), while in their two arms they hold a vajra hammer and a stake bearing their own form (*ātmarūpakīla*). This is shown, according to the Sanskrit prescriptions, in figure 24. Ritual daggers (*kīlaḥ* / Tib.: *phur ba*) have a complex iconography, as they are understood to be animated by, and hence to represent, deities.³⁰⁵

Having visualized the awful goddesses, the yogin imagines them herding together all the obstacles inside the universe of the vajra zone and destroying them. To accomplish this, the goddesses utter the powerful vajric syllable *hūṃ!* upon which eight “wells” appear in each of the directions

“near” (*samīpa*) the vajra walls.³⁰⁶ The goddesses now force the obstacles into these wells by means of two aggressive mantras: first, the “staking mantra” common to the higher tantras (*kīlanamantrah*; cf. GS ch. 14, vv. 59–65), and next the “hammering mantra” (*ākotanamantrah*). In the parallel account of the *Abhisamayamañjarī*, the mantras also transform the slain obstacles into enlightened consciousness “by means of great bliss” (*mahāsukhena*), so that they have “the single form of suchness” (*tathataikarūpaṃ*). This text adds that once they have served their purpose, the yogin imagines the goddesses themselves dissolving into the walls, leaving him convinced that “the world is made of one solid mass without interstices and is free of obstacles.”³⁰⁷

A final note on the circle of protection concerns its position within the structure of the *sādhana* as a whole. In the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* it appears immediately after the yogin has completed the bodhisattva accumulations of merit and wisdom. In some *sādhana*s, however, it is prescribed before the practitioner has performed the latter with its meditations on emptiness. Indeed, this seems to have been the earlier version.³⁰⁸ The *Abhisamayamañjarī* explains the different methods by stating that, for advanced practitioners, their understanding of emptiness affords supreme protection in itself, and so they do not need to reinforce the effect of the emptiness meditations with the additional protection of the vajra ground, as ordinary practitioners do:³⁰⁹

However, in the [*Heruka*]-*Abhisamaya* (the “[*Heruka*] Method of Realization”) of *Lūyīpāda*, the meditation on emptiness is taught following the canopy of protection and so forth, because one who has exceptional insight is qualified [by his spiritual maturity to do so]. For him, emptiness itself (*śūnyataiva*)³¹⁰ is the supreme protection. But in this [*sādhana*], because [of the needs] of the mass of ordinary folk, the canopy of protection and so on is taught immediately after the meditation on emptiness. And in many [other] methods of realization (*abhisamayas*) this same sequence is found.

The Cremation Grounds

v. 16a and vv. 70–76 The next line in the *sādhana* directs the yogin to visualize a suitable dwelling place for the goddess inside the circle of protection. In accordance

with her *kāpālika* character, this takes the form of (eight) cremation grounds. Although many tantric sādhanas mention the cremation grounds in brief, the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* is one of only a couple works in the *Guhyasamayāsādhanamālā* to give a full account of them.³¹¹ Although they are relatively undeveloped in earlier yoginītantras, in the Cakrasaṃvara corpus they appear as a set of eight charnel grounds that extend into the eight directions of space. It is upon these sources that our author draws when he appends seven verses (vv. 70–76) to the end of the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* in order to describe the cremation grounds in more detail. In the discussion that follows, I draw upon these works. They are summarized in tabular form in table 14 (with notes).³¹²

vv. 70–
76

The *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* verses describe the cremation grounds first in the cardinal, and then in the intermediate, directions. Here we see that each cremation ground has its own distinctive characteristics. Each is individually named and has a named set of features and creatures dwelling within it. These include a tree, a protector, a serpent (*nāgaḥ*), and a cloud. Other texts also mention demons (*rākṣasas*), great adepts (*mahāsiddhas*), funeral monuments (*caityas*), mountains, fires, lakes (the abode of the *nāgas*), and rivers (which in pictorial representations often divide the cremation grounds). Sometimes the inhabitants are described in relation to each other, as when the *nāga* at the foot of the tree makes obeisance to the protector (see notes to table 14).

Other accounts are given in more general terms. The cremation grounds are home to fearsome creatures, such as crows, owls, vultures, jackals, hawks, lion-faced and tiger-faced beings, lizards, camels, and so on. Gruesome corpses are found impaled on spears, hanging, half-burned, or decapitated; their dismembered parts are scattered about: skulls, knees, large bellies, heads with tusks, and bald heads. Supernatural spirits haunt the grisly place, such as *yakṣas*, *vetālas*, *rākṣasas*, and others roaring with *kilikilā* laughter. Finally, we find tantric adepts and spiritual beings resident there; *siddhas* with magical powers, *vidyādhara*s, troops of yogins and yoginīs, and so forth.³¹³ Another sādhanā from the *Guhyasamayāsādhanamālā* collection (GSS34) describes the cremation grounds as follows:³¹⁴

In this [explanation?] there are the cremation grounds; they are harsh and terribly frightening; they [each] have a protector, a tree, a serpent lord, and a cloud king. They are replete with the eight [auspicious] signs. This is the characteristic of the cremation ground. It is said: He should perform the prior service

actually in the cremation ground in which [there are terrible disturbances] such as fearsome fights, which is disfigured, which is very gruesome, [and] in which there is a terrifying noise from the crowds of female ghosts. [He should perform it] in the company of female ghosts, female goblins, female jackals, and so on.

The cremation grounds are often vividly depicted in *tangkas*. Commonly, the different cremation grounds are separated by rivers (usually eight), which are seen running through them, as in plates 1, 11, and 13 (and on the detail of the *tangka* shown here on the back cover). Within the cremation grounds, we see depicted the protectors and their consorts on their appropriate mounts, often presiding at the center of each cremation ground, seated by a tree and surrounded by fearsome animals, birds, skeletal remains, and plenty of bones. We can also see fires, *caityas*, *nāgas*, *mahāsiddhas*, devotees, and wild dancing figures. In some *tangkas* (as in the small details of plate 11), we find the cremation grounds depicted inside the circle of protection, with auspicious embellishments beyond that (although GSS₃₄ cited above included the auspicious signs as features of the cremation grounds themselves). Other artists depict the cremation grounds outside the circle of protection (as in the crowded and lively scenes on plate 12). Where the cremation grounds appear as a pictorial backdrop to *tangkas* (as in plates 1 and 11), it is particularly clear that they are not meant to take a peripheral place in the outer reaches of the *maṇḍala*, but that they underpin the whole scene, with the rest of the *maṇḍala* superimposed upon them.³¹⁵

As they fill the entire *vajra* ground (which itself fills all of space), the cremation grounds take on cosmic proportions. In this respect it is interesting to note that some of the cremation-ground features bear similarities to the traditional Abhidharmic cosmos. This suggests that the higher tantras are recasting the cosmos along *kāpālika* lines so that the eight cremation grounds become a cosmological model in their own right. Thus, just as the cremation grounds, spread in the eight directions, are presided over by the traditional protectors and include eight mountains and eight lakes, so the cosmos according to the Abhidharma describes continents spreading in the directions (although twelve in number), with eight mountains (Mount Meru and its seven mountain ranges) and eight “lakes.”³¹⁶ Features of our own continent, *Jambudvīpa*, may also be echoed in the composition of the cremation grounds, as it too contains sets of mountains, a lake (Lake *Anavāpta* beyond *Gandhamādana* Mountain), and rivers. The *jambu* tree is

located near the lake (ADK ch. 3, v. 57), and there are also eight nāgas who are said to sustain the earth (ADK ch. 3, v. 83b–d with Pruden 1991 n. 472).

The development of a cremation-ground cosmology is evident in myths from the yogatantra corpus dealing with the subjugation of Śaiva deities. In the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* (STTS ch. 6), the conversion of Śiva brings about the creation of a new buddha field in the form of a cremation ground called “Covered with Ashes” (*Bhasmāchanna*), while Śiva himself becomes the tathāgata “Lord of Ashes” (*Bhasmeśvara*). The new cosmological perspective is strikingly illustrated in the contemporary (eighth-century) **Guhyagarbha*. In this text, Heruka is emanated in warrior stance upon a mountain of bones surrounded by an ocean of blood—a clear reference to the traditional cosmology of Mount Meru and its surrounding ocean. It is in just these terms that a twelfth-century Tibetan work seeks to account for the origin of the cremation-ground cosmos.³¹⁷

At the beginning of this *kaliyuga*, beings started contending with each other through their common animosity. As the bodies started piling up from their mutual slaughter, they were removed to the various directions, and the eight great charnel grounds formed. From the corpses ran blood and, as its vapor rose into the sky, the eight clouds evolved. When the clouds gave off rain, the eight rivers developed, and in them the eight divine nāgas arose. Mists came from the rivers, and the eight trees grew, each of them with its own protector. Then to the south of Sumeru, in the continent of Jambudvīpa, Maheśvara’s emanation arose.

Table 14. *The eight cremation grounds*ⁱ

	E	N	W	S	NE
Cremation gr. (<i>śmaśānam</i>)	Caṇḍogra	Gahvara	“Karaṅkaka” ⁱⁱ (Jvālākula)	“Subhīṣaṇa”	Aṭṭaṭṭahāsa
Tree ⁱⁱⁱ (<i>vykṣaḥ</i>)	Śiriśa ^{iv}	Bodhi ^v	Kaṅkeli ^{vi}	Cūta ^{vii}	Trivaṭa ^{viii}
Protector ^{xii} (<i>dikpatiḥ</i>)	Indra ^{xiii}	Kubera ^{xiv}	Varuṇa ^{xv}	Yama ^{xvi}	Īśāna ^{xvii}
Serpent ^{xix} (<i>nāgaḥ</i>)	Vāsuki ^{xxii}	Takṣaka ^{xxiii}	Karkoṭa ^{xxiv}	Padma ^{xxv}	Mahāpadma ^{xxvi}
Cloud ^{xxix} (<i>meghaḥ</i>)	Garjita	Ghūrṇita	Ghora	Āvartaka ^{xxxi}	Ghana
Caitya Mountain	<i>Sitavajra</i> <i>Sumeru</i>	<i>Samṣkāravajra</i> <i>Mandara</i>	<i>Samjñāvajra</i> <i>Kailāsa</i>	<i>Piśunavajra</i> <i>Malaya</i>	<i>Cittavajra</i> <i>Mahendra</i>
[Not in SUT/GSS1]					

i For the sources drawn together in this table, see endnote 312.

ii See Textual Note to v. 70 for a discussion of the names of the western and southern cremation grounds.

iii Meiszahl (1980: 9) states that exegetes often equate the eight trees with the eight *bodhi*-trees of the buddhas (the current buddha, plus the seven previous ones who also attained enlightenment under trees). The *Śmaśānavidhi* (v. 24) states that each tree has a secondary tree (*upavykṣaḥ*) beside it, which is lovely and covered in *vaṇṇa* flowers and fruit. This text also states (v. 23) that in each tree there lives a demon (*rākṣasaḥ*), naked and wrathful in form, who eats human flesh and who has the animal face of the mount of the *dikpati* in his cremation ground. These *rākṣasas* would seem to be the same as the eight *ṣeṭrapālās* mentioned in the *Adbhutaśmaśānālamkāra* (Meiszahl 1980: 19), whose colors correspond to those of the *dikpālās* and who are also animal-headed, their theriocephalic forms determined by the *dikpālā*'s mount. In the details from the Vajravārāhi tangka on plate 1, the tree-dwelling *rākṣasas* are seated on the mount, while the *dikpati* is without a mount but is in embrace with his consort. The artistic representations in Meiszahl's tangkas show the *rākṣasa/ṣeṭrapālā* seated in the tree, his lower body masked by leaves, and only his torso visible. The *Adbhutaśmaśānavidhi* specifies that he holds a chopper and skull bowl, but the details from Meiszahl's planche 1 (*ibid.*: 85–92) show different *abhinayas* with no attributes. Some illustrations also seem to depict the *rākṣasas* as female. The individual names of these tree-dwellers are absent in the *Śmaśānavidhi*. Meiszahl states that in the *Adbhutaśmaśānavidhi*, the *ṣeṭrapālā* “porte le nom, parfois en abrégé, du cimetière qu'il habite.” In contrast, however, the notes to his planche 1 (*ibid.*: 85–92) ascribe an incomplete set of names determined by the particular therianthrope form, namely, Gajamukha, white (E); Manuṣyamukha, yellow (N); *Makaramukha/Makarāśya? (not given), red (W); *Mahiṣamukha/Mahiṣāśya? (not given), black (S); Gomukha (NE); Chagānana, red (SE); Ghorāndhakāra, buffalo's head (SW); Mrganana (NW).

iv Usually Śiriśa, but Śukataru in GSS34, both names for *Acacia Sirissa*. Perhaps problematically, the *Adbhutaśmaśānālamkāra* gives *harivāsa* (*Ficus religiosa*) for the east and **bodhi*vykṣaḥ for the north, which are synonyms. Meiszahl (1980: 19) doesn't note any problem in the text.

v *asvattha* in SUT (17 v. 38a), *Śmaśānavidhi* (v. 6), and *Śmaśānālamkāratantra* (Meiszahl 1980: 22), also a name of the bodhi tree, the sacred figtree (*Ficus religiosa*).

vi The Kaṅkeli (also in SUT ch. 17, v. 38b) is *Jonesia Asoka*. In other texts, it is called *Asoka*, e.g., in the *Adbhutaśmaśānālamkāra* (Meiszahl 1980: 19) and *Śmaśānavidhi* (v. 8). It has flaming red flowers.

SE	SW	NW
Lakṣmivana	Ghorāndhakāra	Kilakīlārava
Karañja ^{ix}	Latā-Parkaṭi ^x	Arjuna ^{xi}
Vaiśvānara ^{xviii}	Jātudhāna ^{xix}	Prabhañjana ^{xx}
Huluhulu ^{xxvii}	Kulika ^{xxviii}	Śaṅkha ^{xxix}
Prapurāṇa ^{xxxii}	Varṣa ^{xxxiii}	Caṇḍa
<i>Kāyavajra</i> <i>Gandhamādana</i>	<i>Ratnavajra</i> <i>Hemavarvata</i>	<i>Dharmavajra</i> <i>Śrīparvata</i>

vii The mango tree.

viii The triple banyan (*Ficus indica*), also reported as *vaṭa* (in SUT ch. 17, v. 38a; GSS34) and *nyagrodha* (in *Śmaśānavidhi* v. 12 and *Adbhutaśmaśānālāmḱāra*, Meisezahl 1980: 19).

ix Karañja is *Pongamia Glabra*.

x Latā-Parkaṭi, the Creeper-Parkaṭi/Parkaṭi (*Ficus infectoria*).

xi Arjuna is *Terminalia-Arjuna*, listed as *pārthiva* (in SUT ch. 17, v. 38d), and *dhanañjana* (GSS34). Meisezahl (1980: 19) reports it as questionable (*srid grub?*) in *Adbhutaśmaśānālāmḱāra*.

xii An ancient set (e.g., Manu v. 96), according to Purāṇic legend, the eight protectors (*aṣṭadikpālāḥ*) were appointed to each direction by Brahma. They are listed variously as: Indra (E), Kubera (N), Varuṇa (W), Yama (S), Soma/Candra, also Īśāni/Pṛthivi (NE), Agni (SE), Sūrya/Nirṛti (SW), Pavana/Vāyu (NW). The protectors (also termed here *dikpatīs* /*dikpālas*/*lokapālas*) are described iconographically in Lūyipāda's *Śmaśānavidhi*, and the *Adbhutaśmaśānālāmḱāra* as reported by Meisezahl (1980: 19). The *Śmaśānavidhi* (v. 20) states that they are in union with their "wives" (*sapatnikāḥ*) and that they have four arms, two of which make the *añjali* gesture of obeisance, the second pair holding the emblems (usually a skull bowl and a tantric weapon). The *Śmaśānālāmḱāratāntṛa* (Meisezahl 1980: 21–22) includes Sūrya, Soma, and Pṛthivi as co-protectors. Some tangkas show the protectors upon their mounts; others sitting at the base of the tree (Meisezahl, K. Gyatso).

xiii Indra is king of the gods, also called Śakra (*Śmaśānavidhi* v. 4) and Devendra (GSS34). In the *Śmaśānavidhi* he is described mounted on his elephant, Airāvata. He is white and holds a vajra (left) and skull bowl (right); in *Adbhutaśmaśānālāmḱāra* (Meisezahl *ibid.*: 20) he is said to hold a vajra (left), and make the threatening gesture, the *tarjanimudrā* (right).

xiv Synonyms for Kubera are Dhanada (in SUT ch. 17 v. 39a), Yakṣādhipa (in GSS34) or Vaiśravaṇa (Gyatso). Kubera is the custodian of wealth, and king of the *yakṣas* (cf. Vana-parvan ch. 3, v. 10 of the *Mahābhārata*). In *kāvya*, he appears famously at the start of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*. In Purāṇic literature, *yakṣas* are a class of "semi-god" (*upadevāḥ*), which include the *vidyādharas*, *apsaras*, *yakṣa*, *rākṣasas*, *gandharvas*, *kinnaras*, *piśācas*, *guhya*, *siddhas*, and *bhūtas*. These are all spirits associated with cremation grounds in Buddhist texts and appear in the *balī* mantras. Iconographically in the *Śmaśānavidhi*, Kubera has a human mount (v. 6: *naravāhana-*), is yellow, and "holds a mongoose spitting out a jewel" (v. 6cd: *nakulam udgilad ratnaṃ dhatte...*) and skull bowl. In the *Adbhutaśmaśānālāmḱāra* (Meisezahl 1980: 20) he is yellow, mounted on a "nidhi" and holds a club (left) and makes the gesture of threatening (right).

- xv Varuṇa is a prominent god in the Vedas; his later association is as lord of the waters. Hence, he is listed as Nāgendra (in SUT ch. 17, v. 39b) and is described in the *Adbhutaśmaśānālamkāra* (Meisezahl 1980: 20) as mounted on a *makara*. He is red in color and brandishes a lasso (left). K. Gyatso states that he is white, has a hood of seven snakes, and holds a snake rope and skull cup.
- xvi Yama is associated with the south and with the sun (*vivasvat*, descended from Sūrya), hence he is also “Vaivasvata” (GSS34) or “Yama Vaivasvata.” He is also god of death, Kāla, whose agents brings departed souls to Yamapurī. Iconographically, the *Śmaśānavidhi* describes Yama as mounted on a buffalo (v. 10: *mahiśārūḍha*-), black, red-eyed, fat, fearsome, holding a stick/cudgel (*daṇḍaḥ*) and a skull bowl. This accords with the description reported by Meisezahl (1980: 20) in the *Adbhutaśmaśānālamkāra*.
- xvii The northeast (*aiśāni*) is associated with Śiva, hence Īśāna also appears as Nilalohita (in GSS34), a synonym of Śiva in epic and Purāṇic tales, and Kapāliśa (in *Śmaśānavidhi* v. 12). He is described as white, carrying a trident (*śūli*), mounted on a bull, and wearing a tiger-skin (in *Śmaśānavidhi* v. 12 and *Adbhutaśmaśānālamkāra* Meisezahl 1980: 20).
- xviii The southeast (*āgneyya*) belongs to Agni (in *Śmaśānavidhi* v. 14 and the *Adbhutaśmaśānālamkāra* Meisezahl 1980: 20). Here, the synonym “Vaiśvānara” is given, the name of the fire in the Cāturmāsya sacrifice; hence it is also listed as Hutavahadigiśa (GSS34) and “Hutaśana” (in SUT ch. 17, v. 39c = GSS16). He is described in the *Adbhutaśmaśānālamkāra* as mounted on a goat, potbellied, red-limbed, having a “firepit skull bowl” (? *kuṇḍakapālī*) and a “pot with rosary” (*sākṣasūtrakamaṇḍaluḥ*).
- xix The southwest (*nairṛti*) is the quarter of the demons, lorded over by the demon-imp Nairṛti (in *Śmaśānavidhi* v. 16). Nairṛti is the child of Nirṛti, “Calamity/Death,” wife of Mṛtyu. He is also called Rākṣasa (as in *Adbhutaśmaśānālamkāra* Meisezahl 1980: 20) and Niścāreśa, “Lord of Night Wanderers” (in GSS34). “Jātudhāna” also appears as *Yātudhāna* (Monier-Williams 1899), a kind of evil spirit or demon responsible for sorcery or witchcraft (*yātuḥ*). He is described in the *Śmaśānavidhi* (v. 16) and *Adbhutaśmaśānālamkāra* as blue-back (*nila*), standing on a corpse, holding sword and skull bowl, naked, with men’s skulls on his head [as a chaplet].
- xx The northwest (*vāyavi*) is protected by Prabhañjana [Vāyu], hence listed also as the wind, “Vāta” (in *Śmaśānavidhi* v. 18), but—problematically, suggesting the southwest—as Rākṣasendra/Rākṣasa in SUT (ch. 17, v. 39d) and *Adbhutaśmaśānālamkāra* (Meisezahl 1980: 20). He is described in the *Adbhutaśmaśānālamkāra* and *Śmaśānavidhi* as blue/smoke-colored (respectively), mounted on an antelope (*mṛgaḥ*), holding a yellow banner (*dhvajajḥ*) and skull bowl.
- xxi The nāga kings (here, *nāgarāja*-, *nāgeśa*-, *nāgendra*-, *bhujageśa*-) are described iconographically in Lūyipāda’s *Śmaśānavidhi* and the related *Adbhutaśmaśānālamkāra* reported by Meisezahl (1980: 19). The descriptions are missing for the intermediate directions NW and NE, possibly due to lost verses. This text states that all wear white ornaments (v. 19: *śitālamkārabhūṣitāḥ*). The plates to planche 1 (Meisezahl *ibid.*: 85–92) show that the nāgas have human torsos above their coiled snaketails and raised hoods above their heads. Meisezahl (1980: 20–21) consults Bu ston for their colors and describes the markings that each bears upon his raised hood. They all make obeisance to the *dikpati* who is before them. They are seated beneath the tree (in *Śmaśānavidhi* v. 17). Their presence must be related to that of the cloud king, since nāgas are associated with water and rain. More complex accounts (e.g., K. Gyatso and some tangkas) provide a lake in the cremation ground as an abode for the nāga.
- xxii In the *Śmaśānavidhi* (v. 5), Vāsukī is white (Bu ston: yellow), with a blue lotus on his hood. He makes the *añjali*, bowing before the lord before him.
- xxiii The *Śmaśānavidhi* states that Takṣaka is red (v. 7: *bandhūkapaṣpasamñibhaḥ*) and has a *svastika* on his hood, making the *añjali* with bowed head. Meisezahl (following Bu ston) states that he is black.
- xxiv In the *Śmaśānavidhi* (v. 9), the nāga Karkoṭa is described as “resplendent as dark-green *dūrvā* grass” (*dūrvāśyāmasamadyutiḥ*), with three lines on his throat, and making the *añjali*. (Meisezahl, following Bu ston, describes him as red.)
- xxv The *Śmaśānavidhi* (v. 11) states that Padma is white and has on his hood speckles of

- sea[water] (Meisezahl reads: *vaṅkabinduśironkitaḥ*; Finot reads *vaṅga*°, a type of flower mentioned on the *upavṛkṣaḥ* in v. 24). He supplicates his teacher (*yācann ājñāṃ ca śāstāraṃ*) in the usual manner with the *añjali*. (Meisezahl, following Bu ston, states that he is red.)
- xxvi In the *Śmaśānavidhi* (v. 13), Mahāpadma is “lovely like the moon,” with a trident (*triśūlaḥ*) on his hood, making the usual *añjali*. (Meisezahl, following Bu ston, states that he is green.)
- xxvii Huluhulu is also “Ananta” (in the *Śmaśānavidhi* v. 15 and *Adbhutaśmaśānālaṃkāra* Meisezahl 1980: 20), described there as [colored] like a peacock’s neck (*śikhikanṭhanibha*), with a lotus on his hood, making the *añjali* before his lord’s feet. (In Meisezahl, following Bu ston, he is yellow-white.)
- xxviii Kulika/Kuliśa is described in the *Śmaśānavidhi* as smoke-colored, having a half-moon on his hood, seated beneath the mass of creepers (*latājatyām*), making the *añjali*. (In Meisezahl, following Bu ston, he is yellow-white.) The mss. of GSS report Kuliśa (see GSS11 edition, apparatus to v. 77).
- xxix Śaṅkha is also listed as Śaṅkhaṇḍa (GSS34). In *Śmaśānavidhi* (v. 19), there is a very brief description of him as yellow, with spots [on his hood] (*kalaṅkita*), or a *tilaka* (Meisezahl reporting the *Adbhutaśmaśānālaṃkāra*).
- xxx The clouds, or cloud kings (*megharāja* GSS34), in the cardinal directions have names that are associated with the loud noises of thunderclouds; the names of the clouds in the intermediate directions (GSS11 v. 77) are associated with rain. The names in the *Śmaśānavidhi* (v. 21) are different in some cases (the sequence for the directions is insecure): Jayabhadra, Śrīnando (Tib: *Śrīghana, Meisezahl 1980: 37), Vṛṣṭisupriya, Drutaghoṣa, Caṇḍa, Varṣa, Purāṇa, and Cāpala. As these names suggest, the clouds are loud and terrifying, emitting lightning and torrents of rain (*Śmaśānavidhi* v. 22). Their presence in the cremation grounds may be connected with the appearance of the nāgas who are deemed responsible for rain.
- xxxi Āvartaka: “Personified Cloud,” also listed as Balāhaka, “Thundercloud” (in GSS34).
- xxxii Pūraṇa (in SUT ch. 17, v. 41c), but GSS11 mss. report *prapurāṇa*.
- xxxiii Varṣa is also given as Varṣaṇa (GSS34).

The Cosmos and Temple Palace

(See v. 35) The commonest method of visualizing the deity's dwelling place in mainstream sādhanas—even in higher tantric sādhanas, such as the *Abhisamayamañjarī*—is not as a cremation ground but as the traditional Abhidharmic universe. This begins with the visualization of the elements that underpin the earth's surface; the yogin then sees the axial mountain Sumeru (or Meru) rising up into the heavens. Above this (or encompassing it all), he installs the circle of protection and the *dharmodayā*, or “origin of existents.” Finally, upon the mountain's peak, he visualizes an elaborate and decorative temple palace (*kūṭāgāraḥ*) as the future abode of the deity. This more traditional method is also mentioned briefly in the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana*, which offers it as an alternative at the end of meditation stage 1 (v. 35). In our text, the visualization includes the generation of the elements and Mount Meru inside the vajra ground, but it omits any mention of the temple palace. Before exploring why this is so, we will look in more detail at the visualization of the cosmos itself.

Umāpatideva's prescriptions for the meditation can be filled out from the account in the *Abhisamayamañjarī*. Here we see how the cosmic elements are produced from their own seed-syllables, *jam*, *raṃ*, *vaṃ*, and *laṃ*, and how each has a particular shape and is adorned with its own symbols.³¹⁸ The meditation also states that the yogin sees his own consciousness “as” the elements, a reminder that the practitioner's normal ego identity has been dissolved as a result of the previous emptiness meditations:³¹⁹

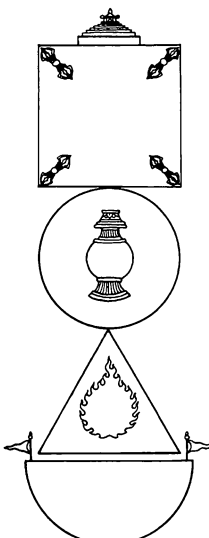
Arising from the meditation on emptiness under the influence of the latent impressions (*āvedha*) [established in his consciousness] by his original resolve [i.e., the bodhisattva vow], he should visualize his own consciousness as the maṇḍalas of wind, fire, water, and earth, one above the other. [These are] generated from the syllables *jam*, *raṃ*, *vaṃ* and *laṃ* in the shape of a semicircle, triangle, circle, [and] square, colored blue/black, red, white, and yellow, [the semicircle] having a fluttering flag marking both tips, [the triangle] marked by a flame, [the circle] marked with a vase, and [the square] with three-pronged vajras in the four corners as symbols. Then on top of that, generated from the syllable *sum*, he should visualize Sumeru as four-sided with eight peaks and made of silver, lapis lazuli, crystal, and gold on its eastern, southern, western, and northern sides [respectively].

This meditation is summarized in table 15, and shown in figure 25.

Table 15. *Element visualization with Mount Sumeru*

Element	Syllable	Shape	Color	Symbol
wind	<i>yaṃ</i>	semicircle	blue/black	blue flag fluttering at each end
fire	<i>raṃ</i>	triangle	red	red flame
water	<i>vaṃ</i>	circle	white	white vase
earth	<i>laṃ</i>	square	yellow	yellow three-pronged vajra at each corner
Sumeru	<i>suṃ</i>	four-sided	bejeweled	surrounded by seven square mountain ranges, etc.

Figure 25. *The cosmos.*

<i>Abhidarmakośa</i>	<i>Sādhana</i>	<i>Kālacakra</i>
Heavens Sumeru		Heavens Sumeru
Gold		Earth
Water		Water
		Fire
Wind		Air
Space	Emptiness	Emptiness

At the center of figure 25 is the cosmos according to the *sādhana* visualizations of the *yoginītantras*. For comparison, the elements that make up the cosmos according to the *Abhidharma* are shown to the left, while to

the right, the elements according to the cosmos of the Kālacakra (suggesting, perhaps, that this later tantric system was informed by the developments in the yoginītantras). The traditional cosmos is described in the *Abhidharmakośa* and *bhāṣya* (ch. 3, “The World”). It is said to exist upon a substrate of space (*ākāśaḥ*), upon which rest cylindrical layers of wind, water, and gold, one upon the other, each diminishing in size. Upon the topmost layer of gold is the ocean, which is encompassed by an iron ring at its rim and dotted with twelve continents in the four directions. At the center of the ocean are the mountains: seven ranges separated by lakes with Mount Meru in the center. (See plate 15.)

Comparing this with the sādhanā visualization, it is clear that several changes have taken place.³²⁰ Firstly, the higher tantras replace the substrate, space—which is a metaphor for emptiness—with emptiness itself. This is appropriate to the sādhanā because the visualization of the cosmic substrate “emptiness” arises out of the experience of emptiness that the yogin has cultivated in the foundational meditations on emptiness that precede it (sometimes directly preceding it, as in the *Abhisamayamañjarī* cited earlier).³²¹ Next, the sādhanā visualizations introduce the element fire between the maṇḍalas of wind and water, producing the new sequence: wind, fire, water, and earth. This sequence mirrors the traditional list of the elements within the human body (ADK ch. 3, v. 44b) and has the effect of correlating macrocosm (the cosmos) and microcosm (the practitioner). This correlation is a theme developed later in the sādhanā, particularly in the meditations upon the body maṇḍala. Finally, the sādhanā visualization directs the meditator to visualize Mount Meru resting directly upon the element earth, somewhat simplifying the traditional cosmic features of the ocean and its continents.

In contrast, the visualization of Mount Meru itself may be elaborate. Once again, the earlier citation from the *Abhisamayamañjarī* fills out details that are absent in the brief prescriptions of the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* (v. 35c). The *Abhisamayamañjarī* is typical of mainstream sādhanas in that it accords with the *Abhidharmakośa* and its commentaries, in which Mount Meru is described as square, with four immeasurable walls made of gold, silver, lapis lazuli, and crystal facing north, east, south, and west respectively (ADK ch. 3, v. 50a, with *Vyākhyā* by Yaśomitra). Sādhana literature often refers to the “eight peaks” of Meru (ADK ch. 3, vv. 48b–49c), that is, its own central peak (the square of four jeweled substances), plus the seven golden “peaks” in diminishing height that form concentric squares around Mount Meru.³²² Meru itself also has four “terraces” (*pariṣaṇḍas*) that are the abode of vari-

ous types of beings. In a visualization of Sumeru supplied by mKhas grub rje (p. 175), which he ascribes to the kriyātantra, the terraces are to be embellished with stairs of precious stuffs, wish-fulfilling trees, and victory banners. (These are also visible on plate 15.)

In traditional, Abhidharmic cosmology, Meru is crowned by the city of the thirty-three gods (Sudarśana) with Śakra's palace (Vaijayanta) at the center, surrounded by parks "for pleasure and for love" (ADK ch. 3, vv. 65–68). In the higher tantras, Śakra's temple palace is taken over by their cult deities, and the central mountain becomes a stage to the cosmic dramas of enlightenment played out by new buddhas at the head of new divine retinues.³²³ Mainstream sādhanas frequently draw on formulaic verse from older yogatantra sources to describe the ornamental features of the temple palace: It is made of jewels, is square with four or eight pillars, and has four multilevel porticoes. The eaves are supported by *makaras* (mythical sea monsters), flanked to the right and left by a buck and a doe, and topped by a Dharma wheel. It is beautified with strings of pearls, cloth banners, vases, mirrors, yak-tail fly whisks, multicolored pennants and bells, and may sport a cupola adorned by a jewel and a vajra, or vajras resting on sickle moons at the four corners.³²⁴ In tangka paintings, the porticoes are aligned with the four tips of the double vajra upon which the whole edifice rests (*viśvavajravedikā*).³²⁵ These elaborate gates are usually drawn as if seen from in front, as in plates 12 and 13—although the rest of the maṇḍala is shown from an aerial perspective. In plate 14, however, we see the entire temple palace in three-dimensional elevation.³²⁶

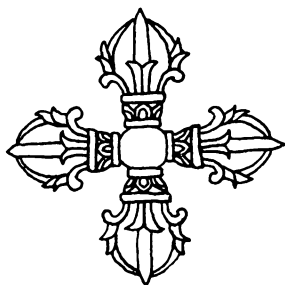


Fig. 26. *Double vajra.*

In rejecting the temple palace as the residence of the deity, the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* makes significant strides toward a more integrated higher tantric practice. We have seen that the prescriptions for the cremation grounds are given weight in the sādhanā with an extra series of verses (vv.

70–76) supplementing the main prescription (in v. 16). In contrast, the visualization of the cosmos is merely appended in brief at the end of the first meditation stage. The *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* therefore represents an interesting phase of development within the *Guhyasamayasāadhanamālā* collection as a whole. It appears to be midway between sādhana that remain rooted in the cakravartin temple palace tradition, and those that depict a more consistent representation of *kāpālika* praxis. Thus, we can broadly identify three types of sādhana composition, all roughly contemporaneous, in the *Guhyasamayasāadhanamālā*.

1. First are the mainstream sādhana that follow the traditional cakravartin model. These locate the temple palace upon Mount Meru (visualizing it inside the circle of protection and the origin of existents [*dharmodayā*]). They make no reference at all to the cremation grounds as a location for the self-generation, despite the fact that they deal with the generation of a *kāpālika* deity—for example, the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5; based on the *Herukābhīsamaya* f. 3v) and sādhana by Advayavajra (e.g., GSS3).
2. Next are the transitional sādhana that combine an implicit temple palace model with a greater focus on *kāpālika* praxis. This is the midway position of the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana*. As the maṇḍala is built up in the subsequent meditation stages, we will see that its structure is that of the temple palace, in which deities of the retinue are placed formally around a central cakravartin-style deity. Despite this, the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* omits any mention of the temple palace itself, perhaps an admission that the formal symmetry of this structure is an anachronism within the cremation-ground culture of a *kāpālika* cult. Although our author does include the visualization of the traditional cosmos, he downgrades it to a lesser alternative by placing it at the end of his first meditation stage (v. 35). His preferred emphasis on the cremation-ground cosmology highlights the fact that the deities of Vajravārāhī's maṇḍala inhabit a very different setting and command a very different worldview. These developments have their base in scripture, for it is notable that Umāpatideva's omission of the temple palace mirrors the *Samvarodayatantra* (ch. 13, vv. 12–13ff.).³²⁷
3. Moving a stage further still toward the integration of *kāpālika* interests, the *Guhyasamayasāadhanamālā* also includes a group of “skeleton arch” (*karāṅkatorāṇa*) sādhana (GSS32–34). In these, we find that the anomalous temple palace has been restructured in a style more

architecturally suited to its cremation-ground setting. The self-generated goddess is enthroned beneath an arch of human skeletons that is ornamented with skeletoic parasols. These developed *kāpālika* sādhanas also show a greater degree of internalization within the meditation techniques espoused, based on the yogic methods of *svādhiṣṭhāna* (“self-consecration”) practice (see the appendix for more details).

Self-Generation through the Awakenings

- v. 16 The next stage in the visualization is perhaps the most important in the sādhana as a whole: the self-generation of the yogin “as” Vajravārāhī. The yogin begins by creating a locus for the forthcoming meditations at the center of the cremation grounds (v. 16a). He first visualizes an inverted triangle that (in our text) is white in color,³²⁸ and within which he sees a vibrant red lotus (v. 16b–d). The triangle is the “origin of existents” (*dharmodayā*) or “source of [all purified] *dharma*s” (*dharmodayaḥ*), a spatial and visual metaphor for the unoriginated, transcendental plane of reality.³²⁹ Terms such as the Dharma body (*dharmakāyaḥ*), suchness (*tathatā*), and the sphere of Dharma (*dharmadhātuḥ*) are also applied to the *dharmodayā*, and it is often said to “have the nature of the dharmadhātu” (*dharmadhātusvabhāva*) or to be “one with the dharmadhātu” (*dharmadhātumaya*). As a “source” or “origin,” the *dharmodayā* is also equated with the female sex organ or womb (*bhagaḥ*, *yonih*). This imagery is highlighted by its inverted triangular shape (▽), which is a simulacrum of the pubis. As in north Indian post-Gupta scripts, ▽ happens to represent the letter *e*, so the *dharmodayā* is sometimes referred to simply as *e*.³³⁰

The fact that the origin of existents represents both the reality of emptiness and a woman’s sex reflects the sexual soteriology of the higher and highest tantras.³³¹ In these systems, emptiness is described experientially as the ecstatic, all-consuming great bliss, the tantric metaphor for which is orgasm. Thus, the experience of emptiness or bliss is said to “arise in” or to be “produced from” the *dharmodayā*, or the woman’s sex. This imagery is employed in both the Guhyasamāja (yogottara) and Hevajra (yoganiruttara) traditions, in which the root tantras famously begin: “Thus have I heard: At one time the Lord sported in the vaginas of the vajra maidens.”³³² Here, because the vagina represents the bliss of enlightenment, it becomes another spatial metaphor for buddhahood. Its locus is the blissful dwelling

place of the buddhas, a tantric reworking of the Mahāyāna concept of the pure land Sukhāvātī.³³³ Where tantric deities are in sexual union, the female deity represents bliss, emptiness, or wisdom, while the male partner symbolizes compassion, or means (*upāyah*). In the Vajrayoginī tradition, however, the goddess is without a consort, and so she represents in herself the union of both wisdom (female) and means (male). Nevertheless, sexual symbolism still permeates the visualization. For example, during the meditation representing Vajravārāhī's "conception" (v. 17), we will see that her seed-syllable *vaṃ* is visualized inside the *dharmodayā*. Here, the syllable *vaṃ* is also the seed-syllable for the vajra, which is a tantric euphemism for penis, while the *dharmodayā* triangle symbolizes the woman's sex or womb. Because of the coincidence of ∇ with the letter *e*, the word *evaṃ* (syllables *e* + *vaṃ*) is often said to symbolize this union: "Homage to you, Vajrayoginī; [you] who is seated in the syllables *e*(∇)-*vaṃ*, whose form is innate (*sahaja*) bliss, who is the knowledge of wisdom, and who is placed in the body!"³³⁴

vv. 17–19a The following verses describe the conception and birth of the deity. The terse lines of the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* in fact describe a sequence of meditations known in exegetical works as the five awakenings (*pañcābhisambodhikramah*). These are significant in that they define the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* as a *sādhana* of the "generation method" (*utpattikramah*). The five awakenings have their roots in the yogatantras, where the term "awakening" (*abhisambodhiḥ*) refers to a meditation on the five wisdoms as part of the preliminary emptiness meditations.³³⁵ The term seems to have been first applied to the process of self-generation in the *Hevajratantra*, although it is chiefly the Hevajra commentarial tradition that is responsible for its analysis into the five awakenings.³³⁶ The subject proved to be a fertile ground for meditative and exegetical elaboration. Indeed, the five awakenings are only one of many sets of correlations that surround the self-generation process, including an earlier systematization in the yogottara tradition that produced a rather different [set of] four vajras (*vajracatuṣka*). A set of "six gods" is also taken up in one Tibetan tradition and correlated with the five awakenings.³³⁷

Because the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* deals with the subject only briefly, a fuller exposition of the five awakenings is cited below from an elaborate prose passage in the *Abhisamayamañjarī*. Following the exegetical tradition, Śākyarakṣita correlates each stage with a wisdom, signifying that the deity "born" in the self-generation is endowed with every aspect of enlightened wisdom.³³⁸

At the center of that [temple palace]³³⁹ he should perceive a red *paṃ* transforming into an eight-petaled lotus symbolizing the eight worldly dharmas (*aṣṭalokadharmatā-*). On the pericarp, on a sun disk symbolizing the extinguishing of the darkness of ignorance, [he should visualize] a <*vaṃ*> seed-syllable situated on a sun disk inside the central hub of a vajra, which has [itself] been produced from a red *vaṃ*, and which is in the space between a sun disk and a moon disk (*saṃpuṭamadhye*). [The *vaṃ* syllable is understood as] the great bliss of the union of the moon [on the one hand], which is produced by the transformation of a double row of vowels and is identical with mirror wisdom (*ādarśajñānasvabhāva-*), and the sun [on the other], which is produced by the transformation of a double row of consonants including *ḍ dh d dh ya la* and is identical with the wisdom of equality (*samatājñānasvabhāva-*). [The *vaṃ* syllable itself is] identical with discriminating wisdom (*pratyavekṣaṇāsvabhāva-*). With rays created by that [*vaṃ*] that have the form of the goddess, he should [then] irradiate the ten directions, [and then] perform the welfare of [all] beings, [followed by] the withdrawal [of the rays] back again into [the *vaṃ*] itself. [This is] the performance wisdom (*krtyānuṣṭhānam*). With the transformation of all that, [he should visualize] himself as the goddess Vajravārāhī, identical with the wisdom of pure reality (*suviśuddhajñānasvabhāva-*).

The sequence of the awakenings, and their correlating wisdoms, is summarized in table 16.

Table 16. *The five awakenings*

Sequence of Generation	Correlated Wisdom
1. the moon disc	mirror wisdom (<i>ādarśajñānam</i>)
2. the sun disc	wisdom of equality (<i>samatājñānam</i>)
3. the seed-syllable (or emblem)	discriminating wisdom (<i>pratyavekṣaṇājñānam</i>)
4. the emission and retraction of rays	performance wisdom (<i>krtyānuṣṭhānajñānam</i>)
5. the transformation of the seed-syllable into the deity	wisdom of pure reality (<i>suviśuddhadharmadhātujñānam</i>)

v. 17a The *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* covers the first two stages of the five awakenings in one line (v. 17a). It instructs the sādhaḥ to imagine a moon disk (the first awakening) and a sun disk (the second awakening); these are seen lying upon the red lotus that is inside the *dharmodayā*. The passage just cited from the *Abhisamayamañjarī* describes a more complex version of the meditation. In a tradition following both the Hevajra and Śaṃvara scriptures, the disks are generated from the letters of the alphabet. The moon disk is produced from a sequence of vowels, and the sun disk from a sequence of consonants, which is termed in brief the “yoga (‘union’ or ‘practice’) of vowels and consonants” (*ālikāliyogaḥ*).³⁴⁰ The alphabetical sequence of letters has been shown above in the *vāgvisuddhi* (GSS5 Sed p. 125, K14v5); but here, the *Abhisamayamañjarī* states that the sixteen vowels (*a ā i ī u ū ṛ ṝ l ū e ai o au am ah*) should be visualized as a double row, thus making thirty-two letters, and that the thirty-three consonants (*ka* to *ha*) should also be extended by the addition of *kṣa* and six other letters (*ḍa ḍha da dha ya la*), to make forty. This row of forty letters is also visualized as a double row, making eighty consonants in all. This embellishment introduces the added symbolism of the thirty-two auspicious “major marks” (*lakṣaṇas*) and the eighty “subsidiary marks” (*anuvyañjanas*) of a buddha. Some sources add that the rows of letters are seen to revolve, the vocalic turning counter-clockwise and the consonantal turning clockwise, before they transform into the moon and sun disks respectively.³⁴¹

At the close of the second stage of the awakenings, the sun disk and moon disk should be seen to mingle. This is a simulacrum of sexual union and gives rise to great bliss. For just as the vowels and consonants formed a pair of opposites that represented the polarity of female and male, this is true also of the two disks. In this case the red sun disk symbolizes the blood of the female partner, and the white moon disk the semen of the male partner (e.g., Beyer 1978: 110), thus supplying two of the three essential factors required for conception in traditional embryology (ADKbh ch. 3, vv. 10–17). The third factor, the intermediate being, arises in the course of the next awakening.

v. 17b–d In the same verse, the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* describes the third awakening: the visualization of Vajravārāhī’s seed-syllable, *vaṃ*, between the two disks. This represents the third requirement for conception, namely, the presence of the intermediate being (*gandharvasattvami*)³⁴² that is generated when the great bliss of intercourse gives rise to the implantation of a “seed” in the womb.³⁴³ Our author instructs the meditator to visualize the *vaṃ* as red, quivering with light rays, and vividly clear. In some Vajravārāhī

sādhana, the seed in the womb is represented instead by a vajra that is empowered by a *vaṃ* syllable enscribed upon its central point.³⁴⁴ In his *Āmnāyamañjarī*, Abhayākara Gupta explains that the seed is a five-pronged vajra, and that each of its prongs correlates with a limb (head, two feet, and two hands) of the divine embryo, or (as elsewhere in the same text), with the five fingers and toes, and the five sense organs on the head of the embryo (Beyer 1978: 124). The vajra is in fact the emblem (*cihnam*) of *heruka* manifestations such as Hevajra and Saṃvara through their familial genesis in the vajra family of Akṣobhya, and as such is sometimes produced from *hūṃ*, the seed-syllable of the vajra family. Although Vajravārāhī's emblem is the wheel (*cakram*), from her association with the buddha family of Vairocana, her tradition preserves the vajra as an established part of the sequence of awakenings.

- v. 18 The next verse (v. 18) describes the fourth awakening, namely, the emission and retraction of rays from the seed-syllable into the universe, where they provide spiritual benefit to all beings. The power of mantric rays to remove sins, to benefit beings, and to attract or impel deities is often referred to in this stage. Their agency is lavishly described by mKhas grub rje (p. 161):³⁴⁵

Then one imagines that from those letters emanate innumerable rays of light, from the ends of which issue innumerable aspects of the body of that god to be intensely contemplated. They purify all sentient beings from their sins, obscurations, and sufferings, and they give joy to all the buddhas and their sons by making offerings to them. Then the rays, together with the gods, are withdrawn, absorbed by the letters; and the moon, together with the letters, transforms itself into the perfected body of the god to be contemplated.

Once the rays have accomplished their lofty purpose, they are seen retracting back into the seed-syllable. The *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* states that, as they retract, they should bring back countless buddhas into the syllable; elsewhere they summon the entire world (e.g., GSS10 K47v3). The seed-syllable *vaṃ* is now pregnant with significance: It is at once the repository of the potentiality of buddhahood (GSS32 K105r2: *buddhatvaṃ hetu-bhūtam...*) and a symbol of its actuality, Vajravārāhī.

- v. 19a The final awakening (described in v. 19a) transforms the seed-syllable into the body of the deity. This is understood as the deity's birth into the

world. The analogy is given in the second chapter of the *Samvarodayatantra* (vv. 12c–20) in a passage that draws upon both traditional Indian embryology and upon the tantric topology of the inner body made up of channels, winds, and drops.³⁴⁶ In the first stage of this account (vv. 12b–16b), consciousness is said to arrive through the mouth, carried on winds that circulate in the seventy-two-thousand channels (*nāḍīs*). The scripture (v. 16cd) then describes the attainment of highest bliss as the vowels and consonants melt together. This is the equivalent of the second awakening. Next, consciousness “exists between semen (*śukram*) and menstrual blood (*śoṇitam*) in the form of a dot (*binduh*)” (v. 17ab), which is the moment when the *gandharvasattva* enters, the equivalent of the third awakening. In the fifth month of its germination, the embryo develops its fleshly form in five aspects (vv. 17cd–19b), and these are correlated with the five buddhas. In the seventh month (v. 19cd), it grows hair, nails, and sex organs; in the eighth and ninth it develops its senses and full form; and in the tenth, it takes on sentience (v. 20d: *cetanā*). The birth (which takes place according to Indian tradition in the tenth month after conception) is equivalent to the generation of the body of the deity in the final stage of the five awakenings. (The processes of gestation and birth described here are even more explicit in sādhanas where the deities to be evoked are in sexual union.)³⁴⁷

Together, the five awakenings are understood to correspond to the three bodies of a buddha. The dharma body (*dharmakāyaḥ*) is the origin of the self-generated deity in the unconstructed transcendental plane of emptiness. Tsong kha pa remarks that “it is inadmissible that a Buddha could wish to serve the aim of those he takes in hand only through the Dharma Body without a body of form” (Beyer 1978: 127). Thus, in the course of the self-generation, the irradiating seed-syllable of the fourth awakening is seen as the emanation body (*nirmāṇakāyaḥ*) which, like that buddha body, is for the benefit of the world. The final form of the deity is understood to exist as an enjoyment body (*sambhogakāyaḥ*), with all the major and minor marks of a tenth-stage bodhisattva (mKhas grub rje 1978: 27). Abhayākara-gupta explains that the *sambhogakāya* and the *nirmāṇakāya* are conventional in that both are reflexes of emptiness and are therefore constructed.³⁴⁸

Self-Visualization As Vajravārāhī

- vv. 19–24 The next six verses describe the culmination of the self-generation process as the meditator visualizes himself transforming into the *sambhogakāya*

form of Vajravārāhī. The prescription to “make his own body Vārāhī” (v. 24d) is a reminder to the yogin that it is “himself” (*ātmānam*) that he is to visualize becoming the deity.³⁴⁹ Strictly, this must be metaphorical, since the notion of an ordinary “self” has already been dissolved during the meditations on emptiness. Indeed, one sādhanā adds the comment that after the emptiness mantras the body must be seen merely as an appearance.³⁵⁰ The *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* now gives the iconographical details for Vajravārāhī, prescribing her color, face, attributes, and stance. As we will see, these reveal an iconography closely based on Vajravārāhī as consort to Cakrasaṃvara (plate II).³⁵¹ In Tibetan works, it is a form very similar to this manifestation of Vajravārāhī that is associated with the adept Nāropa.³⁵²



Fig. 27. *Vajravārāhī in warrior stance.*

Drawn according to the Sanskrit text by Dharmacāri Āloka.
Cf. plates 7 and 10f.

Vajravārāhī is deep red in color, a reflex of her red seed-syllable *vaṃ*. The *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* describes her as “saffron-colored” (v. 19b: *kāśmīra-varṇām*),³⁵³ but elsewhere she is compared to vermilion powder (*sindūraḥ*), or to startlingly red flowers such as the China rose (*javākusumam*), the *bandhūkaḥ* (*Pentapetes phoenicea* or *Terminalia tomentosa*), and the pomegranate flower (*dāḍimāḥ*). Her radiance is likened to the fire that blazes at the end of the aeon. Throughout the visualization her redness contrasts vividly with white, as the yogin sees the red lotus juxtaposed against a white *dharmodayā* (GSSII v. 16), a red sun disk against a white moon disk,³⁵⁴ the whites of her rolling eyes against her red irises, and streams of blood falling from her gleaming white skull bowl and splashing against her garland of white skulls. The colors are eloquent in the Indian tradition of primordial

polarities, such as hot and cold, bride and groom, passion and purity, *rajas-sattva*, east and west, female and male.

The *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* describes Vajravārāhī as having one head (v. 19b), just as she had as consort to Cakrasaṃvara—that is, without her eponymous characteristic, the hog's head (*varāhaḥ*), which appears in her other main manifestation (ch. 2). Her face is fanged (v. 21d) and has three eyes; these are a standard feature of tantric iconography drawn from the iconography of Śiva.³⁵⁵ Other texts add that her face is distorted by wrath, with brows knit together in a fearsome frown, and eyes “red, round, and rolling.”³⁵⁶ In her two arms (v. 20) she holds her particular attributes, a vajra and a skull bowl filled with blood; these are held in her right and left hands respectively (as seen from the point of view of the meditator/deity herself).³⁵⁷

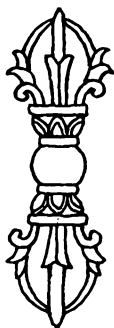


Fig. 28. *Vajra*.

Although the text of this verse is corrupt (v. 20c), it clearly prescribes a vajra. It seems that Indian iconography distinguishes between forms of warrior-stance Vajravārāhī (who holds a vajra) and forms of warrior-stance Vajrayoginī (who holds a vajra chopper).³⁵⁸ The vajra is usually red in color, and sometimes described as blazing and adorned with shining streamers. It is generally five-pointed—the four jutting angles plus the central spoke—which are said in the *Abhisamayamañjarī* to symbolize “the five knowledges combined into one essence.” Vajravārāhī holds it outstretched, pointing her forefinger threateningly at all ignorance and evil. This is a gesture common among wrathful deities, who shake their weapons menacingly so that they become “terrifying even to fear [itself].”³⁵⁹

The skull bowl is held aloft in Vajravārāhī's left hand, and she drinks the stream of blood that flows from it (v. 20ab), fixing her gaze upon it as she drinks.³⁶⁰ The vajra and skull bowl are attributes adapted from the iconography of Vajravārāhī as consort to Cakrasaṃvara, but when the deities

are in embrace, it is Cakrasaṃvara who drinks the blood as Vajravārāhī pours it down into her lord's open mouth, "causing him to drink."³⁶¹ The skull bowl itself is formed of a severed head, part of the standard insignia of *kāpālīka* praxis, while the blood within it is often said to be that of the four wicked *māras*, or of other evils; in the *Abhisamayamañjarī*, however, it has the taste of great bliss and great compassion.³⁶²

Vajravārāhī's third attribute is the skull staff (*khaṭvāṅga*/*m*) balanced upon her left shoulder (v. 21a). According to the *Abhisamayamañjarī*:³⁶³

On her left [side] resting on her arm, Vajravārāhī is [visualized] carrying a skull staff (*khaṭvāṅga*-) whose nature is the means [of enlightenment]. It is brilliant with a white stock that has a single prong at its base and a black five-pronged [vajra] at its upper end, and [beneath that vajra] a desiccated [human] head, a [fresh human] head wet [with blood], a pair of crossed vajras, a golden vase, and fluttering from the vase's base, multicolored streamers with tiny tinkling bells.

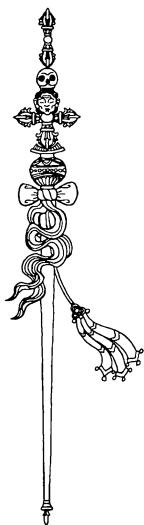


Fig. 29. Skull staff (*khaṭvāṅga*).

In illustrations, the "dry and wet heads" (*śuṣkasārdrasīras*-) are usually depicted as whitish-yellow for the upper head, and blood-red for the freshly severed lower head, although there is a good deal of variation in artistic works.³⁶⁴ The *Kriyāsamuccaya* distinguishes a different type of skull staff altogether, with three dried heads.³⁶⁵ The equation of the skull staff with

means (GSS5: *upāyasvabhāva*) is a common one and identifies the staff with the male consort.³⁶⁶ Stein (Cours 1975: 490) expands upon the sexual connotations: the staff is usually held on the left, the side associated with feminine consorts, and is not so much “held” as “embraced” (*ā-sakta*).

Other tantric ornaments adorn Vajravārāhī’s body. She wears a garland of heads (v. 21b), fifty in number corresponding to the fifty vowels and consonants, and said in the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* to be bloody, that is, freshly severed and dripping.³⁶⁷ This is another feature assumed from the male *heruka* forms, as female consorts generally wear only a garland of dried skulls.³⁶⁸ The colors and characterization of the heads in tantric art are highly individual, and they are depicted strung together by the hair or with a cord through their mouths.³⁶⁹

Vajravārāhī is also beautified by a set of five tantric ornaments (vv. 22–23), all made of human bone (perhaps embossed with vajras),³⁷⁰ and known collectively as the five *mudrās*, or signs—indicating here the signs of *kāpālīka* observance. These include a chaplet, earrings, a necklace, armlets, and a girdle. A sixth sign is also worn by male gods, consisting of ashes from the cremation ground smeared over the body. It is these six that became the prototype for tantric yogins, who wore them as part of their “skull observance” (*kapālikavratam*).³⁷¹ Perhaps as a reflection of the goddess’s new cultic role as central deity, the sixth *mudrā* of ashes is on occasion also assumed by female deities (see ch. 2). The *Abhisamayamañjarī* lists both the fivefold and sixfold sets of *mudrās* and comments on Vajravārāhī’s new status.³⁷²

[Vajravārāhī] bears the five signs of observance (*mudrās*), namely, chaplet (*cakri*), earrings (*kunḍalam*), necklace (*kaṇṭhī*), armlets (*rucakamī*), and girdle made of pieces [of bone] (*khaṇḍāṅkamekhalā*). There is the following verse (*iti*): “[Visualize her] adorned with necklace, armlets, earrings, head jewel,³⁷³ [and with] the sacred thread [and] ash. [These are] proclaimed as the six signs of observance.” Some say (*iti*) she has the six signs of observance because of the fact that she is leader of the maṇḍala.

As a set of five or six, the *mudrās* are naturally equated with the five buddhas and the sixth, transcendent buddha.³⁷⁴ They may also take on a ritual application, as they are on occasion installed on the yogin-goddess’ body with mantra syllables rather in the manner of an armoring.³⁷⁵ As we will see, this type of symbolism pervades each of the *mudrās* individually.

For the chaplet, the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* describes an ornate forehead band (v. 22d). The cloth band would once have been a tie wound counter-clockwise around the head for binding up matted locks,³⁷⁶ but here (v. 22c) it is more decorative and sports a row of five human skulls interspersed with vajras. The five skulls are identified with the five buddhas, and it is common for the central skull to manifest the seal, the presence in miniature of the head of the buddha family to which the deity belongs—Vairocana (reserved in our *sādhana* for the next stage of the meditation; see v. 27).³⁷⁷ The *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* (v. 22ab) also notes that Vajravārāhī's hair tie has come adrift, leaving her hair loose and disordered—a statement of her untrammelled sexuality.³⁷⁸ Some hair (perhaps her matted locks) is fastened on the top of her head by a hair clasp formed of a double vajra.³⁷⁹ The other mudrās (v. 23) are also of human bone. Apart from the necklace and earrings (often depicted as two large loops), there are two sorts of armlet on each arm, a wrist bracelet (*rucakam*),³⁸⁰ and an armlet worn on the upper arm (*keyūram*). There may also be anklets (*nūpurah*), which Umāpatideva says are “tinkling” (he lists them in v. 21c separately from the other mudrās). The girdle is particularly ornate as it is “adorned with pieces [of bone],” and “swings seductively” around the goddess's hips, perhaps embellished with bells and strings of pearls. As the Khara Khoto tangkas (e.g., plate 11) show, artists like to exploit the beautiful lacelike effect of intricate ivory work.³⁸¹

Altogether, Vajravārāhī reveals her passionate and abandoned nature through her exultant nakedness (v. 21b), her blood-red color, and her hair, which flies loose in defiance of socio-sexual constraint. On occasion she is even described as menstruating.³⁸² She is tantalizing “with fresh youth” (v. 24b), an aspect of the erotic sentiment (*śṛṅgārah*) that the texts are eager to promote.³⁸³ Her breasts are firm and raised, and her form, tender and lovely. Despite her lone status, she is still overcome with lust (as when she was in embrace with Cakrasaṃvara), and she laughs with her mouth open and her body horripilating, a perfect “receptacle of great bliss” (v. 24c).³⁸⁴

Another aspect of Vajravārāhī's character is her compassionate wrath. This is particularly evident in her stance (v. 19cd). Like her former consort Cakrasaṃvara, Vajravārāhī assumes the classical pose of the archer, the warrior stance (*ālīḍha-āsanam*): she steps onto her flexed left leg and stretches out her right leg behind, as described in the *Abhisamayamañjarī*: “[Vajravārāhī should be visualized]...with the *ālīḍha* [stance], bending her left leg and stretching back her right five *vitastis* [i.e., sixty finger-breadths], indicating that the world is “licked up” (*ā + √ liḥ > ālīḍha*) by emptiness.”³⁸⁵

And just as Cakrasaṃvara is visualized trampling upon the corpses of the

supreme Śaiva deities, Bhairava and Kālarātri, so is the solo Vajravārāhī.³⁸⁶ The *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* states that she stands with one foot (the left) upon Bhairava's head and the other (the right) upon Kālarātri's breast (v. 19cd). Bhairava is described in another sādhana³⁸⁷ "with four arms, his torso heart-[side] down, [his] face up gazing at the lady [Vajravārāhī], with a chopper and skull held in the first pair of arms, wearing a tiger skin [as a lower garment], [and] in his other pair of arms holding a *ḍamaru* and trident, with three eyes, a snarling mouth, blue, with yellow hair, [and] adorned with [a chaplet] of white skulls." The subdued Śaiva goddess, Kālarātri ("Kālarātri" and "Kālarātrikā" are also attested in our texts, but in this instance she is called Carcikā), is simply described as "red." Illustrations generally depict her lying face up, holding a vajra chopper and skull bowl in her two arms.³⁸⁸ In general terms, the subjugation of the Śaiva deities represents Vajravārāhī's conquest over all evil, whether that represented by another religious system (other brahmanical gods are sometimes trampled upon, too), or of evil per se in the classic guise of Māra, the Buddhist embodiment of the defilements and death.³⁸⁹

The subjugation of deities is an expressive theme within the higher and highest Buddhist tantras as a whole, and has recently been the focus of scholarly attention.³⁹⁰ Its origins are twofold. In its widest sense, the topos of subjugation embraces the traditional Indian mythology of the battle between the gods and the demons, good and bad. This is a favorite theme of the Purāṇas, perhaps the most famous example of which is the fight for the nectar of immortality churned up from the ocean of milk. Some myths produce a variation upon the theme and recount tales in which a demonic foe is not only defeated and forced to submit, but in which the submission is then transformed into devotion (*bhaktiḥ*) and service toward the gods.³⁹¹

In the higher tantras, the myth is given its own particular slant and brought into the service of Buddhism. The story first appears as a comic tale in the root scripture of the yogatantras, the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* (ch. 6). It concerns the entry of Vajrapāṇi, the tantric bodhisattva, into the maṇḍala of the buddha Vairocana. Vajrapāṇi has boldly announced that he will not enter (*prati-√pad*) the maṇḍala himself until he has seen the world's wickedness entirely transformed and brought within the maṇḍala also. Vairocana therefore utters powerful mantras that drag all the evil beings of the world before his palace on Mount Meru, including the terrible Lord Śiva (Maheśvara) and his retinue of evil gods whom none, not even all the tathāgatas, have succeeded in taming. Vajrapāṇi then commands them to convert (*prati-√pad*) by taking the three refuges and vowing to gain omniscient

knowledge. This outrages Maheśvara who declares that he is none other than the creator and destroyer of the universe, the supreme God of gods—he will never stoop to taking orders from Vajrapāṇi, a mere spirit (*yakṣam*)! Vajrapāṇi boldly returns: “Submit, you who eat the human flesh of rotting corpses! You whose clothes, bed, and food are the ashes of the funeral pyres! Obey my command!” (p.57: *pratipadya bho kaṭapūtanamānuṣamāṃsāhāra citibhasmabhakṣyabhojyaśayāsanaṃprāvaraṇa mamājñāṃ pālaya!*). But the proud god pays no heed, and he is eventually overcome by the mantra *om nisumbha vajra hūṃ phaṭ* (uttered by Vairocana) followed by Vajrapāṇi’s explosive *hūṃ!* Instantly, Maheśvara is struck dead, while his retinue falls to the ground groaning. Thrice the gods plead for their lives, slyly arguing that they don’t understand Buddhism, and so it would be un-Buddhist of Vajrapāṇi—a compassionate bodhisattva—to kill them. Vajrapāṇi at last restores them, and they experience divine blisses and serve him. But the conversion of recalcitrant Maheśvara is not so easy. Although he is restored to life, he insists that he would rather die than obey Vajrapāṇi’s demands. Thereupon, Vajrapāṇi utters mantras that haul Maheśvara and his consort stark naked before him, and tramples them underfoot while the world looks on and laughs. With another mantra, Vajrapāṇi stands with his left foot upon Maheśvara and his right foot upon Umā, and a great cry resounds through the three worlds proclaiming Vajrapāṇi as the victor. Then through Vairocana’s compassion, the touch of Vajrapāṇi’s foot becomes a source of consecrations, meditational powers, and so forth leading to enlightenment, and Maheśvara is transformed into a buddha (Bhasmeśvaranirghoṣa) in another buddha realm (Bhasmācchanna) in a far-off world system.³⁹²

The same themes of subjugation and conversion appear in other eighth-century texts, some of which show a marked increase in sex and violence.³⁹³ The myth in the **Guhyagarbha/Guhyakośa* is a case in point, as the accounts by Sanderson (1995) and Davidson (1991) reveal. Following these scholars, we find that here Maheśvara’s demonic activities are more pronounced. After a period in the hells (because of practicing transgressive tantras without an understanding of emptiness) he is at last reborn as Rudra, who terrorizes the universe with diseases and insanity. In order to rescue Rudra from saṃsāra, the tathāgata emanates a consort for himself (Krodheśvarī, Lady of Wrath), and from their mingled sexual fluids gives birth to a pantheon of wrathful deities who conquer the wicked tyrant and his retinue. The tathāgata then assumes a wrathful form of a Heruka with three heads, six arms, and four legs, and stands in warrior stance upon a mountain of bones in a cremation ground surrounded by oceans of blood, with Maheśvara and his consort prostrate

beneath his feet. As this still does not overcome his antagonist, the Tathāgata assumes an even more terrifying form with nine heads, eight legs, and eighteen arms, and resorts to even more extreme methods, which Davidson (1991: 203) describes as follows: “Heruka, the cosmic policeman, seizes Maheśvara and his entire retinue, rips out their internal organs, hacks their limbs to pieces, eats their flesh, drinks their blood, and makes ritual ornaments from their bones—a model of thoroughness. Having digested all these gods [but discarding their hearts and sense organs], Heruka excretes them into an enormous ocean of muck, which one of his henchmen, Ucchuṣmakrodha, drinks up. The gods are then revived. Properly grateful for what can only have been an extraordinary experience, Maheśvara and his minions beseech Heruka and the divinities of his maṇḍala to accept their wives, mothers, and daughters as ritual consorts while they take their correct places as the seats of the divinities in the maṇḍala.”

The themes reappear in yoginītantra exegetical works, with some variations.³⁹⁴ In Bu ston’s account (related at length by Kalff 1979: 67ff.), the twenty-four sacred sites (*pīṭhas*) have been wickedly usurped by low-class spirits and demonic gods; *rākṣasas*, *yakṣas*, *nāgās*, *asuras*, and so forth. Steeped in lust and savagely cannibalistic, they scheme to take over the whole universe by inducing Maheśvara himself to lead them. Maheśvara agrees but is too busy making love to Kālarātri to commit himself personally, and so he sends twenty-four stone *liṅgas* to be installed in the *pīṭhas* by which he can be worshipped vicariously. In response to this dire situation, Vajradhara (taking the form of Heruka on the summit of Mount Meru) causes the emanation of the Cakrasaṃvara maṇḍala with himself as its lord. He presses Bhairava and Kālarātri beneath his feet so that they gain enlightenment, and then emanates the twenty-four pairs of heroes and *ḍākinīs* who subdue the evil spirits and gods in the twenty-four sites. In this account, the Śaiva deities are tamed through “subduing,” “enjoying,” and “absorbing” (Kalff *ibid.*: 73). They are subdued in body when their victors take over their names and physical appearance, throwing them down and pressing them underfoot; in speech, by the appropriation of their mantras, which are transformed by the insertion of *om* at the beginning and *hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ* at the end (cf. *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* §33); in mind, by realization of the void of nonconceptual awareness. Taming by “enjoying” consists in sexual yoga as the heroes copulate with the consorts of the vanquished gods, while sporting their bone ornaments, skull staff, and other attributes, and sitting upon their corpses as thrones. “Absorbing” is firstly the complete purification of their obscurations and then the fusing of their minds with the clear light of nonduality. Bu ston’s account is typi-

cal of the Cakrasaṃvara versions of the myth, which are based around the battle for the *pīṭhas*. The victorious Buddhist heroes not only take their adversaries' *kāpālika* attributes and their consorts, but strip them entirely of their identities by assuming the exact guise of their conquered foes. Individual Śaiva gods are no longer revived to serve in the Buddhist maṇḍala, as in the earlier myths, but survive merely as thrones for Buddhist deities who have appropriated their cosmic status, mantras, and outward forms.

The myth of subjugation lends another dimension to the Buddhist reliance upon tantric Śaiva norms and methodology (p. 37 ff.). For although on their own level the myths clearly express the transcendence of the Buddhist tantras over the Śaiva, they look suspiciously like a "doctrinal apology" (Sanderson 1995) for "an area of Buddhism so subjugated by Śaivism that it has become little more than a Buddhist reflex of that religion." As apologetics go, however, they were a powerful means of lending legitimacy to the Buddhist tantric systems. At the same time, they declared Buddhism's independence of Śaivism by the simple trick of demonizing it. Above all, the Buddhist function of the Śaiva models is never in doubt (Sanderson 1994a, 1995). As in the method of subjugation by absorbing described above, the purpose within Buddhism is to convert Śaiva 'irreligion' by purifying it of its wrong views, and bringing it within the orbit of universal enlightenment. The motivation is compassionate, and the myths are an uncompromising expression of skillful means. Throughout the higher and highest tantras, we see Buddhism confidently imposing its own doctrines and theory onto the underlying Śaiva framework. This process is clearly illustrated by the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana*, where we will find that even such features as the Śaiva *pīṭhas* are overcoded and correlated with the traditional formulations of the Buddhist path. In our account of the visualization of Vajravārāhī herself, we have seen how her pan-tantric iconography is imbued at every step with a transcendental symbolism that is entirely Buddhist.³⁹⁵

Armoring

As the yogin has now imaginatively transformed his outer body into that of Vajravārāhī, the next step is to transform his inner being also. He does this in two stages. First, he protects the body of "himself-as-goddess" with an armor (*kavacam*) of mantra syllables (v. 25–§6), and he then infuses it with transcendental knowledge (v. 26–§7). As we will see, the deity's outer form and its internal essence are distinguished as two "beings" (*sattvas*): the

pledge being (*samayasattvam*) and the knowledge being (*jñānasattvam*), and the infusion of knowledge takes place as the two beings are visualized merging together as one. The process of armoring (*kavacanam*) serves as the preparation for this essential moment. (In contrast, some texts state that the yogin-goddess is first infused with knowledge and then armored, so that the armoring functions as a purificatory prelude to the following consecration.)³⁹⁶

v. 25a–c,
§6

In the Vajrayoginī tradition, the yogin-as-goddess performs the armoring with a placing or “installation” (*nyāsaḥ*) of six pairs of mantric syllables at six points on his/her body. The verse in the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* (v. 25) is based upon a scriptural citation that often accompanies the syllables, and that names the parts of the body upon which, or within which (the locative is ambiguous) the armoring syllables are to be placed: navel, heart, mouth, head, crown, and all limbs “as the weapon” (*astram*).³⁹⁷

In some sādhanas, the armor syllables may take iconographical form as six armor goddesses. This is the case in the *Abhisamayamañjarī*, which states that “because of the indivisibility of the mantra and the deity” (*mantradevatayor abhedāt*), the meditator is to generate six *kāpālīka* goddesses. They all are disheveled with hair loose, naked, three-eyed, and standing in the warrior stance. The goddess at the navel is a form of Vajravārāhī herself. She is red, as usual, but she has three faces colored red, blue, and green. Her six arms hold, on her left, a skull bowl, staff, and noose, and on her right, a hook, Brahmā’s head, and chopper. The remaining armor goddesses are Yāminī (blue-black), Mohinī (white), Saṃcālīnī (yellow), Saṃtrāsīnī (green), and Caṇḍikā (smokey-gray), who are visualized at the heart, mouth, head, crown, and “all limbs.” They have only one face and four arms. On their left, they hold skull and staff, and on their right, a *ḍamaru* and chopper.³⁹⁸

The armor goddesses are depicted in the Mongolian icons, almost identically to our prescriptions, along with a set of the male armor gods.³⁹⁹ The Tibetan sādhana describes the generation and visualization iconography of the “armor heroines” (*go cha’i dpa’ mo drug*) more fully, endowing them with the five mudrās and a garland of freshly severed heads. They are each said to stand upon a sun disk (except Mohanī, who stands upon a moon), and upon a corpse (which is depicted as female).⁴⁰⁰ Plate 2 depicts an early painting of a red, dancing *dākinī* form from Khara Khoto, distinctly Indian in style; she holds the same four attributes, though in slightly different positions. The two line drawings in figures 30 and 31 illustrate Armor Vajravārāhī and Yāminī.



Fig. 30. *Armor Vajravārāhī*.
Mongolian woodblock print
(IWS/T 62, LC 572)



Fig. 31. *Armor Yāminī*.
Mongolian woodblock print
(IWS/T 63, LC 573)

In contrast to other descriptions, the armoring in the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* is quite simple. This is because it omits a set of prescriptions that prepare the meditator for the armoring, by asking him first to purify (*śodhayet*) or “empower” (*adhiṣṭhet*) all aspects of his/her psychophysical organism. This empowerment is accomplished by equating mantric syllables with the *skandhas*, the sense organs and the sense fields, and the elements, as follows:⁴⁰¹

Table 17. *Syllables of empowerment*

skandhas	oṃ	āḥ	hriḥ/hriṃ	hoḥ/huṃ	huṃ/hoṃ	hriḥ/hriḥ
senses & fields	bhrūṃ/oṃ	hūṃ/huṃ	khaṃ	āḥ/āṃ	hāṃ/hā	haṃ
elements	loṃ	māṃ	pāṃ	tāṃ	khaṃ	

The empowerment process is similar to the preparatory meditation with purifying equations (*viśuddhis*) described earlier, although it lacks the correlation with a deity visualized in iconographical form (summarized in table 9). Although the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* eschews both the preparatory correlations and the empowerment (perhaps because they include male deities), these are important practices in the related texts. A commentator on the *Yoginīsaṃcāratantra*, for example, repeatedly remarks that the purpose of identifying the five buddhas with the *skandhas* is to destroy the “ordinary idea of self” (*prākṛtāhaṃkāraḥ*) by taking on the “divine idea of self” (*devatāhaṃkāraḥ*). This is, of course, the process by which the tantric practitioner becomes “united” with his deity (*devatāyogavān*).⁴⁰²

Taken altogether, the stages of empowerment and armoring are also related to the body maṇḍala described later in the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana*. The body maṇḍala correlates deities with the yogin’s internal and external being in order to identify him with the full maṇḍala, a process that can be difficult to distinguish from the armoring.⁴⁰³ In some texts, the purifying correspondences (*viśuddhis*) of body, speech, and mind (with *oṃ āḥ hūṃ*) are also incorporated into the armoring meditation, a correlation that again points to the full maṇḍala, with its three circles of body, speech, and mind (*kāyacakra*, *vākcakra*, and *cittacakra*).⁴⁰⁴ It seems that the armoring therefore forms a specialized application of the broader themes of the body maṇḍala. Its particular function is to prepare the yogin-deity for the infusion of knowledge that is to follow, and it is commonly distinguished by its use of mantra syllables and—in most texts—by the preceding empowerment of the self-generated yogin’s psychophysical being.

Pledge and Knowledge Beings

- vv. 25d–26, §7 Having prepared the pledge deity (*samayadevatā*) with the armoring, the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* (v. 25d) instructs the yogin to infuse it with the

knowledge deity (*jñānadevatā*). The pledge deity is the imaginary form of the goddess created by the “pledge-holding” initiate through the self-generation. In his *Tantrārthāvatāra*, Buddhaguhya describes the pledge forms (*samayasattvaḥ*, *samayamaṇḍalam*, *samayacakram*) as “those [forms] discerned by persons pledged (**samayin*) [to them]...ones imagined as arising from the body of a deity and as having the shape of a deity which the pledge person has generated in conformity with that [body of a deity], or imagined congruently with the latter’s parts.”⁴⁰⁵ Buddhaguhya describes the knowledge forms (*jñānasattvam*, *jñānamāṇḍalam*, *jñānacakram*) as “the self-existent (**svabhāvin*) discerned as deity.” The knowledge being is said to have both form and “inherent nature” (mKhas grub rje: 235, citing the *Paramādyatantra*).

v. 26– §7 The *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* now describes how the two “beings” are fused together to become one. The prose passage (§7) lists a traditional set of four mantra syllables, each of which has a particular function:⁴⁰⁶

1. *jah* Summoning the knowledge being (*ākaraṣaṇam*)
2. *hūṃ* Causing its entry into the pledge form (*praveśanam*)
3. *vaṃ* “Binding” of pledge and knowledge forms (*bandhanam*)
4. *hoḥ* Gratification of the fused forms (*toṣaṇam*)

In the previous verse (v. 26), however, the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* prescribes a slightly different procedure, one also common in other *sādhana*s:

1. Summoning the knowledge being (omitted in the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana*)
2. Worshiping the knowledge being (v. 26ab)
3. Causing its entry into the pledge form (v. 26c)
4. Merging of pledge and knowledge beings (v. 26d)

In both the verse and prose, summoning or attraction (*ākaraṣaṇam*) is the first step, and the yogin (that is, the yogin-as-goddess) must visualize the knowledge deity of Vajravārāhī standing in space before him. One commentator explains that there are two kinds of summoning, “invitation from the Dharmadhātu Palace of Akaniṣṭha, and attraction from the worldly realms of the ten quarters” (Padmavajra’s *Tantrārthāvatāravākyābhyaṅga* cited by Lessing & Wayman 1978: 236, n. 33). The first is reminiscent of the *sādhana*’s preliminary worship visualization and indicates that the knowledge deity is Vajravārāhī in her *sambhogakāya* form. The summoning of

deities from the ten directions is typical of the method used in the case of *bali* rituals, and indeed this is the ritual that generally provides the prototype for the summoning here. Thus the meditator is instructed to summon the knowledge deity by uttering the syllable *phet/phem*, making a hand gesture (*mudrā*) at the forehead, and impelling the deities to descend with hooklike rays from the heart to the accompaniment of a scriptural verse (*kṛtvāgragranthyā khalu madhyasūcī...*; see n. 505)—the very prescriptions laid down for the *bali* ritual itself.⁴⁰⁷

Once summoned, the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* (v. 26ab) instructs the yogin to make offerings to the knowledge deity in the manner of the worship above (v. 4). The summoning and the worship are anyway interlinked, as Padmavajra actually explains summoning as “the invitation by offerings” (Lessing & Wayman *op. cit.*).⁴⁰⁸ In the case of the mantra syllables—*jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ*—it is the last syllable, *hoḥ*, that is for worship, or “gratifying” (*toṣaṇam*).⁴⁰⁹ There is another well-attested tradition that states that *hoḥ* is not for gratification, but for the subjection and control of the deity. This is evidence of the power orientation typical of cremation-ground praxis and another reminder of the influence of the *bali* ritual.⁴¹⁰ Padmavajra (*ibid.* n. 36) seems to attempt a reconciliation between these two interpretations of *hoḥ* by remarking that “Subduing means making (them) rejoice, pleasing (them).” The *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* ends the verse by directing the yogin to make the knowledge being enter into the pledge being (v. 26c) and “bind” the two of them together (v. 26d) (with the utterance of syllables *hūṃ* and *vaṃ*). The verse describes the fusion of the two beings as they mingle together, like water in water, or ghee in ghee. Elsewhere, texts describe them “becoming one” (*ekikaraṇam*, *advaita-*) or, in the words of Padmavajra, “Tying means binding so there is no distinction between the evoker [i.e., the pledge form of the yogin-goddess] and the thing evoked [i.e., the knowledge deity]” (*ibid.*: n. 35).

Considering the overall structure of the *sādhana*, the infusion of *Vajravārāhī*’s outer form with knowledge is perhaps surprising. After all, the self-generation stage has already endowed her with the five wisdoms and shown her to be a reflex of the *dharmakāya*. This kind of repetition, however, is a hallmark of the *sādhana*, as it seeks to identify the yogin ever more indistinguishably with the essential nature of the deity. And it is this tendency that seems to have been at work in the evolution of the theory of different “beings” (*sattvas*), which has its roots in the *yogatantras*. The earlier material constantly expresses the urge to relocate the true essence of the deity in a more essential form. For example, in the *sādhanas* of Mañjuśrī, it is

common for a deity to be visualized with the form of another deity or syllable placed at its heart as its “essence,” “nature,” or “source.” In one instance, the text prescribes a visualization of the tathāgatas with the bodhi-sattva Mañjuśrī at their hearts, and at the heart of Mañjuśrī himself the syllable *a* from which he was himself produced (*akārasambhavaḥ*) (*Nāma-mantrārthāvalokinī* in Tribe 1994: ch. 4). *A* is thus the most essential form of Mañjuśrī, and hence the “limit of reality” (*bhūtakotiḥ*).⁴¹¹

The same reductionist urge is expressed in yogottara sources (Isaacson 1996b) as a theory of three “beings”: the pledge being (*samayasattvaḥ*), knowledge being (*jñānasattvaḥ*), and meditation being (*samādhisattvaḥ*). The pledge being bears the more essential knowledge being at its heart, and the knowledge being bears the even subtler meditation being at its heart. Thus, in the *Piṇḍīkramasādhana* (vv. 91–92), the pledge being is a self-generated deity bearing six attributes; the knowledge being has the same form, but carries only the two most essential emblems; and the meditation being is the seed-syllable in the heart of the knowledge being (Isaacson: *ibid.*).⁴¹² This seems to be the system bequeathed to the yoginītantras in the slightly simpler twofold theory of the pledge and knowledge beings.⁴¹³ This type of visualization is depicted in art in the early fifteenth-century paintings at Gyantse, which show a series of buddhas with an eight-armed deity at their hearts and a two-armed deity within the hearts of each eight-armed deity (Ricca and Lo Bue 1993: plates 5–9).

Consecration

- v. 27 The *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* now directs the yogin to visualize enlightened
 –§8 beings bestowing consecration upon himself as Vajravārāhī (v. 27–§8). The meditation begins once again with the emanation of the deities as the yogin-deity radiates light from the heart, which summons or impels them into the sky before him (§8).⁴¹⁴ Our author states in the verse that these enlightened beings are tathāgatas (v. 27b), but in the prose passage, he describes them as eight yoginīs. As both tathāgatas and yoginīs are traditionally present at the consecration, it is not entirely clear which our author has in mind. In the earlier Hevajra system, it is the tathāgatas who administer the consecration, while ten attendant goddesses sing and dance in praise.⁴¹⁵ But in the Cakrasaṃvara tradition, the tathāgatas are summoned only in order to emanate the goddesses who will themselves bestow the consecration, or it is the yoginīs alone who perform the ceremony.⁴¹⁶ In the Vajrayoginī

texts, the yoginīs rise still further, and appear in the *Abhisamayamañjarī* as a special class of ten consecration goddesses called *vajravilāsinīs*.⁴¹⁷ The shift toward feminine power is mirrored by an increasing emphasis on cremation-ground symbolism. Thus, the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* describes how the yoginīs pour out the “nectar of innate knowledge” (that is, the five nectars) onto the head of the yogin-as-goddess from the skull bowls they hold in their hands; whereas in Hevajra and most Cakrasaṃvara texts, the vessel is instead visualized as a ritual vase (*kalasaḥ*).⁴¹⁸

v. 27i As the enlightened beings pour the liquid, they recite a traditional accompanying verse followed by the mantra *om sarvatathāgatābhiṣekasamayāśriye hūṃ* (“To the glory of the pledge [of?] consecration by all tathāgatas!”).⁴¹⁹ The verse (v. 27i) focuses upon the important purificatory function of the consecration, which is sometimes said to counteract ignorance and to wash away obscurations. In some sādhana the liquid is imagined flowing through the yogin-deity’s crown and filling him completely as it transforms into buddhas who transform all negativity whatsoever.⁴²⁰ Here it gives rise to the buddha who seals Vajravārāhī on her crown—in this case, Vairocana.

The consecration in the sādhana is, of course, based on the actual rituals enacted by the guru when he consecrates a pupil into the practices of the highest tantras. Such initiatory rites are divided into two types: the lower consecrations, of which there are usually five (*pañcābhiṣekah*), and the higher consecrations, often starting with the teacher consecration (*ācāryābhiṣekah*).⁴²¹ For example, the first of the lower consecrations (the water consecration) begins with the pupil’s request to his guru that he bestow the consecration upon him—an element also included in many sādhana⁴²²—and the guru then sprinkles water from a vase as he recites an accompanying verse, exactly the same format as that in the sādhana. The influence of the teacher consecration can also be seen, as this rite requires the guru to visualize the tathāgatas bestowing the empowerment from a vase upon the head of a pupil who is already “in union with his chosen deity” (*sveṣṭadevatāyogayuktah*); this is mirrored in the sādhana in all but the third-party intervention of the guru. The function of the teacher consecration is also significant. As the first of the higher consecrations, it permits and obliges the new *vajrācārya* to remain in union with his deity, to bestow consecrations upon pupils, and to progress to further esoteric consecrations, such as the taking of a consort for sexual yoga practice. Similarly, the consecration in the sādhana requires the yogin to preserve the form of the goddess (the consecration in HT1.4 actually ends with just this injunction: *devatāmūrtyā sthātavyam*), and it paves the way for meditations based on sexual yoga.

- v. 28 The *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* follows the consecration with typical acts of worship (v. 28ab) in which pūjā goddesses are visualized in space worshiping the newly consecrated yogin-goddess, the practitioner as Vajravārāhī. This verse also refers to a ritual of worship called the tasting of nectar (v. 28cd), although the rite's full exposition is reserved for the final section of the sādhana, which is devoted entirely to an explanation of the rituals of deity yoga.

Inner Yogic Practices

- vv. 29–31, §9 With the consecration, the process of self-generation is finally complete. What follows in the sādhana is a series of contemplations based on the seed-syllable or the mantras of the deity. They contrast to some extent with the visualizations of the generation (*utpattiḥ*) by generally taking place within the subtle yogic body that the yogin imagines, or experiences, inside his physical body. This type of meditation tends to be non-iconographical, in that the objects of focus include visualized mantra syllables, colored “drops” within the yogic body, and the sensations caused by energies or “winds” moving within the yogic body. The principal aim of this type of meditation is finally to dissolve all visual and oral symbols of reality into reality itself and thus to bring about an experience of emptiness that is formless and void of any type of proliferation, whether visual, oral, or mental. This is a goal already familiar to practitioners of the Mahāyāna (*pāramitānayaḥ*), and as Germano (1994: 220) suggests, the tantric techniques that the yogin applies to achieving it “can also be understood in part as attempts to formally incorporate the non-exoteric styles of meditation on emptiness (that were increasingly normative in orthodox monastic environments) into tantric practice and ideology.”

Such inner yogic practices are generally considered to contrast with generation-type meditations. In a distinction dating back to the eighth century and the *Guhyasamājatantra*, the latter became known as the generation stage and the former as the stage of “perfection” or “completion” (*utpannakramah*). A famous exposition of the completion method is Nāgārjuna's sixfold yoga (*ṣaḍaṅgayoga*) developed in the yogottara exegetical tradition, and of particular importance in the later Kālacakra system, as expounded by Nāropa.⁴²³ However, it is worth asking to what extent such labels apply within sādhana compositions themselves. Sādhana writers do, on occasion, refer to the yoga of the generation stage (*utpattikramah/utpattikramayogaḥ*),

but they do not tend to make a distinction within the *sādhana* between those meditations revolving around self-generation and a subsequent “perfection stage” involving the inner yogic practices—even if the latter evince features of what they may regard as perfection-stage praxis (GSS33 is an exception in our collection; see the appendix). Indeed, although most of our authors (although not necessarily all) were evidently aware of these classifications—and some, such as Ratnākaraśānti or Advayavajra, comment upon them elsewhere—what scholars/practitioners of the time actually meant by the terms *utpattikrama* and *utpannakrama* is by no means as clear as current secondary literature makes out. In significant research on this classification, Isaacson (1999, 2001) has revealed the tremendous complexity of the distinction, and I can do no more here than summarize a few of his key findings (robbing them of the extensive bedrock of his citations from the early sources).

The renowned scholar and *tāntrika* Ratnākaraśānti explains the generation stage as “that stage or type of yoga (*utpattikramayogaḥ*) in which the yogin produces, in a series of steps, [himself in] the form of the deity” (Isaacson’s summary of the author’s commentary on *Hevajratāntra* I.8.24cd–25ab in 2001: 470). The aim is ultimately to realize nondual emptiness, free of the mind’s proliferation (*prapañcaḥ*), although to achieve this, the meditation itself relies on prescribed sequences involving just such proliferation. So much, it seems, was generally accepted by *tāntrikas* of the time. Nevertheless, on the exact function of the generation stage, and on its value relative to the so-called perfection stage, “there is evidence that there was a dispute, probably a long-running one” (Isaacson 1999). Thus, while Ratnākaraśānti was content to see the *utpattikrama* as a necessary preliminary for ensuing higher stages of practice, Isaacson also cites authors who were dismissive, even contemptuous, of it. A thornier matter still is determining what exactly these higher practices were, and how they were to be classified. Again following Ratnākaraśānti, Isaacson explains the perfection stage, or *utpannakrama*, as the yoga of cultivating the *sahaja* or “innate” nature of the *sādhaka* himself, and of other beings.⁴²⁴ It is called the *innate* nature, Ratnākaraśānti explains, in that it is “[already] arisen,” and “does not need to arise or be produced...” (*ibid.*: 470). In other words, the deity already exists within the practitioner’s deepest convictions (*svābhāvika*), and is thus already “born” (*utpanna*)⁴²⁵—clearly a process that no longer needs the meditative apparatus of generation, such as the five awakenings. Indeed, in Ratnākaraśānti’s terms, it relies upon a cultivation or contemplation of a sensation of great bliss (*mahāsukham*) that “spreads throughout

the sādḥaka's body, and then is to be imagined pervading the entire universe" (*ibid.*: 471). There is little call here for iconographical visualization, and the chief tool for creating the experience of this bliss is a progressive form of sexual yoga moving from imaginary, to symbolic, to actual practice with a female consort. Ratnākaraśānti then goes on to refine the meditations involved in the perfection stage, pinpointing both "ordinary" and "extremely profound" (*paramagambhīra-utpannakrama*) stages and stating that the latter is itself "of many kinds" (*ibid.*: 472). But as Isaacson points out, Ratnākaraśānti's was by no means the only voice in the debate, and other authors defined the perfection stage quite differently. Advayavajra, for example, focused on its function as an accelerated means of practice but maintained that it is still fully iconographic (*ibid.*: 471, n. 99).

A sure indicator of the diversity within the categorization, definitions, and usages of *utpatti* and *utpanna* is the variety of terms relating to the subject. Isaacson (1999) has shown that the term *utpannakrama*, or "perfection stage," may be used interchangeably with *niṣpannakrama*. (The term "*saṃpannakrama*" sometimes encountered in secondary literature is an anomaly, which Isaacson states does not appear in any original Sanskrit source and appears to have crept in through another wrong back translation from Tibetan.) In addition, the term *niṣpannakrama* may have been used by some, such as Candrakīrti and Ratnākaraśānti, to point to the term *niṣpannayoga*. This usage would have suggested to other scholars of the day a deliberate correspondence between the generation and perfection stages, and a different system of classification as found in the *Māyājālatantra*, namely, a series of yogas called *niṣpanna*-, *kalpita*-, and *adhiṣṭhāna-yoga*. Other authors clearly knew of the categories of the *Māyājālatantra* and preserved them in their writings, but without attempting to equate them with other systems around at the time. Abhayākara-gupta, for example, opens his *Niṣpannayogāvalī* (*Cycle of Completion Practices*) with a direct reference to the *Māyājālatantra*'s "completion yoga" (p. 1: *yogo niṣpannaḥ*) (*ibid.*). Other systems and terms were also current, and we have also already noted a category of inner yogic practices called the "self-consecration," or *svādhiṣṭhāna* method, which corresponds in type to aspects of the perfection stage.

My brief summary of Isaacson's research would be incomplete without pointing to his comments on the possible motivation for these early debates. In a unique observation, Isaacson (1999) cites the earliest known source for the distinction between *utpatti* and *utpanna* from the *Guhyasamājatantra* and reveals that it is unmistakably modeled upon Nāgārjuna's declaration

of the two truths, a doctrine essential to Nāgārjuna's philosophy, and key to the development of the *pāramitānaya*.⁴²⁶ Isaacson writes, "such a conscious parallel therefore suggests that the distinction of the two *kramas* is an equally fundamental one for tantric Buddhism." It is a correspondence, moreover, that is taken up by later tāntrikas (e.g., Kāṇha YRM p. 104 glossing HT1.1.1). But why should such distinctions be necessary? For Nāgārjuna, the declaration of the two truths follows his assertion that all categories, including Buddhist ones, are empty. In the light of this, he needs to explain that on an "ordinary" level, Buddhism still requires its doctrines and paths, and that these remain true and effective. In other words, "the verse is actually introduced to protect the lower (*saṃvṛtisat*), not so much to justify the higher (*paramārthasat*), [the fact of] emptiness, which has been established in the preceding chapters" (*ibid.*). Isaacson suggests that the parallel distinction between generation and perfection stages serves a similar function. That is, the verse in the *Guhyasamājatantra* protects or safeguards the teachings of the generation stage (which are after all the majority of tantric teachings) by proposing that they are a first stage, or a necessary preliminary, to the higher practices of the perfection stage. This way of framing the (tantric) teachings means that they are now being expressed in terms of a path, to be trodden step-by-step in hierarchical sequence. The introduction of a tantric "path" at the time of the *Guhyasamājatantra* was, Isaacson proposes, motivated by the contemporary debate between gradual and subitist approaches to enlightenment, which he shows the Ārya school of the *Guhyasamājatantra* to have taken very seriously.

The inner yogic practices of the sādhana, as we have just seen, move beyond the iconographical visualizations of the self-generation and focus on experiences produced inside the meditator's body. This depends upon a complex analysis of the internal, subtle, or "yogic" body into "channels" or "veins" (*nāḍīs*) and "body centers" (*cakras*), a topic well documented in published sources on the highest tantras.⁴²⁷ In brief, there are three main channels within the torso about a quarter of an inch in diameter. The central channel in particular is understood to be very straight (so that it can convey airs and liquids), soft like a lotus petal, bright and translucent, and either red or blue in color. It runs from the tip of the sexual organ, or at a point between the genitals and the anus, up to the top of the crown, usually curving down from there to the point between the eyebrows. The side channels join the central channel at the navel and run up parallel with the central channel to the crown, where they curve away on each side to the two nostrils; they are a little thinner than the central channel. The channels

are known as *avadhūtī* (center), *rasanā* (right), *lalanā* (left), and together they serve as conduits for a series of inner “winds,” or energies. There are different kinds of winds, which are vehicles for different kinds of consciousness or mind, and those in the outer channels are understood to be impure, while those in the central channel are pure. Their flow is considered vital to the healthy functioning of the body. The three main channels are assisted by 120 principal channels and 72,000 subsidiary channels that circulate the winds through the rest of the body. Normally, the winds are unable to enter the central vein because the two side veins twist around it at four vital points, like knots, obstructing their flow. These points are the four cakras (literally, “circles,” but variously translated “plexus,” “centers of veins,” “psychic centers,” etc.). They are placed along the central channel, and depending on the yogic system followed, they are located at the head, throat, heart, and navel, or at the head, heart, navel, and sex organ, and are represented by different kinds of lotuses. The three main veins also carry a flow of “nectar” between the cakras, namely, urine in *lalanā* (cf. n. 217; or sometimes male semen), blood in *rasanā* (the female “semen”), and semen, or *bodhicitta*, in *avadhūtī* (sometimes understood as the fusion of the male and female components, wisdom and means; Tsuda 1974: 63).

The purpose of yogic meditations is to bring the winds from the outer channels into the central channel, *avadhūtī*. The winds are said to do this naturally at death, so the yogin’s ability to manipulate them at will indicates his transcendence of death. The section on completion methods in the *Abhisamayamañjari* includes prescriptions for such a practice (although it refers to the visualization of the complete maṇḍala rather than the single deity as in the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana*). Here the yogin is to use his absorption in the *vaṃ* syllable (or its subtle sound, the *nāda*) to manipulate the flow of the outer winds. When he causes the upward wind (here, *prāṇaḥ*) and downward wind to enter *avadhūtī*, an experience of intense heat rises through the channel from the navel, characterized as the fire, *cāṇḍālī* (also understood as the red, female essence). Its blazing causes the nectar (*bodhicittam*, or male essence) visualized in the topmost cakra to melt, and as it does so, it flows down and blissfully pervades the four cakras in turn. Thus, the yogin is said to experience four kinds of “joys” or “blisses” (*ānandas*) that culminate in the highest kind of bliss, *sahaja* or “innate” bliss. In this blissful state, dualistic perception is said to be transcended.⁴²⁸

If he is unable to fix his mind firmly on so big a maṇḍala circle for a long while, then, [he should] make the mind become firm

[by focusing on the *nāda*, that is,] on the ray of light in the form of a thread of lotus fiber from the *vaṃ* seed[-syllable], which [he visualizes] in the space between the sun and moon disks on the lotus at his navel. [By so doing (*-dvāreṇa*), he] removes the flow in both [left and right] veins of the vital (*prāṇaḥ*) and downward (*apānaḥ*) winds, because of which (*-parihārāt*) the [winds] enter the central [channel]. When [this happens, *praveśe*], [then] there is the arising of *sahaja* [which comes about] through the sequential [experience of the four] joys etc., [which occurs] because (*krameṇa*) the cakras are pervaded by the moon [i.e., nectar] in the head, which has been made to melt [lit.: “through the cakra pervasion of the moon in the head, which has been made to melt”] because of the blazing *cāṇḍālī*. [When this happens, *sahajodaye*], [there comes about] either the nonperception (*anupalambhah*) of the maṇḍala circle through the sudden removal of all proliferating thoughts or [through its] gradual disappearance (*antarbhāvaḥ*) into emptiness.

The *Abhisamayamañjarī* goes on to describe how the entire world, the cremation grounds, the maṇḍala and its goddesses, and the yogin himself (self-visualized as Vajravārāhī) each dissolve into each other so that only the *vaṃ* remains. This also dissolves away, starting from the lowest part of the syllable, so that only its uppermost particle, the *nāda*, remains, but with a form so subtle that it is imperceptible.⁴²⁹ This reaffirms the yogin’s inner experience of nonduality, expressed here in terms of the “highest point” (*bhūtakoṭiḥ*), clear light (*prabhāsvareḥ*), or *yuganaddha*—“the fusion of the pair (emptiness and radiance)” (see n. 281):⁴³⁰

He should also see that *nāda* as having the form of a one-hundred thousandth part of a hair tip, but not even that is perceptible, due to its extreme [subtlety]. Because the goddess is identical with the knowledge circle, [she] enters clear light (*prabhāsvare*). In this way, again and again, [the yogin] should enter [clear light] and rise out [of it again]. So it is said: “Just as a puff (*vātaḥ*) of breath on a mirror dissolves entirely, so the yogin should enter the highest point (*bhūtakoṭiḥ*) again and again.” By entering and leaving [this clear light] again and again, the yogin directly experiences (*karoti*) *yuganaddha* [produced] from the nondifferentiation of the two truths.

Another yogic practice is to take the deity's mantra or seed-syllable as the object of the internalized meditation and to circulate its syllables through the body via the central channel. It is this kind of meditation that the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* now describes. The verses describing the yogic meditation (vv. 29–31) are supplemented by a fuller prose description (§9). This explains how the mantra is to be simultaneously recited and visualized in coordination with the incoming and outgoing breaths. First, the yogin visualizes a moon disk at his navel cakra, upon which he sees Vajravārāhī's seed-syllable *vaṃ* (or the subtler *nāda*). He then begins to recite her mantra in its ten-syllable form (*oṃ vajravairocanīye svāhā*). As he exhales, he sees the syllables of the mantra leaving the *vaṃ* seed-syllable (i.e., breathing out "through" his navel). Through his ongoing recitation, he produces a great multitude of syllables, which irradiate the world as goddesses (probably still in syllabic form) for the benefit of all beings. As he breathes in, the yogin visualizes himself inhaling the mantra. Although our text does not say so, the syllables must now be understood to enter his mouth and descend down the central channel, *avadhūtī*, until they reach his navel. There they are absorbed back, taking on the form once again (v. 29c) of the seed-syllable *vaṃ* (or the *nāda*), ready for the next exhalation of syllables from the navel. This process of circulating the syllables is said to be like "drawing in a thread" (§9) or like "counting the thread of a rosary" (GSS5, cited later). This yogic practice also gives rise to the experience of clear light (v. 31d).

A slightly fuller parallel to our text appears in the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (following the meditations on the winds cited earlier). As it assumes the prior generation of the entire maṇḍala, this passage offers the yogin the option of using one of the mantras for the goddesses of the retinue (mantras that are only described in the later meditation stages of the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana*). It also offers alternative methods of visualizing the syllables, including their circulation in the reverse direction, so that instead of flowing from the mouth down to the navel, the yogin sees them moving up the *avadhūtī*, out of the mouth, and back into Vajravārāhī's body, via her sex:⁴³¹

When he becomes tired, he should make his mind enter the *vaṃ* syllable on the lotus at his navel, [and] simultaneously reciting either the heart or the auxiliary heart mantra described below (one of the two according to his [own] wishes), he should emanate the five [maṇḍala] circles from the *nāda* of that [*vaṃ*]

syllable, with the outgoing breath, and make them benefit the [entire] world. When the breath enters [his body again], he should make it enter into that very [*vaṃ* syllable on his navel], with [the simultaneous recitation of] the mantra, in the way that one draws in the thread of a rosary.

For those who want to recite the mantras of the individual goddesses [of the maṇḍala], as given below, [he should do the meditation as before, but] when the recitation of the mantras of the individual goddesses is over, he should emanate and withdraw [the syllables of each mantra] one by one, as he did before.

Alternatively, [he should visualize] that same <syllable> as before, as a rosary of syllables rising up via the channel of *avadhūtī*, [and] having emitted [the syllables] from his mouth, [they should be seen] going to their own place in [Vajravārāhi's] sex (*padmaḥ/m*) [and] whirling around just there. While he is visualizing (*bhāvayan*) [this], he should [simultaneously] recite the garland [i.e., root] mantra given below or either the heart or auxiliary heart mantra.

Alternatively, seeing the garland of mantras like a garland of flames placed (*sthitām*) winding around that very seed-syllable [*vaṃ*], [he should recite whatever mantra he has chosen] without haste, without hesitation, and avoiding false notions.

The Mantra

- v. 32ab, §9 Mantras are usually given at the end of a sādhanā, often as an alternative to the visualization meditation, “when the yogin has grown tired.” Our author’s inclusion of Vajravārāhi’s mantras at this point indicates that the first meditation stage of the *Vajravārāhi Sādhanā* can be performed as a discrete sādhanā, based on the generation of the single goddess, Vajravārāhi.

The *Vajravārāhi Sādhanā* (§9) prescribes a version of Vajravārāhi’s mantra with ten syllables: *oṃ vajravairocanīye svāhā*. Its dative name element—*vajravairocanīye*—salutes Vajravairocanī, a form of the goddess otherwise barely mentioned in the *Guhyasamayasādhanaṃālā*, but the presence of the name in the mantra points to Vajravārāhi’s family association with the buddha Vairocana. This is the “heart mantra” (*hrdayamantraḥ*),

that is, the mantra that evokes the essence of Vajravārāhī. As such, it is the mantra most closely identified with her as a single deity and is most commonly recited when she is visualized alone; thus it is also referred to as the recitation or *japa* mantra in some texts (e.g., GSS29, GSS3≈GSS31).

There are, in fact, two versions of Vajravārāhī's heart mantra. The *Abhisamayamañjarī* (Sed p. 137, GSS5 K24v) prescribes a mantra with thirteen syllables as the main one, with the ten-syllabled version as an alternative. Although manuscripts yield a good many variants (as the manifestations described in chapter 2 have shown), the two heart mantras for Vajravārāhī are generally as follows: thirteenfold: *oṃ vajravairocanīye huṃ huṃ phaṭ svāhā*, and tenfold: *oṃ vajravairocanīye svāhā*.⁴³² The *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* is precise in giving only Vajravārāhī's heart mantra at this point, at the close of the first meditation stage. In the following meditation stages, we will find that other mantras are required as the visualized maṇḍala increases. For the fivefold maṇḍala, the text prescribes another type of heart mantra that is auxiliary, secondary, or "near" to the heart mantra itself, the *upahrdaya* mantra, and also an eight-part mantra; the full maṇḍala requires in addition the chanting of a long root (*mūla*) mantra. The type of mantra prescribed therefore depends on the form and size of the visualized maṇḍala:

Table 18. *Vajravārāhī mantras for thirty-seven-fold maṇḍala*

Lone Vajravārāhī (meditation stage 1)	heart mantra (§9)	10 syllables: <i>oṃ vajravairocanīye svāhā</i> [GSS5, 13 syllables: <i>oṃ vajravairocanīye huṃ huṃ phaṭ svāhā</i>]
Fivefold maṇḍala (meditation stage 2)	[heart mantra, plus:] auxiliary heart mantra & eight-part mantra (§12)	<i>oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākinīye vajra- varṇanīye huṃ huṃ phaṭ svāhā</i> <i>oṃ namo bhagavati vajravārāhī vaṃ huṃ huṃ phaṭ...oṃ namo vajravārāhī mahāyoginī kāmeśvari khage huṃ huṃ phaṭ</i>
Full 37-fold maṇḍala (meditation stages 3 and 4)	[heart, auxiliary heart, and eight-part mantra, plus:] root mantra (§32)	<i>oṃ namo bhagavati vajravārāhī vaṃ...bhūtatrāsani mahāvīre paramasiddhayogeśvari phaṭ hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā.</i>

The mantra recitation is in some ways the most significant part of the *sādhana* because it deals with the deity in its most essential, most powerful form. It is an audiovisual refraction of divine reality even more subtle and all-pervasive than its iconographic manifestation. In his vision of the female deities of the Hevajra maṇḍala, Marpa described the mantra at the heart of the consort “like a reflection in a mirror, clearly appeared, unobscured by her outer form.”⁴³³ Given its importance, it is often emphasized that it should be recited properly, with resonant tone, neither too fast nor too slow.⁴³⁴

vv. 32cd, 33cd A favorite theme in tantric texts is the supreme power of the mantra. The *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* likens it to a wish-fulfilling jewel or a wish-fulfilling tree and guarantees that its constant recitation will bring speedy results; indeed “success” (*siddhiḥ*), our author promises, will come about within six months. In the Śābara-related *sādhana*s, one month is said to bring “confirmation of progress”—such as a dream or vision of the goddess—practice for six months is said to bring about specific goals, and practice for a year is said to bring “magical powers” (*siddhis*).⁴³⁵

Its rather brief handling of the matter of *siddhi* is perhaps an indication of the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana*’s liberationist concerns. In its broadest sense, *siddhi* means “success” or “attainment” (the word is etymologically related to the verb *√sādh*, and hence to *sādhana*, the “means of attainment”). But in the tantras it usually refers to the supernormal or magical powers that initiated practitioners of tantric deity cults are able to develop. These include both white and black magic (although the Indian scheme uses a different color coding), the four most basic being the *siddhis* of welfare (*śāntiḥ*), of increase or restoring to health (*puṣṭiḥ*), of subjugating a victim (*vaśīkaraṇam*), and of causing death (*māraṇam*). Other powers include drawing victims toward one (*ākaraṇam*), paralyzing them (*stambhanam*), and driving them away (*uccātanam*). A common list of eight *siddhis* includes: invincibility with the sword (*khaḍgasiddhiḥ*), invisibility (*añjana°*), ointment to make one swift-footed (*pādalepa°*), invisibility (*antardhāna°*), the alchemical ability to transform base metals into gold or the elixir of immortality (*rasarasāyana°*, *sūtaka°*), flying (*khecara°*, *vidyādhari°*), going anywhere in an instant (*bhūcara°*, “*gulikā-ḷguṭikā°*”), and going to netherworlds (*pātāla°*). Other popular *siddhis* are those that grant oratory powers (*kavitvam*), the powers of a sword-magician (*khaḍgavidyādharaḥ*), and life for hundreds of years. Some texts make extraordinary claims for the power of the mantra, including its ability to remove even the consequences of the

“deadly sins” (*ānantaryakarmāṇi*).⁴³⁶ A siddhi that is particularly relevant to the sexual practices of mahāmudrā (as expounded from the orientation of its male practitioners) is the ability to gain power over women (*strīṇāṃ vaśyakaraṇam*). A yogin who recites the root mantra of Vajravārāhī twenty-one times during an eclipse of the sun or moon will, it is said, be approached by thousands of women (as well as gaining the ability to perform other spectacular siddhis, such as summoning the gods, starting or quenching fires, and so on; SM222 p. 436). This is a prominent topos in the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra* (e.g., ch. 12.6.39), in which the yogin is to go to bed, hold his penis in his left hand, and recite the root mantra 108 times in order to attract the woman he has in mind. The system of mahāmudrā is so strongly identified with methods of magical attainment that liberation itself is classed as the most superior of siddhis.

Dwelling As Vajravārāhī

- vv. 33ab– The overall aim of the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* is expressed in the final verses of the “short meditation” (v. 34d) that comprises its first meditation stage.
- 34 These are the concluding injunctions of any yoginītantra sādhana, namely, that the practitioner should continue to maintain the divine ego (*ahamkāraḥ*) of his chosen deity at all times (v. 33ab).⁴³⁷ In order to strengthen this inner conviction, the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (K30r6–K31r2) integrates the practices of deity yoga into the yogin’s everyday activities: when he bathes, he imagines that he is receiving consecration; when he eats, he imagines that he is offering *bali* to the deity and her maṇḍala retinue; while sleeping, he is aware of sleep as clear light.⁴³⁸ Thus, unless he loses his awareness (which is of course a possibility, see above, p. 116), the yogin will still imagine himself to be Vajravārāhī when he sits down the next time to meditate at one of the three junctures (*saṃdhyās*) of the Indian tradition (v. 34cd): dawn, midday, and dusk—and in some tantric texts, also at midnight.⁴³⁹ The “means of attainment” presented by the sādhana is therefore a spiraling reinforcement of the tantric initiate’s identity with the deity—and his eventual inner transformation into Vajravārāhī herself.
- v. 35 (See above: “The Cosmos and Temple Palace,” p. 144ff.)

MEDITATION STAGE 2

- vv. 36–37 The second meditation stage describes the fivefold maṇḍala of Vajravārāhī. This begins the prescriptions for the complete thirty-seven-fold maṇḍala that will be built up in the remaining meditations of the sādhana, based on Cakrasaṃvara sources. It opens with a pair of scriptural verses that summarize the various stages of the maṇḍala as follows:

v. 36cd	meditation stage 2	fivefold maṇḍala <i>Vajravārāhī plus the four retinue goddesses on the petals of the central lotus, Ḍākinī, etc.</i>
v. 36cd	meditation stage 3	thirteenfold maṇḍala <i>fivefold maṇḍala plus eight outer goddesses, Kākāsyā, etc.</i>
v. 37	meditation stage 4	thirty-seven-fold maṇḍala <i>thirteenfold maṇḍala plus twenty-four goddesses of the sites (pīṭhās), Pracandā, etc.</i>

These meditation stages offer the meditator alternative and progressively more complex methods of visualizing himself as Vajravārāhī within her maṇḍala. They do not form discrete sādhanas, as the first meditation stage does, but sets of additional instructions that would be inserted optionally into the self-generation section of the first meditation stage (following vv. 19–24), depending on the length of the practice the practitioner chooses to undertake.⁴⁴⁰

Fivefold Maṇḍala

- §10 The prose prescriptions for the fivefold maṇḍala refer back to the scriptural verses just cited (v. 36ab). Thus, the meditator is to visualize Vajravārāhī standing upon the pericarp of an eight-petaled lotus, and surrounding her he is to see the four principal goddesses of her retinue upon

the four cardinal petals of the lotus: Ḍākiṇī in the east, Lāmā in the north, Khaṇḍarohā in the west, and Rūpiṇī in the south (see plate 12, with fig. 32). (As a rule in the yoginītantras, installation (*nyāsaḥ*) on the cardinal points is performed in a counterclockwise direction, and clockwise in the intermediate directions.)⁴⁴¹ This level of the maṇḍala is designated “the circle of great bliss” (see below).

vv. 38–40 The iconography of the ḍākinīs (vv. 38–40) is similar to that of their maṇḍala leader. They are naked *kāpālīka* deities in warrior stance, with three eyes, loose hair, the five tantric ornaments, terrible fangs, garlands of oozing heads, corpse thrones (v. 41), and chaplets of vajras (§21). They have four arms, holding a skull staff and skull bowl in the left, and *ḍamaru* drum and vajra chopper in the right. Each goddess is a different color, according to the direction in which she stands. Following the traditional colors of the buddha families, Ḍākiṇī (east) is blue-black, Lāmā (north) is green, Khaṇḍarohā (west) is red, and Rūpiṇī (south) is yellow. The iconography of the arms is shown in the delightful red ḍākinī from Khara Khoto (plate 2).

§11 The four goddesses are presided over by the buddha Ratnasambhava, bearing him as the seal in their crown. Between them, on the intermediate petals, are four skull bowls that contain semen (*bodhicittam*). In similar texts, other impure substances are mentioned inside the skull bowls, such as menstrual blood, or the five nectars and five lamps (see below), all of which are transformed into an elixir like quicksilver. The bowls themselves are pure white (“like a conch, jasmine, or moon”) and may be visualized balancing elegantly on top of ornamental vases.⁴⁴²

§12 The mantras for the fivefold maṇḍala are supplied at the end of the second meditation stage, first for Vajravārāhī as a maṇḍala leader, and then for the four retinue goddesses. Vajravārāhī’s mantras include the ten-syllabled heart mantra given already in meditation stage 1, based on the mantra deity Vajravairocanī (*om vajravairocanīye svāhā*), and the auxiliary heart mantra, sometimes said to have twenty syllables (e.g., GSS4 KI415: *upahṛdayaṃ viṃśatyakṣaram*), based on the mantra deities Sarvabuddha-ḍākinī and Vajravarṇanī (*om sarvabuddhaḍākinīye vajravarṇanīye humḥ humḥ phaṭ svāhā*). There is also the eight-part mantra, which frequently occurs in a ritual context for praise.⁴⁴³ The mantras for the four goddesses on the petals follow the standard format for all goddesses of the retinue: *om*, the insertion of the goddess’s name, then the insertion of the syllables *humḥ humḥ phaṭ*.⁴⁴⁴

The fivefold maṇḍala—like the rest of Vajravārāhī's maṇḍala—was originally the maṇḍala of the Heruka deity, Cakrasaṃvara. In his practice, the four goddesses on the petals generally appear with the same iconographic form as they have in the Vajravārāhī maṇḍala, despite dramatic changes to the central cult figure. Variations relate principally to whether they are two- or four-armed. Occasionally they assume a more radical form, as we have seen in the sādhana of the twelve-armed Vajravārāhī redacted from the *Abhidhānottaratantra* (GSS7), where they take the terrifying therianthrope form characteristic of that maṇḍala, trampling the corpses of Bhairava and Kālarātri in *ardhaparyāṅka* pose, and holding a severed head (rather than the *ḍamaru* of *Vajravārāhīsādhana*).⁴⁴⁵

The four retinue goddesses are representatives of ideal classes of female. The yoginītantras have a special interest in characterizing and categorizing such types as consorts for sexual yogic practices. The *Samvarodayatantra* (ch. 31), for example, describes the “beautiful characteristics” of Ḍākinī, Lāmā, Khaṇḍarohā, and Rūpiṇī, their physical attributes, character, voice, and smell, and the way of making love to them. Female types are divided into classes and, according to their attributes, belong to particular buddha families. A nine-pointed vajra on the lower joint of the fourth finger, for example, is said to indicate a member of the Akṣobhya family (HT2.2.1–2). The *Abhidhānottara* has chapters dedicated to the classes of yoginīs, ḍākinīs, lāmās, and others; and Kalff (1979: 44–56; cf. 91–95)—who discusses this area in detail—suggests that the goddesses Rūpiṇī and Khaṇḍarohā (sometimes interchangeable for Lāmā) also arose from among these generic classifications.⁴⁴⁶ As individual goddesses, the goddesses of the petals therefore assume a generic quality associated with their type. Ḍākinī represents all ḍākinīs, and never appears as an individual goddess outside this set; Lāmā represents all lāmās, and so on—in fact, these two only appear as classes of female within the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* itself—and in this respect, the goddesses are akin to Vajravārāhī, the supreme vajra-yoginī. Their kinship is noted in the *Abhidhānottaratantra*: Ḍākinī is described as a vajra-ḍākinī who has “arisen in the family of Vajravārāhī”; the chapter on lāmās describes the characteristics of “lāmās who are vārāhīs,” while the commentary adds that lāmās belong to “the vārāhī family” or “family of vārāhī's good qualities.”⁴⁴⁷ Another chapter describes the “practice of the four ḍākinīs” (ADUT ch. 19 *Caturḍākinīyogaṭāla*) in which the goddesses are visualized with three faces and eight arms, trampling four māras, and with the vajra prefix to their mantras (“vajra-ḍākinī,” etc.). Although they are

in attendance upon Cakrasaṃvara in union with Vajravārāhī, the commentary draws attention to their close relationship with Vajravārāhī by describing the maṇḍala as an essentialized form of the complete retinue, with Vajravārāhī (and not Cakrasaṃvara) as the chief deity (cited Kalff 1979: 217, n. 1).

Thirteenfold Maṇḍala

§13–§15 In the third meditation stage, our author points once again to the verses
v. 41 from the Cakrasaṃvara scriptures (v. 36cd) as the authority for the thirteenfold maṇḍala.⁴⁴⁸ This is done by adding a further eight goddesses to the fivefold maṇḍala and installing them in the outer portion of the maṇḍala, said here to be part of the circle of great bliss. Four of the goddesses are visualized at the gates (*dvāram*), that is, at the four central porticoes of the temple palace (see plate 12 with fig. 32). They are terrifying in form, with “faces to match their names” (§14): a crow’s head for Kākāśyā, an owl for Ulūkāśyā, a dog for Śvānāśyā, and a hog for Sūkarāśyā. Otherwise, their accoutrements and stances resemble those of the goddesses on the petals, and like them, they are four-armed and carry skull staff and skull bowl in their left arms, and *ḍamaru* drums and choppers in their right. Their colors, we must assume, are those of the cardinal directions in which they reside: black, green, red, and yellow.⁴⁴⁹ (Plate 1 shows therianthropic attendant goddesses with two arms. In plate 14, the goddesses are visible at the gates.)

In the intermediate directions (installed counterclockwise), the meditator visualizes four more goddesses in each corner (*koṇaḥ*) of the maṇḍala where the walls intersect. These are the fearsome yoginīs of the god of death, Yama:⁴⁵⁰ Yamadādhī, Yamadūtī, Yamadaṃṣṭriṇī, and Yamamathanī. They are similar in every other way to the gate goddesses except that they are human-faced and are bitonal because they straddle two directions of space. All eight outer goddesses are sealed by Amoghasiddhi, and their mantras follow the format of the other goddesses of the retinue (*om* + name element + *hum hum phaṭ*). No additional mantras are given for Vajravārāhī at this stage, which suggests they remain the same as those for the fivefold maṇḍala: heart, auxiliary heart, and eight-part mantras.

The outer goddesses have already made an appearance in the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* during the installation of the circle of protection (v. 15ff.), where they took on a stakelike form for staking, hammering, and removing obstacles. Here, their theriocephalic forms again indicate their protective function, following a trend set in the earliest yoginītantras. For example, the **Guhyakośa* describes a maṇḍala of fifty-eight wrathful deities surrounding Buddhaheruka and his consort Buddhakrodheśvarī, in which there are eight theriocephalic divinities (*phra men ma*) and four “gate keepers” (**dvārapālīs*),

plus an outer circuit of twenty animal-headed deities (Sanderson 1995). Similarly, in a complex maṇḍala from the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījāla-saṃvara*, the four gate keepers bear the heads of horse, hog, crow, and dog: *Hayāsyā, *Sūkarāsyā, *Kākāsyā, and *Śvānāsyā (*ibid.*).⁴⁵¹ This maṇḍala is a forerunner to the maṇḍala of six cakravartins, a Cakrasaṃvara-based practice that includes the eight outer goddesses beginning with Kākāsyā (e.g., NYĀ p. 79). This, in turn, is the prototype for a rather different Vajravārāhī maṇḍala drawn from the *Vajravārāhyabhyudayantra* and found in the *Guhyasamayasāadhanamālā* (GSS7), the forty-one-fold maṇḍala discussed earlier of twelve-armed Vajravārāhī that is based upon the four mothers. In this maṇḍala the outer goddesses are all strongly individual and preserve features quite distinct from the other goddesses of their maṇḍala; the corner goddesses, for example, have protean (*viśvarūpa-*), theriocephalic forms, with the faces of buffalo, ass, camel, and horse.

Terms for Aspects of the Maṇḍala

The *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* gives the designation “circle of great bliss” (*mahāsukhacakram*) for the central lotus with Vajravārāhī and the four goddesses of the petals (§10) and for the eight goddesses in the outer walls of the temple (§13). In other texts, however, the terms seem to vary. In the *Abhidhānottaratantra*, for example, the term “pledge circle” (*samaya-cakram*) covers (both individually and collectively) the central goddess, the petal goddesses, and the outer goddesses, and therefore seems to be used synonymously with “circle of great bliss.” Other terms are also found. The goddesses in the outer reaches of the maṇḍala are frequently said to reside in the “outer circle” (*bāhyacakram*) (e.g., GSS5 Sed p. 136, K23v3), while in the *Abhidhānottaratantra*, we also find the fivefold central maṇḍala referred to as the vagina (*bhagaḥ*), and the lotus petals distinguished as the knowledge circle (*jñānacakram*).⁴⁵² The origin of these terms is not altogether clear.⁴⁵³

Thirty-seven-fold Maṇḍala

§16 At the start of the fourth meditation stage, our author once again cites the scriptural verse (v. 37) as the source for the meditation. Here, the meditator is to visualize three concentric circles (*cakras*) between the central lotus and the outer walls of the temple palace, and upon each circle he is to see eight goddesses. With the addition of these twenty-four goddesses, the thirty-seven-deity maṇḍala of Vajravārāhi is complete. In this meditation stage, the *Vajravārāhi Sādhana* first states how to visualize the three circles with their twenty-four goddesses (§16–§21), then gives instructions for a series of meditations on the maṇḍala (§22–§31), and ends in the usual manner with the mantras (§32–§34). Through these descriptions, we will see how successive layers of meaning and significance are woven into the completed maṇḍala so that it represents or “becomes” transcendental wisdom (the maṇḍala as wisdom), the thirty-seven *bodhipākṣikadharmas* (the maṇḍala as doctrine), and the body of the meditator himself (body maṇḍala, *kāya-maṇḍala*). The structure of the full maṇḍala is shown on plate 12 with fig. 32.

Circles of Mind, Speech, and Body

§17–
§19 The three circles visualized around the central lotus are called the circles of mind, speech, and body. The innermost circle is the “mind circle” (*cittacakram*, §17) understood to exist in space. This is blue-black (*nīla*) in color and surrounded by a ring of blue-black vajras. It is said to have eight spokes or sectors that are aligned to the cardinal and intermediate directions (the “eight directions of Meru”). These sectors “have the nature of” (GSS, Sed p. 133, K21r2: *pīṭhasvabhāva*) certain semimythical sacred sites (*pīṭhas*). Their individual names, Pullīramalaya, etc., are given in the text as the dwelling places of the eight goddesses of the mind circle, who are referred to collectively as the “congregation of sky-dwelling goddesses.” The next concentric circle is the speech circle (*vākacakram*, §18), understood to exist on the “circumference of the earth.” It is red, encircled with red lotuses, and with eight goddesses similarly installed on its eight sacred sites. These goddesses are described collectively as the “congregation of earth-dwelling goddesses.” Finally, the outermost concentric circle is the body circle

(*kāyacakram*, §19), understood to exist “on the surface of the earth encircled by the oceans.” This is visualized as white and surrounded by white wheel emblems (*cakras*). The goddesses dwelling there are described as the “congregation of goddesses abiding in the underworld, or hell (*pātālah*).”⁴⁵⁴

The three circles of mind, speech, and body also appear in the Cakrasaṃvara maṇḍala, where they are occupied by twenty-four site gods, Khaṇḍakapālin, etc., in embrace with their consorts, Praçaṇḍā, etc. (see table 23). If we compare the structure of Vajravārāhī’s maṇḍala with that of Cakrasaṃvara, we find that the two maṇḍalas are identical except that in the maṇḍala of Vajravārāhī all the male gods have been removed. The maṇḍala leader, Cakrasaṃvara, has been superseded by his consort, Vajravārāhī, and the goddesses appear alone in the twenty-four sites, thus reducing the size of the maṇḍala from sixty-two to thirty-seven deities. This adaptation of the Cakrasaṃvara maṇḍala to a new, all-female model is not without its problems. We will see later how it creates inconsistencies in the meditations that correlate the full maṇḍala with the body, and how mantras must be adapted to omit the names of the male gods.

§20 The next prose passage reveals the familiar *kāpālika* character of the site goddesses. They each have one face and four arms, and hold the same implements as the other retinue goddesses: skull bowl and staff (left) and chopper and *ḍamaru* (right). They stand in the warrior stance without a corpse throne and wear the five tantric ornaments and a garland of “hanging human heads.” Their colors are determined by the color of the circle in which they dwell, itself a reflex of the buddha who presides over it. Thus, the goddesses on the mind circle, sealed by Akṣobhya, are blue-black; those on the speech circle, sealed by Amitābha, are red; and those on the body circle, sealed by Vairocana, are white. Some of the names of the site goddesses are strikingly un-Buddhist, reflecting the influence of esoteric Śaivism.⁴⁵⁵

§21 The following paragraph repeats the installation of the eight outer goddesses. These protective goddesses have already been visualized in the third meditation stage, where they were located at the “gates” and “corners”—suggesting the traditional structure of the temple palace walls (§13–§15). Here, however, Kākāsyā, etc., are said to inhabit the eight cremation grounds “on the level of the underworld within rings of fire and wind.”⁴⁵⁶ The repetition of the outer goddesses is slightly odd. One rationale may be that our author is attempting to give them a cosmological bearing akin to that of the site goddesses because he wishes to include them alongside the site goddesses in the body maṇḍala meditation, for which they will need

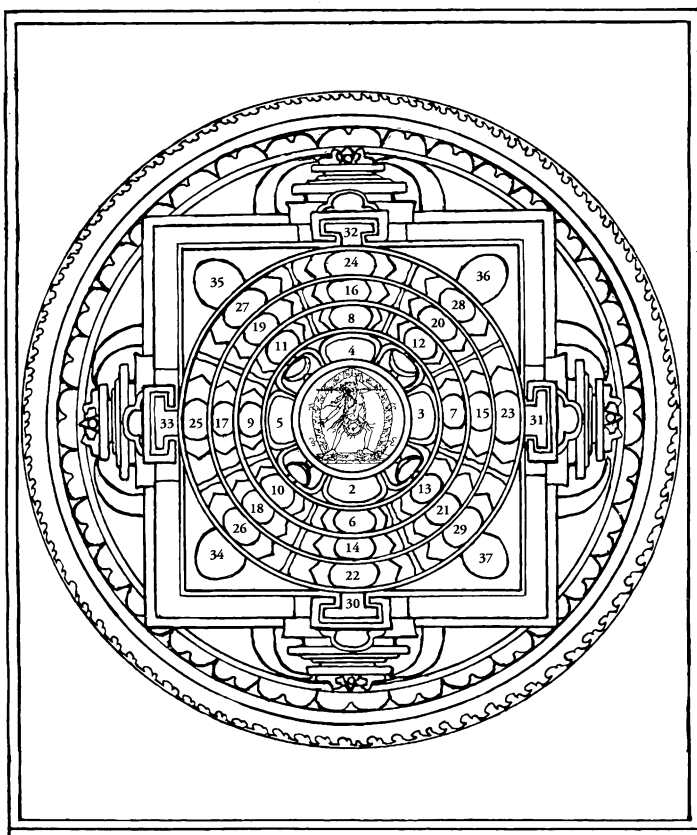
a cosmological status. Another explanation may be the ambiguous presence of the temple palace in this sādhanā. Umāpatideva never actually prescribed the visualization of the temple palace. Instead, he located the self-generation within the setting of the cremation grounds (v. 16); and even when he offered the traditional alternative of Mount Meru, we noted that he omitted any reference to the temple palace (v. 35). The location he prescribes here for the outer goddesses—the cremation grounds surrounded by protective rings of fire and wind—in fact harks back to their visualization earlier in the sādhanā, when they appeared in the construction of the circle of protection (at §4). If this cosmological orientation is an original contribution by Umāpatideva (and it is absent in the other sources studied here), it is consistent with his attempt to replace the cakravartin-style architecture of the maṇḍala palace with the cremation grounds.

Clearly following, and adapting from, his Cakrasaṃvara sources, our author ends his prescriptions in §21 with a final comment covering all the goddesses in the retinue, stating that all of them are to be visualized wearing chaplets of vajras.⁴⁵⁷ It is at this point that the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5 Sed p. 139, K26r5) offers alternatives to the visualization of the full maṇḍala, which are credited to the *Vajrāvalī* by the author's guru, Abhayākara-gupta. These include the optional visualization of Vajravārāhī as either yellow or blue, and changes to the colors and attributes of the deities of the retinue.⁴⁵⁸

With the visualization of the retinue goddesses on the three cakras, the maṇḍala is complete.

The Maṇḍala As Wisdom

Once the full maṇḍala is complete, its interweaving layers of symbolism come more clearly into focus. One of the most evident is the association with wisdom, as all the goddesses in the maṇḍala are presided over by a buddha, each indicating a different aspect of enlightened wisdom. The sequence in the Vajravārāhī maṇḍala is exactly that of the Cakrasaṃvara maṇḍala (excluding the presiding Buddha Akṣobhya for Cakrasaṃvara himself).⁴⁵⁹ The correspondences with the buddha families rarely work evenly throughout a given maṇḍala, however. For example, Vairocana, who seals the goddesses of the body circle, appears twice in the Vajravārāhī maṇḍala, since he is also the buddha who seals the central goddess, Vajravārāhī (§8). What

Fig. 32. *Thirty-seven-fold Vajravārāhī maṇḍala*

EAST

Central Lotus

1. Vajravārāhī

Cardinal Petals

2. Ḍākini
3. Lāmā
4. Khaṇḍarohā
5. Rūpiṇī

Mind Circle

6. Pracandā
7. Caṇḍākṣī
8. Prabhāvatī
9. Mahānāsā
10. Viramatī
11. Kharvari
12. Lañkeśvari

13. Drumacchāyā

Speech Circle

14. Airāvati
15. Mahābhairavā
16. Vāyuvegā
17. Surābhakṣī
18. Śyāmā(devī)
19. Subhadrā
20. Hayakarṇā
21. Khagānanā

Body Circle

22. Cakravegā
23. Khaṇḍarohā
24. Śauṇḍini
25. Cakravarmiṇī

26. Suvirā
27. Mahābalā
28. Cakravartini
29. Mahāviryā

Outer Maṇḍala (Gates)

30. Kākāsyā
31. Ulūkāsyā
32. Śvānāsyā
33. Sūkārāsyā

Outer Maṇḍala (Corners)

34. Yamadādḍhī
35. Yamadūti
36. Yamadaṃṣṭriṇī
37. Yamamathani

is more, only the site goddesses of the three cakras reflect the color and emblem of their buddha family, while Vajravārāhī herself retains the character and attributes of a typical vajra family member, despite her allocation to the Vairocana family within the Cakrasaṃvara maṇḍala.⁴⁶⁰ The result, nevertheless, is that all deities are associated with a different buddha, and that the maṇḍala overall is a symbol of perfect wisdom.

Table 19. *Maṇḍala as wisdom*

<i>Aspect of Maṇḍala</i>	<i>Buddha Seal</i>	<i>Goddess Color</i>
central goddess (<i>mahāsukhacakra</i>)	Vairocana (white)	red
petal goddesses (<i>mahāsukhacakra</i>)	Ratnasambhava (yellow)	color of the directions
site goddesses (<i>cittacakra</i>)	Akṣobhya (blue/black)	blue/black
site goddesses (<i>vākacakra</i>)	Amitābha (red)	red
site goddesses (<i>kāyacakra</i>)	Vairocana (white)	white
outer goddesses (<i>mahāsukhacakra</i>)	Amoghasiddhi (green)	color of the directions

The Maṇḍala As Doctrine

§22–§29 Following the visualization of the full, thirty-seven-fold maṇḍala, the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* continues with a meditation that correlates the maṇḍala with the entire Buddhist doctrine. The text states that this meditation deepens the meditator's conviction of himself as Vajravārāhī within her maṇḍala and leads to enlightenment (§22). In the course of the contemplation, each of the thirty-seven goddesses is equated with one of the thirty-seven *bodhipākṣikadharmas*, “factors that favor enlightenment.” This Abhidharmic grouping of Buddhist doctrines is made up of traditional sets of teachings, which are contemplated as follows:

(§23) The four bringers of awareness (*anu-smṛtyupasthānas*)

(§24) The four means of mind concentration (*ṛddhipādas*)

(§25) The five empowering faculties (*indriyas*)

(§26) The five powers (*balas*)

(§27) The seven causes of enlightenment (*bodhyaṅgas*)

(§28) The eight factors of the path (*āryāṣṭāṅgo mārgah*)

(§29) The four means of complete abandonment (*samyakprahāṇas*)

For each set, the text supplies typical commentarial glosses, at one point even citing Pāṇini (§23). This is the fullest example of Abhidharmic exegesis in the *Guhyasamayāsādhanaṃālā* and shows our author's reliance on traditional Buddhist sources. There are, however, notable variations—not to say, idiosyncracies—in his manner of listing some of the doctrines, which are discussed in the notes to the translation.

The meditation correlating the maṇḍala with Buddhist doctrine is drawn directly from Cakrasaṃvara praxis, in which the yogin identifies the sixty-two-deity Cakrasaṃvara maṇḍala with the thirty-seven *bodhipākṣikadharmas*. However, only the thirty-seven female deities of the maṇḍala are correlated, except in the case of the last *bodhipākṣikadharma*, which is understood to be Cakrasaṃvara himself. Perhaps it is because of the tantric association of the female consort (sometimes called a *vidyā*) with wisdom (*vidyā*) that the male gods are overlooked. As a result, the practice is easily adapted to the all-female maṇḍala of Vajravārāhī, although a certain amount of juggling is required to accommodate the maṇḍala goddesses within the groups of doctrines.

Table 20. *Maṇḍala as doctrine (thirty-seven bodhipākṣikadharmas)*

37 <i>bodhipākṣikadharmas</i>	goddesses of the maṇḍala
4 <i>smṛtyupasthānas</i>	4 petal goddesses
4 <i>ṛddhipādas</i>	4 site goddesses of mind circle
5 <i>indriyas</i>	4 site goddesses of mind circle + 1 site goddess of speech circle
5 <i>balas</i>	5 site goddesses of speech circle
7 <i>bodhyaṅgas</i>	2 remaining site goddesses of speech circle 5 site goddesses of body circle
8 <i>aṅgas</i> of <i>aṣṭāṅgamarga</i>	3 site goddesses of body circle 4 gate goddesses 1 central goddess
4 <i>prahāṇas</i>	4 corner goddesses

The Maṇḍala As Cosmos

Another major feature of the maṇḍala is its symbolic representation of the cosmos. In fact, several cosmological systems are at play within it. First, we have seen how the whole visualization takes place within a cosmos conceived of as eight great cremation grounds—or alternatively upon the more traditional cosmic setting of Mount Meru.

Next, we have seen that the three maṇḍala circles of mind, speech, and body are tiered according to the popular division of the world along its vertical axis. This is usually understood as the division of the three worlds (*tribhuvanam*) of space, earth, and underworld, as in the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5 K28r6). However, the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* describes a fourfold division of space in order to include the cremation grounds within the cosmological picture.⁴⁶¹

(§17) mind circle	in space
(§18) speech circle	in the circumference (<i>valayaḥ</i>) of the earth
(§19) body circle	on the surface (<i>talam</i>) of the earth encircled by the oceans
(§21) cremation grounds	on the surface of the underworld within rings of wind and fire

Our author's adaptation from the usual cosmological scheme is slightly awkward because, according to the Abhidharmic system, the underworlds are actually located within the element water (illustrated by Brauen 1997: 20; 1994: 54). It also means that the site goddesses who are collectively termed "underworld dwellers" (§19)—and who, in the *Abhisamayamañjarī*, are happily located in the underworld—are said, less logically, to dwell on the "surface of the earth encircled by the oceans." Table 21 compares the *Abhisamayamañjarī* with the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* and shows the slight inconsistencies of the latter. By comparing the cosmological structure of our maṇḍala with that of the Kālacakra, it also reveals how the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* seems to foreshadow that system, in which the cosmos is generated upon the elements air, fire, water, and earth (see also fig. 25).

Table 21. *Maṇḍala as cosmos*

aspect of maṇḍala	GSS ₅	GSS ₁₁	inhabiting goddesses	Kālacakra cosmos
mind circle	sky	space	site goddesses "sky-dwellers"	12 winds orbiting Meru
speech circle	earth	circumference of earth	site goddesses "earth-dwellers"	circle of earth
body circle	underworld	surface of earth encircled by oceans	site goddesses "underworld-dwellers"	circle of water
outer maṇḍala		surface of underworld within rings of fire & wind	outer goddesses in cremation grounds	circle of fire & air

The Sacred Sites (pīṭhas)

Another important cosmological structure in the full maṇḍala is that of the twenty-four sacred sites (*pīṭhas*), listed §17–§19 (and table 23). These, as we have seen, are understood to exist within the maṇḍala, on the three circles of mind, speech, and body, with eight sites on each. The sacred sites have their origins in Śaiva myth, which relates how Śiva's body was dismembered and fell to earth (or how Śiva scattered the dismembered body of Sati/Parvatī across the world in his grief), thus creating sites of sacred power.⁴⁶² The existence of these sites here in the Buddhist tantric systems has its root in the accounts of Śiva's subjugation, which—as we saw earlier—generally begin with Maheśvara's (Śiva's) demonic tyranny of the universe and end with his defeat and conversion at the hands of the Buddhist heroes. In Cakrasaṃvara exegetical literature, however, Maheśvara's overlordship is represented specifically in terms of his occupation of the twenty-four sacred sites, while his subjugation is framed in terms of the Buddhist takeover of those sites from the wicked gods of his maṇḍala retinue. The inclusion of the sacred sites in the meditation and ritual texts of tantric Buddhism is also due to its "pious plagiarism" of tantric Śaiva methods, in particular, the esoteric system of the Trika (Sanderson 1994b, 1995).⁴⁶³ Kalff (1979: 103–4) states that the names of most sites are those of towns or countries "from almost every part of India," while the actual pilgrimage sites are holy sanctuaries within those countries—predominantly of Kālī-type deities.⁴⁶⁴

The significance of the sacred sites within the maṇḍala is that they confirm the maṇḍala “as” the universe. This plays a vital part in the coming meditations, in which the maṇḍala as cosmos is correlated with the body of the meditator.

The Ten Places (deśas)

In the meditations that follow, yet another aspect of the cosmos is woven into the symbolic textures of the maṇḍala. This is a set of ten “places” (*deśas*) made up of five primary places, and five secondary or “nearby” places. Each of the places contains two or four of the twenty-four sacred sites (vv. 43–53), as shown in table 23. The places are correlated during the course of the body maṇḍala with the ten bodhisattva stages (vv. 43–53). They also appear within a slightly different, twelvefold account in the Hevajra system.⁴⁶⁵ These are summarized in table 22.⁴⁶⁶

In the semi-mythical world of the highest tantras (and drawing once again on Śaiva praxis), the places and sites serve as dwelling places for various classes of yoginī. Such texts devote some time to explaining the means of identifying and conversing with these types of women, as in a passage from the *Samvarodayatantra*: “A woman who is always fond of meat and spirituous liquors and forgets shame and fear is said to be an ‘innate woman’ (*sahajā*) born of the *ḍākinī* family. They are born in each district [i.e., place]; (these) yoginīs should be worshiped at all times.”⁴⁶⁷ The idea is that the yogin should visit the places in search of his consort. The lord himself, in the *Hevajratāntra* (I.7.8–11), specifically refers to them as the “meeting place” (*melāpakasthānam*) for yogins and yoginīs who know the “secret signs” (*choma*). The texts clearly suppose that the places and the sacred sites that they contain have a real, external existence because, on occasion, they make derogatory remarks about such goings-on, complaining that the expert yogin need not “tire himself out by wandering around the twenty-four sites in person,” and emphasizing that the sites are mentioned merely “for the benefit of simple fools who wander about the country.”⁴⁶⁸

Within the maṇḍala as a whole, the different cosmological systems do not fit easily together. A comment by Bu ston illustrates this. In his account of the subjugation of the Śaiva gods (quoted by Kalff 1979: 68–69), Bu ston first describes the Buddhist occupation of the Śaiva sites and then states that four *kinnarīs* and four *phra men ma* take control of the eight great cremation grounds. He then proceeds to cite “the opinion of others” who instead

of naming the eight cremation grounds mention yet another system, namely the *pīlavas* and *upapīlavas* (i.e., the places). Within the maṇḍala of the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* we can also see evidence of some competition between the different systems. For example, the cremation grounds are one of the categories of place, and as such appear on the body circle (see table 23. This is awkward for the overall scheme of the maṇḍala, in which they are otherwise located beyond the outer circle, within the circle of protection.

Table 22. *The ten places*

1. site	<i>pīṭha</i>	2. nearby site	<i>upapīṭha</i>
3. field	<i>kṣetra</i>	4. nearby field	<i>upakṣetra</i>
5. <i>chandoha</i>	<i>chandoha</i>	6. nearby <i>chandoha</i>	<i>upacchandoha</i>
<i>pīlava</i> (HT)		nearby <i>pīlava</i> (HT)	
7. meeting place	<i>melāpaka</i>	8. nearby meeting place	<i>upamelāpaka</i>
9. cremation ground	<i>śmaśāna</i>	10. nearby cremation ground	<i>upaśmaśāna</i>

Body Maṇḍala

- v. 42 Our author now introduces a meditation known as the body maṇḍala (*kāyamaṇḍalam*). The practice involves correlating the maṇḍala as cosmos with the practitioner's own body. This type of purifying equation (*viśuddhiḥ*)—of a divinity with an aspect of the yogin's body—has already appeared in the sādhana, first as a preliminary purification of the practitioner's psychophysical organism, and again as the armoring. In some scriptural sources, the correlations of the body maṇḍala serve to generate the maṇḍala directly within the body without any prior generation (e.g., in ADUT ch. 9). Indeed, mKhas grub rje defines it as a means of self-generation ranking above that of the generation method (*utpattikramah*) and completion method (*niṣpannakramah*).⁴⁶⁹ The *Yoginīsaṃcāratantra* emphasizes the importance of the practice in the Cakrasaṃvara tradition by ascribing it to the mythical *Lakṣābhīdhānatantra* (although the practice was in fact Śaiva in origin).⁴⁷⁰

§30 The method of producing the body maṇḍala is described in an explanatory prose paragraph. This explains that the yogin must begin by uttering (and visualizing) the seed-syllable for the site, which is created from its first syllable (e.g., *pu* for Pulliramaḷaya) with the added nasalization of the

anusvāra (*pum*). He should then see the seed-syllable transforming into an empty circle that is understood to represent Pullīramalaya itself (and so on for all twenty-four sites). Simultaneously, the yogin installs the empty circle, Pullīramalaya, on a certain point on his body (in this case, his head), as shown in figure 33. Meanwhile the goddess Pracaṇḍā, who dwells within the site, is transformed into a channel or vein (*nāḍī*) inside the head. The placing of each site on a body point relocates the external world or cosmos symbolized by the maṇḍala “on” or “in” the meditator’s body, so that his body actually becomes, or contains, the world of the sacred sites and places. In this way, the body maṇḍala internalizes the yogin’s practice of actually wandering through the sites and places in the real world in search of a consort. It is to be undertaken by an “internal yogin” (*adhyātmayogin* GSS5) and is deemed to be superior to ordinary external pilgrimage.⁴⁷¹

vv. 43–54

The purifying equations of the sites and their goddesses with points on the yogin’s body are given in a series of verses. After each verse, the text gives a one-line description allocating the sites to the ten places, and correlating those with the ten bodhisattva stages. These are summarized in table 23.

The vertical division of the cosmos into three (or four) “worlds” also transfers to the body through the processes of the body maṇḍala. Once again, the correlations are somewhat approximate. The sites of the mind circle, equated with the sky, relate to points of the body around the head and shoulders. The sites of the central circle, the speech circle, are associated with earth (the central world), and this is roughly correlated with the midpoints of the body (the tip of the nose and mouth are also included in this set). The sites of the body circle (usually associated with the lower world) are equated with the lower body. Although in the Vajrayoginī tradition the body maṇḍala should be undertaken by the yogin who imagines himself as the goddess (fig. 33a), the correlations with the body points fit more naturally upon a figure seated in meditation (fig. 33b), perhaps an indication that the practice first arose outside the systems of deity yoga. For example, the body points for the hands and feet are grouped together for a figure seated in meditation, but are forced apart for the body standing in warrior stance. Above all, the preservation of the sixteenth body point “penis” (*medhram*) is an anomaly if the meditator is visualizing himself in female form.

By verse 53, our author has finished describing how to install the sites and site goddesses (i.e., the circles of mind, speech, and body) onto the

meditator's body, and he has correlated those sites with the ten places and ten bodhisattva stages.

Verse 54 appears only as a marginal insertion in one manuscript, commenting on the value of the correlation with the ten bodhisattva stages (see Textual Notes).

vv. 55–56 In the following couple of verses, our text widens and extends the practice by equating other points of the body with the outer goddesses (v. 55) and the goddesses of the four petals (v. 56). This is not entirely faithful to the original method of the body maṇḍala, in which a body point should correlate with one of the twenty-four sites. It is also difficult to see any particular rationale governing the new body points (except perhaps that the petal goddesses are located at the heart), especially since the parallel correlations in the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5) seem just as haphazard, and only vaguely related to those offered by the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana*.⁴⁷² These inconsistencies arise in the Vajrayoginī tradition because of its adaptation from the Cakrasaṃvara practice. There, the correlations of the body maṇḍala applied to the body of the twelve-armed *heruka* in embrace with his consort (e.g., *Abhidhānottaratantra* ch. 9), in which scheme the four petal goddesses and eight outer goddesses were installed on the twelve handheld attributes of the male god. Since these arms and attributes are absent in the self-generated form of Vajravārāhī, those goddesses are left without a clear function in her body maṇḍala. Another inconsistency in the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* (as in the *Abhisamayamañjarī*) is that our author is forced to reduce the body maṇḍala by not including the more subtle aspects of the yogin's psychophysical body (see table 9). The psychophysical body points were correlated with male deities in the Cakrasaṃvara maṇḍala and are therefore inadmissible in the all-female Vajravārāhī maṇḍala.

None of the correlations given here overtly explains the designations of the maṇḍala circles themselves as “mind circle,” “speech circle,” and “body circle.” However, this correlation of the maṇḍala with the fundamental division of the person demonstrates, on the simplest level, that the maṇḍala as a whole is understood to “be” the practitioner. Conversely, the practitioner “is” the maṇḍala and thereby embodies not only the chosen deity, but her entire retinue and the worlds in which they dwell.

§31 The correlations of the body maṇḍala also incorporate the subtle yogic body in the form of the channels or veins (*nāḍīs*). At §30, our text stated that the channels are to be established through the “transformation” of the site goddesses. In other words, the site goddesses dwell “within” the sites identified at a particular point on the body (e.g., Pracaṇḍā within Pulliraya-

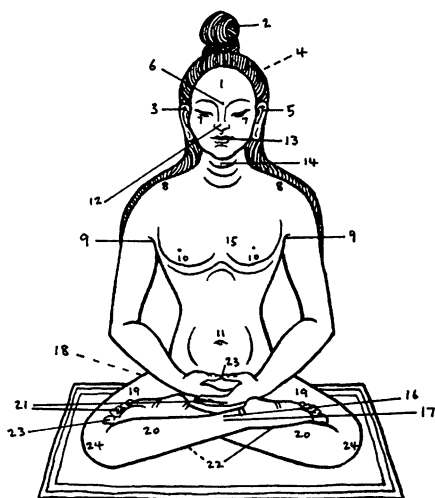
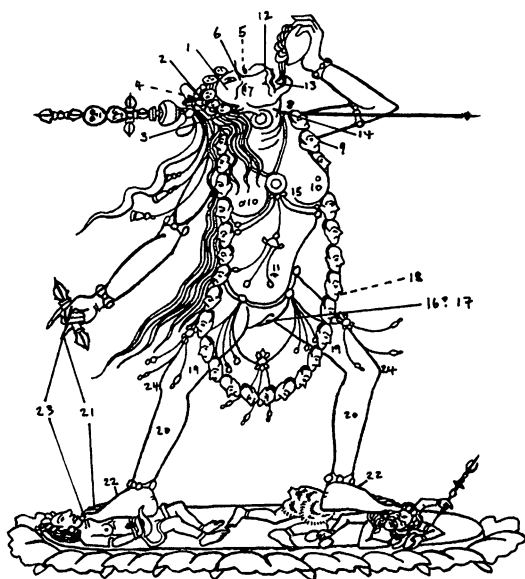


Fig. 33. *Body maṇḍala.*

with

Table 23. *Body maṇḍala (tabular summary, opposite)*

Position in the maṇḍala	Goddess (as the vein)	Twenty-four sites	Ten places (bodhisattva-bhūmis)	Thirty-seven bodhipākṣika-dharmas	Body point	⇔ Aspect of body nourished by the veins as the hero in the Cakrasaṃvara tradition
-------------------------	-----------------------	-------------------	---------------------------------	-----------------------------------	------------	---

Fivefold Maṇḍala					
pericarp		Vajravārāhi		eightfold path samyakśamādhi	
	E	Ḍākini		smṛtyupasthānas kāya°	heart
	N	Lāmā		vedanā°	
	W	Khaṇḍarohā		dharma°	
	S	Rūpiṇi		citta°	

Mind Circle (blue-black, sealed by Akṣobhya; surrounded by blue-black vajras)					
1	E	Pracaṇḍā	Pullirāmalaya	piṭhas pramuditā°	head
2	N	Caṇḍākṣi	Jālandhara		topknot
3	W	Prabhāvatī	Oḍḍiyāna		right ear
4	S	Mahānāsā	Arbuda		back of the head
5	SE	Vīramatī	Godāvari	upapiṭhas vimalā°	left ear
6	SW	Kharvari	Rāmeśvara		between eyebrows
7	NW	Lañkeśvari	Devikoṭa		2 eyes
8	NE	Drumacchāyā	Mālava		2 shoulders

⇔	nails & teeth (Khaṇḍakapālin)
⇔	head & body hair (Mahākāṇḍā)
⇔	skin & filth (Kaṇḍā)
⇔	flesh (Vikāṭadāṣṭrīn)
⇔	sinew (Surāvairin)
⇔	bones (Amitābha)
⇔	kidney? (Vajraprabha)
⇔	heart (Vajradeha)

Speech Circle (red, sealed by Amitābha; surrounded by red lotuses)					
9	E	Airāvati	Kāmarūpa	kṣetras prabhākari°	2 armpits
10	N	Mahābhairavā	Oḍḍra		2 breasts
11	W	Vāyuvagā	Triśakuni	upakṣetras arciṣmati°	navel
12	S	Surābhakṣi	Kośala		tip of nose
13	SE	Śyāmā(devi)	Kaliṅga	chandohas abhimukhi°	mouth
14	SW	Subhadrā	Lampāka		throat
15	NW	Hayakarṇā	Kāñci	upacchandohas sudurjayā°	heart
16	NE	Khaṇḍanā	Himālaya		penis

⇔	eyes (Ankurika)
⇔	bile (Vajrajaṭila)
⇔	lungs (Mahāvira)
⇔	entrails (Vajrahūṃkāra)
⇔	coiled gut (Subhadra)
⇔	belly (Vajrabhadra)
⇔	feces (Mahābhairava)
⇔	hair part (Virūpākṣa)

Body Circle (white, sealed by Vairocana; surrounded by white wheels)					
17	E	Cakravagā	Pretapuri	melāpakas dūraṅgamā°	sexual organ
18	N	Khaṇḍarohā	Gṛhadevatā		anus
19	W	Sauṇḍini	Saurāṣṭra	upamelāpakas acaḷa°	2 thighs
20	S	Cakravarmīṇi	Suvarṇadvīpa		2 shanks
21	SE	Suvirā	Nagara	upamaśānas sādhumatī °	fingers & toes
22	SW	Mahābalā	Sindhu		back of feet
23	NW	Cakravartini	Maru	upamaśānas dharmameghā°	thumbs & big toes
24	NE	Mahāviryā	Kulātā		2 knees

⇔	phlegm (Mahābala)
⇔	pus (Ratnavajra)
⇔	blood (Hayagriva)
⇔	sweat (Ākāṣagarbha)
⇔	fat (Heruka)
⇔	tears (Padmanartetiṣvara)
⇔	phlegm (Vairocana)
⇔	snout (Vajrasattva)

Outer Maṇḍala					
	E	Kākāśyā		*karmāntaḥ	mouth
	N	Ulikāśyā		*ājīva	navel
	W	Śvānāśyā		*vyāyama	sexual organ
	S	Sūkarāśyā		*smṛtiḥ	anus
	SE	Yamadādhi		prahāṇas arising of kuśāladharmas	hair curl
	SW	Yamadūti		maintaining°	ears
	NW	Yamadāṣṭrīṇi		<eradicating.. akusāladharmas°>	eyes
	NE	Yamamathani		not producing°	nose

malaya, at the head), but they are imaginatively transformed into channels “within” the body. Tantric sources commonly refer to the goddesses “as” the channels or veins.⁴⁷³ The *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* makes only an oblique reference to the function of the channels within the body maṇḍala: The channels are said to be like rivers that “nourish” the sites and so on in the external world “with water.” The nourishing fluid that flows in the channels in the meditation (like the water in the rivers) is not referred to here, but according to the *Samvarodayatantra* (ch. 7, vv. 16–18), the contents of the central channels are urine (in *lalanā*), blood (in *rasanā*) and semen (in *avadhūti*). Another analogy (in §31) touches upon the soteriological significance of these yogic correspondences; for just as, in the external world, the river Nirañjanā nourishes the site of enlightenment (*vajrapīṭham*) upon which the Buddha sat, so in the internal “yogic world,” the central channel *avadhūti* nourishes the circle of great bliss upon which Vajravārāhī stands.

In the Cakrasaṃvara version of the body maṇḍala, on which the Vajravārāhī materials are based, the function of the channels is more explicit. In that system, the twenty-four male gods on the sites (consorts to the site goddesses) are said to represent or “purify” certain aspects of the body. For example, Pracaṇḍā’s consort, Khaṇḍakapālin, becomes the nails and teeth; the channel (Pracaṇḍā herself) carries nourishment from the head (Pullīramalaya) to the nails and teeth (Khaṇḍakapālin).⁴⁷⁴ The *nāḍī* is therefore a “channel” (*vahā/vāhinī*; that which flows, *samāvaha-/vahati*) from an external point on the body “through” the related aspect of the body, thereby nourishing it. In the *Samvarodayatantra* (ch. 7 *Nāḍīcakrakramopāyapaṭala*) this is expressed as follows:⁴⁷⁵

(3) The point [on the body] for the channels (*nāḍīsthānam*) and the sites [with which they are identified] are known (*pramāṇataḥ*) to number twenty-four; and between those, three channels flow all through [the body]. (4) On the head ⇔ Pullīramalaya [is the body point for the channel that] exists [inside the body] as a channel (*-vahā*) for the nails and teeth. On the top-knot ⇔ Jālandhara [is] the channel for the head and body hair (? *keśaroma*). (5) On the right ear ⇔ Oḍḍiyāna [is] the channel that is the channel for the skin and [its] filth. (etc.)

The aspects of the body named in the Cakrasaṃvara version are a traditional set, weighted, as Kalff notes, toward the “repugnant,” and a set that

already occurs in the Pāli canon in almost the same order.⁴⁷⁶ The twenty-four aspects of the body are listed in table 23 beside the male god who purifies them. Once again, this part of the body maṇḍala is omitted in the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* because of its references to the male gods.

In a (presumably) later work in the *Guhyasamayasādhana*mālā, the inconsistencies noted in the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana*'s version of the body maṇḍala are avoided by the invention of a new body maṇḍala meditation that draws exclusively upon the cosmology of the cremation grounds.⁴⁷⁷

This practice finishes the series of contemplations on the maṇḍala. The *Abhisamayamañjarī* ends this portion of text with a reminder to the yogin to dwell in meditation, “firmly convinced” of the completed body maṇḍala.⁴⁷⁸

Mantras for the Complete Deity Maṇḍala

- §32 The fourth meditation stage ends with the mantras to be inserted within the sādhanā, as in the first meditation stage. First, our author gives the root mantra (*mūlamantraḥ*) for Vajravārāhī as leader of a full maṇḍala, adding it to her mantras for earlier stages of the practice (namely, the heart, auxiliary heart, and eight-part mantras). The root mantra is full of terrifying epithets, aggressive imperatives, fearsome laughter, and general clamor.
- §33– Next, the text supplies mantras for the site goddesses (§33). These contain cryptic mantric elements called “vajra words” (*kulīśapadāni*) and owe
§34 their form to the mantras of the site gods in the Cakrasaṃvara maṇḍala. Thus, in Cakrasaṃvara sources, the mantras for the site god and the site goddess are listed side by side, as follows:⁴⁷⁹

oṃ khaṇḍakapālina kara kara hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā

(for site god, Khaṇḍakapālin).

oṃ pracaṇḍe hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā

(for site goddess, Pracaṇḍā).

etc.

Another Cakrasaṃvara source, Lūyīpāda's *Herukābhisamaya* (f. 13r), collapses the two mantras into one and omits the name of the male deity, thereby producing a version closer to the mantras given in the Vajravārāhī texts: *oṃ kara kara hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ pracaṇḍe hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ* (for site god and goddess, Khaṇḍakapālin and Pracaṇḍā), etc. The Vajravārāhī texts take the

process one step further, and omit both the name element of the male god, Khaṇḍakapālin, and its following mantra syllables: *om kara kara pracāṇḍe huṃ hūṃ phaṭ* (for site goddess Pracaṇḍā alone), etc. With the discussion of the mantras, the fourth meditation stage comes to a close.

Tantric Ritual

The next portion of the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* deals with ritual practices. These are chiefly rites of worship and offering, but adapted for the context of deity yoga. A comment on the nature of tantric ritual in general is found in an oblation text in the *Guhyasamayasāadhanamālā* attributed to Indra-bhūti, the *Pradīpāhutividhi* (GSSI4). This draws on the ancient shamanic or magical understanding of ritual, namely that: “X here produces Y there” (v. 17): “Such is the true nature (*dharmatā*) of the worlds: for one who acts with intensity (lit: ‘whose deeds are sharp’) it may be only a flower [that he offers] here, [but] in the next world it [bears] a great fruit.”⁴⁸⁰ While ritual is a mechanistic process, it does not simply operate on an external plane. Indrabhūti describes how mental intention, too (see p. 215), is a means to generate results (vv. 24–25): “Whatever merit is dedicated with a mind firmly convinced, with whichever method, in whatever place, in whatever way, <fruit?> arises in a corresponding form, in a corresponding place, in a corresponding way, like the pot of a potter.”⁴⁸¹ In a Yogācāra-Madhyamaka environment, such promises are made possible by the infinite possibilities of emptiness. Once appearances are understood to be empty and thus unreal (in that they lack intrinsic existence), then they are no different from magical appearances, which are also empty and unreal. As Indrabhūti explains: (v. 26) “Whatever he cultivates further, and whatever more is dedicated, that bears fruit, like a reflection in a mirror that is both real and not real,” (v. 28) “Only through the mind, not through anything else, does one resort to the dualities ‘good’ (*śreyas*) and ‘bad’; for saṃsāra is nothing but the mind, and nirvāṇa [too] is nothing but the mind.”⁴⁸² It is not the case, however, that the ontology of Mind-only renders external ritual actions meaningless, as they are justified on the basis of Nāgārjuna’s doctrine of two truths (cf. Bentor 1996: 13–21). Although on the level of ultimate truth (*paramārthasatyam*), ritual action is empty, it is meaningful because it is understood to operate on the level of conventional truth (*lokasaṃvṛtisatyam*). This is the basis upon which the yogin proceeds: (v. 22) “The buddhas (*munīśvarāḥ*) say that with one hundred and eight oblations, [performed] on the basis of an understanding of the two truths, the fruit of universal monarch-hood or buddhahood [is attained].”⁴⁸³

The rites described by the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* are as follows:

(v. 57–§40)	offering <i>bali</i> (<i>balividhiḥ</i>)
(vv. 59–66)	tasting nectar (<i>amṛtāsvādanam</i>)
(§41–§49)	external worship (<i>bāhyapūjā</i>)
(§46)	hand worship (<i>hastapūjā</i>)
(§49)	alternative external worship (<i>bāhyapūjā</i>)
(§51)	internal oblation (<i>adhyātmahomavidhiḥ</i>)
(§52)	rite for leftover <i>bali</i> (<i>*uccchiṣṭabalividhiḥ</i>)

Our text here is very similar to that of the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5), and both works base their prescriptions on rites described in Cakrasaṃvara literature. Their comparison with a series of Cakrasaṃvara rituals by Śāśvatavajra (published by Finot in 1934 under the editorial title **Vidhisamgraha, Collection of Rites*) demonstrates how simple the redaction of material into the Vajravārāhi corpus was. The **Vidhisamgraha* describes the same series of rites, but directs the prescriptions to the yogin in union with Cakrasaṃvara rather than with Vajravārāhi. Śāśvatavajra's descriptions of the rites are very similar to our author's and are almost identical with those of the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5), differing from the latter sometimes only in phrasing. Despite their close relationship, significant differences between the three texts also emerge, and these suggest that the authors of the *Guhyasamayāsādhanaṃālā* were probably not redacting directly from Śāśvatavajra's text, but that all three authors were looking to a common Cakrasaṃvara-based source.⁴⁸⁴ (The contents of the three texts are compared in table 24.)

The Bali Ritual

- v. 57 The first ritual taught in the *Vajravārāhi Sādhana* is the *bali* ritual (*balividhiḥ*), a propitiatory food offering (*balih*) to local spirits and deities and—in our sources—to the principal deities of the maṇḍala. The offering of *bali* is essentially a brahmanical ritual, and probably predates the Vedas; such offerings certainly form a large part of Vedic prescription.⁴⁸⁵ A more immediate source for the Buddhist tantras is the *bali* offering in Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava rites, in which the *bali* is often a concluding rite.⁴⁸⁶ The *Vajravārāhi Sādhana* introduces the *bali* ritual by stating that rites such as worship are to be preceded by *bali* offerings (v. 57). So if the *bali* is a preliminary rite, why do our texts tend to teach it at the end—and not at the beginning—of the practice?⁴⁸⁷

Table 24. *Rituals in parallel texts*

<i>Vajravārāhī Sādhana</i> GSSII	<i>Abhisamayamañjarī</i> GSS5	* <i>Vidhisamgraha</i> Finot 1934
	<i>amṛtāsvādāna</i> , following self generation (K23r1)	
<i>amṛtāsvādāna</i> (vv. 60–67) within <i>balividhi</i> (v. 58–§37)	<i>balividhi</i> (K29r3) (without <i>balimantra</i> of our §36)	<i>Śmaśānavidhi</i> by Lūyipāda (pp. 49–51)
(+ <i>bali</i> mantra §36)	midday & midnight junctures (K30v4)	*“ <i>Mantrapāṭha</i> ” (pp. 53–54, i.e., <i>balimantra</i> as GSSII §36)
<i>bāhyapūjā</i> (§38)	<i>bāhyapūjā</i> (K31r2)	<i>bāhyapūjā</i> , by Śāśvatavajra (pp. 52–53)
<i>hastapūjā</i> (§40)	<i>hastapūjā</i> (K32r2)	<i>hastapūjā</i> by Śāśvatavajra (pp. 54–55); also SM253 (pp. 498–500)
alternative <i>bāhyapūjā</i> + implied <i>hastapūjā</i> (P41: <i>athavā</i>)	alternative <i>bāhyapūjā</i> + implied <i>hastapūjā</i> (K32v5: <i>yadvā</i>) (p. 55–56: <i>yadvā</i>)	alternative <i>hastapūjā</i> with <i>bāhyapūjā</i>
<i>adhyātmahomavidhi</i> (§42)	<i>adhyātmahomavidhi</i> (K33v1)	<i>Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi</i> by Śāśvatavajra (pp. 56–58) (with preparation as for <i>amṛtāsvādāna</i>)
* <i>ucchiṣṭabalividhi</i> (§43)	* <i>ucchiṣṭabalividhi</i> (K33v2)	<i>Vajravārāhī</i> <i>Sādhana</i> (pp. 59–61)
cremation grounds (vv. 71–75)	reference to desiderative <i>homa</i> rites, considered too lengthy to be described by the author (K33v4: <i>vistarabhayān</i> <i>na likhitāḥ</i>)	<i>Sekakriyākrama</i> (incomplete) (pp. 61–62)

- v. 58 Our author (v. 58) answers this supposed question by explaining that, since the *bali* must be offered by the practitioner in union with the deity, the instructions for self-generation are a necessary prerequisite and must be taught first. Despite this careful apology, it is clear that *bali* rituals are usually taught at the end of a text as a concluding rite (as well being a preliminary ritual), and perhaps his statement is best understood as a comment upon ritual within the highest tantras, in which self-generation is a prerequisite to the performance of all rites.

Tasting Nectar (amṛtāsvādanam)

- §35 (cf. v. 28) As a preliminary part of the *bali* ritual itself the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* teaches the rite of tasting nectar (*amṛtāsvādanam*). Earlier in the *sādhana* our author promised a description of this rite, because it was prescribed as part of the worship following the consecration of the newly fledged yogin-deity (v. 28). The tasting of nectar is also prescribed in the parallel sources (*Abhisamayamañjari* and *Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi*), from which it seems that our texts are incorporating an independent ritual of tasting nectar into the *bali* offering and using it to serve as a preliminary for that rite.⁴⁸⁸ This is also the method employed in the *Vajrāvalī* (ŚP f. 120r7), in which Abhayākara Gupta joins the two rites together by first describing an *Amṛtasādhana* for the preparation of the nectar, and then relating how the *bali* should be offered according to the Samāja, Hevajra, and Cakrasaṃvara systems. In contrast, the Advaya vajra-based *sādhana*s clearly treat the tasting of nectar as a distinct rite of worship.⁴⁸⁹ In some *Guhyasamayāsādhana-mālā* texts, the two rites are simply sequential, the tasting of nectar first comprising an imaginary offering of nectar, and the subsequent *bali*, the offering of real (or imagined) foodstuffs with the recitation of *bali* mantras.⁴⁹⁰

A hint in our texts suggests that our Cakrasaṃvara-based *bali* rituals may be appropriating the tasting of nectar rite, and thus joining two independent rites together. In the *Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi*, the rite of tasting nectar requires the yogin to generate an imaginary bowl in which he will visualize various substances transforming into the nectarized offering. Because the independent *bali* ritual also requires a bowl for the food offerings, the text then prescribes the generation of a second—but now strictly unnecessary—offering bowl (also GSS16 cited n. 490: *dvitīyaṃ bali-bhājanam*). Śāśvatavajra perhaps attempts to accommodate this problem

with a remark that justifies the “transferral” of the nectar from the first bowl into the bowl generated for the *bali* (*balisvīkāṛārtham*). If the *bali* ritual has appropriated the rite of tasting nectar, the reasons for it are clear. The relationship between the two rites is close, and the tasting of nectar is itself a type of *bali* offering. It is particularly well suited to the *bali* offerings in the Cakrasaṃvara tradition, in that it describes an imaginary food offering resulting in great bliss, to be offered within the context of internalized meditative performance. Moreover, it describes a handy means of purifying offerings that in our tradition are composed of transgressive substances, and of transforming them into nectar fit for the gods.

v. 59–60. The first step in the rite of tasting nectar is the preparation of a hearth, whereon the food offerings may be cooked, purified, and turned into nectar. First, raging flames are generated from the combination of wind and fire, represented by their elemental symbols and the syllables *yaṃ* and *raṃ* (v. 59). Above this, a hearth (*cullikā*; v. 60b) is then fashioned from three heads arranged like the base of a tripod; these are produced (in our tradition) from the syllable *kaṃ*.⁴⁹¹ On top rests a skull bowl generated from *āḥ*, as the cauldron.⁴⁹² (See fig. 34.)

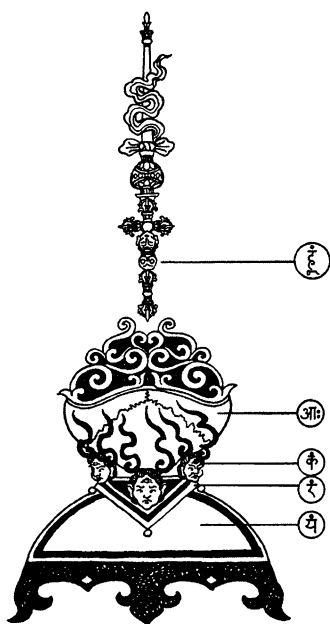


Fig. 34. Preparation of nectar.

- v. 61 The next verse (plus the following prose) describes the preparation of the nectar inside the cauldron. The ingredients are generated from seed-syllables and comprise the usual esoteric offerings, namely, the five nectars and the five meats, or “lamps” (*pañca pradīpas*). The five nectars are semen, blood, flesh, urine, and feces, and the five lamps are the flesh of cow, dog, horse, elephant, and man.⁴⁹³ The seed-syllables are not a very stable set, and the Advayavajra-based sources, for example, prescribe the generation of the ten transgressive substances from the five syllables of the buddhas alone.⁴⁹⁴
- v. 62 Our author then describes the cooking process itself. The fire should be visualized blazing up and heating the ingredients and turning them bright red. The *Vajrāvalī* (seemingly following Cakrasaṃvara scripture) adds that the ordinary color, smell, and potency of the ingredients are removed with the syllables *ha ho hrīḥ*.⁴⁹⁵
- v. 63 Next, a white, inverted skull staff is visualized above the mixture, produced from *hūṃ*. From its contact with the heat or steam rising from the liquid below, the skull staff melts and drips into the cauldron, cooling the red liquid and turning it white, or “quicksilver,” in the process.⁴⁹⁶
- vv. 64–66 It only remains for the liquid to be empowered by the syllables *oṃ āḥ hūṃ*. These three syllables are generated from the letters of the alphabet and visualized above the liquid. The syllables then emanate the deities of the maṇḍala into the universe to benefit beings. Finally, the deities are retracted and dissolve into the three syllables, and the three syllables themselves dissolve into the nectar below. The liquid is now empowered by the syllables and is complete. The meaning of this stage of the visualization is clearer in the parallel texts, which imply that the nectars and meats in the cauldron are pledge forms, as they require the infusion of knowledge. In the *Abhisamayamañjarī*, the three syllables emanate rays rather than deities, and these draw out the “knowledge nectar in the hearts of all tathāgatas.”⁴⁹⁷ The *Cakrasaṃvara balividhi* (based on both male and female deities of the Cakrasaṃvara maṇḍala) reads as follows:⁴⁹⁸

Next above that [liquid], [he should visualize] *oṃ āḥ hūṃ* as transformations of the vowels and consonants, in sequence, one above the other. With the ray[s] emanated from those [three syllables], using the “method of transferral” (*saṃkramaṇanyāyena*), he should draw down in the form of the three [maṇḍala] circles (*tricakrākāram*) [the “knowledge” forms of the “pledge” nectars and meats, namely] the “knowledge nectars” and “knowledge

lamps" (*jñānāmṛtapradīpam*) of the heroes and heroines in the ten directions.⁴⁹⁹ Having [caused those deities of the three maṇḍala circles] to accomplish the welfare of the world, he should visualize them (*avalokya*) first coming together [in sexual union] [and then] melting (*dravībhūya*), and as entered accordingly (*yathāyatham*) into those [three syllables] † *and that in all the oceans* †. Then, having seen *om*, etc. melted in sequence (*kramavilīnam*) [i.e., one into the other, and then back into the liquid], he should empower [it] for as long as he wishes with the three syllables.

If the nectar had been prepared for an independent rite of tasting nectar, it would now be fed through tubes of light to the maṇḍala deities, who would "taste" it and experience great bliss.⁵⁰⁰ In our text (§36), however, the nectar becomes the *bali* offering, and thus the so-called "tasting of nectar" has served simply to prepare the offering.

Bali Offering with Mantras

- §36 The *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* now prescribes the method for offering the *bali*.⁵⁰¹ The first step is to summon the deities to the spot with a hand gesture, simultaneously uttering a mantra syllable. Some texts add that the yogin has an upward gaze to the left, so that he projects his powerful yogic stare at the deities he wishes to ensnare.⁵⁰² The syllable uttered is *phet* (or in other texts, *phet* or *phem*),⁵⁰³ while the hand gesture is the flame mudrā (*jvālāmudrā*).⁵⁰⁴

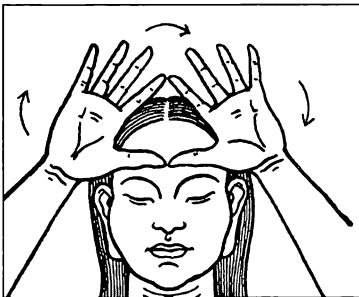


Fig. 35. *Flame gesture (jvālāmudrā)*.

In one Tibetan tradition, the flame mudrā is formed by making the triangular flame symbol with thumbs and forefingers, and splaying out the other

fingers like flames (see fig. 39; also K. Gyatso 1999: 495). At this point, many texts cite a verse that explains that, having made the mudrā, the yogin “should place it at the center of his forehead and move it around several times.”⁵⁰⁵ This is understood to summon the deities.

Next, the yogin should generate the imaginary skull bowl that is used to serve nectar to the deities. He does this in a sequence that mirrors the self-generation of the deity described in the first meditation stage. It begins in the same way, with the preliminary worship and mantric contemplation of emptiness. Then comes the sequence of awakenings. The hands are cupped in the gesture of reverence, and these become the sun and moon disks (generated from the vowels and consonants in parallel texts, as in the first awakening).⁵⁰⁶ In between them, the seed-syllable *hūṃ* arises and is visualized transforming into the bowl of nectar. This visualization procedure is still followed even in the *Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi*, which prescribes the use of actual foodstuffs in a real bowl placed between the hands.⁵⁰⁷

- v. 67 Before the nectar is offered to the gods, our text prescribes the utterance of a benedictory verse “for the sake of obtaining the desired siddhi” (cf. SUT ch. 8, v. 26). The aim of the same verse in Śāśvatavajra’s *Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi* is more specific in its application and perhaps makes better sense: it states that the verse is recited for the purpose of “appropriating” the *bali* (p. 57: *balisvīkāṛārtham*). In other words, the nectar—which has been prepared inside a different skull bowl according to the tasting of nectar—must “belong” inside this bowl (a remark that seems to rationalize the appearance of this second offering bowl within the rite). The nectar is then offered to the deities of the maṇḍala in the eight directions, passing the bowl counterclockwise in the cardinal directions—a prescription peculiar to the Saṃvara tradition (it is absent in *bali* rituals described in the *Vajrāvalī* from the Samāja and Hevajra systems).⁵⁰⁸ While the offering is made, the yogin must keep the metaphysical basis of emptiness in mind. The ontology of nonduality is reflected by the generation of white “vajra tongues” for the deities.

§37 Our text next supplies two *bali* mantras with which to offer the nectar to the deities. Since the *Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi* (p. 58) names the deities who are to receive the offering with these mantras, we discover that the first mantra given in the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* is for the site goddesses. It is recited once only.

§38, In the same way, we know that the next mantra is for the maṇḍala
v. 69 leader plus the goddesses on the petals and in the outer circle (i.e., the

thirteenfold maṇḍala). This is to be repeated five times and is accompanied by a scriptural verse (v. 69) for the purpose of achieving siddhi (in the *Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi*, this is visualized with the addition of music and betel).

§39 Our author then names the recipients of the final offering as the ten protectors of the directions. The mantra is uttered twice.

The recipients of the *bali* offering vary in other texts. In the *Samvarodayatantra* (ch. 8, v. 25), it is given to the deities of the three maṇḍala circles alone; shorter texts may give a more limited selection (often the goddesses of the thirteenfold maṇḍala, or the ten protectors), with or without verses. In contrast, the *bali* offerings described by Abhayākara Gupta in the *Vajrāvalī* (f. 123r–v) are for many different categories of being, and include (1) a general *bali* mantra serving all beings (*sarvabhautika*), absent in GSSII; (2) *bali* mantras begging the beings of the thirteenfold maṇḍala to accept the offering (similar to §38); (3) the longer mantra for the site deities on the three maṇḍala circles (as given in §37); (4) mantras inserting the individual names of the ten *krodhas* (“wraths”; see n. 513); and (5) the mantra for the protectors (as in §39) “outside” the circle of protection.

As the protectors are offered the *bali*, they are imagined granting magical powers (*siddhis*) to the yogin (§39). Related texts add that the mantrin also sees the protectors experiencing great bliss.⁵⁰⁹ This reflects the desiderative function of the *bali* ritual. The Samāja-based *bali* ritual in the *Vajrāvalī* (ŚP f. 122r.7ff.) states that the method of performing the rite depends upon which class of siddhi is foremost. This will influence the time at which the rite is performed, the direction in which *bali* is offered, and the color of the *bali* offering. For example, a black-magic rite (*abhicāraḥ*) would be performed at midnight to the south, with black *balis*.⁵¹⁰ A desiderative *bali* ritual may also be performed on behalf of another person. This is described in the *Samvarodayatantra* (ch. 8, vv. 19ff.), where the worship of the maṇḍala with food offerings, etc., is performed on behalf of a third party (*dānapatīḥ*), and the “teacher’s assistant” (*karmavajrin*)⁵¹¹ therefore meditatively generates the donor as well as the maṇḍala (v. 23ab: *utsarjayed dānapatīm maṇḍalaṃ ca puraḥsaram*). The same is true in the *Vajrāvalī* accounts, in which the *bali* mantras from all three systems leave the name of the beneficiary to be supplied (*amuka-*). The Samāja ritual adds that it is the sādha’s own name that should be used and not that of the third party for whom the ritual is performed. He should instead be convinced that he “is” that third party:⁵¹² “Even when offering *bali* on another’s behalf, one should just recite ‘of me, mine’ as appropriate in the

mantra exactly as it is. And [the ritual performer] should have the firm conviction of [the other person] as being himself. Through having the attitude that ‘if he is helped, I am helped,’ there is the attainment of benefit. Immediately after that he should make the request for him.”

The main function of the *balividhi*, however, is propitiatory: It is to calm obstacles and to appease malevolent influences. This is evident in the meaning of the mantras themselves, which focus upon destroying or pacifying negative forces. In the *Vajrāvalī* account, the individual mantras for the ten *krodhas* actually include the name of the person who requires their cooperation.⁵¹³ This is the function of the *bali* offering when it is performed as a preliminary rite and when (along with other preparatory procedures) it serves to purify the site and to quell obstacles, particularly those of wild or malevolent spirits that may impede the practice.⁵¹⁴ The propitiatory agenda explains the emphasis in many *bali* mantras on the outermost (i.e., “lesser”) beings of the cosmological maṇḍala. Frequently, it is only the last *bali* mantra (§39: *om̐ kha kha khāhi khāhi...*) that appears in a text, that is, the mantra designated in our work for the protectors, overlords of the wild cremation grounds. In the Samāja rite, Abhayākara Gupta states that after all the deities have received their *bali* offerings, the maṇḍala circle is absorbed back into the mantrin, whereas the protectors and *krodhas* are posted outside the maṇḍala hut in the ten directions, “intent on protection and fulfilling desires.”

The fact that the *bali* rituals in our texts go beyond a merely protective function is perhaps the logical consequence of extending the *bali* offerings to the complete maṇḍala. The *bali* becomes another powerful means of worshipping deities within the practice of deity yoga for recognized rewards. Another feature of the Vajrayoginī *bali* ritual is that actual foodstuffs are often superseded by imaginal transgressive offerings, purified and nectarized according to the methods given for the rite of tasting nectar. This is again symptomatic of an upgrading of the *bali*, as it transforms the ancient food offering into a means of inducing great bliss. The deities so propitiated are understood to be all the more powerful in that they fulfill desires on both the mundane and transcendental levels. These developments are borne out by Abhayākara Gupta in a liberationist coda to his account of the *bali* rituals of the Samāja, Hevajra, and Saṃvara systems. He classifies these methods as generation-method practices, then adds a final *bali* ritual to be performed according to the superior completion method. The completion-method *bali* ritual intensifies the “internalization” already evident in those of the generation method. The visualized forms of the deities are distilled

in the crucible of pure awareness, and the *bali* transformed into an offering of knowledge itself.⁵¹⁵

These three bali rituals [of the Samāja, Saṃvara, and Hevajra systems] are within the generation method. In the completion method, however, the *bali* ritual [consists of] an offering of *bali* that is not distinct from the [unique] flavor of knowledge. [It is offered] to [the protectors of the directions] starting with Indra together with the [maṇḍala] deities, beginning with one's own lord of the maṇḍala, whose forms are wisdom and means [and] who have been drawn [down] merely by focusing the attention on them, with a mind "not shaken" from wisdom and means.

Rite of Completion

§40 The *bali* offering ends with a rite of completion (also taught at §45, §48, §45, and §49), the purpose of which is to compensate for any omission or addition that the yogin may have accidentally made during its performance. This is an integral part of the ritual system, which is founded on the premise that only the correct performance of a prescribed act ensures success. Correct performance supersedes all other factors, such as the intention or mental state of the ritual performer. If this seems to contravene the Buddhist canonical definition of action as "intention" (*Anguttaranikāya* III.415), this is somewhat counterbalanced by the emphasis we find in the sādhanas on cultivating and maintaining the correct ontological understanding of action, with frequent reminders of its basis in emptiness. Thus, the yogin's mental attitude is still deemed to be crucial, as he must maintain the correct attitude toward his actions, and the texts supply frequent reminders of their basis in nonduality (e.g., §36 following v. 67: *pūjyapūjāpūjakān abhedena paśyet*) and frequent injunctions in the course of the rituals themselves to recite the emptiness mantras.

For the rite of completion, betel and other foodstuffs are first offered to the assembled deities all together. Secret hand signals (*choma*) are performed, and the bell is rung. The hundred-syllabled mantra is then recited, followed by the recitation of an emptiness mantra, and the deities are simultaneously gratified with the gesture of "turning the lotus" (*kamalāvartamudrā*). For this gesture, the sādhaḥ holds a vajra and vajra bell in his outstretched fingers and revolves them with a fluttering motion—a "dance"

that resembles “a blossoming lotus stirred by the wind.” (The bell is another symbol of the feminine aspect or consort, and as such is often visualized along with the vajra, representing the male aspect.)⁵¹⁶ The deities are then dismissed as the yogin moves his arms into the crossed gesture of embrace, snaps his fingers (or touches the ground),⁵¹⁷ and then withdraws the mudrā, while reciting the syllables of dismissal. Finally, the practitioner absorbs the maṇḍala into himself.

External Worship

§41 The *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* now moves on to the external rites of worship (*bāhyapūjā*), the essential features of which are (1) the generation of the goddess in a locus external to the yogin’s own body, (2) her worship in that locus, and (3) a rite of completion. Our author describes two rituals of worship. The following paragraphs (§41–§45) give detailed prescriptions for the first, and this is followed below (at §49) with a second, briefer account, involving the imaginal feasting of deities with food offerings. Both optionally involve the “hand worship” (§46). (The parallel texts for these portions are cited in full in the Textual Notes to §41–§52.)

Like the *sādhana* meditation, these rites were probably intended to be performed three or four times a day. Indeed, the self-generation is the necessary preliminary to their performance, as they are to be undertaken by the yogin in union with the goddess (GSS5 Sed p. 145, K31r2: *vajravairo-canīyogavān mantri*). However, the practitioner of deity yoga may also undertake the rites independently from the self-generation meditation, as the passage (§41) begins with prescriptions to rise early and to purify the place. With the appropriate mantras, the yogin also visualizes a circle of protection that imaginally constitutes the ground in front of the yogin as the “vajra ground.” Next, a maṇḍala diagram is drawn onto the vajra ground. Here, the text prescribes a triangle containing a circle, which represents the lotus within the *dharmodayā*, the origin of existents (as in the self-generation of the *sādhana*). In the alternative external worship (§49), the yogin draws only the simple (inverted) triangle of the *dharmodayā* (and the shape of the diagram does vary in other texts).⁵¹⁸ The diagram is drawn using a paste made of esoteric substances, or failing those, of cow dung (and, in the second rite, of wine §49). The nectars are described as a “pill” (*gulikā*; here *vaṭikā* or *gudikā*) made of the five nectars, and sometimes called the *samaya* pill.⁵¹⁹ Elsewhere prescriptions require the yogin to draw

the diagram “using saffron, bright yellow orpiment, and vermilion powder, or with [just] one of them.” Other esoteric substances may also be used, such as the first menstrual blood of a young girl, a highly valued substance in pan-Indian *śākta* traditions, or a mixture of blood and onion.⁵²⁰ The yogin draws the diagram by tracing it with the liquid or paste onto the ground with the fourth finger of his left hand (§49). According to other accounts he does this with an implement such as a golden stylus (GSS35), or a brush made of the hair of thieves executed in the cremation ground.⁵²¹

Within the drawn *dharmodayā*, the yogin then generates the pledge form of Vajravārāhī from her seed-syllable, *vam*, which has issued from his heart, and the knowledge form is drawn into the pledge form with rays in the usual way. Our author adheres to his sequential approach, prescribing only the generation of the central deity, Vajravārāhī, at this stage. The method of doing the practice with the fuller maṇḍala may be inferred (§45) from the meditation stages taught above. In contrast, the *Abhisamayamañjarī* is faithful to its method of self-generating the maṇḍala in its entirety upon the elements and Mount Meru.

§42 The stage is now set for the worship itself, which constitutes a number of different ceremonies. It begins with traditional offerings visualized billowing from the sādhaḥa’s heart. Next he makes an actual external offering from his left hand of a flower, which has been ritually purified for the purpose (perhaps with mantras, or with a rite similar to that supplied for the mantra bath). Next the usual mantras for the central goddess are uttered along with the eight-part mantra “for praise” (given earlier, §32), and this section of the worship closes with a final offering mantra to the eight protectors (as in the *baḷi* ritual), this time with their names included in the mantras.

§43 Next, the yogin offers a flower to the deities that he has visualized “on his hand.” This is a slightly ambiguous reference to the hand worship (full details for which are only given by the author below, §46) but one confirmed by the parallel texts (see Textual Notes). The hand worship also appears in two Nepalese Sanskrit ritual texts of the yoginītantra tradition; they confirm its usage in this context.⁵²² In these works, the opening sequence (termed *ādiyoga*) is similar to the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* in that it includes: preparations, the generation of the maṇḍala and its infusion with the knowledge deities (as at §41), the offering of a flower to each deity of the maṇḍala with the appropriate mantra followed by the eight-part mantra (as at §42), and finally the hand worship (apparently here at §43).⁵²³ The practice as described in the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* (§43) ends with the

absorption of the deities on the yogin's left hand into himself, which again points to the the hand worship.

§44–§45 The following paragraph continues the worship of the maṇḍala with mantras and verses of praise and concludes with the bodhisattva preparations. This again mirrors the *ādiyoga* in the Nepalese ritual texts, which end with the supreme worship (it perhaps also overlaps with their *maṇḍalādiyoga* portion, which begins with the *brahmavihāras* and meditations on emptiness). A rite of completion (§45) marks the end of the external worship.

Worship on the Hand (hastapūjā)

§46 The hand worship is to be inserted into a rite of external worship in the manner just described (§43). Our sources (parallel text is cited in the Textual Notes) all state that the hand worship is derived from the *Yoginī-saṃcāratantra* (§48), although this scripture sheds no further light on the practice.⁵²⁴

The hand worship begins (§46) by stating that the mantrin is “in union with his own chosen deity” (*sveṣṭadevatāyukto mantri*), that is, self-generated as Vajravārāhī. He visualizes her within the festive “circle of the assembly and so on” (*gaṇamaṇḍalāḍau*). The gathering of an actual *gaṇamaṇḍala* or *gaṇacakra* included a tantric feast at which alcoholic substances such as *soma* were drunk, delectable foods eaten, and sexual yogic rites with consorts performed. The orgiastic nature of the rites is explicitly described in the *Kriyāsamuccaya*, for example in its *Nisācakra*, which recommends eight types of taboo consort—all female relatives. Indeed, according to its *Gaṇacakraviddhi*, “that sacramental circle (*gaṇacakra*) that is without [sex with] a female partner (*prajñā*) is a [mere] meeting of rice scum” (cited Gellner 1992: 297).⁵²⁵ In the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana*, however, the feast is performed imaginally, and the tantric assembly comprises a maṇḍala of armor gods and armor goddesses. There is also the alternative of visualizing the goddesses of the three maṇḍala circles (whose association with the sites as meeting places for sexual yogic practices has already been discussed).

In the first stages of the rite, six syllables are placed on the fingers on the palm side of the left hand. These are the syllables of the armor gods in the Cakrasaṃvara tradition and are represented by the six buddhas (variants to the syllables are shown in the footnotes to the translation).⁵²⁶ The Sanskrit text states that the syllables are placed on the fingers and thumb of

the left hand, plus their “nails.”⁵²⁷ Sanderson (1999: personal communication) notes that in Śaiva prototypes, the thumb’s mantra is installed with the index finger and the mantras of the fingers with the thumb. For the nails, one would presumably curl the fingers and run the thumb over the nails, so that the sixth buddha (the mantra syllables *phaṭ haṃ*) is placed on them collectively—much as the sixth *kavaca* deity is for the “whole body” in the armoring.

Then, in the palm of the hand itself, the yogin sees a lotus with *oṃ vaṃ* on its pericarp, the essentialized form of Vajravārāhī as armor goddess. Surrounding her on a five-petaled lotus (*pañcadalakamalam*) are the syllables of the five remaining armor goddesses in sequence. On the back of the hand is seen the mirror image of the syllables. As an alternative, the back of the hand may be visualized with the three maṇḍala circles (probably indicating the visualization of the syllables of the sites, *pum*, etc., as at §30).

Table 25. *Syllables for hand worship (hastapūjā)*

LEFT DIGITS	SYLLABLES	AS BUDDHAS		USUAL ARMOR GOD
thumb	<i>oṃ ha</i>	Vajrasattva	[pure-]white	<i>Vajrasattva</i>
first finger	<i>nama hi</i>	Vairocana	white	<i>Vairocana</i>
middle finger	<i>svāhā huṃ</i>	Amitābha	red	<i>Padmanarteśvara</i>
fourth finger	<i>vauṣaṭ he</i>	Akṣobhya	black	<i>Heruka[vajra]</i>
little finger	<i>huṃ huṃ ho</i>	Ratnasambhava	yellow	<i>Vajrasūrya</i>
nails	<i>phaṭ haṃ</i>	Amoghasiddhi	dark-green	<i>Paramāśvāstra / Paramāśva / Hayagrīva / Vajrarāja</i>

Left Palm

<i>center</i>	<i>oṃ vaṃ</i>	Vajravārāhī	red
<i>east</i>	<i>hām yom</i>	Yāmini	blue
<i>north</i>	<i>hrīm mom</i>	Mohinī	white
<i>west</i>	<i>hreṃ hrīm</i>	Samcālīnī	yellow
<i>south</i>	<i>huṃ huṃ</i>	Samtrāsini	green
<i>*southeast</i>	<i>phaṭ phaṭ</i>	Caṇḍikā	smoky gray

- §47 The worship itself (§50) is performed by smearing purified wine on the syllables/deities on the hand. This constitutes a transgressive food offering so irresistible to the yoginīs that they are attracted into the presence of the yogin, where they “preside” over him.
- §48 The hand worship concludes with the hundred-syllabled mantra as a rite of completion (cf. §45, §48) and verses of supplication that again express the wish that the “yoginīs preside.” The text also tells the yogin how to dispose of the transgressive liquids that remain after the worship has ended. This involves daubing points of his body as he utters the three syllables in their inverted sequence: *hūṃ* (heart), *āḥ* (throat), *om* (forehead).⁵²⁸ Finally, the visualized deities/mantras are absorbed back into the body of the yogin.

Alternative External Worship

- §49 The *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* describes another rite of external worship (*bāhyapūjā*), which is offered as an alternative (*athavā...*) to the previous one (at §41). It is conducted along similar lines to the first rite but involves a few variations. Here the yogin is to imagine feasting the single goddess Vajravārāhī with food offerings, but in a different external locus. He visualizes her within a triangle drawn upon the ground, dwelling in the eight cremation grounds. The offerings of food are visualized as the production of the nectars and so on, and the beings of the cremation grounds are again to be gratified with a final mantra offering in the manner of a final *balī* ritual. At this point in the previous rite of worship, the hand worship was performed, and it seems likely that the hand worship is also intended here despite no overt directive, as the final prescriptions (§50) are for the dismissal of the “deity maṇḍala on the hand.”⁵²⁹
- §50 The rite ends with a rite of completion that is very similar to that prescribed for the hand worship and that states that the goal of the worship is for the “deity to preside” (*devatādhiṣṭhānārtham*). The text then provides the option for the external worship to be performed for the fivefold, thirteenfold, or full maṇḍala, according to the sādhana’s meditation stages (the goal of which would be to induce all the chosen goddesses of the maṇḍala to preside).⁵³⁰

Internal Oblation

§51 The final rite described in the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* is an oblation (*homah*), and is based upon a traditional external rite of oblation—an offering made into fire. In our text, however, the oblation ritual takes the form of a visualization performed internally, within the yogin. For an external oblation ritual within the Vajrayoginī tradition, we can turn to the *Pradīpāhutiavidhi* (GSS14).⁵³¹ This text describes how the mantrin in union with his deity creates a fire pit (v. 5), within which he lights a fire, both by kindling wood (v. 7a) and through mentally drawing down the “supreme fire of knowledge (*jñānāgni-*) of the conquerors” with the seed-syllable in his own heart (v. 6ab). He then visualizes the fire deity in the heart of the fire (the only solitary male deity mentioned in the GSS) and his own deity (Vajrayoginī) seated in its heart. He worships Vajrayoginī by making oblations into the fire consisting of the five nectars and of scented woods. The *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* adapts and internalizes this kind of external oblation to suit the context of meditative yogic performance. Thus we find that the fire pit is understood to be the yogin’s own navel, and offerings are made to the goddess who is visualized within it engulfed in the “fire of wisdom.”⁵³²

The process of internalizing the oblation ritual can also be observed in two other Vajrayoginī texts. In an internal oblation described in the *Samputodbhavatantra* (vv. 18–22ab), the “blazing fire of wisdom” is located within the meditator’s genitals (while the *Vasantatilakā* adds that the wind that fans the fire is within his feet):⁵³³

(18) The oblation (*homah*) should be made into the greatly blazing fire of wisdom, with the offering (*havis*) that inwardly is semen [in the central channel, *avadhūtī*], and [blood in the right channel, *rasanā*, and urine in the left channel, *lalanā*], and outwardly is [the skandhas] beginning with form.

(19) [The “outward” worship] of the six sense fields, elements, [and] skandhas etc., which have the form of the deities, likewise of the *ḍākinīs*,

(20) is called yoga worship, since these [deities] are worshiped by him. Whereas (*tu*) [in the “inward” *homa*], this head skull (*kapālam*) [where semen (*śukra*) is stored]⁵³⁴ is the offering vessel (*bhājanam*).

(21) The ladle is called *rasanā*; the heart cakra is identical with

lalanā, taught to be the [offering] bowl (*pātrī*) (or: the [offering] bowl is the mouth), and the fire pit is the navel.

(22ab) The fire is in the loins (*trikaṭi-*), fanned up by the winds of karma [which are in the feet].⁵³⁵

As this passage shows, the oblations that are to be made into the wisdom fire are said to have an “outer” and “inner” value. The “outward” level is that of a body maṇḍala, in which the psychophysical body of the yogin is identified with the maṇḍala of goddesses. In this oblation, the offering consists of the skandhas, which are burnt up as “fuel,”⁵³⁶ while the offerings into the fire are not to the goddess Vajravārāhī but to the buddhas and mothers (*ḍākinīs*) who are equated with the psychophysical organism. The “inward” level is that of internal yogic practice, in which the oblation offerings are understood to be the contents of the three central veins or channels (semen, blood, and urine), which will all be drawn into the central channel in the course of being offered into the fire.

In these internal oblation texts, the traditional ritual tools of an external oblation rite are also represented. For example, traditional oblation requires a ladle (*sruvaḥ*) held in the right hand, and the vessel holding the oblation of ghee (*[ghṛta]pātrī*) held in the left hand (there is also a larger ladle, the *sruk*, sometimes used instead of the *sruvaḥ*).⁵³⁷ In the internal oblation, the ladle and the vessel are understood to be the two lateral channels. *Rasanā* on the right is the ladle, and *lalanā* on the left is the oblation vessel (SpUT v. 19d: *havirbhājanam*; referred to in GSSII simply as the “oblation”: *āhutiḥ*). This scriptural passage also seems to identify the ritual paraphernalia with yogic *cakras*, as the heart *cakra* is said to be *lalanā* (v. 20b).

§52 The ritual prescriptions of the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* close (§52) with a rite that is concerned with an offering of *bali* made up of actual foodstuffs. (This is probably because the source text continued with a series of external oblation rituals, as shown in the parallel texts and Textual Notes.)⁵³⁸ The *bali* is offered to the eponymous deity of leftovers, Ucchiṣṭavajra (as the imperative of the mantra reveals). With the offering of the leftover *bali*, the yogin induces him to preside. This rite appears also in the *Samvarodaya-tantra* (ch. 8, v. 38), in which the remnants of the oblation are offered to the spirits (*bhūtas*) as well as to the god, “Ucchuṣma.”

Concluding Verses

- vv. 70–76 The remaining verses of the sādhanā append a detailed account of the nature of the eight cremation grounds (discussed above). It is possible that Umāpatideva's source material included an account of the cremation grounds, since the so-called **Vidhisamgraha* (Finot 1934) includes the *Śmaśānavidhi* by Lūyipāda.
- v. 77 The text concludes in the proper manner with a dedication of merit, and a colophon stating Umāpatideva's authorship.

Edition and English Translation of the

Vajravārāhī Sādhana

by Umāpatideva



from the

Guhyasamayasādhanamālā (GSSII)

śrī-Vajravārāhīsādhana by Umāpatidevapāda

om namaḥ śrīvajrayoginyai

śrīvajradevīcaraṇāravindam
saṃchinnasaṃkalpa¹vibandhapāśam | {N37r}
praṇamya vakṣyāmi yathopadeśam
tatsāadhanam † vikramasena †² yatnāt | (1⁺)

<ghore>² śmaśāne girigahvare ca
srotasvatīsāgara³saṃnidhau ca |
anyatra vā hr̥dyatame⁴ pradeśe
dhyāyād imam yogam abhiṣṭasiddhyai | (2)

vaṃ vikṣya bījaṃ hr̥di padmamadhye
bandhūkaṣṇapadyutim ādadhānam |
tadraśmisaṃdīptanabhas⁵talasthaṃ
paśyet samantāt sugatādivṇdam | (3)

tadbījaraśmiprabhavair vicitraiḥ
saṃpūjya devān kusumādibhis tām | {K54r}
kṛtvārcanāṃ saptavidhāṃ jinoktām
kuryāc caturbrahmavihārācintām | (4)

1 [saṃkalpa] Kpc., N; (saṃ)kalpa K(mg2), D.

2 [ghore] conj.; omit codd.; Tib. p. 32.3 'jigs pa'i (*ghora, bhima, raudra qualifying *śmaśāne).

3 [srotasvatīsāgara] conj.; śrotasvatīsāra codd.

4 [hr̥dyatame] conj.; hr̥dyam me codd. (Tib. p. 32.4: "pleasing" yid du 'ong ba'i).

5 [nabhas] Kpc.; na(bhas) K(mg); nabha N, D.

Vajravārāhī Sādhana by Umāpatidevapāda

[Meditation Stage 1]

Salutation to the glorious Vajrayoginī!

- (1) Having saluted the lotus-like foot of the glorious vajra goddess (*vajradevī*) by which the encircling noose of conceptual thought (*saṃkalpaḥ*) is broken asunder, I will carefully relate her sādhana according to the teaching, † O Vikramasena †.
- (2) In a terrifying cremation ground, on a mountain, in a mountain cave (*girigahvare*),⁵³⁹ or (*ca*) near a river [or] ocean, or elsewhere in a place pleasing to the heart, [the practitioner] should contemplate this practice (*yogaḥ*) in order to [obtain] the desired success (*siddhiḥ*).
- (3) Having observed the seed-syllable *vaṃ* in the heart, on the center of a lotus emitting the [red] glow of a *bandhūka* flower,ⁱ he should see all about [him] a mass of buddhas and so on in the sky, which is irradiated by rays from that [seed-syllable].
- (4) Having worshiped those deities with manifold flowers, [incense, lamps, perfumed powders, and food]ⁱⁱ issuing from the rays from that seed-syllable, he should perform the sevenfold worship taught by the conquerors, [and then] he should do the meditation on the four sublime abodes (*brahmavihāras*).

i *Pentapetes Phoenicea* (*Terminalia tomentosa*). Its red flower (*bandhūkam*, *bandhūkapuṣpam*) is one of the commonest similes for the red color of Vajravārāhī.

ii The Sanskrit has “flowers, etc.,” a typical abbreviated reference to the traditional fivefold offering (*pañcopacāraḥ*).

[§1][†] tatra saptavidhārcanā⁶ yathā pāpadeśanā puṇyānumodanā
trīśaraṇagamanam puṇyapariṇāmanā bodhicittotpādo⁷
mārgāśrayaṇam ātmabhāvaniryātanaṃ ceti.

etasya pāpādikadeśanāder
nirūpaṇam yat kramato yathā tat |
eṣāṃ purastāt pratideśayāmi
mayā samastaṃ yad akāri pāpam | (5) {D39v}

gurvādibhiḥ puṇyam upārjitaṃ yat
tat sarvam evābhyanumodayāmi |
kṛtaṃ kariṣyāmi karomi yac ca⁸
*sattvā jināḥ santu*⁹ śubhena tena | (6)

ratnatrayaṃ vai śaraṇaṃ prayāmi
*syām*¹⁰ dharmarājo jagato hitāya |
mārgaṃ jinānām aham āśrayāmi
grhṇīta nāthāḥ svatanuṃ dadāmi | (7)

caturbrahmavihārās tu maitrikaruṇāmuditopekṣālakṣaṇāḥ – te
cānukramato yathā:

yathā janānām¹¹ svasute pravṛttiḥ {N37v}
snehānuviddhā¹² niyamena vṛttā | {K54v}
tathā bhaved yānyasute 'pi teṣāṃ
tām dveṣahantrīm kurutātra¹³ maitrīm | (8)

6 *ārcanā*] K; *ārcana* N; *ārca* D.

7 *otpādo*] corr.; *otpādaḥ* K, D; *otpāda* N.

8 *yac ca*] K; *ya* ~ N; *yatna* D.

9 *sattvā jināḥ santu*] conj.; *satvājināsmanta* K, *satvā(hn?)ināsmanta* N;
*satvā*itāsmanta* D. (Tib. p. 32.7: *sems can ma lus rgyal bar smon*, “I pray that all
beings may be victors.”)

10 *syām*] conj.; *syād* K, N; *sad-* D.

11 *janānām*] conj.; *jinānām* codd.; (Tib. p. 33.1–2: *jig rten pa* “those in the world.”)

12 *viddhā*] em.; *vidhā* codd.

13 *hantrīm kurutā*] K; *hantīm* ~ N; *hantī kuru* D.

[§1] In this, worship is of seven kinds, as follows: [i] confession of faults, [ii] rejoicing in merit, [iii] going for threefold refuge, [iv] transference of merit, [v] arising of the will to enlightenment, [vi] resorting to the path, and [vii] dedication of one's body (*ātmabhāvaḥ*).

- (5) The definition of these teachings and [practices] beginning with the confession of faults, etc., as it is in the sequence [of practice], is as followsⁱⁱⁱ—

[i] I confess before these [deities] all the sins that I have done.

- (6) [ii] I rejoice at all the merit that has been accumulated by the teachers, [buddhas, and bodhisattvas].^{iv}

[iv] By that good that I have done [in the past], will do [in the future], and am doing [now], *may beings become conquerors*.

- (7) [iii] I go for refuge to the Three Jewels.

[v] May I be a king of righteousness for the welfare of the world.⁵⁴⁰

[vi] I resort to the path of the conquerors.

[vii] Accept [it], lords—I offer my own body!

As for the four sublime abodes—namely, [i] loving-kindness (*maitrī*), [ii] compassion (*karuṇā*), [iii] rejoicing [in the attainments of others] (*muditā*), and [iv] equanimity (*upekṣā*)—those are also (*ca*) [defined] in sequence as follows:

- (8) [i] Just as the conduct (*pravṛttiḥ*) of [ordinary] people toward their own son is (*vṛttā*) invariably permeated with affection

iii I have numbered the successive stages listed in the prose (§1). This shows that the verses (vv. 5cd–7) are not, in fact, in sequence. However, the stages of the pūjā in sādhanā texts are very unstable.

iv Literally, “teachers and so on (*ādi-*).” This refers to the tantric list, “teachers, buddhas, and bodhisattvas” (*gurubuddhabodhisattva-*).

duḥkhāt tathā duḥkha¹⁴ nimittabhūtāt
 proddhartum icchāṃ¹⁵ sakalān¹⁶ janaughān |
 āghāta¹⁷ cittapratipakṣabhūtām
 vibhāvayet tām¹⁸ karuṇāṃ jagatsu | (9)

anantasattvoddharaṇaṃ na śakyam
 evaṃ viśādasya vighātadakṣaṃ |
 kīṭo 'pi buddho 'bhavad ity avekṣya
 saṃjātavīryo muditām vibhāvya | (10)

mamedam asyāham iti pravṛddhaṃ
 cittaṃ yad etat sa ca moha eva |
 tasyopahantrīm aparigrahatvād
 imām upekṣāṃ paricintaya tvam | (11)

pratītyajatvāj jalacandratulyaṃ
 paśyed alikaṃ bahir antaraṃ ca |
 svabhāvaśuddhādikamantrapāṭhāt¹⁹
 śūnyādhimokṣaṃ²⁰ vidadhīta mantrī | (12)

[§2] tatredaṃ²¹ mantradvayam. oṃ svabhāvaśuddhāḥ²² sarvadharmāḥ
 svabhāvaśuddho 'ham. oṃ śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātmako 'ham
 iti. {D4or}

14 *tathā duḥkha*] N; ~ *duḥkhā* K; *athā* D.

15 *icchāṃ*] corr.; *icchā* codd.

16 *kalān*] N, D; *kālān* K.

17 *āghāta*] K; *ādyāta* N, D. (Tib. p. 33.3: *srog gcod las dang mi mthun phyogs kyi bsam pa* "thought that is contrary to the act of killing.")

18 *tām*] em.; *tā* K, N; *ām* D.

19 *mantrapāṭhāt*] N; *mantrapāt* K; *mantred yā(va)t* D(add).

20 *śūnyādhimokṣaṃ*] conj.; *śūnyā(vi?)kamokṣaṃ* K; *śūnyādhikamokṣaṃ* N; *śūnyādhikamokṣa* D.

21 *tatredaṃ*] conj.; *tatreyaṃ* K, D; *tatrāyaṃ* N.

22 *svabhāvaśuddhāḥ*] em.; *svabhāvaśuddhā* K, N; *śubhāvasuddhā* D.

(*snehā*), so they should also have that (*yā*) [loving-kindness (*maitrī*)] toward the son[s] of others: you should now (*atra*) cultivate that loving-kindness that destroys hatred.⁵⁴¹

- (9) [ii] He should cultivate that compassion with regard to the world that is the antidote to cruelty (*āghātacitta*),^v [namely] the wish to extract the entire mass of beings from suffering and the causes of suffering.
- (10) [iii] “It is not possible to extract numberless beings [from suffering]!” He should cultivate rejoicing that is skilfull at destroying this kind of depression, being [himself] one who has gained energy [by] considering that “Even a worm became a buddha!”
- (11) [iv] “This belongs to me!” [or] “I belong to that!” It is a puffed-up mind that thinks so (*iti*)—and this is just delusion! Contemplate equanimity that destroys such [thoughts] because it is free of grasping.
- (12) He should see [everything, both] external and internal, as false like the moon [reflected] in water, because it is produced in dependence [upon causes]. The mantrin should establish the conviction of emptiness through the recitation of the mantras that have the opening “[*om*] *svabhāvaśuddhā*...”

[§2] For this there are the following two mantras:

om svabhāvaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ svabhāvaśuddho 'ham.^{vi}
[and]

om śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātmako 'ham.^{vii}

v Literally, “a mind of striking.”

vi “All existents are pure by nature; I am pure by nature.”

vii “I am identical with the essence of the nondual (*vajra*) knowledge of emptiness.”

athātra hūṃkārajaviśvavajraṃ
 dṛṣṭvā samantāt sphuradaṃśu²³jālam |
 tenaiva bhūmīm²⁴ atha pañjaraṃ²⁵ ca
 paśyed vitānaṃ śarajālakam ca | (13)

pūrvottarādikramato diśāsu
 sumbhādimantrāṃśu²⁶ caturo niveśya
 tadraśmijalaprabhavān vidadhyāt²⁷ {K55r}
 prākāranāmnaś caturo bahir²⁸ vai | (14)

kākāsyakādyāḥ punar aṣṭadeviḥ
 sumbhādimantraprabhavāḥ prapaśyet |
 hūṃjāṣṭakūpeṣu niveśya mārān
 ākoṭanaṃ²⁹ kilanam ācarantiḥ³⁰ | (15) {N38r}

[§3][†] tatrāmī te mantrāḥ. oṃ sumbha nisumbha huṃ huṃ phaṭ. oṃ
 gr̥hṇa[†] gr̥hṇa huṃ huṃ³¹ phaṭ. oṃ grihṇāpaya grihṇāpaya huṃ
 huṃ phaṭ. oṃ ānaya ho bhagavān vajra³² huṃ huṃ phaṭ.
 atrāṣṭau devyo³³ yathā kākāsyā ulūkāsyā śvānāsyā sūkarāsyā
 yamadādḥī yamadūti yamadaṃṣṭriṇī³⁴ yamamathanī ceti.

23 *sphuradaṃśu*] conj.; *prasphuradaṃśu* K; *pras* – *aṃśu* N; *prasphura*(m?)*daśuṃ* D.

24 *bhūmīm*] codd. (*metri causa*, understand *bhūmīm*).

25 *pañjaraṃ*] codd.; Tib. translates “walls” (p. 33.6: *ra ba*), also in v. 14 (p. 33.7).

26 *mantrāṃśu*] K; *mantrās* N, D.

27 *prabhavān vidadhyāt*] conj. Isaacson; *prabhavān vibadhyāt* K;
prabhavāndhivadhyāt N; *prabhavāndhivandhyāt* D. (Tib. suggests “he should
 meditate” p. 33.7: *bsgom par bya*. Cf. GSS35: *rakṣādīgbandhādikaṃ vidadhyāt*.)

28 *caturo bahir vai*] em.; *caturo dikṣu bahi vai* K; *caturo* – *dikṣu. bahi* – N; *caturo
 dikṣu bahi* D. (Possibly *dikṣu* was an explanatory gloss that became incorpo-
 rated into the text.)

29 *hūṃ*→*ākoṭanaṃ*] conj.; *hūṃjāṣṭakūpeṣu niveśya mārān ākoṭanaṃ* Kpc.;
 –*māra*(ko)*n ākoṭanaṃ* Kac.(del); *hūṃjāṣṭadeviḥ kūpeṣu niveśya mārān ākoṭanaṃ*
 N; *hūṃjāṣṭakūpeṣu niveśya mārakoṭanaṃ* D. (Tib. p. 34.1 *bdud rnams* = *mārān*).

30 *ācarantiḥ*] em.; *ācarenti* codd.

31 *huṃ huṃ*] N; *huṃ* K, D.

32 *vajra*] K, N; *vidyārāja* D (The reading *vidyārāja* replaces *bhagavān vajra* in
 some texts, see n. 300).

33 *devyo*] D; *devyau* K, N, (*ditto*.)

34 *yamadaṃṣṭriṇī*] K, N; *yamaduṣṭi* D.

- (13) Next in this [meditation], he should visualize a *hūṃ* syllable transforming into (-*ja*) a double vajra, having all about it a net of quivering rays. It is with this [net of rays] that he should then visualize the ground, and then the domed roof (*pañ-jaram*), [then] the canopy and the [outer] shield (*jālam*)^{viii} of arrows [as the circle of protection].
- (14) He should cause the four mantras beginning with “[*om*] *sumbha*” to enter the directions, east, north, [west, and south] in [a counterclockwise] sequence; he should fasten in place (*vibadhyāt*) four walls that have been produced from a net of rays [issuing] from those [four mantras] at the very exterior [of the circle of protection].
- (15) Moreover, he should visualize eight goddesses, Kākāsyā and so on, produced from the mantras beginning “[*om*] *sumbha*.” [He should see them] hammering and nailing down the evil ones (*māras*), which they have made to enter eight wells produced from *hūṃ*.

[§3] In this [visualization], these are the [four] mantras:

om sumbha nisumbha huṃ huṃ phaṭ.
om grhṇa grhṇa huṃ huṃ phaṭ.
om grihṇāpaya grihṇāpaya huṃ huṃ phaṭ.
om ānaya ho bhagavān vajra huṃ huṃ phaṭ.^{ix}

Here, the eight goddesses are as follows: Kākāsyā, Ulūkāsyā, Śvānāsyā, [and] Sūkarāsyā^x [in the cardinal directions]; Yamadādhi, Yamadūti, Yamadaṃṣṭriṇī, and Yamamathanī^{xi} [in the intermediate directions].

viii Literally, “net.”

ix “O [demon] Sumbha! O [demon] Nisumbha! Seize! Make [them] seize! Take! O Blessed One! O Vajra!”

x Crow-face (Kākāsyā), Owl-face (Ulūkāsyā), Dog-face (Śvānāsyā), and Hog-face (Sūkarāsyā).

xi Death’s Tooth (Yamadādhi, *dādha* is probably from *daṃṣṭrā*, but may also mean “wish, desire.” The Tibetan text consistently translates Yamadādhi *brtan ma* “the Stable One,” as if from *drāḍha*), Death’s Messenger (Yamadūti), Death’s Fang (Yamadaṃṣṭriṇī), and Death’s Destruction (Yamamathanī).

[§4] atropadeśaḥ. vāmahastasyāṅguṣṭhatarjanībhyāṃ choṭikāṃ dattvā
 “om sumbha nisumbha huṃ huṃ phaḍ” ityādimantrān
 uccārayan³⁵ kṛṣṇaharitaraktapītavarṇān pātālabrahmāṇḍavyāpi-
 jvalanmahākāyān <vajraprākārāṇ[†]> vāmāvartena pūrvādidikṣu³⁶
 yathākramaṃ niveśayet. pañjarād bahiḥ
 etanmantracatuṣṭayaniṣpannāḥ kākāsyādicatasro devīḥ,
 etanniṣpattikāla eva dakṣiṇāvartenāgneyyāder³⁷ ubhaya-
 mantrakoṇasya rāsmisaṃbhūtā yamadāḍhyādicatasro devīḥ
 paśyet. {D40v} etā aṣṭau dvibhujaikavaktrāḥ. {K55v} atra prastāve
 nābher adhaḥ śulākārāḥ, dakṣiṇe vajramudgara³⁸ dharāḥ, vāme
 ātmarūpakilakahastāḥ. spharaṇayogena gatvā digvidiksthita-
 sakalavighnavṛndam³⁹ āniya hūṃkāraṇiṣpanneṣv aṣṭasu kūpeṣu⁴⁰
 svamantrasamānavarṇaprākārasamīpavartīṣu praveśya
 kilanākoṭana⁴¹ mantroccāraṇapūrvakaṃ vighnavṛndam kilayitvā
 koṭayitvā ca prākāreṣu liyamānās tāḥ paśyet. {N38v}

35 uccārayan] K, N; uccārayet D.

36 pūrvādidikṣu] N; pūrvādikṣu K, D.

37 āgneyyāder] corr.; āgnyāder codd.

38 mudgara] em.; mudgarā K, N; mudgaro D.

39 vighnavṛndam] K; vṛndam N; vighnavṛndakaṃ D.

40 kūpeṣu] em.; kūpe codd.

41 koṭana] em.; koṭanā codd.

- [§4] The teaching on this [is as follows]: He should give a snap of the forefinger and thumb of the left hand, [and while] uttering the mantras beginning “*oṃ sumbha nisumbha huṃ huṃ phaṭ*,” he should make <the vajra walls> enter into the directions starting in the east in a counterclockwise sequence; [they are] colored black, green, red, [and] yellow, extending from the underworld to the sphere of Brahmā, burning [and] vast.

Outside the [vajra] zone (*pañjaram*),^{xii} he should see the four goddesses starting with Kākāsyā who are produced from these four mantras. At the same time that they are produced [he should visualize] the four goddesses starting with Yamadādhī produced from rays [issuing] from the corner angles of the two (*ubhaya*) mantras [that intersect at the intermediate points], starting from the southeast [proceeding] in a clockwise direction.

These eight [goddesses] have two arms and one face. In this context,^{xiii} they are [described as] spike-shaped beneath the navel. In their right [hands] they hold a vajra hammer; in their left they have in their hands a stake that has their own form. He should visualize those [eight goddesses] going forth through self-projection [to the limits of the universe] (*spharanayogena gatvā*),⁵⁴² fetching the entire mass of obstacles found (*sthita*) in the cardinal directions and intermediate directions, placing [the mass of obstacles] in eight wells that have been produced from the syllable *hūṃ* [and that are] located (*-vartīṣu*) near the walls of the same color as the respective (*sva*) mantras [from which they were produced], staking and hammering the mass of obstacles with the recitation of the mantras for staking and hammering down, and [finally he should see those eight goddesses] dissolving into the [vajra] walls.

- xii The domed “roof” or (literally), “cave” (*pañjaram*) of the circle of protection is that which surrounds the structure on the top and on the sides, and which defines the space within. K. Gyatso (1999: 119) describes it as having “the shape of a Mongolian tent.”
- xiii The text is distinguishing the appearance of the eight goddesses here within the topic (*prastāvaḥ*) of the expulsion of obstacles from the circle of protection, from their later appearance within the deity maṇḍala.

[S5] atra kilanamantro yathā – om̐ gha gha ghātaya^{42†} ghātaya sarva-
duṣṭān phaṭ. ⁴³ om̐⁴⁴ kilaya kilaya sarvapāpān phaṭ hūṃ hūṃ
hūṃ. vajrakila vajradhara ājñāpayati. ⁴⁵ sarvavighnānām
kāyavākittavajraṃ kilaya⁴⁶ hūṃ phaṭ iti. ākoṣanamantro yathā –
om̐ vajramudgara vajrakilākoṣaya⁴⁷ hūṃ phaṭ iti.

†tatpañjarāntarnivasacchmaśāna-
madhyasthitām⁴⁸ ūrdhvaviśālarūpām |
paśyet trikoṇām śaradindugaurām⁴⁹
dharmodayām raktasarojagarbhām | (I6)

tatpadmamadhyasthitayo ravīndvor⁵⁰
madhyasthitaṃ visphuradamśujālam |
vaṃkārabijam sphuṭavidrumābham {K56r}
vibhāvayet spaṣṭataram yathā syāt | (I7)

†niḥsṛtya⁵¹ bijodbhavaśmijālāt
kṛtvā janaughān jinabodhibhājāḥ | {D41r}
†tatraiva bīje <hi> niveśitāntar-
buddhādikām samparibhāvayed vai⁵² | (I8)

42 ghātaya] K, ghātaya N, D.

43 phaṭ] K, N; hūṃ phaṭ D.

44 om̐] N; omitted K, D.

45 dhara ājñā°] D; dharo ājñā K; dharājñā N.

46 vajraṃ kilaya] N; vajraṃ kilam K; vajrakilaya D.

47 vajrakilākoṣaya] K, N; kilakoṣaya D.

48 tatpañjarā→sthitām] conj. Sanderson; -jarā(r?)nti nirvviśataśmaśānamadhyā-
K; -jarā – r nirvviśataśmaśānamadhye- N; -jarān nirvviśataśmaśānamadhye- D.
(cf. GSS42 v. 4b: śmaśānāṣṭānivāsini)

49 gaurām] K, D; gaurim N.

50 tatpadmamadhyasthitayo ravīndvor] em.; tatpadmadhyasthitayo ravīndundor K;
tatpadmamadhyasthitayo ravīndundor N; tatpadma(ma)dhyasthitayā ravīndudor
D(add).

51 niḥsṛtya] conj.; naiḥsṛtya codd.

52 tatraiva bīje hi→vai] conj. Sanderson; -niveśitār anekā(cāga)buddhābhikāḥ
samparibhāvayed vai Kpc.(add); -niveśitār aneke (b,y?)uddhābhi(k?)āḥ
samparibhāṣaye vai. N; -nirveśitār anekabuddhābhikāḥ samparibhāṣayed vai D.

[§5] In this [meditation] the “staking mantra” is as follows:

oṃ gha gha ghātaya ghātaya sarvaduṣṭān phaṭ. oṃ kīlaya kīlaya sarvapāpān phaṭ hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ. vajrakīla vajradhara ājñāpāyati. sarvaviḥṇānāṃ kāyavākṛittavajraṃ kīlaya hūṃ phaṭ^{xiv}

The “hammering mantra” is as follows;

oṃ vajramudgara vajrakīlākoṭaya hūṃ phaṭ^{xv}

- (16) Placed in the center of [eight] cremation grounds dwelling (-*vasat*-)^{xvi} within the zone (*pañjaram*) of that [circle of protection], he should visualize, with its broad side uppermost [i.e., inverted], a triangular *dharmodayā*, white as the autumn moon [and] containing a red lotus.
- (17) In the center of that lotus, between a sun disc and a moon disc, he should visualize a *vaṃ* seed-syllable in such a way that it is [all] vividly clear, with a quivering net of rays [emanating from it, and] with the color of blossoming [red] coral.
- (18) Having sent forth [the buddhas and so on] from the net of rays produced from the seed-syllable, he should make multitudes of people share the awakening of the conquerors; then (*hi*) he should imagine [Vajravārāhī] with the buddhas and so forth retracted inside [her] (*niveśitāntar*-) into that same seed-syllable.

xiv “Kill all evils! Stake all sinners! O Vajrakīla! O Vajradhara!—He commands [it] for the body-, speech-, and mind-vajras of all obstacles. Stake [them]!”

xv “O vajra hammer! O vajra stake! Hammer [them]!”

xvi In v. 73, the cremation grounds are also said to “dwell” *√vas*.

candrārkabīja^{53†}prabhavāṃ trinetrāṃ
 kāśmīravarnāṃ⁵⁴ dvibhujaiakavaktrāṃ |
 āliḍha-m-ākṛānta⁵⁵śīraḥkucāgrāṃ
 uttānayor bhairavakālarātryoḥ⁵⁶ | (19)

utkṣiptavāmasthitapadmabhāṇḍāt
 patatpravāhaṃ⁵⁷ rudhirāṃ pibantīm |
 †savajrasavyetara † – ~ – – †⁵⁸
 bhūtarjanī⁵⁹tarjitaduṣṭavṛndām | (20)

khaṭvāṅgasamśobhitavāmathāgāṃ⁶⁰
 vilambiraktākta⁶¹nṛmuṇḍamālām |
 nagnāṃ kvaṇannūpura⁶²bhūṣitāṅghrīm⁶³
 damṣṭrākārālāṃ vadanāṃ vahantīm⁶⁴ | (21)

vajreṇa viśvadhvanipūrvakeṇa {N39r}
 krāntottamāṅgāṃ⁶⁵ cyutakeśabandhām |
 vajrāvalīmadhyavirājamāna-
 lalāṭapaṭṭasthitapañcamuṇḍām | (22)

- 53 *candrārkabīja*] Kac.; *candrārka(vahni)* Kpc.(add), N, D.
 54 *kāśmīravarnāṃ*] em.; *kāśmīravarnā* K, D; *kāśmīravarna* N.
 55 *āliḍhamākṛānta*] N; *āliḍhāmākṛānta* K, D.
 56 *rātryoḥ*] em.; *rātryāḥ* codd.
 57 *bhāṇḍāt patatpravāhaṃ*] Kpc.; *bhā(ṇḍa)ṇḍāta patat (v-). pravāhaṃ* K(del); *bhāṇḍe. te patat-* N; *bhāṇḍat patat. pravāhaṃ* D.
 58 *savajrasavyetara † – ~ – – †*] conj. Sanderson; *savajravārāhimālyakara prasṛti* K; *savajravārāhi -4- kara prasṛti* N; *savyakaraprasṛti* D.
 59 *bhūtarjanī*] conj. Sanderson; *bhūt tarjanī* codd.
 60 *vāmathāgāṃ*] Kpc.(*vāma* add); (*vṛndām*) *bhāgāṃ* K(del); *vāma -4- bhāgāṃ* N; *vāmathāgā* D.
 61 *vilambiraktākta*] conj. Sanderson; *vilambinīm rakta* codd.
 62 *nagnāṃ kvaṇannūpura*] em.; *nagnā kvaṇannū-* K; *nagnā – no-* N; *nagnā vaṇannau-* D.
 63 *āṅghrīm*] K; *āṅghrim* N, D.
 64 *madanāṃ vahantīm*] N; *vadana vahantī* K, D.
 65 *pūrvakeṇa krāntottamāṅgāṃ*] em. *pūrvamkeṇa krāntottamāṅga* K; *pūrvakeṇa krāntottamāṅga* N; *pūrvakeṇa krāntonumāṅgi* D? (indistinct). (Tib. p. 34.6: *sna tshogs rdo rjes dbu yi steng nas mnan par mdzad* “a double vajra is pressing down from the top of her head.”)

(19–24) He should visualize himself (*ātmatanum*) as [Vajra]vārāhī (v. 24d), who is produced from the moon, sun, and seed-syllable [*vaṃ*], with three eyes, having the color of [red] saffron, with two arms and one face, trampling in the warrior pose on the head and breast of Bhairava and Kālarātri, who lie face up [beneath her] (v. 19); drinking blood that streams down from the “lotus bowl” (*padmabhāṇḍaḥ*)^{xvii} placed in her upraised left hand, with a vajra in her right hand *†*...*†* threatening all who are wicked with the index finger pointing threateningly to the ground (*bhūtarjani*) (v. 20); [her] left side adorned with a skull staff (*khaṭvāṅgaḥ*), with a bloody (*raktākṭa*) garland of human heads hanging [around her neck], naked, her feet decorated with tinkling anklets, [and] with a face terrible with its tusks (v. 21); with her head topped by a double vajra,^{xviii} with her hair-tie fallen off, [and] with five skulls in her headband gleaming in the midst of a row of vajras (v. 22); with head, ears, throat, both wrists, [and] hips glistening with the chaplet, swinging earrings, charming necklace, glittering bracelets, [and] girdle [respectively] (v. 23); covering the three worlds with quivering rays, with a body full (*ākṛānta-*) of fresh youth, [and] filled with the single taste of great bliss^{xix} (v. 24b–d).

xvii The “lotus vessel” is the tantric term for skull bowl, e.g., HT2.3.58b: *kapālaṃ padmabhājanam*.

xviii Literally, “having her topmost limb (*uttamāṅgam*) passed over (or ‘subjected,’ *krānta*) by a vajra preceded by the word *viśva* [i.e., a *viśvavajra*].”

xix Literally (v. 24c): “She is filled with the single taste (*rasaika*) that has the aspect (*ākāraḥ*) of great bliss (*mahāsukham*).”

cakrīcalatkuṇḍalacārukaṇṭhī-
samullasadrocaka⁶⁶mekhalābhiḥ |
abhyullasan⁶⁷mastakakarṇakaṇṭha-
hastadvayagranthikaṭipradeśām | (23)

sphuradgabhastisthagita⁶⁸trilokām {K56v}
ākṛāntadehām⁶⁹ navayauvanena |
mahāsukhākārarasaikapūrṇām
vārāhikām ātmatanuṃ vidadhyāt | (24)

athātra nābhau hṛdaye ca vaktre
śīraḥ⁷⁰ śikhāyām sakaletarāṅge |
mantrais tu ṣaḍbhiḥ kavacaṃ vidhāya |
jñānapraveśaṃ samaye vidadhyāt | (25)

[§6] amī te ṣaṇ mantrāḥ⁷¹ – oṃ vaṃ, hām yoṃ, hrīm moṃ, hreṃ
hrīm, huṃ huṃ, phaṭ phaḍ⁷² iti. ete
vajravārāhīyāminīmohinisaṃcālīnī⁷³saṃtrāsīnīcaṇḍikāsvarūpāḥ
{D4iv} raktanīlaśveta<pīta⁷⁴>haritadhūmradhūsaravarṇās ca.

hṛdisthacakrasthitaṃmayūkha-
prabhūtapuṣpādibhir arcayitvā |
praveśayet tāṃ samaye nabhaḥsthām |
sarpīr yathā sarpiṣi vāri vāri⁷⁵ | (26)

66 *rocaka*] codd. (*metri causa*); *roca(ka)* Kpc.(mg). Understand °*rucaka*.

67 *abhyullasan*] K; -6- *san* N; *sat* D (no gap or marked omission in D).

68 *sthagita*] K; *stha* -4- N; *stha* - - D.

69 *dehām*] em.; *dehān* codd.

70 *śīraḥ*] codd. (*metri causa*). Understand *śīrasi* (singular locative) or *śīraḥśikhāyām* (dual locative).

71 *mantrāḥ*] conj.; *mudrāḥ* codd.

72 *phaṭ phaḍ*] conj.; *phaṭ* codd.

73 *saṃcālīnī*] N; *sañcālīnī* K; *saṃcārīnī* D.

74 *śvetapīta*] conj. *śveta* codd.; Cf. *śuklapīta* §46; *śitapīta* GSS5 K2iv(mg)

75 *vāri vāri*] codd. (loose syntax for *vāri vārīṇi*).

- (25) And then on this [body], on the navel, heart, mouth, head, crown, and on all the other limbs, he should establish the armor with the six mantras, [and then] introduce the knowledge [deity] into the pledge [deity].

[§6] The six [armor] mantras here are: *oṃ vaṃ, hāṃ yoṃ, hrīṃ moṃ, hreṃ hrīṃ, huṃ huṃ, phaṭ phaṭ*. They embody Vajravārāhī, Yāminī, Mohinī, Saṃcālinī, Saṃtrāsini, and Caṇḍikā^{xx} and are colored red, blue-black, white, <yellow>, green, [and] smoky-gray.

- (26) He should [first] honor [the knowledge deity] with flowers and so on^{xxi} that are produced from rays [which themselves issue] from the *vaṃ* [syllable] on the circle [of the lotus pericarp] in his heart. [Then] he should cause that [knowledge deity], which is [visualized before him] in the sky, to enter into the pledge [deity], just like ghee into ghee, or water, water.

xx Lady of Night (Yāminī), Deluder (Mohinī), Agitator (Saṃcālinī), Terrifier (Saṃtrāsini), and Terrible One (Caṇḍikā).

xxi This is another reference to the traditional offerings. See ch. 3.

[§7][†] jñānasattvapraveśe tu ākarṣaṇapraveśanabandhanatoṣaṇakarāḥ jaḥ
hūṃ vaṃ hor iti catvāro *mantrā*⁷⁶ bodbhavyāḥ.

mantreṇa sekaṃ dadhato nabhaḥsthān⁷⁷

tathāgatāṃs tān⁷⁸ vyavalokya samyak |

śeṣābhiṣekodakabindujātaṃ

vairocanaṃ paśya *śironiviṣṭam*⁷⁹ | (27)

{N39v}

[†]tatrāyaṃ sekamantraḥ:

yathā hi jātaṃātetreṇa snāpitāḥ sarvatathāgatāḥ⁸⁰ |

{K57v}

tathā 'haṃ snāpayiṣyāmi *śuddhaṃ* divyena vāriṇā | (27i)

[†]“oṃ sarvatathāgatābhiṣekasamayaśriye hūṃ” iti.

[§8] atrāyaṃ upadeśaḥ. hr̥dbījaraśminā, aṣṭābhir yoginibhir yathā
hītyādikaṃ vāriṇetyantaṃ⁸¹ paṭhantibhir
īśadāvarjitapañcāmṛtabhṛta⁸²vāmakarakapālebhyo[†]
nījajñānāmṛtavāridhārābhir abhiṣicyamānaṃ mahāsukhamayaṃ
ātmānaṃ vibhāvya, śeṣāmbuniṣpanna<ṃ> śīrasi vairocanaṃ
dṛṣṭvā, oṃ sarvatathāgatābhiṣeketyādimantram uccārayed iti.

76 *mantrā bodbhavyāḥ*] conj.; *mudrā bodbhavyāḥ* K; *mantrā bodbhavyāḥ* N,
mantro bodbhavyāḥ D. (See Textual Note to §6.)

77 *dadhato nabhaḥsthān*] em.; *dadhato nashās* Kac., D; ~ *na(bha)sthās* Kpc.(mg2);
dadhata na ~ sthās N.

78 *tathāgatāṃs tān*] conj. Sanderson; *tathāgatān* codd.

79 *śironiviṣṭam*] em.; *śironiveṣṭiṃ* K, N; *sironiveṣṭiṃ* D. Tib. p. 35.4 *gtsug tor nyid*
du “on the very crown of the head (*gtsug tor*).”

80 *sarvatathāgatāḥ*] corr. (*hyper.*); *sarvatathāgatās* codd.

81 *vāriṇetyantaṃ*] conj.; *vāriṇe* codd.

82 *bhṛta*] conj.; *bhūta* codd.

[§7] Know that when the knowledge being enters, there are four mantras [to be uttered], namely, *jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ* [and] *hoḥ*. These attract [the knowledge being], make [it] enter, bind [it in place], and propitiate [it].

(27) Correctly visualize the tathāgatas in the sky consecrating [you] with the mantra. [Then] visualize Vairocana on [your] head [imagining that he has] come forth from the drops of the water remaining from the consecration.

The consecration mantra here is:

(27i) “For even as the tathāgatas were bathed as soon as they were born, so I will wash [you], *purified*,⁵⁴³ with heavenly water.”

oṃ sarvatathāgatābhīṣekasamayaśriye hūṃ^{xxii}

[§8] In this [rite] there is the following instruction: With [the transformation of] a ray from the [*vaṃ*] syllable in the heart, he should [first] visualize himself being consecrated by eight yoginīs⁵⁴⁴ who are reciting [the verse invocation] beginning “*For even as...*” ending “*...with [heavenly] water.*” [He should visualize them consecrating him] with streams of water, which is the nectar of innate knowledge, from the slightly inclined skull bowls full of the five nectars in [their] left hands, [so that he is] full of great bliss. [Next], having visualized Vairocana on [his] head produced from the remaining liquid, he should recite the mantra beginning “*[oṃ] sarvatathāgatābhīṣeka* etc.”

xxii “To the glory of the pledge [*of?*] consecration by all tathāgatas!”

nabhaḥsthadevīr abhipūjayantīr⁸³
 vārāhikām⁸⁴ tām stuvatīr⁸⁵ ca vīkṣya |
 yad vakṣyamāṇakramasādhitaṃ vai
 piyūṣam āsvādanam asya kuryāt | (28)

gatvā samastām⁸⁶ spharaṇena kāṣṭhām
 kṛtvā ca sarvaṃ jagadarthakṛtyam |
 bīje svamūrtim⁸⁷ viśatiḥ prapaśyed
 †ākheadam evaṃ punar eva⁸⁸ kuryāt | (29) {D42r}

atha svacittaṃ sthiraṭām vinetum
 paśyet susūkṣmām⁸⁹ sphuradamśurekhām |
 nābhisthacandrārkaśamudgavarti-⁹⁰
 susūkṣmavaṃnādasamucchritā yā⁹¹ | (30)

atropadeśakramalabdha⁹²mārgo
 vibhāvanīyo 'nupalambhayogaḥ |
 sattvārthasampādanahetubhūta-
 prabhāsvaratvapratilambhahetoḥ | (31) {K57v}

83 nabhaḥsthadevīr abhipūjayantīr] conj.; nabhasthadevībhīr abhipūjayanti(bhi) Kpc.(del); nabhasthadevībhīr abhipūjayantiḥ N; nabhasthadevībhīr abhipūjayantībhi D.

84 vārāhikām] K, N; vārāhikām D.

85 stuvatīr] em.; stuvati codd.

86 samastām] em.; samastaṃ K, N; samasta D.

87 bīje svamūrtim] conj.; bījeṣu mūrtim codd. (Tib. p. 35.5 has no plural marker on *bīje).

88 ākheadam evaṃ punar eva] conj. Sanderson; ā khedaparyantam evaṃ punar eva codd.

89 paśyet susūkṣmām] K, N; paśyat susūkṣmyām D.

90 nābhisthacandrārkaśamudgavarti] conj. Sanderson; nābhisthacandrārkaśamudbhavārti codd. (Tib. p. 35.6: lte ba la gnas nyi zla kha sbyar dbus nyid du. "[being] in the center (dbus nyid du < varti) of the conjoined sun and moon (kha sbyar < samudgaḥ) at the navel."

91 susūkṣmavaṃnādasamucchritā yā] conj. Sanderson; susūkṣmavaṃnādasamucchritādyai codd.; Tib. p. 35.6: baṃ gi nā da shin tu phra ba las bzhangs pa "arisen from the very fine nāda of the baṃ."

92 labdha] K; lartha N, D.

- (28) [Then] having visualized goddesses in the sky worshipping [Vajra]vārāhi and praising her, he should perform the tasting of nectar—for which the method of production will be taught below [vv. 59–66].
- (29) Having pervaded all the limits [of the universe] by emanating [goddesses in mantric form],^{xxiii} and having [thereby] accomplished all the needs of sentient beings, he should visualize them entering [i.e., assuming] a form according to the seed-syllable [*vaṃ*]. He should repeat this procedure until he tires.
- (30) In order to make his mind firm he should visualize a very fine, brilliant ray of light rising from the subtlest resonance [of the visualized syllable] (*nādaḥ*), [or from] the syllable *vaṃ* [itself],⁵⁴⁵ which is located in (*vartī*) the enclosed space (*samudgaḥ*) between the moon and sun at his navel.
- (31) In this [yogic practice], he should meditate upon the yoga of nonperception, the path that is obtained through (*krama*) instruction [from a guru], in order to obtain the state of clear light (*prabhāsvaraḥ*), which is (*bhūta*) the cause of fulfilling the aims of all beings.

xxiii A prose explanation of this yogic practice appears below [§9].

vibhāvanāyāṃ parijātakhedo |
 mantrī japeṇ mantravaraṃ vidhānāt |
 vṛkṣeṇa cintāmaṇinopamoktā⁹³ | {N4or}
 svayaṃ jinair yasya daśākṣarasya | (32)

tato 'pi khinno vihared yatheccham⁹⁴ |
 svadevatāhaṃkṛtim ādadhānaḥ |
 itthaṃ *japadhyāna*⁹⁵ sadābhiyogāt
 ṣaṇmāsataḥ siddhim upaiti yogī | (33)

yo 'nāratam⁹⁶ bhāvayitum na śaktaḥ
 so 'pi prasidhyed yadi tasya samyak |
 pratyūṣamadhyāhnadināvasāna-
 saṃdhyākhyakāle⁹⁷ kṣaṇabhāvanā syāt | (34)

[§9][†] tatrāyaṃ daśākṣaro hṛdayamantraḥ. om vajravairocanaṃ svāhā.
 asya japavidhir yathā, bhāvanāyāṃ khede sati jhaṭiti devatīm
 adhimucya, tannābhicandre raktavaṃkāraṃ nādaṃ vā dṛṣṭvā,
 mantraṃ uccārayan, tasmā<d bijān> nādād vā⁹⁸ nirgamavāyunā
 devīsamūhaṃ saṃsphārya, jagadarthaṃ kṛtvā ca punar mantraṃ
 uccārayan † *sahaiva mālā* † sūtrākaraṣaṇanyāyena praveśavāyunā
 tasminn eva bīje nāde vā praveśayen mantrī.⁹⁹ {D42v} evaṃ
 punaḥ kuryād yāvat khedo bhavātīti. {K58r}

93 *opamoktā*] K; *opamokṣā* N, D.

94 *eccham*] em.; *ecchām* codd.

95 *itthaṃ japadhyāna-*] conj.; *itthem jape dhyāna* K; *itthaṃ japed dhyāna* N; *ithe jape dhyāna* D (Tib. p. 36.1: *sngags dang bsam gtan* “mantra and meditation.”)

96 *yo 'nāratam*] conj. Isaacson (Tib. p. 36.1: *rgyun du*); *maunāratam* codd.

97 *saṃdhyākhyakāle*] conj.; *saṃdhyākhyakāla* codd.

98 *tasmād bijān nādād vā*] conj. Sanderson; *tasmān nādān* codd.

99 *mantrī*] em.; *mantra* codd.

- (32) When he has grown tired in the meditation, the mantrin should utter, according to the rules, the best of mantras, the ten-syllabled [heart mantra of Vajravārāhī, §9], which has been compared (*upamoktā*) by the Buddha himself with the [wishing] tree [or] wish-fulfilling jewel.
- (33) When he is tired of that, too, he may [end the meditation and] dwell as he wishes, providing that he preserves the [conviction of his] identity (*ahamkṛtiḥ*) with his chosen (*sva*) deity. In this way, through constant practice of mantra recitation and meditation, the yogin attains siddhi after six months.
- (34) Even one who is not able to practice (*bhāvayitum*) continuously may attain success if he performs a short meditation (*kṣaṇabhāvanā*)^{xxiv} in the correct [way] at dawn, midday, and the close of day, [that is,] at the times called the “junctures.”

[§9] In this [meditation], the ten-syllabled heart mantra is:

oṃ vajravairocanīye svāhā

The procedure for its utterance is as follows:^{xxv} When [the practitioner] becomes tired in the meditation, he should immediately be convinced of [himself as] the deity, [and then, on the basis of this conviction], he should see on the moon [disc] on his navel a red *vaṃ* syllable, or the [even more subtle] *nāda*. Uttering the mantra [as given], he should emanate the multitude of goddesses from that seed-syllable, or from the *nāda*, with his outgoing breath. Once (*ca*) he has fulfilled (*kṛtvā*) the welfare of [all beings in] the world [through them], the mantrin, once more uttering the mantra, should make [the goddesses] enter into that very seed-syllable or *nāda* [on his navel] with his incoming breath †...† in the way that

xxiv This “short meditation” is probably a reference to the first meditation stage, comprising the self-generation of Vajravārāhī alone, without her maṇḍala.

xxv This rite was described in v. 29 above.

tatpañjarāntaḥparibhāvitānām
 vāyavagnivārikṣitimaṇḍalānām |
 svabījajānām uparisthamerau
 tathaiva *devīm api*¹⁰⁰ bhāvayet vā | (35)

*<iti> prathamo bhāvanākramaḥ. 1.

atha

ḍākinyādicaturdevīś¹⁰¹ catuṣkarotāmadhyagāḥ |
 kākāsyādyāṣṭadevīr vā, adhikatvena¹⁰² bhāvayet | (36)

yad vā cakratrayāsīna¹⁰³pracaṇḍādivibhāvanām |
 samadhikāṃ sudhīḥ kuryād iti syāt pūrṇamaṇḍalam | (37)
 {N4ov}

[§10] mahāsukhacakrasthāṃ vajravārāhīm
 pūrvottarapaścimadakṣiṇadiksthitābhir
 ḍākinilāmākhaṇḍarohārūpiṇībhiḥ sahitāṃ bhāvayitum *icchan-*
taṃ[†] praty āha¹⁰⁴ –

“ḍākinyādicaturdevīś catuṣkarotāmadhyagā” iti [v. 36ab].

- 100 *devīm api*] conj.; *devīm* ° *vi*° N; *devī* ° *vi*° K, D (*hypo. codd.*). The Tibetan for this *pāda* reads “meditate on the goddesses as before, in the order as before.” (p. 36.3: *sngon bzhin lha mo rnams ni sngon bzhin rim pas bsgom*)
- 101 *devīś*] em.; *devī* codd. cf. below where K reads °*devīr* but N & D retain the reading °*devī*.
- 102 *ādyāṣṭadevīr vā adhikatvena*] conj. (*syncop.*); *ādyāṣṭadevī bodhisattvena* K; *ādyāṣṭade* ° *vi* *bodhisattvena* N; *ādi aṣṭadevī bodhisattvena* D. Cf. §13. Tib. p. 36.3: *lha mo khwa yi gdong sogs brgyad / de ltar lhag ma'i bdag nyid* (“nature of the addition,” i.e., addition-ness > *adhikatvena*) *dam*.
- 103 *cakratrayāsīna*] corr.; *cakratrayā(ṃ?)sīna* K; *cakratrayāṃsīna* N, D.
- 104 *icchantaṃ praty āha*] conj.; *iccha* °(*ti*)*r āha*. K(del); *icchati tad āha*. N; *icchati r āha*. D. Cf. §13, §16, & Textual Note.

(*nyāyena*) one draws in a thread.^{xxvi} He should repeat [the meditation] in this way until he becomes tired.

- (35) Alternatively,^{xxvii} he should visualize the goddess *herself* (*api*) in the same way, [but she is to be generated instead] upon Mount Meru, which is situated on top of the [four] elements of wind, fire, water, and earth; [these are] to be visualized inside the [vajra] zone, produced from their own seed-syllables [one on top of the other].

Here ends meditation stage 1.

[Meditation Stage 2]

Next:⁵⁴⁶

- (36) He should visualize the four goddesses starting with Ḍākinī in between four skull bowls, or, in addition, eight goddesses beginning with Kākāsyā.
- (37) Alternatively, the knowledgeable [practitioner] should do the extended meditation [with the twenty-four goddesses], starting with Pracandā seated on the three circles [of body, speech, and mind]. This would be the complete maṇḍala.^{xxviii}

[§10] For someone wishing (*icchantaṃ*) to visualize Vajravārāhī on the circle of great bliss, accompanied by Ḍākinī, Lāmā, Khaṇḍarohā, and Rūpiṇī in the cardinal directions to the east, north, west, and south [respectively], [scripture] says: “the four goddesses starting with Ḍākinī in between four skull bowls.” [v. 36ab]

xxvi GSS5 describes this as like drawing in the thread of a rosary. For a similar but extended rite in this Sādhana, see p. 177 above.

xxvii This verse gives an alternative location for the generation of Vajravārāhī from that described above in v. 16. The syllables for the visualization of the elements are: *yaṃ*, *raṃ*, *vaṃ*, and *laṃ*.

xxviii Prescriptions for the complete maṇḍala are given in meditation stage 4 below.

tad uktaṃ –

†dākinī ca tathā lāmā khaṇḍarohā tu rūpiṇī |
nyaset padmadīśaḥ sthāne sarvasiddhipradāyikāḥ | (38)

kṛṣṇā śyāmā raktā gaurā ekavaktrās caturbhujāḥ |
vāme khaṭvāṅgakapālāḥ¹⁰⁵ dakṣiṇe¹⁰⁶ ḍamarukartrikāḥ | (39)

trinetrā muktakeśās ca¹⁰⁷ āliḍhāsanasaṃsthitāḥ¹⁰⁸ |
daṃṣṭrākarālavadanāḥ pañcamudrāvibhūṣitāḥ | (40) {K58v}

[§II] †vidikṣu <caiva> catvāro bodhicittakaroṭakāḥ¹⁰⁹ | iti.

dākinyādicatuṣṭayaṃ¹¹⁰ ratnasambhavamudritaṃ boddhavyam.

[§12] tatra bhagavatyaḥ hṛdayamantra uktaḥ.† {D43r} upahṛdayamantro
yathā –

oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākinīye vajravārṇanīye huṃ huṃ¹¹¹ phaṭ
svāhā.

aṣṭapadamantras¹¹² tu yathā –

oṃ namo bhagavati vajravārāhi vaṃ¹¹³ huṃ huṃ¹¹⁴ phaṭ.

105 vāme→kapālāḥ] em. (unmetric.); vāme→kapālaṃ K; pāsakhaṭvāṅgakapālaṃ N, D.

106 dakṣiṇe] codd. (hyper.). A conjectural emendation to dakṣe is possible, but unnecessary in this type of Sanskrit, probably considered scriptural.

107 muktakeśās ca] em.; muktakeśā K; raktakeśā N, D.

108 sthitāḥ] corr.; sthitā codd.

109 karoṭakāḥ] conj.; karoṭā codd. (Tib. p. 36.7: phyogs dang bral ba'i mthams bzhi na / byang chub sems gang thod pa bzhi / zhes pa'o.)

110 catuṣṭayaṃ] em.; catuṣṭayāṃ codd.

111 huṃ huṃ] codd. The Tibetan text (p. 37.1) reads: huṃ hūṃ.

112 mantras] em.; mantrās codd.

113 vaṃ] codd., omit Tib.

114 huṃ huṃ] codd. The Tibetan text for each mantra of the eight-part mantra reads: huṃ hūṃ.

So it is said [in scripture]:

- (38) Ḍākinī, Lāmā, Khaṇḍarohā, and Rūpiṇī: he should place [these goddesses], who grant all siddhis, in position (*sthāne*) in the cardinal directions of the lotus.
- (39) They are black, dark-[green], red, and white (*gaurā*), they have one face and four arms; in [their] left [hands] they have a skull staff and skull, in their right they have a *ḍamaru* and chopper.
- (40) They have three eyes [and] loose hair, stand in the warrior stance, have fanged, grimacing faces, [and] are adorned with the five signs of observance (*mudrās*).

[§11] [Scripture also says:] “In the intermediate directions there are four skull bowls [full] of semen.”

The fourfold group [of goddesses] starting with Ḍākinī are to be understood as sealed (*mudrita-*) by Ratnasambhava [on their crowns].

[§12] In this [fivefold maṇḍala], the [ten-syllabled] heart mantra of the [central] goddess has already been taught [§9]. The auxiliary heart mantra is as follows:

oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākinīye vajravārāṇīye huṃ huṃ phaṭ svāhā.

As for the mantra in eight parts,⁵⁴⁷ [it is] as follows:^{xxix}

i) *oṃ namo bhagavati vajravārāhī vaṃ huṃ huṃ phaṭ.*⁵⁴⁸

xxix (The numbering is mine.) (i) Homage! Blessed Vajravārāhī! (ii) Noble invincible! Mother of the three worlds! O goddess of great knowledge! (iii) You who are

oṃ nama āryāparājite trailokyamāte¹¹⁵ mahāvidyeśvari huṃ huṃ
phaṭ.

oṃ namaḥ sarvabhūtabhayāvahe mahāvajre huṃ huṃ phaṭ.

oṃ namo vajrāsane¹¹⁶ ajite 'parājite vaśaṃkari¹¹⁷ netrabhrāmiṇi
huṃ huṃ phaṭ.

oṃ namaḥ śoṣaṇi¹¹⁸ roṣaṇi krodhani karālini¹¹⁹ huṃ huṃ phaṭ.

oṃ namaḥ saṃtrāsani¹²⁰ māraṇi suprabhedani¹²¹ parājaye¹²² huṃ
huṃ phaṭ. {N41r}

oṃ namo jaye vijaye¹²³ jambhani <stambhani> mohani¹²⁴ huṃ
huṃ phaṭ.

oṃ namo¹²⁵ vajravārāhi mahāyogini kāmeśvari khage¹²⁶ huṃ
huṃ phaṭ.

ḍākinyādinām mantrā yathā. oṃ ḍākiniye huṃ huṃ¹²⁷ phaṭ. oṃ
lāme huṃ huṃ phaṭ. oṃ khaṇḍarohe huṃ huṃ phaṭ. {K59r} oṃ
rūpiṇiye huṃ huṃ phaṭ.

iti dvitīyo¹²⁸ bhāvanākramaḥ. 2.

115 trailokyamāte] codd.; understand *trailokyamātar*.

116 vajrāsane] GSS5; vajrāsani GSSII codd., Finot.

117 vaśaṃkari] GSSII codd.; vaśyaṃkari GSS5, Finot.

118 śoṣaṇi] K; śoṣani N; śokhani D.

119 krodhani karālini] GSSII codd., Finot; krodhakarāle GSS5.

120 saṃtrāsani] GSS5; saṃtrāsani K, N; saṃtrāsani D; trāsani Finot.

121 suprabhedani] GSSII codd.; prabhedani GSS5, Finot.

122 parājaye] codd.; aparājaye Tib.

123 jaye vijaye] conj. (§32); 'parājaye vijaye GSSII codd.; jayavijaye GSS5; vijaye Finot, Tib.

124 jambhani <stambhani> mohani] §32, Tib.; jambhani mohani codd.

125 namo] N, GSS5, Finot; omitted K, D.

126 mahāyogini kāmeśvari khage] K, N, Finot; mahāyogeśvari kha(r)ge D(del). (GSS5: vajravārāhi mahāyogeśvari khage – eyeskip between mahāyogini & kāmeśvari.)

127 huṃ huṃ] codd. The Tibetan text for all four mantras reads: huṃ hūm.

128 dvitīyo] em.; dvitīya codd.

- ii) *oṃ nama āryāparājite trailokyamāte mahāvidyēsvari huṃ huṃ phaṭ.*
- iii) *oṃ namaḥ sarvabhūtabhayāvahe mahāvajre huṃ huṃ phaṭ.*
- iv) *oṃ namo vajrāsane ajite 'parājite vaśamkari netrabhṛāmiṇi huṃ huṃ phaṭ.*
- v) *oṃ namaḥ śoṣaṇi roṣaṇi krodhani karālini huṃ huṃ phaṭ.*
- vi) *oṃ namaḥ samtrāsani mārāni suprabhedani parājaye huṃ huṃ phaṭ.*
- vii) *oṃ namo jaye vijaye jambhani stambhani mohani huṃ huṃ phaṭ.*
- viii) *oṃ namo vajravārāhi mahāyogini kāmēsvari khage huṃ huṃ phaṭ.*

The mantras for Ḍākinī etc. [are]:

oṃ ḍākinīye huṃ huṃ phaṭ
oṃ lāme huṃ huṃ phaṭ
oṃ khaṇḍarohe huṃ huṃ phaṭ
oṃ rūpiṇīye huṃ huṃ phaṭ

Here ends meditation stage 2.

terrifying to all creatures! You with a mighty vajra! (iv) Vajra-throned! Invincible! Invincible to others! Subduer! Eye-roller! (Lit: "you who cause [your own] eyes to roll!") (v) Withering one! Angry one! Enraged one! Gaping one! (vi) Terrifying one! Exterminator! Finely piercing one! Invincible! (vii) Victorious one! Very victorious! Crushing one! Paralyzing one! Bewildering one! (viii) Vajravārāhi! Mighty yoginī! Mistress of love! Sky-goer!

[§13] idānīm eva mahāsukhacakraṃ¹²⁹ pūrvottara¹³⁰ paścimadakṣiṇa-
dvāreṣv avasthitābhiḥ kākāsyolūkāsyāśvānāsyā¹³¹ sūkarāsyābhir¹³²
āgneyanairṛtyavāyavyaiśānakoṇasthitābhir
yamadādhyāmadūtiyamadaṃṣṭriṇīyamamathanībhiś¹³³ ca
sahitām¹³⁴ bhāvayitum icchantam¹³⁵ praty āha –

“kākāsyādyāṣṭadevī¹³⁶ vā, adhikatvena bhāvayed”¹³⁷ iti. [36cd]

[§14] kākāsyādayaś¹³⁸ catasraḥ sva¹³⁹ nāmamukhāḥ. {D43v}
yamadādhyādayaś¹⁴⁰ tu manuṣyamukhā¹⁴¹ dvivarnāś ca. etā aṣṭāv
amoghasiddhimudritāḥ, ḍākinīyādisamāś ca śavāsanatvaṃ param
āsām viśeṣaḥ. tad uktaṃ¹⁴² –

†yathā ḍākinījanasya tathā kākāsyādi tu bhedataḥ |
vidiksthāś¹⁴³ <tu> tathā devyo, dvau hi rūpau¹⁴⁴ manoharau |
pretāsanā mahāghorāḥ¹⁴⁵ sattvārthakaraṇodyatāḥ¹⁴⁶ | (41)
iti.

129 mahāsukhacakra] em.; mahāsukhacakraṃ codd.

130 pūrvottara] D; pūrvottara ca K; pūvettira ca N.

131 śvānā] K, N; svānā D.

132 sūkarā] K, D; sūkarā N.

133 mathanībhiś] corr.; mathanīcabhiś K, N; mathanīcebhiś D.

134 sahitām] K, N; sahitā D.

135 icchantam] em.; iccham codd. (see Textual Note to §10.)

136 devī] K; devī N, D.

137 kākāsyādyāṣṭadevī vā, adhikatvena bhāvayed] conj. (syncop.); kākāsyādyāṣṭadevī
vā ātrādhikatvena vibhāvayed codd. (See v. 36cd.)

138 ādayaś] D; āsyādyāś Kpc., N; āsyā(dya)ś K(mg2).

139 sva] K, D; svasva N.

140 dādhyādayaś] em.; dādhyādi K, dādhyādis N, D.

141 mukhā] em.; mukhau codd.

142 tad uktaṃ] Kpc.(mg2), N; tad ukta D; omit Kac.

143 sthāś] D; sthā K, N.

144 rūpau] K; ̐pau N; dvayau D.

145 ghorāḥ] corr.; ghorā codd.

146 odyatāḥ] corr.; odyatā codd.

[Meditation Stage 3]

[§13] Now for someone wishing (*icchantam*) to visualize the circle of great bliss [namely, Vajravārāhī], along with [the goddesses] Kākāsyā, Ulūkāsyā, Śvānāsyā, [and] Sūkarāsyā installed at the gates to the east, north, west, [and] south [i.e., in the cardinal points, counterclockwise], and Yamadādhī, Yamadūtī, Yamadaṃṣṭriṇī, [and] Yamamathanī placed in the corners to the southeast, southwest, northwest, [and] northeast [i.e., in the intermediate points, clockwise], [scripture] says:

Or, in addition, he should visualize eight goddesses beginning with Kākāsyā. [v. 36cd]

[§14] The four [goddesses] Kākāsyā (Crow-face), plus [Ulūkāsyā (Owl-face), Śvānāsyā (Dog-face), and Sūkarāsyā (Hog-face)] have the faces of their names, but [the four goddesses] Yamadādhī (Death's Tooth), plus [Yamadūtī (Death's Messenger), Yamadaṃṣṭriṇī (Death's Fang), and Yamamathanī (Death's Destruction)] have human faces and are of two colors. [All] eight are sealed with Amoghasiddhi [on their crowns]. They are similar to [the four goddesses on the petals] starting with Ḍākinī, and have the further (*param*) distinguishing feature of corpse thrones. It is taught [in scripture]:

(41) Just as of Ḍākinī and her crew, so, with some differences, [the four goddesses] Kākāsyā, etc., and the [four] goddesses of the intermediate directions with their charming two colors.^{xxx} [All eight] have corpse thrones. They are very fearsome [and are] intent upon accomplishing the welfare of [all] beings.

xxx These four goddesses are bitonal as they occupy the corners of the maṇḍala where the colors of the four directions meet.

[§15] āsāṃ mantrā yathā. oṃ kākāsyē huṃ huṃ¹⁴⁷ phaṭ. oṃ ulūkāsyē huṃ huṃ phaṭ. oṃ śvānāsyē huṃ huṃ phaṭ. oṃ sūkarāsyē huṃ huṃ phaṭ. {N41v} oṃ yamadāḍhiyē¹⁴⁸ huṃ huṃ phaṭ. {K59v} oṃ yamadūtiyē huṃ huṃ phaṭ. oṃ yamadamaṣṭriṇīyē huṃ huṃ phaṭ. oṃ yamamathanīyē huṃ huṃ phaṭ.

iti tṛtīyo bhāvanākramaḥ. 3.

[§16] adhunā saṃpūrṇam eva devīcakraṃ bhāvayitum¹⁴⁹ *icchantam*¹⁵⁰ praty āha –

“yad vetyādi” [v. 37]

cakratrayaśabdena cittacakraṃ vākcaḥkaraṃ kāyacakram ucyate.

147 *huṃ huṃ*] codd. The Tibetan text for all four mantras reads: *huṃ hūṃ*.

148 *dāḍhiyē*] K; *dādiyē* N, D.

149 *bhāvayitum*] K, N; *bhāvanātum* D.

150 *icchantam*] em.; *icchant* codd. (cf. Textual Note on §10.)

[§15] Their mantras are as follows:

[gate goddesses] *oṃ kākāsyē huṃ huṃ phaṭ; oṃ ulūkāsyē huṃ huṃ phaṭ; oṃ śvānāsyē huṃ huṃ phaṭ; oṃ sūkarāsyē huṃ huṃ phaṭ*

[corner goddesses] *oṃ yamadādhīyē huṃ huṃ phaṭ; oṃ yamadūtiyē huṃ huṃ phaṭ; oṃ yamadamaṣṭriṇīyē huṃ huṃ phaṭ; oṃ yamamathanīyē huṃ huṃ phaṭ*

Here ends meditation stage 3.

[Meditation Stage 4]

[§16] Now for someone wishing (*icchantam*) to visualize the circle of deities actually complete, [scripture] says [the verse beginning]:

Alternatively...etc. [v. 37]

By the expression “the three circles” [in v. 37] is meant the mind circle, the speech circle, [and] the body circle.

[§17] tatrākāśe meror aṣṭadikṣu¹⁵¹ cittacakram aṣṭāraṃ nilavarṇaṃ
 nīla¹⁵²vajrāvalīparivṛtaṃ,¹⁵³ tasya pūrvottarapaścimadakṣiṇāreṣu
 pullīramalayajālandhara-oḍḍiyānārbudākhyeṣu yathākramam
 pracaṇḍacaṇḍākṣīprabhāvatī¹⁵⁴mahānāsā dhyeyāḥ,
 āgneyanairṛtyavāyavyaiśānāreṣu¹⁵⁵
 godāvarīrāmeśvaradevīkoṭamālāvākhyeṣu vīramatīkharvarīlaṅkeś-
 varīdrumacchāyāḥ. {D44r} iti cittacakram. khecarīṇāṃ
 saṃgrahaḥ.

[§18] tatra bhūmivalaye meror aṣṭadikṣu vācchakram aṣṭāraṃ raktaṃ
 raktapadmāvalīparivṛtaṃ. tasya pūrvottarapaścimadakṣiṇāreṣu
 kāmarūpa-oḍra¹⁵⁶trīśakunikośalākhyeṣu
 airāvatīmahābhairavā¹⁵⁷vāyuvegāsuraḥbhakṣyo¹⁵⁸ bhāvyāḥ, {K6or}
 āgneyanairṛtyavāyavyaiśānāreṣu
 kaliṅgalampākakāñcīhimālayasaṃjñakeṣu
 śyāmādevīsubhadrāhayakarnākhaḡānanāḥ.¹⁵⁹ iti vācchakram.¹⁶⁰
 bhūcarīṇāṃ¹⁶¹ saṃgrahaḥ.

151 *dikṣu*] N; *dikṣuḥ* K, D.

152 *nīla*] N; *nilaṃ* K, D.

153 *vajrāvalīparivṛtaṃ*] codd.; emendation to *nilavajrāvalīṃ parivṛtaṃ* is perhaps desirable, but the phrase re-appears below (§18: *padmāvalīparivṛtaṃ*; §19: *śuklacakrāvalīparivṛtaṃ*).

154 *prabhāvatī*] K, N; *prabhāmatī* D.

155 *aiśānāreṣu*] conj.; *aiśāneṣu* K, N; *eśāneṣu* D.

156 *odra*] Kpc., *o(ḍra)* K(mg); - *mālava* - N; omit D.

157 *bhairavā*] K, D; *bhairavī* N.

158 *surābhakṣyo*] conj.; *surābhakṣī* K, D; *surā* - *bhakṣī* N.

159 *khagānanāḥ*] corr.; *khagānanā* codd.

160 *vācchakram*] em.; *vācchakra* codd.

161 *bhūcarīṇāṃ*] K; *bhūcarāṇāṃ* N, D.

[§17] Of those [three circles of the full maṇḍala], the mind circle is in space in the eight directions of Meru,⁵⁴⁹ with eight “sectors” (*āram*),^{xxx} blue in color [and] surrounded by a ring of blue vajras. On its sectors in the east, north, west, [and] south, in those [sites] called Pullīramalaya, Jālandhara, Oḍḍiyāna, [and] Arbuda respectively [i.e., installed counterclockwise] are to be imagined [the goddesses] Pracandā, Caṇḍākṣī, Prabhāvatī, [and] Mahānāsā.^{xxxii} On the sectors in the southeast, southwest, northwest, [and] northeast [i.e., installed clockwise], in those [sites] called Godāvārī, Rāmeśvara, Devikoṭa, [and] Mālava are [the goddesses] Vīramatī, Kharvarī, Laṅkeśvarī, [and] Drumacchāyā.^{xxxiii} This is the mind circle, the congregation of sky-dwelling [goddesses].

[§18] The speech circle is on the circumference of the earth in the eight directions of Meru, with eight sectors, red, surrounded by a ring of red lotuses. On its sectors in the east, north, west, [and] south, in those [sites] called Kāmarūpa, Oḍra, Triśakuni, [and] Kośala are to be visualized [the goddesses] Airāvati, Mahābhairavā, Vāyuvegā, [and] Surābhakṣī.^{xxxiv} On the sectors in the southeast, southwest, northwest, [and] northeast, in those [sites] designated Kaliṅga, Laṃpāka, Kāñci, [and] Himālaya are [the goddesses] Śyāmādevī, Subhadrā, Hayakarnā, [and] Khagānanā.^{xxxv} This is the speech circle, the congregation of earth-dwelling [goddesses].

xxxⁱ Literally, *āram* means “corner,” or perhaps “spoke” if the circle (*cakram*) is thought of as a wheel.

xxxⁱⁱ Terrible One (Pracandā), Fierce-eye (Caṇḍākṣī), One Who Has Light (Prabhāvatī), and Great-nose (Mahānāsā).

xxxⁱⁱⁱ Heroic One (Vīramatī), Dwarfish One (Kharvarī), Queen of Laṅkā (Laṅkeśvarī), and Tree Shade (Drumacchāyā). (*Laṅkeśvarī* may mean “Queen of Demons,” as Laṅkeśvara is another name of the demon king, Rāvaṇa. The Queen of Laṅkā is associated with cremation-ground-dwelling *rākṣasas* and meat-eating *ḍākinīs* whose main dwelling was Laṅkā.)

xxx^{iv} Elephant Queen? (Airāvati; feminine of Indra’s elephant), Greatly Terrible (Mahābhairavā), Wind Turbulence (Vāyuvegā), and Wine Drinker (Surābhakṣī).

xxx^v Blue Queen (Śyāmādevī, Tib.: *sngo bsangs*, pale blue), Good Lady (Subhadrā), Horse-ears (Hayakarnā), and Bird-face (Khagānanā).

- [§19] tato bhūmitale samudravalaye kāyacakram aṣṭāraṃ śuklaṃ śukla-
cakrāvalīparivṛtam. {N42r} tasya pūrvottarapaścimadakṣiṇāreṣu
pretapurigrhadevatāsaurāṣṭrasuvarṇadvīpākhyeṣu
cakravegākhaṇḍarohāśauṇḍinīcakravarmiṇyo dhyeyāḥ,
āgneyanairṛtyavāyavyaiśānāreṣu¹⁶²
nagarasindhumarukulatākhyeṣu
suvīrāmahābalācakravartinīmahāvīryāḥ.¹⁶³ iti kāyacakram.¹⁶⁴
pātālavāsinīnāṃ saṃgrahaḥ.
- [§20] tatra cittavākkāyacakrasthā devyo 'nukramāt kṛṣṇā raktāḥ śuklā
akṣobhyāmitābhavairocanamudritāś ca, sarvāḥ¹⁶⁵ pracaṇḍādayo
devya ekavaktrāś caturbhujāḥ vāme khatvāṅgakaṇṭhādharāḥ
dakṣiṇe kartriḍamarudharāś trinetrā muktakeśā nagnāḥ pañca-
mudrāvibhūṣitāś ca kaṇṭhāvalambinaraśiromālā āliḍhapadāś ca.
{K60v} {D44v}
- [§21] tataḥ pātālatale 'gnivāyuvalayamadhye meror aṣṭadikṣu aṣṭasu¹⁶⁶
śmaśāneṣu kākāsyādayo bhāvyāḥ.
sarvāsām eva vajravārāhyādīnāṃ lalāṭe vajramālā.

162 *vāyavyaiś*] K; *vāyuvyaiś* N; *vāyuvyes* D.

163 *mahāvīryāḥ*.] corr.; *mahāvīryā* codd.

164 *kāyacakram*] em.; *kāyacakra* codd.

165 *sarvāḥ*] em.; *sarvā* codd.

166 *aṣṭasu*] Tib. (p. 39.7: *brgyad rnams la*); *su* codd.

[§19] Then (*tato*), on the surface of the earth encircled by the oceans, is the body circle, with eight sectors, white, surrounded by a ring of white wheels (*cakras*). On its sectors in the east, north, west, [and] south, in the [sites] Pretapurī, Gṛhadevatā,⁵⁵⁰ Saurāṣṭra, [and] Suvarṇadvīpa, are to be imagined [the goddesses] Cakravegā, Khaṇḍarohā, Śauṇḍinī, [and] Cakravarminī.^{xxxvi} On the sectors in the southeast, southwest, northwest, [and] northeast, in those [sites] called Nagara, Sindhu, Maru, [and] Kulatā⁵⁵¹ are [the goddesses] Suvīrā, Mahābalā, Cakravartinī, [and] Mahāvīryā.^{xxxvii} This is the body circle, the congregation of [goddesses] abiding in the underworld (*pātālam*).

[§20] In that [maṇḍala] the goddesses placed in the mind circle, speech circle, and body circle are [colored] respectively, black,^{xxxviii} red, [and] white, and are sealed with Akṣobhya, Amitābha, and Vairocana [on their crowns]. All [twenty-four] goddesses beginning with Praçaṇḍā have one face [and] four arms. In their [two] left [hands] they hold a skull staff and a skull bowl; in their [two] right [hands] they hold a chopper and a *ḍamaru*. They have three eyes, loose hair, they are naked, and are adorned with the five signs of observance (*mudrās*). They have garlands of human heads hanging around their necks and are in the warrior stance.

[§21] Then, on the surface of the underworlds within rings of fire and wind, in the eight directions of Meru, in the eight cremation grounds, are to be visualized [the goddesses of the outer maṇḍala] starting with Kākāsyā.⁵⁵²

All of the [thirty-seven goddesses of the maṇḍala], from Vajravārāhī on, have a garland of vajras on their foreheads.

xxxvi Discus Speed (Cakravegā), Khaṇḍarohā (literally, “sprouting in bits,” also the name of a goddess of the cardinal petals), Wine-seller’s Wife (Śauṇḍinī, Tib. “wine-seller” *chang ’tshong ma*), Armored with Cakras (Cakravarminī).

xxxvii Great Warrioress (Suvīrā), Mightily Strong (Mahābalā), One Who Rules with the Wheel (Cakravartinī, Tib. *’khor los sgyur ma*), Mighty Energy (Mahāvīryā).

xxxviii For black (*kṛṣṇa*), the Tibetan reads “blue” (*sngon mo*).

[§22] *atha –

devatāhaṃkāralābhāya¹⁶⁷ sarvajñatāptaye tathā
devatāyogato yojyā bodhipākṣikadharmāḥ.
ete punar dharmāḥ saptatrimṣat.

[§23]* tatra caturviparyāsānāṃ śucisukhanityātmanāṃ pratipakṣatayā
catvāry anusmṛtyupasthānāni^{168*} bhavanti. tad yathā
kāyānusmṛtyupasthānaṃ ḍākiṇī, {N42v} vedanānusmṛtyu-
pasthānaṃ lāmā, dharmānusmṛtyupasthānaṃ khaṇḍarohā,
cittānusmṛtyupasthānaṃ rūpiṇī.

grhītagrāhi¹⁶⁹ jñānaṃ smṛtiḥ smaraṇaṃ, tasyā upasthānaṃ
upasthāpakam,¹⁷⁰ bahulavacanāt antarbhāvitanyarthāt¹⁷¹ kartari
lyuṭ.¹⁷² tat punaḥ pūrvānubhūtasypasthāpakatvād¹⁷³
ātmaḡaṇa[†]vismaraṇapratipakṣabhūtam.¹⁷⁴

bhūtendriyasaṃghātaḥ kāyaḥ, sukhādyanubhavo¹⁷⁵ vedanā,
bhūtakoṭir dharmāḥ, pratibhāsamātraṃ¹⁷⁶ cittam. {K6Ir} teṣāṃ
māyopamatvenānusmaraṇaṃ,¹⁷⁷ tasyopasthāpakam
kāyādyanusmṛtyupasthānam.

167 *lābhāya*] conj. (Tib. p. 40.1: translates *dgod pa* “to stabilize,” i.e., as if reading **sthāpanīya*); *nāsāya* codd.; cf. GSS 5 K26v4: *devatāhaṃkāratyāgāya*.

168 *catvary a <nu>smṛtyupasthānāni* or *catvāri smṛtyupasthānāni*] conj.; *catvāryasmṛtyupasthānāni* codd.

169 *grhītagrāhi*] em.; *grhītāgrāhi* codd.

170 *upasthāpakam*] conj.; *upasthānaṃyakam* K, D; *upasthānayakam* N.

171 *nyarthāt*] K, N; *nyamarkṣāt* D.

172 *kartari lyuṭ.*] K, N; *kartānyūṭā* D.

173 *pūrvānubhūtasypasthāpak <atvād>*] conj. Sanderson
pūrvādbhūtārthasyopasthāyak- codd.

174 *bhūtam*] em.; *bhūtaḥ* codd.

175 *anubhavo*] K, D; *anubhavye* N.

176 *mātraṃ*] em.; *mātra* codd.

177 *smaraṇaṃ*] em.; *smaraṇ* codd.

- [§22] [The thirty-seven factors that favor enlightenment (*bodhipākṣika-dharmas*) §§22–29]⁵⁵³

Next, in order to *establish* the ego identity (*ahaṃkāraḥ*) of the deity, also to gain omniscience, the factors that favor enlightenment (*bodhipākṣikadharmas*) are to be applied through [the practice of] deity yoga. Moreover, these factors are thirty-seven [in number].

- [§23] [The four bringers of awareness (*anu-smṛtyupasthānas*)]⁵⁵⁴
 [The first] of these are the bringers of awareness (*anusmṛtyupasthānas*) because they oppose the four inverted views (*viparyāsas*), [namely: that what is not pure, pleasurable, permanent, or possessing a self really is] pure, pleasurable, permanent, [and possessing] a self.⁵⁵⁵ They are four [in number and are embodied in the maṇḍala] as follows: (i) bringing awareness of the body, as Ḍākinī, (ii) bringing awareness of feelings, Lāmā, (iii) bringing awareness of reality, Khaṇḍarohā, and (iv) bringing awareness of mind, Rūpiṇī.

“Awareness” (*smṛtiḥ* > *smaraṇam*) means a cognition (*jñānam*) that grasps what has already been grasped [on a previous occasion]. [The compound *smṛtyupasthānam* means] “the *upasthānam* of this awareness” [where] *upasthānam* means “that which brings” (*upasthānam* > *upasthāpakam*). The term *bahula* “in diverse circumstances” (in Pāṇini 3.3.113) allows this suffix *lyuṭ* [> -ana] to be added in the sense of the agent to this root (“to come forth”) in a causative sense (“that which causes to come forth”) without that causativity (*ṇi*) being explicit in the form itself [i.e., *upasthānam* rather than *upasthāpanam*]. Because it brings back (*punaḥ... upasthāpakatvād*) what has been previously experienced, it is the antidote to forgetting *qualities of oneself* (? *ātma-guṇa*) [such as body, feelings, reality, or mind].⁵⁵⁶

“Body” (*kāyaḥ*) is a conglomeration of elements and senses. “Feeling” (*vedanā*) is the experience of pleasure and so forth. “Reality” (*dharmah*) is [in the sense of] highest reality. “Mind” (*cittam*) is mere appearance (*pratibhāsaḥ*). [In compound], the bringers of awareness of body, [feeling, reality, and mind] indicate a genitive relationship, [namely] the bringing (*upasthāpaka*) of that [awareness], i.e., recollection (*anusmaraṇam*) that (*-tvena*) those [four “qualities of oneself,” body, etc.] are [all] like an illusion.⁵⁵⁷

- [§24] catvāra¹⁷⁸ ṛddhipādāḥ. tatra chandarddhipādāḥ pracaṇḍā, vīryard-
ddhipādaś¹⁷⁹ caṇḍākṣī, mīmāṃsārddhipādāḥ¹⁸⁰ prabhāvātī,¹⁸¹ citta-
rddhipādo mahānāsā, iti. {D45r}

saddharmaviṣaye śrutādyabhilāṣaś¹⁸² chandāḥ.†

*ṛddhiḥ samṛddhiḥ*¹⁸³ cittasya samādhānam, tasyāḥ pādā aṅgāni¹⁸⁴
ṛddhipādāḥ. chandaś cāsau ṛddhipādaś ceti vigrhya samāsaḥ.
evaṃ vīryarddhipādādiṣu ca boddhavyam.¹⁸⁵ “ṛty aka,”¹⁸⁶ iti
prakṛtibhāvād guṇābhāvaḥ. kuśale karmaṇi cetaso ’bhyutsāho
vīryam,¹⁸⁷ mīmāṃsātyantavicāraṇā, cittaṃ jñānam.

- [§25] indati jñānam¹⁸⁸ yasmin sati tad indriyaṃ cakṣurādi.¹⁸⁹
tatsādharmyāt śraddhādikam apīndriyam¹⁹⁰ ucyate. tat pañca-
vidham, tad yathā śraddhendriyaṃ vīramatī, {N43r} vīryen-
driyaṃ kharvarī, smṛtīndriyaṃ laṅkeśvarī, samādhīndriyaṃ
drumacchāyā, prajñendriyam airāvātī.

178 catvāra] D; catvāri K, N.

179 pādāś] N, D; pādāś K.

180 pādāḥ] corr.; pāda codd.

181 prabhāvātī→ṛddhipādaś ceti] Kmg1, N, D.

182 śrutādyabhi] K, N; śrutā abhi D.

183 ṛddhiḥ samṛddhiḥ] conj.; ṛddhi (sa/nga?)ṛddhiḥ. K; ṛddhipādāḥ N, D.

184 pādā aṅgāni] K; pādāṅgāni N, D.

185 boddhavyam] K; bodhyaṅgaḥ N, D.

186 ṛty aka] Kpc.; rtha- ty aka Kac.; rthaty aka N, D.

187 sāho vīryam] K; sāhā vīrya N, D.

188 indati jñānam] K; omit N, D.

189 cakṣurādi] K; cakṣurādikaṃ D, N.

190 apīndriyam] corr.; api indriyam codd.

[§24] [The four means of mind concentration (*ṛddhipādas*)]⁵⁵⁸

[Then] there are the four means of mind concentration (*ṛddhipādas*). Of these, (i) desire (*chanda ṛddhipādaḥ*) is Pracaṇḍā, (ii) energy (*vīrya ṛddhipādaḥ*), Caṇḍākṣī, (iii) investigation (*mīmāṃsā ṛddhipādaḥ*), Prabhāvatī, and (iv) mind (*citta ṛddhipādaḥ*), Mahānāsā.

[In the compound *chanda ṛddhipādaḥ*], *chandās* (desire) means longing for [the development of wisdom by] learning, [reflection], and [meditation]⁵⁵⁹ in the sphere of Buddhist (*sad*) teaching.

[In the compound *ṛddhi pādāḥ*], *ṛddhi* means *saṃṛddhi*, i.e., concentration of the mind.⁵⁶⁰ The *ṛddhipādās* are the means (*pādāḥ* > *aṅgāni*)⁵⁶¹ of [accomplishing] *ṛddhi* [so understood]. The compound *chanda ṛddhipāda* should be analyzed (*viḡrhya*) as a *karmadhāraya* compound [meaning, the means of mind concentration that is desire]. The terms *vīrya ṛddhipādaḥ*, etc., should be understood in the same way. [The application of the grammatical rule means] there is no substitution of the *guṇa* vowel [*ar* in the place of *r*- (in *ṛddhiḥ*)] because [it] remains in its natural state by the rule *ṛtyakāḥ* (Pāṇini 6.1.128).⁵⁶² [In compound with *ṛddhipādaḥ*], *vīryam* (energy) means mental energy with regard to [the ten] skillful actions, *mīmāṃsā* (investigation) means the deepest cogitation, *cittam* (mind) means cognition (*jñānam*).

[§25] [The five “empowering” faculties (*indriyas*)]⁵⁶³

The eyes and other [sense organs] are called *indriya* because when they are present [and active], cognition is empowered (*√ind*). Because they share this character, the term *indriya* is also used for faith, [energy, awareness, meditation], and [wisdom]. This [“empowerer” (*indriyam*)] is of five kinds: (i) faith (*śraddhendriyam*), which is Vīramatī, (ii) energy (*vīryendriyam*), Kharvarī, (iii) awareness (*smṛtindriyam*), Laṅkeśvarī, (iv) meditation (*samādhindriyam*), Drumacchāyā, and (v) wisdom (*prajñendriyam*), Airāvati.

tatra vīryam uktam.¹⁹¹ smṛtiś caktā. śraddhā tu laukikalokottarāyāṃ samyagdr̥ṣṭau karmaphalopabhoge ca citta-prasādaḥ. samādhīś¹⁹² cittaikāgratā. heyopādeyasyāvadhārikā buddhiḥ prajñā.

śraddhendriyāśritān¹⁹³ dharmān yad udānayat¹⁹⁴ upad̥haukayati tad vīryendriyam. {K6IV}
vīryopad̥haukitasyārthasyāsaṃpramoṣaḥ smṛtiḥ. smṛtindriyam āśritān dharmān yad abhimukhī¹⁹⁵karoti tat samādhindriyam. samādhindriyeṇaikāgrikṛtān¹⁹⁶ dharmān yad vidhyati tat prajñen-driyam.

[§26] indriyāṇy eva taratamādibhedena prakarṣaprāptāni balāny ucyante. tad yathā śraddhābalaṃ mahābhairavā, vīryabalaṃ vāyuvegā, smṛtibalaṃ surābhakṣī, samādhibalaṃ śyāmādevī, prajñābalaṃ subhadrā ceti. {D45v}

[§27] *samyag bodher aṅgāni kārāṇāni saṃbodhyaṅgāni.¹⁹⁷ tāni punaḥ sapta, tad yathā samādhisaṃbodhyaṅgaṃ hayakarṇā, vīryasaṃbodhyaṅgaṃ khagānanā, prītisaṃbodhyaṅgaṃ cakravegā, prasrabdhisambodhyaṅgaṃ khaṇḍarohā, dharmapra-vicayasambodhyaṅgaṃ śauṇḍinī, smṛtisaṃ¹⁹⁸bodhyaṅgaṃ cakravarminī,¹⁹⁹ upekṣā saṃbodhyaṅgaṃ suvireti.

191 *vīryam uktam*] K; *vīryendriyam ukta* - N, *vīrya(m?) indriyam ukta* D.

192 *samādhīś*] K; *samādhī* N, D.

193 *śraddhendriyāśritān*] conj. Sanderson; *śraddhepāyam* codd.; cf. Asū ch. 16, p. 32 (cited in full in n. 565 to Translation).

194 *yad udānayat^y upa*] conj.; *yady udānayat^y upa* codd.

195 *abhimukhī*] em.; *ābhimukhī* codd.

196 *tat* → *aikā*] Kpc.; *ta* 't (*samādhindriyam*) *sa*m - K(mg2); *tat samādhindriyer aikā* N, D.

197 *samyag bodher aṅgāni kārāṇāni saṃbodhyaṅgāni*] conj. Sanderson; *sambodhye kārāṇa samyaksambodher aṅgāni kārāṇāni bodhyaṅgāni* K, N; *sabodhyemga kārāṇā* → *bodhyaṅgāni* D.

198 *saṃ*] N, D; *sa* K.

199 *cakravarminī*] K, N; *cakravarmanī* D.

Of these, “energy” has [already] been discussed [under *vīrya rddhipādaḥ*, §24]; “awareness” too has been discussed [under *smṛtyupasthānam*, §23]. As for “faith,” this is clarity of mind (*citta-prasādaḥ*) in respect of the correct view in its worldly and supra-mundane [sense], and in respect of the experience of the fruits of one’s actions. “Meditation” is one-pointedness of mind. “Wisdom” is understanding what is to be abandoned and what is to be taken up.⁵⁶⁴

The faculty of energy is that which “presents” (*udānayati > upadḥaukayati*) those existents (*dharma*s) that rest on the faculty of faith. Awareness (*smṛtiḥ*) is the nondestruction of things (*arthaḥ*) [i.e., existents] presented by [the faculty of] energy. The faculty of meditation is that which makes actual those existents that rest on the faculty of awareness. The faculty of wisdom is that which imbues (*vidhyati*) those existents that have been brought into focus (*ekāgrikṛta*) through the faculty of meditation.⁵⁶⁵

[§26] [The five powers (*balas*)]

These same faculties, when they have reached their highest degree through gradual intensification, are called the “powers” (*balas*).⁵⁶⁶ Accordingly, (i) the power of faith (*śraddhābalaṃ*) is Mahābhairavā, (ii) the power of energy (*vīryabalaṃ*), Vāyuvegā, (iii) the power of awareness (*smṛtibalaṃ*), Surābhakṣī, (iv) the power of meditation (*samādhībalaṃ*), Śyāmādevī, and (v) the power of wisdom (*prajñābalaṃ*), Subhadrā.

[§27] [The seven causes of complete enlightenment (*saṃbodhyaṅgas*)]⁵⁶⁷

[The next elements in the list of thirty-seven are] the *saṃbodhyaṅgas*, the causes (*aṅgāni > kāraṇāni*) of complete enlightenment (*saṃbodhiḥ > samyag bodhiḥ*). They are seven [in number]: (i) meditation (*samādhisaṃbodhyaṅgam*), which is Hayakarnā, (ii) energy (*vīryasaṃbodhyaṅgam*), Khagānanā, (iii) joy (*prītiṣaṃbodhyaṅgam*), Cakravegā, (iv) serenity (*prasrabdhisaṃbodhyaṅgam*), Khaṇḍarohā, (v) investigation of dharmas (*dharmapraavicayasam-bodhyaṅgam*), Śauṇḍinī, (vi) awareness (*smṛtiṣaṃbodhyaṅgam*), Cakravarminī, and (vii) equanimity (*upekṣāsaṃbodhyaṅgam*), Suvirā.

samādhiś cittaikāgratā.²⁰⁰ sa cāsau bodhyaṅgaṃ ceti vighya samāsaḥ. {N43v} evaṃ <vīrya>sambodhyaṅgādiṣu²⁰¹ boddhavyam. {K62r} kauśīdyānavakāśaṃ²⁰² vīryam. manaso dharmaikāgratā prītiḥ. ātmātmīyādi²⁰³vāsanocchedāt²⁰⁴ kāyavākcittānāṃ kuśale karmaṇi²⁰⁵ saktatvaṃ prasarabdhiḥ. dharmāṇaṃ nairātmyarūpeṇāvadhāraṇaṃ dharmapravicayaḥ.²⁰⁶ sakalasattvārthanimitta²⁰⁷ sambodhipraṇidhānaśrutacintābhāvanāder asaṃpramoṣaḥ smṛtiḥ. audāsīnyacittatopekṣā.

[§28] kleśāvaraṇasya pratipakṣabhūtatvād āryāṇi samyagdr̥ṣṭyādīny aṣṭāṅgāni yasya sa āryāṣṭāṅgo²⁰⁸ mārgaḥ. jñeyāvaraṇa²⁰⁹ prahāṇabhāvanāyai mṛgyate 'nviṣyate, iti mārgaḥ. aṣṭāṅgāni yathā samyagdr̥ṣṭir²¹⁰ mahābalā, samyaksamkalpaś cakravartini, {D46r} samyagvāg mahāvīryā, samyakkarmāntaḥ kākāsyā, samyagājiva ulūkāsyā, samyagvyāyāmaḥ śvānāsyā, samyaksmṛtiḥ sūkarāsyā, samyaksamādhir bhagavatī vajravārāhi.

tatra buddhavākye paramagauravaṃ samyagdr̥ṣṭiḥ. prārabdhasya kṛtyasyāparityāgaḥ samyaksamkalpaḥ. sattvārthāvisaṃvādaḥ²¹¹ vacanaṃ samyagvāk. {K62v} daśakuśalānatikrameṇa kṛtyaṃ samyakkarmāntaḥ. nyāyārjitavittenājīvanaṃ²¹² samyagājivaḥ. svarpararthasampannimittaṃ kāyavānmanasāṃ karma samyagvyāyāmaḥ. buddhavacanānusmaraṇaṃ samyaksmṛtiḥ. śrīvajravārāhirūpālambanaṃ samyaksamādhīḥ. {N44r}

200 samādhiś cittaikāgratā] em.; samādhicittekāgratā K, samādhicitta**atā N; samādhicitakāya D.

201 <vīrya>sambodhyaṅgādiṣu] conj.; sambodhyaṅgādiṣu K, N; sambodhyaṅgānidiṣu D.

202 kauśīdyānavakāśaṃ] N.; kauśīdyānavakāśaṃ D; kośīdyānavakāśaṃ K.

203 ātmātmīyādi] em.; ātmā ātmīyādi codd.

204 occhedāt] conj.; occhedakāt codd.

205 kuśale karmaṇi] K; kuśaladharmaṇi N, D.

206 dharmā] em.; pradharma K; pra - rmma N, pratidharma D.

207 nimitta] em.; nimittaṃ codd.

208 āryāṣṭāṅgo] K, N; āryāṣṭāṅgāni D.

209 jñeyāvaraṇa] K; yo jñeyāvaraṇa N; yogeyāvaraṇa D.

210 dr̥ṣṭir] K, N; dr̥ṣṭi D.

211 visaṃvādaḥ] K; visaṃvādaḥ N; visaṃvādarakaḥ D.

212 nyāyārjitavittenājīvanaṃ] K; nyāyārjitacittenā - N, D.

Meditation (*samādhiḥ*) is one-pointedness of mind. *Samādhibodhyaṅga*, the cause of complete enlightenment that is meditation, is to be analyzed (*viḡrhya*, cf. §24) as a *karmadhāraya* compound. The same [type of compound] is to be understood in relation to the cause of complete enlightenment that is energy, and so on. “Energy” gives no opportunity for sluggishness. “Joy” is the state of focusing the mind on *dharma*s. “Serenity” is the adherence of body, speech, and mind to [the ten] good actions because of the cutting off of latent impressions (*vāsanā*), such as those related to [the ideas of] self and ownership. The investigation of existents (*dharma*s) is ascertaining that existents are by nature without self. “Awareness” is not losing hold of [one’s] learning, reflection, and meditation, [nor of one’s] vow to attain enlightenment caused by [one’s desire for] the welfare of the entire [mass of] beings. “Equanimity” is the state of having [one’s] mind uninvolved.

[§28] [The eight factors of the path (*aṣṭāṅgamārga*)]

In the term *āryāṣṭāṅgo mārgaḥ* (the path having eight noble factors), the word *mārgaḥ* (path) is qualified by the *bahuvrīhi* adjective, *āryāṣṭāṅgo* ([that] whose eight factors are noble). This refers to the fact that the path has eight (*aṣṭa-*) factors that promote it (*aṅgāni*), namely right view and so on. These factors are termed *ārya* (noble) because they oppose the barrier of the defilements (*kleśāvaraṇam*). The word *mārga* (path) is from the verb *√mṛg* “to seek” as it is that which is sought (*mṛgyate* > *anviṣyate*) as the means of accomplishing [the stage of] meditation through which one may remove the barrier of [the perception of] objects [as other than consciousness] (*jñeyāvaraṇam*).⁵⁶⁸

The factors of that [eightfold path] are as follows: (i) right view (*samyagdrṣṭiḥ*) is Mahābalā, (ii) right resolve (*samyaksamkalpaḥ*), Cakravartinī, (iii) right speech (*samyagvāk*), Mahāvīryā, (iv) right action (*samyakkarmāntaḥ*), Kākāsyā, (v) right livelihood (*samyagājīvaḥ*), Ulūkāsyā, (vi) right effort (*samyagvyāyāmaḥ*), Śvānāsyā, (vii) right mindfulness (*samyaksmṛtiḥ*), Sūkarāsyā, and (viii) right meditation (*samyaksamādhiḥ*), the goddess Vajravārāhī.

Of these, right view is supreme respect for the Buddha’s word; right resolve is not giving up a task that has been begun; right speech is

[§29] rāgādayaḥ samyak prahīyante ebhir²¹³ iti kṛtvā samyakprahāṇāni catvāri, tad yathā anutpannānām kuśālānām dharmāṇām utpādanam yamadādhi,²¹⁴ utpannānām kuśālānām²¹⁵ dharmāṇām rakṣaṇam yamadūti. utpannānām akuśālānām dharmāṇām prahāṇam²¹⁶ yamadamṣṭriṇī,²¹⁷ anutpannānām akuśālānām dharmāṇām anutpādanam yamamathanī ceti.

athātaḥ²¹⁸ sampravakṣyāmi kāyamaṇḍalam uttamam |
piṭhādikramayogena daśabhūmiviśuddhitaḥ | (42)

[§30] ²¹⁹pu jā o a go rā de mā kā o tri ko ka la kā hi pre gṛ sau su na si ma ku. ity āgamaḥ. {D46v} atrārthaḥ, pullīramalayādīnām²²⁰ ādyākṣaraṇi <pu-jā>-ityādīni²²¹ sānusvārāṇy uccāryante.²²² puṃkārdyākṣarapariṇatāni {K63r} agre śūnyāni cakrāṇi, pullīramalayādīni piṭhādīsthānāni śīraḥprabhṛtīni jhaṭiti boddhavyāni. teṣu²²³ śīraḥprabhṛtiṣv²²⁴ avasthitā nāḍyaḥ,²²⁵ pracaṇḍādidevatāpariṇāmeṇa vyavasthitā bhāvya itī.

213 ebhir] Kac.; ebhi[~](vi)r K(mg2), N(mg1); evir D.

214 yamadādhi] K; yamadā(d?)i N; yamadādi D.

215 kuśālānām] N, D; kuśālām K.

216 prahāṇam] corr.; prahāṇa N; nāśanam Kmg; omit D.

217 yamadamṣṭriṇī] K, N; yamaduṣṭri D.

218 athātaḥ] K, N; athā D.

219 pu → ku] K, N; puṃ → kuṃ D.

220 pullīramalayādīnām] K; pullīramalaye. dīnām N, D.

221 <pu-jā>-ityādīni] conj.; ityādīni K, N; ityādīni D.

222 sānusvārāṇy uccāryante] K; sānu - raṇicchāyante N; lānugārāṇyic codyante D.

223 teṣu] K; te N, D.

224 śīraḥprabhṛtiṣv] Kpc.; (śīraḥ)prabhṛtiṣv K(mg2); śīraḥprabhṛti vy° N; śīraḥprabhṛti vy° D.

225 nāḍyaḥ] K; nā - ḥ N; nāmāḥ D.

speech that is not contradictory to the welfare of beings; right action is an act [performed] without transgressing the ten virtuous acts; right livelihood is supporting oneself with income (*vittam*) that has been honestly acquired; right effort is bodily, spoken, or mental action that aims at fulfilling the welfare of oneself and others; right mindfulness is recollection of the word of the Buddha; right meditation is assuming the form of Vajravārāhī.

- [§29] [The four means of complete abandonment (*samyakprahāṇas*)]⁵⁶⁹
 [Then] there are the *samyakprahāṇas*, “the means of complete abandonment,” passion and the other [defilements] being what is completely abandoned. They are four [in number]: (i) The giving rise to skillful dharmas that have not [yet] arisen, which is Yamadāḍhī, (ii) the protection of skillful dharmas that have [already] arisen, Yamadūṭī, (iii) the abandoning of unskillful dharmas that have [already] arisen, Yamadaṃṣṭriṇī, and (iv) the nonarising (*anutpādanam*) of unskillful dharmas that have not [yet] arisen, Yamamathanī.

[The body maṇḍala (*kāyamaṇḍala*)]

- (42) Now I shall teach the highest body maṇḍala; [I will do this] through the sequence that begins with the sites (*pīṭhādi*),^{xxxix} with their purifying correspondences (*viśuddhita-*) for the ten stages (*daśabhūmi-*).

- [§30] Scripture relates:⁵⁷⁰

*pu jā o a go rā de mā kā o tri ko ka la kā hi pre gr sau su
 na si ma ku*

xxxix The meaning of the abbreviation *pīṭhādi* is expanded upon in the prose below (§30) and the following verses (vv. 43–53). It indicates the correlations of the twenty-four sites with the twenty-four goddesses of the three maṇḍala cakras of body, speech, and mind. These are further equated with points on the yogin-deity’s body. Table 23 gives a summary of the following correspondences.

pulliramalaye caṇḍaṃ prapūrvāṃ²²⁶ śīrasi sthitām |
jālandhare śikhāyāṃ tu caṇḍākṣiṃ paribhāvayet | (43)

dakṣiṇakarṇato dhyāyād²²⁷ oḍḍiyāne prabhāvatīm |
arbude śīrasaḥ pṛṣṭhe mahānāsāṃ vibhāvayet | (44)

iti pīṭhaṃ pramuditā bhūmiḥ.

{N44v}

vāme godāvarī karṇe²²⁸ vīramatīm vicintayet |
rāmeśvare ca bhrūmadhye²²⁹ kharvarīm paśya saṃsthitām |
cakṣurdvaye ca devīnāṃ koṭe laṅkeśvarīm imām | (45)

skandhadvaye samākhyātāṃ mālavadeśasaṃjñakam²³⁰ |
tatra vai cintayet devīm²³¹ drumacchāyeti nāmikām | (46)

226 *prapūrvāṃ*] K, N; *prapūrṇā* D.

227 *dhyāyād*] em.; *dhyeyād* codd.

228 *vāme godāvarī karṇe*] codd. (loose Sanskrit). Understand *vāme godāvāryām karṇe*, or an infelicitous *karmadhāraya*, “*godāvarī-karṇe*.”

229 *ca bhrūmadhye*] conj.; *bhrūmadhye* K; *bhrū(tār)madhye* N, *rāmeśvaramadhye* D.

230 *mālavadeśasaṃjñakam*] conj.; *mālavam veśasaṃjñakam* codd.; Tib. p. 41.7: *dpung mgo g.yas dang g.yon pa nyid / ma la ba zhes bya ba ste* “The right and left upper-arms (no case) known as (*zhes bya ba*) Malava (short a-).”

231 *devīm*] em.; *devī* codd.

The meaning here is that the first syllables of [the sites] beginning with Pullīramalaya, *pu*, *jā*, etc., are [to be] pronounced adding a nasal ending (*anusvārah*) [i.e., *pum*, *jām*, etc.]. One is to understand the syllables *pum*, etc., transforming into [twenty-four] empty circles in front [of one], simultaneously [perceived to be identical with] the places beginning with the sites, Pullīramalaya etc., [which are themselves understood] as [the points on the body] starting with the head. [Finally] one imagines that the goddesses Pracaṇḍā and so forth [reside in the sites, and that they] have transformed into the channels (*nāḍīs*) [that issue] within those [points on the body] starting with the head. [As follows:]

- (43) One should visualize Pracaṇḍā^{xl} in Pullīramalaya in one's head,⁵⁷¹ Caṇḍākṣī in Jālandhara at the crown (*śikhā*).
- (44) On the right ear he should imagine Prabhāvatī in Oḍḍiyāna; in Arbuda, on the back of the head (*śirasah prṣṭhe*),⁵⁷² he should visualize Mahānāsā.

These are the sites (*pīṭhas*) [that correspond with] the [first bodhi-sattva] stage (*bhūmiḥ*), “joyful” (*pramuditā*).^{xli}

- (45) On the left ear in Goḍāvarī he should visualize Vīramatī; and in Rāmeśvara, the point between the eyebrows (*bhrūmadhye*), see Kharvarī positioned; and on the two eyes (*caḥsurdvaye*)⁵⁷³ in Devikoṭa, Laṅkeśvarī.
- (46) On the two shoulders (*skandhadvaye*)⁵⁷⁴ is the place known as Mālava; just there, he should imagine the goddess named Drumacchāyā.

xl Literally, “[The goddess called] *Caṇḍā* preceded by *Pra-*”

xli Literally, “Thus the site, joyful stage.” The twenty-four sites, Pullīramalaya, etc., are further divided into ten kinds of “places”: *pīṭhas*, *upapīṭhas*, *kṣetras*, *upakṣetras*, *chandohas*, *upacchandohas*, *melāpakas*, *upamelāpakas*, *śmaśānas*, and *upaśmaśānas*. These are now equated with the ten bodhisattva states (*bhūmis*). Umāpatideva gives the fifth and sixth *bhūmis* as *sudurjayā*^o and *abhimukhī*^o, which, according to the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* (Dayal 1932: 283–91), is in reverse order. The text for the eighth *bhūmi* (*acala*^o), has dropped out, as shown in Textual Note to <v. 51i>. The places are also shown in table 23.

ity upapīṭhaṃ vimalā bhūmiḥ.²³²

kakṣayoḥ kāmārūpe tu dhyāyād airāvatīm imām |
oḍre²³³ stanadvaye devīm mahābhairavikāṃ tathā | (47)

iti kṣetraṃ prabhākari bhūmiḥ.

nābhau trīśakunau paśyed vāyuvegāṃ sphuraddyutim | {K63v}
kośale nāsikāgre tu surābhakṣim imāṃ tathā | (48)

ity upakṣetraṃ arciṣmatī bhūmiḥ.

kaliṅge vadane devīm śyāmākhyāṃ tu vibhāvayet | {D47r}
lampāke kaṇṭhadeśe tu subhadrāṃ devatīm tathā | (49)

iti chandoho 'bhimukhi bhūmiḥ.

kāñcyāṃ tu hṛdaye devīm hayakarṇām vibhāvayet |
medhre²³⁴ himālaye sthāne khagānanām imāṃ tathā | (50)

iti upacchandohaḥ²³⁵ sudurjayā bhūmiḥ.

pretapuryāṃ smarel²³⁶ liṅge cakravegāṃ lasad²³⁷ dyutim |
yā gṛhadevatā tasyāṃ gude syāt khaṇḍarohikā²³⁸ | (51)

232 *vimalā bhūmiḥ*] K; *prabhākari bhūmiḥ* N; *vimalā bhūmiḥ* D.

233 *oḍre*] K, N; *om* D.

234 *medhre*] *medre* K, N; *medra* D, Tib. p. 42.3: *mdoms* "groin."

235 *upacchandohaḥ*] N; *upacchandoha* K, D.

236 *smarel*] em.; *smare* K, N; *smara* D.

237 *lasad*] em.; *lasata* codd.

238 *khaṇḍarohikā*] em.; *khaṇḍarohikāṃ* codd.

These are the secondary sites (*upapīṭhas*), the [second bodhisattva] stage, “stainless” (*vimalā*).

- (47) In the two armpits (*kakṣayoḥ*),⁵⁷⁵ in Kāmarūpa, he should imagine Airāvati; similarly in Oḍra, on the two breasts, the goddess Mahābhairavikā.

These are the fields (*kṣetras*), the [third bodhisattva] stage, “illuminating” (*prabhākari*).

- (48) On the navel in Trisākuni, he should see Vāyuvegā of scintillating light (*sphuraddyutim*); and similarly in Kośala, on the tip of the nose, Surābhakṣī.

These are the secondary fields (*upakṣetras*), the [fourth bodhisattva] stage, “blazing” (*arciṣmatī*).

- (49) In Kaliṅga, on the mouth (*vadane*),⁵⁷⁶ he should visualize the goddess called Śyāmā; and similarly in Lampāka, at the throat, the deity Subhadrā.

These are the *chandohas*, the [fifth bodhisattva] stage, “confident approach” (*abhimukhī*).^{xlii}

- (50) In Kāñcī, at the heart, he should visualize the goddess Hayakarṇā; similarly on the *penis* (*medhre*)⁵⁷⁷ in Himālaya, Khagānanā.

These are the secondary *chandohas* (*upacchandohas*), the [sixth bodhisattva] stage, “invincible” (*sudurjayā*).

- (51) In Pretapurī (*pretapuryām*),⁵⁷⁸ on the sexual organ, he should recollect Cakravegā, of glistening light (*lasaddyutim*); in that [site] that is Gṛhadevatā, in the anus, should be Khaṇḍa-rohikā.

xlii Literally, “turning toward,” but also confidence in, firm belief, or conviction. Note that, traditionally, the fifth *bhūmi* is *sudurjayā*, which is followed by *abhimukhī* as the sixth.

iti melāpako dūraṅgamā bhūmiḥ.

<v. 51i>[‡]

nagare 'ṅgulikāsv eṣā suvīrā nāma yoginī |
sindhau tatpādayoḥ pṛṣṭhe²³⁹ yoginīm tāṃ mahābalām | (52)
{N45r}

iti śmaśānaṃ sādhumatī bhūmiḥ.

marāv²⁴⁰ aṅguṣṭhayor dhyāyād yoginīm cakravartinīm |
kulatāyāṃ mahāvīryā jānudvaye matā tathā | (53)

ity upaśmaśānaṃ dharmameghā bhūmiḥ.

(v. 54)[‡]

kākāsyādyā²⁴¹ mukhe nābhau liṅge gude kramāt sthitāḥ |
ūrṇākarṇākṣināse tu yamadāḍhyādayas²⁴² tathā | (55) {K64r}

239 *pṛṣṭhe*] N, D; *pṛṣṭha* K.

240 *marāv*] K, N; *merāv* D.

241 *kākāsyādyā*] K, N; *kākāsyādi* D.

242 *yamadāḍhyā*] K; *yamadādyā* N, D.

These are the *melāpakas*, the [seventh bodhisattva] stage, “far-going” (*dūraṅgamā*).

- (51i) <In Saurāṣṭra, on the two thighs, he should visualize the goddess Śauṇḍinī; and similarly in Suvarṇadvīpa, on the two shanks, the goddess Cakravarminī.>

<These are the secondary *melāpakas* (*upamelāpakas*), the eighth bodhisattva stage, “immoveable” (*acalā*).>

- (52) In Nagara, on the fingers and toes (*aṅgulikāsu*)⁵⁷⁹ [is] this yoginī called Suvīrā; in Sindhu, on the back of the two feet,^{xliii} that yoginī Mahābalā.

These are the cremation grounds (*śmaśānas*), the [ninth bodhisattva] stage, “good [thoughts]” (*sādhumatī*).⁵⁸⁰

- (53) In Maru, on the thumbs and toes (*aṅguṣṭhayoh*),⁵⁸¹ he should imagine the yoginī Cakravartinī; similarly Mahāvīryā is considered [to be] in Kulatā on the two knees.

These are the secondary cremation grounds (*upaśmaśānas*), the [tenth bodhisattva] stage, “cloud of Dharma” (*dharmaameghā*).

- (54)^{xliv}

- (55) Kākāsyā, [Ulūkāsyā, Śvānāsyā, and Sūkarāsyā] are placed on the mouth, navel, sexual organ, [and] anus respectively; and similarly, Yamadādhī, [Yamadūti, Yamadaṃṣṭriṇī, and Yamamathanī] are on the hair-curl between the eyebrows, the ears, the eyes, [and] the nose.

xliii The “back” of the foot is the upper part above the toes, opposite to the sole (equivalent to the “back” of the hand).

xliv This verse seems to be an incorrect marginal insertion in ms. K. See Textual Notes.

dākinyādyāś caturdevyo hṛdayam²⁴³ āśritya saṁsthitāḥ |
iti saṁpūrṇam²⁴⁴ sadā bhāvyam kāyamaṇḍalam uttamam | (56)

[§31] [†]bāhye²⁴⁵ pīṭhādiṣu *nādyā*²⁴⁶ yathā toyena poṣaṇam²⁴⁷ kurvanti
tathā dehe nadyo²⁴⁸ śravantyo nakhādikaṁ poṣayanti. bāhye
vajrapīṭham mahābodhisthānam,²⁴⁹ nirañjanā²⁵⁰ nadī, dehe tu
mahāsukhacakraṁ vajrapīṭham²⁵¹ avadhūti nirañjaneti matam.
{D47v}

[§32] idāniṁ devatānāṁ mantrā²⁵² ucyante. tatra vajravārāhyā hṛdayopa-
hṛdayāṣṭapada²⁵³ mantrā uktāḥ. mūlamantras tv asyāḥ²⁵⁴ kathyate:

om namo bhagavati vajravārāhi vaṁ – aparājite²⁵⁵ trailokyamāte
mahāvidyeśvari – sarvabhūtabhayāvahe mahāvajre – vajrāsani
ajite 'parājite²⁵⁶ vaśaṁkari netrabhṛāmiṇi²⁵⁷ – śoṣaṇi roṣaṇi²⁵⁸
krodhani karālini – saṁtrāsani²⁵⁹ {N45v} māraṇi suprabhedani
parājaye²⁶⁰ – jaye vijaye jambhani stambhani mohani –
vajravārāhi mahāyogini kāmēśvari khage –

243 *hṛdayam*] K, N (*hyper.*); *hṛdayem* D. (One could emend to *hṛdam*, but the following *pāda* is also hypermetrical, and neither fault is in the even *pāda*.)

244 *saṁpūrṇam*] em.; *sampūrṇa* codd.

245 *bāhye*] K, N; *bāhya* D.

246 *nādyā*] conj.; *nādyo* K; *nānyo* N, D.

247 *poṣaṇam*] K; *to(va?)ṇam* N; *toṣaṇam* D.

248 *nadyo*] conj. Isaacson; *nādyah* K; *nānyah*~ N, D. (cf. GSS5 K28v6 in Textual Note.)

249 *mahābodhisthānam*] K; *mahābodhisthāna* N, D.

250 *nirañjanā*] K, N; *nirasanā* D.

251 *vajrapīṭham*] em.; (*vajra*)*pīṭham* ca K(mg2), codd.

252 *mantrā*] K, N; *mantra* D.

253 *hṛdayopahṛdayāṣṭa*] conj.; *dayopahṛdayādyāṣṭa* codd. (For the omission of *ādi* in the compound, see the Translation and explanations of the mantras.)

254 *mūlamantras tv asyāḥ*] corr.; *mūlamantra tv asyāḥ* K; *mūlamantra tasyāḥ* N; *mūlamantra tv asyā* D.

255 *aparājite*] codd.; *aryāparājite* Tib.

256 *ajite 'parājite*] corr. (as for eight-part mantra §12, codd.); *ajite (aparājite)* K(mg2); *ajite* Kac., N, D.

257 *bhṛāmiṇi*] corr.; cf. §12, GSS5; *bhṛāmani* codd.

258 *śoṣaṇi roṣaṇi*] codd.; *viṣaṇi śoṣaṇi roṣaṇi* Tib.

259 *saṁtrāsani*] corr.; *saṁtrāsini* K, N; *saṁtrāsani* D.

260 *suprabhedani parājaye*] codd.; *prabhedani aparājaye* Tib.

(56) The four goddesses Ḍākinī, [Lāmā, Khaṇḍarohā, and Rūpiṇī] are in place (*saṁsthitāḥ*) at the heart. Complete in this way, the supreme body maṇḍala is to be visualized at all times.

[§31] Just as outside there is nourishment in the sites [and other places] with the water of the river, so in the body, the flowing channels (*nāḍīs*) nourish [aspects of the body, beginning with] the nails [and teeth].

“Outside” [refers to] the vajra seat (*vajrapīṭham*), the place of great enlightenment, [and] the river [is] Nirañjanā. Whereas (*tu*) in the body, the circle of great bliss, is held to be the vajra seat, and [the central channel] *Avadhūtī*, Nirañjanā.

[§32] Now the mantras for the deities [of the maṇḍala] are taught. Among these, Vajravārāhī’s heart mantra [§9], auxiliary-heart mantra, and eight-part mantra [§12] have been given above, but her root mantra is told [here]:⁵⁸²

*oṃ namo bhagavati vajravārāhi vaṃ – aparājite trailokya-
māte mahāvidyeśvari – sarvabhūtabhayāpahe mahāvajre –
vajrāsani ajite ’parājite vaśaṃkari netrabhṛāmiṇi – śoṣaṇi
roṣaṇi krodhani karālini – saṃtrāsani māraṇi suprabhedani
parājaye – jaye vijaye jambhani stambhani mohani –
vajravārāhi mahāyogini kāmēśvari khage –*^{xliv}

prottuṅge,²⁶¹ hana hana prāṇān, *kini kini khinkhiṇi khinkhiṇi*²⁶²
 dhuna *dhuna*²⁶³ vajrahaste śoṣaya śoṣaya vajrakhatvāṅgaka-
 pāladhāriṇi mahāpiśitamāṃsāśiṇi {K64v} mānuṣāntraprāvṛte
*sāmnidhya*²⁶⁴ naraśiromālāgrathitadhāriṇi,²⁶⁵ *sumb-*
hanisumbhe,²⁶⁶ hana hana pāpaṃ mama sarvasattvānām ca,²⁶⁷
 sarvapaśūnām²⁶⁸ mahāmāṃsacchedani krodhamūrte²⁶⁹
 daṃṣṭrākārālini²⁷⁰ mahāmudre śrīherukadevasyāgramahiṣi
 sahasragrīve sahasrabāhave²⁷¹ śatasahasrānane²⁷² jvalitatejase
 jvālāmukhi²⁷³ piṅgalalocane vajraśarīre vajrāsane²⁷⁴ mili mili
 timili timili he he he he²⁷⁵ huṃ huṃ²⁷⁶ kha kha dhu dhu²⁷⁷ ru
 ru,²⁷⁸ dhuru dhuru muru muru²⁷⁹ advaite mahāyogini paṭhita-
 siddhe *oṃ dhraṃ*²⁸⁰ he he ha ha bhīme hasa hasa hā hā ho ho

- 261 *prottuṅge*] GSSII codd., GSS5; *oṃ vajravārāhi protaṅge* Finot.
 262 *kini 2 khinkhiṇi 2*] conj. Sanderson (cf. SM22I ms. AC p. 435; *kinikini 2 khikhiṇi 2*); *kinikini khinkhiṇi* GSSII codd.; *kinī 2 khikhi 2* GSS5.
 263 *dhuna dhuna*] corr.? (cf. *dhuna 2* GSS5, Finot); *dhuna K*; *muna N*; *punar D*.
 264 *sāmnidhya*] Finot; *sānnidhma K*, *N*; *sānidhye D*; *sāmnidhye* GSS5.
 265 *grathitadhāriṇi*] *K*, *N*; *grathitadhāriṇi D* (for *naraśiromālāgrathitadhāriṇi* understand *naraśiromālāgrathitadhāriṇi*).
 266 *sumbhanisumbhe*] GSSII codd., GSS5, Finot. (Possibly emend to *sumbha nisumbha*, or to *sumbhe nisumbhe*, for the usual form of these mantric elements in the Buddhist tantra, see §3.)
 267 *ca*] *K*, *D*; 2 *N*.
 268 *hana* → *sarvapaśūnām*] codd.; *hana hana prāṇān sarvapāpa* <ṃ> *sattvānām sarvapūṣpānām* Tib.
 269 *hana* → *mūrte*] GSSII codd.; *hana hana prāṇān sarvapaśavānām māṃsacchedani krodhakrodhamūrte* GSS5; *hana 2 prāṇān sarvapiśācānām mahāmāṃsacchedani krodha mūrte* Finot.
 270 *daṃṣṭrākārālini*] GSS5, Finot; *daṃṣṭrākārāli* GSSII codd.
 271 *sahasragrīve sahasrabāhave*] GSSII codd. (*bāhave*: for dative understand vocative); *sahasraśirosahasravāhave* Finot; *sahasraśīve sahasravāhave* GSS5.
 272 *śatasahasrānane*] *K*, *N*; *śatasahasranetre D*.
 273 *jvālāmukhi*] *K*, *N*; *jvālāmukhi D*.
 274 *vajrāsane*] GSS5, Finot; *vajrāsani* GSSII codd.
 275 *he he he he*] GSSII codd.; *he he ha ha* GSS5, Finot, Tib.
 276 *huṃ huṃ*] codd.; *hūṃ hūṃ* Tib.
 277 *dhu dhu*] *N*, *D*; *dhu(ru) dhu(ru) dhu* *K*(del).
 278 *ru ru*] codd. omit Tib.
 279 *ru* → *murū*] GSSII codd.; *rū rū suru suru* GSS5; *ru 2 muru 2 dhuru 2* Finot
 280 *oṃ dhraṃ*] *K*; *oṃ* - *N*; *oṃ D*; *dreṃ (vreṃ, dhreṃ?) dreṃ praṃ* GSS5 codd. (for which Sed reads *draiṃ dhaṃ draiṃ dhaṃ* but reports codd. reading *draṃ vraṃ draṃ praṃ*); *dreṃ dhaṃ 2 graṃ 2* Finot; *dreṃ dhaṃ dreṃ dhaṃ graṃ graṃ* Tib.

^{xlvi} *prottuṅge – hana hana prāṇān – kiṇi kiṇi khiṅkhiṇi
 khiṅkhiṇi – dhuna dhuna – vajrahaste – śoṣaya śoṣaya – vajra-
 khatvāṅgakapāladhārīṇi – mahāpiśitamāmsāsīṇi – mānuṣān-
 traprāvṛte – sāmṇidhya – naraśiromālāgrathitadhārīṇi –
 sumbhanisumbhe – hana hana pāpaṃ mama sarvasattvānāṃ ca
 – sarvapaśūnāṃ mahāmāmsacchedani – krodhamūrte –
 daṃṣṭrākārāṇi – mahāmudre – śriherukadevasyāgramahiṇi –
 sahasragrīve – sahasrabāhave – śatasahasrānane – jvalitatejase
 – jvālāmukhi – piṅgalalocane – vajraśarīre – vajrāsane – mili
 mili timili timili he he he he huṃ huṃ kha kha dhu dhu ru ru,
 dhuru dhuru muru muru – advaite – mahāyogini – paṭhita-
 siddhe – oṃ dhraṃ he he ha ha – bhīme – hasa hasa hā hā ho*

- xlvi Elevated <?>, kill creatures! O female jackal!... O vajra hands! Parch! O holder of vajra-staff and skull! O eater of human flesh! O you who are enveloped by human entrails! Be present! (*sāmṇidhya*: Sanderson [1998: personal communication] suggests this is a denominative form from *sāmṇidhyam*, “presence”), O you who carry a garland with human heads tied together! O Sumbhanisumbha! (or: “O Sumbha Nisumbha,” see §3); kill evil for me and all [evil] beings! O cutter of human flesh of all creatures (*paśuḥ*)! You with anger-form! Fanged one! Great consort! Foremost queen of the glorious god Heruka! Thousand-necked! Thousand-armed! One hundred thousand-faced! Flaming brilliance! Flame-faced one! Red-eyed one! Vajra-bodied! With vajra stance!... Nondual one! Great yogini! O you who are realized when recited!... O terrible one!... Destroyer of the three worlds! O you with a retinue of 100,000 *koṭis* of tathāgatas!... You with lion form!... You with elephant form!... O you who have swallowed the three worlds! Whose girdle is the great ocean! Eat, eat!... One with heroes!... Stunner of great beasts! You are Mahāyogeśvarī! Dākīnī! Saluter of all worlds! Creator of instant proof!... Terrifier of spirits! Great heroine! Peerless-magic yogini!...

hūṃ hūṃ²⁸¹ trailokyavināśini²⁸² {D48r} śatasahasrakoṭi-
 tathāgataparivāre hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ²⁸³ siṃharūpe khaḥ
 gajarūpe āḥ²⁸⁴ trailokyodare mahāsamudramekhale²⁸⁵ grasa
 grasa hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ²⁸⁶ vīrādvaite huṃ huṃ hā hā²⁸⁷
 mahāpaśumohani, mahāyogeśvarī tvaṃ, ḍākinī sarvalokānām
 vandani²⁸⁸ sadyaḥpratyayakāriṇī hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ²⁸⁹ bhūtatrāsani
 mahāvīre paramasiddhayogeśvari phaṭ hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ
 svāhā.²⁹⁰ {K65r}

[S33] ḍākinīyādīnām mantra²⁹¹ uktrāḥ, {N46r} kākāsyādīnām cāṣṭānām,
 pracaṇḍādīnām tu *kuliśapadākrameṇa*²⁹² mantraḥ, yathā –

*oṃ kara kara pracaṇḍe huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ kuru kuru
 caṇḍākṣīye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ bandha bandha²⁹³ prabhāvatiye

- 281 *hā hā ho ho hūṃ hūṃ*] GSSII codd., GSS5; *vīre ha 2 hoḥ 2* Finot, *vīre ha ha hoḥ hoḥ huṃ hūṃ* Tib.
- 282 *trailokyavināśini*] GSSII codd.; *trailokyavināśani* GSS5.
- 283 *hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ*] GSSII codd.; *huṃ huṃ phaṭ* GSS5, Finot.
- 284 *āḥ*] GSSII codd., Finot; *gaḥ* GSS5, Tib.
- 285 *mahāsamudramekhale*] conj.; *mahāsumudra-* GSSII codd. & GSS5; *samudra-mekhale* Finot.
- 286 *grasa*→*phaṭ*] GSSII codd.; *grasa 2 huṃ huṃ phaṭ* GSS5; *grasa grasa huṃ hūṃ phaṭ* Tib. *grasa oṃ hūṃ oṃ phaṭ* Finot.
- 287 *huṃ huṃ hā hā*] GSSII codd., GSS5; *hūṃ he 2* Finot.
- 288 *mahāyogeśvari*→*vandani*] GSSII codd.; *yogeśvari tvaṃ ḍākinī lokānām vandani* GSS5; *yogeśvari tvaṃ ḍākinī sarvalokānām vandani* Finot.
- 289 *hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ*] GSSII codd.; *huṃ huṃ* GSS5, *huṃ hūṃ phaṭ* Tib.
- 290 *paramasiddha*→*svāhā*] GSSII codd.; *paramasiddhe yogeśvari phaṭ huṃ huṃ phaṭ svāhā* GSS5; *paramasiddhayogeśvari phaṭ hūṃ 2 phaṭ hūṃ 2 phaṭ svāhā* Finot, *paramasiddhe yogeśvari huṃ hūṃ phaṭ huṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā* Tib.
- 291 *mantrā* K, N; *mantra* D.
- 292 *kuliśapadākrameṇa*] ?conj.; *kuliśapadākrameṇa* K, N; *kuliśaparākrameṇa* D. Tib. p. 43.6–7: *rab gtum ma la sogs pa rnams kyi sngags ni rdo rje rnams kyi ji lta ba bzhin du go bar bya* “The mantras of Pracaṇḍa etc. should be understood as being just like those of the vajras.”
- 293 *bandha bandha*] K, N; *badha badha* D.

*ho hūṃ hūṃ – trailokyavināśini – śatasahasrakṣitathāgatapari-
vāre – hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ – śiṃharūpe – khaḥ – gajarūpe
– āḥ – trailokyodare – mahāsamudramekhale – grasa grasa –
hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ – vīrādvaite – huṃ huṃ hā hā –
mahāpaśumohani – mahāyogeśvari tvam – ḍākinī – sarva-
lokānāṃ vandani – sadyaḥpratyayakāriṇī – hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ –
bhūtatrāsani – mahāvīre – paramasiddhayogeśvari⁵⁸³ – phaṭ
hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā.*

[§33] The mantras of Ḍākinī [Lāmā, Khaṇḍarohā, and Rūpiṇī] have been taught [§12], and of the eight [goddesses] starting with Kākāsyā [§15]; but the mantras of [the twenty-four goddesses] starting with Praçaṇḍā are as follows, with vajra words (*kulīśapadakraṃeṇa*)⁵⁸⁴ in sequence [after the om̐ and before the vocatives]:^{xlvi}

- (1) *om̐ kara kara praçaṇḍe huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
- (2) *om̐ kuru kuru caṇḍākṣīye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
- (3) *om̐ bandha bandha prabhāvātīye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*

xlvi (1) Do! (2) Act! (3) Bind! (4) Terrify! (5) Make [them] shake!... (10) Burn! (11) Cook! (12) Eat! You with a hanging garland of fat (*vasa* = *vasā*), blood, [and] entrails! Wine Drinker! (13) Seize the snake in the seven netherworlds, or the serpent! Threaten! (Note Kalff's translation 1979: 209: "Seize, seize the snake-demon gone to the seven regions under the earth or else threaten, threaten the serpent.") (14) Make them Eat (? *ākadda?/ākāḍya*).

huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ trāsaya trāsaya mahānāśe huṃ hūṃ phaṭ.
 oṃ kṣobhaya kṣobhaya vīramatiye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ hreṃ
 hreṃ²⁹⁴ kharvariye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ hraḥ hraḥ²⁹⁵
 lañkeśvariye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ pheṃ pheṃ drumacchāye
 huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ phaṭ phaṭ²⁹⁶ airāvatiye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ
 daha daha mahābhairaviye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ paca paca
 vāyuvege huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ bhakṣa bhakṣa
 vasa²⁹⁷ rudhirāntramālāvalambini²⁹⁸ surābhakṣiye huṃ hūṃ
 phaṭ. oṃ grihṇa grihṇa saptapātālagatabhujāṅgaṃ sarpam vā²⁹⁹
 tarjaya tarjaya śyāmādeviye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ ākaḍḍa
 ākaḍḍa³⁰⁰ subhadre huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ hrīm hrīm³⁰¹
 hayakarṇe huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ jloṃ jloṃ³⁰² khagānane huṃ
 hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ kṣyām kṣyām³⁰³ cakravege huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ
 hām hām³⁰⁴ khaṇḍarohe huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. {D48v} oṃ³⁰⁵ hiṃ
 hiṃ³⁰⁶ śauṇḍiniye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ hūṃ hūṃ³⁰⁷
 cakravarminīye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ kili kili suvīre huṃ hūṃ
 {K65v} phaṭ. oṃ sili sili³⁰⁸ mahābale huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ cili

- 294 *hreṃ hreṃ*] GSSII codd.; *braum* 2 §37, Tib.; *brau* 2 HĀ; Finot p. 53, p. 57 (for Amitābha).
 295 *hraḥ hraḥ*] K, N; *hra hraḥ* D; *ha* 2 HĀ.
 296 *phaṭ phaṭ*] K, D; *pha pha* N.
 297 *vasa*] GSSII codd.; understand *vasā-* (fat, marrow), although Finot (pp. 53, 57) reads *vama* (vomit).
 298 *āvalambini*] GSSII codd.; *āvalambino* Finot (pp. 53, 57); ADUT ch.14; *āvalambine*, §37, HĀ (for Vajrahūṃkāra).
 299 *bhujāṅgaṃ sarpam vā*] K, N; *bhujāṅga* D; *bhujāṅgasarpam vā*, ADUT; *bhujāṅgān sarpam vā* HĀ.
 300 *ākaḍḍa ākaḍḍa*] GSSII codd. (possibly “*ākattā* 2” K §37); *ākadya* 2 §37 (N, D); HĀ (for Vajrabhadra); *ākadya* 2 em. Kalff ADUT (p. 325, with mss. reading variously, ADUT; *ākaddha*? 2; *ākadha* x 2; *ākaddhya* 2); *ākattḥa* Finot p. 57; *ākari* Finot p. 53.
 301 *hrīm hrīm*] GSSII codd.; *oṃ hrī hrī* ADUT (some mss.).
 302 *jloṃ jloṃ*] K, N; *jñom jñom* D; *jñom jñom* ADUT; *jtraum* 2 Finot (p. 54), *jraum* Finot (p. 57 for Virūpākṣe), *jnaum jnaum* Tib.
 303 *kṣyām kṣyām*] GSSII codd.; *kṣmām* 2 (with variants *kṣmom* 2, *kṣmam* 2) ADUT; *kṣām* 2 Finot (p. 53 for Mahābala), *kṣmam kṣmam* Tib.
 304 *hām hām*] GSSII codd.; *ḍām* 2 Finot (p. 54); *ham* 2 Finot (p. 57).
 305 *oṃ*] N, D; *ha oṃ* K.
 306 *hiṃ hiṃ*] codd.; *hiṃ hiṃ* ADUT, Finot (p. 57); *ḍiṃ* 2 Finot (p. 54).
 307 *hūṃ hūṃ*] K, N; *huṃ huṃ* D.
 308 *sili sili*] K, N, (§37); *siri siri* D, ADUT; *mili* 2 Finot (p. 57; a misreading?).

- (4) *oṃ trāsaya trāsaya mahānāṣe huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
- (5) *oṃ kṣobhaya kṣobhaya vīramatīye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
- (6) *oṃ hreṃ hreṃ kharvarīye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
- (7) *oṃ hraḥ hraḥ laṅkeśvarīye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
- (8) *oṃ pheṃ pheṃ drumacchāye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
- (9) *oṃ phaṭ phaṭ airāvatiye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
- (10) *oṃ daha daha mahābhairavīye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
- (11) *oṃ paca paca vāyuvege huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
- (12) *oṃ bhakṣa bhakṣa vasarūdhirāntramālāvalambini surābhakṣīye
huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
- (13) *oṃ grihṇa grihṇa saptapātālagatabhujāṅgaṃ sarpam vā tarjaya
tarjaya śyāmādevīye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
- (14) *oṃ ākadḍa ākadḍa subhadre huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
- (15) *oṃ hrīm hrīm hayakarṇe huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
- (16) *oṃ jloṃ jloṃ khagānane huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
- (17) *oṃ ksyām ksyām cakravege huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
- (18) *oṃ hām hām khaṇḍarohe huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
- (19) *oṃ him him śaundinīye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
- (20) *oṃ hūṃ hūṃ cakravartinīye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
- (21) *oṃ kili kili suvīre huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
- (22) *oṃ sili sili mahābale huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
- (23) *oṃ cili cili cakravartinīye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
- (24) *oṃ dhili dhili mahāvīrye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*

cili³⁰⁹ cakravartiniye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ dhili dhili³¹⁰
mahāvīrye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ.

[§34] atra praçaṇḍādimantreṣu prathamō hūṃkāro³¹¹ hrasvaḥ, dvitīyo
dīrghaḥ. *etac ca gurūpadeśād boddhavyam.³¹² bhavyādimatena
tu³¹³ “oṃ praçaṇḍe³¹⁴ huṃ huṃ phaṭ, oṃ caṇḍākṣi³¹⁵ huṃ huṃ
phaṭ” ityādi ca āsāṃ mantrā³¹⁶ iti vakṣyate, tathā hi – {N46v}

svanāmoccāraṇaṃ³¹⁷ mantrāṇaṃ huṃhuṃphaṭkārayojitaṃ³¹⁸ |

ity asyāgamasyāyam arthas tair upadarśitaḥ. āsāṃ yoginīnāṃ
svanāma³¹⁹ mantraḥ. ādau paramaomkāraḥ,³²⁰ ante ca
huṃhuṃphaṭkāraḥ kārya, iti svanāmetyādinā darśitam.

iti cathurtho bhāvanākramaḥ.

pūjādividhayaḥ sarve³²¹ ye kecid āgamoditāḥ |
balipradānapūrvās te kartavyāḥ³²² siddhikāṅkṣibhiḥ | (57)

devatāyogayuktena balir deyo yato mataḥ |
tasmāt tadyogataḥ paścād balir eṣa nigadyate | (58)

- 309 *cili cili*] GSSII codd.; *dhili* 2 §37; *hili hili* HĀ, ADUT, Finot (p. 57), Tib.; *vili* 2 Finot (p. 54).
310 *dhili dhili*] K, N (§37); *dhiri dhiri* D; ADUT; *aṅgaṃ* 2 Finot (pp. 54, 57).
311 *hūṃkāro*] K; *huṃkāro* N, D.
312 *boddhavyaṃ*] K, N; *boddhavyā* D.
313 *bhavyādimatena tu*] conj. Sanderson; *bhavyādimattena tu* K; *bhavyādimantre na tu* N; *bhavyādimantreṣu(ra?) tu* D.
314 *praçaṇḍe*] N; *praçaṇḍo* K, *praçaṇḍo* D.
315 *ākṣi*] em.; *ākṣī* codd.
316 *mantrā*] em. Sanderson; *mantrāḥ* N; *mantraḥ* K; *mantra* D.
317 *svanāmoccāraṇaṃ*] conj. (*hyper.*); *svanāmoccāraṇa* codd. (*hyper.*)
318 *huṃhuṃphaṭkārayojitaṃ*] em.; *huṃhuṃphaṭkārayojitā* codd.
319 *svanāma*] N, D; *svanā* K.
320 *parama omkāraḥ*] em.; *param omkāraḥ* K, N; *paramo kāraḥ* D.
321 *pūjādividhayaḥ sarve*] conj. (*ādi* is not translated in the Tibetan p. 44.4: *mchod pa'i rim pa ma lus pa'i* “of the stages of offering without exception”); *pūjā-vidhayaḥ sarvā* codd. (unmetric.)
322 *kartavyāḥ*] em.; *kartavyā* codd.

[§34] In these mantras of Pracandā and the rest, the first *hūṃ* is short [i.e., *huṃ*] and the second is long [i.e., *hūṃ*]. This is to be learned orally from the guru. But it will be stated below that according to the view of Bhavya[kīrti?] and others their mantras are *oṃ pracandē huṃ huṃ phaṭ. oṃ caṇḍākṣi huṃ huṃ phaṭ*, etc. This is how they explain the text of scripture:

for [these] mantras there is the utterance of [the goddess's] own name with *huṃ huṃ phaṭ*.

The mantra of each of these yoginīs is her own name, but *oṃ* is to be placed before it and *huṃ huṃ phaṭ* after it. This is what is demonstrated by this line of scripture.⁵⁸⁵

Here ends meditation stage 4.

[Ritual Practices]

- (57) Those who desire siddhi should perform all rites of worship and so on that are taught in the scriptures, with a preceding offering of *bali*.
- (58) Since it is held that a *bali* should be offered by one engaged in deity yoga, the [ritual of offering] *bali* is taught here, after [teaching] union with that [deity, and not before it].

§35 tatra *balyamṛtāsvādanam*³²³ ucyate, tad yathā –

kṛṣṇayamkārasambhūtaṃ dhanvābhaṃ vāyumaṇḍalam |
raktam asyopari madhye raṃjātāṃ³²⁴ vahnimaṇḍalam | (59)
{K66r}

tasyopari sthitaṃ śuklam āhkārajaṃ karoṭakam |
*ākṛāntakaṃ trayodbhūta³²⁵ trimuṇḍakṛtacullikam³²⁶ | (60)
{D49r}

pañcāmṛtādi oṃādibijajaṃ³²⁷ tadadhiṣṭhitaṃ |
tadrūpeṇa karoṭasthaṃ³²⁸ raktādyam³²⁹ ca³³⁰ vicintayet | (61)

*oṃādīti: oṃ <buṃ/vuṃ> āṃ jṛiṃ³³¹ khaṃ hūṃ³³² lāṃ māṃ
pāṃ tām iti pañcatathāgatacatuṣṭvīṇāṃ bijāni.

vāyuddiptāgnitāpena³³³ vilinaṃ tatra bijajaṃ³³⁴ |
vikṣya³³⁵ tad dāḍimīpuṣpa³³⁶ varṇena sadṛśa³³⁷ dyutim | (62)

- 323 *balyamṛtāsvādanam*] conj.; *balārtham amṛtasvādanam* codd. (or conj.: *balyādyamṛtāsvādanam*). The Tibetan text (p. 44.5) reads *gtor ma bdud rtsir bsgrub par bya ba* “the practice of making the bali into nectar.”
- 324 *raṃjātāṃ*] em.; *yaṃraṃjātāṃ* codd.
- 325 *bhūta*] K, D; *bhuta* N. Sanderson notes that the Tibetan indicates the Sanskrit **ākṛāntatattrayodbhūta-* (*de nyid > tat, sa eva, tad eva* etc.). (p. 44.6: *de nyid gsum las yongs su gyur / thod pa gsum gyi rgyed pu stel de'i steng a yig las 'byung pa / thod pa dkar po yongs su brtag*).
- 326 *cullikam*] em. Sanderson; *cullikām* K, *cūlikām* N; *cūlikām* D.
- 327 *bijajaṃ*] K, N; *bijam* D.
- 328 *tadrūpeṇa karoṭasthaṃ*] K, N; *ta(ṭṭa?)peṇa karoṭakam(tyam?)* D.
- 329 *raktādyam*] codd.; Tib. reads “food etc.” (**bhaktādi*, p. 44.7: *bza' ba la sogs*).
- 330 *ca*] K, D; *caram?* N.
- 331 *jṛiṃ*] K, N; *jīṃ* D.
- 332 *hūṃ*] K, D; *hūṃ* - N (marked omission suggesting a missing *bija?*).
- 333 *vāyūd*] N; *vāyud* K, D.
- 334 *bijajaṃ*] em.; *sabijajaṃ* codd.
- 335 *vikṣya*] D; *vikṣye* K, N.
- 336 *tad dāḍimīpuṣpa*] conj; *tadā ḍimīpuṣpa* codd.
- 337 *sadṛśa*] K, N; *śadṛśam* D.

[§35] In that [*bali* ritual], *the tasting of nectar with the bali* (*balyamṛtā-svādanam*) is taught as follows:

(59) [The practitioner should visualize] a bow-shaped wind maṇḍala arisen from a black *yam*; above it, in the center, a red fire maṇḍala as a transformation of *raṁ*.

(60) [He should visualize] a white skull bowl generated from *āḥ* above (*ākrānta-*) a hearth (*-cullikam*) that has been fashioned from three heads (*muṇḍam*) produced from three *kaṁ* [syllables].⁵⁸⁶

(61) In the skull bowl, he should visualize the five nectars and so on, produced from the seed-syllables *oṁ*, etc.; [he should see them] presided over by those [same syllables] in their [alphabetic] form, and red, etc. [in color].

“*oṁ*, etc.” means: *oṁ* <*buṁ/vuṁ*> *āṁ jrīṁ khaṁ hūṁ lāṁ māṁ pāṁ tāṁ*, [namely *oṁ* plus] the seed-syllables of the five tathāgatas and four [mother] goddesses.^{xlvi}

(62) With the heat of the fire blazing up because of the wind, he should see [the nectars and so on] that have been produced from the seed-syllables [being] dissolved in that [skull bowl], then [taking on] a bright luster like the color of a pomegranate flower.^{xlix}

xlvi The ten syllables (*oṁ* plus the rest) refer to the five nectars and five meats.

xlix A bright red color is intended; elsewhere the heated liquid is compared in color to the “very early morning sun” (GSS5 Sed p. 135, K23r2 = *Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi* p. 57: *abhinavabhānuvarṇadravarūpam*).

tato hūmbhavakhaṭvāṅge³³⁸ sudhātmādhomukhe³³⁹ site |
viline śuklaśītaṃ dravaṃ tasyāvalokayet³⁴⁰ | (63)

tasyopary ālikālināṃ³⁴¹ pariṇāmasamudbhavāt³⁴² |
om āḥ hūm ity ato mantrāt kramoparyuparisthitāt | (64)
{N47r}

spharitvā devatācakram kṛtvā sattvaprayojanam |
viliya tryakṣare viṣṭaṃ tryakṣaram cāmṛte³⁴³ tathā | (65)

tam amṛtaṃ³⁴⁴ dravaṃ paśyet tryakṣaraiḥ samadhiṣṭhitam |
† niṣpādite³⁴⁵ tasmin baliṃ dadyāt vidhināmunā. † (66)

[§36] *jvālāmudrā³⁴⁶ phetkārābhyām ānitaṃ³⁴⁷ devatācakram
arghādipuraḥsaram pūjayitvā {K66v} –

*<om> anyonyānugatāḥ sarvadharmāḥ parasparānupraviṣṭāḥ
sarvadharmāḥ hūm

338 khaṭvāṅge] K, N; ṣadvāṅgaṃ D.

339 mukhe] em.; mukho codd.

340 viline śuklaśītaṃ dravaṃ tasyāvalokayet] conj.?. (unmetric.); viliye dravaṃ
śuklaśītaṃ sya* avalokayet K; ~śuklaśītaṃ avalokayet N; ~śuklaśītaṃ.
*valokayet D (cf. Finot p. 57: ~śuklakhaṭvāṅge viline taṃ dravaṃ
pāradavarṇa<ṃ> śitibhūtaṃ dṛṣṭvā...).

341 tasyopary ālikālināṃ] conj; tasyopariryy ālikālināṃ codd.

342 pariṇāmasamudbhavāt] conj.; pariṇāme samudbhavāt K; pariṇāme samudbha-
vati N, D. (hyper.)

343 cāmṛte] N; (paṃ)cāmṛta K(mg2); cāmṛtaṃ D.

344 tam amṛtaṃ] corr.; tam amṛta K, D; tam amṛte N (possibly pañcāmṛtaṃ, if the
paṃ that was added to -cāmṛta in the previous pāda by a second hand was
intended here).

345 niṣpādite tasmin] em.; niṣpādite tan asmmīn K; niṣpāditena tasmin N; niṣpāditte
tena asmin D; Tib. de ltar yongs su rdzogs byas nas.

346 jvālāmudrā] ?conj., Tib. (p. 45.2) 'bar ba'i phyag rgyas; jālāmudrā codd.

347 ānitaṃ] em.; ānīta K, N; ānīte D.

- (63) He should visualize a skull staff [above the skull bowl], produced from *hūṃ*, filled with nectar, inverted, [and] white [like quicksilver]; [he should see it] melting [because of the heat below], and then [visualize] its liquid form as white and cool.
- (64) [He should visualize] *oṃ āḥ hūṃ*, one on top of the other in sequence, [the three syllables of which have been] produced through a transformation of the vowels and consonants [visualized] above that [liquid], [and] from this mantra,
- (65) he should emanate the circle of deities, and then fulfill the aim of [all] beings. [He should see] the circle of deities dissolve and enter the three syllables [and] the three syllables dissolve and enter the nectar,⁵⁸⁷
- (66) [and, finally,] he should see that liquid nectar empowered by the three syllables. When this has been produced, he should offer the *bali* according to the following method:

[§36] He should draw down the circle of deities with the flame hand gesture (*jvālāmudrā*) and the syllable *phet*, and honor them with guest water and the other [offerings]. After reciting the mantra

*<oṃ> anyonyānugatāḥ sarvadharmāḥ parasparānupraviṣṭāḥ
sarvadharmāḥ hūṃ*¹

1 “All existents (*dharmas*) mutually accord with each other; all existents are mutually interpenetrating.”

iti mantrapāṭhapūrvakaṃ candrasūryārūḍha³⁴⁸ hūṃkāradvaya-
pariṇāmeṇa vajrāñjalikṛtakaratale³⁴⁹ amṛtabhāṇḍam avasthāpya
dhyātvā vā³⁵⁰ abhimatasiddhyartham paṭhed idam –

devyaḥ pramāṇam samayaḥ pramāṇam taduktavācaś ca paraṃ
pramāṇam |
etena satyena bhaveyur etā devyo mamānugrahaḥ tubhūtā<ḥ>
| (67)

iti. tataḥ pūjyapūjāpūjakān abhedena paśyet.³⁵¹ {D49v}
pūrvādidikṣu³⁵² vāmenāvartena vidikṣv agnikoṇam ārabhya
dakṣiṇenāvartena³⁵³ bhāṇḍam bhrāmayan
hūṃbhavavajrajihvānām[†] devatānām mantradvayaṃ paṭhaṃs
tad amṛtam upaḍhaukayet.

<v. 68^{†354}>

[§37] tatrāyam mantraḥ –

oṃ kara kara, kuru kuru, bandha bandha, trāsaya trāsaya,
kṣobhaya kṣobhaya, *hrauṃ hrauṃ*,³⁵⁵ <³⁵⁶> hrah hrah,³⁵⁷ phem
phem, phaṭ phaṭ,³⁵⁸ daha daha, paca paca, bhakṣa bhakṣa
vasa³⁵⁹ rudhirāntramālāvalambini,³⁶⁰ grihṇa grihṇa³⁶¹

348 *ārūḍha*] K; *ā - dha* N; *o(rū?)dha* D.

349 *karatale*] ?em.; *karatalam* codd.; (*vajrāñjalikṛtakaratale* Finot p. 57).

350 *avasthāpya dhyātvā vā*] conj.; *avasthāpayitvā vā* K, D; *apasthāpyayitvā vā* N.

351 *paśyet*] Kac.; *paśyet* °Kpc. (see “v. 68” for insertion); *paśyet. śukṭijam* → *dāpayet* N, D.

352 *pūrvādidikṣu*] N; *pūrvādikṣu* K, D.

353 *dakṣiṇenāvartena*] conj.; *dakṣiṇāvartena* codd.

354 *śukṭijam* → *dāpayet*] omit, ed.; K(mg1 or 2), incorporated into text in N & D but omitted in Tibetan translation. The verse is given in the Textual Note.

355 *hrauṃ hrauṃ*] codd.; *hrem hrem* §33 (see variants).

356 omit] conj. (§33); *kṣmām* 2 K, N; (*) 2 D(del).

357 *hrah* 2] K, N; *hre* 2 D.

358 *phaṭ* 2] N, D; *phaṭ* °Kpc.

359 *vasa*] Kpc., N, D; (*bhakṣa* 2 *vasa*) K(del?) *bhakṣa* 2 *cara* K(mg2) (for *vasā*, cf. §33)

360 *lambini*] em. (as §33); *lambine* codd.

361 *grihṇa grihṇa*] K, N; *grhṇa* D.

[he should visualize his hands as] a moon and sun disc [themselves produced from the vowels and consonants⁵⁸⁸] with a *hūṃ* syllable on each in order to make them into (*-pariṇāmeṇa*) the vajra gesture of offering. Between the palms of his hands he should [then] place or visualize the bowl of nectar. He should [then] recite this [verse] in order to achieve his desired goals:

- (67) “The goddesses are the authority, the pledge is the authority, and the words spoken by them are the supreme authority. By the virtue of this truth may these goddesses bring me grace.”⁵⁸⁹

Then he should see the object of worship, the worship, and the worshiper without [any] difference [from each other]. Circulating the bowl in the cardinal directions beginning in the east in a counterclockwise direction, [and then] in the intermediate directions starting from the southeast corner in a clockwise direction, he should offer that nectar to the deities whose tongues [should be visualized] as [white] vajras produced from *hūṃ*s. [He should do this] while reciting the two mantras [given below].

<v. 68>^{li}

- [§37] Here is the [first] mantra [for the twenty-four goddesses of the sites].⁵⁹⁰

*oṃ kara kara, kuru kuru, bandha bandha, trāsaya trāsaya,
kṣobhaya kṣobhaya, hrauṃ hrauṃ, hrah hrah, phem phem, phaṭ
phaṭ, daha daha, paca paca, bhakṣa bhakṣa vasarudhirāntra-
mālāvalambini, grihṇa grihṇa saptapātālagatabhujāṅgaṃ*

li A verse inserted into the lower margin of ms. K. See Textual Notes.

saptapātālagatabhujāṅgaṃ³⁶² sarpam vā tarjaya tarjaya, {N47v}
 ākaḍḍa ākaḍḍa,³⁶³ hrīm hrīm, <³⁶⁴ jloṃ jloṃ,³⁶⁵ kṣmām
 kṣmām,³⁶⁶ hām hām,³⁶⁷ hiṃ hiṃ,³⁶⁸ <hūṃ hūṃ³⁶⁹>, kili kili, sili
 sili, ḍhili ḍhili,³⁷⁰ dhili dhili,³⁷¹ hūṃ hūṃ³⁷² phaṭ

iti. ayam mantra ekavāram paṭhitavyaḥ.³⁷³

[§38] {K67r} tad anu ca –

*om vajrālli hoḥ jaḥ hūṃ³⁷⁴ vaṃ hoḥ, vajraḍākinyaḥ samayas
 tvam ḍṛśya hoḥ.

ity ayam mantra. ekadvitricatuḥpañcavārān uccārya ḍhaukayed
 amṛtam. tata ācamanādikaṃ kṛtvābhimata³⁷⁵ siddhyartham
 ślokaṃ idaṃ paṭhet –

bhavaśamasamasāṅgā³⁷⁶ bhagnasaṃkalpabhaṅgāḥ³⁷⁷
 kham iva sakalabhāvaṃ³⁷⁸ bhāvato vikṣamāṇāḥ |
 gurutarakarūṇāmbhaḥ³⁷⁹ sphītacittāmbunāthāḥ
 kuruta kuruta devyo mayy ativānukampām | (69)

362 *bhujāṅgaṃ*] K; *bhujāṅga* N, D.

363 *ākaḍḍa* 2 OR *ākaṭṭa* 2] K; *ākadya* 2 N, D, *ākaddhya ākaḍḍhya* Tib. (See variants §33.)

364 omit] conj. (§33); *hlaum* codd.

365 *jloṃ* 2] N, (§33); *jlaum* 2 K; *jrom* 2 D, *jñaum jñaum* Tib. (See variants §33.)

366 *kṣmām* 2] K; omit N, *kṣyām* 2 D; *kṣyām, kṣmam kṣmam* Tib., §33 (See variants.)

367 *hām* 2] K, N; *hām* D.

368 *hiṃ* 2] K, *hiṃ* D; omit N (See variants §33.)

369 *hūṃ hūṃ*] conj. (§33); omit K, N; *hi-ūṃ* D (for Cakravarmiṇi).

370 *ḍhili* 2] K; *hili hili* N, D; *cili cili* Tib, §33 (See variants for Cakravartini.)

371 *dhili* 2] K, N; *dhiri* 2 D.

372 *hūṃ hūṃ*] K, N; *hum hum* D, *hum hūṃ* Tib.

373 *ekavāram paṭhitavyaḥ*] em.; *ekavārah paṭhitavya* codd.

374 *jaḥ hūṃ*] K, N; *ja hum* D.

375 *kṛtvābhimata*] corr.; *kṛtvā 'bhimata* K, N; *kṛtvā abhimata* D.

376 *bhavaśamasamasāṅgā*] N, D; * *bhavaśamasāṅgā. masāṅgā* K (The insertion mark may relate to the cursive Tibetan in upper margin.)

377 *bhaṅgāḥ*] K, N; *saṅgāḥ* D.

378 *sakalabhāvaṃ*] codd.; *bhāvān* SUT 8.28 (ed.).

379 *āmbhaḥ*] em.; *āmbha* codd.

*sarpam vā tarjaya tarjaya, ākaḍḍa ākaḍḍa, hrīm hrīm, jloṃ
jloṃ, kṣmāṃ kṣmāṃ, hām hām, hiṃ hiṃ, <hūṃ hūṃ>, kili
kili, sili sili, dhili dhili, dhili dhili, hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ*^{lii}

This mantra is to be recited once.

[§38] And then this mantra [for the thirteenfold maṇḍala]:

*oṃ vajrāralli hoḥ jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ, vajradākinyah samayas
tvam dṛśya hoḥ*^{liii}

Having recited [it] once, twice, three, four, [or] five times, he should offer the nectar. Then having performed the sipping (*ācamanam*) [of nectar, accompanied by the mantra recitation and other rituals (?)],⁵⁹¹ he should recite this verse in order to gain siddhi.

(69) “O ye who are equally conjoined to existence and to quietude, by whom the obstacles of conceptualization have been broken, regarding all existing things as [like] space because of the state you have realized (*bhāvataḥ*), the oceans of whose hearts are filled with the water of extreme compassion: Pray, goddesses, bestow immeasurable compassion upon me!”⁵⁹²

lii See §33 for translation, and chapter 3 for a discussion of its structure.

liii “O Vajrāralli!...Vajradākinis! You [singular] are the pledge! Ah, pleasing!”

iti.

- [§39] tato 'ṣṭaśmaśānasthitadikpālādīnāṃ dikṣu vidikṣu ca pūrvavat
bhrāmayan³⁸⁰ mantram dvitrivārān paṭhann³⁸¹ upaḍhaukayed
amṛtam.³⁸²
tatrāyam mantrah – {D5or}

oṃ kha kha khāhi khāhi
sarvayakṣarākṣasabhūtapretapiśāconmādāpasmāraḍākaḍākinyā-
daya³⁸³ imaṃ balim grhṇantu samayaṃ rakṣantu mama
sarvasiddhiṃ prayacchantu yathaivaṃ yatheṣṭaṃ bhuñjatha
pibatha jighratha mātikramatha mama sarvākāratayā satsukha-
vivṛddhaye³⁸⁴ sahāyakā bhavantu hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā.

iti dikpālāḥ samtuṣṭāḥ santo bhāvakasya siddhiṃ dadato
draṣṭavyāḥ. {K67v}

- [§40] tad anu teṣāṃ samudāyena tāmbulādikaṃ dattvā cchomakahas-
tena samcchomya vāmena nyūnādhikavidhiparipūraṇārthaṃ
ghaṇṭāṃ vādayan pūrvam paṭhen mantram amuṃ – {N48r}

oṃ vajraheruka samayaṃ anupālāya, herukatvenopatiṣṭha,
dṛḍho me bhava, sutoṣyo me bhava, supoṣyo me bhava, anu-
rakto me bhava, sarvasiddhiṃ me prayaccha, sarvakarmasu ca
me cittam śreyah kuru hūṃ, ha ha ha ha hoḥ bhagavan vajra-
heruka mā me muñca, heruko bhava mahāsamayasattva aḥ
hūṃ phaṭ

380 *bhrāmayan*] K, N; *bhrāmayet* D.

381 *paṭhann*] K; *paṭhan* N; omit D.

382 *amṛtam*] N; *amṛtaḥ* K; *amṛta* D.

383 *ḍākinyādaya*] GSSII codd.; *ḍākinyādayaḥ* YSCT (A5r, B7r).

384 *satsukhavivṛddhaye*] GSSII codd., GSS5 (K29v6); *satsukhaviśuddhaye* YSCT. (B7r2), HĀ (f.14v1); *pravṛddhaye*; YSCT (A5r4).

- [§39] Then, circulating [the bowl] as before in the cardinal directions and intermediate directions, uttering the mantra twice or thrice, he should offer the nectar to the protectors of the quarters who are in the eight cremation grounds. This is the mantra [for the protectors]:

*om kha kha khāhi khāhi sarvayakṣarākṣasabhūtapretapiśā-
conmādāpasmāradākādākinyādaya imam balim grhṇantu
samayaṃ rakṣantu mama sarvasiddhiṃ prayacchantu yath-
aivam yatheṣṭam bhuñjatha pibatha jighratha mātikramatha
mama sarvākāratayā satsukhavivṛddhaye sahāyakā bhavantu
hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā^{liv}*

With this (*iti*), the protectors of the quarters should be seen being gratified [and thus] granting siddhi to the meditator.

- [§40] Next,⁵⁹³ having given the betel and so on to those [deities and protectors] collectively (*samudāyena*), he should make the signals (*saṃcchomya*) using hand signs (*cchoma*), [and then] he should first recite this mantra, ringing the bell with his left hand in order to fill out omissions or [to counteract] additions in the rite:

*om vajraheruka samayaṃ anupālaya, herukatvenopatiṣṭha,
dṛḍho me bhava, sutoṣyo me bhava, supoṣyo me bhava, anurakto
me bhava, sarvasiddhiṃ me prayaccha, sarvakarmasu ca me
cittam śreyah kuru hūṃ, ha ha ha ha hoḥ bhagavan vajraheruka
mā me muñca, heruko bhava mahāsamayasattva āḥ hūṃ phaṭ^{lv}*

liv “...Eat! All *yakṣas*, demons, spirits, hungry ghosts, *piśāca* demons, madness [demons], epilepsy [demons], *ḍākas*, *ḍākinis* etc.! May you accept this *balī*! May you protect the pledge! May you grant me all siddhis! As you like it, as you want it, eat, drink, savor! Do not transgress [your pledge]! May you be my helpers so that [my experience of] excellent bliss may increase all-encompassingly (*sarvākāratayā*)!”

lv “O Vajraheruka! Guard the pledge! Be present to me as Heruka! Be firm for me! Be very glad for me! Be very abundant for me! Love me deeply! Grant me all siddhi! And in all actions, make my intention better!...(laughter)...O blessed one, Vajraheruka! Do not desert me! Be a Heruka, great samaya being!...” This invocation of Heruka is an adaptation from the more frequent invocation of Vajrasattva, also found in Vajravārāhī texts (e.g., SM218 p. 430).

iti. tataḥ oṃ yogaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ yogaśuddho 'ham iti
 paṭhan kamalāvartamudrayā samtoṣya
 tanmudropasamhāreṇāliṅganābhinayaṃ
 kṛtvānāmikāṅguṣṭha³⁸⁵ cchoṭikādānapūrvakam, oṃ mur iti
 mantraṃ paṭhan visarjya tac cakram ātmani³⁸⁶ praveśayet.

[§41] †atha bāhyapūjāvidhir ucyate. prātar utthāya svadevatāyogavān
 yogī³⁸⁷ śucipradeśe vāmahastaṃ dattvā³⁸⁸ {D50v} oṃ sumbha
 nisumbhetyādīmantracatuṣṭayam uccārya
 pañcāmṛtasugandhādivaṭikayā³⁸⁹ {K68r} pañcāmṛtādyabhāve
 'nyatamamiśritayā vā gomayamiśritayā vā madhya³⁹⁰ vartulaṃ
 trikoṇaṃ maṇḍalaṃ kṛtvā
 tanmadhyāvasthita³⁹¹ rakta<padma³⁹²>karṇikāyāṃ hrdayanirgataṃ
 vaṃkāram avasthāpya tadbijaraśmibhir³⁹³ jñānasvabhāvāṃ bhaga-
 vatim āniya vaṃkāre praveśya tatpariṇatāṃ bhagavatim paśyet.

[§42] †tato hrdbijavinirgatapuṣpādyaiḥ sampūjya
 yathāvidhīśodhita³⁹⁴ vāmakareṇa oṃ āḥ hūṃ iti mantraṃ
 uccārayan puṣpaṃ dadyāt tad anu {N48v}
 hrdayopahrdayāṣṭapadais ca puṣpaṃ dadyāt. tad anu

385 āliṅganābhinayaṃ kṛtvānāmikāṅguṣṭha] conj.; āliṅganābhinayenānāmikāṅguṣṭha-
 K, N; ābhinayanā- D; cf. āliṅganābhinayaṃ kṛtvā cchoṭikāṃ ca dattvā (GSSII
 §45); āliṅganābhinayaṃ pūrvakam (GSS5=Finot).

386 ātmani] GSSII codd.; cf. ātmani sarvātmanā (GSS5).

387 śucipradeśe→gomayamiśritayā vā] GSSII codd. ≈ GSS5. (Possibly emend as per
 Finot: śucipradeśe pañcāmṛtasugandhādivaṭikayā pañcāmṛtādyabhāve 'nyata-
 mamiśritayā vā gomayamiśritayā vā vāmahastaṃ dattvā oṃ sumbha nisumbhe-
 tyādīmantracatuṣṭayam uccārya.)

388 vāmahastaṃ dattvā] codd. GSSII; cf. hastaṃ dattvā (GSS5); samputahastaṃ
 dattvā (Finot).

389 vaṭikayā] K, N; vaṭikayo D (see Translation).

390 vā madhya] K; madhye N, D.

391 tanmadhyāvasthita] em.; madhya(va)sthita K(add); madhyevasthita N; tatma-
 dhyevasthita D.

392 padma] Tib. (p. 47.2: padma'i), omit codd.

393 raśmibhir] N; raśmibhi K; rasmibhi D.

394 yathāvi<dhi>śodhita] conj.; yathāviśodhita codd.; cf. yathāvidhīśodhitamadanena
 (§46 in apparatus & GSS5 ≈§42 & ≈§46); but yathāśodhitamadanena (§49, &
 Finot p. 52).

Then reciting [the emptiness mantra]

oṃ yogaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ yogaśuddho 'ham'^{lvi}

he should gratify [the deities] with the lotus-turning gesture (*kamalāvartamudrā*),^{lvii} [then] releasing that mudrā, he should make the gesture of embrace; [then] he should dismiss [them] with a snap of the thumb and fourth finger while reciting the mantra *oṃ muḥ*,⁵⁹⁴ [and finally] he should make that circle [of deities] enter into himself.

[§41] Next⁵⁹⁵ the rite of external worship is given. The yogin in union with his chosen deity should rise before sunrise (*prātaḥ*);^{lviii} [then] having placed his left hand on a pure spot⁵⁹⁶ [and] having recited the set of four mantras beginning *oṃ sumbha nisumbha* [§3], he should make a maṇḍala [of] a triangle [∇] with a circle inside, using a pill (*vaṭikā*)^{lix} composed of the five nectars, fragrant powders, and so forth, or if [the full range of substances starting with] the five nectars cannot be found, [using a paste] mixed with [just] one of them, or with cow dung. [Having then traced a red lotus in the center of the maṇḍala within the triangle ∇], he should install, on the pericarp of that red lotus within the maṇḍala, a *vaṃ* syllable, [which he should visualize as having] emerged from his heart. Having [then] drawn down the goddess in her wisdom form (*jñānasvabhāva*) with the rays from that seed-syllable, and having made her enter into the *vaṃ* syllable, he should visualize her transformed out of that [*vaṃ*].

[§42] Next, having worshiped [her] with flowers [and the other traditional offerings] issuing from the seed-syllable in [his] heart, he should offer a flower with his left hand that has been purified according to the [correct] method, while reciting the mantra *oṃ āḥ hūṃ*. Then he should also (*ca*) offer a flower with the heart,

lvi “All existents are pure by yoga; I am pure by yoga.”

lvii For *kamalāvartamudrā*, the lotus-turning gesture, see chapter 3.

lviii An hour and a half, or two hours, before dawn.

lix Sometimes *vaṭikā* is interchangeable for *gudikā* or *gulikā*, meaning “pill,” or as here, something more paste-like.

śmaśānasthita³⁹⁵ dikpālādikaṃ tryakṣareṇa saṃpūjya nāma vidarbhitaṇa pūjayet.

[§43] *tato vāmakaravinyastānāṃ devatānāṃ tattat³⁹⁶sthāneṣu tattanmantreṇa³⁹⁷ vakṣyamāṇena³⁹⁸ om ha ityādina³⁹⁹ puṣpaṃ dadyāt. <tatas tad vāmakaragatapūṣpaṃ aṣṭapadamantroccāraṇa>-pūrvakaṃ maṇḍale prakṣipyā śīraṣi puṣpāñjaliṃ baddhvā vāmakaragataṃ⁴⁰⁰ devatācakram⁴⁰¹ ātmani praveśayet.

[§44] *tato hr̥dayāṣṭapadamantrair anyaiś ca stotraiḥ⁴⁰² stutiṃ {K68v} ca kṛtvā pāpadeśanādikaṃ dhyānaja papraṇidhānādikaṃ ca kṛtvā –

[§45] *nyūnādhikavidhicchidrapūraṇārthaṃ śatākṣaramantram paṭhet. tad anu om yogaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmā yogaśuddho 'ham {D51r} iti mantrapāṭha⁴⁰³ pūrvakaṃ kamalāvartamudrayā saṃtoṣya tanmudropasamhāreṇāliṅganābhinayaṃ⁴⁰⁴ kṛtvā cchoṭikāṃ ca dattvā bhūmiṃ⁴⁰⁵ spr̥śan om mur iti mantreṇa viśṛjya tāṃ devatīm ātmani praveśayet. tato maṇḍala⁴⁰⁶rekhaṃ lumped⁴⁰⁷ iti.

395 sthita] Kac; (sthita) K(del?); omit N, D.

396 vāmakaravinyastānāṃ devatānāṃ tattat] em.; -vinyasta nai tattat K; -vinyasta - - N; -vinyastā (da?)kṣīnakare D.

397 mantreṇa] codd., Kpc.; mantre(su)ṇa K(del).

398 vakṣyamāṇena] conj. Sanderson; rakṣamāṇena codd.

399 puṣpaṃ→pūrvakaṃ] conj.; puṣpaṃ dadyāt *. (tadārgha?* tasme vāmakaragatapūṣpamadhupadoccārana)(mgz) tad anu śmaśānasthitadikpālādikaṃ tryakṣareṇapūrvakaṃ K; puṣpaṃ dadyāt tad anu śmaśānasthitadikpālādikaṃ tryakṣareṇapūrvakaṃ N, D. Cf. GSS5/Finot in Textual Note.

400 gataṃ] codd., Kpc; (ga)gataṃ K(del).

401 devatācakram] corr.; devatācakramm codd.

402 stotraiḥ] N, D; stautraiḥ K.

403 pāṭha] K, N; pāṭha D.

404 saṃhāreṇāliṅganābhinayaṃ] corr.; saṃhāreṇā(liṅganā)linayaṃ K(add2); saṃhāreṇālinayaṃ N; saṃhāraṇālinayaṃ D.

405 bhūmiṃ] em.; bhūmi codd.

406 maṇḍala] K, N; maṇḍale D.

407 lumped] K, N; lumed D.

auxiliary-heart, and eight-part [mantras]. Then having worshiped the protectors of the quarters [and other inhabitants] in the cremation grounds with the three syllables, he should worship them by uttering their name followed by a single recitation of the three-syllabled mantra (*nāmaṣṭa*).⁵⁹⁷

[§43] Next, [according to the method of the hand worship to be described below, §46],⁵⁹⁸ he should offer a flower to the deities placed on his left hand in their respective positions with their respective mantras *oṃ ha*, etc.,^{lx} which I shall state presently. <Then (*tatas*)> having thrown onto the maṇḍala <that flower in [his] left hand> with (*pūrvakam*) <the recitation of the eight-part mantra>, he should form the flower gesture of offering at his head, [and then] he should cause the circle of deities on his left hand to enter into himself.

[§44] Next, having performed a praise [ritual] with the heart and eight-part mantras and with other verses of praise, he should perform [the “bodhisattva preparations,” namely, the sevenfold worship] starting with the confession of faults and the [*brahmavihāra*] meditations, the recitation [of the emptiness mantras], and the [bodhisattva] vow (*praṇidhānam*).^{lxi}

[§45] [And having performed these] he should recite the hundred-syllabled mantra in order to fill out omissions or [to counteract] additions in the rite. Then, to the accompaniment (*pūrvakam*) of the mantra recitation

oṃ yogaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ yogaśuddho 'ham^{lxii}

he should gratify [the deities] with the lotus-turning gesture (*kamalāvartamudrā*), [then] releasing that mudrā, he should make the gesture of embrace, and having given a snap [of the thumb and

lx The syllables are those of the armor (*kavaca*) deities and are thus a means of protecting the deities generated on the hand by armoring.

lxi The list describes the meditations preparatory to the sādhanā.

lxii Translated as above §40.

evam anayā⁴⁰⁸ diśā dvitīyādibhāvanākrameṣu devatīnām
pūjākramaḥ svayam ūhanīyaḥ.⁴⁰⁹

[§46] *atha hastapūjāvidhir ucyate. gaṇamaṇḍalādaḥ sveṣṭadevatāyukto
mantrī vāmahastavṛddhātarijjanī⁴¹⁰ madhyamānāmikākaniṣṭhāsu
nakheṣu ṣaṭsu⁴¹¹ yathākramaṃ vajrasattvavairocanāmitābhākṣo-
bhyaratnasambhavāmoghasiddhirūpān śuklasita⁴¹² raktakṣṇa-
pītaśyāma⁴¹³ varṇān.

{N49r}

*om ha,⁴¹⁴ nama hi, svāhā huṃ, vauṣaṭ he, huṃ huṃ ho, phaṭ
haṃ⁴¹⁵

iti mantrān nyaset. karodare tu jhaṭiti niṣpannam raktaṃ
pañcadalakamalaṃ {K69r} dhyātvā karṇikāmadhye
vajravārāhīśvarūpaṃ raktaṃ “om vaṃ” iti <bījaṃ⁴¹⁶> paśyet.
pūrvottarapaścimadakṣiṇakoṇadaleṣu⁴¹⁷ yathākramaṃ
yāminī⁴¹⁸ mohinīsaṃcālīnī⁴¹⁹ saṃtrāsīnīcaṇḍikāsvarūpānī
nīlaśuklapītaraharīta dhūmrādhūsaravarṇānī –

408 *evam anayā*] K, N; *evam matayā* D.

409 *svayam ūhanīyaḥ*] K, N; *svayam muhunīyaḥ* D.

410 *hastavṛddhātarijjanī*] Kpc., D; *ha(stavṛddhātarijjanīvāmaha)statarijjanī* K(del); *hastavṛddhātarijjanī* N.

411 *kaniṣṭhāsu nakheṣu ṣaṭsu*] K, N; *-ṣa(ta)su* D(correction mark). The Tibetan reads “the thumb’s face” **āṅguṣṭhamukha* (p. 48.2 *mthe bo’i gdong*). (See Textual Note for Sanskrit parallels.)

412 *sita*] Kac., N; *sita* °Kpc(mg2); (Tibetan *akṣaras* in the lower margin of K68v read *sita*); *sita* °D.; cf. *śuklapītaraktakṣṇaharita* (SM253=GSS5, i.e., omitting *sita*); Finot’s ms. is missing here altogether.

413 *pītaśyāma*] Kac.; *pītaśyāma* K(mg3) (Tibetan *akṣaras* on K68v6 gloss *śyāma* as *harita* at the insertion mark); *pītaraharita* N (=GSS5=SM253); *pīta* D.

414 *om ha*] K, D; *om haḥ* N.

415 *phaṭ haṃ*] K; *phaṭ 2 haṃ* N, D.

416 *bījaṃ*] GSS5 (understand dual); omitted GSS11 codd.

417 *dakṣiṇakoṇadaleṣu*] conj.; *dakṣiṇāsu koṇadaleṣu* K, N; *dakṣiṇeṣu koṇadaleṣu* D; GSS5=Finot reads: *pūrvādidigdaleṣu vāmāvartena yathākramaṃ*. Tib p. 48.4: *shar phyogs dang / byang phyogs dang / nub phyogs dang / lho phyogs dang / me mtshams kyi ’dab ma rnams la* “in the petals of the east, north, west, south, and fire direction (*me mtshams*) [i.e. southeast].”

418 *yāminī*] K, N; *yoginī* D.

419 *saṃcālīnī*] K, N; *saṃcārīnī* D.

fourth finger (§40)], he should dismiss [them] with the mantra *om muḥ*, [uttered] while touching the ground, [and then] make that goddess enter into himself. Then [finally] he should erase the outline (*rekḥā*) of the maṇḍala.

Along the same lines (*evam anayā diśā*), he should infer for himself the sequence of worship for the deities in the second, [third], and [fourth] meditation stages.

[§46] And now⁵⁹⁹ the rite of hand worship (*hastapūjā*) is explained. The mantrin, who is unified with his chosen deity in the festive maṇḍala (*gaṇamaṇḍala*)^{lxiii} and so forth, should place the mantras on the six [places of his hand, namely]: the thumb, first finger, middle finger, fourth finger, and little finger of the left hand [and] on the [tips of their] nails,⁶⁰⁰ in sequence, in the form of [the buddhas] Vajrasattva, Vairocana, Amitābha, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, [and] Amoghasiddhi, with the colors [pure] white (*śukla*), white (*sita*), red, black, yellow, and dark [green]:

om ha, nama hi, svāhā huṃ, vaṣaṭ he, huṃ huṃ ho, phaṭ haṃ^{lxiv}

But in the hollow of the palm, having meditatively produced (*niṣpannaṃ...dhyātvā*) a red five-petalled lotus all at once, he should see at the center of its pericarp the red <syllable(s)> *om vaṃ* as Vajravārāhī. In the eastern, northern, western, southern, <and> [southeastern] corner petals accordingly, he should see the syllables

lxiii The term *gaṇamaṇḍala* is parallel to *gaṇacakra*, the gathering of those who meet on the occasion of a tantric feast.

lxiv These are the Cakrasaṃvara male armor (*kavaca*) syllables that appear with many minor variants in the texts (and are represented iconographically in the Mongolian icons). See Textual Notes for details.

hām yom, hrīm mom, hrem hrīm, hum hum,⁴²⁰ phaṭ phaṭ

iti bījāni paśyet. etatkarasthabijākṣarapratibimbaṃ tricakram⁴²¹
vādhah karaprṣṭhe⁴²² parisphuvaṃ paśyet.

[§47] †⁴²³tataḥ karagatāni sakala⁴²⁴ bījākṣarāṇi {D5IV} *dravadravyeṇa*⁴²⁵
mrakṣayitvā karatalaṃ sarvayoginibhir adhiṣṭhitam dhyātvā *tad-*
dravādidravyaṃ[†] tryakṣareṇāṣṭapadamantreṇa vā dadyāt.

[§48] †tataḥ sampūjya nyūnādhikavidhicchidrapūraṇārtham⁴²⁶
śatākṣaramantram paṭhitvā vajrayoginyā adhiṣṭhānārtham⁴²⁷

devyaḥ pramāṇaṃ samayaḥ pramāṇam | (cf. v. 68)

ityādinādhyeṣya tatkaragatadravyam aparadravye pātre vā⁴²⁸
sthāpayitvā, hasta⁴²⁹ lagna dravyeṇa vāmānāmikāgṛhītena
hrījīhvāśīrāṃsi hūṃ āḥ om ity {K69v} uccārya mrakṣayaṃ tad-
devatāvṛndam ātmani praviṣṭam adhimuñcet iti. eṣa tu vidhiḥ
saṃcāratantroktō⁴³⁰ boddhavyaḥ.

420 *hum hum*] codd.; *hūm hūm* Tib.

421 *tricakram*] codd. GSSII; cf. *trayacakram* (GSS5=SM253).

422 *karaprṣṭhe*] GSSII; cf. *karaprṣṭhe 'pi* (GSS5=Finot).

423 *tataḥ karagatān → adhimuñcet*] added GSS5 (≈SM253); omit GSSII

424 *sakala*] K, N; *kara* D.

425 *dravadravyeṇa*] conj.; *yathāvidhiśodhitamadanena* codd.; cf. *dravadravyeṇa* (GSS5); *dravadravyeṇa* (SM253 ed.); *upadravadravyeṇa* (SM253 mss. AC); *dravadravyaṇi* (Finot, who mistakenly records SM253 as reading: *dravasravyeṇa*); Tib. p. 48.6 *dag par byas pa'i myos byed* "with the intoxicant that purifies."

426 *nyūnādhika*] K, N; *nyunā-pūraṇā*** D.

427 *vajrayoginyā adhi*] conj.; *vajrayoginyādhi* codd.

428 *aparadravye pātre vā*] conj.; *aparadravyapātre vā* codd.; cf. *aparadravye 'nyatra vā* (GSS5); *aparasmīn dravye 'nyatra vā* (Finot, SM253), Tib. (p. 49.1).

429 *hasta*] K, N; *haste* D.

430 *antroktō*] K; *antroktā* N, D. (Tib. omits *eṣa tu → boddhavyaḥ*.)

hām yom, hrīm mom, hrem hrīm, hum hum, phaṭ phaṭ

in the form of [the remaining five armor goddesses], Yāminī, Mohinī, Saṃcālīnī, Saṃtrāsīnī, [and] Caṇḍikā, blue, white, yellow, green, and smoky gray in color.

On the back of his (*etat*) hand, underneath, he should see very clearly the mirror image of these seed-syllables on [the palm of] his hand, or alternatively, the three circles [of the maṇḍala, with their mantra deities].

[§47] <^{lxv}> Then he should smear with liquid ingredient[s] (*drava-dravyeṇa*) all the seed-syllables in his hand, [and] having contemplated the palm of his hand as presided over by all the yoginīs,^{lxvi} he should offer these liquids and other substances [that he has smeared onto his hand] (*taddravādidravyam*) with the three syllables or with the eight-part mantra.

[§48] Then, having worshiped [the deities] [and] having recited the hundred-syllabled mantra in order to make good any defects of deficiency or excess in the rites, he should entreat [the goddesses] in order that Vajrayoginī [may] preside, with the [verse] beginning:

The goddesses are the authority, the *samaya* is the authority... (v. 67)

He should [then] place the substance on his hand into the other offering substance[s] or into [another] vessel. [Then,] smearing [himself] with the liquid [still] stuck to his hand—which has been dabbed (*grhīta*) by the left fourth finger onto the heart, tongue, and head—[while] pronouncing the syllables *hūṃ āḥ om*, he should

lxv An additional sentence is added here in GSS₅, cited in the Textual Note: “Next, he should be convinced that the elements earth, water, fire, wind, and space, having the nature of [the goddesses] Pātānī, Māraṇī, Ākarṣaṇī, Narteśvarī, [and] Padmajālīnī, are on his hand.”

lxvi The parallel texts read: “...being convinced that the palm of his hand has the nature of the three [maṇḍala] circles presided over by all the yoginīs.” (See Textual Note.)

[§49] *athavā⁴³¹ pūrvoktavidhiśodhitavāmakarasyānāmikayā⁴³² {N49v} yathā<vidhi>śodhita⁴³³ madanena⁴³⁴ sahitayā trikoṇaṃ vāmāvartena bhūmau maṇḍalakam⁴³⁵ kṛtvā tanmadhye hr̥dayavinirgatabījaṣṣpannāṃ vajravārāhīm aṣṭaśmaśānaśo-bhitāṃ dṛṣṭvā etasyai pañcāmṛtādirūpeṇa niṣpāditam khādyādikam⁴³⁶ tryakṣareṇaṣṭapadamantreṇa vā⁴³⁷ dhaukayitvā padmabhāṇḍādigatadravyam amṛtāyitam madanam vṛddhānāmikābhyam gr̥hītvā bhagavatim tryakṣaramantrahr̥day-opahr̥dayaṣṭapadamantraiḥ samtarpayet. śmaśānadevatās⁴³⁸ tryakṣareṇa tarpayet.

[§50] *evam saṃpūjya nyūnādhikavidhicchidrapūraṇārthaṃ śatākṣara-mantram paṭhitvā {D52r} devatādhiṣṭhānārthaṃ pūrvavad adhyeṣya ca <om> yogaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmā yogaśuddho 'ham iti paṭhan kamalāvartamudrayā samtoṣya
*mudropasaṃhāreṇāliṅganābhinayapūrvakam tricchoṭikābhir om mur iti viśṛjya devatām ātmani⁴³⁹ praveśayet. {K7or} tato bhūmigatamadanam vāmānāmikayā⁴⁴⁰ gr̥hītvā hr̥jjihvāśīrāṃsi hūṃ āḥ om ity uccārya mrakṣayet. karagatam api devatācakram ātmani praviṣṭam avalokayed iti.

431 *athavā*] codd. GSSII; cf. *atha* (SM253); *yad vā* (GSS5, Finot).

432 *ānāmikayā*] conj.; *ānāmikā* codd.

433 *yathāvidhiśodhita*] conj.; *yathāśodhita* codd.; cf. §41 with apparatus.

434 *madanena*] K, N; *madanene* D (*madanena*/*madanam* occurs several times in the text [see §49, cf. GSS5 K32v–33r] and is therefore left unemended; probably *madanam* is a mistake for *madanā* rather than *madaḥ* or *madyaḥ*.)

435 *maṇḍalakam*] K, N; *maṇḍalam* D.

436 *niṣpāditam khādyādikam*] conj.; *niṣpādita khādyādikam* K, N; *niṣpāditakam* D.

437 *vā*] conj.; (*kā*) K (del. of *k* to *v*?); *pra* N, D.

438 *devatās*] conj.; *devatām* codd.

439 *devatām ātmani*] conj.; *devatātmani* codd.; cf. *devatīm ātmani* (§45).

440 *madanam vāmānāmikayā*] K, D; (*dhra*)*danam* (*pya*)*mānāmikayā* N (faint).

have the firm conviction that the mass of deities on that [hand] has entered into himself. Know that this ritual is that which has been taught in the *[Yoginī]saṃcāra Tantra*.⁶⁰¹

[§49] Alternatively, with the fourth finger of his left hand, which has been purified according to the rite described above using wine made pure according to the [correct] rite, he should trace (*kṛtvā*) on the ground, in a counterclockwise direction, a triangular maṇḍala (*maṇḍalakam*).⁶⁰² [Then,] in the center of that [triangle], he should see Vajravārāhī produced from the seed-syllable emanated from his heart, beautified by the eight cremation grounds [around her]. [Then] he should offer to this [goddess] food and so on that has been generated in the form of the five nectars and so on, with [the recitation of either] the three syllables or the eight-part mantra. [Then,] having taken, with the fourth finger and thumb, the substance in the skull bowl *or other vessel* (?) (*ādi*), [that is,] the wine that has been turned into nectar, he should gratify the goddess [with it], with [the simultaneous recitation of] the three-syllabled mantra, the heart and auxiliary-heart, and eight-part mantras. He should satisfy the deities in the cremation grounds [i.e., the protectors of the quarters] with the three syllables.

[§50] Having worshiped [her] thus, he should [first] recite the hundred-syllabled mantra in order to make good any defects of deficiency or excess in the rites, and [then], having prayed [to the goddess] as before for the deities to preside (*devatādhīṣṭhāna*),^{lxvii} he should gratify [her] with the lotus turning gesture (*kamalāvartamudrā*), [while] reciting the [emptiness] mantra:

oṃ yogaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ yogaśuddho 'ham^{lxviii}

lxvii Presumably he prays as above, with the verse beginning, "The goddesses are the authority etc." (v. 67)

lxviii Translated as above §40.

evam anayā⁴⁴¹ diśā dvitīyādibhāvanākrameṣu svasvamantrair⁴⁴²
devatāḥ⁴⁴³ pūjayed iti.

[§51] †tad anu śuklahūṃkārapariṇataśuklavajrajihvām⁴⁴⁴ † *dakṣiṇahas-*
tasruvetarāhutiḥ †⁴⁴⁵ svanābhikamale {N50r} karṇikāvyaavasthitām
jvālāmālākulām devīm juhuyād ity⁴⁴⁶ adhyātmahomavidhiḥ.

[§52] †tad anu –

om āḥ ucchiṣṭavajrādhitiṣṭhemam⁴⁴⁷ balim hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ
phaṭ svāhā,

iti mantreṇ occhiṣṭa *balim adhisthāpayet*⁴⁴⁸ bahir gatveti.

441 *evam anayā*] Kpc.; *evamm* [˘](an)ayā K(add); *evamm* – N; *evammaśa* D.

442 *svasvamantrair*] K; *svasvamantra* N, D.

443 *devatāḥ*] D; *devatyah* K, N.

444 *jihvām*] conj.; *jihvā* codd.

445 *sruvetarā*] corr.; *śruvetarā* K; (*chu?*)*vatarā* N; *śruvatarā* D.

446 *juhuyād ity*] corr.; *juhuyād iti* K; *juhuyādi* N; *juhuyāt iti* D.

447 *ucchiṣṭavajrādhitiṣṭhemam*] conj.; *utsiṣṭavajrādhīṣṭhemam* codd.

448 *occhiṣṭabalim adhisthāpayet*] conj.; *otsiṣṭabalir adhi(ti-)ṣṭhed* K(unfinished);
otsiṣṭabalir adhiṣṭhed N; *ātsiṣṭabalir adhiṣṭhad* D. (See Textual Note.)

He should [then] dismiss [the goddess] first by withdrawing that [*kamalāvarta*]*mūdrā* and making the gesture of embrace, [and then] by [giving] three snaps [of the thumb and fourth finger, §40] with (*iti*) [the syllables] *oṃ muḥ*. He should [then] make that goddess enter into himself.

Next, having taken the wine on the ground [used for tracing the maṇḍala] on the fourth finger of the left hand, he should smear [it] onto his heart, tongue, and head uttering *hūṃ āḥ oṃ*. He should also visualize the assembly of deities on his hand entering himself.

In the same way he should worship the deities in the second and [in the third and fourth] meditation stages, using the mantras of each.

[§51] Next, [the practitioner] should make oblations to the goddess [who is visualized] standing (*vyavasthita*) on the pericarp on the lotus in his own navel, engulfed in flames, [and] with a white vajra tongue, [which he has visualized] transformed from the white syllable *hūṃ*. † [*The practitioner understands Rasanā as*] his right hand holding the ladle (*sruvaḥ*),^{lxix} and [*Lalanā as*] his left hand holding the oblation [vessel] (*āhutiḥ*); his navel [at the *Avadhūtī*] is the fire pit.⁶⁰³ † This is the rite of internal oblation.

[§52] Next,

*oṃ āḥ ucchiṣṭavajrādhitiṣṭhemam baliṃ hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ
svāhā*^{lxx}

—with this (*iti*) mantra he should go outside and make [the deity of leftovers, *Ucchiṣṭavajra*], preside over the leftover *bali*.

lxix Monier-Williams (1899) defines *sruvaḥ* as, “a small wooden ladle (with a double extremity, or two oval collateral excavations, used for pouring clarified melted butter into the large ladle or *Sruk*; sometimes also employed instead of the latter in libations).”

lxx “*Oṃ āḥ Ucchiṣṭavajra*, preside [over] this *bali*...”

*idānīm *prāguddiṣṭam*⁴⁴⁹ śmaśānam ucyate –

prācyām udīcyām varuṇānvitāyām
yāmeśvarāyām diśi vai śmaśānam |
caṇḍogranāmātha ca⁴⁵⁰ gahvaram ca
*karaṇkakākhyam ca subhīṣaṇam ca | (70)

eṣu śmaśāneṣu⁴⁵¹ śīrīṣabodhi⁴⁵²
kaṇkelicūtau kramato drumāḥ syuḥ⁴⁵³ |
indraḥ kuberō⁴⁵⁴ varuṇo yamaś ca |
prācyādikoṇe patayo⁴⁵⁵ 'nubodhyāḥ | (71)

{K70v}

śrīvāsukis takṣakasamjñakaś ca
karkoṭapadmāv iha santi nāgāḥ |
meghās tv amī garjitaḥhūrṇitau ca⁴⁵⁶
ghoras tathāvartakaśabdavācyāḥ | (72)

{D52v}

iśānavaiśvānarajātudhāna⁴⁵⁷ –
prabhañjanānām⁴⁵⁸ atha koṇakeṣu |
caturṣu catvāry atibhīṣaṇāni⁴⁵⁹
kramāc chmaśānāni vasanty amūni | (73)

449 *prāguddiṣṭam*] ?conj.; *prāguddiṣṭa* codd.

450 *nāmātha ca*] conj.; *nātham ātha ca* codd.

451 *śmaśāneṣu*] conj.; *śmaśāne* codd.

452 *śīrīṣabodhi*] K; *śīrīṣabodhi* N; *śīrīṣabodhi* D.

453 *drumāḥ syuḥ*] em.; *drumā* (syu)ḥ K(unclear); *drumās* ca N; *drumāḥ* D.

454 *kuberō*] K; *kubera* N; *kuberau* D.

455 *koṇe patayo*] conj.; *ko(ne)ṣṭhāyatayo* K(del); *koṣṭhāyata(py?)o* N; *(kā?)ṣṭhāyatayo* D.

456 *garjitaḥhūrṇitau ca*] Kpc.; *garji(taghūrṇi)tāu* ca K(add2); *garjitā* ca Kac.; *garjitā* ca N, D.

457 *vaiśvānarajātudhāna*–] em. (unmetric); –(jā)tudhānaḥ K, D(corr. mark);
vaiśvānala – yāt tu dhāne N.

458 *janānām*] K, D; *janāpram* N.

459 *atibhīṣaṇāni*] conj.; *atibhīṣaṇeṣu* codd.

[Cremation Grounds]

Now the cremation grounds are taught, as indicated above [v. 16].

- (70) In the eastern, northern, western, [and] southern direction are the cremation grounds Caṇḍogra, Gahvara, Karaṅkaka, and Subhīṣaṇa.^{lxxi}
- (71) In these cremation grounds there are the trees Śīriṣa, Bodhi, Kaṅkeli (Aśoka), and Cūta, respectively. Know that Indra, Kubera, Varuṇa, and Yama are the lords [dwelling] in the “area” (? *koṇe*)^{lxxii} of the east, [north, west, and south].
- (72) Vāsuki, Takṣaka, Karkoṭa, and Padma are the serpents (*nāgas*) here. The clouds are Garjita and Ghūrṇita, Ghora, and Āvartaka.^{lxxiii}
- (73) Then in the four intermediate points belonging to Īśāna (Śiva, NE), Vaiśvānara (Agni, SE), Jātudhāna (Nairṛti, SW), and Prabhañjana (Vāyu, NW) dwell these very terrifying cremation grounds, in order:

- lxxi “Fierce/Formidable” (Caṇḍogra, east); “Deep/Impenetrable” (Gahvara, north); “[Place] with bones” (Karaṅkaka, west); “Very Frightening” (Subhīṣaṇa, south).
- lxxii (?) *koṇe* cannot here mean “intermediate point” or “corner(s),” but must be “part” or “area” encompassed by the cardinal directions, or possibly the corner of each cremation ground.
- lxxiii “Thundered” (√*garj*: to thunder, roar), “Rolled” (√*ghūrṇ*: to roll, shake), “Awful Cry” (√*ghur*: to frighten with cries), Āvartaka, “Thunder Cloud” (personified).

aṭṭaṭṭahāsadhvanivācyam ekaṃ
 lakṣmīvanam nāma tathā dvitīyam |
 ghorāndhakāraṃ ca yathārthanāma
 kilāravākhyam⁴⁶⁰ kila śābdapurvam⁴⁶¹ | (74)

vṛkṣāḥ krameṇa trivaṭaḥ karañjaḥ⁴⁶²
 śrīmallaṭāparkaṭir arjunaś ca |
 īśānavaiśvānarajātudhāna⁴⁶³
 prabhañjanān koṇapatīn⁴⁶⁴ pratihi | (75)

nāgās⁴⁶⁵ tu padmo mahatā viśiṣṭo
 hulur dvir uktaḥ *kulikaś*⁴⁶⁶ ca śaṃkhaḥ {N5ov}
 eko ghano⁴⁶⁷ dvau *prapurāṇa*⁴⁶⁸ varṣau
 caṇḍaś caturtho⁴⁶⁹ jaladāḥ⁴⁷⁰ syur ete | (76)

idaṃ vidhāyopacitaṃ madiyaṃ
 puṇyaṃ śaraccandramarīcigauram |
 tenāhatāśeṣavikalpadoṣāḥ
 śrīvajradevīpadaviṃ labhantām⁴⁷¹ | (77)

<⁴⁷²> śrīvajravārāhīsādhanam samāptam. kṛtir iyaṃ paṇḍitamā-
 hopādhyāyaśrī-umāpatidevapādānām iti. {K71r}

460 *vākhyam*] em.; *vākhyā* K; *vākhyā(ṃ)* N(del?), D.

461 *kila śābdapurvam*] Kpc.; *kila śabda* (purvam) K(add2); *kila śabda* - - - N; *śabda* D.

462 *trivaṭaḥ karañjaḥ*] K; *trivaṭaka karañja* N; *trivaṭaḥ karañja* D.

463 *jātudhāna*] K; (*jā*)tudhāne N, D(corr. mark).

464 *prabhañjanān koṇapatīn*] K; *prabhañjanāna koṇapatīna* N; *prabhañjanāna koṇapatīna* D.

465 *nāgās*] em.; *nāgas* codd.

466 *kulikaś*] ?em.; *kuliśaś* codd.; (Kulika is given in SUT ch. 17, v. 40d and Śmaśānavidhi v. 17; also in HT texts.)

467 *ghano*] em.; *ghane* K; *ghana* N.

468 *prapurāṇa*] codd.; *prapūraṇa* SUT ch. 17, v. 42c.

469 *caṇḍaś caturtho*] Kpc.; *caṇḍaś catu(ly)artha* K(del); *catulyartha* N, D.

470 *jaladāḥ*] em.; *jaladā* codd.

471 *labhantām*] K; *labhante* N, *labhante* – D.

472 *iti śrīguhyasamayatanre*] D; omit K, N.

- (74) First is Aṭṭaṭṭahāsa,^{lxxiv} Lakṣmīvana is second, [then] the appropriately named Ghorāndhakāra (Terrible Darkness), and [finally] Kilakilārava.^{lxxv}
- (75) The trees, in order, are the Trivāṭa (Triple Banyan), Karañja, the glorious creeper Parkaṭi, and Arjuna. Know Īśāna (Śiva), Vaiśvānara (Agni), Jātudhāna (Nairṛti), and Prabhañjana (Vāyu) as the lords of the intermediate directions.
- (76) The *nāgas* are Mahāpadma,^{lxxvi} Huluhulu, *Kulika*, and Śaṅkha. These are the clouds [in the intermediate directions]: Ghana; *Prapurāṇa* (or: *Prapūraṇa*),⁶⁰⁴ Varṣa, and Caṇḍa as the fourth.^{lxxvii}
- (77) Having composed this [sādhana], I have accumulated merit that is as fair as the rays of the autumn moon. By it may [all beings], with the entire faults of conceptualization destroyed, attain the state (*padavi*) of the glorious vajra goddess (*vajradevi*)!

Here ends the sādhana of the glorious Vajravārāhī.

It was written by Paṇḍita Mahopādhyāya^{lxxviii} Umāpatideva.

lxxiv Literally, “denoted by the name Aṭṭaṭṭahāsa” (*aṭṭaṭṭa* is the sound of boisterous laughter especially associated with Śiva).

lxxv Boisterous Laughter (Aṭṭaṭṭahāsa, NE), Fortune Forest or Spring of Splendor or Abundant Wealth (?Lakṣmīvana, SE), Terrible Darkness (Ghorāndhakāra, SW), and Kila-kila Clamor (Kilakilārava, NW).

lxxvi Literally, “Padma is distinguished by his ‘greatness’” (i.e., because of the word *mahā*).

lxxvii Cloud Mass (Ghana, NE), Very Old/Very Full (Prapurāṇa/Prapūraṇa, SE), Rain (Varṣa, SW), Deluge Cloud (Caṇḍa, NW).

lxxviii Paṇḍita (scholar) and Mahopādhyāya (great teacher) are academic titles.

Conventions, Abbreviations, and Symbols

Conventions in the Translation

commentary	Translation of terse Sanskrit passages dealing with the analysis of terms tends to be generous. The translation of the term under discussion is given in double quotation marks, with its Sanskrit original appearing beside it in parentheses. If the author provides an additional gloss of the Sanskrit word, this will be contained within parentheses with the symbol > showing that it is a gloss, thus: “Awareness” (<i>smṛtiḥ</i> > <i>smaraṇam</i>) means....
endnotes (n.)	Endnotes provide additional comment on the translation where necessary, although the main discussion of the text is found in chapter 3.
English text	Square brackets [] enclose material that is additional to the Sanskrit text, e.g., <i>-ādi</i> (“beginning with,” “and so on”) is often filled out with the intended or implied referents.
footnotes (fn.)	Footnotes translate terms and names not given in the main text of the translation.
italics	English words in italics indicate that the text, or an emendation to the text, is uncertain at this point. Some untranslated Sanskrit terms are also in italics.
mantras	Mantras and seed-syllables are supplied in lowercase in italics. Where necessary, a summary translation is supplied in the footnotes, omitting seed-syllables and onomatopoeic syllables, and aiming to represent the lack of syntax.

proper names	Where a name seems to be an attempt to communicate the nature of a deity, a loose translation is given, using English compounds or phrases that reproduce the sometimes ambiguous compounding of the Sanskrit.
prose paragraphs [§]	The numbering and arrangement of prose paragraphs (§) is editorial.
Sanskrit text	Sanskrit text in parentheses indicates the word or passage translated, either because the translation needs clarification because the word is polyvalent, or because the translation is loose. Nouns in parentheses usually appear with their nominative inflections.
verse (v.)	Numbering of verses is editorial.
† †	Daggers enclose text that the editor judges corrupt but cannot emend.
‡	A double dagger in the text refers to the Textual Notes covering linguistic points, problems, and parallels.

Abbreviations and Symbols in the Sanskrit Text

§ [e.g., §1]	Prose portions of text are numbered editorially.
v., vv.	Verse numbers are added editorially.
‡	A double dagger indicates that there is a note in the Textual Notes on the associated word or passage.
{ }	Braces contain new folio numbers for each ms., e.g., {D39v}
< >	Angle brackets indicate text added editorially to the Sanskrit text or contain text added by a second hand in the manuscripts (as indicated).
† †	Daggers enclose letter(s) that the editor judges corrupt but cannot emend.
– or ˇ or ˘	Indicate the missing heavy, light, or optionally weighted syllables respectively in a hypometrical verse, e.g., <i>tathāgatān – vyavalokya samyak</i> .
bold	A syllable in bold indicates faulty meter that is left unemended.
<i>italics</i>	Words in italics indicate that the text, or an emendation to the text, is uncertain at this point.

punctuation	Punctuation is used only where the Sanskrit requires elucidation, e.g., a comma may be used where a full stop (<i>daṇḍaḥ</i>) is inappropriate, but where the silent omission of the <i>daṇḍa</i> would be confusing. Hyphens are used for word breaks, to introduce quotes, or for some recitation passages.
-------------	---

Abbreviations and Symbols in the Apparatus

ac	“Before correction” (<i>ante correcturam</i>), e.g., <i>kākāśya-kādyāḥ</i>] Kpc; <i>kākāśyodyāḥ</i> Kac.
add/add2	Added in the manuscript on the same line/added by a second hand on the same line, e.g., <i>idānīm</i> (<i>idam</i>) Kpc(add2).
cf.	Identifies allusions to testimonia for comparison, either identical (=) or similar (≈), that throw light upon the text, e.g., a paraphrase of its subject matter or a passage in the same or another text supporting the editor’s choice of reading.
codd.	The manuscripts K, N, and D (<i>codices</i>).
conj./conj. X	“I have conjectured.”/“X has conjectured.”
corr.	“I have corrected.”
corr. mark	Correction mark of three dots over an <i>akṣara</i> (found only in ms. D).
D	Devanāgarī paper ms. (ff. 39r3–52v8).
dam.	Damaged text.
del/del2	Deletion of letters in the manuscript by the first hand, or by a second hand, e.g., <i>sthā(nam)</i> K(del2).
<i>ditto</i> .	The reading in the manuscript is due to the scribal error of dittography.
ed. X	Edition by X.
em./em. X	“I have emended”/“X has emended.”
f., ff.	Folio, folios.
<i>haplo</i> .	The reading in the manuscript is due to the scribal error of haplography.
<i>hyper</i> .	A line of verse is hypermetrical, e.g.,... <i>snāpitāḥ sarvatathāgatām</i> is shown in the apparatus, <i>sarvatathāgatāḥ</i>] corr. (<i>hyper.</i>); <i>sarvatathāgatās</i> codd.

<i>hypo.</i>	A line of verse is hypometrical.
K	<i>Kuṭila</i> Newārī palmleaf ms. (ff. 53v4–71r1).
<i>meta.</i>	The reading in the manuscript is due to the scribal error of metathesis.
<i>metri causa</i>	“For the sake of the meter.”
mg/mg2	Text is placed in the margin by the first hand/by a second hand, e.g., (<i>saṃ</i>) <i>kalpa</i> K(mg2).
ms./mss.	Manuscript/manuscripts.
N	Newārī paper ms. (ff. 36v7–50v2).
omit. X	Omitted by X.
pc	“After correction” (<i>post correctionem</i>), e.g., <i>sthānaṃ</i>] Kpc; <i>sthā(naṃ)</i> K(add2).
r	folio recto.
<i>syncop.</i>	A line of verse is syncopated.
Tib.	Tibetan translation of <i>Vajravārāhīsādhana</i> by Umāpatidatta. Toh 1581/Ota 2292, N (T) 292.
<i>unmetric.</i>	The reading or suggested emendation is unmetrical.
v	folio verso.
X→Y	Used inclusively to indicate a passage of text, “from X to Y,” e.g., <i>pratītya</i> → <i>alīkaṃ</i> , “The passage starting <i>pratītya</i> and ending <i>alīkaṃ</i> .”
<i>x</i>	A syllable in bold indicates faulty meter that is left unemended.
§ [e.g., §1]	Prose portions of text, numbered for cross reference.
]	The square bracket encloses the lemma, presented as the accepted reading.
°	All letters prior to or following ° in the lemma are as they appear in the edited text. (The symbol is not reused for the variant readings or where the lemma is clear.)
~	A tilde in the variant readings indicates the continuation of text as in the lemma, e.g., <i>hantrīm kurutā</i>] K; <i>hantīm</i> ~ N; <i>hantī kuru</i> D (where tilde indicates “ <i>kurutā</i> ” in N).
(x)	In a variant, parentheses enclose the letters that are described beside the, e.g., <i>na(bha)sthās</i> K(mg2) means that <i>bha</i> has been added in K’s margin by a second hand; <i>mantred yā(va)t</i> K(add) means the <i>akṣara</i> “ <i>va</i> ” has been inserted into the line of text in K.

(x?)	In a variant, the letter x is uncertain in the manuscript.
x-	In a variant, the letter x is an unfinished <i>akṣara</i> in the manuscript.
-	A hyphen above the line indicates a marked omission in the text, e.g., <i>ya</i> ⁻ .
- (e.g., -7-)	A hyphen on the line indicates an unmarked omission in the text of approximately one <i>akṣara</i> . The estimated number of <i>akṣaras</i> that the lacuna represents will be given for larger gaps, e.g., <i>vāma</i> -7- N
*	Illegible syllables in the text are indicated by asterisks.
∨	Omission marker in the text.
⊗	Decoration in the text.

Other Editors

Finot	L. Finot (<i>Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi</i> ed. 1934).
Isaacson	Dr. Harunaga Isaacson (personal communication).
Meisezahl	R. O. Meisezahl (<i>Geist und Ikonographie</i> , 1980).
Sanderson	Professor Alexis Sanderson (personal communication).
Tsuda	S. Tsuda (<i>The Saṃvarodaya Tantra: Selected Chapters</i> , 1974).

Silent Editorial Standardizations

The text has been regularized in the following respects:

1. Final *ṃ* > *m*.
2. Homorganic nasals in external *sandhi* of *m* > *ṃ*.
3. Seed-syllables are shown without external *sandhi*.
4. *Avagrahas* have been added.
5. Consonants after *r*, frequently doubled in the mss., are single.
6. Double *t*'s before *v* (e.g., *tattva*, *bodhisattva*) where the scribes regularly write a single consonant (*tatva*, °*satva*).
7. *Daṇḍas* are not shown, unless significant to the accepted reading or suggestive of the cause of corruption in a variant reading.

8. Numbered repetitions of mantra syllables within a mantra are written out in full, e.g., *hūṃ 2* > *hūṃ hūṃ*.

Scribal variations in these matters have not been recorded unless they are significant.



Plate 1: Vajravārāhi tangka. Central Tibet, twelfth–thirteenth century.
Courtesy of Anna Maria Rossi and Fabio Rossi.



Plate 2: Red Dākini. Khara Khoto, twelfth–thirteenth century.
The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

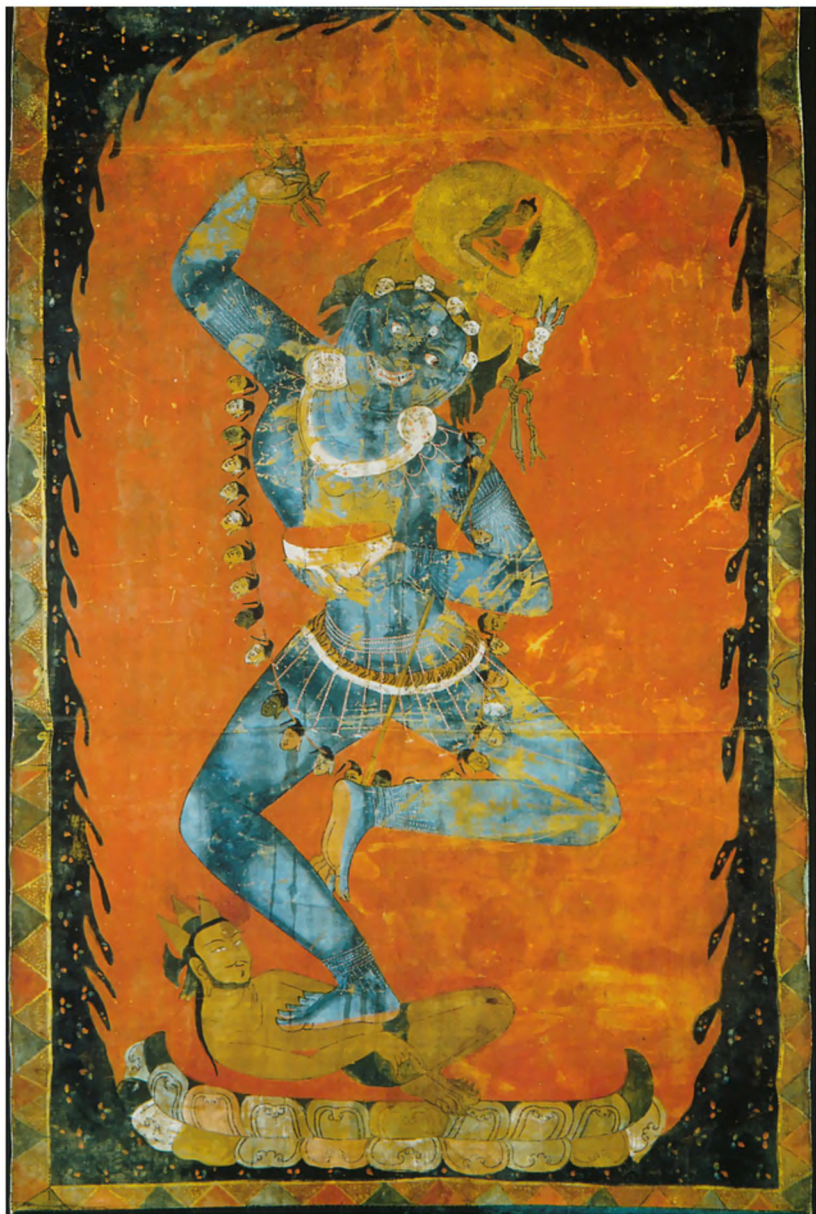


Plate 3: Blue Ḍākinī (Nairātmyā?). Khara Khoto, twelfth–thirteenth century.
The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.



Plate 4: Vajravārāhī (Tib.: rDo rje phag mo).
Tibet, fifteenth century. Gilt copper, ht. 41.5 cm.
Photo by Ulrich von Schroeder.



Plate 5: Mārīcī (Tib.: 'Od zer can ma).
Tibet, c. 1700. Gilt copper, ht. 13.8 cm.
Photo by Ulrich von Schroeder.



Plate 6: Animal-headed Vajrayogini. Tibet, nineteenth century.
Painted clay. Courtesy of the British Museum (OA1948.7–16.24).



Plate 7: Vajrayoginī, Nāro-khechari. Eastern Tibet, eighteenth century.
From the collection of the Shelley and Donald Rubin Foundation.



Plate 8: Vajravārāhī tangka (with detail of Severed-head Vajrayoginī).
Nepal, fourteenth century. John and Berthe Ford Collection.



Plate 9: Severed-head Vajrayogini (Chinmamastā/Chinnamundā) tangka.
Tibet/Nepal, c. 1900. Linden Museums, Stuttgart.



a



b



c



d



e



f

Plate 10: Painted Mongolian woodblocks. Tibet, c. 1850.
Ethnographic Museum of the University of Zürich.



Plate 11: Tangka of Cakrasaṃvara in union with Vajravārāhi.
Khara Khoto, twelfth–thirteenth century.
The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.



Plate 12: Tangka of Cakrasaṃvara Maṇḍala.
 Central Tibet, c. 1100. Private Collection. Photograph by John Bigelow Taylor.
 Photograph © 1998 the Metropolitan Museum of Art

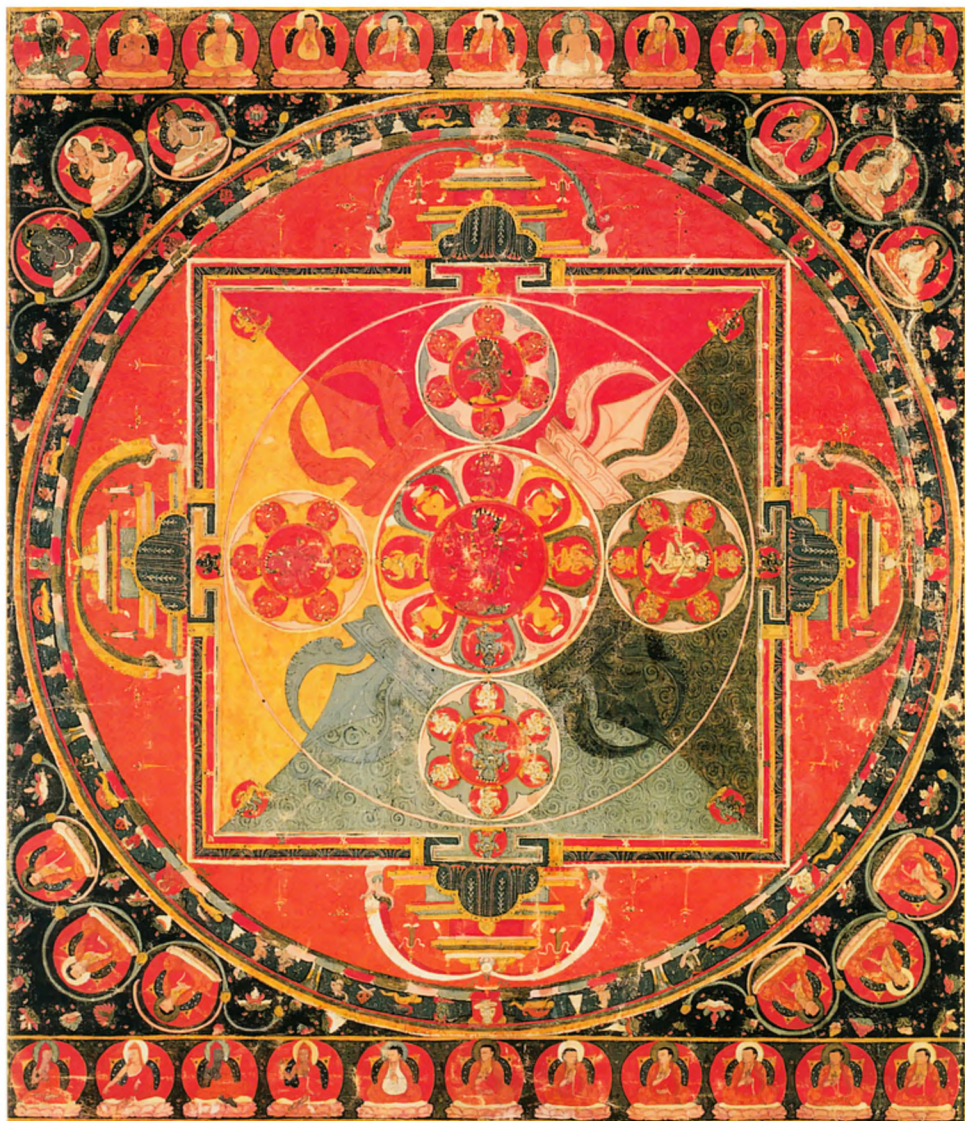


Plate 13: Tangka of Vārāhyabhyudaya Maṇḍala.
Courtesy of Anna Maria Rossi and Fabio Rossi.

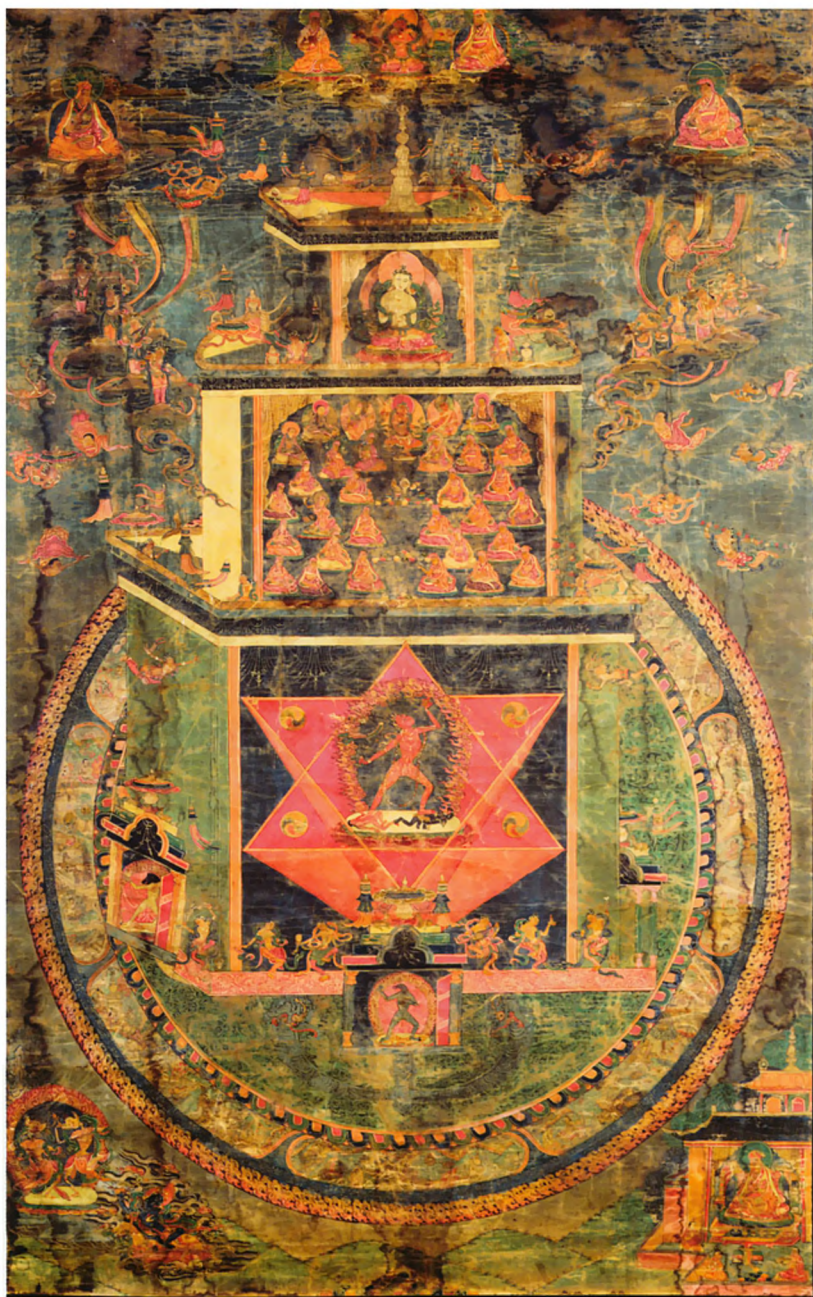


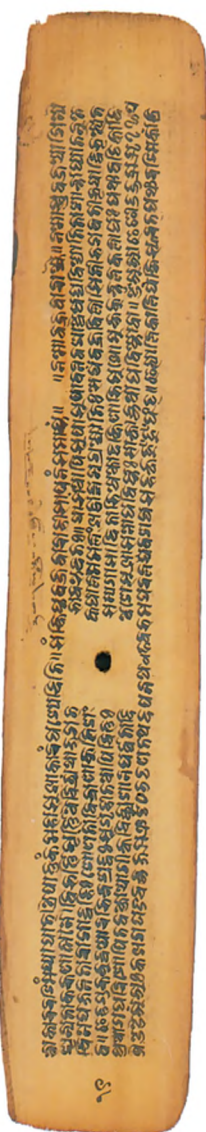
Plate 14: Tangka of "Vajrayogini in Kechara Paradise."

Tibet, eighteenth century.

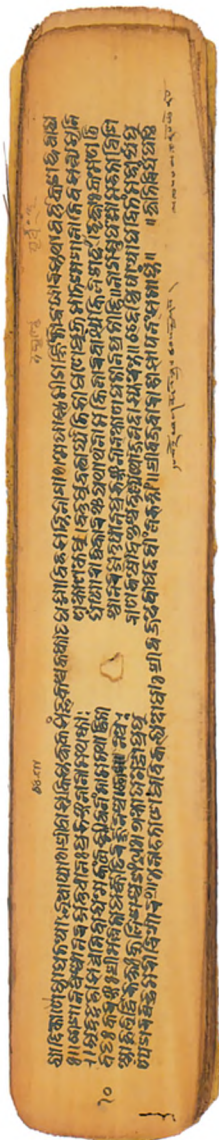
Collection of Tibet House, New York.



Plate 15: Tangka of the cosmos according to the *Abhidharmakośa*.
Tibet. Ethnographic Museum of the University of Zürich,
inventory number 13560 (92.5cm x 60cm).



a



b

Plate 16: Palm leaves from *kuṭīla* Newārī manuscript (K) of the *Guhyasamayāsādhanaṃālā* (GSS). Nepal, twelfth–thirteenth century. Copyright Bodleian Library, University of Oxford (ms. Sansk c. 15 (R)).

Manuscript Sources

The Manuscripts of the Guhyasamayasādhnamālā (GSS)

Ms. K Oxford, Bodleian Library. Ms. Sansk c. 16 (R). No. 1455 (Winter-nitz and Keith 1905). Palm-leaf, cataloged as probably fourteenth century, although it may date from as early as the twelfth or thirteenth centuries (Sanderson 1995; personal communication). The last folio is numbered f. 147. The script is *kuṭila-newārī*.¹ K is the oldest and most reliable witness for the collection of sādhanas, written in a clear, bold hand. Due to the derivative nature of the later manuscripts, citations from the GSS in the footnotes to the Edition are from manuscript K only, unless other manuscripts contribute to the sense (significant variants alone are recorded).

Each sādhana in K has a short colophon, but K does not provide an overall title to the collection as a whole. The last work in the series is the *Ḍākinīguhyasamayasādhana* (GSS46), which seems to have given its title to the collection as a whole in a later manuscript (D). The Bodleian catalog calls the collection the *Sādhnamālā Tantra*. The sādhanas themselves are not numbered (the scribe leaves a small gap between them), and the numbering of the GSS collection (GSS1–GSS46) is thus entirely editorial.

There are fifteen missing folios (ff. 96–100, and ff. 29–38 inclusive). Four highly damaged folios in a second hand have been placed at the bottom of the pile of leaves, and these may contain some of the missing passages of text. Most palm leaves have been reduced around the edges, and some are a little split, although this rarely impedes legibility. Most folios have corrections written in by either the first or a second hand, some with evidence of several hands, such as the addition of the mantra syllables to be extracted with a *mantroddhāra* (e.g., f. 52r–v, GSS10). Red *sindūra* powder appears

1 The term *kuṭila* (curved) was coined by Bendall; Sāṅkṛtyāyana calls it “circular” (*vartula*) (Bühnemann 1994: 21).

on a number of leaves. Tibetan script is found in some of the margins, often bearing the colophon to a *sādhana*.² The foliation is problematic. I found the folios of the manuscript out of sequence, a confusion that has been transferred to the photographs of the Bodleian microfilm (Reel No. SF. Or. 2584). I have now corrected the sequence of the folios and have the following observations to make on the foliation (and misfoliation) of the collection:

- 1) The original foliation probably occurred after the text was first copied, because some folio numbers are not in text sequence, and because the hand of the first foliator may be different from that of the main scribe.
- 2) At some stage, the sequence of the leaves was disordered, and the original foliation was tampered with by a second foliator without reference to the sequence of the Sanskrit text. This gave rise to the following problems:
 - There is a folio without a number containing the middle portion of GSS2. I have numbered this folio “o” (o.r. and o.v.).
 - The colophon *Vajravārāhīsāadhanam* appears twice in the collection (GSS2 and GSS11). The two leaves containing the folios were placed together, the second colophon (for GSS11 on f. 70) being placed before the first (for GSS2 on f. 11). The folio number on the former was altered from 70 to 10, to accord with its new position prior to folio 11.
 - The missing folios 96 through 99 were “replaced” with folios from the bottom of the pile (belonging to GSS46), and the numbers on these folios altered to read 96, 97, 98, 99, regardless of the actual text. (Folio 100 remains missing.)
 - Folio 102 was misplaced under 128 and corrected to read 129.
 - Folio 80 was upside down and found following folio 70. It was numbered by a second foliator after it had been put upside down since the numeral appears on the recto.
 - The number 139 was altered to 129 by a second foliator who didn’t realize there were folios missing following folio 128.

2 Folios bearing Tibetan script: folio ii recto and verso, 279v, 4r, 11r–v, 13r, 14v, 28r–v, 29r, 32r, 39r, 40r, 43v, 45r, 53v, 64r, 66v, 67r, 67r, 70acv, 71r, 71v, 74v, 75v–76r, 82r, 82v, 83r/v, 84r, 85r, 87r, 88r–v, 91r, 92v, 94r, 95v, 101r, 104v, 105r, 106v, 107v, 108r, 108v, 112r, 115v, 118r, 120v, 121v, 122r, 123r, 124r, 125v, 127r, 128, 139acv, 140r, 143acv, 144acv, 145acr, 145acv, 147v.

Because the Bodleian microfilm has photographed the folios out of sequence, and without a logical progression of recto and verso, I describe them here in text sequence (* = my foliation):

folio *i Perhaps a leaf reused by a second scribe, as it contains two center holes (all other leaves have one center hole), and on both sides looks as if it once contained writing that has now faded or been washed off. On one side is a faint *om* and *hūṃ*, and possibly a smudged *vaṃ*. Two items of a list also appear in the top right corner, possibly a continuation of the “index” from the folio beneath (folio *ii). On the other side is a *śloka* saluting the Buddha, Lokanātha, and Vajrasattva, delicately written, perhaps in the first hand but corrupt/illegible.

folio *ii This leaf is discolored and may have suffered damage from water. It also appears to have been reused by the current scribe; its contents are smudged and faded. The side bearing the Bodleian stamp holds a list of numbered sādhanas (a few titles are legible). This list is continued on the reverse of the leaf, which also contains some Tibetan script (and possibly on folio *i).

folio 279r Also discolored, as by water, with evidence of older writing underneath. A few lines on the left contain a salutation to the Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha. A numbered list on the right contains a legible list of the ten knowledges (*daśajñāna*).

folio 279v GSS_I(1)—the first side of GSS_I.

folio 271r–v, or 279r–v GSS_I(2)–GSS_I(3). The leaf is slightly discolored with the number added by a different hand, as the last numeral 1 or 9 (?) is not like those of the other foliators.

folio 80 (upside down) GSS_I(4). The numbered side contains the earlier text, and the unnumbered side contains the later text. The leaf was upside down when the curvaceous numerals were added by a second foliator. I found the leaf following folio 70. An ink smudge approximately one inch across on the lower left happened once the leaf was upside down and ran through several leaves, but it doesn’t obscure the text.

folio 4r GSS_I(6)–GSS₂(1) and folio 4v GSS₂(2). Ink stain continues.

folio *o.r–v: GSS₂(3)–GSS₂(4). Ink stain continues.

folios 11r–69v GSS₂(5)–GSS_{II}. These folios appear in the correct numerical sequence until folio 70ac/10pc (GSS_{II}).

folio 70ac/folio 10pc I found this leaf located before folio 11 and erroneously renumbered 10. It contains the colophon for GSS_{II} (*Vajravārāhīsādhana*), which has the same colophon as GSS₂. It was

mistakenly inserted before the colophon page of GSS2 (f. 11) and given the new number (f. 10).

folios 71–95v The folios are in their correct sequence. Folio 95v contains the incomplete colophon to GSS27.

folios 96–100 Missing folios of text containing at least one sādhana. The next available text is the *balī* mantra and colophon for GSS28, which appear on f. 101r. A second foliator took folios from the bottom of the pile of leaves (i.e., from GSS46) and “replaced” the missing folios 96–99 (but not f. 100). He then refoiliated these folios to read accordingly (96, 97, 98, and 99). This botched arrangement appears on the Bodleian microfilm.

folio 101r End of GSS28 to the start of GSS29.

folio 102ac/ folio 129pc GSS29 continues. I found this folio placed under f. 128 and refoiliated to read 129. It appears like this on the Bodleian microfilm.

folios 103–28 Folios in correct sequence.

folios 129–38 Ten lost folios in GSS44. N recognizes the lacuna (N91v: *parihṛtadaśā. atrāpi truṭitam asti. syā°*); D inserts nonsense (D94v: *parihṛtadasāmagāka syā°*).

folio 139ac/ folio 12(?)9pc The verso contains the end of GSS44 and the start of GSS45. The original number 139 was altered to 129 by a scribe who didn’t realize there were folios missing following folio 128.

folio 140 Start of GSS46. The folios for this sādhana were found scattered throughout the collection, as shown above, and refoiliated by a misguided second foliator. This is how they remain in the Bodleian microfilm.³

3 I have reconstituted the sequence of folios for GSS46 following the sequence of the text (and corrected the order of the folios in the Bodleian manuscript), as follows: f. 140r–v: GSS46(1)–GSS46(2) → f. 1290?pc/141ac *recto*: GSS46(3) (on microfilm found below f. 102v) → f. 1290?pc/141ac *verso*: GSS46(4) (on microfilm found above 139rac) → f. 98pc/142ac *recto*: GSS46(5) (on microfilm found following 97vpc) → f. 98pc/142ac *verso*: GSS46(6) (on microfilm found following 99rpc) → f. 43pc/143ac *recto*: GSS46(7) (on microfilm found under f. 141v) → f. 43pc/143ac *verso*: GSS46(8) (on microfilm found mysteriously at the start of the collection above GSS1) → f. 99pc/144ac *recto*: GSS46(9) (on microfilm following f. 142v); → f. 99pc/144ac *verso*: GSS46(10) (on microfilm preceding f. 101r) → f. 97pc/145ac *recto*: GSS46(11) (on microfilm following 146ac/96vpc) → f. 97pc/145ac *verso*: GSS46(12) (on microfilm above 142acr/98rpc) → f. 96pc/146ac *recto*: GSS46(13) (on microfilm beneath 95v) → f. 96pc/146ac *verso*: GSS46(14) (on microfilm after f. 95v, as if *f. 96) → f. 147 *recto*: GSS46(15) (on microfilm found following f. 140v) → f. 147 *verso*: GSS46(16) (on microfilm found preceding 143r).

Ms. N IASWR MBB 1972 I–140. Nepali, paper. N.S. 1038 (=1918 C.E.). 98 folios. *Newārī* script. (Manuscript ㊦ of Sarnath edition of *Abhisamayamañjarī*.) A faint, delicately written manuscript, difficult to read but fairly correct. There is one leaf missing containing the end of GSS7 and the start of GSS8 (f. 29, with marginal note on f. 28: *atra dvipatrakhaṇḍitau*). There is no collective title for the series of sādhanas. Following the colophon to the last sādhana (f. 98r4: *iti śrīdākinīguhyasamayāsādhanaṃ samāptam*), a second colophon states the year, month, and day of completion, and names the scribe as Nilavajra. On the first leaf (recto) there are four lists, a *namaskāra* with four verses, and an illegible colophon. The four lists are the ten knowledges (as in K), the ten *paramitās*, the ten *dhātus*, and the ten *kāyas*. The text of GSS1 begins on f. iv, which also contains an attractive line drawing of two-armed *ardhaparyāṅka*-pose Vajravārāhī trampling a single prone corpse, her hog's head clearly visible. The IASWR supplies a handwritten list of contents, with the sādhanas numbered 1 through 40. There are some mistakes in this handwritten index, and the numbering differs from that given editorially to K (GSS1–GSS46).⁴

Ms. D IASWR *Guhyasamayatantra* MBB–II–126. Paper. Twentieth century. Although copied clearly and in good condition, the manuscript is the most corrupt and suffers from a large number of scribal errors. It omits GSS8 (*śrī-Vajravārāhīgopyahomavidhi*), the sādhana for which the first portion is lost in N due to a missing folio. Like N, it also omits GSS28, the sādhana for which the early folios are lost in K. This manuscript supplies an individual colophon to each sādhana that records the name of an overall title for the collection, namely, the *śrī-Guhyasamayatantra* (e.g., *iti śrīguhyasamayatantra śrīvajravārāhīsādhanaṃ samāptam*). This is a title drawn from the final sādhana in the collection (GSS46). This last colophon contains both the name of the final sādhana (*Dākinīguhyasamayāsādhanaṃ mālātāntra-*

4 The handwritten index is incorrect in the following respects: (1) GSS7 is incomplete, and the leaf containing its colophon (f. 29) is missing; (2) The *śrī-Vajravārāhīsādhana* by Umāpatideva (GSS11) is not recorded in this list, although appearing on ff. 36v–50v in the ms; (3) The *Vidyādhārikramabhāvanā* (GSS22) is not recorded as a separate work (see appendix); (4) the final *bali* mantra and colophon to the missing *Vajrayoginīsādhana* GSS28 are omitted in N, which leaves no trace of this sādhana in the collection; (5) there is no record in the index of GSS40, the commentarial passage upon GSS1, although this appears in the ms. (ff. 87–88); (6) there is no record in the index of *Vajravārāhīkalpa* (GSS41), although this appears in the ms. with colophon (ff. 88–89).

rāja), and the overall name for the collection, *Guhyasamayasādhana-mālā-tantrarāja*.⁵

Tibetan (Tib.) The Tibetan translation of *śrī-Vajravārāḥisādhana* by “Umāpatidatta” (GSS11). Toh 1581/Ota 2292, N (T) 292. (Bodleian reference: Tibetan blockbooks a.68 vol. 24, pp. 32–49). The colophon states that the sādhanā was translated by Vāgīśvaragupta with Lotsawa Chos-rab, and was composed by “One who has the lineage of the instructions of Virūpa, śrī-Umāpatidatta” (p. 49.7). The translation omits many of the prose expositions that interrupt the verses in the Sanskrit, also the *Ābhidharmika* glosses on the body maṇḍala and the final verses describing the cremation grounds.⁶ It may therefore represent an older version of the text. It is cited here where it helps clarify the Sanskrit text, but minor variations from the Sanskrit text are not recorded. (My thanks to Dr. Peter Alan Roberts, Professor Sander-son, and Dr. Isaacson for helping me record the Tibetan variants.)

Textual Transmission

The three manuscripts, K, N, and D, are closely related. N is derivative of K. It shares the same colophons (different from those in D), and where K has been corrected or enlarged by text in the margins, N often incorporates the correction or the marginal text into itself.⁷ In places N does not incorporate a marginal gloss, suggesting that, on those occasions, the transmis-

5 D101v: *samāpto 'yaṃ ḍākinīguhyasamayasādhana-mālātantrarājeti. vipravamśaśrī-vajrācāryajīvaratnena guhyasamayasādhana-mālātantrarāja<ṃ> likhitam, śubham bhūyāt. • ratnena* corr.; *ratnenena* D.

6 The Tibetan translation includes the following Sanskrit text: (omits *om*) “Homage to Bhagavan Vajrayoginī,” vv. 1–4, (omits §1), vv. 5–7, (omits v.8§), vv. 8–12, §2, vv. 13–15, (omits §3–§5), vv. 16–25, (omits §6), v. 26, (omits §7), v. 27, (omits *tatrāyaṃ sekamantraḥ* → v.27§, §8), vv. 28–34, (omits §9), v. 35, (omits *prathamobhāvanākramah.* → *atha*), §16–§22, §23–§29 (omits all exegetical glosses of doctrinal terms; see Textual Note for details), v. 42, §30, v. 43–53, (omits v. 54), vv. 55–56, (omits §31), §32–§34, (omits §34 *etac ca gurūpadeśād boddhavyam* → *darśitam*), vv. 57–61 (omits *om <bum> āṃ ...*), vv. 62–66, §36, (omits v. 68), §37–§48, (omits §48 *esa tu* → *boddhavyaḥ*), §49 *athavā* → *kamalāvartamudrayā samtoṣya* (omits *mudropasamhāreṇā°* → §51 *juhuyād ity*), §51 *adhyātmahomavidhiḥ* → *bahirgatveti*, (omits *idāniṃ*...vv. 70–76), v. 77.

7 E.g., *ebhir* Kac; *ebhi'(vi)r* K(mg2), N(mg1); *evir* D. cf. *candrārkaḥ* Kac; *candrārka(vahni)* Kpc(add), N, D. cf. also the text of v. 68.

sion occurred before the latter was added in K.⁸ N tidies the text of K on some occasions, as when it admits that the text of *sādhana* GSS28 is lost, and omits the final *bali* mantra and colophon that remain in K (N91v1). Occasionally, it provides the correct reading where K fails. It does not descend directly from K, for it appears to rely upon an intermediary that on occasion is more correct⁹ and on others, more problematic.¹⁰

Manuscript D is also very close to K and N, but introduces many more errors. The scribe may have been copying from the *newārī* script, since on many occasions he misreads a short vowel for a long.¹¹ D is more closely derivative of N, and shares many of its errors.¹² However, it also blurs the text of N, as when it fails to record lacunae carefully marked in N.¹³ D sometimes seems to rely on a transmission closer to K, or produces a different reading altogether, thereby suggesting that it is not N's direct descendant, and/or that it also had access to other sources, and/or that it innovates.¹⁴ This may be illustrated by two points:

- There is a problem in N produced by a missing folio (f. 29). This loses the end of GSS7 including the colophon (in K: *vajravārāhyā dvādaśa-bhujāyāḥ sādhanam*) and the start of GSS8. At this point, D ascribes a different (corrupt) colophon to GSS7 (*oḍḍiyānapīṭhādīsthitadevīsādhanaṁ*) and omits GSS8 altogether. If it was reliant solely upon N after f. 29 had

- 8 E.g., *garjitaḥhūrṇitau ca* Kpc; *garji(taḥhūrṇi)tāu ca* K(add2); *garjitā ca* Kac; *garjitā ca* N, D. Note that N also omits the mantra syllables that have been included in the margins to reveal the result of *mantroddhāra* in GSS10.
- 9 E.g., *mantrapāṭhāt* N; *mantrapāt* K; *mantred yā(va)t* D(add). cf. *pūrvādikṣu* N; *pūrvādikṣu* K, D.; *pādāś* N, D; *pādāś* K. cf. *dikṣu* N; *dikṣuḥ* K, D; *upasthāpakam* conj.; *upasthānamyakam* K, D; *upasthānayakam* N.
- 10 E.g., *abhyullasan* K; -6- *san* N; *sat* D (no gap or marked omission in D); *dadhato nabhaḥsthān* em.; *dadhato nashās* Kac, D; -*na(bha)sthās* Kpc(mg2); *dadhatā naḥsthās* N; *vīryam uktaṁ* K; *vīryendriyam ukta* - N, *vīrya(ṁ?) indriyam ukta* D; *dharma* em.; *pradharmā* K; *pra - rmma* N, *pratidharma* D.
- 11 E.g., *vināśāc* N; *vināśāc* K; *vināśāya* D; *asyāgamasyāyam* K, N; *esyāgamasyoyam* D; *bhūtāt* K, N; *bhūtāte* D. See also Insignificant Variants.
- 12 E.g., *dāḍhiye* K; *dāḍiye* N, D; *punar* K, *(ṣu?)nar* N; *ṣu na* D (marked faulty); *ebhir* Kac; *ebhi(vi)r* K(mg2), N(mg1); *evir* D.
- 13 E.g., *kila śabdapurvaṁ* Kpc; *kila śabda(purvaṁ)* K(add2); *kila śabda - - - N*; *śabda* D.
- 14 E.g., *janānām* K, D; *janāpram* N; *vīryam uktaṁ* K; *vīryendriyam ukta* - N, *vīrya(ṁ?) indriyam ukta* D; *vighnavṛndam* K; *vṛndam* N; *vighnavṛndakam* D; *catvāra* D; *catvāri* K, N. cf. *yamadamṣṭrīṇi* K, N; *yamadamṣṭri* D; *dakṣiṇeṣu* D; *dakṣiṇāsu* K, N.

been lost, it would not have been able to finish GSS7. It seems at this point to draw upon another source that attributes a different colophon to GSS7. The subsequent omission of GSS8 is also suspicious, as the start of this sādhana is lacking in N.

- As stated above, D employs different colophons for each sādhana, attributing each to the *Guhyasamayatantra*, its overall title for the whole collection; perhaps a late innovation.

Editorial Policy

Except in the edition to GSSII, K is the only manuscript cited in the footnotes to this book, unless the other manuscripts afford important contributions to the sense. Variants from the various (late) manuscripts relied upon in the Sarnath Edition (Sed) of *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5) are not given, where clear readings from K exist.

Textual Notes

The Textual Notes († in Edition) attempt to clarify linguistic problems and remark on textual matters. Parallel text for the ritual portion of the *sādhana*, from §41 to §52, is reported in full from the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS₅) and **Vidhisamgraha* (Finot 1934); see chapter 3 for details.

v.1 Verse numbers: All verse numbers are editorial. The meter is *upajāti* (vv. 1–35, 67, 70–77) with some verse citations in *anuṣṭubh* (v. 8§; v. 27§; vv. 36–67; v. 68§) and *mālinī* (v. 69).

v.1 *vikramasena*: Umāpatideva addresses Vikramasena in his benedictory verse. Proper nouns in a benedictory verse would normally be those of the deity or the guru. Although “Vikramasena” may be the name of an unknown Buddhist preceptor, it is famously the name of the industrious and pious brahmanical king whose exploits are recounted in the *Kathāsarit-sāgara*. If it were “King Vikramasena” who was addressed, it would suggest that our author is teaching—indeed, converting—the king. This epic-type frame story is not found in *sādhana* literature, and a “conversion” would be antithetical to the esoteric, initiation-based systems fundamental to tantric *sādhana*s. However, there is some doubt as to whether Umāpatideva was himself an ordained monk, and it is just possible that the naming of a lay personage may have some significance. The Tibetan text is unconvincing; it attempts a literal translation of *Vikramasena*, rendering *vikramasena yatnāt* “for the benefit (**artha*) of the one(s) having the section (*sde* = **senā*) of force (*rnam par gnon pa* = **vikrama*)” (p. 32.3: *rnam par gnon pa’i sde ldan don du*), indicating that the work is written for the sake of a student who may have asked him to compose the *sādhana*. Another possibility would be that the text is a corruption of the logical *kramena*, a reading that would accord with the careful divisions of the *sādhana* into meditation stages (*bhāvanakramāḥ*).

§1 Omitted in the Tibetan translation.

§3–§5 *tatrāmī te mantrāḥ* → *vajrakilākoṭaya hūṃ phaḍ iti*: Omitted in the Tibetan translation.

§3 *grihṇa*: The orthography here is variable. K uses *grihṇa*; N and D both use the more correct *grhṇa*. These mantras in the *Vārāhyabhyudayantra* (after v. 30) read long vowels in *hūṃ* (rather than *hum*).

§4 <*vajraprākāranān*>: Umāpatideva’s text is ambiguous here, since without this conjectural addition it is not clear what exactly is projected into the four directions. The nearest available object is the “mantras” in the previous sentence. In contrast, the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5 Sed p. 129¹⁴, K17v–18r, cited above: ...*caturo vajraprākārān*) states unambiguously that it is the walls that are projected into the directions (the adjectives that describe their color and size are the same as those used by Umāpatideva). Umāpatideva’s prior verse description of the visualization also prescribes the erection of four vajra walls (v. 14d: *vajraprākāranāmnah*). I therefore insert this object into the prose text at §4.

§5 *om gha gha ghātaya*: GST ch. 14 also reads *ghātaya* rather than *ghāṭaya* (Matsunaga 1978: 69): *om gha gha ghātaya ghātaya sarvaduṣṭān phaḍ kilaya kilaya sarvapāpān phaḍ hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ vajrakilaya vajradhara ājñāpayati kāyavākcittavajraṃ kilaya hūṃ phaḍ*. (Note that Candrakīrti glosses the syllables *gha gha* as vocatives, PU p. 158: *ghātakety āmantraṇam*.) The plural genitive *sarvaviḥnānām* in our mantra (§5) is attested by the *Piṇḍikṛtasādhana* (facsimile edition in Mimaki and Tomabechi 1994 p. 2* ms. A f.2v, p. 31* ms. B f.2r–v). Both the “staking” and “hammering” mantras are found in the *Vārāhyabhyudayantra*: (after v. 30 and v. 31), with some corruptions and variants.

v.16a *pañjarāntar*: As in v. 13 and also in v. 35, the Tibetan text reads “wall” (*ra ba*) for *pañjara*: “The cremation grounds are (*gnas* = *-sthal-sthita*) within that very wall (*ra ba de nyid*)” (Tib p. 34.1: *ra ba de nyid nang na dur khrod yang dag gnas*). The reading with *pañjara* (Sanskrit mss.) rather than **prākārah* (*ra ba*) is supported by two passages elsewhere in GSS11: (a) “within the canopy” (*pañjarāntar*) appears here in contrast to the preceding passage that begins “outside the canopy...” (*pañjarād bahiḥ... yamadādhyādicatasro devīḥ paśyet*); (b) the alternative method of generation

supplied below also reads “within the canopy” (GSSII v.35: *tatpañjarāntah...devīm vibhāvayed vā*), although here the Tibetan again reads *ra ba*. Other Vajrayoginī/Saṃvara sources also read *pañjara*, e.g., GSS5 (Sed p. 130¹⁵, KI9r1): *vajrapañjaramadhye dharmadhātusvabhāvām dharmodayām ekārām upari viśālām adhaḥ sūkṣmām vicintya*; SUT ch. 17, v. 36ab: *vajrapañjaramadhye tu śmaśānāṣṭakabhūṣitam*. However, the reading with *prākāra* is also found, cf. YRM on HT I.3.16: *vajraprākārāsv antare ghorāṣṭaśmaśānāni tanmadhye kūṭāgārodare viharati*.

v.18a *niḥśṛtya bijodbhavarasṃjālāt*: The Tibetan has instead “countless” *dpag med* (**ameya*, *aparimita*, *aprameya*, etc.). Tib p. 34.3: *sa bon las byung 'od zer dpag med 'phros pa yis / skye bo ma lus byang chub snod du mdzad 'gyur bas*, “Countless light rays that have radiated from the seed-syllable transform all beings into vessels (*snod* < *bhājana*, etc.) of enlightenment.”

v.18cd *tatraiva bīje hi* → *vai*: The Tibetan text has (p. 34.3): *slar yang sa bon de nyid las ni rnal 'byor mas / ma lus pa rnams 'dus par yang dag bsgom bya'o*. “Again (*slar yang*) meditate (*bsgom bya'o*) correctly (*yang dag*) that the yoginī(s) (*rnal 'byor mas*, instrumental) from (*las*) that very (*de nyid*) seed-syllable (*sa bon*) gathers in (*'dus par*) everything (*ma lus pa rnams*).” Sander-son (1998: personal communication) suggests that the feminine °*buddhādikām* would explain the Tibetan’s “yoginī.”

v.19a *candrārkabījaprabhavām trinetram*: The earlier reading (with *bīja*) is a reference to the third stage of the series of awakenings (*pañcābhisambodhikramah*) that has just been described (from vv. 16–18) and therefore seems likelier than the corrected text reading *vahni* (probably inserted because it suggests the yogic symbolism of the three eyes as moon, sun, and fire; see ch. 3). The Tibetan supports °*bīja* (p. 34.4: *sa bon*).

v.20cd *savajrasavyetara* → *duṣṭavrndām*: A literal translation of the Tibetan reads “[Her] other-than-left [hand, i.e., **savyetaral***vāmetara*] is together with a chopper [shaped] like a leaf; through pointing made at the ground, the hosts of the angry [ones] are defeated.” (Tib. p. 34.5): *gyon pa las gzhan gri gug dang bcas shing lo 'dra / sdigs mdzub sa gzhir mdzad pas sdang pa'i tshogs rnams 'joms*. The Tibetan strongly supports Sanderson’s conjecture in the first half of v. 20c, *sa-* (*dang bcas*) -*vajrasavyetara*°. However, Sanderson states that he sees no metrical solution to the second half of the c-*pāda*. He notes that the word *prasṛtiḥ* means the palm of the hand when the

fingers are contracted (*Amarakośa* 2.85c: 152), as when it is holding something—here, the vajra. (The Tibetan has “chopper” rather than vajra, which is interesting because the texts of the GSS prescribe a vajra for warrior-stance Vajravārāhī and a chopper for *ardhavaryāṅka*-pose Vajravārāhī and Vajrayoginī, an iconographical distinction that seems to be lost in Tibetan sources; see ch. 3).

Sanderson also points out that the reading *bhūtarjanī*° at the start of v. 20d (supported by the Sanskrit mss.) is consistent with the Tibetan, which indicates the gesture to the ground (*mdzub sa gzhir mdzad pas*), and also with the Sanskrit, which clearly specifies the vajra—an implement for which a *bhūtarjanī* (presumably the finger pointing threateningly to the ground) is entirely appropriate.

§6 *amī te ṣaṇ mantrāḥ*: This prose paragraph is omitted in the Tibetan translation. The corruption *ṣaṇ mudrāḥ* (for *ṣaṇ mantrāḥ*) appears again in K when supplying mantras (below, §7), although N and D there have the variant *mantra*-. Other texts refer to six “mantras,” e.g., GSS3 (K13r3): *ṣaḍdevatīśuddhair mantrapadair bhagavatīm kavacayet*, but the mantra syllables may have been accompanied by hand gestures (*mudrāḥ*), and it is just possible that the reading °*mudrāḥ* in the mss. is correct. In a corrupt passage, the YSCT uses both *mudrā* and *mantra* to describe the armoring in *pātala* 7 (A4r.7, B5v): *tataḥ kavacadvayam ātmānaṃ jñānacakraṃ vibhāvitam. samayacakre praviṣy(āṣya?) mudrāmantreṇa yoginā*. Some sādhanas supply the syllables and describe their accompanying mudrās, e.g., SM1 (p. 5); SM28 (pp. 68–69): *tataḥ pañcāṅgavinyāsaṃ mudrābhir mantrasaṃhataḥbhīḥ kuryāt*; etc.

§7 *jñānasattvapraveśe tu*: §7 is omitted in the Tibetan text.

v.27i *tatrāyaṃ sekamantraḥ* → v. 27i, §8: Omitted in the Tibetan text.

v.27i “*oṃ sarvatathāgatābhiṣekasamayaśriye hūṃ*” *iti*: There seem to be two traditions in the formulation of the mantra. Our texts (of the Cakrasaṃvara/Vajravārāhī tradition from Lūyīpāda) provide a single *hūṃ* following the dative, °*śriye*, e.g., HĀ (f14r); GSS5 (Sed p. 135⁵, K22v4), SM218 (p. 429), SM251 (p. 493). Elsewhere, other syllables are found, including *svāhā*, *āḥ*, and *phaṭ* as, for example, in ADUT ch. 9 (p. 287): *oṃ sarvatathāgatābhiṣekasamayaśriye svāhā āḥ hūṃ*, with variants *svāhāḥ hūṃ* or *hūṃ hūṃ*; cf. ADUT ch. 14 (p. 321): *ā hūṃ phaṭ svāhā* (with variant *hūṃ hūṃ*).

§8 *īśadāvarjitapañcāmṛtabhṛtavāmakarakapālebhyo*: The reading of the mss. (*°amṛtabhūta*) is a scribal error due to the orthographical similarity between *bhū-* and *bhṛ-*. The skull bowls are “full” and do not themselves “become” the nectar; cf. SM250 (p. 489): *pañcāmṛtadravāpūrṇaiḥ kapālair*. The scribal error is found elsewhere, e.g., in Kumāracandra’s *pañjikā* to the KYT (p. 127): *pañcāmṛtabhūtakalaśair abhiṣicyate*. The reading with *√bhṛ* is well attested; see HT 1.4.2 *pañcāmṛtabhṛtaiḥ pañcatathāgatātmakaiḥ kalaśaiḥ*; cf. SM97 (p. 199); Ratnākaraśānti’s *Vajratārāsādhana* (SM110 p. 231); SM228 (p. 446): *paścād amṛtabhṛtaiḥ kumbhair abhiṣicyate*, etc.

v.29d *ākhedam evaṃ punar eva kuryāt*: Sanderson’s conjecture is supported by the prose (§9) and the meter. He notes (1998: personal communication) that the corrupt reading—the more usual way of stating the idea in prose (*ā ... paryantam*)—may have entered the text by a substitution of an explanatory gloss for a less familiar term, the adverbial *bahuvrihi*, “*ākhedam*.”

§9 Omitted in the Tibetan translation.

<iti> *prathamō bhāvanākramaḥ*. → *atha*: Omitted in the Tibetan translation. (The other divisions into meditation stages are noted in the Tibetan.)

§10 *icchantam*: The accusative present participle is correct Sanskrit, but the emendation is doubtful. The passage appears three times (§10, §13, §16), with the reading *icchaṃ* in the second and third occurrences. Perhaps *icchaṃ* should be preserved, taken loosely for *icchantam*?

The Tibetan text from *mahāsukhacakrasthām* → *iti* {v. 36ab} reads “The above [i.e., vv. 36–37?] is for the benefit of one who wishes to meditate on the four skull bowls in the four intermediate directions together with Dākinī, Lāmā, Khaṇḍarohā, and Rūpiṇī, in the east, north, west and south of Vajravārāhī, who resides in [the cakra of] great bliss.” (p. 36.4–5): *bde ba chen po la gnas pa’i rdo rje phag mo’i shar dang byang dang nub dang lho phyogs rnams la gnas pa / mkha’ gro ma dang lā ma dang khaṇḍa ro ha dang gzugs can ma rnams dang / mtshams bzhir thod pa bzhi dang bcas pa rnams bsgom par ’dod pa’i don du’o*. At §13, the Tibetan text lists the goddess and their directions “Now Crow-face...residing on east...” and concludes: “That was said for the benefit for those wishing to meditate [on all the above] and the eight goddesses.” (p. 37.5): *...dang lha mo brgyad sgom par ’dod pa rnams kyi don du gsungs zhes pa’o*. At §16, the Tibetan text reads:

“Now for the purpose of completing the circle of the goddesses, three circles that are like this, the mind circle, speech circle, body circle,” (p. 38.2):
da ni lha mo'i 'khor lo yongs su rdzogs par bya ba'i don du 'khor lo gsum 'di lta ste / thugs kyi 'khor lo dang / gsung gi 'khor lo dang / sku'i 'khor lo rnam zhes bya'o.

vv.38–40 The first verse (v. 38 *ḍākinī ca tathā lāmā*) is scriptural, found in the *Yoginīsamcāraṇtantra* (A3r.2, B3v.2) with the reading *ḍākinī tu...* (The scripture continues with a few words qualifying the goddesses as four-armed and one-faced, etc., and then gives a *pāda* similar to that cited at §11.) Lūyīpāda also cites this verse in his HĀ (with *ca*: f. 6r1), and follows it with prose (or corrupt verse) similar to vv. 39–40 plus the line opening §11. The metrically correct version produced by Umāpatideva may be an example of “polishing.” See also GSS12 (K71v1): the *a-pāda* by itself as in GSS11 with *ca*; SM225 (p. 439): *ḍākinīm tu...* cited immediately below. These verses seem to form the basis for the prose exposition in GSS3 (K12v6) and GSS5 (Sed p. 132¹⁶, K20v3).

§11 *vidikṣu <caiva> catvāro...*: This is another scriptural citation describing the fivefold maṇḍala. It was probably once *anuṣṭubh*, as reflected in the Tibetan upon which the conjecture is based (p. 36.7). A similar line appears in the YSCT (a possible source text) preserving the *anuṣṭubh* meter (A f.3r.2; B f3v.2): *vidiśena tu catvāraḥ pañcapūrṇakaroṭakam*. It also appears in the SUT ch. 13, v. 28ab *vidikṣu ca catvāro bodhicittādibhāṇḍakāḥ*, which is cited in Lūyīpāda's HĀ (f. 6r4–5, omitting *ca*). Cf. SM225, in which the first *pāda* is that of v. 36a, followed by a hypermetrical *b-pāda* describing the intermediate petals (p. 439): *ḍākinīm tu tathā lāmāḥ khaṇḍarohāḥ tu rūpiṇīm / vidikpatre tathā bhāvyaḥ karoṭās catvāraḥ śobhanāḥ*. This sādhana is reproduced in the GSS collection (GSS12, K71v), but the first *pāda* appears alone without the *b-pāda* mentioning the skull bowls in the intermediate directions.

§12 *hrdayamantra uktaḥ* The Tibetan text cites the heart mantra in full.

v.41 *yathā ḍākinījanasya...*: This verse, with its unusual syntax, is attested elsewhere, e.g., the HĀ (f. 8r.6–8v); also in GSS44 (K139(ac)r1) as follows:

yathā ḍākinījanasya tathā kākāsyādi tu bhedataḥ

*vidiksthās tu tathā devyo*¹⁵ *dvau hi rūpau*¹⁶ *manoharau*
pretāsanā mahāghorāḥ sattvārthakaraṇodyatāḥ

The latter *pādas* also occur in the SUT ch. 13, v. 32: *vidiksthāne*¹⁷ *tathā devī dvau hi rūpau manoharau / pretāsanamahāghorāḥ pañcamudrāvibhūṣitāḥ*, and a portion of the verse in the YSCT, but with a different verse describing the corpse thrones (A4r3, B5r): *śavam ākramya pādena ālīḍhāsanam † asram? te †*.

§22–§29 *atha devatāhaṃkāralābhāya...*: The opening line (*devatāhaṃkāralābhāya* → °*dharmāḥ*) was probably originally intended to be metrical, as it is translated into Tibetan in four *pādas* within quotation marks (p. 40.1). The same list of equations between the thirty-seven *bodhipākṣikadharmas* and the site goddesses appears in GSS5 (Sed p. 140⁶ff., K26v4–28r). These texts draw on the YSCT (Aiv6–2r, Biv7): *atha saptatṛiṃśadbodhipākṣikā dharmā devatāyogena (?) pūjanīyāḥ* • ms. A may read *yuñjanīyāḥ*... and even more directly on the HĀ (ff. 8v3–9v5): *-bodhipakṣadharmadevatāyoga...*

§23–§29 The Tibetan text omits all exegetical glosses of doctrinal terms, as follows: omits *tatra caturviparyāsānām* → *anusmṛtyupasthānāni bhavanti*; continues *tad yathā kāyānusmṛtyupasthānam* → *rūpinī*; omits *grhītagrāhi* → *tasyopasthāpakam kāyādyanusmṛtyupasthānam*; continues §24 *catvāra-ṛddhipādāḥ* → *mahānāsā, iti*; omits *saddharmaviṣaye* → §25 *tad yathā*; continues *śraddhendriyam vīramatī* → *airāvati*; omits *tatra vīryam uktam* → §26 *tad yathā*; continues *śraddhābalaṃ mahābhairavā* → *subhadrā ceti*; omits §27 *saṃbodhyaī* → *tad yathā*; continues *saṃādhisambodhyaṅgam hayakarṇā* → *suvīreti*; omits *saṃādhiś cittaikāgratā* → §28 *asyāṅgāni yathā*; continues *saṃyagdr̥ṣṭir mahābalā* → *vajravārāhī*; omits *tatra buddhavākye* → §29 *tad yathā*; continues *anutpannānām kuśālānām dharmānām utpādanam yamadādhi* → *yamamathanī ceti*, v. 42 etc.

§23 *catvāry anusmṛtyupasthānāni*: The usual Abhidharmic term for this doctrinal formula is *smṛtyupasthānam*. Umāpatideva uses the variant *anu-*

15 *devyo*] em.; *devī* K.

16 *rūpau*] em.; *rūpo* K.

17 Tsuda reports *vidiksthāne* as an insecure reading, with certain mss. rendering something nearer to ours (e.g., *-stham*, *-sthām*, *-sthā*).

smṛtyupasthānam consistently (*kāyānusmṛtyupasthāna*, etc.), and so I leave the term unemended, although it is unattested in the mainstream Abhidharmic sources. It is noticeable that when Umāpatideva explains the compound (citing Pāṇinī), he gives it its usual form, *smṛtyupasthānam*, and it may be that he is drawing on another source at this point. Following the Pāṇinian passage, he returns to his previous usage, *anu-smṛtyupasthānam*. The addition of the prefix *anu-* may be a tantric peculiarity; it appears in the *Vasantatilakāṭikā*, which also glosses *anu*, e.g., (p. 52): *tatra katamāni catvāri smṛtyupasthānāni? āha – kāyānusmṛtyupasthānam...*; (p. 53): *tasmād ubhayadharmaarahitatvāc chūnyo 'yam kāya iti yā 'nusmṛtis tasyā upa samīpe cittasya sthāpanam kāyānusmṛtyupasthānam*; cf. *Vimalaprabhā* vol. 2, p. 129 (the sequence of the 37 *bodhipākṣikadharmas* is different here because the correlations with the maṇḍala deities are different; however, the commentary follows the traditional sequence for the *smṛtyupasthānas*). The form *anusmṛtyupasthānam* may have arisen from its similarity to the appellation of a popular Mahāyāna formula, the “recollections of the Buddha” (*buddhānusmṛtayaḥ*). The *anusmṛtis* are listed in Edgerton’s *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* 1953 (*buddha*°, *dharma*°, *saṃgha*°, *śīla*°, *tyāga*°, *devatā*°); an extended version of this set in the *Visuddhimagga* includes *kāyagata*°. However, Edgerton notes that *kāyagata* is usually compounded with *sati* rather than *anussati*, which makes it a distant contender as a possible source of confusion with *kāyasmṛtyupasthāna*.

§23 *ātmaḡuṇavisamarāṇapratipakṣabhūtam*: Sanderson (1998: personal communication) comments that in the absence of parallels, *ātmaḡuṇa* is uncertain. The first syllable *āt-* may be the survival of his conjectured *-tvāt* (*pūrvānubhūtasypasthāpak<atvād>*).

§24 *saddharmaviṣaye...chandaḥ*: Sanderson (*ibid.*) notes that the gloss of *chanda-ṛddhipāda* given in the first sentence of this paragraph would normally follow the gloss of *ṛddhipāda* supplied here in the second sentence. However, a similar structure is found below (§27), and so the text is not emended.

§27 *samyag bodher → tad yathā*: Omitted in Tibetan translation. Sanderson notes that the corruption in the Sanskrit mss. (*saṃbodhye/sabodhyeṃga kāraṇa/ā*) is highly suspect. It seems to be a corruption of part of the complete sentence that follows, which is itself corrupted by a misplaced *saṃ* (*samyaksambodher...bodhyāṅgāni*).

§27 °*avakāśam*: Edgerton (1953: 69) notes that *avakāśam* appears once as neuter.

<v.51i> There is a verse missing in the Sanskrit mss. but present in the Tibetan text (p. 42.4), which should supply the places *Saurāṣṭra* and *Suvarṇadvīpa*. The goddesses at those places are *Śaundinī* and *Cakravarmīnī*, to be placed on the body at the two thighs and two shanks, respectively. This pair represents the places known as the *upamelaka*, which are in turn equated with the *acalābhūmiḥ*. The missing correlations are supplied from other texts, e.g., SUT ch. 7, v. 13: *saurāṣṭra ūruyugale śonitam ca sadā vahā / suvarṇadvīpe jaṅghasthāne nādi prasvedavāhini*; ADUT ch. 9 (p. 286): *saum ūrudvaye hayagrīvasaundinī / sum jaṅghāyām ākāśagarbhacakravarmīnī / upamelāpakah*; ADUT ch. 14 (p. 320): *saurāṣṭre ūrudvaye śaundinī. suvarṇadvīpe jaṅghādvayoś cakravarmīnī. upamelāpakah*. For the correlating *bodhisattvabhūmi*, see HĀ (ff. 10v6–11r): ...*upamelāpakadvayam. acalābhūmiḥ*; ff. 6r6–7.v4; also YSCT A6v5, B9v6 cf. fifth *paṭala* A3r damaged, B4r3.

v.54 Omitted in the Tibetan text, and in the Sanskrit mss. N and D, the verse only is included in a marginal insertion in K63v: *daśapāpavināśāc*¹⁸ *ca daśabhūmiśvarī*¹⁹ *matā | daśajñānavisuddhātmā tenāpi hi daśaharā*. “And because [Vajravārāhī] destroys the ten bad deeds she is deemed the lady of the ten [bodhisattva] stages. Her nature is purified by the ten knowledges, and therefore *she removes the ten [bad deeds]* (*daśaharā*).” The reference is to the canonical list of “ten bad deeds” (*akuśalakarmas*). (The ten knowledges are listed in a second hand on one of the unnumbered folios at the start of K and on the first leaf in N.)

§31 *bāhye pīṭhādiṣu*...: It is doubtful whether this passage belonged to the original *Bhāvanākrama* because it deals with the correspondences belonging to the male gods of the Cakrasaṃvara maṇḍala. It should perhaps be dropped. In addition to its evidently corrupt state (and the divergences between ms. K and mss. N and D), it is also lacking in the Tibetan translation, and there are no related lines in YSCT, HĀ, or edited portions of SUT. However, a similar passage appears in GSS₅ (Sed p. 142¹⁹, K28v6): *teṣu pīṭhādiṣu tattatsthānagatā nādyas tattaddevatārūpeṇa parīṇamayya*

18 *vināśāc*] N; *vināśāc* K; *vināśāya* D.

19 *īśvarī*] K, N; *īśvarā* D.

*vyavasthitā bhāvyaḥ — yathā bāhye pīthādisamīpasthā nadyas toyena poṣaṇam kurvanti tadvad dehe 'pi nāḍyo nakhādīnām poṣaṇam kurvanti samānatā. bāhye vajrapītham mahābodhisamjñakam sthānam nirañjanā ca nadī. dehe mahāsukhacakram vajrapītham avadhūtī nirañjanā.*²⁰

§33 *om kara kara pracāṇḍe huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*: Both *ī*-stem and *ā*-stem feminine nouns appear in this mantra with the suffix *-ye*. The dative inflexion *-īye* is discussed in n. 432. All feminine proper nouns are unemended here.

§34 *etac ca gurūpadeśād boddhavyam → darśitam*: This is omitted in the Tibetan text. The Tibetan text transcribes all mantras with the distinction commented upon by the author here: *huṃ hūṃ phaṭ* (as noted in the footnotes to the edition at §12). The distinction between *huṃ* and *hūṃ* that Umāpatideva makes here is clearly differentiated in K, but seems to be lost in other mss. N is small and faint but seems to read *huṃ huṃ*. D also reads *huṃ huṃ*. Umāpatideva's statement is also not borne out in other sources examined for this book. A scriptural parallel for the key to the mantras is cited in another GSS *sādhana* extracted from the ADUT, in which the mss. supply a long vowel in *hūṃ* (GSS7 K43v4–5): *praṇavam nāmasam-yuktam hūmhūmphatākārasamyutam*.

v.60 *ākṛāntakamtrayodbbhūta...*: Sanderson (1998: personal communication) notes that although our Tibetan witnesses prescribe *āḥ*, Stein records a different Tibetan tradition that supports *kaṃ* (1976–77, p. 533: *Puis trois têtes humaines issues de ka servent de pierres du foyer*); Sanderson adds that the reading *kaṃ* is supported in the Sanskrit by the *Kriyāsamuccaya* (ŚP 405.1: *kaṃjatricūlikam dhyāyāt tadūrdhva <m> prṛthubhājanam ā <ḥ> kārā-bījasambhūtam*). Therefore, this is probably the better reading.

Our Tibetan witnesses are following a Sanskrit tradition attested by the ritual texts related to GSS11 and GSS5 (Sed p. 135⁷, K22v6): *paścād amṛtāsvādanam kuryāt. yaṃkāreṇa vāyumaṇḍalam tadupariraṃkārajāgni-maṇḍalam. tatra śukla-āḥkārajam śuklapadmabhājanam muṇḍatrayakṛta <m> cullikāvasthitam*; also *Cakrasamvarabalividhi* (p. 56 ll. 25–26): *tatra purato yaṃkāreṇa vāyumaṇḍalam tadupari raṃkārajāgnimaṇḍalam tatra śukla-āḥkārajamuṇḍatritayakṛtacullikārūḍham śuklapadmabhājanam*. • *yaṃ*] em.; *yām* Finot • *raṃ*] em.; Finot *rām*; SM251 (p. 494): *yaṃkārapariṇatam vāyumaṇḍalam tadupari rephapariṇatam agnimaṇḍalam tadupari rakta-*

20 *nirañjanā*] em.; *nirañjanām* K.

āḥkārajaṃ padmabhājanam. Different syllables altogether are given in the VĀ *om āḥ hūṃ* (*Amṛtasāadhanam* ŚP f.120v): *tatra yaṃjavāyūpari raṃjāgnau ā<ḥ>kārajaśubhrābjabhājanam omāḥhūṃjatrīmundaśtha<ṃ>*.

v.61ff. *omāditi*→*bijāni*: Omitted in the Tibetan translation. The seed-syllable for Vairocana (*bum/vum*) must have dropped out of the set in the Sanskrit since ten syllables are required. It is also absent from the parallel texts (GSS5 Sed p. 135⁹, K23r1, and Finot 1934: 57). However, it is present in other texts, e.g., GSS16 (K81r6) and SM251 (p. 494) cited in notes to chapter 3.

§36 *jvālāmudrā*: The GSS mss. read *jālāmudrā*, along with the majority of Cakrasaṃvara/Vajrayoginī texts. As stated (ch. 3), this is something of a hybrid between *jvālā*^o and *jālā*^o. The former (*jvālāmudrā*) is the version attested in Abhayākara Gupta's *Sāmvarikaḥ Sārvabhautikabalividhi* in the VĀ (ŚP f. 123r4): *lalāṭopari jvālāmudrām kṛtvā pheḍ iti sāṭopam trir uccārya...*, and is that transmitted into the Tibetan tradition. However, it appears only once in the GSS (GSS35), as shown in the (unemended) citations in notes to chapter 3.

§36 <*om*> *anyonyānugatāḥ sarvadharmāḥ*: The *om* is omitted in all GSS11 mss. but included in the Tibetan translation (p. 45.3). It also appears in the *Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi* (p. 57) and GSS5 (Sed p. 143¹⁰, K29r5) where the mantra is given in a slightly different form (*om anyonyānugatāḥ sarvadharmā atyantānupraviṣṭāḥ sarvadharmā hūṃ*). In other texts, (e.g., GSS4) the more common mantra appears (*om yogaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ yogaśuddho 'ham*), while other *bali* rituals omit the mantra altogether (e.g., GSS31, GSS35).

§36 *amṛtabhāṇḍam avasthāpya dhyātvā vā* (conj.): The missing alternative verbal action is found in parallel texts cited ch. 5, e.g., GSS5 (Sed p. 143¹², K29v1): *tad amṛtabhāṇḍam avasthāpya dhyātvā vā* ≈ *Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi* (Finot 1934: 57): *tad amṛtabhāṇḍam avasthāpya dhyātvā ca*; *Sāmvarikaḥ sārvabhautikabalividhi* (VĀ ŚP f.123r-v): *amṛtabhāṇḍam āropya dhyātvā vā*.

§36 *hūṃbhava vajrajihvānām*: The tongue is often described as white; cf. the parallel passages in GSS5 (Sed p. 143¹⁷, K29v3): *hūṃbhavaśuklavajra-jihvānām*;²¹ *Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi* (p. 57): *hūṃbhavaśuklavajrarasanānām tricakradevatānām*. Other rites involving the transformation of the tongue

also include the adjective, e.g., GSSII §51: *śuklahūmkārapariṇataśuklavajrajihvā-*; GSS5 (Sed p. 145³, K30v3): *hūmkāraṇiṣpannāṃ śuklavajramayīm jihvām vidhāya ...*; GSS5 (Sed p. 148⁶, K33v1): *oṃśukla-oṃkārapariṇatavajrajihvā-*; cf. GSS5 (Sed p. 150⁸, K35r4): *āḥkārajasarojadalābhasvajihvāyām....*

v.68 *śuktijaṃ*→*dāpayet*: Inserted into the lower margin of K66v (possibly by the first hand?):

*śuktije*²² *nārikele*²³ *tu kūrmaḥ kīcaḥ*²⁴ *tathā*
bhūkhevāricarāṇāṃ ca pañcamāṃsāni dāpayet (v. 68).

“He should offer the five meats of creatures moving on the earth, in the air, and in water [i.e., animal, bird, and fish] in [a vessel] made of mother-of-pearl (*śuktija*), coconut shell (*nārikela/nārikera*), turtle shell, and bamboo” (trans. Sanderson).

There are several problems with this verse: (1) The insertion mark is on line 3 of ms. K following *paśyet* (and incorporated at this point into the text of N and D). I have moved the insertion in the edition here to a more logical position, following *upadhaukayet* on line 4. The text to be inserted actually states that it belongs on line 4, so it seems that the insertion mark itself is wrong. It does not appear in the Tibetan translation. (2) The inserted text is metrical in the middle of a prose passage. (3) Its relevance is questionable because it describes a different kind of vessel and seems to refer to an alternative set of lamps rather than five nectars.

§38 *oṃ vajrāralli hoḥ*→*samayas tvaṃ dṛśya hoḥ*: cf. YSCT (A5r3): *oṃ āralli hoḥ jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ vajradākinyah samayas tvaṃ dṛśya hoḥ. evaṃ tri-catuhpañcavārānuccarya samayadravyāṇi... (dam)... oṃ kha kha khāhi* etc.; HĀ (f. 14r6): *oṃ āralli hoḥ jaḥ huṃ vaṃ hoḥ vajradākinyah samayas tvaṃ dṛśya hoḥ vajrāñjalyorddhvavikacā? balim dadyān niśārddhake. oṃ kha kha khāhi* etc.; GSS5 (Sed p. 143¹⁹, K29v3): *oṃ āralli hoḥ jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ ho<ḥ> vajradākinyah samayas tvaṃ dṛśya ho<ḥ> ity anena ekadvitricatuhpañca-*

22 *śuktije*] conj. Sanderson; *śuktijaṃ* K, N; *muktijaṃ* D.

23 *nārikele*] conj. Sanderson; *nārikela* K, N, *nārikela* D.

24 *kūrmaḥ kīcaḥ*] conj. Sanderson; *kūrmajaṃ kīsaṃ* codd.

vāroccāritena dhaukayet; Finot (1934: 58); GSS16 (K81v4): *oṃ vajrāralli hoḥ jah hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ vajradākinyah samayas tvam dṛśya hoḥ*.

The sequence *jah hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ* has been discussed in chapter 3. Other elements of this mantra also appear in earlier texts, such as *samayas tvam*, e.g., *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* (p. 23); *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* (p. 152): *samayas tvam*, (p. 181): *dṛśya hoḥ*. The mantra element *vajrāralli* or *āralli* is obscure. There is no dictionary entry in Sanskrit for the word. Sanderson (1998: personal communication) has noted that *āralli* may be derived from Tamil and Malayālam *arali* meaning “oleander” (Burrow and Emeneau 1961. *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*. Oxford: entry 173), but that there are also other Dravidian possibilities, namely, Tamil *aral* “to be terrified” (*ibid.* s.v. entry 2980), and *aral*, “to burn,” “to become angry” / *arali*, “fire” (*ibid.* s.v. entry 234); *ārral* “power,” “wisdom” (*ibid.* s.v. entry 239).

The word appears in compound in GSS1≈GSS2, cited in full in chapter 2 (p. 53) (K280v/ov): *triṇaṃaṇḍalaṃ ramyaṃ vajrāralliviniḥsṛtam*. Here it may be equivalent to *padma*, and hence the term would mean: “produced from [the union of] vajra (penis) and padma (vagina).” Isaacson (1996) has shown other instances of the term, including a possibly similar usage in Mahāsukhavajrapāda’s commentary to the *Caṇḍāmahāroṣaṇatantra*, in which the lord of the maṇḍala is said to have “arisen from the *vajrāralli*” (ms. NAK 3–402 NGMPP B 31/7 f. 6v2). Here its function seems to be that of the *dharmodayā*, as in the *Saṃputatantra* ch. 1 (p. 238): *ekārākṛtimadhye rasasyaivaṃ yathā bhavati / trikṇe maṇḍale ramye vajrāralliviniḥsṛtam / dharmodayeti vikhyātaṃ yositāṃ bhaga ity api / tasya madhye gatam padmam aṣṭapatram sakarṇikam*; cf. *Vasantatilakā* ch. 9, v.6 (p. 73): *vajrārallau padmagatāni pratidaladikṣuvīdikṣu vinirgatāni*, in which the commentator does not gloss the word and the Tibetan translation transliterates. There is a group of *Vajrārallitantras* in the tantric canon (e.g., the *Rgi-āralli*), now known only through quotations in surviving literature (Isaacson 1997: personal communication; cf. Bendall 1885: 171). The “*A ra li*” tantras appear in Bu ston’s analysis of the Tibetan canon within the *Ye shes rgyud* (*wisdom tantras*) within the *Samvara* (*bDe mchog*) groupings, that also contain the *Laghusamvara* and the *Samvarodayatantra* (see Tsuda 1974: 28 and Dawa-Samdup 1919: 7–8).

≈§41 GSS5 (Sed p. 145¹⁵, K31r2): *bāhyapūjāvidhir ucyate. iha bhagavatīm pūjayitukāmaḥ prātar utthāya yathāvasaram vā vajravairocanīyogavān mantrī śuci pradese hastam dattvā oṃ sumbha nisumbhetyādīmantram uccārya*

*pañcāmṛtasugandhādivatīkayā anyatama*²⁵ *dravyamiśritagomayavatīkayā caturasramaṇḍalam upalīpya tanmadhye hastam dattvā pujetyādicaturviṃśatyakṣarāṇi pīṭhopapīṭhādidaśanāmāni ca tattadbhūmyadhīmokṣapūrvakam uccārayet. tatas tatra maṇḍalake jhaṭiti caturmahābhūtaśhasumerūpari raktapadmaśhasūryavamaṅkāraṁ dr̥ṣṭvā tadraśmibhir jñānamaṇḍalam āniya tatra praveśya tatparinatām bhagavatīm saparivārām sarvākāraṇiṣpannām paśyet.* [cont. below ≈§42]

Cf. *Bāhyapūjāvidhi Śāśvatavajra* (Finot 1934: 52). This text outlines the ritual for the yogin in union with Cakrasaṃvara. GSS5 is closely related to the Cakrasaṃvara text, although Śāśvatavajra's text is longer, describing the preparatory acts more elaborately. There is also some difference in word order in the following problematic passage: *śrīsaṃvarayogavān sucipradeśe pañcāmṛtasugandhādivatīkayā tadabbhāve 'nyata[ma]dravyamiśritagomayavatīkayā vā saṃyuta[m] hastam dattvā, om sumbhanisumbhetyādīkam uccārya, caturasramaṇḍalakam upalīpya, om aḥ vajrarekhe hum ity adhiṣṭhāya, tanmadhye hastam dattvā pujetyādicaturviṃśatyakṣarāṇi pīṭhopapīṭhādidaśabhūmisvabhāvāni tattadbhūmyadhīmokṣapūrvakam uccārayet.*

≈§42 GSS5 cont. (Sed p. 146¹, K31r6) (≈Finot 1934: 52–53): *tato hṛdbījanirgatavināḍidevibhiḥ saṃpūjya saptaratnādīni ca tannirgatāni*²⁶ *dhaukayitvā yathāvidhīśodhitavāmakareṇa maṇḍalamadhye bhagavatyaī tryakṣareṇa puṣpaṁ dadyāt. punas tatraiva bhagavatīhṛdayopahṛdayamantrābhyaṁ. tato dākinīyādīnām yamamathaniparyantānām svasvamantreṇa dikṣu vāmāvartena vidikṣu dakṣiṇāvartena yathāsthānaṁ maṇḍalake puṣpa<m> deyam.*

≈§43 ²⁷ *tato vakṣyamāṇahastapūjākrameṇa karavinyastānām devatānām*²⁸ *tattatsthāneṣu tattanmantreṇa om ha ityādīnā puṣpaṁ dadyāt. tatas tad vāma-karagatapuṣpaṁ aṣṭapadamantroccāraṇapūrvakam maṇḍalake prakṣīpya śīrasy añjalikaraṇapūrvakam karatalagatadevatācakram ātmani praveśayet.*

≈§44 *tad anu hṛdayādyaṣṭapadamantrastutipūrvakam yathāvartitastutibhiḥ saṁstutya yathāśakti pāpadeśanādīkam dhyānamantrajāpapraṇidhānādīkam ca vidhāya* – [cont. below ≈§45]

≈§45 GSS5 cont. (Sed p. 146¹⁰, K31v6) (≈Finot 1934: 53): – *śatākṣaram*

25 *anyatama*] corr.; *anyatamā* K.

26 *tannirgatāni*] em.; *tannirgatādi* K.

27 *tato vakṣyamāṇahastapūjākrameṇa karavinyastānām devatānām*] GSS5; *tata<h> karavinyastānām devatānām* Finot.

28 *devatānām*] Finot, *devatānām ca* GSS5.

*uccārya om yogaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmā*²⁹ *yogaśuddho 'ham iti mantrasahita-kamalāvartamudrayā samtoṣya mudropasaṃhāreṇāliṅgaṇābhinaya*³⁰ *purahsaram choṭikādānasahitam*³¹ *om vajra mur iti paṭhan*³² *visariya tac cakram ātmani praveśayet. tato maṇḍalarekhāṃ lumped iti.*³³ [cont. below ≈§46]

≈§46 GSS₅ cont. (Sed p. 146¹⁴, K32r2) (≈Finot 1934: 54–56): *hastapūjāvidhir ucyate.*³⁴ *tatra gaṇamaṇḍalāḍau śrīvajravārāhīyogavān yogī vāmakare vṛddhātārjanīmadhyamānāmikā*³⁵ *kaniṣṭhātannakhamukheṣu*³⁶ *vajrasattva-vairocanāmitābhākṣobhyaratnasambhavāmoghasiddhisvarūpān*³⁷ *yathākramam śuklasitaraktakṛṣṇapīṭaharita*³⁸ *varṇān om ha.*³⁹ *nama hi.*⁴⁰ *svāhā hum. vauṣaṭ he. hum hum ho. phaṭ haṃkārān vinyaset. karatale jhātiti niṣpannam*⁴¹ *rakta-paṇcadalakamalam dhyātvā pūrvādidigdaleṣu vāmāvartena yathākramam yāminīmohinisaṃcālānisaṃtrāsānicanḍikāsvarūpāni nīlaśvetapīṭaharita-dhūmra*⁴² *dhūsaravarṇāni. hām yom hrīm moṃ hreṃ hrīm hum hum phaṭ phad iti bijākṣarāni paśyet. karṇikāyām*⁴³ *vajravārāhīsvabhāvam*⁴⁴ *raktavarṇam om vaṃ iti bijam.*⁴⁵ *etatpratibimbam*⁴⁶ *tricakram vādhaḥ*⁴⁷ *karapṛṣṭhe 'pi parisphuṭam paśyet.* [cont. below ≈§47].

29 *sarvadharmā*] corr.; *savadharmā* K.

30 *abhinaya*] em, *ābhinaye* K.

31 *purahsaram choṭikādānasahitam*] GSS₅; cf. *pūrvakam anāmikayā bhūmim spṛśan* Finot.

32 *paṭhan*] em.; *paṭhana* K.

33 *tato maṇḍalarekhāṃ lumped iti.*] GSS₅; cf. *maṇḍalarekhāproṇchanādikaṃ kuryād iti. bāhyapūjāvidheḥ puṇyam saṃgrahād yan mayārjītam / tena bhūyāj jagat sarvaṃ buddhapūjāparāyaṇam* (plus colophon) Finot.

34 *hastapūjāvidhir ucyate.*] GSS₅; *atha hastapūjāvidhir ucyate* GSS_{II}; *praṇamya vajravārāhīm yoginīcakranāyikām / saṃgrhyate yathānyāyam hastapūjāvidhir mayā* SM253.

35 *nāmikā*] corr.; *'nāmikā* K.

36 *tannakhamukheṣu*] GSS₅; *tannakheṣu* SM253.

37 *siddhisvarūpān*] GSS₅; *siddhisvabhāvān* SM253.

38 *śuklasitaraktakṛṣṇapīṭaharita*] em.; *śuklapīṭaraktakṛṣṇaraktaharita* K; *śuklapīṭaraktakṛṣṇaharita* SM253.

39 *om ha* GSS₅; *om haḥ* Finot.

40 *nama hi*] GSS₅; *namaḥ hi* Finot.

41 *niṣpannam*] em.; *niṣpa(nnām)* K(mg2).

42 *dhūmra*] corr.; *dhūmrava* K.

43 *karṇikāyām*] GSS₅; *karṇikāyām ca* Finot.

44 *svabhāvam*] em.; *svabhāvām* K.

45 *bijam*] understand dual.

46 *bimbam*] em.; *bimbām* K.

47 *tricakram vādhaḥ*] corr.; *tricakram vā adhaḥ* K; *cakratrayam vādhaḥ* Finot.

§46 *om ha, nama hi...*: The form chosen here is that which follows our ms. K most closely, and which seems to represent one tradition (while our ms. N follows another in some instances). In all cases but one, GSSII agrees with Lūyīpāda's HĀ (f. 11v3): *hum hum hoḥ*. Sanderson (1994a n. 88) examines the form of the *kavaca* syllables with reference to the Tibetan transliterations and their description in the *Cakrasamvaratantra* and its *Pañjikā*, and these are found to agree with K in all instances except *svāhā hum*, which Sanderson reports as *svāhā hu*. He notes (2001: personal communication) that the short vowel u (in *hu*) is required to fit the sequence *ha, hi, <hu> he ho, ham*. Sanderson adds, "These vowels (*a, i, u, e, i*, with the syllable *aṃ*) are known in the Śaiva technical terminology of *mantraśāstra* as the "five shorts" (*brasva-*). They are used to form the five "face mantras" of any *mūlamantra*, when they are substituted for the vowel of the seed-syllable (*bijam*). In the light of this, the presence of the syllable *hum* in our texts (in *svāhā hum*) "is evidently the result of a scribe's error, a substitution of the common for the exceptional."

The YSCT (A4r4–5) represents a different tradition, however, and its variants are shown here in table 26, followed by variants from other texts (including mss. of SM251 and Kalff's mss. of the ADUT, pp. 286–87 and p. 301):

Table 26. *Variants in Cakrasamvara armor syllables*

GSSII	YSCT ms. A/ch. 7, v.2	other variants
<i>om ha</i>	<i>om haḥ</i>	<i>om hūṃ, om hoṃ</i>
<i>nama hi</i>	<i>namaḥ hiḥ</i>	<i>nama hiḥ, nama hri</i>
<i>svāhā hum</i>	<i>svāhā hūṃ</i>	<i>svāhā hū</i>
<i>vauṣat he</i>	<i>vauṣat he</i>	<i>vauṣat / vauṣat hem</i>
<i>hum hum ho</i>	<i>hūṃ hūṃ hoṃ</i>	<i>hūṃ hūṃ ho</i>
<i>phaṭ haṃ</i>	<i>phaṭ phaṭ haṃ</i>	

≈§47 GSS5 cont. (Sed p.147⁴, K32v1): *tataḥ karagatān prthivyaṣṭejo-vāyvakāśadhātūn pātānimāraṇi-ākaraṇinarteśvarīpadmajvālinisvabhāvān adhimuñcet*.⁴⁸ *tatas tatkaragatāni bijākṣarāṇi dravadravyeṇa*⁴⁹ *mraṁṣayitvā*

48 *tataḥ*→*adhimuñcet*.] GSS5; this appears at the start of the rite in Finot. It is omitted altogether in GSSII.

49 *dravadravyeṇa*] GSS5; *dravadravayāni* Finot.

*tatkaratalaṃ*⁵⁰ *sarvayoginyadhiṣṭhitatricakrasvarūpam*⁵¹ *adhimucya taddravādi-dravyaṃ tryakṣaramantrenāṣṭapadamantrena vā dadyāt*. [cont. below ≈\$48]

§47 *taddravādidravyaṃ*: All the sources read *taddravādidravyaṃ*. Finot (1934: 55) emends to *tatra dravādidravyaṃ*. The SM edition (p. 498) interprets it *tad dravādidravyaṃ*. The Tibetan text implies *taddravādidravya-tryakṣareṇa*, “the three syllables of that which has melted, etc.” (p. 48.7: *zhu ba'i de nyid la sogs pa'i yi ge gsum*). I preserve *tad-* in compound, as this yields some sense, although the passage as a whole includes a number of questionable demonstrative pronouns in compound.

≈\$48 GSS5 cont. (Sed p. 147⁸, K32v3): *tataḥ saṃpūjya nyūnādhikavidhipūranārtham śatākṣaram paṭhitvā cakrādyadhiṣṭhānārtham*⁵² *adhyesya taddravam aparadravye 'nyatra vā sthāpayitvā*⁵³ *hastalagnena dravyeṇa vāmā-nāmikāgrhītena hrjijhvāsīrāṃsi hūm-āḥ-omkāroccāraṇapūrvakam mraṁṣayan taddevatāvṛndam ātmani praviṣṭam adhimuñcet. etat tu vidhānam saṃcāra-tantre*⁵⁴ *prasiddham*.⁵⁵ *hastapūjāvidhiḥ*.⁵⁶ [cont. below ≈\$49]

≈\$49 GSS5 cont. (Sed p. 147¹², K32v5) (≈Finot 1934: 55–56; SM253): *yadvā*⁵⁷ *pūrvoktavidhiśodhitavāmakarānāmikayā pīṭhopapīṭhādidaśanāmāny*⁵⁸ *uccārayan yathāvidhi śodhitamadanena trikoṇacakradvayaṃ abhilihya*⁵⁹ *tanmadhye vartulaṃ maṇḍalaṃ tatra svahr̥dbījanirgatam tatkiraṇākṛṣṭam vā sādharādheyamaṇḍalāṃ*⁶⁰ *bhagavatīm vicintya tasyai pañcāmṛtādirūpeṇa*

50 *tatkara(talaṃ)*] K(mg); *tatkara(gataṃ)* K(del).

51 *svarūpam*] em.; *svarūpām* K.

52 *cakrādyadhiṣṭhānārtham*] em.; *cakrādyadhiṣṭhānādyartham* K, Finot ms. (possibly retain this reading); *cakrādhīṣṭhānād bandham* Finot ed.

53 *sthāpayitvā*] Kpc; *sthāpayet* Kac.

54 *tantrē*] em.; *tantra* K.

55 *prasiddham*] em.; *pratisiddham* K.

56 *etat tu vidhānam* → *hastapūjāvidhiḥ*.] GSS5; *iti likhitā haste pūjā samasya saṃcāra-tantrasaṃbaddhā / smṛtaye mandadhiyām api Śāsvatavajreṇa guruvarāmnāyāt* Finot; *iti likhitā haste pūjā mayā 'sya* (etc. as Finot) SM253 (unmetric).

57 *yadvā*] GSS5=Finot; *athavā* GSS11; *atha* SM253.

58 *pīṭhopapīṭhādidaśanāmāny*] GSS5; *pīṭhopapīṭhādisvabhāvapūjetyādi caturviṃśaty akṣarāṇy* Finot; *pīṭhopapīṭhādicaturviṃśaty akṣarāṇy* SM253.

59 *abhilihya*] GSS5; *abhilekhyā* K; *ālikhyā* Finot.

60 *tatra* → *sādharādheyamaṇḍalāṃ*] GSS5= SM253; *tatra svahr̥dbījanirgatam tatra kiraṇākṛṣṭam vā ādhārādheyamaṇḍalaṃ* Finot; (GSS5 Sed reads *vāsādharādheyacakraṃ*).

*niṣpāditam khādyabhojyādikaṃ*⁶¹ *tryakṣareṇāṣṭapadamantreṇa vā dattvā padmabhājanagatam amṛtāyitaṃ madanam vṛddhānāmikābhyāṃ grhītvā bhagavatīm svahrdayopahrdayābhyāṃ ḍākinyādiyamamathanīparyantāś*⁶² *ca yathāsvam etāsām eva mantraiḥ saṃtarpayet.* [cont. below ≈§50]

≈§50 *tataḥ saṃpūjya nyūnātirekavidhipūraṇārtham śatākṣaram paṭhitvā gaṇacakrādhīsthānārtham cādhyeṣya – oṃ yogaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmā yogaśuddho haṃ iti – paṭhan kamalāvartanamudrayā*⁶³ *saṃtoṣya tanmudropasaṃhāre<ṇa>*⁶⁴ *ālīṅganābhīnayapūrvakam anāmikayā bhūmiṃ sprśan oṃ vajra mur iti paṭhitvā visarjya taccakram ātmani praveśayet. tatas tad*⁶⁵ *bhūmigatamadanam*⁶⁶ *vāmānāmikayā grhītvā tena hr̥jjihvāśīrāṃsi hūṃ-āḥ-oṃ-kāroccāraṇapūrvakam mraṁṣayan, tat karagatam api devatācakram ātmani praviṣṭam ālokayed iti hastena pūjoktā.*⁶⁷ [cont. below ≈§51]

§49 *mudropasaṃhāreṇā* → §51 *juhuyād ity*: Omitted in the Tibetan text.

≈§51 GSS5 cont. (Sed p. 148⁶, K33v1): *tataḥ † oṃśukla-oṃkārāpariṇata-vajrajihvāḥ dakṣiṇasruveṇetarāhutīm svanābhikamalakarnīkāyām avasthita-jvālāmālākulacakreṣu † juhuyāt. ityadhyātmahomaḥ śeṣaḥ.* [cont. below ≈§52]

§52 *tad anu – oṃ āḥ ucchiṣṭavajra...*: The closing remark, *bahir gatvā*, in GSSII is strange, and it is at this point that Umāpatideva finishes his redaction from the source text. However, it is explained in the parallel text in GSS5, that also ends at this point (with a slightly extended text), giving an indication that the source text continues with a description of *bāhyahoma* rituals, as follows:

61 *khādyabhojyādikaṃ*] GSS5; *khādyapeyādikaṃ* Finot, SM235.

62 *ḍākinyādiyamamathanīparyantam*] Kpc2, Finot, SM253; *ḍākinyādiyamadādhiparyantāś* Kac.

63 *kamalāvartanamudrayā*] GSS5; *kamalāvarttamudrayā* Finot, SM253.

64 *tanmudropasaṃhāre<ṇa>*] GSSII; *tanmudropasaṃhāra* GSS5; *tanmudropasaṃhāre* Finot, SM253.

65 *tad*] corr.; *tata* K.

66 *madanam*] corr.; *madamnam* K.

67 *hastena pūjoktā*] GSS5; *cakrasamvaranāthasya tryasramaṇḍalavarttinah / eṣā hastena pūjoktā yoginām hitakārīṇī / saṃgrhya* (SM253; *saṃpūjya*) *yan mayāvāptam hastapūjāvidheḥ* (SM253; *vidhiṃ*) *śubham / tena sarve janāḥ* (SM253; *sarvajanāḥ*) *santu hastapūjāparāyaṇāḥ / hastapūjāvidhiḥ samāptaḥ. kṛtiḥ Śāśvatavajrapādānām iti.* (SM253; *Śāśvatavajrasya*) Finot, SM253.

GSS5 cont. (Sed p.148⁸, K33v2): *om āḥ ucchiṣṭavajra*⁶⁸ *adhitiṣṭhemam* *balim hūm svāhā. śūnyatākaraṇādvayatraidhātukacakrākārājñānavahnau tu yathopadeśam skandhādīndhanadahanān niruttarahomah. śāntikapauṣṭikādi-bāhyahomas tu homavidhau karmānūrūpavihitakuṇḍakusumasamidha-śoṣaṇādikam anusṛtya vidhayo vistarabhayān na likhitāḥ. evaṃ tāvat pūjābalividhānādisametam vistareṇa bhagavatyā bhāvanāmaṇḍalam nirdiṣṭam.*

idānim→vv. 70–77: Omitted in Tibetan text.

v.70 *karaṇkakākhyam ca subhīṣaṇam ca*: For the textual sources referred to here, see chapter 3. Various names are given for the western and southern cremation grounds in these sources, and there is some confusion between them. For the western cremation grounds, texts give Vajrajvālākula-karaṇkaka, Jvālākulakaraṇkaka, Karaṇkaka, and Jvālākula. For the southern cremation grounds, they may give Subhīṣaṇa or Vibhīṣaṇa, or omit Subhīṣaṇa/Vibhīṣaṇa altogether and split the compound for the western cremation grounds, to give Karaṇkaka (west) and Jvālākula (south). More textual research is needed to solve the problem, which may have arisen because both *jvālākula* and *subhīṣaṇa/vibhīṣaṇa* are possible qualifications of the proper nouns that designate the cremation grounds. From the sources examined so far, the names Jvālākulakaraṇkaka (west) and Vibhīṣaṇa (south) are the most common (perhaps corroborated by the inclusion in this western cremation ground of the *aśoka/kaṇkeli* tree, whose flaming red flowers also suggest a motif of flame), e.g., SUT ch. 17, v. 36cd: *caṇḍogṛaṃ gahvaram caiva vajrajvālākaraṇkinam*, which suggests Vajrajvālā west and Karaṇkin south, although the text should read a dual (...*vajrajvālākaraṇkinī*). GSS16, although corrupt, seems to cite the SUT text (17.36cd) but, confusingly, adds Vibhīṣaṇa in what may have once been an insertion or qualifying gloss (GSS16 K76v6): *caṇḍogṛa<m> gahvaram caiva vajrajvālākaraṇkakah. vibhīṣaṇam ca pūrvādidikṣu vāmena samsthitaṃ*. GSS34 (K113r5) gives Jvālākula west and Karaṇkaka south. The *Adbhutaśmaśānālamkāra* (reported by Meisezahl 1980: 19) gives Karaṇkakin west and Vibhīṣaṇa south. Lūyīpāda's *Śmaśānavidhi* (v. 8) gives Jvālākulakaraṇkaka west and (v. 10) Vibhīṣaṇa south. Cf. K. Gyatso (1999: 120–22). This is possibly corrupt, since the verse with the compound

68 *ucchiṣṭavajra*] corr.; *utsiṣṭavajra* K.

Jvālākulakaraṅkaka actually omits the name of the protector, Varuṇa (v.8):
pracyāṃ pādapo 'śoko jvālākulakaraṅkake / śvetaḥ saptaphaṇaḥ pāśī
*makarasthaḥ kapāladhṛk.*⁶⁹

69 Finot takes the qualification “having a noose,” *pāśī*, in the third *pāda* to indicate the proper name of a god Pāśin = Varuṇa. Meisezahl notes that this is not the reading in the Tibetan, but he still translates *pāśī* as “Varuṇa” on the basis of de Mallman’s identification of the noose-bearing god Pāśin as Varuṇa in the *Mahābharata* (1980: 42 n. 33).

Insignificant Variants

A variant is judged “insignificant” when it is suggestive of scribal practice or scribal error rather than a separate manuscript lineage. (Variants in proper nouns are shown in the apparatus, however, except those showing faulty declensions.)

Typical examples of insignificant variants:

In all mss.:

- scribal errors such as dittography or metathesis, e.g., *yad akāri*] K, N; *day akāri* D (*meta.*)
- some omission of *anusvāra* or *visarga*, e.g., *sthānaṃ*] N; *sthāna* K, D
- omission of “r,” e.g., *sarva*] N, D; *sava* K
- “invisible” *virāma*, e.g., *vidadhīta*] N; *vidadhīt* K, D
- some corrections to *saṃdhi*, e.g., *phaṭ.*] corr.; *phaḍ* codd.
- confusion between sibilants, e.g., *sarpiṣi*] em.; *sarpisi* codd.
- confusion between i/ī, u/ū, e.g., °*vārāhi*] K, N; *vārāhi* D
- lacuna, or confusion in the source-text of a ms. that makes no difference to the reading, e.g., *surābhakṣi*] K, D; *surā – bhakṣi* N
- intentional lacunae or decoration dividing sections of the text, e.g., - ⊗ - K; -7- N.
- additions or corrections by the first or second scribe in K that have been preserved in transmission, e.g., *etasya*] codd., Kpc; (*e*)*tasya* K(add2)
- regular orthographical “mistakes,” e.g., *nairṛtya* (codd.) for *nairṛtya*; *datvā* (codd.) for *dattvā*; *satva-* (codd.) for *sattva-*.

In ms. D:

- haphazard addition and omission of strokes of the *akṣara* producing long

vowels, e.g., *asyāgamasyāyam*] K, N; *esyāgamasyoyam* D, or *bhūtāt*] K, N; *bhūtāte* D

- confusion between r and l, e.g., *śiro*°] K, N; *śīla* D
- nonsense probably produced through sloppy copying, e.g., *viṣādasya*] K, N; *viviyadasma* D

Insignificant Variants to GSSII

v.2d *abhīṣṭa*] K, N; *abhīṣṭa* D; **v.3b** °*dyutim*] K, N; °*dyutit* D; **v.4a** °*bhavair*] N, D; °*bhavai* K; **v.4d** *catur*] N, D; *catu* K; **§1** °*āśrayaṇam*] corr.; *āśrayaṇam* K, N; *āsayaṇam* D; **v.5a** *etasya*] codd., Kpc; (e)*tasya* K(add2); **v.5d** *samastam*] corr.; *samastam* codd., Kpc; *sa(pta)mastam* K(del); *yad akārī*] K, N; *day akāri* D (meta.); **v.8§a** *caturbrahmavihārās*] N, D; *catubrahmāvihārās* K; **v.9a** *bhūtāt*] K, N; *bhūtāte* D; **v.10a** °*raṇam* *na śakyam*] K, N; *raṇam na śakyam* D; **v.10b** *viṣādasya*] K, N; *viviyadasma* D; **v.10d** °*vīryo muditām*] K; *vīyo-* N; *viṣyā muditā* D; **v.11c** °*hantrīm*] K, N; *haṁtīm* D; **v.12ab** *pratitya*→*alikaṁ*] K, N; *pratitejatvāj* (*vra?*)*lacandratubhyaṁ paśyad alikaṁ* D; **v.12d** *vidadhīta*] N; *vidadhī* K, D; **§2** *sarva*] N, D; *sava* K; *svabhāvaśuddho*] N, D; *svarvavadhabhāvaśuddho* K (ditto.); *śūnyatā*] K, N; *śūnyatām* D; **v.13d** *paśyed vitānaṁ*] K, N; *paśyad vitāna* D; **v.14a** *diśāsu*] K, N; *diśāsu* D; **v.14b** *caturo niveśya*] K, N; *caturām iveśya* D; **v.15a** *kākāśyakādyaḥ*] Kpc; *kākāśyodyaḥ* Kac; *kākāśyakādyaḥ* N; *kākāśyakādyaḥ* D; **v.15b** *paśyet*] K, N; *paśyat* D; **§3** *mantrāḥ*] K, N; *mantraḥ* D; *sūkarāśyā*] K, N; *śūkalāśyā* D; **§4** *dattvā*] em.; *datvā* codd.; **v.17b** *visphuradaṁśujālam*] K, N; *visphuratadaśujālam* D; **v.20b** *pibantīm*] K, N; *pibantī* D; **v.22c** °*virājamāna*] K, N; *virājamānā* D; **v.23d** °*granthī*] Kac, N; *gra(nthi?)* Kpc2. (correction obscure); *grañthī* D; **§6** °*vārāhi*] K, N; *vārāhi* D; *saṁtrāsini*] em.; *satrāsini* K; **v.26a** *mayūkha*] K, N; *mayukha* D; **v.26c** *nabhaṣsthām*] em.; *nabhaṣthām* codd.; **v.26d** *sarpīṣā*] em.; *sarpisi* codd.; **v.27c** °*śekodaka*] K, N; *khebhyedaka* D; **§7** *samaya*] K, N; *sama* D; **§8** *aṣṭābhīr yoginībhīr*] K, N; *aṣṭābhī yoginībhī* D; **v.28d** *pīyūṣam*] K, N; *pīyūṣam* D; **v.30d** *susūkṣma*] K, N; *susūkṣmya* D; **v.31c** *sampādana*] K, N; *sapādana* D; **v.34c** *pratyūṣa*] K, N; *pratyūṣa* D; **§9** °*ākṣaro*] K, N; *ākṣarā* D; *jhaṭitī*] K, D; *jhaṭati* N; *nirgama*] K, D; *nirga - ma* N; *tasminn*] K; *tasmin* N, D; *khedo*] K, N; *khedau* D; **v.35a** *tat*] em.; *tata* K, D; *tataḥ* N; *prathamō bhāvanākramaḥ* I.] K; - - *prathamō bhāvanākramaḥ* - - N; *prathamō*

bhāvanākramah – D; **v.36** *atha* codd., Kpc; *a(tha)* K(mg); °*karōṭa* K, N (*syncop.*); *karōṭa(ka)* Dpc(add2); **v.37c** *samadhikāṃ* K, N (*unmetric.*); *samadhikyam* D; *kuryād* N, D; *kuryātd* K; **v.37d** *pūrṇamaṇḍalam* codd. (*syncop.*); **§10** *vajravārāhīm* K, N; *vajravārāhi* D; *pūrvottara* K. D; *pūrvā* – *ttara* N; °*ābhir* K, N; *ābhi* D; *ḍākinī* Kpc, N, D; *ḍākinī(bhi)* K(del); *sahitām* K, N; *sahitā* D; °*devīś* K; *devī* N, D; **v.38a** *ca* K, N; *ca* D(add); **v.38b** *tu* K, N; *tu* Dadd; **v.40c** *daṃṣṭrā* K, N; *duṣṭrā* D; **§11** *catvāro* codd., Kpc; *catvā(r)ro* K(del); **§12** *bhagavati* N; *bhavati* K; *bhagavati* D; °*vārāhī* K, N; *vārāhī* D (*vajravārāhi* → *phaṭ iti* K, N read - *i*; D reads - *ī* unless otherwise stated.); °*esvari* K; *esvari* N; *esvari* D; °*parājite* K, N; *aparājite* D; *vaśam* K, N; *vaśyam* D; *namaḥ* N; *namo* K, D; *phaṭ* N, D; *pha* K; *mantrā* K, N; *mantro* D; *phaṭ.* corr.; *phaḍ iti* codd.; 2.] K, D; – 2 – N; **§13** *idānim* Kac, N, D; *idānim (idam)* Kpc(add2); *nairṛtya* corr.; *nairṛtya* K, N; *nairṛtye* D; *aiśāna* K, N; *esāne* D; °*bhir* K, N; *bhir* D; °*dādhi* K; *dādī* N, D; **§14** °*samās* K, N; *śamās* D; *śavāsanatvam* K, N; *śavāsanātvaṃ* D; *viśeṣaḥ* K, N; *viśe** D; **v.41e** *sattvā*°] em.; *satvā* codd.; **§15** *śvānāsyē* K, N; *svānāsyē* D; *sūkarāsyē* K, N; *sūkarāsyē* D; °*daṃṣṭriṇīye* K, N *daṃṣṭriye* D; *phaṭ.* corr.; *phaḍ* codd.; 3] K, -3- N; **§16** *devīcakram* K; *devīcakra* N, D; *cakratraya* K, N; *cakra-traye* D; **§17** °*cakram* K, N; *cakrem* D; *valī* K; *vali* N, D; *pullīramalaya* K, N; *pullilamalaye* D; °*kramam* K, N; *krama* D; °*nāsā*°] D; *nāsā* K, N; *nairṛtya* corr.; *nairṛtya* codd.; *mālavā*°] K, N; *molavā* D; *saṃgrahaḥ* K; *saṃgrahaḥ* – 1 – N; *saṃgrahaḥ* – D; **§18** *nairṛtya* em.; *nairṛtya* codd.; *vāyavyai*°] K, N; *vāyuve* D; *saṃgrahaḥ* K; *saṃgrahaḥ* – 2 – N; *saṃgrahaḥ* – D; **§19** *śuklam* K, N; *sukla* D; *dvīpā* K, N; *dvīpā* D; *varmiṇyo* codd.; *varmi(ṇi)ṇyo* K(del); *nairṛtya* em.; *nairṛtya* codd.; *saṃgrahaḥ* K, D; *saṃgraha.* 3 N; **§20** *cittavākkāya* codd.; *cittavā(ka)kāya* D(add); *vibhūṣitās* K, N; *vibhūṣitās* D; *śīro*°] K, N; *śīla* D; **§21** *śūsma*°] K, N; *śūsma* D; **§22** *nāsāya* K; *śānāya* N, D (*meta.*); °*yogato yojyā* K; *yogato yo* – N; *yogata yo* – D; *punar* K, (śu?)*nar* N; *śu na* D (marked faulty); **§23** *sthānam* N; *sthāna* K, D; *antar* K, N; *anta* D; *pūrvād* corr.; *pūrvāt* codd.; °*koṭir* K, N; *koṭi* D; *teṣām* K, N; *teṣā* D; *sthānam* Kpc, N, D; *sthā(nam)* K(add2); **§24** *pādāḥ* codd., Kpc; *pāyāḥ* Kac; *ṛddhi*°] K, N; *ṛddhi* D; °*chaṇḍaḥ* codd., *chaṇḍa(h)* N(add); *ṛddhi*°] K, N; *ṛddhi* D; *ceti* codd., (*ceti*) *ceti* Kpc(mg); **§25** *tat pañcavidham* K, N; *tat pañcavidham tat pañcavidham* D (*ditto.*); *vīryendriyam* K, N; *vīryindriyam* D; °*deyasyāva*°] K, N; *dayasyora* D; °*kitasyārthasyā* Kpc; *kita(syārtha)syā* K(add); *kitasyārthasyo* N, D; *smṛtiḥ* K, N; D(add); *tat*

prajñe-] N, D; *tata prajñe-* K; §27 *sapta*] K, N; *saptaḥ* D; °*bodhyaṅgam*] Kpc, N, D; *dhy-bodhyaṅgam* Kac; *upekṣā*] codd.; *upe(kṣā)* K(add); *opekṣā*] K, N; *opekṣo* D; §28 *sūkarāsyā*] K; *sūkarāsyā* N, D; *samādhir*] K, N; *samādhi* D; *nimittaṃ*] K, N; *nimitaṃ* D; §30 *rā*] K, N; *lām* D; *kā*] K, N; *koṃ* D; *gr*] K; *gu* N, *guṃ* D; *ādyākṣarāṇi*] K, N; *ādyokṣarāṇi* D; *pullīramalayādīni*] codd.; *pullīramala(yā)dīni* D(mg); *śīraḥprabhṛtinī*] K, N; *śīraḥprabhitini* D; *jālandhare*] K, N; *jālandhara* D; *caṇḍākṣim*] K, N; *caṇḍākṣī* D; *dhyeyād oḍḍiyāne* K, N; *dhyāyād auḍḍiyāne* D; *mahānāsām*] corr.; *mahānāsām* codd.; *pīṭhaṃ*] K; *pīṭha* N, D; *bhūmiḥ* - ⊗ - K (decoration); *bhūmiḥ* -7- N; *bhūmiḥ* no gap in D; v.45 *vāme godāvarī karṇe*] K, N; *vāme godāvarī karṇa* D; *vīramatīm*] K, N; *vī(ra)matīm* D(add); *khar-varīm*] K, N; *kharvari* D; *saṃsthitām*] K, N; *saṃsthitā* D; v.46 *cintayet*] K, N; *cintaye* D; *bhūmiḥ* - ⊗ - K; *bhūmiḥ*-7- N; *bhūmiḥ* - ⊗ - D; v.47 *devīm*] K, N; *devī* D; *bhūmiḥ* - ⊗ - K; *bhūmiḥ* -5- N; *bhūmiḥ* - ⊗ - D; v.48 *nāsikāgre*] corr.; *nāsikāgre* K, D; *nāsikāge* N; *bhūmiḥ* - ⊗ - K; *bhūmiḥ* -7- N; *bhūmiḥ* - D; v.49 *subhadrām*] K, N; *śubhadrām* D; *bhūmiḥ* - ⊗ - K; *bhūmiḥ* -7- N; *bhūmiḥ* D; v.50 *devīm*] K, N; *devī* D; *himālaye*] K, N; *himālaya* D; *bhūmiḥ*] K, N; *bhūmī* D; ⊗ - K; -7- N; v.51 *pretapuryām*] K, N; *pretapuryā* D; *cakravegām*] K, N; *cakravegā* D; *yā*] K, N; *yo* D; - ⊗ - K; -7- N; v.52 *yoginīm*] K, N; *yoginī* D; *mahābalām*] K, N; *mahābalā* D; *sādhumatī*] K, N; *sādhumati* D; - ⊗ - K; -7- N; v.53 *dhyāyād* K, N; *dhyāyā* D; ° ⊗ - K (omission mark applies to v.54); -7- N; v.54 °*visuddhātma*] K, N; *visuddhātma* D; v.55 *nāse*] em.; *nāse* codd.; v.56 °*maṇḍalam*] N, D; *maṇḍalamam* K; *uttamam* - K, *uttamam* -6- N; v.57 *poṣayanti*] K, N; *poṣayanti* D; §31 *bāhye*] K, N; *bāhya* D; *avadhūti*] K, N; *avadhūti* D; *matam* - K; *matam* -5- N; *matam* - - D; §32 *idānīm*] N, D; *idānī* K; *bhagavati*] K, N; *bhagavati* D; *mahāvidyeśvarī*] K, N; *mahāvidyeśvarī* D; *vaśaṃkari*] K, N; *vaśaṃkarī* D; *stambhanī*] codd.; *sta(ni)mbhani* K(del); *mahāyoginī*] K, N; *mahāyoginī* D; *kāmeśvarī*] K, N; *kāmeśvarī* D; *śoṣaya*] K, N; *śoṣaye* D; *kapāladhāriṇī*] K, N; *kapāladhāriṇī* D; *mahāpīṣita*°] corr.; *mahāpīṣita* K, N; *mahāpīṣi* D; *mānuṣāṅtraprāvṛtte*] K, N; *mānuṣāṅcaprāvṛte* D; *naraśīro*] K, N; *narasiro* D; °*mūrte*] K, N; °*murte* D; *āgramahiṣī*] K, N; *āgramahiṣī* D; *vajrasarīre*] K, N; *vajrasarīre* D; *mahāyoginī*] K, N; *mahāyoginī* D; *hūṃ hūṃ*] K, N; *hūṃ hūṃ* D; *trailokyavināśini*] K, N; *trailokyavināśini* D; *śatasahasra*] K, N; *satasa-hasra* D; *hūṃ hūṃ*] K, N; *hūṃ hūṃ* D; *vīrādvaite*] K, N; *virādvaite* D; °*paśumohani*] K, N; *paśumohani* D; *vandanī*] K, N; *vandanī* D; °*pratyayakāriṇī*] K, N; *pratyayakāriṇī* D; *hūṃ hūṃ*] K, N; *hūṃ hūṃ* D;

bhūtatrāsaṇi] corr.; *bhūtatrāsaṇi* K, N; *bhūtatrāsaṇi* D; *paramasiddha-yogeśvarī*] K, N; *paramasiddhayogeśvarī* D; *svāhā* – K; *svāhā* -5- N; §33 °*nāṣe*] corr.; *tāṣe* K; *suṽire*] K, N; *suṽire* D; *cakravartinīye*] K, N; *cakravartinī* D; *phaṭ* – K; *phaṭ* -6- N; *phaṭ* – D; *vakṣyate*] K, N; *vakṣate* D; *asyāgamasyāyam*] K, N; *esyāgamasyoyam* D; *ante*] K, N; *anta* D; *kārya*] K, N; *kāryā* D; *bhāvanākramaḥ* – K; *bhāvanākramaḥ* -7- N; *bhāvanākramaḥ* – D; v.60a °*yamkāra*] K, N; *yekāra* D; v.64cd *viliye* K, N; *viliye* D; v.67b *tryakṣaram*] K, N; *tryekṣaram* D; v.67d *tryakṣaraiḥ*] K, N; *tryekṣaraiḥ* D; §36 *balim*] N, D; *bali* K; *pūrvakamṣ*] corr.; *pūrvakam* codd.; v.68cd *etā*] K, N; *D; *grahahetu*] N, D; *grahetu* K; §37 *mantraḥ*] K, D; *mantra* N; *bandha* 2] K, N; (*ve*?)*dha* 2 D; §38 *ācamanādikam*] codd., Kpc; *ācam(ā)nādikam* K(del); §39 *upadhaukayed*] codd., Kpc; *upadhau(pa)kaye(*)d* K(del); *mātikramatha*] codd.; *mā*-tikramatha* K; *prayacchantu*→*mātikramatha* N(faint); *hūṃ hūṃ*] K, N; *hum hum* D; §40 *nyūnādhika*] K, N; *nyuvādhika* D; °*vidhi*] codd., Kpc; *vidhi* K(add); *paṭhen*] K, N; *paṭhe* D; *cittaṃ śreyah*] K, N; *citta śreyam* D; *yogaśuddhāḥ*] K, N; *yogaśuddhā* D; *tac*] K, N; *ta* D; *praveśayet* – K; *praveśayet* -7- N; §41 *utthāya*] K, N; *utsthāya* D; *yogī*] K, N; *yogi* D; *miśritayā*] K, N; *miśritayo* D; *vā gomayamiśritayā*] codd., K(add); *ānīya*] N, D; *ā(li)ya* K(del); §42 *puṣpādyaiḥ*] K, N; *puṣpādyais* D; *vāmakareṇa*] codd., Kpc; *vām(arṇṇ)akareṇa* K(del); *hṛdayopahṛdayā*°] K, N; *hṛdayo*dayā* D; °*dikpālā*°] K, N; *digpālā*° D; °*gataṃ*] codd., Kpc; (*ga*)*gataṃ* K(del); *devatācakram*] corr.; *devatācakram* codd.; §45 *nyūnādhika*] K, N; *nyunādhika* D; *tadanu*] codd.; *tadanu* Kac and Kpc2; *kamalāvarta*] codd.; *kam(ā)lāvarta* K(del); *tan*] K, N; *tat* D; *ūhanīyaḥ* – K; *ūhanīyaḥ* -7- N; *ūhanīyaḥ* – D; §46 *tu*] codd.; (*svu*) *tu* D(correction mark); *vajravārāhi*] K, N; *vajravārāhi* D; °*bimbam*] K, N; *bimba* D; °*prṣṭhe*] K, N; *prṣṭha* D; §47 *tryakṣarenāṣṭapadamantreṇa*] codd.; §48 Kpc (ditto.); *tryakṣare(nāṣṭapadamantre)nāṣṭapada* – K(del); *grhītena*] K, N; *hrhītena* D (haplo.); §49 *tanmadhye*] K, N; *tatmadhye* D; °*śobhitām*] K, N; *sobhitām* D; *etasyai*] K, N; *yetasyai* D; °*rūpeṇa*] K, N; *rūpeṇa* D; *tryakṣareṇā*] K, N; *tryakṣaraṇā* D; *tricchoṭikābhīr*] N; *tricchoṭikābhi* K, D; §51 *ākulām* *devīm*] K, N; *ākulā devī* D; *juhuyād ity*] corr.; *juhuyād iti* K; *juhuyādi* N; *juhuyāt iti* D; *homavidhiḥ* – K; *homavidhiḥ* -5- N; *homavidhiḥ* -4- D; §52 *bahir*] K; *bahi* N, D; *gatveti* – K; *gatveti* -4- N; *gatveti* – D; v.71 *prācyām udīcyām*] K, N; *prācyā ṃ mudīcyām* D; *ānvitāyām*] K; *ā(nv?)itāyām* N; *āndhitāyām* D; *subhīṣaṇam*] K, N; *subhīṣaṇas* D; v.74 *koṇakeṣu*] codd., Kpc (ditto.); *koṇa(koṇa)keṣu* K(del); *caturṣu*] K; *caturṣu*

N, D; *kramāc chmaśānāni*] corr.; *kramāt śmaśānāni* codd.; *amūni*] N;
amuni K, D; **v.75** *aṭṭaṭṭa*] K, N; *aṭṭatta* D; °*kāraṃ*] codd., Dpc; (*kā*)*raṃ*
D(add); **v.76c** *iśāna*] codd., Kpc; ***na* Kac(del); (*iśā*)*na* K(add2);
vaiśvānara] K, N; *vaiśvānala* D; **v.77** *nāgas tu*] K; *nāgam tu* N; *nāgaṃ tu*
D; *hulur*] K, N; *hulu* D; **v.78** °*maricigauram*] K, N; *maricigoram* D;
°*doṣāḥ*] K, N; *doṣoḥ* D; *samāptam* – K; *samāptam -5-* N; *samāptam* D.

Appendix: Summary of Sādhanaś in the *Guhyasamayāsādhanaṃālā*

The following summary of the contents of the *Guhyasamayāsādhanaṃālā* (GSS) provides a brief description of each sādhana and notes witnesses and publications where I am aware of them. I also give the reference to the work in BBK. A list of contents of the GSS (with citations) may also be found in *Dhīḥ* I (Review of Rare Buddhist Texts, Sarnath: 7–41). For references to further discussions of the sādhanaś, see the index.

GSS1 *Vajrayoginīmukhāgama* (Oral Transmission of *Vajrayoginī*) by
*Indrabhūti*¹

The sādhana begins with a benedictory *śloka* and proceeds with the preparations upon rising, including a mantra bath (*mantrasnānam*). The emptiness mantras follow, and the sudden self-generation of *ardhaparyāṅka*-pose Vajravārāhī at the navel. Her mantra is visualized whirling and blazing in her sex and is supplied in a mantra extraction (*mantroddhāraḥ*). This is followed by an external worship (*parvapūjā*) and ten traditional frame verses on the topics of secrecy, transgressive discipline, Yogācāra metaphysics, the success of the practice, and the guru. The bulk of this text (up to and including the mantra extraction, but excepting the concluding worship and frame-verses) is the same as the *Vajravārāhisādhana* (GSS2) by Lūyīpāda. The only commentarial text in the collection (GSS40) is a loose collection of

1 Witnesses: GSS K (the foliation in K is f. 279v1 → f. 271r-v → f. 80 → f. 4r5), Nr1r-3v1, Dr1v1-3v6; cf. GSS2; *Yum skor* in which Śābara is given as the author (Toh 1545, Ota 2253, BBK: 275); *śrī-Vajrayoginīrahasya-karṇākarṇamukhāmukha* IASWR MBB-III-13 (BBK: 282). Tokyo University Library 307 (*Mr̥tasugatiniyojana and Other Texts*); this ms. attributes the work to Śrīśābarapāda, as does the Tibetan translation above.

glosses upon Indrabhūti's text, including his *parvapūjā* and final verses. The work probably owes its title to its emphasis upon the role of the transmission lineage in the opening verse (K279v1) and the concluding line (K4r4): *śrīvajrayoginīrahasyaṃ karṇāt karṇaṃ mukhān mukham*.

GSS2 *Vajravārāḥisādhana by Lūyīpāda*²

The text is nearly identical to GSS1 until the end of the mantra extraction. The ritual injunctions then include a pūjā and the offering of transgressive substances to a two-armed, *ālīḍha*-stance Vajravārāḥī. The sādhanā ends with the promise of siddhi, and external food offerings as the *bali*.

GSS3 *Vajravārāḥisādhana by Advayavajra*³

The work begins with the standard preliminaries and bodhisattva preparations. Following the emptiness mantras, the cosmos is visualized with Meru and the temple palace, and the circle of protection is installed. The self-generation through the sequence of awakenings is of a two-armed, *pratyālīḍha*-stance Vajravārāḥī within the fivefold maṇḍala. The following prescriptions include the entry of the knowledge circle, armoring, mantras, and a concluding *bali*. GSS3 is almost identical to GSS31, except that the latter has an extended *bali* section.

GSS4 *Samkṣiptavajravārāḥisādhana (Brief Vajravārāḥī Sādhana) by Vilāsavajra(?)*⁴

Brief prescriptions cover the preliminaries, bodhisattva preparations, awakenings, visualization of the cremation grounds, and the self-generation in that place of a two-armed *pratyālīḍha*-stance Vajravārāḥī. After worship, the yogin-as-goddess puts on the armor with the armoring mantras, sum-

2 Witnesses: GSS K (the foliation in K is f. 4r5 → f. 4v → f. o.r-v → f. 11r-v7), N3v2-5v3, D3v6-6r7; cf. GSS1. Two authors in the GSS refer to Lūyīpāda: (1) Śākyarakṣita in the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5 Sed p.139¹⁵, K26r4; see ch. 1); and (2) Dhyāyīpāda, who refers three times to Lūyīpāda as the source of the teaching (GSS34 K11v1, K11r6, K11v4). Toh. / Ota. – ?

3 Witnesses: GSS K11v7-13r6, N5v3-6v5, D6r7-7v4 ≈ SM217; cf. GSS31. *Yum skor* (BBK: 273-74); Toh 3607, Ota 4429 (SS, BBK: 273-74, 463). Edition of the Sanskrit text by Meisezahl (1967, 1980, with Tibetan text) and Finot (1934: 59-61).

4 Witnesses: GSS K13r6-14v1, N6v5-7v4, D7v4-8v4 ≈ SM226; *Jvālāvalī* 10; Toh 3300; Ota 4122 ≈ 5130 (SS, BBK: 465); *Jvālāvalī* 10 (BBK: 493, but erroneously recorded as SM3, instead of SM226.); cf. GSS29 ≈ SM227. For authorship, see GSS29 below.

mons deities, and offers *bali* with the *bali* mantra. The heart and auxiliary-heart mantras are followed by a concluding yogic meditation. See GSS29 below in this list for parallels.

GSS5 *Abhisamayamañjarī*⁵ (*Flower Cluster of the Method of Realization*)
by Śākyarakṣita⁶

The sādhanā falls into two main parts. The first portion (K14v1–K33v5) describes the entire practice for the self-generation of the thirty-seven-fold maṇḍala, from its preliminary prodedures to its closing rites. This includes: preliminaries, purification of speech (*vāgviśuddhiḥ*) and skandhas (*skandha-viśuddhiḥ*), bodhisattva preparations, visualization of the cosmos with Mount Meru and temple palace, circle of protection, self-generation with awakenings of two-armed *ālīḍha*-stance Vajravārāhī within a thirty-seven-deity maṇḍala, armoring, entry of knowledge circle, consecration, tasting

- 5 Witnesses: GSS K14v1–39r2, N7v4–25r6, D8v4–28r8. Toh. 1582. Ota. 2294. A Sarnath edition (Sed) of the text (attributed to Śubhākaragupta) has been published in *Dhīḥ* (no. 13 1992: 123–154), and again as a separate booklet with a Tibetan edition in the Rare Buddhist Text Series no. 11, 1993. References to the 1992 edition are given in citations in this book, but without noting variants, as our manuscript K is the oldest and most reliable witness. The Sarnath edition is based on four Sanskrit manuscripts, as follows: क the *Guhyasamayāsādhana-saṃgraha* (Microfilm Catalog of the Buddhist Mss. Nepal 1981. p.110); ख the *Ḍākinīguhyasamayasāadhanamālātāntrarāja* (a photocopy of a manuscript related to our ms. D); ग the *Guhyasamayasaṃgraha* (our ms. N); and च the *Abhisamaya-mañjarī* (IASWR, MBB11–243) described as *prācīna newārī*. There are many portions of text in GSS5 that are found in similar or identical form in other sādhanas of the GSS and SM, listed as appropriate elsewhere in this book.
- 6 Mss. K, N, and D all refer to the author as Śākyarakṣita (K39r2). The same colophon appears in the Nepali paper ms. (Sed ms. च) but reading “Śāntarakṣita,” while the colophon to Sed (p. 154) reads “Śubhākaragupta,” although the source of this reading is unclear. According to BBK (p. 279), different mss. of the *Tattvajñānasiddhi* attribute the work to Śāntarakṣita and Śubhākaragupta. The antiquity of the GSS manuscript K supports the authorship of Śākyarakṣita. Moreover, Śākyarakṣita states that his guru was Abhayākaragupta (see ch. 1), while Śubhākaragupta was a scholar associated with Jagaddala at the end of the twelfth century just before its destruction (Dutt 1962: 378), and probably too young to have been Abhayākaragupta’s pupil. Similarly, Śāntarakṣita, the famous abbot of bSam yas in the latter eighth century is too early to be associated with Abhayākaragupta. (For the dating of Śāntarakṣita, see Snellgrove 1987: 366 and 430ff., Dowman 1985: 233, *Dhīḥ* on *Tattvasaṃgraha* no. 11, pp. 146–57, including notes in Hindi upon his authorship, and accounts of his reputed guru, Virūpa.)

of nectar, yogic meditations, mantras, alternative iconography drawn from VĀ (K26r5), correlations with the thirty-seven *bodhipākṣikadharmas*, the body maṇḍala (*kāyamaṇḍalam*), a *bali* rite, rituals to be undertaken at different times, and finally, the external worship, hand worship, and internal oblation (cited in full in the Textual Notes).

The second part of the sādhanā (K33v5–K38r4) forms a compendium of alternative manifestations of the goddess with their associated mantras and ritual applications. These include the *ekavīrā* Vajravairocanī within a fivefold maṇḍala (*Oḍḍiyānavinirgatakrama*), *ekavīrā* Vajravairocanī, two forms of Vajraghoṇā, rites associated with a white form of Vajravārāhī (see GSS38), red warrior-stance Vajrayoginī, Trikāvajrayoginī, and *ardhaparyāṅka*-pose Vajravārāhī. The work closes with frame statements (K38r–v) in praise of transgressive discipline and the guru, and with a dedication of merit.

GSS6 *Raktavajravārāhīsādhana* (*Sādhana of Red Vajravārāhī*)⁷

The GSS text opens with two *śārdūlavikrīḍita* verses of homage to Vajravārāhī and to Cakrasaṃvara. The text following (K39r5: *athānyam <saṃ>-pravakṣyāmi vārāhyāḥ sādhanottamam*) is lifted, with some editing by the redactor, from the ADUT (*Guhyasamayottamapaṭala*). It describes the visualization of a six-armed form of Vajravārāhī seated in embrace with Cakrasaṃvara and in the center of a thirteenfold maṇḍala, with a retinue of eight goddesses of the petals and four goddesses at the gates. The sādhanā also prescribes the entry of the knowledge deity, and some mantras. (The ADUT provides the mantras for the goddesses of the petals longhand, whereas GSS7 gives the formula for the mantra. It also finishes with verses on the nature of *dharimatā* absent in the GSS redaction.)

7 Witnesses: GSS K39r2–40r3, N25r6–26r4, D28r8–29r7; ADUT *Guhyasamayottamapaṭala* ch. 33 (NGMPP E 695/3 f. 160v3–162v3. Toh 1541, Ota. 2286 (Toh/Ota. by Prajñābhadrā); from chapter 36 of the Tibetan translation of the ADUT (Toh 369, Ota. 17).

Herrmann-Pfandt (1997: 21 with n. 40) states that this appears in ADUT ch. 36 (Lokesh Chandra's edition pp. 201.7–204.2; iconography pp. 202.1–203.1), with the Tibetan translation in Peking Kanjur no. 17, fol.180a1–b8. She also traces this form to the *Śrī-Vajravārāhī-sādhana* by Prajñābhadrā, Peking bsTan 'gyur no. 2286. She goes on to show that the tradition was known to Tāranātha in the seventeenth century, and that it appears within the nineteenth-century Sa skya pa collection by 'Jam dbyangs blo gter dbang po, where the transmission is credited to Virūpa (*ibid.*: 23, with nn. 43, 44).

GSS7 *Dvādaśabhuja vajravārāhīsādhana*⁸ (*Sādhana of the Twelve-Armed Vajravārāhī*)⁹

The GSS text redacts from the ADUT/ *Vārāhyabhyudayatāntra*, correcting the Sanskrit in places and omitting a dozen or more verses. It starts abruptly with the self-generation, omitting the opening two verses from the source text praising the work (ADUT ch. 9: *atha yogaṃ pravakṣyāmi...*). It prescribes the visualization of an *ardhaparyāṅka*-pose, twelve-armed Vajravārāhī in the midst of an extended forty-one-deity maṇḍala with the addition of the four mothers, and with the visualization of therianthropic features for the retinue goddesses. It continues with the installation (*nyāsaḥ*) for the body maṇḍala, including correlations of the skandhas and *āyatanas* with male deities. There is a brief closing reference to the entry of the knowledge deity, consecration, mantras, and a yogic meditation. The text in the ADUT is problematic, and its difficulties have been inherited by the GSS text. The problem lies in the order in which the mothers—Māmakī, Locanā, Pāṇḍaravāsini, and Tārā—are listed; this affects the directions they occupy, their *cihna*, and their membership in the respective buddha families. A fourteenth-century Tibetan maṇḍala painting (Rossi and Rossi 1993) depicts the maṇḍala described in this text (see plate 13).

- 8 *dvādaśabhuja vajravārāhīsādhana*] conj.; *vajravārāhyā dvādaśabhujāḥ sādhanam* K, *oḍḍiyānapīṭhādīsthitadevisādhanam* D (“Sādhana of the Goddess in Oḍḍiyāna and the Other Power Places [*pīṭhas*]”). The colophons in D and K do not relate directly to the colophon to chapter 9 in ADUT (*yoginīpīṭhasiddhikramanimittanirdeśa*), while the colophon in N is missing due to a missing folio (f. 29).
- 9 Witnesses: GSS K4or3–43v7, N26r4–28v1 incomplete, D29r7–31v6; ADUT *Yoginīpīṭhasiddhikramanimittanirdeśapaṭala* 9 (mss. details ms. A: NGMPP E 695/3 ff. 64r6–71v4) = ch. 12 in Tibetan Toh. 377, Ota. 22, and ADUT 37. The *sādhana* is based upon *Vārāhyabhyudayatāntra* vv. 45ff. (as reconstructed from the Tibetan translation of this text, and from *paṭala* 9 of the ADUT by Professor Sanderson, unpublished). For the Tibetan maṇḍala painting reproduced in plate 13 (from Rossi and Rosssi 1993), the accompanying entry by Jane Casey Singer (unnumbered sheet) describes it as the “Vajravārāhī Abhibhāva Maṇḍala” (*phagmo mñob ’byung gi dkyil ’khor*). Sanderson (annotations to his edition of the *Vārāhyabhyudayatāntra*, before v. 45) writes “The Sanskrit is evidently another mistaken Tibetan reconstruction, the original name, which the Tibetan exactly renders, being *Vārāhyabhyudaya*.” Singer identifies only the five deities of the inner circle; the remainder are identified above in chapter 2.

GSS8 *Vajravārāhyā Gopyahomavidhiḥ*¹⁰ (*Secret Oblation Rite of Vajravārāhī*)

GSS8 includes oblations and mantras for black-magic rites of subordination, attraction, inciting hatred in a named person, and stunning; it also includes desiderative oblations for prosperity and increase of wealth.

GSS9 *Vajrayoginīsādhana (lineage of Virūpa?)*¹¹

This is a short form of a Trikāyavajrayoginī sādhanā but without reference to a severed head. The text includes self-generation in a red *dharmodayā*, mention of two attendants flanking the central goddess, and offerings to the center, front, behind, and center again. Apart from a couple of minor variants, the text of GSS9 is identical to that of GSS30, except that GSS9 describes the two attendant goddesses as *ḍākinīs*, where GSS30 appears to intend *śaktis* (*śaktidvayam*] conj.; *śāntadvayam* K, *śāktadvayam* N). The same text, under the same title, in appears in the *Sādhanaṃālā* (SM234=GSS9) following the “*ḍākinī*” recension. The central goddess may be a red form of the severed-head Vajrayoginī.

GSS10 *Guhyavajravilāsinīsādhana by Śabara*¹² (*Sādhana of Secret Vajravilāsinī*)

A lengthy sādhanā of 152 predominantly *śloka* verses (verse numbers are editorial), prescribing erotico-yogic techniques to be practiced on the basis of the self-visualization of Vajravilāsinī and her consort Padmanarteśvara in the lovely mountainous setting of Manobhaṅga and Cittaviśrāma. After a *vasantatilakā* verse of homage to Lokanātha (v. 1), and a *śārdūlavikrīḍita* verse of homage to Vajravilāsinī (v. 2), Śabara states that he speaks the following (*śloka*) verses through the power of Lokanātha (v. 3). The body of the text is as follows: vv. 4–7 describe the bejeweled mountainous setting of Manobhaṅga and Cittaviśrāma where guru Karuṇa taught [the sādhanā of] Vilāsinī, and where “I practiced it with [my consort] Śabarī”; vv. 8–10 guarantee siddhis including mahāmudrā; vv. 11–16 list those whose physical and ethical qualities disqualify them from practice, and those who qual-

10 Witnesses: GSS K44r1–44v5; N has missing folios until the final lines of the sādhanā (f. 30r2), D31v6 omits the sādhanā. Toh./Ota.–?

11 Witnesses: GSS K44v5–45r6, N30r2–30v2, D31v6–32r7; ≈GSS30≈SM234. For authorship, see Nihom (1992: 226). Toh./Ota.–?

12 Witnesses: GSS K45r5–53v4, N30v2–36v7, D32r7–39r2; *Jvālāvalī* no. 2 (BBK: 493); *Dhīḥ* no. 17 pp.5–17. Toh./Ota.–?

ify; vv. 17–24 prescribe preliminaries: the site of a fragrant cave or glade in which the sādhaḥaka and consort wash themselves, rub their bodies with fragrant flowers, put on eye liner and hair oil, adorn their naked bodies so that they resemble Padmanarteśvara and his consort, and then make love as long as the mind is not disturbed; vv. 25–29 give times for the worship of the goddess (four times per month, etc.), to be done in a well-lit place so that the details of the body are illuminated, abandoning negative states, shyness, or inhibition for the attainment of mahāmudrā; vv. 30–32 prescribe the positioning of the sādhaḥaka with his consort modeled on the poses of the deities; vv. 33–36 prescribe preparatory rites: the yogin draws a circle on his consort's *dharmodayā-yantra* using saffron and red-sandal, and within that, a *dharmodayā* triangle enscribed with the [five-syllabled] mantra (to be taught in the mantra extraction below), he then offers a flower, practices the four *brahmavihāras*, and meditates on emptiness; vv. 37–38 prescribe the armoring with the five-syllabled mantra on the sādhaḥaka's body; vv. 38–45 give the visualization of a blazing *dharmodayā* into which the whole world is seen to dissolve; vv. 46–53 prescribe the visualization of the sādhaḥaka's consort as Vajravilasini in sexual play; vv. 54–62 prescribe the visualization of the sādhaḥaka as Padmanarteśvara in sexual play; vv. 63–64 describe the fusion of the three worlds into an ocean of blood, with the sādhaḥaka playing with the goddess in the center in the bliss of great passion; vv. 65–66 give the consecration of the self-generated couple; vv. 67–73 detail the rites of worship, i.e., worship of the maṇḍala (while uttering the mantra and the goddess's name), of the *guhya*-maṇḍala with flowers, fruit, etc., of the sādhaḥaka's own penis (which has been fondled and is erect, *svakīyaṃ kuḷiṣaṃ . . . lālitonnatam*), of the goddess' mantra, and of the parts of the consort's and the sādhaḥaka's own body by waving incense; vv. 74–79 describe how the couple offer betel, etc., and recite loving verses to each other; vv. 80–92 prescribe the embrace and practice of the *navapuṣpī* (nine kinds of sexual play) with the arising of *sahajānanda*; vv. 93–95 describe the pervasion of the world with rays (from lovemaking) and the propitiation of deities with sexual fluid (*golakam*); vv. 96–100 give an explicit description of the lovemaking, which is accompanied by the yogin's visualization that he plays with the goddess Vilāsinī; this includes a yogic meditation of his body as empty; vv. 102–9 describe the pendulum recitation (*dolājāpaḥ*), a yogic meditation in which the couple is in union, each imagining the five blazing syllables of Vilāsinī's mantra circulating through their bodies. The syllables start on the *vidyā*'s sex, enter the male via his penis, exit through his nostril, enter the *vidyā* via her nostril and again pass into her sex. The

mantra is recited up to five hundred times as it revolves through the bodies united in lovemaking. The recitation results in the fusion of *nāda* and *bindu*; it is followed by a repeated “mutual sucking” of the male and female sex; vv. 110–18 prescribe the visualization of the “fusion of the identities” of the couple and the entire world in the lovemaking (*ātmamelakāḥ*) with the result that the defilements are cut off, all *kleśas* are burnt up, and everything is dissolved into the ocean of awakening with the end of conceptualization; vv. 119–20 describe how the female consort does the practice on the yogin, making the maṇḍala on his penis and practicing the meditation and mantra recitation as described; vv. 121–22 enjoin that the couple abide outside this meditation as Narteśvara and Vilāsinī and recite the mantra; vv. 115–28 give prescriptions for practice when no male/female consort is available; vv. 129–37 give the *mantroddhāra* for the five-syllabled mantra (*em ṇīṃ rīṃ rūṃ blīṃ*) and the *bali* mantra to be recited while making the *bali* offering; vv. 138–51 comprise various frame verses praising the practice, guaranteeing mahāmudrā in twelve years, warning against undertaking the practice with illicit passion, prescribing secrecy, naming the teachers of the practice as Lokanātha (v. 146) and Karuṇa (v. 147), and advocating passion to destroy passion; v. 152 is a benediction, and is followed by the colophon.

GSSII *Vajravārāhīsādhana by Umāpatideva*¹³

See chapter 3 for a study of the sādhanā and above for an edition and translation, with textual notes.

- 13 Witnesses: GSS K53v4–71r1 (Bodleian reference: ms. Sansk c.16 (R)), N36v7–50v2, D39r3–52v8; Toh 1581, Ota 2292, N(T)292 (BBK: 279, 287); cf. Toh 1584, Ota. 2293.

The author’s name in the Tibetan is transliterated as *Umāpatidatta (BBK: 279): śrī U ma pa ti dattaḥi shabs. The Tibetan colophon to GSSII (Toh 1581/Ota 2292, N(T) 292. Bodleian Tibetan blockbooks a.68, vol. 24, pp. 32–49) states that the sādhanā was translated by Vāgīśvaragupta with Locchāva (Lo tsā ba) Chos rab (i.e., Rwa Chos rab), and written by “One who has the lineage of the instructions of Virūpa, śrī Umāpatidatta” (p. 49.7). The only other work known to be by this author is Umāpatidatta’s *Vajrayoginī maṇḍalavidhi-nāma* (Toh. 1581, Bodleian Tibetan blockbooks a.68, vol. 24, pp. 96–135), translated by the same translators. In total, Rwa Chos rab translated two texts in the bKa’ ’gyur and ten in the bsTan ’gyur. Vāgīśvaragupta translated a total of four texts with Rwa Chos rab, including the two by Umāpatidatta.

GSSI2 *Odḍiyāṇavinirgatavajrayoginīsādhana*¹⁴ (*Vajrayoginī Sādhana from Odḍiyāna*)

The text starts with the visualization of the cosmos with Mount Sumeru and is followed by the self-generation of the red two-armed Vajravārāhī in *ūrdhvacapāda* pose in the center of the fivefold maṇḍala. It supplies heart and auxiliary-heart mantras (although SM225 gives only the latter). GSSI2 (K71v1) and SM225 both share *pādas* from the textual tradition of the YSCT (SM225 p. 469, *ḍākinīm tu tathā lāmām...* cf. GSSI1 v. 38a, with Textual Note). The a-*pāda* from GSSI2 (K71r6: *tarjayantī diśaḥ sarvā duṣṭatarjana-vajrikā*) is also attested in the visualization of warrior-stance Vajravārāhī (GSS4 K13v2, reading accusatives).

GSSI3 *Vajrayoginīmatena Gopyahomavidhi (Secret Oblation Rite According to the System of Vajrayoginī) by Buddhadatta*¹⁵

The text prescribes the generation of a red fire deity from *raṃ* in a triangular fire pit (he is four-armed, making the “fearless gesture” (*abhaya-mudrā*), and holding a pitcher, a firebrand, and a rosary; he is then merged with the knowledge deity. There follow oblations of transgressive substances, the recitation of mantras, and the worship of Vajrayoginī with her maṇḍala retinue in the center of the fire. The text explains the different substances to be offered for rites of different kinds and concludes with the maṇḍala cakra entering the practitioner’s body, *bali* offerings, a supreme worship (*lokottarapūjā*), and the request for siddhi. Two frame verses guarantee siddhi and mahāmudrā.

GSSI4 *Pradīpāhutividhi (Glorious[ly Elucidated] Oblation Rite) by Indrabhūti*¹⁶

The thirty-seven (unnumbered) verses are ascribed in the colophon to

14 Witnesses: GSS K71r1–71v2, N50v3–51r3, D52v8–53r8≈SM225 (*śrī-Oḍḍiyānavajrapīṭhavinirgata-ūrdhvacapādavajravārāhīsādhana*); Toh 3299, Ota 4121≈5129 (BBK: 465); cf. GSS5 (Sed p.148¹⁶, K33v6–34r).

15 Witnesses: GSS K71v2–72r6, N51r3–51v4, D53r8–54r2; Toh 1556, Ota 2264 (BBK: 278). This is the sixth of the *Six Texts of Vajravārāhī*. A passage in the *Blue Annals* (pp. 393–97) describes how Buddhadatta came to compose the *srī-Vajrayoginī-homavidhi*. A layman receives initiation of Painḍapātika and then requests that he write down the *śrī-Tattvajñānasiddhi*, the *Sarvārthasiddhi-sādhana-nāma*, and the *srī-Vajrayoginīhomavidhi*. The guru refuses, but permits his nephew Buddhadatta to write down the *Vajrayoginīhomavidhi*.

16 Witnesses: GSS K72r6–74v1, N51v4–53r7, D54r2–55v5. Toh, Ota.—?

Indrabhūti and, in the opening verse, to his lineage (K72r6). There are two further references to the doctrine (*matam*) of “King Indrabhūti” (v. 16 K73r4, v. 35 K74r5). The meter is mainly *anuṣṭubh* with two verses in *upajāti* and two in *sragdharā*. The text describes the preparation of the firepit, its shape depending on the rite (v. 5), the drawing down of the knowledge deity into the middle of the firepit (v. 6), and the visualization of the fire deity as a young man, colored red and mounted on a goat (cf. SM36, where a red Avalokiteśvara is seated on two rams). The fire deity is seen as four-armed, making the *varadamudrā*, with a rosary, a pot (*kamaṇḍalu*), and a firebrand (vv. 7–8). The following verses enjoin offerings of wood, etc., to be made into the fire to the chosen deity (Vajrayoginī) in the heart of the fire-deity (vv. 9–11), also a hand worship (v. 12), the recitation of mantras, and various oblations (vv. 13–15). The author then comments upon the method of the ritual (vv. 16–33) and concludes with dedications of merit (vv. 34–37).

GSS15 *Sarvārthasiddhisādhana (Sādhana for [Gaining] Siddhi in All Things) by Advayavajra*¹⁷

The text opens with a *bali* offering and prescribes the generation from *briḥ* of a hog-faced wrathful Vajravārāhī in the *ālīḍha* stance (*Vajraghoṇā*). This is followed by the entry of the knowledge deity and rites of worship for Vajrayoginī to preside.

GSS16 *Trayodaśātmikavajraḍākinīvajravārāhīsādhana*¹⁸ (*Sādhana of the Thirteenfold Vajraḍākinī-Vajravārāhī*) (*in the lineage of Advayavajra?*)¹⁹

The text opens with seven verses praising Vajravārāhī and stating that the

17 Witnesses: GSS K74v1–75v1, N53r7–54r3, D55v5–56r9; Toh 1552, Ota 2260 (BBK: 278). This is the second of the *Six Texts of Vajravārāhī*. Cf. GSS18; GSS5 (Sed p.149³, K34r4). A translation of the self-visualization section from the *Sarvārthasiddhisādhana* appears in the *Rin ’byung brgya rtsa* (Willson and Brauen 2000: 259), with some slight differences. Another *sādhana* with a similar name appears in the bsTan-’gyur, *Vajravārāhīkalpasarvārthasiddhisādhana* (Toh 1578, Ota 3610).

18 *trayodaśātmika*] D; *trayodaśātmikā* K, N.

19 Witnesses: GSS K75v1–82r5, N54r3–59v2, D56r9–61v7. Sanderson (1997: personal communication) notes that the source for this *sādhana* is ADUT *paṭala* 56 (NGMPP, E 695/3 ff. 220v3–222r3; *hṛdayamantrakavacau devyā hṛdayabhāvanā-paṭalaḥ*). Toh 1595, Ota. 2306.

sādhana was taught by the lord in the *Lakṣābhidhānatantra*, on Mount Manobhaṅga/Cittaviśrāma. The visualization is of a six-armed warrior-stance Vajravārāhī and her generation from the thirteen syllables of the Vajravārāhī/Vajrayoginī heart mantra. The sequence of the prescriptions in the text is as follows: preliminaries (\approx GSS₃/GSS₃₁) ending with a bodhisattva vow, armoring, circle of protection, temple palace (*mahāvīmāna*) surrounded by cremation grounds (with a short description of the cremation grounds drawing on SUT), visualization of the thirteen-syllabled mantra as the thirteenfold maṇḍala, the generation through awakenings of Vajravārāhī in iconographic form surrounded by Vajraḍākinī goddesses produced from syllables, the worship of the goddesses with imaginary offerings, entry of knowledge deities, armoring, praise, and bodhisattva vow, sevenfold worship with the recitation of flower-offering mantras followed by another bodhisattva vow, emptiness mantras with nonabiding, the repetition of the installation of the circle of protection and the subsequent visualization of Vajravārāhī produced suddenly with the maṇḍala retinue placed on points on the body, worship, the tasting of nectar, external *bali* offerings, another bodhisattva vow, concluding verses possibly by Advayaavajra, and dedication of merit.

This sādhana combines several important themes. In its preparatory stages, it describes the cremation grounds in detail, as well as prescribing the visualization of a palace (*vīmānaḥ/m*). The erotic overtones of the sādhana may be associated with the fact that the sādhana was supposedly taught by the Buddha in the location of Mount Manobhaṅga and the pavilion, Cittaviśrāma, a place associated with erotic manifestations of Vajrayoginī. The structure of the sādhana is also unusual. The maṇḍala is first produced through an externalization of the thirteen syllables of the deity's mantra. This is then intensified by its transformation from mantric to iconographic form. The emanation of the iconographic maṇḍala is then repeated in a completion-stage practice, by self-generating it "all at once" (*jhaṭiti*), thus indicating the sādhaḥa's complete integration of the external forms within himself. Finally, the mantra syllables of which the ḍākinī goddesses are representations are placed upon his body in a short body maṇḍala, thus internalizing the maṇḍala back into the body of the yogin. Every step in this process includes an armoring, and the sādhana therefore includes far more armor sections than is normal. This may be related to the fact that its central form of six-armed Vajraḍākinī-Vajravārāhī seems to have emerged from the form of the armor goddess, Vajravārāhī.

GSS17 *Ūrdhvaṣādhakavajrayoginīsādhana*²⁰ (*Sādhana of White Vajrayoginī with Foot Raised*)

In a deserted cemetery, the sādhaka is to generate the raised-foot-pose Vajrayoginī from a white syllable *aṃ*. This short text also provides mantras for the *japa*, and a *bali* offering.

GSS18 *Vajravārāhikalpa*²¹ (*Vajravārāhī Ritual*)

After an initial *bali* offering, the text prescribes the self-generation of a Vajraghoṇā form of Vajravārāhī, with an accompanying offering rite for the *vajrayoginīs* to preside.

GSS19 *Vajrayoginīsādhana*²² (*according to Śabara*)²³

The text opens with the self-generation of Vajrayoginī through a series of awakenings, and the four goddesses of the petals are installed with flower-offering mantras. The *bhāvanā* that follows provides iconographic details for the visualization and is followed by mantras and a *bali* mantra for performances on specified auspicious days. This may have been the manifestation prescribed in *GSS28 (*Vajrayoginīsādhana*), which appears in a string of repeated sādhana, but of which only the latter part of the *bali* mantra survives. The surviving fragment proves to be identical with the *bali* mantra in SM236, a text nearly identical to GSS19. SM236 differs from GSS19 in its offering section and in a few variants to the mantras.

GSS20 *Vajrayoginīsādhana (lineage of Virūpa?)*²⁴

The text covers the self-generation of Trikāyavajrayoginī with attendant goddesses, Vajravairocanī (left) and Vajravarnanī (right), and prescribes an

- 20 Witnesses: GSS K82r5–82v5, N59v2–60r1, D61v7–62r6 ≈ GSS45. Toh., Ota.—?
- 21 Witnesses: GSS K82v5–83v1, N60r1–60v1, D62r6–62v7 ≈ SM224 (*Vajravārāhī-sādhana*); Cf. GSS15; GSS5 (Sed p.149³, K34r4). Toh 3298, Ota 4120 (in SS, BBK: 465); Toh 1578, Ota 2289 (BBK: 278 *śrī-Vajravārāhīkalpasarvātha-sādhaka*); Toh 3610, Ota. 4432.
- 22 Witnesses: K83v–84r, N60v–61r, D62v–63r ≈ SM233 and SM236; Toh 1548, Ota 2256 (BBK: 276), *Yum skor* (BBK: 276). Cf. GSS5 Sed p.151⁶, K35v6; *GSS28.
- 23 K84r3: *siddhaśabarapādadeśitam* (D63r9 is without its usual colophon *iti śrīguhyasamayatantra...*).
- 24 Witnesses: GSS K84r4–85r4, N61r3–62r2, D63r9–64r7 ≈ SM232. Close witnesses, and the relationship between them, are discussed in chapter 2, namely: SM238 (for *bali* mantra), GSS24 and GSS25; and GSS9≈GSS30≈SM234. I also discuss a Sanskrit edition of a text similar to GSS25 by Nihom 1992.

external pūjā within a drawn maṇḍala. This is accomplished with four offering mantras to the goddesses, to four sites, and to the four bodies of the Buddha, with the subsequent utterance of a tripartite root mantra and a concluding *bali* mantra.

GSS21 *Vidyādhārīkramavajrayoginīsādhana*²⁵ (*Vajrayoginī Sādhana with the Vidyādhārī Method*) (in the lineage of Śābara? See GSS23 below)

The text opens with an emptiness meditation ascribed to the Mahāmāyā tradition (cf. the *nāmākṣara* emptiness meditation in Mahāmāyā sādhanā, SM240 p. 466). It then supplies a short description of Vidyādhārī Vajrayoginī, a traditional Vajravārāhī armoring and a *bali* mantra drawn from the Mahāmāyā tradition. The *bali* mantra is nearly identical to SM249 (*mahāmāyātantrasya balividhiḥ*) but with the addition of *bali* mantra elements from the Vajrayoginī/Cakrasaṃvara tradition. The Mahāmāyā version in SM249 ends with two vocatives (*om sarvadākinī...om sarvayoginī*), while the GSS version contains more “laughing” syllables (*ha ha hiḥ*) and includes the coercion syllables *om jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ*. The text shares some features of other Mahāmāyā sādhana, and apart from the general affinity between the Vajrayoginī tradition and that of Mahāmāyā, another association may be one of Mahāmāyā’s four attendant goddesses, Vajradākinī, on the eastern petal of the lotus in the Mahāmāyā maṇḍala. Here, she is a recipient of *bali* offerings in the mantra, and in the white *ūrdhvaṣṭa* forms of Vajrayoginī, Vajradākinī is the epithet in the heart mantra.

GSS22 *Vidyādhārīkramabhāvanā*²⁶ (*Vidyādhārī Method Meditation*) (in the lineage of Śābara? See GSS23 below)

The *bhāvanā* opens by describing itself as a “Vidyādhārī-method meditation”

The Chinnamuṇḍāvajravārāhīsādhana by Śrīmatidevi (Toh. 1554 = GSS24) is the third of the Six Texts of Vārāhī. Chinnamuṇḍā texts in the bsTan-’gyur are discussed and summarized by de Mallmann (1975: 432 on SM234) and Meisenzahl (1967), and touched upon by Benard (1994: 18, n.35). BBK refers to: Toh 3301, Ota 4123 ≈ 5131 (BBK: 467) also Toh 1547, Ota 2255 (BBK: 276), *Yum skor* (BBK: 276). A summarized translation of the *Rin ’byung brgya rtsa* sādhanā of *Chinnamuṇḍā Vajrayoginī (*rDo rje rnal ’byor ma dbu bcad ma*) is published by Willson and Brauen (2000: 260, n. 1), with references.

25 Witnesses: GSS K85r4–86r1, N62r2–62v3, D64r7–64v8; Toh 380, Ota 25 (BBK: 259). Cf. SM249 (*mahāmāyātantrasya balividhiḥ*); cf. GSS22, GSS23. Cf. Ota. 4678 (?).

26 Witnesses: K86r1–87r1, N62v3–63r7, D64v9–65v4; cf. GSS21, GSS23. Toh., Ota.–? The rite also appears in GSS5 K38r1–5 ≈ SM235.

(*om siddhiḥ. vidyādhārīkramabhāvanā*). It has no colophon (ending simply: *iti āmnāyaḥ*). Since the previous sādhanā (GSS21) ends with a typical concluding *balividhi* and colophon, and the text that follows (GSS23) starts with an opening salutation, GSS22 is treated here as a separate text. Its contents also follow the standard structure of a sādhanā except that it begins with a yogic emptiness meditation in which the body is dissolved in stages into clear light. See chapter 2 for a description of the “mad observance” (*unmattacaryā*) prescribed in the text and for this text’s relationship to other Śābara-based texts.

GSS23 *Vidyādhārīvajrayoginyārādhanaṣṭakā* (*Propitiation Rite of Vidyādhārī Vajrayoginī*) according to Śābara²⁷

The *Ārādhanaṣṭakā* begins with a hagiographical account of Śābara’s attempts to achieve a vision of the goddess, her eventual appearance to him in her mountainous setting, and her promise to teach a method by which even lazy practitioners can achieve a vision of her in six months (K87r1–88r2). The text then lists eight teachers in the transmission lineage (K88r2, cf. **Siddha-Āmnāya* p. 10). Finally, it describes five kinds of rite: worship, visualization, subjection, *bali* offering, and accepting a pupil (K88r3: *atra pūjābhāvanāvaśīkaraṇabaliśiṣyānugraha iti pañcaprakārah*).

27 Witnesses: K87r1–89v6, N63r7–65v3, D65v4–67v8; cf. GSS21, GSS22, GSS10, GSS5 Sed p.153¹¹, K38r1, Toh, Ota.–? Cf. **Siddha-Āmnāya*. Śābara’s lineage is only named directly in this Vidyādhārī text (GSS23), although the rite in GSS22 is related to the *Ārādhanaṣṭakā* in Śābara’s lineage in GSS5. There are also similarities with the *Guhyavajravilāsinīsādhana* by Śābara (GSS10), such as the mountainous location, the wish to obtain a vision of the goddess, the goal of siddhi in six months, and the focus on mahāmudrā (also mentioned in GSS22, K86v2). GSS10 may also hint at the hagiography in GSS23 in which the sādhanika loses heart and decides that the lord’s promise must be untrue (cf. GSS10 K53r3–4 v. 145: *yadi candras tathā sūryo bhūmau patati śīryate / tathāpi lokanāthasya nedaṃ vaco mṛṣā bhavet*). The **Siddha-Āmnāya* is similar in structure to GSS23. It opens with a verse hagiography of Advayaśāra’s life, in the course of which he discovers Śābara in the same mountainous location as that described in the GSS Vidyādhārī/ Guhyavajravilāsinī texts. After the hagiographical introduction, both texts include a succession list and a Vajrayoginī-based ritual. This is followed in the longer **Siddha-Āmnāya* by another succession list, a repeat of its verse hagiography in prose, another succession list, and another Vajrayoginī rite.

GSS24 *Lakṣmīsādhana*²⁸ by *Lakṣmī/Lakṣmīṅkarā*²⁹

After an opening *namaskāra*, the text describes preliminary preparations and the self-generation of Trikāyavajrayoginī with attendant goddesses Vajravairocanī (left) and Vajravārṇanī (right). An external pūjā follows, with prescriptions for traditional offerings within a drawn maṇḍala accompanied by offering mantras to the goddesses, to four sites, to the four bodies of the Buddha, and ending with the utterance of a tripartite root mantra. The number of mantric utterances required for the *pūrvasevā* is supplied, with the siddhi they achieve. The sādhana ends with a frame verse and a concluding *balī* mantra. This sādhana varies slightly in phrasing and content from the other Trikāyavajrayoginī sādhanas in the GSS, as in details of the awakenings, more elaborate external offerings, and the *pūrvasevā* section. Judging by Benard's translation of the Tibetan text (1994: 74–75), the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts diverge only slightly, e.g., the seed-syllable *hrīm* (GSS24) appears in my bsTan 'gyur edition as *hriḥ*. The offerings to the maṇḍala are slightly expanded, and a corrupt passage in the Sanskrit describing the fruits of *japa* is found intact in the Tibetan.

GSS25 *Trikāyavajrayoginīsādhana*³⁰ (*Sādhana of Triple-Bodied Vajrayoginī*) by *Virūpa*³¹

The text covers the self-generation of Trikāyavajrayoginī with attendant

28 Witnesses: K89v6–91r5, N65v3–66v7, D67v8–69r3. This is the second of the Six Texts of Vajravārāhī (Toh. 1554, Ota. 2262). Cf. Benard (1994: 66 & 79 n. 14).

29 According to Benard (1994: 66), *Lakṣmī* in the title is a reference to the text's author, whom she identifies as Lakṣmīṅkarā. The Tibetan translation of the *Lakṣmīsādhana* (GSS24) appears in the bsTan 'gyur as **Chinnamunḍā Vajravārāhī Sādhana*. Its translator bLo ldan shes rab (1059–1109) names the Indian author as Śrīmatidevī. Bernard concludes that since the sādhana is not of the deity Lakṣmī, the title must refer to the author, and that Śrīmatidevī is therefore an epithet of the ninth Lakṣmī/Lakṣmīṅkarā. Lakṣmīṅkarā's best-known surviving work in Sanskrit is the *Advayasiddhi* (ed. Mishra 1995). There are nine works attributed to her in the Tibetan bsTan 'gyur (listed by Robinson 1979: 306), although her fame rests chiefly upon her transmission of the *Six Texts of Vajravārāhī*.

30 °sādhanam] corr.; ity āryatrikāyavajrayoginī(pītacchinnaṃastā)sādhanam K92v6(mg2), ~pītacchinnaṃastāsādhanam N68r2, ity āryaguhyasamayātantre trikāyavajrayoginī-citacchinnaṃastāsādhanam D70r7–8.

31 Witnesses GSS K91r5–92v6, N66v7–68r3, D69r3–70r8. For close witnesses see GSS20. Toh. 1555, Ota. 2263 (?).

See also Nihom's article (1992). The Vajrayoginī text that Nihom presents

goddesses Vajravairocanī (left) and Vajravarṇanī (right); utterance of the tripartite *japa* mantra; an external pūjā within a drawn maṇḍala, with offering mantras to the goddesses, to four sites, and to the four bodies of the Buddha; the subsequent utterance of the tripartite root mantra and a concluding *bali* mantra (called *mūlamantraḥ*); and finally, a dedication of merit.

GSS26 *Piṇḍārthāḥ Ṣoḍaśaślokāḥ Trikāyavajrayoginyāḥ* (Sixteen Praise Verses of Triple-Bodied Vajrayoginī with Essential Meaning) by Virūpa³²

The text opens with four salutations to (1) the Three Jewels, (2) the guru, buddha, and bodhisattvas, (3) the *vajravilāsinīs*, and (4) the ten *krodhas* with their consorts. This is followed by a brief *bali* mantra and two introductory praise verses. The sixteen (unnumbered) verses of the *stotra* praise different aspects of Vajrayoginī's inner and outer nature, especially her universal aspect as a manifestation of all other goddesses. The *stotra* ends with a praise section of six verses (K94r3–6).

(from a manuscript belonging to J. Locke) is identifiably our GSS25. According to Nihom's edition, Locke's manuscript differs in a few minor points. For example, there are a handful of variants and scribal errors, the omission of mantra units *hūṃ* and *phaṭ* on a couple of occasions, and some differences in the final dedicatory verse. One significant difference is the addition in Locke's ms. of heart and auxiliary-heart mantras. These appear after the worship section with tripartite *japa* mantra, and before the *bali* mantra (*om vajravairocanīye hūṃ phaṭ hṛdayamantraḥ. om vajrayoginīye upahṛdyamantraḥ omkāraḍi-āsvāhāntena pūjāyitvā pūrvavad visarjayed iti*). This is a rather unwelcome addition. No other sādhanas in this set mention these mantras, and the auxiliary-heart mantra is, in any case, incomplete. It is followed by the phrase used in GSS5 to explain the formulation of the mantras with the sites and to finish the visualization (see ch. 2). I suggest that Locke's manuscript has become contaminated at this point. Some emendations/corrections to Nihom's edition are desirable in the light of our texts. In particular, the flow of blood into Vajrayoginī's own head should be from *avadhūti* (Nihom 1992: 227, 229). Nihom 1992 n. 37 (*kabandhād avadhūti-vartmanā niḥśṛtā sṛgdhārā*) should read *kabandhād avadhūti-vartmanā niḥśṛtā sṛgdhārā....* Other conclusions reached in the article should also be revised or elaborated upon in the light of the evidence presented by the *Guhyasamayasādhnamālā*.

32 Witnesses: GSS K92v6–94r6, N68r3–69r3, D70r8–71r9; ed. *Dhīḥ* (no. 2 1986: 4–5). Cf. Benard (1994: 74) for an English translation from the edition in *Dhīḥ*. The edition in *Dhīḥ* omits the opening salutations, *bali* mantra, and two introductory praise verses and, judging by its distinctive colophon, was based on our manuscript D or one related to it. Toh., Ota.—?

GSS27 *Trikāyavajrayoginīstutipraṇidhāna*³³ (*Praise Contemplation of Triple-Bodied Vajrayoginī*) by Virūpa?³⁴

The opening salutations are identical to GSS26. The text then gives a verse description of the iconography of Trikāyavajrayoginī and her attendants, which is followed by verses supplicating the compassionate goddesses to help the humble devotee.

GSS28 *Vajrayoginīsādhana* (*incomplete*)³⁵

The bulk of the sādhanā is lost due to five missing folios in K (ff. 96–100). The final folio of the work (f. 101r) contains the concluding *bali* mantra, injunctions to practice on auspicious nights, and the colophon. The final injunctions are similar to those in other texts that prescribe the visualization of a warrior-stance Vajrayoginī. The sādhanā also appears in a group of repeated sādhana. It is not known whether the missing folios included one long work or whether other sādhanā(s) may have been lost also.

GSS29 *Samkṣiptavajravārāhīsādhana*³⁶ (*Brief Vajravārāhī Sādhana*) by Vilāsavajra³⁷

The opening verse is almost identical to that in SM226/SM227. The text then continues parallel to GSS4≈SM217 except that it prescribes the *ālīdha* stance with the six signs of observance (*mudrās*) (rather than the *pratyālīdha* stance as in GSS4, with no mention of the *mudrās*), and it omits the armor-ing and summoning of deities and *bali* offering.

33 *trikāyavajrayoginīstutipraṇidhāna*] corr.; *trikāyavajrayoginyāḥ stutipraṇidhānam* codd.

34 Witnesses: GSS K94r6–95v6, N69r6–70v2, D71v4–72v7. The author's name has been added by a second hand in the oldest manuscript (K95v7) and is included in N and D. Toh., Ota.–?

35 Witnesses: K101r1–2; cf. GSS19, GSS5 (Sed p.151¹³, K36r4), SM236.

36 Witnesses: GSS K101r2–102r1, N70r2–71r4, D72v8–73v2 ≈ SM227, *Jvālāvalī* no. 11 (*Vajravārāhīsādhanakalpa*); Toh 3300; Ota 4122≈5130 (SS, BBK: 465); cf. GSS4≈SM226.

37 Tribe (1994) has distinguished Vilāsavajra, author of this tantric sādhanā, from the mid to late eighth-century yogatantra exegete of the same name. A discussion of the two authors appears in Tribe's introduction to his doctoral thesis on the *Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī* commentary to the *Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* by the earlier Vilāsavajra (sometimes also called "Lilāvajra" and occasionally confused with an eleventh-century "Lalitavajra," disciple of Maitripa, Tilopa, and Nāropa). Tribe records that he was teacher to Buddhajñāna/Jñānapāda (a pupil of Hari-

GSS30 *Vajrayoginīsādhana*³⁸ See above, GSS9.

GSS31 *Vajravārāhīsādhana*³⁹

The work is nearly identical to GSS3 except for an opening *namaskāra* and an additional *balipūjā*.

GSS32 *Binducūdāmaṇir nāma svādhiṣṭhānakramaḥ*

(Self-Consecration Method Known As the Crest Jewel of the Drop)

by Sahajāvalokanasamādhivajra⁴⁰

This is the first of three *svādhiṣṭhāna* (self-consecration) method *sādhana*s in the GSS collection (GSS32, GSS33, and GSS34). The set is unusual in a number of ways. All three *sādhana*s focus upon the male deity Cakrasaṃvara as well as his consort, Vajrayoginī/Vajravārāhī. Both deities are visualized as drops (*bindus*) within the *sādhaka*'s body, which is visualized as a skeleton-arch (*karāṇikatorāṇam*) located in the midst of the cremation grounds. The meditations espoused are often obscure, based on the visualization of the deities-as-drops produced from the syllables of the salutation (*namaḥ śrīvajrayoginī*): their fusion in yogic meditations is productive of great bliss. The visualization of iconic forms are sited on/in the sexual organs and often involve deities not mentioned elsewhere in the Vajrayoginī corpus. The vocabulary of the *sādhana*s shows the influence of *Hevajratāntra* systems in some of its citations and terminology, e.g., *bola*=*vajra* (penis); *kakkola*=*padma* (vagina), cf. HT2.3.53ff. Synonyms are

bhadra, founder of the eponymous Jñānapāda tradition of *Guhyasamājatantra* exegesis in the eighth century), and that he also has a tenuous connection with the early Indrabhūti lineage in that he may be linked to the translator rMa Rin chen mchog, "known to be one of the first six or seven Tibetans ordained at bSam-yas by Śāntarakṣita (779 C.E.)" (*ibid.*). Another work sometimes attributed to the earlier commentator, but which Tribe considers to be more likely that of the later author, is the *Mahātilakakrama* (Toh 1290). Tribe states that it is "placed in the *Hevajratāntra* section of the bTan-'gyur...concerned with completion stage practices." Vilāsavajra is hailed as guru by Sahajāvalokanasamādhivajra, author of the first *Svādhiṣṭhāna* text (GSS32).

38 Witnesses: K102r1–102v2, N71r4–71v4, D73v2–74r2 ≈ GSS9 ≈ SM234. Toh., Ota.–?

39 Witnesses: GSS K102v3–104v5, N71v4–73v1, D74r2–75v8 ≈ GSS3 ≈ SM217, Toh. 1542, Ota 2287 (BBK: 274), *Yum skor* (BBK: 273–74). Cf. Toh. 3607, Ota. 4429; Meisezahl (1967, 1980).

40 Witnesses: K104v6–106v5, N73v1–74v7, D75v8–77r8; cf. GSS33, GSS34.

often found for *mahāsukham* (e.g., *urusātam*, *mahāsātam*, *śarman*), as well as for Vajrayoginī (e.g., Saruṣṭrī, Sahajāṅganā, Suruyoginī, Paviyoginī, Vyādhāmayoginī). The development of the *svādhīṣṭhāna* wing of the *kāpālīka* movement requires further research. Isaacson (in his unpublished annotations to the *Hevajrasekaprakriyā* 1996) explores its textual provenance. He refers to the *Pañcakrama* (chapter 3 of *Svādhīṣṭhānakrama*), which provides the backdrop to the yoginītantra practices and to yoginītantra exegetes, such as Advayavajra (e.g., in the *Advayavajrasaṃgraha: Pañcatathāgatamudrāvivarāṇa*, *Caturmudrāniścaya*, and *Amanasikārdhāra*), Lakṣmīṅkarā (in *Advayasiddhi* in *Guhyādyasṭasiddhisamgraha* Rare Buddhist Texts no. 1, Sarnath, 1987 pp. 162–63), Abhayākaragupta (in *Buddhakapālatantra*), and Padmavajra (in *Guhyasiddhiḥ* 4.61). Typical references to *svādhīṣṭhāna* refer to its completion methodology, its inconceivability, and its rejection of ritual, including *dikṣā*, *homa*, mantras, and special days for observance.⁴¹ Isaacson (1998: personal communication) has also pointed to the connection between *svādhīṣṭhāna* practices and the late tantric methodology of the *Vasantatilakā*, which also deals with internalized yogic practice (Vasanta/ Heruka as a drop in the heart merges with Tilakā/Vārāhī, a drop in the navel or sex, *nirmāṇacakra*), but whereas the *Vasantatilakā* practices are internal and relate mainly to the movement of drops between the heart and navel, the emphasis in the GSS texts is upon the locus of the sex organs and the generation of sexual passion, either in practice with a consort or imaginally.⁴²

41 See SUT ch. 21, vv. 6ff.; *Pañcakrama* (ch. 3, v. 45): *sarvapūjāṃ parityajya gurupūjāṃ samārabhet / tena tuṣṭeṇa tal labhyaṃ sarvajñajñānam uttamam* (also cited SUT ch. 33, v. 27); YSCT (ch. 12, v. 1): *na rakṣaṇīyaṃ na bhakṣaṇīyaṃ na maṇḍaleyaṃ, na ca maṇḍalaṃ ca / na mantrajāpo na tapo na homaḥ samāsataś cittasamājarūpī*; ch. 15 (A7v): *nākāryam vidyate kiṃcit / nācintyaṃ vidyate sadā / nābhakṣaṃ vidyate kiṃcit nāvācyam yac chubhāśubhaṃ / ... iti saṃcintya yogātmā sarvamudrāmantravarjitam śimhavad vicaret vīraḥ sarvāśāparipūrakah*; Āryadeva's *Svādhīṣṭhānaprabheda* (*Dhīḥ* vol. 10, pp. 20–24, v. 7): *nātra śaucaṃ na niyamo na tapo na ca duṣkaram / aduṣkarair aniyamaiḥ sukhair harṣaiś ca sidhyati*. Cf. *Vārāhyabhyudāyatantra* vv. 4–5.

42 In terms of dating such practices, Isaacson (*ibid.*) notes that Abhayākaragupta was aware of the method, and refers to it in his commentary to the *Buddhakapālatantra*. There is also a reference to *vasantatilakā* in the *Saṃpuṭodbhāvanatantra* (6.2.iff.), here referring to the fusion of two drops (Tilakā/Nairātmyā in the navel, with Vasanta/*hūṃ*, the “unsounded syllable” *anāhatam bijam*, in the heart).

GSS32 starts with three *namaskāra* verses. The first lauds the non-discriminatory mind “without remembrance and recollections” (*asmṛti-manasikāra*); the second salutes the supreme Bindurāja; the third acknowledges the teacher Vilāsavajra. The sādhana is divided into three “teachings” (*upadeśah*). The first *upadeśa* states that in the *svādhiṣṭhāna*-method practice (*svādhiṣṭhānakramayoge*), there is no necessity for place, time, or purification in rites of the maṇḍala, or for oblation with mantric utterances. It prescribes the contemplation of the Bindurāja within the *dharmodayā* on the sex organ (*nirmāṇābjam*). The second *upadeśa* prescribes the cultivation of passion (*anurāgam*) in obscure Sanskrit (including a verse also found in HT1.9.19). The third *upadeśa* describes the internalization of sites and places, the generation of Vajravārāhī from *hūṃ* in the navel, her contemplation as a *bindu* moving along the internal channels, her embrace with Heruka, and the bliss (*sātam*) of the union of the vagina (*kakkolah*) and penis (*bolah*).

GSS33 *Paramagambhīrakaraṇikatoṇakramavajrayoginīsādhana*svā-dhiṣṭhānakrama⁴³ (*Self-Consecration Method Vajrayoginī Sādhana with the Supremely Profound Method of the Skeleton Arch*)

The sādhana is divided into profound (*gambhīra*) expositions of the generation (*utpattiḥ*) and completion (*utpannaḥ*) stages, with a teaching (*uddeśah*) and a detailed teaching (*nirdeśah*) upon each.

1. *gambhīrotpattikrama-uddeśah*: The written syllables *śrī-va-jra-yo-gi-nī* produce the shape of a skeleton arch. From the syllables *na-ma*, the yogin visualizes himself in its center as Cakreśa (Cakrasaṃvara) in union with Paviyoginī (*pavi* = *vajra*). From the sexual yoga arise two throbbing *bindus* that fuse together. This gives rise to the armor goddesses produced from syllables *śrī-va-jra-yo*, the first called Vyādhāmayoginī (*vyādhāma* = *vajra*), with Yāminī, Mohanī, etc.

2. *gambhīrotpattikramanirdeśah*: The divine couple produced from *na-ma* are seen inside the temple of the skeleton arch. The Cakrasaṃvara/Vajravārāhī maṇḍala of *kāpālīka* gods surrounding the central deity (called

43 Witnesses: GSS K106v5–111r4, N74v7–78r3, D77r8–80v9. Toh 1568, Ota. 2276 “*Kaṅkālatālasādhana* attributed to Dārikapa.” I thank Dr. Isaacson for noting the Tibetan translation (he adds that the Tibetan text is similar to GSS34, but with added material at the end, possibly from Toh 1569, which may be a commentary on 1568 by Kumārabodhi).

here *Jñānasāgara*) is visualized on the erect penis, which “whirls intensely” in the vagina.

3. *utpannakrama-uddeśaḥ*: The syllables *na-ma* are internalized yogic drops; this introduces four yogas that describe the two *bindus* moving through the body creating great bliss (*urusātam, mahāsātam, śarman*). The yogas describe different *samādhis*, in which Vajrayoginī is denoted by synonyms (Sarustrī, Sahajāṅganā, Suruyoginī, Paviyoginī, Vyādhāmayoginī).

4. The final section of the sādhanā describes a *kumārīpūjā*. (It quotes Saraha in an *apabhraṃśa* verse, part of which appears also in the HT2.4.67.)

GSS34 *Paramagambhīropadeśo*⁴⁴ *Vajrayoginyāḥ Karaṅkatoraṇakramah Svādhiṣṭhānam* (Supremely Profound Teaching: Self-Consecration As Skeleton-Arch Method of Vajrayoginī) by Dhyāyīpāda⁴⁵

The author acknowledges that the work is written by the grace of Lūyīpāda, and through the power of self-consecration (KIIIV: *lūyīpādaprasādena svādhiṣṭhānabalena ca*) and later ascribes a *bhāvanā* to Lūyīpāda (KII5r6). He cites many verses from other sources, referring by name to the *śrī-Hevajradvikaḥparāja* (KII4r3), *Sahajanirdeśa* (KII4v2), and *Caturmudrānvaya* (KII5r4) (none of which are listed in BBK although a *Sahajasiddhi* by Ḍombiheruka is given on p. 351, and a *Caturmudrāniścaya* by Nāgārjuna on pp. 352, 358). He refers also to the *Tattvajñānasamśiddhi-svādhiṣṭhānakrama* (BBK: 277, now published). The opening *śārdūlavikrīḍita* verse is a homage to Vyādhāmaśrīyoginī. Its (perhaps willfully?) corrupt Sanskrit is followed by the author’s claim that “To me [what matters is] reliance on meaning not reliance on syllables, and similarly, reliance on dharma, not reliance on persons.”⁴⁶ In the choice of a site that follows, there is a suggestion of lay involvement (KIIIV3: *svagrhe <vā> vijane nirupadrave vasan*).

44 *paramagambhīropadeśo*] em.; *paramagāmbhīropadeśa* K.

45 Witnesses: KIIIV4–II8r2, N78r3–83r4, D8IIV–86r4. I can find no other reference to the author, Dhāyīpāda, who seems to have been a pupil in the lineage of Lūyīpāda, as he refers three times to Lūyīpāda as the source of the teaching (GSS34 KIIIV, KII5r6, KII6v4). Toh., Ota.–?

46 GSS34 (KIIIV6): *arthapratisaraṇatā mahyaṃ na vyañjanapratisaraṇatā. dharma-pratisaraṇatā caiva na pudgalapratisaraṇatā. • vyañjanapratisaraṇatā*] corr.; *vyañjanapratisaraṇato* K. In fact, this expresses a common idea in Buddhist literature, and references are given by Edgerton q.v. *pratisaraṇa/apratisaraṇa*, e.g., *Mahāvūyutpatti* 1546: *arthapratisaraṇena bhavitavyaṃ na vyañjanapratisaraṇena*, “one must rely on the real meaning, not the ‘letter,’” etc.

In outline, the meditations of the practice are as follows:

1. The sādhanā describes the visualization of the syllables of the obeisance *na-ma-śrī* and the production from those of the skeleton arch and deities. First is visualized the skeleton arch (from *na-*) surrounded by fearsome cremation grounds, the corpse throne with sun disc (from *ma-*), and the goddess Vyādhāmayoginī (from *śrī-*). Next comes the teaching on the five syllables (*pañcākṣaranirdeśaḥ*) *va-jra-yo-gi-nī*, which produces the armor goddesses (K112v4).

2. The twenty-four sites are then equated with the skeleton arch visualized in the *nirmāṇa* lotus, i.e., the vagina (K113r3). These are internalized (lit: suppressed, *nirodhaḥ*).

3. The cremation grounds are also internalized and equated with the psychophysical organism in a kind of yogic body maṇḍala (K113r5–114r3).

4. A yogic meditation induces a deep meditative state (ascribed to a text called the *Sahajanirdeśa*, K114v2).

5. There is an installation (of syllables?) onto the limbs of four goddesses equated with the four types of consort (*mudrā*) (karma-, dharma-, samaya-, and mahāmudrā, K114v5). The meditations and quotes that follow expand upon the four mudrās, e.g., the *Caturmudrānvaya* is cited regarding the qualities of the *karmamudrā* (K115r4).

6. A six-spoked Cakrasaṃvara/Vajravārāhī maṇḍala is visualized on the erect penis and another within the vagina. The central figure is the lord under the arch; there follow yogic meditations of union.

7. Meditations by Lūyīpāda (K115r6) equate the cremation ground with the eight *viññānas*; the skeleton arch is visualized in their midst with the fusion of two *bījas* in its center productive of “great lust and passion” (*mahārāgānurāga-*). There is a reflection on the *bindu* upon the syllable *hūṃ* and the union of two *bindus*.

8. An explanation follows of the *samayamudrā* in which *samaya* is defined as twofold, *rakṣaṇam*, and *bhakṣaṇam* (K116r2; see ch. 3), and each is further defined as tenfold. Yogic meditations on the *nāda* are prescribed, producing the nondual awareness called *samayamudrā*.

9. The yogin is to meditate on mahāmudrā according to the teaching of Lūyīpāda (K116v4), with the contemplation of the skeleton as compassion and the arch as emptiness, and mahāmudrā within that. The siddhi of mahāmudrā is attained through yogic meditations. (The text includes a citation from the *Tattvajñānasamsiddhi* K117v2–3.)

GSS35 *Indrabhūtikramaṇa Vajrayoginīsādhanaṃ (Vajrayoginī Sādhana in the Tradition of Indrabhūti) by Vijayavajra*⁴⁷

The preparations stress the practitioner's assimilation to the form and identity of the deity; they require him to face west, to understand himself to be in the "great cemetery, Oḍḍiyāna," and to wear red. Following his enjoyment of the five nectars and contemplation of the *brahmavihāras*, he suddenly takes on the *ahamkāra* of the deity. The vajra ground is installed, followed by emptiness meditations and the visualization of the cosmos with Mount Sumeru. A four-armed Vajrayoginī is generated internally. The knowledge deities are summoned and worshiped with the supreme worship and the tasting of nectar (K119r2), which is followed by a yogic-type armoring (of the six cakras and nine orifices with *hūṃ*, K119v4) and a yogic meditation in which mantras are visualized flowing through the body, culminating in the nonperception of dharmas. In an external rite, the form of the goddess is self-generated suddenly and empowered with an armoring (as before, K119v3). The ground is prepared with transgressive substances, a maṇḍala is drawn, and offerings made. In this rite, the letters of the mantra are drawn counterclockwise on the surface of a mirror with vermilion powder, and the knowledge form is drawn into it. There follow rites performed with the left hand (K119v6–120r), namely, the hand worship, tasting of nectar, and *bali* offerings, followed by praise, the bodhisattva vow, and a dedication of merit. Two short rites describe the means of accepting a pupil (K120r2) and of creating an amulet (K120r6–v).

GSS36 *Kūrmāpatanakramaṇa Vajrayoginīsādhana*⁴⁸ (*Sādhana of Vajrayoginī with the Method of the Falling Turtle*)

This form of Vajrayoginī is generated in front of the sādhanika inside a double *dharmodayā* with the aid of an image of the goddess. She is produced through a sequence of awakenings and stands in the "falling-turtle" stance. It concludes with a *bali* ritual.

47 Witnesses: K118r2–120v3, N83r4–85r4, D86r4–88r4. Toh., Ota.—?

48 Witnesses: K120v3–121v2, N85r4–85v6, D88r4–88v8. Bhattacharya (SM vol. 2, p. cxiv) provides a list of sixteen texts by Śābara in the bsTan 'gyur, including one called *Kūrmāpādasiddhisādhana*. This is not among the texts that Robinson lists from the bsTan 'gyur by Śābara (1979: 291). Toh. 1560, Ota. 2268; Toh. 1559, Ota. 2267; cf. Ota. 5134.

GSS37 *Oḍḍiyānasvādhiṣṭhānakramavajrayoginīsādhana (Vajrayoginī Sādhana from Oḍḍiyāna with the Self-Consecration Method) by Virūpa*⁴⁹

The text prescribes the self-generation (from *hrīm*) of white Vajrayoginī with two arms in a standing pose, or alternatively an aniconic visualization of the syllable *hrīm* in the *dharmodaya*, with offerings of *bali* at the four junctures. After practice on ten *parvan* days, a vision of Vajrayoginī is promised, to be preceded by omens. Rites of appeasement, etc., are then to be performed. The text is corrupt where it prescribes the pose (*† pratyālīḍhasthaṃ ūrdhvpādaṃ ca †*).⁵⁰ Although there is no trace of a dual in the text, it may have intended these poses to refer to two attendant goddesses who would be placed one on each side of the central goddess. It is noteworthy in this respect that Vajrayoginī wears the six mudrās of a maṇḍala leader. Another threefold maṇḍala is also described in other texts associated with Virūpa, cf. the Trikāyavajrayoginī group. Possibly indicative of corruption is the unnecessary repetition of the goddess as two armed (*dvibhujām*) just before the poses are given.

The white form of Vajrayoginī described in GSS37 appears in the GSS collection beside the white warrior-stance Vajravārāhī (GSS38) shown to be related to white Vajraghoṇā-Vajravārāhī. The two manifestations share some details, such as the goddess's generation from a white syllable *hrīm* (GSS37) or *hriḥ* (GSS38). However, the white Vajrayoginī in GSS37 has most in common with the red warrior-stance Vajrayoginī, as described in GSS19. The ritual portions are similar in that both prescribe worship of the goddess on an auspicious night. GSS37 adds that the goal is siddhi (K122r1: *vajrayoginīsiddhyartham*) and mentions various omens and a vision of the goddess as a prerequisite for peaceful rites. The heart and auxiliary-heart mantras and *bali* mantra are the same in both texts, and both also supply the tripartite root mantra. In GSS37 the latter is a little unusual because

49 Witnesses: K12IV2–122r5, N85v6–86r7, D88v8–89v1; cf. GSS38, GSS19. Toh., Ota.—?

50 GSS37 (K12IV3): *svahr̥di padme candrasūryadharmodayāmadhye śuklahrīm̐kāra-pariṇāmena bhagavati <m> vajrayoginīm ekamukhām muktakeśām nagnām pīnon-natapayodharām dvibhujām raktavarṇā <m> trilocanām śavārūdhām hārārdhahā-rakiṇkiṇījālakhandaṃ dāṇam ekaśālaṃ mālādiṣaṇmudropetām bhāvayet. dharmodayāmaṇḍale dvibhujām kapālavajrakhaṭvāṅgadharām † pratyālīḍhasthaṃ ūrdhvpādaṃ ca † brahmaśīrasam ākramya sādhaḥ sthīramānasah / (mantras follow).*

• *kiṇkiṇī*] em.; *kiṇkiṇīm* K • *dharmodayā*] em; *dharmodaya* K • *śīrasam*] conj. (*śīras* used as masc.); *brahmaśīram* K.

the mantra deity Vajravairocanī appears in first place (rather than the usual third place), and the syllable *hrīm* is inserted at the end (*om vajravairocanīye sarvabuddhadākinīye vajravārṇanīye hrīm hūm hūm phaṭ phaṭ svāhā*).

GSS38 *Āryaśuklavajravārāhīsādhana*⁵¹ (*Sādhana of Noble White Vajravārāhī*)

After a *namaskāra* verse, the text describes the preliminary worship and emptiness meditations, a series of awakenings from a white, five-pointed vajra produced from *brīh*, and the self-generation of white, two-armed Vajravārāhī in *ālīḍha* stance. The awakenings, yogic recitation of a *mantramālā*, and rites are those associated with the (white?) Vajraghoṇā manifestation described in GSS5, the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5 Sed pp. 150–51, K35r1–35v1). A much fuller *sādhana* centering on this white form of Vajravārāhī and her associated rites, is found in the *Prajñālokaśādhana* by Koṅkadatta (SM218), with some overlapping text, especially in the ritual portions. The brief reference to the rite of subordination (preceded by a rite of tasting nectar) with which GSS38 ends is also found in the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS K35v1–6), and this is described much more fully in SM219, probably ending with the final line listed as SM220. The GSS texts in fact demonstrate that SM218–SM220 are continuous text; the colophons in the SM (perhaps editorial?) are misleading, and the opening lines in SM219 referring to the generation of the goddess in the sequence “given previously” (p. 432: *pūrvoktakramena niṣpannām bhagavatīm*) refers to the previous *sādhana*, SM218.

GSS39 *Vajravārāhīhomavidhi*.⁵² See GSS8

GSS40 *Commentary on Portions of GSS1 (Colophon in D: Vajravārāhīsādhana)*⁵³

GSS40 opens with commentary upon the *namaskāra* verse (GSS1: *namaḥ śrīvajrayoginyai śūnyatākaraṇātmane...*), which it interprets as an internal

51 *āryaśuklavajravārāhīsādhanam*] corr.; *āryaśuklavajravārāhyāḥ sādhanam* K. Witnesses: K122r5–123r4, N86r7–87r3, D89v1–90r5; cf. GSS5 (Sed p.150³, K35r1). Cf. SM218 (p. 426–31); with SM219–20.

52 *vajravārāhīhomavidhiḥ*] corr.; *vajravārāhyā homavidhiḥ* K. Witnesses: GSS K123r4–124r3, N87r3–87v6, D90r5–90v8 ≈ GSS8. Toh., Ota.—?

53 Witnesses: GSS K124r3–125r3, N87v6–88v2, D90v1–91v3; cf. GSS1. The colophon in D (*Vajravārāhīsādhana*) is a misleading late addition. Toh., Ota.—?

yogic meditation with drops based on the four consecrations in the Hevajra system. It then comments upon the *parvapūjā* and upon the frame verses praising transgressive practice. The remaining commentary is upon text that is not part of GSS1 in this recension of the *sādhana*.

GSS41 *Vajravārāhīkalpa (Vajravārāhī Ritual)*⁵⁴

A sacrificial rite (*yāgakriyā*) in the cremation ground in which a wrathful form of Vajravārāhī is visualized in the fire and is propitiated with ground-up buffalo meats for the attainment of black-magic *siddhis*.

GSS42 *Vajrayoginīpraṇāmaikaviṃśikā (Stotra) (Twenty-One Praise Verses for Saluting Vajrayoginī)*⁵⁵

A twenty-one-verse *stotra* (verses are numbered in the text) praising Vajrayoginī: her embodiment of the four blisses, her compassion, her transcendent wisdom (in Yogācāra terms), and her ability to manifest with many different forms, including as the supreme goddess in other religious systems (Śakti, Caṇḍī, “Vedavatī,” Kubjikā, Vaiṣṇavatī, etc., according to the different religious systems).

GSS43 *Vajravilāsinīstotra (Praise of Vajravilāsinī) by Vibhūticandra*⁵⁶

The *stotra* consists of forty-five (unnumbered) couplets. The meter is not *āryagīti* proper, since the final short syllable must often be read as long to make up the full sixteen *mātrās* in each *pāda*; there is some rhyme and *yamaka*. The iconography and character of Vajravilāsinī are described.

GSS44 *Svādhiṣṭhānakumārītarpaṇavidhi*⁵⁷ (*The Self-Consecration Rite for Propitiating a Virgin*)

After the *namaskāra* and an expression of the guru’s worth, the text is lost. Ten folios are missing in K (ff. 129–38), and N and D note the lacuna. It seems that one lengthy *sādhana* is contained in the missing portion. The text resumes (K139r1) with a description of the outer portion of the thirty-seven-deity maṇḍala, citing a verse from the YSCT/SUT group (= GSS11

54 Witnesses: GSS K125r3–125v5, N88v2–89r2, D91v4–92r4. Toh., Ota.–?

55 Witnesses: GSS K125v5–127r2, N89r2–91r1, D92r4–93r4; Ms. “C” (CUL ms. add. 1697 IV, photocopy); ed. *Dhīḥ* no. 1 (1986: 1–3). Toh., Ota.–?

56 Witnesses: GSS K127r2–128v4, N91r2–91r6, D93r4–94v2; ed. *Dhīḥ* no. 1 (1986: 4–6). Cf. Toh. 1602, Ota. 4681.

57 Witnesses: GSS K128v5–139v2, N91r6–91v7, D94v2–95r4. Toh., Ota.–?

v.41) and the statement that all goddesses wear vajra garlands on their brows (= GSS11 §21). There is a brief reference to the purification of the sense organs, the summoning of a knowledge maṇḍala, and its empowerment with the respective mantras for each deity. There follow worship and praise, the offering of *bali*, and the dismissal of the deities.

GSS45 *Indrajitkramavajrayoginīsādhana*⁵⁸ (*Vajrayoginī Sādhana with the Method for Conquering Indra*)

This is very similar to GSS17 (see above) and prescribes the generation of a white, raised-foot-pose form of Vajrayoginī.

GSS46 *Ḍākinīguhyasamayāsādhana*⁵⁹ (*by Anaṅgayogin?*)⁶⁰

The following text is not a sādhana, as stated in the colophon, but a commentarial work dealing with Cakrasaṃvara-based material with a strong Kālacakra influence. Our author quotes from many key Yogottara and Yoganiruttara texts, such as the *Guhyasamājatantra*, *Hevajratantra*, *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* (= *Laghusaṃvaratantra*) and its *ṭīkā* by Vajrapāṇi, *Samvarodayatantra*, *Abhidhānottaratantra*, *Kālacakramūlatantra* (*Paramādibuddhatantra*), the *Catuṣpīṭha*, *Māyājāla*, and *Ḍākinījālapañjara*. He is extensively influenced by Kālacakra exegetical works, such as the *Vimala-prabhā*, Vajrapāṇi's *Laghutantraṭīkā* (*Piṇḍārtha*), the *Amṛtakaṇikā*, and *Sekkoddeśaṭīkā*. The text deals with a sexual-yogic interpretation of the consecrations, the *brahmavihāras*, Amṛtakuṇḍalī, yogic meditations with the four blisses for the attainment of siddhi, the six yogas, etc. There are many frame verses on the methodology and success of the practice, its metaphysics, and the authority of the guru.

58 Witnesses: GSS K139v2–140r3, N91v7–92r7, D95r4–95v3 ≈ GSS17. Toh., Ota.–?

59 Witnesses: GSS K140r3–147v6, N92r7–98r6, D95v3–101v5. Published as *Ḍākinījālasaṃvararahasya* (ed. Samdhong Rinpoche and Vrajavallabha Divedi. 1990). Toh., Ota.–?

60 The *namaskāra* verse states that the sādhana is written by Anaṅgayogin, whom I have not traced. (The mahāsiddha Anaṅga has been identified by Dowman 1985: 368–71 with the earlier Anaṅgavajra dated to the ninth century; cf. Snellgrove 1987: 182.)

Notes

- 1 About fifteen Vajrayoginī/Vajravārāhī texts are listed in Bhattacharyya's edition of the so-called (n. 42) *Sādhanaṃālā* (1925/1928), although many of these are actually portions of longer texts, printed separately because they contain brief colophons. All of the *Sādhanaṃālā* works appear in almost identical or similar form in the *Guhyasamayasādhanaṃālā*. The one exception is the longest *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* in the *Sādhanaṃālā* (SM218, with SM219 and SM220), although this is still represented in the *Guhyasamayasādhanaṃālā* in two separate, but much shorter, versions (in GSS5 and GSS38). One can also find iconographical descriptions of Vajravārāhī as consort in the *Sādhanaṃālā*'s small collection of Cakrasaṃvara sādhanas (e.g., SM250, 251, 255). A few sādhanas of other deities also incorporate Vajrayoginī materials into them, for example, the *Mañjuśrī Sādhana* SM48 "*vajrayoginībhāṣitaṃ vādirājamañjuśrī-sādhanaṃ*," which has no reference to Vajrayoginī except in the title, and contains minimal tantric elements; the *Ekajātā Sādhana* SM123; and a *Vidyā-dharīkrama* text SM249 from the Mahāmāyā tradition, containing the *balividhi* from GSS21. The main sources in the *Sādhanaṃālā* are:
- SM217 *Vajravārāhīsādhana*≈GSS3; cf. GSS31.
 - SM218–220: SM218 *Prajñālokaśādhana* by Koṅkadatta with SM219 *vaśyavidhi* given as "*Vajravārāhīsādhana*" and SM220 "*vajravārāhyā vaśyavidhiḥ*" (final line of preceding *vaśyavidhi* with colophon)≈GSS5 (K34v5–35v6, Sed p. 149) and GSS38 (see appendix entry to GSS38).
 - SM221–223: Printed as three texts (though probably redacted from a single source) focusing on the (male) deity Mahāmāyā, but with the Vajravārāhī root mantra. SM221 (colophon in one ms. only: *jvālāmukhīsādhanaṃprayogaḥ*) opens with verses extolling the deity, followed by the Vajravārāhī root mantra, identical (with a few variants) to GSS11 §32 and related texts. SM222 (colophon in one ms. only: *mahāmāyājvālāmukhīvajravārāhīprayogasādhanaṃ*) refers to the previous Vajravārāhī root mantra, with instructions for its recitation and rites for siddhi. SM223 *mahāmāyādevyāḥ śmaśānaṃ* is a short paragraph giving an account of cremation grounds a little different from that in Vajravārāhī materials.

- SM224 *Vajravārāhisādhana*≈GSS18.
 - SM225 *Oḍiyānavajrapīṭhavinirgata-ūrdhvaṣṭāvajravārāhisādhana*≈GSS12.
 - SM226 *Samkṣiptavajravārāhisādhana*≈GSS4.
 - SM227 *Samkṣiptavajravārāhisādhana*≈GSS29≈SM227.
 - SM232 *Vajrayoginīsādhana* (Trikāya-Vajrayoginī)≈GSS20≈GSS25.
 - SM233 *Vajrayoginīsādhana*≈GSS19; cf. GSS28.
 - SM234 *Vajrayoginīsādhana*≈GSS9=GSS30.
 - SM235 *nandyāvarttena siddhaśāvarapādīyamata vajrayoginyārādhana vidhiḥ*≈GSS5 (K38r1–5, Sed p. 153)≈GSS22 (K86r6–86); cf. GSS23.
 - SM236 *Vajrayoginīsādhana*≈GSS19.
 - SM237 *vajrayoginyupadeśaḥ*. Fragment probably from the end of a *sādhana* describing yogic meditations with recitation of mantra.
 - SM238 *vajrayoginyā balividhiḥ*=*balimantra* from GSS25.
- 2 Isaacson (2001: personal communication) suggests that the *Samvarodayatantra* was influential chiefly in Nepal, and may even be a Nepalese composition, possibly dating from as late as the twelfth century.
 - 3 Guide to the Nyingma Edition of the *sDe-dge bKa’-’gyur/bsTan-’gyur* in two volumes, July 22, 1980 (Berkeley CA: Dharma Publishing).
 - 4 The *Six Texts of Vajravārāhi* (*Phag mo gZhung drug*) in the *bsTan ’gyur* (Toh 1551–56) comprise the *Śrī-Tattvajñānasiddhi* by *Sūnyasamādhi* (Toh 1551), *Sarvārthasiddhisādhana* by Avadhūtipa (Toh 1552=GSS15), *Jñānāveśa* by *Sūnyasamādhi* (Toh 1553), *Chinnamunḍāvajravārāhisādhana* by Śrīmatidevi (Toh 1554=GSS24), *Chinnamunḍāsādhana* by Virūpa (Toh 1555=GSS 25/GSS20), and *Śrī-Vajrayoginī-homavidhi* by Buddhadatta (Toh 1556=GSS13). All six were translated by Varendraruci and bLo ldan shes rab. The transmission of this set is sometimes credited to Śabariśvara/Śabara (Robinson 1979: 290; Bhattacharya 1928 vol. 2: cxv). However, it is elsewhere attributed either to Lakṣmīṅkarā (from her brother, Indrabhūti) and her disciple, Virūpa, or to Kambala (a problem Dowman attempts to solve by suggesting that Kambala was Lakṣmīṅkarā’s guru, 1985: 375). See the *Blue Annals* (pp. 389–94) for the transmission lineage from Indrabhūti and the eventual written composition of some of the six texts.
 - 5 This Tibetan lifestory, translated by Guenther (1963), is by Lha btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal (1473–1557) and is entitled *mKhas grub kun gyi gtsug rgyan pañchen nā ro pa’i rnam thar ngo mtshar rmad byung*. For the transmission from Tilopa, see Guenther (*ibid.*: 44), and for Nāropa’s famous vision (*ibid.*: 24–25). Guenther (*ibid.*: xv) dates this biography to the late twelfth century, but more recent scholarship has shown its author to have been a follower of the “mad lama” (*bla ma smyon pa*), gTsang smyon Heruka (1452–1507), (Samuel 1993: 522, citing Gene Smith 1969: 26–27). For a discussion of the dating of Tilopa and Nāropa, see Wylie 1982.
 - 6 The earliest lifestory by sGam po pa (1079–1153), the *Ta’i lo dang nāro’i rnam thar*, simply describes how a female deity (not identified as Vajrayoginī, but vaguely as “mother of/from Khadā”) appears in a dream and persuades him to seek Tilopa; only after studying under Tilopa does he enter Nālandā and

become a fully fledged *paṇḍita*. (*sGam po pa bSod nams rin-chen* 1974: 18–30.) The other text ascribable to before 1200 is by *sGam po pa*'s nephew's pupil, founder of the Tshal pa bKa' brgyud school, Bla ma Zhang (g.Yu bra pa brTson 'grus grags pa, 1123–93). This text appears in Bla ma Zhang's collection of life stories entitled *Deeds and Lives* (*mDzad-pa rNam-thar gyi skor*, 1972). Here, Nāropa dreams of many *ḍākinis* (again, not specifically Vajrayoginī); he becomes a *paṇḍita*, again only after serving as a pupil of Tilopa, but at Vikramāśīla. There is also a life of Nāropa accredited to Marpa in the eleventh century, found within the collection *brGyud pa yid bzhin nor bu'i rnam par thar pa*, *The Life Stories of the Wish-Fulfilling Jewel Lineage*. This collection is contained within a sixteenth-century compilation of texts by Byang chub bzang po entitled *bDe-mchog mkha'-'gro sNyan-rgyud* (New Delhi: 1973. Reproduced from a rare manuscript in the library of Apho Rinpoche (no publisher given)). However, this compilation is in fact a later work clearly abbreviated from earlier sources (see Roberts 2002: ch. 2). I am indebted to Peter Alan Roberts (personal communication: 2002) for providing this endnote and references, and the following details of transmissions within the bKa' brgyud traditions.

- 7 There are two editions of dPa' bo's work on the Vajrayoginī practice (details for which I thank Dr. Sobisch; 2001: personal communication), as follows:

dPal rje btsun rdo rje rnal 'byor ma'i gsang ba'i sgrub thabs kyi rnam par bshad pa zab mo rnam 'byed: A Detailed Exegesis of the Esoteric Meditation-Devotional Practice (Guhyasādhana) Focusing upon Vajrayoginī According to the bKa' brgyud pa Tradition. dPa'bo gTsug-lag Phreng-ba of gNas-gnang. Bir: [s.n.], 1974. 1 v. (unpaged). On boards: Cover title: *rDo rje rnal 'byor ma'i gsang sgrub kyi rnam bshad*. Reproduced from a manuscript transcription of an ancient block-print in the library of Nam mkha' rdo rje (Microfilm no.): Set 2–16. LMPj-012066. R-2241-74-901524.

dPal rje btsun rdo rje rnal 'byor ma'i gsang ba'i sgrub thabs kyi rnam bshad pa zab mo rnam 'byed: A Detailed Explanation of the Twelve Esoteric Instructions on the Guhyasādhana of Vajrayoginī Transmitted by Nāropa. Rumtek: Dharma Cakra Center, 1975. 512 pp.; 9 x 50 cm. Added Tibetan title on boards: *dBal (sic.) rje btsun rdo rnal 'byod (sic.) ma'i gsang ba'i sgrub thabs kyi rnam par bshad pa zab mo rnam 'byed ches (sic.) bya ba bzhugs so. Study of Esoteric Teachings Practiced by the Karma Kargyudpa (sic.) Tradition of Tibetan Lamaism.* (Microfilm no.): Set 3–20. LMPj-012504. SB-2214. LCCN-76-900087.

- 8 For example, teachings on the *sādhana* by Chögyam Trungpa have been published (1982, 1991, 1999), and Simmer-Brown's exploration of the *ḍākinī* and her description of Vajrayoginī (2001: ch. 4) is based mainly upon transmissions within the bKa' brgyud and rNying ma schools (*ibid.*: xii–xix).
- 9 I owe this entire paragraph, with notes and references to a full letter written to me on the subject by Lama Jampa Thaye (January 15, 2002), whom I sometimes cite word for word. This was particularly kind given his reservations about bringing esoteric tantric material into the public domain. He points out that sources dealing with the topic are almost exclusively in Tibetan. Although this

overview is itself extremely condensed, other published references in English are far more fleeting; namely, Chogay Trichen's *History of the Sakya Tradition* (Bristol: Ganesha Press, 1983) and Sherab Gyaltsen Amipa's *A Waterdrop from the Glorious Sea* (Rikon, Switzerland: Tibetan Institute, 1976).

- 10 The full details of the transmission lineages of these three are found in the lineage supplications (*rgyud 'debs*) attached to the relevant sādhanas. The initiations and sādhanas themselves have been published in recent years amongst Sa skya pas in India, in a six-volume collection of teachings on Vajrayoginī, entitled the *dPal ldan sa skya pa'i lugs nāro mkha' spyod ma'i skor*. They are also found in *sgrub thabs kun btus*, the monumental fourteen volumes of Vajrayāna teachings collected by Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo ('Jam dbyangs mKhyen brtse dbang-po, 1811–1892) and Jamgon Loter Wangpo ('Jam mgon bLo gter dbang po, 1847–1914), published some years ago by Dzongsar Institute for Advanced Studies, Bir, Kangra, H.P., India.
- 11 There is an initiation and sādhana of Vajravārāhī found in the “One Hundred Sādhanas of Bari” (in vol. 12 of *sgrub thabs kun btus*), the collection of Vajrayāna practices brought from India by Bari Lotsava (b. 1040) and transmitted onward through Sa chen Kun dga' snying po.
- 12 The initiations and sādhanas for these esoteric instructions are located in *sgrub thabs kun btus*. Unlike the two other forms of Vajrayoginī and the rest of *The Thirteen Golden Dharmas*, Maitrī Khecari entered the Sa skya tradition with Sa chen Kun dga' snying po's son, rJe brsun Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147–1216). According to the material on Maitrī Khecari (in *dPal ldan sa skya pa'i lugs nāro mkha' spyod ma'i skor* vol. 6, p. 203), he received it from one Dar ma Yon ten, a disciple of Sum pa Lo tsā wa. One Tibetan publication (with the English title *A History of the Sa-skyapa Sect of Tibetan Buddhism*, by T. G. Dongthog, New Delhi, 1977: 173), states that he received it directly from Sum pa Lo tsā wa.
- 13 Found in volume 2 of *dpal ldan sa skya pa'i lugs nāro mkha' spyod ma'i skor*.
- 14 None of these teachers aims to present a textual analysis of his original sources. Indeed, Ngawang Dhargyey (1992: 19) notes that in imparting the Sa skya lineage teachings, his own teacher, Kyabje Trijang Dorjechang, was often speaking from his own experience rather than relying on textual transmissions or commentaries. To what extent these works can help throw light on the Indian textual tradition studied here is very doubtful. Where I provide citations from these works, I do so with caution. This caution is all the more necessary because the teachers have tended to compose and edit their works from transcriptions of their oral commentaries (Tharchin 1997: Acknowledgments; K. Gyatso 1997: ix)—transcriptions made by pupils who themselves may have relied upon a translator. Apart from the difficulty in locating the sources used by the teachers, it is not always evident how a given translation relates to its explanation, as Dr. Sobisch has pointed out, e.g., Tharchin 1997: 192.
- 15 The appearance of Vajravārāhī within rNying ma theology, hagiography, and myth is well attested, as in the definitive volumes by Dudjom Rinpoche (1991), as well as in many other published works, e.g., Germano and Gyatso (2000:

- 246ff.). Ye shes mtsho rgyal's lifestory (*Bod kyi jo mo ye shes mtsho rgyal gyi mdzad tshul rnam par thar pa gab pa mngon byung rgyud mangs dri za'i glu 'phreng*) has been translated by Tulku (1983), Dowman (1984), and Changchub and Nyingpo (1999). References to Ye shes mtsho rgyal as the principal custodian and transmitter of "treasure" texts (*gter-ma*) abound, e.g., *Dancing Moon in Water* 14 (J. Gyatso 1998: 31–2), Dudjom (1991: 581, 586–87), Dowman (1984: 73, 121–41), Germano and Gyatso (2000: 244, 248).
- 16 Literature on the meditative practice of Ye shes mtsho rgyal/Vajravārāhi/Vajrayoginī is plentiful, e.g., Klein (1995: 139, 144, 147), Patrul (1994: 313), Khyentse (1988), Thondup (1983, 1992). The *Thar pa'i bde lam* was composed by Jam mgon Kong sprul bLo gros mtha' yas (1813–99). This is the *sngon 'gro* of the extremely popular treasure cycle *dKon mchog spyi 'dus* derived from the treasure revealer, Rig 'dzin 'Ja 'tshon snying po (1585–1656). Lama Jampa Thaye (to whom I owe this information) points out that the chief deity of the cycle is in fact the ḍākinī Simhamukha (*sic*), who is the focus of the *yang gsang* ("utterly secret") part of the generation-stage practices. He writes, "The employment of Vajrayoginī in the *sngon 'gro* may reflect the influence of the bKa' brgyud tradition among the rNying ma. 'Ja 'tshon sNying po, prior to his activity as a treasure-revealer, was a 'Brugs pa bKa' brgyud monk and the *sngon 'gro* itself was formulated later by 'Jam mgon Kong sprul, who was of course a Karma bKa' brgyud pa." I also thank Rigdzin Shikpo for sending me his outline and explanation of the *Thar pa'i bde lam*.
 - 17 The full name of the Tibetan text is *rDzogs pa chen po sku gsum rang shar las thun mong gtum mo'i nyams len ye shes me dpung bzhugs so*, which the author translates into pidgin Sanskrit as *Kayāsahāsarvaṃ trisvayambūrpasya sāmānyacandāugñibhyā jñātvāla tisma*. I thank Dr. Peter Alan Roberts for this information and for providing me with a copy of his unpublished translation.
 - 18 Simmer-Brown's (*op. cit.*) wide-ranging survey includes an interesting analysis of the various Western encounters with the subject, in a critique of both the Jungian approach (*pace* Guenther 1963) and feminist models. Apart from Herrmann-Pfandt, other feminist writers in the field include Rita Gross (1989, 1993), Janice Willis (1989), Miranda Shaw (1994), Anne Klein (1995), and June Campbell (1996). There is also the synthetic account of Chinnamastā Vajrayoginī from Buddhist and Śaiva sources by Elisabeth Anne Benard (1994), and studies that touch on the subject from other academic disciplines, such as David Gellner's (1992) anthropological work, or Toni Huber's (1999) ethnohistorical study of Tsari, a region in Tibet associated with Cakrasaṃvara and Vajravārāhi.
 - 19 The problems of defining tantra in the Buddhist context have been explored in recent years, for example by Hodge (1994: 58–59). A full overview of the difficulties and how various scholars have attempted to meet them is given in Lopez (1996: 78–104), and contributions to the subject continue, e.g., Williams and Tribe (2000: 196, 197 ff.).
 - 20 The figures for the Tibetan translations are reached by counting the texts in the tantric sections of the Tibetan bKa' 'gyur and bsTan 'gyur, both from the Tōhoku Catalogue of the Derge edition (Toh/D) of 1733, and from the Otani Catalogue

of the Beijing Qianlong edition (Ota/Q) of 1717–20. (Figures remain approximate, as there are other editions of the canon that vary slightly, and also manuscript editions that did not undergo revisions and so include texts not found in later editions.) The rGyud 'bum section of the bKa' 'gyur (Toh/D 360–845) numbers just under five hundred texts, and there are in addition about twenty-four dhāraṇī texts (from the gZungs 'dus section, Toh/D 846–1108) not contained here. This means that in all there are about five hundred and ten tantric texts in the bKa' 'gyur of the Derge edition. The rGyud section of the bsTan 'gyur (Toh/D 1109–3785) includes just under two thousand seven hundred texts. An additional tantra collection appears in the Beijing and Narthang bsTan 'gyurs (Ota/Q 4604–5183) that contains about five hundred texts over and above those found in the Derge bsTan 'gyur. This brings the number of tantric texts in the different bsTan 'gyur editions to just under three thousand two hundred. I thank Dr. Hermann-Pfandt for this information (2002: personal communication). See also Sanderson 1998: 661, and Williams and Tribe 2000: 195.

As for the Sanskrit texts, BBK lists 1,500 Sanskrit tantric texts, although Isaacson (1998) notes that there are many texts not listed there. Matsunami (1965) lists about forty pages of tantric Sanskrit texts.

- 21 A portion of the *Nāmanamantrārthāvalokinī*, Vilāsavajra's commentary upon the *Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* (or *Nāmasaṃgīti*), has been edited and translated by Tribe in his unpublished doctoral thesis (1994) and discussed in a published article (1997: 109–36). For the life of this yogatantra scholar (also known as Lilāvajra), see Dudjom 1991: 463.
- 22 Skorupski (1994: 201 n. 47), for example, notes that the commentators on the *Saṃputodbhavantra*, such as Indrabhūti, use the phrase “yoga and yoginī tantras”; cf. *Kriyāsamuccaya* f. 409: *yoginīyogatantraṣu*.
- 23 Gellner (1992: 373, n. 5) notes that “veiled and peripheral references to sexual rites do occur” rather earlier in the yogatantras, for example in chapter 5 of the STTS. Cf. Sanderson 1994i: 97 n. 1.
- 24 Snellgrove (1959 vol. 1: 12–13) dates the *Hevajratantra* from the latter eighth to early ninth century, using the myth of Padmasambhava's connection with King Indrabhūti. Herrmann-Pfandt (Herrmann 1983) comments that this connection is doubtful because the Padmasambhava myth belongs to later rNying ma apologetics from the twelfth century. The evidence of Tāranātha, who makes the eminent commentator Kāṇhā a contemporary of the eminent King Devapāla (first half of the ninth century; Snellgrove 1959 vol. 1: 14), is likewise untrustworthy (see Isaacson 2001: 458 n. 4, who also discusses the commentator's name). It is, in fact, extremely difficult to date the emergence of the yoginītantras. Although Heruka-type material was in existence from the mid-eighth century (in the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālaśaṃvara*, see n. 26 below), neither the *Hevajratantra* nor the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* were transmitted into Tibet until the second diffusion (from the latter tenth century). The dating of translators and commentators is helpful, but this tells us only that the tantras were in existence by the late tenth or early eleventh centuries at the time the commentaries

and translations were written. For example Gaya(ā)dhara, translator of the *Hevajratantra*, was active in the second quarter of the eleventh century, and its commentator Ratnākaraśānti was a pupil of Nāropa's, and datable to the early eleventh century (Mimaki 1992: 297 n. 1); the first commentary on the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* is late tenth century. But we still do not know how long the tantras had been in existence before this; and given the exegetical productivity of the period, there is no reason to assume that the texts are much older than their commentaries. It is also unclear which tantra is the older of the two. The *Hevajratantra* is built upon a maṇḍala of the older *Sarvabuddha-samāyogadākinījālaśaṃvara*, which may indicate its antiquity; but on the other hand, it is more coherent than the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*, and many of its methods are more sophisticated (as in its system of four joys, ch. 3 with n. 195) and more attractive to exegetical expansion (Sanderson 2002: personal communication). As for the Kālacakra tradition, Newman (1998: 343) has concluded that its root texts were completed "between 1025 and ca. 1040," although Isaacson notes (*op. cit.*: 457 n. 2) that Ratnākaraśānti "shows nowhere (to my knowledge) any awareness of the Kālacakra-system and its literature." Davidson (2002) offers some comments on dating of yogottara and yoginī traditions.

- 25 YSCT: p. 839 ch. v. 1b (A4v.5, B6r.3): *mahāyānaṃ mahāmudrā yoginī siddhi-dā tathā*.
- 26 A brief summary of this tantra, or a version of it, appears in a Chinese text translated by Amoghavajra, sometime between 746 C.E. and 774 C.E. See Tanaka 1994: 323; cf. Abé 1999: 260 and Tsuda 1999: 305. I thank Professor Sanderson (1995; 2002: personal communication) for these references.
- 27 Our authors were well aware that the variant orthography points to two different etymologies: *saṃ*-, "bliss," is used as a synonym for *sāta*, *sukha*, and there is no doubt an allusion intended to Śiva, the "creator of bliss" (*saṃ-kara*) (Isaacson 2001: personal communication). "Saṃvara" (literally, "restraint") was probably just a shorthand for "Cakrasaṃvara." The two different spellings occur in the Tibetan translations also (*bde mchog* for Śaṃvara, and *sdom pa* for Saṃvara).
- 28 GSSI6 (K75v3): *tantra lakṣābhidhāne hi nāthena kathitā svayam*.
- 29 According to the colophons of the Tibetan manuscripts, the *Legends* are a translation of the *Caturāṣṭisiddhapravṛtti* of Abhayadatta from the twelfth century, although Tatz (1989) is not convinced of their Indian origin and points out that neither the purported author (Abhayadatta) nor the translator (sMon grubs shes rab) have been identified with any degree of certainty. In his translation, Dowman (1985: 384, appendix I) describes the *Legends* as belonging to *The Cycle of Blessings of the Eighty-Four Indian Mahāsiddhas* (rGya gar grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i byin brlabs chos skor), a cycle of texts found in the bsTan 'gyur and also in the sGrub thabs kun btus. He states that an edition in Tibetan of the *Legends* in the sNar thang bsTan 'gyur is also available (Sangpo Khetsun, ed. 1973. *Biographical Dictionary of Tibet*. Dharamsala Tibetan Library: 633–770). See also Robinson's translation (1979) and the review by Tatz (1989) of Dowman's and Robinson's work. The other main source for the lives of the

- eighty-four siddhas is Tārānātha, who groups his stories according to the lineage of teachings to which they belong in a work entitled *The Seven Instruction Lineages by Jo Nang Taranatha* (Templeman 1983).
- 30 Benard 1994: 66, cf. *Blue Annals*: 847 and Tārānātha's *History*: 197 n. 13.
- 31 See *Blue Annals*: 841–42, Tārānātha's *History*: 305, Bhattacharya SM II: xci, and Cordier *Catalogue*, vol. III: 273 cited Kvaerne 1977: 6.
- 32 GSS5 (Sed p. 139, K26r4): *evaṃ tāval lūyīpādābhisamayakrameṇa vistarataḥ saptatṛiṃśadātmakaṃ bhagavatīyā maṇḍalam. tatraiva maṇḍalabhedāntaraṃ vajrāvalyām asmadgurubhir upadarśitaṃ.*
- 33 The colophons of three of Abhayākaragupta's works state that they were written during specific years of Rāmapāla's reign: the *Abhayapaddhati* commentary on the *Buddhakapālatantra* during the twenty-fifth year, the *Munimatālaṅkāra* during the thirtieth, and the *Āmnāyamañjarī* during the thirty-seventh (Bühnemann 1992). Abhayākaragupta is an important author and translator, and in his history in the *Blue Annals*, he is said to be the transmitter of the **Sādhana-samuccaya* (p. 1048). Twenty-four works are ascribed to him in Cordier's bsTan 'gyur (cited Bhattacharyya 1972: 9, see also Bühnemann 1994, 1992).
- 34 The other work by Umāpatideva in the bsTan 'gyur is a Vajrayoginī maṇḍala rite (1584 in the Derge edition). Vāgiśvaragupta and Rwa Chos rab were also co-translators of a number of Kālacakra texts (1358, 1359, 1362, 1392, 1393, and 1394).
- 35 Apart from his work with Vāgiśvaragupta, Rwa Chos rab translated another six texts (365, 440, 1374, 1754, 1755, and 1964), five of them with Samantaśrī, including two of Samantaśrī's own compositions. It seems that Rwa Chos rab flourished in the early twelfth century. His dates may be tentatively deduced from two sources. First, the *Blue Annals* (p. 756) lists the "followers of the Rwa-lo tradition" and places Rwa Chos rab two lineage successions after "Kālacakra Junior," who is identified with Nāropa who died in 1040 (Newman 1991: 65–76, Wylie 1982: 691) and two lineage successions before another datable translator, rGya lo (1203–82). The second source is the biography of Rwa Chos kyi grags pa (eleventh to early twelfth century, introducer of Yamāntaka to Tibet), which describes Rwa Chos rab as his nephew and pupil. This biography (which is said to have been written by Chos rab's own pupil, successor, and possibly son, Rwa Ye shes seng ge; see *Blue Annals*: 756), states that after the death of Rwa Chos kyi grags pa (Tibetan text p. 343): "His heart son [principal pupil], Locchāva Rwa Chos-rab continued his activities for five years. Then he went to Nepal [where he met Samantaśrī]." The deathdate of the uncle, Rwa Chos kyi grags pa, is therefore significant. He seems to have died in the early twelfth century since his biography, though fantastical, states that he outlived Mar pa Chos kyi blo gros (pupil of the elderly Nāropa, and teacher of Milarepa, who died c. 1096). It also states that he traveled in the same group with Ras chung pa to India. According to the *Lho rong chos 'byung* (rTa-tshag Tshe-dbang rGyal, *Lho-rong Chos-'byung*, China: Bod-ljongs dPe-yig dPe-rnying dPe-skrun-khang, 1994: 87), Ras chung pa's visit to India took place c. 1110 (Roberts 2000: 294,

- 328–29, 422–23.) This would place Rwa Chos rab's visit to Nepal (Newman 1991: 76)—where according to Bu ston he stayed for five years, ten months, and five days—in the first half of the twelfth century. Rwa Chos rab is also said to have traveled with Samantaśrī to Tibet, where they transmitted and translated Kālacakra teachings (in the “Rwa-locchāva tradition,” *Blue Annals*: 756, 789, Newman *ibid.*). I thank Dr. Peter Alan Roberts for his help in researching this subject and providing translations from the Tibetan text.
- 36 E.g., GSS7, GSS12, GSS37; also see historical sources such as Tāranātha's *History*: 332.
- 37 **Siddha-Āmnāya* p. 11: *deśanāprakāśanāḥ kuru!* Tatz (1989: 695) describes the *amanasikāra* as “a philosophic system called ‘nonattentiveness.’” There are twenty-four works by Advayavajra and his pupils in the bsTan 'gyur (Toh / Tg. rGyud 2229–52). The **Siddha-Āmnāya* (I designate this text according to its listing in BBK: 291) opens by locating itself within the *amanasikāra* tradition (p. 8: *amanasikārāmnāyaṃ vakṣyate*). In a useful article, Tatz (1987: 695–711) compares the life of Maitrigupta/Advayavajra as it is told in the **Siddha-Āmnāya* with that in later Tibetan sources.
- 38 “If such is available then other mantrins, [that is to say nonmonastic *tāntrikas*] should not be venerated. For if all three are found together and the householder is worshiped then the three jewels of Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha are cheapened.” *Kriyāsamuccaya* (ŚP f. 3, 6): *uttame vidyamāne tu nārādhyā anyamantriṇaḥ/satsu triṣṭv ekadeśeṣu grhasthaḥ pūjyate yadā/tadā buddhaś ca dharmas ca saṃgho gaṇachaty agauravam/iti*.
- 39 *Kudṛṣṭinirghātanam* in *Advayavajrasaṃgraha*: 1–12. Gellner (1992: 300) comments that these are much the same as the routinized version of tantric practice now found among Newar followers of the Vajrayāna.
- 40 *Kriyāsamuccaya* ŚP f. 6^{3–5} (translated by Sanderson, cited Gellner 1992: 295); a passages discussed with text excerpts by Sanderson (1994i: 87–102, especially n. 37). Abhayākara Gupta explains the sexual nature of the *guhyābhiṣeka* and *prajñābhiṣeka* in his *Vajrāvalī* (Ms. B f. 64r6–64v5 cited Isaacson 1996b n. 80).
- 41 Bühnemann's survey of primary materials and secondary opinions is based on historical sources such as the *Blue Annals*, *The Collected Works of Bu ston*, (part 26 (LA), ed. by Lokesh Chandra from the collections of Raghu Vira. 1971), and Bu ston's *History of Buddhism (Chos 'byung)* (parts I and II, translated from Tibetan by E. Obermiller. 1931–32). She uses catalogs by Bendall (1883), Cordier (1909–15), and others, while her discussions of dating are indebted to the work of modern scholars such as Meisezahl (1980) and especially N. Okuyama (1988. “Tibetto bukk'yō pantheon keisei ni kansuru futatsu no kadai.” *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū* 36/2. 892–96). More detailed bibliographical references for her study can be found in her bibliography, pp. 24–26. Lokesh Chandra also describes the four collections in the bsTan 'gyur in his introduction to the Narthang Pantheon (1986 vol. 1: 34).
- 42 Also less correctly entitled **Sādhanaśataka* (*sGrub thabs brgya rtsa*), according to Bühnemann (1994: 11 with n.1).

- 43 Bühnemann (1994: 19) shows that the basis of Bhattacharyya's edition is the third and largest of Bu ston's collections known variously as **Sādhanaśāgara/Sādhanaśamuccaya/Sādhanaṁālā*, which Bhattacharyya entitled *Sādhanaṁālā* according to the catalog description of one of the Cambridge manuscripts (Add. 1593). However, the catalog entry for the palmleaf manuscript of the *Sādhanaśatapañcāśikā* in Cambridge (Add. 1686) was also cataloged by Bendall (1883: 174) as the *Sādhanaṁālā tantra* (Bühnemann 1994: 17). This catalog entry, and the appearance of this title in manuscripts, misled Bhattacharyya into including it in his edition of *sādhana*s.
- 44 These extracts from the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* show how close its subject matter is to the stages of the *sādhana*s in the *Guhyasamayāsādhanaṁālā*. See *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra*, 8a, for opening prescriptions and assurance of success (*anena yathoktatatantrānusārānukrameṇa vidhānena pratyahaṁ prabhātākāla utpattikrameṇa bhāvayamāno bhāvayet. devatāyogaṁ samādhitrayaṁ uttamaṁ yatnato durgatipariśodhanasiddhir bhavati.*); 9b–10a for preliminaries (*tatsādhanaṁ śākyanāthena bhāṣitaṁ. prathamam tāvad vijane mano 'nukūla-pradeśe mṛdusukumārāsane niṣaṇṇaḥ sugandhena maṇḍalaṁ kṛtvā pañcopahārapūjā karaṇīyā. tataḥ sarvadharmanairātmyaṁ bhāvayitvā. ātmānaṁ huṁkāreṇa vajrajvālānalārkaṁ bhāvayet. tasya kaṇṭhe hṛīkāreṇa padmaṁ <...generations...> tena vajrajihvā bhavati, mantrajāpakṣamo bhavet.*); 10a–11b for the construction of the circle of protection, with the “binding” of creatures in the directions; a *vajramālābhīṣeka* and armoring follow here, out of place according to later structures; 13ab for obeisances, twentyfold offerings and pūjā; 17a for emptiness mantras; 17b–18b for bodhisattva vow; 19b for the generation of the maṇḍala and the summoning of previous pūjā deities who are then made to enter the maṇḍala in the yogin's heart, and the two maṇḍalas merge into one; self-visualization of the yogin himself as deity at the center of the maṇḍala.
- 45 GST ch. 12 vv. 60c–63: *vijñāya vajrabhedena tataḥ karmāṇi sādhaḥet/ sevāsamādhisaṁyogaṁ bhāvayed bodhim uttamam / upasādhanasiddhyagre vajrāyatanavicāraṇam / sādhanā codanaṁ proktaṁ mantrādhipatibhāvanam / mahāsādhanakāleṣu bimbam svamantravajriṇaḥ / makuṭe 'dhipatiṁ dhyātvā sidhyate jñānavajriṇaḥ*). Also GST ch. 18 v. 136ff. v. 136: *sevāvidhānaṁ prathamam dvitīyam upasādhanam / sādhanam tu tṛtīyam vai mahāsādhanam caturthakam*. Wayman (1977: 34, on ch. 12 vv. 60–61a and pp. 156–57) translates the four “steps” as: “service” (*sevā*), “near-evocation” (*upasādhana*), “evocation” (*sādhana*), and “great evocation” (*mahāsādhana*). I suggest a better translation of *sādhana* here is that of “attainment [of the deity],” or “mastery [over the deity].”
- 46 Texts of the generation and completion method in Nāgārjuna's Ārya school are the *Pinḍikramasādhana* and *Pañcakrama* respectively, and in the Jñānapāda school of Buddhaśrījñāna, the *Caturaṅgasādhanasamantabhadranāmasādhana* and *Muktitilakanāma* (Matsunaga 1978: xxi–xxii; Wayman 1977: 93–95). Of these, the *Caturaṅgasādhana* supplies the fullest elaboration of the four vajras as belonging to the generation stage (Matsunaga *ibid.*: xxii), while the stage of

completion is most famously expounded in the six yogas (*Ṣaḍaṅgayoganāma*) attributed to the tantric Nāgārjuna (Wayman *ibid.*: 36, 163–73); see n. 423.

- 47 The topics of the early chapters of the SUT (published by Tsuda, 1974) are also those of a mature sādhanā such as GSS11 analyzed below. Like the sādhanā, the SUT deals, in sequence, with birth and the generation method (chs. 1 and 2), the completion method (ch. 3), the armoring of the psychophysical organism (ch. 4), yogic *prāṇāyāma* practices (chs. 5–6), yoga, yoginīs, sites, etc. (ch. 7–9=body maṇḍala); and ritual acts (ch. 10).

- 48 In the HT, the sequence of the topics is: self-generation (HT1.3), self-consecration (HT1.4), meditation on emptiness (HT1.5), ritual performance (*caryā*) (HT1.6), sites and yoginīs (HT1.7–1.8), and generation of the full maṇḍala through *viśuddhis* (HT1.9).

- 49 GSS1 (K279v2)≈GSS2 (K41r6): *ādaṁ tāvaṁ mantrī gurubuddhāy abhinna-bhaktimānaso dṛḍhagrhitābodhicittaḥ samyakprāptābhīṣekaḥ... • dṛḍhaḥ sudṛḍha* GSS2. Cf. SM218 p. 431.

- 50 GSS1 (K4r2) and GSS5 (Sed p. 154⁹, K38v4): *gurur buddho gurur dharmo guruḥ saṁghas tathaiva ca | gurur vajradharaḥ śrīmān gurur evātra kāraṇam | gurum ārādhayet tasmād buddhatvapadavāñchayā. • vāñchayā* GSS1; *vāñchayati* GSS5.

The GSS produces many other citations on this vast subject. At the start of the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5) the author claims: “In the [tantric] system, the yogin is one whose devotion to the Buddha and the guru is undifferentiated” (Sed p. 125, K14v.4): *iha gurubuddhāy abhinnaśraddhaḥ...yogī*; cf. GSS1 (K279v2): *ādaṁ tāvaṁ mantrī gurubuddhāy abhinna-bhaktimānaso...*; GSS46 (K147v) cites a number of verses from scripture extolling the guru, comparing him with various buddhas, and warning the pupil of the dire consequences that will follow if he transgresses the guru’s commands, such as leprosy in this life and hell in the next. Frame verses also appear in GSS10 (e.g., K53r3): *gurupādaṁ vinā vatsa mā gaccha yoginīnāyama*, and GSS33 (K111r3). For scriptural sources, see e.g., SUT ch. 8 vv. 5–12, also SUT ch. 18 v. 1–v. 6ab (somewhat balanced by a description of a good pupil) within passages on consecration, e.g., STTS ch. 6 (cited Snellgrove 1987: 218). There is a great deal of primary and secondary literature available on this topic; especially useful is the work of Sparham (1999).

- 51 For the *saṁaya* as post-initiatory observance, see the VĀ (ŚP p. 180): *saṁayo mantratantramudrādīḥ*. The term has a double meaning, as it also refers to transgressive substances used in tantric rites (see p. 216 with n. 519), both of which are to be protected, e.g., *Cakrasaṁvaratantra* 1.10cd, 11cd: *saṁayān pālayen nityam*. Jayabhadra’s *Pañjikā* (NAK 3–365, f. 201r–2) on the *Laghusaṁvara* states that the mantrin is “committed to the *saṁvara*, both those that have to be observed [i.e., the pledges of the initiate] and those that have to be consumed [the ‘impure’ substances of the cult]” (edited and translated by Sanderson 2001b).

- 52 GSS1 (K80r3): *...suguptaṁ caiva kartavayaṁ pūjākāle samāhitāḥ. ...yadi siddhiṁ parām icchan rakṣayet saṁayaṁ sadā...śrīvajrayoginīrahasyaṁ karṇāt*

karmaṃ mukān mukham. Cf. GSS44 *Svādhiṣṭhānakumārītarpaṇavidhiḥ* (K128v5): *kanyāpūjākramaṃ vaksye guruvaktrākramaḡataṃ • kramaḡataṃ*] em.; *kramaḡataḥ* K; GSS18 (K83r6): *yasya kasyacin na kathaniyam*. Note injunctions to secrecy following the declaration of the efficacy of transgressive discipline in the *Mahācandaroṣanatantra* ch. 13.

- 53 See *Ratnāvalīpañjikā* (p. 80): *pūrvasevām vinā na kāryasiddhiḥ*; SM1 (p. 1): *iha khalu...mahātantre mantramāṇḍale rajomāṇḍale vā vidhivallabdhādhikāro mantri taduktasamayasaṃvarasthaḥ pūrvasevām cikriṣuḥ...vasan*. This sādhana prescribes different numbers of recitations, e.g., (p. 1): *tatpraṇāmālam-banajāpam abhyasan sahasraṃ japet | tataḥ sarvamantrāṇām lakṣajāpaḥ kṛto bhavati...*; this constitutes the prior service that is the opening part of the sādhana (p. 2): *tataḥ svaparābhyudayasāadhanāṅgam evaṃ pūrvasevāvidhim anutiṣṭhet*; SM37 (p. 83): <gives mantra> *pūrvasevāyutam japtvā paścāt sāadhanam ārabhet*; SM266 (p. 524): *mantri abhiṣikto 'nujñātaḥ kṛtapūrvasevo vajradharam sādhayitukāmo...* See also Beyer (1978: 25–27) for a description according to a Tibetan tradition of “Contemplative Training: The Preliminary Practices,” and J. Gyatso (1998: 187–88) for the way in which initiation and prior service are put into practice by one particular Tibetan yogin, Jigme Lingpa.
- 54 E.g., SM50 (p. 105): *hr̥dīndumadhye bījaṃ...tadbījaraśmijagurubuddhabodhi-sattvān dṛṣtvā; pūrvoktabījāniṣpannam śrīmañjuvajraṃ...cintayet*; SM61 (p. 127): *śrīdharmadhātuvāgīśvaram...ātmānaṃ niṣpādyā*; GSS3 (K12v3): *etatsarva-pariṇāmenātmānaṃ bhagavatīm vajravārāhiṃ...bhāvayet*; cf. GSS31; GSS9 (K45r1): *pūrvoktaiḥ samastaiḥ pariṇāmena vajrayoginīm...bhāvayet*; SM3 (p. 19): *sakalasamastapariṇata-...samastam etat pariṇamya*; SM4 (p. 22): *sarvam etat pariṇamya*; SM14 (p. 39): *tad etat sakalapariṇatam ātmānaṃ bhagavantam dhyāyāt*; etc.
- 55 E.g., GSS5 (Sed p. 125, K15r2): *phenabudbudamaricikadalīmāyopamatvena niśceyā vairocanādayaḥ*; GSS11 v. 48b, v. 51b, SM3 (p. 19): *tad eva jyotirū-papariṇatam candramaṇḍalam*; SM36 (p. 82): *sūryamaṇḍalam raśmimayaṃ vicintya*; SM55 (pp. 133–34): *nyaset purastāt khalu jālinīprabhaṃ | suśubhraphodbbhavam eva nirmalam | paṃkārājaṃ raśmimayaṃ manoharam*; SM65 (p. 130): *trilokīm ālokamayīm avalokayet*; SM66 (p. 133): *māyāmaricyudakacandrakalpaṃ vibhāvayel lokam imaṃ samagram*; etc. The purificatory power of rays will emerge throughout the sādhana, for example in the *vāgvisuddhi*, worship, awakenings, etc.
- 56 She appears as the subject of the practice in seven different sādhana: in the warrior stance in GSS2 (*parvapūjā*, K11r1), GSS5 (Sed p. 132, K20r3), GSS11, GSS29, and in the reverse warrior (*pratyālīḍhaḥ*) stance in GSS3=GSS31 and GSS4.
- 57 The *Rin 'byung brgya rtsa* is the first and largest of three collections that make up the complete set of Mongolian images of the IWS. The second collection is the *sNar thang brgya rtsa*, and the third comprises the main deities of the collection of maṇḍalas described by Abhayākara Gupta in the *Vajrāvalī* (*rDor 'phreng ba*). The full name of the *Icons Worthwhile to See* (*Bris sku mthong ba don*

ldan), comprising these three collections is *Rin 'byung snar thang brgya rtso rdor 'phreng bcas nas gsungs pa'i bris sku mthong ba don ldan* (Tachikawa 1995: 7).

Rin 'byung brgya rtso or *Jewel Mine of Hundred* [texts] is itself an abbreviation for Tāranātha's collection, the full title of which is: *The Mine of Jewels, Sādhana of the Ocean of Yidam Deities: Yi dam rgya mtsho'i sgrub thabs rin chen 'byung gnas*. This collection has been reprinted in two volumes in New Delhi, 1974–76, as Jo nang rJe btsun Tāranātha's *Yi-dam rgya-mtsho'i sgrub-thabs rin-chen 'byung-gnas: A Collection of Sādhana for Invoking the Various Tutelary Deities of Lamaism* (Willson and Brauen 2000: 231, 233 n. 1; Tachikawa *op.cit.*).

Large as Tāranātha's work already was, the fourth Pañchen bLa ma added to it to compile his own text as the basis for the empowerment ceremony of 1810, presenting for each practice both a sādhana text and a rite conferring permission. This work is called *The Clear Meaning of the Jewel Mine, an Expansion of "The Mine of Jewels, Sādhana of the Ocean of Yidam Deities"* (*Yi dam rgya mtsho'i sgrub thabs rin chen 'byung gnas kyi lhan thabs Rin 'byung don gsal*). This was also published in New Delhi in 1974 by Lokesh Chandra under the title *Sadhana-Mala of the Panchen Lama bsTan-pa'i-Nyi-ma Phyogs-las rNam-rgyal*. The abbreviated title for this work, which appears in the margin of each page, is *Rin lhan*. Bühnemann (1994: 14–15) notes that the *Rin lhan* has its roots in the collection of sādhana translated as the *Sādhanaśataka* about the turn of the twelfth century or earlier (and also, according to Chandra, in the *Sādhana-sāgara*; *op.cit.*: 45–46). The fourth chter of the *Rin lhan* is dedicated to sādhana of Vajravārāhī (Tachikawa 1995: 10, Chandra 1986 vol.1, p. 47).

Where icons from the Mongolian pantheon are used below, I have compared the relevant Sanskrit sādhana of the *Guhyasamayasādhanaṃālā* with the Tibetan source; for this, I have relied upon the translations of the *Rin lhan/Rin 'byung brgya rtso* given by Willson and Brauen (*op.cit.*: 252–62). In these instances, I have noted the Tibetan title and mantras (although normalizing the orthography of the Sanskrit). I number the Mongolian icons according to the woodblock prints published in 1995 by Tachikawa et al., and to the painted images of the *Icons Worthwhile to See* published in 2000 by Willson and Brauen (T/IWS), and I also crossrefer to the different numbering system of the line-drawings commissioned by Lokesh Chandra (LC) on the basis of the woodblock prints, several of which are reproduced in chter 2.

- 58 An analysis and critical comparison of these different publications is given by Willson and Brauen (2000: 7–22). The woodblock prints published by Tachikawa et al. are chiefly located at the Indian Institute of the University of Hamburg (the missing folios of this set—8 percent of the whole—being found in the Library of Tibetan works and Archives in Dharamsala; Tachikawa et al. 1995: 3). No further information is given by the editors as to the origin of this set. Willson and Brauen (*op. cit.*: 8) note, however, that there are apparently other copies: two in St. Petersburg and one in Ulan-Ude. There is also one set in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

Brauen's discussion highlights the difficulty of nomenclature for the Mongolian icons. Lokesh Chandra (e.g., 1986, 1987) refers to them as the "Narthang Pantheon," apparently basing this on nineteenth-century scholarship that mistakenly claimed that the blockprints were from Narthang Monastery in Tibet (*op.cit.*: xvii). The title "Narthang Pantheon" has been mistakenly picked up by other secondary authors, such as von Schroeder (2001). Tachikawa et al. (1995) corrected this to *Five Hundred Buddhist Deities*. Brauen points out, however, that while there are just over five hundred (507) images (and Tibetan sources do refer to "five hundred images": *sKu brnyan lnga brgya*), many depict more than one deity, both male and female. He notes that the authentic Tibetan title of the blockprint set is *Bris sku mthong ba don ldan*, translated as *Icons Worthwhile to See* (IWS). Willson and Brauen's publication of the painted icons therefore appears under the title *Deities of Tibetan Buddhism: The Zürich Painting of the "Icons Worthwhile to See (Bris sku mthong ba don ldan)"*.

- 59 As for the origins of the set published by Lokesh Chandra, he writes (2001: personal communication): "The line-drawings are based on an original xylography my father Prof. Raghu Vira brought from Ulan Bator in 1955, on a photocopy of the Leningrad copy, and also on the copy of Prof. Lessing. The Tibetan artists who worked with me had to consult all the three prints to clarify the details. The work of tracing and drawing was completed in 1960." In the absence of a clearer set of woodblock prints, such as that produced by Tachikawa et al., the Tibetan artists seem to have been concerned with producing both clear copies and images that were artistically pleasing in their own right. This led to a number of changes that are internally consistent within the set but that have altered aspects of the original woodblocks. Thus, the dimensions of the drawings differ and, while standard, are more rectangular than the woodblock prints; the mantras for each deity appear below the images (rather than on the reverse, as on the woodblock prints). The artists have also drawn clouds in the background, sometimes adding foreground landscape too (much as the painters of the IWS have done), replacing the simple sun and moon that flank the deities in some of the woodblocks. They have also used a different convention for the lotus, drawing downward-pointing lotus leaves rather than the upward-pointing leaves of the woodblocks.
- 60 Sanderson (1988: 668) notes that these classifications are postscriptural and belong to a period of systemization of nondual Śaiva traditions in the ninth and tenth centuries in Kashmir. For a detailed analysis of the dating of the Śaiva tantras themselves, see Sanderson 2001b. The nouns *mantra* (masculine) and *vidyā* (feminine) in Mantrapīṭha and Vidyāpīṭha signify "sacred sound-formulas" (*ibid.*: 669), and Sanderson comments that the progression in terminology from masculine to feminine is another indication of the progressive tendency within the Bhairava tantras toward extolling feminine power. (It is worth noting, perhaps, that the pure, dualistic tradition of the Śaiva Siddhānta also belongs to the Mantramārga). See also Dyczkowski 1988.

- 61 For the chief cremation ground cults, the *Picumatabrahmayāmalatantra* is the authority (approximately 1,200 verses on the cult of Caṇḍā Kāpālīnī and Kapālīśabhairava; Sanderson 1995). The textual basis of the Trika system is the *Siddhayaogeśvarimata* and the *Tantrasadbhāva* (also the *Niśīsaṃcāra* and *Mālinī-vijayottaratantra*). The text underpinning the worship of Kālī is the *Jayadrathayāmalatantra* (or *Tantrarājabhāṭṭārika*), which teaches the *kāpālīka* cult of Bhairava, Kālī, and the yoginīs. These are “the main pillars of the esoteric Śaiva tradition” (Sanderson 1994i: 94).
- 62 *Vajrāvalī* (ŚP f. 219.5): *vīracaryāvratam eva yauvarājyavratacaryeti vajrakāpālīkacaryāvratam iti cokaṭaṃ śrīsaṃputatantra*. Cited by Sanderson (1994i: 91, 98 n. 2) who also describes and discusses the rite.
- 63 Cf. HT2.5.59; *Kriyāsamuccaya* f. 409; HT1.5.2, HT2.5.59, *Saṃputatantra* ch. 1, Skorupski 1994: 221–22). From the description of the *Vajrāvalī Guhyābhīṣekavidhi* (ŚP p. 210.3): *śiṣyo 'bhinavayauvanādisaṃpannā<m> samayinī<m> tadālābhe 'nyāṃ vā prajñā<m> guhyābhīṣekārtha<m> gurave niryātya kṛtāñjalir guru<m> vajrasatvam adhimucya. . . • tadālābhe* conj.; *tadanāme* ŚP • *'nyāṃ* em.; *'nyās* ŚP • *niryātya* ŚP. Cf. GS18.118ab: *atiśraddhāṃ mahāprājñīm surūpāṃ sādhaikapriyāṃ*.
- 64 *Mahācāṇḍaroṣaṇatantra* ch. 13: *yena yenaiva pāpena sattvā gacchanty adhogatim | tena tenaiva pāpena yogi śighraṃ prasiddhyati* (v. 5) || ... *rāgeṇa hanyate rāgo vahnidāho 'tha vahninā | viṣeṇāpi viṣaṃ hanyād upadeśaprayogatas* || (v. 6) “Passion is destroyed by passion. One who has been burned by fire [is healed] by fire. Poison also is destroyed by poison, through the application of the received instructions.” Cf. HT2.2.46–49 and HT2.2.51ab.
- 65 I am grateful to Dr. Isaacson for his help in translating this passage, attributed to Indrabhūti. GSS1 (K*80v5): *vāmodbhavaṃ jagat sarvaṃ trailokyam sacarācaram | vāmācāraḥ sadā yogi vāmapādaḥ puraḥ kramet | [iv] | pūjayed vāmahastena vāmatarpaṇabhakṣaṇam | pañcavarṇasamācāram ekavarṇam tu kalpitam | [v] | bhakṣyābhakṣyaṃ tathā peyaṃ ghrṇāṃ lajjāṃ ca varjayet | sarvasaṃkalpanirmuktaḥ sarvadvandvavivarjitaḥ | simhavad vicared yogi yoginijālasaṃvaraiḥ*. [vi]. Lines from these verses, or variations upon them, appear also in YSCT, e.g., [v. i cd] ch. 15 v. 15ab, [v. iii cd] v. 13b *simhavad vicared viraḥ sarvāśāparipūrakaḥ*; Lūyīpāda's HĀ (f. 15v6, f. 16r1); SUT 9.27a; cf. HT1.6.5ab. For *yoginijālasaṃvaram*, see YSCT ch. 9 v. 3a with commentary; Tsuda's remarks (1974: introduction: 54–60), Herrmann-Pfandt (1992: 395ff.).
- 66 For the categorization in Śaivism see Heilijgers-Seelen (1994: 126) citing *Kubjikāmatatantra* 18.78cd on their categorization, and Kṣemarāja's commentary on *Netratantra* 2.13–14 for their malicious tendencies.
- 67 The term *ḍākinī* is usually glossed from √*ḍai* “to fly,” as in the YRM (Snellgrove 1959 vol. 2: 142), which states that *ḍākinī* derives from the root “to fly,” understood literally as “to go in space, which is the Siddhi of moving anywhere in space.” *Hevajratantraṭīkā* f. 49v (cited *Bauddhatantraśāstra*: 45): *ḍai vihāya-sagamane dhātur atra vikalpitaḥ. sarvākāśacarī siddhir ḍākinīti; Vasantatilakāṭīkā*:

- 41 (cited *ibid.*): *tatra prthivyākāśe dayanād dākinī, Vasantatilakāṭikā*: 60 (cited *ibid.*): *ḍai vaihāyasi gamane buddho dhātur prakalpitaḥ / sarvākāśacarā siddhā dākinīti nigadyate*. It is this etymology that is carried into the Tibetan term for ḍākinī, *kha'gro ma*, “one who goes in space” (a translation of another term for ḍākinī in Sanskrit, *khe-cari*). The word ḍākinī, and its rich polyvalence, is discussed elsewhere, e.g., by Herrmann-Pfandt (1992: 115ff.) and J. Gyatso (1998: 305 n. 8; cf. 246–64). Heilijgers-Seelen (1994: 126–128) reviews the diverse scholarly opinions on the matter of dating.
- 68 Oḍḍiyāna may be related to *dākinī* through the root *√ḍi* “to fly, to soar.”
- 69 Sanderson (2001: personal communication) has collated detailed citations from Buddhist, Jain, and Śaiva Sanskrit sources that confirm the location of Oḍḍiyāna (also spelled: Oḍiyāna, Oḍryāna, Uḍḍiyāna, Uḍiyāna, Uḍyāna, and Udyāna) in the northwest of India, as well as references in Tibetan to Oḍḍiyāna (U rgyan or O rgyan), in Chinese (Wūzhànguó (Pinyin), Wū-chang-na kuo (Wade-Giles)), and in Japanese (Ujōna koku). Sanderson’s findings shed light on the work of previous scholars, who have discussed and disputed the location, for example, Snellgrove (1987: 182) and Mishra (1995: 15–16), who summarizes the debate.
- 70 Some of Sanderson’s findings on the processes of redaction (1994i, 1995, 2001b) have been presented above (ch. 2). For other Buddhist literature on classes and types of female spirit, see also n. 446.
- 71 GSS40 (K124r4): *tīrthikādiyoginīnirākaraṇārthaṃ vajra<m> <iti>*.
- 72 GSS24 (K89v6): *namah śrīvajrayoginyai yoginīcakanāyikāyai... • nāyikāyai* em.; *nāyike* K.
- 73 For early stone sculptures of Mārīcī from Nālandā, Bengal, Orissa, and elsewhere (from tenth to eleventh century), see Mullick (1991: 58–59, with plates 42, 52, 56, 61, 66, 82); Ray (1986: plate 203), and S. Huntingdon (1984: plate 213). An early fifteenth-century maṇḍala of Mārīcī is found in the chapel devoted to her at Gyantse (Ricca and Lo Bue 1993: 227, plates 50, 87, 88, 89). References and plates are also published by von Schroeder, mostly of Mārīcī as an attendant to Tārā (1981: 489, plate 138E and 2001: 1055, plates 73A, 93C, 121D, 267A (reproduced here as plate 5), and 357B). Studies of Mārīcī, or references to her, appear in Bhattacharyya (1985/1924: 95–98, with plates), de Mallmann (1975: 55–56, 75, 259–265), Misra (1998 vol. 3: 92–93), and Patry and Thurman (1977: 35). Willson and Brauen (2000) provide translations and summaries of Tibetan sādhanā texts relating to illustrations from the nineteenth-century Mongolian icons (nos. 195–96, 267, 430, 502), and (peaceful) forms of Mārīcī appear likewise in the line drawings of Lokesh Chandra’s version of this pantheon (1961–72). A number of useful articles on Mārīcī also contain early images, by Donaldson (1988, 1995), Mitra (1991), and Bautze-Picron (2000), who dates the earliest images recovered at Bodh Gayā to the ninth and tenth centuries (*ibid.*: 265, figs. 1–2) but proposes that images were being made “at least one century earlier.” This article includes a helpful list of images of Mārīcī (*ibid.*: 286–91).

- 74 A small set of *sādhana*s in the *Sādhana-mālā* is devoted to the single deity Nairātmyā/Nairātmā without a consort (SM228–231; also NYĀ no. 6). From these, it emerges that she is black/blue (*kṛṣṇa*) and usually two-armed, holding chopper and bowl (with or without staff). This is the iconography of Nairātmyā as consort to Hevajra (e.g., SM245; NYĀ no. 8). In SM254 (*Buddhakapāla-sādhana*), a set of goddesses including Nairātmyā surround Buddhakapāla and his consort, all of them blue, one-faced, holding chopper (right) and skull bowl (left) in *ardhaparyāṅka* pose (p. 502: *sarvā devyo nīlavarnā dvibhujā ekavaktrā asthyābharanāḥ piṅgorddhvakeśā muṇḍamālārahitā vāme kapālaṃ dakṣiṇe kartrikā ardhaparyāṅkanṛtyasthāḥ*). Some references to Nairātmyā/Nairātmā, mainly as a subsidiary deity, are given by de Mallmann (1975: 271–72) and von Schroeder (2001: 284).
- 75 The four *ḍākinī*s are: Vajraḍākinī (east), Ratnaḍākinī (south), Padmaḍākinī (west), and Viśvaḍākinī (north). E.g., SM239, SM240, SM248, NYĀ no. 9 (de Mallmann 1975: 132–33). These *ḍākinī*s are also attendants to Wrathful Black Vārāhī (Phag mo khros nag), along with Karmaḍākinī, Samayaḍākinī, Sarvaḍākinī, and Lokaḍākinī (Willson and Brauen 2000: 262, with Mongolian Icons T/IWS 89–97, LC 599–607).

For Mahāmāyā as the mother of all *guhyakas* see *Mahāmāyātantra* (1.7a): *guhyakānām iyaṃ mātā*; and as the (female) source of creation, (1.6): *saiṣā saṃharate viśvaṃ sṛjate sā punaḥ punaḥ*. Ratnākaraśānti confirms that Mahāmāyā is a male Heruka form: *saiṣeti herukarūpā mahāmāyā*. (I thank Dr. Isaacson for these references.) We see this first qualification referring also to Vajravārāhī (SM221 p. 434), with material from the Mahāmāyā tradition appearing in some Vajrayoginī *sādhana*s, such as SM221–223, and our GSS21 (see appendix).

- 76 GSS7 (K40r5): *tanmadhyād utthitā devī vārāhī vajrayoginī*.
- 77 This remark belongs to a passage in which the glances of all the attendant goddesses are described, from the section on the visualization of the inner circuit of Heruka in the system of the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogadākinījālaśaṃvara*, in Ānandagarbha's *Vajrajvāloḍayā nāma Śrīherukasādhanaḥ* (Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen, MS Xc 14/39, f. 170r6–186r5; ms. Xc 14/39), f. 178r: *atra śrīherukasya bhyantaramaṇḍalakoṣṭhas tasya tadyogino vā tasminn eva koṣṭhake pūrvadigbhāge gaurī gauravarṇā śāntadrṣṭiḥ saumyamukhā... paścime pramohā ādivarāhamukhā pramohadrṣṭir tvaḥkrasthā tvaḥcaturbhujā madyapūrnakapālavāmakarā dakṣiṇakare vajrasphoṭanaṃ sarvaṃ krodhakula<ṃ> bandhayanti*. (I thank Professor Sanderson for this reference.)
- 78 E.g., ADUT *pātala* 56 f. 221r1–5: *karuṇākrodhabhīṣaṇā*. The notion of *karuṇā-krodha* is widely attested elsewhere. Cf. SM117 p. 246: *Jāṅguli... sarōṣahasitā*, lit.: “Jāṅguli...smiling, with anger.”
- 79 E.g., in the Saptadaśātmahevajra Maṇḍala (NYĀ no. 5, p. 14): *athavā caturbhujō dvibhujavat aparabhujābhyāṃ svābhavajravārāhisamāliṅgita ity eva viśeṣaḥ*; also in the Navātmakaherukacatuṣṭaya Maṇḍala (NYĀ No. 8 p. 21). The

following verse in the HT also describes a six-armed form of Hevajra embracing a different, and now little-known goddess, Vajraśṛṅkhalā (HT1.3.18); also in NYĀ no. 5.

- 80 *Vasantatilakāṭikā* p. 41 (cited *Bauddhatantrakōśa* p. 45): *sarvā eva dākinyo vārāhikulasaṃbhavāḥ*.
- 81 The *paryāṅka*, as we will see (n. 238), is a seated meditation posture. In the half-*paryāṅka* (*ardhaparyāṅka*), the deity is standing up and dancing, that is, with one leg on the ground, flexed with the movement of dance, and with the other raised up, the sole of the foot placed against the opposite thigh (similar to the seated meditation position). E.g., NYĀ (p. 14): [Hevajra] *vamorau dakṣiṇa-caraṇāgraṃ saṃsthāpyārdhaparyāṅki* “[Hevajra] is in the *ardhaparyāṅka* [pose], having placed the tip of his right foot on his left thigh.” SM241 (p. 469): *viśva-padmasūrye vāmapādaṃ tasyaivorau dakṣiṇacaranam vinyasya nṛtyaṃ kurvantaṃ herukavīraṃ bhāvayet*. “One should visualize the hero, Heruka, with his left foot on a sun [disk] on a multicolored lotus, having placed his right foot on his [left] thigh, doing a dance.” SM242 p. 490: [Heruka] *sūryamaṇḍalam tanmadhye samupaviṣṭhaṃ...ardhaparyāṅkinam*; SM254 p. 502: [devīs] *ardhaparyāṅkanṛtyasthāḥ*; etc. Sanderson (2002: personal communication) notes that Bhavabhaṭṭa’s commentary to the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* glosses the root text (19.10c: *ākuñcitavāmapādān tu*) as: “The phrase, ‘With the left foot bent’ means, he should be seen dancing in the *ardhaparyāṅka* pose.” (*Cakrasaṃvaratantravivṛti* IASWR MBB–I–33, f. 76v6): *ākuñcitavāmapādeti. ardhaparyāṅkanāṭyaṃ darśayed ity arthaḥ*.

Warrior-stance forms are also said to be dancing, but this posture is more clearly associated with dance, and I therefore tend to refer to the half-*paryāṅka* as the “dancing” pose; e.g., GSS2 (K280r3/Kor2): *ardhaparyāṅkatāṇḍavām*; GSS7 (K40r5): *ardhaparyāṅkam āsinā nṛtyamānā*; GSS32 (K106r2): *nṛtyārdhaparyāṅkiṇī*; and describing Heruka’s form, e.g., KYT (p. 142): *caturmārasamākrāntam ardhaparyāṅkatāṇḍavam*. For the *rasas*, see e.g., GSS34 (K112v1): *navanāṭyarasānvitā*, also of Heruka forms such as Saṃvara, e.g., NYĀ (p. 26): *navanāṭyarasarāśiḥ*, cf. SUT ch. 13.22b.

- 82 The two texts are very similar. Cf. GSS5 (Sed p. 152, K37r3); *Vasantatilakā* ch. 9. GSS1 (K280r1)≈GSS2 (K4v6–or): *tataḥ svadehaṃ traidhātukaviśuddha-kūṭāgāraṃ ity ākalayya jhaṭiti tato nābhimaṇḍale dvibhujāṃ kartrikapāladhāriṇiṃ muktaśiroruhāṃ nagnāṃ trinetraṃ—navayauvanalāvaṇyāṃ pañcamudrāvibhūṣitāṃ | pañcabrahmamahāmukuṭiṃ ardhaparyāṅkatāṇḍavām | 1 | somasūryāgniṃmadhyasthāṃ javāsindūrasannibhāṃ | 1ḍgrūpadharāṃ devīm bhāvayed yogavit sadā | 2 | kolāsyāṃ dakṣiṇāṃ tasyāḥ krodhāsyāṃ vāmatas tathā | saṃvṛtiparamārthena vaktradvayaṃ pragīyate | 3 | gurūpadeśamārgaṇa jñātavyaḥ kramavistaraḥ | tasyāḥ kuśēśayāntaḥsthaṃ cakram sarvārthasiddhidam | 4 | triḡṇālāṃkṛtaṃ cihnaṃ raktavarṇaṃ mahādhyuti | mantrākṣarasusampūrṇaṃ kulālacakravād bhramet | 5 | rākṣasāsyāṃ samākuñcya samujjvālya vibhāvasum | kolāsyasannidhau dṛṣṭvā nandīvarte bhramed vapuḥ | 6 | mudrādvayaprayogaṇa trailokyam api sādhayet | jhaṭitākārayogātmā yogī sidhyati nānyathā | 7 |*

• *ity ākalayya*] GSS1, *abhivikṣya* GSS2 • *tato*→*dvibhujām*] GSS1, *vajrayoginīm dvi(bhujām) dvimukhām* GSS2(del) • *muktaśīroruhām*] GSS1, *muktakeśīm* GSS2 • (1c) *pañcabrahma*°] GSS1, ***** *hā* GSS2(dam) • (1d) *tāṇḍavām*] GSS1; *tāṇḍaviṃ* GSS2 • (3b) *vāmatas tathā*] GSS1, GSS2; *vāmam eva ca* GSS5 • (3c) *saṃvṛtiparamārthena*] GSS1, GSS2; *satyadvayaviśuddhyā tu* GSS5 • (3d) *pragiyate*] GSS1; *udāhṛtam* GSS2, GSS5 • (4b) *jñātavyaḥ kramavistarah*] em.; *jñātavyaṃ kramavistaram* GSS1; *jñātavyaṃ kramavistarah* GSS2 (Perhaps leave the reading as it stands in GSS1 since GSS40 glosses the lemma *kramavistaram*.) • (4c) *kuśēṣāyāntaḥstham*] GSS1; *pañkajamadyastham* GSS2 • (5b) *rakta-varṇam*] conj.; *vai raktavarṇam* GSS1; *raktavarṇa* GSS2 • (5b) *mahādyuti*] em.; °*dyutiḥ* GSS1, °*dyutiṃ* GSS2 • (5c) °*susampūrṇam*] corr.; *sumsampūrṇam* GSS1, *sampūrṇam* GSS2 • (6a) *rākṣasāsyam*] GSS2, *rākṣasāsyā* GSS1 • (6b) *vibhāvasum*] GSS1; *prabhāsvaraṃ* GSS2 • (6d) *nandyāvarte*] conj.?: *nandyāvarta* GSS1, GSS2 • (7b) *apī*] GSS1; *kha(lu)* GSS2(mg2) • (7c) *jhaṭitākārayogātmā*] GSS1; *jhaṭitākārayogena* GSS2.

83 The *Sādhanaṃālā* works listed for Vajravārāhī by von Schroeder include a short line of text describing the form of Vajravārāhī for a rite of subjugation (SM220 p. 433: *digambarā muktakeśī vajravārāhī nābhideśe kartrikapālādharīṇī nrītyanti cintyā. vaśyaṃ bhavatīti. vajravārāhyā vaśyavidhiḥ*). This is evidently a fragment from the *vaśyavidhi* described in the preceding *sādhana* (SM219), which in turn is a ritual applying to the previous *sādhana* (SM218) (see GSS38 with appendix entry). Perhaps misled by the fact that SM220 describes Vajravārāhī here as “dancing” (which may be most evident iconographically in the *ardhaparyāṅka* forms of deities, but which is frequently also an aspect of warrior-stance forms), von Schroeder takes this line of text as the basis for coining the appellation “*Vaśya-Vajravārāhī*” for *ardhaparyāṅka* chopper-holding forms of Vajravārāhī (see many plates in publications published 1981 and 2001, with 2001: 1052). As this form of Vajravārāhī is associated with all types of rites, not just rites of subjugation, this appellation is misleading. It is also based on the scantiest of evidence, and in fact von Schroeder’s source (GSS220) is actually a continuation of the previous two works (SM218 and SM219), and the pose intended for this form is rather the reverse warrior stance (*pratyālīḍhaḥ*) and not the *ardhaparyāṅka* at all. Ironically, von Schroeder does state that the form is in the “*pratyālīḍha*” pose, but he confuses this term with *ardhaparyāṅka*, erroneously describing the former as “dancing on the left foot with the right leg raised and bent” (2001: 1052)—that is, as the *ardhaparyāṅka* pose (see n. 81). In this same entry (*ibid.*), von Schroeder correctly points out that the hog’s head is not mentioned in any of the SM *sādhana*s, although the reason for this is because these *sādhana*s do not focus on the hog-headed *ardhaparyāṅka* form of Vajravārāhī but on her warrior-stance forms, which are invariably without a hog’s head.

84 There are plenty of published depictions of the *ardhaparyāṅka*-pose Vajravārāhī. Some of the earliest, including a few contemporary with our texts, are early Indian statues in late Pāla style dating from the eleventh to twelfth

- centuries (von Schroeder 2001: plates 125A–E), and thirteenth-century Nepalese (*ibid.*: plate 173B–E) and twelfth–thirteenth-century Tibetan sculptures (*ibid.*: plates 289A–C, 295A, 94A–F; Leidy and Thurman 1998: plate 17). Slightly later are the fourteenth–fifteenth-century brasses of Vajravārāhī from Central Tibet (Reedy 1997: C180, and C189), a beautiful laughing gilt-bronze Vajravārāhī from fourteenth-century Tibet (Pal 1969: plate 55), the sixteenth-century silver and gold free-standing sculpture (*Sacred Art of Tibet*: plate 113), the similar seventeenth-century Tibetan bronze (Rawson 1973: plate 73), the Tibetan (?) bronze of “Indrabhūti Vajradākini” c. 1700 (*Sacred Art of Tibet*, p. 261), and the serenely ecstatic statues (of unknown date) in Snellgrove (1987: plate 27) and Pal (1974: plate 287). See also many plates in von Schoeder 1981: plate 70G (twelfth century, Pāla style), plate 95F (fourteenth century, Nepalese), plate 115A (fifteenth-century Tibetan), and 120F (sixteenth–seventeenth-century Tibetan).
- 85 According to Lokesh Chandra, Tāranātha’s title for no. 586 is *dPyal-lugs rDorje Phag-mo*. The Tibetan text of the Chel form (but not of Indrabhūti’s mentioned below) prescribes the visualization of the mantra within the deity’s sex, as in our Sanskrit text. The history of the dPyal family is given in the *Blue Annals* (p. 395), starting with the pupil of a mid-twelfth-century Nepalese master, Pham mthing pa, who was a pupil in the lineage of Nāropa.
- 86 For the set of three deities, see Willson and Brauen 2000: 258, with n. 1. Further references for Indrabhūti’s Vajravārāhī are also given (*ibid.*: 259): P2253–54/Toh 1545–46 by Indrabhūti, and the first of the Six Vārāhī Texts (*Blue Annals* pp. 390–97), P2259/Toh 1551, known as “the Great Two-Faced.” The root mantra in the Tibetan texts is the same as the tripartite mantra of the Sanskrit sādhanas, given below.
- 87 Two examples of Tibetan sculptures, namely, *Sacred Art of Tibet* plate 113, and Snellgrove: 1987 plate 27, show no trace of a staff, consonant with the texts in the GSS. In contrast, the early Khara Khoto tangka of Vajravārāhī (*Sacred Art of Tibet*, plate 93; Piotrovsky 1993, plate 22), the bronze in Rawson (1973: 94), and the Mongolian icons all show her with a staff. In two bronzes (Snellgrove 1987 and Rawson 1973) Vajravārāhī is depicted standing upon a single corpse, while in plates 1 and 8 she stands upon a sun disk placed on top of the corpse.
- 88 GSS1≈GSS2 (cited above n. 82): *pañcabrahmamahāmukūṭīm*. In Śaivism, the “five Brahmas” originate from the five faces of Sadāśiva and refer to the five *brahmanmantras* purified as Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Aghora, Tatpuruṣa, and Īśāna. See *Kiraṇavṛtti* on *Kiraṇatantra* 3.17c–18b, further discussed in ch. 62 entitled *Pañcabrahmavidhi* (in Goodall 1998: 283, n. 373) and Dyczkowski (1988: 32, citing *Tantrāloka* 29.18–27).
- 89 GSS1 (K280r2): *navayauvanalāvaṇyā-*; GSS34 (K112v6): *doṣāṅghriyugacārūpī-varā • doṣāṅghrī* conj.; *doṣāṅkrī* K.
- 90 GSS1 (K280r5)≈GSS2 (K0r3) vv. 3b–4, cited n. 82 above; also in *Vasantatilakā* ch. 9.

- 91 GSS1 (K8or6): *daśamīparvaṇi prāpte*. A *parvan* is a day of change in the lunar cycle upon which one traditionally practices *brahmacāryā*. There are six *parvan* days per lunar month: new moon, eighth (halfway waxing), fourteenth, full, eighth (halfway waning), and fourteenth.
- 92 GSS33 (K11ov.5): *daśamyām aṣṭamibhūtām (?) sitakṛṣṇe ca vā sadā | kumārīm caikām <sampūjya>mg2 suruyoginikalpitām | pārśvasthām svāntar madhyasthām bāhye likhitacakraḡām | pūjayed vīravīreṣīcakraśaṃvarasaṃvare | bhakṣyair bhojyais ca yair yais ca | lehyais coṣyais tathā paraiḥ | • daśamyām aṣṭamibhūtām?* conj.; *daśamyāmṣṭamibhūtām nkhyāḥ K • caikām* em.; *caika K • yoginī* corr.; *yogini K • sthām* em.; *stham K • yair* em.; *ye K • coṣyais* em.; *cauṣyais K*.
- The rite also appears in the *Samvarodayatantra*, *paṭala* 14, where it is prescribed on the fourteenth of each half-month, and in the *Kriyāsamuccaya* (ŚP ff. 413.7–415.4), which refers to this scriptural source (Sanderson 1999: personal communication). See also Allen 1975 on the modern-day *kumārīpūjā* in Nepal.
- 93 I owe the explanation of this process and of the text to Professor Sanderson (1995: personal communication), who is responsible for table 5 showing the *prastāra*.
- 94 See GSS1 (K28ov1) = GSS2 (Kov6) (verse numbers added): *ataḥ paraṃ pravaṣyāmi mantroddhāraavidhiṃ parām | trikoṇamaṇḍalaṃ ramyaṃ vajrāralliviniḥśṛtam | 8 | dharmodayeti vikhyātaṃ yoṣitām bhagam ity api | tatrālikālibhedena varḡān aṣṭau kramāl likhet | 9 | rūpāgnibānamunayo randhreṣau kāma eva ca | kramāt koṣṭhasya vinyāsaḥ kartavya upadeśataḥ | 10 | akārādikam ārabhya hakārākṣarasamantataḥ | dakṣiṇāvartayogena yathoktaṃ saṃvarārṇave | 11 | thordhvaṃ triguṇitaṃ kuryād bindunādavibhūṣitaṃ | ...etc.*
• *ataḥ*] conj. Sanderson; *athānyataḥ K • vajrāralliviniḥśṛtam*] obscure; see Textual Note to §38.
- 95 The references in the text to “one, three, five, seven, nine, and eleven” are given in terse, cryptic language, as Sanderson (*op.cit.*) has explained. The first horizontal of the *prastāra* consists of a single cell, referred to in the text by form (*rūpa-*), indicating “oneness.” The next horizontal row is divided into three cells, referred to as fire, indicating the three fires (*agni-*). Next is a row of five cells, referred to by arrows, indicating the five arrows of Kāma. The row of seven is referred to by the seven sages (*muni-*), the row of nine by the nine apertures of the body (*randhra-*), the row of eleven by the eleven lords (*iśas*), and the row of thirteen by Kāma, the presiding deity of the thirteenth day of the lunar fortnight.
- 96 The exchange of the consonant *v* for *b* shows the east Indian, Bengali, or Nepali provenance of the text.
- 97 Just as the thirty-seven-deity maṇḍala of Vajravārahi is based on the sixty-two-fold Cakrasamvara maṇḍala, the maṇḍala of this twelve-armed form of Vajravārāhi is based on the maṇḍala of the six cakravartins. For the *Ṣaṭcakravartimaṇḍala*, see NYĀ (p. 79), and Kalff (1979: 30–32) for further references. GSS7 ends with a very truncated reference to this maṇḍala, which is described slightly more fully in the *Vārāhyabhyudayantra* (vv. 101–2). Following the description of the Vajravārāhi maṇḍala, the *Vārāhyabhyudayantra* also goes

on to describe the cremation grounds in some detail and ends with a *bali* offering typical of the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* (GSSII).

- 98 Cakrasaṃvara's iconography is described, for example, by Abhayākara Gupta in the NYĀ (p. 26.4): *bhagavān...savajravajraghaṇṭābhujayugmāliṅgitavajravārāhiko bhujābhīyāṃ prṣṭhataḥ śubhrasarakṭaprasṛṭagajacarmadharas tadaparairḍamaruparasaṅkaritrisūlāni bibhrad vāmair vajrāṅkitakhaṭvāṅgarakṭapūrīṭa-kapālaṃ vajrapāśaṃ brahmaśiraś ca...*; cf. ADUT ch. 9 (p. 156).
- 99 The *Ardhanārīśvara/Gaurīśvara* icon is well attested within Śaivism, but androgynous deities of this kind appear within the Buddhist tantras also. Sanderson (1996: personal communication) notes that, apart from this instance in the GSS/ADUT/*Vārāhyabhūdayatantra*, he has encountered this type in the (*Yathālabdha*)-*Khasamatantra*, as transmitted in a manuscript of the *Khasamā*, Ratnākaraśānti's commentary upon it.
- 100 The corpses beneath Vajravārāhī's feet are not mentioned in the Sanskrit text for the main deity, but all the goddesses of the retinue stand upon corpses, which in the case of the four goddesses on the petals are named as the Śaiva deities (GSS7 K40r6): *pretaprṣṭhe 'rdhaparyāṅkā vikaṭotkṭābhīṣanāḥ | bhairavaḥ kālārātriś ca devyā pādātale kṛtau*. Cf. *Vārāhyabhūdayatantra* v. 58. The corpses are clearly depicted beneath the central deity in the Tibetan *tangka*, plate 13.
- In this rather corrupt self-visualization passage, the attributes are listed in verse. In depicting the image from the text in figure 4, we have therefore not followed the particular order of the verses (which are determined by the meter) but base the drawing on the attributes as held by Cakrasaṃvara (table 5). The parallel in ADUT/*Vārāhyabhūdayatantra* (vv. 45–54, from ADUT *paṭala* 12.3–12.44b, plus prose/*paṭala* 9) is very similar in content, though its phraseology varies and the lines of various verses appear in different orders. GSS7 (K40r5): *dvādaśabhujaḥ caturvaktrā trinetra ca madanotkṭā | ardhaparyāṅkam āsina nṛtyamānā suśobhanā | digvāsā muktakeśa ca, ardhanaṛīśvarimukhi | sitaraktedṛśarūpā | † ... † | viśvavajrāṅkacandrāṅkā kapālamukūṭotkṭā | vajraghaṇṭākaravyagrā kamalāvartavartini | lalāṭe jvālāmudrā tu naracarmapaṭottari || karaiḥ kapālakhaṭvāṅgapāśāṃkuśakṛpīṭakam dadhatī kartrikām brahmamūḍam <ca> anyaiś † caturmukham. nilapīṭaharitadivyaṃ † daṃṣṭrālāsya tathārūṇā | śaṇmudrāmudritā devī khaṇḍamaṇḍitamekhālā | keyūranūpurābhīyāṃ ca yathāsthānam vibhūṣitā | lalāṭe vajramālāsyaḥ | ...*
- *sitaraktedṛśarūpā*] *Vārāhyabhūdayatantra* v. 49 (Tib); *sitaraktadharirūpām* K; *sitaraktadharirūpā* ADUT. • *candrāṅkā*] em.; *candrāṅka* K • *naracarmapaṭottari*] *Vārāhyabhūdayatantra* (ADUT=Tib.); *naracarmapaṭordhvadhari* K • *vibhūṣitā*] em.; *ca vibhūṣitā* K. Cf. *Vārāhyabhūdayatantra* (vv. 49–51): *sitaraktedṛśarūpā kapālamakūṭotkṭā | vajraghaṇṭākaravyagrā kamalāvartavartini | 49 | lalāṭe jvālāmudrā tu naracarmapaṭottari | kapālakhaṭvāṅgadharā pāśāṅkuśadharā parā | 50 | ḍamaruṃ kartri mūḍam ca | caturvaktraṃ ca brahmakam | nilapīṭaharitadivyaavaktropāśobhitā | 51 | ...*
- 101 I have altered the prescriptions in the texts to allot the correct attribute to each direction. Surely incorrectly, the injunctions in the *Vārāhyabhūdayatantra*

and *Abhidhānottara* (absent in GSS7) state that the double vajras ring the cakra in the south, and wheels in the north. Sanderson's (2001a: 22–23) edition of the former reads (v. 69): *bāhyāveṣṭya tataś cakram / vajrāvalī tu pūrvataḥ / cakrāvalyās tu uttare / paścime viśvavajrāvalyā / padmāvalyā tu dakṣiṇe / madhye vajrāvalī suśobhanā* / (v. 70) *koṇabhāgeṣu sarveṣu viśvavajrān samālikhet / tadbāhye veṣṭsayed dhīmān / pretāvalyā saviśvayā*. (I do not reproduce Sanderson's apparatus here, as it contains no variants significant to this problem.)

102 This chapter of the *Abhidhānottaratāntra* also prescribes an optional six-faced, twelve-armed form, with a hog's (*vārāha*-) face on top (Sanderson 1996: personal communication).

103 (I do not generally attempt to emend the very faulty meter.) GSS6 (K39f5): *athānyam <saṃ>pravakṣyāmi vārāhyāḥ sādhanottamam | utpattikramayogena ātmabhāvaṃ vibhāvayet | dvādaśārkanibhaṃ dehaṃ sindūrakṣodasaṃnibhaṃ | bandhūkajavāprakhyam ca, trimukhāṃ śaḍbhujāṃ tathā | sarvālaṃkāra-saṃpūrnāṃ sattvaparyāṅkasuṭhitāṃ | kapālamālāmukutāṃ keśavicchuritā<m> śubhāṃ | vajraghaṇṭāsamāpannāṃ upāyādharapīḍitāṃ | bāṇagāṇḍivadharaṃ karnāpūritakṣobhitāṃ | kapālakhatvāṅgadharāṃ aṃkuśākaraṇaparāṃ | rakta-padmasya madhyasthāṃ sarvakāmapradāyikāṃ | ...*

• *dharāṃ aṃkuśākaraṇa*] em.; *dharaṃ akuśākaraṇāṃ* K.

104 The maṇḍala of the “six-armed Vajravārāhī Yab-Yum with Heruka” is also illustrated within her maṇḍala in R. V. Chandra and L. Chandra (1961–72: part 14 no. 82). Here, however, the maṇḍala includes four goddesses in the intermediate directions of the outer temple, instead of the bow and arrow described in our text. Other practices in the GSS, in which the female deity is the main partner, are those of Vajravilāsini and Guhyavajravilāsini, discussed below. The six-armed Vajravārāhī and its sources are noted by Herrmann-Pfandt (1997: 21–26) and its implications for feminist discourse discussed; Simmer-Brown (2001: 158–60) offers a critique of this approach. Other examples of ritual and meditative contexts for the *yum yab* practice are also documented Herrmann-Pfandt (1992: 325–28; 2001: 580–82) and Simmer-Brown (*op.cit.*: 331–32 nn. 104–5).

The Mongolian icons (IWS/T 88, LC 598) illustrate the figure entitled *Sahaja Reversed* (*Go bzlog lhan skyes*). Here, the male deity takes the role reversal so far as to adopt Vajravārāhī's implements. In the sādhana of the *Rin 'byung brgya rtsa* (Willson and Brauen 2000: 261–62), Vajrayoginī is white, with one face and two arms. She holds a lotus stem in each hand, one “marked” with (i.e., bearing) a vajra, the other a bell. She sits upon a spotted antelope skin in the *vajraparyāṅka* and holds Saṃvara “in her lap.” Her consort is depicted smaller and with his back toward us, holding the attributes normally assigned to Vajrayoginī. In his left hand he brandishes a chopper, and his right arm embraces Vajrayoginī and simultaneously pours blood from the skull bowl into his own mouth. Neither wears any ornaments or garments. The mantra is given as *oṃ vajravairocanaṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ / oṃ bṛiḥ ha ha hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ*.



Endnote fig. i.

“*Sahaja reversed*”

(Go bslog lHan skyes)

Mongolian woodblock print

(IWS/T 88, LC 598).

The Tibetan *go bzlog* (“reversed”) translates the Sanskrit *viparīta* as in *viparīta-surata-* (also known as *puruṣāyitam*), which indicates a so-called reversed or inverted position for lovemaking (Sanderson 2001: personal communication). In the language of Indian erotology, this position is one in which the woman is said to “act like a man” in relation to her lover (*Kāmasūtra* 2.8.17: *nāyake nāyikā puruṣavad ācared iti puruṣāyitam*), in that she lies on top of him (*Kāmasūtra* 2.8.1–3): *nāyakasya samtatābhyāsāt pariśramam upalabhya rāgasya cānu-paśamam anumatā tena tam adho ’vapātya puruṣāyitena sāhāyyaṃ dadyāt (I) svābhīprāyād vā vikalpayojanārthini (I) nāyakakutūhalād vā*: “Having seen that the male lover has become tired because of [their] continual lovemaking [lit: practice] and that his passion is not yet assuaged, with his permission she should put him underneath [her] and help him by means of the *puruṣāyita* [position]. Alternatively, [she may do this] because she desires to unite differently by her own wish, or because the male lover is curious.”

Another example in Tibetan art of a *yum yab* figure is one mentioned to me by Robert Beer (2001: personal communication), who writes, “The only major deity I know of who appears in *Yum-Yab* is the Karma bKa’ brgyud protector Palden Lhamo in union with Dorje Bernagchen. This union of deities is known as *ma-mgon zhal-sbyor* meaning ‘Mother Protector Face to Face,’ and originates from a vision of the second Karma-pa, Karma Pakshi. Here the four-armed form of Palden Lhamo/Śrī Mātā Devī (*Rang-’byung gyal mo*) sits facing outwards on her blue ‘iron mule,’ whilst the dwarf form of Mahākāla as Bernag-can (the Black-Cloaked) is seated upon her lap. The mass of cloaks and silks that cover both deities depicts nothing of their sexual union.”

- 105 *om śrīvajravārāhi āḥ vaṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā • hūṃ hūṃ*] ADUT B147r2; *hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ* GSS K40r1. The syllables of attraction (see ch. 3) appear only in GSS6 and depend upon the following conjectural insertions (K40r2): *om śrīvajrajvālotame jaḥ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ. om śrīvajrāmrtottame <hūṃ?> hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ. om śrīvajrakrodhottame <vaṃ?> hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ. om śrīvajradamṣṭrottame*

hoḥ hūm hūm phaṭ. The mantras for the gate goddesses as given in the ADUT follow the standard form for the mantras of all the other retinue goddesses, *oṃ śrīvajraguhyottame hūm 2 phaṭ svāhā*, etc.

- 106 GSSI6 (K75v4): *trayodaśātmikā ghorā vajravārāhinīyikā*. • *vajravārāhī*] K *metri causa*. For the connection this *sādhana* bears to the armoring processes, see the appendix.
- 107 GSSI6 (K77v1): *bhagavatīm vajravārāhīm sarvalakṣaṇasampūrṇā*<*m*> *vicin-tayet. dādimakusumasadrśīm ekānanām trinetrām muktakeśām śadbhujām digambarām kṛṣṇodarām khaṇḍamaṇḍitamekhalām pañcabuddhamukuṭinīm sārdrāmundaṃālāṃkṛtām śaṇmudrāmudritām hāranūpura † ghughura † samalaṃkṛtām sarvasiddhipradāyikām dedīpyamānavadavānālasadrśīm devīm vibhāvayet, savyabhujē vajrāṃkuśaparaśudharām vāmabhujē kapālapāśa-khaṭvāṅgadharām ālīdhāsanasthām pādākrāntakṛtāsambhucāmundaṃ † bhaya † vihvalā*<*m*> *kapālamālini*<*m*> *sarvālaṃkārabhūṣitām. bhagavatyā hr̥di rakta-padmopari raktacandramaṇḍalaṃ tadupari raktamukulitavajraṃ vamaṃkāra-dhīṣṭhitam cintanīya*<*m*> *tasya rāśminirgatasamcoditān bāhyabijākṣarān avabhāśya svasvarūpeṇa pariniṣpannān devīgaṇamaṇḍalān paśyēt.*
• *dādimā*] em.; *drāḍima* K • *sārdrā*] em.; *sādra* K • *hāranūpura*] em.; *hāranopura* K • *sadrśīm*] em.; *sadrśām* K • *kṛtāsambhucāmundaṃ*] em.; *kṛtām. śambhuś cāmundaṃ* K • *mukulita*] em.; *mukulitam* K • *samcoditān*] em.; *samcoditam* K • *avabhāśya*] corr.; *avabhāśya* K • *maṇḍalān*] K (I do not emend to neuter).
- 108 In the *Abhidhānottaratantra*, *paṭala* 56, the main form of *Vajravārāhī* differs in that it is self-visualized with five faces and twelve arms and wears only five mudrās (Sanderson 1997: personal communication). ADUT (f. 221r1–5): *nilapītaraktaharita-ūrdhvasitānānā*; (f. 221r1–5): *kapālakhaṭvāṅgāsūlakartrika-damaruvajraghaṇṭpāśāṅkuśabrahmaśīraḥparaśutarjanīdharā naracarmapaṭor-dhvakarā...* • *śīraḥ*] corr. Sanderson, *śīrā* codd.
- 109 GSSI6 (K75v4): *mantrākṣaraviniṣpannam maṇḍalaṃ maṇḍalottamam* • *niṣpannam*] corr.; *niṣpannam* K.
- 110 GSSI6 (K78r3): ... *pīnastanoruyugalā divyarūpā manoramā*<*h*> *kiñcidvikṛtānanā*<*h*> *kaṭākṣeṣaṇacañcalā*<*h*> • *pīnastanoruyugalā*] conj.; *pīnatana-uruyugalā* K.
- 111 GSSI6 (K78v4): *nagnā sthūlapadmā madavihvalā*.
- 112 The first practice in the *Abhisamayamañjari* (GSS5 Sed p. 149⁴, K34r4) is that found in GSSI5 and GSSI8; the second (GSS5 Sed p. 149¹⁸, K34v5) bears similarities to the white two-armed *Vajravārāhī* in GSS38 (*Āryaśuklavajravārāhī-sādhana*). In the Tibetan canon (references in the appendix), this is the second of the *Six Texts of Vajravārāhī*. The *Sarvārthasiddhisādhana* appears in the *Rin 'byung brgya rtsa*, with a translation of the self-visualization portion in Willson and Brauen (2000: 259 “Accomplishing Vārāhī”). The Tibetan text shows some minor variations, but gives the identical root mantra: *oṃ vajravārāhī aveśaya sarvaduṣṭam* (for *sarvaduṣṭān*) *hriḥ svāhā*.
- 113 ch. 7, v. 2ab (p. 50): *trimukhām śadbhujām ghoṇām vajrahastām sunīlikām*.
- 114 ch. 7, v. 9 (p. 51): *oṃ vajraghoṇe sughoṇe vajramāmakī bhara 2 sambhara 2*

traidhātukamahāmadyam ākarṣaya jah. Ratnāvalīpañjikā in KYT ch. 17 (p. 126): *mūlaghoṇāvanā*.

- 115 GSS5 (Sed p. 149⁸, K34r6): *iti śrīvajraghoṇākramah*; GSS5 (Sed p. 149¹⁵, K34v4): *anena prathamato baliṃ dattvā vajraghoṇāsādhanaṃ idam anuṣṭheyam*.
- 116 GSS15 (K74v3): *tato balidānapūrvakam vajravārāhiṃ bhāvayet. tatra svanābhi-madhye raktatrikoṭīcakram vibhāvya. tanmadhye raktavartuladalakamalakarṇi-kāyām śavārkamaṇḍalopari kalpāgnisamṇibhā<m> raktahrihkr̥tim paśyet. tad anu tadbijaparīnāmajām vajravārāhiṃ sindūrārūṇavarṇā<m> padmapretārkaṃ-ḍale, ālīdhāsanena sthitā<m>. ūrdhvakacaromārājīkām pañcakapālālamkṛtalalātām muṇḍamālāvibhūṣitaḡātrām pañcamudrākṛtasoḡbhām ekavadanām trinetrām bhrūkutikolānanām vajravajrapralambhām lalajjihvām ni<r>vāsasām caturbbhu-jām, dakṣiṇe vajravajrāmkuśadharām, vāme kapālakhaṭvāṅgatarjjanīpāsahastām kharvalambodarīm sarvaduṣṭaduṣṣahasitakrodharūpām, itthambhūtām bhāva-yet. • bhrūkuṭī] em.; bhrūkuṭi K • itthambhūtām] em.; itthambhūtām K. Cf. GSS5 (Sed p. 149⁷, K34r6): *kolāsyām*; GSS18 (K83r2): *ūrdhvapiṅgalakeśām* (the Tibetan text is translated [Willson and Brauen 2000: 259], “Her brown head hair twists upward and her body hair and pubic hair stand erect”); GSS18 (K83r3): *lalajjihvām*; GSS35 (K118v6): *lalitakrodhamukhām*.*
- 117 The same stance is illustrated in the other fully hog-headed illustration in the pantheon, “Vajravārāhi in the Tradition of the *Brāhmaṇa Śrīdhara*” (*Bram ze dpal ’dzin lugs kyi rdo rje phag mo*; IWS/T 86; LC 596; translation from Tibetan text in Willson and Brauen 2000: 261). In this form, the deity is flanked by a blue Varṇanī on her left and a yellow Vairocanī on her right, as in our *Trikāya-vajrayoginī sādhanas*, with the mantras: *oṃ krodhabuddhadākinīye hūṃ phaṭ svāhā*, *oṃ vajravārṇṇanīye hūṃ phaṭ svāhā*, *oṃ vajravairocanīye hūṃ phaṭ svāhā*. Willson and Brauen (*ibid.*: n. 1) supply the further references for Śrīdhara: P2297/Toh 1586: *Krodhavārāhīvajrayoginīsādhana*, and P4825/Toh 1990 *Śrīvajravārāhīsādhana-nāma*.



Endnote fig. ii. *Vajravārāhi* in the tradition of the *Brāhmaṇa Śrīdhara* (Bram ze dpal ’dzin lugs kyi rdo rje phag mo) Mongolian woodblock print (IWS/T 86, LC 596)

- 118 *om vajravārāhī āveśaya sarvaduṣṭān hrīm svāhā • hrīm*] GSS5 (Sed p. 149⁹, K34r6–v), GSS18 (K83r3); *hrīḥ* GSS15 (K75r3). This seems to have been a crucial mantra, as it is the only one prescribed for the *japa* in GSS15 (K75r3) and actually appears before the heart mantra in GSS18 (K83r3).
- 119 E.g., GSS5 (Sed p. 149¹¹, K34v2): *mahāmāṃsacūrṇena dhūpaṃ dadyāt*; GSS5 (Sed p. 149¹³, K34v2): *sarvamāraprasāmanārthaṃ niśā balīḥ pañcopacāreṇa dātavyaḥ*.
- 120 GSS5 (Sed p. 149¹⁴, K34v3–4): *tena vajrayoginyo 'dhitīṣṭhanti*; cf. GSS18 (K83r6). GSS15 puts this same statement in the singular (K74r6): *tato 'dhitīṣṭhati vajrayoginī nānyathā*.
- 121 GSS5 (Sed p. 149¹⁶, K34v5): *adhikaṃ hi praśasyata iti. kvacid iyaṃ hṛdraktapadme, āṃkārajasūryasthasitahriḥkārādhiṣṭhitārūṇapañcaśūkavajraparinatā sitalohitāmbhojasthasūryasuptājñānapuruṣopari, ālīḍhapadasthitā sūryastahriḥkārādhiṣṭhitasūryasthavajrahṛdayā, viśvapadmasūryasthākṣobhyābhīṣekajā. aparaṃ sarvaṃ pūrvavat. • sitalohitāmbhoja*] conj.; *sitalohitāmbha* K; Cf. Sed p. 149.
- 122 Vajravārāhī also appears in the Akṣobhya family in the long sādhana by Kumāracandra, while Vairocana (the usual seal for Vajravārāhī in our texts) presides over Vajracarcikā (*Ratnāvalipañjikā* in KYT p. 127). Another white form of Vajravārāhī is described in the sādhana as the consort to a manifestation of Kṛṣṇayamāri called Dveṣayamāri/Vajrasattva (*ibid.*: p. 124). She is like her consort, namely, white with three faces and six arms. The *Rin 'byung brgya rtsa* text for the two dancing forms of Vajravārāhī also states that she has Akṣobhya on her crown (Willson and Brauen 2000: 257–58, 259).
- 123 GSS38 (K122r5): *namaḥ śrīvajrayoginyai. praṇamya vajravārāhīm satsukhādhārahetukām | kriyate ruciraṃ tasyāḥ saṃkṣiptaṃ raudrasādhanam | āṃkāra<ja>sūryasthasitahriḥkāraraśmijālanirmitacandākhyāditricakradevibhi<r> vajravārāhyādikaṃ saṃpūjya svabhāvaśuddhety adhimucya śūnyatādibhāvanāpurahsaram raktapadmopari āṃkārajasūrye sitahriḥkārājapañcaśūkavajreṇa niṣpannāṃ vajravārāhīm śuklāṃ raktatrinetrām daṃṣṭrākarālavaktrām mukta-keśām vajrāvalīdvayamadhyikṛtakapālamālādhārām pañcamudrāmudritām dakṣinakarasthitavajrām vāme khatvāṅgam dhārayantīm ālīḍhapadasthām nagnāṃ devāsuramanuṣyabhayaḍām anantaraśmīn sphārayantīm sūryastahriḥkārādhiṣṭhitahṛdayāṃ vajravārāhīm ātmānaṃ bhāvayet. • śūka*] em.; *śūka* K • *śuklām*] em.; *śukla* K • *daṃṣṭrākarāla*] em.; *daṃṣṭrādaṃṣṭrākarāṃla* K. GSS38 (K122v5): *pracaṇḍādibhir ātmāna<m> saṃpūjyāmṛtāsvādaṃ kṛtvā...*

The unusual garland described in the GSS text is possibly explained by SM218 (pp. 427–28). In describing the visualization of the twenty-four goddesses of the maṇḍala circles, the SM text describes them with triple topknots bound up with a garland of vajras, lotuses, and cakras—i.e., probably the attribute of their own maṇḍala circle—and skulls (p. 427¹⁰: *vajrapadmacakrakapālamālā-vabaddhatrisīkhālaṃkṛtaśirobhiḥ*). In the visualization of Vajravārāhī that follows, she is described as having her triple topknot bound up with a garland of skulls between two rows of black vajras, i.e., probably pointing to her place in the vajra family of Akṣobhya, her presiding buddha (p. 428⁸: *kṛṣṇavajra-*

validvayamadhyikṛtakapālamālāvabaddhatṛiśikhām). Expertise in the ways of tying up matted braids would no doubt shed light on the matter!

- 124 GSS5 (Sed: p. 150³, K3511)=SM218 (p. 429): *tad anu svanābhau viśva-padmaśhārūṇaśubhrasūryamaṇḍale sitahrīḥkāraṁ dr̥ṣṭvā tanmantramālām akṣasūtrākārām sitām cakrabhramaṇayogena vadanavivareṇa niścārya buddha-guṇagaṇamaṇimantrauṣadhicandratārālīpiśāstrakalādiṣṭabhāvam ādāya nābhivivare praviśantīm svapareṣām sarvājñānadahanātmikām dhyāyāt*. GSS5 (cont.): *drutādidośarahita<m> mantram japet. mantraḥ hrīḥ. yadotthātukāmo bhavati <tadā> tā<m> mantramālām nābhishthahrīḥkāre 'ntarbhāvya pūjādikam kṛtvā yathāsukhaṁ viharet.*
 • *svanābhau*] SM218, *nābhau* GSS5 • *āruṇaśubhra*] GSS5; *āruṇa* SM(ed.) • (*sita*)*hrīḥ*] K(mg2); *hrīḥ* Kac • *mantramālām*] corr; *mantrāmālām* K • *nābhivivare*] K; *nābhivivare(ṇa)* K(del) (Sed. p. 150 gives the mantra as *hrīm hrīm*, reporting two mss. with this reading and four, including the Tibetan, reading *hrīḥ*.) (cf. GSS38 K122v6)
- 125 GSSI9 (K83v4): *netrām sabhrūbhaṅgabhr̥kūṭinīm damṣṭrākarālavadanām lalaj-jihvām muktakeśīm pīṭasavārūdhām navayauvanām hārārddhahārakiniñighurghurāravaiḥ ṣaṇmudropetām vāme khaṭvāṅgakapālādharām dakṣiṇe vajrakarikām bhimarūpām śmaśānādaḥ bhāvayed yogī mahākṛpaḥ*. GSS5 (Sed p. 151, K3611): *ūrdhvajvalitaraktakeśām*; (K3614): *kvacid iyaṁ raktahūmkārajātā muktakuntalalakālāpā dr̥ṣyate kvacic chavarahitā...*
- 126 GSS42 (K126r3–4 v. 8): *vāme kapālakhṭvāṅge dakṣiṇe kartridhārīṇi | śūnyatākaruṇāvāhi namas te vajrayogini | 8 | • dakṣiṇe*] K; *dekṣiṇe* C • °*dhārīṇi*] C.; *dhārīṇi* K • *vāhī*] K; *vāhinakartrir jagato duḥkhachedanī*; cf. HTI.8.20ab: *tathā mānādiśaddośān kartitum kartrkā sthitā*, KYT thirteenth *pāṭala*, v. 1 (p. 83): *athātāḥ sarvasattvasya yāvantaḥ pāpakarmakāḥ | tān vai kārayitum kartri koṣaḥ kleśādi chedanāt*.
- 127 GSSI9 (K84r.3): *pūjādikam kartavyam*. GSS5 (Sed p. 151, K3614): *viśeṣatvenāṣṭa-myādaḥ niśi śmaśāne dātavyaḥ [baliḥ]*; GSSI9 (K84r2): *aṣṭamyām daśamyām caturdaśyām vā*; SM236 (p. 459): *aṣṭamyām pañcamyām caturdaśyām*; *GSS28 (K101r1): *aṣṭamyām pañcadaśyām caturdaśyām*.
- 128 *Tantrasāra*, *Āhnikā* 13, KSTS ed. (p. 151): *sarveṣu naimittikeṣu śākinītyādiśabdān na vadet*. Professor Sanderson (1998: personal communication) supplied this reference and the following: *Tantrāloka* 15.552ab: *śākinīvācakaṁ śabdam na kadā cit samuccaret*; cf. *Siddhayaogeśvarimata* 6.52cd (A=ASB 5465 [G] f. 12r6–v1; B=NAK 5–2403, NGMPP A 203/6): *dāki(ki A: gi B)nīti na vaktavyam pramādān mantriṇā-m-apī*; *Tantrasadbhāva* (A=NAK 5–445, NGMPP A 44/2 f. 56v1; B=NAK 1.363, NGMPP A 44/1, f. 103v3–4): *śā(śā B : sā A)kinīti na vaktavyam dhappatīm varavarṇini / chinḍā(ṇḍā A : nna B)lī<m> ca mahādevi sehārī<m> naiva-m-ucca (cca B: tsa A)ret*.
- 129 The mantra offerings in GSSI9 are (K83v2): *om vajrayogini vajrapuṣpaṁ praticcha svāhā. pūrvadale. om dākinīye hūṁ trāṁ vajrapuṣpaṁ praticcha svāhā. dakṣiṇadale. om lāme hūṁ lām vajrapuṣpaṁ praticcha svāhā. paścimadale. om khaṇḍarohe hūṁ khaṁ vajrapuṣpaṁ praticcha svāhā. uttaradale. om rūpiṇi hūṁ*

rūṃ vajrapuṣpaṃ praticcha svāhā. • *vajrapuṣpaṃ*] em.; *vajrapuṣpe* K • *rūṃ*] em.; *ruṃ* K. For similar sets of offering mantras, see n. 213.

- 130 There is a variant to the usual root mantra: GSS19 (K83v6–84r) and SM236 omit *om* before the second and third datives and give the final *hūṃ* with the long vowel: *om sarvabuddhadākinīye vajravarnanīye vajravairocanīye hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā*. The heart mantra is either (in GSS5 Sed p. 151, K36r2, SM236) *om vajradākinīye hrīm hūṃ phaṭ svāhā* or (in GSS19 K84r1=SM236) *om sarvasiddhiṃ prayaccha hrī<ṃ> hūṃ phaṭ svāhā*. The auxiliary heart mantra is *om vajrayoginīye hūṃ phaṭ svāhā*.
- 131 The *baḷi* mantra is either (GSS19 K84r2) *om vajradākinīye hūṃ hūṃ imaṃ baḷiṃ grhṇa 2 haḥ 2 jah 2 aḥ 2 hūṃ phaṭ mama siddhiṃ prayaccha svāhā*, or (GSS5 Sed p. 151, K36r2, SM236) *om vajradākinīye imaṃ baḷiṃ grihṇa grihṇa ha ha ha ha kha kha kha kha a a a a mama siddhiṃ prayaccha hūṃ phaṭ svāhā*. In GSS28 (K101r1) only the latter part is preserved: ... *kha kha kha kha a a a a mama siddhiṃ prayaccha prayaccha hūṃ phaṭ svāhā*.
- 132 GSS35 (K119v5): *cātumnāḍṣivabhāvacaturdalakamalopari*. For the three channels, see ch. 3. Isaacson (1999: personal communication) states that a fourth channel containing feces is mentioned in the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* and in the *Vasantatilakā* (p. 79).
- 133 GSS35 (K118v1): *tataḥ śukla-akārād hetuvajradharasvabhāvāt prthivyādicaturmahābhūtasvabhāvaṃ yaṃraṃvaṃlamkārapariṇatam catūratnamayam sapta-parvatasaptaśītakalpavṛkṣadvādaśadvīpaparitam sumeruṃ bhāvayet. tanmadhye haritahūmkārapariṇatapañcāṅgasvabhāva<ṃ> viśvavajraṃ tanmadhye rakta-ekārapariṇata<ṃ> lohita-varṇam śarīrasvarūpam ūrdhavadharmodayam trikōṇe vajrāṅkitam jvālāmālāsahitanavadvārasvabhāvāṣṭadalapadmaṃ † padmopariṣṭham tadantaś † cātumnāḍṣivabhāvacaturdalakamalopari caṇḍām-śumandale avadhūtisvabhāvasubhṛakartṛipariṇatam vajrayoginī<ṃ> kiṃśukaśyāmasaṃnibhām sphuṭavarapītalohitam ṣoḍaśābdām sukumāranavayauvanām lalitakrodhamukhām pañcamudrāmudritām pañcāśannaraśirohārādhārām āliḍhacaranākṛāntacatuḥkleśaviśuddhabrahmendrahariharām vairocanamukūṭinīm prathamadaśīnavāmakaratalakalitavajraghaṇṭā<ṃ> upāyāliṅganābhīnayām punar dākṣīnakare kartrī vāmakarakalitordhvanabhastalavilasatkapālavini-viṣṭadrṣṭīm vāmāṅgakhātvaṅgasamgatām <bhāvayet>.*
- *saptaśīta*] em.; *saptaśītā* K (cf. ADK ch. 5 v. 51) • *lohita-varṇam*] em.; *lohita-varṇā* K • *padmaṃ padmopariṣṭham*] conj.(?); *padma sadmopariṣṭham* K • *kiṃśukaśyāma*] em.; *kiṃśukaśyāmā(ṃ)* K(pc) • *caranā*] em.; *carāṇā* K • *vairocana*] em.; *verocana* K • *talakalita*] conj.; *talakali* K.
- 134 *Varjayoginyārādhana-vidhi* by Śabara GSS23 (K88v1): *bāhyasitābhyantararakṣapūritapadmabhājanadhṛtavāmākareṇoddhṛtasavavāmapādāliṅganābhīnayām padmabhājanastharaktadhārām anavaratam pibantiṃ... dhyātvā • bāhya*] em. *bāhye* K • *bhājanadhṛta*] K (understand *bhājanadhara*) • *oddhṛta*] corr.; *odhṛta* K • *āliṅganā*] em; *āliṅgitanā* K.
- 135 The brief reference in the *Abhisamayamañjarī* to the *ūrdhva-pāda* pose of Vajravārāhī likewise states its provenance in Oḍḍiyāna, (GSS5 Sed p. 148,

K33v6–34r): *odḍiyanavinirgatakrame punar iyaṃ ūrdhvaṣṭhā bhavati*. Here it is presented as an alternative form of the main (warrior-stance) Vajravārāhi visualization for those who want a “medium-length” practice (K33v5): *madhyarūcis tu...*

- 136 GSS17 (K82r6) (≈GSS45 K139v3): *bhagavatīm devīm vajrayoginīm śuklām ugrakiraṇām ūrdhvaṣṭhāsthitām śakrabrahmākrāntām adhaḥpādena bhairavakālarātriṃ dvibhujām ekānanām muktakeśīm nagnām nirābharaṇām pīnonnatapayodharām raktavartulacalatpracaṇḍanayanām bhrūbhāṅgabhrīkuṭī<ṃ>da<ṃ>ṣṭrākarālavadanām vāme khaṭvāṅgakarotadharām dakṣiṇe vajrakartridharām atibhimarūpām* <GSS45: *śmaśānādaḥ*> *bhāvayet*. • *kālarātriṃ*] corr.; *kālarātriṃ* • *pīnonnata*] *pīnonata* K • *vajrakartridharām*] GSS45; *vajrakartriṃ* GSS17 • *śakrabrahmākrāntām*] GSS17 K; *śa(kra)brahmāṇḍākrāntām* GSS45(mg) (the variant reading in GSS45 states that the goddess stands upon Śakra and “Brahmā’s egg” (*śakrabrahmāṇḍākrāntām*), indicating her subjection of the entire cosmos. The related Tibetan sādhanā in the *Rin ’byung brgya rtsa* describes her stance as follows: “Her right leg, outstretched to the seven underworlds, tramples on Bhairava and Kālarātri. Her raised left leg, stretching to the realm of Brahmā, tramples Brahmā and Śakra into the worlds above” (Willson and Brauen 2000: 260).
- 137 GSS17 (K83v4): *oṃ vajrayoginī hrīḥ ru ru ru khaḥ khaḥ kha<ḥ> phem phem phem aṃ aṃ aṃ mama siddhiṃ prayaccha baliṃ grhṇa hūṃ phaṭ svāhā*. GSS45 (K140r1): *oṃ vajrayoginī imaṃ baliṃ grhṇa 2 ru 2 kha 2 phem phem a a mama siddhiṃ prayaccha hūṃ phaṭ svāhā*. The *mālāmantra* (*oṃ hūṃ vaṃ jah*) is also given in GSS45 (K140r1).
- 138 Willson and Brauen (2000: 260–61). The Tibetan text of the visualization seems to be loosely based on that of the Sanskrit, although it also includes other elements, such as the vase consecration (“flask empowerment”) and the emanation of countless other Vajrayoginīs and other enlightened deities. It also includes a visualization of Vajrapāṇi in Heruka aspect overcoming demons and throwing them into a vajra well produced from *hūṃ*, “stabbing them with the dagger and reducing them to dust with the vajra” (with the mantra *oṃ hrīḥ gha gha ghātaya ghātaya hūṃ phaṭ*). The mantras, however, are very similar to those of the Sanskrit text. They include the root mantra (*oṃ sarvabuddhadākinīye vajravārṇanīye vajravairocanīye hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā*), the auxiliary mantra (*oṃ vajradākinī hrī hūṃ phaṭ svāhā*), the heart mantra (*oṃ vajradākinī hrī hūṃ phaṭ svāhā*), and a seed mantra (*oṃ vaṃ hūṃ*). In common with many of the Tibetan sādhanas, the eight-part mantra is also prescribed (p. 179).
- 139 GSS36 (K120v4): *prathamam tāvat sādhaḥko vajrayoginyāḥ pratikṛtiṃ kārayet. yathā tathā yena tenākāreṇa raktatrikoṇadvayasamputamadhye śuklavartulapadme, tanmadhye bhairavacarmopari upaviṣṭām kūrmapatanakrameṇa pīta-vārṇam nagnām muktasikhām dvinayanām kartṛkarparadharām aṭṭaṭṭahāsām kāmotaṭṭabhīṣaṇām sādhaḥkam nirikṣayantiṃ bhāvayet*. • *sādhaḥko*] em.; *sādhaka* K • *tenākāreṇa*] em.; *kena tenākāreṇa* K • *padme*] conj.; *padmam* K • *bhairava-*

carmo] D88r6; *bhairacarmo* K120v5, N85r5 • *karparadharām*] conj.; *karparam* K.

For the yogin in this stance, see n. 142 below. It is worth noting that there was an adept called Kūrmapāda, who was associated with the Vajravārāhī tradition through his lineal descent from Ghaṇṭāpāda (*Blue Annals* pp. 754, 803). Ghaṇṭāpāda was one of the main transmitters of the Cakrasaṃvara tradition (n. 356), although whether he had any connection with this practice I do not know.

- 140 GSS36 (K120v6–121r): ... *divyāmṛtam iva yogidravyaṃ nivedayet*. Isaacson (1997: personal communication) suggests this may be the same as the Śaiva *vīradravya*, which consist of the five nectars, plus onion, garlic, human flesh, beef, goat's meat, fish, and fowl.
- 141 For a description of the *bali* rite according to Vajravārāhī texts, see ch. 3; cf. ADUT ch. 14 (p. 326) and GSS31 (K104r1).
- 142 GSS36 (K121r3): *tato lalāṭe jvālāmudrām vāmāvartena bhrāmayet. phemkāram uccārayet kūrmapatanapādordhvaḍṣṭyā, anena yoginyākaraṇam. tatra paṭhet om aralli hoḥ jaḥ hūm vaṃ hoḥ vajradākinyāḥ samayas tvaṃ ḍṣya hoḥ. vajrāñjalyā ūrdhvakicayā baliṃ dadyāt. om kha kha khāhi khāhi...* (for mantra, see GSS11 §39).
• *jvālāmudrām*] em.; *jālāmudrām* K (cf. n. 504); • *phemkāram*] corr.; *phemkāra(nā)dam* K(del) • *kūrmapatanapāda ūrdhvaḍṣṭyā*] em. Sanderson; *kūrmapatanapādordhvaḍṣṭyā* K • *tatra*] Kpc; *tataḥ* Kac.
- 143 GSS36 (K121v1, N85v5, D88v6): *satatam vajrayoginyālingitam ātmānam paśyet. svapatnīm iva kalpayet. tato 'cireṇaiva kālena vajrayoginyādhiṣṭhānam bhavati. siddhā sati vāñchitam pūrayati nātra saṃśayaḥ. • vajrayoginyālingitam ātmānam*] D, *vajrayoginyālingitam ****nam* K(dam.); *vajrayoginyālingi**m ātmānam* N(dam/del?).
- 144 Willson and Brauen 2000: 261. The Tibetan sādhana is a self-visualization in which Vajrayoginī is described in typical *kāpālika* terms, with three eyes, hair black and loose, and wearing all the bone ornaments with a garland of dry heads. (The artist of the IWS deviates from the text by giving her yellow hair.) The Tibetan text also prescribes a Vajravārāhī mantra, although one closer to her thirteen-syllabled mantra than the ten-syllabled mantra of GSS36: *om vajra-vairocanīye hūm phaṭ svāhā*.
- 145 Three GSS works prescribe the self-visualization of the *Vidyādhari* goddess (GSS21, GSS22, and GSS23), and there is also a reference to one of her rites in the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5 Sed p. 153, K38r1–38r6). Other GSS texts also describe her mountainous abode (GSS10, GSS16). This manifestation of Vajrayoginī has a particular association with the adept Śabara, as many of these texts will show, an association confirmed by the hagiography of Advaya-vajra that appears in the **Siddha-Āmnāya* (see appendix). The classical reference to *Vidyādhari*s is from Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava* 1.7.
- 146 GSS21 (K85r6): *tadbijaparīnatām raktām ūrdhvaḍṣṭyā kapālamālā-veṣṭitakarām puspamālāpāśasavyāgrām dakṣiṇe vajrahastām sarvābharaṇavini<r>-muktām vidyādharikramayuktām sphuratsaṃhāravigrahām, mādāravāśokapāri-*

jātakodbhūtaṃ ratnakūtaṃ <grhaṃ>(mg2) praviśantīm ātmānaṃ bhāvayet. • sarvābharaṇa] em.; sarvāvaraṇa K • savyāgrāṃ] conj. (or: savya<karā>grāṃ); savyagrāṃ K • vidyādhari] em. viṃdyuśir K (cf. GSS22 K86r1 vidyādharikram-abhāvanā) • māndāravā] corr.; māndārāvā K • °odbhūtaṃ] em.; °odbhūtāṃ K.

GSS22 (K86r3): *jhaṭiti mālāvidyādhari vajrayoginīm udyānād aṣṭaśṛṅgopetaratna-grhaṃ praviśantīm sphuratsamhāravigrahaṃ ātmānaṃ bhāvayet. • udyānād] corr.; udyānāt. codd.*

- 147 The mantra appears twice in GSS22, first as the principle *japa* mantra (K86r.5): *bhāvanāt khinno mantraṃ japet*, with the mantra itself given as an addition in the lower margin in K, but incorporated into the text of N62r7 and D65r6 (K86r5): *oṃ vajravairocaniye oṃ vajravarnaniye hūṃ 3 phaṭ 2 svāhā*. It appears again as a *mālāmantra* with the name elements once again altered from the standard version (K86v6): *oṃ vajravarnaniye oṃ vajravairocaniye oṃ sarva-buddhaḍākinīye hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā*.

- 148 Willson and Brauen (2000: pp. 258–59) give the Sanskrit equivalent as *Maitrī-khecari Vidyādhari-keli*. The text of the *Rin 'byung brgya rtsa* is similar to our Sanskrit sources in its description of Vajrayoginī as naked and bearing a garland (though not a garland noose). Her pose is described as follows: “Her left hand holds a skull full of nectar and, embracing her left leg in the hollow of the knee, raises it up so that a stream of nectar pours into her mouth. Her right hand holds a five-pointed vajra, thrusting it toward the right heel. The right leg is not quite extended, as if flying. Holding in her left hand a garland of *nāga* tree flowers, she stands naked and without ornaments....” However, the Tibetan *sādhana* reveals a far more wrathful deity, with frown and bared fangs, who is aligned not with Vajrayoginī, but with Vajravārāhī (“I appear in the form of Lady Vajravārāhī Vidyādhari-keli”) and crowned with Akṣobhya. The usual tripartite mantra is given (*ibid.*: 213): *oṃ oṃ oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākinīye, vajravarnaniye, vajravairocaniye, hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā*.

- 149 GSS22 K85r6 (N63r4–5, D65v2): *caryā tasyāḥ kathyate sādhaḥkānāṃ hitārthāya. candragrahe sūryagrahe vā darpaṇatale kiṃcit sindūraṃ <pātayitvā> suvarṇa-śalākayā bhaṭārikāṃ likhya pañcopacārenābhīpūjya tasya (?) sindūraṃ grhītvā tāmrabhāṇḍe sthāpayet. lāṅgaliyā gaccham utpādyā svasthāne pātayet. evaṃ ṣaṇmāsāni pratyahaṃ pūjayet. mahāmudrāphalaṃ dadāhi me. pratyahaṃ sampūjya vandayet. evaṃ ṣaṇmāsāni sampūrṇaṃ kṛtvā yoginīnāṃ pañcopacāra-bhojanaṃ kṛtvā praṇamyājñāṃ prayaccha iti prārthayet. lāṅgaliyā madhye sindūraṃ bharet. kapālaṃ grhītvā unmattacaryayā caret. ṣa koṇākṛti<m> sindūraṃ lalāṭe kṛtvā bhramet. ṣaṇmāsāni śūnyagehabhagnakūpasamīpe bahubhi<h> strī<m> vāmāvartena pradakṣiṇāṃ ārabhet. unmattacaryayā caret. ṣaṇmāsena pañcānantaryakāri yaḥ so 'pi sidhyati.*

• *candragrahe]* N, D; *candragrhe* K • *kiṃcit]* conj.; *ci* Kac; (*kām*)*ci* K(mg); *vā jalatale* D; N omit. • *pātayitvā]* conj. (see GSS5 K38r1) • *tasya]* codd. Possible conjectural emendation to *tasmāt* (?) • *caryayā]* conj. (or *caryām*); *caryāyā* K, *cāryāyāṃ* N63r4, *caryā* D65v1 • *samīpe]* corr.; *same(pe)* K(mg2). • *unmatta-caryayā]* conj. (or *unmattacaryām*); *unmattacaryā* codd.

GSS5 K38r1 (Sed p. 153, N24v3, D27v2): *api cātyantanirmṛṣṭadarpa<na> tale ṣṭamyām sindūraṃ pātayitvā tatra dharmodayamudrāṃ likhitvā koṇeṣu bāhyeṣu devībijaṃ vilikhya madhye mantram ca dharmodayābāhyeṣu catuḥpārśveṣu vāmāvartena nandyāvartīm likhitvā puspādibhiḥ sampūjya yathāśakti mantram pariḥpāya sindūra<m> tad ekatra bhāṇḍe sthāpayet. evaṃ śanmāsaṃ yāvat kuryāt. tato lāṅgaliyā viṣanalikāmadhye tat sindūraṃ prakṣipyā śmaśāne nikhanya balipūjāṃ ca vidhāya mantram jāpet yathākāmaṃ. evaṃ pratyaḥmaṃ māsaṃ ekam kuryāt. tat sindūreṇa nandyāvartākṛtīm tilakaṃ vidhāya bhikṣārthaṃ grāmaṃ praviśet. yatra tattilakaṃ saṃkrāntaṃ dr̥śyate tām <strīm> yatnenārādhayed iti. evaṃ nandyāvartena siddhaśabarapādīyavajrayoginyārādhanaavidhiḥ. • nirmṛṣṭa] em.; nirmṛṣṭa K • devībijaṃ] N, D, debijaṃ K • strīm] Sed, codd. omit • siddha] em.; siddhi K.*

150 According to one Tibetan tradition at least, the bliss swirls (*nandyāvartaḥ*) are pink, spin counterclockwise, and are in the corners to the left and right, leaving the front and back corners blank (Tharchin 1997: 159; K. Gyatso 1999: 118).

151 SUT *Caryānirdeśapaṭala* (ch. 21, v. 13–14ab, ed. Tsuda): *athavā vātulām nāma caryāṃ kartuṃ sukhotsahaḥ / asahāyaḥ paryāten nityam ekākī ekamānasaḥ / udbhṛāntapatrivad bhṛamed unmattavratam āsṛitaḥ*. The text then lists a series of solitary sites in which he may dwell, such as a cremation ground, by a solitary tree, in various types of deserted dwelling, at a crossroads, etc. I am grateful to Professor Sanderson for showing me this passage.

152 GSS10 (K49v1, v. 78): *ekabījasamudbhūtaṃ prajñopāyamayaṃ jagat | sarva-nārimayā devī sarvopāyamayaḥ prabhuḥ. • samudbhūtaṃ] corr.; samudbhūtaitaṃ K; Cf. Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra* (p. 18 line 1.14) [*bhagavān*]: *māṃ na jānanti ye mūḍhāḥ sarvapumvapuṣi sthitaṃ; (line 1.20) [bhagavatī]: māṃ na jānanti yā nāryaḥ sarvastridehasaṃsthitāṃ.*

153 GSS23 (K88r6): *tataḥ śūnyatām sarvadharmānirālambarūpām vicintya jhagiti pūrvoktamanobhaṅgacittaviśrāmaparvatamadhye gaganalikhitaṃ citravadanā<m>, śaktirūpām sārdrasusnigdharūpām raktavarṇaṃ trinetraṃ dvādaśākṣikāṃ sahaajānandarūpām nagnāṃ muktakeśāṃ īśaddhasantiṃ romāñcakañcukitām bāhyasitābhyantararaktapūritapadmabhājanadhṛtavāmakareṇoddhṛtasavāmāpādālīṅganābhinayām padmabhājanastharaktadhārām anavarataṃ pibantiṃ tīrya-gūrdhvikṛtadakṣiṇapādopariṣṭhadakṣiṇakareṇa raktapañcaśūkavajradhārīṇīm vikāsitanāgakesarakusumābharaṇā<m> samullasitapadmabhājanagatadr̥ṣṭīm dhyātūvā...*

• *pūrvokta*] Kpc(add2) • omit, Kac; *gaganalikhitaṃ*] em.; *li(khitaṃ)* Kpc(add2); *gaganalita* K • *śaktirūpām*] em.; *śaktirūpām?* Kpc(add2); *śaktarūpā* Kac • *susnigdharūpām*] conj.; *susnigdha* K • *bāhya*] em.; *bāhye* K • *bhājanadhṛta* K (understand °*dhara*) • *kareṇoddhṛta*] em.; *kareṇodhṛta* K • *pādālīṅganā*] corr.; *pādālīṅgitanā* K • *pañcaśūka*] corr.; *pañcaśūka* K • *kesara*] corr.; *keśara* K.

154 The mantra here has only one *om* and a curious *ca*, GSS23 (K89v4): *om sarvabuddha-dākinīye vajravarnānīye vajravairocanīye hum hum hum phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ ca svāhā.*

155 GSS23 (K87v2): *tato jhagiti atimanohararamaṇīyataravicitrāsaraḥpravikāsitanāgakeśarodyānavibhūṣitapañcavarṇaśikharamanobhaṅgacittaviśrāmaparvata-*

madhye vakṣyamāṇavarṇabhujādibhūṣitadevyāḥ sahasā sāṅśāddarśanam abhūt. • vibhūṣita] em.; *vibhūṣitaṃ* K • *manobhaṅga*] *manobhagaṅga* K. (The adjectives *atimanohara* and *ramaṇīyatara* may be taken to qualify the colored pools only.)

- 156 The defiled mind (*kliṣṭamānas*) is the seventh category in the Yogācāra's analysis of mind, by virtue of which one clings to the storehouse consciousness (*ālayaḥ*) as the self.

- 157 GSS23 (K89r3): *pratyūṣasandhyāyām arunodaye nānāvicitraratnavibhūṣitaparvatadvayopari pādadvayaṃ dhṛtvā prasāritabhujadvayaṃ pūrvoktalakṣaṇāṃ devīm atiraktavarṇāṃ...sādhakas tu...vicintya...iti devyā baliividhiḥ*.

The other references in the *Ārādhanaividhi* (GSS23) either repeat the ambiguity, as in the *bhāvanāividhi*, GSS23 (K88r6): *jhaṅgiti <pūrvokta>(mg2) manobhaṅgacittaviśrāmaparvatamadhye*, or refer only to the mountain peaks, as in the rite of subordination (*vaśyavidhiḥ*). The *vaśyavidhi* requires the practitioner to visualize the goddess above the towns and villages (which he wishes to subdue) in space above the mountains. He then imagines her left foot “stumbling” and “by merely having touched the mountain peaks” all the inhabitants of the towns are turned into semen-nectar and then into a red liquid, which he imagines himself inhaling and exhaling through his nostrils: GSS23 (K88v6): *tato nagaragrāmādinām upary ākāśe pūrvoktaparvatopari bhagavatīm ālambya tad-vāmapādam skhalitvā parvataśikharasprṣṭamātreṇa bodhicittāmṛtibhūta...iti vaśyavidhiḥ*.

- 158 **Siddha-Āmnāya* (p. 11): *dakṣiṇāpathe manobhaṅgacittaviśrāmau parvatau*.
 159 GSS16 (K75v2): *pṛthivyām sārāsambhūte manobhaṅge mahādhare | tasmin kūte mahācittaikacittaviśrāmamaṇḍape | tanre lakṣābhidhāne hi nāthena kathitā svayam | trayodaśātmikā ghorā vajravārāhināyikā | mantrākṣaraviniṣpannam maṇḍalaṃ maṇḍalottamaṃ | yathānujñā mayā labdhā tathaiṣa kathayāmy aham. • trayodaśātmikā ghorā vajravārāhināyikā*] em.; *trayodaśātmikāṃ ghorāṃ vajravārāhināyikāṃ* K (*vajravārāhi*, *metri causa*) • *vinīṣpannam*] em.; *vinīṣpannam* K • *tathaiṣa*] conj.; *vai* K.

- 160 The passages prescribing the visualization of the goddess are given in full in n. 146. GSS21 (K85r6–v2; N62r; D64r): *...māndāravāśokapārijātakodbhūtaṃ ratnakūṭaṃ <grhaṃ>(mg2) praviśantīm. • māndāravā*] corr.; *māndārāvā* K • *°odbhūtaṃ*] em.; *°odbhūtāṃ* K.

GSS22 (K86r3; N62v; D64v): *jhaṅgiti mālāvidyādhariṇīvajrayoginīm udyānād aṣṭaśṛṅgopetaratnagrhaṃ praviśantīm...ātmānaṃ bhāvayet. • udyānād*] corr.; *udyānāt*. codd. GSS22 seems problematic, since it describes the goddess “entering from a glade into a jewel hut with eight peaks.”

- 161 The ten goddesses include the four mothers (Locanā, Māmakī, Paṇḍarā, and Tārā) and six others who are unnamed (GSS26 K92v6=GSS27 K94v1): *namo buddhadharmasamghebhyaḥ. namo gurubuddhabodhisattvebhyaḥ. namo locanā-didaśavajravilāsinibhyaḥ. namo yamāntakādi daśakrodhavirebhyaḥ saprajñebhyaḥ*. These are probably the six goddesses of the sense organs, agents of consecration in the *Hevajratānta* (HT1.4): Rūpavajrā, Śābdavajrā, Gandhavajrā, Rasavajrā, Sparśavajrā, and Dharmadhātuvajrā (see Snellgrove 1959: 59,

- n. 4). The four mothers are also referred to as *vilāsinīs* (possibly in an adjectival sense) in the KYT ch. 16 v. 6cd (p. 110): *nānārūpavilāsinyah sarvābharāṇa-bhūṣitāḥ*, in which they appear as essentially *kāpālīka* goddesses in the intermediate corners of the outer maṇḍala of the “great Heruka,” Yamāntaka (*ibid.*: vv. 7–9).
- 162 GSS43 v. 2cd (K127r3): *vajravārāhi narāhisurāṇām | tvaṃ śaraṇaṃ tava nāma-parāṇām*. Cf. the opening obeisance in the *Abhisamayamañjarī*, cited p. 113, in which Vajravilāsinī is also named as a form of Vajravārāhi.
- 163 GSS43 v. 13cd (K128r1): *saṃvaramadhupavicumbi <ta> mukhābje | tadbhujayuga-parirambhiḥṛdabje • rambhī*] Kpc; *rasthi* Kac.
- 164 For the attributes, see v. 4 (K127r4), for the pearl ornaments, vv. 12–13 (K127v(mg)–K127v6–128r), and the vajra, v. 5 (K127r5). GSS43 K127r4–5 (v. 3cd): *mātar devī nibhālaya mahyaṃ | kiṃ sahase mama duḥkham asahyaṃ? • mātar*] em.; *mātur* K. Cf. v. 6cd (K127v1–2): *bālaravitrivilokanarakte | jagato duḥkhanirākrtisakte*.
- 165 GSS43 v. 3ab (K127r4): *harikariśikhiphaṇitaskarabhītiḥ | tvatparacitte naiva sameti*. The eight great dangers (*aṣṭamahābhayaṇī/bhayaṣṭakam*) traditionally include those mentioned here, plus other calamities such as drowning at sea, imprisonment by kings, sea monsters, demons, and plagues, etc., e.g., *Tattvajñānasamsiddhīkā* (p. 26): *harikariśikhiphaṇitaskaranigadamahārnavapi-śāca > bhayaśamani / śaśikiranākāntihārīṇi bhagavati tāre namas tubhyam*. (I thank Professor Sanderson for supplying this text.)
- 166 See GSS43 v. 13 (K127v6–128r1), and v. 15a (K128r2): *patimaulisthitavidhum amṛsanti*.
- 167 Apart from the title and salutation, the *Guhyavajravilāsinīsādhana* (GSS10) once calls the deity “Guhyavajravilāsinī” (K46v1), on one occasion “Śrīvajravilāsinī” (K45v2), but most commonly—because of the restraints of meter—simply “Vilāsinī” (K45v6, K48r4): *tām evāgre shītām vidyām dhyāyād vajravilāsinīm*; (K48v2; K94r6): *vilāsinī namo ’stu te*; (K50v3): *...vilāsinī bhāveyyed ātmavigraham*; also K51v4; K51v5.
- 168 GSS10 (K45v3): *na śrutaṃ paṭhitaṃ kiñcī chabareṇādrīcārīṇā | lokanāthādhipatyena vade ’yaṃ kiyaḍ akṣaram*. • (v. 3a) *paṭhitaṃ*] conj.; *na paṭhitaṃ* K.
- 169 GSS10 (K45v4): *sarvaratnamaye ramye gandhamṛgasugandhīni | manobhaṅge (?) padaṃ dattvā cittaviśrāmaparvate | (4) tatpradeśe mahāramye sugandhikūsumāśraye | lasatsundaramākande mandrakūjītakokile | (5) raktāśokaghanodyāne mamāśokāṣ amītitau | guruṇā karuṇāhvena deśiteyaṃ vilāsinī | (6)*. • (4c) *manobhaṅge*] conj. Sanderson; *manobhaṅgaṃ* K. • (5c) *lasatsundaramākande*] conj. Sanderson; *lasatkandaramākanda* K (*kandara* must be a corruption for some word that either qualifies the mango trees [*mākanda-*] or that is another type of tree).

Given the descriptive nature of the terms *manobhaṅga* and *cittaviśrāma*, it is worth considering the text without the emendation of the accusative *manobhaṅgaṃ dattvā* to the locative *manobhaṅge dattvā*. An unemended reading of the manuscript (*manobhaṅgaṃ padaṃ dattvā cittaviśrāmaparvate*) reads,

“having placed [his] foot that destroys the [defiled] mind on the Mountain Cittaviśrāma....” This is reminiscent of the adjectival interpretation considered above for the compound *manobhaṅgacittaviśrāmaparvata* in GSS23 (“the mountain[s] where consciousness comes to rest because of the destruction of the [defiled] mind”). It is also possible that the subject of the “placing foot” is not the sādha at all, but his teacher Karuṇa, who is the logical subject in the following verse (*guruṇā karuṇāhvena deśiteyaṃ vilāsinī*). Thus it would be the guru’s foot that would “destroy the [defiled] mind.”

- 170 The *śōka* eighth is the eighth day of the bright half of Caitra, the second month of spring. Sanderson explains it as follows (2001: personal communication): “The *śōkāṣṭamivratam* is so called, according to the *paurāṇika* sources that advocate it, because one observing it is to drink/eat eight *śōka* blossoms after first offering a pūjā to Rudra with such blossoms on the eighth of the bright fortnight of Caitra and because by doing so one will become *śōkaḥ*, i.e., free of grief. The source is a passage in the Hemādri (*Caturvargacintāmaṇi* vol. 2 part I, pp. 862–63 Kashi; Sanskrit Fürer 235), which cites the *Lingapurāṇa* and the *Kūrmapurāṇa*. The latter prescribes worship of Rudra: *caitramāsi sitāṣṭam-yām budhavāre punarvasau / śōkakusumai rudram arcayitvā vidhānataḥ / śōka-syāṣṭakalikā mantrenoktena bhakṣayet / śōkaṃ naivāpnuyān martyo rūpavān api jāyate*. The former prescribes worship of the tree itself: *śōkakalikāpānam śōkatarupūjanam / śuklāṣṭamyām tu caitrasya kṛtvā prāpnoti nirvṛtim*.”
- 171 *Siddha-Āmnāya** (p. 11.18): *paramadine manobhaṅgacittaviśrāmau prāpyete*.
- 172 *Siddha-Āmnāya** (p. 11.22): *daśame divase grīvāṃ chetum ārabdhaḥ. tatksaṇāt sāksāddarśanam bhavati sekam dadāti. Advayavajranāmābhūt*.
- 173 Śābara twice states that he has been taught the sādhanā by his teacher, Karuṇa (GSS10 K451r/v and K53r). Lokanātha is hailed in the opening *vasantatilakā* verse (K451v): ...*śrīlokanāthacaraṇam śaraṇam vrajāmi*. He is also the power through which the illiterate Śābara is able to communicate the sādhanā (v. 3c K451v4), *lokanāthādhipatyena*, which the colophon states had been taught by Lokanātha in the *Mahāyoginijālatantra*: (K53v): *mahāyoginijālatantra śrīmal-lokanāthapādenedam deśitam yoginīsarvasvam nāma guhyavajravilāsinīsādhanaṃ samāptam*. • *nāma*] corr., *nāmaḥ* K. Cf. GSS23 (K871r): *śrīmacchabhararūpadhāriṇā...lokeśvareṇa bhagavatoddiṣṭa utpattikramasādhanaḥ*.
- 174 GSS10 vv. 46–53 (K47v6 ff.). Here she is likened in color to a *bandhūka* flower (a common simile for her red luster), “flashing like red gold, pale” (*gaurī*–; usually white, but it can also mean yellowish, reddish, or pale red); although earlier in the sādhanā, she is described as “arrayed in yellow/having yellow rays” (v. 46 K47v6): *etatpariṇatām devīm bandhūkakusumaprabhām / raktahemajjvalām gaurīm nijalāvaṇyabhūṣitām*. Cf. (K45v2): *pītāmśukā*.
- 175 GSS10 (K47v6 ff.): *padmanartadhvajocchrāyasamāropitapaṅkajām / utkuṭāsana-nṛtyasthām kaṭākṣasmitabhaṅgurām / (49)...ullasadbbhidurasparśaiḥ kṣaratka-malavibhramām / (51)*.
- 176 This is a squatting pose with the feet twelve finger-breadths apart (VĀ *bhūparigraha* *vidhiḥ* ms. A f. 11v; ŚP f. 16r–v): *vitastyantaritam pādadvayam āsane nyasya*

- utkuṭakas tiṣṭhed ity utkuṭakāsanam*. When GSS10 prescribes this pose for the yogin's consort in the preparations, it adds that "her sex is clearly revealed" (v. 32b K47r3–4): *vyaktapadmotkaṭāsanam*.
- 177 GSS10 (v. 58d K48v1): *kiṃciduttānaśāyīnam*; GSS10 (v. 30cd–31a K47r2): *svajāṅghām kiñcid ākuñcya dakṣiṇām tu prasārayet | tayoṛ madhye gatām vidyām*. Cf. GSS10 (vv. 58–59 K48v1).
- 178 GSS10 (v. 59cd K48v2): *svuyaktaguhyavajreṇa nartayantam vilāsinim*.
- 179 GSS10 (vv. 18–19 K46v1): *parvatādiguḥām madhye sugandhikusumāśraye | bhāva-nīyā sakāntena guhyavajravilāsinī | śūnyaśveśmani svacchandam udyāne vijane vane | pūjanīyā sadā devī sādhanīyā yathāvidhi*.
- 180 GSS10 (v. 77 K49v1): *anyonyavandanām kuryāt madhurākṣarabhāṣaṇaiḥ*....
- 181 GSS10 (vv. 123–27 K51v6). The male himself makes the maṇḍala upon his penis and fondles it (without emitting semen) while reciting the mantra. The female makes the maṇḍala upon her own sex, then puts her thumb and forefinger together as a "good pair." "She should perform the mantra recitation, meditation, and so on using this [substitute] penis in her sex." GSS10 (K52r2): *upāyamalakābhāve vidyāpi svābjamaṇḍale | pūrvavad maṇḍalam kṛtvā nitya-pūjāvidhiṃ caret | tarjanyāṅgulijyeṣṭhābhyaṃ ekikṛtya suyuḡmakam | tadvajrāb-janiyogena jāpadhyānādikam caret*.
- 182 E.g., *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava* (ch. 1 vv. 130–50), also Sanderson (1988: 688), Pal (1981: 74–75), and Bühnemann 2000a: (154–57).
- 183 The arrow syllables extracted from a *mantroddhāra* by Jayaratha are *drām*, *drīm*, *klīm*, *blūm*, *saḥ* (*Vāmeśvarimatavivarāṇa* on 4.61, quoting the *Nityākaula*; emending *nityākāloktah* to *nityākauloktah*). Cf. Śivānanda on the same (*Rjuvimarśanī* on *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava* 4.62): *drām*, *drīm*, *klīm*, *blūm*, *saḥ*. Another set that may have influenced the form of the Buddhist mantra are the three *bijas* of Bālā Tripurasundarī (Vāmaki 1.83c–86): *aiṃ*, *klīm*, *sauḥ*. (There is also another similar set of eight *bijas*, *ibid.*: 1.64–78.) I am grateful to Professor Sanderson for these references.
- 184 Kāmeśvara is described in *Kāmakalāvīlāsa* 37 cited Khanna (1986), Renfrew Brooks (1992: 64). GSS10 (K48v3, v. 62): *ityevambhūtam ātmānam bhāvayet surateśvaram | mahāsukham iva vyaktam padmanarteśvaram prabhum*. GSS10 ends with a reference to the god of love, Kāmadeva (whose banner is the mythical sea monster or *makara*), promising that [practitioners of this sādhanā] "fervently clasping their lover enjoy the *makara* bannered [i.e., *kāma*/Kāma]" (K53v1–2, v. 151cd): *kāminī<m> gādham āliṅgya bhujanti makaradhvajam*.
- 185 Synonyms for Śiva Naṭarāja include *Nāṭyeśvara*, *Naṭeśa*, and in an east Bengali inscription, *Narteśvara*; see the study of Naṭarāja by Sivaramamurti (1974). Further research is needed to establish the origins of Padmanarteśvara and the sources behind the GSS sādhanā here. Sanderson (1997: personal communication) notes that the *Lokeśvarakalpa* is concerned with Padmanātha/Padmanarteśvara, and that a possible root text for this is the *Sarvabuddha-samāyogaḍākinīsaṃvaratantra*. In this proto yoginītantra, Padmanarteśvara is lord of one of six families headed respectively by Vajrasattva, Vairocana,

Heruka, Padmanarteśvara, Vajrasūrya, and Paramāśva (Tanaka 1993, citing Sanderson). Tanaka's introduction to the Chinese version of the *Lokeśvara-kalpa* (the *Yi-qie-fo she-xiang-jing da-jiao wang-jing sheng-guan-zi-zai pu-sa nian-song yi-gui*) suggests that the cult of Padmanarteśvara subsided with the rise of the Heruka family, bequeathing the tradition little else than a few short sādhanas. (The Padmanarteśvara sādhanas in the SM each present different iconographical forms of the god with his consort, Pāṇḍaravāsini; the nearest to Padmanarteśvara of the GSS text is SM30 *Padmanarteśvaralokanātha-sādhana*.) However, Padmanarteśvara's fame evidently continued beyond this, since he is still important in the *Ḍākinīvajrapaṇjaratantra* (Isaacson 1999: personal communication). In the Cakrasaṃvara tradition, Padmanarteśvara appears as an attendant deity on the southwest spoke of the *kāyacakra* in the Cakrasaṃvara maṇḍala in union with Mahābālā (see table 23). He remains there when this maṇḍala is taken over by Mahāvarāhamukhī in the *Ḍākārṇavatāntra*, a thirty-seven-deity maṇḍala of a form of Vajravārāhī with thirty-six animal faces (the central one of which is a boar), seventy-two arms, and eighteen legs (Ngor maṇḍalas plate 82, listings p. 146). Padmanarteśvara is also one of the armor gods (table 25). I am informed that the cult of Padmanarteśvara/Avalokiteśvara is central to the *maṇirimdu* festival, Thangbochi Monastery, Nepal (Martin Boord 1999: personal communication).

- 186 GSS10 (K45v6): *vaśyākaraṣaṇastambhanamāranoccātanāni ca | añjanam guḍikā-siddhiṃ tathānyāni bahūni ca | (8) | mahāmudrāpadam labdhvā vācā saṃyācitā mayā | vidhinā bhāvayet yas tvām tasmai dāsyasi tatphalam | (9) • guḍikāsiddhiṃ] em.; guḍikāsiddhis.*
- 187 GSS10 (v. 142cd K53r1): *mahāmudrāpadārūḍhaḥ siddho bhavati sādhaḥ • padārūḍhaḥ] em.; padarūḍhaḥ K; GSS26 (K94r6): gajendra iva madhupair nārībhir veṣṭito bhramet • madhupair] conj. Sanderson; madhurair K.*
- 188 GSS10 (K50r1–2, v. 88ab): *rāgāmbhodhijalam tartum sunaukeyam upasthitā.*
- 189 GSS10 (K53r6 v. 149): *yathā mahauśadham kiñcit susvādam vyādhighātakam | prajñopayasukham tadvat helayā kleśanāśakam.*
- 190 GSS10 (K46v6–47r, v. 27): *pradīpam jvālayet tatra prabhākarasamaprabham | yathā prakāśate viśvam pratyāṅgam ca viśeṣataḥ.*
- 191 GSS10 (K49v5, v. 84ab): *nakhakṣataṃ na dātavyaṃ paścāttāpanivṛttaye.* Wounding with nails and teeth for enhancing sexual pleasure is a topos of the *Kāmasūtra*.
- 192 GSS10 (K46v5, v. 25cd): *tāvanmātram tu kartavya<ṃ> na mano vihvalam yathā.*
- 193 GSS10 (K48v5, vv. 65–66): *tadanu cintayet tūrṇam abhiṣīncanti māṃ punaḥ | tathāgatā lokapālāḥ kiṃnaroragamānavāḥ | (65) rambhā tilottamā caiva nānāpsaroganānvitāḥ | puṣpadhūpādibhir vādyair nānārtyamahotsavaḥ | (66) • vādyair] corr.; vadyair K.*

Nihom (1995) has discussed the appearance of Tilottamā in other Buddhist tantras, e.g., as one of eight *apsarases* in the (kriyā)tantra *Bhūtaḍāmaratantra*, and in particular, in the *Hevajratāntra*. In the latter, she is to be attracted as foremost of *apsarases* beginning with Rambhā (HT2.9.21c–d: *karṣayet sadya*

rambhādīnām tilottamām), and on another occasion, as the agent of consecration (HT2.5.42cd: *abhiṣekaṃ vajragarbhasya dātum kṛṣyaṃ tilottamām*). Nihom points to another instance in which Tilottamā gives the consecration, this time to the Buddha on his path to enlightenment, according to the account given by Mkhas grub rje (pp. 36–37). Nihom’s understanding of the Tibetan text differs from that of Lessing and Wayman here, and he translates: “At that time, all the buddhas of the ten directions having gathered, they caused him to arise from [his] meditative-concentration by the sound of snapping their fingers. They said, ‘You are not able to become a completely enlightened one by this meditative-concentration alone.’ When he said, ‘How then?’ all the buddhas of the ten directions having attracted the divine maiden Tilottamā, she concretely gave the third, the prajñājñāna consecration.”

- 194 GSS10 (K501I, v. 87): *niścālanān mukhaṃ bodher aticālanāc cañcalaṃ manah | helayā khelayed devīm sahaṃsaktacetasaḥ*. • *niścālanān*] conj. Sanderson; *niścālānamukhaṃ* K. Cf. GSS43 (K12815 v. 17cd): *pratyāṅgasparśo ’py animittah | sahaṃsbudhiviplāvitacittah*, “The signless touching, also, of every limb, by which the mind is bathed in the ocean of *sahaṃ*.”
- 195 See Davidson (2002) for a discussion of the four *ānandas*, particularly in relation to the meaning of *sahaṃ*. The *ānandas* are related to the “four consecrations” (*caturabhiṣekas*) of the Hevajra system as follows, although some traditions invert the final two blisses (HT1.1.24 and HT2.3.5–9):

Endnote table i. *Four consecrations in the Hevajratantra*

consecrations (<i>abhiṣekas</i>)	blisses (<i>ānandas</i>)	moments (<i>kṣaṇas</i>)
ācārya	ānanda	vicitra
guhya	paramānanda	vipāka
prajñājñāna	viramānanda/ <i>sahaṃ</i> -	vimarda
caturtha	sahaṃjānanda/ <i>virama</i> -	vilakṣaṇa

- 196 GSS10 (K501I–2): *manthānāndolanam kāryaṃ devadevyoḥ svamudrayā | sahaṃnandam tu boddhavyam vilakṣaṇakṣaṇoditam | (90) | vajreṇa kṣobhayed devīm bodhicittam na cotṣjet | utṣṛṣte bodhicitte tu kutas tatra mahāsukham | (91) | manthayet kamalāmbhodhiṃ sahaṃmṛtakāmṣayā | vairāgyakālākūṭam ca nottiṣṭhati yathā tathā | (92)*.
- 197 “Churning” and “swinging” (*manthānāndolanam*) seem to refer to the movements of lovemaking. “Churning” (*manthānam*) would be the sexual action of the male; cf. *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra* line 4.48. (p. 24): *tato manthānayogena pūrve svetācalaṃ sṛjet*; “swinging” (*āndolanam*) would refer to the female action, cf. GSS10 v. 98ab (K5012): *kuryād āndolanāhlādam kiṃcid ākuñcya pañkajam*, and GSS10 v. 108ab (K5112): *daśadhāndolanam devī dadyād āhlādacetasā*. This may refer to a movement of the hips, as *āndolita* is classified as a “slow and oblique movement of the hips” in *Nāṭyaśāstra* (*Mānasollāsa* cited by M. Bose 1970: 74).

- 198 GSS26 (K94r6): *buddhe virāgāvasaro nāsty atra kiṃ bahuneti*. Cf. *Caṇḍamahā-roṣaṇatantra* (6.182–83, pp. 30–31): *anurāgāt prāpyate puṇyaṃ virāgād agham āpyate / na virāgāt paraṃ pāpaṃ na puṇyaṃ sukhataḥ paraṃ*.
- 199 The preliminaries to the sādhanā include the recitation of the emptiness mantra, and during the course of the subsequent love practices, the yogin is to contemplate his body as illusory. GSS10 (K50v3 v. 100): *sphuratsaṃhārayogena bhāvayed ātmavigrahaṃ | gandharvanagarākāraṃ mṛgaṭṛṣṇāmbucañcalam*.
- 200 GSS10 (K49v v. 83): *cumbanaṃ tu pradātva yaṃ yatra puṣpaiḥ supūjitam | mastakādi pādaparyantaṃ viśaty aṅga-^{<m>} † samaṅgatau † |* Cf. *Meghadūta* (v. 99): *aṅgenāṅgaṃ pratanu tanunā...viśati*.
- 201 GSS10 (K48v4 vv. 63–64). Other instances are at GSS10 K47vi–6 vv. 39–45 (visualization of the *dharmodayā*), K50r5 vv. 93–100 (producing offerings from the lovemaking), and K53r3 vv. 110–14 (*ātmamelaka* discussed below).
- 202 GSS10 (K51r1): *ekadaiva samuccārya vidyayā saha susvaram | nāda-bindulayālīnam idaṃ jāpasya lakṣaṇam |* (106) *śatam aṣṭottaraṃ japtvā kuryād anyonyacūṣaṇam | vajrābjayosaṃ samam tatra muhur garuḍamudrayā |* (107).
- 203 GSS10 (K51r5, v. 111d): *samarasojjvalam*; (K51r5, v. 112cd): *chedayantaṃ jagat-kleśaṃ trailokyasyāpi maṇḍalam*.
- 204 GSS10 (K51r6–v, v. 114): *śakracāpakrameṇaiva tal līnaṃ gaganāmbudhau | gaganam saha je līnaṃ bodhāmbhodhau mahodaye*.
- 205 GSS10 (K51v3): *ity evaṃ hi samādhistaḥ samagābhyāsanīścalah | tadā yogi bhavet siddho mahāmudrāmaharddhikah |* (v. 118) • *bhavet* em.; *bhavet yogi* K (ditto.).
- 206 The colophons to Virūpa’s sādhanā and two *stotras* name her “Trikāyavajrayoginī,” while in the colophons to GSS20, SM232, and SM238, and in the body of the texts themselves, she is simply referred to as “Vajrayoginī.”

The epithet “She Whose Head Is Severed” appears in Tibetan translations. Chinnamuṇḍā is the name given by all the sādhanas in the bsTan ’gyur (Benard 1994: 18 n. 35; see the appendix for details). Thus, for example, the Tibetan translation of the *Lakṣmīsādhana* (GSS24) is entitled the **Chinnamuṇḍā-vajravārāhisādhana* (Benard 1994: 66). Similarly, in the *Nandyāvartatrāya-mukhāgamanāma* attributed to Mekhalā and Kanakhalā (sDe dge bsTan ’gyur rgyud ’grel vol. 43 (Zi): 34–35), the sādhanā is instructed to visualize himself as *dBu bcad ma yum*, i.e., as “Chinnamuṇḍā” Vajravārāhī (*ibid.*: 14). A *Chinnamuṇḍā Sādhana* also appears in the *Rin ’byung brgya rtsa*, “Vajrayoginī of the Severed Head” (*rDo rje rnal ’byor ma dbu bcad ma*), or, according to Tāranātha, “Vajravārāhī of the Severed Head” (*rDo rje phag mo dbu bcad ma*) (Willson and Brauen 2000: 259–60), details for which see below n. 210.

In the Sanskrit sādhanas and *stotras* that I have seen, however, there are only two references to the name Chinnamastā, and these are made in a later hand in K (which in both cases are transmitted in N and D). In one instance, a second scribe adds to the original colophon in GSS25 that she is yellow and has a severed head (K92v6): *ity āryatrikāyavajrayoginī<pītachinnamastā>sādhana*. In the second instance, a second scribe inserts a corrupt verse in *sraddhārā* meter at the start of GSS24 that actually interrupts the first and second *pādas*

of the benedictory verse in *anuṣṭubh*. This states that the goddess generated inside the *dharmodayā* is Chinnamastā, “who has attained a threefold body, the triple path,” GSS24 (K89v6): *tasmin madhye trimārgā tritayatanugatā cchinna-mastā praśastā • trimārgā*] em. *trimārgam* codd. Cf. GSS27 (K94v5, v. 4cd): *trimārge samsthitā devī trikāyavajrayoginī*.

207 SM232 is almost identical to GSS20, but it has no *bali* mantra. However, a “floating” *bali* mantra is printed as SM238 (*Vajrayoginyā Balividdhiḥ*), which tallies with the longer *bali* mantra in GSS25, cited below. I suggest that SM232 and SM238 therefore belong together.

208 GSS25 (K91r5): *svanābhau vikasitaśuklavarnāpamkārāpariṇatam sitapadmaṁ śatadalam vibhāvayet. tatropari raktavarṇarephajam sūryamaṇḍalam bhāvayet. tatropari sindūravarnam dharmodayam ca vibhāvayet. tatrāpi ca madhye pīta-hrīmḥkārajā pītā svayam eva kartryā kartita<m> svamastakam vāmahastasthitam dhārayanti dakṣiṇahastasthakartryā sahitā ūrdhvavistṛta<vāma>bāhvī, adhona-mitadakṣiṇabhujā, vāsaśūnyā, prasāritadakṣiṇapādā ākuñcitavāmacaraṇā, kaban-dhād avadhūtivartmanā niḥśṛṣṭasṛgdhārā tasyā mukhe patati praviśati ca. apare lalanārasanābhyam ca niḥśṛṣṭya pārśvayoginyor mukhe praviśata iti bhāvyaṁ. • sindūravarnam*] em.; *sindūravarni* K • *pītahrīmḥkārajā*] em.; *pītahrīmḥkārajām* K • *vāsaśūnyā*] SM232; *vāmaśūnyā* K, *vāmah śūnyam* GSS20 K84v1. Cf. GSS24 (K90r4): *digvāsasām*, GSS27 (K94v5): *nagnā. • praviśati ca*] conj.; *praviśati vā* K. Cf. GSS20 (K84v2): *svamukhe praviśati*.

GSS24 (K90r1): *tataḥ samayī svanābhimadhye raktavikāsitaśuklavarnam vibhāvayet. tadupari raktaravimaṇḍalam paśyet. tasyopari raktahrīmḥkārasambhūtām dharmodayam viśvābhārkodarā<m>, tatra hrīmḥkāram vibhāvya taddhrīmḥkāra-pariṇatam bhagavatīm vajrayoginīm pītavarṇam raktacchāyām svakarakartyā vāsīram cchittvā vāmahastenordhavadhāriṇīm kartrikāśametadakṣiṇakarā<m> dhārāprasāriṇīm ālīdhapadaśthitām kapālālamkṛtāśīrasām muktakeśām digvāsa-sām mudrāmudritāṅgām śrībuddhadākinīm madhye, tataḥ cchinnaśīrodharām srotasam ūrdhvaṁ sravantiṁ rudhiradhārā<m> svamukhe plavantiṁ bhāvayet. • raktahrīmḥkāra-*] corr.; *raktahrīmḥkāram* K • *vibhāvya*] corr.; *vibhāvya* K • *dhārā*] em.; *dhara* K • *srotasam*] corr.; *śrotasam* K • *sravantiṁ*] corr.; *śravanti* K

209 GSS27 (K95r2): *karavad etayoḥ pādaḥ viparītau ca tau sthitau*; GSS20 (K84v4): *ubhayor yoginyor madhye 'ntarikṣe cātibhayākulaṁ smaśānam bhāvayed iti bhāvanā • kulam*] corr.; *kulām* K). Cf. GSS25 K92r1; GSS24 K90r.5.

210 Willson and Brauen (2000: 259–60). The text of the *Rin 'byung brgya rtsa* differs considerably from our Sanskrit sources, as the three deities are first self-visualized as one-headed forms of Vajrayoginī (in warrior stance, trampling Bhairava and Kālarātri, and holding the usual attributes, chopper and skull bowl, including a skull staff for the central figure). They are visualized as orange (Sarvabuddhadākinī in the center), green (“Vajravarnāni” to the left), and yellow (“Vairocani” to the right), with garlands and bone ornaments of the five mudrās, very wrathful amid blazing fire. Their mantras are given separately and are to be visualized with the syllables “all stacked up” within their *dharmodayās* (i.e., within the sexual organs): *oṃ sarvabuddhadākinī hūṃ phaṭ svāhā*;

oṃ vajravārṇaṇīye hūṃ phaṭ; oṃ vajravairocanaṇīye hūṃ phaṭ. The self-visualization then continues, as the meditator sees the principal deity cutting off her own head and holding it aloft by the hair “with the three eyes looking downward.” The text continues: “From the severed central channel in her neck, a jet of mixed white and red *bodhicitta* pours into her own mouth; from the left channel, *lalanā*, a jet of ‘semen’ (*kunda*) mixed with Akṣobhya pours into the mouth of the left deity; and from the right channel, *rasanā*, menstrual blood (*rajas*) mixed with ordinary blood pours into the mouth of the right one.” The *sādhana* then continues with other meditations and rites.

The Mongolian icons also depict this *sādhana*, illustrating each deity separately. The central deity, Chinnamastā (dBu bcad ma), is not shown with her head severed (IWS/T 81, LC 591), and she is described as a form of Vajravārāhi. “Vajravārṇaṇī” (rDo rje rab sngags ma) is seen as green, and painted in the IWS with a skull staff not given in the text or woodblock prints (IWS/T 82, LC 592, in which she is called “Vajrapraṇavā”). “Vairocaṇī” (rNam snang ma) is yellow, also with the addition of a skull staff in the IWS (IWS/T 83, LC 593).

- 211 GSS9 (K44v5): *hr̥di nānāvārṇaṇapaṃkārapariṇāmena viśvapadmaṃ bhāvayet. atropari raktarephapariṇāmena sūryamaṇḍale dharmodayaṃ samadhikarakta-varṇaṃ bhāvayet. dharmodayopari raktavarṇaṃ hr̥mkāraṃ. hr̥mkārādibhiḥ pūrvoktaiḥ samastaiḥ pariṇāmena vajrayoginīṃ kanakaśyāmāṃ sūryāsane padma-madhye. tathātra pārśve ḍākinīdvayaṃ bhāvayet. kartrikarotadharāṃ ālīḍha-padasaṃsthitāṃ. • ḍākinīdvayaṃ] SM234; sā(hu?)ladvayaṃ GSS9 K45r1, śāntadvayaṃ GSS30 K102r3 (perhaps for śaktīdvayaṃ?).*
- 212 GSS25 (K92r2): *idānīṃ pūjocyate. maṇḍalaṃ caturasraṃ tatra sūryopari tallagnāṃ dharmodayaṃ likhitvā tanmadhye hr̥mkāraṃ ālikhya pūjayet, tadbhāvāṃ vā pūrvoktarūpāṃ bhagavati<m> madhye āropya... (mantras given table 7). • tallagnāṃ] GSS25 (cf. GSS20: sūryālayalagnāṃ) • hr̥mkāraṃ ālikhya] conj.; hr̥m̐vāmālikhya K (cf. GSS20: hr̥mkārasahitāṃ, GSS5: hr̥mkāra<m> ca vicintya) • pūrvokta] conj.; pūrvoktāṃ K • madhye āropya] GSS25, cf. GSS20: tataḥ pūrvoktabhāvanayā bhaṭṭārikāṃ madhye āropya, GSS5: tajjāṃ uktarūpāṃ bhagavatīṃ pūjayet.*
- 213 The mantric unit *vajrapuṣpa* also appears in GSS25, in the worship section of the Vajradākinī maṇḍala in GSS16 (K79r6): *oṃ vajravairocanaṇīye hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ vajrapuṣpe svāhā. oṃ praṇavāvajradākinīye hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ vajrapuṣpe svāhā* etc., and in the installation of the fivefold maṇḍala of the red two-armed Vajrayoginī in GSS19 cited above (K83v2): *oṃ vajrayoginī vajrapuṣpaṃ praticcha svāhā. oṃ* etc.; see n. 129. The association of the unit *vajrapuṣpa*- with rites of worship is apparently borne out by the *Sāadhanamālā*. Nihom (1992: 224) finds that of the 312 *sādhana*s of this collection, thirteen use the vocative *vajrapuṣpe* in mantras of worship, and the remaining 299 appear in the context of traditional pūjā. Nihom states that the occasions upon which a single flower is offered are those upon which the name of the deity is specifically cited. Otherwise, *vajrapuṣpe* is usually found as first of a set of five relating to the five gifts of the standard pūjā (*pañcopacārah*). Nihom (*ibid.*: 224 and n. 15) offers the fol-

- lowing breakdown of sādhanas in the SM that contain the term *vajrapuṣpa-*: SM3, SM7, SM15, SM35, SM36, SM50, SM80, SM128, SM129, SM131, SM159, SM266, and SM234. The “honorific” prefix *vajra-* is sometimes omitted, e.g., in SM12, SM67, and SM147. The name of the deity appears in conjunction with the offering of a single flower in SM3, SM35, SM36, and SM159.
- 214 E.g., GSS24 (K90v3): *tatra oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākinīye hūṃ svāhety anena mantreṇa dharmodayāmadhye puṣpaṃ dattvā tato 'rghaṃ dattvā dhūpagandhādibhiḥ samantraiḥ pūjayet*. For the offering of guest water alone, see GSS25 cited table 7, n. i.
- 215 In the second group of sources, the first offering (presumably the unilateral offering to the central goddess as three-in-one) is made in the center, but to the single mantra deity Sarvabuddhaḍākinī. The next offerings are made to Sarvabuddhaḍākinī “in front” (or to “Buddhaḍākinī” in GSS30 and SM234), to Vajravarṇanī (usually left) “in the south/right” (*dakṣiṇe*), and to Vajravairocanī (usually right) “to the west/behind” (*pāścīme*). These are the points usually associated with a circular maṇḍala, in which the goddesses are installed in a counterclockwise manner, east-south-west (and north, omitted here).
- 216 The *japa* mantra is omitted in GSS5, however. In the GSS texts, the tripartite mantra begins with a single *oṃ* syllable. A variant appears in SM232 (p. 453): *oṃ oṃ oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākinīye vajravarṇanīye vajravairocanīye hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā*, which is the form of the tripartite mantra raised in the *mantroddhāra* (GSS1≈GSS2) loosely known in the Tibetan tradition as the “three *oms*.” This formulation of the mantra is found also in Virūpā’s *Chinnamunḍāsādhana* in the bsTan ’gyur (vol. 23: 411–15), which Nihom (1992: 224) presents as partial evidence for Virūpā’s authorship of SM232 (≈our anonymous GSS20).
- 217 The colors of the three goddesses do not seem to be determined by the contents of the channel, which in SUT ch. 7 vv. 16–18 are given as semen in *Avadhūti*, blood in *Rasanā*, and urine in *Lalanā* (cf. HT1.1.15).

Endnote table ii. *Yogic channels in the Trikāyavajrayoginīsādhana*

	SUT Ch. 7, vv. 16–18		GSS texts	
center	Avadhūti	semen	Sarvabuddhaḍākinī	yellow
right	Rasanā	blood	Vajravairocanī	yellow
left	Lalanā	urine	Vajravarṇanī	dark/red

- 218 GSS27 (K94v4): *hrīmḱāro madhyabhāge 'syāḥ pītavarṇaḥ prakīrtitaḥ* | (2cd) | *tadbhavā pītavarṇā ca. avadhūtyā<m> ca svayaṃ sthitā* | *lalanāyāṃ tu suśyāmā. rasanāyāṃ ca gaurikā* | (3) | *pratyalīḍhapadā nagnā madhye pīṭamanoramā* | *trimārge samsthitā devī trikāyavajrayoginī* | (4) | *seyaṃ nāmnā bhaved ekā sarvasambuddhaḍākinī* | (5ab).

- (v. 2a) °bhāge 'jyāḥ] conj. °bhāgebhyoḥ K • (v. 5a) nāmnā] conj.; nāmvā K94v5, nāmrā D72r1. (The verses continue with an iconographical description of Vajravārṇanī and Vajravairocanī.)
- 219 GSS26 (v. 12cd): *lalanārasanāyogād avadhūtī mahāsukhā*.
- 220 The notion that the yogic structures of the body can be understood as a goddess with a fourfold nature also appears in the *Samvarodayatantra*. The lotuses at the head cakra (ch. 31, vv. 19–23) and at the navel cakra (ch. 31, vv. 27–31) are both said to have a seed-syllable at their center, each of which gives rise to a goddess attended by *Lalanā* and *Rasanā*, SUT ch. 31 (vv. 29–30ab): *lalanā prajñāsvarūpeṇa rasanopāyena samsthitā / tayo madhyagatam devī amkāram viśvarūpiṇī / 29 / catuṣkāyātmakam devī sarvasiddhipradāyini*. The central goddess embodies *sahaja* bliss (v. 23a) and has the nature of four joys (v. 22d: *catvārānandarūpiṇī*). Cf. HT1.1.20 on the thirty-two channels: *tribhavapariṇatāḥ sarvā grāhyagrāhakavarjitāḥ / athavā sarvopāyena bhāvalakṣaṇakalpitaḥ*.
- 221 For a discussion of this set, see Heilijgers-Seelen (1994: 21, 132) and citations by Sircar (1948: 11–15). Sircar's thesis—that these four sites represent an ancient grouping from which longer lists of sites later developed—is refuted by Kalff (1979: 101). Sircar (*op. cit.*: 12) notes the appearance of this fourfold set in HT1.7.12: *pīṭham jālandharam khyātam oḍḍiyānam tathaiva ca / pīṭham paurṇagiriś caiva kāmārūpam tathaiva ca*.

Sanderson (2001: personal communication) has remarked that although in Śaiva sources, Oḍḍiyāṇa, Pūrṇagiri, and Kāmārūpa often appear with Jālandhara as a set of sites, he has seen no other reference to Śrīhaṭṭa/Sylhet (evidence of the east Indian basis of this set) in any tantric Śaiva scripture. However, it appears that it is found in the Nāth tradition, as Sanderson records its presence, in texts teaching the yoga of the Nāth yogins. See Mallik (1954: 40, v. 81a) and references in Mallinson (2002).

- 222 GSS26 (K93v6, v. 13cd): *yām labdhvā yogino muktā bhavasāgarabandhanāt*.
- 223 The *balī* mantra appears in full in Virūpa's *sādhana* (GSS25 K92v3) and almost identically in the *Sāadhanamālā* (SM238 p. 458). Only the second half of this *balī* mantra appears in GSS20 (K85r3). GSS25 (K92v3): *om <śrī> vajrayogini sarvabhūtapretapiśācādīn āśodhaya 2 hana 2 daha 2 grasa 2 sarvasiddhisāadhanāni prayaccha sarvāśāṃ me paripūraya svāhā. om śrīvajrayogini sarvasiddhiṃ <me> kuru 2 sarvaviḡṇavināyakān hana 2 samyaksambodhaye mama idaṃ balim grhṇa 2 hūṃ 3 phaṭ 3 svāhā*.
- *om...paripūraya svāhā*] GSS25, SM238, omitted GSS20 • *śrīvajrayogini*] SM238; *vajrayogini* GSS25 • *āśodhaya*] GSS25; *sodhaya sodhaya* SM238 (SM 238 repeats imperatives rather than supplying “2”) • *sāadhanāni*] SM238, *sādhani* GSS25; *prādhani* Locke's ms. (Nihom 1992: 228) • *sarvāśāṃ*] em; *sarvāsāṃ* GSS25, SM (variant in ms. “C”) • *om śrīvajrayogini sarvasiddhiṃ*] GSS25, SM238; *om vajrayoginiye samsiddhiṃ me* GSS20 • *vināyakān*] GSS25, SM238; *vināyakānāṃ* GSS20 • *idaṃ balim*] GSS25; *balim* SM238 • *grhṇa 2*] GSS25; *grhṇa* SM238; *grhṇatha 2* GSS20 • *hūṃ*] GSS25; *hūṃ* SM238.

In contrast, the *balī* mantra in the *Lakṣmīsādhana* is based on the *japa* mantra

and describes simple worship offerings of flower, incense, fragrant powder, and the *bali* itself, GSS24 (K91r3).

- 224 The motif of the severed head appears in different contexts in the wider Indian tradition. In popular epic tales, such as those recounted in the *Vikramacarita*, the hero is able to demonstrate his unflinching faith by offering blood from his own throat to the goddess as an act of faith, e.g., *Vikramacarita* ch. 7 and ch. 8; *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Somadeva 1994: 216–19).

The motif also appears in the mythology of local cults, as in the folktales and devotional songs of Rajasthan, in which a warrior-hero (the *jhumjhar ji* or *bhomiya*) slices his head off before the battle (or loses it in the course of battle), but fights on to kill many enemies before dying himself (Kothari 1989; J. Smith 1991: 90).

Myths in south India tell of the goddess Reṇukā, who both loses and regains her head, based on the Purāṇic tale in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* ch. 9.16. (Local variants to the myth have been explored by Sonya Stark and discussed in a paper given at Wolfson College, Oxford, Michaelmas Term 1996, entitled “Who Is Reṇukā? Some Mythological and Ritualistic Aspects of a Popular South Indian Goddess.” See also Benard (1994: 6) on the *Mahābhārata* (3.117.5–19).

The theme is also popular in the Śaiva tradition, which develops its own tradition of Chinnamastā, borrowing and adapting from the Trikāvajrayoginī cult. Chinnamastā is one of the ten Mahāvidyās (emanations of Sati); her severed-headed form is explained in a myth recounted in the *Śaktisaṃgamatantra* (4.5.152–73) (see S. Gupta 2000). Sanderson (2001: personal communication) dates the earliest evidence for Chinnamastā worship in Śaivism to the work of Sarvānandanātha, one of the earliest east Indian tantric authors, living in Bangladesh probably in the fifteenth century. Included in a list of some sixty-four Śaiva tantras from the *Todalatantra* (vv. 2.2–20), Sarvānandanātha (*Sarvollāsa* 3.1–29) helpfully quotes a section from the *Jñānadvīpa* that mentions Chinnamastā (3.23). This passage lists ten Mahāvidyās: Kālī, Tārā, Tripurā, Bhuvaneśvarī, Bhairavī, Chinnamastā, Dhūmāvatī, Bagalāmukhī, Mātāṅgī, and Kamalā (Sanderson *ibid.*). See also Kinsley (1997: 144–66), Pal (1981: 79–86) for Chinnamastā as one of the ten Mahāvidyās, and the full discussions by Bühnemann that chronicle the Hindu borrowings from the Buddhist tradition (2000i: 37–38, 107–12).

Śākta Śaivas adopted Chinnamastā into their ritual practices, and *paddhatis* for her worship appear throughout the period to the present day (Sanderson 1999: personal communication). Benard (1994: 33–34) describes a Chinnamastā sādhanā from the *Chinnamastātāntra* that forms part of the nineteenth-century *Śākta Pramoda* (a popular manual of tantric ritual for pūjā of the ten *mahāvidyās* and *pañcadevatā*). B. Bhattacharyya (1932: 159–61) compares the iconography and mantras of the Buddhist [Trikāya]vajrayoginī and the “Hindu Chinnamastā” from the later *śākta* texts, the *Tantrasāra* and the *Chinnamastākālpa*. For plates see Pal 1981: 79–83, Herrmann-Pfandt 1992: 269, plate 7, and Benard 1994: plate 2, with p. 13.

- 225 Benard (1994: 10) cites this story from the *Kahna pa* in Tāranātha's *The Seven Special Transmissions*. In the Tibetan *Legends* it is to Kṛṣṇācārya that the two sisters Mekhalā and Kanakhalā owe their initiation into the Vajravārāhi maṇḍala, and it is also he who later tests their realization by demanding their severed heads as a fee (Dowman 1985: 317ff.). Herrmann-Pfandt (1992: 262–75) also discusses the textual background and symbolism of the self-decapitated ḍākinī.
- 226 Cited by Benard (1994: 11) from the *gter ton*, *Orgyan las'phro gling pa*, dated 1586–1656 (*ibid.*: p. 19, n. 40). The story does not appear in the *Legends* of Abhayadatta.
- 227 GSS5 (K34r3): *kiṃ ceyam eva bhagavatī vajravairocanī vajrayoginīty ucyate. asyaś ca yathāgamaṃ yathopadeśaṃ bahuprakārā āmnāyabhedāḥ*. (Sed p. 150.)
- 228 Western scholars and museums frequently use the name Sarvabuddhaḍākinī. De Mallmann (1975: 339) provides a separate entry on “Sarvabuddhaḍākinī,” stating that Tibetan sources equate her with Nāro-ḍākinī (also called Nāḍi-ḍākinī), a form of Vajravārāhi related to the adept Nāropa. She mentions the appearance of Sarvabuddhaḍākinī in three sādhanas in the *Sāadhanamālā* (SM234≈GSS9=GSS30, SM236≈GSS19, and SM249=*balividhi* from GSS21), although here the name Sarvabuddhaḍākinī occurs only within the mantras, and the goddess of the practice is actually called Vajrayoginī. De Mallmann overlooks other occurrences in the same mantras in other sādhanas (e.g., SM225, SM226, SM232, and SM233). Bhattacharyya (1924/1985: n. 155) seems to equate Sarvabuddhaḍākinī with the Trikāvajrayoginī form; he states, “The headless form is designated in the Mantra as Sarvabuddhaḍākinī, while the other form is called in the Mantra as Vajrayoginī [*sic*].” In fact, he is referring to four sādhanas, *all* of which use the mantra epithet Sarvabuddhaḍākinī, and he also overlooks all the other sādhanas that give this mantra. Bunce (1994: 480) refers to Sarvabuddhaḍākinī as the “patroness of the Sa skya sect.”
- 229 This is a particular topos of the twenty-one-verse *stotra* (GSS42), in which she is said to appear as the goddess of other religious systems (see the appendix) and in many forms and colors, e.g., v. 11ab (K126r6): *sattvāśayaśaiva nirmītānekarūpiṇī • vaśenaiva* C; *vaśenaiva* K • *nirmītānekarūpiṇī* em.; *nirmītānaikarūpiṇī* K, *nirmītā ekarūpiṇī* C.
- 230 GSS5 (Sed p. 152, K37r4): *tad evamādayaḥ siddhopadeśaparamparāyātā vineyāśayabhedād anantā bhagavatya āmnāyā boddhavyāḥ. dīnīmātram idaṃ darśitam. eṣu ca krameṣu kramam ekam ādāya śraddhādayāvān niḥsaṅgaḥ samayasevī nirvicikīṣo bhāvayen niyamena sādhayati. • evamādayaḥ* em.; *ādāya(h)* K(del) • *āmnāyā* em.; *āmnāyā • śraddhā* conj., *śraddho* K.
- 231 *Namaskāra* in *anuṣṭubh* GSS5 (Sed p. 125¹, K14v1): *namo 'stu vajrayoginyai śūnyatākaruṇātmane | bibharti mūrtivaicitryaṃ yā jagadbhāvabhedataḥ. • yā* em.; *yo* K.

Āśīrvāda in *sārdūlavikrīḍita* GSS5 (Sed p. 125³, K14v2): *yā sambodhisudhā-sudhāvanavaśād vaiśadyavidyotitā, śāntāpy ātanute vineyajanatārāgād bahiḥ śoṇatām | bibhrāṇā kulīsaṃ kapālam amalāṃ khaṭvāṅgam ugradyuti, seyaṃ*

vajravilāsini bhagavatī bhūyād vibhūtyai tava. • ugradyuti] conj. Isaacson.; *ugra-jyotiḥ* K. (*hyper.*)

- 232 E.g., YRM on HT1.6.6 (p. 119): *caryānurūpaṃ sthānam*; SM172 (p. 347): *mano'ānukūle sthāne*.
- 233 For lists of sites in the GSS, see the Advayavajra-based sādhanas GSS3≈SM217≈SM251 (K11v7): *girigahvarādīmanorame sthāne*; GSS3 (K102v4): *prātar ūtthāya mukhaśaucādikam kṛtvā grhādaḥ, athavā mantram samayaṃ prāpya śmaśāna-girigahvare, ekavṛkṣe naditīre parvatamastake vā manonukūle*; GSS34 (K11v3): *vṛkṣamūle svagrhe <vā?> vijane nirupadrave vasan*. Longer lists appear in other Cakrasaṃvara-based scriptures. Sanderson (1994 n. 8) cites an interesting passage in the SUT (11.3cff.) that equates each deity of the maṇḍala with a particular siddhi and with a meditation place appropriate to its cultivation. He also gives other examples, e.g., SUT ch. 8.2–3b (f. 12v6): *svagrheṣu guptasthāne vijane ca manorame | girigahvarakuñjeṣu mahodadhitāṣeṣu vā | śmaśāne mātṛgrhe ca nadisaṃgamamadhyataḥ*; and *ibid.*: f. 20r. 4–5; Yoginījālamahātāntra (f. 30v.9, 16.13): *girigahvarakuñjeṣu mahodadhitāṣeṣu ca | catuspatheṣu maṇḍapasthāne śmaśāne ca manorame*; ADU (f. 14.5, 4.5c): *girigahvarakuñjeṣu naditīreṣu saṃgame mahodadhitāṣeṣu ramye | ekavṛkṣe śivālaye mātṛgrhe śmaśāne vā, udyāne vividhottame | viharacaityalayane grhe vātha catuspathe*; Dākinījālasaṃvara (f. 3r.5–6). Cf. HT1.6.6: *mātṛgrhe* and the glosses cited in Snellgrove 1959: 63, n.6; and GS 12.65: *girigahvarakuñjeṣu sadā siddhir avāpyate • kuñjeṣu*] conj. Isaacson. *kuleṣu* ed.; *Vārāhyabhyudayatāntra* vv. 7–8. In the *Sādhana-mālā*, see SM1 (p. 1) *parvatāranyādiṣu guhāgrhārāmālayānādiṣu vā viviktavijaneṣu manorameṣu vasan*; SM7 (p. 28): *devagrhe*; SM142 (p. 290): *devagrhaṃ praviśya*; SM172 (p. 347): *kva cin manonukūle sthāne strijanasaṃsargādirahite*; SM187 (p. 389): *śmaśāne gahanagiriguhāgahvarakroḍasaṃdh <y>au vṛkṣe vātha svagehe kvacid api vigatopadrave vā pradēse. • kroḍa*] em. Sanderson, *krodha* SMed.; SM239 (p. 458): *dhyānālayaṃ praviśya*; SM265 (p. 515): *nadisaṃgame śmaśāne vā ekavṛkṣe devāyatane śrīvājradharagrhe vā ityevamādisthāne*; SM267 (p. 525): *kvacit girigahvarādaḥ manonukūle pradēse*.

Extreme practices of this kind are not new to the Buddhist tradition. The *dhutaṅgas* (Pali), originally prohibited by the Buddha, include living in the jungle and at the foot of trees. See Dantinne's (1991) monograph; cf. entries in PED on *Vinaya* vv. 131, 193, etc., and on *dhutaṅga* in Edgerton (1953).

- 234 E.g., SM47 (p. 97): *cauradhvanipramukhakaṇṭakavarjite ca nirvartya kṛtyam aparaṃ ca sukhaṃ nispadya*; SM52 (p. 109): *sugandhopalīptaṃ nānāpuṣpāva-kīrṇaṃ bhūmibhāgaṃ kṛtvā*; etc.
- 235 GSS1 (K279v3 ≈ GSS2 K11v4): *sukumārāsane yogalīlayā*. Cf. GSS24 (K89v6): *bhūbhāge sukhāsanāśina-*; SM1 (p. 3): *sukhāsanopaviṣṭaḥ*; SM24 (p. 54): *mṛduviṣṭarāsanopaviṣṭaḥ • °viṣṭarāsano*] conj. Sanderson; °*viṣṭarāmalo* SMed.; SM54 (p. 110): *tatra madhye paṭṭamasūrakam tatropaviśya...*; SM65 (p. 130): *masūrakādyupaviṣṭaḥ*; SM96 (p. 193): *atyantasukhāsanopaviṣṭaḥ*; SM112 (p. 238): *mṛdvāsanopaviṣṭaḥ*; etc.
- 236 The references to the vajra seat are found in the Advayavajra-based texts. See

GSS3 (K11v7–12r1) and SM251 (p. 490): *viśvavajrasamāśīnaḥ*; GSS31 (K102v4): *viśvavajramayī-āsīnaḥ*; GSS16 (K76r2) and SM217 (p. 424): *viśvavajrāsānāsīnaḥ*. The last is closest to the Tibetan translation of SM251, *sNa tshogs rdo rje gdan la 'dug ste*, cited by Sanderson (1994 n. 7); cf. ADUT 4.10 (*ibid.*), which describes the meditator, “[seated] with focused awareness on a lovely seat sealed with a *viśva* [vajra-] over a spread [of *kuśa* grass].” *viśvamudrāsane ramye vistareṣu samāhitah*. • *vistareṣu* em. Sanderson; *viṣṭareṣu*.

For the corpse seat, see for example GSS5 (Sed p. 125⁸, K14v5): *kvacit chmaśānaparvatādideśe sukhāsānopaviṣṭaḥ sāksāc chavopaviṣṭho vā*; cf. SM218 Koṅka-datta’s *Prajñālokaśādhana* (p. 426): *kvacit śmaśānādaṁ mano’nukūle sthāne saccandanādyupalīpte nānāpuṣpaprakaropasobhite sāksāt śavāsane vā yathā-sukham upaviśya...*; and (p. 430): *kvacit pradēśe śavaparyāṅkena sukhāsānopaviṣṭaḥ*.

237 Sanderson (1994, n. 7) notes that this is no different from the posture described by mainstream Mahāyāna exegetes such as Kamalaśīla, and traditionally understood to be modeled upon the Buddha’s posture. He cites *Bhāvanākrama* II (p. 4): *mrđutarasukhāsane vairocanabhaṭṭārakabaddhaparyāṅkenārđhaparyāṅkena vā niśadya*, “Having sat down in the *paryāṅka* [posture] adopted by the lord Vairocana, or in the *ardhaparyāṅka* [posture], on a very soft and comfortable seat....” And *Bhāvanākrama* I (p. 205): *sukhāsānopaviṣṭaḥ paryāṅkaṁ ābhujya samādhim abhiniṣpādayet*. Cf. SM81 (p. 157): *maṇḍalamadhye vajraparyāṅkenopaviṣṭaḥ*, etc.; SM82 (p. 159): *paryāṅkenopaviśya*; SM110 (p. 224): *-dhyānāgārādikaṁ praviśya sukhāsane paryāṅkaṁ baddhvā*; etc.

238 This is a quote from a longer passage (again cited by Sanderson 1994 n. 7) that appears also in the *Kriyāsamuccaya* (66, 5–6): VĀ (ms. A f. 11v1–6) (my underlining): *tatra vajraparyāṅkaṁ bhūmiśparśamudrābandhanād vajrāsānābhīnayaḥ* 1, *samādhimudrābandhanād dhyānāsānābhīnayaḥ* 2, *dakṣiṇajamghoromadhye vāmaṁ pādaṁ nyasya tadupari vāmajamghoromadhye dakṣiṇaṁ nyased iti vajraparyāṅkaḥ* 3, *dakṣiṇajamghāyāṁ vāmajamghāṁ kṛtvāvanataṁ jānūdvyayam kuryād iti padmāsanaṁ* 4, *vāmorūpari dakṣiṇaṁ pādaṁ vinyasya vāmaṁ dakṣiṇorutale sthāpayet <iti> satvaparyāṅkaḥ* 5,...

The passage in full describes a series of ten postures to be assumed one after the other by the Vajrācārya during the preliminary ritual of “appropriating the site” (*bhūparigrahaavidhiḥ*). The first is the *vajrāsana*, in which the legs are in the *vajraparyāṅka* and the hands are in the earth-touching *mudrā* (see *Sādhana-mālā* vol. 2 cxlviii plate I). The next is the *dhyānāsana*, which is identical except that the hands are in the meditation *mudrā*. After the *vajraparyāṅka* itself comes the *padmāsana*, in which both knees are on the ground with the left calf placed on the right. This is followed by another seated posture commonly prescribed for *sādhana* practice, the *sattvaparyāṅka* (e.g., SM39 p. 85; SM80 p. 154; SM147 p. 305). This reverses the position of the feet in the *vajraparyāṅka* and puts the left foot on top, as stated in the VĀ: “Having placed the right foot on top of the left thigh, he should position the left on the surface of the right thigh. This is *sattvaparyāṅka* [posture].” Cf. *Caṇḍ-*

mahāroṣaṇatantra 6.161–62: “Having placed the right shank gracefully on top of the left shank, it is called the *sattvaparyāṅka*, which grants all happiness and desires.” *vāmajaṅghopari sthāpya / savyajajaṅghām tu līlayā / khyāto ’yam sattvaparyāṅkaḥ / sarvakāmasukhapradah*. The remaining postures are variations on seated or squatting poses.

- 239 E.g., GSS16 (K76r3): *sthānātmayogarakṣāṃ kuryāt, om āḥ hūṃ mantreṇa*.
 240 E.g., GSS2 (K4v2): *mantrādhiṣṭhitasthāne upaviśya*. For a complex preparatory rite prior to worship, see mKhas grub rje (pp. 279–83).
 241 E.g., SM218 (p. 426): *ardhayāmāvaśeṣāyām rajanyām vidhinoththitaḥ*. Sanderson (1999: personal communication) points to Aghoraśiva’s prescription to rise within “five *nādikās* [twenty-four minutes]” (i.e., two hours) of early dawn; see Aghoraśiva’s *Paddhati* (cited in Brunner-Lachaux 1963, vol. I, p. 5, n. 3b): *prātasamayāt pūrvam pañcanādikāvaccchede samutthāya*.
 242 E.g., GSS16 (K76r1): *prātar utthāya mukhaśaucādikam kṛtvā...*; SM20 (p. 51): *prathamam mukhaśaucādikam kṛtvā*; SM48 (p. 100): *vadanaśaucādim kṛtvā*; SM239 (p. 458): *prātar utthāya svahrtsūryasthahūṃkārarasṃmibhir ātmānam viśodhya kṛtamukhaśaucādikah*; SM123 (p. 254): *om huṃ vajrāṅge mama rakṣa rakṣa phaṭ svāhā ity anienātmaraṣāṃ kṛtvā prathamam tāvad yogi mukhaśaucādikam kṛtvā...*; etc. For the bath conceived as a consecration, see above.
 243 GSS5 (Sed p. 125⁹, K14v5): *om a ā i ī u ū ṛ ṛ ḷ ḷ ū e ai o au am aḥ ka kha ga gha ṇa ca cha ja jha ṇa ṭa ṭha ḍa ḍha ṇa ta tha da dha na pa pha ba bha ma ya ra la va śa ṣa sa ha kṣa huṃ huṃ phaṭ. ity ālikālipaṅkti<m> spharatpañcaraśmikām trir uccārya pariveśya sthitām spharattricakradevatāvṛndamarditavighnavṛndām bhāvayet. iti vāgviśuddhiḥ • devatāvṛnda* em. Sed/Tib; *devatāvṛndam* K.

A scriptural source for the recitation of alphabet is YSCT *paṭala* 12 (A6r6, B9r2). Much briefer references to the *vāgviśuddhi* appear in the Advayaavajra-related texts GSS3=31 (K12r1): *ālikālim vāratrayam uccārya...*; and GSS16 (K76r2): *yogī ālikālim vāratrayam uccārya...*

- 244 Śāsvatavajra’s *Bāhyapūjāvidhi* (p. 52): *iha śricakrasamvaram maṇḍalake pūjayitukāmo yogi prātar utthāya yathāvasaram vā, avismṛtadevatāyogas tathaiva sudṛḍhatadahaṃkāravān, vismṛtadevatāyogas tu pañcaskandhādyahaṃkāravān, svabhāvaśuddhamantroccāraṇapūrvakam śūnyatām adhimucya...*
 245 GSS5 (Sed p. 125¹⁵, K15r1): *viśuddhaskandhādisamuttham pūjādikam bodheḥ śighrakāraṇam bhavatīti skandhādiviśuddhim adhimuñcet. tatra rūpādiśu vijñānaparyanteṣu phenabudbudamarīcikadalīmāyopamatvena niśceyā vairocanādayaḥ. tathatāyām akṣobhyaḥ. yad vā vairocanāddevatādhimokṣa eva teṣām viśuddhiḥ. • viśuddhaskandhā* em.; *viśuddhiskandhā* K • *samuttham*] conj.; *samutthā(na)* K(del). The remaining text is summarized in table 9.

The practice given by Śākyarakṣita in the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5 Sed p. 125, K15r1) is related to Lūyīpāda’s HĀ (f. 1v) in that it uses the same correlations, but it is fuller than Lūyīpāda’s version. The scriptural source for Lūyīpāda is probably the YSCT (ch. 1, vv. 5–9; A1v3): *prathamam tāvad yogiśvareṇa pañcaskandhāhaṃkāram utpādayet*. It also appears as a preliminary practice in the *Cakrasamvarasādhana* (Dawa-Samdud 1919: 79), and the *Vārāhyabhyu-*

dayatantra (vv. 22–26). The practice is common in earlier tantric systems also; note GS (ch. 17 v. 50): *pañcaskandhāḥ samāśena pañcabuddhāḥ prakīrtitāḥ / vajrāyatanāny eva bodhisattvāgryamaṇḍalam*; Candrakīrti discusses this practice in the opening portion of his commentary (PU on GST ch. 1, p. 18).

There are various discrepancies between these texts. For the buddhas correlated with the skandhas, HĀ, YSCT, and *Vārāhyabhyudayantra* read Vajrasūrya for Ratnasambhava; Padmanarteśvara for Amitābha; Vajrarāja for Amoghasiddhi; Śrī-Herukavajra for Akṣobhyavajra. For the buddhas correlated with the sense organs, the alternative buddha names (Mohavajra, etc.) do not appear in my mss. of HĀ, YSCT, or in the *Vārāhyabhyudayantra* (except for Aisvaryavajra, v. 24). For “whole body,” ADUT ch. 9 (p. 286) reads “touch” (*sparsa*). The set of goddesses correlated with the elements does not appear in the HĀ, while the YSCT mentions them, but without giving them their alternative names. For Narteśvari the YSCT (ch. 1, v. 6, A1v5) reads Padmanarteśvari, and *Vārāhyabhyudayantra* (v. 26b), Nartanī. For Padmajālīnī there is the variant Padmajālīnī (K16r2, *Vārāhyabhyudayantra* v. 26c).

246 The alternate names appear only in GSS5: (Sed p. 126⁷, K15v5): *tatra mohavināśanān mohavajrah, dveṣadveṣaṇād dveṣavajrah, irṣyāsarvāṅgamātsarya-vināśād irṣyāvajrādayas trayah, sarvāisvaryadānād aīsvaryavajrah*.

247 The yogatantra “mothers” are identified with the elements in a verse from the GST (ch. 17 v. 51: *prthivī locanākhyātā, abdhātūr māmakī smṛtā / pāṇḍarākhyā bhavet tejo vāyus tārā prakīrtitā*). In earlier tantric systems they are the consorts of the five buddhas, the fifth consort being Vajradhātīśvari (e.g., *Vimalaprabhā*, cited *Bauddhatantrakośa* p. 85).

248 GSS1≈GSS2 (K279v4/K4v2): *tad anu kāyavākciṭtapariśuddhaye mādhvīm gauḍīm paiṣṭīm trividham divyodakam yathālābham pañcapīyūśasamyuktam arghapātre samsthāpya tryakṣaramantrenābhimantriyaitenodakena vāmahastād ārabhya sarvāṅgapratyaṅgamantrasnānam kuryāt tenaiva pūjādravyam ca prokṣayet. tadanantaram <om vaṃ?> hām yom, hrīm mom, hrem hrīm, hum hum, phaṭ phad—ity etair mantrākṣarair vāmakarāṅguṣṭhādīkam viśodhya trivīśuddhim uccārayet... • mādhvīm gauḍīm paiṣṭīm trividham divyodakam* conj.; *mādhvigauḍīpaiṣṭītrividhādivyodakam* GSS1 *mṛdvikāmādhvikāgauḍīkāpaiṣṭīkācaturvidham* GSS2; • *sarvāṅgapratyaṅgamantrasnānam* GSS2; *sarvāṅgam pratyaṅgamantram* GSS1 • *om vaṃ* GSS2, omitted GSS1. (The inclusion of *om vaṃ* in GSS2 is possibly because it is the first of the set of six armor syllables (GSS11 §6), but the addition is perhaps unnecessary because the purification here is of the “thumb and fingers,” for which a set of five syllables suffices. In the hand worship, *om vaṃ* is placed on the palm, not on the digits of the hand; see above) • *vāmakarāṅguṣṭhādīkam viśodhya* GSS2; *vāmakarāṅguṣṭhāni samśodhya* GSS1. On the types of spiritous liquor, note SUT (ch. 26, vv. 30–33).

249 E.g., GSS35 (K18r4): *nagno muktakeśaḥ. athavā raktakeśapariḍhāyī raktavastra-sukhī*. This process of assimilation to the deity is well attested in the Śaiva tantric tradition. Khanna (1986: 217) describes the “special rule” that before approaching the deity, the devotee must abolish all distinction of sex and person and

assume the identity of the deity (*tripurīkṛtavigraha*, *Nityāṣoḍaśīkārṇava* 1, 122b). The adept is to adorn himself in a manner that resembles his inner vision of the deity. Thus, in the Tripurasundarī tradition, he dresses as a woman in fine red garments, hair and body adorned with red flowers, mouth filled with betel and herbs (to dye it red), the body red with vermilion powder and scented with musk (*Nityāṣoḍaśīkārṇava* ch. 1, vv. 103–5). Assuming the guise of a woman (*strīrūpadhāritvam*) was accepted by exegetes such as Bhāskararāya (*Setubandhu*, *ibid.*: p. 78): *raktakusumasya strīveśasya vā parigrahaḥ*. In later sources, false breasts and wigs were also prescribed (*Śaktisaṃgamatantra* vol. 2.18, 72–75) in order to promote the sādha's "immersion in the religious sentiment" (*bhāvaveśaḥ*). See also *Jayadrathayāmala* (NAK ms. 1.1468, f. 3r 1.4 cited Khanna *op. cit.*: 219): *rasāveśavaśasthityā devatākārāmbanam*. (References as supplied by Khanna are to the *Nityāṣoḍaśīkārṇava* with *Setubandha* by Bhāskararāya, eds. Kāśinātha Vāsudeva Abhayamkara and Gaṇeśāśāstrī Ambādāsa Joshi. 1976. ASG no. 56; and *Śaktisaṃgamatantra*, vol. 1 *Kālikhaṇḍa*, vol. 2 *Tārākhaṇḍa*, and vol. 3 *Sundarikhaṇḍa*, ed. Benoyotosh Bhattacharyya. 1932–47. GOS nos. 61, 91, and 104.)

250 For the *viśuddhi*s as a preliminary practice in this way, see SM123 (p. 254): *āśayaviśuddhir ahaṃkāramamakāraparityāgaś ceti maitrikaruṇāmuditopekṣāṃ ca bhāvayet*. Dvivedi (1992: 121) traces the statement "Having become a god, he attains the gods" to the Vedic corpus (*Bṛhadāranyakopaniṣad*), and interprets it in the light of comparable statements in the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* to mean that "having assumed the nature of one's chosen god, one should propitiate gods." It is this injunction (*śivībhūya śivaṃ yajet*) that is commonly cited in Śaiva tantras; e.g., Khanna (1986: 22) notes its appearance in the *Svacchanda-tantroddyota*. However, its meaning varies according to the different Śaiva traditions. Davies (1992: 111ff.) discusses its significance in the Śaiva-Siddhānta, and Dvivedi (*op. cit.*) in nondual Śaivism.

251 E.g., GSS5 (Sed p. 128¹⁰, K17r2): *saptavidhānuttarapūjāṃ kṛtvā...maitrīm...karuṇām...muditām...upekṣāṃ ca bhāvayitvopārjitapūnyasambhārah. jñāna-sambhārābhivṛddhaye om svabhāvaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ svabhāvaśuddho 'ham ity arthābhimukhikaraṇapūrvakam paṭhet. • bhāvayitvo* em.; *bhāvayitvā* Kpc; *bhāvayeyitvā* Kac. Cf. SUT ch. 13, v. 7 (=SM123 p. 254): *cittamātram tu vai tiṣṭhed bodhisambhārābhāvanaiḥ*; SM67 (p. 138): *etena pūnyasambhārārtham yogi jagad ākalayati*; SM71 (p. 142): *pūjayet vandeta ca śubhāvṛddhyartham*; etc.

252 For the rays as hooks, see SM24 (p. 55): *hrīḥkārabījād niḥsṛtya...anīśākārair marīcivisaraiḥ...ākṛṣya*; SM58 (p. 121): *...dhiḥkārabījavinirgatānīśākāraśmyākṛṣṭārāpacana-*; SM82 (p. 156): *tanmarīcisamcayair anīśākārair ākṛṣya bhagavantam...*; cf. *Dākinījālasaṃvara* (ed. Sanderson 1994, n. 10) (f3r–v: *bijahṛdayāntarālamadhyavarttiṣpuradraktaravimaṇḍalamadhyasthitaparamākṣaranirgatapātālāmśuvisarair daśadiganantāparyantalokajadhātūn avabhāśya tair evāṃśuvisarair vyāvarttamānair anīśākārair gurubuddhabodhisattvayoginīcakram aprameyam ākṛṣya... • bīja*) em.; *bīja* ms. • *visarair* em.; *visarair* ms. • *ākṛṣya* em.; *ākṛṣya* ms.). Rays may take on the shape of the deity, or the colors

of the five buddhas as in the Mañjuśrī sādhanas, SM52 (p. 109): *mukhārāt pañcavarṇān raśmimēghān svaromakūpebhyo niścarayet, taiś ca raśmibhir mañjughoṣarūpaiḥ samcchannam gaganam paśyet*; SM 128 (p. 268): *hūmkārād ātmano romavivareṇa mukhādidvāreṇa <ca> pañcakārān raśmīn niścarataś cintayet*; SM251 (p. 490) etc.

253 Buddhas reside in the Akaniṣṭha realm in their body of enjoyment (*saṃbhoga-kāyaḥ*) as one of the five certainties of that body: “It does not depart from Akaniṣṭha for elsewhere” (mKhas grub rje: 20). Departure from it requires them to assume the emanation body (*nirmāṇakāyaḥ*), the body in which they are said to impart the scriptures in the lower realms—on which, see Haribhadra’s *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* (Buddhist Sanskrit Texts No. 4, Dharmapala: 281, cited Sanderson 1994 n. 12): *śākyamunitathāgātādirūpo nirmāṇakāyaḥ punyajñānasambhārāmśaja eva śrāvakādyupalambhayaḥ deśitāḥ*.

254 E.g., GSS4 (K13r7): *omkārakiraṇair gurubuddhabodhisattvān āñiya purato ’valambya pūjāpāpadeśanādikaṃ kṛtvā...*; cf. also the opening salutations in GSS26≈GSS27 (K92v6/K94r1): *namo buddhadharmasamghebhyaḥ. namo gurubuddhabodhisattvebhyaḥ...*

255 GSS5 (Sed p. 127¹¹, K16r5): *tataḥ svahṛdante śuśire raṃkārābījaniryāta-ravimaṇḍalastharaktavaṃkāraṃ dr̥ṣṭvā tatkiraṇair antaḥkalmaṣam apasārya pratiromavivaravinirgatair vaksyamāṇabhadgatimaṇḍalacakraṃ gurubuddhabodhisattvāṃś cākṛṣyāñiya nabhasi purato vibhāvya...* • *svahṛdante*] em.; *svahṛdanta* K; • *raṃkārābīja*] conj.; *raṃbīja* K • *apasārya*] em.; *apasārya* K • *vinirgatair*] em.; *vinirgatavarair* K. Cf. GSS3, which is similar except that Vajravārāhi is summoned by herself, without her entire *maṇḍala* retinue (K12r1): *svahṛdabjasūrye raktavaṃkāraṃ paśyet. tadīyarakṭarāśmibhiḥ pralayānaladuḥ-sahair akanīṣṭhabhuvanavartinīm vajravārāhīm vaksyamāṇavarṇabhujāyudhām gurubuddhabodhisattvāṃś cāñiyakāśe purataḥ samsthāpya hṛdraśmīvinirgatapūjābhiḥ saṃpūjya ca*. For other examples of the inclusion of all the maṇḍala deities within the preliminary pūjā, see *Bāhyapūjāvidhi* by Śaśvatavajra (p. 52): *tadbīja-raśmibhir daśadikasthaticakradevatām āñiya... bhagavantam saparivāram sarvākāraṇiṣpannam paśyet*; also the HĀ, described by Davidson (1992: 115). A full pūjā, with bodhisattva preparations, is prescribed by Ratnākaraśānti in his *Vajratārāsādhana* (SM110 p. 224 ff.)

For a list with yoginī at the head, see SM251 (p. 490): *tataḥ svabījāt saṃsphāryya bāhyaguhyatattvapūjāviśeṣair bhagavantam yoginīgurubuddhabodhisattvāṃś ca yathāvidhinā pūjayet vandayet <ca>*.

256 Isaacson (2001: personal communication) has pointed out that the image of divine beings filling space “like sesame seeds” (*tilabimbam iva*) is an old one; it is found several times in the STTS, as in the opening scene (p. 3): *tilabimbam iva paripūrṇam jambūdvīpe samdr̥śyate*; and in the GST ch. 1 (p. 4): *api nāma tilabimbam iva paripūrṇaḥ sarvākāśadhātuḥ sarvatathāgatāḥ samdr̥śyate sma*. On this, Candrakīrti points out that the image is of the seeds packed together inside a pod (*śimbha/śimbā*) (PU p. 18): *yathā tilaśimbe tilabījāni anyonya-saṃpr̥ṣṭāny aparasparapīḍārūpeṇa [?] sthitāni, tathā deśanākāle sarvatathāgatā*

gaganam vyāpya sthitā bhagavanta itī); also on the Tibetan translation to SM251 (*til gyi gan bu lta bu*). The simile recurs elsewhere, e.g., *Vārāhyabhyudayantra* (v. 17cd): *tilabimbopamaṃ dr̥ṣṭvā krodhadeviḥ samantataḥ*; and in *sādhana* literature, e.g., SM251 (p. 490): *tais ca rāśmibhir akaniṣṭhabbhuvanavarttinam bhagavantam vaksyamāṇavarṇabhujāyudham sarvayoginīgurubuddhabodhisattvāṃś ca tilaśimbopamān āñiya • tilaśimbo*] em. Sanderson 1994 n. 14; *tilabimbo* SMed., SM 123 (p. 257), etc.

For other examples of drawing down the deities for worship, see SM17 (p. 47): *śuklahriḥkāraṃ hr̥di paśyet. tadraśmibhis traidhātukam avabhāsyākaniṣṭhabbhuvanavarttinam siṃhanādam...ākṛṣya*; SM45 (p. 94): *taccakraraśmisamūham antaḥśarīram avabhāsyā pratiromakūpavivaraiḥ niḥsr̥tya daśadiglokadhātum avabhāsyā punas tair eva romakūpavivaraiḥ praviśyāntaḥśarīram avabhāsayantam ciraṃ vicintayet*; SM98 (p. 201): *tato 'pi pītātāmkārābījād niḥsr̥tya jaganmohāndhakārāpāhāribhir mayūkhasamūhair daśasu dikṣu ye cāparyantā lokadhātavo vidyante, tān sarvān avabhāsyā tatrasthān apy asaṃkhyeyān aprameyān buddhabodhisattvāṃś cākāśadeśe 'py āñiyāvasthāpyante*. A good example of the ornate sūtra setting in some *sādhana*s is SM65 (p. 130).

- 257 For the “imaginary” clouds of offerings billowing from the *sādhaka*’s body, see SM1 (p. 7): *manomayāṃś tu pūjāmeghān evaṃ pravartayet*; SM3 (p. 19): *snānapūjāmeghaprasarair sampūjya*; SM 13 (p. 37): *hr̥dbijaraśmisambhava-pūjāmeghaiḥ sampūjya*; SM14 (p. 38); SM15 (p. 44); SM28 (pp. 67–68); SM48 (p. 100): *pūjāṃ manomayīm*; SM52 (p. 109); etc.

- 258 For the *pañcopacārāḥ* (*puṣpam, dhūpaḥ, dīpaḥ, gandhaḥ, naivedyam*) offered with offering mantras and mudrās, see SM3 (pp. 18–19); SM7 (p. 28); SM 15 (p. 44); SM29 (p. 72), SM50 (p. 105); SM65 (p. 130), etc. Nihom (1992 n. 15) usefully summarizes the variations in this set of five found in *sādhana*s of the *Sādhanaṃālā*. The offerings of guest water are prescribed in GSS34 (K114r): *arghapādyādikam dattvā...puṣpadhūpādikam dattvā pūjayet*.

The *saptaratnāni* include: a queen (*strī*°), a minister (*puruṣa*°), a wish-fulfilling jewel (*maṇi*°), a wheel (*cakra*°), a sword (*khaḍga*°), an elephant (*gaja*°), a horse (*aśva*°). The lists vary somewhat (sometimes they include a general, *senapati*°), and there is also a list of secondary jewels (*uparatnāni*). The eight auspicious symbols comprise a pair of golden fishes (*suvarṇamatsyaḥ*), a lotus (*padmaṃ*), a treasure vase (*nidhighaṭaḥ*), a golden wheel (*suvarṇacakram*), a banner of victory (*dhvajah*), an endless knot (*śrīvatsah*), a white right-spiraling conch shell (*śaṅkhāvartah*), and a parasol (*chattraḥ*).

The seven jewels are prescribed in the outer worship (*bāhyapūjā*) in GSS5 (Sed 146¹, K31r6): *tato hr̥dbijanirgataviṇādidevibhiḥ sampūjya saptaratnādini ca tannirgatāni dhaukayitvā • tannirgatāni*] em., *tannirgatādi* K; also SM159 (p. 223); and in the *Bāhyapūjāvidhi* by Śāśvatavajra (Finot 1934: 52). For a list of various traditional offerings (to be offered with mudrās and mantras), see SM 1 (pp. 7–8): *tato daśadiglokadhātusthitacitrapūjāṅgāny evaṃ niryātayet. praṇāmāñjalīm baddhvā ye asamā aparigrahaḥ daśadiglokadhātuṣu pūjāṅgaviśeṣaḥ sthalajā ratna-parvatakalpavṛkṣādayo jalajāḥ sāmudraratnādayaḥ kanakapaṇkajādayaś ca ye*

canye sarvalokadhātuṣu divyamanuṣyakāḥ sarvarūpaśabdagandharasasparśadayas tān sarvān buddhabodhisattebhya niryātayāmi udāharet. manomayāms tu pūjā-meghān evaṃ pravarttayet; SM24 (pp. 55, 60); SM56 (p. 116), etc. In addition to Nihom's work (1992), note Locke's description of these pūjā offerings among Newar Buddhists (1980: 76–78). Olschak (1973 p. 87, also p. 45) provides a set of bronzes illustrating the sets of symbols. Beer illustrates and discusses these offerings (1999: chs. 7–8, pp. 160–203, plates 77–95).

259 In yogottara and yoganiruttara texts, the inner worship (*adhyātmapūjā*) may take the form of the five senses (*kāmaguṇāḥ*) offered within a skull bowl; namely, the heart or body for touch, the eyes for sight, the ears for sound, the nose for smell, and the tongue for taste. These form an esoteric version of the traditional five *upacāras* (e.g., GST ch. 6, v. 2, p. 17: *pañcakāmaguṇair buddhān pūjayed vidhivat sadā / pañcopahārapūjābhir laghu buddhatvam āpnyāt*). See Beer for illustrations (1999: 325–27, plate 140). The inner worship may, however, refer to transgressive offerings such as the five nectars and five lights.

260 For the secret worship (*guhya-pūjā*), Beyer (1978: p. 143ff.) lists sixteen vajra goddesses; he distinguishes between the outer, inner, and secret offerings, and also mentions the occasional addition of a truth offering (*tattvapūjā*), describing it as an offering of great bliss, namely, semen (*bodhicittam*). On the truth offering, Sanderson (1994 n. 16) notes GST 6.20cd: *guhya-tattvamahāpūjām saṃpūjya ca vibhavayet*; and GST 8.25: *taruṇiḥ saṃprāpya subhagām cāruvak-trām suśobhanām / adhiṣṭānapadam dhyātvā tattvapūjām prakalpayet*.

The various types of offering, including the *tattvapūjā*, are referred to in the Advayavajra-based texts, e.g., SM251 (p. 490): *bāhyaguhyatattvapūjāviśeṣair*; GSS44 (K139r4): *bāhyaguhyapūjāviśeṣaiḥ*; GSS 16 (K79r2): *tataḥ pūjayet. puṣpair dhūpair dipair gandhair naivedyair nānāvidhaiḥ pūjābhiḥ pūjayet. manomaya-pūjā tattvapūjādibhiḥ*. Also SM125 (p. 263): *gurubuddhabodhisattvān saṃpūjya*; SM67 (p. 137): *adhyātmapūjā*; SM71 (p. 142): *manomayā pūjā*; etc. Yet another analysis of offerings is mentioned by a commentator on the Cakrasaṃvara scriptures, namely of a fourfold classification into outer, secret, “mind-made,” and “immediately visible,” Bhavabhṭṭa (p. 68): *catvāraḥ pūjācatuḥ...bāhya-guhyamanomayasakṣādbhāvabhedenā tā uktāḥ*.

261 The five sense offerings (*kāmaguṇāḥ*) are offered in present-day Newar and Tibetan practice as follows: a mirror with a flaming border for form, a pair of cymbals or flute (Tibetan) or bell (Newar) for sound, a conch shell full of fragrant powder for smell, a bowl of food for taste, and a band of cloth for touch. The emphasis on bells for the musicians and dancers in the Newar tradition echoes the account given here in GSS5 (see Gellner 1992: 106 for a full account). For a discussion of the offerings and illustrations of their artistic depiction, see Beer (1999: 194–203 with plates 92–95). The offerings are often depicted together in a single bowl on the altar table, the mirror in the center, the pair of cymbals flanking it, with the conch shell and fruit to either side of the cymbals, and the cloth as a scarf draped around the whole (cf. Olschak 1973: 45, K.

- Gyatso 1999: 499). The mantras and hand gestures (*mudrās*) that accompany the offerings are illustrated in Beyer (1978: 160 fig. 19), (quite differently) in K. Gyatso (1999: 492ff.), and (differently again) in Tsong ka pa (1987 vol. 2: 127–32).
- 262 Table 10 summarizes the text of GSS5 (Sed p. 127¹⁵, K16r5–17r). The same sixteen goddesses, with individual iconography, appear in the outer parts of the Vajrasattva maṇḍala from the *Samputatantra* (NYĀ p. 10). Two other sādhanas in the *Sādhnamālā* list offering goddesses starting with Lāsyā, either eight goddesses (cf. SM265 p. 518: *aṣṭabhiḥ guhyapūjābhiḥ pūjayet*), or sixteen goddesses SM266 (p. 523: *ṣoḍaśalāsyāpūjābhiḥ pūjayet*). The set of eight is given as follows (one has dropped out): Vajralāsyā, Vajramālyā, Vajragitā, Vajranṛtyā, Vajrapuṣpā, Vajradhūpā, and Vajrālokā. Charming line drawings of the offering goddesses are provided by L. Chandra (1986: 141–42). Offering goddesses are depicted in plate 2.
- 263 For sādhanas with typical Mahāyāna-style glosses on the worship, see SM24 (pp. 55–57), SM44 (p. 90), SM51 (p. 106), SM56 (pp. 116–17), SM80 (p. 154), SM 171 (p. 344), etc. But for references to transgressive offerings at this stage of the sādhana, see GSS35 (K118r4): *sevitapañcamṛtaḥ prathamataś caturbrahmavihārān bhavayet; Dākinījālasaṃvara* ff. 3v–4r (cited Sanderson 1994, n. 16); also Beyer (1978: 158–59), who states that the offering is made by flicking drops of water with the right ring finger while reciting the mantra *om pañcamṛta-pūjā<m> khāhi*.
- 264 E.g., *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (p. 152²⁹): *vandanā sarvabuddhān namasyāmiti*. The salutation may be verbal, bodily, or accomplished with body, speech, and mind (*kāyavākcitta*), as attested in many sources.
- 265 E.g., SM3 (p. 19): *tataḥ snānapūjāmeghaprasaraiḥ saṃpūjya tataḥ pāpadeśanām... tataḥ śūnyatām vibhāvayet*; SM181 (p. 373): *pūjayitvā paramakāruṇiko yogi bhaktinamrah kāyavākcittena vandayed iti vandanā vandayitvā ca pāpadeśanāpunyānumodanādikam kurute*; etc.
- 266 The *brahmavihāra* meditations do not appear in the proto-sādhanas of Vilāsavajra (*Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī*, *adhikāra* 4), or in the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* (Skorupski 1983: 132). They are found, however, in the scriptural sādhanas of the HT(1.3.1) and SUT (13.7). Umāpatideva's glosses are consonant with other sources, particularly those in the *Sādhnamālā*, e.g., on *maitrī* in SM48 (p. 100): *maitrīm satputrasampritisahasraguṇitām jane / duḥkhaheṭoḥ duḥkhāc ca kṛpām uddhartukāmanām /... dhyātvā*; cf. SM56 (p. 115), SM67 (p. 138), SM87 (p. 192), SM98 (p. 202–3), SM185 (p. 385), SM187 (p. 389), SM206 (p. 405), etc. Umāpatideva's gloss on *upekṣā* is more unusual in its direct reference to Yogācāra insight. A commoner explanation is found in SM48 (p. 57): *keyam upekṣā? pratighānunanibandhanam apahāya hitāhiteṣu sattveṣu parama-hitācaraanam*; expanded upon in SM98 (p. 203). Overall, Umāpatideva's explanation of the four *brahmavihāras* is similar to that of Advayavajra (*Advayavajrasaṃgraha*, *Kudṛṣṭinirghātana* pp. 4–5.24): *sarvasattveṣu ekaputrapremākārām maitrīm, duḥkhāduḥkhaheṭoḥ saṃsārasāgarāt samuddharaṇavāñchāsabhāvām*

karuṇām, ratnatrayaśaraṇagamanāt samullasanmanahprabhavām muditām, adhyāsaṅgaparilakṣaṇām upekṣām ca vibhāvya....

- 267 Similes for emptiness are frequent in our texts, for example, for the simile of the dream, see GSS10, “Hence, arising in dependence upon causes, existent things have a great similarity to things produced in dreams.” (K51v1): *ataḥ pratityajā bhāvāḥ svapnajātamahopamāḥ*. Also, GSS16, “Like illusion, like a dream, like an invented construction—seeing the world [in this way, he understands it to be] made of cognition, eternal and undefiled.” (K82r3): *yathā māyā yathā svapnaṃ yathā nirmāṇanirmitaṃ | jñānarūpaṃ jagat sarvaṃ paśyan nityam anāvilam*. A verse cited twice in the GSS sādhanas states, “When, having produced an illusion, the magician destroys it once more, nothing of that exists at all; for this is the reality of existents.” GSS2 (K4v6)=GSS5 (Sed p. 128¹⁹, K17r6): *māyāṃ vidhāya māyāvī yadā saṃharate punaḥ | na kiṃcid vidyate tatra dharmāṇām sā hi dharmatā |* (≈Nāgārjuna’s *Mahāyānaviṃśikā* v. 17 in Tucci 1956: 203). For the end of conceptualization, see *Ḍākinīguhyasamaya-sādhana* (GSS46), which contains the most systematic philosophizing in the collection, and which cites Vasubandhu, “For the cutting of the defilements is awakening” (K146r1): *tathā cokaṭaṃ āryavasubandhupādaiḥ āvaraṇaparicchedo hi bodhiḥ*. Such references are typical of mainstream sādhanas, for example SM3 (p. 19): *tataḥ śūnyatāṃ vibhāvayet. sarvadharmān niḥsvabhāvarūpān vibhāvya akṣararūpaṃ bodhicittasvarūpaṃ prabhāsvaraṃ atmānaṃ paśyet*; SM14 (p. 39): *viññānamātrātmako bhāvakaḥ*; SM71 (p. 143): *tato bhavantaṃ nijabījena sahaikībhūtaṃ dṛṣtvā sarvaṃ traidhātukaṃ sthāvaraṃ jaṅgamaṃ pratīyasamutpannaṃ svapnamāyāpratibimbopamaṃ avicārasahaṃ vicintya prakṛtiprabhāsvaraṃ eva kevalaṃ pariśuddhaṃ ātmānaṃ bhāvayet. oṃ svabhāvasūddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ svabhāvasūddho ’ham*; SM24 (p. 58), SM44 (p. 90), SM45 (pp. 93–94), SM110 (pp. 225–26), etc.
- 268 GSS5≈GSS2 (Sed p. 128¹⁷, K17r5/K4v4): *atra svabhāvasūddhāḥ sarvadharmā iti grāhyaviśuddhiḥ svabhāvasūddho ’ham iti grāhakaviśuddhiḥ*. Cf. the *Bhramaharanāma Hevajrasādhana*: *nāsti cittād bāhyaṃ cittagrāhyam. grāhyābhāvāc cittam api grāhakaṃ na bhavati. tasmāc cittāsarirāḥ sarvadharmāḥ, teṣāṃ grāhya-grāhakaśūnyatā paramārtha iti*; and *Sādhana-mālā* texts, e.g., SM6 (p. 27); SM7 (p. 29), SM28 for the mantra’s power to expel obstacles (p. 68): *vighnopaśāmo bhavati*; SM39 (p. 85), SM51 (p. 106), SM56 (p. 117), SM65 (p. 130), SM67 (p. 139), SM71 (p. 143), SM80 (p. 155), etc.
- 269 For one of the earliest assertions of mind-only ontology, see Vasubandhu, whose authoritative *Triṃśikā* (c. 320–400 C.E.) opens: “All this is only perception (*viññāptimātra*)...”; see *ibid.*: vv. 27–29b on the *paratantrasvabhāvaḥ*. Cf. Asaṅga’s *Mahāyānasamgraha* 3:29 (cited Williams 1989: 90).
- 270 E.g., GSS1 (K279v6) and GSS2 (K4v4). The mantra with *yogaśuddha-* appears alone in some external rituals, such as the *balividhi* in GSS11 (§40, §45, and §50); cf. GSS4, GSS5, and GSS38=SM218 (p. 428). A lone mantra with *vajraśuddha-* is also not uncommon, e.g., HĀ (f. 11r6ff.), SM35 (p. 80), SM36 (p. 82), etc.

- 271 Literally, “I am one whose self has the inherent nature (*svabhāvaḥ*) of the nondual knowledge of emptiness.” (The translation “I am identical with the essence” is by Sanderson 1994.) For other examples of the mantra, see e.g., SM17 (p. 47), SM24 (p. 58, with gloss), SM46 (p. 95), SM48 (p. 100), SM52 (p. 109), SM80 (p. 154), etc. Isaacson (1997: personal communication) points out that this mantra is of vital importance from at least the GST onward, where it is found in chapter 3 (prose before v. 1). The PU commentary (p. 67) breaks down the mantra in a series of verses.
- 272 A fuller gloss on *vajra* is cited by Advayavajra from the *Vajrasāekhara* (Advaya-*vajrasaṃgraha* p. 23, and p. 37): *ḍṛḍhaṃ sāraṃ asaṁśīryaṃ acchedyābhedyalakṣaṇaṃ / adāhi avināśi ca śūnyatā vajraṃ ucyate*.
- 273 GSS5 (Sed p. 129¹, K17v1): *traidhātukam atīta maṇḍalacakraṃ ca pratibhāsa-mātrasvabhāvaṃ prabhāsvara eva praveśya, ātmānaṃ ca ravau, taṃ vaṃkāre, taṃ ardhacandre, taṃ bindau, taṃ nāde, tadvikalpam api—oṃ śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātmaḥ* ‘ham—ity arthānugamenoccārya tyajet. *śūnyatājñānaṃ evābhedyatvād vajraṃ tasya svabhāvas tadātmaḥ* ‘ham ity arthaḥ. • *atīta*] K. This may refer to the “previous” *maṇḍalacakra* visualized in the preceding pūjā, or a conjectural emendation may be considered to *ānīta*, i.e., to a *maṇḍala* that has just been “drawn down” [by rays]. • *vaṃkāre*] Kpc *vaṃkāre(ṇa)* K(del); • *svabhāvas*] Kpc; *svabhāv(vā)as* K(del).
- 274 The *karmadhāraya* relationship “nondual=knowledge” is also suggested in an earlier gloss by Candrakīrti (PU p. 123 on GST ch. 13; prose before v. 1): *jñānavajraṃ advaya-jñānaṃ tad eva pradhānatvād agraṃ taddhāraṇāj jñānavajrāgradhāraṇaḥ*. “In this analysis of the compound *jñānavajrāgradhāraṇaḥ* (holders of the foremost nondual knowledge) he glosses *-jñānavajra-* as *advaya-jñāna*.”
- 275 GST 3.II. See also SM67, as when the mantra forms a contemplation of the five wisdoms (pp. 139–40): <om> *ādarśajñānasvabhāvātmaḥ* ‘ham iti paṭhati; and for the consecration (p. 140): *oṃ suviśuddhadharmadhātujñānasvabhāvātmaḥ* ‘ham.
- 276 This mantra appears in a short midday meditation prescribed in GSS5 (Sed p. 145⁶, K30v4): *madhyāhnaśamdhyaṃ tu dhyānagrhaṃ praviśya oṃ āḥ hūṃ* <om?> *sarvayoginikāyavākcitta<vajra>svabhāvātmaḥ* ‘ham oṃ *vajrasuddhāḥ sarvadharmaḥ vajrasuddho* ‘ham iti mantratrāyaṃ uccārayan. *jhaṭiti maṇḍalacakraṃ adhimucya pūrvavat sarvaṃ kṛtvā yathāsukhaṃ vihared iti*. • *dhyānagrhaṃ*] em.; *dhyānaṃ grhaṃ* K; • *sarvayoginī*] Kac; *sarvayoginī(nāṃ)* K(mg2); • <*vajra*>] K(mg2); omit Kac.
- 277 E.g., <om> *sarvatathāgatacittavajrasvabhāvātmaḥ* ‘ham. There seems to be a variant reading of the mantra *oṃ dharmadhātusvabhāvātmaḥ* ‘ham in GS 3.II, since Matsunaga has printed *oṃ dharmadhātu<vajra>svabhāvātmaḥ* ‘ham (his apparatus shows the omission of *vajra* in several witnesses). Isaacson (2001: personal communication) suggests, however, that a variant with *vajra* may also be fairly early.

Isaacson (*ibid.*) notes that the reading of a *bahuvrīhi* compound “nondual

essence" (*vajrasvabhāva*) is not unsupported elsewhere. Abhayākara-gupta, in the *Abhayapaddhati* (MS NAK 5–21=NGMPP A 48/2 f. 10v), analyzes the mantra *om śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātma* 'ham in this way: *om iti kāyavākciṭṭam, śūnyatā naiḥsvābhāvyam, jñānam mahākaruṇā, tat trayam abhedyatvād vajrasvabhāvam ātmā svabhāvo yasya so 'ham*. "[The meaning of] *om* is body, speech, and mind; the meaning of emptiness (*śūnyatā*) is the fact of being 'without inherent existence'; [the meaning of] knowledge (*jñāna*) is 'great compassion.' Those three [*om*, *śūnyatā*-, and *jñāna*] have a 'nondual nature' because they are indivisible. I am one who is identical [i.e., who has the nature (*ātmā* > *svabhāvo*) of that]." Isaacson (*ibid.*) notes that in his *Āmnāyamañjarī*, however, Abhayākara-gupta gives a more natural interpretation, basically agreeing with that in GSS5 above (see the Tibetan translation, Toh 1198, sDe dge bsTan 'gyur, *rgyud* vol. cha, f. 110v).

- 278 SM210, translated by Sanderson 1994 n. 24 (p. 515): *tadanantaram om svabhāva-suddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ svabhāvaśuddho 'ham iti mantram uccārya muhūrtam śūnyatām bhāvayet. tataḥ om śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātma* 'ham ity ahaṁ-kāram utpādyā. ... The two mantras appear together in many texts, e.g., SM7 (p. 29), SM13 (p. 37), SM25 (p. 62), SM50 (p. 105 with a verse between them), SM82 (p. 159), etc.
- 279 For the loss of *om* and the restructuring of the pair of mantras, see GSS31 (K103r2): *tataḥ—svabhāvaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ svabhāvaśuddho 'haṁ om śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātma* 'ham—iti imaṁ mantrārtham āmukhikurvan muhūrtam apratiṣṭharūpeṇa tiṣṭhet. Also GSS16 (K79v6): *tataḥ svabhāva-śuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ svabhāvaśuddho 'ham tu,—om śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātma* 'ham—iti> śūnyatām vibhāvya ākāśopamān sarvadharmān vicintya apratiṣṭhānarūpaṁ kṣaṇamātraṁ vibhāvayet. • <śuddhāḥ... 'ham iti> Kpc(mg1); Kac omit • śūnyatām] Kpc; śū(ddhā)nyatām K(del) • vibhāvya] em.; vibhāvyaḥ K.
- 280 For the third type of mantra, see SM251 *Saptākṣarasādhana* (p. 490; ed. and trans. Sanderson 1994 n. 24): *tataḥ śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātma* 'ham ity ahaṁ-kāram utpādyā. ... The two mantras appear together in many texts, e.g., SM7 (p. 29), SM13 (p. 37), SM25 (p. 62), SM50 (p. 105 with a verse between them), SM82 (p. 159), etc.
- 281 In the Ārya school of yogottara exegesis, *yuganaddha* is dealt with in the *Pañcākrama*, chapter 5. For yoginītantra exegesis, see especially Advayavajra, e.g., *Yuganaddhaprakāśa*: (v. 7) "The fact of non-production [is] due to lack of inherent existence; the fact of non-cessation is due to condition(s); hence (*ataḥ*) there is neither existence and non-existence, for there appears the "fusion of Emptiness and Radiance" (*yuganaddha*; this translation is by Sanderson 1994; Per Kvaerne 1975: 132 translates "bound to the same yoke"). (v. 8) "The unity of Emptiness and compassion is established [in meditation], not through conceptualization, because *yuganaddha* [is] the original nature (*prakṛtiḥ*) of

Emptiness and clear light.” In *Advayavajrasaṃgraha* (p. 47): *naiḥsvābhāvād ajātatvaṃ pratyayād aniruddhatā / bhāvābhāvāv ato na sto yuganddham tu bhāsate* (v. 7) *śūnyatākṛpayor aikyam vidheyam na svakalpataḥ / śūnyatāyāḥ prakāśasya prakṛtyā yuganaddhatā* (v. 8); also his *Kudṛṣṭinirghātana* (*Advayavajrasaṃgraha* p. 1): *praṇidhānavegasāmarthyāt yuganaddhānābhogayogataḥ...*; *Mahāsukhaprakāśa* (*ibid.*: p. 50): *bhūtakoṭim tato viṣṭvā yuganaddhapadam gataḥ / yuganaddhasthito yogi sattvārthaikaparo bhavet*. Cf. Ratnākara Gupta’s *Dvibhujasaṃvaropadeśa* SM255 (p. 505): *ekāḥ svābhāvikaḥ kāyaḥ śūnyatākaruṇādvayaḥ / napuṃsakam iti khyāto yuganaddha iti kvacit*.

- 282 Anupamarakṣita’s sādhanā of *Khasarpaṇa* (see SM24 p. 58), trans. Sanderson (1994 n. 26) and Isaacson (2002: personal communication): *sarvadharmasūnyatām dhyāyāt. tatreyam śūnyatā: manomātram evedam tena tenākāreṇa prakāśātmakam pratibhāsate yathā svapne<.> nāsti manaso bāhyam manogrāhyam, grāhyābhāvād grāhakam api mano nāsti. tataś ca khasavarūpāḥ sarvadharmāḥ. teṣāṃ grāhya-grāhakādisakalakalpanāprapañcaśūnyatā tattvaṃ paramārtha iti yāvat. ayam arthaḥ; advaitaprakāśamātrātmakam sacarācaram jagad iti cintanīyam. imām eva śūnyatām—om śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātmako ’ham ity amunā mantreṇā-dhitiṣṭhet. • khasavarūpāḥ* em. Sanderson; *khariūpāḥ* SM ms. “A”; *manaḥsavarūpāḥ* SMed.

- 283 E.g., SM6 (p. 26): *śūnyatām muhūrtam ālambayet*. For the translation and explanation of these terms, see Sanderson 1994 n. 26. Advayavajra uses the term adverbially as follows: GSS3=GSS31 (K103r3):... *muhūrtam apratiṣṭharūpeṇa tiṣṭhet*; GSS16 (K79v6):... *śūnyatām vibhāvya ākāśopamān sarvadharmān vicintya apratiṣṭhānarūpam kṣaṇamātram vibhāvayet*; SM251 (p. 490): *muhūrtam apratiṣṭharūpeṇa saṃtiṣṭhet*, etc. Cf. GSS23 (K88r6): *tataḥ śūnyatām sarvadharmānirālambārūpam vicintya*; GSS35 (K118r6): *tataḥ sarvadharmānirālambana śūnyatām vibhāvya mantraṃ uccārayet*.

- 284 GSS32 (K104v6): *avikalpitasamkalpa apratiṣṭhitamānasa | asmṛtīmanasikāra nirālamba namo ’stu te | • mānasah*] K (the masculine vocative assumes that the verse addresses a transcendent Bindurāja) • *asmṛtīmanasikāra nirālamba*] em.; *asmṛtīmanasikāram nirālambam* K • *asmṛtī*] GSS32; parallels read *asmṛtya* in the *Advayavajrasaṃgraha* and *acintya* in the *Pañcakrama*. I thank Dr. Isaacson for pointing to the following authoritative parallels: *Pañcakrama* (4.10); SUT ch. 3, v. 9; ch. 8, v. 36 (although not in all manuscripts); several of Advayavajra’s works in the *Advayavajrasaṃgraha*, e.g., *Pañcatathāgatamudrāvivaraṇa* (p. 25), *Caturmudrānīścaya* (p. 38), *Amanasikārādhāra* (p. 60), in which it is identified as a verse from the *Āryasarvabuddhaviṣayāvatārañjānalokālaṅkāramahāyānasūtra*.

- 285 Some Yogācārin exegesis arguably posits the *paratantrasvabhāva* as a really existent substrate, e.g., Maitreyanātha’s opening to the *Madhyāntavibhāga*: “The imagination of the non-existent (*abhūtaparikalpāḥ*) exists. In it duality does not exist. Emptiness, however, exists in it.” (Williams 1989: 86, citing Friedmann 1937. *Madhyāntavibhāgaṭīkā*.) While the tathāgatagarbha doctrine certainly represents an extreme move in this direction, the debate as to whether such tendencies reflect the original Yogācāra position continues. Sanderson (1994, n.

- 26, citing Asaṅga's *Kārikāsaptati* on the *Vajracchedikā*) comments that the "new" exegesis of the eighth century can be seen as a direct recycling of the "old" school of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, in which there is no suggestion that the *paratantrasvabhāva* is a really existent entity. Consonant with this opinion that "without an object mind does not exist," Williams (*op. cit.*: p. 280 n. 7) refers to a lengthy passage in the *Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra* (6: 6–10) repeated in the *Mahāyānasamgraha* (3: 18). He also refers to "certain scholars" who have argued that "mind in the Cittamātra tradition... has no greater reality than any other entity" (namely, Rahula 1978 pp. 79–85, and Willis 1979). On the other hand, Williams (*op. cit.*: 89) himself disagrees with this view. He continues, "I remain unconvinced, however. It is clear in these cases that the negation of mind (*citta/vijñāna*) is not a negation of the really existing nondual stream of perceptions..., but only of the mind as subject"—a view he supports with a citation (*ibid.*: 89–90) from Sthiramati's *Madhyāntavibhāgaṭika* and examples from the *Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra* and *Mahāyānasamgraha*.
- 286 *Madhyamakālamkāra* (vv. 92–93) translated from Tibetan by M. Ichigo in Gomez and Silk 1989: 141–240. I am grateful to Dr. Burton for showing me this passage.
- 287 "In [the term] 'the ordinary objects,' 'ordinary' means ignorance; ordinary [objects] are superimposed [upon reality] by that [ignorance]." *Abhayapaddhati* (f. 10r3): *prākṛtaviṣayā iti. prakṛtir atrāvidyā tayādhyāropitāḥ prākṛtāḥ* (cited Sanderson 1994 n. 31). Cf. GSS16 (K76r5–6): *bodhicittotpāda āśayaviśuddhiḥ ahaṁkāramamakāraparityāga iti • °parityāga* em.; *parityāga* K; GSS35 (K118r5): *tato jhaṭiti vaksyamānadevyahaṁkāreṇa...*; Cf. SM3 and SM4 (p. 22–23): *om dharmadhātusvabhāvātmaḥam iti advayāhaṁkāraṁ kuryāt*; SM67 (p. 139): ["purity mantra"] *cintayan prākṛtaśarīrāhaṁkāraṁ tyaktvā yogacittamātrenāvatīṣṭhāmi*; SM181 (p. 373): *prākṛtakāyaparityāgāya svabhāvasuddhāmantram āmukhikurvan*; SM171 (p. 344): *cittam śūnyam tataḥ kuryāt prākṛtākārahānaye. • prākṛtā* em. Sanderson; *prakṛtā* SMed.; etc.
- 288 E.g., Wayman citing Tsong kha pa 1990: 211–17; Beyer 1978: 122 citing Abhayākara Gupta; K. Gyatso 1997: 80–88.
- 289 Tribe (1994: 242): *tataś ca sarvasattvārthakriyāvirahito yogi pūrvapraṇidhānā-hitacittasamtāna vaśād...*
- 290 Williams (1989: 52–54) comments on the poetic value of such statements. This passage is translated by Sanderson (1994 n. 31) from SM171 (p. 344): *muhūrtam śūnyatāyogaṁ kuryāc cittasya viśramam | pratijñāṁ prāktanīm smṛtvā bija-mātraṁ punaḥ smaret | pratāritā mayā sattvā. ekāntaparinirvṛtaḥ | katham tām uddharisyāmi agādhād bhavasāgarāt | iti sattvakṛpāviṣṭo niśceṣṭām śūnyatām tyajet | • nirvṛtaḥ* em. Sanderson; *nirvṛtāḥ* SMed. For typical references to the vow in sādhanā literature, see e.g., the Advayavajra group, GSS3=GSS31 (K12r5/K103r3): *pūrvapraṇidhānavasāt samādhē vyutthāya*; GSS16 (K79v6): *punaḥ stutipāṭha <m> mantreṇa praṇidhānaṁ ca karaṇīyam iti*; SM251 (p. 490): *pūrvapraṇidhānāvedhasāmarthyāt prabhāsvarād utthāya*; SM17 (p. 47): *tataḥ praṇidhānam anusmṛtya*; also, SM181 (p. 373): *pūrvāhitapraṇidhānabalāt*

sattvārtham abhivikṣamāṇo mantri; SM248 (p. 482): *tataḥ saṃsāraduḥkhebhyaḥ sattvābhyyuddharaṇāsayaḥ | māyopamaṃ jagattattvaṃ yathābhūtaṃ vilokya saḥ*; SM54 (p. 111); SM65 (p. 130), etc. Many sādhanas also comment on the mantrin's vow to make himself/the world "become" the deity, e.g., GSS3=GSS31 (K102v5): *ahaṃ vajravārāhi bhūtvā tadākāraṃ jagat sarvaṃ kariṣyāmi*; GSS16 (K76r5): *ahaṃ sarvaṃ bhūtvā tadākāraṃ jagat sarvaṃ kariṣyāmi kṛtaniścaya<ḥ>*; SM251 (p. 490): *prabhāsvārād utthāya svapnamāyāvat viśvaṃ paśyan jagadarthāyātmanah śriherukatvaṃ vibhāvayet. • jagadarthāyā⁹ em. Sanderson; jagadutthāya SMed.; vibhāvayet conj. Sanderson; vibhāvayan SMed.; cf. other mainstream sādhanas, e.g., SM24 (p. 61): punaḥ punar anavaratanānāprakāraṃ parārtham kṛtvā jagad api bhagaval lokaśvararūpeṇa nispādyā... samādher utthito jagalokaśvararūpaṃ vikṣya tadahaṃkāreṇa yatheṣṭam vihareti*; SM48 (p. 101): *svayaṃ mañjuvaro bhūtvā jagat paśyaṃs ca tanmayam*; SM51 (p. 106); etc.

- 291 Sādhanas use the term "circle of protection" or *rakṣācakra* interchangeably for vajra ground (*vajrabhūmiḥ*), vajra roof (*vajrapañjaram*), and so on, as citations below will show (the base of the structure is, of course, square and not circular, as it is formed by the walls in the cardinal directions). E.g., SM179 sādhana of Uddiyanavinirgata-Kurukullā (p. 359): *prākāraṃ pañjarabandhanam {ca} vajramayim <ca> bhūmim vibhāvayed iti rakṣācakram*; cf. GSS35 (K118r5): *tato jhaṭiti vakṣyamānadevyahaṃkāreṇa caturo hūṃkāraṃs caturdikṣu ca samantato vajraprākāravajrapañjaram bhāvayet, athavā sumbhanisumbhādicaturmukhamantreṇa rakṣādighbandhādikaṃ vidadhyāt. • ca* em.; carma K • (vajra)pañjaram] K(mg) • caturmukha] Kpc; caturmuntra Kac. The term can also have a more specialised sense, as in a Kālacakra maṇḍala that describes a wheel with spokes in the cardinal and intermediate directions and the nadir and zenith inside the vajra zone, upon which are placed the protective deities of the maṇḍala (NYĀ p. 83: *kālacakramaṇḍale vajrapañjarābhyantare rakṣācakram daśāraṃ tasya pūrvadaḥśinapaścimottarāreṣv...*)

Umāpatideva's prose text is related to the *Abhisamayamañjārī* (GSS5, Sed pp. 129–30, K17v5–19r and K20v2). The latter (GSS5 Sed p. 132, K20v cited below) refers to, and probably redacts from, Lūyipāda's HĀ. Unfortunately, there is damage to the relevant folios of the HĀ in the manuscript available (f. 3v). The previous folio (f. 3r) contains the emptiness meditation and mantras followed by the element visualization with Mount Meru (f. 3v), below which the folio is damaged. However, the missing text probably described the circle of protection, because the next folio begins with the self-generation of Herukavajra "within the vajra zone" (f. 4r4): *vajrapañjaramadhye...*

- 292 On the structure of a temple, note the ground plan of Bayon at Angkor given by Snodgrass (1985: 74–75 fig. 30). The underlying correspondences between the structure of the complete maṇḍala and the religious architecture of India have been studied by Snodgrass (*ibid.*) and others. One classical reference to the canopy (*vitānaḥ*) suspended over the sacred spot in a temple is *Kumārasambhava* (7.10): *vitānavantaṃ yuktaṃ maṇistambhacatuṣṭayena | pativratābhiḥ*

- parigrhya ninye [Umā]*. For references in *sādhana*s, see SM54 (p. 110) in which the *sādhaka* is seated within a bejewelled *maṇḍapa* with a *vitāna* extended over it; cf. SM65 (p. 130).
- 293 E.g., GSS5 (Sed p. 129¹⁵, K1813ff.): *hūmkārajatadadhiṣṭhitaviśvavajreṇa*; YRM (p. 114): *rephenāgnivārṇena sūryamaṇḍalam dṛṣṭvā, tadupari nīlaḥhūmbhava-viśvavajram*.
- 294 GSS5 (Sed p. 129⁹, K17v5–18r): *tataḥ ...caturo vajraprākārān. oṃ vajraprākāra hūṃ vaṃ hūṃ ity uccārya niveśayet. tatsamakālam eva hūmkārajatadadhiṣṭhitaviśvavajreṇa. oṃ medini vajrībhava vajrabandha hūṃ iti paṭhitvā viśvavajramayīm bhūmim ārasātalaparyantām adhiṣṭhet. <tato vajrasaṃbhīḥ>(mg2) oṃ vajrasarajāla trām śaṃ trām ity abhidhāya pañcaśūkavajrākāram atinibidam upari śarajālam. tasyādho vajrapaṇjara hūṃ paṃ hūṃ ity uccārya vajrapaṇjaram. oṃ vajravitāna hūṃ khaṃ hūṃ. ity pāthāntaram yathāsthānam vajravitānam oṃ vajrajvālānalārka hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ ity uktvā vajrajvālām ca cintayet. • tasyādho] em.; tasyādha K.*
- 295 E.g., NYĀ (p. 1): *ārasātalam upary upary uccairghananibidajvaladvajraprākārordhvato niḥsaṃdhyekakhaṇḍibhūtam upari vajravitānamanditam jvaladvajrapaṇjaram*.
- 296 This is the method in, for example, SM110 (p. 226), SM123 (p. 255), SM239 (p. 459), and YRM (p. 114). The methods proposed in Tibetan *sādhana*s and commentaries also vary somewhat, as will be seen in extracts below provided by Dr. Sobisch (2001: personal communication) on the *Cakrasaṃvara* *sādhana*s of (ʼBri gung pa) dKon mchog ratna (1590–1654), with commentary by (ʼBri gung pa) bsTan ʼdzin padmaʼi rgyal mtshan (1770–1826), (ʼBri gung pa) Rig ʼdzin Chos kyi grags pa (1595–1659), and Mi bskyod rdo rje, the Eighth Karma pa (1507–54). Cf. also K. Gyatso (1999: 119) and Tharchin (1997: 158, 160).
- 297 GSS5 (Sed p. 129¹⁷, K18r4) cited n. 294.
- 298 E.g., YRM (p. 114): *bahir vajrāgnijvālām bhāvayet*. For outer rings of vajras, lotuses, and cakras, see n. 307.
- 299 GSS5 (Sed p. 129⁹, K17v5): *tataḥ oṃ sumbha nisumbha hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ grihna grihna hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ grihnāpaya 2 hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ ānaya ho bhagavān vajra hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ iti caturo mantrān vāmatarjanyaṅuṣṭhe choṭikādānapūrvakam utsārya kṛṣṇaharitaraktapitavarnān brahmāṇḍarasātalavyāpijvalanmahākāyān pūrvottarapaścīmadakṣiṇāsu dikṣu krameṇa sumbhādimantrasaṃbhīḥ jāvadicchāvistarān caturo vajraprākārān...cintayet. • ʼharitarakta] corr.; haritaraktaharita K(ditto).*

Dr. Sobisch has kindly translated for me the following passage of Mi bskyod rdo rje's *sādhana*: "[The *sumbha ni sumbha* mantra, etc., then:] These syllables [are manifested], having counterclockwise the colors black, green, red, and yellow, reaching from the world of Brahmā down to the golden base, and through [their*] blazing rays of light the square vajra fence [is manifested, having the respective] color [of the four*] directions [i.e., black, green, red, and yellow, as before]..." (4r): *yi ge de rnam s.g.yon skor du / nag ljang dmar ser kha dog can / tshangs pa'i jig rten nas bzung ste / gser gyi sa gzhi thug gi bar / khyab cing 'bar*

ba'i 'od zer gyis / rdo rje'i ra ba gru bzhi pa / phyogs mdog... *This is explicit in the prose of dKon mchog ratna, which continues: “[The mantras] are emitting rays of light in their respective colors, ‘cutting off’ [or eliminating] all enemies and obstructors. The rays of light are gathered [again and] dissolve into the mantras. Thereby a square vajra fence [arises]....” (p. 710): *'od zer rang rang gi mdog spros dgra bgegs thams cad tshar bcad 'od zer tshur 'dus pa sngags rnams la thim pas, rdo rje 'i ra ba gru bzhi pa...*

300 E.g., GSS35 (K118r6): *athavā sumbhanisumbhādicaturmukhamantreṇa rakṣādīg-bandhādikaṃ vidadyāt*. Note the slightly different fourth mantra with *vidyārāja*, as attested in Nāgārjuna's *Piṇḍikramasādhana* (Mimaki and Tomabechi 1994 p. 1* ms. Af.2r, p. 31* ms. Bf.2r) and in the SUT ch. 10, v. 26; and SUT ch. 13, vv. 2c–3b: *digbandhanam tu prākāram caturmukhamantram uccaret / 2 / – om sumbha nisumbha hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ. pūrve. – om grihṇa grihṇa hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ. uttare – om grihṇāpaya grihṇāpaya hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ. pāscime. – om ānaya ho vidyārāja hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ. dakṣiṇe – choṭikāṃ dāpayed dikṣu duṣṭamārāṇāṃ trāsanam / 3ab.*

301 The idea of “binding” is prominent in the early account of the *rakṣācakra* in the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* (p. 134; 10a), which is constructed with a variety of mantras and mudrās (interrupted by some other rituals, such as *abhiṣeka* and *kavacana*), and which results in the binding of its various parts plus aspects of the maṇḍala, e.g., (10a): *vajrabandham kṛtvā...*; (11a–b): *mudrāyuktyā sarvavighnabandham kuryāt. vajrabandham baddhvāṅguṣṭha-dvayaṃ prasārya... prasāritavajrabandham bhūmyāṃ pratiṣṭhāpyādhobandham kuryāt... pūrvāṃ diśaṃ bandhayet...* (11b) *digvidikṣv adha ūrdhvaṃ ca vighna-nikṛntanaṃ kuryāt vajrakālyottarāṃ diśaṃ bandhet*; (12a): *vajrakarmaṇā maṇḍalabandham kṛtvā prākāram dadyāt*. This usage remains in place, e.g., HT1.3.3: *pañjarabandhanam*, with *Muktāvali*: *uparigataiḥ prākāraśikharod-gataṃ pañjaram, tābhyāṃ api sphuradbhiḥ śimābandham* (note that there is no *vitāna* in the HT). For the boundary, see SM1 (pp. 5–6) in which the *vajramaṇḍapa* is installed with hand gestures and mantras (p. 5): *tato vajramaṇḍapamudrayā svasthānam vajramayam adhitiṣṭhet*, in the following order: ground, walls, roof, Vajrajvālāvahita mantra (i.e., flame ring), and “boundary” (p. 6): *tataḥ śimān badhniyāt*; NYĀ (p. 1): *anantā vajramayī bhūmiḥ, tajjvalanmayūkhaḥjvālāvaliśimābandhaḥ*; SM110 (p. 226): *bahir dvāre śimābandhaḥ karya iti...*, etc.

302 For the installation mantras following the sequence in the Advayavajra texts, see GSS5 (Sed p. 129¹³, K18r2, cited n. 294), also GSS3 (K12r6)≈GSS31 (K103r5)≈SM217 (p. 424), and SM251 (p. 491). This is not part of the Hevajra system, which empowers the circle of protection with a different mantra, as in YRM (p. 114): *om rakṣa rakṣa hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā*.

303 The equivalent generation of the intermediate goddesses in the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5) supplies a distributive, stating that they are produced “from rays from both [pairs of those mantras] individually” (K18r–18v): *ubhaya-ubhayara-śmisaṃbhūtā*. It seems that there is no great difference between the walls and

the mantras: The SUT states, “As for the binding of the directions, he should utter the four-faced mantra *as* the wall.” SUT ch. 13, v. 2: *digbandhanam tu prākāraṃ caturmukhamantram uccaret*.

- 304 *Devībhāgavatapurāṇa*, *skandha* 5. The fourfold mantra appears prior to the *kīlanamantra* in the Ārya school of the *Guhyasamāja* (*Piṇḍikramasādhana* by Nāgārjuna, Mimaki and Tomabechei 1994 p. 1* ms. Af.2r, p. 31* ms. Bf.2r). Despite its reference to Purāṇic *asuras*, *nisumbha* in the Buddhist tantric tradition seems to have been generally understood as an imperative (cf. PU p. 153).

- 305 See Huntington 1975: 2–5, with plate 45, etc.; Marcotty 1987: 29; and illustrations by Beer 1999: 245–49, with plate 114. The cult status of the *kīla* as deity in the Vajrakīlaya corpus has been studied by Boord (1993) and Mayer (1996).

Examples of deity daggers are given in Huntington (e.g., figs. 19, 21, 22, and 24, all of which hold another dagger). The last shows a three-tiered dagger. The topmost deity is four-armed and holds instruments for staking and hammering, the central deity holds a single hammer, and the third face above the blade is therianthropic.

On the rite of staking (*kīlanavidhi*), see VĀ *Vighnakīlanavidhi* ŚP f. 17v–18r. This rite is often associated with the ten *krodharājas*. A vivid example is a Hevajra rite described by Davidson (1992: 116), in which the creation of the circle of protection is followed by the visualization of a “rimless wheel with blade-like spokes in the ten directions” that are occupied by the ten *krodhas*. The meditator as Uṣṇīṣacakravartin, with retinue, sits in the center, summons the demonic forces with rays, and causes them to fill the area between the sharp spokes of the wheel. He then sees the wheel revolving, chopping the *vighnas* into pieces, burning them with fire, and dispersing them by wind. Their “mental principles” are sent to the realm of Akṣobhya with the recitation of the appropriate mantra, and the wheel melts into space.

- 306 More specifically, in GSS5, the wells are created from “the lengthy subtle resonance of the syllable when it is recited” (K18v1): *daśadiggatavighnavṛndam ānīya dīrghanādoccāritahūmkāraṇiṣpanneṣu prākārabāhyeṣu samīpe digvidigas tu kūpeṣu praveśya*. The instruction to dig the wells “near” the vajra walls is unclear to me and is not clarified by the Tibetan texts, which state that the wells appear “outside” the wall or fence. (Once again, I owe the translations to Dr. Sobisch.) Mi bskyod rdo rje comments on the “eight deep wells that appeared from the *hum* syllable(s?) on the outside (*phyi la*) of the vajra fence...” (4v): *rdo rje'i ra phyir hum yig las / byung ba'i khron zab brgyad...* / (understanding *ra phyir* as *ra ba'i phyi la*). The commentary on a similar passage in dKon mchog ratna says, “Having moved toward the vajra fence, the ten female guardians of the gates that have been visualized earlier utter *hum*. Thereby the eight deep wells that arise from the *hum* behind the outer vajra fence...” (p. 715): *rdo rje'i ra ba dang nye bar slebs nas, sngar bsgom pa'i sgo mtshams ma bcu yis hum zhes brjod pas, rdo rje'i ra ba phyi ma'i rgyab tu hum las byung ba'i khron pa zab mo brgyad*.
- 307 GSS5 (Sed p. 130°, K18v4): ...*ākoṭanakīlanābhyām vighnavṛndam mahāsukhena*

tathataikarūpaṃ kurvanti<m> bhāvayet. punaḥ śeṣaviḥnān utsārya prākāreṣu liyamānāsu tāsu toye † toyāsphalanabindunirgamanyā † <iva> yena simābandhārtha<m> vartulān vajrapadmacakraprākārān cintayet. tad evaṃ vajraprākārādiviḥnotsāreṇa viśuddhyā niḥsandhaikakhaṇḍibhūtaṃ nirviḥnaṃ ca jagad adhimucya ... • niḥsandhaika em.; *niḥsandhyaika* K • *jagad* cor.; *jagat*. K. This text is based on the *Vajrāvalī* (*Vighnakīlanavidhi* SP f. 18v).

Dr. Sobisch (2001: personal communication) comments that in the three Cakrasaṃvara sādhanas mentioned above, the circle of protection is sealed not only by a ring of fire, but by rings of vajras, lotuses, and wheels (*cakras*) (thus echoing the maṇḍala circles inside the temple palace). He translates the Tibetan texts as follows, e.g., Mi bskyod rdo rje: “The wrathful [female goddesses] dissolve into the fence. As droplets are scattered by throwing water into water, rays of light again come forth [that] turn [into] a vajra, lotus, and wheel-fence [that is] round, without interstices, and of one piece. Thereby [one] is free from obstacles....” (fol. 4v): *khro mo rnams // ra ba la thim chu la chu / brdabs pas zegs ma 'thor ba bzhin // 'od zer phyir 'phros rdo rje dang / padma 'khor lo'i ra ba ni // zlum po bar med dum bu gcig // gyur pas bgegs dang bral ba'o*. Cf. dKon mchog ratna's slightly extended prose (p. 35) and its commentary, which reads: “The deities return and dissolve into the vajra fence. Thereby, like the spraying of droplets [when] water is thrown into water, or like the sparkling of fire sparks [when] a fire stick(?) is striking against a vajra, they form three fences, one of blue vajras, behind that one of red lotuses, and behind that one of wheels of weapons, which are round, without gaps, and of a single piece. Behind that, beginning with the powerful vajra fire that is arising from the rays of light of these [fences], sixty-four levels of white, yellow, red, green, and blue, [circulating?] counterclockwise, blazing and moving upward, downward, and into all directions, become one with the [wall of] fire that was visualized earlier.” (p. 718): *lha mo rnams tshur byon rdo rje'i ra ba la thim pas, chu la chu brdab pa'i zeg ma 'thor ba'am, me lcags rdo rje(?) la brdab pa'i me stag 'phro ba bzhin rdo rje sngon po de'i phyir, padma dmar po, de'i phyir mtshon cha'i 'khor lo'i ra ba gsum zlum po bar mtshams med cing, dum bu gcig tu gyur pa'i phyi rol du, de rnams kyi 'od zer las skyes pa'i rdo rje'i me dbang ldan nas brtsams te, dkar ser dmar ljang sngo ba'i rim pa drug bcu re bzhi g.yon skor du steng 'og phyogs mtshams kun tu 'bar zhing 'khrugs pa, sngar bsgom pa'i me dang gcig tu gyur pas*. Similarly, in the *Vajrayoginīsādhana* of Rig 'dzin Chos kyi grags pa: “Again the goddesses are dissolving into the fence, thereby [manifesting] as a single round fence of fire, vajras, jewels, lotuses, and wheels, being firm and reliable.” (vol. ta, p. 580): *slar yang lha mo rnams ra ba la thim pas me dang, rdo rje dang, rin po che dang, padma dang, 'khor lo'i ra ba zlum po gcig tu sra zhing brtan pa'i bdag nyid can du gyur*. Note that the outer rings of vajras, lotuses, and fire are depicted in the Ngor maṇḍalas, p. 126 (a maṇḍala in the same tradition as that described by Mi bskyod rdo rje).

308 The structure of the material still seems to be stabilizing in the earlier texts. Thus, in the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra*, the circle of protection appears

before the worship section (p. 134, 10a: *tato rakṣācakrabhāvanā kartavyā*), the same sequence as that found in the SUT ch. 13, vv. 2–8. The HT1.3.3 mentions the installation of the walls and canopy following the sequence of awakenings (1.3.2). Its commentators, however, are in line with our GSS texts, which place the circle of protection after the accumulations; e.g., YRM (p. 114). Cf. GSS5 (Sed p. 129, K17v5–18r), the Advayavajra-based sādhanas GSS3 (K12r6), GSS4 (K13r7)≈SM226 (p. 440), SM227 (p. 442): *humvajrikṛtabhūmyāda...*, GSS16 (K76v1), also SM40 (p. 83): *śūnyatābhāvanānantaram*, etc. In GSS35 (K18r5) the protective circle is generated after the accumulation of merit but prior to the emptiness meditations. Note SM1 (pp. 10–11): *yadi śakto bhavati aparāhṇe 'pi sarvaṃ etat rakṣādīparikaram pūjādikaṃ ca kṛtvā japet, na cet pūrvāhṇakṛtam eva rakṣādi avisarjitam sthitam eva drḍham adhimucya... vikāle ca prākārapañ-jarādikaṃ visarjya raśmimālinyā kavacaṃ kuryāt*.

309 GSS5 (Sed p. 132¹³, K20v2): *yat tu lūyīpādābhisamaye rakṣāpañjarāder anantaram śūnyatābhāvanoktā tad adhimātraprajñādhikārāt. tasya śūnyataiva parā rakṣeti. sarvajanasamgrahanai<h> punar atra śūnyatābhāvanānantaram rakṣāpañjarādikaṃ uktam. bahuṣu cābhisamayeṣu iyaṃ evānupūrvī drṣyeta iti. • śūnyataiva] conj.; śūnyateva K. The suggestion that the realization of emptiness is the supreme protection is made elsewhere (Isaacson 1997), e.g., in the *Yogimanoharā Pañcakramatippanī*, ed. Zhongxin Jiang and Toru Tomabechi. 1996. Bern. vol. 23 (p. 13): *tad anu paramārthe śūnyataiva paramā rakṣeti*; also by Ratnākaraśānti, *Muktāvali* on HT1.3.3: *tatra maitrīyādibhāvanam prathamā rakṣā, śūnyatābodhir dvitīyā, tṛtīyāṃ rakṣāṃ rephādislokenāha*. Cf. SM110 (p. 226).*

310 This translation depends upon the conjectural emendation of *śūnyateva* (codd.) > *śūnyataiva* (conj.). Without emendation, the text translates: “For him it is said (*iti*) other protection is like emptiness....” The function of *iti* (*rakṣeti*) is not entirely clear. Perhaps it indicates a citation, for example, from Lūyīpāda’s HĀ.

311 In the GSS collection, only two sādhanas apart from the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* elaborate upon the cremation grounds: the *Trayodaśātmikavajradākinisādhana* (GSS16) and the “skeleton arch” practice of Dhyāyīpāda (GSS34). These, and other sources for the cremation grounds, are discussed below in n. 312. It is common, however, for GSS sādhanas to refer in brief to the visualization of the goddess within the cremation grounds, e.g., GSS4≈GSS29 (K13v1): *vajrikṛtabhūmau śmaśānāṣṭakamadhye*; GSS19 (K83v6): *bhīmarūpāṃ śmaśānādaḥ bhāvayed yogi mahākṛpaḥ*; Trīkāyavajrayoginī sādhanas, e.g., GSS20 (K84v4): *ubhayaḥ yoginyor madhye 'ntarikṣe cātibhāyākulaṃ śmaśānaṃ bhāvayed*; GSS35 (K118r3–4): *dhyānasthāne utpāditodḍīyānamahāśmaśānādhimokṣaḥ. • oḍḍīyāna] corr.; oḍḍīyānaṃ K*; GSS37 (K12IV2): *śmaśānādaḥ bhāvayed vidhipūrvakam...* Cf. other tantric sādhanas, such as SM40 (p. 83): *vajraprākāram vajrapañjarāṃ ca vibhāvya tanmadhye ghoṛaśmaśānaṃ tasya ca madhye raktāṣṭadalakamalaṃ...*; etc.

312 A detailed study of the evolution of the eight cremation grounds is yet to be made. In the Buddhist tantras, early references to the cremation ground appear in the yogatantra corpus, particularly within the subjugation myths. The cre-

mation-ground culture pervades the HT, but without mention of the eight cremation grounds as such. For example, in its proto-sādhana (HT1.3.4), the yogin is to seat himself inside the vajra zone on a corpse; later in the chapter, the text states that the lord plays in the cremation ground surrounded by his eight yoginīs (HT1.3.16ab): *śmaśāne kṛḍate nātho 'ṣṭayoginī[bhīḥ] pravṛtaḥ*. The text later finds a convenient etymology (*niruktiḥ*) of the word *śmaśāna* from the verbal root “to expire” (HT1.3.16cd): *śvasatīty anayā yuktyā śmaśānety abhidhīyate*.

The *locus classicus* for the eight cremation grounds in the Saṃvara tradition is the SUT (ch. 17, vv. 36–45), and it is to this passage that Umāpatideva’s verses are related. The scripture describes the types of inhabitants by group (eight named cremation grounds, eight trees, eight protectors, etc.). Umāpatideva rearranges this grouping slightly and divides the cardinal cremation grounds (vv. 70–72) and intermediate cremation grounds (vv. 73–76). The SUT ends with a more generalized description of the terrifying contents of the cremation grounds, and this seems to be the basis for a similar account in the ADUT (ch. 9, p. 293)/*Vārāhyabhyudayantra* (vv. 103–9) that mentions colors, animals, corpses, etc., but no individual features or names. An important exegetical work from the Saṃvara corpus is the *Śmaśānavidhi* by Lūyīpāda (in Finot 1934 and Meisezahl 1980). This text allots two verses to each feature (but gives the clouds separately, v. 18ff.), and like the SUT ends with a general description of the cremation grounds. The order of the intermediate cremation grounds in this text is suspect (southwest, northwest, and omitting northwest and northeast). Meisezahl (1980) discusses two Tibetan translations of Cakrasaṃvara exegetical texts in the Tibetan canon: the *Adbhutaśmaśānālaṃkāra* (a subcommentary in the Cakrasaṃvara collection in bKa’ ’gyur, Toh 413, reported in Meisezahl *op. cit.*: 18–21); and the *Śmaśānālaṃkāraṇtantra* (Toh 402, reported in Meisezahl *op. cit.*: 21–22). These seem to be related to Lūyīpāda’s *Śmaśānavidhi* since they have many features in common (including the same imprecision in the intermediate directions).

In the GSS collection, the *Trayodaśātmikavajradākinisādhana* (GSS16, K76v5–77r) merely lists the direction and name of each cremation ground (drawing initially on SUT ch. 17 vv. 36cd–37ab). The “skeleton arch” practice of Dhyāyīpāda (GSS34) gives a brief description of them as the setting for the skeleton arch (GSS34, K112r1) and then supplies a more detailed account as the cremation grounds are internalized by the yogin (K113r5) and used as the basis for a series of equations with his psychophysical being, in an internalized, cremation-ground version of the yogic body maṇḍala (n. 477 with endnote table vi).

Secondary materials on the eight cremation grounds are limited, and not consistent (which reflects the unstudied diversity of the primary sources). Meisezahl (*op. cit.*) examines the contents of cremation grounds and illustrates them with plates, but this is a short and preliminary study (with several mis-

takes) that concentrates on a small number of Saṃvara-based texts (SUT, the *Adbhutaśmaśānālaṃkāra*, *Śmaśānālaṃkāraṭantra*, and Lūyīpāda's *Śmaśānavidhi*). Tsuda (1974: 292, nn. 1–3) mentions a description of the cremation grounds in the *Laghutantrapīṇḍārthavivarāṇa*, in works by Tsong kha pa, and in a sādhana by Bu ston. Kalff (1979: 24) discusses the relevance of Pali sources describing meditations on decaying corpses. K. Gyatso (1999: 120–23) gives an account of the meditation, also drawing upon Tsong kha pa and dGe lugs sources. Their symbolism is discussed by L. Chandra (Preface to Dawa Samdup 1919: 28–32, citing the *Vajrapradīpaṭippanī* of Suratavajra).

I draw these primary and secondary materials together in the annotations to table 14.

- 313 For birds and animals, see SUT ch. 17, vv. 42–43b; ADUT ch. 9, p. 293; *Śmaśānavidhi* v. 25; Tsuda (SUT p. 293) gives references to them in Bu ston's *Maṇḍalavidhi*. For descriptions of the corpses, see SUT ch. 17, vv. 43c–44b, ADUT ch. 9, *Śmaśānavidhi* v. 26, and *Śmaśānālaṃkāraṭantra* reported in Meisezahl (1980: 22). For supernatural beings, see SUT vv. 44–45 and the *Śmaśānavidhi*, which describes yoginīs with chopper and skull bowl, drums, and food (v. 27) and eight siddhas (v. 28). Some features of the cremation grounds that are not included in the Saṃvara texts are also shown in table 14. Of these, only the *Śmaśānavidhi* (v. 28) mentions that eight *caityas* (unnamed) adorn the cremation grounds; Meisezahl (*op. cit.*: 56) suggests these are drawn from the tradition of eight holy sites of the Buddha's life. The additional features are mentioned by Meisezahl in his annotations to planche 1 (*Maṇḍala of Chinnamūṇḍa-Vajravārāhi* picture no. 4072, Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leyden, Netherlands); he names the *kṣetrapāla*, the *caityas*, and the mountains individually, but his textual sources for so doing are unclear (elsewhere, he mentions that Bu ston supplies a list of ten *caityas*, *ibid.*: 21). K. Gyatso's account (*op. cit.*) also mentions the additional features, such as a stūpa (unnamed) on the top of the mountain (named).
- 314 The Sanskrit text of GSS34 is very uncertain (see the appendix), and I have not even attempted to make full emendations here. GSS34 (K112r1): *tatrāyaṃ śmaśānāni dāruṇaṃ atibhīṣaṇaṃ / dikpālavrkṣaṇāgēndramegharājasamanvitā / cihnāṣṭakasamāyuktaḥ śmaśānasya tu lāñchanam / tad uktam – mahāhavādau vikṛte 'tighore pretāṅganāsaṃkulabhīmaśabde / bhūtipiśācīśivayoṣitādyaiḥ kuryāt śmaśāne khalu pūrvasevā<ṃ> / • dik] corr.; dig K • nāgēndrā] em.; nāgēndrah K • samanvitā] K, understand samanvitam • cihnā] corr.; cihnā K • samāyuktaḥ] K, understand samāyuktam • lāñchanam] em.; lāñjanaṃ K.*
- 315 The artistic sources suggest a more fully developed and perhaps standardized version of the cremation grounds than that described in our texts. Further textual research upon this subject is needed, drawing on Tibetan authors such as Bu ston and Tsong kha pa, against a study of the artistic representations. The cremation grounds do not just appear in tangkas in the Cakrasaṃvara tradition; there are many of Heruka-based maṇḍalas, including those of the Hevajra tradition (e.g., maṇḍalas of Hevajra, Nairātmā, Buddhakapāla, and Vajrahūṃkāra

- in *Tibetan Painted Mandalas*, Rossi and Rossi 1993). Some show the cremation grounds beyond the felly of the circle of protection and some within it. I see no basis from artistic works for Kelsang Gyatso's remark (1997: 89) that the cremation grounds are inside the circle of protection principally in Vajravārāhī practices.
- 316 See *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* ch. 3, vv. 53b–56 for the four continents (including Jambudvīpa) extending in the cardinal directions. Each continent is flanked by two smaller continents. There are therefore twelve continents, but only eight cremation grounds. For the mountains, see ADK/B ch. 3, vv. 48b–49c; for the lakes, ADK/B ch. 3, vv. 51c–52c. There are seven lakes (literally “cools”: *sītās*) that separate the mountain ranges, plus the great ocean itself beyond. The interpretation of *sītā* is debatable, however (see Pruden, nn. 380–82). The Abhidharmic cosmology is discussed and helpfully illustrated by Brauen (1997: 18–21).
- 317 A summary of *How Heruka Was Born* (*dPal he ru ka'i byung tshul*, SK III.298.4.2–300.2.6) by Davidson (1991: 205ff.).
- 318 Sanderson (1994 n. 35) demonstrates that the use of the standard seed-syllables (*yaṃ raṃ vaṃ laṃ*) in the Buddhist sādhanas corresponds to that of the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva tantric traditions, and he proposes that these, and the tradition of relating each to a symbol, are in origin brahmanical (on which see also Heilijgers-Seelen 1994: 20).
- 319 GSS5 (Sed p. 129⁵, K17v3): *tataḥ pūrvapraṇidhānāvedhavaśāt śūnyatāsamādher vyutthāya svacittam evopary upari yaṃraṃvaṃlaṃpariṇatadhanustrikoṇavartulacaturasrākāranīlarakṣaśvetapītavarṇacalatpatākāṅkakotidvayaajvālāṅkaghaṭāṅka a<triśūkavajraṅka>mg2koṇacatuṣṭayam. vāyuvahnīvaruṇakṣitimaṇḍalasvabhāvaṃ vicintya tadupari sumkārasamudbhavaṃ caturasram aṣṭaśṛgaṃ pūrvadakṣiṇapaścimottaraṇapārśveṣu rūpyavaidūryasphaṭikasuvārṇamayam sumerum dhyātvā • aṣṭaśṛgaṃ pūrvā* em. *aṣṭaśṛgo pūrvō* K. Cf. SUT ch. 13, vv. 9–12; HĀ (f. 3v); and sādhanas showing various elaborations to the process, e.g., the red fire element may have the syllable *ra-* inscribed in each corner, e.g., SM110 (p. 226): *tato raṃkāreṇāgneyaṃ trikoṇaṃ raktakoṇeṣu rephāṅkam* (cf. SM95, SM97); the elements may have the seed-syllable and the emblem upon them (as in Kumāracandra's commentary on the KYT *paṭala* 17 (p. 124); *Vārāhyabhūdayatantra* vv. 35–40; etc.
- 320 Changes to the Abhidharmic model can be observed as early as the yogatantra corpus in the Vairocana sādhana of the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana* (p. 160), which includes the substrate of emptiness (in the form of the emptiness meditations) and the fire element. It also describes the water element as “the great ocean” (*mahodadhiḥ*), and generates the maṇḍala of gold above that from the syllable *kaṃ*. The changes in the yoginītantras accord with the cosmic systems described in Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava tantric traditions and may evince their influence (Sanderson, *op.cit.*). Isaacson (1998: personal communication) notes that other models were also in use, for example, the Buddhist tantric Catuspīṭha tradition uses quite different syllables: *yuṃ kṣuṃ suṃ huṃ*.

Both cosmological systems are also beautifully illustrated in line drawings by

Beer (1999: plate 61 with pp. 108–9), and in computer-generated illustrations in Brauen's exposition of the cosmos (1994: 50–54 and 1997: 19–20, figs. 5 and 8). I do not attempt to reproduce the cylindrical shape of the elements here in fig. 25, as the dimensions are not even possible to reproduce with computer drawings. For example, although the height of the elements is given in the *Abhidharmakośa*, the circumference of the wind element is said to be “immeasurable,” and space is infinite; Mount Meru also dives beneath the gold/earth to a given depth, and Brauen (*ibid.*) shows how the mountain is formed differently in the different systems. There are also numerous heavens above Meru within the *kāmadhātu*, the *rūpadhātu* (culminating in the Akaniṣṭha heaven), and the *ārūpyadhātu*.

- 321 Sādhana that directly follow the emptiness meditation with visualization of the cosmos must postpone installing the circle of protection until after the cosmos has been set in place. This differs from the method in the *Vajravārāhi Sādhana*, in which the emptiness meditations lead on directly to the circle of protection, and in which the cosmos—whether the cremation grounds as in v. 16a or the traditional cosmos as in v. 35—is visualized inside the circle of protection. Examples of texts that place the visualization of the cosmos immediately after the emptiness meditations (and therefore before the circle of protection has been generated) include *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* (p. 160); SUT ch. 13, vv. 8–9; HĀ (f. 3r); GSS5 (Sed p. 129⁴, K17v3); GSS3 (K12r5); and GSS12 (K71r1). The difference is more apparent than real, since in these cases, the circle of protection presumably encompasses the visualized cosmos, or as it says in GSS3, it is visualized “on top” (GSS3 K12r6: *taduparī*), perhaps “superimposed”? The *dharmodayā* and temple palace are then visualized within the circle of protection, on top of Mount Meru.
- 322 E.g., GSS3, GSS12, cf. SUT 13.13: *caturasraṃ catūratnamayam aṣṭaśṛṅgopasobhitam vicintya*.
- 323 E.g., STTS ch. 6 (p. 56): *sumerugirimūrdhni vajramaṇiratnakūṭāgāre samājam āgamyā...*
- 324 E.g., STTS ch. 6 (p. 63): *caturasraṃ caturdvāraṃ catustoranaśobhitam...; Sarvadurgatipariśodhana* (p. 160), *Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī* (Tribe 1994: 244); cf. GSS16 (K76v2), ADUT (ch. 14, p. 316), and similar descriptions in many other sources, e.g., HT1.10.20; KYT (p. 140); SM54; SM95; SM97; SM110; SM123; etc. See also Sanderson (1994, n. 48) and Wayman (1990: 82–89) for sources for the temple palace. In tantric visualizations, the various aspects of the temple palace also become the subject of purifying equations. The connection with the yogatantra corpus may explain the common *viśuddhi* of the temple palace with the body of Vairocana, e.g., GSS5 (Sed p. 130¹⁶, K19r1–2): *-savidyāvairocanātmakam kūṭāgāraṃ... <bhāvayet>; Hevajrasekaprakriyā (vairocanaśuddhyā kūṭāgāraṃ...); SM110 (p. 227): pariśuddhabuddhakṣetraṃ saṃkṣeparūpaṃ mahāmokṣapuraṃ vairocanasvabhāvaṃ nānāratnamayam kūṭāgāraṃ...*, etc. Studies have shown that the traditional Indian temple, based on the intricately conceived *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala*, is equated with both the cosmos and the

- body (Snodgrass 1985: 104–17). For a brief resumé of work on this topic, see Brauen (1997: 73–74).
- 325 Earlier sādhanas describe the generation of the temple palace upon a lotus (e.g., SM123 p. 255), but later texts add the detail that upon the pericarp is an altar-like foundation composed of a double vajra, e.g., SUT (ch. 13, v. 13); HĀ (f. 3v); *Bhramaharanāma Hevajrasādhana* (ed. Isaacson 1997); SM97 (p. 136); SM110 (p. 227); NYĀ (p. 12); cf. K. Gyatso (1997: 86, 93). This is illustrated artistically in the sculpted Sumeru Temple in Chengde (Jehol, China), in Brauen (1997: 74 fig. 50).
- 326 The manner in which the elevation of the temple is depicted within the two-dimensional maṇḍala is discussed by Brauen and illustrated with a helpful series of explanatory models (1997 fig. 47 and plates 15–21).
- 327 Another “transitional” GSS sādhana is the *Trayodaśātmikavajradākinīsādhana* (GSS16), which fuses the tradition of the temple palace with the setting of the eight cremation grounds; it is the only GSS sādhana to locate the self-generation within the eight cremation grounds and also to endow the goddess with a palace (*vimānam*) within those cremation grounds. The setting of the temple palace within the cremation grounds is familiar from other tantric systems, and is that represented in all artistic representations of maṇḍalas within the cremation grounds. Cf. commentary on HT1.3.16 (*śmaśāne kṛīdate nātho*) in YRM (p. 115): *vajraprākārāsv antare ghorāṣṭaśmaśānāni tanmadhye kūṭāgārodare viharati nātho hevajrah*.
- 328 Cf. YRM (on HT1.8.3). Its color differs in other Vajrayoginī sādhanas, in which it may be visualized as red and may rest upon a red sun disk generated from a red syllable *raṃ*. E.g., GSS35 (K118v3): *rakta-ekāraparīṇatam lohitavarṇam śarīrasvarūpam ūrdhavadharmodayam*; GSS10 (K47v2): *tatra dharmodayām dhyātvā raktādyakṣarasambhavām*; GSS24 (K90r2): *raktahrīmkārasambhūtām dharmodayām*.
- 329 The compound *dharmodayā* is a feminine *bahuvrihi* whose gender is derived from the now absent referent, “womb” or “source” (*yonih*), i.e., “that [womb] which is the origin of dharmas” (*dharmodayayonih* > *dharmodayā*) (Sanderson 1998: personal communication). However, it also appears as a masculine noun, functioning as a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound, *dharmodayah*.
- 330 The triangular fire pit in the *Gopyahomavidhi* (GSS8) is referred to as “vagina shaped” (K44r1): *bhagākāre vaśyakunde*.... As for the letter *e*, see GSS5 (Sed p. 130¹⁵, K19r1): *dharmodayām ekārām upariviśālām adhaḥśūṣmām vicintya*. For its correlation with the female sex organ, see GSS1≈2 (K280v1–2): *dharmodayeti vikhyātam yoṣitām bhagam ity api*; also cited *Vasantatilakā* ch. 9, v. 2, p. 71. A corrupt passage in the SUT ch. 2, v. 25ab: *dharmodayayonidvārāṇām abhimukhaṃ bhavati niścitam* is translated by Tsuda: “It is certain that it (the seed) faces the aperture of the *yonī*, that is, ‘the origin of dharmas.’” Sanderson (1999: personal communication) suggests that the sense is of rebirth: “It is certain that [the being to be reborn] approaches the exit from (*dvāra*-) the vagina that is the source of existents (*dharmodayayonih*).” Similar instances are

cited in the *Bauddhatantrakōśa* (p. 20) e.g., *Vimalaprabhā* (p. 39): *e rahasye khadhātau vā bhage dharmodaye 'mbuje*.

- 331 Sanderson (1999: personal communication) points out that the *dharmodayā* is already present in the root text of the Caryātantra, the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhitāntra*, as depicted in the 122-deity maṇḍala based on the scripture in the Ngor maṇḍalas of Tibet (1989; plate 20, also in color at the end). Here it has its scriptural form, downward pointing, with the vajra at its center. This tantra was translated into Chinese (T 848) in 725 C.E.; on the Far Eastern version, see Stein (1974–75: 481–88)
- 332 GST 1.1, HT1.1.1: *evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye bhagavān sarvathatāgata-kāyavākcittahṛdayavajrayoṣidbhageṣu vijahāra*.
- 333 For the *dharmodayā* as Sukhāvati, see HT2.2.38ab: *vihare 'haṃ sukhāvatyām; sadvajrayoṣito bhage*; HT2.2.41a: *yoṣidbhage sukhāvatyām*; HT2.4.30c–31b: *strikkakkolasukhāvatyām evaṃkārasavarūpake / sukhasya rakṣaṇād eva sukhāvatiti śabditam*. The YRM (p. 139) states unambiguously: *amitābhasya tathāgatasya buddhakṣetraṃ sukhāvatīty ucyate. iha tu nairātmyādīnāṃ bhagāni sukhāvatī-saṃkṣepāṇi, niruttarasukhasya rakṣaṇāt*. Hence the *dharmodayā* is frequently described in terms of “self-perceived (*svasaṃvedyam*, known-in-itself) great bliss” (HT1.8.46b: *svasaṃvedyam mahat sukham*) and as wisdom and means, viz. buddhahood, HT1.8.49ab: *dharmodayodbbhavaṃ jñānaṃ khasamaṃ sopāyanvitam*. On Sukhāvati as a “generalized religious goal,” see Schopen 1977.
- 334 GSS42 (K125v5): *evaṃkārasamāsine saha-jānandarūpiṇi | prajñājñāne ca dehasthe namas te vajrayogini | 1 • prajñājñāne ca dehasthe* em.; *prajñājñānadehastho* K; *prajñājñāne ca dehāgre* C. Cf. GSS17 (K82r5–6): *ekāramadhye vaṃkāraṃ*; and the related sādhana GSS45 (K139v2): *prathamam tāvad evaṃkāramadhye...*; and citations in *Bauddhatantrakōśa* (p. 20). Note that in the Hevajra tradition, *evaṃ* designates innate bliss (*sahajānandah*), the summation of four types of sexual activity that are equated with four tantric initiations. For example, HT2.3.2–4b: “The union (*saṃvaram*) of all the buddhas is grounded in the sound *evaṃ*. Correctly produced through [the four] consecration[s], *evaṃ* is great bliss....the syllable *e*, which is divine, is adorned with *vaṃ* in the center.” *saṃvaram sarvabuddhānām evaṃ-kāre pratiṣṭhitam* [cf. SUT ch. 3, v. 17] | *abhiṣekāj jñāyate samyag evaṃ-kāraṃ mahat sukham | 2...e-kārakṛti yad divyam madhye vaṃkārabhūṣitam*. Ratnarakṣita’s *Pañjikā* on the SUT also explains *evaṃ* with reference to the fourth *abhiṣeka* (Tsuda 1974: 246 n. 2); Kāṇha’s commentary upon the HT (YRM pp. 103–4) identifies *e* as vagina (*bhagaḥ*), and *vaṃ* as penis (*kuliśaḥ*). In one Tibetan exegetical tradition, mKhas grub rje (pp. 333–36) describes three types of *evaṃ* stating that the inseparability of bliss (*vaṃ*) and void (*e*) is the principal subject matter of the highest tantras.
- 335 Introduction to Adhikāra IV, *Nāmamantrārthāvalokini* by Vilāsavajra (Tribe 1994): *saṃvaragrahaṇapūrvakam bodhicittam utpādya pañcākārābhisambodhiṃ bhāvayed anena krameṇa*. See Tribe 1997: 122.
- 336 See Kāṇha commenting on HT1.8.4b–8b in YRM (p. 115): *yogaśarīraṃ punar atra pañcākārābhisambodhiḥ*; and Vajragarbha’s *Hevajrapañjikā* ed. Sanderson

1994, n. 57 (ff. 47v–48r): *ādarśasamatājñānapratyavekṣanakam kramāt / teṣāṃ aikyam anuṣṭhānam bimbanīṣpattihetuḥ / dharmadhātur idaṃ proktaṃ pañcamam jñānam uttamam / pañcākārābhisambuddhaṃ hevajram dvibhujam bhāvayet.*

- 337 The *vajracatuṣka* comprise: (1) awareness of emptiness (*śūnyatābodhiḥ*), (2) producing the seed-syllable (*bījaśamgrahaḥ*), (3) concentrating the seed (*bījanīṣpattiḥ*), and (4) placing the syllables (*akṣaranyāsaḥ*). This is taught in the GST (ch. 12, v. 66a; ch. 18, v. 137) as part of the fourfold series *sevā*, etc., mentioned on page 25 (GST ch. 12, v. 60ff.; ch. 18, v. 136ff.). See also Candrakīrti's exposition (PU to GS ch. 12 in Wayman 1977: 36–41). It was also taken up in the yoginītantra tradition in the HT (1.3.2) and its commentaries (Snellgrove 1959: 57). Beyer (1978: 109–10) describes its correlation in a Tibetan tradition with the process of rebirth. In the sixfold arrangement (of six “gods”), the first “god” (*tattvadevatā*) represents meditations on the nature of the “self”; the second (*śabdadevatā*) is “the god as sound,” i.e., the mantric syllable resounding above the moon disk; the third (*akṣaradevatā*) is the mind as the moon disk with the mantra written in gold around it; the fourth (*rūpadevatā*) is the rays issuing from those letters to benefit the world and retracting once again into the deity's body; the fifth (*mudrādevatā*) is the armoring of the deity's body; the sixth (*nimittadevatā*) is the meditation on the form of the deity to fortify the *ahamkāra*. The six gods are discussed by mKhas grub rje (ch. 4: 159–63), who correlates them with the five awakenings (*ibid.*: 163, with n. 16; cf. ch. 1: 29), and also by Tsong kha pa (1987: 104–9), with discussion by H. H. Tenzin Gyatso (*ibid.*: pp. 21–24). This is also summarized by Brauen (1997: 64–65). mKhas grub rje states that “the method of contemplating the six gods” is referred to by the yogatantra commentator, Buddhaghūya, citing Kriyātantra texts (ch. 4: 165). See also Bentor (1996: 97–100) for a helpful summary of some of the different Western treatments on the subject of generation.

- 338 GSS5 (Sed p. 131³, K195): *tasya nābhau aṣṭalokadharmatām upalakṣayed viśuddhyā raktapaṃkārajaṣṭadalakamalakarṇikāyām avidyāndhakāraavidhamanaviśuddhyā sūryamaṇḍale dviguṇālīparīṇatādarśajñānasvabhāvacandraādhadadhayalopeta-dviguṇakālīparīṇatasamatājñānasvabhāvasūryayor melāpakamahāsukhaṃ samputamadhye raktavaṃkārajavajramuṣṭyāntargatabhānustha<vaṃ?>bījaṃ pratyavekṣaṇāsvabhāvaṃ tannirmītarāsmīnā spharītvā daśadikṣu bhagavatyā-kāreṇa sattvārthaṃ krtvā punas tatraiva saṃharaṇam kṛtyānuṣṭhāna<m>. etat sarva<m> parīṇamēnātmānam bhagavatīm vajravārāhīm suviśuddhajñānasvabhāvām ... bhāvayet. • upalakṣayed] N; upaleyad K.*

- 339 Note that in contrast to the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* (which directs the yogin to visualize the red lotus inside the *dharmodayā*), the *Abhisamayamañjarī* prescribes the visualization of the red lotus within the temple palace. The temple palace itself has already been generated within the *dharmodayā*.

- 340 See HT1.8.4cff (v. 6): *sthitālīś candrārūpeṇa kālirūpeṇa bhāskarāḥ*; cf. *Samputodbhavatantra* 3.3.5ff. In the GSS, see GSS12 (K713): *tanmadhye paṃkāra-parīṇataṃ viśvapaḍmam. tasyopari hūṃkāraparīṇataṃ viśvavajram. tadvaratake*

ālikāliyogam...; GSS7 (K40r4): *tadantar ālikāliḥ syād madhye vaṃkārabhūṣitam*; GSS16 (K77r5–6): *madhye... ālipariṇāmena candramaṇḍalam. kālipariṇāmena sūryamaṇḍalam. hāmvaṃpariṇāmena mukulitavajram*; GSS33 (K107v1–2): *ātmānam adhimucyāśu kuryāt sahajasādhanaṃ | vajropamasamādhinā kālyāli-samputaṃ kuru*. Other sādhanas texts contain lengthy descriptions of the process; e.g., SM67 (p. 139), the sādhanas of Cakrasaṃvara translated by Beyer (1978: 112), and Sanderson (1994, n. 57) cites Tathāgatarakṣita's *Yoginīsaṃcārā-nibandha*, where only the moon disk appears (NAK ms. No. 5–22/vi *Samcāratantrapañjikā* Toh 1422). On the other hand, the transformation of the vowels and consonants may provide a shorthand for the whole sequence of awakenings, e.g., SM251 (p. 462): *dvātriṃsallakṣaṇāśītyanuvyañjanātmaṃ prabhuṃ ...*; cf. SM95 (p. 190), etc.

341 For the revolving vowels and consonants, see the sādhanas of Cakrasaṃvara (Dawa Samdup 1919: 88) and ADUT 6.3 cited Sanderson *op.cit.* (NVMP Reel no. E 695/3): *tanmadhye ālikālidviguṇīkṛtvānulomaviloma<ṃ> hūṃkārotthitaṃ vā vajrasattvayogena suratasukhodbhūtaśrīherukātmānaṃ bhāvayet. • hūṃkārotthitaṃ*] conj. Sanderson; *hūṃrādhitaṃ* ms.

342 ADK/B ch. 3, vv. 10–17; cf. Beyer 1978: 113, Isaacson 1996b: 25, nn. 16, 27.

343 Ratnākaraśānti's *Muktāvalī* on the same passage (HT1.8.5–6, ed. Sanderson 1994: n. 57) describes a fourfold enumeration of the bliss of the seed, in which the first three types of bliss encompass the third awakening, and the final bliss describes the fourth awakening: (1) the bliss of the seed placed (directly) upon the sun disk (*prayogasukham*), (2) the bliss of the emblem (*cihnam*) that has arisen from the seed (*mūlasukham*), (3) the bliss of the seed inside the *cihna* (*paricchadasukham*), and (4) the bliss of the innumerable yoginīs that emanate and retract [into that seed through the agency of rays] (*parārthasukham*). Sanderson (*ibid.*) notes that Ratnākaraśānti's account is unusual in that the moon disk is followed directly by the sun disk and that the seed syllable is placed upon that. In contrast, Kāṇha uses the sequence described here, which becomes standard in the yoginītantra sādhanas, e.g., commenting on HT1.8.4cd–5ab YRM (p. 124): *dvayor iti prajñopāyasvabhāvayoś candrasūryayoh, tanmadhye mahāsukhasvabhāvaṃ bījaṃ uktam • svabhāvayoś*] em. Sanderson; *svabhāvaṃ ca* Snellgrove.

344 For descriptions of the seed/emblem, see GSS3 (K12v2–3): *tadvaraṭake ālikālipariṇatacandrasūryasaṃputamādhyaḥ raktavajrāntargataṃ raktavaṃkāraṃ prakṛtiprabhāsvaraṃ paśyet*; GSS12 (K71r3): *tanmadhye paṃkārapariṇataṃ viśva-padmaṃ. tasyopari hūṃkārapariṇataṃ viśvavajram. tadvaraṭake ālikāliyogam. tanmadhye vaṃkāraṃ tatpariṇatā bhagavatī vajravārāhī raktavarṇā*; GSS38 (K122v1–2): *sitahrīḥkārajapañcaśūka vajreṇa niṣpannāṃ vajravārāhīm • hrīḥ*] Kpc; (*hūṃ*)hrīḥ K(del).

345 Cf. SM6 (p. 26): *tato niścarad anekaraśmīsatasaḥsraṃ dhyātvā tena sarvasattvānāṃ aśeśānādīkālasaṃcitāṃ rāgādīkleśasaṃmūhaṃ sattvānāṃ viśodhyante*; SM66 (p. 133): *punaś ca guhyaṃ paramaṃ pavitraṃ | bījākṣaraṃ prakṣaraḥ anśujālaṃ | bandhūkapuṣpadyutasannikāśaṃ | vācāṃ prapañcaprasaraikahetuṃ...*

SM67 (p. 140): *tato bijākṣarān niḥsṛtya rāsmibhir pañcagatikasattvān āman-trayet....āmantritasaḍgaticasattvān bijākṣare praveśya....* The “expansion and contraction” of rays is a common term, e.g., SM56 (pp. 116, 118): *spharaṇasaṃ-haraṇākāreṇa*; SM58 (p. 122): *sphuraṇasaṃharaṇaṃ ca dhyāyāt*.

346 SUT (ed. Tsuda 1974), *Utpattinirdeśapaṭala* (ch. 2, vv. 12c.–20): *sāmagrīm na labhate tāvat saptāham antarābhavate tiṣṭhati / 12bc / kathamcit karmasūtreṇa ṣaḍgatis ca prajāyate / 13 / mātṛpitṛādisaṃyogā ikṣayed bhavajanmināḥ / atinir-bharam ānandaṃ mukhamārge praveśyate / 14 / aśvārohaṇavaj jñānaṃ vāyu-vāhanarūdhavat / śighratarāṃ samāgatya muhūrtakṣaṇamātrakaṃ / 15 / dvāsapatisaḥsraṇ ca nāḍīḥ saṃcodya tatṣaṇaṃ / paramānanda saṃprāptam ālikāli dravikṛtaṃ / 16 / śukraśoṇitayor madhye bindurūpeṇa tiṣṭhati / prathamam kalalākāraṃ arbudaṇ ca dvitīyakam / 17 / tṛtīye peṣito jātaṇ caturthaṃ ghaṇaṃ eva ca / vāyunā preryamāṇaṇ ca māmśākāravad bhavet / 18 / pañcamāśagataṃ bijam pañcasphoṭaḥ prajāyate / keśaromanakhācihnaṃ saptamāśena jāyate / 19 / indriyāṇi ca rūpāṇi vyajyante cāṣṭamāśataḥ / saṃpūrṇaṃ navamāśena cetanaḥ daśamāśataḥ / 20.*

347 Here, the generation involves two stages. The first generation is of the deities’ “causal” form (or *hetuvajradhara*); then the second generation gives rise to the “resultant” forms (*phalavajradhara*). The causal deities are visualized in sexual intercourse, during which the seed is implanted in the womb of the female deity via the male’s penis, as in the *Bhramaharanāma Hevajrasādhana* (Isaacson 1997: 5): *tasyānandina āsyena dvihoḥkāravidarbhitaṃ / jvalad bijadvayaṃ rāgāt padmāntaḥ praviśad dravet*, upon which Isaacson (*ibid.*: 27) writes: “Ratnākaraśānti is perhaps deliberately slightly obscure here; it must be understood that the *sādhaka* visualizes himself in the form of the seed syllables *am* and *hūm*, preceded and followed by *hoḥ*, and that he then enters into the mouth of the Hevajra generated in the *pañcākārābhisambodhi* above and passes through the central channel of the deity’s body and via his penis into the womb of Nairātmyā, where the seed syllables melt to form a single white drop.” The drop produced from the great bliss must then be aroused with song (see Beyer for a discussion based primarily on Tsong kha pa’s *sNgags rim chen po*, 1978 pp. 113, 126–27, and Wayman 1990: 211–17.)

348 On the three bodies in relation to the self-generation, see Sanderson (1994: n. 57) citing, for example, the *Yoginisaṃcāranibandha*: “Having a *nirmāṇa* [body] means the embodiment of the deity as the Emanation-Body which pulsates for the benefit of living beings...hence, because it is being enjoyed by the deities in the temple palace through their enjoyment of Truth, it is called the Enjoyment-Body.” (f. 4r1):...*nairmāṇikam iti jagadarthaṃ prati spharaṇasaṃ-haraṇātmaṃ devatādehaṃ nirmāṇakāyasvabhāvaṃ jñātveti śeṣaḥ...ata eva dharmasaṃbhogadvāreṇa kūṭāgārasthitadevatābhiḥ sambhujyamānatvāt saṃ-bhogakāya ity ucyate*; also, “The Body of Transformation in the state of radiating the deities is like the state of begetting sons and so on” (*Āmnāyamañjari* cited Beyer 1978: 126). On the conventionality of the *sambhoga* form generated in the meditation, Abhayākara Gupta’s commentary to the *Buddhakapālatantra*

states, “But in this [system] the Emanation-Body is taught with the form of Heruka etc. constructed thus and thus out of consideration for [the needs of] those to be trained, by means of the Dharmakāya. But the Emanation-Body, the ‘constructed-Buddha’ that is taught in the Pāramitānaya, is [taught] here too, and it is similar because it is constructed. Even if it is the case that the Enjoyment-Body is constructed from the Dharmakāya, in the Pāramitānaya [the Enjoyment-Body] is ordinary/conventional simply (*eva*) because it enjoys the Dharma” (cited Sanderson *op. cit.*). *Abhayapaddhati* (f. 6r2): *iha tv asau dharmakāyavaśena vineyānurodhato herukādirūpeṇa tathātathānirmitena nirmāṇakāya ucyate. yas tu nirmitabuddho nirmāṇakāyaḥ pāramitānaye kathyate so ’rāpi tadvad eva nirmitatvāc ca. saty api dharmakāyanirmitatve saṃbhogakāyaḥ pāramitānaye prthaktvaṃ dharma-saṃbhogād eva. • nirmitatvāc* em. Sanderson; *nirmitatvāc* ms. Cf. YRM (on HT1.1.5): *nirmāṇakāyaḥ samayasattvaśabdenābhidhiyate*.

349 The reflexive pronoun is usually supplied, e.g., GSS34 (K112v3): *mahādevīm ātmānam adhimuñcayet*.

350 SM25 (p. 62): *etadanantaram pratibhāsamātrakam svakāyam avalokya*.

351 Cakrasaṃvara is described, for example, in SUT ch. 13, vv. 22c–24, and NYĀ, *Samvaramaṇḍala* p. 26.

352 Nāropa’s connection with Vajravārāhī/Vajrayoginī is described in his Tibetan life story (Guenther 1963: 24). Rhie and Thurman (1991: 261) refer to three Vajradākinī forms, which are said to have been revealed to Indrabhūti, Maitripā, and Nāropa. These three masters are all associated with separate lineages in the Tibetan tantric tradition, according to an analysis of nine Śaṃvara schools by Tibetan commentator Ngag dbang rigs ’dzin rnam rgyal rdo rje, namely the three main lineages of Luyipāda, Ghaṇṭapāda, and Kṛṣṇa/Kānhapa, plus the lesser-known methods of Prabhūtacandra, Kambala, Nāgārjuna, Indrabhūti, Maitripāda, and Trinetra (L. Chandra in Dawa-Samdub 1919: 9).

A sādhana of this form of Vajravārāhī is found in the *Rin ’byung brgya rtsa*, in which she is called “Nāro’s Dākinī” (*Nā ro mkha’ spyod*) (Willson and Brauen 2000: 258). She is depicted twice in the Mongolian icons following this text (IWS/T 77, LC 587 and IWS/T 87, LC 597). The Tibetan sādhana (*ibid.*) differs from our Sanskrit description in the following ways: Nāro-Dākinī holds in her right hand either a “knife marked with a vajra, or a *ḍamaru* dangling from a vajra.” Her skull staff may be held either “in her left armpit” (as IWS/T 87, LC 597), or “on the shoulder” (as IWS/T 77, LC 587). Her black hair is adorned with “five sorts of *nāga*-tree flowers,” and her garland is of dried skulls; she wears only five signs of observance. The mantra given is: *oṃ oṃ oṃ sarva-buddhadākinīye, vajravārṇṇanīye, vajravairocanīye, hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā* (*ibid.*: 213).

353 Sanderson (1998: personal communication) suggests that this may refer to the brilliant red of the stigmas of the saffron crocus before they have been removed from the flower and dried.

354 E.g., GSS16 (K80r4): *raktapadmacandrāsanaśthām*; GSS20 (K84r5): *vikasita-*

śuklavarṇapadmam bhāvayet. tatropari atiraktavarṇam sūryamaṇḍalam bhāvayet; GSS2 (K11r4): *vāme padmabhājanam sitavarṇam asṛkṣpūrṇam*, etc.

- 355 The Śaiva symbolism of the three eyes is as follows: “Spontaneously, I realize [my] three eyes as the three circles [in the earthly sphere of the cakra], whose form is the three luminaries: the sun, the moon and fire” (translation by Khanna 1986 of the *Subhagodayavāsana* by Śivānanda, v. 11): *somasūryakṛśān-vātma tejas tritayarūpam | netratrāyaṃ bhāvayāmi vṛttatātritayam añjasā*.
- 356 E.g., GSS5 (Sed p. 131¹⁵, K19v6): *mithyādṛṣṭiprahāṇād vikṛtaikānanām caturmā-ravināśanād daṃṣṭrotkaṭabhīṣanām*; GSS17 (K82v2): *daṃṣṭrākārālavadanām*; the goddess is also described as only “slightly fanged” GSS16 (K80r5): *iṣaddaṃṣṭrākārālinīm*; GSS4 (K13v3): *daṃṣṭrākārālavadanām trinetrām vikṛtānanām*; GSS45 (K139v4): *caladvartulatrinetraṃ bhrūbhāṅgabhrīkuṭinī<m>*; see GSS17 (K82v2): *raktavartulacalatpracaṇḍanayanām...atibhīmarūpām*; GSS19 (K83v4): *ugrā<m>...caladvartularaktatrinetrām*; although also with a lustful or compassionate expression, GSS7 (K40r5): *trinetrā ca madanotkaṭā*; GSS5 (Sed p. 131¹⁶, K19v6): *kāyavākcittaviśuddhākṛpāraktanetratrāyaṃ*. For Saṃvara, see SUT ch. 13, v. 21a: *vikṛtānanām*; NYĀ p. 26: *-daṃṣṭravakro*, etc.
- 357 Buddhist tantric sources follow Śaiva conventions, which specify a stage-left and stage-right procedure for describing a deity, thus: “In this description, when we say ‘left’ [from the point of view of the deity] we mean ‘right’ [from the point of view of the observer] and ‘right’ means ‘left’ [in the same way].” *Siddhayogesvarīmata* (6.19cd–28): *vāmaṃ dakṣiṇam evātra dakṣiṇam cottaram smṛtam*. ed. Törzsök 1999.
- 358 See p. 72. This distinction seems to have been blurred by the traditions transmitted into Tibet (and subsequently by secondary sources). In the Textual Note to the corruption in verse 20, it is noted that, according to the Tibetan translation, the goddess holds a “chopper shaped like a leaf.” The Tibetan sādhanā of Nāro-Ḍākinī (Willson and Brauen 2000: 258) notes that she holds in her right hand either a “knife marked with a vajra, or a ḍamaru dangling from a vajra.”
- 359 GSS5 (Sed p. 131^{9–12}, K19v2): *vajravārāhīm...samarasībhūtapañcajñānaviśud-dhyārūṇavajradharām*; SM218 (p. 428): *...arūṇapañcasūcikavajraṃ dhyātvā*. In contrast, Lüypāda prescribes a vajra with a single point (GSS2 K11r4): *dakṣiṇe ekaśūka vajraṃ*. In sādhanas of the tantric goddess Mārīci, both types of vajra are prescribed, illustrating that they are classed as different attributes, e.g., SM138 (*vajraṃ*); SM143 (*ekasūcivajraṃ*); SM134 (both vajra and *sūcī*); SM140 (both *viśvavajraṃ* and *ekasūcivajraṃ*). Snodgrass (1985: 175 fig. 106) shows examples of vajras with one, two, three, four, five, and nine prongs, and discusses the vajra as a multivalent symbol, (*ibid.*: 174). Beer (1999: 232–43, with plates 108–12) illustrates iconographical differences and discusses their symbolism. References to the threatening gesture abound, e.g., SUT ch. 13 (v. 24a): *dakṣiṇe tarjanivajraṃ*. In the GSS, see; GSS3 (K12v): *vajravārāhīm...dvi-bhujām dakṣiṇena vajratarjanikākaraṃ • karaṃ* em., *karaṃ* K; GSS5 (K19v2): *bhagavatīm vajravārāhīm...satyadvayaviśuddhyā bhujadvayām dakṣiṇena*

*prasṛtordhvatārjanikayā duṣṭatārjanikayā duṣṭatārjanapareṇa samarasībhūta-
pañcajñānaviśuddhyāruṇavajradharāṃ. • bhujadvayāṃ*] codd. (understand
bāhuvrihi); GSS6 (K39v6): *vajrollālanatārjanayā<m>*; SM218 (p. 428): *vilasat-
sattripatākōjivalasavyakrapallavasthitapūrvokta[=arūṇapañcasūcikavajra]vajreṇa
ajñānapuruṣasya bhayānuvidhāyinīm*.

360 E.g., GSS35 (K119r1): *vāmakarakalitordhvanabhastalavilasatkapālaviniṣṭadrṣṭīm*.

361 NYĀ (p. 26.9): *vajravārāhī tu...ālīṅganakarahṛtakapālagalitarajodhārāyā
prabhuṃ pāyayanti prasṛtordhvvabhujatārjanāikavajreṇa duṣṭān saṃtārjayanti...*

Another early tangka from Khara Khoto (twelfth–thirteenth centuries) shows a two-armed Cakrasaṃvara with Vajravārāhī (Piotrovsky 1993: plate 27). Some early statues of solo Cakrasaṃvara have also been published, such as the brass from northeastern India dating to the eleventh–twelfth century (von Schroeder 2001: plate 104A), the metalwork statue found near the ruins of Vikramaśīla (Linrothe 1999: plate 206), and the very fine leaded brass Cakrasaṃvara from Kashmir dated ninth to tenth centuries, holding an almost complete elephant about his shoulders (Reedy 1997: plate K62; Linrothe *op. cit.* plate 211); also some eloquent stone sculptures from eleventh-century Bihar (Huntingdon 1984: plate 195), Orissa and Bengal (Linrothe *op. cit.*: plates 198, 199, 203). Linrothe includes a study of Cakrasaṃvara in his survey of wrathful esoteric male deities.

362 For blood of the evil *māras* (namely, Kleśamāra, Skandhamāra, Mṛtyumāra, and Devaputramāra), see GSS12 (K71r5): *vāmabhuje ca kapālaṃ duṣṭamārā-
dyasṛkpūrṇadharā*; SUT ch. 13, v. 24c: *duṣṭamārādyasṛgdharā*; SM218 (p. 428): *caturmārāsṛgāpūrṇapadmabhājanam*. SM236 (p. 457): *vāme kapālaṃ devāsura-
rudhirapūritam*. HT1.8.20cd: *raktaṃ ca caturmārāṇāṃ pīyate siddhihetave*. The reference to the blood in GSS5 (Sed p. 131, K19v5) is in the note below. While skull bowls generally hold blood or the nectars, another maṇḍala described by Abhayākara Gupta (NYĀ p. 15 *Saptadaśātmakahevajramāṇḍala*) ascribes each attendant goddess a skull bowl containing animate creatures ranging from a turtle swimming in the blood (*sakūrmaraktapūrṇakapāla*) to a monk (*śaśukla-
kapālasthabhikṣu*). As for the classification of skulls in the Buddhist tantras, Sanderson (1994i: 95) has noted that its exposition in the SUT (ch. 15) is closely related to the Śaiva *kāpālīka Picumata* (ch. 4). Various types of skull bowl are depicted by Beer (1999: 265, plate 119).

363 GSS5 (Sed p. 131¹², K19v4): *vajravārāhīm...vāmenādha-ekasūkordhvakṛṣṇapañca-
śūkasitadandānugataśuśkasārdraśiroviśvavajrakanakakalaśamūlavinirgatarāṇatsū-
kṣmaghaṇṭikāṇvitaviśvapataḥkāvirājītopāyasyavabhāvābhudandāsaktakhaṭvāṅga<m>
mahāsukhamahākaruṇārasasamayāsṛkpūrṇakapālaṃ ca bibhratīm • °sārdra*] SM218 (p. 428).; *sārdraṃ* K • *kanaka*] Kpc 2, Kac om. Translation based on Sanderson 1994 n. 64.

364 Cf. Khara Khoto Vajravārāhī (*Sacred Art of Tibet* plate 93), sixteenth- to seventeenth-century tangka of Padmasambhava from western Tibet (*ibid.*: plate 49), brass of “Naro Dākini” (*ibid.*: plate 114), and the tangka of Padmasambhava (*ibid.*: plate 48). For a version of the *khaṭvāṅga* with just two skulls

(rather than three), see the six attendant goddesses to the Khara Khoto Vajravārāhī (*ibid.*: plate 93). A staff with only one human head is held by Rakta-yāmāri (*ibid.*: plate 107). Beer (1999: 253–58, with plates 115–16) discusses and illustrates the variations.

- 365 ŚP 459.7–460.1 (translated by Sanderson 1994: n. 64): “Next the skull staff. [There are two kinds.] The first is as follows. Its upper end is adorned with a *samayavajra*. Below that it is decorated with three dry heads [i.e., skulls: *śuṣkamunḍatraya*]. It has a *viśvavajra* at its middle, and part of [i.e., half] a single-pronged vajra at its base. [The other kind] has two heads at the top of its staff, one dessicated and the other fresh. Above them is a *samayavajra*. In its center is a vase adorned with mango leaves and the like. Above its mouth is a *viśvavajra* with five streamers attached to it. In both kinds the staff is thick[er] at the top and narrow[er] at the bottom. It is adorned with tiny bells and the like. The heads etc. are to be depicted in whatever manner is beautiful.”
- 366 E.g., YSCT ch. 15, v. 7 (p. 134): *khaṭvāṅgaṃ devatāmūrṭiḥ prajñā ḍamarukal-pitam / khaṇḍakapālādayaḥ sarve śarīradhātukalpitam*. Cf. K. Gyatso 1999: 126.
- 367 E.g., GSS₂ (K11r4–5): *ālikālimunḍamālāmudritām*; and GSS₅ (Sed p. 132⁴, K2or2–3): *ālikālipañcāśadaḥśarasvabhāvām grathitasārdranaraśiromālinīm*. For the dripping garland on Heruka forms, see SUT ch. 13, v. 21d: *śatārdhanaraśiravibhūṣitam*; YRM on HT2.5.9a (p. 152): *munḍeti sārdramunḍamālā*, the Mahāmaya sādhanas (SM240, SM242, SM244), etc. For the same on the lone Vajravārāhī goddess, see GSS₁₂ (K71r5): *śatārdhanaraśiromālāpralambitā*; GSS₃≈GSS₃₁ (K12v5): *sārdramunḍamālālamkṛtagātrām*. On twelve-armed Mārīcī, the dried skulls of the chaplet are distinguished from the dripping heads of the garland, SM139 (p. 185): *śuṣkapañcamunḍamālāmaulikām vīgalan-munḍamālāpralambitakandharām*.
- 368 E.g., NYĀ (p. 26): *niraktatvena śuṣkanaraśiromālinī* (see *Sacred Art of Tibet* plates 68, 69, 70). This is not a rule since Nairātmā, consort to Hevajra, also wears the bloody garland of heads (NYĀ p. 20). Alternatively, the lone goddess is commonly depicted wearing only a garland of skulls (e.g., *Sacred Art of Tibet* plate 114).
- 369 For the former, see the Mahākāla Brahṃaṇarūpa brass in *Sacred Art of Tibet* plate 72; and for the latter, the seventeenth-century brass of Begtse *ibid.*: plate 120. See Beer’s discussion and illustrations (1999: 316–18, with plate 137).
- 370 E.g., GSS₇ (K42r2): *nūpurair mekhalābhiś ca keyūrain vajralāñchitaiḥ*; SM245 (p. 475): *narāsthikunḍalinam*.
- 371 E.g., *Cakrasaṃvarapañjikā* (f. 6v): *avayave kṛtam liṅgaṃ sā mudrā*. Cf. the *Caryāvrataḍānavidhi* cited by Sanderson (1994 n. 69), and mentioned n. 381.
- 372 GSS₅ (Sed p. 131¹⁸, K2or1, N11v, D13r2): *cakrikunḍalakāṇṭhirucakakhaṇḍāṅka-mekhalākhyapañcamudrādhārām*. – *kaṇṭhikārucakakunḍalāni śiromaṇivibhūṣitām | yajñopavitām bhasmeti mudrāṣaṭkaṃ prakīrtitam – iti. maṇḍalanāyikātvena saṃmudritām ity eke*. • *kaṇṭhī* K; *kaṇṭhi* N, D • *khaṇḍāṅka* K, N, Dpc; *kha(dvāṅga)* D(mg) • *mekhalākhyā* em.; *mekhalākhyāḥ* codd. • *kaṇṭhikā*→

- vibhūṣitām*] codd.; Understand “*kaṇṭhikārucakakunḍalaśiromaṇivibhūṣitām*” (the text is corrupt and unmetrical; but the sense is clear). • *yajñopavitam*] D; *yajñopāvitinam* K, N • *ṣaṭkaṃ*] K, N; *ṣaḍkaṃ* D • *ṣaṇmudritām*] corr.; *ṣaḍmudritām* K, N; *ṣaṇmudritām* D). Cf. GSS7 (K40v2): *ṣaṇmudrāmudritā devī khaṇḍamaṇḍitamekhalā* | *keyūranūpurābhyām ca yathāsthānam vibhūṣitā*.
- 373 The chaplet is usually made of human skulls (see below, v. 22cd), but sometimes a “head jewel” is prescribed instead. Cf. Saṃvara in *Cakrasaṃvaratantrapañjikā* (f. 18v): *pañca mudrā<ḥ> rucakaśiromaṇikunḍalakaṇṭhikāyajñopavitāḥ*; Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara in NYĀ (p. 54): *pañcabuddharatnakirīṭi*; and Vajrasattva/Mañjuvāra in NYĀ (p. 2); and SM250, which equates the six mudrās with the six perfections (p. 489): *kaṇṭhikā rucakam ratna<m> kunḍalam bhasma sūtraka* / *ṣaḍ vai pāramitā etā mudrārūpeṇa yojitāḥ*.
- 374 This is described in the *Caryāvratadānavidhi* from the *Kriyāsamuccaya* (cited Sanderson 1994: n. 69), in which the ornaments are said to symbolize Akṣobhya (chaplet), Amitābha (earrings), Ratnasambhava (necklace), Śāsvata=Vairocana (armlets), and Amoghasiddhi (girdle), and Vajrasattva (ashes). For the correspondence of the five buddhas with the five mudrās in the Hevajra tradition, see HT1.6.11–12a: *akṣobhyaś cakrīrūpeṇāmitābhaḥ kunḍalātmakaḥ* | *ratneśaḥ kaṇṭhamālāyām haste vairocanaḥ smṛtaḥ* | *mekhalāyām sthito 'moghaḥ*; HT1.8.17: *cakrī kunḍala kaṇṭhi ca haste rūcaka mekhalā* / *pañcabuddhaviśuddhyā ca pañcaite śuddhamudrakāḥ*; HT1.4.14cd; HT2.6.4cd; HT2.9.12c. Also, sādhana of Dvibhuja Heruka SM245 (p. 475): *śirasy akṣobhyātmakanaraśiroghaṭitacakrīdharam karṇe amitābhātmakanarāsthikundalinam kaṇṭhe ratnasambhavātmakakaṇṭhikāyuktam haste vairocanaātmakarucakadharam kaṭyām amoghasiddhyātmakamekhalāyuktam*.
- 375 ADUT ch. 14 (p. 322): *evam vicintya ātmānam ākṣepamantrarakṣitam brahmacaryam sadā bhuñjet*. This is tabulated by Kalff (1979: 203).
- 376 See Saṃvara described in the NYĀ, “Having a wreath of five skulls above his forehead, a ‘counterclockwise’ headdress (*mukutaḥ*) of black matted locks surmounted by a double vajra and half-moon.” (p. 26): *lalāṭordhvapañcakapālamāli vāmāvarttitārdhacandraviśvavajrākṛāntakṛṣṇajātāmukutaḥ*. Vajrasattva/Vajradhara in the *Śrīsamputatantraktavajrasattvamaṇḍala* has black twisted locks (*jaṭājūṭa*) beneath a double vajra with a jewel in it (*niviṣṭa*), and above his forehead is the headdress (*mukuta*) of the five buddhas and a half-moon, which are wound round counterclockwise, perhaps forming a kind of turban (*ibid.*: p. 8): *kṛṣṇajātājūṭo niviṣṭamaniviśvakulīśāḍ adho vāmavalayitārdhasudhāmśupañcabuddhamukutaḥlalāṭopari pañcakaroṭakacakrikunḍalakaṇṭhirucakamekhalābhasmavibhūṣitas...*; Navātmaka Heruka (*ibid.*: p. 20): *lalāṭopari nihastabdhita pañcamuṇḍamaṇḍitaḥ pañcabuddhamukutī*; SUT ch. 13, v. 20: *kapālamālālamkṛtasekharam ardhacandravibhūṣitam* / *viśvavajrāṅkitam mūrdhni kulādhīpatimastakam*.
- 377 Cf. GSS5 (Sed p. 132⁹, K20r6): *vajrāvalidvayamadhyikṛtapañcatathāgatātmakapālamālābaddhatrīśikhāṃ, viśvānugrāhakatvena viśvavajrākṛāntamaulīm*; GSS6 (K39r6): *kapālamālāmukutām*; GSS7 (K40v2): *lalāṭe vajramālāśyāḥ* /

- kapālamālāmukutyaḥ pañcamudrāvibhūṣitāḥ*; GSS16 (K77v3): *pañcabuddhamukutīnīm*. E.g., GSS35 (K118v6–119r): *vairocanamukutīnī*.
- 378 For Vajravārāhi's loose hair, see GSS6 (K39r6: *keśavicchūrītā*), commonly expressed *muktakuntalakalāpā*-. This is a classical motif, and many *kāvya* poets describe the longing the absent husband feels for the moment when he may untie the bands (e.g., Kṣemendra *Kalāvilāsa* ch. 7.3: *muktakeśakakalāpāḥ*).
- 379 The tied-up locks form a "crown" (*mukutaḥ/m*), which Monier-Williams (1899) states may be crescent shaped at the top, pointed (*kirīṭam*, *śikhā*), or three-pointed (*mauliḥ*, *triśūlajaṭā*); e.g., ten-armed Mārīcī in SM132 (p. 274): *nānāratnavira-citatriśikhālamkṛtājaṭāmukutīm*. The hair clasp, perhaps originally a piece of bone, appears in sādhana visualizations in various ways, including a double vajra, a half-crescent moon (famously, the attribute of Śiva), and a head jewel, e.g., GSS4 (K13v2–3): *muktakeśā<m>...viśvavajradharām mūrdhni vajrakapālamālāśobhitām*; GSS7 (K40r6): *viśvavajrāṅkacandrāṅkā kapālamukutotkaṭā*; HT2.5.9c: *viśvavajradharam mūrdhni*. An elaborate clasp contained within an open lotus is illustrated in *Sacred Art of Tibet* plate 102.
- 380 E.g., *Muktāvalī* on HT1.6.11d (f. 17r): *hasta iti prakoṣṭhagata<m> rucakam*.
- 381 GSS37 (K121v4): *hārārdhahārakiṅkiṇījālakhandaṃḍitamekhalāmālādiṣaṇmudropetām*. • *kiṅkiṇī* em.; *kiṅkiṇīm* K; cf. GSS5 (Sed p. 132²⁰, K20v6): *mekhalāsarāvaghughurādivibhūṣitā*; cf. SUT ch. 13, v. 22d. Exegetical works distinguish different types of girdle, depending upon the number of loops they contain. See the *Caryāvrataḍānavidhi* in the *Kriyāsamuccaya* (cited Sanderson 1994: n. 69), which describes the male's girdle of eight loops, the female's of sixteen, and the special *rasanā* girdle.
- 382 Sexual intercourse is prohibited at the time of menstruation (Manu 4.40–42), but the goddess in her aroused state is also described as "streaming," e.g., GSS3≈GSS31 (K12v5–6): *śravadrudhiram*; GSS5 (Sed p. 132⁸, K20r5): *rajoyogāt śravantīm*; GSS12 (K71r6): *kalpāgnivan mahātejā śravanti rudhirapriyā*; GSS16 (K80r6): *śravantī<m> rudhirapriyām*; SUT ch. 13 (v. 23d): *śravanti rudhirapriyā*. For the goddess menstruating while in embrace with Cakrasaṃvara, see NYĀ (p. 26): *rajaḥśvalā*. In contrast, Tsuda (1974: 284 n. 3) notes that the ADUT suggests "dribbling blood from the mouth, and fond of blood" ch. 7: *khrag la dgyes shing zhal nas 'dzag* (vol. 2, 48–5–7) and ch. 9: *zhal khrag 'dzag cing khrag la dga' ba* (vol. 2, 50–2–7). A graphic tangka in the Rossi collection shows the goddess as she "straddles a sea of blood fed from distant mountain streams and into which flows her own menses. The sea of blood is agitated, carrying corpses and a skeleton, and is about to inundate even the mountain tops. Carried by golden rays emerging from her vulva are spiders, scorpions, other insects and birds, as if to suggest that she is the source of all of creation." (From: <http://www.asianart.com/rossi/gallery3/4.html>: Dakini (sic). Tibet. 18th century.)
- 383 Reference to the "sentiment of passion" (*śṛṅgārarasah*) is commonplace in descriptions of yoginītantra deities, cf. Hālāhala-Lokeśvara in SM27 (p. 65): *śṛṅgārarasasundara*, and tantric forms of Mañjuśrī, e.g., SM59, SM60 (p. 124): *mahāśṛṅgāramūrti*, SM61, SM62, SM63 (p. 128): *mahāśṛṅgārarasojjvalam*.

Heruka forms are often ascribed all the *rasas*, e.g., ADUT ch. 9 where Heruka's faces have different sentiments according to their color (p. 284): *raudrahāsyaśṛṅgāravīrabhibhatsalehānanam*, and Hevajra in *Bhramaharanāma Hevajrasādhana* (p. 7): *śṛṅgāravīrabhibhatsaraudrahāsyabhayānakaiḥ karuṇād-bhutaśāntaiś ca navanātyarasair yutam*.

- 384 See GSS5 (Sed p. 131¹⁰, K19v2–3): *mahārāgaviśuddhyā dāḍimikusumasam-kāśām*; GSS10 (K47r3): *nijalāvanyabhūṣitām*; GSS23 (K88v1): *sārdrasusnigdharūpām...īśaddhasantīm romāñcakañcukitām*; GSS16 describes her retinue in a similar fashion (K78r3): *digvāsā muktakeśā<h> pīnastanoruyugalā divyarūpā manoramā<h> kiñcidvikṛtānanā<h> kaṭākṣekṣaṇacañcalā<h>*; cf. NYĀ (p. 26): *rajaḥśvalā romāñcakañcukitā*; HT2.5.7cd *mahārāgānūrāgeṇa sahañānandasvarūpataḥ* | ...*ratidvandvasamāpannam nairātmyā saha samyutam*. For the goddess in union, see SM25I, e.g., (p. 492): *paramānanda-vihvalā bhāvya*, etc.

- 385 GSS5 (Sed p. 132⁵, K20r3): *śūnyatālīḍhajagacchūcatvena vāmapādam ākuñ-cya dakṣiṇapañcavitastiprasāraṇād ālīḍhenā • chūcatvena* Kpc; *chūkaratvenā Kac • pādām* em.; *pāden* K. The standard measurement of a *vitasti* is twelve finger breadths (*aṅgulas*), thus “five *vitastis*” is sixty *aṅgulas*; see *Abhayapad-dhati* (f. 10v4): *pañcavitastiti śaṣṭhyāṅgulam* (cited Sanderson 1994). Cf. GSS25 (K91r5ff.): *prasāritadakṣiṇapādā ākuñcitavāmācaranā*.

For classical references to the pose ascribed to Kāma see, for example, the *Kumārasambhava* ch. 3, v. 70: *ākuñcitasavyapādam*, glossed by Mallinātha: *ālīḍhākhyasthānake sthitam ityarthah*, or Raghuvamśa ch. 3.52.

- 386 For Cakrasaṃvara's pose, see NYĀ (p. 26): *bhānusthabhairavakālārātryāv ālīḍhacaranābhyām ākrāntaḥ*. The place of Bhairava and the Bhairava tantras within Śaivism is discussed on pp. 37–38. Sanderson (1998: personal communication) points out that the Buddhist iconography does not represent Bhairava as a supreme deity, for example, with five faces and with ten or eighteen arms (e.g., Svacchandabhairava in the *Svacchandatantra* 2.88c–94b; Bhairava in *Netratantra* 10.1–6b). The Buddhists' Bhairava is closer in scale to those of the cycle of eight Bhairavas *Śivadipaśrāddha* (ff. 421–23) of the *Karmakāṇḍa* (Sanskrit text from Kashmir, ed. L. Chandra, vol. 7, Śatapiṭaka Series, vol. 333, New Delhi: Sharada Rani p. 239). Each of these is single-faced and four-armed, carrying a skull bowl, a *khaṭvāṅga*, and a trident.

- 387 GSS2 (K11r2): *bhairavam caturbhujam adhohṛdayordhvamukham bhaṭārikā<ṃ> nirīkṣayantam sthitam kartrikapālādhr̥taprathamabhujadvayam vyāghracarmanparidhānam. aparabhujābhyām damarutrisūladharam trinetram vikarālāsyam nīla<ṃ> piṅgalakeśam sitakapālamuṇḍamaṇḍitam. • kartrikapālādhr̥ta* em.; *kartrikapālam dhr̥tam* K • °āsyam em.; *āsyam* K.

- 388 GSS2 (K11r2): *carcikā<ṃ> raktā<ṃ>*. GSS texts are otherwise silent on the iconography of Kālārātri, and her representation in Tibetan art is variable. Plates 10f and 11 show a two-armed form of Kālārātri, as do Naro Dakini (*Sacred Art of Tibet*, plate 114), and a twelfth-century bronze from eastern India, British Museum (Zwalf 1985, plate 152). A four-armed form appears in the

- “Paramasukha-Chakrasamvara” tangka (*Sacred Art of Tibet*: plate 69; see 69.2), and also in an eleventh-century Kashmirian bronze of *ekavīra* Saṃvara (Pal 1975: plate 64a, b), which vividly depicts a writhing Bhairava and an emaciated Kālarātri/Cāmuṇḍā holding a trident, a vajra chopper, a skull bowl, and another implement (? damaged).
- 389 GSS35 prescribes the visualization of Brahmā, Indra, Viṣṇu, and Śiva, symbolizing the four Māras (K118v6): *ālīdhacaraṇākṛāntacatuḥkleśaviśuddha-brahmendraharīharām*. Cf. HT2.5.8c *caturmārasamākṛāntam*; and SM3 (pp. 19–20). For the equation of Maheśvara/Rudra with Māra, see Davidson (1991: 216) and Mayer (1996: 122, 1998). Sometimes, however, Vajravārāhī subdues only a single, unnamed corpse representing ignorance (e.g., plates 1 and 3 and Khara Khoto Vajravārāhī in *Sacred Art of Tibet*, plate 93 and Piotrovsky 1993, plate 22).
- 390 A useful discussion of the scholarly work has been made by Mayer (1996: 104–48, 1998), much of it based on research by Sanderson (1988, 1991, 1993). See also Stein (1995 based on 1971–77), Kalff (1979), Iyanaga (1985), Snellgrove (1987: 134–41, 152ff.), and Davidson (1991).
- 391 Mayer (1996: 109ff.) discusses the subject in some detail, drawing on A. Hiltelbeitel 1989, W. Doniger O’Flaherty 1975, and others.
- 392 This is followed by the conversion of the gods of the three worlds, Nārāyaṇa (= Viṣṇu), Sanatkumāra (= Skandha), Brahmā, and Indra, and the deities of intermediate space, space, earth, and hell, all of whom receive new names. The lesser evils (*duṣṭakrodhas*, *ḍākinīs*, illnesses, hells, and calamities) are converted or thrown into the sea, while for humans, the maṇḍala of victory over the three worlds (*trilokavijayamaṇḍala*) is laid out.
- 393 Davidson’s highly useful article (1991), traces the myth from the eighth-century yogatantra sources, through into fifteenth-century Tibetan materials. He amusingly translates a portion of the STTS and describes the similar account in the eighth-century *Trailokyavijayamahākālparāja* and *Vajrasekharamahāyogatantra*. He then shows how the myth takes a more violent turn in the *Candraguhyamaṇītilakamahātantarāja* and in the *Guhyagarbhatattvaviniścaya* (= *Guhyagarbhatantra*/**Guhyakośatantra*). Another eighth-century text that shares the theme of subjugation is the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinijālasaṃvara* (discussed by Sanderson 1995). Its pantheon is similar to that in the **Guhyagarbha/Guhyakośa*, and it also represents Heruka subduing the Brahmanical gods and taking their wives as his consorts.
- 394 Sanskrit originals dealing with the Cakrasaṃvara-based myth are scant. Stein (Annuaire 1973: 468) has noted the existence in the Tibetan canon of translations of (unspecified) Sanskrit commentaries by Indrabhūti, Vajra, and Nāropa, but as yet no study has been made of this material (these are listed with references by Mayer 1996: 118 n. 12). Davidson (1991: n. 14) notes that Nāropa’s version of the myth is not cited by other Tibetan exegetes, so that, in Tibet at least, its influence was “less than complete.” Versions of the subjugation myth also appear in indigenous Tibetan texts. The Tibetan scholar Bu ston (1292–1361)

deals with it in some length in his commentary to the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* (Kalff 1979: 67ff), admittedly relying on Sanskrit authors, including Bhavabhaṭṭa. A version of the myth (*How Heruka Was Born*) was also written by the late twelfth-century scholar Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1167–1216), a summary of which is given by Davidson (1991: 204). Davidson (ibid.: 209ff.) also discusses two indigenous Tibetan texts that are concerned with the myth from the Lam 'bras tradition.

395 A wry lampoon upon the Buddhist approach—and perhaps an admission of its success—appears in a thirteenth-century Śaiva text, the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* of Jayadratha. Sanderson (1994, 1995) describes how, in this account of the Purāṇic myth, Jayadratha attributes a new ploy to the gods in their battle against the demons. As usual, the demons have attained near-invincibility because of their devotion to Śiva, and so the teacher of the gods, Bṛhaspati, cleverly sets about undermining their adherence to Śaivism, the very source of their power (v. 13.74c–83): “I shall propagate the following system and call it Baud-dha [Buddhist]—truthfully enough, since it will be no more than the invention of my intellect [*buddhi*]. In it the famous Buddha will be represented as master over the [Hindu] gods. In his visualizations even our great cause deities, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Īśvara, Sadāśiva, and Bhairava, will be portrayed as his parasol bearers, and the Buddhist idols will be shown standing on the heads of Gaṇapati and other high Śaiva deities. When the demons get to know of these falsely conceived icons, they will undoubtedly fall into the delusion of believing that these deities really are superior to Śiva.” Bṛhaspati does not stop here but devises the cunning scheme of culling mantras from Śaiva tantras, and even lifting passages out of Śaiva scriptures with which to “propagate a system of [Buddhist] tantric ritual.” He would also attack the demons on the metaphysical front: “My liberation will be a ‘voidness’ calculated to undermine their faith in their Śaiva rituals... and I shall deny the existence of the Supreme Lord by arguing that there is no self.” In this way Bṛhaspati plots the demons’ destruction through their conversion to Buddhism. Perhaps an even more direct acknowledgement of the success of the Buddhist methods appears elsewhere in the same text, when the Śaivas respond in kind with the terrible form of Kālī “Destroyer of the Buddhas” (*Sugatasamhāriṇī*), whose ornaments are created from the dismembered parts of Buddhist deities (cited Sanderson 1994 n. 72 from *Jayadrathayāmala*, *ṣaṭka* 2 21.9–14).

396 The scriptural source for Umāpatideva may be the SUT, which concludes the generation of Saṃvara’s thirteenfold maṇḍala in ch. 13 with “two armorings” (referring to Cakrasaṃvara and Vajravārāhi in union) and the subsequent infusion of the knowledge circle, (v. 34): *tataḥ kavacadvayaṃ jñātvā jñānacakram vibhāvayet*. Another scriptural source is the YSCT, which describes the double armoring (*kavacadvaya*) in ch. 7 (as cited in textual note to §6), and the “*cakrākaraṣaṇam*” in ch. 8. This is the method that informs Lūyipāda’s HĀ (f. 11v): *tataḥ kavacadvayaṃ kṛtvā jñānacakram vibhāvayet. samayacakre praveśya*, and thus also the *Abhisamayamañjarī* GSS5, which oddly preserves the “two”

armorings (Sed p. 134¹, K21v5): *tataḥ kavacadvayaṃ kṛtvā jñānacakravibhāvanam iti lūyīpādoktaṃ*. Cf. also ADUT ch. 9 (p. 287).

For this alternative sequence (infusion with knowledge → armoring → consecration), see elsewhere in the ADUT (ch. 14, p. 321: *svahṛdy aṅkuśayogena jñānacakraṃ tu-m-ākaraṣyad budhaḥ | nyāsam evaṃ prakurvīta abhiṣekam anukramāt | praveśya baddhvā tu saṃtoṣya anurāgeṇa yogataḥ | kavacadvayaṃ tato nyastvā ekarasasvabhāvataḥ*). Advayavajra also follows this method, cf. SM251 (p. 492) and GSS3 (K13r3). It is, in fact, very common, e.g., *Hevajra-sekaprakriyā*; SM26 (p. 65: *caḥṣurādyadhiṣṭhānaṃ kāyavākcittādhiṣṭhānaṃ kṛtvā abhiṣekam prārthayet*), etc.

- 397 “*nābhau hṛdi tathā vaktre śiraḥśikhe'stram eva ca*.” This appears (with the same eccentric syntax) in the YSCT (A4r.6), HĀ (f. 12r), ADUT ch. 9 (p. 287) and ch. 14 (p. 326); cf. GSS4 (K13v4), SM226 (p. 441): *śiraḥ śikhāstram eva ca*; etc.

Published sources from the dGe lugs tradition describe how the syllables (which stand upright on moon disks) are visualized “between the skin and the flesh” (Dhargyey 1992: 20) or “flat against your body and lie just under the skin but without going into the flesh” (Tharchin 1997: 192–93), or simply, “at the level of” our navel, etc. (K. Gyatso 1999: 144–45). It is the variously colored light rays emitted by the syllables and fanning out through the body (though described in these sources in slightly different ways) that actually create the armor. These Tibetan sources agree that “mouth” is here equivalent to the throat area, in one case (Dhargyey *op. cit.*) acknowledging the discrepancy of the oral tradition: “Now, at the throat (although the text says ‘mouth’)....” They also agree that the final armoring in/on “all the limbs” refers to the “eight great joints,” i.e., shoulders, wrists, hips, and ankles. However, oral instructions in other Tibetan traditions vary considerably in this matter (Sobisch 2001: personal communication).

- 398 The marginal insertion claims that the five armor goddesses also hold a bell in their left hands; this seems to be an error. GSS5 (Sed p. 134¹, K21v5): *tataḥ kavacadvayaṃ kṛtvā jñānacakravibhāvanam iti lūyīpādoktaṃ. kavacaṃ kuryāt. bhrūṃhūṃkhamāṃhāmhamkārair āyatanāni saṃśodhya vārāhīyāminimohanīsaṃcālīnīsaṃtrāsīnicandīkānām ṣaṇṇām devīnām mantraiḥ svasvadevatāvan nairātmyena kavacayet. om vaṃ nābhau. hām yom hṛdi. hrīm mom vaktre. hrem hrīm mūrdhi. huṃ huṃ śikhāyām. phaṭ phaṭ sarvāṅgeṣu astre. athavā mantradevatayor abhedāt † tattān † manasi niṣpannās teṣu teṣu sthāneṣu <tat>taddevatā eva bhāvyaḥ. tatra vārāhī<ṃ> raktanīlaharitamukhī<ṃ>, vāme kapālakhaṭvāṅgapāśa<dharām> dakṣiṇe aṅkuśabrahmamundaḥkartribibhrāṇām <draṣṭavyā?>. yāmanimohanīsaṃcālīnīsaṃtrāsīnicandīkā nilasitapīṭaharitatadhūmradhūsaravarṇāś caturbhujāḥ sakapālakhaṭvāṅgāś ca vāme ḍamarukartrikā dadhānāḥ, sarvāś ca muktakeśyo nagnās trinetṛā āliḍhāsanasthā draṣṭavyāḥ.*

• *lūyīpādoktaṃ kavacaṃ*] em.; *lūyīpādoktaḥ kavacaṃ* K; *lūyīpādoktara-kṣākavacaṃ* Sed p. 134 • *hāmham*] em.; *hāmham* K • *harita*] em.; *haritā* K • *aṅkuśabrahma≈ca vāme*] K(mg). • *bibhrāṇām draṣṭavyā*] conj.; *bibhrāṇām* K •

dhūsara] em.; *dhūsara* K • *sakapālakhaṭvāṅgās*] *sakapālakhaṭvāṅgām ghaṇṭā* K(mg2) • *ḍamarukartrikā*] em.; *ḍamarukartrika* K

- 399 The armor goddesses are depicted in LC 572–77, and IWS/T 62–67. In Cakrasaṃvara sources, there is also a set of six male mantra gods, which are placed as armor on the Heruka god prior to the armoring of his consort with the female mantra gods, a process said to unify the couple, e.g., ADUT ch. 14 (p. 321): *kavacadvayaṃ tato nyastvā ekarasaṣvabhāvataḥ*. The male syllables are given in the *Vajravārāhisādhana* during the worship in the hand (showing themselves much less stable than those for the female deity). They are also illustrated in the Mongolian icons (LC 566–71, IWS/T 56–61) following the Tibetan text (Willson and Brauen 2000: 252).
- 400 Willson and Brauen 2000: 252–53. Variants in the seed syllables in the Tibetan text are: *haṃ yom* (Yāmini) and *hūṃ hūṃ* (Saṃtrāsini). Both the Tibetan sādhanas and the “conferral” are rather different from the Sanskrit texts. The former includes the self-visualization of Vajravārāhi with Vajrasattva as consort.
- 401 See GSS5 (Sed p. 134^{1–2}, K2iv6) cited above; GSS3 (K13r3): *tataḥ bhrūṃhūṃkhaṃāḥhāṃkārair āyatanāni śodhayet. śaḍdevatīśuddhair mantrapadair bhagavatīm kavacayet*; GSS16 (K8ov3): *tata āyatanam viśodhayet. omhūṃkhaṃāḥhāṃham. cakṣuḥśrotraghrāṇajihvākāyamanā<ṃsi> śaḍdevatīmantreṇa kavacayet. kāyavākcittapatheṣu om āḥ hūṃ iti sthāpayet • tata* corr.; *tato* K • *śaḍdevatī*] corr.; *ṣaḍdevatī* K; SM251 (p. 462): *jñānasattvahr̥dbijam dhyātvā loṃ māṃ pām tām kham ityebhiḥ pañca dhātūn adhiṣṭhet, omāḥhriḥhohhūṃhriḥkāraiḥ skandharūpādikān api, bhrūṃhūṃkhaṃāḥhāṃkārair āyatanāni śodhayet. tataḥ śaḍdevatātmakamantrakavacair ātmānam kavacayet. • hāṃhāṃkārair*] em.; *hāṃhāṃkārair* SMed.; cf. SM250, and variants as listed by Sanderson 1994 n. 87 from other texts.
- 402 Alakakalaśa on the *Yoginīsaṃcāratantraṭīkā* (NAK ms. 3–683 NGMPP Reel no. A1279/2 f. 13v), reference provided by Dr. Isaacson (1998: personal communication). Cf. SUT ch. 13, v. 2cd: *pañcaskandhādyahamkāraṃ dvibhujaherukayogavān*.
- 403 For example, in the chapters of the *Samvarodayatantra*, the purification of the psychophysical organism follows the self-generation and visualization, as in our armoring section, but in fact the subject matter of the chapters edited by Tsuda (1974) reveals a sequence of practices that together encompass the aspects of the body maṇḍala—namely the progression from the generation method (ch. 2) to the completion method (ch. 3); followed by a purification of four elements, skandhas, and *āyatanas* (ch. 4); yogic correlations with sun and moon (chs. 5–6); purification of the veins (ch. 7); and activity concerning the sites (chs. 8–9). The armoring is also presented as part of the *viśuddhi* of the complete maṇḍala in the ADUT (chs. 9, 14).
- 404 This is particularly evident in the sādhanas of Vajrāsana (SM3–SM5), in which the visualization of the syllables is embellished with emblems and colors that exactly match those of the maṇḍala circles. SM3 (pp. 20–21, discussed and translated by Sanderson 1994 n. 95) may be summarized as follows:

Endnote table iii. *Armoring in Sādhnamālā* no. 3.

<i>Purification</i>	<i>Syllable</i>	<i>Site</i>	<i>Emblem</i>	<i>Color</i>
body	om̐	head/forehead	wheel	white
speech	āḥ	throat	lotus	red
mind	hūṃ	heart	vajra	black

- 405 *Tantrārthāvatāra* by Buddhaguhya translated from Tibetan (Toh 2501, 7b ff.) by Lessing and Wayman (1978: pp. 234–35, n. 30). Here (and in another lengthy note on this topic, *ibid.*: p. 162, n. 17) the authors translate *samayasattva* as “symbolic being,” which expresses the “conventionality” (*samayaḥ* = convention) of the form. I prefer to translate it “pledge being” (*samayaḥ* = pledge), the form created by the “pledge-holding” initiate (*samayin*). The samaya is the sādhaḥa’s pledge of postinitiatory observances.
- 406 This set dates from at least the yogatantras, e.g., *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* (19b; 21b) and STTS ch. 6, cited Snellgrove (1987: 216). For the four syllables in yoginītantra texts, see GSS3≈GSS31 (K13r2): *tad anu bhagavatīhrdbijanirgata-raśmi<bhi>r jahḥkāreṇa jñānacakram āñīya hūṃkāreṇa samayacakre jale jalam iva praveśya vaṃkāreṇa bandhanam hoḥkāreṇa toṣaṇam kuryāt • tad anu* em., *tadagra* K • *samayacakre*] conj.; *svasamayacakre* K; GSS5 (Sed p. 134¹², K22r4): *tato hr̥ṇmadhyavartiraktāṣṭadalapadmaṣṭhitabhānumaṇḍalopari raktavajravaraṭa-kāntargataravisthavaṃbijaraśmibhir daśadigvartisarvavīravireśvarīpariṇāmarūpaṃ jñānacakram jahḥkāreṇākṛṣya tannirgatavinādiśoḍaśadevībhir arghādīpurahṣaram pūjayitvā phemkāraṇādītapāṭhapaṭṭhāpūrvakam jvālāmudrām baddhvā lālāte vāmavartena bhrāmayet. hūṃkāreṇa samayacakre jale jalam iva praveśya vaṃkāreṇa bandhayitvā hoḥkāreṇa saṃtoṣya om̐ yogaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmā yogaśuddho ’ham iti paṭhet. • hr̥ṇmadhya*] corr.; *hr̥tamadhyā* K • *ravisthavaṃbijaraśmibhir*] em.; *ravistham bīm̐bijaraśmir* K • *śoḍaśadevībhir*] corr. *śoḍaśo devībhir* K • *jvālāmudrām*] em.; *jālāmudrām* K. Cf. *Hevajrasekaprakriyā* (p. 8): *jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ yathākramam gaurīcaurivettālīghasmaribhi rajomaṇḍale ākarṣaṇam praveśanam bandhanam toṣaṇam cakṣurādyaḥṣṭhānam kuryāt*; etc. mKhas grub rje (pp. 235–49) discusses the four syllables as the “four seals” and describes the different ways of fusing them according to whether the maṇḍala is generated in front or as a self-generated object (pp. 291–95).
- 407 The similarity between summoning deities for the *bali* ritual and the summoning of the knowledge being(s) is attested in texts such as the YSCT ch. 7 on armoring (A4r8, B5v3) and ch. 10 on *bali* ritual (A5r2, B6v); HĀ (f. 12r); likewise in the ADUT, e.g., ch. 14 (p. 321), prior to the infusion of knowledge and again (p. 326) for the *bali*. Sometimes the context is ambiguous, as in GSS4, which includes the scriptural verse after the armoring (as if to summon the knowledge deities), but then ends with mantras and the *bali* mantra, indicating the final *balividhi*.

- 408 For a fairly elaborate worship section at this point, see the Vajrāsana sādhanas, e.g., SM3 (p. 21), which includes offerings, nectar tasting, and *stutis*; SM4 (p. 23): *tato hṛdbīja <raśmi> samākṛṣṭajñānasattvam arghyapādyādinānāvidhapūjā-santarpanastutipraṇāmapūrvakam samayasattvena sahaikikṛtya*; also the Khasarpaṇa sādhanas, e.g., SM15 (p. 45) in which *jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ* is placed inside a *vandanāmantra*; SM24 prescribes *bāhya* and *guhya* offerings with praise verses and the four syllables with mudrās (p. 60): *bhavantam jñānasattvātmakam arcayet*.
- 409 For deities in union, gratifying (*toṣanam*) may consist of the rays issuing from their lovemaking (*anurāgaṇam*); e.g., ADUT ch. 9 (p. 321): *praveśya baddhvā tu samtoṣya anurāgeṇa yogataḥ*. The lovemaking is described more fully elsewhere, and structurally may occur at different points, as in SM251 (p. 493) where it follows the consecration. Cf. SM239 (p. 462); SM248; *Cakrasaṃvarasādhana* in Beyer 1973: 114.
- 410 This tradition seems to be based in the yogatantra scriptures, e.g., the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* 19b; 21b: *jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ pravartayet. yathāsthāneṣu ākṛṣya praveśya baddhvā vaśikuryāt*; and in generating the Vajradhātu maṇḍala in the STTS ch. 1, vv. 7–8: *jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ... / tato buddhādayaḥ sarvamahāsattvaḥ samagrataḥ / ākṛṣṭā supraviṣṭāś ca badhvā yāmyanti tadvaśam*, a passage translated by Snellgrove (1987: 216; see also 223). The tradition also appears widely in the yoginītantra strata, e.g. in Ratnākaraśānti's *Bhramaharanāma Hevajrasādhana* (p. 10): *jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ ity ebhir yathākramam ākarṣaṇa-praveśanabandhanavaśikaraṇāni kṛtvā samayajñānamāṇḍalayoḥ ekalolībhāvaṃ vibhāvya*; SM110 (p. 230): *oṃ vajrāṅkuśī ākarṣaya jaḥ, oṃ vajrapāśī praveśaya hūṃ, oṃ vajrasphoṭa bandhaya vaṃ, oṃ vajrāveśe vaśikuru hoḥ*; SM226 (p. 441): *jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ vajrāṅkuśādiyogena ākṛṣya praveśya baddhvā vaśan nayet. vaśan* | em.; *vasan* ed. The same “yoga of the vajra hook” is described in the ADUT (ch. 9, p. 287; cf. ch. 14, p. 321). See Snellgrove (1987: 235–40) on “The Power of Coercion.”
- 411 Mañjuśrī-related texts may have been influential to the formation of the notion of a *jñānasattva* because of Mañjuśrī's association with wisdom. Thus, Vilāsa-vajra's root text refers to the deity Mañjuśrījñānasattva; the text describes itself as the “*Nāmasaṃgīti* of the Knowledge Being Mañjuśrī, who is the knowledge body (*jñānakāya*) of all the Tathāgatas” (Tribe 1997: 115, with n. 31). Although Vilāsavajra shows no acquaintance with a mature *sattva* theory, he was familiar with the term *jñānasattva* (e.g., ch. 4, v. 27; Tribe 1994), and elements of the later theory are also present in his sādhanas (Tribe 1997: 116–17).

The appearance of the *samayasattva* and *jñānasattva* in yogatantra texts is worth further study. mKhas grub rje (p. 235) gives little idea of the use of these terms in the yogatantra scriptures, citing only the explanatory tantras, the *Paramādyā* and *Vajrasāekhara*, rather than the root yogatantra, the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*. Mention of the *samayasattva* appears in the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* (19b) where it is described in terms that are associated in our texts with the *jñānasattva*, namely, the drawing down of deities into the heart maṇḍala with rays, a process that, however, is said to complete the *samayamaṇḍala*.

The Mañjuśrī sādhanas of the *Sādhnamālā* also reveal an evolution toward a knowledge being, both in their reductionist tendencies and in their use of yogic practices based on the deity in the heart. Thus, in the *Vādirād-Mañjuśrī-sādhana* SM51 (p. 107), which describes itself as following the kriyātantra, the seed-syllable is placed on the heart of the self-generated deity; in the *Vādirād-Mañjuśrīsādhana* SM54 (p. 111) accredited to the *Mañjuśrikalpa*, the self-visualized god is said to have a knowledge body (*jñānadeham*) as a result of a five-colored seed-syllable *muṃ* (an early equivalent of the five awakenings). In the SM56 *Arapacana-Mañjuśrīsādhana* (pp. 117–18) there is still no series of awakenings, but Mañjuśrī arises having “the knowledge essence of all tathāgatas” (*sarvatathāgatajñānasvarūpa*) and with the ego of the pledge being (*samayasattvāhaṃkāravān*). Then *aṃ* in the heart gives rise to the generation of Arapacana at the heart, with a syllable at his heart also, surrounded by deities with syllables of his mantra at their hearts; rays emitted from the whirling cakra in the heart then destroy ignorance. A similar practice in SM58 (p. 122) specifically mentions the *jñānasattva* (p. 122): *tato nāyakaḥrdbjavinirgatāṃśv-ākṛṣṭajñānasattvena sahaikatāṃ ca cakram ca śighram bhramet*. The *Vajraṅga-Mañjuśrīsādhana* SM59 (showing more higher tantric influences) again incorporates the *jñānasattva* within a yogic practice (p. 122): *bījebhyaḥ sphārayed raśmīn ucchvāsenātha raśmibhiḥ | niḥśvāsaughair jñānasattvaṃ bījeṣv ākṛṣya saṃharet | viśramya jñānasattvādyabijakaspṛāsaṃhṛti | śvāsasya sthiraadhiḥ kuryāt nirga-māgamayoḥ kramāt*. In the following sādhanas, the wisdom being is unified with the self-generated Mañjuśrī just as in the Vajrayoginī sādhanas, SM60 (p. 124): *tataḥ jñānasattvenaikikṛtya om mañjughoṣa hriḥ jaḥ iti mantraṃ japet*; SM65 (p. 132): *samayasattvābhinnasvarūpaṃ jñānasattvaṃ ānayanāntiṃ vibhāvayet*.

The letter *A* is widely regarded as the “source” or “essence.” In the yogatantras, as Mañjuśrī is born from *A*, the syllable is hailed as *dharmadhātu*, *mahākṣara*, the “vajra womb of the buddhas,” etc. (Tribe 1994 citing *Āryamañjuśrī-nāmasaṃgīti* and its subcommentaries; see Tribe 1997: 123). Cf. the string of qualifications awarded the syllable in the *Nāmanāntārthāvalokinī*, ch. 4 (ed. Tribe 1994; commentary below v. 27): *taddhṛdaye candramaṇḍalam vibhāvya tadupari prajñāpāramitāsvabhāvaṃ sarvajñānjñānodayakāraṇaṃ sarvaśrāvakaḥpratyekabuddhānām utpattibhūtaṃ sarvamahābhodhisattvānām punyajñānasambhārabhūtaṃ paramārthākṣaraṃ sarvākṣarāṇām kāraṇabhūtaṃ akāraṃ vinyaset*. In yogottara exegesis, the letter *A* appears at the heart of the buddhas in the illustrious company of *om* and *aḥ* (*Pañcakrama* 1.42: *akārodeśa-kam jñānam buddhasya hṛdayaṃ bhavet*) and is awarded the etymology from *anutpannatvāt* (*Pañcakramatippaṇi*: ms. F, f. 8a.1, *ibid.*: p. 95*): *akārodeśakam jñānam ityādy anutpannatvāt sarvadharmāṇām*. Cf. GSS26 (K93r2), HT1.2.1, and HT2.4.4iff.

- 412 In Candrakīrti’s PU, the *samādhisattva* is again an aniconic, mantric entity (ch. 10, p. 92; ch. 11, pp. 98–99, 115). See also GST12 vv. 46–47 (in Wayman 1977: 32). Dr. Isaacson (unpublished 1996b) cites many Samāja exegetes on this subject.

- 413 Dr. Isaacson (*ibid.*) also notes that the supposedly early *Hevajraprakāśa* by Rāhulagupta has traces of both the twofold division of the yoginitantras (*samayasattva* and *jñānasattva*), and a threefold *sattva* theory, in which the “beings” are called *samayas*. Traces of the earlier *samaya* terminology survive in the ADUT, e.g., in ch. 14 (p. 317; cf. ch. 19, p. 353), in which Heruka is to have at his heart the *jñānasamaya*, a replica of the main deity, with the same color and arms. For the twofold *sattva* theory, see ADUT ch. 24, p. 362.
- 414 In the *Abhisamayamañjarī*, the deities of the consecration appear at exactly the same moment that the yogin draws down the knowledge circle (Sed p. 134¹⁶, GSS5 K22v1): *jñānacakrākaraṣaṇasamakālam eva*. There may be some overlap here with the earlier system, in which the generation of Heruka and his consort (HT1.3) is followed directly by their consecration (HT1.4, *devatābhiṣekapaṭalaḥ*) without a prior summoning of the knowledge deity.
- 415 HT1.4: *devatābhiṣekapaṭalam*. Cf. Mahāyāna-style *sādhana*s, such as the *Simhanāda-Lokeśvara sādhana*s, e.g., SM25 (p. 63): *tathāgatān sphāryābhiṣiñcet ātmānam maulāv amitābhamudranam cintayet*. The attendance of women singing and dancing at a bathing ceremony is, of course, a classical Indian motif, e.g., in the *Kumārasambhava* (ch. 7.10cd), where women bathe Umā with water poured out from golden pots to the accompaniment of musical instruments.
- 416 E.g., Advayavajra’s *Saptākṣarasādhana* SM251 (p. 493). The goddesses also appear as agents in some other Cakrasaṃvara texts, e.g., SM250 (p. 489): *ṣaṭcakraavartikakrasthadevīvrndakarasthitaiḥ | pañcāmṛtadravāpūrnaiḥ kapālair abhiṣecayet*; ADUT ch. 14 (p. 321): *jāḥ hūm vaṃ hoḥ prayenākṛṣya praveśya baddhvā vaśikṛtya ca. vīrayoginibhir gaganatalam paripūrṇam dṛṣṭvā jñānam bunāmṛtakalāśagrhitahastābhiḥ siñcet*. Cf. ch. 9 (p. 287); also SM36 (pp. 81–82): *nānānirmāṇadhārīnyo vajrayoginyo ’bhiṣekam prayacchanti*; and SM67 (p. 140), in which the consecration of Siddhaikavīra comprises his bathing by *pūjādevīs* emanated for that purpose, to the accompaniment of dancing and singing.
- 417 *Abhisamayamañjarī* (Sed p. 134¹⁶, GSS5 K22v1 continued from n. 406): *jñānacakrākaraṣaṇasamakālam evākṛṣṭābhir vajravilāsinibhir jñānamayāmṛta-pūrnakapāladamarudhārīṇibhi<r> hṛdbījanirgataviñādevīpūjitābhi<r> – yathā hi jātamatreṇa snāpitāḥ sarvatathāgatās / tathāham snāpayiṣyāmi śuddham divyena vārīṇeti – paṭhantibhir iṣadāvarjitavāmakarakapālanipatitajñānāmṛtadhārābhir abhiṣicyamānam mahāsukham ātmānam vicintya śeṣāmbuniṣpannān tathāgatān śīrasi vibhāvya – om sarvatathāgatābhiṣekasamayaśriye hūm – ity adhiṣṭhet. tatra bhagavatyaḥ kuleśaḥ śīrasi vairocanaḥ. dākīnyādīnām ratna-sambhavaḥ. cittavākkāyagatānām yathāsaṃkhyam akṣobhyāmitābhaśāśvatāḥ. samayacakrasthānām amoghasiddhiḥ. • jñānamayāmṛta] corr. (or jñānāmṛta); jñānaramṛta Kac; jñāna(maya)mṛta K(mg2) • śuddham divyena] K (see Textual Note to v. 27i) • kapālanipatita] corr.; kapālanipatata K • kuleśaḥ] em.; kuleśaḥ K • āmitābhā] em.; āmitābhā K.*
- 418 Textual descriptions of the consecration tend to have a distinctive structure.

The consecration is described within a prose passage in the passive continuous, with the consecration “being given by” the yoginīs/deities who are described with a string of qualifying *bahuvrīhi* compounds in the instrumental as holding the consecration vessel and pouring out its contents and uttering a verse. See the parallel account in the *Abhisamayamañjarī* cited in n. 417. Cf. SM218 (p. 429).

- 419 The use of this mantra referring to “all tathāgatas” in Umāpatideva’s text is somewhat incongruous, as he deals with the consecration of the solo deity, Vajravārāhī, presided over by Vairocana. It makes more sense when it appears in the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (cited n. 417) in which the water of consecration is understood to produce all five tathāgatas as the seal; these are then allocated as presiding buddhas to the goddesses in different parts of the maṇḍala.
- 420 On the purificatory function of the consecrations, Dr. Isaacson (1996b) notes that in the VĀ, Abhayākara Gupta states that the five consecrations (*vidyābhiṣekas*) plus the “Garland Consecration as the sixth” counteract ignorance (VĀ B f. 73r): *ete mālodakādayaḥ ṣaḍ abhiṣekā avidyāvīpaṅkṣayogyatāpādanād vidyābhiṣeka ucyate*; see also YRM on HT1.4 (p. 115): *abhiṣeko jñānāmbubhiḥ savāsanasarvāvāraṇakṣālanārtham*. Elsewhere the consecration liquid is imagined transforming into the buddhas of hate, slander, envy, craving, ignorance (and the dharmadhātu for the sixth), which thereby purify those negativities, e.g., SM251 (p. 493), mKhas grub rje (p. 221, with Wayman’s notes). Professor Sanderson (1994 n. 96) provides a full discussion of these correspondences.
- 421 Published overviews of the topic in English include Kvaerne 1975, Lessing and Wayman 1978, Snellgrove 1987: 231–77 (also 1959 vol. 1: 95, n. 1), and Bentor (1996: 240–61) on the rites of initiation, both lower and higher, within tantric rites of consecrating images, etc.

The fivefold series of lower consecrations is also termed the vase consecration (*kalaśābhiṣekah*) after the vessel bestowing the empowerment, or the knowledge consecration (*vidyābhiṣekah*), either because of its association with wisdom (*vidyā*) or after the female agents of consecration, *vidyās*, in our texts (mKhas grub rje, chapter 9, comments on both interpretations). The five consecrations of this set generally comprise: the water consecration (*udakābhiṣekah*), the head jewel consecration (*mukutābhiṣekah*), the vajra consecration (*vajrābhiṣekah*), the bell consecration (*ghaṇṭābhiṣekah*), and the name consecration (*nāmābhiṣekah*). However, research by Dr. Isaacson (1996b) has shown the classification of the consecrations to be a highly complex matter, with different series of consecrations listed according to the different tantric systems and to the individual scholars attempting to clarify the varying accounts. For example, Isaacson shows that not only was opinion divided over the exact contents of the lower consecrations just listed, but a certain group of influential exegetes actually included the teacher consecration (*ācāryābhiṣekah*) within them (for example Abhayākara Gupta, who gives an account of the various systems in his VĀ [ms. “B” f. 81v]; Kuladatta, as implied in his *Kriyāsamgrahapañjikā* Cambridge [f. 106v]; Kumāracandra in his *Ratnāvalīpañjikā* to the KYT [Sed p.

100]; the unknown author of the *Hevajrasekaprakriyā*; and Advayavajra in his *Advayavajrasaṃgraha* [pp. 36–38; also cited by Snellgrove 1987: 229]). The vase consecration and teacher consecration together are sometimes referred to simply as the teacher consecration (*ācāryābhiṣekaḥ*), or as the irreversible consecration (*avaivaryābhiṣekaḥ*) since they operate as a prerequisite to the consecration of a guru (Snellgrove 1987: 231).

The *locus classicus* for the vase consecration is the *Uttaratantra* portion of the GS (ch. 18, v. 113), which lists the consecrations as vase (*kalāśa°*), secret (*guhya°*), wisdom (*prajñā°*), and “fourth” (*caturtha°*) (which was purely verbal in nature, Isaacson *op. cit.*). Similarly in the Hevajra tradition (HT2.3.10), the main consecrations are listed as teacher, secret, wisdom, and “fourth.” Dharmakīrti explains the first of these (the vase or teacher consecration) as follows (Snellgrove’s translation HT vol. 1 1959: 95, n. 1):

“The first is called Jar consecration (*kalāśābhiṣeka*) or the Master’s consecration (*ācāryābhiṣeka*). It is called a baptism because impurity is washed away, that is to say that the impurity of the body is washed away. It is called the consecration (or baptism) of the jar, because it is characterised by (the use of) a jar, and the consecration of the Master because it is far removed from evil and wickedness. It is also called the consecration of knowledge [*vidyābhiṣeka*] because it overthrows ignorance and arouses an awareness of the five spheres of knowledge (*pañcavidyājñāna*).”

422 E.g., SM251 (p. 493): *abhiṣekam anunāthayet bhagavantaḥ sarvatathāgatā abhiṣekam dadantu me iti*; cf. HT1.4, *Hevajrasekaprakriyā*, etc. The consecration verse supplied by Umāpatideva (v. 271) would normally provide the “reply” to the request.

423 Direct references to the *utpattikrama* in the GSS are found in GSS6 (K3915): *utpattikramayogenātmabhāvaṃ vibhāvayet* and GSS23 (K8711): *lokeśvareṇa bhagavatoddīṣṭa utpattikramasādhana<h>*. The six *aṅgas* are treated in some depth in the final commentarial-style work of the GSS, the *Ḍākinīguhyasamaya-sādhana* GSS46 (K143v ff.). They are: (1) withdrawal [of the senses] (*pratyāhāraḥ*), (2) *dhyāna*-meditation, (3) breath-control (*prāṇāyāmaḥ*), (4) concentration of the mind (joined with retention of the breath) (*dhāraṇā*), (5) recollection (*anusmṛtiḥ*), and (6) *samādhi*-meditation. Apart from their early exposition in the *Ṣaḍaṅgayoga-nāma* (Peking Tibetan Tripiṭaka vol. 85), they are widely expounded in Sanskrit and Tibetan texts, e.g., in yogottara works such as the PU commentary to the *Guhyasamājatantra* (PU p. 116ff. on GST ch. 12, vv. 60–64), in which Candrakīrti cites and comments on the six yogas as given in the “*Uttaratantra*” portion GST ch. 18, v. 137 and vv. 140–54 (also edited and translated by Wayman 1977: 38–50). Kālacakra texts dealing with the system include Nāropa’s *Sekoddeśaṭika* from the *Sekoddeśa* portion of the *Kālacakratantra* (see Orofino 1994), the main commentary on the root *tantra*, the *Vimala-prabhāṭikā* by Puṇḍarika, and the *Guṇābharanī nāma Ṣaḍaṅgayogaṭippanī* by Raviśrījñāna (Sferra 2000). Note also the work of Cicuzza and Sferra (1997) and Cicuzza (2001).

424 For the inherence of innate buddhahood in all livings see HT2.2.44 (*tasmāt sahajam jagat sarvaṃ*) with Ratnākaraśānti's gloss: *sahajena buddhatvena yogāt sahajam jagat sarvaṃ*, cited by Isaacson (2001: 471 n. 96). For a full discussion of the origin and development of the term *sahaja*, including its various translations, see Davidson 2002.

425 For example, Kāṇha comments on the passage in the HT1.8.1–14 with HT1.8.24b–25 (...*utpannam kathayāmy ahaṃ*), as follows (YRM p. 125): *idānīm utpattikramaṃ nirdiśya dvitīyam utpannakramaṃ prastotum āha krametyādi. kramaḥ prakāraḥ. kasya kramaḥ? samādheḥ. candracihnabijādiparināmena devatākāraṇiṣpattir utpattiḥ. sā yasmin samādhāu asti sa utpattikramaḥ. utpannam svābhāvikaṃ eva rūpam. tad eva tattvarūpeṇādhimucyate bhāvyaṭe yasmin yoge sa utpannakramaḥ. • prastotum* em.; *prastotam* Snellgrove; • *utpannam svābhāvikaṃ* em.; *utpannasvābhāvikaṃ* Snellgrove. • *yoge sa* em.; *yoge* Snellgrove.

The SUT (ch. 3, v. 3) refers to the Stage of completion (*utpannakram-abhāvanā*) as the “aspect of instantaneousness” (*jhaṭitākāraṃ*). However, many sādhanas seemingly of “generation” type also refer to “*jhaṭiti*,” e.g., see GSS1=GSS2 (K28or2): *jhaṭiti tato nābhimaṇḍale...devīm bhāvayet yogavit sadā*; also GSS1 (K28or6–v1): *jhaṭitākārayogātmā yogi sidhyati nānyathā*; GSS5 (Sed p. 133¹⁹, K21v5): *tā devyā bhagavatīṇiṣpattisamakālam eva jhaṭiti niṣpannā draṣṭavyāḥ*; GSS22 (K86r3); GSS16 (K8ov2); GSS35 (K19v3); cf. HĀ (f. IIR.5–6). For its mention in the ADUT, see Tsuda's citations (1974: 244).

426 GST 18.84 (Samājottara 84) edited by Isaacson: *kramadvayam upāśritya vajriṇām dharmadeśanā / kramaṃ autpattikaṃ caiva kramaṃ autpannakam tathā*. (Cf. HT1.8.24b–25.) Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* 24.8: *dve satye samupāśritya buddhānām dharmadeśanā / lokasaṃvṛtisatyam ca satyam ca paramārthataḥ /*.

427 The different yogic traditions reveal a vast array of systems, practices, and correspondences, accounts of which are widely available in primary and secondary literature. An important source for the subtle yogic body is the SUT *Nāḍicakrakramopāyapaṭala* (ch. 7), which opens (vv. 1–2) with an account of the structure of the channels inside the body drawn from the *Pañcakrama*, and which describes the content and nature of the three principal channels (vv. 16–22). Cf. SUT (ch. 2, vv. 15–16, for the winds) and Tsuda (1974: 260 nn. 1–3). The cakras and their lotuses according to the Saṃvara system are described at SUT ch. 31, vv. 19–28, namely: (vv. 19–20) the *mahāsukhacakra* at the head with a four-petaled subtle lotus and a thirty-two-petaled lotus; (v. 24) the *sambhogacakra* at the throat with a red lotus of sixteen petals; (v. 25) the *dharmacakra* at the heart with a multicolored lotus of eight petals; and (v. 27) the *[nirmāṇa]cakra* at the navel with a blue lotus of sixty-four petals (Tsuda *ibid.*: 63, 327 n. 4). For the flow of *bodhicitta* nectar between the cakras, see SUT ch. 31, v. 20 (cd): *bodhicittātmikā candraḥ kalāpañcadaśātmakāḥ*; with vv. 21, 24, and for their contents, SUT ch. 7, vv. 16–18.

For the Hevajra system of cakras at the heart, throat, and sex organ, see HT1.1.23 with YRM on the different lotuses at each (p. 107): *dharmacakraṃ sambhogacakraṃ nirmāṇacakraṃ. hr̥tkaṇṭhayaoniṣu yathākramaṃ*; or of cakras

at the sex organ, heart, throat, and head (HT2.4.5iff.): *dharmasambhoganirmāṇaṃ mahāsukhaṃ tathaiva ca / yonihṛtkañṭhamasteṣu trayāḥ kāyā vyavasthitāḥ*; cf. *Bhramaharanāma Hevajrasādhana* (p. 8): *kañṭhahṛdbhagamasteṣu catuṣ-cakraṃ yathākramam / sambhogadharmanirmāṇamahāsukhaṃ iti smṛtam*. In the Kālacakra tradition, the number of cakras is extended to six—at the crown, brow, throat, heart, navel, and sex organ.

In the summary that follows, I also draw on other sources, such as those published by J. Gyatso (1998), K. Gyatso (1991/1999), Germano (1994), Mullin (1996), Patrul Rinpoche (1994), Simmer-Brown (2001), and Tharchin (1997).

- 428 This meditation follows the tasting of nectar, as it does in GSS11, but describes the contemplation of the full maṇḍala. GSS5 (Sed p. 135¹⁸, K23r6, N14r3): *yady etāvati mahati maṇḍalacakre cittam cirataram sthirikartum asamarthas tadā nābhikamalastharavisomasamputāntargatavambijamṛnālatantvākāraraśmirekhyāṃ cittasthirikaraṇadvāreṇa prāṇāpānāyor nāḍīdvayavāhāparihārān madhyamāpraveśe jvalitayā cāṇḍālyā drāvitasya śīraśśāśinaś cakravṛtyāptikrameṇānandādibhedāt sahaḥodaye sakalavikalpasamhārāt sakṛd vā maṇḍalacakrasyaṇupalambhaḥ krameṇa vā śūnyatāntarbhāvaḥ. • asamarthas] corr.; asamarthaḥ K.*

- 429 I am paraphrasing GSS5 cont. (Sed p. 136⁴, K23v3, N14r5): *tatrāyaṃ kramah. jagat śmaśāneṣu, śmaśānāni bāhyacakre, bāhyacakraṃ kāyacakre, kāyacakraṃ vākcakre, vākcakraṃ cittacakraṃ, cittacakraṃ diggatadākinyādiṣu, dākinyādiś ca mahāsukhacakraḥ bhagavatimukhe, bhagavatyāsanāmbhojaṃ bhānau, bhānum bhairave, bhairavaṃ kālārātryāṃ, kālārātri <m> khaṭvāṅge, khaṭvāṅgaṃ bhagavatyāṃ, bhagavatīm nābhikamale, nābhikamalam ravisomasampute, <ravisoma>-samputam vakāre, vakāram ardhacandre, ardhacandraṃ bindau, bindum nāde 'ntarbhāvya... [paśyet].*

• *cittacakraṃ*] em.; *cittacakrasya* K, N • *diggatadākinyādiṣu*] N; *diggatadākinyādiṣu* K • *dākinyādiś*] N, (*vidiggatā****diṣu*) *dākinyādiś* K (mg2)

- 430 GSS5 cont. (Sed p. 136¹⁰, K23v6, N14v1): *nādam tam api vālāgrasātasahasrabhāgarūpaṃ paśyet, adhimātras tu tam api nopalabbhate. jñānacakrasvabhāvata-yāpi bhagavatyāḥ prabhāsvare praveśaḥ. evaṃ bhūyo bhūyaḥ praviśed uttiṣṭhet <ca>. tad uktaṃ—śvāsavāto yathādarśe layaṃ gacchati sarvataḥ | bhūtakotiṃ tathā yogi praviśec ca muhur muhuh | punaḥ punaḥ praveśavyutthānaiś ca satyadvayābhinnanīṣpannayuganaddhasamādhim yogi sāṅgātkaṛotīti.*

• *nādam*] em.; (*nāda*) K (mg2) • *nopalabbhate*] em. Isaacson; *nopalabhyate* K • *svabhāvata-yāpi*] em.; *svabhāvayātāpi* K

- 431 GSS5 (Sed p. 136¹⁶, K24r2, N14v3): *khede sati nābhisarojasthavambijē cittam niveśya vakṣyamāṇahṛdayopahṛdayamantrayor yathābhilāṣam anyatarasyocāraṇasamayam eva tadbījanādān nirgamavāyunā pañca cakrāṇi saṃsphārya jagadārthaṃ kārayitvā vāyoh praveśasamayē mālāsūtrākaraṇanyāyena mantreṇa saha tasminn eva praveśayet. vakṣyamāṇapratyekadevīmantrajāpārthinaṃ tu pratyekadevatāmanthroccāraṇasamāptau pratyekaspharaṇasamharaṇaṃ pūrvavat kartavyam. athavā tad eva <bījaṃ> pūrvavad uttiṣṭhantim avadhūti-vartmanā mukhān niḥśṛtya padme svasthānaṃ gatvā tathaiva bhramantim akṣaramālāṃ bhāvayan hṛdayopahṛdayor anyataram vakṣyamāṇamālāmantram vā jayet.*

athavā tad eva <bījaṃ> pariveṣṭya sthitā<ṃ> pradīpamālām iva mantramālām ālokeyan adrutam avilambitam asatsamkalpavarjitam iti.

• *mālāsūtrā*] em.; *mālāsṛtā* K, N • *jāpārthinām*] N; *jāpārthinā* K • *pradīpa*] Kpc (*pra*)*dīpa* K(mg2)

Note the following yogic meditation in GSS35, in which the syllables revolve instead from the heart, out into the world, and back through the goddess's sex: "Having done the meditation (*evaṃ vicintya*) he should repeat the mantra. [He should visualize] the syllables [of the mantra] as coming forth with the out-breath from a red *A* on a sun [disk] at [her] heart [thinking of them] as one with that [*A*] (*tatsvarūpāṇi*); [and then], as he breathes in, [he should see them] dissolving back into that *A* after entering the central channel (*avadhūti*) through [her] genitals (*svaguhyena*). The color of the syllables changes according to the type of rite performed. Then, when he is tired, he should enter clear light. In that [practice], he should visualize in the center of his navel in the central channel (*avadhūti*) [either] the *A* syllable blazing up like a white star or a red drop like a lamp. Through practice in this way over a long time, knowledge is produced.... He should cultivate the nonperception of all dharmas." (GSS35 KI19r4): *evaṃ vicintya mantram japet. hṛdayasthasūryasthāruṇākārāt śvāsanirgamaṇa tatsvarūpāṇy akṣarāṇi nirgatāni, śvāsapraveśe svaguhyena praveśyāvadhūtyām akāre lināni. karmabhedato 'kṣaravarṇabhedah. tadanu khede prabhāsvare višet. tatra nābhīmadhye 'vadhūtisuṣire śukranakṣatravad ujñvalam akāraṃ, dīpaval lohitaṃ binduṃ vā bhāvayet. evaṃ ciratarābhyāsād udiyate jñānaṃ...* (KI19v3) *sarvadharmānupalambhaṃ saṃbhāvayet.*

• *hṛdayastha*] em.; *hṛdaya(sthā)* K(del) • *gamena*] em.; *gameṇe* K • *praveśyā*] em.; *praviśyā* K • *suṣire*] corr.; *śuṣire* K. Cf. K. Gyatso 1999: 169–71; Tharchin 1997: 230–33.

432 In the GSS, the ten-syllabled heart mantra is given for the red, two-armed, warrior-stance Vajravārāhī (GSS4, GSS5, GSS11) and for *kūrmāpatana* Vajrayoginī (GSS36). The thirteen-syllabled heart mantra appears for the same two-armed, warrior-stance manifestation of Vajravārāhī (GSS5), for *ūrdhvpāda* Vajravārāhī (GSS12), and for the six-armed maṇḍala leader (GSS16). Different manifestations of Vajrayoginī are ascribed different mantras (see ch. 2).

Manuscripts reveal considerable numbers of variants in the mantras. In particular, the length of the vowel *huṃ/hūṃ* varies. While this may be a matter of orthography, the two syllables are distinct, and Umāpatideva himself comments upon this in a mantra that combines both (see §34). The long syllable (*hūṃ*) is the seed-syllable of the tathāgata Akṣobhya and thence of the various Herukas of which he is the family lord. In most Vajravārāhī mantras in the GSS, the syllable is short (*huṃ*). Another common variant is the form of the name element. Following the brahmanical model, the dative form (*-īye*) is the norm, as the extraction of the mantra (*mantroddhāraḥ*) described in GSS1≈GSS2 confirms. However, our manuscripts also transcribe the name element as a vocative (*-i*) and, probably through a corruption of the vocative, as a nominative (*-ī*). Edgerton (1953: vol. 1, 10.86ff. p. 74) presents *-īye* as the "oblique

singular feminine” form that has evolved from the Middle Indic forms, primarily Pali *-iyā* and Prakrit *-iā*. (Details are given in Wackernagel’s *Altindische Grammatik* band 3 §83–96.) Edgerton records that *-īye* may indicate the instrumental (10.91), ablative (10.93), genitive (10.94), and locative (10.95) of *-i* and *-ī* stems, but, significantly, cites *-īye* only as the dative of *-i* stems. However, he states that *-īye* is extremely common in some manuscripts (10.90) and seems to suggest that *-īye* is interchangeable with *-īyai* (10.131). Mantric syntax is generally fluid. For example, many mantras may include the salutation *namah* but without supplying a dative inflexion, as in Vajravārāhi’s mantra here. (Cf. the eightfold mantra in GSSII §32).

- 433 Gtsang smyon Heruka. (1995: 138). For the mantra “as” the deity, see GSS5 (Sed p. 134⁵, K22r2): *athavā mantradevatayor abhedāt...*; cf. Kumāracandra on KYT p. 117. The same understanding of the mantra is found in other nondual tantric traditions, as in the Śaiva Trika tradition noted by Khanna (1986: 225) from the *Gandharvatantra* (11, 54b): *svaṃ mantratanur bhūtvā devīm mantramayīm yajet*.
- 434 For the proper manner of reciting a mantra, see GSS5 (Sed p. 150⁶, K35r3): *drutādidoṣarahita<m> mantram jāpet*; HT2.5 v. 43ab: *āyutajāpaspaṣṭena dīrghanādena cārūṇā*, KYT ch. 12 v. 7: *na drutaṃ na vilambitaṃ na ca hrasvaṃ na dīrghakaṃ / na kiñcīc chrūyate mantram japamāno narottamaḥ*; SM1 (p. 10): *tataḥ...jāpam abhyasan yathābhilaṣitaṃ mantram na drutaṃ na vilambitaṃ asatsamkalpavarjitaṃ mantrākṣaragatacittaṃ tāvaj jāpet yāvan na khedo bhavati*; SM29 (p. 72): *antarjālpam atispaṣṭam na drutaṃ na vilambitaṃ / yathāsukhaṃ japam kṛtvā...*; SM172 (p. 349): *...na mātrāhinaṃ...*; etc. mKhas grub rje gives many details regarding recitation, e.g., (pp. 189–90) “While muttering, one should be neither hurried nor slow / Neither too loud nor too low / Neither speaking nor distracted / Nor disregarding the upper and lower vowel signs, the *anusvāra*, or the *visarga*” (citing *Subāhupariṣcchātāntra*, Toh 805). In one Avalokiteśvara-based *dhāraṇī* (SM41), the mantra is to be recited with 108 beans in the mouth (p. 87): *somagrahe sūryagrahe vā pañcagavyena prakṣālyā aṣṭottaraśatamāśān mukhe prakṣīpya tāvaj jāpet yāvan na mukto bhavati*. Cf. Tharchin 1997: 222.
- 435 For the promise of siddhi in six months, see GSS23 (appendix), also GSS10 v. 140 (K52v6): *yathāśvāsālābho bhaven māse ṣaṭmāse vāñchitaṃ phalam / ṛddhi-siddhīr bhaved abde vaśyākṣīpunahsarā • ākṣīpunahsarā* conj.; *ākṣīṭh punahsarāḥ* codd.; SM71 (p. 143): *mañjuvajrāhaṃkāreṇothāya tathaiva vihareḍ iti. ṣaṇmāsena vāgīśvaratām āśadayati*; SM7 (p. 30); SM28 (p. 70); SM80 (p. 156), etc. The nature of such guarantees is pan-tantric, e.g., *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 12.10cd–11ab: *kavitvaṃ māsamātreṇa sālaṅkāramanoharam...ṣaḍbhir māsaiḥ svayaṃ kartā śāstrāṇām jāyate tu saḥ* (edition supplied by Judit Törzsök at a seminar at All Souls College, Oxford, 1996).
- 436 For an account of the principal siddhis and their attainment according to oblation rituals in the different Buddhist tantric systems, see Abhayākara Gupta’s *Homavidhi* (VĀ ŚP ff. 116r–118r). On the eight siddhis, see e.g., SM172 (p. 350), SM221 (p. 434), *Vasantatilakā* (p. 74), etc.; and on other siddhis, SM71,

GSS2 K11r6–I1v1, GSS5 (Sed (p. 138¹¹, K25v1), SM218 (p. 431), etc. For the removal of *ānantaryakarma* with the hundred-syllabled mantra recited 108 times, see SM1 (p. 2): *tataḥ sarvakarmāvaraṇakṣayārthaṁ sarvatathāgatahṛdayaṁ śatākṣaraṁ tenaiva vidhinā aṣṭasahasraṁ japet. saddharmadūṣaṇānantaryādikaṁ karmāvaraṇaṁ prahīyate*, but with a rider that the sādhaḥa must believe himself able to do so (pp. 12–13): *yathokte nāhaṁ śakta iti nāvasāditavyam*; cf. SM8 (p. 30): *pañcānantaryakāriṇo 'pi koṭijāpeṇa sidhya<n>ti*; SM17 (p. 48), etc. Cf. mKhas grub rje (p. 220) plus Wayman's note; Benard (1994 63ff.); etc., and for a useful account of the six principal rites in the Śaiva tradition, see "The Six Rites of Magic" by Bühnemann (in White 2000: 447–62).

- 437 Injunctions to remain in the form of the goddess often follow the *bali* offering, the last ritual of the sādhaṇa. This is also expressed as "dwelling according to his pleasure," e.g., GSS2 (K11v6): *balim dattvā saṁhared iti yathāsukhaṁ vihartavyaṁ sarvārthaṁ siddhyati*; GSS3 (K13r5): *trisaṁdhyāṁ balipūrvakaṁ bhagavatīm bhāvayet. viharan bhagavatīrūpeṇa sarvadā vihareṭ*; GSS5 (Sed p. 145⁸, K30v5): *sarvaṁ kṛtvā yathāsukhaṁ vihareṭ iti*; (K35r4): *pūjādikaṁ kṛtvā yathāsukhaṁ vihareṭ*; GSS38 (K123r1): *tanmūrtiā vihareṭ saṁdhyāntare 'py evam*; etc. Cf. SM218 (p. 430): *saṁdhyāntare 'pi bhaṭiti devyākāraṁ abhimukhikṛtya...*
- 438 These injunctions are given within a passage describing ritual procedures such as tasting of nectar, *bāhyapūjā*, etc. Although this portion of text is one also redacted by Umāpatideva, he omits these prescriptions. See also *Mahāmāyāsādhaṇa* by Ratnākaraśānti (SM238 p. 464). Cf. SM218 (p. 430).
- 439 On the midnight juncture, see GSS5 (Sed p. 145¹⁰, K30v5): *ardharātrasaṁdhyāyāṁ madhyāhnaṁsaṁdhyāvat sarvaṁ kṛtvā...prabhāsvaraṁ āmukhikṛtya nidrāyās ca prabhāsvaratām adhimuñcan śayīta*. The junctures are not always listed in the same way, e.g., SM1 (pp. 10–11) mentions: *pūrvāhṇa* (forenoon); *aparāhṇa* (afternoon, last watch of the day); *vikāla* (twilight, evening); *pūrvārātra* (from dusk to midnight); *aparārātra* (latter half of the night, the last watch); *jāgarikā* (waking time). mKhas grub rje (p. 193) writes: "The times of the watches are as follows: The morning interval is from the moment when half of the sun disk emerges until it casts a man-sized shadow. Noon is the eighth or ninth *chu tshod* (approx. 45 minutes, a quarter of a watch). The afternoon interval is from the moment when there remains a man-sized shadow until half of the sun disk is submerged. The initial interval of night is from the moment when half of the sun disk is submerged through half the night. The period from this halfway point to dawn when half the sun disk has emerged is called the second interval of night. Midnight onward is the time for terrible rites, such [siddhis] as invisibility, and the cremation ground rites; while in other periods one performs the appeasing rites, etc...."
- 440 The structure of the *Abhisamayamañjarī* is quite the reverse, as the self-generation of the full thirty-seven-fold maṇḍala occurs "all at once" (*jhaṭiti*) in its complete form, at the very same moment that the central goddess is visualized in her complete form (GSS5 Sed p. 133¹⁸, K21v5): *sarvāś ca tā devyo bhagavatīniṣpattisamakālam eva jhaṭiti niṣpannā draṣṭavyāḥ*. The prescriptions for the fivefold

and thirteenfold phases of the maṇḍala are given below as shorter alternatives to the full maṇḍala.

- 441 E.g., NYĀ (p. 26): *tataḥ prācyādidiḥṣu vāmāvartena vahnyādividiḥṣu dakṣiṇāvartena nyāsaḥ • vahnyādi*] conj. *cakṣvādi* ed. Bhattacharyya.
- 442 For the contents of the skull bowls, see GSS3 (K1311): *vidigdaleṣu catvāri bodhicittā dipūrṇāni kapālāni vicintayet*; GSS7 with ornamental stands (K40v5): *āgneyādicatuḥkoṇe bodhicittā dibhājanam / kalaśopari vinyastam śamkhakundendusanibham*; GSS5 (Sed p. 132²⁰, K20v6): *āgneyādividigdaleṣu dakṣiṇāvartena bodhicittena rajasā pañcāmṛtaiḥ pañcapradīpaiḥ siddharasavadamṛtibhūtaiḥ pūrṇāni catvāri padmabhājanāni bhāvyaṇi*; cf. NYĀ *Samvara Maṇḍala* (p. 26): *vidigdaleṣu bodhicittena rajasā pañcāmṛtaiḥ pañcapradīpaiḥ ca siddharasavadamṛtibhūtaiḥ pūrṇāny abjābhājanāni, catvāry api pañcāmṛtapūrṇāni vā*.
- 443 For the eightfold mantra associated with praise, see GSS35 (K12011): ... *balim dadyāt. aṣṭapadamantreṇa stutvā praṇidhānam vidhāya puṇyam pariṇāmayet...* (K12016): *aṣṭapadamantreṇa sarvatra stutiḥ*; GSS5 (Sed p. 146⁸, K31v5): *tad anu hrdayādyaṣṭapadamantrastutipūrvakam yathāvartitastutibhiḥ samstutya yathāśakti pāpadeśanādikam dhyānamantrajāpapraṇidhānādikam ca vidhāya*. This is based on the same usage in YSCT (Af.7v6) and HĀ (fi5v). Cf. K. Gyatso 1997: 132–37.
- 444 GSS7 (K43v4): *praṇavam nāmasamyuktam humhumphaṭkārasamyutam • hum-hum*] em. *hūmhūm* codd. The corruption of the long vowel may have been transmitted into Tibetan. Kalff (1979: 73) cites Bu ston's remark that these mantras have been rendered Buddhist by the application of the syllables *om* and *hūm* *hūm* *phaṭ*.
- 445 In GSS texts, the iconography of the fivefold maṇḍala is pretty stable; in GSS3 (K12v6) Vajravārāhī appears in the reverse warrior stance; and GSS5 describes a fivefold maṇḍala “from Oḍḍiyāna,” with Vajravārāhī in *ūrdhvpāda* pose, as does GSS12 in greater length (ch. 2). The fivefold maṇḍala appears again in a Śābara-school *Vajrayoginīsādhana* (GSS19), which is the only fivefold maṇḍala not to have Vajravārāhī as its presiding goddess but Vajrayoginī. In this practice, the four retinue goddesses are installed in position with a flower-offering mantra. The iconography of the goddesses in Cakrasaṃvara texts is either that of our texts (e.g., NYĀ, *Samvaramaṇḍala* p. 26) or slightly different (e.g., SUT ch. 13, vv. 25–28a). The latter supplies a close parallel to Umāpatideva's verses, except that the goddesses are only two-armed and hold a skull bowl and chopper plus staff.
- 446 As shown above, Sanderson (1994i: 95) has demonstrated that much of this material has its roots in esoteric Śaivism, for example, a class of yoginī called “Lāmās” is also mentioned in the *Laghuśaṃvaratantra* ch. 19 (ch. 29 of the Śaiva *Siddhayogēśvarīmata*). For classes of female consort, see SUT ch. 9 *Chomāpīṭhasaṃketabhūminirdeśapaṭala*; ch. 31 *Caturyoginīnirdeśacatuṣcakraḥkramabodhicittasaṃkramaṇapaṭala*; ADUT ch. 39 *Yoginīlakṣaṇapaṭala* (pp. 376ff.); ch. 40 *Dākinīlakṣaṇapaṭala* (pp. 385ff.), ch. 41 *Lāmālakṣaṇapaṭala* (pp. 390ff.), ch. 42 *Āṅgamudrālakṣaṇapaṭala* (pp. 397ff.). Other yoginītantra

sources that deal with this subject include the HT and its commentaries, e.g., HT1.6.8–9 (“*vajrakanyā*”), HT1.7 (with Snellgrove’s quotations from its commentaries, p. 66); HT2.2.1–2, HT2.5.4–5, etc.

- 447 The *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* (chs. 2 and 3) contains several references to the four goddesses, but with *Ḍākinī* and *Lāmā* always as a class of females, e.g., 3.15: *ḍākinīyo yogamātarāḥ, ḍākinīyo lāmayaś caiva khaṇḍarohā tu rūpiṇī* (draft edition by Professor Sanderson based on Oriental Institute, MS University, Baroda, Acc. no. 13290: “Herukavidhānatantra,” ff. 2v–3r). Cf. ADUT ch. 40 (p. 385): [*Ḍākinī*] *vajravārāhikulodbhūtā*; ch. 41 (p. 391): *vārāhinām tu lāmānām etad bhavati lakṣaṇam*. For Śūraṅgamavajra’s commentary, see Kalff 1979: 252, n. 1.
- 448 Umāpatideva draws closely on the SUT (ch. 13) and cites verses from the YSCT (see Textual Note to v. 41), although he does not follow the structure of these sources, in which the outer goddesses are to be installed last (i.e., after the site goddesses of the fourth meditation stage).
- 449 A similar description in GSS5 (Sed p. 134, K21v3) also omits the colors, but these are confirmed by SUT ch. 13, vv. 29–33 and HĀ (f. 8r4). The iconographical schema generally echoes that of the SUT in which, however, the goddesses hold a chopper rather than a *ḍamaru* (as did the petal goddesses in that source). The similarity between the gate goddesses and the petal goddesses is mentioned in GSS11 v. 41, and in related texts such as the YSCT (see Textual Notes).
- 450 A classical image of Yama appears in the third book (*Vanaparvan*) of the *Mahābhārata*, in the *Sāvitriyupākhyāna*, where Yama is described as handsome but dark, with red eyes, terrifying and holding a noose, wearing a yellow garment and with bound-up hair. With his noose he forcibly extracts the “thumb-sized person” from the dying body. Yama is taken over in Buddhist sources as the god of death, but other forms also appear, such as Yamāntaka, “stopper of death,” with a new iconography. The latter’s main forms are Raktayamāri, Kṛṣṇayamāri, and Vajrabhairava Yamāntaka (*Sacred Art of Tibet* pp. 283–89, with plates).
- 451 This set of gate goddesses is similar to that of the Heruka-Hevajra maṇḍala, in which *Simhāsya* replaces *Kākāsya*, e.g., Hevajra and Nairātmā maṇḍalas NYĀ (pp. 14 and 16).
- 452 For other references to the outer goddesses in the “*saṃyacakra*,” see GSS5 (Sed p. 135⁷, K22v5): *saṃyacakrasthānām amoghasiddhiḥ*; NYĀ (p. 28); ADUT ch. 9 (pp. 289–90): *saṃyacakraviśuddhiḥ*, and Śūraṅgamavajra’s commentary to the ADUT (see ch. 14, Kalff 1979: 217 n.1). (Note that Kalff’s translation p. 180 needs revision.) For the association of the petal goddesses and the “knowledge” level of the maṇḍala, see ADUT ch. 9 (p. 288): *jñānapadmaviśuddhiḥ*; also ch. 9 (p. 290): *jñānaḍākinīyogena viśvapadmādimadhyataḥ*. Here, the site goddesses of the *cittacakra* are also called *vajraḍākinīs* (as they are surrounded by ring of vajras) and the *vākcaakra* site goddesses *padmaḍākinīs* (as they are surrounded by a ring of lotuses). The Tibetan tradition attested by K. Gyatso (1997: 44) describes the lotus petals as the level of “great bliss,” and the outermost *cakra* as the “pledge” (*saṃyacakra*).

- 453 “Circle of great bliss” may be a reference to the blissful conception of the goddess in the sequence of awakenings within the *dharmodayā*, a synonym for vagina or womb. A “body of great bliss” (*mahāsukhakāya*) is also applied to a fourth buddha body, whose transcendent status may be reflected by the centrality of the *mahāsukhacakra* in the maṇḍala. The yogic system of body cakras also designates the head cakra as the *mahāsukhacakra*, but the fact that the terms coincide is probably incidental, as none of the other levels of the maṇḍala are related, as such, to the body cakras. The terms pledge circle (*samayacakram*) and knowledge circle (*jñānacakram*), as we have seen, applied initially during the self-generation of the goddess and her maṇḍala. The further testimony of the higher tantric commentaries would be of interest.
- 454 Similar paragraphs describing the three cakras appear twice in GSS5 (Sed p. 133² K21r1 and Sed p. 142² K28r4). The first instance (GSS5 K21r1: *tadbahir...*) comes after the description of the fivefold maṇḍala and describes the next level of the complete maṇḍala, namely, the site goddesses on the three cakras that “have the nature of” (*svabhāveṣu*) the sites. Here, there is no mention of the site goddesses as generic groups within the cosmos, as in GSS11 (*khecarīnām saṃgrahaḥ* etc.). The next instance (GSS5 K28r4) is in the context of the body maṇḍala (cf. §30). Here, the site goddesses are identified with a site and a body point; these are then associated with the ten places (as GSS11 v. 43ff.). The reference to the goddesses as a generic group is made at this point. This assigns them to the level of the cosmos in which they “move” and accords with the cosmological location of their particular cakra. In the ADUT, as in GSS5 (K28r4), this detail is reserved for the descriptions of the body maṇḍala. Thus, the ADUT (ch. 9 pp. 285–86) correlates the god/goddesses with the sites and body points, allocates them to the ten places, and finishes with the collective designation of the goddesses of the cakra (pp. 285–86): *cittacakrasya khecarī...*; *vākcakrasya bhūcarī...*; *kāyacakrasya pātālavāsinī...* It is notable that this text refers to a single female goddess instead of to a “group,” despite the fact that the text has just described a collection of eight site gods and site goddesses (male and female) in union on the cakra. The same phraseology is found in GSS5, which adds a possible explanation, i.e., that “with this [goddess]” (i.e., through her as a type) “there is the collection of those [male and female deities]” (Sed p. 142⁶, K28r6): *...cittacakrasya khecarī. anayā svargagatānām saṃgrahaḥ. ...vākcakre bhūcarī. anayā martyānām saṃgrahaḥ...kāyacakre pātālavāsinī. anayā pātālagatānām saṃgrahaḥ. • cittacakrasya* K; possibly emend: *cittacakre • bhūcarī* conj.; *khecarī* K.

In GSS11, Umāpatideva (§17–§19) speaks rather more lucidly when he describes “the collection of those [goddesses] who dwell...” Kalff (1979: 33 n.1) notes that in the HT1.8.15, there is a reference to the single, feminine goddesses Khecarī and Bhūcarī.

- 455 Sanderson (1995) has pointed to the Śaiva provenance of these goddesses, particularly their many correspondences with the twenty-four yoginīs listed in the

Yoginīsaṃcāraprakaraṇa, the third *ṣaṭka* of the Jayadrathayāmala. This is also discussed by Kalff (1979: 81ff.).

- 456 Redacting from his source texts, Umāpatideva gives goddesses on the three cakras a generic status as “the congregation of goddesses” (see n. 454 above). At §21, however, he is no longer redacting, and the outer-goddesses are simply “to be visualized” (*bhāvyaḥ*) within the eight cremation grounds.
- 457 The process of Umāpatideva’s redaction from the HĀ is evident here. Lūyīpāda follows his description of the outer goddesses with a remark applying to the full maṇḍala, namely, that vajra garlands are worn by all heroes and yoginīs of the maṇḍala, (f. 8v2): *sarveṣāṃ virayoginīnām lalāṭe vajramālā*. Umāpatideva has therefore borrowed the closing line of Lūyīpāda’s iconographical prescriptions to mark the end of this section of his text. Possibly incorporating a marginal note, the Tibetan text (p. 40.1) seems to have added that the goddesses are adorned by “five skulls residing in the center of (two? *dag*) *vajramālās*” (the Tibetan syntax is not smooth).
- 458 First, the *Abhisamayamañjarī* states that all the deities of the maṇḍala may be visualized as two-armed, except (it seems) Ḍākinī, etc., who are said to be four-armed. The two-armed outer goddesses, Kākāsyā, etc., hold only a skull bowl in their left hands (with the staff tucked into the crook of their arms) and a *ḍamaru* in their right; everything else is as described before. Another alternative to the visualization is that the central form of Vajravārāhī may be visualized as either yellow or blue. In this case, the four goddesses on the petals (Ḍākinī, etc.) are all yellow, and presumably two-armed, as they are said to hold in their right hands a *ḍamaru*. The yoginīs of the three circles change their color and their attributes also. Those of the mind circle are now white, and (apart from the bowl and staff on their left sides) they hold a vajra threateningly in their right hands; those of the speech circle are black and hold a lotus; those of the body circle are red and hold a wheel. The outer goddesses, Kākāsyā, etc., hold a chopper threateningly in their right hands, and Yamadādhī, etc., a *ḍamaru* (with bowl and staff to the left). All twelve deities (of the petals and the gates) are in the dancing *ardhaparyāṅka* pose, and their iconography is otherwise as before. GSS5 (Sed p. 139¹⁷, K26r5): *tatraiva maṇḍalabhedānantaram vajrāvalyām asmadgurubhir upadarśitam. likhyate nāyikādayaḥ sarvā dvibhujāḥ, ḍākinyādayaś caturbhujāś catasrah, kākāsyādayaś ca vāmena kapālam bāhvāsaktakhaṭvāṅgam ca bibhṛnāḥ savyena ḍamarukam aparaṃ sarvaṃ pūrvavat. athavā bhagavatī pītavarṇā nilā vā. ḍākinyādayaś catasras tu pītāḥ savyena ḍamarubhṛtaḥ. cittacakrasya yoginyaḥ sitāḥ savajratarjanīkasya vyakarā, vākacakrasya kṛṣṇāḥ sapadmatarjanī<ka>savyahastāḥ, kāyacakrasya raktāḥ savyena tarjanīkacakraḥ bhṛtaḥ, kākāsyādayaḥ savyena satarjanīkakartridharāḥ sarvā devyā vāmahastena kapāladhārīnāḥ, yamadāḍyādayaḥ savyena ḍamaruṃ vāmena tarjanīkamunḍam bibhṛatyāḥ, ḍākinyādinām kākāsyādinām ca vāmabāhu khaṭvāṅgam. etāś ca dvādaśā <ā>rdhaparyāṅkeṇa nṛtyantyaḥ. aparaṃ sarvaṃ pūrvavat. • kākāsyādinām* Kpc(mg2); Kac omit.
- 459 E.g., Cakrasaṃvara maṇḍala in NYĀ (p. 28): *kuleśas tu bhagavato ’kṣobhyo*

vajravārāhyā vairocano ḍākinyādinām ratneśaḥ. cittavākkāyagatānām akṣobhyā-mitābhaśāśvataḥ samayacakrasthānām amoghasiddhiḥ.

- 460 The rather haphazard nature of the correspondences of the buddhas with the levels of the maṇḍala is highlighted by a survey of the maṇḍalas in the NYĀ. For example, in the Akṣobhya maṇḍala, Akṣobhya at the center is presided over by Vajrasattva (*ibid.*: 5, summarized p. 35), while in the Vajrasattva maṇḍala, the leader Vajrasattva is presided over by Akṣobhya (from the *Samputatantra* *ibid.*: 8, summarized p. 37). The correlations are usually with five buddha families, but sometimes with the six, although on occasion they are “not reliable enough to be dependable” (see B. Bhattacharyya’s comment, *ibid.*: 40).
- 461 A fourfold division of worlds is not new; it appears, for instance, in the STTS ch. 6 (p. 59), which describes the conversion of the brahmanical overlord Nārāyaṇa and his retinue. Here Viṣṇu’s retinue comprises the gods of intermediate space, of space, of the earth and the underworld, and their female counterparts (*antarikṣacari-*; *khecari-*; *bhucari-*; *pātālavāsini-*).
- 462 Sircar (1948: 8–11) notes that the earliest written evidence of the *pīṭhas* is probably the reference to them as places of *śakti* worship in the *Mahābhārata* (*Tīrthayātrā*, *Vanaparvan*) at a site actually associated with Bhīmadevī. See Sanderson (1994i: 94–95) for references to the Śaiva ritual texts influential here, such as the *Yoginīlakṣaṇa*, ch. 16 of *Tantrasadbhāva*.
- 463 Sanderson (personal communication) points to the systems of twenty-four *pīṭhas* in the *Kubjikāmata* (22.23–36) and in *Tantrāloka* 29.53–72b (especially *Tantrāloka* 29.71C–72b): *hṛt kuṇḍalī bhruvor madhyam etad eva kramāt trayam // śmaśānāni drumāḥ* (*drumāḥ* em.: *kramāt* ed.) *kṣetrabhavaṃ sadyoginīgaṇam*. He states (*ibid.*) that an earlier version in the Trika is seen in the *Nīśaṃcāra*, *paṭala* 4 and the *Tantrasadbhāva*, *paṭala* 19 (*kṣetropakṣetrārcanam*). The developing cosmological model of the cremation grounds in the Buddhist tradition may have its roots in the Śaiva model of the sites, which are each said to include a goddess, a cremation ground, a tree, and a Bhairava who is the *kṣetrapāla* (Mayer 1996: 119, citing Sanderson, personal communication).
- 464 The geographic location of the sites has been discussed by some secondary authors, e.g., Sircar (1948), Kalff (1979: 98–107) drawing on Sircar and others, and Boord (1994: 27–32) summarizing ancient and modern sources (including the accounts of Chinese pilgrims from Hazra 1983).
- 465 There is a twelvefold system of places in the Hevajra tradition, which leads to a twelvefold enumeration of the *bodhisattvabhūmis* (HT1.7.11, see Snellgrove’s note p. 69). The Hevajra system describes the same list, but follows (or replaces) *melāpaka* and *upamelāpaka* with two other kinds of “place” called *pīlava* and *upapīlava* (HT1.7.10, HT1.7.13, HT1.7.17). Kalff (1979: 101) notes that there is no agreement between the Hevajra and Cakrasaṃvara systems as to which sites belong to which category, and, moreover, only nineteen of the sites coincide and can be identified with each other. Snellgrove (1959: 70) attempts to reconcile the two lists.
- 466 For references in Cakrasaṃvara literature to the division of sites into places, see

SUT ch. 9, vv. 13–19; Tsuda (p. 271) also cites their appearance in the *Samputa-tantra* (*kalpa* 5, *prakaraṇa* 1), the *Dākārṇava* (*paṭala* 15, giving a “very unusual” account of the sites in comparison), ADUT (chs. 5, 9, 14, and 56), and the *Yoginisaṃcāra* (chs. 5 and 13). Davidson (1991) also gives detailed references for their appearance in the ADUT. The places are correlated with the *bhūmis* in the context of the body maṇḍala (SUT ch. 9, v. 22ff.).

The translation or definition of the terms for the types of place is problematic. Dharmakīrti’s commentary on the HT (the *Netravibhaṅga*) glosses the “secondary” or “auxiliary” type of place (*upa-*) as “nearby to that [place]” (*tatsaṃniveśaṃ*), cited in Snellgrove (1959: 68–69 n. 1). Snellgrove also discusses the difficulties this presented to Tibetan translators, who either rendered “absurd” translations (which exegetes then attempted to explain, see *Blue Annals* pp. 980, 983) or who resorted to transliteration (e.g., of the terms “*chandoha*” and “*pilava*”). Indian exegetes had also struggled with the terms. Snellgrove mentions Dharmakīrti’s etymologies that attempt to explain the terms, for example *chandoha*: “because one desires and yearns, it is called *chando*.” Kalff (1979: 158) also broaches this topic, noting: “There is no ready translation for the term *chandoha*.”

467 Tsuda’s translation of SUT ch. 9, v. 12: *madyamāṃsapriyā nityaṃ lajjābhayanāśanī ca yā / dākinīkulasambhūtāḥ sahaajā iti kathyate / deśe deśe ’bhijāyante yoginīḥ sevayet sadā*; cf. also SUT ch. 8, v. 25. Sanderson (1994i: 99–100, n. 20) cites a passage from the *Tantrasadbhāva* (*Yoginīlakṣaṇa* 16, v. 63), the text from which the list of sites has been redacted in the *Laghuśaṃvara*, which includes the comment: *eṣu deśeṣu yāḥ kanyā<ḥ> striyo vā klinnayonayaḥ / sarvās tāḥ kāmārūpiṇyo manovagānuvṛttayaḥ*.

468 These remarks appear in the context of an internalized contemplation of the places and sites. See SUT ch. 4 (v. 29cd): *pīṭhakṣetre tu saṃkete yoginīyogimelakam*, and GSSII v. 57. ADUT ch. 9 contains a rather unwieldy list of such goddesses or consorts, which includes among others “the innate woman” (*sahajā*), “one born in a field” (*kṣetrajā*), and “one born in a site” (*pīṭhajā*). These listings also include those of sky, earth, underworld, as in our texts (here described as *gandharvarī*, *yakṣaṇī*, *nāgaṇī*, respectively). Kalff notes that such groupings are inconsistent and their origin as yet undetermined (1979 pp. 292 and 34).

469 In this context mKhas grub rje (pp. 253–54) describes the *utpattikrama*, the *niṣpannakrama*, and the **anucāraviśuddhi* as three types of tantras. The implicit hierarchy here is corroborated by a (Tibetan) school cited by him (p. 257) that correlates different types of *viśuddhi* with divisions of the tantric corpus: the purification of the (gross) psychophysical organism (*skandhas*, *dhātus*, *āyatanas*) with the “father tantras” (yogottaratantra texts), the (yogic) purification of the veins with the “mother tantras” (yoganiruttara/yoginītantras), and the purification of both with the “nondual tantras” (*Kālacakratantra*, *Nāmasaṃgīti*). Our yoginītantra texts are not, in fact, recognizable under this classification, as they include both types of *viśuddhi*, gross and yogic.

- 470 YSCT ch. 13 (A6v. 6; Bior.1): *lakṣābhīdhānatantrasya uddhṛtaṃ tena saṃvaraṃ / khasama<ta>nt<r>e piṇḍasāraṃ tvayā khyātaṃ, abhīdhāne 'bhyudaye sthitaṃ* / “He has extracted the [*Laghu*]saṃvara from the *Lakṣābhīdhāna*; you have proclaimed the essential core in the *Khasama*[tantra]; it is found in the [*Heruka*]-*Abhīdhāna* [i.e., *Laghusaṃvara*, and] in the [*Heruka*]-*Abhyudaya*.” Sanderson (1993) has shown that the actual roots of the practice are in the Śaiva tradition, for example, in the Śaiva *Tantrasadbhāva* (*adhikāra* 16, *Yoginīlakṣaṇa*). In his paper (“History through Textual Criticism in the Study of Śaivism, the Pañcārātra and the Buddhist Yoginītantras” 2001b), he shows that the yogic wandering through the *pīṭhas*, etc., as an ascetic practice (*caryāvrata*) (i.e., the internalization of this as the *dehamaṇḍalam*) is taught in the *Tantrasadbhāva*, *pāṭala* 15, in a passage that has been redacted as the *Kubjikāmata* 25.64–99. Sanderson (1999: personal communication) also refers to the body sites of the closely related system of twenty-four power-places of the *Mādhavakula* taught in *Tantrāloka* 29.58–63, and the system from the *Niśisaṃcāra* (*ibid.*) 15.80c–97b and commentary.
- 471 For a comparison of the inner and outer methods, see GSS5 (Sed p. 141¹⁴, K28r1): <pra>*muditā-vimalā-prabhākari-arciṣmatī-abhimukhī-sudurjayā-dūraṅgamā-acalā-sādhumatī-dharmameghākhyā-daśabhūmivivuddhyā krameṇa pīṭhopapīṭhā-dirūpaṃ kāyamaṇḍalam adhyātmayoginā bhāvayitavyam. tad uktam – caturviṃśati bhedenā pīṭhādy atra vyavasthitaṃ | atas tadbhramaṇenaiva khedaḥ kāryo na tāttvikaiḥ | kṣiyante dhātavas teṣāṃ bhramaṇād bāhyayoginām | ato bāhyaṃ nirākṛtya sthātavyaṃ yoginīnaye | iti.* Cf. Vajragarbha (*Hevajrapīṇḍārthaṭīkā* cited Snellgrove 1959: 69 n. 2): “externally these are places in the world without, where dwell those goddesses who run after flesh and blood and so keep to the towns, but internally these places exist in the body in the form of veins and there is no need to look elsewhere for them.” Also Saraha’s *Dohākośa* (*ibid.*: 70): “I have visited in my wanderings *kṣetra* and *pīṭha* and *upapīṭha*, for I have not seen another place of pilgrimage blissful like my own body.”
- 472 In GSS5 (Sed p. 143³, K29r2), these correlations appear somewhat as an afterthought, appearing at the very end of the body maṇḍala (i.e., after the text parallel to our §31): *vaktravāmadakṣiṇanāsāpuṭaṃ gudadvāreṣu krameṇa kākāsyādayo dvārapālyāḥ. savyāpasavyaśrotrasavy-āpasavyanetreṣu yamadādhyādayāḥ. hrīlālākāṇṭhanābhikamalakarnīkāyāsu dākīnyādayaś catasraḥ. • yamadādhyādayāḥ* [em.]; *yamadādhyāt K.*
- 473 For the site goddesses “as” the veins, see *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5 Sed p. 142¹⁹, K28v6): *teṣu pīṭhādiṣu tattatsthānatā nāḍyas tattaddevatārūpeṇa pariṇamayya vyavasthitā bhāvyaḥ*; also Tsuda (1974: 55) citing Tsong kha pa: “*Ḍākīnī* is thirty-six veins and humours flowing in them....” This is clearly put in the *Vasantatilakā* ch. 4 (p. 27); ch. 5, v. 15 (p. 36); ch. 6, v. 44 (p. 50); ch. 7, v. 9 (p. 57). Cf. K. Gyatso 1997: 41.
- 474 E.g., HĀ f. 15r4: *vīraṇivuddhiḥ*. See Translation note 570 for further references. The SUT also is a rich source of information upon the body maṇḍala. In ch. 7 (vv. 23–25) the veins are related to the birth of the embryo; see also chapter

9 (v. 20ff.) and chapter 13 (vv. 41–42). Tsuda (1974: 260 n. 4) notes that these correlations are found “repeatedly” in tantric literature, and that they “furnish important internal evidence as to the relations between tantras of the Saṃvara literature.”

475 This retranslates the passage from Tsuda’s edition, expanding on the terse Sanskrit verses (SUT ch. 7 v. 3ff.): *nāḍisthānaṃ ca pīṭhaṃ ca caturviṃśat-pramāṇataḥ / teṣāṃ madhye trayo nāḍya āśrayanti ca sarvagāḥ / 3 / pullīramalaye śīrasi nakhadantavahā sthitā / jālaṃdharasikhāsthāne keśāromasamāvahā / 4 / oḍḍiyāne dakṣiṇe karṇe nāḍi tuāṇimalavāhini / etc.*

476 Kalff (1979: 197 n. 1) refers here to Dīgha Nikāya, sutta 22, vol. 2, Pali Text Society, London, 1903.

477 In the “self-consecration” (*svādhiṣṭhāna-*) method sādhana of Dhyāyīpāda (GSS34), the traditional Cakrasaṃvara contemplation of the maṇḍala-as-cosmos is replaced with a series of correlations for the eight cremation grounds in each direction of space. Here, each of the eight cremation grounds, and each of its eight features, is equated with a subtle aspect of the practitioner’s psychophysical and yogic body, as shown in table iv below.

478 GSS5 (Sed p. 143⁵, K29r3): *iti sampūrṇaṃ kāyamaṇḍalaṃ muhurmuḥu<r>drdham adhimokṭavyam.*

479 For parallels, see footnotes to the Translation, § 33.

480 GSSI4 (K73r4): *dharmatā khalu lokānāṃ idṛśī tīvrakarmanāḥ / puṣpamātram ihaiva syāt paraloke phalaṃ mahat / 17. • paraloke] em.; paraloka K.*

481 GSSI4 (K73v3): *yena yena vidhānena yatra yatra yathā yathā / adhimuktena cit-tena yat puṇyaṃ pariṇāmyate / 24. / tena tenāpi rūpeṇa tatra tatra tathā tathā / utpadyate tathā <phalaṃ?> kumbhakāraghaṭādivat / 25.*

482 GSSI4 cont. (K73v5): *yad yad bhāvvyate bhūyo bhūyaś ca pariṇāmyate / tat pratiphalaty eva darpaṇe sadasad yathā / 26 / ... cittād eva na cānyasmāc chreyo-heyadvayāśrayaḥ / cittam eva hi samsāro nirvāṇaṃ cittam eva ca / 28 • v. 26 bhāvvyate] corr. (hypo.); bhyavyate K • chreyoheya] conj.; chrethaya K. Cf. GSSI (K16r.1): yena yena hi bhāvena manāḥ saṃyuyjate nṛṇāṃ / tena tanmayatām yāti viśvarūpo maṇir yathā • yuyjate] em.; pūjyate K; “With whatever state (*bhāva-*) the mind of man is connected, it is to that [state] he goes, like the jewel in which everything [is contained].” This verse is widely attested, e.g., YSCT (ch. 11), and is clearly related to a similar verse cited in Śaiva sources, e.g., by Jayadratha in his *Viveka* on *Tantrāloka* I.115, and by Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha in his commentary to the *Mṛgedratānta Kriyāpāda*, where he attributes it to the *Sarvasrotas-saṃgrahasāra*. (I thank Dr. Isaacson for these references.)*

483 GSSI4 (K73v2): *aṣṭottaraśatāhutyā satyadvayasamā<śra>yāt / cakravartitvabud-dhatva<ṃ> phalaṃ āhur muniśvarāḥ / 22 • muniśvarāḥ] corr.; maṇiśvarāḥ K. Cf. YSCT ch. 16, vv. 8, 10.*

484 To summarize some of the differences: (i) Śāśvatavajra’s ritual texts are all marked by autograph verses of benediction and dedication, and/or colophons. The parallel passages in GSS5 and GSSI1 describe the separate rites in a continuous body of text. (ii) There is some additional material in the GSS texts at

Endnote table iv. *Yogic body maṇḍala**

8 cremation grounds	⇔ apertures of the body	mouth, right nostril, anus, left nostril, right and left earholes, right and left pupils
8 protectors	⇔ sense consciousnesses	tongue, nose, body, mind, ear, defiled-mind, store, and eye consciousness
8 serpents	⇔ named winds	Aṣṭakoṭi, †Karkoṭaka†, Koṭa, †Koṭibha†, Kola, Kolava, Kolagandha, Kolibha
8 trees	⇔ named veins (<i>nāḍīs</i>)	Ugrā, Ghorā, Agnivananā, Tejanī, Khaṇḍadhāraṇī, Cakrī, Sūcīmukhā, Kubjī
8 clouds	⇔ sense spheres (<i>-dhātum</i>)	taste, olfactory, touch, “ideas” (<i>dharmadhātum</i>), sound, cognition (<i>vijñāna</i> °), consciousness (<i>jñāna</i> °), form

*The practice requires a knowledge of the Cakrasavara/Vajravārāhī body maṇḍala, as the eight apertures of the body are referred to cryptically by the name of the site in those systems. For example, the first cremation ground, Caṇḍogra, is correlated with the mouth, for which the text explains: “Caṇḍogra is in the entrance to Kaliṅga” (GSS34, K113r): *tatra śmaśānāni kaliṅgadvāre caṇḍogram....* Kaliṅga, we find, is the site for the mouth in the Cakrasavara/Vajravārāhī body maṇḍala. The cremation-ground body maṇḍala therefore draws on the traditional language of the body maṇḍala, but moves beyond it to a type of yogic practice based on exclusively on *kāpālika* cosmology.

The *Śmaśānālambkāraṇatantra* (reported by Meisezahl 1980: 21–2) also mentions “secret” or “interior” cremation grounds (**guhyaśmaśānāni*) and describes a similar subtle body maṇḍala. This relates the five features of the cremation grounds to five groups of *nāḍīs* on the body: 8 *nāḍīs* at the tip of the nose (= 8 cremation grounds); 8 *nāḍīs* at the navel (= trees); 8 *nāḍīs* at the chest? *snying kar rca brgyad* (= *dikpālas*); 8 *nāḍīs* at the throat (= *nāgas*); 8 *nāḍīs* at the head *spyi bor rca brgyad* (= clouds). The eight cremation grounds are also equated with the eight types of consciousness in the *Viśeṣadyota* by Tathāgatavajra in the Peking Tengyur (Otani 2224, described in Meisezahl 1980: 7). Elsewhere they are also correlated with the eight doors of liberation (*ibid.*: 9).

§51 and §52 (in both GSS11 and GSS5). GSS5 also contains prescriptions for rites during the day and at midday and midnight junctures. (iii) The **Vidhisamgraha* includes the *Śmaśānavidhi* by Lūyīpāda, raising the possibility that cremation ground material appeared in a shared source, and that Umāpatideva drew upon this while reworking the material into his own verses, and drawing upon other sources such as the SUT; GSS5 omits any account of the crema-

tion grounds. (iv) The position and designation of the *Amṛtāsvādāna* differs in the three texts. (v) For the *hastapūjā*, all three texts share a reference to the YSCT, stating that fuller prescriptions for the rite appear in that tantra. In Śāśvatavajra's text this appears in a colophon verse. Śāśvatavajra's *hastapūjā* text also appears by itself in the *Sādhana-mālā* (SM253 pp. 498–500). (vi) The second, alternative, external worship in GSS11 (at §49) implies the (optional?) inclusion of the *hastapūjā* within the rite, an option that is explicit in Śāśvatavajra's text (*yadvā...*) because of his use of colophon verses to mark the separate rites in the series.

- 485 See Kane (1941) *History of Dharmaśāstra* (ch. 20, p. 741ff.) on the “*vaiśvadeva*” (including *baliharāṇa/bhūṭayajñā*), and (ch. 18, p. 696ff.) on the “*pañcayajña*.” For the latter, Kane states that the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* (II. 5.6.1.) contains the *locus classicus* for the *mahāyajñas* (*Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* 2.10), where they are defined as *devayajña* (offering to fire), *pitṛyajña* (*śrāddha*), *bhūṭayajña* (*bali* offering), *manuṣyayajña* (food to brahmins), and *brahmayajña* (study of the Vedas). The Gṛhyasūtras and Śrautasūtras refer to the *mahāyajñas* in the same terms, although sources differ as to the order in which the five are presented. Similarities between the brahmanical rite and the *bali* taught here include the prescriptions to perform the ritual at specified junctures of the day, the prior cooking of the food offerings, the lowly type of recipient (see Manu III vv. 87–93, Yājñavalkya I.103, and sources cited by Kane *ibid.*: 745–46, e.g., *Mahābhārata*, Vanaparvan II.59), and their propitiatory and even liberationist function, e.g., Manu II.28: *svādhyāyena vratair homais traividylenejyayā sutaiḥ / mahāyajñaiś ca yajñaiś ca brāhmīyaṃ kriyate tanuḥ*.
- 486 For example, in the Śaiva *Svacchandatantra* 3.206–210, *bali* is described as the concluding rite of the first day of initiation [*adhivāsadinam*] and is offered to all *bhūtas* (celestial, terrestrial, and aerial), to the *kṣetrapālās*, *patitas*, and *śvapacās*. It is similar in the (unpublished) *Niśiṣaṃcāra*, in which esoteric *balis* of the five nectars and wine are offered by Mahāvratin sādhakas. The offerings are presented by sādhakas when they enter a power site, in order to gratify (and so placate) its guardian (*kṣetrapāla/sthānapāla*), and are accompanied by wild laughter and the rattling of the *ḍamaru* drum, with a *balimantra* (*om hrīm hūm he haḥ phaḥ 2...*). This ritual has been taken over through the redaction of *Niśiṣaṃcāra* into Buddhist tantras such as the *Catuḥpīṭhatantra* (*Parapīṭha*, *paṭala* 3) and the *Vajradākatantra* 18.16. In Śaiva rites, the *bali* offerings may be to animals, *bhūtas*, the *mātr̥s*, and yoginīs etc., e.g., *Netratantra* 19.112c: *tr̥ptyarthaṃ bhūṭasaṃghasya mantrī rakṣārthaṃ udyataḥ* (and its commentary): *saṅgho mātr̥yoginīyādigaṇaḥ*. The making of *bali* offerings to principal maṇḍala deities seems to be an innovation in Buddhist sources. I thank Professor Sanderson (1998: personal communication) for these references.
- 487 Of the twenty-six GSS texts that teach a *bali* ritual, most do indeed describe it at the end, or following the self-generation, e.g., GSS4, GSS5, GSS15, GSS18, GSS21 etc.
- 488 As in the *Vajravārāhi Sādhana*, the tasting of nectar appears in the *Abhisamaya-*

mañjarī following the self-generation, but in contrast to Umāpatideva's text, it appears in full at this stage. When he later describes the *balividhi*, Śākya-rakṣita's text refers simply to the purification of the offering "as above," without naming it specifically as the *amṛtāsvādānam*, and without describing it again (GSS5 Sed p. 143⁷, K29r3): *tato balim dadyāt. bhojyādikam purataḥ samsthāpya prāguktakramena viśodhya*. Umāpatideva's text is therefore closer to Śāsvatavajra's *Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi* (pp. 56–58), in which the *amṛtāsvādāna* also appears as an integrated part of the *balividhi*. Curiously, although the *Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi* describes the same process as that given the GSS texts, it never actually names the rite as the "*amṛtāsvādāna*."

489 In the *Saptākṣarasādhana* (SM251), for example, the self-generation of the copulating deities is followed by worship: first with the traditional offerings of the sixteen goddesses (p. 493), and then with the *amṛtāsvādāna* (p. 494). Similarly in GSS4, the tasting of nectar is a distinct means of worshipping the deity (K13v4): *pūjāstutyamṛtāsvādānam kṛtvā*. In SM219 the tasting of nectar is the preliminary to a rite of subjugation (p. 432: *vaśyavidhiḥ*).

490 E.g., GSS35 (K119v6): *yathālābhato hastapūjayā saṃpūjya amṛtam āsvādya gaṇabhojanam ca vidhāya balim dadyāt*. GSS16 (K81r6): ... *mantram japet. yāvad udvego na bhavati tāvad amṛtam āsvādayet. evaṃ balibhājanam ālokyā vum āṃ jṛim kham hūm dravibhūtam cintayed iti. ātmano jihvāgre candramaṇḍalopari nilavajraṃ yavaphalamātraṃ rāsmispharantaṃ vibhāvyaṃ. tayā raśmyāvabhāśena nālikārupenātmānam pāyayet dvādaśadevibhiḥ. evaṃ prīṇayet. pītva mahāsukham anuvartet<a>. prañidhānam kuryāt. dvitiya<m> balibhājana<m> vistīrnam vicintayet. tatra bhaktakulattha-īṇḍariparpati-vaḍivata(?) - matsyamāṃsapūpa-yañjanamadyasīdhusurāphal † ophali † nānārasasaṃtoṣaṇam kṛtvā puspadhūpadīpa-gandhamālyavilepananaivedyaṃ ca sthānaśmaśānavṛkṣaṇadī † parvatāsthitālayeṣu † tebhyo dāpayet – oṃ vajrārallī hoḥ jaḥ hūm vaṃ hoḥ vajradākīnyaḥ samayaḥ tvam drśya hoḥ – puspān avakīrṇayet. – oṃ kha kha khāhi khāhi... – tataḥ prañidhānam ca.*

ālokyā corr.; *āloḥṣa* K • *candramaṇḍalo*] corr.; *candramaṇḍalalo* K • *rāsmispharantaṃ vibhāvyaṃ*] em.; *rāsmispharantaṃ vibhāvyaḥ* K • *raśmyāvabhāśena*] corr.; *raśmyāvabhāśena* K • *vaḍivata(?)*] perhaps for "*vaḍabānalā*" (digestive powder)? • *naivedyaṃ*] corr.; *naivaīdyaṃ* K • *parvatāsthitālayeṣu*] conj.?: *parvatāsthitālayete* K. (Mss. N and D share the same corruptions, and introduce new ones.)

In other accounts, the "tasting of nectar" appears to be the ritual method "whereby" the *bali* is offered (e.g., GSS31 K104v2): *tad anu nispāditabalim amṛtāsvādavidhinānena mantreṇa dadyāt*.

491 The text has "*muṇḍa-*," which could refer to a severed head, a dried-up head, or a complete skull. However the seed syllable *kaṃ* (see note to Translation) suggests "head" (*kaṃ*). K. Gyatso (1999: 61) also takes the tripod to consist of three heads. This is illustrated in Brauen (1997: 106, fig. 61) and *Sacred Art of Tibet* plate 158 (pp. 380–81). However, skulls would perhaps seem more appropriate in that their color and shape mirrors the white sphere of the water element that normally follows the elements of wind and fire. Two separate plates

in Tanaka (1997) illustrate the two possibilities: three heads are depicted in the rNying ma tangka of Nyi ma 'od zer (no. 34: 92–93), and three skulls in a tangka of six-armed Hayagrīva (no. 57: 137).

- 492 This is the method attested in the dGe lugs tradition vividly described by K. Gyatso (1999: 61) “From the state of emptiness a blue letter YAM appears. This is the seed of the wind element.... The YAM transforms into a gigantic wind maṇḍala. This is blue, semi-circular in shape, and lies flat with its curved edge furthest from us. At both corners there is a fluttering white banner. The movement of the banners activates the wind maṇḍala causing the wind to blow. Above the wind maṇḍala there appears a red letter RAM.... This letter transforms into a triangular fire maṇḍala that is flat and red. It has one corner pointing toward us, directly above the straight edge of the wind maṇḍala, and the other two corners above the semi-circular edge of the wind maṇḍala. This red triangle, which is slightly smaller than the wind maṇḍala, is the core of the fire maṇḍala. As this core is fanned by the wind, red-hot flames blaze and cover the whole wind maṇḍala. Above the fire maṇḍala there appear three AḤ letters of different colors. The letter AḤ above the eastern point, the point closest to us, is white; the letter above the northern point, to our right, is red; and the letter above the southern point, to our left, is blue. These letters transform into three large human heads in the same colors as the letters from which they developed. A large white letter AḤ... appears above the center of the three heads. This transforms into a vast skullcup, white outside and red inside, which rests on top of the heads.”

- 493 In the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*, the nectars are listed cryptically as: “honey, blood, and *karpūra*, with *rakta*, and sandalwood.” (I.10cd, 11cd): ...*madhu raktam sakarpūram raktacandanayojitam*. Bhavabhaṭṭa decodes the list in his commentary on the root text: “When practising meditation, before it begins, he should eat a pellet of *go-ku-da-ha-na* [the flesh of a cow (*go-*), a dog (*kukkurah*), a horse (*damyah*), an elephant (*hastī*), and a man (*narah*)] and the five nectars; for this removes any obstacles [that might have impeded his practice]. In [the passage] beginning with the word ‘honey’ (*madhu*) the [revealer of the text] teaches another form of direct worship that consists in the practice of [these] five nectars. ‘Honey’ means semen, because of the latter’s resemblance to it; for it is agreed that [semen] destroys the three defects when included. The term ‘blood’ [that follows] is meant literally. ‘*Karpūra*’ is flesh, that [whose existence is] established through the addition and elision of sounds, [the term *karpūram* being used here not in its literal sense, namely ‘camphor,’ but etymologically as] that which causes joy (*kar-* from *kam* ‘joy’) to fill (*pūra-* from the causative of *√pr* ‘to be full’) the body. “*Rakta*”†...† [means “urine”]. ‘Sandalwood’ means Vairocana [i.e., feces] because [defecation like sandalwood] is a source of delight.” *Cakrasaṃvaravivṛti* (f. 18r–v): *bhāvanāṇ ca kurvāṇo gokudahanānām pañcāmṛtasya ca vaṭikām bhāvanārambhe bhakṣayet. tena hi nirvviḡhnatā... aparām pañcāmṛtasevārūpām sākṣātpūjām āha madhu ityādi. madhusādharmyāt madhu śukram, samyoge tridoṣaghnaṭvena saṅketitatvāt. raktam prasiddham. kam*

*sukhaṃ śarīre pūrayatīti karppūraṃ varṇṇāgamavināśābhyāṃ siddha(i)ṃ. ta*ca* māṇsaṃ. † rāmyatannāḍīti † raktaṃ. candanam āhlādakaravād vairocanaḥ.*

The edition and translation of this corrupt passage is by Sanderson (1994 n. 5).

- 494 E.g., SM251 (p. 494): *padmabhājanam, tanmadhye vuṃ āṃ jiṃ khaṃ huṃ etat-pariṇāmena pañcāmṛtapañcapradīpaṃ svabījāṅkitaṃ*. See HT1.2.2 for the five syllables of the buddhas (with Snellgrove's comments 1959: 50 n.2).

Tibetan sources, following a Cakrasaṃvara sādhana, describe a much more complex visualization in which ten syllables (of the buddhas and their consorts) are seen to transform the substances and animal corpses, each of which has been assigned to a particular direction. This is summarized from Beer (1999: 327–30, with plate 141) and K. Gyatso (1999: 62) in the following table:

Endnote table v. *Seed-syllables for nectars and lights*

	GSS11 v. 62ff.	GSS5 K23r1	GSS16 K81r6	(Tibetan) <i>Cakrasaṃvara Sādhana</i>		
	oṃ		oṃ			
Vairocana	<vuṃ>	<vuṃ>	vuṃ	E	white <i>oṃ</i>	⇒ yellow excrement
Amoghasiddhi	āṃ	trāṃ	āṃ	N	green <i>khaṃ</i>	⇒ white brains
Amitābha	jiṃ	āṃ	jiṃ	W	red <i>aṃ</i>	⇒ white sperm
Ratnasambhava	khaṃ	khaṃ	khaṃ	S	yellow <i>trāṃ</i>	⇒ red blood
Akṣobhya	hūṃ	hūṃ	hūṃ	Mid	blue <i>hūṃ</i>	⇒ blue urine
Locanā	lāṃ	lāṃ		SE	white <i>lāṃ</i>	⇒ black corpse of cow/bull
Māmaki	māṃ	māṃ		SW	blue <i>māṃ</i>	⇒ red/blue corpse of dog
Pāṇḍaravāsini	pāṃ	pāṃ		NW	red <i>pāṃ</i>	⇒ white corpse of elephant
Tārā	tāṃ	tāṃ		NE	green <i>tāṃ</i>	⇒ green corpse of horse
(<i>Vajravārāhi</i>)				Mid	red <i>vaṃ</i>	⇒ red human corpse

- 495 *Vajrāvalī* (ŚP f. 120v): *hahohriḥkārair yathākramaṃ hṛtaprākṛtagandhavarṇa-vīryaṃ*. Sobisch (2001: personal communication) notes the injunction in the *bDe mchog* 'byung ba zhes bya ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po = Śrīmahāsaṃvarodayatantrarāja (P vol. 2, no. 20, p. 216-5-1 ff): "Bless [i.e., control it] constantly through the mantra *oṃ āḥ hūṃ!* Purify and realize [it] through the mantra *ha ho hriḥ!* Steal the color with the syllable *ha!* Defeat the smell with *ho!* Defeat the potency, too, with the syllable *hriḥ!* [Thus you] should fully partake of the nectar!"

The *Saptākṣarasādhana* (SM251 p. 494) prescribes a rather different cooking process, in which the skull-bowl cauldron containing the transgressive substances has a lid (*pidhānam*) formed of an *oṃ* syllable and above it a vajra on a moon disk; the lid, the moon disk, and vajra all melt into the cauldron as a result of the blazing fire beneath.

- 496 Cf. GSS5 (Sed p. 135¹³, K23r3): *tadbāspasparśāt...; Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi* (p. 57): *pāradavarṇahūṃbhāvādhomukhāmṛtamayaśuklakhatvāṅge vilīne*.

Sobisch (2001: personal communication) notes that in the Tibetan Cakra-

samvara tradition, both the staff and the syllable *hūṃ* are produced from the steam of the boiling liquid. He provides and translates the text of the commentary by bsTan 'dzin padma'i rgyal mtshan, as follows: "The *hūṃ* syllable which is the form that manifests from the steam of that [boiling nectar] points head-down. Even though the syllable *hūṃ* is not directly mentioned in the text [of the ritual of evoking the deity], one must visualize it, because the *sDom 'byung* teaches: 'Above that a white *khaṭvāṅga* staff arises from the mercury-colored *hūṃ*.' The *hūṃ* melts and a white *khaṭvāṅga* that is the nature of absolute *bodhicitta* of the Heruka's mental stream of consciousness [arises], the peak pointing down. A stream of *bodhicitta* nectar drips [down]. The staff, too, having melted [starting] with the braid(?) below, becomes inseparable with the nectar inside the scull cup by... *ldem gyi lhung ba* (?). Visualize that thereby the ocean of nectar has turned white, is cool to the touch, and has become the own-nature of *bodhicitta*." (p. 690): *de'i rlangs pa las grub pa'i rnam pa hum yig mgo mthur bstan, hum yig tshig gis ma zin kyang sdom byung du, de'i steng ngul chu'i mdog can gyi hum las byung ba'i kha twang ga dkar po gsungs pas dmigs dgos, de zhu ba dang he ru ka'i thugs rgyud don dam byang chub sems kyi ngo bo kha twang ga dkar po rtse mo thur lta, byang chub sems kyi bdud rtsi'i rgyun 'dzag pa, de nyid kyang 'og gi slas(?) pas zhu nas thod pa'i nang du ldem gyi lhung bas bdud rtsi dang dbyer med du 'dres pas, bdud rtsi'i rgya mtsho kha dog dkar po, reg bya bsil ba, byang chub sems kyi rang bzhin du gyur par dmigs.*

497 GSS5 (Sed p. 135¹¹, K23r2): *tadupari tryakṣaram uparyupari dṛṣṭvā tadraśmibhis trailokyadaravartisarvāmṛtena sārddham aśeṣatathāgatahṛdayavartī jñānāmṛtam ākṛṣya tattraivāntarbhāvya kramaśa<s> tryakṣareṇāpi vilinai<h>.* Cf. SM25I (p. 494): *tataḥ oṃ-āḥ-hūṃ-ity uccārya sarvadevatānāṃ amṛtam ākṛṣya tattraiva praveśayet, anenaivādhīṣṭhāya... • hūṃ* conj. Sanderson; *hūṃ* SMed. See also VĀ (ŚP f. 120v–121r) and the graphic descriptions in K. Gyatso (1999: 63).

498 I am grateful to Professor Sanderson for explaining this passage (p. 57): *tadupari ālikāliparīnatān oṃ-āḥ-hūṃkāraṇ anukramenoparyuparisthitān tebhyaḥ sphuritarāśminā daśadigvarttīviravīreśvarīṇāṃ jñānāmṛtapradīpaṃ saṃkramaṇanyāyena tricakrākāraṃ ākṛṣya jagadarthaṃ kārayitvā samāpattipūrvakam dravībhūya yathāyathaṃ teṣu praviṣṭam † sakalasāgarādīṣṭhaṃ ca † tata oṃkāradīkaṃ kramavilīnaṃ avalokya tryakṣareṇa yāvadiccham adhiṣṭhet. • hūṃbhavā* em.; *hūṃbhāvā* Finot.

499 Sanderson (1998: personal communication) explains *saṃkramaṇanyāya* as the yogin's method of extracting the essences of a victim, of transferring them to himself, and from himself into a skull bowl for offering to the maṇḍala deities. This imaginary process of transferral is usually accomplished along a "circuit of energy" that runs from the sādḥaka into the victim, and back again. In the tasting of nectar, the yogin visualizes the rays extracting the essences of the heroes, transferring them into the three syllables, and thence back into the nectar; the "circuit of energy" is here supplied by the rays from the syllables.

500 See GSS16 K81r6 (n. 490); also GSS5 (Sed p. 135¹⁵, K23r5 cont.): *punas*

tryakṣareṇādhiṣṭhāyātmano māṇḍale yadevinām ca jihvāyām śuklahūmkārajayava-phalapramāṇam śuklavajraṃ dhyātva tadraśmīnalikayā prāśanam kuryāt. tato vaksyamānāṣṭapadārcanamantraiḥ stuyāt. • nalikayā em.; *nalikayābhiḥ* K.

- 501 For other references to the *bali* ritual in GSS texts, see GSS31 (K104r–v); SM251 (p. 495); GSS5 (Sed p. 143⁷, K29r–v ≈ *Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi* p. 57); GSS35 (K119r); GSS36 (K121r).
- 502 E.g., YSCT (8th *paṭala* A4r, B5v): *ākraṇṭapādordhvadrṣṭim (>s) tu*; with commentary *Yoginīsaṃcāranibandha*/“*Samcāratantrapañjikā*” cited by Sanderson 1994: *ūrdhvadrṣṭim tv iti vāmavalitordhvadrṣṭyā*.
- 503 For *phet* as in GSS11, see HĀ (f12v), GSS11, GSS31, SM218, (*het* in ADUT ch. 9, p. 287, possibly a misreading of *phet* by Kalff). For *phet* see YSCT (8th *paṭala* A4r, B5v), VĀ (f. 123r.); and for *phem* see GSS4, GSS36, SM251. The syllable is not always given, e.g., *Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi* (p. 57), ADUT (ch. 14, p. 326).
- 504 The term used in our sources is “*jālāmudrā*,” e.g., GSS31 (K104r–v): *vajrāñjalim ūrdhvavikacāṃ kṛtvā tad anu jālāmudrāṃ vidhāya, āvartyāvartyena vīrayoginīr ākṛṣya... • vīrayoginīr* em.; *vīrayoginīnām* K; *Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi* (p. 57): *tato jālāmudrātanmantrābhyām ānītaṃ sarvākāraṇiṣpannam maṇḍalam purato avasthāpya...*; GSS5 (Sed p. 143⁷, K29r–v): *tato baliṃ dadyāt. bhojyādikam purataḥ saṃsthāpya prāguktakramena viśodhya jālāmudrātanmantrābhyām ānītaṃ sarvākāraṇiṣpannam maṇḍalacakraṃ purato ’vasthāpya...*; GSS36 (K121r): *tato lalāṭe jālāmudrāṃ vāmāvartena bhrāmayet phemkāraṇādāma uccārayet kūrmapatanapādordhvadrṣṭyā, anena yoginyākarṣaṇam....* This is a something of a hybrid between **jvālāmudrā* (the flame mudrā), and **jālāmudrā* (the “net gesture”). Both are appropriate images for the mudrā, which could either be said to resemble a flame or to function like a net for “drawing in” the deities—a process sometimes accomplished with a “net of rays,” *raśmijāla*. The former (*jvālāmudrā*) is rare in our texts, and appears only once in the GSS, in GSS35 (K119r): *tad anu jvālāmudrāṃ baddhvā phetkāraśabdena vīravīreśvariparivṛtaṃ jñānacakraṃ puro drṣṭvā...* This is the version transmitted into Tibetan, however. It is elsewhere described as the “vajra-offering gesture, open at the top,” e.g., SM251, GSS31 (K104v1): *vajrāñjalim ūrdhvavikacāṃ kṛtvā*, and as a “vajra hook,” ADUT ch. 9, SM226 (p. 441): *vajrāṇkuṣyādiyogena ākṛṣya*.
- 505 The full verse reads: *kṛtvāgragranthyā khalu madhyasūci<m> / aṅguṣṭhavajrau drdha saṃprayoja* (or: *saṃprapīḍya*) */ saṃsthāpya tāṃ madhyalalāṭadeśe / āvartivartena bhrāmayet*. It is cited, with variants, at YSCT (8th *paṭala* A4r, B5v) with gloss in *Yoginīsaṃcāranibandha* (f. 3v4, cited Sanderson 1994); ADUT (ch. 9 p. 287); ADUT (ch. 14, p. 326); HĀ (f12v); cf. GSS4 (K13v–14r). Sanderson (1999: personal communication) explains that the verse, translated freely, may be understood in two ways: (1) “He should make the shape of a pyramid between [his hands] by joining the tips [(of the index fingers?) of both hands] and firmly pressing together the [tips of the] two vajra-thumbs.” (2) “Make straight the two middle fingers while joining their tips and firmly join/press together the [tips of the] two vajra-thumbs.” The second does not

accord with the method used in the Tibetan tradition today (shown in fig. 35 above); however, Sanderson proposes it is the preferred interpretation, as it is similar to the blossoming lotus mudrā (*vikasitakalamamudrā*) described in SM24 p. 60 below (see n. 516).

- 506 GSS5 (Sed p. 143⁸, K2914≈*Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi* p. 57): *maṇḍalacakraṃ purato 'vasthāpyārghhādikapuraḥsaraṃ saṃpūjyālikālipariṇatacandrasūryasvabhāvākara-dvayāntargatahūmkāraṃ dṛṣṭvā* – *om anyonyānugatāḥ sarvadharmāḥ atyantānu-praviṣṭāḥ sarvadharmā hūm* – *ity uccāraṇapūrvakaṃ candrasūryārūdhahūmkāra-parināmena vajrāñjalikṛtakaratale tad amṛtabhāṇḍam avasthāpya dhyātvā vā, abhimatasiddhyartham iti paṭhet.* – *devyaḥ pramāṇaṃ samayaḥ pramāṇaṃ...* etc.
- 507 The *Cakrasaṃvara*-related *balividhi*s describe a rite in which “actual” foods are also involved, laid out prior to the ceremony in front of the mantrin (*Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi* p. 56): *prathamato...mantrī bhakṣyabhojādikaṃ purataḥ saṃsthāpya*. Cf. the rite according to the *Samvaratantra* in the *Vajrāvalī*, in which the yogin points with his right hand to the bowl of nectar in his left (ŚP f. 123v): *pādyādidānapūrvakaṃ pūrvavat trimaṇḍalaviśuddhyā vāmakaratale candrasthita-hūmjaṣṭvavajranābhāv amṛtabhāṇḍam āropya dhyātvā vā vajramuṣṭikṛtasavya-karaprasṛtatarjanyā tad darśayan*.
- 508 In the *Saṃvarikasarvabhautikabalividhi* (VĀ ŚP f. 123r), the VĀ provides a rather different version of the *balividhi* according to the *Samvara* system. This is more clearly related to the rite according to the *Samāja* system, *Sāmājika-sarvabhautikabalividhi* (VĀ ŚP f. 121r.1), said to be according to the method of the *Pinḍikrama* (Nāgārjuna) and the *Caturaṅga* (Buddhajñānapāda), and also to the Hevajra-based rite, *Haivajrikasarvabhautikabalividhi* (VĀ ŚP f. 124 v. 6).
- 509 *Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi* (p. 58)≈GSS5 (Sed p. 144¹¹, K30r2): *tadamṛtabhākṣaṇāṇḍ dikpālādayo mahāsukhasamarpitavigrahā bhāvyaḥ*; GSS16 (K81v1): *evam priṇayet. pītva mahāsukham anuvarteta* (understand: causative).
- 510 GSS31 (K104r1) prescribes a *bali* ritual to be performed in secrecy at midnight, in which the yogin is to assume the warrior stance of the deity and stand naked with loose hair on a hilltop facing south (cf. ADUT ch. 14, p. 326). Note also the *bali* ritual in HT2.4, which mentions protection (*sattvānāṃ prāṇaraksāya vighnād vināyakaḍ api*) and then lists the types of siddhi that will ensue from the worship of “all beings” through utterance of the *bali* mantras and *apabhraṃśa* verses (HT2.4.89c–95d): *vaśyābhicārariṇusainyanāśanam uccāṭanamāraṇākarsaṇaṃ ca śāntisukhaṃ paustikaṃ bhavet ca*.
- 511 The term is unexplained by Tsuda, but Sanderson (1999: personal communication) translates “teacher’s assistant.” According to the rites of the *Kriyāsamuccaya*, the *karmavajrin* is a ritual specialist, much like the *karmācārya* in Newar ritual practice, whose task is to ensure the correct performance of the rites (Gellner 1992: 273, with n.25).
- 512 VĀ (ŚP f. 122ff.): *anyārtham api balipradāne mantre yathāsaṃbhavaṃ me mameti vā yathāvasthitaṃ eva paṭhanīyaṃ. sa cātmatvenādhimoktavyaḥ. asyopakāre mamaivopakāro bhavatīty āśayato hitakāryasiddhir bhavati. anantare ca tadartham vijñāpayed...* This *Samāja bali* ritual is more complex than the rite out-

lined in our texts. The *bali* offerings are made to the ten *krodhas* and/or fifteen protectors (the eight protectors plus seven brahmanical gods in between), in an external rite that is to take place away from the meditation hut. In this rite, the recipients are represented by clay balls (*mṛtipiṇḍi*) surmounted by appropriately colored banners arranged on the ground in their respective directions. Beyond those, the mantrin should offer saucers of milk to the eight *nāgas* who are either represented by clay balls or by circular cow pats (*gomayakṛtamandala-*), and outside that, he is to strew *bali* of boiled rice and five streams of the “pure” nectars—ghee, honey, water, wine, and milk—while circumambulating. Sanderson (1997: personal communication) notes that this is very similar to the standard Śaiva *bali*, also called “external” (*bāhya-*).

- 513 The form of the mantra is: *oṃ vajra-[name of krodha] vajra imaṃ baliṃ grhṇa amukasya śāntiṃ rakṣāṃ ca kuru hūṃ phaṭ*. The names of the ten *krodhas* to be inserted into the mantras are: (1) Vajrahūṃkāra, (2) Vajradaṇḍa, (3) Vajrānālārka, (4) Vajrakuṇḍali, (5) Vajrayakṣa, (6) Vajrakāla, (7) Vajramahābala, (8) Vajrabhīṣaṇa, (9) Vajroṣṇīṣacakravartī, and (10) Vajrapātāla. They are understood to occupy a circle of protection with ten “spokes” radiating from the central point of the meditation hut (*sakrodhadāśārarakṣācakra-*). For the protective function of the ten *krodhas*, see also the “rite of expelling obstacles” (*vighnanivāranavidhi*: VĀ, ŚP f. 252.3).
- 514 E.g., GSS18 (K83r5): *dadyāt niśāyāṃ baliṃ sarvamāraprasāmanam*; GSS15 (K74v2): *samayi sthānāt mayogarakṣāyai sarvavighnopaśamanamantram udirayet. oṃ hriḥ gha 2 ghātaya 2 sarvadustān hūṃ phaṭ svāhā*. Cf. *Vajrāvalī* ŚP (f. 120r7): *atroktavidhiṣu kāryāntareṣu cādāv ante ca vighnopaśāntaye baliṃ dadyāt*.
- 515 VĀ (ŚP f. 126r4): *etac cotpattikrame balividhitrayam. utpannakrame tu prajñopāyānuccalitenā cetasā samanvāhāramātrānītebhyaḥ prajñopāyarupebhya eva sveṣṭamāṇḍalesādidevatāsaहितendrādibhyo jñānārasāvyatiriktasya baler upadhaukanam balividhiḥ*.
- 516 On the “*kamalāvartamudrā*” (GSS11, Finot p. 58) also “*kamalāvartanamudrā*” (GSS5 Sed p. 144¹⁶, K30r5/ Sed p. 148¹, K33r4), Durjayacandra’s commentary on the *Catuhpīṭhatantra* states (f. 44r4–5): *mārutapreranāt prabuddhapadma-syeva prasṛtāṅguler agrapāṇiyugasya nartanam kamalāvartaḥ*. (I am grateful to Dr. Isaacson for this reference.) The “blossoming-lotus *mudrā*” in SM24 may be related (p. 60): *kiñcit ucchritam samputāñjalim kṛtvā madhyame sūcikyurāt śeṣās cāṅgulyaḥ kiñcit saṃkocya sammukham asaṃśīṣṭā dhārayet, aṅguṣṭhau tarjanīdvayasamīpe sthāpayet iti vikasitakamalamudreyam*. There is also a dance movement of the hands called *kamalavartanikā* (Bose 1970: 151–52). In GSS7, a twelve-armed Vajravārāhi is visualized revolving the vajra and bell in her fingers with the *kamalāvartamudrā* (K40r6): *vajraghaṇṭākaravyagrā kamalāvartavartinī*, and the four-armed *ekavīrā* mothers also (each at the center of their individual cakras, K41r3): *tadvad ghaṇṭādharāḥ sarvāḥ kamalāvartavartinyāḥ*. For the bell as feminine consort, see *Jñānasiddhi* 15.24: *prajñā ghaṇṭābhidhiyate* (cited *Bauddhatantrakosa* p. 35).

It is perhaps this gesture that is depicted in the bronze of Mahāsiddha

Ghaṇṭāpā and consort as Cakrasaṃvara and Vajravārāhī, which depicts the male adept waving the vajra and bell gracefully aloft while his diminutive consort drinks from her skull bowl in his lap (sixteenth- to seventeenth-century Tibetan bronzes in the Victoria and Albert Museum illustrated in *Sacred Art of Tibet* plate 40, and Rawson 1973 plate 105). In a Tibeto-Chinese brass of Guhyasamāja Akṣobhyavajra in embrace with Sparśavajrā, it is the consort who holds a vajra and bell stretched aloft and to the side, perhaps with a revolving motion (fifteenth or sixteenth century in the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, *Sacred Art of Tibet* plate 101, p. 277; the attributes are missing in the brass but can be inferred from the text of GSS6).

- 517 The final gesture may comprise one snap of finger and thumb (GSS11 K67v, GSS5 Sed p. 144¹⁷, K30r5 and Sed p. 146¹¹, K32r1), three snaps (GSS11 K69v), or the fourth finger (*anāmikā*) touching the ground (GSS11 K68v, Sed p. 148², GSS5 K33r5).
- 518 Other texts specify a *dharmodayā* (i.e., a triangle) inside a triangle (e.g., GSS35), or a square containing a triangle (e.g., GSS25). The parallel account (*bāhyapūjāvidhi* ≈ GSS5) prescribes a square maṇḍala in the first *bāhyapūjā*, with the syllables of the sites (*pu*, *jā*, etc.) probably drawn onto it, representing the ten places. In the alternative *bāhyapūjā*, the parallel texts enjoin a double *dharmodayā* with a circle inside it (Finot 1934: 55): *trikoṇacakradvayam ālikhya tanmadhye ca vartulamaṇḍalam*.
- 519 E.g., GSS5 (Sed p. 125⁸, K14v4): *pañcavaṭikādiprayogapariśodhitavaktro yogi*; GSS3 ≈ GSS16 (K11v7/K76r3): *samayagudikām mukhe prakṣipyā*. Referring to the root tantra (*Cakrasaṃvaratantra* 1.10cd, 11cd: *samayān pālayen nityam...*) Bhavabhaṭṭa also explains how “*samaya*” denotes the five nectars (cited Sanderson *ibid.*): “he should preserve the pledges” means “eating the pledges, relishing the five nectars in the circle of the assembly with the drinking of *soma*,” *Cakrasaṃvaravivṛti* (f. 18r–v): *samayapālanaṃ samayabhakṣaṇaṃ pañcāmṛtabhakṣaṇaṃ gaṇacakre somapānavat pañcāmṛtāsvādaḥ*. Jayabhadra, another commentator on the root tantra observes: “The word *samaya* has two meanings: (1) that which is to be observed [i.e., a post-initiatory rule] and (2) that which is to be eaten.” *Cakrasaṃvarapañjikā*: *samayo dvividhaḥ rakṣaṇīyo bhakṣaṇīyaś ca* (cited Sanderson *ibid.*, f. 5r).
- 520 GSS35 (K120v1): *kumkumagorocanāsindūreṇānyatamena vā*; GSS2 (K11v2): *rajasvalākanyāprathamāsvayambhūkusumena*; GSS2 (K11v3): *aṣṛkhiṅgulamiśraṃ kṛtvā likhitvā ca*.
- 521 GSS2 (K11v3): *cauryakeśalekhanyā*. Cf. *cauryakeśakṛtām mukutām* (HT1.6.15). Snellgrove notes that the intended meaning of *cauryakeśa* is *cauḍakeśa* “piled up hair,” but Sanderson (1998: personal communication) points out that the meaning is rather a “crown” made from the hair of a thief (*caurya* for *caura*); and that this is confirmed by the Tibetan *rkun ma’i* (*caura*) *skra las* (-keśa-) *cod pan* (*mukutī*-). Kāṇha glosses **caurakeśaḥ* (em: *cauryakeśaḥ* Snellgrove) with the word, *udbaddhakeśaḥ*, but this does not mean the hair “piled up” (Snellgrove’s “*cauda*”), but “[a criminal] who has been hanged.” Sanderson notes

several other citations in support of *udbaddha*- with this sense, e.g., Vajra-garbha's commentary cited HT vol. I: 65, n. 1; KYT 7.10: *udbaddhasya keśena*; KYT-*vyākhyā* (p. 68): *vrkṣāvalambitam udbaddham*; and Śaiva sources, e.g., *Picumata* 3.32d–93: *tato nimbam samālikhet / saptaḍālaṃ mahābhimam citibhiḥ prajvalantibhiḥ | ekaikasmim likhet ḍāle nagnam udbaddhakam naram*. "Then he should draw a Nimba tree with seven branches, most terrible with burning pyres, and on each branch he should draw a naked hanged man." *Jayadrathaya-mala*, *Yoginīsaṃcāra* (8.71d–72b): *disair vrkṣān samālikhet | udbaddhanara-pracchannān*.

- 522 These texts were introduced to me by Professor Sanderson (1999: personal communication). They are the *Cakrasaṃvarapūjāvidhi* (NGMPP D35/25) and *Hevajrasaṃkṣiptatrisamādhipūjā* (Takaoka DH 372). Sanderson (*ibid.*) outlines the stages of the rite as follows: the *ādiyoga* section, followed by the *maṇḍalā-diyoga* (similar sequences of preparatory meditations and self-generations, but for the full maṇḍala), the *sūksmayoga* (completion-stage practices), *japa* with a rosary, *balividhi*, and concluding rites.
- 523 Sanderson (*ibid.*) lists the contents of the *ādiyoga* as follows: (1) *śūnyatā-bhāvanā*, (2) *karaśodhanam*, (3) *ghaṇṭāvādanam*, (4) *śaṅkhādhiṣṭhānam*, (5) *balyadhiṣṭhānam*, (6) *maṇḍalādhiṣṭhānam*, (7) *mantrapātraśodhanam* (skull vessel), (8) installation of twenty-four syllables of *pīṭhas* etc., (9) *aṅganyāsaḥ* (*om ha hi svāhā*, etc.), (10) purification of body, speech, and mind, (11) installation of deities in *skhandas*, *āyatanas*, and *dhātus*, (12) generation-in-front of maṇḍala (Heruka with eight yoginīs), (13) protection, expulsion of obstacles, (14) bringing of knowledge deities, (15) offering of a flower to each deity on the maṇḍala with their mantras, the five offerings, praise, etc., ringing of bell, (16) eight-part mantra, (17) hand worship, (18) one hundred-syllabled mantra, (19) *anuttarapūjā*.
- 524 The Textual Notes cite GSS5, which is almost identical to Śāśvatavajra's *Hastapūjāvidhi* (Finot pp. 54–55) and SM253 (pp. 498–500). Śāśvatavajra's *Hastapūjāvidhi* contains a colophon following the *hastapūjā* (and its stated source in the *[Yoginī]-Saṃcāratāntra*). It continues with the alternative *bāhyapūjā* text (*yadvā...*) and supplies a second colophon verse at the end of that, which also describes the rite as a *hastapūjā* (cited in Textual Notes). This *hastapūjā* text is also published in Meizezahl (1985: 29ff), although with some errors (e.g., he omits the buddha Akṣobhya in his translation, thus mistakenly reducing the buddhas to five).

Reference to the rite in the *Yoginīsaṃcāratāntra* scripture is scant, with only the passing remark that if the yogin is poor then he may obtain what he needs (food, drink, clothes, etc.) by means of the hand worship (A7r4; B11v2): *yogidaridram arthi syāt hastapūjena sepsitam (=saṭīpsitam) prāpya...*, and a further praise of the *hastapūjā* in the fourteenth *paṭala*. The consistent acknowledgment of a source in which the rite is not fully explained suggests either that our ritual texts relied on a different recension of the tantra, or upon a shared (Cakrasaṃvara-based) source other than the YSCT, which also makes this claim.

- 525 *Kriyāsamuccaya*’s *Gaṇacakra*vidhi (cited Gellner 1992: 297, f. 411): *prajñāhīnaṃ yac cakram tac cakram maṇḍamelakam*. Gellner (*ibid.*) records that for Newar Buddhists today, a *gaṇacakra* is a sacramental meal after a tantric ritual.

For alcoholic substances, see *Cakrasaṃvaravivṛti* (f. 18r–v cited above n. 519). The *Kriyāsamuccaya* mentions foods, e.g., (f. 411): *tad uktagaṇacakra-vidhinā maṇḍalāgāre khānapānādibhiḥ*... and sexual yogic practice, including the types of consort spelled out in its *Niśācakram*, (f. 409): *yoginīyogatantrēṣu yaduktam gaṇamelakam*. ...*vajram padme pratiṣṭhāpya bodhicittam na cotsrjet*. ...*evaṃvidhe niśācakre varjana*<ṃ> *naiva kasyacit*. *jananī*<ṃ> *bhaginī*<ṃ> *caiva duhitam bhāgineyakām*. *māmakasya tathā bhāryām svasrkām* *tathā punaḥ* / *pitubhaginī mātus ca aṣṭau prajñā*<ḥ> *susiddhidā*<ḥ>. *etāsām pūjanam karya*<ṃ> *bolakakkolayogataḥ*.

- 526 The parallel texts also mention the goddesses who traditionally empower the psychophysical organism. As yoginītantra reflexes of the mothers, these goddesses are also consorts to the five buddhas. Śāśvatavajra’s *Hastapūjāvidhi* opens with the yogin’s conviction that on his hand are the elements with the nature of the goddesses (SM253, p. 498): *svavāmakarasthān pṛthivyaptejovāyavākāśa-dhātūn pātanimāraṇī-ākaraṇīnarteśvaripadmajālīnīsvabhāvān adhimucya*... As the buddhas are then placed immediately on the hand, there is an implicit pairing of the deities in union. Śākyarakṣita (GSS5) moves this prescription to a later point in the rite (between the text equivalent to GSS11 §46 and §47) that renders it less significant. Umāpatideva’s omission of this line may be to accommodate his single-sex maṇḍala; he is unable to remove the male buddhas from the *hastapūjā*, but he can remove any trace of their union.

- 527 GSS5 (Sed p. 146¹⁵, K32r3) (cited Textual Notes) describes them as “their nails’ face” (*-tannakhamukheṣu*). In the Tibetan text of the sādhana, the sixth buddha is placed only on “the thumb’s face” (see apparatus: **aṅguṣṭhamukha*). Sobisch (2001: personal communication), however, confirms that other Tibetan sources also place the syllables on all the nails collectively, in line with oral instructions. E.g., bsTan ’dzin padma’i rgyal mtshan’s commentary reads: on the (lit.): “combined nails” (p. 801: *sen mo bsdus pa*).

- 528 The same inversion of the three syllables is prescribed below in the alternative external worship at §50. For the traditional correlation see GSS5 (Sed p. 134¹¹, K22r3): *tad anu lalāṭakanṭhaḥṛdayeṣu om-āḥ-hūm-ityakṣaraṇī śuklaraktanīlāni niveśayet*, and for example, the Khasarpaṇa-Lokeśvara sādhanas, e.g., SM13 (p. 37): *tataḥ śirasi omkāram, kanṭhe āḥkāram, hṛdi hūmkāram*, and for other prescriptions, SM70 (p. 142): [*añjalim*] *hṛdi ūrṇāyām kanṭhe mūrdhni nyaset*; SM95 (p. 191): *kāyavākcitteṣu om-āḥ-hūmkārāparīnatāḥ khecarī-bhūcarī-nairātmās cintanīyāḥ*; *Hevajrasekaprakriyā* (p. 17): *adhiṣṭhāya mahāmudrām buddhaiḥ traidhātukasamsthitaḥ, śirohṛtpādadeṣeṣu om hūm āḥ iti tryakṣaraiḥ*.

- 529 This is also suggested by Śāśvatavajra’s parallel text (Finot p. 57: “*yadvā...*”), as it is included as part of the text of the *Hastapūjāvidhi*. This portion opens with a benediction and closes with a dedication of merit, both of which refer to the *hastapūjā*.

- 530 In contrast, the parallel texts (cited in Textual Notes) state that it is for the *gaṇacakra* to preside (*gaṇacakrādhiṣṭhānārthaṃ cādhyeṣya*), presumably because they deal with the generation of the complete maṇḍala in the first instance, and not optionally, as in Umāpatideva's version of the rite.
- 531 GSS14 (K72v3–6): *kuṇḍaṃ ca kārayet karmabhedadharmaprabhedataḥ | catura-*
sraṃ vartulaṃ tryasraṃ rephāṅkitamadhyagam | 5. | svahr̥dbijāṃśu<ṃ>
samutsrjya jñānāgniṃ jainam uttamam | pradīpakalikākāraṃ karṣayed dīpti-
vattaram | 6. | kuṇḍamādhye nyased agni<ṃ> bhāva<ye>c ca caturbhujam |
varadākṣasūtrakamaṇḍalūlkādandadhārīṇa<ṃ> | 7. | sphuradrūpaṃ kumā-
rākāraṃ raktavarṇaṃ prabhāsvaraṃ | kapilacchagalārūḍha<ṃ> piṅga<la>-
jvālayāvṛtam | 8. | hṛdaye tasya samviṣṭāṃ bhāvayen nījadēvatām | arghaṃ dadyāt
sācamanaṃ praṇāmāḍipuraskṛtam | 9.
 • v. 5cd unmetric.; possibly emend 5d *rephāṅkitam ca madhyagam* • (v. 6)
pradīpakali<kā>kāraṃ] conj.; *pradīpakalikāraṃ* K (lit: a great luster “with the
 form of a streak of a lamp”) • (v. 7) *sūtrakamaṇḍalū*] unmetric. • (v. 8) 8a and
 8c unmetric.; cf. SM36 where Avalokiteśvara has a similar form. • (v. 9)
samviṣṭāṃ] conj.; *samviṣṭa* K.
- 532 *Samputodbhavantra* 6.3.17d cited below: *prajñāgni-*; GSS5, cited Textual
 Notes: *sūnyatākaruṇādvayatraidhātukacakraḥkāraṇjñānavahni-*.
- 533 I am grateful to Professor Sanderson and Dr. Isaacson respectively for point-
 ing out these two passages: *Samputodbhavantra* (SpU) *Vasantatilakā* section
 6.3.18–22b (text supplied by Sanderson; see also *Vasantatilakā* (VT) 8.20c–24
 pp. 66–7): *abhyantariḥ śukrādyaḥ tu bāhyai rūpādibhiḥ tathā | havibhiḥ kriyate*
homaḥ prajñāgnau tu mahojjvale | 18 | śaḍāyatanadhātūnāṃ skandhādīnāṃ
viśeṣataḥ | devatārūpiṇāṃ teṣāṃ dākinīnāṃ tathaiḥ ca | 19 | yogapūjā
samākhyātā tena te pūjitā yataḥ | śiraḥkapālam etat tu havirbhājanam ucyate |
20 | sruvaṃ tu rasanā khyātā hṛccakraṃ (hṛccakraṃ SpU; hṛccandro VT 8.23d)
lalanātmikā | pātrīti ca samuddiṣṭaṃ (ca samuddiṣṭaṃ ed; mukham uddiṣṭaṃ VT
8.24a) kuṇḍaṃ ca nābhimaṇḍalam | 21 | karmamārutanirdhūto vahnīḥ trikaṭi-
saṃsthitāḥ (vahnīḥ trikaṭisaṃsthitāḥ) conj. Isaacson; vahnīḥ trikaṭisaṃsthitāḥ
SpU; brahmāgniḥ trikaṭe (trikaṭe > guhye VT-ṭikā) sthitāḥ VT 8.24) | 22ab.
- 534 E.g., *Vasantatilakāṭīkā* *ibid.* (p. 67): *candrājya*, “moon-butter.”
- 535 Cf. VT ch. 8.3 (p. 61): *sthitāḥ pādātale vāyur vairambho dhanurākṛtiḥ | sthitas*
trikaṭideṣe tu trikoṇe jvalanas tathā.
- 536 GSS5 cited Textual Notes: *skandhādīndhanadahana-*.
- 537 For the *pātrī* held in the left hand, see *Kriyāsamuccaya* ŚP f. 387.3 (cited Sander-
 son 1999: personal communication). The two ladles are referred to in the com-
 mentary to the *Vasantatilakā* 8.20c–24 p. 67, in which Lalanā is identified
 with the *sruk* and Rasanā with the *sruvaḥ*. According to the root text, the *pātrī*
 is the mouth (VT 8.24a).
- 538 In the related *Abhisamayamañjarī*, the *bali* seems to be offered into the “fire
 of knowledge” (blazing at the yogin-deity's navel) and is described as the
 “supreme oblation” (*niruttarahomaḥ*) because it burns the “fuel” of the
 skandhas.

- 539 The compound *girigahvara-* is taken as a *tatpuruṣa*, meaning “mountain cave,” but it could also be understood as a *dvandva*, “mountain and cave,” despite the fact that it does not decline in the dual (*girigahvarayoḥ* or *girigahvarādyoḥ*). Both cave and mountain are mentioned independently in other texts, and are traditionally associated with meditative practice (Śaiva texts frequently prescribe a “mountain top” *parvatāgre*, also *giriśṛṅge*). The compound could also mean “mountain thicket” (or “mountain and thicket”), because *gahvaram* also means a thicket (adjectively, it refers to something deep or impenetrable). However, I prefer to understand “cave,” because this site is suggested by the parallel compound *giriguhā*, e.g., SM24 (p. 61): *vijanavanaśmaśānagiriguhāsina-*; SM24 (p. 54): *vijanagiriguhāyām sthāne śucau vā kva cit*. Sanderson (1994: n. 8) notes that elsewhere *gahvara* means a “thicket.” In the list of sites for *siddhisādhana* in the SUT (ch. 11.2–3, f. 2r.3: *girigahvarakuñjeṣu mahodadhitateṣu vā*), *gahvara* is more closely defined in a following verse as a place “full of trees” (ṣab: *gahvare vrkṣasaṃkīrṇe maṇḍalaṃ vartayet sadā*), despite the semantic overlap with *kuñjaḥ* (“a place over run with plants or overgrown with creepers,” Monier-Williams 1899). Bhavabhaṭṭa seems to recognize the problem with this interpretation, and glosses *gahvara* here as crevice or ravine, literally, “a space between two walls of the [mountain]” (*Cakrasaṃvaravivṛti* f. 27r.2: *giriḥ parvataḥ. gahvaraśabdena tadbhittidvayāntaram*) (Sanderson *op. cit.*). It may be that there is some semantic overlap between “crevice” and “thicket” here, since ravines in mountains are often thickly wooded. Other sources follow the interpretation in the SUT itself, e.g., (16.15ab f. 31 r.2), and the Tibetan translation of SM251, which takes *girigahvara* (in *girigahvarādi-*) as a *dvandva* compound meaning “mountain and dense copse” (*ri bo dang tshang tshing*) (cited Sanderson *op. cit.*). Comparing *Umāpatideva*’s verse 2 with the passage from the SUT (ch. 11.2–3), it is notable that the list of sites is almost identical, except that GSS11 omits *kuñjaḥ*. This might suggest the emendation <*kuñje*> śmaśāne *girigahvare ca*. However, the conjecture *ghore* is adopted here on the basis of the Tibetan text as shown. The Tibetan translates *girigahvare* “on the peak of a mountain” (p. 32.4: *ri bo’i rtse nyid na*), and °*saṃnidhau* as “on the banks/shore” (p. 32.4: *’gram dag*).
- 540 Lengthier sentiments of this kind in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (e.g., ch. 3, v. 9: *daridrāṇāṃ ca sattvānāṃ nidhiḥ syām akṣayaḥ*...) are glossed in Prajñākaramati’s commentary—apparently on the scriptural authority of the *Āryavajradhvaṃsūtra*—as the “dedication” (*pariṇāmanā*) of “roots of goodness” (p. 39): *sa tāni kuśalamūlāni pariṇāmayan evaṃ pariṇāmayati*. A more common expression of the *pariṇāmanā* in the context of the sevenfold worship is found in many *Sādhanaṃālā* *sādhanas*, e.g., SM24, “I dedicate all that merit that has arisen here to the sake of complete enlightenment” (p. 57): *puṇyaṃ prabhūtaṃ yad ihāpi sarvaṃ saṃbodhaye tat pariṇāmayāmi*. In v. 7b, the “King of Righteousness” refers to the Buddha. Cf. SM51 (p. 106): ...*anumode jagatpuṇyaṃ buddhabodhau dadhe maṇaḥ / utpādayāmi varabodhicittam nimantrayāmi ahaṃ sarvasattvān / iṣṭāṃ carīṣye varabodhicārikāṃ buddho bhaveyaṃ jagato hitāya*;

- Buddhacarita* (1.75b): *lokasya sambudhya ca dharmarājah karisyate bandhanamoṣaṃ eṣaḥ*. According to the prose list (§1), the resolve to become a buddha in v. 7b relates to the “arising of the will to enlightenment” (*bodhicittotpādaḥ*).
- 541 The simile derives, famously, from one of the earliest Buddhist texts, the *Mettāsutta* (*Sutta Nipāta*, 1.8 v. 7): “Just as a mother would protect with her life her own son, her only son, so one should cultivate an unbounded mind toward all beings.” (Norman 1985: 24). For this sentiment in sādhana literature, see SM98 (pp. 202–3): *tatra keyaṃ maitrī sarvasattveṣu ekaputraprematā-*; SM56 (p. 115), etc.
- 542 The expression *spharaṇayogena/sphuraṇayogena* is common in meditative generation for the process of emanating rays, mantras, or deities, e.g., SM56 (pp. 116–18): *spharaṇasaṃharaṇākāreṇa*; SM58 (p. 122): *sphuraṇasaṃharaṇaṃ ca dhyāyāt*, etc.
- 543 The Sanskrit supplies a rather forced object for the causative *snāpayisyāmi*, “I will bathe [you who are] purified (*śuddhaṃ*)....” The use of the singular first person suggests that the verse may have originated in a rather different context, perhaps the bestowal of consecration by the guru upon a pupil. However, the reading with *śuddhaṃ* in the *d-pāda* of the verse is well attested. It appears in Lūyipāda’s HĀ (f. 14r.4), and in all the GSS mss., such as the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5 K22v3) and in SM26 (p. 65); SM180 (p. 364); SM218 (p. 429: *śuddhaṃ tu*). Isaacson (1996: personal communication) notes an early text that has the same reading, namely, Rāhulagupta’s *Hevajraprakāśa*, which probably dates from the late tenth century, since the author was supposedly a teacher of Atiśa (palmleaf ms. IASWR MBB 1–34 f. 23r). In the ADUT ch. 9 (Kalff 1979 p. 303) reports three mss. reading *śuddhen*, but perhaps these mss. are veering toward the reading attested by the Tibetan translation of his text, *śuddhena*.
- 544 The eight yoginīs described by Umāpatideva are possibly eight goddesses from the Vajravārāhī retinue. In the Hevajra tradition, Ratnākaraśānti (*Muktāvalī* f. 21v4) describes the yoginīs as the eight yoginīs Gaurī, etc. (*gauryādibhiḥ*), i.e., the eight goddesses who surround the central couple. Only four goddesses (Ḍākīnī, etc.) surround the central deity in the Vajravārāhī maṇḍala, however.
- 545 Sanderson (1998: personal communication) suggests that the visualization of the syllable *vaṃ* is intended as an alternative (as is the case at §9), despite the lack of clarity in the verse. The *nāda* is frequently visualized as a subtle ray of light rising from the dot (*binduḥ*) of the nasal ending (*anusvāraḥ*) of the syllable, e.g., SM79 (p. 153): *nādo raśmirekhā*.
- 546 The following verses (36–37) seem to be scriptural, although I have not traced their source. Umāpatideva cites them as the starting point in each meditation stage to illustrate the composition of the maṇḍala at its different phases. They do not appear in our recension of the YSCT (nor derivative HĀ), which is curious, as other *pādas* earlier do (vv. 38–40, §11).
- 547 The eight-part mantra appears in abbreviated form within the longer *mūla-mantra* given in §32. Significant variants in the parallel texts GSS5 (K24v3) and *Vajravārāhīsādhana* (Finot 1934: 60–61) are shown in the apparatus to the Sanskrit edition, including notable variants in the Tibetan (p. 37.1). (Minor variants in the Tibetan text are not noted.)

- 548 In the Tibetan text, each of the eight mantras end with the syllables *hum hūṃ phaṭ*. This is also true of the auxiliary-heart mantra (§12), of the mantras of the four petal goddesses, *Ḍākinī*, etc. (§12), of the outer goddesses, *Kākāsyā*, etc. (§15), and of the *mūlamantra* (§32), which similarly read *hum hūṃ*.
- 549 The “eight directions of Meru” (§17 and §18 *meror aṣṭadikṣu...*) refer to the cardinal and intermediate points of the compass. Meru is conceived as the central point. The parallel text in GSS5 (K21r1 and K28r3) omits this cosmological reference to the eight compass points surrounding Meru. It is also absent in §19, which has a slightly different opening sentence describing the body circle, perhaps because the reference to Meru has dropped out accidentally.
- 550 Sanderson (1994i: 95) shows that the inclusion of “*Gṛhadevatā*” as a site is an anomaly, the roots of which lie in the Buddhist redaction of these lists from the Śaiva *Tantrasadbhāva* (*Adhikāra* 19; *Yoginilakṣaṇa*). In the source texts, each site is equated with groups of deities. In these pairings, *Saurāṣṭra* is correlated with the set of household deities (*gṛhadevatā*). Sanderson concludes: “Evidently, while intending to extract only the place names from a list pairing names and deities, the redactor’s mind has drifted without his being aware of it from the name-list to that of the deity-list and back again.”
- 551 The correct Sanskrit for the site is *Kulūtā* (sometimes *Kulūtam*, *Kulūtaḥ*); in the vernacular, *Kulu*. The *Cakrasaṃvara* corpus seems to have been responsible for a preservation of the erroneous form, *Kulutā*, even in redactions outside scripture (Sanderson 1997: personal communication).
- 552 Following this prescription the Tibetan text continues, “Alternatively, meditate on them as being to the east etc. of the palace” (p. 39.7: *yang na gzhal yas khang gi shar la sogs pa rnams su bsgom par bya’o*).
- 553 The translation “factors that favor enlightenment” (*bodhipākṣikadharmas/bodhipakṣadharma*) has been suggested by Sanderson (1997: personal communication). The set is listed in *Abhidharmakośa/bhāṣya* ch. 6, v. 67ab and explained there (v. 67b–c) as favorable (*anuloma*) to enlightenment (*bodhiḥ*). Gethin (2001), in his comprehensive analysis of the *bodhipakṣiyyā dhammā*, translates, “Dhammas that Contribute to Awakening.” Having discussed the variations in the forms of the term in Pali and Sanskrit, with commentarial definitions of the set, he concludes (*ibid.*: 284–302): “we should not be misled by English translations such as ‘helping,’ ‘aiding,’ ‘favorable to,’ ‘conducive to’ and so on, into thinking that the relationship between *bodhi-pakṣiyyā dhammā* and *bodhi* is one of rather vaguely and generally assisting in the bringing about of awakening. On the contrary, they appear to be thought of as rather closely and definitely related to *bodhi*.” Other scholars suggest “adjutants of *bodhi*,” including Pruden (1991, n. 422, p. 1080), who also lists the appearance of the set in Pali and Sanskrit Buddhist sources. Gethin’s book is the fullest and most recent analysis of the seven sets of doctrinal formulas that make up the thirty-seven factors. He deals first with each of the seven sets individually (chs. 1–6), and then turns to their appearance as a collective set in the Pali *Nikāyas* and *Abhidhamma*, with some reference also to Sanskrit *Abhidharmic* sources (chs. 7–10).

Umāpatideva's glosses on the *bodhipākṣikadharmas* are the fullest example of Abhidharmic exegesis in the GSS collection. His work reveals the influence of Abhidharmic mainstays, such as the *Abhidharmakośa* and *bhāṣya* (ch. 6) and the *Arthavinīśayasūtra* (chs. 13–19), and has a strongly traditional basis, as when he cites Pāṇini (§23) to explain the *smṛtyupasthānas*, thus taking after Yaśomitra (*Vyākhyā* p. 104). However, we will see that it also has many unpredictable moments when the formulas are not listed in standard order. This may be unique to Umāpatideva. Other tantric texts, such as the *Samputatantra* ch. 1 (Skorupski 1994: 224–31), also cite traditional glosses, but use the correct sequences; similarly the *Vasantatilākāṭikā* (ch. 7, p. 51), although this text shows some overlap with Umāpatideva's lists (e.g., *anusmṛtyupasthānas* ch. 7, v. 2, p. 52, *ṛddhipādas* p. 53, etc.). For the *bodhipākṣikadharmas* themselves, Umāpatideva changes the traditional sequence, in which the four right exertions (*samyakprahāṇas*) are second. See endnote table vi:

Endnote table vi. *Thirty-seven bodhipākṣikadharmas*

ADK/B / Asū/N	GSSII
<i>smṛtyupasthānas</i>	<i>smṛtyupasthānas</i> (§23)
<i>samyakprahāṇas</i>	<i>ṛddhipādas</i> (§24)
<i>ṛddhipādas</i>	<i>indriyas</i> (§25)
<i>indriyas</i>	<i>balas</i> (§26)
<i>balas</i>	<i>bodhyaṅgas</i> (§27)
<i>bodhyaṅgas</i>	<i>āryāṣṭāṅgo margah</i> (§28)
<i>āryāṣṭāṅgamarga</i>	<i>samyakprahāṇas</i> (§29)

- 554 The translation of *anusmṛtyupasthānas* (*smṛtyupasthānas*) as “bringers of awareness” is because of Umāpatideva's own explanation of the term below. It is translated elsewhere as “Fields of Mindfulness” (Samtani 1971) or “Foundations of Mindfulness” (Pruden 1991). Gethin gives a full analysis of the *satipaṭṭhānas*, mostly from Pali sources, which he terms “The Establishing of Mindfulness” (2001: 29–68). The sequence in Umāpatideva's text differs from the norm, but follows the identical text of the YSCT ch. 3, v. 2, as follows in endnote table vii:

Endnote table vii. *anusmṛtyupasthānas*

ADK/B ch. 6, 14abff.; Asū/N ch. 13	GSSII
<i>kāya</i> °	<i>kāya</i> °
<i>vedanā</i> °	<i>vedanā</i> °
<i>citta</i> °	<i>dharma</i> °
<i>dharma</i> °	<i>citta</i> °

- 555 For the *smṛtyupasthānas* as an antidote to the four *viparyāsas*, see ADK/B v. 15cd., with *Vyākhyā* (p. 906); also Asū/N (p. 208).
- 556 See ADK/B with *Vyākhyā* (following 6.15b, p. 904), where Yaśomitra cites the same Pāṇinian sūtra; cf. Asū/N p. 211, n. 4. I am grateful to Professor Sander-son for his help in emending and translating this passage.
- 557 ADK/B (ch. 6 v. 14cdff.) discusses the characteristics of body, etc. See Asū/N ch. 13 (pp. 212, 210): *atha kāya iti ko 'rthaḥ? samghātārthaḥ*.
- 558 The translation of *ṛddhipādas* is usually given as “elements (or bases) of super-natural power,” e.g., by Edgerton (1953); Gethin (2001: 81–100), in his full dis-cussion of the set from Pali canonical and commentarial sources, translates *iddhipādas* as “Bases of Success.” Umāpatideva himself defines them later in this work as the “means of mind concentration,” following the traditional asso-ciation of the set with *samādhi* (*ibid.*: 92, with n. 46).

The *ṛddhipādas* traditionally come third in the list of *bodhipākṣīkadharma*s, following the *prahāṇas*. Umāpatideva’s sequence for the *ṛddhipādas* also varies from any of the Abhidharmic sources but may represent the usual tantric account, since this is the list supplied in the *Bauddhatantrakōśa* from a num-ber of sources. However, the sequence and number vary even in earlier texts, and Sanskrit and Pali sources list between four and six. References are sup-plied by Pruden (1991: 1081 n. 434), Samtani (1971: 219 n. 1), and Edgerton (1953). The ADK/B does not, in fact, set out the complete list (ADK/B ch. 6, vv. 66 and 69ff.), which leaves it to Yaśomitra to clarify (*Vyākhyā* p. 1015, cf. p. 1019 for the questionable inclusion of *samādhi* in the list). The Asū/N sup-plies more detail (ch. 15).

Endnote table viii. *ṛddhipādas*

Sanskrit sources (Edgerton)	ADK-Vyākhyā Asū/N	Pali sources	GSSII
<i>chandas</i> °	<i>chandas</i> °	<i>chanda</i> °	<i>chandas</i> °
<i>citta</i> °	<i>vīrya</i> °	<i>vīrya</i> °	<i>vīrya</i> °
<i>vīrya</i> °	<i>citta</i> °	<i>citta</i> °	<i>mīmāṃsā</i> °
<i>mīmāṃsā</i> °	<i>mīmāṃsā</i> °	<i>mīmāṃsā</i> °	<i>citta</i> °
<i>samādhi</i> °			
<i>prahāṇa</i> °			

- 559 For wisdom as a result of hearing, reflection, and meditation (*śrutacintābhāva-nāmayiprajñā*), see ADK/B ch. 1, v. 2b; ADK/B ch. 6, v. 15, and Asū/N ch. 13, p. 211. In these Abhidharmic texts, this threefold set is given within the expo-sition of *dharmasmṛtyupasthāna*. Umāpatideva deviates from the norm in placing them here within his exposition of the *ṛddhipādas*.
- 560 Asū/N also explains *ṛddhiḥ* with *samṛddhiḥ* meaning “wealth of all qualities

such as supernatural knowledges” (p. 219): *sarvasyābhiññādikasya guṇasya sam-
rddhiḥ rddhiḥ*; cf. Samtani *ibid.*: n.2, *Madhyāntavibhāga-bhāṣya and Vibhaṅga-
atṭhakathā*.

- 561 The traditional gloss is *pāda* > *pratiṣṭhā* (ADK/B p. 1019; Asū/N p. 218: *tasyā
rddheḥ pratiṣṭhānena pādāḥ rddhipādāḥ*). Here, the author specifies that *pāda*
means a subsidiary (*āṅga*), namely, that without which the principal (in this
case, *bodhiḥ*) cannot be accomplished.
- 562 *rti* (when the vowel *r* follows) *akāḥ* (there is no substitution in the place of the
simple vowels a, i, u, r, ḷ). I am grateful to Dr. James Benson for his help with
this sentence.
- 563 As Gethin (2001: 105) points out, the complete list of *indriyas*, “probably com-
mon to all Buddhist schools,” contains twenty-two such faculties. This set
comprises the “spiritual” faculties (i.e., numbers fifteen to nineteen). His dis-
cussion of the set ends with comments upon their “ubiquity in the Nikāyas”
(*ibid.*: 138–40). I follow Professor Sanderson’s suggestions for the translation
of this paragraph.
- 564 Some of these glosses appear in Asū/N, although not all relating to the *indriyas*.
For *śraddhendriya*, the Asū/N also glosses *śraddhā*, “*cetasāḥ prasādaḥ*” (ch. 16,
p. 223; also given ADK/B ch. 2, v. 25ff.) and supplies the same connections with
samyagdr̥ṣṭi and *karmavipāka* (Asū/Asū/N ch. 16, pp. 31/224). For *vīryendriya*,
Umāpatideva gives the gloss supplied in Asū/N (ch. 16, p. 223) but under
vīrya-rddhipāda (§24). For *smṛtendriya*, Umāpatideva supplies a similar gloss
to that in the Asū/N ch. 16 (p. 223): *smṛtir ālambanāpramoṣaḥ*, which would
indeed be repeating what he has said above (§23), although this does not pre-
vent him from repeating it in the next paragraph. For *samādhindriya*,
Umāpatideva’s gloss on *samādhi* is identical with the Asū/N (p. 223): *samādhiḥ
cittasyaikāgratā*. For *prajñendriya*, he differs from the traditional gloss on *prajñā*
in this context (ADK/B ch. 6, v. 68ff., p. 1017): *smṛtyupasthānāni dharmā-
pravicayasambodhyaṅgaṃ samyagdr̥ṣṭiḥ ca prajñāiva*; Asū/N (p. 223): *prajñā
dharmapravicayaḥ*. But his reference to mental states to be abandoned or devel-
oped seems to draw on the description of *chanda-rddhipāda* given in the Asū/N,
which defines these mental states exactly (Asū/N pp. 220–21).
- 565 In this sequence, Umāpatideva draws on traditional Abhidharmic exegesis, e.g.,
AKD/B ch. 6, vv. 68–69 (p. 1020): *indriyāṇāṃ kimkṛto ’nukramah? śradda-
dhāno hi phalārthaṃ vīryam ārabhate, ārabdhavīryasya smṛtir upatiṣṭhate...*; cf.
the identical analysis in the Asū/N (p. 224). Umāpatideva’s text, however, is
closer to the Asū itself (ch. 16, p. 32; cf. *Samputatantra* ch. 1, p. 227). Like the
sūtra, Umāpatideva omits *śraddhā* from the sequence, having dealt with it first
(and in the same manner). He then echoes the relative-clause construction of
the sūtra in dealing with the remaining *indriyas*. His exposition amounts to a
short, derivative summary of the contents of the Asū, with some changes; for
example, he glosses the verb *samudānayaṭi* with *upadhaṅkayaṭi* and changes
the phrasing *na vipraṇāśayaṭi* to *abhimukhikaroti*. (Asū ch. 16, p. 32):...*idam
ucyate śraddhendriyam. tatra katamad vīryendriyam? yān dharmān śraddhen-*

driyeṇa śraddhayati tān dharmān virendriyeṇa samudānayaṭi. idam ucyate vīryeṇ-driyam. tatra katamat smṛtindriyam? yān dharmān vīryeṇ-driyeṇa samudānayaṭi tān dharmān smṛtindriyeṇa na vipraṇāśayaṭi. idam ucyate smṛtindriyam. tatra katamat samādhindriyam? yān dharmān smṛtindriyeṇa na vipraṇāśayaṭi tān dharmān samādhindriyeṇa ekāgrikaṛoti. idam ucyate samādhindriyam. tatra kata-mat prajñeṇ-driyam? yān dharmān samādhindriyeṇa ekāgrikaṛoti tān dharmān prajñeṇ-driyeṇa pratividhyate. sa teṣu dharmeṣu pratyavekṣaṇajāṭiyo bhavaṭi. idam ucyate prajñeṇ-driyam.

- 566 Cf. ADK/B ch. 6, vv. 68–70 (p. 1020): *kasmād indriyāṇy eva balāṇy uktāni? mṛdvadhimātrabhedād avamardanīyānavamardanīyatvāt*; there is also a long exposition of this in the *Vyākhyā*. Asū/N follows suit, in brief (p. 226): *tāny eva śraddhādīni pañcendriyāṇi balavanti balāṇy ucyate*. Cf. ADKB ch. 6, v. 70ff. (p. 1022): *samādhisanniśrayeṇa lokottaradharmādhīpatibhūṭāni śraddhādīnīn-driyāṇi. tāny eva ca nirjitavipakṣasamudācārāṇi balāni*. Pali sources list many *balas*, including ten *balas* of a buddha (e.g., in PED/Edgerton 1953); these are discussed in his analysis of the *balas* by Gethin (2001: 140–45).
- 567 Umāpatideva’s list of *sambodhyaṅgas* differs from the norm in placing *samādhi* first instead of *smṛti*, and in juggling the order of the other *aṅgas* (see endnote table ix). This same sequence is attested in the *Vasantatilakākāṭikā*, which provides similar glosses to some *aṅgas* (pp. 55–56). In his discussion of this set, Gethin (2001: 146–89) translates the *bojjhaṅgas* as “the Factors of Awakening.”

Endnote table ix. *sambodhyaṅgas*

ADK/B / Asū/AsūN (ch. 18)	GSSII
<i>smṛti</i> °	<i>samādhi</i> °
<i>dharmapraṇicaya</i> °	<i>vīrya</i> °
<i>vīrya</i> °	<i>prīti</i> °
<i>prīti</i> °	<i>praśrabdhi</i> °
<i>praśrabdhi</i> °	<i>dharmapraṇicaya</i>
<i>samādhi</i> °	<i>smṛti</i> °
<i>upekṣā</i> °	<i>upekṣā</i> °

Umāpatideva’s glosses do not relate directly to passages in the ADK/B or Asū/N ch. 18 (see Samtani 1971: p. 228 n. 3 for references to other sources). On the *sambodhyaṅgas* as part of the *bodhipakṣadharma*s see ADK/B ch. 6, vv. 67–69, and as a prelude to the *aṣṭāṅgamarga*, ADK/B ch. 6, v. 70ff.; ch. 6, vv. 71–73. For the role of *prīti* and *praśrabdhi* in *dhyāna*, see ADK/B ch. 8, v. 9b ff. and Asū ch. 8 (*catvāri dhyānāni*); for *praśrabdhi* (also *prīti* and *upekṣā*) relating to the ten good gctions, see ADKB ch. 2, v. 25ff.; on the cultivation of the *sambodhyaṅgas* see ADK/B ch. 7, v. 11ff.

- 568 Vasubandhu notes that the four noble truths are called such because they are

the “truths of the noble ones (*āryas*)” (ADK/B ch. 6, commentary to v. 2c, p. 874: *āryasatyānīti sūtre ucyante. ko 'syārthah? āryānām etāni satyāni tasmād āryasatyāni sūtre evoktam.*) Gethin (2001: 205–7) offers reflections on the significance of the term “noble” in Pali sources within his wider analysis of this sequence (*ibid.*: 190–226).

The aim of the eightfold path is couched here in Yogācāra terms as the antidote to *jñeyāvaraṇa* (the obstructive belief that things really exist as other than consciousness, i.e., belief in an object) and to *kleśāvaraṇa* (the obstructive belief in real individuality *satkāyadr̥ṣṭiḥ*, i.e., belief in a subject). The Asū/N describes it in more traditional terms as the antidote to wrong views, etc. (ch. 19, p. 231): *mithyādr̥ṣṭipratipakṣeṇa yāvan mithyāsamādhipratipakṣeṇa samyagdr̥ṣṭiyādīnām mārgāṅgānām yathākramam vyavasthā...*

The sequence of the eightfold path in relation to the *sambodhyaṅgas* is discussed in the ADK/B ch. 6, v. 67b ff. The wider context of the discussion is of the relative position on the path (*mārgaḥ*) of each of the *bodhipākṣadharmas* (ADK/B ch. 6; cf. *Vasantatilākāṭikā* ch. 7, p. 51). It is to this discussion that Umāpatideva refers here (ADK ch. 6, v. 1ab: *kleśaprahāṇam ākhyātam satyadarśanabhāvanāt...*). Ābhidharmikas enumerated five stages of the path (*sambhāramārga*, *prayoga*°, *darśana*°, *bhāvanā*°, *śaikṣa*°), in the course of which all defilements (*kleśas*) would be removed. In this analysis, the eightfold path is said to belong to the path of seeing (*darśanamārgaḥ*), that is, the path of removing (*prahāṇamārgaḥ*) the *kleśas* of belief in a self (*dr̥ṣṭiḥ*). The type and number of *kleśas* are reckoned according to how “strong” they are, and how “weak” the practitioner is. The most subtle *kleśas* are destroyed only once the *darśanamārga* has been traversed (according to some, this happens in a flash), and the stage of “meditation” is reached. The *bhāvanāmārga* comprises the path of removing more subtle defilements (*rāgaḥ*, *dveṣaḥ*) (cf. *Vasantatilākāṭikā* ch. 7, p. 56: *kleśāvaraṇapratipakṣe darśanamārgam uktvā jñeyāvaraṇapratipakṣam bhāvanāmārgam āha*). The subtlest *kleśas* are removed with the very highest meditation, called *Vajropamasamādhi*, and this opens the way to the final path of “no more training” (*śaikṣa*), which is characterized by the “knowledge of the destruction of the defilements” (*kṣayajñānam*) and “knowledge that they will never arise again” (*anutpādayajñānam*). In GSSII, Umāpatideva ascribes the eightfold path to both paths, the *darśanamārga* and *bhāvanāmārga*. In the *Vasantatilākāṭikā* it belongs only to the latter (ch. 7, p. 56: *tatra bhāvanāmarge jñeyāvaraṇa<m> niḥsvabhāvam iti yā dhiḥ sā samyagdr̥ṣṭiḥ...*). The varying distribution of the *bodhipākṣikadharmas* over the five paths is discussed by Gethin (2001: 338–42).

- 569 The change to the normal sequence of *bodhipākṣikadharmas* (in which the *samyakprahāṇas* appear second) has been discussed above. It may, possibly, be accounted for by the designation of the set *samyak*, since the prefix *samyak* in the case of the eightfold path gives it an inclusive and hence higher position in the sequence of *bodhipākṣikadharmas* (see especially *Vyākhyā* on ADK/B ch. 6, v. 68, p. 1017). However, the traditional glosses on the first *prahāṇas* (ADK/B

69a, *Vyākhyā* p. 1015, Asū/N ch. 14) justify their original position in the sequence, in that they are causally related to the *ṛddhipādas* (for example, the abandoning of unskillful states gives rise to *chandas*, the first of the *ṛddhipādas*; *prahāṇa* is also defined as *vīrya*).

The meaning of *samyakprahāṇa* is “right abandonment,” and this term (*°prahāṇam*) is usual in Sanskrit sources. However, the Pali term for this four-fold formula was “right effort,” *samma-(p)padhāna* (e.g., *Dighanikāya* II.120, *Majjhimanikāya* II.11, III.296; further references in PED). There is another similar set of four *padhānas* in Pali literature, namely, restraint [of the senses] (*saṃvaraḥ*), abandonment [of sinful thoughts] (*pahānam*), cultivation [of skillful states] (*bhāvanā*), and guarding [skillful states] (*anurakkhaṇā*) (*Dighanikāya* III.225, *Aṅguttaranikāya* II.16, etc.). “Effort” (*padhānam*, *pradhānam*) seems to be the older term, and indeed this is what the older Chinese translations tend to translate. However, the linguistic similarity of the Pali (*padhānam*) with the Sanskrit (*prahāṇa*), and the inclusion of the stage “abandonment” in both four-fold formulas, seem to have given rise to the later usage. Thus, later Chinese translations render *prahāṇa*, and it is this reading that also went into Tibetan translations (see Pruden’s translation of *Abhidharmakośa* 1991, n. 423, p. 1080 to *Abhidharmakośa*). For a fuller analysis of the terminology behind the “right endeavors,” see Gethin (2001: 69–72) and following (72–80) for his discussion of the set. A different list of four efforts (*samyak-pradhāna*) is also found in Sanskrit literature, namely: effort (*prayatnaḥ*), endurance (*utsaḥaḥ*), valor (*vīryam*), and resolve (*vyavasāyāḥ*).

The sequence in which the stages appear in the texts varies, and although Umāpatideva’s coincide with none of the Abhidharmic sources mentioned here, it is a sequence found in the YSCT ch. 2, v. 8, as shown here in endnote table x.

Endnote table x. *Four prahāṇas*

ADK ch. 6, v. 69a; <i>Vyākhyā</i> (p. 1015 on ADK 6.66) Asū (ch. 14, variation in 1 & 2; Samtani <i>ibid.</i> p. 29, n. 2)	Pali sources	GSSII
(i) abandoning of unskillful	(ii)	(iii)
(ii) nonarising of unskillful	(i)	(iv)
(iii) giving rise to skillful	(iii)	(i)
(iv) protection of skillful	(iv)	(ii)

570 The scriptural citation opens the description of the body maṇḍala. The notes below show some variant readings from the Cakrasaṃvara/Vajrayoginī traditions, and comment upon some problems in the texts of the Cakrasaṃvara

body maṇḍala. Umāpatideva's opening description of the body maṇḍala echoes the phrasing in prose and verse descriptions elsewhere. It starts with a citation from the GST 16.1ab and has similarities with the several accounts of the body maṇḍala (or aspects of its correlations) in the YSCT. For example, YSCT ch. 5 (B3r2: *vīrādvayam uttamam*; B3r6: *vīrāṅgaviśuddhinirdeśaḥ*) prescribes the correlation of the hero with the aspect of the body to be nourished by the channels, and then identifies the site in which the pair of site deities dwells according to the maṇḍala cakṛa and its place in the vertical cosmos (*ibid.*): *pumkārādi-samāyogā?* (B damaged; A: *pu-kāra*-)...*deśe deśe vyavasthitāḥ. pu iti pullīramalaye khaṇḍakapālinapracandāḥ...pīṭham...cittacakrasya khecarī*. The YSCT thirteenth *paṭala* describes the body maṇḍala again (A6v. 2, B9v. 1): *atha param pravakṣyāmi...vīrayoginīm advayam—śrīherukamahāyogīsthānam aksara-bhūmyakam*; cf. GSS11 v. 42. This time it includes the body points with the structure: “In the site on the body point...the places” (*pullīramalaye śīrasi...pīṭham*); it ends by listing the sites by their first syllables (A6v6; B10r1), the manner in which GSS11 begins. See also ADUT ch. 9 (pp. 285–87): *asyaiva pīṭhādīkrama<m> vinyasyātmayogam uttamam. pum khaṇḍakapālinapracandā śīrasi*; ADUT ch. 14 (p. 319); also Lūyīpāda's HĀ (f. 10r ff.), which is the basis of the body maṇḍala in GSS5 (Sed p. 142¹, K28r3): *tatra pu-ā-o-a-go-rā-de-mā-kā-o-tri-ko-ka-la-kā-hi-pre-gr-sau-su-na-si-ma-ku-. pullīramalayaśīrasi pracandā...pīṭham*; cf. GSS7 (K43r1).

571 K. Gyatso (1997: 41) gives “hair-line.”

572 Some texts attest the “back of the head,” e.g., *mastakaprṣṭhe* (YSCT ch. 13, GSS5 Sed p. 142³, K28r4–5, ADUT ch. 14 p. 319). Others specify the “back-bone,” *prṣṭhavamśe* (SUT ch. 7 v. 5cd, ADUT ch. 9 [p. 285]; HĀ f. 10r2).

573 There is some question over the related aspect of the body for the hero in the Cakrasaṃvara body maṇḍala (table 23). Some texts place the hero “in the heart” (*bukke*), e.g., YSCT (Bf.3r3), SUT ch. 7 v. 7b, ADUT sources (ch. 14 and GSS7). However, Kalff (*op. cit.*: 196 on Sanskrit text p. 319) suggests that *bukke* is a corruption of *vrkke* (kidney?), as suggested by the Tibetan translations (ADUT: *mkhal ma*, “kidney;” and SUT: *mchin pa*, “liver”). The HĀ (f14v6) is unclear, but may read *vrkke*.

574 A variant in other texts reads “armpits,” *bāhumūlayoḥ* (YSCT ch. 13, ADUT ch. 9, p. 285).

575 My ms. B of the YSCT (B f. 3r4) is corrupt at this point (and ms. A is damaged). The aspect of the body is usually “eyes” for the hero Aṅkurika. However, YSCT (B f. 3r4) gives *kakṣayor*, repeating the body point occupied by the goddess. This is followed by a short passage of dittography; the manuscript later omits the correlations between numbers 14 (“belly”) and 22 (“Padma-nartēśvara”).

576 Other texts also read “mouth,” e.g., *mukhashāne* (SUT ch. 7, v. 10a, *mukhe* YSCT ch. 13, ADUT chs. 9 and 14, K. Gyatso 1997: 41). In the Cakrasaṃvara body maṇḍala, the aspect of the body for the hero, Subhadra, has many variants. Kalff (*op. cit.*: 196) compares the Sanskrit readings in different

sources and different manuscripts (e.g., *gudavartih* in SUT ch. 7, v. 10b; *guṇavarti* in ADUT) and their Tibetan translations, arguing that the intended meaning is “coiled gut.” Other readings include *guṇavattī* (GSS7); *gudavartti* (HĀ f. 15r.1–2 and SUT); *gulavati* (YSCT B f. 3r.4).

577 The body maṇḍala practice in the Cakrasaṃvara tradition gives this body point as “penis” (*medhre*) with the corrupt form *medram* (YSCT ms. B); *medre* (HĀ, GSS5, GSS11); *medhrasthāne* (SUT ch. 7, v. 11a); *medhre* (ADUT ch. 9). Cf. ADUT ch. 14 (with variants in different mss.: *medre*, *madhre*, *matre*, Tib.: *bshang sgo*). Kalff (*op.cit.*: 159) reads *medhre* “penis” but notes that the Tibetan reads “gate of excrement” i.e., anus (although “anus” is already given in the Sanskrit list for the eighteenth goddess Khaṇḍarohā in Gṛhadevatā). One Tibetan tradition (K. Gyatso 1997: 41) gives “the two testicles” and for the next site, the “tip of the sex organ.” An alternative reading, *mede*, apparently for *medasi* (*medas*=“marrow/fat”), is found in GSS7, but this seems likely to be another corruption of *medhre*. The body point “penis” poses a problem for the Vajrayoginī tradition in that the body maṇḍala is supposedly conducted by the yogin who has self-generated himself as the goddess Vajravārāhi. If the body maṇḍala is taken to apply to the body of the (male) meditator and not to that of the yogin-as-goddess, then the emendation *medhre* is justified. This is substantiated by the Tibetan, which reads “genitals” (*mdoms*).

578 Other texts read *Pretādhivāsini* (YSCT ch. 13 and SUT ch. 7, v. 12a).

579 Our tradition (GSS texts, YSCT ch. 13, HĀ) reads *aṅguli*, meaning either “fingers” or “toes,” although the Tibetan translates as “on the fingers” (p. 42.4: *sor mo rnam*). Kalff (*op. cit.*: 159–60) notes that there are two traditions here (as also for the twenty-third goddess, see *aṅguṣṭha* below). One tradition specifies “toes” (e.g., SUT ch. 7, v. 14: *pādaṅgulau*; also the ADUT commentary by Śūraṅgavajra: *rkang pa'i sor mo kun la*, “on all the toe(s) of the foot”). The other tradition is to understand both toes and fingers simultaneously. Thus, Lūyīpāda states, “the sixteen fingers (and toes) (*ser* [sic] *mo bcu drug*, no reference, Meisezahl 1967: 296); *Cakrasaṃvarasādhana* (Dawa-Samdub 1919: *sor mo bcu drug*); cf. Tucci (1935/1989: 41). It seems to me most likely that if one tradition is “correct,” it would be that in which the *nyāsa* takes place on two body parts at once (hands and feet), which is the same method as that employed for other body parts, such as the two shoulders, two thighs, two shanks, two knees, etc. In addition, the *nyāsa* of sites/deities in the *kāyamaṇḍala* takes place on the body of the yogin who is seated in meditation; the toes and fingers are therefore proximate to each other and can easily count as one site. This is not the case if the yogin-deity visualizes himself in the warrior stance as Vajravārāhi for the *kāyamaṇḍala*.

580 *sādhumat* (fem.: *sādhumatī*) is literally “having good,” but this is usually translated as if from *sādhumatī* “having a good mind/heart,” e.g., Dayal (1932: 290). This is the standard translation of the Tibetan “good intelligence/excellent knowledge” (*legs pa'i blo gros*).

581 Our tradition gives *aṅguṣṭhayoh*, also in the Tibetan translation (p. 42.5: *mtse*

- bo dag*) (e.g., GSS texts, HĀ, ADUT, also its Tibetan translation, and SUT ch. 7, v. 15). This is ambiguous since it may mean “on the two thumbs” or “on the two big toes.” Kalff (*op. cit.*: 160, n.1) again notes that two traditions exist. He states that Śūraṅgavajra’s comment on the ADUT specifies the two big toes (*rkang pa’i mthe bo gnyis la*). The *Cakrasaṃvarasādhana* (Dawa-Samdub *op. cit.*: 21) and Lūyīpāda (Meisezahl *op. cit.*: 296) specify both thumbs and big toes (Tib.: *mthe bong b’zi*), as does Tucci (*op. cit.*: 41). Once again, I prefer the latter, in line with the earlier arguments (v. 52a).
- 582 Vajravārāhi’s root mantra in GSS11 has two parts. The first part comprises an abbreviated form of the eight-part mantra (see §12), in which the eight parts (indicated here by editorial hyphens) are run together by the omission of the mantra syllables enclosing the vocatives. The second part of the root mantra is a lengthy mantra beginning *prottuṅge*, introduced in the Tibetan by **tadyathā* (p. 43.2). This also appears in GSS5 (Sed p. 137¹⁵, K24v6), directly following the full form of the eight-part mantra (GSS5 Sed p. 137⁶, K24v3), and the second part alone (*prottuṅge...*) appears in the *Vajravārāhisādhana* (Finot 1934: 60–61≈GSS3). In the *Vajravārāhisādhana* (Finot *op. cit.*) this is also called the *mūlamantra*, but in GSS5 it is termed the “garland mantra” (GSS5 Sed p. 137¹⁵, K24v6: *atha ca mālāmantra bhavati*). Variants appearing in the text of GSS5 are reported in the apparatus, with some variants from Finot (except where they seem to be the result of an illegible *akṣara* or the result of the editor’s misreading from his mss.). Notable variants from the Tibetan text (p. 43.1) are also shown. This root mantra (with a few variants) is the bulk of SM221 (pp. 434–35).
- 583 The Śaiva flavor of this epithet is unmistakable since Paramasiddhayogeśvārī is the name of a Śaiva goddess from the nondual Trika tradition.
- 584 The term “vajra words” (*kulīśapadāḥ, vajrapadāḥ*) refers to elements of mantras that cannot be understood as straightforward Sanskrit (cf. GS 9.17a). It refers here to those parts extracted from the mantras of the male deities in the Cakrasaṃvara maṇḍala, e.g., *kara kara*. Another version of the mantra, consisting solely of the vajra words, appears in the *balī* ritual described below (§37). It also appears in this form in the **Mantrapāṭha* (Finot *op. cit.*: 53–54) and *Cakrasaṃvarabalīvidhi* (*ibid.*: p. 57); also in the mantras of the twenty-four gods of the sites in the Cakrasaṃvara maṇḍala, as in the HĀ (f. 13r) and ADUT (ch. 14, pp. 324–25). A comprehensive edition of the male site gods’ mantras is not provided here, but significant variants to the text of GSS11 are shown in the apparatus from these sources.
- 585 I am grateful to Professor Sanderson for clarifying the edition and translation of this passage. This may be the mantra recited during ritual performances, as Śākyarakṣita states that it is a general mantra, applicable to all types of ritual (GSS5 Sed p. 139², K25v4: *sarvakarmiko ’yaṃ mantraḥ*).
- 586 There seem to be two traditions for the generation of the heads. The Sanskrit prescribes the syllable *kaṃ* (presumably based on the meaning *kam*, “head”) and the Tibetan, the syllable *āḥ*. See apparatus to Sanskrit text, and Textual Notes.
- 587 Translated by Professor Sanderson.

- 588 The Tibetan text adds that “from the transformation (*yongs su gyur pa*) of the vowels and consonants [comes] the moon...” (p. 45.3: *ā li kā li yongs su gyur pa las zla ba...*).
- 589 The verse is also recited by the practitioner during the hand worship [§46]. In the SUT ch. 8, vv. 22cd–26, this *indravajrā* verse follows the offering of food stuffs to the emanated maṇḍala (vv. 22cd–24), and it is the gods and goddesses of the sites who are saluted specifically (v. 25).
- 590 The same mantras are prescribed in the parallel texts, GSS₅ (Sed pp. 143¹⁸–44¹³, K29v3–30r3) and *Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi* (p. 58). The latter also indicates the recipients of each mantra offering (shown here in square brackets).
- 591 “Sipping” (*ācamanam*) is usually the ritual cleansing by sipping water and touching it to parts of the body (e.g., *Kriyāsamuccaya* ŚP f. 414.3: *pādyācamanaṇḍikam dattvā*; f. 415.2: *ācamanam tato datvā sugandhair śodhayet* [*śodhayet* conj.; *sukṣayet* ŚP] *karam*). Here the context may suggest the sipping of nectar.
- 592 This *mālinī* verse appears in SUT ch. 8, v. 28 and is used in the context of *bali* offering in GSS₅ (Sed p. 144³, 29v1) and *Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi* (p. 58). It is absent in the account of the *bali* mantras in YSCT (A5r) and HĀ (f. 14r–v).
- 593 Parallels with almost identical text appear elsewhere in the GSS, e.g., in GSS11 (§45, §48, §49); GSS₅ (Sed p. 144¹⁴, K30r4): *cchomāhastena saṃcchomya nyūnādhikavidhipūranārthaṃ śatākṣaramantram ghaṇṭāvādanapūrvakam paṭhet*. = *Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi* (p. 58; a line has dropped out of the mantra in Finot’s edition); cf. VĀ, *Sāṃvarikāḥ sārvaḥautikabalividhi* (ŚP f. 124r) and *Maṇḍalopasaṃhārādividhi* (ŚP ff. 118r–119v); and the hundred-syllabled mantra as shorthand for the fuller rite, sometimes with substitution of the earlier Vajrasattva for Heruka, e.g., SM29 (p. 74), SM71 (p. 145), SM218 (p. 430), SM247 (p. 480), etc.
- 594 Umāpatideva’s text repeats this form of the dismissal mantra (§45, §50). However, it appears as *oṃ vajra muḥ* in GSS₅ (Sed p. 144¹⁷, K30r6; Sed p. 146¹¹, K32r1; Sed p. 148², K33r5) and the *Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi* (Finot *op. cit.*: 58), and in the *Maṇḍalopasaṃhārādividhi* in the VĀ (ŚPf.118v) as *oṃ āḥ hūṃ vajra muḥ*. The final mantra syllable *muḥ* is associated with dismissal (e.g., Khasarpaṇa-Lokeśvara SM24 p. 57: *oṃ āḥ hūṃ muḥ*). It appears in (or in association with) a much-cited scriptural verse for dismissing deities, e.g., GSS16 (K82r1): *tataḥ. oṃ āḥ hūṃ mur iti mantreṇa pāṇīyaculukam grhītṛvā maṇḍalam siñcayet. – oṃ kṛto vaḥ sarvasattvārtha<ḥ> siddhir dattā yathānugā | gacchadhvaṃ buddhaviṣayam punarāgamanāya ca. • dattā* em.; *datvā* K. The ms. reading (*datvā*) seems to be influenced by the parallel in SUT ch. 23, v. 52a–d: *oṃ kṛto vaḥ sarvasattvārthaḥ siddhiṃ dattvā yathānugām | gacchadhvaṃ buddhaviṣayam viharadhvaṃ yathāsukham*. For the emendation to *dattā*, and for other variants in the *d-pāda*, cf. SM29 (*oṃ kṛto vaḥ...siddhir dattā yathānugā...punarāgamanāya ca*), and for the final element *muḥ*, see SM67 (p. 138), SM211 (p. 417), and SM247 (p. 480): *kṛto vaḥ...siddhir dattā yathānugā...punarāgamanāya muḥ*.
- 595 The parallel text of the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS₅ Sed p. 145¹⁵, K31r2) is cited in full in the Textual Notes and is indicated in the apparatus along with the closely related text of the *Bāhyapūjāvidhi* of Śāśvatavajra (Finot *op. cit.*: 52–53).

- Śāśvatavajra encloses his work with a benediction and dedication of merit, both of which mention the *Bāhyapūjāvidhi* by name. Other pūjā texts mentioned are from GSS2 (K11r1), GSS20 (K84v5)≈GSS25 (K92r2), and GSS35 (K119v3).
- 596 The text of GSS11 contains one injunction “to place the left hand (on)” *vāmahastam dattvā* following the locative *śucipradēse*. The parallel texts (GSS5≈*Bāhyapūjāvidhi*) cited in the Textual Notes contain two similar injunctions (*hastam dattvā*). The construction is familiar from other texts, e.g., *Hevajrasekaprakriyā (śirasi hastam dattva)*, Kumāracandra’s *pañjikā* on *Kṛṣṇa-yamāritantra* (p. 110).
- 597 The meaning of *vidarbhaṇam* is explained by Padoux (1977: 345) as the utterance of the mantra a single time after the name. Umāpatideva repeats the same sequence of offerings in the alternative *bāhyapūjā* below (§49) but without the injunction to insert the names. The parallel texts (cited in the Textual Notes) differ at this point because they deal with offerings to the entire maṇḍala. Umāpatideva intends this last offering to be to the outermost inhabitants of the maṇḍala, in the manner of the final *bali* mantra. The same method is adopted for the outermost deities, the ten *krodhas*, in the Saṃvara *bali* ritual in the VĀ (n. 513), their names likewise inserted before the mantras.
- 598 The parallel texts include this instruction (*vaksyamāṇa-*); see Textual Notes.
- 599 The parallel text in GSS5 is cited in the Textual Notes, with some variants from the very close text of Śāśvatavajra’s *Hastapūjāvidhi* (Finot *op. cit.*: 54–55) reported where of interest. (Text dealing with the Cakrasaṃvara version of the rite and some of Finot’s emendations are not shown.) These two texts are also related (a little more distantly) to SM253 (pp. 498–500), which also contains Śāśvatavajra’s *Hastapūjāvidhi*, and which Finot uses to supply the missing portion of his ms.
- 600 The Tibetan text states that the syllables are placed on the five digits, with the sixth syllable on “the thumb’s face” (see the apparatus to the Sanskrit edition).
- 601 The rite is mentioned only briefly in this tantra (see n. 524).
- 602 Sanderson (1998: personal communication) notes that *maṇḍalakam* is the term in both Buddhist and Śaiva texts for this kind of simple outline traced during the course of most external rituals.
- 603 I am grateful to Professor Sanderson for explaining the corrupt Sanskrit text, with reference to the *Samputodbhavantra* 6.3.18–22b.
- 604 The SUT ch. 17, v. 42c has *Prapūraṇa*, which Umāpatideva seems to have altered for metrical reasons to *Prapurāṇa*, although the sense is not as good.

Bibliography

I. Sanskrit Sources

Abhayākaragupta. *Abhayapaddhati*. NAK ms. 5.10.

———. *Niṣpannayogāvalī*. Ed. by B. Bhattacharyya. 1972. Gaekwad's Oriental Series no. 109. Baroda, India: Oriental Institute.

———. *Vajrāvalī*.

– Reproduced by Lokesh Chandra. 1977. Śatapiṭaka Series no. 239. New Delhi: Jayed Press.

– Palmleaf ms. NGMPP ms. 5–841 Bauddhatantra 78, reel B31/14. [ms. “A”]

– Palmleaf ms. NAK 3–402 =NGMPP B 31/7. [ms. “B”]

Abhidhānottaratantra. NGMP reel E 695/3. References without folio numbers are to Kalff 1979.

Abhisamayamañjarī (GSS5). See Śākyarakṣita.

Amarakośa. 1941. Ed. by Sharma Dutt. Poona Oriental Series no. 43. Poona, India.

Advayavajra. 1927. *Advayavajrasaṃgraha*. Ed. by Hara Prasad Shastri. Gaekwad's Oriental Series no. 60. Baroda, India: Oriental Institute.

———. *Sarvārthasiddhisādhana* (GSS15).

———. *Vajravārāhisādhana* (GSS3). See L. Finot 1934 and R. O. Meisezahl 1967, 1980.

———. *Vajravārāhisādhana* (GSS31).

Anaṅgayogin. 1990. *Ḍākinījālasaṃvararahasyam* (= *Ḍākinīguhyasamayasādhana* GSS46). Ed. by Samdhong Rinpoche and Vrajavallabha Dvivedi. Rare Buddhist Text Series no. 8. Sarnath: Durlabha Bauddha Grantha Sodha Yojana, Kendriya Ucca Tibbati Siksa Samsthana.

Arthavinīscayasūtra (with *Nibandhana* by Viryaśridatta). Ed. by Narayan Hemandas Samtani. 1971. Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series no. 13. Patna: K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute.

- Āryadeva. *Svādhīṣṭhānaprabheda*. In *Dhīḥ* 10. 1990. A Review of Rare Buddhist Texts. Sarnath, Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies. pp. 20–24.
- Bauddha Tantrakośa. Ed. by Vrajavallabha Dvivedi and Thinlay Ram Shashni. 1990. Rare Buddhist Text Series no. 5. Sarnath: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies.
- Bhavabhaṭṭa. *Cakrasaṃvaravivṛti*. Ed. by Li Nan. 1998 (in progress). In “Sanskrit Manuscripts of Cakrasaṃvaravivṛtti by Bhavabhaṭṭa, the First Chapter: A Romanized Text and a Chinese Version of Its Philosophical Part with Annotations” (unpublished). IASWR, Film-strip no. MBB-1971-33-35.
- Buddhadatta. *Gopyahomavidhi* (GSS13).
- Cakrasaṃvarapañjikā. NAK ms. 3.365 vi, Bauddhatantra 18 ka.
- Cakrasaṃvarasādhana. See K. Dawa-Samdup 1919.
- Cakrasaṃvaratantra (= *Laghusaṃvaratantra*). Ms. 13290. Baroda, India: Oriental Institute.
- Caṇḍamahāroṣanatantra. See C. S. George 1974 for chs. 1–8. (Numbering of later chapters refers to a working edition by H. Isaacson 1996a.)
- Candrakīrti. 1984. *Guhyasamājatantrapradīpodyatanaṭikāśaṭkoṭīvyākhyā*. Ed. by C. Chakravarti. Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series no. 25. Pataliputram: Kasi-Prasada-Jayasavala-Anusilana-Samstha.
- Catuhpīṭhatantra (with commentary by Durjayacandra). NAK (National Archives, Kathmandu) MS 3–366 vi. bauddhadārśana 70 = NGMPP B 23/14.
- Ḍākinījālasaṃvara. NAK ms. 5.4650.
- Dhyāyipāda. *Paramagambhīropadeśo Vajrayoginyāḥ Karaṇkatoraṇakramah Svādhīṣṭhānam* (GSS34).
- Guhyasamājatantra. See B. Bhattacharyya 1931 and Y. Matsunaga 1978.
- Herukābhisamaya (= *Cakrasaṃvara-śrī-Herukābhisamaya*). See Lūyipāda.
- Hevajrasekaprakriyā. See H. Isaacson 1996b.
- Hevajratantra. See D. L. Snellgrove 1959.
- Indrabhūti (I). 1929. *Jñānasiddhi*. In *Two Vajrayāna Works*. Ed. by B. Bhattacharyya. Gaekwad’s Oriental Series no. 44. Baroda, India: Oriental Institute.
- Indrabhūti (II). *Vajrayoginīmukhāgama* (GSS1).
- . *Pradīpāhutividhi* (GSS14).

- Jagaddarpaṇa (a.k.a. Darpaṇa). 1977. *Kriyāsamuccaya*. Reproduced by L. Chandra. Śatapiṭaka Series no. 237. New Delhi: Jajyed Press.
- Jayabhadra. *Cakrasaṃvarapañjikā*. NAK ms. 3.365vi Bauddhatantra, 18 ka.
- Jayadrathayāmalatantra. NAK ms. 1.1468
- Jayaratha. 1985. *Vāmakeśvarimatam (with commentary)*. Ed. by Krishnanand Sagar. Shri Shivoham Sagar Granthamala no. 13. Varanasi: Shri Madhvanand Ashram.
- Kālidāsa. *Meghadūta*. See L. Nathan 1976.
- Kaṇha/Kṛṣṇa. *Yogaratnamālā*. In D. L. Snellgrove 1959.
- Kṛṣṇācārya. 1970. *Vasantatilakā* with *Rahasyadīpikā* by Vanaratna. Ed. by S. Rinpoche and V. Dvivedi. Rare Buddhist Text Series no. 7. Sarnath: Durlabha Bauddha Grantha Sodha Yojana, Kendriya Ucca Tibbati Siksa Samsthana.
- Kṛṣṇayāmāritantra* with *Ratnāvalīpañjikā* commentary by Kumāracandra. 1992. Ed. by S. Rinpoche and V. Dvivedi. Rare Buddhist Text Series no. 9. Sarnath: Durlabha Bauddha Grantha Sodha Yojana, Kendriya Ucca Tibbati Siksa. (For notes on the authorship of this text, see Isaacson 2001: 484.)
- Kuladatta. *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*. Cambridge ms. Add. 1697 (I).
- Kumāracandra. *Ratnāvalīpañjikā* in *Kṛṣṇayāmāritantra*. 1992. Ed. by S. Rinpoche and V. Dvivedi. Rare Buddhist Text Series no. 9. Sarnath: Durlabha Bauddha Grantha Sodha Yojana, Kendriya Ucca Tibbati Siksa.
- Laghusaṃvaratantra* = *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*. Ms. 13290. Oriental Institute. Baroda.
- Lakṣmī/Lakṣmīṅkarā (?). *Lakṣmīsādhana* (GSS24)
- Lūyīpāda. *Cakrasaṃvara-śrī-Herukābhisamaya*. Palm-leaf ms. NAK 5–205 NGMPP B 31/21.
- . *Śmaśānavidhi*. See L. Finot 1934 and R. O. Meisezahl. 1980.
- . *Vajravārāhisādhana* (GSS2).
- Mahāmāyātāntram* with *Guṇavati* by Ratnākaraśānti. 1992. Ed. by S. Rinpoche and V. Dvivedi. Rare Buddhist Text Series no. 10. Sarnath: Durlabha Bauddha Grantha Sodha Yojana, Kendriya Ucca Tibbati Siksa Samsthana.
- Manusmṛti*. 1972. Ed. by J. Harikrishna Dave. Bhāratīya Vidyā Series no. 29. Mumbai: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavanam.
- Nāgārjuna (attrib.). *Pañcakrama* and *Pinḍikramasādhana*. See K. Mimaki and T. Tomabechi 1994, and L. de la Vallée Poussin 1896.
- Netratāntra*. 1926 and 1939 (2 vols.). Ed. by Madhusudan Kaul Shastri. *The Netra Tantram with Commentary by Kshemarāja*. Bombay. The Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies 46, 61.

- Nityāṣoḍaśīkāroḍaśīkāṛṇava* (with two commentaries by Śivānanda and Vidyānanda). 1968. Ed. by V. Dvivedi. Yogatantragranthamālā Series no. 1. Varanasi: Research Institute Varanaseye Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya.
- Puṇḍarika. 1986. *Vimalaprabhāṭikā* (on *Laghukālacakratāntra*). Ed. by J. Upadhyaya. 3 vols. Sarnath: Kendriya Ucca Tibbati-Siksha-Samsthana.
- Ratnākaraśānti. *Bhramaharanāma Hevajrasādhana*. See H. Isaacson 1997.
- . *Muktāvalī nāma Hevajrapañjikā*. NAK ms. 5.98.
- Raviśrījñāna. *Guṇābharaṇī nāma Śaḍaṅgayogaṭippanī*. See F. Sferra. 2000.
- Śabara. 1994. *Guhyavajravilāsinīsādhana* (GSS10). “Yoginīsarvasvaṃ nāma Guhyavajravilāsinīsāadhanam” in *Dhīḥ* 17. Review of Rare Buddhist Texts. Sarnath, Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies. pp. 5–17.
- . *Vajrayoginīsādhana* (GSS19).
- . *Vidyādhari vajrayoginyārādhana vidhi* (GSS23).
- Sāadhanamālā*. See B. Bhattacharyya 1925 and 1928.
- Sāadhanasamuccaya*. See *Sāadhanamālā*.
- Sahajāvalokanasamādhivajra. *Binducūḍāmaṇī nāma svādhīṣṭhānakramah* (GSS32).
- Śākya rakṣita. *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5). In *Dhīḥ* 13, 1992 (attributed to Śubhākara-gupta), and Rare Buddhist Texts Series no. 11, 1993, Sarnath, Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies. pp. 123–54.
- . 1993. *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5). Sanskrit and Tibetan editions by Samdhong Rinpoche and Vrajvallabha Dvivedi. Rare Buddhist Text Series no. 11. Sarnath, Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies.
- Samputatantra*. See T. Skorupski 1994.
- Samputodbhavantra*. NAK A138/4.
- Samvarodayatantra*. See S. Tsuda 1974. Also ms. no. 749b in the Kaiser Library, Kathmandu = NGMPP reel C 69/5.
- Śāntideva. *Śikṣāsamuccaya*. Ed. by P. L. Vaidya. 1961. Buddhist Sanskrit Texts no. 11. Darbhanga, India: Mithila Institute of Post Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning.
- . *Bodhicaryāvatāra: With the Commentary Pañjikā of Prajñākaramati*. Ed. by P. L. Vaidya. 1988. Buddhist Sanskrit Texts no. 12. Darbhanga, India: Mithila Institute of Post Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning.
- Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra*. See T. Skorupski 1983.

Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha. 1987. Ed. by L. Chandra. Śatapiṭaka Series no. 269a: Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Śāśvatavajra. *Bāhyapūjāvidhi*. See L. Finot 1934, pp. 52–53.

———. *Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi*. See L. Finot 1934, pp. 56–58.

———. *Hastapūjāvidhi*. See L. Finot 1934, pp. 54–56.

———. **Mantrapāṭha*. See L. Finot 1934, pp. 53–54.

**Siddha-Āmnāya*. 1990. In *Dhīḥ* 10. Review of Rare Buddhist Texts. Sarnath, Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies. pp. 8–13. See also G. Tucci 1971.

Siddhayogēśvarīmata. See J. Törzsök. 1999.

Somadeva. See 1994. *Tales from the Kathāsaritsāgara*.

Swacchandatantra. 1921–1935. Ed. by and with notes by Pandit Mahdusudan Kaul Shāstrī. *The Swacchanda-tantra, with Commentary by Kshemaraja*. Kāśmīrasamskrtagrānthāvaliḥ grānthāṅkah 31. Bombay: Nirayāsagar Press.

Tathāgataraḥṣita. *Yoginisaṃcāranibandha (Saṃcāratantrapāñjikā)*. NAK ms. 5–22/vi.

Trikāyavajrayoginyah Piṇḍārthastutiḥ (GSS26). 1986. In *Dhīḥ* 2. Review of Rare Buddhist Texts. Sarnath, Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies. pp. 4–5.

Vajragarbha. *Hevajratattvapraḥśapiṇḍārtho nāma Hevajrapāñjikā*. Kaiser ms. 28 NGMPP reel C14/6 ff. 47v–48r.

Vajradākatantra. Tokyo UL, ms. 543.

Vajrayoginīpraṇāmaikaviṃśikā (GSS42). 1986. In *Dhīḥ* 1. Review of Rare Buddhist Texts. Sarnath, Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies. pp. 1–3.

Vārāhyabhyudayantra. 2001. Ed. by A. Sanderson. In “The *Vārāhyabhyudayantram*: Tibetan Translation with the Sanskrit Restored on the Basis of the *Abhidhānottaratantram*.” Identified in the Derge and Peking Kanjurs as ‘*Vārāhyabhibodhana*’ (*phag mo mñon par byan chub pa*). Oxford (unpublished).

Vasubandhu. 1987. *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*. Ed. by Svāmī Dvārikādāśaśāstrī. Varanasi: Bauddhabharati.

Vātsyāyanamuni. 1929. *Kāmasūtra*. Ed. by D. Shastri. The Kashi Sanskrit Series no. 29. Benares: Jai Krishna-das-Haridas Gupta.

Vibhūticandra. 1986. *Vajravilāsinīstotra* (GSS43). In *Dhīḥ* 1. Review of Rare Buddhist Texts. Sarnath, Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies. pp. 4–6.

Vijayavajra. *Indrabhūtikramena Vajrayoginīsādhana* (GSS35).

Vikramacarita. 1926. Ed. and trans. by F. Edgerton. *Vikrama's Adventures or The Thirty-Two Tales of the Throne*. 2 vols. Harvard Oriental Series nos. 26–27. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Vilāsavajra (I). *Nāmamantrārthāvalokini* commentary to *Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*. See Tribe 1994 and 1997.

Vilāsavajra (II). *Samkṣiptavajravārāhīsādhana* (GSS29).

Virūpa. *Pinḍārthāḥ Śoḍaśaślokāḥ Trikāvajrayoginyāḥ* (GSS26).

———. *Trikāvajrayoginīsādhana* (GSS25).

———. *Trikāvajrayoginīstutiprañidhāna* (GSS27).

Yaśomitra. 1987. *Sputārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*. Ed. by Svāmī Dvārikādāśa-śāstrī. In “*Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*” by Vasubandhu. Varanasi: Bauddhabharati.

Yoginījālamahātantra. SOAS ms. 211643.

Yoginīsamcāratantra (with *Nibandha* of Tathāgatarakṣita and *Upadeśānusāriṇī-vyākhyā* of Alakakalāśa). 1998. Ed. by Janardan Shastri Pandey. Rare Buddhist Text Series 21. Sarnath and Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies.

– NAK 4–20 vi. *bauddhatantra* 66 = NGMPP A 48/5. [palmleaf ms. “A”].

– NAK 4–78 vi. *śaivatantra* 157 = NGMPP A 43/11 [palmleaf ms. “B”].

2. Tibetan Sources

Blama Zhang (g.Yu-bra-pa brTson-'grus Grags-pa). 1972. *mDzad-pa rNam-thar gyi skor*. Tashijong, H.P., India: The Sungrab Nyamso Gyunpel Parkhang.

(Bri-gung-pa) bsTan-'dzin-padma'i-rgyal-mtshan. 1985. *dPal 'khor lo sdom pa lhan skyes lha lnga'i rim pa dang po'i dmar khrid bka' brgyud gong ma'i zhal shes zin bris su bkod pa dril bu'i zhal lung*. In *The Collected Works (gSung 'bum)* of Nyin-rdzong Khri-pa dKon-mchog-don-grub-chos-dbang. Tsondu Senghe (publ.). Bir, H.P., India, pp. 673–812.

(Bri-gung-pa) dKon-mchog Ratna. n.d. *bCom ldan 'das dpal 'khor lo sdom pa lhan skyes lha lnga'i sgrub thabs don gnyis mchog stsol*, in *'Bri gung bka' brgyud kyi 'don chog skor: pod gsum pa*. Tsondu Senghe (publ.), Delhi, pp. 13–71.

(Bri-gung-pa) Rig-'dzin Chos-kyi-'grags-pa. 1999. *'Khor lo sdom pa lhan skyes lha lnga rga lo lugs kyi sgrub thabs don gnyis kyi 'dod 'jo*. In *Kun mkhyen rig pa 'dzin pa chen po chos kyi grags pa'i gsung 'bum*, Drikung Kagyu Institute. Dehra Dun, India. vol. ta, pp. 345–77.

bSod nams rgya mtsho, ed. 1956. *The Complete Works of the Great Masters of the Sa Skya Sect of the Tibetan Buddhism*. Tokyo: Tibetan Tripitaka Research Institute.

mKha' 'gro gsang ba kun 'dus kyi chos skor. A cycle of practice focusing upon Vajravaaraahi (*sic*) first revealed by Jo-mo Sman-mo and later rediscovered by the famed 'Jam-dbyangs Mkhjen-brtse'i-dbang po. With liturgical texts by 'Jam-mgon Kong-sprul Bl-gros-mtha'-yas, Rdzong-sar Mkyhen-brtse 'Jam-dbyangs-chos-kyi-blo-gros, Dil-mgo Mkhjen-brtse Rab-gsal-zla-ba and others. Reproduced at the order of Dil-mgo Mkhjen-brtse Rin-po-che from prints from the Rdzong-sar Bkra-shis-lha-rtse blocks. Published April 1976 by Gonpo Tseten Lama, Palace Monastery, Gangtok, Sikkim, India. Ballimaran, Delhi: Jayyed Press.

Mi bskyod rdo rje (Eighth Karma-pa). 1974. *rJe dus gsum mkhyen pa'i thugs dam lnga tshan lnga las bde mchog lha lnga'i mngon par rtogs pa*, in *bKa' brgyud sngags mdzod: A Treasury of Precious Teachings of the Mar-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa Tradition*. Reproduced from a set of the *dPal-spungs* prints. Vol. 6. Sungrab. Nyamso Gyunphel Parkhang. ff. 1–28.

Rig 'dzin Chos kyi grags pa. 1999. *rJe btsun rdo rje rnal 'byor ma'i sgrub thabs mchod phreng dbang bzhi rdzogs su bskur ba thar pa dam pa'i gru 'dzings*, in *Kun mkhyen rig pa 'dzin pa chen po chos kyi grags pa'i gsung 'bum*. Dehra Dun, India: Drikung Kagyu Institute, vol. ta.

sGam po pa bSod nams rin chen. 1974. *Selected Writings of sGam-po-pa: The Gemur Manuscript*. Dolanji, H.P., India: The Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Centre.

3. Other Sources

Abé, Ryūichi. 1999. *The Weaving of Mantra: Kūkai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Discourse*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Allen, Michael. 1975. *The Cult of Kumari: Virgin Worship in Nepal*. Delhi: Siddhartha Press.

Allione, Tsultrim. 1984. *Women of Wisdom*. London, Boston, Melbourne and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Bautze-Picron, Claudine. 1994. "Le sādhanā, ce 'bizarre genre littéraire.'" In *Genres littéraires en Inde*. Ed. by Nalini Balbir. Paris: Presses de la Sorbonne Nouvelle.

———. 2000. "Between Śākyamuni and Vairocana: Mārīcī, Goddess of Light and Victory." *Silk Road and Archaeology* 7: 263–310.

Beer, Robert. 1999. *The Encyclopedia of Tibetan Symbols and Motifs*. London: Serindia Publications.

- Benard, Elisabeth Anne. 1994. *Chinnamastā: The Aweful Buddhist and Hindu Tantric Goddess*. Buddhist Traditions no. 22. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Bendall, Cecil. 1883. *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge: With Introductory Notices and Illustrations of the Palaeography and Chronology of Nepal and Bengal*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bentor, Yael. 1996. *Consecration of Images and Stūpas in Indo-Tibetan Tantric Buddhism*. Brill's Indological Library vol. 11. Leiden, New York, Köln: E. J. Brill.
- Beyer, Stephan V. 1978. *The Cult of Tārā: Magic and Ritual in Tibet*. Hermeneutics, Studies in The History of Religions no. 1. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bhattacharyya, Benoytosh. 1924 (reprint 1985). *The Indian Buddhist Iconography: Based on the "Sādhnamālā" and Cognate Tantric Texts of Rituals*. New Delhi: Cosmo Publications.
- , ed. 1925 and 1928. *Sādhnamālā*. Gaekwad's Oriental Series nos. 26 and 41. Baroda, India: Oriental Institute.
- . 1929. *Two Vajrayāna Works*. Gaekwad's Oriental Series no. 44. Baroda, India: Oriental Institute.
- , ed. 1931. *Guhyasamājatantra*. Gaekwad's Oriental Series no. 53. Baroda, India: Oriental Institute.
- . 1933. "Notes on the *Guhyasamājatantra* and the Age of the Tantras." *Indian Historical Quarterly* 9: 1–10.
- . 1932 (reprint 1964). *An Introduction to Buddhist Esotericism*. Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office.
- , ed. 1972. *Niṣpannayogāvalī of Mahāpāṇḍita Abhayākara Gupta*. Gaekwad's Oriental Series no. 109. Baroda, India: Oriental Institute.
- Bhattacharyya, Narendra Nath. 1974. *History of the Śākta Religion*. Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers.
- Bongo Butten no Kenkyū. See K. Tsukamoto et al. 1989.
- Boord, Martin J. 1993. *The Cult of the Deity Vajrakīla*. Buddhica Britannica Series Continua IV. Tring: The Institute of Buddhist Studies.
- . 1994. Chapter 1 in *Sacred Place*. Ed. by Jean Holm and John W. Bowker. Themes in Religious Studies Series. London: Pinter.
- Bose, Mandakranta. 1970. *Classical Indian Dancing: A Glossary*. Calcutta: General Printers and Publishers.
- Bose, Phanindra Nath. 1923. *Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities*. Adyar, India: Theosophical Publishing House.

- Brauen, Martin. 1994. "Why Not Translate into Pictures?" In *Tibetan Studies I*. Ed. by Per Kvaerne. Proceedings of the Sixth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, 1992. Oslo: The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture.
- . 1997. *The Mandala: Sacred Circle in Tibetan Buddhism*. London: Serindia Publications.
- Brooks, Douglas Renfrew. 1992. *Auspicious Wisdom: The Texts and Traditions of Śrīvidyā Śākta Tantrism in South India*. SUNY Series in Tantric Studies. Albany NY: State University of New York Press.
- Brunner-Lachaux, Hélène. 1963. *Somaśambhupaddhati*. Publications de l'Institut français d'indologie no. 25. Pondichéry: Institut français d'indologie.
- bSod nams rgya mtsho and Musashi Tachikawa. 1989. *Ngor Mandalas of Tibet: Plates*. In *Bibliotheca Codicum Asiaticorum* 2. Tokyo: The Centre for Far Eastern Cultural Studies.
- bSod nams rgya mtsho, revised by Musashi Tachikawa, Shunzon Onoda, Keiya Noguchi, and Kimiaki Tanaka. 1991. *The Ngor Mandalas of Tibet: Listings of the Mandala Deities*. *Bibliotheca Codicum Asiaticorum* 4. Tokyo: Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies.
- Bühnemann, Gudrun. 1992. "Some Remarks on the Date of Abhayākaragupta and the Chronology of His Works." *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 142: 120–27.
- . 1994. "**Sādhanaśataka*" and "*Sādhanaśatapañcaśikā*": *Two Buddhist Sādhana Collections in Sanskrit Manuscript*. *Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde* Heft 32. Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien.
- . 2000a. *The Iconography of Hindu Tantric Deities: The Pantheon of the Mantramahodadhi*. *Gonda Indological Studies* 9. Groningen: Egbert Forsten.
- . 2000b. "The Six Rites of Magic." In *Tantra in Practice*. Ed. by David Gordon White. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- . Forthcoming (2003). *Buddhist Deities of Nepal: Iconography in Two Sketchbooks*. Lumbini, Nepal: Lumbini International Research Institute.
- Bunce, Fredrick W. 1994. *Encyclopaedia of Buddhist Deities: Demigods, Godlings, Saints and Demons*. *Emerging Perceptions in Buddhist Studies* nos. 1–2. Delhi: D. K. Printworld.
- Campbell, June. 1996. *Traveller in Space: In Search of Female Identity in Tibetan Buddhism*. London: The Athlone Press.
- Chandra, Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra, eds. 1961–72. *A New Tibeto-Mongol*

- Pantheon*. Śatapiṭaka Series no. 21. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture.
- , ed. 1986. *Buddhist Iconography of Tibet*. 2 vols. Kyoto: Rinsen Book Co.
- , ed. 1987. *Buddhist Iconography*. 2 vols. New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan.
- , ed. 1987. *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*. Śatapiṭaka Series no. 269a. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture.
- Changchub, Gyalwa and Namkhai Nyingpo. 1999. *Lady of the Lotus-Born: The Life and Enlightenment of Yeshe Tsogyal*. Trans. by the Padmakara Translation Group. Boulder CO and London: Shambhala Publications.
- Chattopadhyaya, Debiprasad, ed. and trans. 1970 (reprt. 1990). *History of Buddhism in India by Tāranātha*. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Christian Deydier Oriental Bronzes Ltd. 1997. *Arts de la Chine et de l'Himalaya C14th–C15th*. Christian Deydier Oriental Bronzes Ltd. Catalogue Paris 21 Feb.–29 Mar. 1991. Paris: Oriental Bronzes Ltd.
- Cicuzza, Claudio. 2001. *The Laghutantraṭikā of Vajrapani: A Critical Edition of the Sanskrit Text*. Serie Orientale Roma 86. Roma: Istituto per l'Africa e l'Oriente.
- Cicuzza, Claudio and Francesco Sfera. 1997. "Brief Notes on the Beginning of the Kālacakra Literature." In *Dhīḥ* 23. Review of Rare Buddhist Texts. Sarnath, Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, pp. 113–26.
- Cozort, Daniel. 1986. *Highest Yoga Tantra*. Ithaca, New York: Snow Lion.
- Crosby, Kate and Andrew Skilton, trans. 1995. "*The Bodhicaryāvatāra*" by Śāntideva. The World's Classics. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Danielou, Alain. 1963. *Hindu Polythesim*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Dantinne, Jean. 1991. *Les Qualités de l'ascète (dhutaḡaṇa): étude sémantique et doctrinale*. Bruxelles: Thanh-Long.
- Dasgupta, Shashi Bhushan. 1946. *Obscure Religious Cults As Background of Bengali Literature*. Calcutta: University of Calcutta.
- . 1958 (reprint 1974. Berkeley: Shambhala Publications). *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*. Calcutta: University of Calcutta.
- Davidson, Ronald M. 1991. "Reflections on the Maheśvara Subjugation Myth. Indic Materials, Sa-skyapa Apologetics, and the Birth of Heruka." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 14 (2): 197–235.
- . 1992. "Preliminary Studies on Hevajra's *Abhisamaya*." In *Tibetan Buddhism: Reason and Revelation*. Ed. by Steven D. Goodman and Ronald M. Davidson. SUNY Series in Buddhist Studies. Albany NY: State University of New York Press.

- . 2002. "Reframing *Sahaja*: Genre, Representation, Ritual and Lineage." *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 30: 45–83.
- Davies, Richard H. 1992. "Becoming a Śiva, and Acting As One, in Śaiva Worship." In *Ritual and Speculation in Early Tantrism: Studies in Honour of André Padoux*. Ed. by Teun Goudriaan. SUNY Series in Tantric Studies, Albany NY: State University of New York Press.
- Dawa-Samdup, Kazi, ed. 1919. *Śrī-Cakrasaṃvara-Tantra: A Buddhist Tantra*. Tantrik Texts, vol. 7. New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan. [Actually an edition of a Cakrasaṃvara Sādhana.]
- Dayal, Har. 1932. *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*. London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner.
- Dhargyey, Geshe Ngawang. 1992. *Vajrayogini Sadhana and Commentary* given Summer 1982 in Seattle, Washington. Translated by Alan Wallace. New Delhi: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives.
- Donaldson, Thomas Eugene. 1988. "An Oḍḍiyāna Mārīcī Image from Orissa." *Oriental Art (New Series)* 34 (3): 213–17, 6 figs.
- . 1995. "Orissan Images of Vārāhī, Oḍḍiyāna Mārīcī, and Related Sow-Faced Goddesses." *Artibus Asiae* 55 (1/2): 155–82, 20 figs.
- Doniger O'Flaherty, Wendy. 1973. *Asceticism and Eroticism in the Mythology of Siva*. London and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Doniger, Wendy with Brian K. Smith, trans. 1991. *The Laws of Manu*. London: Penguin.
- Dowman, Keith. 1984. *Sky Dancer: The Secret Life and Songs of the Lady Yeshe Tso-gyel*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- . 1985. *Masters of the Mahāmudrā: Songs and Histories of the Eighty-Four Buddhist Siddhas*. SUNY Series in Buddhist Studies, Albany NY: State University of New York Press.
- Dreyfus, Georges B. J. "The Shuk-den Affair: History and Nature of a Quarrel." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 21 (2): 227–70.
- Dudjom, Rinpoche. 1991. *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism: Its Fundamentals and History*, vol 1. Trans. by Gyurme Dorje and Matthew Kapstein. Boston: Wisdom Publications.
- Dutt, Sukumar. 1962. *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India: Their History and Their Contribution to Indian Culture*. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Dvivedi, Vrajavallabha, ed. 1968. *Nityāśoḍaśikāṛṇava* (with two commentaries by Śivānanda and Vidyānanda). Yogatantragranthamālā Series no. 1. Varanasi: Research Institute Varanaseye Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya.

- . 1992. "Having Become a God, He Should Sacrifice to the Gods." In *Ritual and Speculation in Early Tantrism: Studies in Honour of André Padoux*. Ed. by Teun Goudriaan. SUNY Series in Tantric Studies, Albany NY: State University of New York Press.
- Dyczkowski, Mark S. G. 1988. *The Canon of the Śaivāgama and the Kujjikā Tantras of the Western Kaula Tradition*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Edgerton, Franklin. 1953 (reprint 1985, 2 vols. Kyoto: Rinsen Book Co.). *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*. William Dwight Whitney Linguistic Series. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- , ed. and trans. 1926. *Vikrama's Adventures or The Thirty-two Tales of the Throne (Vikramacarita/Siṃhāsānadvatrimśaka)*. 2 vols. Harvard Oriental Series nos. 26–27. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.
- Finot, Louis. 1934. "Manuscripts Sanskrits de Sādhana's retrouvés en Chine." *Journal Asiatique*, Juillet–Septembre: 1–85. Part 1 *Hevajrasekaprakriyā*. Part 2 **Vidhisamgraha*. [*Vidhisamgraha* is Finot's title for: *Śmaśānavidhi* by Lūyipāda; *Bāhyapūjāvidhi*, **Mantrapāṭha* (Finot's title for the mantra portion of the *Bāhyapūjā*), *Hastapūjāvidhi*, and *Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi* by Śāśvatavajra; *Vajravārāhīsādhana* (= GSS3); *Sekakriyākrama* (incomplete).]
- Gellner, David N. 1992. *Monk, Householder, and Tantric Priest: Newar Buddhism and Its Hierarchy of Ritual*. Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology no. 84. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Germano, David and Janet Gyatso. 2000. "Longchenpa and the Possession of the Dākinis." In *Tantra in Practice*. Ed. by David Gordon White. Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Germano, David. 1994. *Architecture and Absence in the Secret Tantric History of the Great Perfection (rdzogs chen)*. *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 17 (1): 203–335
- Gethin, R. M. L. 2001. *The Buddhist Path to Awakening*. Oxford: Oneworld Publications.
- Gómez, Luis O. and Jonathan A. Silk, eds. 1989. *Studies in the Literature of the Great Vehicle: Three Mahāyāna Buddhist Texts*. Michigan Studies in Buddhist Literature. Ann Arbor: Collegiate Institute for the Study of Buddhist Literature and Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan.
- Goodall, Dominic, ed. 1998. *Bhaṭṭa Rāmakāṇṭha's Commentary on the Kiraṇatantra; Critical Edition and Annotated Translation*. Publications du Département d'indologie 86/1. Pondichéry: Institut français de Pondichéry, École française d'Extrême-Orient.
- Goudriaan, Teun and Sanjukta Gupta. 1981. *Hindu Tantric and Śākta Literature*.

- A History of Indian Literature. Orange Series, ed. by J. Gonda. Vol. 2, fasc. 2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Goudriaan, Teun, ed. 1992. *Ritual and Speculation in Early Tantrism: Studies in Honour of André Padoux*. SUNY Series in Tantric Studies. Albany NY: State University of New York Press.
- Griffiths, Paul J. 1986. *On Being Mindless: Buddhist Meditation and the Mind-Body Problem*. La Salle IL: Open Court.
- Griffiths, Paul J. and Noriaki Hakamaya. 1989. *The Realm of Awakening: A Translation and Study of the Tenth Chapter of Asaṅga's "Mahāyānaśāṅgraha"*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gross, Rita M. 1989. "Yeshe Tsogyel: Enlightened Consort, Great Teacher, Female Role Model." In *Feminine Ground: Essays on Women in Tibet*. Ed. by J. Willis. Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications.
- . 1993. *Buddhism after Patriarchy: A Feminist History, Analysis, and Reconstruction of Buddhism*. Albany NY: State University of New York Press.
- Gtsan-smyon He-ru-ka. 1995. *The Life of Marpa the Translator: Seeing Accomplishes All*. Trans. by Nalanda Translation Committee. Boston: Shambhala Publications.
- Guenther, Herbert V. 1963. *The Life and Teaching of Nāropa: Translated from the Original Tibetan with a Philosophical Commentary Based on the Oral Transmission*. Oxford: Shambhala Publications.
- Gupta, Sanjukta. 1992. "Yoga and Antaryāga in Pāncarātra." In *Ritual and Speculation in Early Tantrism: Studies in Honour of André Padoux*. Ed. by T. Goudriaan. SUNY Series in Tantric Studies. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- . 2000. "Worship of Kālī." In *Tantra in Practice*. Ed. by David Gordon White. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Gyatso, Geshe Kelsang. 1999 (reprint of 1991). *Guide to Dakini Land: A Commentary to the Highest Yoga Tantra Practice of Vajrayoginī*. London: Tharpa Publications.
- . 1997. *Essence of Vajrayana*. London: Tharpa Publications.
- Gyatso, Janet. 1998. *Apparitions of the Self: The Secret Autobiographies of a Tibetan Visionary*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Gyatso, Tenzin, H. H. Fourteenth Dalai Lama, and Jeffrey Hopkins, trans. and ed. 1985. *The Kālachakra Tantra: Rite of Initiation*. London: Wisdom Publications.
- Hazra, Kanai Lal. 1983. *Buddhism in India As Described by the Chinese Pilgrims C.E. 399–699*. New Delhi: Munshiram.

- Heilijgers-Seelen, Dory. 1994. *The System of Five Cakras in the "Kubjikāmata."* Groningen Oriental Studies no. 9. Groningen, The Netherlands: Egbert Forsten.
- Herrmann, Adelheid. 1983. *Untersuchungen zur Religionsgeschichte und Mythologie der Dakinis im indotibetischen Raum.* Magisterarbeit vorgelegt der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Bonn: Unpublished.
- Herrmann-Pfandt, Adelheid. 1992 (reprint 2001: Marburg). *Dākinīs: Zur Stellung und Symbolik des Weiblichen im Tantrischen Buddhismus.* Indica et Tibetica. Bonn: Indica et Tibetica Verlag.
- . 1997. "Yab Yum Iconography and the Role of Women in Tibetan Tantric Buddhism." *Tibet Journal* 22 (1) (spring): 12–34.
- Hiltebeitel, Alf, ed. 1989. *Criminal Gods and Demon Devotees: Essays on the Guardians of Popular Hinduism.* Albany NY: State University of New York Press.
- Hodge, Stephen. 1994. "Considerations on the Dating and Geographical Origins of the *Mahāvairocanaḥśambodhi-sūtra*." *The Buddhist Forum III*. Ed. by T. Skorupski and U. Pagel. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
- Hopkins, Jeffrey, ed. and trans. 1977 (reprint 1987. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass). *Tantra in Tibet: The Great Exposition of Secret Mantra* (vol.1), and *The Yoga of Tibet: The Great Exposition of Secret Mantra* (vols. 2 and 3) by Tsong-kha-pa. With an introduction by H. H. Tenzin Gyatso, Fourteenth Dalai Lama. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Huber, Toni. 1999. *The Cult of Pure Crystal Mountain: Popular Pilgrimage and Visionary Landscape in South East Tibet.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Huntingdon, John C. 1975. *The Phur-Pa: Tibetan Ritual Daggers.* Artibus Asiae Supplementum no. 33. Switzerland: Artibus Asiae Publishers.
- Huntingdon, Susan L. 1984. *The "Pāla-Sena" Schools of Sculpture.* Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Isaacson, Harunaga. 1996a. "The *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra*: Chapters 9–13." Seminar Series in Michaelmas Term at Oriental Institute, University of Oxford. (Unpublished.)
- . 1996b. "Unpublished Notes Towards an Edition of the *Hevajrasekaprakriyā*." Based on Seminar Series in Hilary Term at Oriental Institute, University of Oxford. (Unpublished.)
- . 1997. "*Bhramaharanāma Hevajrasādhana* by Ratnākaraśānti: Working Edition with Notes." Based on Seminar Series in Michaelmas Term at Oriental Institute, University of Oxford. (Unpublished.)

- . 1998. "Tantric Buddhism in India (from ca. A.D. 800 to ca. A.D. 1200)." *Buddhismus in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Band II*, pp. 24–49. Universität Hamburg. (Unpublished.)
- . 1999. "The Classification of Practice into Utpattikrama and Utpannakrama in the Higher Buddhist Tantric Systems." Paper presented in Hilary Term at Oriental Institute, University of Oxford. (Unpublished.)
- . 2001. "Ratnākaraśānti's *Hevajrasahasadyoga* (*Studies in Ratnākaraśānti's Tantric Works I*)." In *Le Parole e i Marmi: Studi in Onore di Raniero Gnoli Nel Suo 70° Compleanno*. Ed. by Raffaele Torella et al. Roma: Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente.
- Iyanaga, Nobumi. 1985. "Recits de la soumission de Maheśvara par Trailokyavijaya – d'après les sources chinoises et japonaises (Notes autour de Maheśvara-Śiva dans le Bouddhisme. I)." In *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R.A. Stein*. Ed. by Michel Strickmann, Bruxelles: Institut belge des hautes études chinoises. 3: 633–745.
- Jackson, David Paul. 1994. *Enlightenment by a Single Means: Tibetan Controversies on the "Self-Sufficient White Remedy" (dkar po chig thub)*. Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens no. 12. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Johnston, E. H. 1936 (reprint 1984). *The Buddhacarita: Or Acts of the Buddha*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Kalff, Martin. 1979. *Selected Chapters from the Abhidhānottaratantra: The Union of Female and Male Deities*. 2 vols. Doctoral thesis, Columbia University. Ann Arbor MI, University Microfilms International, 1993.
- Kane, Pandurang Vaman. 1941. *History of Dharmasāstra: Comprehensive Guide to Hindu Rites and Rituals*. Government Oriental Series Class-B no. 6, vol. 2. Poona, India: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
- Kapstein, Matthew. 1995. "Weaving the World: The Ritual Art of the *Paṭa* in Pāla Buddhism and its Legacy in Tibet." *History of Religions* 34 (3): 241–62
- Khanna, Madhu. 1986. "The Concept and Liturgy of the Śrīcakra Based on Śivānanda's Trilogy." Doctoral thesis, Faculty of Oriental Studies. University of Oxford.
- Khyentse, Dilgo. 1988. *The Wish-fulfilling Jewel: The Practice of Guru Yoga According to the Longchen Nyinthig Tradition*. Trans. by Konchog Tenzin. Boston: Shambhala Publications.
- Kinsley, David. 1997. *Tantric Visions of the Divine Feminine: The Ten Mahāvidyās*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.

- Klein, Anne C. 1995. "The Great Bliss Queen." In *Buddhism in Practice*. Ed. by Donald S. Lopez. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press.
- . 1995i. *Meeting the Great Bliss Queen: Buddhists, Feminists, and the Art of Self*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Klimburg-Salter, Deborah, ed. 1982. *The Silk Route and the Diamond Path: Esoteric Buddhist Art on the Trade Routes of the Trans-Himalayan Region*. Los Angeles: UCLA Art Council Press.
- Kloppenborg, Ria, and Ronald Poelmeyer. 1987. "Visualizations in Buddhist Meditation." In *Effigies Dei: Essays on the History of Religions*. Ed. by Dirk Van Der Plas. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Kongtrul, Jamgon. 1977. *The Torch of Certainty*. Trans. by Judith Hanson. Boulder & London: Shambhala.
- Kossak, Steven M., and Jane Casey Singer. 1999. *Sacred Visions: Early Paintings from Central Tibet*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Kothari, Komal. 1989. "Performers, Gods, and Heroes in the Oral Epics of Rajasthan." In *Oral Epics in India*. Ed. by Stuart H. Blackburn et al. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Kreijger, Hugo E. 1999. *Kathmandu Valley Painting: The Jucker Collection*. London: Serindia Publications.
- Kvaerne, Per. 1975. "On the Concept of *Sahaja* in Indian Buddhist Tantric Literature." *Temenos* 13: 88–135.
- . 1977. *An Anthology of Buddhist Tantric Songs: A Study of the Caryāgiti*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget. Irvington-on-Hudson, NY: Columbia University Press.
- , ed. 1994. *Tibetan Studies* 1. Proceedings of the Sixth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, 1992. Oslo: The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture.
- La Vallée Poussin, Louis de. 1896. *Pañcakrama. Études et Textes Tantriques*. Recueil de Travaux publiés par la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, 16. Gand, Louvain: H. Engelcke, J. B. Ista.
- Leidy, Denise Patry and Robert A. F. Thurman. 1998. *Mandala: The Architecture of Enlightenment*. London: Thames and Hudson in association with Asia Society Galleries and Tibet House.
- Lessing, Ferdinand D. and Alex Wayman, trans. 1978 (reprint 1993). "Introduction to the Buddhist Tantric Systems" by *mKhas-grub-rje*. Buddhist Tradition Series. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

- Linrothe, Rob. 1999. *Ruthless Compassion: Wrathful Deities in Early Indo-Tibetan Esoteric Buddhist Art*. London: Serindia Publications
- Locke, John Kerr. 1980. *Karunamaya: The Cult of Avalokitesvara-Matsyendranath in the Valley of Nepal*. Kathmandu: Sahayogi Press.
- Lopez, Donald S., ed. 1995. *Buddhism in Practice*. Princeton Readings in Religions. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- . 1996. *Elaborations on Emptiness: Uses of the Heart Sūtra*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Mallik, Kalyani, ed. 1954. *Siddhasiddhāntapaddhati and Other Works of Nath Yogis*. Poona, India: Oriental Book House.
- Mallinson. 2002. *The Khecarīvidyā of Ādinātha: A Critical Edition and Annotated Translation*. Submitted for Doctoral Thesis in the Faculty of Oriental Studies. University of Oxford.
- Mallmann, Marie Thérèse de. 1975. *Introduction à l'Iconographie du Tāntrisme Bouddhique* 1. Paris: Bibliothèque du Centre de recherches sur l'Asie centrale et la Haute Asie.
- Marcotty, Thomas. 1987. *Dagger Blessing: The Tibetan Phurpa Cult: Reflections and Materials*. Delhi: BR Publishing Co.
- Matsunaga, Yukei. 1972. "Some Problems of the *Guhyasamāja-Tantra*." *Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture* 5: 109–19.
- , ed. 1978. *The Guhyasamāja Tantra*. Osaka: Toho Shuppan, Inc.
- Matsunami, Seiren. 1965. *A Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tokyo University Library*. Tokyo: Suzuki Research Institute.
- Mayer, Robert. 1996. *A Scripture of the Ancient Tantra Collection: "The Phur-pa bcu-gnyis"*. Oxford: Kiscadale Publications.
- . 1998. "The Figure of Maheśvara/Rudra in the rñiñ-ma-pa Tantric Tradition." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 21 (2): 271–310.
- Meiszahl, Richard O. 1967. *Die Göttin Vajravārāhī. Eine ikonographische Studie nach einem Sādhana-text von Advayavajra*. Sonderabdruck aus Oriens 18–19. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- . 1980. *Geist und Ikonographie des Vajrayāna Buddhismus*. Sankt Augustin, Germany: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag.
- . 1985. *Hastapūjāvidhi-Texte: Der Handritus im anuttarayogischen Kult des Götterpaares Cakrasambhara und Vajravārāhī*. Sankt Augustin, Germany: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag.
- Mimaki, Katsumi. 1992. "The intellectual sequence of Ratnākaraśānti, Jñānaśrī-

- mitra and Ratnakīri." *Asiatische Studien/Études Asiatiques* 46 (1) [= *Études Bouddhiques offertes à Jacques May*]: 297–303.
- . 1994. "Doxographie tibétaine et classifications indiennes." *Bouddhisme et culture locales: Quelques cas de réciproques adaptations*. Ed. by Fukui Fumimasa and Gérard Fussman. Actes du colloques franco-japonais de septembre 1991. Etudes Thématiques 2: 115–36. Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient.
- Mimaki, Katsumi and Toru Tomabechi, eds. 1994. *Pañcakrama: Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts with Verse Index and Facsimile Edition of the Sanskrit Manuscripts* (including *Piṇḍikramasādhana* and *Piṇḍikramaṭippaṇi*, and *Pañcakramaṭippaṇi* by Parahitarakṣita). Bibliotheca Codicum Asiaticorum no. 8. Tokyo: The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies for Unesco.
- Mishra, Ramprasad. 1995. *Advayasiddhi: The Tantric View of Lakṣmīṅkarā*. Delhi: Kant Publications.
- Misra, B. N. 1998. *Nālandā*. (Celebrating Silver Jubilee). Vol. 1 (Sources and Background), vol. 2 (Art), vol. 3 (Iconography and Architecture). Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation.
- Mitra, Mallar. 1991. "Images of Mārīcī Found in the Museums of Calcutta." *Studies in Archaeology*. pp. 343–54, plates 43–50.
- . 1999. "Goddess Vajravārāhi: An Iconographical Study." In *Tantric Buddhism: Centennial Tribute to Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya*. Ed. by N. N. Bhattacharyya and A. Ghosh. pp. 102–29. New Delhi: Manohar.
- mKhas grub rje. 1978 (reprint 1993). *Introduction to the Buddhist Tantric Systems*. Trans. by Ferdinand D. Lessing and Alex Wayman. Buddhist Tradition Series. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Monier-Williams, Monier F. 1899. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. Delhi: Longmans, Green.
- Mullick, C. C. 1991. *Nalanda Sculptures: Their Bearing on Indonesian Sculptures*. Delhi: Pratibha Prakashan.
- Mullin, Glenn H. 1996. *Tsongkhapa's Six Yogas of Naropa*. Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications.
- Nathan, Leonard, trans. 1976. *The Transport of Love: The Meghadūta of Kālidāsa*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Newman, John R. 1991. "Brief History of the Kalacakra." In *The Wheel of Time: Kalachakra in Context*. Geshe Lhundub Sopa et al. Ed. by Beth Lee Simon. Ithaca, New York: Snow Lion Publications.
- . 1998. "The Epoch of the Kālacakra Tantra." *Indo-Iranian Journal* 41: 319–49.

- Nihom, Max. 1992. "The Goddess with the Severed Head: A Recension of Sādhnamālā 232, 234 and 238 attributed to the Siddhācārya Virūpā." In *Ritual, State and History in South Asia: Essays in Honour of J.C. Heesterman*, ed. by A. W. van den Hoek, D.H.A. Kolff, and M.S. Oort. Memoirs of the Kern Institute no. 5. Leiden and New York: E. J. Brill.
- . 1995. "On the Attraction of Women and Tantric Initiation: Tilottamā and Hevajratāntra II.v.v.38–47 and I.vii.8–9." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 3: 521–31.
- Norman, K. R., trans. 1985. *The Rhinoceros Horn*. London: Pali Text Society.
- Olschak, Blanche Christine. 1973. *Mystic Art of Ancient Tibet*. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Onians, Isabelle. 2002. *Tantric Buddhist Apologetics or Antinomianism As a Norm*. Doctoral thesis, Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Oxford.
- Orofino, Giacomella (with Raniero Gnoli). 1994. *Sekoddeśa: A Critical Edition of the Tibetan Translations*. Serie orientale Roma 72. Roma: Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.
- Padoux, André. 1977. "Un Terme Technique du Mantrasāstra: Vidarbha." *Journal Asiatique* nos. 265–66, pp. 345–49.
- Pal, Pratapaditya. 1969. *Art of Tibet*. Catalog of an exhibition. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. The Asia Society USA: Asia House Gallery Publication.
- . 1974. *The Arts of Nepal*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- . 1975a. *Bronzes of Kashmir*. Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt.
- . 1975b. *Nepal: Where The Gods Are Young*. Catalog of an exhibition shown in Asia House Gallery in the fall of 1975, with Asia House Gallery, New York City, Seattle Art Museum, and Los Angeles County Museum of Art: Asia House Gallery Publication.
- . 1981. *Hindu Religion and Iconography According to the Tantrasāra*. The Tantric Tradition. Los Angeles: Vichitra Press.
- . 1983. *Art of Tibet*. Catalog of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Los Angeles: The Museum, in association with University of California Press.
- . 2001. *Desire and Devotion: Art from India, Nepal and Tibet in the John and Berthe Ford Collection*. London: Philip Wilson.
- Patrul Rinpoche. 1994. *Words of My Perfect Teacher*. Trans. by the Padmakara Translation Group. The Sacred Literature Series. Walnut Creek CA: Altamira Press.

- Patry, Denise, and Robert A. F. Thurman. 1977. *Mandala: The Architecture of Enlightenment*. London: Thames and Hudson in association with Asia Society Galleries and Tibet House.
- Piotrovsky, Mikail Borisovich, ed., 1993. *Lost Empire of the Silk Road: Buddhist Art from Khara Khoto X–XIIIth Century*. Milan: Electa & Thyssen-Bornemisza Foundation.
- Pruden, Leo M., trans. 1991. *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam* by Louis de La Vallée Poussin. 4 vols. Berkeley CA: Asian Humanities Press.
- Rahula, Walpola. 1978. *Zen and the Taming of the Bull: Towards the Definition of Buddhist Thought*. London: G. Fraser.
- Rawson, Philip. 1973 (reprint 1993). *The Art of Tantra*. World of Art. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Ray, Nihar Ranjan, Karl Khandalavala, and Sadashiv Gorakshkar. 1986. *Eastern Indian Bronzes*. New Delhi: Lalit Kalā Akademi.
- Reedy, Chandra L. 1997. *Himalayan Bronzes: Technology, Style, and Choices*. Newark: University of Delaware Press.
- Rhie, Marylin M., and Robert A. F. Thurman. 1991. *Wisdom and Compassion: The Sacred Art of Tibet*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Ricca, Franco, and Erberto Lo Bue. 1993. *The Great Stupa of Gyantse: A Complete Tibetan Pantheon of the Fifteenth Century*. London: Serindia Publications.
- Roberts, Peter Alan. 2000. *The Biographies of Ras-chung-pa: The Evolution of a Tibetan Hagiography*. Doctoral thesis, Faculty of Oriental Studies. University of Oxford.
- Robinson, James B., trans. 1979. *Buddha's Lions: The Lives of the Eighty-Four Siddhas* by Abhayadatta. Tibetan Translation Series. Berkeley CA: Dharma Publishing.
- Roerich, George N., trans. 1949–53 (reprint 1995. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass). *The Blue Annals* by 'Gos Lotsawa. Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- Rossi, Anna Maria and Fabio Rossi. 1993. *Tibetan Painted Mandalas* with introduction by Jane Casey Singer. London: Anna Maria Rossi & Fabio Rossi Publications.
- . 2002. *Symbols of Buddhism: Sculpture and Painting from India and the Himalayas*. Catalogue to an exhibition at Dickinson Roundell Inc., 19 East 66th Street, New York. 18th–16th March 2002. London: Anna Maria Rossi & Fabio Rossi Publications.
- Samtani, Narayan Hemandas, ed. 1971. "Arthaviniścayasūtra" with "Nibandhana"

by *Viryaśrīdatta*. Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series 13. Patna: K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute.

Samuel, Geoffrey. 1993. *Civilized Shamans: Buddhism in Tibetan Societies*. Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Sanderson, Alexis. 1985. "Purity and Power among the Brahmins of Kashmir." In *The Category of the Person*. Ed. by Michael Carrithers, Steven Collins and Steven Lukes. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 1986. "Maṇḍala and Āgamic Identity in the Trika of Kashmir." In *Mantras et Diagrammes Rituels dans l'Hindouisme*. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Équipe de recherche no. 249, 21–22 juin 1984.

———. 1988. "Śaivism and the Tantric Traditions." In *The World's Religions*, ed. by Peter Clarke and Stewart R. Sutherland. London: Routledge.

———. 1993. "The Dependence of the Herukatantras on the Śaiva Tantras of the Vidyāpīṭha." Lecture Series in Trinity Term, All Souls College, University of Oxford. (Unpublished).

———. 1994a. "Advayavajra's *Saptākṣarasādhana* (SM251), Edition and Translation with Commentary." (Unpublished).

———. 1994b. "Vajrayāna: Origin and Function." In *Buddhism into the Year 2000: International Conference Proceedings*. Bangkok and Los Angeles: Dhammakaya Foundation.

———. 1995. "Pious Plagiarism: Evidence of the Dependence of the Buddhist Yoginītantras on Śaiva Scriptural Sources." Lecture given in Leiden, April 11. (Unpublished).

———, ed. 2001a. "The *Vārāhyabhyudāyatantram*: Tibetan Translation with the Sanskrit Restored on the Basis of the *Abhidhānottaratantram*." Oxford (unpublished).

———. 2001b. "History Through Textual Criticism in the Study of Śaivism, the Pañcarātra and the Buddhist Yoginītantras." In *Les Sources et le Temps*. Ed. by Françoise Grimal. From "Sources and Time. A Colloquium." Pondicherry, 11–13 January 1997: École française d'Extrême Orient. Institut française de Pondichéry, École française d'Extrême Orient: Publications du Département d'Indologie, 91.

———. forthcoming. "Edition and Commentary on the *Tantrasāra* by Abhinavagupta." Based on Lecture Series, All Souls College, University of Oxford, 1996–97.

Schumann, Hans Wolfgang. 1986. *Buddhistische Bilderwelt: Ein ikonographisches Handbuch des Mahāyāna und Tantrayāna Buddhismus*. Köln: Diederichs.

- Schopen, Gregory. 1977. "Sukhavati As a Generalized Religious Goal in Sanskrit Mahayana Sutra Literature." *Indo-Iranian Journal* 19: 177–210.
- Sferra, Francesco. 1999. "The Concept of Purification in Some Texts of Late Indian Buddhism." *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 27: 83–13.
- . 2000. *The "Śaḍaṅgayoga" by Anupamarakṣita with Raviśrījñāna's "Guṇa-bharaṇināmaśaḍaṅgayogaṭippaṇī."* Text and annotated translation. Roma: Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Orient.
- Shaw, Miranda Eberle. 1994. *Passionate Enlightenment: Women in Tantric Buddhism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Shendge, Malati J., ed. 1964. *Advayasiddhi: A Study*. Gaekwad's Oriental Series no. 8. Baroda, India: Oriental Institute.
- Simmer-Brown, Judith. 2001. *Dakini's Warm Breath: The Feminine Principle in Tibetan Buddhism*. Boston and London: Shambhala Publications.
- Sircar, Dineschandra. 1948. *The Śākta Piṭhas*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Sivaramamurti, C. 1974. *Naṭarāja in Art, Thought and Literature*. New Delhi: Thompson Press. Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India.
- Skilton, Andrew. 1994. *A Concise History of Buddhism*. Birmingham: Windhorse.
- Skorupski, Tadeusz. 1983. *The Sarvadurgatipariśodhana Tantra: Elimination of All Evil Destinies, Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts with Introduction, English Translation and Notes*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- . 1994. "The *Saṃpūṭatantra*, Sanskrit and Tibetan Versions of Chapter One." With "An Overview of the *Saṃpūṭatantra*." In *The Buddhist Forum* 4. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
- Slusser, Mary Shepherd. 1982. *Nepal Maṇḍala: A Cultural Study of the Kathmandu Valley*. 2 vols. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Smith, Gene. 1969. Preface in "*The Life of the Saint of Gtsaṅ*" by *Rgod-tshan-ras-pa Sna-tshogs-ran-grol*. Ed. by Lokesh Chandra. Śatapiṭaka Series no. 79. New Delhi: IAI. Reprint in Gene Smith. *Among Tibetan Texts: History and Literature of the Himalayan Plateau*. Ed. by Kurtis R. Schaeffer. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2001.
- Smith, John D. 1991. *The Epic of Pabu Ji: A Bhomiya*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Snellgrove, David L., ed. and trans. 1959. *The Hevajra Tantra: A Critical Study*. 2 vols. London Oriental Series no. 6. London: Oxford University Press.

- . 1987. *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism: Indian Buddhists and Their Tibetan Successors*. London: Serindia.
- Snodgrass, Adrian. 1985. *The Symbolism of the Stupa. Studies on Southeast Asia*. New York: South East Asia Program, Cornell University.
- Somadeva. 1994. *Tales from the Kathāsaritsāgara*. With a foreword by Wendy Doniger. New Delhi: Penguin Books.
- Sparham, Gareth. trans. 1999. *The Fulfillment of All Hopes: Guru Devotion in Tibetan Buddhism: A Commentary on Āśvaghoṣa's "Gurupañcāśikā" entitled "Bla ma lnga bcu pa'i rnam bshad slob ma'i re ba kun skong shes bya ba."* Boston: Wisdom Publications.
- Stark-Wild, Sonya. 1996. "Who is Reṇukā?" Lecture given in Hilary Term at Wolfson College, University of Oxford.
- Stearns, Cyrus. 1996. "The Life and Tibetan Legacy of the Indian *Mahāpañḍita* Vibhūticandra." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 19 (1): 127–71.
- Stein, Rolf Alfred. 1971–72, 1974–75 and 1976–77. "Résumé des Cours." Paris: *Annuaire du Collège de France*.
- . 1995. "La soumission de Rudra et autres contes tantriques." *Journal Asiatique* 283: 121–60.
- Tachikawa, Musashi, Masahide Mori, and Shinobu Yamaguchi. 1995. *Five Hundred Buddhist Deities*. Senri Ethnological Reports, vol. 2. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.
- Tanaka, Kimiaki. 1993. "The *Lokeśvarakalpa* and the *Yi-qie-fu she-xiang-ying da-jiao wang-jing sheng-guan-zi-zai pu-sa nian-song yi-gui*." *Bukkyo Bunka or Journal of Buddhist Culture* 27–30. Academic Series no. 7 (May). Tokyo: Young Buddhist Association of the University of Tokyo.
- . 1994. "Navarasa Theory in the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinijālasaṃvara-tantra* Reconsidered." *Tōhō* 10 (Dec. 1994): 323–31.
- . 1997. *Art of Thangka: A Catalogue of the Hahn Foundation for Museum*. Seoul: Hahn Foundation for Museum.
- Tanemura, Ryugen. "One Aspect of the Consecration Ceremony of Images in Buddhist Tantrism: "The Ten Rites" Prescribed in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* and Their Background." *Journal of the Japanese Association for South Asian Studies* 13: 52–75.
- Tāranātha. 1970 (reprint 1990). *History of Buddhism in India*. Ed. and trans. by Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

- Taring, Rinchen Dolma. 1970 (reprint 1978). *Daughter of Tibet*. New Delhi: Allied Publishers.
- Tatz, Mark. 1987. "The Life of the Siddha-Philosopher Maitrīgupta." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 107: 695–711.
- . 1989. Review of *Masters of Mahāmudrā: Songs and Histories of the Eighty-Four Buddhist Siddhas* by Keith Dowman (1986). *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 109: 151–52.
- Templeman, D. 1983 (reprint 1990). *The Seven Instruction Lineages by Jo Nang Taranatha*. Dharamsala and New Delhi: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives.
- Tharchin, Sermey Khensur Lobsang. 1997. *The Sublime Path to Kechara Paradise: Vajrayoginī's Eleven Yogas of Generation Stage Practice As Revealed by the Glorious Naropa*. Oral Commentary Series. Howell NJ: Mahayana Sutra and Tantra Press.
- Thondup, Tulku, trans. 1983 (reprint 1992). *The Queen of Great Bliss of Long-Chen Nying-Thig by Kun-Khyen Jigme Ling-pa*. Gangtok, Sikkim: Dodrup chen Rinpoche.
- Törzsök, Judit, ed. 1999. *The Doctrine Of Magic Female Spirits: A Critical Edition Of Selected Chapters Of The Siddhayogeśvarimata (Tantra) With Annotated Translation and Analysis*. Doctoral Thesis, Faculty of Oriental Studies. University of Oxford.
- Tribe, Anthony, ed. and trans. 1994. *The Names of Wisdom. A Critical Edition and Annotated Translation of Chapters 1–5 of Vilāsavajra's Commentary on the Nāmasaṃgīti, with Introduction and Textual Notes*. Doctoral Thesis, Faculty of Oriental Studies. University of Oxford.
- . 1997. "Mañjuśrī and 'the Chanting of Names' (*Nāmasaṃgīti*)." In *Indian Insights: Buddhism, Brahmanism and Bhakti*. Ed. by Peter Connolly and Sue Hamilton. London: Luzac Oriental.
- Trungpa, Chögyam. 1982. "Sacred Outlook: The Vajrayoginī Shrine and Practice." In *The Silk Route and the Diamond Path: Esoteric Buddhist Art on the Trade Routes of the Trans-Himalayan Regions*. Ed. by Deborah E. Klimburg. Los Angeles: UCLA Art Council Press.
- . 1991. *Secret Beyond Thought: The Five Chakras and the Four Karmas*. Halifax, Nova Scotia: Vajradhatu Publications.
- . 1999. *Glimpses of Space: The Feminine Principle and EVAM*. Boston: Shambhala Publications.
- Tsong kha pa. 1977 (reprint 1987. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass). *Tantra in Tibet: The Great Exposition of Secret Mantra*, vol. 1, and *The Yoga of Tibet: The Great Expo-*

sition of Secret Mantra, vols. 2 & 3. Ed. and trans. by Jeffrey Hopkins, with introduction by H. H. Tenzin Gyatso, Fourteenth Dalai Lama. London: George Allen & Unwin.

Tsuda, Shin'ichi, ed. and trans. 1974. *The Saṃvarodaya Tantra: Selected Chapters*, Tokyo: The Hokuseido Press.

———. 1999. "The Original Formation and Performance of the 'Secret Assembly' (*guyhasamāja*), an Integration of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* into the History of Tantric Buddhism in India." *Journal of the International College for Advanced Buddhist Studies* 2 (March): 310–43.

Tsukamoto, Keisho, Hirofumi Isoda, and Yukei Matsunaga. 1989. *Bongo Butten no Kenkyū. IV. Mikkyō Kyōten Hen. A Descriptive Bibliography of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature 4: The Buddhist Tantra*. Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten.

Tucci, Guiseppe. 1935/1989. *The Temples of Western Tibet and Their Artistic Symbolism: Tsaparang*. English Version of *Indo-Tibetica* 3 (2). Ed. by Lokesh Chandra. Śatapiṭaka Series no. 350. New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan.

———. 1949. *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*. 2 vols. Rome: La Libreria Dello Stato.

———. 1956. *Minor Buddhist Texts*, part 1. Serie Orientale Roma. Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.

———. 1958. *Minor Buddhist Texts*, part 2. Serie Orientale Roma. Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.

———. 1969. *The Theory and Practice of the Mandala: With Special Reference to the Modern Psychology of the Subconscious*. London: Rider & Co.

———. 1971. "A Sanskrit Biography of the Siddhas and Some Questions Connected with Nāgārjuna." In *Opera Minora* 2: 209–24.

Tulku, Tarchang, trans. 1983. *"Mother of Knowledge: The Enlightenment of Ye-shes mTshorgyal" by Nam-mkha'i snying-po*. Berkeley: Dharma Publishing

von Schroeder, Ulrich. 1981. *Indo-Tibetan Bronzes*. Hong Kong: Visual Dharma Publications.

———. 2001. *Buddhist Sculptures in Tibet*. Vol. 1 (India and Nepal), vol. 2 (Tibet and China). Hong Kong: Visual Dharma Publications.

Wackernagel, Jacob and A. Debrunner. 1964. *Register zur Altindischen Grammatik*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.

Wayman, Alex. 1973 (reprint 1990). *The Buddhist Tantras: Light on Indo-Tibetan Esotericism*. London: Kegan Paul International.

———. 1977 (reprint 1980). *Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra: The Arcane Lore of Forty Verses*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

- White, David Gordon, ed. 2000. *Tantra in Practice*. Princeton NJ and Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Williams, Paul. 1989. *Mahāyāna Buddhism: The Doctrinal Foundations*. Library of Religions, Beliefs, and Practices. London: Routledge.
- . with Anthony Tribe. 2000. *Buddhist Thought: A Complete Introduction to the Indian Tradition*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Willis, Janice D. 1979. *On Knowing Reality: The Tattvārtha Chapter of Asaṅga's Bodhisattvabhūmi*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- . 1989. "Dākinī: Some Comments on Its Nature and Meaning." In *Feminine Ground: Essays on Women and Tibet*. Ed. by Janice D. Willis. Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications.
- . 1989. "Tibetan Ani-s: The Nun's Life in Tibet." In *Feminine Ground: Essays on Women and Tibet*. Ed. by Janice D. Willis. Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications.
- Willson, Martin. 1986. (reprint 1995) *In Praise of Tārā: Songs to the Saviouress*. London: Wisdom Publications.
- Willson, Martin and Martin Brauen, eds. 2000. *Deities of Tibetan Buddhism: The Zürich Painting of the Icons Worthwhile to See (Bris sku mthoñ don ldan)*. Boston: Wisdom Publications.
- Winternitz, M. and Arthur Berriedale Keith. 1905. *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* vol. 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Wylie, Turrell. 1982 (repr. Delhi 1984). "Dating the Death of Nāropa." In *Indological and Buddhist Studies; Volume in Honour of Professor J. W. de Jong on his Sixtieth Birthday*. Ed. by L. A. Hercus, F. B. J. Kuiper, T. Rajapatirana, and E. R. Skrzypczak. Canberra: Australian National University Press.
- Zanen, S. M. 1986. "The Goddess Vajrayoginī and the Kingdom of Sankhu (Nepal)." *Puruṣārtha* 10: 125–66.
- Zwalf, W., ed. 1985. *Buddhism, Art and Faith*. London: British Museum Publications Ltd.

Index

References to *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* text are in boldface type.

- abandonment, means of
(*samyakprahāṇas*), 271, 509(table)
- Abhayadatta, 12–13(table)
- Abhayākara Gupta, 11, 15, 18, 190,
357(n.6), 373
Āmnāyamañjarī, 153
dates of, 12–13(table)
on generation of deity, 154
on meditation posture, 114
Niṣpannayogāvalī, 46, 48, 173
Sāmvarikaḥ Sārvabhautikabalividhi,
339
Vajrāvalī, xx, 29, 190, 208, 210,
212–14
on *vāmācāra*, 40–41
works by, 390(n.33)
- Abhidhānottaratantra*, 7, 22, 38, 49,
381, 405(n.101)
and *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*, 109
on deities, 184
maṇḍala, 187
on Vajravārāhī practice, 54, 56, 58,
60, 184
- Abhidharma, 138, 335–36
and Buddhist doctrine, 192–93
cosmology of, 144–47, 145(fig), 194
- Abhidharmakośa*, 145–46, 451(n.316),
452(n.320), 503(n.553), plate 15
- Abhisamaya* (Lūyīpāda), 136
- Abhisamayamañjarī* (Śākyarakṣita;
GSS5), 10, 22, 99, 356(n.2),
357, 379
on armoring, 164
on body maṇḍala, 199, 203
on central channel meditation,
175–78
on circle of protection, 131–33,
132(table), 136, 445(n.303)
on consecration, 170
on cosmic visualization, 144–46,
145(fig), 148
on external worship, 217
on five awakenings, 150–53
on maṇḍala, 187, 190, 194,
195(table), 199
on mantra, 126, 134(table)
on nectars, 492(table)
on purification, 115–16
on ritual, 206, 207(table)
sādhana in, 110, 111(table)
on skull staff, 158
on tasting nectar, 210
on vajra, 156
on Vajrayoginī forms, 24, 107
dancing-pose Vajravārāhī, 50
Triḥāvajrayoginī, 95–96
two-armed warrior-stance
Vajrayoginī, 71–72
Vajraghoṇā Vajravārāhī, 66–68
Vajravairocanī, 103
Vajravārāhī, 63, 157–58
Vajravilāsini, 84
Vidyādhari Vajrayoginī, 80–81
White Vajravārāhī, 70
on worship, 120–23, 122(table),
124(table)

academic study of tantric Buddhism,
106

Ādarśā, 122

Adbhutaśmaśānālamkāra, 140–43

(nn.iii–vi, xi–xxi, xxvii, xxix), 347

Adbhutaśmaśānavidhi, 140(n.iii)

Advayasiddhi (Lakṣmīṅkarā) 369(n.29),
373

Advayavajra, 14–15, 22, 80, 105, 365, 373

Advayavajrasaṃgraha, 373

cosmology of, 148

dates of, 12–13(table)

on ritual, 208, 210

school and purity mantra, 128

and Śabara, 10, 87, 102, 368(n.27)

Sarvārthasiddhisādhana (GSS15), 23,
66–67, 364

Vajravārāhisādhana (GSS3), xxi, 22,
134(table), 148, 179, 356, 383(n.1)

works by, 8(table)

on yogic practice, 173

Yuganaddhaprakāśa, 440(n.281)

See also **Siddha-Āmnāya*,

Advayavajra lineage

*Trayodaśātmikavajradākinīvajra-
vārāhisādhana* (GSS16), 22, 63–64,
83, 364–65, 453(n.327), 492(table)

Aghora, 38

Aghoreśvarī, 38

Agni, 142(n.xviii), 311–13

Aindrī, 43

Airāvati, 59(table), 191(fig), 201(table),
259, 265, 275

Aiśvaryavajra, 118(table)

Ajātaśatrukaukṛtyavinodanā

(Lokakṣema), 125(n)

Ākarṣaṇī, 117, 118(table), 305(n.lxix)

Akṣobhya(vajra), 4–5, 46–47, 58, 116

118(table), 184, 189, 192(table),

219(table), 261, 303, 492(table)

and Vajravārāhī forms

dancing, 50

hog-headed, 104

white, 69

Amanasikārādhāra, 373

Amitābha(vajra), 58, 188(table), 189,

192(table), 219(table), 261, 303,
492(table)

Āmnāyamañjarī (Abhayākaragupta), 153

Amoghasiddhi, 118(table), 183,

192(table), 219(table), 255, 303,
492(table)

Amṛtakanikā, 381

Anaṅgayogin, 8(table)

Dākinīguhyasamayāsādhana

(GSS46), 23, 381, 474(n.423)

Angkor, 443(n.292)

Anupamarakṣita, 128–29

Aparā, 38

Ārāghanavidhi (GSS23), 23, 81–83,
88, 102, 368

Arbuda, 59(table), 201(table), 259,
273

armoring (*kavacanam*)

deities, 63, 218–19, 301

and identification with deity, 163–66
syllables, 344(table)

Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti, 371(n.37)

Nāmasaṃgīti (Vilāsavajra), 3

Ārya school, 173

Āryaśuklavajravārāhisādhana (GSS38),
23, 69, 70, 379, 383(n.1)

atimārga, 39–40

Atiśa, 12–13(table), 17

Avadhūtī, 279, 309, 425(table)

Avalokiteśvara, 26, 83, 85, 88–89, 91,
364

awakenings, five, 150–54, 151(table)

Bagalāmukhī, 427(n.224)

baḷi ritual, 206–8, 211–15, 287–93,
297(n.liii), 309

defined, 115

and identification with deity, 119

mantras, 73, 78, 101, 115, 141(n.xiv),
168, 220, 512(n.584)

and oblation, 222, 309

and rite of completion, 215–16

and summoning the deity, 168

and tasting nectar, 208–9, 211

and Vajrayoginī forms

falling-turtle Vajrayoginī, 78

- four-armed warrior-stance Vajrayoginī, 74
 Red Vajraghoṇa Vajravārāhi, 67
 two-armed warrior-stance Vajrayoginī, 73
 Vidyādhari Vajrayoginī, 81
 White Vajrayoginī with foot raised, 77
- Bayon temple (Angkor), 443(n.292)
Bhadracaryāpraṇidhāna-gāthā, 125(n)
Bhāgavatapurāṇa, 427(n.224)
 Bhairava, 37–38, 78
 subjugated, 55–56, 63, 162, 166, 184, 239
 Bhairavatantras, 38, 396(n.60)
 Bhairavī, 427(n.224)
 Bhattacharyya, Benoytosh, 50
 Indian Buddhist Iconography, xxi
 Sādhana-mālā. *See reference*
Bhāvanākrama (GSS22), 23, 79–81, 84, 337, 368
 Bhavya, 287
Bhūtaḍāmaratantra, 420(n.193)
 Bhuvaneśvarī, 427(n.224)
Binducūḍāmaṇir nāma svādhiṣṭhānakramah
 (Sahajāvalokanasamādhivajra; GSS32), 23, 51, 106, 148, 153, 372–74
 Bindurāja, 374
 bliss, 92–93, 187
 four joys (*ānandas*), 65, 82, 92, 175, 421(n.195), 454(n.334)
 mahāsukha, 136
 See also mahāmudrā
Bodhicaryāvatāra, 501(n.540)
bodhipākṣikadharmas (factors that favor enlightenment), 188, 192–93, 263, 335–36, 358, 503(n.553), 508(nn.568–69)
 bodhisattva, 26
 and body maṇḍala, 196, 198–99
 and five awakenings, 154
 and identification with deity, 130–31
 preparations, 119
 and purification, 30
 states, 273(n.xli)
 vow, 301
 body maṇḍala (*kāyamaṇḍala*), 100, 166, 197–203, 200–201(figs), 271–79, 488(table)
 Brahmā, 39, 51, 74, 76, 141(n.xii)
 Brahmāṇī, 43
 Brāhmī, 43
 bringers of awareness (*anusmṛtyupasthanas*), 263, 504(table)
 Bṛhaspati, 466(n.395)
Brief Vajravārāhi Sādhana (Vilāsavajra) GSS4, 22, 180, 356
 GSS29, 23, 179, 371
 bsTan 'gyur, xxi, 11, 19, 20(table), 21, 387(n.20)
 buddha(s), 3, 202, 365
 bodies of, 154
 and guru, 28
 and hand worship, 218–20, 219(table)
 identification with, 16, 116
 in maṇḍala, 190, 192(table)
 and mudrās, 158–59
 on Oḍḍiyāna, 44
 and seed-syllables, 153
 and sexual imagery, 149–50
 and Tilottamā, 421(n.193)
 and Trikāyavajrayoginī, 100–101
 Buddhaḍākinī. *See* Sarvabuddhaḍākinī
 Buddhadatta, 8(table), 12–13(table)
 Vajrayoginimatena Gopyahomavidhi (GSS13), 22, 363
 Buddhaguhya, 2, 7, 25
 Tantrārthāvatāra, 167
 Buddhaheruka, 186
 Buddhajñāna, 371(n.37)
 Buddhakapāla, 4
Buddhakapālatantra, 373
 Buddhakrodheśvarī, 186
 Buddhism
 categorization in, 174
 and maṇḍala, 192–93
 and Śaivism, 163, 466(n.395)
 and tantric literature, 2–8
 Bu ston (1290–1364), 6, 162, 196–97, 341

and bsTan 'gyur, xxi, 11, 19, 20(table),
21, 387(n.20)
Sādhanaśāgara, 19–20

cakras. *See* channels

Cakrasaṃvara, xxv, 4–5, 11, 14, 159,
plate 11
armor syllables, 303(n.lxiii),
344(table)
and body maṇḍala, 197, 199, 202
on circles of protection, 133
consecration, 169–70
cosmology of, 148
on cremation grounds, 137
maṇḍala of, 21, 100, 103, 105–6,
109–10, 162, 184–87, 189–90,
192–93, 337, 420(n.185), plate 12
on nectars, 492(table)
on ritual, 206, 208–9, 342
Śaiva influence on, 37–38, 44
texts of, xxi, 10, 27, 105, 109, 381
at Vajrāsana temple, 18
and vajra skull observance, 40
and Vajrayoginī forms, 7
Vajravārāhī, xxviii, 22, 48–49, 52,
54–55, 55(fig), 60, 104–5, 155–57
Vajravilāsini, 85
Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi, 208, 210–13, 339
Cakrasaṃvaratantra, 7, 12–13(table),
184, 344, 381, 491(n.493)
Cakravarmīnī, 59(table), 191(fig),
201(table), 261, 267, 277, 337
Cakravartinī, 59(table), 191(fig),
201(table), 261, 267, 277
Cakravegā, 59(table), 191(fig),
201(table), 261, 267, 275
Cakreśa, 374
Cāmuṇḍā, 43
Caṇḍākṣī, 59(table), 191(fig),
201(table), 259, 265, 273
Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa, 4
Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra, 181, 341
Caṇḍī, 380
Caṇḍikā, 164, 219(table), 241, 305
Candrakīrti, 173, 432, 434, 471, 474
Capālāvajraḍākinī, 65(fig)

caryātantras, 2–3, 6, 12–13(table)
Caturmudrānīścaya, 373
Caturmudrānvaya, 375–76
Caturyoginīsaṃputa, 7
Catuspīṭha, 381
celibacy, 17, 42
channels (in body), 74, 174–78, 198–99,
279, 488(table)
Chapagaon Grove, xxviii
Chinnamastākālpā, 427(n.224)
Chinnamastātāntra, 427(n.224)
Chinnamuṇḍā/Chinnamastā.
See Vajrayoginī, forms of
Chinnamuṇḍāsādhana (Virūpa),
422(n.206), 425(n.216)
Chos rab, Rwa, 11, 326, 362(n.13)
Cittamātra, 125
Cittaviśrāma, 83–84, 87, 360, 365
Clear Understanding of Heruka
(Lūyīpāda), 10–11
Commentary on portions of GSSī
(GSS40), 23, 379–80
consecration rituals, 31, 169–71, 243,
421(n.193, 195)
consort(s)
family and, 44
goddesses as, 184
of Śiva, 37–38
of Trika goddesses, 40
and Vajrayoginī forms, xxviii
Guhyavajravilāsini, 89–93
Vajravārāhī, 22, 60, 48–49, 104–5,
155–57
Vajravilāsini, 85–86, 360–62
and *vāmācāra*, 41
yogin and, 196
See also sexual practices
cosmos, 144–46, 145(fig), 194–98,
plate 15
visualization of, 144–46, 145(fig),
148
cremation grounds, xxvii–xxviii, 4,
26, 223, 261, 277, 365
and body maṇḍala, 203, 488(table)
cosmology of, 137–39, 140–41(table),
147–49, 194, 195(table)

- delineated, 311–13
 and external worship, 300
 and maṇḍala, 190, 197
 and meditation, 119, 149
 names of, 347–48
 and Śaivism, 37–40
 and tasting nectar, 297
 and Vajrayoginī forms, 43
 Trikāyavajrayoginī, 96
 two-armed warrior-stance Vajrayoginī, 72
 Vidyādhari Vajrayoginī, 81
 White Vajrayoginī with foot raised, 76
 and *vāmācāra*, 41–42
 See also *kāpālīka*
- Ḍākārṇavatantra*, 7, 420(n.185)
Ḍākinī, 249–55, 263, 279, 283,
 483(n.458), plates 2, 3, 10
 etymology of, 397(n.67)
 in maṇḍala, 56, 59(table), 103,
 182–84, 191(fig), 201(table)
Ḍākinīguhyasamayāsādhana
 (Anaṅgayoginī; GSS46), 23, 381,
 474(n.423)
Ḍākinījāla-añjara, 381
Ḍākinīvajrapañjaratantra, 420(n.185)
 Dakṣiṇāpatha, 83, 87
Daśabhūmikasūtra, 273(n.xli)
 deities, 4, 21, 43, 45, 104
 armoring, 163–66, 218–19, 301
 and *bali* ritual, 212–15
 and circles of protection, 134–36,
 135(fig)
 and consecration, 31, 169–71
 dagger, 135
 as drops (*bindu*), 372–75
 dwelling place of, 144–49
 and external worship, 217, 220,
 299–303
 and hand worship, 218–20,
 219(table), 303–309
 identification with, 30–32, 116–19,
 130–31, 149–55, 163–66, 168, 181,
 199, 247
 and maṇḍala as doctrine, 193(table)
 and oblations, 221–22, 309
 pledge/knowledge, 166–67, 241
 and Śaivism, 40
 subjugation of, 135, 139, 160–63,
 195–96
 and tasting nectar, 210–11, 291–99
 worship goddesses, 121–22, 122(table)
 See also Śaiva deities; individual
 deities
Devāntarasādhanaśāgara, 20
Devāntaraviśvasādhana, 19, 20(table)
 Devendra, 141(n.xiii)
 Devī, 135
Devibhāgavatapurāṇa, 446(n.304)
 Devikoṭa, 59(table), 201(table), 259,
 273
 dGe lugs tradition, xxiv–xxv,
 491(n.492)
 Dhanada, 141(n.xiv)
 Dhanaśrī island, 88
 Dharma, 28, 122
 Dharmadhātuvajrā, 117, 118(table)
 Dharmapāla (c. 770–810), 10, 14
Dharmasamgraha, 125(n)
 Dharmaśāstra, 39
dharmodayā, 341
 and circle of protection, 237
 and external worship, 216–17
 imagery of, 144, 149–50
 of Vajrayoginī forms
 dancing-pose Vajravārāhī, 51
 Trikāyavajrayoginī, 96–100
 Vajravārāhī, 155
 Vajravilāsini, 361
 Vidyādhari Vajrayoginī, 80(fig)
 See also maṇḍala
 Dhūmāvatī, 427(n.224)
 Dhūpā, 121, 122(table)
 Dhyāyīpāda, 8(table), 356(n.2)
Paramagambhīropadeśo
 Vajrayoginyāḥ
 Karaṅkatoraṅkramah
 Svādhīṣṭhānam (GSS34), 23, 51, 106,
 137–38, 148, 375–76, 487(n.477)
dikṣā. See initiation

- Dīpā, 121, 122(table)
 Drumacchāyā, 59(table), 191(fig),
 201(table), 259, 265, 273
Dvādaśabhujavajravārāhīsādhana
 (GSS7), 7, 22, 54, 184, 188, 359
 Dveṣavajra, 118(table)
 eightfold path, 265–67
 Ekajaṭā, 45, 103
 elements, 249
 in maṇḍala cosmos, 194, 195(table)
 and purification, 116–17, 118(table)
 and tasting nectar, 209
 visualization of, 144–47, 145(fig)
 empowerment (of yogin), 27, 165–66,
 170
 empowering faculties (*indriyas*), 192,
 193, 201, 265–67, 504(n.553),
 506(n.563)
 See also spiritual faculties
 emptiness, 125, 231
 and ritual, 205, 212, 215
 See also mantra, emptiness;
 meditation, emptiness
 enlightenment
 causes of (*sambodhyāṅgas*), 267–69,
 507(table)
 factors (*bodhipākṣikadharmas*), 188,
 192–93, 263–71, 335, 336, 358,
 503(n.553), 504(table),
 508(n.568–69)
 See also mahāmudrā; soteriology
 erotic practices. *See* sexual practices
 factors of the path (*aṣṭāṅgamārga*),
 193, 269–71
 factors that favor enlightenment
 (*bodhipākṣikadharmas*). *See*
 enlightenment, factors
 faculties
 empowering (*indriyas*). *See*
 empowering faculties
 spiritual. *See* spiritual faculties
Gaṇpopa, 102
Gaṇacakravidhi, 218
Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra, 125(n)
 Gandhā, 121, 122(table)
 Gelug. *See* dGe lugs tradition
 generation. *See* self-generation
 Ghaṇṭāpāda, 14, 44, 413(n.139)
 Gitā, 121, 122(table)
Glorious[ly Elucidated] Oblation Rite
 (Indrabhūti; GSS14), 22, 205, 221,
 363–64
 Godāvarī, 59(table), 201(table), 259,
 273
 goddesses. *See* deities; individual
 goddesses
 Gṛhadevatā, 59(table), 201(table), 261,
 275
Guhyagarbha (8th cent.), 139, 161
Guhyakośa, 12–13(table), 161, 186
 Guhyasamāja, xxv, 5, 149
Guhyasamājatantra (GST), 5, 381
 mantra in, 127
 sādhana of, 25
 on yogic practice, 171, 173–74
Guhyasamayāsāadhanamālā (GSS),
 plate 16
 authors and works, 8(table), 9–14,
 12–13(table), 355–81
 compared with *Sāadhanamālā*,
 383(n.1)
 manuscripts, 321–28
 sādhana in, 22–23, 355–81
 See also individual authors and works
Guhyasamayāsāadhanasamgraha,
 357(n.5)
Guhyasamayottamapaṭala, 358
Guhyasiddhiḥ, 373
 Guhyavajravilāsinī. *See* Vajravārāhi,
 forms of
Guhyavajravilāsinīsādhana (Śabara;
 GSS10), 22, 39, 82–84, 86, 88, 90,
 153, 360–62, 368(n.27)
 Guhyeśvari, xxvii
 guru, 28, 106, 287, 418(n.169)
 consecration by, 170, 502(n.543)
 and initiation, 27, 106
 qualifications of, 16–17
 worship of, 120

- yoga, xxiii, xxvi
 Gyantse paintings, 169
- hand worship. *See* worship, hand
Haracaritacintāmaṇi (Jayadratha),
 466(n.395)
 Harṣa (606–47), 14
 Hāsyā, 121, 122(table)
 Hayagrīva, 49, 219(table)
 Hayakarnā, 59(table), 191(fig),
 201(table), 259, 267, 275
 Hayāsyā, 187
 Heruka, 4–6, 44, 46–49, 139,
 297(n.liv), 373, 420(n.185)
 dancing, 400(n.81)
 and hand worship, 219(table)
 and Mahāmāyā, 399(n.75)
 maṇḍalas, 104
 mantra, 81
 and subjugation of deities, 161–62
 Yamāri, 104
Herukābhīdhānatantra (Lūyīpāda), 7,
 109–10
Herukābhisamaya (Lūyīpāda), 203,
 431(n.245)
Herukābhyudaya, 7
 Hevajra, 11, 104
 and *bali* ritual, 212, 214–15
 and bliss, 92
 and consecration, 169–70
 on letters of alphabet, 152
 maṇḍalas, 132
 and mantra, 29
 and Nairātmyā, 46
 on ritual, 205
 sacred sites, 196, 197(table)
 and sexual imagery, 149
 and Trikāvajrayoginī, 100
Hevajradākinijālasamvara, 38
Hevajraprakāśa (Rāhulagupta),
 472(n.413)
Hevajratatantra (HT), 4, 24, 26, 48, 372,
 381
 on consecration, 421(n.195)
 on consorts, 196
 dates of, 12–13(table)
 on goddesses, 416(n.161), 420(n.193)
 on self-generation, 150
 Himālaya, 59(table), 201(table), 259,
 275
History of Buddhism in India
 (Tāranātha), 9–10, 88
 Hūṃkārivajradākini, 65(fig)
 Hūṃnādivajradākini, 65(fig)
*Hundred Sādhana*s, 19
- Icons Worthwhile to See* (IWS), 396
 See also *Rin 'byung brgya rtsa*
 impurity, 41–43
 Indra, 64, 74, 76, 140(table)
 and *bali* ritual, 215
 and cremation grounds, 311
 Indrabhūti, xxiv, 9–11, 14, 372(n.37),
 388(n.24)
 dates of, 12–13(table)
 and Lakṣmīkarā, 44, 101–2
Pradīpāhutividhi (GSS14), 22, 205,
 221, 363–64
 on purification, 117
 and Vajravārāhi, 22, 50, 105
Vajrayoginīmukhāgama (GSS1),
 14, 22, 28, 50–51, 117, 355
 works by, 8(table)
Indrabhūtikramaṇa Vajrayoginī-
sādhana (Vijayavajra; GSS35), 23,
 49, 73–74, 377, 477(n.431)
 Indraḍākini, xxvi, 51(fig)
Indrajitkramavajrayoginīsādhana
 (GSS45), 22, 381
 Indra-khecari, xxiv, 105
 Indrāṇī, 43
Indra Vajravārāhi, xxiv
 initiation, xxiii, 27
 and consecration, 170
 by guru, 106
 and layman, 16
 in Newar practice, xxviii
 of Virūpa, 15
 Īrṣyāvajra, 118(table)
 Īśāna, 140(table), 311–13
 Jagaddala, 14, 357(n.6)

- Jagaddarpaṇa, 16–17
Kriyāsamuccaya, xx, xxviii, 16,
 157–58, 218
Vajrācāryaśaṅkṣaṇavidhi, 16
- Jala, 64
- Jālandhara, 59(table), 201(table), 202,
 259, 273
- Jalendra, King, 44
- Jambudvīpa, 88, 138–39
- Jāṅgulī, 45
- japa. *See* mantra
- Jātudhāna, 141(table), 311–13
- Jayadratha
Haracaritacintāmaṇi, 466(n.395)
Jayadrathayāmālatantra, 38
- Jñānaḍākinī, 49
- Jñānadhātviśvarī, 49
- Jñānapāda, 371(n.37)
- Jramitāvajraḍākinī, 65(fig)
- Jvālāvalivajramālātantra*, xxi
- Kākāsyā, 135(fig), 233–35, 249, 255,
 261, 269, 277
 in maṇḍala, 57, 59(table), 134,
 186–87, 191(fig), 201(table),
 483(n.458)
- Kālacakra, 4, 11, 381, 389(n.24)
 cosmology of, 145(fig), 146
 mantra, 29
 maṇḍala, 194, 195(table), 443(n.291)
- Kālacakramūlatantra*, 381
- Kālacakratantra*, 12–13(table)
- Kālarātri, 55–56, 63, 76, 162–63, 184, 239
- Kālī, 38, 40, 195, 427(n.224),
 466(n.395)
- Kaliṅga, 59(table), 201(table), 259, 275
- Kāma, 403 (n.95)
- Kāmadeva, 419(n.184)
- Kāmākhyā, 100
- Kamālā, 427(n.224)
- Kamalaśīla, 129
- Kāmarūpa, 59(table), 201(table), 259,
 275
- Kāmasūtra*, 420(n.191)
- Kāmeśvara, 91
- Kāmeśvarī, 90
- Kanakhalā, 101
- Kāñcī, 59(table), 201(table), 259, 275
- Kāṇhapā, 101
- Kaṅkālātālasādhana* (Dārikapa),
 374(n.43)
- kāpālika*, 117
 body maṇḍala, 488(table)
 and cosmic visualization, 148–49
 goddesses, 183, 189
 maṇḍalas, 21
 practices, 4, 26, 40–41, 106–7
 skull observance, 39–40, 158
 and Vajrayoginī forms
 falling-turtle-pose Vajrayoginī, 78
 Red Vajravārāhī with foot raised, 75
 twelve-armed Vajravārāhī, 56–57
 two-armed warrior-stance Vajra-
 yoginī, 72–73
 Vajraḍākinī Vajravārāhī, 63–65
 Vajravārāhī, 51, 155–57
See also cremation grounds;
 transgressive discipline
- Karuṇa, 87–88, 360, 362, 418(n.169)
- Kathāsaritsāgara*, 329, 427(n.224)
- Kaumārī, 43
- Khadiravaṇī-Tārā, 45
- Khagānānā, 59(table), 191(fig),
 201(table), 259, 267, 275
- Khagarbha, 117, 118(table)
- Khaṇḍakapālin, 202
- Khaṇḍarohā, 249–53, 261–63, 267,
 279, 283
 in maṇḍala, 56, 59(table), 183–84,
 191(fig), 201(table)
- Khaṇḍarohikā, 275
- Khara Khoto tangkas, 35, 46,
 plates 2, 3, 11
ḍākinī in, 164
 Vajravārāhī in, 159, 183, 402(n.87)
- Kharvari, 59(table), 191(fig), 201(table),
 259, 265, 273
- Khasarpaṇa, 88
- Kośala, 59(table), 201(table), 259, 275
- Krama cult, 38
- Kriyāsamuccaya* (Jagaddarpaṇa), xx,
 xxviii, 16, 157–58, 218

- kriyātantras, 2–3, 6, 12–13(table)
Krodhakālī, xxvi
 Kṛṣṇācārya, 14, 101, 428(n.225)
 Kṛṣṇapāda, 14
 Kṣitigarbha, 117, 118(table)
Kṛṣṇayamāritantra, 48, 66
 Kubera, 64, 140(table), 311
 Kubjikā, 380
 Kulatā, 59(table), 201(table), 261, 277
 Kumāracandra, 66
 Kumārī, xxviii
 Kūmapāda, 413(n.139)
Kūmapādasiddhisādhana, 377(n.48)
Kūmapatanakrameṇa Vajrayoginī-sādhana (GSS36), 23, 77, 377
 Kurukullā, 45
- Laghuśaṃvaratantra*, 7, 37–38, 341
Laghutantraṭīkā, 381
Lakṣābhīdhānatāntra, 7, 83–84, 197, 365
 Lakṣmī, 8(table), 12–13(table), 95, 369(n.29)
 Lakṣmī/Lakṣmīṅkarā
Lakṣmīsādhana (GSS24), 10, 23, 95–96, 99, 101, 369
 Lakṣmīṅkarā, 9–10, 14, 44, 101
Advayasiddhi, 369(n.29), 373
 dates of, 12–13(table)
Lakṣmīsādhana (Lakṣmī/Lakṣmīṅkarā; GSS24), 10, 23, 95–96, 99, 101, 369, 422(n.206)
 Lalanā, 309, 425(table)
 Lalitā, 90
 Lalitavajra, 371(n.37)
 Lāmā, 249–53, 263, 279, 283
 in maṇḍala, 56, 59(table), 103, 182–84, 191(fig), 201(table)
 Lampāka, 59(table), 201(table), 259, 275
 lamps, five, 183, 210
 Laṅkāpuri, 44
 Laṅkeśvarī, 59(table), 191(fig), 201(table), 259, 265, 273
 Lāsya, 121, 122(table)
Legends of the Eighty-Four Mahāsiddhas, 9, 15, 44
- letters of alphabet, 152–54, 158, 289–91
 liberation. *See* enlightenment;
 mahāmudrā; soteriology
 lifestyle, 16–17, 27, 31–32, 181
 Lilāvajra, 371(n.37)
 Locanā, 56, 59(table), 117, 118(table), 492(table)
 Lokakṣema
Ajātaśatrukaukṛtyavinodanā, 125(n)
 Lokanātha, 87–88, 360, 362
 Lokeśvara, 83, 88, 117, 118(table)
Lokeśvarakalpa, 419(n.185)
 Lūyipāda, 8(table), 9–11, 12–13(table), 14, 22, 117, 356(n.2), 375–76
Abhisamaya, 136
Clear Understanding of Heruka, 10–11
Herukābhīdhānatāntra, 7, 109–10
Herukābhisamaya, 203, 431(n.245)
Śmaśānavidhi, 140–43(nn.xii–xiv, xvi, xxv–xxx), 207(table), 223, 343, 347, 449(n.312)
śrī-Bhagavadabhisamaya, 10
Vajravārāhisādhana (GSS2), 14, 22, 50–51, 117, 355–56
Vajrayoginīsādhana, 50
- Madhyamaka, 129–30, 205
 mad observance, 80–81
 Mahābalā, 59(table), 191(fig), 201(table), 261, 269, 277, 420(n.185)
 Mahābhairavā, 59(table), 191(fig), 201(table), 259, 267
 Mahābhairavikā, 275
Mahābhārata, 101(n.224), 481(n.450), 484(n.462)
 Mahākaruṇika, 88
 Mahālakṣmī, 43
 Mahāmāyā(hva), 4, 47, 367
 mahāmudrā, 4, 11, 14–15, 107
 and Guhyavajravilāsinī, 91–94
 and sexual practice, 181
 and skeleton arch, 376
 and Vidyādhari Vajrayoginī, 80–81
 Mahānāsā, 59(table), 191(fig), 201(table), 259, 265, 273

- Mahāsiddha Kambala, 43
 Mahāsukhavajrapāda, 341
Mahāṭilakakrama, 372(n.37)
 Mahāvarāhamukhī, 420(n.185)
 Mahāvidyā, 427(n.224)
 Mahāvīryā, 59(table), 191(fig),
 201(table), 261, 269, 277
 Mahāyāna, 1, 3–4
 bodhisattva, 119, 131
 on emptiness, 129, 171
 universities, 14–15
 worship, 120–23, 124(table), 125(n)
 Mahāyogeśvarī, 283(n.xlvi)
 Maheśvara, 160–62, 195
 Māheśvarī, 43
 Maitrī-khecari xxiv, 105
 Maitripā(da), xxiv, 10, 50, 80, 105
 Mālava, 59(table), 201(table), 259, 273
 male role, 4–5
 in body maṇḍala, 199, 203
 as Mahāmāyā, 47
 in reversed position, 405–6(n.104)
 in Śaiva Trika cult, 40
 in thirty-seven-fold maṇḍala, 189, 193
 with Vajrayoginī forms
 falling-turtle-pose Vajrayoginī, 78
 Guhyavajravilāsini, 89–94
 six-armed Vajravārāhī, 60
 Māmaki, 56, 59(table), 117, 118(table),
 492(table)
 maṇḍala, 4–5, 16, 21–24, 109–12,
 plates 12, 13
 and *bali* ritual, 211–15
 as Buddhist doctrine, 192–93
 body. *See* body maṇḍala
 (*kāyamaṇḍala*)
 of Cakrasaṃvara, 21, 100, 103, 105–6
 and circle of protection, 132–33
 cosmos: visualization of, 144–46,
 145(fig), 148
 mandala as cosmos, 144–46, 145(fig),
 148, 194, 195(table)
 and cremation grounds, 138
 and external worship, 216–18, 220,
 299–303
 and hand worship, 218–19, 303–7
 Kālacakra, 443(n.291)
 Kālī, 38
 and mantra, 53, 54(table), 179–80
 and oblation, 222
 and rite of completion, 216
 sacred sites in, 195–97
 stages of, 182–92, 191(fig)
 and subjugation of deities, 160–63
 and tasting nectar, 289
 in *Trayodaśātmikavajradākinivajra-
 vārāhīsādhana* (GSSI6), 365
 and Vajrayoginī forms
 dancing Vajravārāhī, 52
 Red Vajravārāhī with foot raised, 75
 six-armed Vajravārāhī with consort,
 60–61, 62(fig)
 Trikāyavajrayoginī, 97–100
 twelve-armed Vajravārāhī, 56–59,
 58–59(table)
 two-armed Vajrayoginī in warrior
 stance, 72–73
 Vajradākinī Vajravārāhī, 63–65,
 65(fig), 420(n.213)
 Vajravārāhī, 11, 49, 104, 119–20, 158
 Vajravilāsini, 361–62
 White Vajravārāhī, 69
 See also dharmodayā
 Mandasor temple, 43
 Mañjuśrī, 26, 168–69
 Manobhaṅga mountain, 83–84, 87,
 360, 365
 mantra, 109–11
 and armoring, 163–64, 166(table),
 241
 and *bali* ritual, 211–15
 and central channel meditation,
 177–78
 and circle of protection, 131, 133–36,
 134(table), 233, 237
 of consecration, 170, 243
 diagram, 52, 54(table)
 eight-part, 251–53
 emptiness, 125–29, 231, 299–301, 307
 and external worship, 216–17, 299–303
 goddess, 253, 257, 283–87
 and hand worship, 303–7

- heart, 179, 247, 251
 and maṇḍala, 182–86, 203–4
 and mudrā, 158
 and pledge/knowledge deities, 167–68
 power of, 153, 180
 and purification, 115, 117, 119
 and oblations, 309
 recitation, 16, 29, 32
 and rite of completion, 215–16
 root, 279–83
 Śaiva influence on, 39
 and tasting nectar, 291–99
 transcription/extraction of, 52–53,
 54(table)
 and Vajrayoginī forms, 36
 falling-turtle-pose Vajrayoginī,
 77–78
 four-armed warrior-stance
 Vajrayoginī, 74
 flying Vidyādhari Vajrayoginī, 82
 Guhyavajravilāsini, 90, 93
 Red Vajraghoṇā Vajravārāhi, 61,
 67–68
 two-armed warrior-stance
 Vajrayoginī, 73
 two-armed white Vajrayoginī,
 405(n.104)
 Trikāyavajrayoginī, 94–101,
 98(table)
 Vajradākini Vajravārāhi, 64, 103–5
 Vajravārāhi, 178–81, 179(table)
 Vajravārāhi/Vajrayoginī, 51–53,
 54(table)
 Vajravilāsini, 361–63
 Vidyādhari Vajrayoginī, 79–81
 White Vajravārāhi, 69–70
 White Vajrayoginī with foot
 raised, 76–77
 in *Vajrayoginīmukhāgama*, 355
See also seed-syllable
mantramārga, 37, 40
Mantrapāṭha, 207(table)
mantrapīṭha, 37–38
 Manu, 39
 Māra, 160
 Māraṇī, 117, 118(table), 305(n.lxix)
 Mārīcī, 46, 48, 104, 461(n.367), plate 5
 Mar pa the translator (1012–97), xxii,
 10, 180
 Maru, 59(table), 201(table), 261, 277
 Mātangī, 427(n.224)
 Mātsaryavajra, 118(table)
Māyājālatantra, 5, 173, 381
 means of mind concentration
 (*ṛddhipādas*), 265, 505(table)
 meditation, 25, 27
 and body maṇḍala, 198–99
 brahmavihāra, 123
 on central channel, 175–78
 and circle of protection, 131
 emptiness, 69–70, 74, 125–30,
 144–46, 145(fig), 154–55, 171–72
 on flying Vidyādhari Vajrayoginī, 82
 posture, 114
 stages, 109–10, 182
 visualization in, 29–30, 32
 See also visualization
 Mekhalā, 101
 Meru. *See* Mount Meru
Mettāsuṭṭa, 502(n.541)
 Mi bskyod rdo rje (8th Karma pa;
 1507–54), xxiii, 444(n.299),
 447(n.307)
 Mi la ras pa system, xxiii
 Mohanī, 374
 Mohavajra, 118(table)
 Mohinī, 164, 219(table), 241, 305
 monasteries, 14–16, 21, 25
 See also individual monasteries
 monastic universities, xxii, 15–16
 Mongolian woodblock print
 illustrations, 36–37, plate 10
 monk, 16–17, 42
 Mount Meru, 144, 160, 162, 187, 249,
 259–61
 and cosmology, 138–39, 194,
 195(table)
 and external worship, 217
 visualization of, 144–48
 Mrdaṅgā, 121, 122(table)
 Mr̥tyu, 142(n.xix)
 mudrās, 372

and *bali* ritual, 211–12, 211(fig)
 and external worship, 301
 and knowledge deity, 168
 and hand worship, 307–9
 and protection rituals, 115–16,
 118(table)
 and rite of completion, 215–16
 and sexual practices, 92
 and tasting nectar, 291, 299
 as tantric ornaments (signs of
 observance)
 dancing-pose Vajravārāhī, 51
 falling-turtle-pose Vajrayoginī, 78
 four-armed warrior-stance
 Vajrayoginī, 74
 Red Vajraghoṇā Vajravārāhī, 67
 twelve-armed dancing-pose
 Vajravārāhī, 55–57
 two-armed warrior-stance
 Vajrayoginī, 72
 Vajradākinī Vajravārāhī, 63–64
 Vajravārāhī, 158–60
 White Vajravārāhī, 68
Muktāvali (Ratnākaraśānti), 456(n.343)
 Murajā, 121, 122(table)
nāḍis. See channels
 Nagara, 59(table), 201(table), 261, 277
 Nāgārjuna, 171, 173–74, 205
 Nāgendra, 142(n.xv)
 Nairātmyā, 46, 373(n.42), 461(n.368)
 Nairṛti, 142(n.xix), 311–13
 Nālandā monastery, 14–15
Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī (Vilāsavajra),
 25, 371(n.37)
Nāmasaṃgīti (Vilāsavajra). See *Ārya*
mañjuśrīnāmāsaṃgīti
 Nāro-Ḍākinī, 428(n.225), 458(n.352),
 459(n.358)
 Nāro-khecari, xxii–xxiv, xxiii(fig), 106
 Nāropa (c. 956–1040), xxii–xxiv,
 12–13(table), 50, 102, 105, 155
 Narteśvara, 362
 Narteśvari, 117, 118(table), 305(n.lxix)
 “Narthang Pantheon,” 37, 396(n.58)
 Naṭarāja, 91

nectars, five, 183, 210
 Nepal
 hand worship in, 217–18
 initiation rites in, xxviii
 Sankhu temple, 45
 Thangbochi Monastery, 420(n.185)
 Vajraghoṇā in, 66
 Vajravārāhī in, 47, 49
 Vajrayoginī in, xxi, xxvii
 Ngor maṇḍalas, 132
 Nihārīvajradākinī, 65(fig)
 Nilahita, 142(n.xvii)
 Nirañjanā River, 202, 279
 Nirṛti, 142(n.xix)
Niśācakra, 218
 Niścāreśa, 142(n.xix)
Niśisaṃcāra, 38
Niṣpannayogāvali NYĀ
 (Abhayākaragupta), 46, 48, 173
 nonduality, 41–43, 175–77, 212
 nonobjectification, 129–30
 Nṛtyā, 121, 122(table)
 oblation, 221–22, 309
*Ocean of Sādhana*s, 19, 20(table)
 Odantapurā, 14
 Oḍḍiyāna, 59(table), 87, 100,
 201(table), 259, 273, 377–78
 in body maṇḍala, 202
 and flying ḍākinis, 74
 and Indrabhūti, 9, 14, 43–44
Oḍḍiyānasvādhiṣṭhānakramavajrayoginī-
sādhana (Virūpa; GSS37), 23, 71,
 378–79
Oḍḍiyānavinirgatavajrayoginisādhana
 (GSS12), 22, 75, 363
 Oḍra, 59(table), 201(table), 259, 275
*One Hundred and Fifty Sādhana*s,
 19, 20(table)
Oral Tradition of Vajrayoginī (Indra-
 bhūti; GSS1), 14, 22, 28, 50–51, 117, 355
 Padmajvālinī, 117, 118(table),
 305(n.lxix)
 Padmanarteśvara, 88–89, 91, 118(table),
 219(table), 360–61

- Padmanātha, 419(n.185)
 Padmasambhava (8th cent.), xxv–xxvi,
 388(n.24)
 Padmavajra, 168, 373
 Painḍapātika, 363(n.15)
 Pāla dynasties (760–1142), 14–15, 21
Pañcakrama, 373
Pañcatathāgatamudrāvivarāṇa, 373
 Panchen Lama, 36
 Pāṇḍara(vāsini), 56, 59(table), 117,
 118(table), 420(n.185), 492(table)
 Pāṇini, 193, 263, 265, 336, 504(n.553)
Pañjikā, 344
 Parā goddesses, 38
Paramagambhīrakaraṇakoraṇakrama-
vajrayoginīsādhanaśvādhiṣṭhāna-
krama (GSS33), 23, 52, 106, 148,
 172, 374–75
Paramagambhīropadeśo Vajrayoginyāḥ
Karaṇakoraṇakramah
Svādhiṣṭhānam (Dhyāyīpāda;
 GSS34), 23, 51, 106, 137–38, 148,
 375–76, 487(n.477)
 Paramāśva, 219(table)
 Paramāśvāstra, 219(table)
 Pāśin, 348
 Pāśupata Śaivites, 39
 Pātani, 117, 118(table), 305(n.lxix)
 Paviyoginī, 373–75
 Phaṭanivajradākini, 65(fig)
Picumata-Brahmayāmalatantra, 39
Piṇḍārthāḥ Śoḍaśaślokaś Trikāyavajra-
yoginyāḥ (Virūpa; GSS26), 23, 84,
 95(table), 100, 370
Piṇḍikramasādhana, 169
 places, ten (*deśas*), 196–97
 Potala mountain, 88
 powers (*balas*), 267
 Prabhañjana, 141(table), 311–13
 Prabhāvatī, 59(table), 191(fig),
 201(table), 259, 265, 273
 Pracandā, 249, 259–61, 265, 273,
 282–83
 and body maṇḍala, 198, 202
 in maṇḍala, 59(table), 191(fig),
 201(table)
Pradīpāhutividhi (Indrabhūti; GSS14),
 22, 205, 221, 363–64
Pradīpyotana, 435(n.258)
Praise Contemplation of Triple-Bodied
Vajrayoginī (Virūpa; GSS27), 23,
 84, 95(table), 100, 371
Praise of Vajravilāsini (Vibhūticandra;
 GSS43), 22, 84–85, 380
 Pramohā, 48
 Praṇavāvajradākini, 65(fig)
 Pretapuri, 59(table), 201(table), 261,
 275
Propitiation Rite of Vidyādhari-
Vajrayoginī (Śabara; GSS23), 23,
 81–83, 88, 102, 368
 protection
 and *bali* ritual, 213–14
 circle of, 112, 114–15, 131–36,
 132(table), 134(table), 144, 233–35
 mantra for, 297
 pūjā. *See* ritual
 Pullirāmalaya, 59(table), 198,
 201(table), 202, 259, 273
 Purāṇic legend, 92, 141–42(nn.xii, xiv,
 xvii), 160, 466(n.395)
See also individual Purāṇas
 purification, 30–31
 and *bali* ritual, 214
 and body maṇḍala, 198
 of circles of protection, 134–36
 and consecration, 170
 and correspondence (*visuddhi*),
 116–19, 118(table), 271
 and mantra, 125–29
 rituals, 115–16, 209
 and *vāmācāra*, 41–43
 Pūrṇagiri, 100
 Puṣpā, 121, 122(table)
 Rāgavajra, 118(table)
 Rāhulagupta
Hevajraprakāśa, 472(n.413)
Raktavajravārāḥisādhana (GSS6),
 22, 60, 358
 Rāmapāla, King (c.1077–1120), 11, 14
 Rambhā, 92

Rāmeśvara, 59(table), 201(table), 259,

273

Rasā, 122

Rasanā, 309, 425(table)

Ratnākaraśānti, 12–13(table), 45, 172–73

Muktāvalī, 456(n.343)

Ratnasambhava, 118(table), 183,

192(table), 219(table), 251, 303,

492(table)

ṛddhipādas. See means of mind concentration

Reṇukā, 427(n.224)

Rin 'byung brgya rtsa (Tāranātha), 36,

364(n.17), 367(n.24)

on Trikāvajrayoginī, 96

on Vajravārāhi, 50, 66, 77–78,

407(n.112), 409(n.122)

on Vajrayoginī, 405(n.104),

412(n.136), 414(n.148)

Rin lhan, 36

ritual, 3, 27–32, 109–12, 205–6,

207(table)

consecration, 31, 169–71

efficacy of, 205

initiation, xxviii

intention, 215

kumārī, 52

and lifestyle, 16

oblation, 22, 221–22

offerings, 121

rite of completion, 215–16, 297,

305–7

staking, 446(n.305)

tasting nectar, 208–11, 209(fig), 214,

289–99

See also *bali* ritual; worship

Roṣaṇīvajraḍākinī, 65(fig)

Rudra, 39, 161

Rudrāṇi, xxvi, 43

Rūpiṇī, 249–53, 263, 279, 283

in maṇḍala, 56, 59(table), 183–84,

191(fig), 201(table)

Śabara, 9–10, 14–15, 22–23, 102,

355(n.1), 377(n.48)

dates of, 12–13(table)

and Guhyavajravilāsini, 86–88

Guhyavajravilāsiniśādhana (GSS10),

22, 39, 82–84, 86, 88, 90, 153, 360

62, 368(n.27)

on mantra, 180

and Vajrayoginī, 81, 83–84, 86, 91,

413(n.145)

Vajrayoginīśādhana (GSS19), 23, 71,

366

Vidyādhari vajrayoginyārādhana vidhi

(GSS23), 23, 81–83, 88, 102, 368

works by, 8(table)

Śabara lineage

Vidyādharikramabhāvanā (GSS22),

23, 79–81, 84, 337, 368

Vidyādharikramavajrayoginīśādhana

(GSS21), 23, 79, 84, 367

sacred sites, 195–99

Sadāśiva, 90

sādhaka, 28–32, 91–92, 174–78. See also

male role

sādhana, xix–xxi

and celibacy, 17

collections of Bu ston, 19

collections in GSS, 7, 18–24

defined, 1, 24

evolution of, 24–26

generation and perfection/

completion stages, 171–74

preliminaries, 27, 114–19

site for, 114–15

structure of, 27–33, 113

Sādhana for [Gaining] Siddhi in All

Things (Advayavajra; GSS15), 23,

66–67, 364

Sādhanamālā, xxi, 19, 20(table), 21, 26

armoring in, 469(table)

compared with GSS, 383(n.1)

goddesses in, 45–46, 428(n.225),

437(n.262)

and Mañjuśrī, 471(n.411)

on *mantramālā* ritual, 70

on meditation posture, 114

on Trikāvajrayoginī, 95, 105, 360

on worship, 424(n.213)

Sādhanamālā Tantra, 20(table), 321

- Sādhana of Noble White Vajravārāhī* (GSS38), 23, 69, 70, 379, 383(n.1)
- Sādhana of Red Vajravārāhī* (GSS6), 22, 60, 358
- Sādhana of Secret Vajravilāsini* (Śabara; GSS10), 22, 39, 82–84, 86, 88, 90, 153, 360–62, 368(n.27)
- Sādhana of the Thirteenfold Vajradākinī Vajravārāhī* (Advayavajra lineage; GSS16), 22, 63–64, 83, 364–65, 453(n.327), 492(table)
- Sādhana of the Twelve-Armed Vajravārāhī* (GSS7), 7, 22, 54, 184, 187, 359
- Sādhana of Triple-Bodied Vajrayoginī* (Virūpa; GSS25), xxi, 23, 95–99, 369–70
- Sādhana of Vajrayoginī with the Method of the Falling Turtle* (GSS36), 23, 77, 377
- Sādhana of White Vajrayoginī with Food Raised* (GSS17), 22, 76, 366
- Sādhanaśāgara* (Bu ston), 19–20
- Sādhanaśataka*, 19
- Sādhanaśatapañcāśikā* (1165), 18–20
- Sāgara, 87
- Sahajāṅganā, 373, 375
- Sahajanirdeśa*, 375
- Sahaja Reversed, 405(n.104), 406(fig)
- Sahajasiddhi*, 375
- Sahajāvalokanasamādhivajra, 8(table), 372(n.37)
- Binducūḍāmaṇir nāma svādhiṣṭhānakramaḥ* (GSS32), 23, 51, 106, 148, 153, 372–74
- Śaiva deities
and Māra, 465(n.389)
subjugation of, 135, 139, 160–63, 195–96
trampled, 55–56, 63, 74, 76, 78
- Śaivism
and *bali* ritual, 206
on decapitation, 427(n.224)
and Guhyavajravilāsini, 90–91
and identification with deity, 432(n.249), 433(n.250)
influence of, 1, 27, 37–40, 44, 104, 107, 160–63, 189, 197, 512(n.583)
and sacred sites, 195
seed-syllables in, 344
on three eyes, 459(n.355)
and Vajravilāsini, 85–86
- Śakra, 76, 141(n.xiii), 147
- Śākta Pramoda*, 427(n.224)
- Śakti, 380
- Śaktisaṃgamatantra*, 427(n.224)
- Sakya. *See* Sa skya
- Śākyanātha, 24
- Śākyarakṣita, 10–11, 105, 357(n.6), 372(n.37)
- Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5). *See* reference
dates of, 12–13(table)
on emptiness, 129
on five awakenings, 150
works by, 8(table)
- Samāja, 208, 212–15
- Samantabhadra, 117, 118(table)
- Samantabhadri, xxvi
- Samantaśrī, 11
- Śambhala, 44
- Samcālinī, 164, 219(table), 241, 305
- Samkṣiptavajravārāhīsādhana* (Vilāsavajra)
GSS4, 22, 183, 356
GSS29, 23, 179, 371
- Samputatantra*, 341
- Samputobhavatatantra*, 221, 373(n.42)
- Samtrāsini, 164, 219(table), 241, 305
- Samvara
on letters of alphabet, 152
maṇḍalas, 132
on mantra, 29
on ritual, 212, 214–15
texts of, 7
and Vajravilāsini, 85
and Vajrayoginī, 405(n.104)
- Samvarārnavatantra*, 52–53
- Sāmvarikaḥ Sārvabhautikabalivadhi* (Abhayākara Gupta), 339
- Samvarodayatantra*, xxviii, 7, 26, 341, 381, 468(n.403)
on *bali* ritual, 213

- on birth of deity, 154
 on body maṇḍala, 202
 cosmology of, 148
 on cremation grounds, 449(n.312)
 on goddess consorts, 184
 on mad observance, 81
 on maṇḍala, 109
 on oblation, 222
 and Śaivism, 39
 on triads, 101
 Tsuda translation, xxi
 on yogic body, 426(n.220)
 on yoginīs, 196
- Sangha, 28
 Sangs rgyas thams cad kyi mkha' 'gro
 ma, 105
 Sankhu temple (Nepal), xxviii, 45
 Śāntideva
 Śikṣāsamuccaya, 125(n)
 Śāntivarman, 88
 Saptākṣara, 49
Saptākṣarasādhana, 492(n.495)
 Saraha, 10
 Saruṣṭrī, 373, 375
 Sarvabuddhaḍākinī, 47, 52, 94, 97,
 100, 103, 105, 183, 423(n.210),
 425(nn.215, 217)
Sarvabuddhasamāyogadākinījālasaṃvara,
 5, 12–13(table), 38, 187, 389(n.24),
 399(n.77), 419(n.185)
Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra, 24–25,
 134, 341, 445(n.301), 447(n.308),
 451(n.320)
 Sarvānandanātha (15th c.)
 Sarvollāsatāntra, 427(n.224)
 Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin, 117,
 118(table)
Sarvārthasiddhisādhana (Advayavajra;
 GSS15), 23, 66–67, 364
Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha, 3, 48,
 135, 139, 160, 341
Sarvavīrasamāyoga, 38
 Sa skya, xxiii–xxv, 10, 14, 358(n.7)
 Śāśvatavajra, 206–8, 207(table), 342
 Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi, 207(table),
 208, 210–13
Śatapathabrāhmaṇa, 433(n.250)
Śaṭcakraavartimaṇḍala, 49
 Śaundhinī, 41, 59(table), 191(fig),
 201(table), 261, 267, 277, 337
 Saurāṣṭra, 59(table), 201(table), 241, 277
 secrecy, xxiii, xxv, xxvii–xxviii, 28, 68,
 73, 106
*Secret Oblation Rite According to the
 System of Vajrayoginī*
 (Buddhadatta; GSS13), 22, 363
Secret Oblation Rite of Vajravārāhī
 (GSS8), 21–22, 360
 seed-syllable,
 and *bali* ritual 211–12
 of body maṇḍala, 197–98
 and central channel meditation,
 175–78
 and circles of protection, 131–34, 237
 and deities, 169
 and elements, 144, 145(fig)
 and external worship, 217, 299
 and hand worship, 218–20,
 219(table), 303–9
 and heart mantra, 68
 and meditation, 29, 130
 and oblations, 309
 in Śaivism, 344
 and self-generation, 150–54, 151(table)
 and tasting nectar, 209–11, 289–93
 of Vajrayoginī forms
 Trikāyavajrayoginī, 97
 Vajravārāhī, 155
 Vidyādhari Vajrayoginī, 80
 and worship, 120–21
 See also mantra
Sekakriyākrama, 207(table)
Sekkoddeśaṭīkā, 381
*Self-Consecration Method Known As the
 Crest Jewel of the Drop* (Sahajāvalo-
 kasaṃmādhivajra; GSS32), 23, 51,
 106, 148, 153, 372–74
*Self-Consecration Method Vajrayoginī
 Sādhana with the Supremely
 Profound Method of the Skeleton
 Arch* (GSS33), 23, 52, 106, 148,
 172, 374–75

- Self-Consecration Rite for Propitiating a Virgin* (GSS44), 380–81
- self-generation
and *bali* ritual, 208, 214–15
of deity, 149–55, 151(table), 166–67, 171–72
and external worship, 216–17
- Seven Special Transmissions* (Tāranātha), 428(n.225)
- sexual practices, 5, 22–23, 28, 44, 107, 173, 365, 470(n.409)
and *bindu*, 372–75
and consecration, 170
and hand worship, 218
and mantra, 181
and menstruation, 463(n.382)
and monastic vows, 17
retention of semen, 92
reversed position, 405–6(n.104)
and Śaivism, 40–42
and *śakti*, 4
and skeleton arch, 376
symbolism of, 149–50, 152, 154, 158
and Vajrayoginī forms, 84
falling-turtle-pose Vajrayoginī, 77–78
Guhyavajravilāsini, 89–94
six-armed Vajravārāhi, 60–61
Vajradākinī Vajravārāhi, 63–64
Vajravārāhi, 159
Vajravilāsini, 360–62
and *vāmācāra*, 41–42
See also consort; mahāmudrā
- **Siddha-Āmnāya*, 14–15, 83–84, 87, 102, 368(n.27)
- Siddhayogēśvarīmata*, 38
- siddhis, 3, 40, 70, 91, 101, 180–81, 213, 287, 295–97
- Śikṣāsamuccaya* (Śāntideva), 125(n)
- Sindhu, 59(table), 201(table), 261, 277
- sites, twenty-four (*pīṭhas*), 57, 100, 110, 162, 196, 273, 376
- Śiva, 78, 85–86, 142(n.xvii)
bhairava, 37–38
and cremation grounds, 311–13
dance of, 50, 91
subjugation of, 74, 139, 160–62, 195
- Sixteen Praise Verses of Triple-Bodied Vajrayoginī with Essential Meaning* (Virūpa; GSS26), 23, 84, 95(table), 100, 370
- skeleton arch, 374–76
- skull bowl, 156–57
- skull observance, 39–40, 158
- skull staff, 157–58, 210
- Śmaśānālambkāraṇatantra*, 141(n.xii), 488(table)
- Śmaśānavidhi* (Lūyīpāda), 140–43 (nn.xii–xiv, xvi, xxv–xxx), 207(table), 223, 343, 347, 449(n.312)
- Somapura Monastery, 14–15
- soteriology, 3–4, 40
and *bali* ritual, 214
and body maṇḍala, 202
and Guhyavajravilāsini practice, 91–94
and maṇḍala, 192
sexual, 149
and subjugation of deities, 161–62
and Trikāvajrayoginī practice, 101
See also enlightenment; mahāmudrā
- Sparśā, 122
- spiritual faculties, 506(n.563)
- śrī-Bhagavadabhisamaya* (Lūyīpāda), 10
- Śribuddhaḍākinī, 94
- śrī-Dhānyakaṭaka, 88
- śrī-Guhyasamayatantra*, 19
- Śrihaṭṭa, 100
- śrī-Herukavajra, 118(table)
- śrī-Hevajradvikaḷparāja*, 375
- Śrīmatidevi
* *Chinnamuṇḍā Vajravārāhi Sādhana*, 367(n.24), 369(n.29)
- Śrīśabarapāda, 355(n.1)
- śrī-Vajravārāhisādhana* (Prajñābhadrā), 358(n.7)
- śrī-Vajrayoginīhomavidhi*, 363(n.15)
- śrī-Vajrayoginīnīrahasya-karṇākarnamukhāmukha*, 355(n.1)
- Śrīvidyā cult, 61, 90
- Sthaviravādins, 18
- Subhadrā, 59(table), 191(fig), 201(table), 259, 267, 275

- Śubhākaragupta, 357(n.6)
- Śūkarāsyā, 233, 255, 269, 277
in maṇḍala, 57, 59(table), 134,
186–87, 191(fig), 201(table)
- Sukhāvati, 150
- Sumeru. *See* Mount Meru
- summoning the deity, 167–68
- Supremely Profound Teaching:*
Self-Consecration as Skeleton-Arch
Method of Vajrayoginī
(Dhyāyīpāda; GSS34), 23, 51, 106,
137–38, 148, 375–76, 487(n.477)
- Surābhakṣī, 59(table), 191(fig),
201(table), 259, 267, 275
- Suruyoginī, 52, 369, 371
- Suvarṇadvīpa, 59(table), 201(table), 261,
277
- Suvirā, 59(table), 191(fig), 201(table),
261, 267, 277
- Svacchandabhairava, 38
- Svacchandatantrorddyota*, 433(n.250)
- Svādhiṣṭhānakumārītarpanavidhi*
(GSS44), 380–81
- svādhiṣṭhāna*-method sādhanas, 23
- Svākārīvajraḍākinī, 65(fig)
- Śvānāsyā, 233, 255, 269, 277
in maṇḍala, 57, 59(table), 134,
186–87, 191(fig), 201(table)
- Śyāmā(devī), 59(table), 191(fig),
201(table), 259, 267, 275
- tangkas
circles of protection, 134, 138
cremation grounds, 138, 140 (n.iii)
temple palace, 147
- Tangut empire (982–1229), 35
- Tantrārthāvatāra* (Buddhaguhya), 167
- Tantrasadbhāva*, 38, 486(n.470),
503(n.550)
- Tantrasāra*, 427(n.224)
- tantric
literature, 2–9, 26–27, 37–40
maṇḍalas, 132–33
practice
vs. academic study, xxii, 15–16
and female spirits, 43
systems, 1–5, 163, 195
- Tārā, xxvi, xxviii, 85, 427(n.224),
492(table)
and Advayavajra, 87
forms of, 45
in maṇḍala, 56, 59(table)
and purification, 117, 118(table)
- Tāranātha (1575–1634), 358(n.7),
388(n.24), 390(n.29)
on destruction of Vajrāsana temple, 18
- History of Buddhism in India*, 9–10, 88
- Rin 'byung brgya rtsa*. *See* reference
on self-decapitation mythology, 101
- Seven Special Transmissions*,
428(n.225)
- Tattvajñānasamśiddhi*, xxi, 357(n.6)
- Tattvajñānasamśiddhi-*
svādhiṣṭhānakrama, 375–76
- teacher. *See* guru
- temple palace, 144–49, 189–90
- Thangbochi Monastery (Nepal),
420(n.185)
- Tibet, xxi–xxii, 2, 6
armor goddesses in, 164
Bön tradition, xxvii
goddess transmissions in, 105–6
self-decapitation mythology in, 101
- Tilakā, 373
- Tilopa (c. 928–1009), xxii
- Tilottamā, 92
- transgressive discipline (*vāmācāra*),
41–43, 117, 119
- translation, 2, 19–21, 386(n.14), 387(n.20)
- Trayodaśātmikavajradākinīvajravārāhi-*
sādhana (Advayavajra lineage;
GSS16), 22, 63–64, 83, 364–65,
453(n.327), 492(table)
- Trika cult, 38, 40, 43, 195
- Trikāyavajrayoginī, 23, 47, 94–102,
94(fig), 105
in GSS5, 358
in GSS9, 360
in GSS20, 366
in GSS25, 369–70
and Śābara, 14
texts of, 95(table)

- and Vajravilāsini, 84
Trikāyavajrayoginīsādhana (Virūpa; GSS25), xxi, 23, 95–99, 369–70, 425(n.217)
Trikāyavajrayoginīstotra GSS26, 23, 84, 95(table), 100, 370 GSS27, 23, 84, 95(table), 100, 371
Trikāyavajrayoginīstutiprañdhāna (Virūpa; GSS27), 23, 84, 95(table), 100, 371
 Tripurā, 427(n.224)
 Tripurasundarī, 61, 90–91, 433(n.249)
 Trisākuni, 59(table), 201(table), 259, 275
Twenty-One Praise Verses for Saluting Vajrayoginī (GSS42), 23, 72, 380
 Ucchiṣṭavjra, 222, 309
 Ucchuṣmakrodha, 162
 Ugratārā, xxviii, 45
 Ulūkāsyā, 233, 255, 269, 277
 in maṇḍala, 57, 59(table), 134, 186, 191(fig), 201(table)
 Umā, 161
 Umāpatideva
 dates of, 12–13(table)
 works by, 8(table)
 universities. *See* monasteries
Ūrdhvapādaśuklavajrayoginīsādhana (GSS17), 22, 76, 366
 Vaḍavāvajraḍākinī, 65(fig)
 Vāgīśvaragupta, 11, 326, 362(n.13)
 Vairañivajraḍākinī, 65(fig)
 Vairocana, 3, 46, 58, 74, 243, 261, 492(table)
 goddesses and, 189–90, 192, 409(n.122)
 and hand worship, 219(table), 303
 in maṇḍala, 192(table)
 and purification, 116, 118(table)
 seed-syllable of, 339
 and Vajrapāni, 160–61
Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi(tantra), 3, 454(n.331)
 Vairocanī, 52, 358, 423(n.210), 425(nn.215, 217)
 and mantra, 103, 105, 178, 183, 379
 and Trikāyavajrayoginī, 94, 96–97, 367, 369–70
 Vaiṣṇavatī, 380
 Vaiṣṇavī, 43
 Vaiṣṇavism, 1, 43, 206
 Vaiśravaṇa, 141(n.xiv)
 Vaiśvānara, 141(table), 311–13
 Vaivasvata, 142(n.xvi)
 vajra, 147(fig), 156(fig)
 defined, 44
 family, 153
 as nondual, 44, 126
 symbolism of, 153
 vs. chopper iconography, 104, 156, 332
Vajrabhairavatāntra, 5
 Vajrabhasmottamā, 62(fig)
Vajrācāryaśaṅkṣaṇavidhi (Jagaddarpaṇa), 16
Vajradākātāntra, 7
 Vajraḍākinī. *See* Vajravārāhī, forms of
 Vajradamṣṭrottamā, 62(fig)
 Vajradhara, 28, 162, 237(n.xiv)
 Vajradhātumaṇḍala, 3
 Vajraghoṇa. *See* Vajravārāhī, forms of
 Vajraguhyottamā, 62(fig)
 Vajraheruka, 297(n.liv)
 Vajrajñānottamā, 62(fig)
 Vajrajvālotamā, 62(fig)
 Vajrakila, 237(n.xiv)
 Vajrakrodhottamā, 62(fig)
 Vajrāmṛtrottamā, 62(fig)
 Vajramukhī, 48
 Vajrapāñi, 48, 117, 118(table), 160–61, 381, 412(n.138)
 Vajrarāja, 118(table), 219(table)
Vajrārallitāntra, 341
 Vajraratnottamā, 62(fig)
 Vajrasamayottamā, 62(fig)
 Vajrāsana, 468(n.404)
 Vajrasattva, 49, 118(table), 219(table), 297(n.liv), 303
 Vajrasiddhottamā, 62(fig)
 Vajrasūrya, 118(table), 219(table)
 Vajratārā, 45
 Vajratejottamā, 62(fig)

Vajravairocanī. *See* Vairocanī
 Vajravālānārka, 134
Vajrāvalī (Abhayākara Gupta), xx, 29,
 190, 208, 210, 212–14
 Vajravārāhī, xxv–xxvi, 1, 21–24,
 269–71, plates 4, 6, 8, 10, 11
 compared with Vajrayoginī, xxii, 47,
 49, 102–6
 emergence of, 47–49
 forms of, 103, 155 (fig), 155–60
ālīdha-stance, 356–57
ardhaparyāṅka (dancing) pose, 22,
 50–53, 51 (fig), 104, 105, 184, 325,
 355, 358–59, front cover, plate 1
 armor, 164, 165 (fig)
 Arthasādhana, 67 (fig)
 in Brāhmaṇa Śrīdhara tradition,
 408 (n.117; fig)
 Guhyavajravilāsini, 82, 86–93,
 86 (fig), 405 (n.104)
pratyālīdha-stance, 356
 Red, 60–61
 red, two-armed warrior-stance, 36
 Red Vajraghoṇā, 66–68, 67 (fig),
 104–5
 red, *ūrdhwapāda* (foot-raised) pose,
 74–75, 75 (fig), 105–6, 363
saṃbhogakāya, 167
 six-armed, warrior-stance, 62–65,
 63 (fig), 365
 six-armed with consort, 60–62,
 61–62 (fig), 105, 358
 thirty-six animal faces, 420 (n.185)
 twelve-armed, dancing-pose,
 54–59, 55 (fig)
 Vajraḍākinī, 22, 63 (fig), 105, 365,
 367, 424 (n.213)
 Vajravilāsini, 22, 61, 84–86, 85 (fig),
 89–91, 103, 106, 360–62, 380,
 405 (n.104)
 Vajraghoṇa (hog-faced), 23, 28,
 46–48, 51, 66–68, 67 (fig), 104,
 364, 366, 378–79, plate 5
 warrior-stance, 22, 23, 36, 49, 52,
 105–6, 363
 white, 69–71, 69 (fig), 358

White Vajraghoṇa, 68, 104–5
 and Ghaṇṭāpāda, 44
 and hand worship, 219 (table)
 identification with, 32, 116–19,
 149–55, 163–66, 168, 181–82, 239
 and maṇḍala, 5, 110, 191 (fig)
 mantra of, 178–81, 179 (table)
 subjugation of males, 40
See also Vajrayoginī
Vajravārāhihomavidhi (GSS39),
 21–23, 379
Vajravārāhikalpa, xxi
 GSS18, 23, 66–68, 366
 GSS41, 22, 380
Vajravārāhikalpasarvārthasiddhi-
sādhana, 364 (n.17)
Vajravārāhī Ritual, xxi
 GSS18, 23, 66–68, 366
 GSS41, 22, 376
Vajravārāhisādhana
 GSS2 (Lūyīpāda), 14, 22, 50–51, 117,
 355–56
 GSS3 (Advayavajra), xxi, 22,
 134 (table), 148, 179, 356, 383 (n.1)
 GSS11 (Umāpatidevā). *See* individual
 topics
 GSS31, 23, 134 (table), 179, 372
Vajravārāhyabhyudayatāntra, 187
Vajravārāhyā Gopyahomavidhiḥ
 (GSS8), 21–22, 360
 Vajravarnanī, 52, 423 (n.210),
 425 (nn.215, 217)
 and mantra, 103, 105, 183
 and Trikāvajrayoginī, 94, 96–97,
 367, 369–70
 Vajravidyottamā, 62 (fig)
 Vajravilāsini. *See* Vajravārāhi, forms of
Vajravilāsiniśtotra (Vibhūticandra;
 GSS43), 22, 84–85, 380
 Vajrayāna, 1, 44
 Vajrayoginī, xxv–xxvi, 21–24, 102–7,
 plates 7–9, 14
 and Cakrasaṃvara texts, 27
 compared with Vajravārāhī, xxii, 47,
 49, 102–6
 emergence of, 43–47

- forms of, 36, 103
ardhaparyāṅka (dancing) pose, 45–46
 Chinnamuṇḍā/Chinnamastā, 23, 94, 102, 387(n.18), 424(n.210), 427(n.224)
 falling-turtle-pose, 23, 77–78, 77(fig), 106, 377
 flying Vidyādhari, 23, 82–84, 82(fig)
 four-armed, warrior-stance, 73–74, 73(fig)
 Guhyavajravilāsini, 86–93, 86(fig)
 red, warrior-stance, 358, 378
 severed-head, 360
 Trikāvajrayoginī, 23, 94–102, 94(fig), 105, 358, 360, 366, 369–70
 two-armed, warrior-stance, 71–73, 71(fig)
ūrdhvpāda (raised-foot) pose, 22, 366
 Vidyādhari, 23, 79–84, 79(fig), 82(fig), 86–89, 105–6, 367
 white, two-armed, 378–79, 405(n.104)
 white, foot raised, 76–77, 76(fig), 105–6
 identification with, 31
 subjugation of males, 40
 and *vāmācāra*, 42
See also Vajravārāhi
Vajrayoginīmaṇḍalavidhi-nāma (Umāpatideva), 362(n.13)
Vajrayoginīmatena Gopyahomavidhi (Buddhadatta; GSS13), 22, 363
Vajrayoginīmukhāgama (Indrabhūti; GSS1), 14, 22, 50–51, 117, 355
Vajrayoginīprañāmaikaviṃśikā (GSS42), 23, 72, 380
Vajrayoginīsādhana
 GSS9 (Virūpa lineage), 23, 95(table), 96, 99, 360
 GSS19 (Śabara), 23, 71, 366
 GSS20 (Virūpa lineage), 23, 95(table), 96, 99, 366–67
 GSS28, 23, 71, 371
 GSS30, 23, 95(table), 96, 99, 372
Vajrayoginī Sādhana from Oḍḍiyāna (GSS12), 22, 75, 363
Vajrayoginī Sādhana from Oḍḍiyāna with the Self-Consecration Method (Virūpa; GSS37), 23, 71, 378–79
Vajrayoginī Sādhana in the Tradition of Indrabhūti (Vijayavajra; GSS35), 23, 49, 73–74, 377, 477(n.431)
Vajrayoginī Sādhana with the Method for Conquering Indra (GSS45), 22, 381
Vajrayoginī Sādhana with the Vidyādhari Method (Śabara lineage; GSS21), 23, 79, 84, 367
vāmācāra (transgressive discipline), 41–43, 117, 119
Vāmakeśvarimata, 90
 Vamśā, 121, 122(table)
 Vanaratna, 10
 Varāhamukhī, 46
 Vārāhi, 43, 47–48, 373. *See also* Vajravārāhi
 Vārāhyabhyudaya maṇḍala, plate 13
Vārāhyabhyudayatāntra, 7, 54, 56, 58, 330, 359, 404(n.101)
 Vārendra, 14
 Vart(t)ālī, 48
 Varuṇa, 64, 140(table), 311, 348
 Vasanta, 373
Vasantatilakā(ṭikā), 221–22, 336, 341, 373
 “Vāśya Vajravārāhi,” 50
 Vāyu, 142(n.xx), 311–13
 Vāyuvegā, 59(table), 191(fig), 201(table), 259, 267, 275
 Vedavati, 380
 Vibhūticandra, 8(table), 10, 12–13(table), 18
Vajravilāsiniśtotra (GSS43), 22, 84–85, 380
Vidhisamgraha, 206, 207(table), 223
 Vidyādhari. *See* Vajrayoginī, forms of
Vidyādharikramabhāvanā (Śabara lineage; GSS22), 23, 79–81, 84, 337, 368

Vidyādhārīkramavajrayoginīsādhana
(Śabara lineage; GSS21), 23, 79,
84, 367

Vidyādhārī Method Meditation (Śabara
lineage; GSS22), 23, 79–81, 84,
337, 368

Vidyādhārīvajrayoginyārādhana
(Śabara; GSS23), 23, 81–83, 88,
102, 368

vidyāpīṭha, 37–40

Vijayavajra, 8(table)

Indrabhūtikrameṇa

Vajrayoginīsāadhanam (GSS35), 23,
49, 73–74, 377, 477(n.431)

Vikramacarita, 427(n.224)

Vikramasena, 329

Vikramaśīla Monastery, 14–15

Vilāsavajra, 3, 5, 8(table), 374,
470(n.411)

Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī, 25

Nāmasaṃgīti, 3

Samkṣiptavajravārāhisādhana
GSS4, 22, 183, 356

GSS29, 23, 179, 371

Yogatantra Sādhana, 130

Vilāsini. *See* Vajravārāhī, forms of

Vimalaprabhā, 381

Viṇā, 121, 122(table)

Viramati, 59(table), 191(fig), 201(table),
259, 265, 273

Virūpa, 9–10, 14–15, 23, 102, 357(n.6),
358(n.7), 360

Chinnamunḍāsādhana, 422(n.206),
425(n.216)

dates of, 12–13(table)

Odḍiyānasvādhiṣṭhānakramavajra-
yoginīsādhana (GSS37), 23, 71,
378–79

Pindārthāḥ Ṣoḍaśaślokās Trikāya-
vajrayoginyāḥ (GSS26), 23, 84,
95(table), 100, 370

on Trikāyavajrayoginī, 84, 94–96
Trikāyavajrayoginīsādhana (GSS25),
xxi, 23, 94–99, 369–70

Trikāyavajrayoginīstutipraṇidhāna
(GSS27), 23, 84, 95(table), 100, 371

works by, 8(table)

Virūpa lineage

Vajrayoginīsādhana

GSS9, 23, 95(table), 96, 99, 360

GSS20, 23, 95(table), 96, 99,
366–67

Viṣṇu, 47–48, 74

visualization, 24–25, 29–30, 32, 109–12

and *bali* ritual, 212–15

and body maṇḍala, 198

and circle of protection, 131–36,
132(table)

and consecration, 170

of cosmos, 144, 145(fig)

of deity's dwelling place, 144–49

emptiness, 125–30

and external worship, 216–17, 220

and hand worship, 218–19, 303–5, 309

and identification with deity, 149–55

and oblations, 221–22, 309

and purification (*viśuddhi*), 116–19,
118(table)

tasting nectar, 210, 289–93, 299

of Vajrayoginī forms, 120–23,
122(table)

Guhyavajravilāsini, 89–93

four-armed warrior-stance

Vajrayoginī, 72–73

flying Vidyādhārī Vajrayoginī, 82–84

six-armed Vajravārāhī, 60–61

twelve-armed Vajravārāhī, 56–58

two-armed warrior-stance Vajra-

yoginī, 72

Vajraḍākinī Vajravārāhī, 63–66

Vajravārāhī, 155

Vajravilāsini, 357–58

Vidyādhārī Vajrayoginī, 79–81

White Vajravārāhī, 69–71

White Vajrayoginī with foot raised,
76–77

and worship, 120–22

See also meditation

viśuddhi (purification), 30–31, 116–19,
118(table)

Vyādhāma(śrī)yoginī, 373–76

worship

- external, 216–18, 220, 299
- hand, 217–20, 219(table), 301–9
- identification with, 293
- of knowledge deity, 168
- sevenfold, 229
- supreme, 122–23, 124(table)
- of Vajrayoginī forms, 120–23, 122(table)
 - dancing-pose Vajravārāhi, 51–53
 - falling-turtle-pose, 78
 - four-armed warrior-stance
 - Vajrayoginī, 74
 - Guhyavajravilāsini, 90
 - Trikāyavajrayoginī, 97
 - twelve-armed Vajravārāhi, 58
 - two-armed warrior-stance
 - Vajrayoginī, 72–73
 - Vajraghoṇā, 68
 - Vidhyādhari Vajrayoginī, 80–81
- See also* ritual

- yakṣa, 64, 141(n.xiv)
- Yakṣādhīpa, 141(n.xiv)
- Yama, 64, 140(table), 186, 311
- Yamadādhī, 233–35, 255, 271, 277, 483(n.458)
 - in maṇḍala, 57, 59(table), 134, 186, 191(fig), 201(table)
- Yamadaṃṣṭrīṇī, 233, 255, 271, 277
 - in maṇḍala, 57, 59(table), 134, 186, 191(fig), 201(table)
- Yamadūti, 233, 255, 271, 277
 - in maṇḍala, 57, 59(table), 134, 186, 191(fig), 201(table)
- Yamamathanī, 233, 255, 271, 277
 - in maṇḍala, 57, 59(table), 134, 186, 191(fig), 201(table)
- Yamāntaka, xxv, 481(n.450)
- Yamāri, 48, 66
- Yāmini, 164, 165(fig), 219(table), 241, 305, 374

- Yātudhāna, 142(n.xix)
- Yemalāvajraḍākinī, 65(fig)
- Ye shes rgyud*, 341
- Yeshe Tsogyel, xxv–xxvi
- Yogācāra, 125, 129, 205, 414(n.156)
- yoganiruttaratantras, 5–6, 132, 149
- yogatantra, 2, 6
 - on awakening, 150
 - dates of, 12–13(table)
 - on deities, 168
 - origin of, 3–4
 - sādhana in, 24
- Yogatantra Sādhana* (Vilāsavajra), 130
- yogin. *See* sādhaka
- Yoginijālaśamvara*, 38
- Yoginisamcāratantra* (YSCT), 7, 38, 109, 334, 431(nn.243, 245)
 - armor syllables in, 344(table)
 - on body maṇḍala, 197
 - on hand worship, 218, 307, 494(n.505), 498(n.524),
 - on identification with deity, 166
 - Pandey edition, xxi
- yoginitantra
 - dates of, 12–13(table)
 - origin of, 3–5
 - and Śaivism, 37–40
 - in Tibet, 6
- yogottara, 11
 - on deities, 169
 - origin of, 5
 - purification in, 30–31
 - on self-generation, 150
 - sexual imagery in, 149
 - systematization of, 25–26
 - tantras, 12–13(table)
 - in Tibet, 6
- Yuganaddhaprakāśa* (Advayavajra), 440(n.281)

About the Author



Elizabeth English recieved her first degree in History from Bristol University. She received her M.Phil and her D.Phil in Classical Indian Religion from Oxford University and teaches at St. Martin's College, Carlisle, U.K. She is a member of the Western Buddhist Order.

About Wisdom

WISDOM PUBLICATIONS, a not-for-profit publisher, is dedicated to making available authentic Buddhist works. We publish translations of the sutras and tantras, commentaries and teachings of past and contemporary Buddhist masters, and original works by the world's leading Buddhist scholars. We publish our titles with the appreciation of Buddhism as a living philosophy and with the special commitment to preserve and transmit important works from all the major Buddhist traditions.

To learn more about Wisdom, or to browse books online, visit our website at wisdompubs.org.

You may request a copy of our mail-order catalog online or by writing to:

Wisdom Publications

199 Elm Street

Somerville, Massachusetts 02144 USA

Telephone: (617) 776-7416 • Fax: (617) 776-7841

Email: info@wisdompubs.org • www.wisdompubs.org

Wisdom Publications is a non-profit, charitable 501(c)(3) organization affiliated with the Foundation for the Preservation of the Mahayana Tradition (FPMT).

Studies in Indian and Tibetan Buddhism

THIS SERIES WAS CONCEIVED to provide a forum for publishing outstanding new contributions to scholarship on Indian and Tibetan Buddhism and also to make accessible seminal research not widely known outside a narrow specialist audience, including translations of appropriate monographs and collections of articles from other languages. The series strives to shed light on the Indic Buddhist traditions by exposing them to historical-critical inquiry, illuminating through contextualization and analysis these traditions' unique heritage and the significance of their contribution to the world's religious and philosophical achievements. We are pleased to make available to scholars and the intellectually curious some of the best contemporary research in the Indian and Tibetan traditions.

"Elizabeth English's study of Vajrayoginī, a key female deity within Indian and Tibetan Buddhism, is a remarkable window into the complex and fascinating world of tantra. English's thorough analysis is notable for the way in which it combines precise textual scholarship with full awareness of the wider spiritual context of the Vajrayoginī practices and of Vajrayāna Buddhism as a whole. Thus the book conveys throughout a sense of Vajrayāna as a living spiritual practice, from twelfth-century India to today. This is a major landmark in the study of tantric Buddhism."—Geoffrey Samuel, University of Newcastle, author of *Civilized Shamans: Buddhism in Tibetan Societies*

This groundbreaking book delves into the origins of Vajrayoginī, charting her evolution in India and examining her roots in the Cakrasaṃvara tantra and in the Indian tradition relating to Śiva. The focus of this work is the *Gubyasamayāsādhnamālā*, a collection of forty-six *sādhana*s, or practice texts. Written on palm leaves in Sanskrit and preserved since the twelfth century, this diverse collection, composed by numerous authors, reveals a multitude of forms of the goddess, each of which is described and illustrated here. One of the texts, the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* by Umāpatideva, depicts Vajrayoginī at the center of a maṇḍala of thirty-seven different goddesses, and is here presented in full translation alongside a Sanskrit edition. Sixteen pages of stunning color plates not only enhance the study but bring the goddess Vajrayoginī to life.

"...a comprehensive study of the classic literature on the premier female deity of Indic Buddhist tantra. It will be a rich resource for scholars of Asian religion and literature, for students in college courses, and for devotees of Vajrayoginī. The author is to be congratulated for conveying so much detailed material on imagery, rituals, and meditations in such lucid and engaging prose."—Janet Gyatso, Harvard University, author of *Apparitions of the Self: The Secret Autobiographies of a Tibetan Visionary*

"Meticulously researched, this book is a treasure-trove for the scholar and the serious practitioner alike."—Judith Simmer-Brown, Naropa University, author of *Dakini's Warm Breath: The Feminine Principle in Tibetan Buddhism*



Wisdom Publications • Boston
www.wisdompubs.org

ISBN 0-86171-329-X

US\$34.95



9 780861 713295

53495