



VAJRAYOGINĪ

HER VISUALIZATIONS,
RITUALS, AND FORMS

ELIZABETH ENGLISH

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 Indian 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.

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VAJRAYOGINI

Her Visualizations, Rituals, & Forms

A Study of the Cult of Vajrayogini in India

Elizabeth English

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To my teachers

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Color Plates

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

The central Vajravarahi is in ardhaparyanka 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, Samtrdsini (green), Candikd? (grey?), Vajravarahi (red); and three to the right, Samcdlini? (yellow?), Mohini? (white?), and Ydmini (blue-black). Armor Vajravarahi has three heads and six arms, and the rest hold skull bowl and staff (left) and damaru 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: Vajravarahi tangka. Central Tibet, twelfth-thirteenth century. Courtesy of Anna Maria Rossi and Fabio Rossi.

*The central Vajravarahi is in ardhaparyanka pose against a backdrop of the eight cremation grounds. She is flanked by eight goddesses (holding skull bowl and damaru 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 mandala in **GSSI1**; but the latter have four arms, holding staff and skull bowl, damaru 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 ddkinis to left and right, in warrior stance with various attributes in their four arms. Below them are Sakyamuni and four-armed Avalokitesvara (left), and Mahjughosa and Vajrapdni (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—48; Rossi and Rossi 2002, plate 4.*

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

In her four arms, the dakini holds skull bowl and single-pointed staff (left), chopper and damaru (right), and she dances in ardhaparyanka pose upon a bull. Published: Piotrovsky 1995, no. }\$.

Plate 3: Blue Dakini (Nairatmya?). Khara Khoto, twelfth-thirteenth century. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

The blue dakini holds a skull bowl (left) and a vajra (right), with a trident-staff. She dances in ardhaparyanka pose upon a male crowned figure, and her blazing hair flies upward. The earth-touching Aksobhya on Nairatmya's head would normally be blue. Published: Piotrovsky 1991, no. 35.

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

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Gilt copper, ht. 13.8 cm. Photo by Ulrich von Schroeder.

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From the collection of the Shelley and Donald Rubin Foundation.

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

holding skull bowl and chopper and carrying a khatvanga staff. She stands atop the bodies of pink Kaldatri 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 Humkdra, and on the right is g. Yusgron 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. 55 x 2j cm. Ground mineral pigment on cotton. Himalayan Art no. 61.

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

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Plate 9: Severed-head Vajrayogini (Chinnamasta/Chinnamunda) tangka. Tibet/Nepal, c. 1900. Linden Museums, Stuttgart.

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

Reproduced in Willson and Brauen 2000.

- a. Armor Vajravarahi (IWS 62)
- b. Maitri's Dakini (IWS 78)
- c. Accomplishing (Arthasiddhi) Varāhi (IWS 80)
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- e. Tortoise-legged (Kurmapadī Varāhi) (IWS 85)
- f. Naro's Dakinī (IWS 87)

Plate n: Tangka of Cakrasarnvara in union with Vajravarahi.
Khara Khoto, twelfth-thirteenth century. The State Hermitage
Museum, St. Petersburg.

Cakrasarnvara appears against a backdrop of the cremation grounds within a sixty-two deity mandala. Two of the outer goddesses of the gates are recognizable here: Kdkdsyd (crow-faced, black, to the east) in the center of the bottom register, and Ulukasyd (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: Yamaddhi (southeast/bottom left corner), Yamamathani (northeast/bottom right corner) and Yamadamstrini (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 ippj: 156—58 for attributions for this mandala, "Paramasukha Cakrasarnvara, Yab-Yum, Luipa Mandala." Published: Rhie and Thurman ippi, no. 02; Piotrovsky ippj, no. 26.

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c. 1100. Private Collection. Photograph by John Bigelow Taylor.
Photograph © 1998 The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

This sixty-two-deity mandala is set against a backdrop of the cremation grounds. Figure \$2 provides a key to the mandala as it is adapted for Vajravarahi and her retine. Table 25 includes the names of the male deities. Published: Kossak and Singer ippj, plate 2.

Plate 13: Tangka of Varahyabhyudaya Mandala.
Courtesy of Anna Maria Rossi and Fabio Rossi.

See figure 5 for key. Published: Rossi and Rossi ippj as "Vajravarahi Abhibhava Mandala" (sic); and reproduced in the Rossi Collection online (Asian Art).

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Reproduced in Brauen ippj.

Plate 16: Palm leaves from *kutula* Newari manuscript (K) of the *Guhyasamayasadhanamald* (GSS). Nepal, twelfth-thirteenth century. Copyright Bodleian Library, University of Oxford (ms. Sansk c. 15 (R)).

- a. *f. 14V showing alphabet in kutula Newari script.*
- b. *f. 70V showing colophon to Vajravarahi Sadhana by Umapatideva (continued on f. /ir).*

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Abbreviations

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

ADK/B	<i>Abhidharmakosalbhdasya</i>
ADUT	<i>Abhidhdnottaratantra</i>
Asian Art	http://www.asianart.com/mandalas/index.html
Asu/N	<i>ArthavinikayasutralArthaviniscayasutra-Nibandhana</i>
BBK	Bongo Butten no Kenkyu. See K. Tsukamoto et al. 1989
Blue Annals	<i>The Blue Annals</i> . See Roerich 1949-53
D	Devanagari paper ms. of GSS
GST	<i>Guhyasamdjatantra</i>
GOS	Gaekwod's Oriental Series
GSS	<i>Guhyasamayasdhanamald</i>
HA	<i>Herukabhisamaya</i>
Himalayan Art <i>History</i>	http://www.himalayanart.org Taranatha's <i>History of Buddhism in India</i> . See Chattopadhyaya 1970
HT	<i>Hevajratantra</i>
LASWR	Institute for the Advanced Study of World Religions, New York
IWS	<i>Icons Worthwhile to See</i> . See Willson and Brauen, 2000
JV/Jvalavali	<i>Jvldlvalivajramldtantra</i>
K	<i>Kutula</i> Newari palmleaf ms. of GSS
KSTS	Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies
KYT	<i>Krsnayamdritantra</i>
LC	Copies of Mongolian icons published by Raghu Vira Chandra and Lokesh Chandra 1961—72, 1986
<i>Legends</i>	<i>Masters of Mahmudra</i> . See Dowman, 1985
Mkhas grub rje	See Lessing and Wayman 1978
N	Newari, early twentieth-century paper ms. of GSS

NAK	National Archives, Kathmandu
NGMPP	Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project
NP	Narthang Pantheon
NYA	<i>Nispannayogdvali</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[aitaro] Suzuki. Tokyo-Kyoto, 1961.
PED	Pali-English Dictionary, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids and W. Stede. 1921-23. London: Pali Text Society.
PU	<i>Pradipoddyotana</i> commentary on the <i>Guhyasamdjatantra</i> by Candrakīrti
	<i>Sacred Art of Tibet: Wisdom and Compassion: The Sacred Art of Tibet</i> . See Rhie and Thurman 1991
Sed	Sarnath Edition of <i>Abhisamayamanjari</i> (GSS5) published in <i>Dhīh</i> Review of Rare Buddhist Text Series (no. 13, 1992: 123-54)
SM	<i>Sadhanamḍl</i>
SP	Satapitaka Series
SpUT	<i>Samputodbhavantra</i>
SS	<i>Sddhanasamuccaya</i> (Designation for SM used in BBK)
STTS	<i>Sarvatathagatatattvasamgraha</i>
SUT	<i>Samvarodayatantra</i>
T/IWS	Mongolian woodblock prints numbered according to Tachikawa et al. 1995 and Willson and Brauen 2000
TA	<i>Tantrdloka</i> by Abhinavagupta
TJS	<i>Tattvajhanasamsiddhi</i>
Toh/D	<i>A Catalogue-Index of The Tibetan Buddhist Canons (Bkaḥ-hgyur and Bstan-hgyur)</i> . Edited by Hakujo Ui, Munetada Suzuki, Yensho Kanakura, and Tokan Tada. Published by TShoku Imperial University, Sendai, 1934.
VA	<i>Vajravali</i> by Abhayakaragupta
VT	<i>Vasantatilakḍ</i>
YRM	<i>Yogaratnamḍl</i>
YS	<i>Yum skor</i>
YSCT	<i>Yoginisamcaratantra</i>

Preface

MY INTEREST in the Buddhist tantras—and in sadhana 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 *kutilla* script. The text comprised a collection of some fifty sadhanas—meditation and ritual works—all of which were concerned with the practice of Vajrayogini, 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 *Vajrayogini: 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 sadhanas (*sadhanamdld*), which in this case includes praise verses and commentarial passages alongside the ritual and meditation manuals of the sadhanas themselves. This book focuses upon one Sanskrit sadhana from this unique collection, the *Vajravarahi Sadhana* by Umapatideva. At the same time, I hope to give a flavor of the breadth and richness of the other works in the *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld*. For while they all center upon Vajrayogini 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 Vajrayogini, some of whom—such as Vajravarahi—are significant tantric deities in their own right. In fact, although the collection receives the late title *Guhyasamaya-sadhanamdld* (GSS), the *Secret Pledge Sadhana Collection*, a more suitable title might have been the **Vajrayoginisddhanamdld*, the *Vajrayogini Sadhana 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 Vajrayogini 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 Vajrayogini in India prior to 1200 C.E., and shedding light on tantric sadhana meditation.

The decision to base the study upon a single sadhana from the *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld* 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 Abhayakaragupta's encyclopedic *Vajravali* 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 sadhana practice, and only a hazy description of the place of sadhana in the tantrika'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 Vajrayogini. 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 sadhana that I have edited, translated, and studied here is the *Vajravaraḥi Sadhana* (GSS11) by Umapatideva, 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 *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld* collection that was as yet unpublished, because some primary sources dealing with Vajrayogini and Vajravaraḥi are already available in recent editions, including some

studies in European languages. For a long while, the main academic accounts of Vajravarahi and Vajrayogini were the iconographical descriptions given by Benoytosh Bhattacharyya in *The Indian Buddhist Iconography* (1924) and by Marie Therese de Mallmann's *Introduction a l'Iconographie du Tdntrisme Bouddhique* (1975), both of which contain some errors (e.g., n. 228). These works draw heavily on Bhattacharyya's edition of the *Sadhanamald* (1925 and 1928), which contains fewer than a dozen complete Vajrayogini/Vajravarahi sadhanas, all of which also appear in the *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld*.¹ More recent studies also focus on selections from the *Sadhanamald* sadhanas, such as the short study of Vajravarahi 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 Vajrayogini sadhanas have been published, such as the short *Vajravdrdhisdhana* by Advayavajra (=GSS3) by both Louis Finot (1934) and Richard O. Meisezahl (1967), a *Trikdyavajrayoginisddhana* (⇒GSS25) by Max Nihom (1992), and a handful of sadhanas from the *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld* in *Dhih* (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 Vajrayogini/Vajravarahi, especially those from the Cakrasamvara tradition, such as the *Yogini-samcdratantra* 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 Indie Vajrayogini tradition is in stark contrast to the number of Sanskrit manuscripts that must once have existed. *Bongo Butten no Kenkyu* (BBK) catalogs just over a dozen Vajrayogini texts not found in the *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld*, appearing within works such as the *Yah skor* (BBK: 261) and *Yum skor* (BBK: 73-77). commentaries on the *Tattvajndnasamsiddhi* (BBK: 279-80), the *Jvalavalivajramldtantra* (BBK: 493-94), as well as the later Nepalese *Vajravdrdhikalpa* in thirty-eight chapters (BBK: 261)—although many sadhana materials listed here are also found in our collection (details in the appendix). We can deduce the existence of yet more Indian Vajrayogini sadhanas 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 sadhanas with Vajrayogini or Vajravarahi 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 Vajrayogini 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 Vajravarahi*] *Phag-mo gZhung-drug* (p. 390).⁴ What is now known of her practice derives mainly from Tibetan Buddhism, in which Vajrayogini (Rdo rje rnal 'byor ma) and Vajravarahi (Rdo rje phag mo) are important deities.

Perhaps the main emphasis on forms of Vajrayogini/Vajravarahi (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, Naropa (c. 956-1040). Naropa also had many visions of dakini forms, the most famous of which is recounted in his life story, dated to the fifteenth and sixteenth century,⁵ in which Vajrayogini 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. *Ndro-khecari*.
Mongolian woodblock print
(IWS/T 77, LC 587)

The form of Vajrayogini especially associated with Naropa in Tibet is *Nd ro mkha'spyod*; "Na ro [pa]'s tradition of the dakini" or "Naro's khecari" (lit., "sky-goer"). This form is discussed below, as it is closest to that of Vajravarahi described in the Indian sadhana translated here by Umapatideva.

Several different practices of Vajravarahi/Vajrayogini 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 bio 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 Naropa'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 sadhana by the third Karma pa, Rang byung rdo rje (b. 1284) (Trungpa 1982:150). However, it is a sadhana 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 Vajravarahi 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 Vajravarahi. 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: H9ff.), 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 Vajravarahi, 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

Vajrayogini 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 Vajrayogini.¹⁰ The first is a form derived also from Naropa, and again called *Nd ro mkha'spyodot* "*Ndro's khecari*" (although it is entirely different from the Tilopa-Naropa-Mar pa transmission of Vajravarahi 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 Maitripa, known therefore as *Maitri Khecari* (*Mctri mkha'spyod ma*; see fig. 18). The third is derived from the siddha Indrabhuti, known therefore as *Indra Khecari* (*Indra mkha'sypodma*; see fig. 6). This form is sometimes also known as *Indra Vajravarahi*, although as a deity in her own right, Vajravarahi 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 hcu gsum*), as they are said to lead directly to transcendental attainment.¹² However, it was *Ndro Khecari* who became the focus of most devotion in the Sa skya tradition, and the practice instructions associated with her sadhana were transmitted in the form of eleven yogas drawn from the siddha Naropa's own encounter with Vajrayogini. 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 Bio 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 *Ndro 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' bio 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 "Nasarpa" 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 Vajrayogini/Vajravarahi in her role as consort to their main deity, Cakrasarnvara, following the teaching of Tsong kha pa (1357-1419). Cakrasarnvara was one of the three meditational deities, along with Yamantaka and Guhyasamaja, 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 Vajrayogini (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 Vajrayogini'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 Vajrayogini 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 Vajrayogini 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 Vajrayogini/Vajravarahi 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 Vajravarahi herself following his expulsion from the court of King Indrabhuti (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 Varahi and a blue Vajravarahi, who foretell Klong chen pa's own meeting with Padmasambhava (*ibid.*: 577, 581). It is also Vajravarahi who leads him to the discovery of the treasure text (*gter ma*), *Innermost Spirituality of the Dakini* ((*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 Vajrayogini/Vajravarahi 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 Samantabhadri and Tara (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 Vajrayogini/Vajravaraḥi (e.g., Dowman 1984: 38, 85, 178); indeed, her *sambhogakḍya* is said to be that of the deity (e.g., Gyelwa Jangchub in Dowman 1984: 4-5, 224; Klein 1993: 147; J. Gyatso 1998: 247). The identification of Yeshe Tsogyel with Vajrayogini/Vajravaraḥi is also suggested by Rig 'dzin 'Jigs med gling pa (1730-98), whose *Dakḥi's Grand Secret Talk* is revealed to him by a "paradigmatic" dakini, whom J. Gyatso (1998: 247) concludes is Yeshe Tsogyel herself.¹⁵ Various *guryoga* 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 Vajrayogini/Vajravaraḥi. In other *guryoga* practices, such as *The Bliss Path of Liberation (Tharpa'i bde lam)*, the practitioner identifies directly with Vajrayogini, who becomes "the perfect exemplar of such devotion" (Rigdzin Shikpo 2002: personal communication).¹⁶

Over and above the deity's ubiquitous involvement in *guryoga* 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 Vajravaraḥi, such as a volume entitled, *Union of All Secret Dakinis (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" (*yanggtter*) 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 Vajravaraḥi (*ibid.*; Allione 1984: 209-n). This volume is entirely dedicated to an important form of Vajravaraḥi 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*) *KhrosiKhro ma nag mo* or *Krodhakali*, also sometimes identified as *Rudrani/i* (Mayer *op. cit.*). Patrul Rinpoche (1994: 297-98) describes an iconographical form that, apart from its color, is much the same as that of *Indradakini* (for a full *tangka* of *Krodhakali* 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 Vajravarahi (rDo rje phag mo). The first trulku was a pupil of Phyogs las mam rgyal (also known as 'Jigs med grags pa and as Chos kyi rgyal mtshan, 1376-1452), the learned Bo dong Pan 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 Vajravarahi, 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 Vajrayogini/Vajravarahi in Tibet is attested by her appearance also within the Tibetan Bon 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 stongye shes*), with "heat" (*gtum mo/canddli*) as a sign of accomplishment. The work is entitled *The Inferno of Wisdom (Ye shes medpung)* and draws on Bon compositions going back to the eleventh or twelfth century *gter ma* texts. It describes a wrathful, cremation-ground dakini named Thugs rjes Kun grol ma ("She Who Liberates All through Compassion") who is clearly a form of Vajravarahi. 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 Vajravarahi sadhanas in the Buddhist tantric traditions.

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

vdrdhis or yoginis: Guhyes'vari (also worshiped as Prajnaparamita, Nairatmya, and Agniyogini), Vidyasvarl of Kathmandu, Vajrayogini of Sankhu, and Vajrayogini of Pharping (Slusser 1982: 256,327). There are several temples of Vajravarahi and Vajrayogini in the Kathmandu Valley, for example, at Chapagaon Grove (*ibid.*: 325-26, 341), and at the hilltop temple of Pharping (*ibid.*: 331). In Sankhu, Vajrayogini is the tutelary deity of the town, and her temple is dedicated to the fierce cremation ground goddess "Ugratara Vajrayogini" (Slusser 1982: 72 with n. 141). Here, Vajrayogini is also identified with Prajnaparamita, "mother of all tathagatas," and is considered the spouse of Svayambhu or Adibuddha, who is housed in a smaller shrine on the same site, while in the Hindu version of the local myth, she is identified with Siva's consort, Durga (Zanen 1986: 131). Gellner (1992: 256) comments that in Nepal, "Vajrayogini seems...to play a role in uniting exoteric deities, such as Tara or Kumari and the Eight Mothers, with the consorts of the secret tantric deities, viz. Vajravarahi...Jnanadakin... and Nairatmya." Gellner goes on to describe tantric rites of initiation in current Newar practice that are taken mainly by Vajracarya and Sakya males (*ibid.*: 169—270). Here, "Tantric initiation (*diksd*) means primarily the initiation of Cakrasarnvara and his consort Vajravarahi" (*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 Cakrasarnvara, and is based on handbooks that follow the twelfth-century exegetical work, the *Kriydsamuccaya*. The second part of the rite focuses on the consort Vajravarahi (or "Vajradevl") 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 Vajravarahi 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 Vajravarahi, 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 Vajrayogini and Vajravarahi 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 dakini 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 yogini or dakini 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 Vajrayogini practice and underpins later traditions. The importance of the *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld* to the study of Vajrayogini/Vajravarahi 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 Vajrayogini/Vajravarahi 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 Vajrayogini within the complex traditions of the Buddhist tantras. I then turn to the *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld* itself and explore what is known of its provenance, both of its authors and of the tantric sadhana that makes up the bulk of its contents. Chapter 2 forms a survey of all the different forms of Vajrayogini within the *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld*, 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 sadhana from the collection, the *Vajravarahi Sadhana* by Umapatideva, which is divided into its own distinctive meditation stages and final ritual portion. The Sanskrit edition (with notes) and the translation to the sadhana follow chapter 3. The appendix gives a list of all sadhanas in the *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld* (with witnesses where I have found them) and a summary of their contents.

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Elizabeth English
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I. Vajrayogini and the Buddhist Tantras

THE CULT OF TANTRIC GODDESS, Vajrayogini, 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 *sadhanas*. A *sadhana* is a meditation and ritual text—literally, a "means of attainment" (*saddhanam*)—that centers upon a chosen deity, in this case, upon Vajrayogini or one of her various manifestations. This particular collection was written and preserved in Sanskrit and drawn together under the late, collective tide, the *Guhyasamaya-saddhanam* (GSS). It is one of these *sadhanas* 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 Vajravarahi.

Who is Vajrayogini? The texts refer to her reverentially as a "blessed one" (*bhagavati*), as a "deity" (*devata*) or "goddess" (*devi*). She is divine in the sense that she embodies enlightenment; and as she is worshiped at the center of a mandala of other enlightened beings, the supreme focus of devotion, she has the status of a buddha. In the opening verse to the *Vajravarahi Sadhana*, the author salutes her as a *vajradevi*, that is, as a Vajrayana 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" (*s'rivajradevipadavi*).

The Buddhist Tantric Systems

Tantric Buddhism is the wing of the Mahayana that revolves around mantra as a path or "way," and that is known therefore as the Mantrayana or Mantranaya, or as the Vajrayana after one of its primary symbols, the vajra. A pithy definition of tantra is elusive.¹⁹ Vaisnavism, Saivism, 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 Vajrayogini 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 Buddhaguhya, who recognized only two classes, *kriyatantras* and *yogatantras* (Mimaki 1994:122, n. 17). The subject-matter of some tantras, however, was neither principally *kriya* (*kriyapradhdna*), nor principally *yoga* (*yogapradhdna*), but seemed to combine "both" (*ubhaya*); these were termed *ubhayatantras*, and later, *caryatantras* (Isaacson 1998). It is this threefold classification—*kriya*-, *carya*-, and *yoga*-tantras—to which an eighth-century scholar/practitioner, Vilasavajra, confidently refers. Of these classes, the earliest tantric texts are found within the *kriyatantras* ("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 caryatantras ("performance tantras") were current from at least the mid seventh with the emergence of its root text, the *Vairocandbhisambodhi* (*ibid.*: 6§ff.) Despite their status as "tantras," religious teachings supposedly revealed by the historical Buddha, these classes hold essentially ritual manuals and *dhdranis* 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 kriya- and caryatantras, 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 Vajrayogini will show.

By distinguishing the kriyatantras (or the kriya- and caryatantras) 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 *Sarvatathdgatatattvasamgraha* (STTS), and like the caryatantras, 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 mandalas, 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. Vilasavajra, for example, wrote a commentary based on the Vajradhatumandala of the STTS, in which he set out "to encode and interpret tantric ritual in Mahayanist doctrinal terms" (Tribe 1994: 4).²¹ Portions of yogatantra text are probably the oldest incorporated into the literature of Vajrayogini.

Even within Vilasavajra'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 *Ndmasamgiti*, a "mahayoga" 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 "yoginltantras." Within the soteriological tantric realm these two terms—yogatantra and yoginltantra—seem to refer to the two main divisions of Buddhist tantras, and commentators frequently

pair them together as the "yoga- and yoginitantras."²² Thus, the commonest classification of tantric texts in India was probably fourfold: kriya-, carya-, yoga-, and yoginitantras (Isaacson 1998).

The yoginltantra class is characterized by the appearance of a new Buddha at the center of its mandalas, namely Aksobhya 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 yoginltantra systems, probably roughly contemporary with the *Hevajratantra*, also center on this type of *heruka* deity: Cakrasarnvara, Candamaharosana, Buddhakapala, Mahamayahva, and Kalacakra are all *heruka* forms who appear as lords of their own mandalas. Their appearance, accoutrements, and behavior all relate to practices that ascetics undertook while dwelling in cremation grounds. These are the *kapalika* observances, or observances based on the skull (*kapalah*, *kapalam*), 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 mandala may also be in sexual union.

The principle of *s'akti* 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—yoginis and dakinis—who haunt the wilds and live in the cremation grounds. As *s'akti* is increasingly emphasized, texts tend to redefine traditional Mahayana soteriology in the language of erotico-yogic techniques and mahamudra (p. 91). Thus, as one tantra explains: "The Mahayana is mahamudra, and yoginis bring magical power."²⁵ It is these texts that form the direct basis for the cult of Vajrayogini. Within the yoginitantras we see a growing preoccupation with the yogini, or enlightened female deity. In some mandalas she is worshiped as the chief deity within a predominantly female mandala, 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 mandala. Often the form of the mandala is preserved exactly as it was before, except that the male deities have simply been

removed. This is typical of the mandalas described in the sadhanas of the *Guhyasamayasddhanamldd*. Our study of the Vajravarahi mandala in Umapatideva's *Vajravarahi Sadhana* will show that it is modeled exactly upon that of Cakrasamvara, except that in Vajravarahi's mandala all the male gods of Cakrasamvara's mandala have disappeared, leaving the goddesses without consorts, and supreme.

Our summary so far of the tantric systems has shown the cult of Vajrayogini to be firmly grounded within the yoginitantra class. But this classification is more complex than I have made out. On the one hand, there were already texts akin to the yoginitantras well before the maturing of the Heruka cults in the ninth and tenth centuries; the *Sarvabuddhasamdyogaddkinijldlasamvara* is one such "proto-yoginitantra" that is known to have been in existence in the mid-eighth century (Sanderson 1995).²⁶ Here, the lords of the mandalas are heruka-type, esoteric deities, in sexual union with consorts and surrounded by retinues of female dakinis. This tantra was still in use in Tibet in the eleventh century, "no doubt because of its evident kinship with the later yoginitantras" (*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 yoginitantra 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 Vilasavajra refers to the *Guhyasamdjatantra*, and to other texts that were later named as "yogottara," such as the *Vajrabhairavatantra* and the *Mdydjdlatantra*, 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 *Guhyasamdjatantra*, 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 Guhyasamaja 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 yoginitantras, the mandalas of the Guhyasamaja (or Samaja) tradition are presided over by Aksobhya and by vajra-family deities, who are often both wrathful and erotic in character. Since the tantras of the yogini 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 *kriya-*, *carya-*, *yoga-*, *yogottara-*, and *yoginitantras* (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., *kriya-*, *carya-*, *yoga-*, and *yoginitantras*). Atis'a, 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 *kriya-* (*bya ba'i rgyud*), *carya-* (*spyodpa'i rgyud*), and *yoga-* (*rnal 'byorgyi rgyud*), but which classes those of the *yogottara-* and *yoginitantras* together as the *anuttaratānta*, or "ultimate tantra" (*rnal 'byor bla na medpa'i rgyud*). This fourth class is itself subdivided into father (*phargyud*), mother (*margyud*), 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 mahayoga (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 medkyi rgyudor* "yoganiruttara-tantras." (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 "yoginitantra"; Sanderson 1994b: 98 n. 1). The term "yoganuttara-tantras" (sometimes applied by secondary authors to *yoganiruttara-tantras*) is also not attested in Sanskrit sources (Isaacson 2001: personal communication).

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

yogini 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 Cakrasamvara cult: the Samvara-, or Samvaratantras.²⁷ Sanderson (1995) summarizes the Samvara corpus as follows:

The root text (*miilatantram*) is the *Laghusamvaratantra*, also called *Herukdbhidhdna*- or *Cakrasamvaratantra* (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 *Abhidhdnottaratantra*.

The *Abhidhdnottaratantra* (BBK: 254). Its relationship with the *Cakrasamvaratantra* is that of explanatory tantra (**vydkhyd-tantram*) to root text (*miilatantram*), according to Buddhaguhya's terminology.

Vajraddkatantra (BBK: 255).

Samvarodayatantra (BBK: 256).

Ddkdrnavatantra (BBK: 255).

Yoginisamcdratatantra (BBK: 258).

Herukdbhyudaya (not surviving in Sanskrit).

Caturyoginisamputa (BBK: 259).

It is scriptures such as these—in particular, the *Yoginisamcdratatantra*, *Samvarodayatantra*, and *Abhidhdnottaratantra*—that inform the sadhanas of the *Guhyasamayasadhanamld*. One sadhana in the collection (GSS70) is based upon a unique Vajravarahi scriptural source, the *Vdrdhyabhyudayantra*, itself apparently extracted from the *Abhidhdnottaratantra* (Sanderson 2001a). In another, there is even a reference to the *Laksdbhidhdnd** (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 *Cakrasamvaratantra* itself was extracted (Tsuda 1974: 33). The same legendary authority is claimed in the *Yoginisamcdratatantra* following its description of the body mandala, a core Cakrasamvara practice taken over with very little adaptation in Umapatideva's *Vajravarahi Sadhana*.

The Vajrayogini tradition does not simply graft itself onto the scriptural rootstock of Cakrasamvara; it borrows equally freely from the Cakrasamvara tradition of commentary and exegesis. We will see how the authors of the *Guhyasamayasadhanamld* 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) Pradīpāhūtiṣaḍḍhi (GSS14) Indrabhūtikrameṇa Vajrayoginīsādhana by Vijayavajra (GSS35)
Lūyīpāda	Vajravārāhīsādhana (GSS2)
Advayavajra	Vajravārāhīsādhana (GSS3) Sarvārthasiddhisādhana (GSS15) Vajravārāhīsādhana (GSS31) Possibly Trayodaśātmikāvajraḍḍhikāvinīvajravārāhīsādhana (GSS16)
Śākyarakṣita	Abhisamayamañjarī (GSS5)
Śabara (and his lineage)	Guhyavajravilāsinīsādhana (GSS10) Vajrayoginīsādhana (GSS19) Vidyādhariyajayoginīyārādhanaṣḍḍhi (GSS23) Possibly Vidyādharikramavajrayoginīsādhana (GSS21) Vidyādharikramabhāvanā (GSS22) [Vidyādhari-]ārādhanaṣḍḍhi (GSS5, K3811)
Umāpatideva	Vajravārāhīsādhana (GSS11)
Buddhadatta	Gopyahomavidhi (GSS13)
Virūpa	“Piṇḍārthāḥ Ṣoḍaśaślokaś Trikāyavajrayoginīyāḥ” (GSS26) Trikāyavajrayoginīstutipraṇidhāna (GSS27) Trikāyavajrayoginīsādhana (GSS25) Possibly Vajrayoginīsādhana (GSS20) Trikāyavajrayoginī text in GSS5 (K3615) Vajrayoginīsādhana (GSS9, GSS30)
“Lakṣmī” (?)	Lakṣmīsādhana (GSS24)
Vilāsavajra	Samkṣiptavajravārāhīsādhana (GSS29) Possibly GSS4
Sahajāvalokana- samādhivajra	Binducūḍāmaṇir nāma svādhīṣṭhānakrama (GSS32) Possibly GSS33
Dhyāyīpāda	“Paramagambhīropadeśo Vajrayoginīyāḥ Karaṇkatoṛaṇakramaḥ Svādhīṣṭhānam” (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 Vajrayogini. This is most evident in the ritual portion of the sadhana, as described in chapter 3.

The Guhyasamayasadhanamala and Its Authors

The most direct sources for our study of Vajrayogini are the sadhanas of the *Guhyasamayadhdhanamala* (GSS). This is a group of some forty-six Sanskrit works drawn together as a collection centering upon Vajrayogini 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, Lakṣmīnāra, Luyipada, Sahara, and the slightly younger author Virupa.²⁹ More information on their lineages, and episodes from their lives, can be gleaned from the *Blue Annals* (*Debther sNgonpo*), written by 'Gos Lotsawa (Lochawa) (1392-1481), and the *History of Buddhism in India* by Taranatha (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 Oddiyana 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 *Tang Annals*), an intermediate Indrabhūti, possibly of the eighth century (although apparently not recognized by Taranatha, 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, Lakṣmīnāra, including a nun of similar name; however, even if we agree that this same Lakṣmīnāra is the author of our *Lakṣmīsiddhāna* (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 Virupa, traditionally the pupil of Lakṣmīnāra (*Blue Annals*: 390), is just as elusive, and may have lived as early as the eighth century (Taranātha *History*: 197) or as late as the eleventh century, when he supposedly taught Maitripada (also called Advaya-vajra) and Mar pa the translator (*Blue Annals*: 390). Similar problems beset the dating of the Mahasiddha Luyipada. Kvaerne (1977: 5-6), for example, hesitantly cites Taranātha (*History*: 311), according to whom "Lui" was a contemporary of Maitri (Advaya-vajra) in the eleventh century, and notes that in one tradition, Luyipada'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 Luyipada's *Sri-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 Luyipada was a scribe at the court of Dharmapala in the late eighth century (Dowman 1985: 37). The dating of Sahara 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 Sahara, the only merit of which is that it echoes the legend of Sahara's immortality, according to which he would still be teaching today. Another of Sahara's pupils is said to be Advaya-vajra, whose dates have been discussed at length by Tatz (1987: 697) and shown to be tied to the reign of King Neyapala in the eleventh century (1007-85).³¹ Sahara also apparently initiated Vibhūticandra into the sixfold yoga system (*sadāṅgayogah*) (*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 *Guhyasamayasiddhanāmda* are slightly easier to place because they admit their debt to earlier authors. One such is Sakyaraksita, whose *Flower Cluster of Clear Understanding* (*Abhisamayamanjari* GSS5) draws heavily on the *Clear Understanding of Heruka*

(*Herukdbhisamaya*) by Luyipada. Apart from the similarity of his title, Sakyaraksita refers twice to Luyipada's work, commenting on Luyipada's method for establishing the vajra ground (*vajrabhumi*, K20V2) and knowledge circle (*jñānacakra*, K2iv6), and referring to it for an in-depth treatment of Vajravaraḥi's thirty-seven-deity mandala.³² Sakyaraksita adds that this was taught "by my teacher in the Vajravall," which reveals that his guru was Abhayakaragupta, abbot of the monastic university Vikramas'ila during the reign of King Ramapala (c. 1084-1126/1130).³³ If Sakyaraksita was a younger contemporary of Abhayakaragupta, he would probably have flourished in the mid-twelfth century.

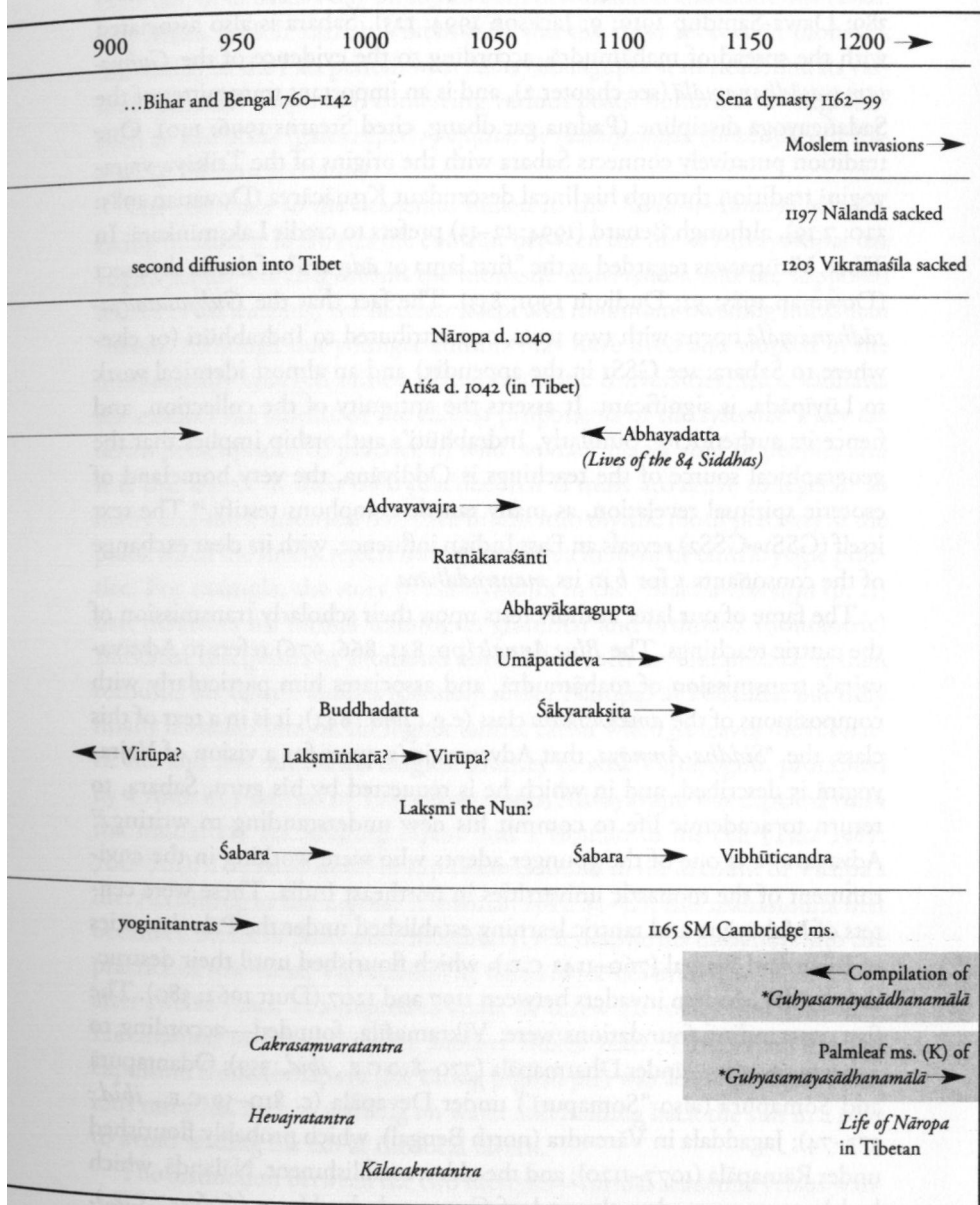
Our study of Umapatideva's *Vajravaraḥi Sadhana* (GSS11) will show that it shares much in common with Sakyaraksita's work, in both its subject matter and use of sources. Fortunately, Umapatideva's lineage and dates are on slightly firmer ground, and these place him in the same generation as Sakyaraksita, perhaps as an older contemporary. The colophon to the Tibetan translation describes him as "one who has the lineage of the instructions of Virupa, s'rī Umapatidatta" (Tib 49.7), and the dates of the translators link him fairly securely to the same period as Abhayakaragupta. The translators of Umapatideva's two known texts in the *bsTan-'gyur* are Vagis'varagupta 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 Samantas'rī; Samantas'rī himself flourished in the early to mid-twelfth century and received the Kalacakra teachings from Abhayakaragupta (*Blue Annals*: j60-6v, cf. *ibid.*: 756, 789J).³⁵ Thus, the translation of Umapatideva's works would seem to belong to the early to mid-twelfth century, and may even have been contemporary with the author. If Umapatideva was of the same generation as Samantas'rī (whom he is unlikely to have postdated, since his translator was a pupil of the latter), he may also have been a pupil of Abhayakaragupta's.

In the absence of much reliable evidence for dating the authors of the *Guhyasamayasaddhanamḍīd*, we must look for other clues as to their origins. First, it seems that several authors in the *Guhyasamayasaddhanamḍīd* are associated with the early dissemination of tantric lineages. Indrabhūti, for example, is traditionally known as "the first *tdntrika*" 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). Luyipada is particularly associated with the Cakrasaṃvara system, on the basis of which he is traditionally known as the original guru" (*ddiguru*) of the mahamudra (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 →	*Guhyaśāstra Sarvabuddhasamāyogadākinijālaśaṃvara		

[†] 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 Cakrasarnvara system along with Ghantapada and Krsnapada [*Blue Annals*: 389; Dawa-Samdub 1919: 9; Jackson 1994: 125]. Sahara is also associated with the spread of mahamudra, according to the evidence of the *Guhya-samayasddhanamdld* (see chapter 2), and is an important transmitter of the Sadahgayoga discipline (Padma gar dbang, cited Stearns 1996: 140). One tradition putatively connects Sahara with the origins of the Trikaya-vajrayogini tradition through his lineal descendant Krsnacarya (Dowman 1985: 320; 7.19), although Benard (1994:12-13) prefers to credit Laksminkara. In Tibet, Virupa was regarded as the "first lama or *ddiguru*" of the Sa skya sect (Dowman 1985: 52; Dudjom 1991: 853). The fact that the *Guhyasamaya-sddhanamdld* opens with two texts, one attributed to Indrabhuti (or elsewhere to Sahara; see GSSi in the appendix) and an almost identical work to Luyipada, is significant. It asserts the antiquity of the collection, and hence its authenticity. Similarly, Indrabhuti's authorship implies that the geographical source of the teachings is Oddiyana, 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 *mantroddhdra*.

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 mahamudra, and associates him particularly with compositions of the *amanasikdra* class (e.g., *ibid.*: 842); it is in a text of this class, the **Siddha-Amndya*, that Advayavajra's quest for a vision of Vajrayogini is described, and in which he is requested by his guru, Sahara, 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 Mahayana and tantric learning established under the Pala 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: Vikramasila, founded—according to Tibetan sources—under Dharmapala (770-810 C.E., *ibid.*: 359); Odantapura and Somapura (also "Somapuri") under Devapala (c. 810-59 C.E., *ibid.*: 373-74); Jagaddala in Varendra (north Bengal), which probably flourished under Ramapala (1077-1120); and the oldest establishment, Nalanda, which had been sponsored at the end of Gupta rule by Harsa (606-47 C.E.). Although less cultivated by Pala kings, Nalanda remained a prestigious seat of Mahayana 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: 24iff). Vikramas'ila was the most renowned monastic university in the Pala period, with Abhayakaragupta at its head, and its various "schools" (*samsthah*) conferring various posts, honors, and "degrees," such as *dvdrapdla* (gatekeeper), *pandita*, or *mahdpandita* (*ibid.*: 360-63 following Tibetan accounts).

The reference to the academic milieu in the **Siddha-Amndya* is interesting because it illustrates the contrast between the life of Advayavajra, the yogin-pandit working within the monastic universities, and the supposed source of his learning, the illiterate adept and mountain-dwelling huntsman Sahara. Although our younger authors may have lived and worked in the intellectually charged milieu of the monastic universities, their sadhana 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 Advayavajra in the **Siddha-Amndya* (p. 11) first describes his formal training in grammar and orthodox (nontantric) Buddhist disciplines at monastic universities such as Vikramas'ila; it then recounts his tantric studies (possibly under Naropa) at Nalanda, 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 Vajrayogini, prompted by a voice in a dream. In Tibetan accounts, Advayavajra 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 Virupa's life. According to the *Legends* (Dowman 1985: 43-52), this mahasiddha first became a monk of Somapura monastery, but despite his initiation into the practice of sow-faced Vajravarahi, 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 mahamudra after another twelve years. Virupa'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 (*purvasevd*) 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 mandala, or oblations with mantras (see the first *upades'ah* 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 *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld* that refers to the "[householder's] own house" (*svagrhe*) as one possible meditation site (GSS34, appendix). Umapatideva himself, author of the *Vajravarahi Sadhana*, may have been a layman, as well as an initiate into the lineage of Virupa. His name means "lord of Uma," that is, Siva, while ordination into Buddhist orders would ordinarily have endowed him with a Buddhist name. If he were a lay scholar, it would seem that Umapatideva 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 *Vajravarahi Sadhana*.

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 *Kriydsamuccaya* (f.3-2ff; Gellner 1992: 295) cites many tantric references to support the claim that a tantric teacher (*vajrddryah*) 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 *Vajrddryalaksanavidhi*, Jagaddarpaṇa states that a tantric

teacher may be of three types: monk, novice, or householder (following the *Samvardrnavatantrd*), 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 (*ddikarma*) for the householder practitioner (*grhapatibodhisattvah*),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 Jagaddarpana'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 *bhikmsamvara* were sometimes forbidden or discouraged from the actual performance of transgressive practices.

With their emphasis on solitary practice, the *sadhanas* themselves give no indication as to how they would be practiced within a monastic routine. This is particularly pertinent where the *sadhana* 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.]" Jagaddarpana (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): Atis'a, 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 Sthaviravadins unable to tolerate deities such as Cakrasamvara at Vajrasana (Bodhgaya), which Taranatha himself recorded (1990: 279):

In a temple of Vajrasana there was then a large silver image of Heruka and many treatises on tantra. Some of the Sravaka Sindhavas ["Siddhas"] of Singa island (Ceylon) and other places said that they were composed by Mara. 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 Abhayakaragupta testifies (*Blue Annals*: 1046; Willson 2000: 397-98). Painting the picture of an exemplary abbot-scholar of traditional Buddhist hue, the lifestory of Abhayakaragupta 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 Vajrayogini 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 mandalas," he would soon become "a fortunate one"—a challenge he appears to have accepted.

Sadhana Collections

Having examined the Indian milieu in which Umapatideva's *Vajravarahi Sadhana* was written, it is time to look more closely at the compilation of the *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld* 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 sadhana collection, the *Sddhanasatapancdsikk*, which dates from 1165 C.E. (Cambridge add. 1686). The *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld* receives its title only

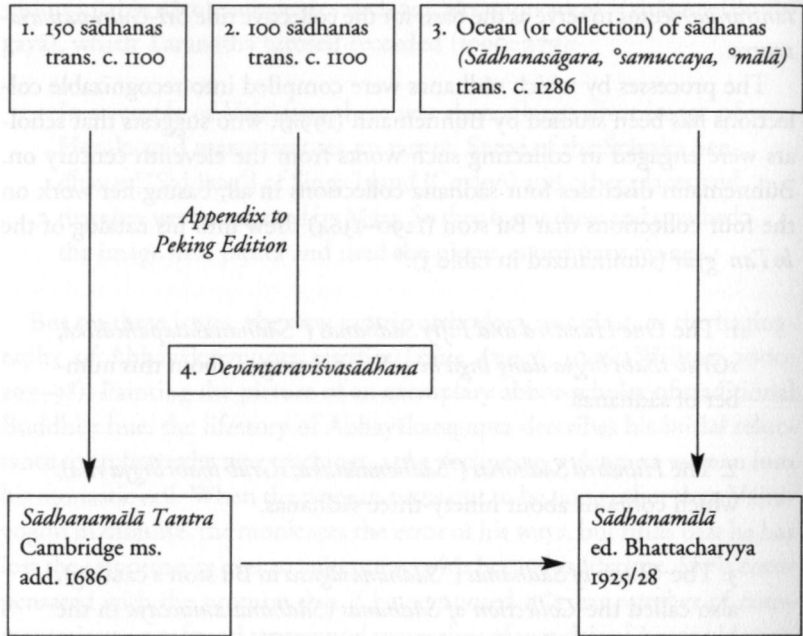
later; the name is found in the Devanagari manuscript (D) alone, in which the title of the last work in the collection (*Dakini-guhyasamaya-sddhanamldd-tantrardja*) seems to serve as the basis for the collective title *Sri-Guhyasamaya-tantra*.

The processes by which sadhanas were compiled into recognizable collections has been studied by Buhneemann (1994), who suggests that scholars were engaged in collecting such works from the eleventh century on. Buhneemann discusses four sadhana 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 Sadhanas* (**Sddhanas'atapancds'ikd, sGrub thabs brgya danglnga bcu*),⁴² consisting of about this number of sadhanas.
2. The *Hundred Sadhanas* (**Sadhanasataka, sGrub thabs brgya rtse*), which contains about ninety-three sadhanas.
3. The *Ocean of Sadhanas* (**Sddhanasdgara* in Bu ston's catalog), also called the *Collection of Sadhanas* (*Sddhanasamuccaya* in the Peking edition P4221-4466), and the *Garland of Sadhanas* (*Sadhanamald* in the colophon of some Sanskrit manuscripts), consisting of a large collection of 242 sadhanas.
4. The **Devdntaravisvasddhana* collection, which appears in the Peking edition as an appendix to the second collection, the **Sddhanasataka*.

It is from these collections that Bhattacharyya (1925/28) produced his edition of the so-called *Sadhanamald*, accidentally conflating the largest collection of 242 sadhanas (**Sddhanasdgara*) with the collection of 150 sadhanas (**Sddhanasatapancds'ikd*).⁴³

What does Buhneemann's survey of the sadhana collections reveal about the manner and date of their compilation? Buhneemann 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 sadhanas appear or in the number of sadhanas they contain, and the Tibetan translations do not seem to accord with the Sanskrit "originals." The compilation of substantial numbers of sadhanas, 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 **Sddhanasatapancdsīkd*, which received its title only once it had collected its one hundred and fifty works (*ibid.* 1994: n). Similarly, Buhneemann hints that Bu ston's third collection may have received its title **Sddhanasdgara* in the later recensions preserved in Tibetan from its final portion of texts, entitled *Devdntarasddhanasdgara* (*ibid.* 1994:12). In some collections, the colophon to each individual *sadhana* 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 *sadhana* 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 *sadhana* collection was emerging as a genre in its own right. The datings given by Buhneemann 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 Pala 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 sadhana 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 *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld* collection. There are, however, notable differences. The *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld* is far smaller, containing only forty-six works. Moreover, it seems to have been relatively stable. Only one sadhana (GSS8) is omitted in the later recension of the collection represented by the devanagari manuscript, a sadhana that is anyway repeated identically later in the collection (GSS39). The *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld* was not translated into Tibetan, although some of its sadhanas appear in the *bsTan 'gyur* as part of other collections (details are given in notes to the appendix). Remarkable is that all forty-six sadhanas of the *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld* focus upon Vajrayogini/Vajravahī. Other sadhana collections, apart from being much larger, are more diverse. They include sadhanas relating to various deities, sometimes arranged accordingly in groups inside the compilation. There are, for example, groups of sadhanas within the so-called *Sadhanamald* 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 *Guhyasamayasadhanamdld* 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 Vajrayogini 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 mandalas of the Cakrasamvara tradition adapted to the female deity Vajravahī. There follows a gradual shift toward mandalas exhibiting a more fully *kdpdika* character, a trend that is further developed in the "skeleton arch" (*karankatorana*) sadhanas, which reject the temple-palace structure of the mandala altogether. Within this overall structure, the works seem to have been carefully, if approximately, grouped according to particular manifestations of Vajrayogini, and to the type of work in question. These groupings may be roughly broken down as follows, with some sadhanas appearing in this list more than once where

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

GSSi<GSS2

The first two sadhanas in the collection deal primarily with the hog-headed *ardhaparyanka-pose* Vajravarahi, and are attributed to the prestigious figures Indrabhuti and Luyipada.

GSS2, GSS3, GSS4, GSS5

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

GSS3, GSS., GSSs (GSS11, GSS16)

The third sadhana (GSS3) is by another eminent figure, Advayavajra. It is the first in a group of essentially Cakrasamvara-based works, all similar in their exposition of the warrior-stance Vajravarahi within a mandala based on the temple palace. All sadhanas in this group salute Vajravarahi in their opening reverence. Umapatideva's *Vajravarahi Sadhana* (GSS11) is also of this type. An interesting sadhana that belongs in part to the Advayavajra group and in part to the Sahara-related texts, is the sadhana of the thirteenfold Vajradakini Vajravarahi (GSS16).

GSS6, GSS7

The next group is of two sadhanas redacted from the *Abhidhnottara-tantra*, the first presenting a six-armed, seated manifestation of Vajravarahi in embrace with her consort within a thirteenfold mandala (GSS6), the second a twelve-armed *ardhaparyanka-pose* Vajravarahi in a forty-one-fold mandala (GSS7).

GSS8=>GSS39, GSS13, GSS14, GSS41

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

GSS10, GSS43

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

GSS12, GSSi7=GSS45

Similarly amorous are the "raised-foot" (*urdhvapadda-*) pose deities, first the red Vajravarahi (GSS12), and then the white Vajrayogini (GSSi7<=GSS45).

GSS15, GSS18, GSS38

Next comes the red hog-headed "Vajraghona" manifestation of Vajra-varahi (GSS15, GSS18), possibly related to a white manifestation of the same deity (GSS5, GSS38).

GSS19

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

GSS20, GSS24, GSS25, GSS26, GSS27, GSS3»=GSS9

Another magico-yogic manifestation is the striking, self-decapitated Tri kayavajrayogini ("Chinnamasta") in sadhanas GSS20, GSS24, and GSS25, and in verse works related to Virupa, 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 Vidyadhari Vajrayogini forms of the Sahara school.

*GSS28?, GSS29, GSS30, GSS31, GSS39

Next, the *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld* 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 (»GSSi9?), GSS29 (-GSS4), GSS30 (=GSS_s), GSS31 (-GSS3), and GSS39 (=GSS8).

GSS32, GSS33, GSS34, GSS35

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

GSS36, GSS37, GSS38

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

GSS42, GSS43

There are two Vajrayogini *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 *Abhisamayamanjaribī* Sakyaraksita (GSS5). Sakyaraksita's work begins with classic sadhana meditations on Vajravarahi's thirty-seven-fold mandala, 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 *Abhisamayamanjari* mirrors the sequence of the *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld* collection as a whole, so that the classic warrior-stance Vajravarahi of the first part of the work is followed by the *urdhvaḥpadda-poṣa* Vajrayogini, Vajraghona, the two-armed Vajrayogini, and the Trikayavajrayogini forms. Thus, it looks as if the *Abhisamayamanjari* may have been used as a blueprint for the arrangement of sadhanas by the compiler of the *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld*.

Tantric Sadhana

The importance of the *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld* collection to the Vajrayogini tradition, and its uniqueness as a collection, have now been established. However, the decision to edit and translate the *Vajravarahi Sadhana* by Umapatideva (GSSn) still requires some explanation. Not only are there many sadhanas in the *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld* deserving of attention, but tantric literature in general is vast, and sadhana itself forms only one genre within it. What, then, is the significance of the sadhana within the tantras? And what is of particular interest in Umapatideva's *Vajravarahi Sadhana*!

A sadhana 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 sadhanas 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 sadhana practices appears in the yogatantra scripture, the *Sarvadharmatiparisodhanatantra*, which recounts "a sadhana taught by Sakyanatha" (p. 132 9b). The meditation is to be done "with the method of generation" (p. 130 8a: *utpattikramena*), and it is described as "the highest deity yoga" (*devatdyogam... uttamam*). Despite the inclusion of material not generally found in later sadhanas, it clearly sets out the key features of a mature sadhana, all of which will be seen as distinct stages in the *Vajravarahi Sadhana* (GSSn) studied here in chapter 3. Thus, it includes the usual

preliminaries, the construction of a circle of protection, the accumulations of merit and wisdom, *pujā*, and the merging of the mandala in space with the mandala in the heart.⁴⁴ The eighth-century commentator Buddhaguhya recognized the sadhana material in the *Sarvadurgatiparisodhanatantra* as distinct from the rest of the tantra, describing it as an "introduction" (*gleng gzhi = niddna*) to "the actual text" (*mdo bshad*) dealing with mandalas (Skorupski 1983: xxvii). Another yogatantra commentator, Vilasavajra, also approaches the topic in his *Ndmamantrdrthdvalokini*. In *adhikara* IV, Vilasavajra produces his own proto-sadhana, which includes key preliminary meditations and the generation of deities within a mandala, but which lacks other established features of the later sadhana, 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 *Guhyasamdjatantra* (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, w. 60–65) that it refers to as: (1) service (*sevd*); (2) auxiliary attainment (*upasaddhanam*); (3) attainment (*saddhanam*); and (4) great attainment (*mahdsaddhanam*).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 *Guhyasamdjatantra*, also in four stages, focuses just upon the generation of the deity. This is the "[set of] four vajras" (*vajracatuska*), which corresponds in yoginitantra texts to the sequence of five awakenings. The *Guhyasamdjatantra* also distinguishes a stage of "generation" (*utpatti*), from a stage of "completion" (*utpannal nispanna*) (e.g., GST ch. 18, v. 84; see Wayman 1977: 23), an important classification that we will see in the mature sadhanas of the yoginitantra. The two stages or methods (*kramah*), the generation stage (*utpattikramah*) and the completion stage (*utpannakramah*, *nispannakramah*), were elaborated upon in the two schools of Guhyasamaja 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 yoginitantras. The highest tantra scriptures develop the deity meditations into sadhana-type practices that bear much the same form as the mature sadhana (e.g., *Hevajratantra*, *devatdpatala* 13 and *Samvarodayatantra*,

sriherukodayanirdesapatala ch. 13). The four stages of the yogottara system (*sevd*, etc.) are still current—both implicitly in a fourfold structure of the sadhana-type passages, and explicitly through direct reference (e.g., HT1.1.25; A D U T ch. 14: 3*ijff*). 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 sadhana. The *Samvarodayatantra*, for example, begins with the methods of generating the deity and his wider mandala, followed by the ritual practices grounded in that self-generation.⁴⁷ The structure of the *Hevajatantra* is similar and also mirrors the composition of a sadhana.⁴⁸ The scriptural sources of the yoginitantras therefore draw closely on the methods of the sadhana, and may be seen as products of existing praxis that cultivated sadhana or sadhana-type techniques. Without an understanding of these stages within the sadhana 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 sadhana 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 sadhana already evident in the yogatantra corpus underwent gradual definition. The process is detectable in certain sets of sadhanas in the *Sddhanamdld* collection, such as the sizable collections of sadhanas grouped around manifestations of Avalokitesvara (SM6 to SM42) and Manjus'ri (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 Saiva-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 sadhanas, to be followed by the merging of its pledge and knowledge forms. By the time of the yoginitantra sadhanas of the *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld*, the form of the tantric sadhana was well established, and yet our study of the collection will reveal that the genre was still developing. In response to developments in the yoginitantra scriptures, some sadhanas will be seen to introduce cremation-ground (*kdpdlika*) features within the standard format of the sadhana, and others to reject mainstream formats altogether.

The sadhana 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 sadhana 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 Vajrayogini/Vajravaraḥ, which has no scriptural corpus of its own, but borrows from the scriptural tradition of Cakrasamvara. One reason Umapatideva's *Vajravardhī Sadhana* 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 Cakrasamvara mandala and its rituals, and alters them to describe the Vajravaraḥ mandala and its rituals. Since sadhanas are not tied to a particular scriptural source, we will see that different works in the *Guhyasamayasiddhanamālā* draw on different parts of the Buddhist (and Saiva) traditions and produce a range of forms and practices of Vajrayogini.

Above all, sadhanas are manuals of practice; they are the "means of attainment" (*siddhanam*) 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 sadhana suggests the practitioner's broader lifestyle. His daily routine is indicated only by general injunctions that are embedded into the sadhana itself, namely, to rise early, to wash, to perform the sadhana 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. Sadhana texts also say little of the previous spiritual practice that has prepared the practitioner for taking up the sadhana 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 sadhana, whose audience is understood to be made up exclusively of initiates into the cult. As one sadhana in the *Guhyasamayasiddhanamālā* 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 sadhana 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 *siddhaka* 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 sadhana 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* (*samayadcdrah*)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 sadhana in the *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld* is itself described as the "Oral Teaching of Vajrayogini" (*Vajrayoginlmukhdgama*), and its secret practices are said to go from "ear to ear, mouth to mouth." The sadhana includes a description of a *parvapujd* 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 Vajraghona puja (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 Vajrayogini/Vajravarahl, 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 sadhana practice, the pupil would next undertake a prolonged period of mantra recitation, which forms a preparatory foundation for undertaking the sadhana itself. This is referred to as "prior service" (*purvasevd*). Without this bedrock it is said that the sadhaka "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 mandala and ten thousand for the mandala retinue; similar numbers are given in the *Vajrdvall* for the Kalacakra texts, while in the Samvara system, there are said to be both medium and brief periods of service (mKhas grub rje *ibid*).TM

Since authors of sadhanas say little about the preparation and training undergone by a sadhaka 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" (*pasyet*, *avalokayet*, *ikseta*) the object of meditation "very clearly" (GSS11 v.17: *vispastataram*) and unwaveringly (SM123: 254); he should "contemplate" (*vi-cintayet*), "imagine" (*vi-bhdayet*), "meditate upon" (*dhyadyt*), or "be convinced of" (*adhimuncet*) it. The manner of producing the visualized object in the mind is described as the arising or generation (*utpattih*) 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 (*bijaksaram*), and it has both an aural dimension, such as the sound of the mantra syllable *hum*, and a visual dimension as the written form of that syllable, §, 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*, *-bhuta*, *-nispanna*), or—where there is a whole sequence of such visualizations—by their "evolution," "development," or "transformation" (*parindmena*) 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 sadhana. The deity may be visualized "in space" (*khadhdtau*) in front of the meditator, as in the preliminary puja, or be generated within an external ritual object, such as a mandala 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 sadhana 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 sadhana as a generation-stage practice (*utpattikramah*, see ch. 3). In a self-generation sadhana, the subject of prescription changes in mid-course. The mundane personage of the practitioner who begins the practice is designated variously as the sadhaka, the yogin, the mantrin (literally, "the possessor of mantra"), or by some traditional laudatory epithet acknowledging that he is "a skilful one" (*vicaksanah*), 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" (*devatdyuktavdn*), the practitioner of "deity yoga" (*devatdyogah*). He is the "yogin-as-deity" or, as in the context of our Vajravaharhi 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" (*visuddhih*). The correspondence is made on the firm understanding or conviction (*adhimoksah*, *niscayah*) of the mundane object "as" the supramundane counterpart. The yogin understands that the true essence or inherent nature (*svabhavah*) of the mundane element is ontologically equivalent to that of the supramundane, because both are empty (*sunya*). 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 yoginitantra sources is the purification of the yogin's entire psychophysical being as a preliminary to undertaking the sadhana. Here, each of his five *skandhas*, his sense organs and the five elements in the body, are correlated imaginatively with a particular buddha, bodhisattva, 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 *vis'uddhi mdicztts* 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 sadhaka'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 sadhana, 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 sadhana, 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 sadhaka into the deity during the course of the sadhana is therefore the necessary preliminary to all other ritual acts whatsoever, and it is really the transcendental deity itself—in this case, Vajrayogini—who performs the rituals, and not the (unenlightened) practitioner. In the public arena, the transformative tools of sadhana meditation are just as crucial. For example, rites of consecration (*pratistha*) play a key part in communal practice, as all objects for religious use must be consecrated, from buildings such as monasteries and stupas, 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 sadhana, 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 (*pratisthita*). In this process, the tools of sadhana 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 stupas 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 sadhana (1996: especially 1-13; Tanemura 2002).

The transformative influence of the sadhana is intended to permeate the sadhaka's entire life. Rites are sometimes distinguished according to whether

they are "outer" (**bdhyakriyd*) or "inner" (*adhydtmayogah*) (e.g., mKhas grub rje: 219), and it is clear that the different elements of the sadhana cover both planes. On an outer level, sadhana 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 sadhana 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 (*mudrd*), verbal utterance (*mantrah*), 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 sadhana 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" (*nddis*) 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 sadhana, when the sadhaka 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 Vajravarahi 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 sadhana. It begins with a series of preparations that allow the sadhaka to assimilate himself to the outer and inner character of his chosen deity, and intensifies as he imagines himself reborn as Vajravarahi and infused with her wisdom. Since the sadhana 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 *sadhana* 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 Vajrayogini in India

THE SADHANAS of the *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld* present a rich and varied picture of the Vajrayogini 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 Saivism. We then turn to the emergence of Vajrayogini within the broader context of other female deity cults, and also of Vajravaraḥi, who comes to be seen as one of Vajrayogini's chief manifestations. The rest of the chapter is really a survey of the forms of Vajrayogini that appear in the *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld* collection. These are gleaned from the sections in the sadhanas 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 *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld* alone, we find almost twenty distinct forms of Vajrayogini.

Although the sadhanas of the *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld* 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 Vajrayogini 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 *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld*, we find that the commonest subject is the red, two-armed warrior-stance Vajravarahl (fig. 27).⁵⁶ It is this form that is the focus of Umapatideva's *Vajravdrdhi Sddhana*, and in our study of that sadhana in chapter 3, we explore in depth the visualizations and meditations associated with her and her mandala, and the various mantras and rites prescribed for her practice. In the survey of the forms and manifestations that follows, we find that Vajravarahl even assumes something of the generic status of Vajrayogini, 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 Vajrayogini root mantra), which—following Saiva 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 sadhanas themselves.

Where possible, I have tried to find artistic representations to illustrate the various forms of the deity. In the case of some sadhanas, 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 mam rgyal (1781-1854) (Tachikawa et al. 1995: 7; Willson and Brauen 2000: xvii). The textual basis for the Mongolian icons of Vajrayogini is a compilation of sadhanas that the fourth Panchen Lama produced especially for the empowerment ritual, known in brief as the *Rin than*. The basis for the *Rin lhan* is a cycle of over three hundred Tibetan sadhanas compiled in the early seventeenth century by Taranatha (1575-1634), and commonly known as the *Rin 'byung brgya rtsa*. Taranatha himself was drawing on translations of Sanskrit sadhanas that reach back to the time of the *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld*; indeed some of the forms of Vajrayogini 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 Vajrayogini from the *Guhyasamayasddhanandld*, 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, Dharmacari Aloka. 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 Saivism

A formative influence upon the Vajrayogini cult was that of nondual Saivism. Pioneering research in this area by Sanderson (1993, 1994b, 1995, 2001b) has shown the highest Buddhist tantras to be startlingly reliant upon nondual Saiva 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 Cakrasamvara tradition, the *Laghusamvaratantra*, "long passages, amounting to some two hundred verses, nearly a third of the whole, can be seen to have been redacted from Saiva originals," which—since this part of the Saiva canon is itself only partly preserved—must indicate an impressive debt.

The Saiva cults that leave their imprint most strongly upon the higher and highest Buddhist tantras are those belonging to the *mantrapitha* or "seat of mantras," and the *vidyapitha* or "seat of vidyas," both of which are divisions within that stream of Saiva dispensation termed the *mantramirga*, or "path of mantras" (Sanderson 1988: 668ff.).⁶⁰ Worship within the *mantrapitha* was of a type of Siva 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, Aghores'vari. The cremation-ground elements are even more in evidence in the Vidyapitha, where they relate principally to esoteric cults based upon feminine power (*s'aktih*) such as those of the Trika and the Krama. The Trika focuses on three goddesses, Para, Apra, and Parapara, who have subordinate consorts in bhairava forms and retinues of male and female deities. The Krama cults manifest fierce forms of the goddess Kali. In one of the highest forms of nondual Saivism, the goddess is worshiped within a mandala of twelve identical Kalis; 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 Vidyapitha perceived itself as related but superior to the mantrapitha, just as the Buddhist yoginitantras perceived themselves as related but superior to the yogottara-tantras. It is from the Vidyapitha tradition that the yoginitantras drew most heavily.

Sanderson has pointed to a number of ways in which the Buddhist tantra is indebted to the Saiva 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 Saiva scriptural titles, with little or no adaptation to the new Buddhist context. For example, the Buddhist title *Yoginisameddratantra* points directly to the Saiva chapter title *Yoginisamcara* (in the Kali-centered *Jayadrathaydmalatantra*). Another Buddhist tantra title, *Sarvabuddhasamyogaddkinijldasamvara*, is closely influenced by the titles of two Saiva works, the *Sarvavirasamyoga* and the *Yoginijldasamvara*, while the Buddhist *Hevajraddkinijldasamvara* again draws on the Saiva title *Yoginijldasamvara*.

As well as relying on Saiva nomenclature, great portions of text are drawn wholesale from Saiva sources. For example, Sanderson (*ibid.*, especially 2001b) has shown that the root Cakrasamvara scripture draws directly on Saiva sources in the chapter teaching how to identify and distinguish members of the various families; thus the *Laghusamvaratantra* (ch. 19) describes the characteristics of a class of yoginis known as "lamas" by drawing directly on the Saiva *Siddhayoges'varimata* (ch. 29), and on the same theme the root text (chs. 15-17) draws directly from the third satka of the *Jayadrathaydmalatantra* [*Yoginisameddra* section, the *Samaydcdracestd-vidhnapatala*, w. 116-48]; it also incorporates portions from Trika texts such as the *Nisisameddra* and the *Tantrasadbhdva*. The so-called explanatory tantra to the root text, the *Abhidhdnottaratantra* (ch. 43), has drawn

directly on the *Picumata-Brahmaydmalatantra* (ch. 85) for the rules (*samayās*) 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 Saiva 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..." (*athdtaḥ sampravakṣyāmi...*). In these ways, the Saiva 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 Saiva conventions for preserving mantras intact, but are themselves in the style of the Saiva vidyapitha (*ibid.* 2001b: n. 52). A clear example of Buddhist recycling and adaptation of a Saiva mantra is found in the *Guhyavajravildsini-siddhana* (GSS10) discussed below.

Second, the Buddhist tantras have taken their wrathful and erotic orientation from Saiva praxis. The terrifying, cremation-ground character of the higher Buddhist tantras has its roots in Saiva mythology. According to the myth (described variously in the Puranas), the original skull observance (*kḍpdlavratam*), or "great observance" (*mahdvratam*), was the result of a quarrel between Brahma and the Vedic form of Siva, Rudra. When Rudra ends the matter by plucking off Brahma'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 Dharmasastra (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 (*kapḍlam*) and skull staff (*khatvadrigha*) 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" (n.73, trans. Doniger 1991). The mythical role model of the penance of Rudra became the direct inspiration for early ascetic cults in the *atimdr̥ga* ("outer path") stream of Saivism, such as the Paśūpatas (dating from the second century) and in particular their more extreme offshoot, the Lakulas (Sanderson 1988: 664-66). Lakula 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 mantramarga stream of Saivism, who moved away from the liberationist goals of the atimarga, choosing instead to aim for the acquisition of supernatural power (*bhogah*). They wore bone ornaments and carried the skull staff of *kdpdlika* observance, but modeled themselves instead upon terrifying cremation-ground ectypes of Siva, whom they worshiped with impure substances such as alcohol, blood, and sexual fluids obtained from intercourse with a consort in orgiastic rites (*ibid.*: 66J-JI).

The Buddhist initiate into the esoteric cults of the yoginitantras likewise performed a skull observance, known as the "vow of the observance of heroes" (*viracarydvratā*), or the vajra (i.e., "Vajrayanist") skull observance (*vajrakdpdlikacarydvratam*).⁴⁴ As in the Saiva tradition, this was based on the practitioner's inner identification with his chosen deity and involved worship of the god with impure substances. In Abhayakaragupta's description of the "vajra skull observance" (Sanderson 1994b: 91, 98 n. 2), the male practitioner wears the attributes of the Buddhist deity Cakrasamvara. 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 Vajravaraḥ. While the Buddhist observance, like the Saiva counterpart, also brings the promise of supernatural attainment (*siddhiḥ*), the goal is ultimately that of enlightenment.

Another feature of the Vajrayogini cult that owes its origin to non-dualistic Saiva developments is its emphasis on the worship of female deities. In the vidyapīṭha traditions of Saivism, 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: 67off.). In this context, the central goddesses of the Trika rise above their male consorts in status to become the chief deities of the mandala, while esoteric forms of Kali emerge entirely from the embrace of their consorts. As a sign of her supremacy, Kali subjugates her former consort by trampling him underfoot. We will see Vajrayogini and Vajravaraḥ 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 Saiva gods themselves. Thus, while the motif of subjugation is another example of the Buddhist reliance upon Saiva norms, it clearly expresses the Buddhist superiority over those norms.

Transgressive Discipline (vamacarah)

As in the esoteric Saiva systems, *kdpdlika* 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, *kdpdlika* 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" (*vamacarah*).

The "left" (*vdma*) in *vdmdcdra* 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, *kdpdlika* 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 *Saundini*, a female from the liquor-selling caste (GSS11 v. 5ii). The ideal consort is erotically provocative. Abhayakaragupta states that, if possible, a consort should be young and beautiful, as well as an initiate (*samayini*; lit: "holder of the pledge").⁴ 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 Saiva.... In internalising the image of Saivism, the Buddhist has exaggerated it." Transgressive discipline is central to the practices and iconography

of Vajrayogini. 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" (*klesas*) of lust (*rdgah*) and wrath (*dvesah*), 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 *viparitaushadhikalpandit*, 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 *Guhyasamayasadddhandmdld* ends with some typical tantric verses in praise of *vdmdcdra*. These begin with a pun on the word *vdma* (left)/*vdmd* (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 *vdmdcdra* 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 (*vdma*-) (or: have arisen from woman, *vdma*-). 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 yoginis" (*yoginijldlasamvaraih*).

The Emergence of Vajrayogini

These developments in the nondual Saiva 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 yoginis and dakinis and other classes of demonic female (which in Saivism included *sdkinis*, *yaksinis*, and *rdksasis*).⁶⁶ Dakinis are protean, flying, witchlike beings.⁶⁷ Their association with tantric practice had been longstanding—Sircar (1948:105), for example, cites an early fifth-century Vaisnava inscription in a temple in Mandasor that describes "a terrible abode, full of dakinis." 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 yogini cults of the nondual Saiva Trika, Sanderson (1988: 671) writes, "The goal of the initiate was to force or entice these *yoginis* to gather before him and receive him into their band (*yoginiganah*), sharing with him their miraculous powers and esoteric knowledge." Although the goddesses generally inhabited the power seats (*pitbas*) 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, *saktis* were divided into recognizable classes and families, the predominant being those of the eight families of the "mothers" (*mdtr/mdtrkd*), namely Brahmī (or Brahmani), Rudrani (or MahesVari), Kaumari, Vaisnavi, Varahl, Indrani (or Aindri), Camunda, and Mahalaksmi (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. Mahasiddha Kambala, for example, confronted a whole assembly of dakini 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).⁶⁸ common with the Saiva *s'dkta* traditions, female spirits were particularly associated with the semimythical Oddiyana, a place name traditionally related

to the word *dakini*, and thus to flight.⁶⁸ Oddiyana is described in the *Legends* as a kingdom divided into two halves, Sambhala and Lahkapuri, each having two hundred and fifty thousand towns. King Indrabhuti ruled Sambhala, while Lankapuri was under the dominion of King Jalendra who married Indrabhuti's sister, Laksmihkara. As for its geographical location, on the authority of the Buddha himself (as reported in the *Blue Annals*: 361), the kingdom of Indrabhuti is located "in the northern quarter, in s'ri Vajrasthana Oddiyana."⁶⁹ According to the legendary tales, dakinis make many magical appearances in Oddiyana. In one version of Ghantapada'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 Vajravarahi herself (Dowman 1985: 273). Because yoginis 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 Saiva sources in the Cakrasamvara corpus concern the signs by which adepts may recognize and communicate with females belonging to one or other of the yogini or dakini families.⁷⁰ Because the vajra family is that to which the heruka forms of the yoginitantras belong, the human consorts of the vajra class were particularly valued. The *Hevajratantra* (HT1.6.8—9) recommends a girl from the vajra family (*vajrakanyd*) 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 yoginis are differentiated from female spirits of other tantric systems is by the characteristic tag *vajra*, the distinguishing mark of nondual Vajrayana Buddhism. They thus become known as *vajra-yogins* and *tvz/ra-dakinis*. A commentarial text in the *Guhyasamayasadhanamald* opens by explaining the word *vajra* in *vajrayogini* in just these terms: "[The word] *vajra* serves to exclude (*nirakaranam*) the yoginis of the heretics and so forth."⁷¹ The term *vajrayogini* 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, Vajrayogini is the vajra-yogini par excellence, "leader of the yogini hordes."⁷² That she, too, has a generic quality emerges from the texts of the *Guhyasamayasadhanamald*. The great majority of *sadhanas* begin with a salutation to Vajrayogini, or name Vajrayogini in a benedictory verse or introductory statement. However, less than a third of the forms subsequently described in the visualization are actually named "Vajrayogini." 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 Vajrayogini, it is important to note that her cult is but one of many female deity cults within the highest Buddhist tantras. Other vajra-yoginis 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 mandalas 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 mandalas, with their male consort expelled. Many of the characteristics we find in the cult of Vajrayogini are also found among such deities. They, too, draw upon the stock of tantric—often Saiva-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 Vajrayogini.

A plethora of tantric forms, for example, center on the well-known figure of Tara, and these in themselves provide ample evidence for the abundance of female deity cults in India. Indeed, tantric manifestations of Tara have so many forms that they would need a whole book to themselves. One such is Vajratara, subject of a handful of lengthy *sadhanas* (e.g., SM93–97), including one by Ratnakaras'anti (SM110) who has a number different forms. Another is Jahguli (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 Ugratara or "Fierce Tara" (also known as Tara of "Great China," Mahacinatara SM100–102), whom we have already noted shares a temple with Vajrayogini in Sankhu, Nepal. There is also the irresistible Kurukulla (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 Vajrayogini. Two of Tara's former attendants (in her peaceful Khadiravani-Tara 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 Vajrayogini. Ekajata is represented by only five *sadhanas* in the *Sddhanamdd* (SM123–27), but these describe about the same number of forms, including an extremely fierce manifestation with twenty-four arms and twelve heads; this *sadhana* ends with the visualization of a classic two-armed form of Vajrayogini at one's heart—red, fierce,

and dancing in the *ardhaparyatika* pose (SM123 p. 259). Of even more obvious significance to the cult of Vajravaraḥl is the goddess Maricī who has sixteen *sādhana*s in the *Saddhanamālā* (SM132-47), and one in the *Nispannayogdvali* (no. 17). Within this small but diverse collection, over half a dozen forms of Maricī emerge, with multiplicities of heads, arms, and legs. Like most forms of Vajravaraḥl, Maricī is also presided over by Vairocana, but her most striking similarity with Vajravaraḥl is the hog motif that permeates her iconography. She has a chariot drawn by seven hogs (so that she is frequently compared to Surya, 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: *sukararūpa*-). She also has four attendants who are all hog-headed, one of whom is called "Hog-Face," Varahamukhī. The terrifying presence of the hog's head, in both cases, does not preclude the goddess' association with erotic forms of practice. Maricī's attributes include a branch of an Asoka 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, Maricī's *sādhana*s 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 Maricī 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 Maricī ('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 Vajravaraḥl called Vajraghona, 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. Nairatmya, like Vajravaraḥl, 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 mandala based on Hevajra lines, as a handful of *sādhana*s in the *Saddhanamālā* and *Nispannayogdvali* testify.⁷⁴ Her form, while blue in color and without a hog's head, is very similar to that of the *ardhaparyanka* Vajravaraḥl. A wonderful illustration of a blue dakini in this pose is the early *thangka* from Khara Khoto in plate 3 (Nairatmya has the blue, earth-touching Buddha Aksobhya on her headdress, indicating that she belongs to the vajra family). Vajra-

yogini also has connections with another Aksobhya-family heruka, called Mahamaya. The tradition of Mahamaya 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 *guhyakas*." His consort is Buddhadakini—"dakini of the Buddha(s)"—and he is worshiped in embrace with her at the center of a mandala of four dakinis (who also appear elsewhere within a mandala of a wrathful black form of Vajravarahl).⁸ Vajrayogini herself appears in one instance as Buddhadakini within the Trikaya Vajrayogini sadhanas, and her main mantra includes the invocation of the mantra deity, Sarvabuddhadakini. This epithet is in itself telling. While it is not the name of any independent form of Vajrayogini, according to the Indian sources I have seen, it clearly asserts that—at least within the Vajrayogini cult—Vajrayogini is understood to be the "dakini of all buddhas"; that is, she is the supreme manifestation of a Buddhist dakini, the preeminent vajra-yogini, and the summation of all tantric female deities.

The Emergence of Vajravarahl

The most common form of Vajrayogini in the *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld* is Vajravarahl. Hailed as Vajrayogini in the salutation of most of the Vajravarahl sadhanas, Vajravarahl is regarded as essentially the same as Vajrayogini; that is, as a vajra-yogini: "from inside that [*dharmodayd*] arises the goddess Varahi who is Vajrayogini [or: Varahi who is a vajra-yogini]."⁹ Vajravarahi's name means "vajra-hog" (*vardhah* is a hog or boar), or "Buddhist"-Varahi. Her origins lie in the brahmanical goddess, Varahi, who was widely worshiped as one of the seven or eight mothers (*mdtrkds*); indeed, she is still worshiped as such in Nepal, although clearly distinguished from the Buddhist goddess, Vajravarahl (Gellner 1992: 96, Bautze-Picon 2000). Usually portrayed with the single face of a hog or a boar, the brahmanical Varahi is the female counterpart of Varaha, Visnu's avatara 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 (Biihnnemann 2000i: 120-21; Donaldson 1995: 158ff¹⁰). The Buddhist deity inherits her wrathful character and, just as Varahi with her gruesome head, is intended to inspire terror in her enemies, so Vajravarahi's character is fierce and wrathful.

Like Varahi, Vajravarahl does not always appear with a hog's head, but

in one of the commonest forms of Vajravarahl, 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 Vajravarahi's iconography. None of the Sanskrit *sādhana*s add anything more on its significance or symbolism, although the pig is traditionally associated in Buddhism with the root poison of ignorance (*mohah*), and Tibetan literature reads Vajravarahi'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, Pramoha ("Deluder"), appears in an early yoginī-type mandala who is said to have the face of the "primal boar" (i.e., Viṣṇu as Varaha) with a "deluding gaze." Even here, however, the text's emphasis is upon her wrathful character.⁷ Wrathful tantric deities are said to be "fearful to fear itself—or "dangerous to danger itself" (e.g., HT2.5.8: *bhayasydpi bhayanakam*)—and thus their wrath is understood to be an expression of their great compassion. Vajravarahl, in common with other tantric deities, is described as "terrifying (*bhisand*) with anger [which is in fact displayed out of] compassion (*karundkrodha*)."

The hog-faced goddess seems to have entered Buddhist scripture in the *yogatantras*. In the *Sarvathādgatatattvasaṃgraha* (ch. 6: 60), Varahi is named as one of the Saiva all-mothers (*sarvamātṛs*) located in the hell regions, who upon her conversion to the Buddhist mandala by Vajrapāṇi assumes the name Vajramukhī ("Vajra Face"). In the *yoginītantras*, a hog-faced goddess "Varahi" appears in Heruka mandalas as one of many attendant goddesses, such as those surrounding the Yamari forms in the *Kṛsnayāmdrītantra* and commentary. As we have seen above, she is also one of a set of hog-faced attendants to Marīci, along with the hog-faced Vart(t)ali, who is another form of the brahmanical Varahi and also associated with protection (Bühnemann *op. tit.*: 152–54). Vajravarahl assumes greater importance in the mandalas 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 mandalas in the *Nispannayogdvali*.⁸ But Vajravarahl really takes center stage within the Heruka mandalas only when she is taken up as consort to Cakrasaṃvara. The tantric systems cen-

tered on Cakrasamvara worship him as a blue, Heruka, Bhairava-type deity with twelve arms, who holds Vajravarahl in embrace (plate n). 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. Vajravarahl remains the consort of Cakrasamvara when he manifests in other guises, such as the form of Vajrasattva-Jnanadaka at the center of the *Satcakravartimandala* from the *Abhidhnottaratantra*, in which the central couple is surrounded by five daka-buddhas. Here she is named variously Jnanadakini, Jnanadhatvlsvarl, or Vajravarahl (*Nispannayogdvali*: 79). Her iconographic form tends to change in response to the form assumed by Cakrasamvara. For example, when she appears as consort of the six-armed Saptaksara manifestation of Cakrasamvara, she likewise has six arms and nearly identical attributes, except that she holds a bow and arrow where Cakrasamvara holds a flayed human skin (SM251: 491). In yet another tantric tradition, Vajravarahl is consort to the Heruka form of Hayagriva.

As the yogini cults took root, Vajravarahl becomes the leader of the mandala in her own right. Our survey of mandalas in the *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld* shows her to be the central deity, both in embrace with Cakrasamvara, and more commonly as a "solitary heroine" (*ekavird*) without any consort. Here we find that Vajravarahi is capable of manifesting a number of different forms, and that she assumes something of the generic quality associated with Vajrayogini. In Vijayavajra's *Vajrayoginisddhana* (GSS35), for example, Vajravarahl is the subject of the salutation, while Vajrayogini is actually the deity of the visualization. Elsewhere, a commentator states that all dakinis are born in the Varahi family.⁸⁰ Despite the richness of its iconography, the *Guhyasamayasddhanamdldis* by no means exhaustive, and there were doubtless many variations of Vajravarahl in other works of tantric literature and art. (For example, an eighteenth-century Nepalese tangka shows a rare image of Vajravarahl 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 Vajravarahl is that described in the *Vajravarahi Sddhana* by Umapatideva (GSS11), the subject of our study in chapter 3. This sadhana centers on the warrior-stance form of Vajravarahl with no hog's head. Both wrathful and erotic in character, she stands in the center of a retinue of yoginis within a thirty-seven-fold mandala.

Dancing-Pose (ardhaparyanka) Vajravarahi

One of the main manifestations of Vajrayogini is as Vajravarahi in the half-paryanka (*ardhaparyanka*) 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 *tdndava* dance of Siva at the end of the aeon. Dance (*ndtyam*) plays a large part within classical Indian notions of dramatic art, and Buddhist tantric deities (following Saiva norms) are often said to be equipped with the nine dramatic sentiments (*rasas*).⁸¹ Vajravarahi appears with this form in the two opening *sadhanas* of the *Guhyasamayasadhanamald*, in two very similar texts, both ascribed to key tantric authorities. The *Oral Tradition of Vajrayogini (Vajrayoginimukhhdgama GSSi)* is ascribed to Indrabhuti (and elsewhere to Sahara, see appendix), and the *Vajrayoginisddhana (GSS2)* to Luyipada. Drawing on this older material, the *Abhisamayamahjari (GSS5 Sed p. 152, Yjyjrj)* also includes the form, as do two of the self-consecration (*svddhisthdna*) *sadhanas* (GSS32 Kio6n, GSS34 Kii2r6).⁸²

In the West, the dancing image is perhaps the best known iconographical form of Vajravarahi. In fact, B. Bhattacharyya (1924/1985:156) was so misled by its prevalence as to state that Vajravarahi and Vajrayogini are separate goddesses with individual stances: the *ardhaparyanka* pose for Vajravarahi, and the warrior (*dlidhah*) stance for Vajrayogini—although the *Guhyasamayasadhanamald* *sadhanas* 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, "Vas̥ya Vajravarahi" for *ardhaparyanka* forms of Vajravarahi holding the chopper, although this is without any valid textual basis.⁸³ Examples of the dancing Vajravarahi 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 *sadhanas* in the *Rin 'byung brgya rtsa* (Willson and Brauen 2000: 257-58, 259). The first is the "two-faced Vajravarahi 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 Vajravarahi associated with Indrabhuti, "[two-]faced Varahi, Indra[bhuti]'s dakini" (*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 dakinis (*mKha' spyod skor gsum = khecari cycle*) comprising the forms of Vajrayogini associated with Naropa, Maitrlpa, and Indrabhuti.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 Vajravarahi that demonstrates her name, "Vajra Hog" or "Vajra Boar," since her distinguishing feature is the small hog's or boar's face that protrudes 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 (*mudras*; see ch. 3). Here (in GSSi=GSS2) she wears five mudras: a chaplet, earrings, necklace, armlets, and girdle, all of bone found in a cremation ground. As leader of a mandala (in GSS34), she wears the sixth mudra also from a cremation ground: ash. There is no mention of a skull staff or corpse throne in any of the *Guhyasamayasadhanam* sources—although these do appear in some artistic representations of the goddess.⁸⁷ The influence of esoteric Saivism is evident in the five skulls upon Vajravarahi'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 *dharmodaya* 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 (GSSi **K80r5**) that mirrors the vision of the whirling mantra syllables. The yogin draws the *dharmodaya* onto a stainless vessel containing

a paste of saffron and vermilion powder, inside which the mantra is written letter by letter. By the side of this he places a "swirl of bliss" (*nandydvartah*), makes both traditional and transgressive offerings, and then performs the worship of a young virgin (*kumdri*), the *kumdripujā*. 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." Another text in the *Guhyasamaya-siddhanamālā* (GSS33) adds that the worship of the *kumdri* may be performed either "internally" (imaginatively) or externally:⁸²

On the tenth or eighth night of the light or dark [phase of the moon], he should always worship a virgin (*kumdrim*), imagined to be [Vajrayogini under the synonym] Suruyogini. Internally (*svāntar*) he should worship her at his side, externally (*bahye*) [he should worship her] at the center within a mandala (*cakra-*) drawn [on the ground]. [He should worship her] according to the pledge (*samvare*) of the Cakrasamvara [mandala 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 (*japamantrah*) or root mantra (*mūlamantrah*)—is a combination of the main mantras for the warrior-stance Vajravārāhi (p. 179). Thus it includes the name elements Vajravairocana (from the heart mantra) and Sarvabuddhadakīṇī and Vajravamāni (from the auxiliary heart mantra):

om om om

sarvabuddhaddakīṇīye vajravarnnāṇīye vajrabairocāṇīye
hum hum hum phatphatphat svādhā

In order to preserve the mantra in its correct form, some Buddhist authors adopted the Saiva practice of transcribing the mantra in code within the text and then giving instructions for the letter-by-letter "extraction" (*uddhārah*) of each of its syllables.⁸³ This method is adopted by our two opening *sādhana*s, and accredited to a scriptural source, the *Samvārdhnavatantra*. The text first describes the drawing of a *prasthā*, 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 *prastdra* echoes the visualization of the mantra described above, as it takes the inverted triangular "E" shape of the *dharmodayd*, 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" (*mantroddharah*). 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 ~3> ("o"), which he must "adorn" with a dot ° within a semicircle " to form the nasal ending, thus producing 3P (*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 (*mantroddhdra*-). The lovely triangular mandala is produced from the *vajrdralli* known as the origin of existents (*dharmodayd*), 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 (*kosthah*) [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 *Samvardrnavatantra*.

[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

sarvabuddhaddkiniye

bajravarnnaniye

bajrabairocaniye[^]

hum hum hum

phat phat phat svdhd

GSS mantra:

om om om

sarvabuddhaddkiniye

vajravarnaniye

vajravairocaniye

hum hum hum

phat phat phat svdhd

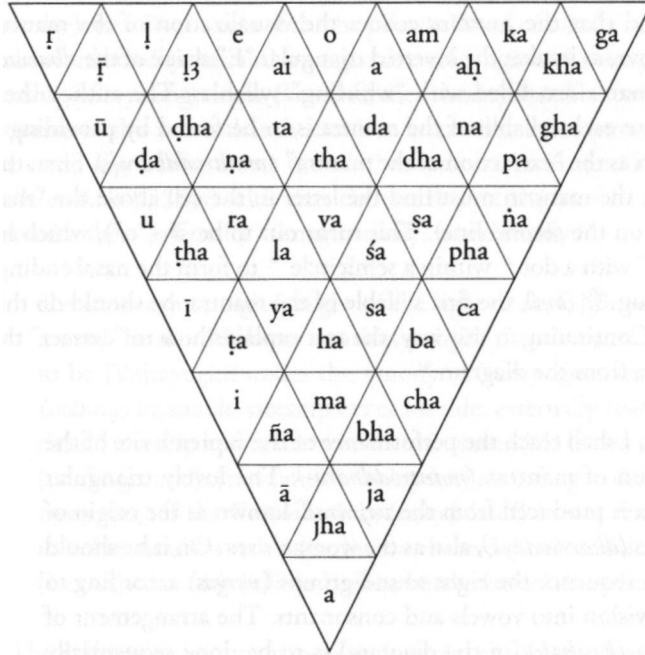


Table 4. *Root mantra of Vajrayogini*

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

Twelve-Armed Vajravarahi in Dancing Pose

Another dancing, *\\Ai-paryanka* pose form of Vajravarahi appears in the *Sadhana of the Twelve-Armed Vajravarahi (Dvddasabhuja vajravarahi-sddhana GSS7)*, redacted from the *Varahyabhyudayantra Abhidhanottara-tantra* (see the appendix). This solitary heroine is modeled upon twelve-armed Cakrasamvara and occupies the center of a mandala also based upon a Cakrasamvara model.⁹⁷

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

goad (*ankus'ah/vajrdnkus'ah*). 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 (*ardhandrisvari*).¹⁰⁰ Upon her headdress she wears Cakrasamvara'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 mandala, she wears all six signs of observance (*mudrds*). 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 Kalaratri.



Fig. 4. *Twelve-armed Vajravarahi*
Drawn according to the Sanskrit
text by Dharmacari Aloka

Table 5. *Attributes of Twelve-armed Vajravarahi*

	Cakrasamvara		Vajravarahi	
<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
	Chopper	Noose	Chopper	Noose
6th pair	Trident	Brahma's head	Hook	Brahma's head

Having visualized himself as twelve-armed Vajravarahi, the yogin then generates her mandala. This contains forty-one goddesses, the same deities as those in the thirty-seven-fold mandala, but with the addition of the four mothers, Mamaki, Locana, Pandaravasini, and Tara. A Tibetan painting of the mandala, based upon the *Vdrdhyabhyudayantra* (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 *Abhidhnottaratantra* and the reconstructed text of the *Vdrdhyabhyudayantra* (w. 55-85) in the following summary of the practice.

On the four petals surrounding the central deity, the practitioner visualizes the goddesses—Dakini, etc.—but with fierce, therianthropic forms. Dakini (on the eastern petal) has a lion's face, Lama (north) the face of a hog, Khandaroha (west), that of an elephant, and Rupini (south), that of a horse. These goddesses are protean (*vis'varupini-*) *kdpdlika* deities, with three eyes and loose hair, and are seen naked, dancing in the *ardhaparyanka* pose, with Bhairava and Kalaratri beneath their feet. They hold skull and staff in two of their four arms, and the head [of Brahma] 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." (*bodhicittddi-bhdjanam*).

Around the central lotus in the cardinal directions are four multicolored lotuses. Upon these reside the four mothers: Mamaki, Locana, Tara, and Pandaravasini. Mamaki, on the eastern lotus, is the presiding lady (*kulesvari*) of the vajra (Aksobhya) family, and has three colors (i.e., three faces of three colors): black, white, and red. Locana, to the North, presides over the karma (Amoghasiddhi) family, with faces of green, white, and red. Tara, on the western lotus, is head of the padma (Amitabha) family; her faces are red, yellow, and green. Pandaravasini, to the south, is leader of the *śaśvata* (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 mudra of smeared ash. Underfoot, they dance upon the four maras. 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 damaru 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.

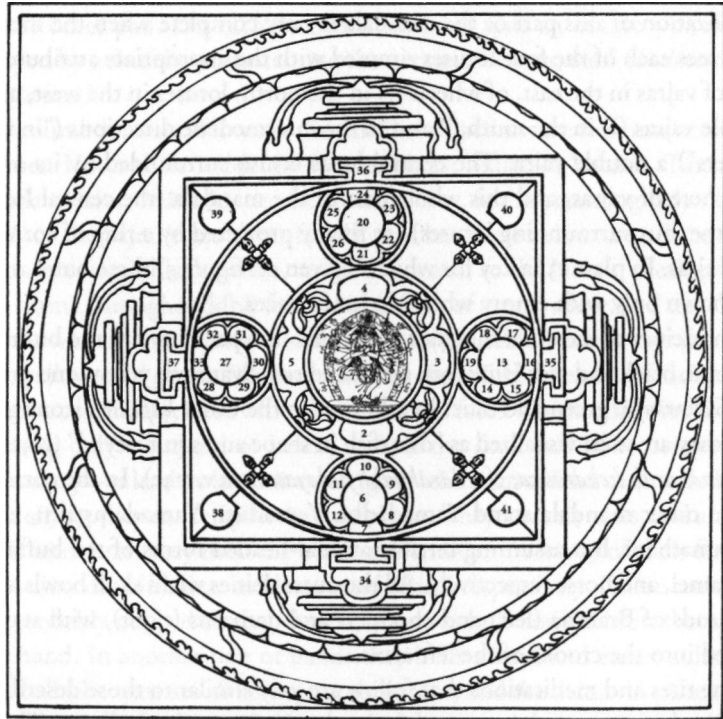
The four lotuses upon which the mothers stand each have six petals, and upon those the meditator sees a further six goddesses. These twenty-four deities are exactly those of the wheels of body, speech, and mind in the thirty-seven-deity mandala of Vajravarahi (as described in the *Vajravarahi Sadhana*). Just as in that visualization, the goddesses are understood to reside in the sacred sites (*pithas*), 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 *kdpdlika* iconography as they dance, naked but for the five mudras, upon the backs of corpses. Like their mandala leader, they are also "half-male, half-female" (*ardhanaris'vari*), 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 damaru and their familial attribute. The visualization of this part of the mandala 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;¹⁰⁰ 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 mandala (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 mandala are similar in type. They are also bitonal: Kakasya, black and red; Ulukasya, green and red; Svanasya, yellow and grey; and Sukarasya, green and blue. In addition to the usual *kdpdlika* iconography, they are to be visualized as "dwarfish in shape and squint-eyed" (K42r6; *vdmandakardh kekards ca*; cf. *Vdrdhyabhyudayatantara* v. 74c). In the corners of the outer mandala stand Yamadadhi, Yamaduṭṭi, Yamadamstrini, and Yamamathani, 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 Brahma (left) and choppers and damarus (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 mandala in the *Vajravarahi Sadhana*. Thus, having completed the visualization of the mandala, the yogin imagines

himself worshipping all the deities with the traditional (nonesoteric) offerings. He also contemplates the mandala as his own body, using the same sets of correlations for the body mandala as described in chapter 3 below. Our text expands the *visuddhis* to include the elements {*dhdus*), skandhas, and sense organs and fields {*dyatanas*), which introduces male deities into the contemplation (see table 9), while the *Abhidhanottaratanttra/Vdrdhyabhyudayantra* also adds the equation of the mind with Aksobhyavajra, speech with Amitabhavajra, and body with Vairocana. The *Vdrdhyabhyudayantra* 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 mandala. It also adds the contemplation of the mandala as the thirty-seven *bodhipdksikadharmas*. All these are as described below in the *Vajravarahi Sadhana* (§2zff.).

Fig. 5. *Vdrdhyabhyudaya mandala*



EAST

*Vajravārāhyabhyudaya maṇḍala key**Central Lotus*

1. Twelve-armed Vajravārāhi

Cardinal Petals

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

Lotuses in Cardinal Directions

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 6. Māmākī (East) | 20. Tārā (West) |
| 7. Pracandā in Pulliramalaya | 21. Śyāmā(devī) in Kalinga |
| 8. Caṇḍākṣī in Jalandhara | 22. Subhadrā in Lampāka |
| 9. Prabhāvatī in Oḍḍiyāna | 23. Hayakarnā in Kāñcī |
| 10. Mahānāsā in Arbuda | 24. Khagānanā in Himālaya |
| 11. Viramati in Godāvari | 25. Cakravegā in Pretapuri |
| 12. Kharvarī in Rāmeśvara | 26. Khaṇḍarohā in Gṛhadevatā |
| 13. Locanā (North) | 27. Pāṇḍaravāsini (South) |
| 14. Lañkeśvari in Devikoṭa | 28. Śauṇḍinī in Saurāstra |
| 15. Drumacchāyā in Mālava | 29. Cakravarmiṇī in Suvarṇadvīpa |
| 16. Airāvati in Kāmarūpa | 30. Suvīrā in Nagara |
| 17. Mahābhairavā in Oḍra | 31. Mahābalā in Sindhu |
| 18. Vāyuvegā in Triśakuni | 32. Cakravartini in Maru |
| 19. Surābhakṣī in Kośala | 33. Mahāvīryā in Kulatā |

*Outer Maṇḍala (gates)**Outer Maṇḍala (corners)*

- | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------|
| 34. Kākāsyā (crow-faced) | 38. Yamadāḍhi |
| 35. Ulūkāsyā (owl-faced) | 39. Yamadūti |
| 36. Śvānāsyā (dog-faced) | 40. Yamadaṁṣṭriṇī |
| 37. Sūkarāsyā (hog-faced) | 41. Yamamathanī |

Six-Armed Vajravarahi with Consort

In one sadhana of the *Guhyasamayasadhanamald*, Vajravarahi is visualized in union with Cakrasamvara, but as the main deity of a thirteenfold mandala. This is "Red Vajravarahi" of the *Raktavajravardrdhisddhana* (GSS6), another work in the collection to be redacted from the *Abhidhānottaratantra* (*patala* 33/35, see the appendix).¹⁰² Iconographically the sadhana is interesting, as it reverses the usual conventions for deities in union, and clearly states that it is Vajravarahi—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 sadhana of [Vajra-]varahi:
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 *bandhika* flower and the China rose. [Vajravarahi should be visualized] with three heads and six arms. [She should be seen] replete with all [the bone] ornaments, sitting firmly (*su-ḥ*) in the *sattvaparyanka* [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 Vajravarahi
with consort*

Drawn according to the Sanskrit
text by Dharmacari Alokā

*om s'rivajravdrdhi ah vam
hum hum phat svdhd*

The mandala is of a very different type from those discussed earlier. Eight retinue goddesses (Vajraguhyottama, etc.) are installed around Vajravarahi 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 (Vajrajvalottama, 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 mandala is a primed bow and arrow, traditionally the weapon of the love god, Kama.

The deities in embrace, and their attributes symbolic of love and attraction, indicate the erotic mode of the sadhana. There is no mention of wrathful or terrifying characteristics, only of the compassionate, wish-fulfilling nature of the deities. In this respect, Red Vajravarahi conforms more closely to the sensual Vajravilasini forms described below, and shares with them an iconographical association with the erotic Saiva goddess of the Srividya cult, Tripurasundari (below). The sadhana ends with the recitation of mantras for all the female mandala deities. Red Vajravarahi's mantra is unusual in that it includes the vocative of the single mantra deity, Vajravarahi (*om srivajravdrdhi &h vam hum hum phat svdhd*). The mantras of the retinue follow suit, with the name of each goddess inserted between a string of mantra syllables; these include *hum vam hoh*, syllables notable for their power to attract.¹⁰⁵

Fig. 7. *Maṇḍala of six-armed Vajravārāhī with consort**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. Vajrāṃṣṭrottamā
12. Vajrakrodhottamā
13. Vajradamṣṭrottamā

Six-Armed Vajradākini 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 *Abhisamayamanjari* (GSS5 K21V5, see ch. 3). She has three faces (red, blue, and green), and her six arms hold a chopper, Brahma'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 *Sadhana of the Thirteenfold Vajraddhikini Vajravarahi* (*Trayodasdtmikavajraddhikinivajravdrdhisddhana* GSS16). Here it seems that the armor goddess has developed into a "terrible leader, thirteenfold in nature."¹⁰⁶ Following the preparations for the sadhana, Vajradakini Vajravarahi is self-generated from *vam* through the series of awakenings; she is self-visualized in a form that is both *kdpdlika* in character, and passionate.



Fig. 8. *Six-armed Vajraddhikini Vajravarahi.*
Drawn according to the Sanskrit text by Dhammacari Aloka.
Cf plate 10a.

*om vajravairocaniye
hum hum phat svdhd*

She is seen adorned with all six mudras, a headdress, and a garland of wet skulls, blazing like the fire at the end of the eon, and trampling underfoot Bhairava and Kalaratri (named here Sambhu and Camunda). Her erotic nature is evident in her red color, her slim waist and firm breasts, and her fanged face, which is only "slightly snarling" (*isaddamstrakardlinim*). 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 Vajravarahi) for the chopper, and an ax for Brahma's head.¹⁰⁷ The source for this sadhana is once again the *Abhidhndottaratantra*.TM

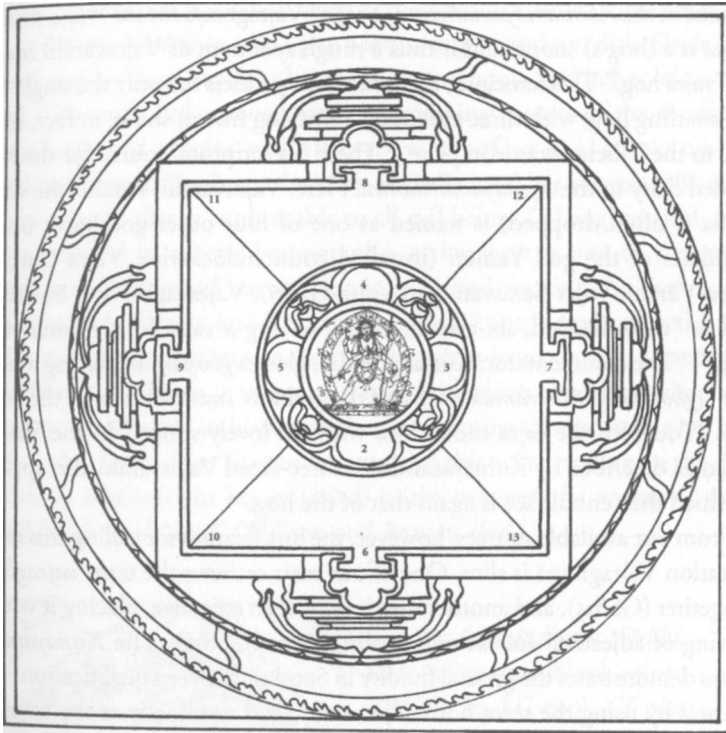
Vajradakini Vajravaraḥi is said to be "thirteenfold" in nature because she is a reflex of the thirteen-syllabled heart mantra. The yogin first visualizes her as the syllable *vam*. He then emanates a thirteenfold mandala from the thirteen syllables of Vajravaraḥi's mantra: *om va-jra-vai-ro-ca-ni-ye hum hum phat sva-ha*TM Having created the mandala in this way, he begins to generate the iconographic form of Vajravaraḥi through the five awakenings, with a vajra empowered by the syllable *vam* at her heart. Rays issue from this *vam*, and through them the surrounding syllables of the mandala are "urged" or "impelled" (K77 v.6: *samcodita-*) to transform into the dakinis of the mandala retinue. The names of these dakinis reflect their mantric origins, thus the syllable *om* gives rise to *Pranavā*^vajradakini (*pranava* = *om*), the syllable *vam*, to *Vā*^davavajradakini, the syllable *jam* to *ramitavajradakini*, and so on (see fig. 9). The stages of this fairly complex sadhana, and the subsequent rituals, are summarized in the appendix.

The mandala retinue is described in some detail (GSS16 K78ri-79r2). It begins first of all with the four dakinis 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 *ardhaparyanka* 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."¹⁰ In their right hands, they hold a vajra and damaru, 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 (*svayambhukusumam*), urine (*vajram-bu*), and human feces (*mahabhahajam*).

At the outer gates are eight more dakinis. In the cardinal directions (installed counterclockwise) four dakinis 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 (Varuna), and Yama respectively. They hold the same attributes as the dakinis of the inner mandala, only substituting different implements for the damaru, such as a hook (in the east) or a noose (in the north); the text for the other attributes is corrupt (K78VI-2). They wear the five mudras and are also three-eyed, slim-waisted, and adorned with garlands of heads. Their hair stands upright (*urdhvakes'a-*) and they are described in erotic terms, as "naked, with huge vaginas, overcome with lust."¹¹ At the corners of the outer mandala (installed clockwise) are four wrathful dakinis, also upon lotus moons and trampling corpses in the dancing pose. They are described

in similar terms, both as *kdpdlika* deities and as goddesses with sensuous and erotic forms. All the vajra-dakinis of the mandala are said to have their hearts filled with innate bliss (*sahajdnanda*-).

Fig- 9- *Mandala of Vajraddhikini Vajravaraḥi*



EAST

Central pericarp

1. Six-armed
Vajradakini Vajravaraḥi

Cardinal petals

1. Pranavavajradakini (white)
- 3- Vadavavajradakini (green)
- 4- Jramitavajradakini (yellow)
- 5- Vairanivajradakini (blue)

Outer mandala (gates)

6. Rosanivajradakini (blue)
7. Capalavajradakini (green)
8. Niharivajradakini (red)
9. Yemalavajradakini (yellow)

Outer mandala (corners)

10. Humkarivajradakini (white)
11. Humnadivajradakini (blue)
12. Phatanivajradakini (yellow)
13. Svakarivajradakini (red)

Red Vajraghona Vajravarahi

Vajraghona Vajravarahi is another warrior-stance manifestation whose practice is prescribed in several works in the *Guhyasamayasiddhanamdlā*, the *Siddhana for [Gaining] Siddhi in All Things (Sarvdrthasiddhisiddhana GSS15)*, the *Vajravarahi Rite (Vajravdrahikalpa GSS18)*, and two alternative visualizations in the *Ahhisamayamanjari (GSS5)*.¹¹² Vajraghona means "vajra snout"; *ghond* is a (hog's) snout, and is thus a rough synonym of Vajravarahi 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 *Krsnayamdritantra*. Here, Vajravarahi/Varahi (the vajra-prefix is often dropped) is named as one of four outer goddesses in the mandalas of the god Yamari (installed counterclockwise: Vajra-Carcika, Vajra-Varahi, Vajra-Sarasvati, and Vajra-Gauri); Vajravarahi is to be visualized as "three-headed, six-armed, a hog, having a vajra in her hand, very blue."¹¹³ The commentator, Kumaracandra, glosses *ghondm* as "having a hog's face" (*ghondm iti sukaramukhim*), and the goddess' mantra includes the vocatives "You with the vajra snout! You with the lovely snout!" In the Yamari mandala described by Kumaracandra, a three-faced Vajravarahi 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 Vajraghona is slim. One of our texts eschews the term *vajraghona* altogether (GSS15), and another uses it only as an adjective, placing it within a string of adjectival (*bahuvrihi*) qualifications (GSS18). The *Krsnayamdritantra* 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 *Ahhisamayamanjari* (GSS5 Sed p. 149, K34r-v), *Vajraghona* is clearly used as a proper noun, as it describes the visualization of the goddess as the "glorious Vajraghona method," and the associated rituals as the "Vajraghona Sadhana."¹¹⁵ The *Ahhisamayamanjari* 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 Vajraghona form, as described below. In a Nepalese sketchbook possibly dating back to the eighteenth century, the artist depicts a form of "Vajraghona" (holding a trident skull staff, instead of a hook) (Buhnemann: 2003). The Tibetan text of the *Rin 'hyung brgya rtsa*, however, depicts a form identical with that in our sadhanas, and takes the deity's appellation from the title of the *Sarvdrthasiddhisiddhana* (GSS15),

referring to her as "Accomplishing (*Arthasiddhi*)*Varahi*" (*Phagmo don grub ma*) (WiUsen and Brauen 2000: 259. See plate 10c).

In the *Guhyasamayasadhanam* *śādhanaśāstra*, the series of awakenings that generates Vajrāghoṇa/Vajravārāhī begins with a red triangular *dharmodaya* at the navel. Inside this, a blazing red *hrim* 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 mudras and a garland of heads, and is otherwise naked.¹⁶ 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 *śādhana* (right leg extended) in the manner of a wrestler's throw (*gyadkyi dor stabs kyisf*) (Willson and Brauen *ibid.*)."



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

Heart mantra:

om hrīm hum hrīm hram (in GSS5);
om hum hrīm ham (in GSS18)

Auxiliary heart mantra:

om vajravārāhī dvesaya sarvadustān
hrīm (or hrīh) svāhā

When he has completed the self-visualization, the yogin is to recite the *tiantras* (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 *hrih* (*om hrim hum hrim hram* in GSS5; *om hum hrim ham* in GSS18). The auxiliary heart mantra also diverges from that of the main Vajrayogini/Vajravarahi tradition in its use of an imperative for vanquishing obstacles, of the sort familiar in *ṣaṣṭi* rituals (*om vajravdrdhi dvesaya sarvadustdn hrim svdhd*).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 (*ah hrim hum, ham, hih, and phet/phem*).

The rituals are to be performed by the *sadhaka* who has generated himself as Vajraghona 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 *maras*."¹¹⁹ For this practice, the utmost secrecy is enjoined and, indeed, is the precondition upon which "the vajrayoginis (or Vajrayoginī) will empower [him]."¹²⁰

White Vajraghona Vajravdrdhi

An alternative form of Vajraghona Vajravarahi is taught in the *Ahhisamayamanjari* (GSS5 Sed p. 149, K34.v5). 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 *dm*. Upon this stands a red five-pointed vajra, empowered by a white *hrih* that transforms into the goddess. Since the color of a deity is usually a reflex of the seed-syllable, this form of Vajraghona 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 *hrih* on a sun disk. The text states that in other respects she is like the previous manifestation of red Vajraghona (i.e., a therianthropic goddess with four arms). Unusually, however, this form of Vajraghona is empowered by *Aksobhya*, enthroned upon a multicolored lotus.¹²¹

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

White Vajravarahi

The practice of "Noble White Vajravarahi" is prescribed in the *sadhana* of that name {*Aryas'uklavajravdrdhisddhana* GSS38). This is the only other form of white Vajravarahi in the *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld* and one in which the process of generation is very similar to that of white Vajraghona. (A much fuller account of this form—or one very similar, with identical rites—is described in SM218-20; see appendix for details.) White Vajravarahi is self-generated upon a sun disk (produced from *am*) and from a white *hrih* that transforms first into a five-pointed vajra and then into Vajravarahi. She also carries a white *hrih* on a sun disk at her heart and is presided over by Aksobhya—apart from white Vajraghona, the only form of Vajrayogini in the *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld* to bear this buddha as the seal.¹²² White Vajravarahi shares the explicitly wrathful character of the Vajraghona manifestations. The text describes itself as a "fierce" *sadhana*, 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 Vajravarahi 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 Vajravarahi. She is self-visualized in the warrior stance, naked but for the five mudras, 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 "Pracanda 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 mandala circles of mind, speech, and body.¹²³



Fig. II. *White Vajravārāhī* (GSS38).
Drawn according to the Sanskrit text by Dharmacāri Āloka

om vajravairocanīye
hum hum phat svāhā

The similarities between white Vajraghona and white Vajravarahi are also borne out on a ritual level. *Thejapain* both cases consists of the recitation of a white syllable *hrih* that is visualized in garland form as a "mantra rosary" (*mantramld*). In a yogic meditation (described in slightly more detail in the *Abhisamayamanjari* GSS5 and SM218), the self-generated yogin-goddess sees a white *hrih* 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 *mantramld* 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 *Abhisamayamanjari*:¹²⁴

Next on his navel he should see a (white) *hrih* 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 *hrih*] 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 (*gunagana*) 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 *hrih*. When he wants to arise [from the practice], he should make that mantra garland disappear into the *hrih* in his navel, perform worship [*balirites*, etc.], and dwell as he wishes [namely, in the form of the deity].

The texts describe further rites using the *mantramld* (GSS5 Sed p. 150.8, K35r4, SM218 p. 430, and briefly in GSS38 Ki23r2) 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 *hrih* 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 *mantramld* for bending another to his will or subjugation (*vasyam*), although the rather fuller *sadhana* that describes this rite in the *Sddhanamld* (SM219—20) states that the purpose of this rite is to bring beings into the four truths of the Buddhists (p. 432:

sattvān vasikṛtya caturdryasatyē avatdrandya...). Here in the rite of subjugation (*vasyavidhih*), 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 *hrih*, 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 Vajraghona.

Two-Armed Vajrayogini in Warrior Stance

Most of the remaining forms in the *Guhyasamayasiddhanamḍl* collection appear in the portion of the collection that deals principally with Vajrayogini manifestations of a magical and often erotic nature (also found, in brief, in the same portion of the *Abhisamayamanjari*). First, we turn to a red, reversed warrior-stance form of Vajrayogini, described within a *Vajrayoginisiddhana* attributed to Sahara (GSSi9=SM236), and in the *Abhisamayamanjari* (K35V6—36r » GSS28?). A white form of Vajrayogini in reversed warrior stance, and holding the same attributes, is also described within a corrupt passage in the *Oddiyānasvddhisthḍnakrama-Vajrayoginisiddhana* (GSS37), details for which are in the appendix.



Fig. 12. *Two-armed Vajrayogini in warrior stance.*
Drawn according to the Sanskrit text by Dharmacari Aloka.

Heart mantra:

om vajraddkīniye hrīm ḥum phat svdhḍ (GSS5, SM236)

*om sarvasiddhim prayaccha
hri<m> ḥum phat svdhḍ* (GSS19)

Auxiliary heart mantra:

om vajrayogīniye ḥum phat svdhḍ (GSS19, SM236)

om vajravairocāniye ḥum phat svdhḍ (GSS5)

Root mantra:

*om sarvabuddhaddkīniye om vajravarnāniye om vajravairocāniye
ḥum ḥum ḥum phat phat phat svdhḍ*

VAJRAYOGINI

Here, VajrayoginI is generated upon a multicolored lotus (produced from *pam*). Upon the lotus the yogin visualizes a sun disk (produced from a red *ram*), and upon that, a red syllable *hum* (GSS19 K83V1). The seed-syllable is then imagined transforming into VajrayoginI, who becomes the central deity of the usual fivefold mandala. The visualization (which is never described as a self-visualization) is of VajrayoginI within terrible cremation grounds, where she stands upon a yellow corpse in the reverse warrior (*pratydlidha*) 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 fivefold mandala and therefore wears all six mudras, including ash, and is replete with tinkling bells and strings of pearls. The *Abhisamayamanjari* 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, K36ri: *vdme raktapurnakapdla*^) 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 (*kartri*) (instead of the vajra normally held by warrior-stance forms of Vajravarahi).¹²⁵



Fig. 13. *Vajra chopper (kartri)*.

The chopper (fig. 13) is especially associated with VajrayoginI in the *Guhyasamayasadghanamdld* and symbolizes the "chopping off" of defilements. It is mentioned, for example, in the twenty-one-verse *stotra* (GSS42 v. 8): "Homage to you, VajrayoginI! 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 yoginis and dakinis to such an extent that, in the Saiva tradition, the mere mention of their names was prohibited: "He should not utter the word *ddkini* 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 mandala 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 sadhana in the *Guhyasamayāsaddhanamālā* in a section dealing with internalized practices: the *Vajrayoginī Sadhana in the Tradition of Indrabhūti*, by Vijayavajra (*Indrabhūtikramena Vajrayoginīsaddhana* GSS35). This sadhana 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 Dharmacāri Āloka.

*oṃ vajravairocanīye
hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā*

Following the emptiness meditations, the yogin first generates the cosmos, starting from a white letter *a* (GSS35 K118V1: *s'ukla akdrdt*) that is said to have the nature of Causal Vajradhara. Then, from a green *hum*, 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* (V) transforming into a blood-colored origin of existents (here masculine: *dharmodayah*) 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 Vajrayogini is then generated upon a ferociously bright sun disk, as the transformation of a white chopper that represents the central channel, Avadhuti. Vajrayogini 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 mudras and a garland of fifty heads. Standing in the warrior stance, she is seen trampling the brahmanical gods, Brahma, Indra, Visnu, and Siva, who represent the four *kles'as* (n. 362). Vairocana crowns her headdress. In two of her four arms, Vajrayogini 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 *dharmodaya* 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 (Ki2or2—3) and the preparation of a protective amulet (*vidyavidhih*, Ki2or6) based on a thirteen-syllable mantra (presumably, the Vajravarahi heart mantra).

Red Vajravdrdhi with Foot Raised

The remaining forms of the deity in the *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld* assume an increasingly erotic and magically outlandish character, manifestations often associated with Oddiyana, home of flying dakins. One such adopts the striking pose "with the foot up" (*urdhvapddah*). In this stance, Vajrayogini 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 Vajravarahi with foot raised.*

Drawn according to the Sanskrit text by Dharmacari Aloka.
Cf. plates p and 10b.

Two forms with this pose are represented in the collection. The first appears in a *Vajrayogini Sadhana from Oddiyana (Oddiynavinirgatavajrayoginisaddhana* GSSi2=SM225; also found in GSS5)¹³⁵ and is a red manifestation of Vajravarahi. Here, Vajravarahi occupies the center of the fivefold mandala (as described in chapter 3), and her generation, iconography, and mantras all relate to the red warrior-stance forms of Vajravarahi. She is generated from a vajra presided over by *vam* and is endowed with the usual *kdpdlika* ornamentation, such as the bone girdle and garland of fifty human heads. Like the main warrior-stance Vajravarahi, her attributes are a skull bowl and vajra, but no staff.

White Vajrayogini 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 Vajrayogini from a white seed-

syllable, either *hum* (GSS45) or *ah* (GSS17). He sees her standing upon a multipetaled lotus and sun disk, trampling underfoot the brahmanical and Saiva deities: "She is to be visualized... with her foot raised, trampling Sakra [= Indra] and Brahma, [and] with her lower foot [trampling] Bhairava and Kalaratri."¹³⁶ In her right hand is a vajra chopper (*vajrakartri*), and in her left, the skull bowl from which she drinks. The skull staff (*khatvṅgha*) 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 Vajrayogini. 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 vajraddkini(ye) hrih hum phat svaha

om vajrayogini hum phat svaha
{*om vajrayogini hum phat svaha*: GSS17}

om sarvabuddhadakiniye vajravarnaniye vajravairocaniye
hum hiim hum phat phat phat svaha

form of Vajrayogini (above), but the *bali* mantra is unique, naming the mantra-deity, Vajrayogini (instead of Vajradakinī), 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 Vajrayogini (who may hold either a vajra-marked chopper or a knife); however, the title given the form in the *Rin 'byung brgya rtsa* is "Varahi with Raised Leg" (**Phag mo gnam 'zabs ma**), and Taranatha (with perhaps a suspiciously different referent for "Indra") adds "Indra [i.e., Indrabhūti's] Dakini Crushing Opponents" (**Phas rgo jamspa'i indra mkha'spyod ma**).¹³⁸ Although the Mongolian title describes this form as a manifestation of Vajravarahi, the icon nevertheless provides a satisfactory illustration of our form of Vajrayogini in the *Guhyasamayasiddhanamald* (fig. 16, plate iod).

Vajrayogini 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 *Siddhana of Vajrayogini with the Method of the Falling Turtle* (*Kurmapatanakramena Vajrayoginisiddhana* GSS36).



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

om vajravairocanaṁ svāhā

The *sadhana* 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 Vajrayogini "in whatever way, with whatever form" (as an aid to the visualization). He may then generate her meditatively within a red *dharmodayd* upon a white lotus. At the center of the lotus, Vajrayogini 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 *sadhaka*. Her attributes are those of Vajrayogini, the chopper and skull bowl. She laughs the terrifying laugh of Siva, and is "terrifying because of her extreme desire."¹³⁵

Having visualized Vajrayogini as if she were present before his very eyes (*sdkssdd iva*), the yogin is then to worship her with transgressive *ball* offerings of yogic substances (*yogidravyam*).¹³⁶ The *bali* mantra is based on the mantra deity Vajrayogini, although the following *japa* mantra is the ten-syllabled heart mantra of Vajravarahi (*om vajravairocaniye svdhd*). The text then continues with a *baUnxuA*, again given according to Vajravarahi texts. Thus, the yogin is to stand naked upon a hilltop at midnight (GSS36, Kinvi: *nis'isamaye*), with hair flying loose and his gaze directed upward as he performs the gestures and mantric utterances that will attract the vajrayogins.¹³⁷ The *sadhana* outlines the hand gestures (*mudrds*) and mantras, adding that, as he performs them, the yogin is to assume the "falling-turtle" pose (*kurmapatanapddah*).¹³⁸

The final instruction is not that the *sadhaka* should dwell as the deity but that he should continue to visualize her in front of him: "He should continually visualize himself embracing Vajrayogini. He should imagine her as if she were his wife. Then before long Vajrayogini will empower him. Being realized, she fulfills his desired [goal]: of this there is no doubt."¹³⁹ The Mongolian icons illustrate a form of "Tortoise-legged (*KurmapddiJVzrahi*," Phag mo kurma pa dl (IWS/T 85; LC 595). The text from the *Rin 'byung brgya rtsa*, although different from our *sadhana* in many respects, also describes this as an embodiment of a yellow Vajrayogini 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."¹⁴⁰ This is depicted in figure 17 and on plate ioe.

Vidyadhari Vajrayogini

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



Fig. 18. *Vidyddhari Vajrayogini*
"Maitri-khecari."

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

The first vidyadhari form appears in the *Vajrayogini Sadhana with the Vidyddhari Method* (*Vidyddharikramavajrayoginisadhana* GSS21) and the *Vidyddhari Method Meditation* (*Vidyddharikramabhdvand* GSS22). Here, the yogin visualizes himself as a red goddess with her foot raised up (*urdhvapdda-*). She is described in one text as the "garland (*mala-*) Vidya-dhari Vajrayogini" 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 Vajrayogini forms). There is no skull staff, and the vidyadhari 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 Vajrayogini root mantra appears in only one text (GSS22) and is based on the tripartite mantra of Vajrayogini, 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 “Maitrī’s Ḍākinī, 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 Vidyādhari 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, Vidyādhari 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

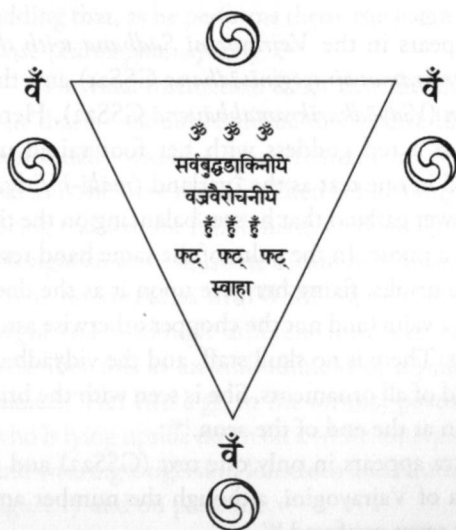


Fig. 19. *Dharmodayā*
with mantra syllables
and bliss swirls

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 sādhanā of Guhyavajravilāsini described below.

Flying Vidyadhari VajrayoginI

The second vidyadhari in the *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld* is a flying form of Vajrayogini, with four three-eyed faces of different colors. She is described in the *Propitiation Ritual*(*Arddhanavidhi*GSS23) within a meditation rite (*bhadvandvidhih*). The text directs the meditator to see her with left leg in the raised-foot (*urdhvapddah*) 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 vidyadhari is ornamented by blossoming red *ndgakesa* flowers (*Mesua roxburghii*). She seems to be even more erotic than the last. Her nature is feminine power (*saktih*) and innate bliss (*sahajdnanda-*); 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 Vajrayogini's tripartite mantra.¹⁵⁴



Fig. 20. *Flying Vidyadhari Vajrayogini.*

Drawn according to the Sanskrit text by Dharmacari Aloka.

Cf. plate p.

*om sarvabuddhaddkinye
vajravarnaniye vajravairo-
caniye hum hum hum
phat phat phat ca svdhd.*

Both vidyadhari forms of VajrayoginI (as well Guhyavajravilasini, GSS10) inhabit a beautiful, mountainous setting. This is most fully described in the *Arddhanavidhi* (GSS23), which begins with a short hagiographical sketch

of the mountain-dwelling adept, Sahara. The text describes how Sahara had been granted a sadhana by Lokeshvara (the bodhisattva Avalokitesvara) that was guaranteed to bring about a vision of Vajrayogini within six months. After this time, however, Sahara 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] Manobhanga (Destruction of the [Defiled] Mind) and Cittavis'rdma (Heart's Repose/Resting-place of the Mind) ; [these] had five peaks of different colors, and were adorned with gardens in which ndgakesara 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 Manobhanga and Cittavis'rama, or whether the description is to be understood adjectivally as the mountain(s) "where the mind comes to rest (*cittavis'rdma*) because of the destruction of the [defiled]¹⁵⁶ mind (*manobhanga*). " Of the three other references to the mountains in the *Arddhanavidhi* (GSS23), only one states unambiguously that there is indeed "a pair of mountains" (*parvatadvaya-*), but here there is no mention of the names Manobhanga and Cittavisrama.¹⁵⁷ The mountains are mentioned also in a few other sources. The *Guhyavajravildsinisiddhana V-cisio* seems to name them as a pair (though with a possible ambiguity, " - 169), and they are also described in the dual in the **Siddha-Amndya* (except for one occurrence in the singular), where they are located in the external world, in Daksinapatha.¹⁵⁸

Manobhanga is also mentioned in the sadhana of Vajradakini Vajravarahi (GSS16), which claims the legendary authority of the *Laksdbhidhanatantra*: On Mount Manobhanga, which is the most essential [place] on earth, on

this peak [or: within this dwelling] (*tasmin kicte*), in a pavilion (*-mandape*) that is the sole resting place of the mind (*cittavis'rdma-*) for the great-minded, [is] the terrible...leader Vajravaraḥi." Although the verse does not mention the second mountain, Cittavisrama, it suggests that on the mountain peak (*kutam*) there is also a pavilion (*mandapah/m*) that is the "resting place of the mind" (*cittavisrama-*). A similar kind of beautiful dwelling is also the abode of Vidyadhari Vajrayogini (GSS2i), who is to be seen "entering a jewel dwelling (*kuta-*) (i.e., hut) made of masses of [red flowers]—Mandarava, As'oka, and Red Coral."¹⁶⁰ In all these texts, there is a slight ambiguity as to whether *kuta* means a "peak" (*kutam*) or a "dwelling" (*kutah*)—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 *Guhyavajravildsinisiddhana*. This *sadhana* 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 *sadhana* and the **Siddha-Amndya* associate this magical setting with the adept Sahara. Indeed the mountain(s) and the delightful dwelling become Sahara's abode, the place where he teaches the practice and the place in which a yogin may realize Vajrayogini through sexual yoga practice with his consort.

Vajravildsini Vajravaraḥi

Vajravilasini is a peaceful, compassionate form of Vajravaraḥi. Her name Vilasini 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 *Guhyasamayāsiddhana-mūlā* is the *Praise of Vajravildsini* by Vibhūticandra (*Vajravildsinistotra* GSS43), although she also appears, with a rather different iconographical form, as "Secret Vajravilasini" in the highly erotic *Guhyavajravildsinisiddhana* by Sahara (GSS10). There is a small class of goddesses, the ten *vajra-vildsinis*, who act as the agents of the consecration in the *Abhisamayamahārī* (GSS5 K22V1), and perhaps Vajravilasini arose as a generic form of this *vildsini* type. Vajravilasini is also hailed within verses of obeisance in the *Abhisamayamanjari* (GSS5 Śed p. 125, K14V3) and in two *stotras* to Trikaṇḍavajrayogini by Virūpa (GSS26 and GSS27).¹⁶¹



Fig. 21. *Vajravilasini*.

Drawn according to the Sanskrit text by Dharmacari Aloka.

In Vibhūticandra's praise verses, Vajravilasini is evidently a manifestation of Vajravaraḥi: "O Vajravaraḥi, you are the refuge of men, nagas (= *ahih*), 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 Cakrasamvara, her eyes almost closed in the bliss of passion: "[You] whose lotus-like mouth is kissed by the honey-drinking [bee] who is Samvara, whose lotus heart is embraced by his two arms."¹⁶³

Vajravilasini holds the usual attributes of Vajravaraḥi, the skull bowl and vajra, but she disdains all other *kṛpḍlika* 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 Tara, 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!

Vajravilasini'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 (*trivalih*, v.4), her lofty buttocks, and her firm breasts. Saiva 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 VajravilasiniI as the Buddhist counterpart of Siva's consort in her amorous aspect.¹⁶⁶

Figure 21 shows VajravilasiniI 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 Guhyavajravilasini, and also depict her as the main deity, that is, with the female form drawn facing the viewer (cf. fig. 6).

Guhyavajravilasini

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



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

The practice of Guhyavajravilasini is related to that of Vidyadhari VajrayoginiI in a number of ways. The teacher for both is the mountain-dwelling adept, Sahara (presumably a member of the wild mountain *s'abara* tribe):¹⁶⁸

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

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

Both practices are also located in the mountainous setting of Manovibhanga and Cittavisrama, here named as the place where Sahara first learned the sadhana of Guhyavajravilasini from his teacher.¹⁶⁹

- (v. 4) Having set foot on Manobhanga [and] on the delightful mountain [called] Cittavisrama, 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 (-ds'raye), where the beautiful (sundara-?) mango trees glisten [and] the cuckoos coo low,
(v. 6) in a glade massed full of red [-flowering] as'oka trees, on the lunar day of the "Asoka-eighth,"¹⁷⁰ this [goddess] Vilasini was taught me by the teacher named Karuna.

Sahara's association with the practice is also attested in the **Siddha-Amndya* within a hagiography of the tantric scholar Advayavajra (apparently an emanation of Nagarjuna). In this text, we find several themes familiar from the *Guhyasamayasiddhanamda* 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 Khasarpana, and then for Manobhanga and Cittavisrama in Dakṣiṇapatha—the place where he will find the adept who will be his preceptor, Sabaresvara. The monk has some trouble locating the mountains, and it is only after a period of Tara worship and the intervention of Tara herself that he leaves Udra (Oddiyana) and travels for fifteen days to the northwest, reaching the (two) mountains the following day.¹⁷¹ Despite making mandalas 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 Vajrayogini, managing only to see her in a dream. In despair on the tenth day, he is about to cut off his own head when Sabara appears before him, consecrates him, and gives him the new name, Advayavajra.¹⁷² Advayavajra's practice of Vajrayogini is not immediately successful. His preceptor orders him to demonstrate how all appearances—even the Buddhist precept of nonviolence—are illusory (*pradndtipdāmdyā*) by chopping off the head of his companion, Sagara, 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,

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

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

Santivarman'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 s'ri-Dhanyakataka and Khasarpana, 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 Sabara with Avalokitesvara. Sahara's chosen deity (*istadevata*) is the eleven-headed, thousand-armed form of Avalokitesvara called Mahakarunika (*Blue Annals* p. 1044; Dowman 1985: 62). In the *Guhyavajravildsinisiddhana* (GSS10), Sabara is taught by his teacher Karuna to visualize himself as Padmanartesvara, a form of the bodhisattva Lokesvara/Lokanatha (Avalokitesvara), while the *Arddhanavidhi* (GSS23) is said to have to be taught by Lokesvara in Sahara's form.¹⁷³ Sahara's iconography also echoes that of the bodhisattva Avalokitesvara. 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, Guhyavajravilasini bears iconographical resemblances to Vidyadhari Vajrayogini, as well as to

Vajravilasini. The first descriptions appear in the preparations to the *sadhana*, 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, w. 38-45), the yogin is ready to visualize his consort as Guhya-vajravilasini. 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 (*told-*), and her girdle swings to and fro with the movements of her love-play (*lildndolitamekhald-*). 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 (*utkuta*) 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 Cakrasamvara but as Padmanarta; that is, as Padmanartesvara, "Lord of the Dance (*nartah*)'m the Lotus [Family]," the esoteric reflex of Avalokitesvara. His self-visualization (K48r4, w. 54-63) is given in terms as erotic and explicit as that of the goddess. Padmanartesvara 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 Vilasini to dance with his penis (*guhyavajrena*), which is very much in evidence."¹⁷⁸ And he embraces her again and again, murmuring (*kijita*) 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: *sukhdsanasamdsina-*), 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 *Guhyavajravildsinisiddhana* is unusual in the *Guhyasamayasiddhanamld* collection in that the *sadhaka* visualizes himself as the male deity. But Vajravilasini is evidently the central deity. She is the first to be described as a result of the generation from the consort's sex/*dharmodaya*, and the mantra concealed within the extraction of the mantra (*mantroddharah*) 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, w. 68-79). For example, each partner worships the other's body with offerings of flowers, fruit, and incense (K4,r4), 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, w. 119-20). The *sadhana*'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 *Guhyavajravilasini* is close to that of the Saiva goddess of the Srividya cult, Lalita ("Playful")-Tripurasundari ("Beautiful Goddess of the Three Worlds"). Tripurasundari (also called Kamesvari, "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 Sadas'iva.¹⁸² *Guhyavajravilasini* is similar to the Saiva 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 Tripurasundari's alternative appellation is "Lalita," which like "Vilasini" is suggestive of the sport of love. Most telling of Tripurasundari's influence, however, is *Guhyavajravilasini*'s mantra supplied in the mantra extraction (*mantroddharah*, GSS10 K52r4, w. 129-32). This reveals a distinctive five-syllabled mantra (*em hlim rim rum blim*), the syllables of which are a caique upon the five "arrow" syllables of the Saiva goddess, as taught in the *Vdmakes'varimata* (Sanderson *ibid.*)."

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

"lords of love," masters, or gods (*is'vara-*) of sexual pleasure (*kdmah, suratah*). Tripurasundarī perches upon Kames'vara's left thigh, while Vajravilasini makes love with Padmanartesvara: "The practitioner is to visualize himself in this way as Padmanartesvara, the lord of sexual pleasure, as though he were great bliss itself made manifest."¹⁸¹ As a form of Avalokitesvara, Padmanartesvara's connection with the compassionate Vajravilasini goddesses seems particularly appropriate, and this is borne out on the mythical level by Sahara's association with the practice, discussed earlier. In drawing upon the form of Padmanartesvara in this way, Sanderson has suggested that the *Guhyasamayāsaddhanam* dīśa dhana 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 "Padmanartesvara" itself is, of course, immediately reminiscent of Siva as "Lord of the Dance," Nataraja.¹⁸⁵

The soteriological goal of the practice is mahamudra. This is described here as one of the magical powers (*siddhis*) attainable by realizing Guhyavajravilasini: "Having obtained [the *siddhis* of] subjugation and bringing near, paralyzing, slaying, and driving forth, the eye ointment [for invisibility], the preparation of the pill (*gudikṣiddhih*), and many others, (v. 9) and [also] the state of mahamudra, I verbally entreated [Vajravilasini 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 *sadhana*, the *sadhaka* 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 mahamudra and become a *siddha*. In a similar vein, another mahamudra 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 mahamudra, women are necessary to the *sadhaka* 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, K 44 V 6, V. 26), the *yōgin* 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*, Rambha and Tilottama. These nymphs often appear in Puranic 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 *sadhaka* 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 (*nis'cdlandt*) [it becomes] the means (*mukham*) of enlightenment. His mind set on [the bliss of] *sahaja* (*sahajdsaktacetasa*), 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" (*dnandas*). Each bliss arises at a particular "moment" (*ksanah*), the final, highest bliss occurring at the moment said to be free of both passion and nonpassion (HT2.3.8: *vilaksanam*).¹⁹⁵ The ultimate, *sahajabliss* 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 (*manthndndolanam*)¹⁹⁷ according to their own mudra (*svamudrd*). But one should realize that *sahaja* bliss has arisen in the moment of *vilaksana*. (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 (*kdlakutam*) 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 (*kalakutam*), 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 *Guhyavajravildsinisiddhana* describe the process whereby *sahaja* bliss is transmuted into the soteriological goal of mahamudra. 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" (*navapuspiw*, 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" (*doldjdpah*, K50V5, w. 102-09) the couple is in union, each imagining the five blazing syllables of Vilasini's mantra circulating through their bodies. The syllables start on the sex of the female consort (*vidyd*), enter the male via his penis, exit through his nostril, enter the *vidyd* 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 *ndda* and drop (*binduh*) 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" (*dtmamelakah*, K5ir3, w. 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 (KJIVI,

w. 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 mahamudra.²⁰⁵

Trikayavajrayogini (Chinnamasta)

The last manifestation of Vajrayogini to be discussed here is Trikaya-vajrayogini, "triple-bodied Vajrayogini." She is also known as Chinnamasta, or Chinnamunda—"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, Vajrayogini who manifests as three: the central deity plus two attendants named after the components of the tripartite Vajrayogini mantra, Vajravairocani (right) and Vajravarṇani (left); the central figure as a single deity is known as SarvabuddhadakiniI (GSS27) or SribuddhadakiniI (GSS24). Following Virupa's nomenclature, I shall therefore refer to this triple-bodied manifestation of Vajrayogini as Trikayavajrayogini rather than Chinnamasta.²⁰⁶ (See fig. 23 and plate 9.)



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

*oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākiniye oṃ
vajravarṇaniye oṃ vajravairocaniye
hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ
phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā*

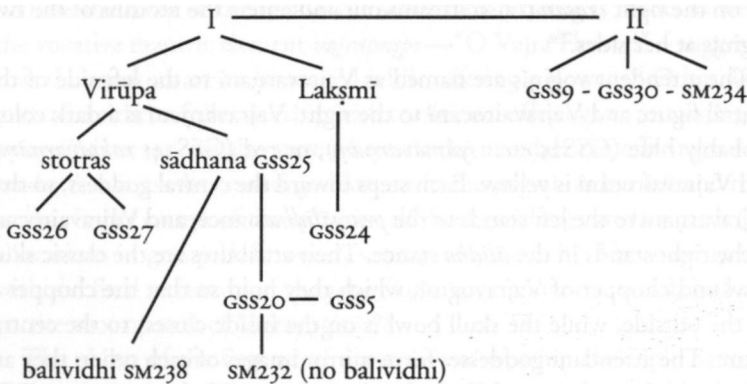
<i>Right</i>	<i>Center</i>	<i>Left</i>
Vajravairocanī	Sarvabuddhaḍākini	Vajravarṇani
yellow	yellow	red
rasanā	avadhūti	lalanā

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

1. The first group (I) comprises the *Lakṣmīsiddhāna* (GSS24), perhaps by Lakṣmī (see the appendix), the *Sādhana of Triple-Bodied Vajrayoginī* (*Trikāyavajrayoginīsiddhāna* 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 *Vajrayoginīsiddhāna* (GSS20=SM232)²⁰⁷ and a portion of the *Abhisamayamahārjī* (GSS5 Sed p. 151, rO^urj).
2. The second group (II) is centered on a text also called the *Vajrayoginīsiddhāna*, which appears in three nearly identical versions (GSS0,= GSS3<>=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 Guhyasamayasadhanamāla and Sāadhanamāla



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 *dharmodaya* and as a transformation of *hrim*. There are significant differences between the two sets of sources in the way the central form of Vajrayogini 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 (*dlidhah*) stance (GSS24), which Virupa'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 (*pratydlidhah*) 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, *avadhuti*, and flows directly into the mouth of the severed head in her outstretched hand. Blood from the channel on the left (*laland*) and the channel on the right (*rasand*) also streams out and enters the mouths of the two yoginis at her sides.²⁰⁸

The attendant yoginis are named as Vajravarnani to the left side of the central figure and Vajravairocani to the right. Vajravarnani is a dark color, probably blue (GSS25 etc.: *sydmdvarndm*), or red (GSS24: *raktavarnam*), and Vajravairocani is yellow. Each steps toward the central goddess, so that Vajravarnani to the left stands in the *pratyalidha* stance, and Vajravairocani to the right stands in the *alidha* stance. Their attributes are the classic skull bowl and chopper of Vajrayogini, 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 Vajravarnani is said to be green.²¹⁰

In the second group of sources (GSS9»SM234«=GSS3o), 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 Tri kayavajrayogini 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 *pam* that transforms into a multicolored lotus and culminating in the goddess Vajrayogini produced from a red *hrim* and seen having the color "dark gold" (*kanakasyamd*)—that is, red in color rather than yellow.²¹

The ritual component of the practice is a *puja*. In both groups of sources, the worship involves offerings to an external mandala accompanied by an unusual sequence of offering mantras. The first sources relate how the yogin is to draw a square mandala 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 *dharmodayd* triangle is drawn on top of the circle with the syllable *hrim* within. The *sadhaka* may then worship either the seed-syllable or the iconographical form of the goddess, which he produces from the seed-syllable "placing [her] down" (*dropya*) in the center of the triangle.²¹² Having emanated the three goddess inside the *dharmodayd*, 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 *sadhanas* (group II) include the color of the goddess to whom the offering is made, as well as the vocative mantric element *vajrapuspe*—"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 mandala the offering is to be made; that is, to the central goddess, or to the yogini 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 Vajrayogini.²¹⁶

The object of the first set of mantras is to worship the triple nature of Tri kayavajrayogini. The set opens with the tripartite *japa* mantra, which praises Tri kayavajrayogini as three deities in one. Individual offerings are then made to her in her three aspects, namely, to the central deity as Sarva-buddhadakini, to the dark lefthand deity Varnani, and to the yellow righthand deity Vairocani. Having recited all three sets of offering mantras, the yogin may then make a final offering to Tri kayavajrayogini (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

NOTES TO TABLE 7

- i E.g., GSS25 (K,2r3) (my numbering): (1) *tatra dharmodaymadhye "omsarvabuddha-ddkiniye"ityadimantrenaprathamam arcayet. tadanu "omsarvabuddhadakini"hum phat svdhd"ity anendrgho deyah, vdme "om vajravarnaniye hum phat svdhd"daksine "om vajravairocaniye hum phat svdhd" ity arcayet.* (2) *"om oddiydna vajrapuspe hum svdhd," "om punnagiri vajrapuspe hum svdhd," "om kdmkhyā vajrapuspe hum svdhd punar madhye "om sirihatta vajrapuspe hum svdhd."* (3) *"om dharmakāya vajrapuspe hum svdhd," "om sambhogakāya vajrapuspe hum svdhd," "om nirmdnakāya vajrapuspe hum svdhd," punar madhye "om mahdsukhakāya vajrapuspe hum svdhd."* [Texts diverge. GSS25 continues] *punar madhye "om namah sarvagurubuddhabodhisattve-bhyo vajrapuspe hum svdhd. "dhyndt khinno mantramjapet, tatrdyam mantrah, "om sarvabuddhaddkiniye svdhd," "om sarvabuddhaddkiniye om vajravarnaniye om vajravairocaniye hum hūm hum phat phat phat svdhd."*
 • *phat* GSS25 only • *vdme* GSS25, GSS5; *pas'cdd vmapars've* GSS20, *tatas tasyaiva tad vmaparsve ca* GSS24 • *vajrapuspe* GSS25, om. GSS20, GSS24, GSS5 (also in the following mantras) • *purnagiri* GSS20, GSS5; *purnagiri* GSS25, GSS24 • *kdmkhyā* in various mss. it appears as *kdmkhydxnA kdmariipa • s'irihatta* GSS25, GSS20, GSS24; *srihatta* 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 <oddiym>("S'^purnagirikdmkhyds'rihatta <dharma>("S'^sambhoganirmdnamahdsukhakdydkhydrdm pratyekam caturthyan-tam ndma vidarbhya omkdrddisvdhantena pujayitvd piirvavat.* This *japa* mantra differs slightly in the different texts for groups I and II.
- ii In group II (GSS9 K4jr.2, GSS30 Kio2r3, SM234 p. 455), the three sets of mantras are as follows (my punctuation and numbering): (1) *om sarvabuddhaddkiniye vajrapuspe <hum>(SM2i4) svdhd, madhye. agratah om sarvabuddhadakinipitavarna vajrapuspe svdhd. daksine om vajravarnani s'ydmavarnd vajrapuspe svdhd. pascime om vajravairocani gauravarnd vajrapuspe svdhd.* (2) *om dharmakāyavajrapuspe svdhd. om sambhogakāyavajrapuspe svdhd. om nirmdnakāyavajrapuspe svdhd. madhye om mahdsukhavajrapuspe svdhd.* (3) *om oddiyanavajrapuspe svdhd. om purnagirivajrapuspe svdhd. om kamarupavajrapuspe svdhd. madhye om srihattavajrapuspe svdhd. punar madhye om namah sarvabuddhabodhisattvavajrapuspe svdhd. om namah sarvabuddhadakini om namah sarvavajravarnani om namah hrim sarvavairocani hūm hūm hūm phat phat phat svdhd.*
 (1) • *varnanā* GSS30, SM234; *varnana* GSS9 • *agratah om sarvabuddha'* GSS9; *agratah om buddha'* GSS30, SM234 • *vajravarnani* GSS30, SM234; *vajravarnana* GSS9 • *om vajravairocani gauravarna* SM234; *gauravarnd om vajravairocani* GSS9, GSS30 • (3) *sarvavairocant* SM234; *sarvavairocaniye* GSS9, GSS30
- iii This is omitted in GSS24, which begins with the offering mantras to Sarvabuddhadakini in the center. In GSS25, GSS20, and GSS5 it appears in shorthand with *iti* (*sarvabuddhaddkiniye ityadimantrena*), 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 sadhana.

three central yogic channels or veins in the body, and each represents the channel from which she drinks the blood. In the *Trikdyavajrayoginistotra* (GSS27), Vajrayogini 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 [*dharmodayd-mangle*] is the syllable *hrim*, which is described as yellow in color, (v. **3**) [Trikayavajrayogini] arises from it and is [also] yellow. She is by nature (*svayam*) situated in the *avadhiiti*, but in *laland* she is very dark, and in *rasand* she has a white [color]. (v. **4**) In the middle she is in the *pratydlidha* stance, naked, and charming in [her] yellow [color]. [Thus] the goddess Tri kayavajrayogini is established in the three channels, (v. **5**) This [goddess] as a single [goddess] is called Sarvabuddhadakini.

Vajrayogini's threefold nature is also extolled in the other *Trikdyavajrayoginistotra* (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 *laland* and *rasand*, she is *avadhiiti*, great bliss."²¹⁹ This gives rise to a fourth category, namely, the unified, transcendent aspect of the threefold system. For example, Vajrayogini has the dot (*binduh*), the subtle sound (*nddah*), and the moon segment (*kald*), (v. 5a) and yet she passes beyond them (GSS26 **K93VI**, v. 6a: *bindunddakaldtitd*). The *stotra* goes on to identify Vajrayogini with the four moments and blisses of the Hevajra system (v. **9cd**) and the four bodies of the Buddha (v. **5cd**).²²⁰ In the *sadhanas*, this fourth, transcendent aspect is represented by the unilateral mantra offering to the complete mandala, the goddess unified as "one-in-three."

The second set of mantta offerings includes the name of four sites: Oddiyana, Purnagiri, Kamakhya (= Kamarupa), and Srihatta (Syllhet in modern Bangladesh). This is reminiscent of the body mandala, in which the Cakrasamvara/Vajravahni mandala is understood to comprise twenty-four sites (*pithas*) within the three worlds (ch. **3**). Of those twenty-four sites, however, only Oddiyana appears in the mandala of Tri kayavajrayogini; 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, w. 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 Trikayavajrayogini practice are enumerated chiefly in terms of the magical powers (siddhis) accrued. The *Lakṣṇīsiddhāna* describes the rewards of mantra recitations in the prior service (*purvaseva*): 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 K90v6-9ir, 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 *ball* offerings that end the sadhana practices. The *bali* mantra in the Virupa-based Trikayavajrayogini sadhanas (group I) is the only mantra in the GSS that states that it is "for enlightenment" (*samyaksambodhaye*).⁶⁰ The fact that siddhi is not clearly distinguished from liberation in these texts is a reflection of Vajrayogini'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 Trikayavajrayogini'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 Kanhapa/Kṛṣṇacarya describes how his two pupils, the yoginis Mekhala and Kanakhala, 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. Taranatha says that their actions started a head-chopping trend among dakinis and that as an antidote Vajravaraḥ herself appeared with a severed head among her devotees.²²⁵ The princess Lakṣmīnīkara also used the device to prove to her father that in becoming the consort of her brother

Indrabhuti, 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 Chinnamunda Varahl.²²⁶ For such adepts, the severing of their own heads usually indicates the severing of defilements. Thus, Gampopa'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 (*dtmagraha*) is severed (Benard 1994: 96).

The **Siddha-Amndya* 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-Amndya* p. 11.26: *vikalpasambhiitat-vdt*). 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 Sahara appears (**Siddha-Amndya* p. 11.22). Similarly, Naropa's guru appears only after he has decided to cut his veins with a razor (Guenther 1963: 36). In the *Arddhanavidhi* above (GSS23), Sahara'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 Virupa's practice of Vajravarahi was fruitless, he was driven to throwing his rosary down the toilet, whereupon Vajravarahi 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 Vajrayogini and Vajravarahi, all of which reflect the *kdpdlika* and/or *s'dkta* 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 Vajrayogini 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 Vajrayogini "cults" rather than of a single tradition?

The main feature that unifies the many manifestations of Vajrayogini is the mantra, which, despite certain variants, revolves around the three epithets or mantra-deities, *sarvabuddhadakini*, *vajravarnani*, and *vajravairocani*. VajravairocanI is the deity of Vajrayogini's heart mantra, and Sarvabuddhadakini and Vajravarnani of her auxiliary heart mantra. The three combine in the root mantra:

om om om
sarvabuddhaddkinye vajravarnaniye vajravairocaniye
hum hum hum phat phat phat svdhd

None of these mantra deities occurs commonly by itself. In the Trikaya-vajrayogini 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 VajravairocanI, who appears in a rather suprising statement in the *Abhisamayamanjari* in which (having just prescribed the visualization of Vajravarahi as a solo deity) the author comments, "Furthermore, the goddess VajravairocanI is called Vajrayogini, and according to the scriptures and the teaching, there are many differences in the transmission."²²⁷ This seems to reflect the idea that once Vajravarahi appears outside her Cakrasamvara-based mandala, she may take on a different form (in this instance, that of VajravairocanI) and is perceived as a manifestation of the generic deity, Vajrayogini. How, then, did this identification between the two goddesses Vajravarahi and Vajrayogini 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 *s'dkta* cults of the highest Buddhist tantras, and these seem to converge within Vajrayogini tradition. One trend is the emergence of a Buddhist yogini (a vajra-yogini) with Vajrayogini 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, Dakini or Lama, and possibly in the emergence of a single goddess called Vajravilasini. We also noticed Vajrayogini appearing as the essentialized form of other female deities, such as Ekajata and Buddhadakini. The other trend is the rise of the solitary heroine Vajravarahi. We have seen how Vajravarahi gravitated from the outer reaches of Heruka mandalas toward the center, to appear, on

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

Whatever the factor that drew Vajravaraḥi 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 *ardhaparyanka*-pose form of Vajravaraḥi with the protruding hog's head may have predated that of Vajravaraḥi as Cakrasamvara'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 Vajravaraḥi belonging to the buddha family of Aksobhya, rather than to the presiding deity of Vajravaraḥi in the Cakrasamvara mandala, Vairocana. A Tibetan source states that the hog-headed Vajravaraḥi is presided over by Aksobhya (n. 122); and the entirely hog-headed Vajraghona Vajravaraḥi, a goddess present in the mandalas of the Yamari herukas, is also presided over by Aksobhya. As we have seen, the Vajraghona 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: Marīci, in her many forms.

The interweaving of the Vajrayoginī and Vajravaraḥi 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 *ardhaparyarika*-pose Vajravaraḥi. The vajra generally belongs to warrior-stance forms of Vajravaraḥi. 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 Cakrasamvara's embrace of Vajravaraḥi as his consort.

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

the mantra deity Vajravarahi is included in the mantra utterance for the three forms of Vajravarahi: the Vajraghona forms, the six-armed embracing Vajravarahi, and a warrior-stance Vajravarahi (in GSS2 K11V3). We also find the same mantra deities, Vajradakini and Vajrayogini, in mantras relating to the warrior-stance form of Vajrayogini with a chopper, and to both the raised-leg-pose goddesses, white Vajrayogini, and red Vajravarahi. It seems to be Vajravarahi-as-consort who bequeathed the tripartite root mantra to the Vajrayogini tradition. The mantra element Sarvabuddhadakini appears in the Cakrasamvara texts in the auxiliary heart mantra of Vajravarahi (e.g., A D U T ch. 14, p. 288: *om sarvabuddhaddkinye hum hum phat svdhd*), and the inclusive nature of this epithet *sarvabuddhadakini* ("dakini of all the buddhas") is a testimony to Vajravarahi's importance as consort to Cakrasamvara and may have been another factor in equating her with the generic form of Vajrayogini. The epithet "VajravairocanaI" probably arose because in the Cakrasamvara mandala Vajravarahi is assigned to the buddha family of Vairocana. I have found no clear directions as to the origins of the third epithet, *vajravarnani*. 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 Sakyaraksita's (relatively late) reference above to a solo form of Vajravarahi called Vajravairocana. The same development seems to have affected the epithet *sarvabuddhadakini* in later traditions. In Indian sources, I have not seen an independent goddess called Sarvabuddhadakini attested outside the Tri kayavajrayogini sadhanas. However, a deity iconographically identical with warrior-stance, chopper-wielding Vajrayogini is referred to, on occasion, in Tibetan sources as Sarvabuddhadakini, or Sangs rgyas thams cad kyi mkha' 'gro ma (e.g., von Schroeder 1981: plate 111E), although this seems rare. In fact, the appellation "Sarvabuddhadakini" may be something of a Western usage, perhaps originating in a misreading of the *Sddhanamdld* sadhanas of Tri kayavajrayogini.²²⁸

Another feature of the practice of Vajrayogini 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, Indrabhuti is associated with the transmission of the dancing *ardhaparyanka* form of Vajravarahi with hog's head, Indra-khecarī (*mKha'spyod*); Advayavajra/Maitripa(da) with the raised foot (*urdhvapddah*) form of Vidyadhari Vajrayogini, known in Tibet as "Maitrl-khecarī"; and finally, Naropa with the classic warrior-stance form of Vajravarahi, Na-ro-khecarl.

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 Vajrayogini 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 "Vajrayogini." 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 Vajravahni and Vajrayogini, and it is perhaps unsurprising that some forms in the *Guhyasamayasiddhanam* have been seen to draw on both these traditions. Thus, the raised-foot-pose goddesses manifest as a form of white Vajrayogini and as a form of red Vajravahni; the same is true of Vilasini, who in one manifestation is related to Vajravahni and in another to the Vidyadhari Vajrayogini; and both traditions are found to merge in the practice of the turtle-stance Vajrayogini. 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 (*ekavird*) within an all-female mandala based on the Cakrasamvara system. This may have encouraged the identification of Vajravahni with the generic goddess Vajrayogini and the proliferation of her forms in their terrifying and/or erotic aspects. Our analysis of Umapatideva's *Vajravahni Sadhana* 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 Vajrayogini that survive in earlier tantric practices, and also from

sources that lie outside the main Herukatantra traditions, namely from esoteric Saivism 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 Vajrayogini tradition, as in the practices that reject the *kdpdlika* culture altogether and cultivate the erotico-yogic soteriology of mahamudra.

The impressive number of forms in which Vajrayogini 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.²² 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 *Abhisamayamanjarī* points out, Vajrayogini's manifestations are, in reality, infinite.²³⁰

So one should understand the transmissions of the goddess such as these that have come down (*dytd*) 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 Vajravarahi Sadhana

Outline of the Sadhana

THE *Vajravarahi Sadhana* by Umapatideva is one of the lengthiest sadhanas in the *Guhyasamayasddhanamldd*. 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 Cakrasamvara, and it is from this source that Umapatideva draws the description of Vajravarahi and her thirty-seven-deity mandala, as well as the ritual practices that follow. We will see how Vajravarahi's mandala is carefully adapted from the sixty-two-deity mandala of Cakra-samvara, which appears in embryonic form in the *Cakrasamvaratantra* (e.g., chs. 2-3) and in various presentations in its derivative literature, such as the *Yoginisamcaratantra* (e.g., *patalas* 6-8), the *Samvarodayatantra* (e.g., chs. 8 and 13), the *Abhidhnottaratantra* (e.g., chs. 9 and 14), and in exegetical literature, such as Luyipada's *Herukdbhisamaya*.

The *Vajravarahi Sadhana* forms a rewarding subject for study, because in it the processes and methodology of the sadhana are particularly clear. These are highlighted by its distinctive structural framework: it is divided into four "meditation stages" (*bhadvandkramas*), 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 Vajravarahi within her mandala. The first meditation stage reads as a complete sadhana 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 Vajravarahi. Ritual and yogic procedures are then mentioned in brief, and it ends, as is standard in a sadhana, with the repetition of the deity's mantra. The second meditation stage is brief, as it simply prescribes the visualization of a fivefold mandala, that is, the central deity, Vajravarahi, 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 mandala to include the eight outer goddesses at the gates, thus creating a thirteenfold mandala. The fourth meditation stage goes on to supply the goddesses of the twenty-four sites (*pithas*) situated upon the three mandala circles that surround the central petal in concentric rings; this brings the mandala to its complete thirty-seven-fold form. For each meditation stage, Umapatideva prescribes the necessary mantras for the attendant goddesses, as well as additional mantras for the central deity. Upon completing the mandala, meditation stage four also describes the contemplative practices to be undertaken upon the basis of the full visualization. The full mandala is shown in figure 32 (related to plate 12).

Umapatideva'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 mandala, 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 mandala follow the more usual method, which is to prescribe the progressive visualization of mandala deities starting at the central pericarp and moving outward, thus: mandala 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 Cakrasamvara mandala as presented in Luylpada's *Herukdbhisamaya*; and it is the structure of the other complete Vajravarahi mandala in the *Guhyasamayasaddhanam* collection, the *Abhisamayamanjari* (GSS5) by Sakyaraksita, which is also closely based on Cakrasamvara sources. In this lengthy work (summarized in the appendix), the *Abhisamayamanjari* uses this progressive method to introduce the entire sadhana for the generation of the thirty-seven-fold mandala, from its preliminary procedures to its closing rites. Only then does it offer alternative practices. The first alternative describes a fivefold mandala "for those wanting a medium-length version" (K33V5: *madhyarucis tu...*), as in Umapatideva's second meditation stage. The *Abhisamayamanjari* then gives the instructions for the visualization of Vajravarahi alone "for those wanting a short version" (K34T1: *samksiptdrthi tu yathoktarupdm bhagavatim eva kevaldm bhdvayati*), as in Umapatideva's first meditation stage. The structural differences between these two important sadhanas are summarized in tabular form in table 8:

Table 8. *Comparative structure of the Vajravaraḥi Sadhana and Abhisamayamanjari*

<i>Vajravardhisadhana</i> (GSSn) by Umapatideva		<i>Abhisamayamanjari</i> (GSSS) by Sakyaraksita
meditation stage 1	sadhana for Vajravaraḥi alone	sadhana for visualization of complete 37-fold mandala including ritual practices
meditation stage 2	5-fold mandala (with 4 goddesses on petals)	
meditation stage 3	13-fold mandala (with 8 outer-goddesses)	
meditation stage 4	37-fold mandala (with 24 site goddesses & contemplations)	5-fold mandala (first alternative)
ritual practices	<i>baḷi</i> rituals, hand <i>pūjā</i> , etc.	single goddess Vajravaraḥi (next alternative)
verse "appendix"	verses describing the cremation grounds	more alternative meditations for five other manifestations of Vajrayoginī
closing verses		closing verses

Umapatideva's handling of the ritual practices in the fifth section of the sadhana also has a didactic effect. It is standard that authors prescribe ritual procedures such as external worship at the end of a sadhana, as the sadhana is actually a preliminary to the rites—indeed to all activity—that the practitioner is to undertake in his new divine form. However, Umapatideva is particularly careful to separate the rites from the body of the sadhana, 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 Umapatideva's sadhana form a kind of extended

"ritual epilogue" to the main body of the work. This structure allows Umapatideva to include other rites that may or may not be performed at the same time as the sadhana, such as the *ball* ritual and various external worship ceremonies, and it demonstrates that the rites may be performed using the visualization of the mandala in any of its four stages. The same clarity of exposition is evident in Umapatideva'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 sadhana (w. 70—76).

The lucid structural framework of the *Vajravaraḥi Sadhana* is matched by an elegance of style. In contrast to the formulaic Sanskrit prose and occasional "doggerel" (usually *anustubh*) of much sadhana literature, Umapatideva employs the somewhat more poetic meter *upajdti*. The first meditation stage comprises thirty-five of Umapatideva'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 mandala in the second, third, and fourth meditation stages, Umapatideva draws from a stock of source material (discussed below) and thus employs a combination of *anustubh* and prose. He concludes the sadhana with a return to his own verses in *upajdti* 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, Umapatideva sets the prescriptive tone of the sadhana in the traditional fashion with the use of optative finite verbs applying to the sadhaka ("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 Vajrayogini literature. Nevertheless, in refining familiar phrases (for example, in his description of Vajravaraḥi, w. 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.

MEDITATION STAGE I

Benediction

- i The sadhana opens in traditional fashion with a verse of benediction (*mangalam*). This takes the form of an expression of obeisance and homage (*namaskdrah*) to the chosen deity of the practice (*istadevatd*) and gives voice to the devotion felt by the author. Our author, Umapatideva, begins by saluting the lotuslike foot of the vajra goddess, which—in true poetic (*kavya*) 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, Umapatideva 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 sadhana of Vajravaraḥi in the *Guhyasamayasiddhanamḍd*, the *Abhisamayamanjari* (**GSS5**). These include a brief *namaskdra* followed by a prayer (*ds'irvddah*) for the deity's favor. Once again, salient features of the composition are highlighted, in this case, the manifold nature of Vajrayogini's forms and her evident compassion:²³¹

Homage to Vajrayogini, whose nature is emptiness and
compassion,
who has manifold forms because of the diverse natures of people,
who is irradiated by brightness (*vais'adya-*), because she is
thoroughly cleansed (*sudhdvana*) by the nectar (*sudhd*) of perfect
enlightenment,
quiescent (*s'antd*) 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 Vajravilasini bring you prosperity!

The composition of a sadhana 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 obsacles eager to obstruct the progress of any pious endeavor.

Preliminaries

- v. 2 Umapatideva's second verse describes the necessary preliminaries to the sadhana: 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 sadhaka because they are "suitable to practice."²³² While huts and temples are also listed in other yoginitantra texts, this is not typical of the Vajrayogini tradition. Indeed, on the two occasions where indoor dwelling places are mentioned in the *Guhyasamayasaddhanamald* (amid more terrifying alternatives), they are said to be deserted; Vajrayogini practices clearly follow the most extreme wing of the Buddhist tradition.²³³ This is in stark contrast to the sutra-type sadhanas (such as many in the *Sddhanamdld* 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"—*Sddhanamdld* sources speak of soft cushions and tender pillows.²³⁵ Vajrayogini texts occasionally mention two other types of seat. One is "made of a double vajra" (*vis'va-vajramayi*-), 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 (*paryankah/vajraparyankah*), which seems to be the commonest position prescribed in the *Sddhanamdld*.²³⁷ In a passage that lists a number of seated meditation postures, Abhayakaragupta explains the *vajraparyanka* 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 *vajraparyanka* [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

rites and internal meditations, or simply be accomplished by reciting *om ah hum*."²⁴⁰

For the "protection of the place," sadhanas usually prescribe a *halt* ritual, injunctions for which appear later in the *Vajravaraḥi Sadhana* (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 mandala. Alternatively, the site may be empowered by the utterance of a sequence of mantras performed with the appropriate hand gestures, or mudras.²⁴⁰

The "protection of the person" involves the purification of the practitioner's body, speech, and mind. Many sadhanas begin with bodily purification. The yogin is instructed to rise early (*pratar utthaya...*), "when the night has 'one hour and a half (*ardhayama*) remaining" (or, according to Saiva ritual texts, "within two hours before dawn").²⁴¹ He is then to wash his mouth and perform other ablutions such as going to the toilet (*mukha-s'aucddika-*), which he ritualizes by reciting mantras and maintaining the conviction that as he washes, he is being consecrated by the buddhas.²⁴²

For the purification of speech (*vagvisuddhiḥ*), the *Abhisamayamanjari* (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 mandala (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 *vagvis'uddhi*, which is referred to several times in the *Guhyasamayasddhanamald*, is derived from Cakrasamvara literature. The longest version, although still confusingly terse, is found in the *Abhisamayamanjari*. (The alphabet is shown in plate 16a from ms. K.):²⁴³

"*om a a i i u u r fllue ai 0 au am ah ka khagagha na ca chaja jha ha ta tha da dha na ta tha da dha na pa pha ba bha may a ra la va s'a sa sa ha ksa hum hum 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 (*vagvisuddhiḥ*).

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 (*vis'uddhis*)—a method of establishing, or reestablishing, the yogin in union with the deity. Indeed, one Cakrasamvara 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 (*dyatanas*), and the five elements (*dhdus*)—to be ontologically equivalent to the buddhas, because all share the nature of emptiness. Although this preparatory practice is not found in the *Vajravaraḥi Sadhana* (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 sadhana. Our source is the *Abhisamayamanjari*, and is again clearly based upon Cakrasamvara sources. It introduces the visualization as follows:²⁴⁵

He should be firmly convinced (*adhimuncet*) 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, Amitabha, Amoghasiddhi, and Vajrasattva (*sic*)] are firmly understood (*niscyeydh*) 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]. Aksobhya [is understood] as *tathatd*. 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 (*dlidhah*) stance, with three eyes, matted locks, and bearing the five signs of observance (*mudrds*). They hold tantric attributes "gracefully" (*salila*) in their right hands, and place their left "proudly" (*sagarva*) upon their girdles full of bells.

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

another set of deities who are the esoteric equivalents of the above: Ksitigarbha, Vajrapani, Khagarbha, Lokeshvara, Sarvanivaranaviskambhin, 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 (*mohah*), Dvesavajra because he is the enemy of malice (*dvesah*), the three Irsya[vajra], Raga[vajra], and Matsaryavajra because they destroy [respectively] envy (*irsyd*), all clinging (*sarvdsangah*), and miserliness (*mdtsaryam*), and Aisvaryavajra because he bestows all powers."²⁴⁶ Finally, the yogin equates the four elements with the four goddesses Patani, Marani, Akarsani, and Nartesvari, and the element space with Padmajvalini. They also assume a *kdpdlika* 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 Locana, Mamaki, Pandara, Tara, and Dharmadhatuvajra, 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 (*vdmacdrah*). This is the mantra bath (*mantrasndnam*), 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 sadhanas of the *Guhyasamaya-sddhanamdld*, attributed to Indrabhuti (GSSi) and Luyipada (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 (GSSi: *mddhvi*; GSS2: *mrdvikdand mddhvikd*), molasses (*gaudi*), [and] flour (*paistl*) 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 ah hum*], he should perform a "mantra bath" (*mantrasndnam*) using this liquid on all the major and minor limbs [of the

Table 9. *Contemplation of purifying correspondences (vis'uddhis)*

Skandhas	Purifying Deity	Color	Right Hand(s)	Left Hand(s)
form (rupam)	Vairocana	white	wheel (aloft)	bell (at hip)
feeling (vedana)	Ratnasambhava [VajrasQrya]	yellow	jewel (aloft)	bell (at hip)
cognition (samjña)	Amitabha [Padmanartesvara]	red	red lotus (aloft)	bell (at hip)
volition (saṃskarah)	Amoghasiddhi [Vajraraja]	green	double vajra (aloft)	bell (at hip)
consciousness (vijñānam)	Vajrasattva	white	vajra (to the heart)	bell (at hip)
suchness (tathata)	Aksobhyavajra [s'ri-Herukavajra]	black	earth-touching mudra	bell (at hip)
Sense Organs and Fields				
eyes	Kṣitigarbha Mohavajra	white	wheel (aloft)	bell (at heart)
ears	Vajrapani Dveṣavajra	black	vajra (at heart)	bell (at hip)
nostrils	Khagarbha Iṣṣyavajra	yellow	jewel (aloft)	bell (at heart)
face	Lokesvara Ragavajra	red	red lotus (aloft)	bell (at heart)
whole body	Sarvanivarana- viśkambhin Matsaryavajra	dark [green]	double vajra (aloft)	bell (at heart)
all sense fields	Samantabhadra Aisvaryavajra	pure white	vajra (at heart)	bell (hip)
Elements				
earth	Paṇi Locana	yellow	wheel chopper	skull bowl skull staff
water	Marani Mamaki	black	vajra chopper	skull bowl skull staff
fire	Akarsani Pandara	red	lotus chopper	skull bowl skull staff
wind	Nartesvari Tara	green	sword chopper	skull bowl skull staff
space	Padmajvalini Dharmadhatuvajra	grey 3 faces: grey, red, & white	goat Brahma'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 (*andmīkd*) and thumb joined together to flick the substances]. Next, with these mantra syllables, <om vam?> *hdmīyom*, *hrim mom*, *hrem hrim*, *hum hum*, *phat phat*, 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 sadhana—the meditator's inner transformation of himself into Vajravarahi 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 mandala resting upon a crossed vajra (*visvavajravedika*), 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 sadhana: the yogin's ongoing attempt to erode his perception of himself as a mundane individual and to reconstitute himself as Vajravarahi. 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

The next portion of the sadhana lays the spiritual foundations for the yogin's transformation into the deity. It follows the career of the Mahayana 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 (*pūnyasambhārah*) and wisdom (*jñāna-*

sambharah). The *Vajravarahi Sadhana* follows the method standard in mainstream sadhanas, which is to cultivate a more speedy accumulation of merit through the practices of worship and the *brahmavihara* meditations, and a more instant accumulation of wisdom through the contemplation of emptiness.²⁵¹ It is to the former that Umapatideva now turns in the following verses and prose portions.

Worship

- 3 The worship is based on the Mahayana supreme worship (*anuttarapujā*) 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 *vam* (𑖦𑖳) in his heart, the seed-syllable of Vajravarahi 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" (*dkarsanam*) 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 (*ankusah*) that "urges" or "impels" (*samVcud*) the deities to cooperate in the ritual.²⁵² In the *Vajravarahi Sadhana* (v. 3d), the rays draw down "a mass of buddhas and so on" from their dwelling place in the Akanistha 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: *gurvddibhih*).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 yoginitantra texts, however, supplant even the guru by introducing the yoginis at the head of the list (*yoginiguru-buddhabodhisattva*-). This is effectively what happens in the worship section of the *Abhisamayamanjari*, in which Vajravarahi's entire mandala 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 *vam* placed on a sun disk that has [itself] been produced from the seed-syllable *ram*, [and] having driven

out [his] inner impurity with rays from that [*vam*], he should draw down the mandala circle of the goddess to be described, and the teachers, buddhas, and bodhisattvas by means of [rays from the *vam* 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 Mahayana sutras 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

The next verse in the *Vajrabhara Sadhana* 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 (*upacdras*), 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 sadhanas 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 (*astamangala*)TM This type of offering is referred to as "outer worship" (*bdhyapujd*) and is distinguished from an "inner worship" (*adhydtmapujd*) comprising offerings of the five sense organs (*kdmagunas*), 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 *Abhisamayamanjari* (elsewhere termed the "secret worship," *guhya-pujd*).¹⁶⁰ The *Abhisamayamanjari* employs sixteen variously colored "worship goddesses" (*pujddvis*) to make the offerings. The first four goddesses offer the traditional gift of music and are named after the instrument they play: Vina (lute), Vams'a (flute), Mrdahga (tablar), and Muraja (drum). The next four goddesses offer song and dance, and their names also reflect their actions: Hasya makes the laughing dance gesture (*hdsydbhinayah*), Lasya the dance gesture of love (*ldsymbhinayah*), and Nrtya ("dance") the lotus dance gesture (*kamaldmbhinayah*), while Gita ("song") holds "bell metal" (*Ikamsikd*). The next set comprises Puspa, Dhupa, Dipa, and Gandha, who are the eponymous bearers of a flower, incense, lamp, and

fragrant powders. The final four goddesses hold offerings representing the bodily senses. Adarsa ("mirror") holds a mirror for the sense of sight; Rasa ("juice") a dish of juice for taste; Sparsa! ("touch") a cloth (*visvavastram*) for touch; and Dharma ("existent") the *dharmodayah* 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 *Abhisamayamanjari*.¹⁶¹

Table 10. *Sixteen worship goddesses*

Music Offerings	Song & Dance Offerings	Other Traditional Offerings	Sense Offerings
4 arms: instrument	4 arms: dance gestures	4 arms: offering & damaru	4 arms: offering & c damaru
vajra & vajra-bell	skull & staff	skull & staff	skull & staff
Vina — lute (blue)	Hasya — dance (red)	Puspa - flower (white)	Adarsa — mirror (white)
Vams'a — flute (yellow)	Lasya — dance (blue)	Dhupa - incense spoon (smoky)	Rasa — dish of juice (red)
Mrdanga - tabor (red)	Gita — song (yellow)	Dipa — lamp stick (flame-colored)	Sparsa - cloth (green)
Muraja — drum (green)	Nrtya - dance (green)	Gandha — conch shell of powders (red)	Dharma - dharmodaya (dazzling white)

It is interesting that neither the *Vajravaraḥi Sadhana* nor the *Abhisamayamanjari* prescribe transgressive offerings at this stage, as do other sadhanas in the *Guhyasamayasadhanamala*. Perhaps our authors saw no reason to accommodate tantric norms at this point, since this portion of the sadhana represents the Mahayana phase of the spiritual tradition (the bodhisattva's accumulation of merit) and is firmly grounded in Mahayana models of worship. It is tempting to see Umapatideva's sadhana 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, Following the worship of the deities, Umapatideva prescribes the seven-
 19- 5~7- fold "supreme worship" (*anuttarapuja*) of traditional Mahayana ritual and
 composes verses that were probably intended for recitation (w. 5-7). The

seven steps of the puja begin here with "confession of faults." This differs from the Mahayana model, which opens with "worship" (*pujand*), followed by "salutation" (*vandand*, "bowing down to all the buddhas").²⁶⁴ In the sadhana, the stage of worship has already been performed (v. 4ab), and so Umapatideva omits it, along with the salutation. This is typical of many other sadhana writers, who tend to detach these two stages from the sevenfold model.²⁶⁵ Without the stages of worship and salutation, Umapatideva is forced to add two more stages in order to preserve the sevenfold sequence, and he therefore finishes the puja with "resorting to the path" and "dedication of one's body." Not all sadhana writers produce such a neat solution to the loss of the first two steps in the sequence. The *Abhisamaya-manjari* (GSS5 Sed p. 128, Ki7r2), for example, follows its elaborate visualization of the worship with a salutation in the form of the eight-part mantra. It then presents the Mahayana 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 Mahayana sequence beside Umapatideva's, and gives examples of the sequences adopted in other sadhanas. The parallels illustrate the amount of variation and inconsistency at this point in the sadhana, despite the fact that many authors cite verses very similar to those given by Umapatideva. This seems to reveal a certain awkwardness in integrating the traditional Mahayana *anuttarapujā* with the methodology of the sadhana.

Brahmavihāra Meditations

- w. The sevenfold puja 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 (*mudītā*), and equanimity (*upekṣā*). These meditations are an established feature of mainstream sadhanas, and although Umapatideva's verse glosses are the only ones in the *Guhyasamayasādhanaṃ*, they are highly typical of sadhana literature in general.²⁶⁶ Upon completing these meditations, the sadhaka is understood to have fulfilled his accumulation of merit.

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

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Mahāvāna	salutation	worship	confession of faults	rejoicing [in merit]	requesting [teaching]	prayer/ <i>bodhicitta</i> - <i>pāda</i>	dedication [of merit]	
<i>Bhadracaryā</i>			1	2	3	4	5	6
Tantric Sādhana			confession of faults	rejoicing in merit	going for refuge	transfer of merit	awakening bodhicitta	resorting to the path
<i>Vajravārāhī</i> <i>Sādhana</i> GSII	visualized worship	visualized worship	confession of faults	rejoicing in merit	prayer	requesting [teaching]	dedication of merit	"preceded by" going for refuge
GS5 (K171)	visualized worship	& praise	confession of faults	rejoicing in merit	going for refuge	prayer bodhicitta	awakening	resorting to the path
SM14 p. 38	visualized worship	visualized worship	confession of faults	rejoicing in merit	going for refuge	going for refuge	requesting [teaching]	awakening bodhicitta
SM26 p. 64	visualized worship	visualized worship	confession of faults	rejoicing in merit	dedication of merit	going for refuge	requesting [teaching]	dedication of one's body
SM46 p. 95	visualized worship	visualized worship	confession of faults	rejoicing in merit	dedication of merit	going for refuge	requesting [teaching]	awakening bodhicitta
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	awakening bodhicitta
SM71	visualized worship	& salutation	confession of faults	rejoicing in merit	dedication of merit	going for refuge	resorting to the path	awakening bodhicitta
SM110	visualized worship	visualized worship	confession of faults	rejoicing in merit	dedication of merit	going for refuge	resorting to the path	awakening bodhicitta
SM171	visualized worship	visualized worship	going for refuge	dedication of merit	rejoicing in merit	dedication of mind	resorting to the path	prayer & requesting [teaching]
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] + dedication of merit gained

Development of Wisdom

v. 12 The bodhisattva's accumulation of wisdom is accomplished in the sadhana 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 Cittamatra/Yogacara.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 (*svabhāvah*) of all existents (*sarvadharmah*) and of the meditator (*aham*) are ontologically identical in that both are empty, and hence "pure": *om svabhāvasuddhā sarvadharmā om svabhāvasuddho 'ham* ("All existents [*dharmā*] are pure by nature; I am pure by nature"). Other sadhanas explain that by understanding all existents to be empty, the object (*grdhyam*) is purified, while by understanding the practitioner to be empty, the subject (*grdhakāh*) 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 (*dharma*s) 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 Yogacarīn 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" (*trivissuddhih*), which asserts the identity of subject and

t 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 Santideva's citations in his *Sikṣasamuccaya* from the *Bhadracaryāpranidhāna-gāthā* (the final, floating chapter of the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*), they comment (p. 9): "We can infer from the frequency with which the *Bhadracaryā* 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 *Ajṭo's'atrukaukrtyavinodanā*, which was translated far earlier, in the late second century c.e. The "prayer" (*yācand*) is the request to the buddhas to remain in samsara 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 (*yogah*):²⁷⁰

om svabhdvas'uddhdh sarvadharmdh, svabhdvas'uddho 'ham iti.
om vajrasuddhdh sarvadharmdh, vajrasuddho 'ham iti.
om yogasuddhdh sarvadharmdh, yogaiuddho 'ham iti.

Alternatively, the identification may be made on the basis of the pledge (*samayah*) (e.g., GSS5 Sed p. 145, K3or4-5): *om samayasuddhdh sarvadharmdh, samayas'uddho 'ham.*

The second emptiness mantra (which I have termed here the "nonduality mantra") is also a standard feature of mainstream sadhanas: *om sunyatdjndnavajrasvabhdvdtmako 'ham* ("I am identical with the essence [*svabhdva*] of the nondual [*vajra*] knowledge of emptiness").²⁷¹ The mantra is explained in the *Abhisamayamanjari*, where it is encompassed within a short visualization meditation. This begins with the meditator seeing the external universe and the mandala of deities (which was drawn down previously for the puja) 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 *vam* (Tf). He then dissolves the sun disk into the syllable, and the seed-syllable itself from bottom to top (the into the half-moon and the half-moon into the final dot or "drop" °). As even the final drop dissolves into subtle sound or *nddah*, 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 mandala), and himself. The text then goes on to explain the "nonduality mantra," *om sunyatdjndnavajrasvabhdvatmako 'ham*, breaking down the long Sanskrit compound into its grammatical parts. It states that the [meditator's] "knowledge of emptiness" (*s'unyatdjndna*) 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 (?) mandala wheel, whose nature is just illusion (*pratibhdsah*), to enter clear light (*prabhdsvarah*) itself. Likewise (*ca*) [he should dissolve himself into emptiness, first dissolving] himself into the sun disk [at his heart], that into the *vam* syllable [on the sun

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

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

The "knowledge of emptiness" (*sunyatdjndna*) is "nondual" (*vajra*) [indicating a *karmadhraya* compound]²⁷⁴ because of its indivisibility (*abhedyatvdt*). [When this compound is further compounded with *-svabhva*, it forms a genitive *tatpurusa* compound, meaning] the essence (*svabhva*) of that [nondual knowledge of emptiness]. The meaning [of the *bahuvrihi* compound with *-dtmako* is]: "I have the nature (*-dtmako*) 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 *dharmadhtu* (*om dharmadhtusvabhvdmtako 'ham*)}'." Second, the grammatical structure of the compound is sometimes subtly altered to read: "I am identical (*dtmako*) with the nondual essence (*vajrasvabhva*) of *X*" ("*X-vajrasvabhvdmtako 'ham*"), for example: "I am identical with the nondual essence of the body, speech, and mind of all yoginis" (*om sarvayoginikdyavdkittavajrasvabhvdmtako 'ham*).¹⁷⁶ This must be a relatively early version of the mantra, because it is common in the *Guhyasamdjatantra*, 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 *Vajravdrdhi Sddhana* is significant. Our author follows the general pattern in sadhanas, 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 (*ahamkdrām utpddya*) [through meditating on the mantra] 'om—I am identical with the essence of the nondual knowledge of emptiness.'²⁷⁸

The Advayavajra-school sadhanas 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

*sunyatdjndnavajrasvabhvdh sarvadharmdh—
om sunyatdjndnavajrasvabhvdhdmako '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 (dtmakdh)* 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 sunyatdjndnavajrasvabhvdhdmako 'ham*),' which summarizes the essential nature of all things."²⁸⁰

In many sadhanas the "nondual knowledge" is described in terms of the yogin's experience of "clear light" (*prabhdsvarah*) or "radiance/manifestation" (*prakdsah*), of his absorption in "innate bliss" (*sahajdnandah*), or of the "fusion of emptiness and radiance" (*yuganaddhah*).²⁸¹ Anupamaraksita (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 (*hasvarupdh*). Their being devoid of (*s'unyatd-*) proliferations (*prapanca-*) is the

fact (*tattvam*) that they are void of all such conceptual elaborations (*kalpana-*) as object (*grdhya-*) and subject (*grdhaka-*); that is, their ultimate nature (*paramarthah*). 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 (*prakdsa-*). 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 sadhana 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 sadhanas 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" (*apraththitarupena, apratistharupena*).²⁸⁴ This points to the Madhyamaka-based doctrine of universal nonobjectification (*sarvadharmdpratisthnavdda*), 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 *Guhyasamayasddhanamld*, including the well-attested verse: "Homage to you whose conceptualization is without discrimination, whose mind does not rest [on emptiness as an object] (*apratisthitamdnasa*), who are without remembrance and recollections, without support!"²⁸⁵

The doctrine of universal nonobjectification arose to counterbalance the Yogacara position on emptiness, which some exegetes saw as positing a really existent substrate to the mind.²⁸⁶ It is this Yogacara-Madhyamaka synthesis of the eighth century to which our sadhana writers are heir. Santaraksita (c. 680—740 C.E.), who, with his pupil Kamalasila (c. 700-750 c.E.), spearheaded the reworking of Yogacara 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 Yogacara] attain the stage of a true Mahayanist."²⁸⁶

The effect of universal nonobjectification in the sadhana 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 sadhana. The sadhaka'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 *Vajravdrdhi Sadhana* is so brief, it omits two features often found in other sadhanas. First, the purpose of the emptiness meditations is said to be to abandon the "ordinary idea of self (*prdkrtidhamkdrah*) 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 (*ahamkdrah*) with the divine *ahamkdra* of the goddess or deity (*devyahamkdrah*, *devatdhamkdra*). The emptiness meditations are sometimes likened to the death of the meditator, as he dissolves his ordinary self into the *dharmakya*.²⁸⁸ He will undertake the following stages of the meditation in the form of an intermediate being—for example, as a *ndda* (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 sadhana of Vilasavajra states that, while the yogin is absorbed in meditation on the purified *dharmadhtu*, he is separated from the actions that bring welfare to all beings; he continues with the next stage of the sadhana only because of the force of the previously formed bodhisattva vow in his mental continuum.²⁸⁹ In tantric sadhanas the bodhisattva vow is commonly formulated in terms of the deity's *ahamkdra*. It voices the sadhaka'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 Mahayana bodhi-sattva, of whom it is said (albeit poetically) that he foregoes his entry into nirvana 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 samsara if I am in this state of complete quiescence?'"²⁹⁰

Creating the Circle of Protection

w. In the next stage of the sadhana, the yogin aims to re-create the ordinary
'3~'5> meditation site into a pure, adamantine realm, suitable for the "birth" of
§3-§5 Vajravarahi. This is described here in w. 13–15 with a prose redaction taken from Cakrasamvara sources in prose paragraphs §3–§5. The newly created meditation site is referred to as the "circle of protection" (*rakṣa-cakram*), 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," *pahjaram*) 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,

w. The meditation begins with the visualization of *hum*, the seed-syllable
'3~'4 of a vajra. The yogin then sees the syllable transforming into a double vajra (fig. 26). Other sadhana writers embellish the process, adding that the double vajra is also empowered by *hum* 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 (*s'ara-jdlam*), and four outer vajra walls. In comparison, the sequence given in the *Abhisamayamanjari* describes the installation of six pans, 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>Vajravardhi Sadhana</i> (GSS11)	<i>Abhisamayamanjari</i> (GSS5)
1st	ground (<i>bhilmih</i>)	vajra walls (<i>vajraprdkdrdh</i>)
2nd	roof (<i>panjaram</i>)	ground (<i>bhumih</i>)
3rd	canopy (<i>vitdnah</i>)	shield of arrows (<i>sarajdlam</i>)
4th	shield of arrows (<i>sarajdlam</i>)	vajra roof (<i>vajrapanjaram</i>)
5th	[four outer] walls (<i>prdkdrdh</i>)	vajra canopy (<i>vajravitdnah</i>)
6th		vajra flames (<i>vajrajvdlah</i>)

Sadhanas 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, Ki8n) and thus encompass the whole universe. Rays then issue out from the ground to produce the roof and canopy. Alternatively, the rays from the *hum* 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 *Abhisamayamanjari* reveals: "above [the vajra ground is] an extremely dense shield of arrows (*sarajdlam*) [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 mandala. 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 mandalas from the Ngor monastery's collection (bSod-nams-rgya-mtsho 1989), the mandalas drawn from tantras in the cycles of Samvara and Hevajra in the yoganiruttara class nearly all depict the flames swirling

counterclockwise, while mandalas 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 *Vajravardhi Sadhana* (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":

om sumbha nisumbha hum hum phat.
om grhna grhna hum hum phat.
om grihndpaya grihndpaya hum hum phat.
om dnaya ho bhagavdn vajra hum hum phat.

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 *Abhisamayamanjari*, which also shows how the yogin generates the walls from the light issuing from the syllables (which, according to one Tibetan Cakrasamvara sadhana, are themselves the color of their respective directions):²⁹⁹

With a snap of his left forefinger and thumb he should project out (*utsdrya*) the mantras, [uttering] (*iti*)—*om sumbha nisumbha hum hum phat*—*om grihna grihna hum hum phat*—*om grihndpaya grihndpaya hum hum phat*—*om dnaya ho bhagavdn vajra hum hum phat*. [Then,] with rays from the mantras beginning [*om*]*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 Brahma ("Brahmanda") to the underworld ("Rasatala").

In the Cakrasamvara 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" (*caturmukhamantrah*)?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" (*vajrabandhah*) or a "boundary" (*siman*), that is, the topographical limit of the area that the sadhaka is to bring under his control.³⁰¹

The circle of protection is installed in some sadhanas 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, *hum*. For the shield of arrows, however, the mantra is based on the seed-syllable of the arrow (*tram*), while the mantra for the final ring of flames is the invocation of Vajrajvalanalarka. Vajrajvalanalarka 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 *Sarvadurgatiparisodhanatantra* (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*

I	ground (<i>bhiimim</i>)	<i>om medini* vajribhava vajrabandha hiim</i>
2	walls (<i>prdkdrdm</i>)	<i>om vajraprkdra hiim vam hum</i>
3	roof (<i>panjaram</i>)	<i>om vajrapanjara hum pam hiim</i>
4	canopy (<i>vitdnam</i>)	<i>om vajravitdna hiim kham hiim</i>
5	arrow shield (<i>sarajdlam</i>)	<i>om vajrasarajdla tram sdm tram</i>
6	ring of flames	<i>om vajrajvalanalarka hiim hum hum</i>
<p>* • <i>medini</i>] conj.; <i>medini</i> K (GSS3, GSS31). I emend on the basis of GSS5 (Ki8r3), which preserves a vocative, <i>medini</i>. However, <i>medini</i> is attested in the Tibetan translations to the Advayavajra texts SM251 and SM217 (Sanderson 1994a), and in the <i>Vdrdhyabhyudaya-tantra</i> (from ADUT 4.28).</p>		

- 15, The next verse in the *Vajravardhi Sadhana* continues the visualization
 §4 of the circle of protection by explaining how to purify the space within. It describes a method for expelling any demonic beings (v. 15 *mdras*) 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 (Kakasya, Ulukasya, Svanasya, and Sukarasya) occupy the cardinal directions. They are produced from the same four mantras that the yogin has just imagined producing the four vajra walls (*om sumbha nisumbha*, etc.). The remaining four goddesses (Yamadadhi, YamadutI, YamadamstrinI, and Yamamathani) 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 (*kilah*), while in their two arms they hold a vajra hammer and a stake bearing their own form (*ātmarūpakila*). This is shown, according to the Sanskrit prescriptions, in figure 24. Ritual daggers (*kilah* /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 *hūm!* upon which eight “wells” appear in each of the directions

"near" (*samipa*) 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 (*kılanamantrah*; cf. GS ch. 14, w. 59-65), and next the "hammering mantra" (*dkotanamantrah*). In the parallel account of the *Abhisamayamanjari*, the mantras also transform the slain obstacles into enlightened consciousness "by means of great bliss" (*mahdsukhena*), so that they have "the single form of suchness" (*tathataikarupam*). 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 sadhana as a whole. In the *Vajravarahi Sadhana* it appears immediately after the yogin has completed the bodhisattva accumulations of merit and wisdom. In some sadhanas, 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 *Abhisamayamanjari* 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-JAbhisamaya* (the "[Heruka] Method of Realization")] of Luyipada, 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 (*s'iinyataiva*)^m is the supreme protection. But in this [sadhana], 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 The next line in the sadhana directs the yogin to visualize a suitable
 v- 7°—76 dwelling place for the goddess inside the circle of protection. In accordance

with her *kdpdlika* character, this takes the form of (eight) cremation grounds. Although many tantric sadhanas mention the cremation grounds in brief, the *Vajravardhi Sadhana* is one of only a couple works in the *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld* to give a full account of them.³¹¹ Although they are relatively undeveloped in earlier yoginitantras, in the Cakrasamvara 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 (w. 70-76) to the end of the *Vajravardhi Sadhana* 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

w. 70— 7<> The *Vajravardhi Sadhana* 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 (*ndgah*), and a cloud. Other texts also mention demons (*rdksasas*), great adepts (*mahdsiddhas*), funeral monuments (*caityas*), mountains, fires, lakes (the abode of the nagas), and rivers (which in pictorial representations often divide the cremation grounds). Sometimes the inhabitants are described in relation to each other, as when the naga 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 *zsyaksas*, *vetdlas*, *rdksasas*, and others roaring with *kilikild* laughter. Finally, we find tantric adepts and spiritual beings resident there; *siddhas* with magical powers, *vidyddharas*, troops of yogins and yoginis, and so forth.³¹³ Another sadhana from the *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld* 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 i, u, 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*, nagas, mahasiddhas, 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 mandala, but that they underpin the whole scene, with the rest of the mandala 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 *kdpdlika* 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 Anavatapta beyond Gandhamadana Mountain), and rivers. The *jambu* tree is

located near the lake (ADK ch. 3, v. 57), and there are also eight nagas 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 Saiva deities. In the *Sarvatathdgatatattvasamgraha* (STTS ch. 6), the conversion of Siva brings about the creation of a new buddha field in the form of a cremation ground called "Covered with Ashes" (*Bhasmdchanna*), while Siva himself becomes the tathagata "Lord of Ashes" (*Bhasmes'vara*). 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 nagas 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, Mahes'vara'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)	"Subhiṣaṇa"	Aṭṭaṭṭahāsa
Tree ⁱⁱⁱ (<i>vrkṣaḥ</i>)	Śirīṣa ^{iv}	Bodhi ^v	Kaṅkeli ^{vi}	Cūta ^{vii}	Trivaṭa ^{viii}
Protector ^{ix} (<i>dikpatiḥ</i>)	Indra ^x	Kubera ^{xi}	Varuṇa ^{xii}	Yama ^{xiii}	Īśāna ^{xiv}
Serpent ^{xv} (<i>nāgaḥ</i>)	Vāsuki ^{xvi}	Takṣaka ^{xvii}	Karkoṭa ^{xviii}	Padma ^{xix}	Mahāpadma ^{xx}
Cloud ^{xxi} (<i>meghaḥ</i>)	Garjita	Ghūrṇita	Ghora	Āvartaka ^{xxii}	Ghana
Caitya Mountain [Not in SUT/GSSr]	Sitavajra Sumeru	Samśkāravajra Mandara	Samjñāvajra Kailāsa	Piśunavajra Malaya	Cittavajra Mahendra

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 Meisezahl (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 (*upavṛkṣaḥ*) beside it, which is lovely and covered in *vaṇṣa* 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 *kṣetrapālas* mentioned in the *Adbhutaśmaśānālamkāra* (Meisezahl 1980: 19), whose colors correspond to those of the *dikpālas* and who are also animal-headed, their theriocephalic forms determined by the *dikpāla*'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 Meisezahl's tangkas show the *rākṣasa*/*kṣetrapāla* 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 Meisezahl'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*. Meisezahl states that in the *Adbhutaśmaśānavidhi*, the *kṣetrapāla* "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 therianthropic form, namely, Gajamukha, white (E); Manuṣyamukha, yellow (N); *Makaramukha/Makarāśya? (not given), red (W); *Mahiśamukha/Mahiśāśya? (not given), black (S); Gomukha (NE); Chagānana, red (SE); Ghorāndhakāra, buffalo's head (SW); Mṛganana (NW).

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

v *aśvattha* in SUT (17 v. 38a), *Śmaśānavidhi* (v. 6), and *Śmaśānālamkāratāntra* (Meisezahl 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 Aśoka, e.g., in the *Adbhutaśmaśānālamkāra* (Meisezahl 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 ^{vii}	Jātudhāna ^{xix}	Prabhañjana ^{xx}
Huluhulu ^{xviii}	Kulika ^{xviii}	Śaṅkha ^{xix}
Prapurāṇa ^{xviii}	Varṣa ^{xviii}	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 *Adbhutaśmaśānālāmḥkāra*, 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 *dhanañjaya* (GSS34). Meisezahl (1980: 19) reports it as questionable (*srid grub?*) in *Adbhutaśmaśānālāmḥkāra*.
- 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* /*dikpālās/lokapālās*) are described iconographically in Lūyipāda's *Śmaśānavidhi*, and the *Adbhutaśmaśānālāmḥkāra* 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 *Śmaśānālāmḥkāratantra* (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 *Adbhutaśmaśānālāmḥkāra* (Meisezahl *ibid.*: 20) he is said to hold a vajra (left), and make the threatening gesture, the *tarjanīmudrā* (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 *vidyādharā*, *apsaras*, *yakṣa*, *rākṣasa*, *gandharva*, *kinnara*, *piśāca*, *guhryaka*, *siddha*, and *bhūta*. These are all spirits associated with cremation grounds in Buddhist texts and appear in the *baḷi* 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 *Adbhutaśmaśānālāmḥkāra* (Meisezahl 1980: 20) he is yellow, mounted on a "nidhi" and holds a club (left) and makes the gesture of threatening (right).

- xv Varuna is a prominent god in the Vedas; his later association is as lord of the waters. Hence, he is listed as Nagendra (in SUT ch. 17, v. 39b) and is described in the *Adbhutasmasndlamkdra* (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 Surya), hence he is also "Vaivasvata" (GSS34) of "Yama Vaivasvata." He is also god of death, Kala, whose agents brings departed souls to Yamapuri. Iconographically, the *Smasdnavidhi* describes Yama as mounted on a buffalo (v. 10: *mahisdudha*), black, red-eyed, fat, fearsome, holding a stick/cudgel (*dandah*) and a skull bowl. This accords with the description reported by Meisezahl (1980: 20) in the *Adbhutasmasndlamkdra*.
- xvii The northeast (*ais'dni*) is associated with Siva, hence Is'ana also appears as Nilalohita (in GSS34), a synonym of Siva in epic and Puranic tales, and Kapali's'a (in *Smasdnavidhi* v. 12). He is described as white, carrying a trident (*s'uli*), mounted on a bull, and wearing a tiger-skin (in *Smasdnavidhi* v. 12 and *Adbhutasmasndlamkdra* Meisezahl 1980: 20).
- xviii The southeast (*dgneyya*) belongs to Agni (in *Smasdnavidhi* v. 14 and the *Adbhutasmasndlamkdra* Meisezahl 1980: 20). Here, the synonym "Vaisvanara" is given, the name of the fire in the Caturmasya sacrifice; hence it is also listed as Hutavahadig's'a (GSS34) and "Hutas'ana" (in SUT ch. 17, v. 39c = GSS16). He is described in the *Adbhutasmasndlamkdra* as mounted on a goat, potbellied, red-limbed, having a "firepit skull bowl" (?*kundakapdli*) and a "pot with rosary" (*sdkasasutramanddluh*).
- xix The southwest (*nairrti*) is the quarter of the demons, lorded over by the demon-imp Nairrti (in *Smasdnavidhi* v. 16). Nairrti is the child of Nirrti, "Calamity/Death," wife of Mrtyu. He is also called Raksasa (as in *Adbhutasmasndlamkdra* Meisezahl 1980: 20) and Nis'cares'a, "Lord of Night Wanderers" (in GSS34). "Jatudhana" also appears as *Ydudhdna* (Monier-Williams 1899), a kind of evil spirit or demon responsible for sorcery or witchcraft (*ydudh*). He is described in the *Smasdnavidhi* (v. 16) and *Adbhutasmasndlamkdra* 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 (*vd'yavi*) is protected by Prabhanjana [Vayu], hence listed also as the wind, "Vata" (in *Smasanavidhi* v. 18), but—problematically, suggesting the southwest—as Raksasendra/Raksasa in SUT (ch. 17, v. 39d) and *Adbhutasmasndlamkdra* (Meisezahl 1980: 20). He is described in the *Adbhutasmasndlamkdra* and *Smasdnavidhi* as blue/smoke-colored (respectively), mounted on an antelope (*mrgah*), holding a yellow banner (*dhvajah*) and skull bowl.
- xxi The naga kings (here, *ndgardja-*, *ndges'a-*, *nagendra-*, *bhujages'a-*) are described iconographically in Luyipada's *Smasdnavidhi* and the related *Adbhutasmasndlamkdra* 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: *sitduimkarabhusitdh*). The plates to planche 1 (Meisezahl *ibid.*: 85–92) show that the nagas 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 *dikpatiwho* is before them. They are seated beneath the tree (in *Smasdnavidhi* v. 17). Their presence must be related to that of the cloud king, since nagas 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 naga.
- xxii In the *Smasdnavidhi* (v. 5), Vasuki is white (Bu ston: yellow), with a blue lotus on his hood. He makes the *afijali*, bowing before the lord before him.
- xxiii The *Smasdnavidhi* states that Taksaka is red (v. 7: *bandhukapuspasam nibhah*) and has a *svastika* on his hood, making the *afijali* with bowed head. Meisezahl (following Bu ston) states that he is black.
- xxiv In the *Smasdnavidhi* (v. 9), the naga Karkota is described as "resplendent as dark-green *dilrvd grass*" (*durvdasydmasamadyutih*), with three lines on his throat, and making the *afijali*. (Meisezahl, following Bu ston, describes him as red.)
- xxv The *Smasdnavidhi* (v. 11) states that Padma is white and has on his hood speckles of

- sea[water] (Meisezahl reads: *vankabindus'ironkitah*; Finot reads *variga*, a type of flower mentioned on the *upavrhah* in v. 24). He supplicates his teacher (*ycann dndm ca s'dstdram*) in the usual manner with the *afijali*. (Meisezahl, following Bu ston, states that he is red.)
- xxvi In the *Smasdnavidhi* (v. 13), Mahapadma is "lovely like the moon," with a trident (*trisillah*) on his hood, making the usual *afijali*. (Meisezahl, following Bu ston, states that he is green.)
- xxvii Huluhulu is also "Ananta" (in the *Smasdnavidhi* v. 15 and *Adbhutasmasdndlamkdra* Meisezahl 1980: 20), described there as [colored] like a peacock's neck (*sikhikanthanibha*), with a lotus on his hood, making the *afijali* before his lord's feet. (In Meisezahl, following Bu ston, he is yellow-white.)
- xxviii Kulika/Kulisa is described in the *Smasdnavidhi* as smoke-colored, having a half-moon on his hood, seated beneath the mass of creepers (*latdjatydm*), making the *afijali*. (In Meisezahl, following Bu ston, he is yellow-white.) The mss. of GSS report Kulis'a (see GSSn edition, apparatus to v. 77).
- xxix Sankha is also listed as Sankhapala (GSS34). In *Smasdnavidhi* (v. 19), there is a very brief description of him as yellow, with spots [on his hood] (*kalarikita*), or a *tilaka* (Meisezahl reporting the *Adbhutas'mas'dndlamkdra*).
- xxx The clouds, or cloud kings (*meghardja* 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 (GSSn v. 77) are associated with tain. The names in the *Smasdnavidhi* (v. 21) are different in some cases (the sequence for the directions is insecure): Jayabhadra, Srinando (Tib: "Srighana, Meisezahl 1980: 37), Vrstisupriya, Drutaghosa, Canda, Varsa, Purana, and Capala. As these names suggest, the clouds are loud and terrifying, emitting lightning and torrents of tain (*Smasanavidhiv*. 22). Their presence in the cremation grounds may be connected with the appearance of the nagas who are deemed responsible for rain.
- xxxi Avartaka: "Personified Cloud," also listed as Balahaka, "Thundercloud" (in GSS34).
- xxxii Purana (in SUT ch. 17, v. 41c), but GSSn mss. report *prapurdna*.
- xxxiii Varsa is also given as Varsana (GSS34).

The Cosmos and Temple Palace

(See 35) The commonest method of visualizing the deity's dwelling place in mainstream sadhanas—even in higher tantric sadhanas, such as the *Abhisamayamanjari*—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 *dharmodaya*, or "origin of existents." Finally, upon the mountain's peak, he visualizes an elaborate and decorative temple palace (*kutgdraha*) as the future abode of the deity. This more traditional method is also mentioned briefly in the *Vajravardhi Sadhana*, which offers it as an alternative at the end of meditation stage i (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.

Umapatideva's prescriptions for the meditation can be filled out from the account in the *Abhisamayamanjari*. Here we see how the cosmic elements are produced from their own seed-syllables, *yam*, *ram*, *vam*, and *lam*, and how each has a particular shape and is adorned with its own symbols.^{3,8} 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.^{3,19}



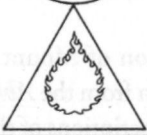
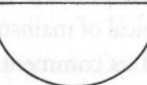
Arising from the meditation on emptiness under the influence of the latent impressions (*dvedha*) [established in his consciousness] by his original resolve [i.e., the bodhisattva vow], he should visualize his own consciousness as the mandalas of wind, fire, water, and earth, one above the other. [These are] generated from the syllables *yam*, *ram*, *vam* and *lam* 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		Heavens
Sumeru		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 Kalacakra (suggesting, perhaps, that this later tantric system was informed by the developments in the yoginitantras). The traditional cosmos is described in the *Abhidharmakos'a* and *bhdsya* (ch. 3, "The World"). It is said to exist upon a substrate of space (*dkds'ah*), 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 Metu in the center. (See plate 15.)

Comparing this with the sadhana 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 sadhana 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 *Abhisamayamanjari* cited, earlier).³²¹ Next, the sadhana visualizations introduce the element fire between the mandalas 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 sadhana, particularly in the meditations upon the body mandala. Finally, the sadhana 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 Metu itself may be elaborate. Once again, the earlier citation from the *Abhisamayamanjari* fills out details that are absent in the brief prescriptions of the *Vajravardhi Sadhana* (v. 35c). The *Abhisamayamanjari* is typical of mainstream sadhanas in that it accords with the *Abhidharmakos'a* 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 *Vydkhyd* by Yas'omitra). Sadhana literature often refers to the "eight peaks" of Meru (ADK ch. 3, w. 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" (*parisandas*) 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 kriyatantra, 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 (Sudars'ana) with Sakra's palace (Vaijayanta) at the center, surrounded by parks "for pleasure and for love" (ADK ch. 3, w. 65-68). In the higher tantras, Sakra'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 sadhanas 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 (*vis'avajravedikd*).³²⁵ These elaborate gates are usually drawn as if seen from in front, as in plates 12 and 13—although the rest of the mandala 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 *Vajra-varahi Sadhana* 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 sadhana with an extra series of verses (w.

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 *Vajravardhi Sadhana* therefore represents an interesting phase of development within the *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld* collection as a whole. It appears to be midway between sadhanas that remain rooted in the cakravartin temple palace tradition, and those that depict a more consistent representation of *kdpdlika* praxis. Thus, we can broadly identify three types of sadhana composition, all roughly contemporaneous, in the *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld*.

1. First are the mainstream sadhanas 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 [*dharmodayd*]). 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 *kdpdlika* deity—for example, the *Abhisamayamanjari* (GSS5; based on the *Herukdbhisamaya* f. 3v) and sadhanas by Advayavajra (e.g., GSS3).
2. Next are the transitional sadhanas that combine an implicit temple palace model with a greater focus on *kdpdlika* praxis. This is the midway position of the *Vajravardhi Sadhana*. As the mandala 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 tetinue are placed formally around a central cakravartin-style deity. Despite this, the *Vajravardhi Sadhana* 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 *kdpdlika* 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 Vajravaraḥ's mandala inhabit a very different setting and command a very different worldview. These developments have their base in scripture, for it is notable that Umapatideva's omission of the temple palace mirrors the *Samvarodayatantra* (ch. 13, w. I2-I3ff.).³²⁷
3. Moving a stage further still toward the integration of *kdpdlika* interests, the *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld* also includes a group of "skeleton arch" (*karankatorana*) sadhanas (GSS32—34). In these, we find that the anomalous temple palace has been testructuted 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 skeletal parasols. These developed *kdpdlika* sadhanas also show a greater degree of internalization within the meditation techniques espoused, based on the yogic methods of *svd-dhithdna* ("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 sadhana as a whole: the self-generation of the yogin "as" Vajrabhahi. 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" (*dharmodayd*) or "source of [all purified] dharmas" (*dharmodayah*), a spatial and visual metaphor for the unoriginated, transcendental plane of reality.³²⁹ Terms such as the Dharma body (*dharmakdyah*), suchness (*tathatd*), and the sphere of Dharma (*dharmadhtuh*) are also applied to the *dharmodayd*, and it is often said to "have the nature of the dharmadhatu" (*dharmadhtusvabhava*) or to be "one with the dharmadhatu" (*dharmadhtumaya*). As a "source" or "origin," the *dharmodayd* is also equated with the female sex organ or womb (*bhagah, yonih*). This imagery is highlighted by its inverted triangular shape (V), which is a simulacrum of the pubis. As in north Indian post-Gupta scripts, V happens to represent the letter *e*, so the *dharmodayd* 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 *dharmodayd*, or the woman's sex. This imagery is employed in both the Guhyasamaja (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 Mahayana concept of the pure land Sukhavati.³³³ Where tantric deities are in sexual union, the female deity represents bliss, emptiness, or wisdom, while the male partner symbolizes compassion, or means (*updyah*). In the Vajrayogini 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 Vajravarahi's "conception" (v. 17), we will see that her seed-syllable *vam* is visualized inside the *dharmodayd*. Here, the syllable *vam* is also the seed-syllable for the vajra, which is a tantric euphemism for penis, while the *dharmodayd* triangle symbolizes the woman's sex or womb. Because of the coincidence of V with the letter *e*, the word *evam* (syllables *e* + *vam*) is often said to symbolize this union: "Homage to you, Vajrayogini; [you] who is seated in the syllables *e(V)-vam*, whose form is innate (*sahaja*) bliss, who is the knowledge of wisdom, and who is placed in the body!"³³⁴

- w. The following verses describe the conception and birth of the deity. The terse lines of the *Vajravardhi Sadhana* in fact describe a sequence of meditations known in exegetical works as the five awakenings (*pancdbhisambodhikramah*). These are significant in that they define the *Vajravardhi Sadhana* as a sadhana of the "generation method" (*utpattikramah*). The five awakenings have their roots in the yogatantras, where the term "awakening" (*abhisambodhih*) 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 (*vajracatuska*). A set of "six gods" is also taken up in one Tibetan tradition and correlated with the five awakenings.³³⁷

Because the *Vajravardhi Sadhana* deals with the subject only briefly, a fuller exposition of the five awakenings is cited below from an elaborate prose passage in the *Abhisamayamanjari*. Following the exegetical tradition, Sakyarakṣita 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 *pam* transforming into an eight-petaled lotus symbolizing the eight worldly dharmas (*astalokadharmat-*). On the pericarp, on a sun disk symbolizing the extinguishing of the darkness of ignorance, [he should visualize] a <*vam*> seed-syllable situated on a sun disk inside the central hub of a vajra, which has [itself] been produced from a red *vam*, and which is in the space between a sun disk and a moon disk (*samputamadhye*). [The *vam* 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 (*ddars'ajndnasvabhdva-*), and the sun [on the other], which is produced by the transformation of a double row of consonants including *d dh d dh ya la* and is identical with the wisdom of equality (*samata-jndnasvabhdva-*). [The *vam* syllable itself is] identical with discriminating wisdom (*pratyaveksandsvabhdva-*). With rays created by that [*vam*] 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 *vam*] itself. [This is] the performance wisdom (*krtydnusthdnam*). With the transformation of all that, [he should visualize] himself as the goddess Vajravarahi, identical with the wisdom of pure reality (*suvis'uddhajndnasvabhdvd-*).

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>ddars'ajndnam</i>)
2. the sun disc	wisdom of equality (<i>samatjndnam</i>)
3. the seed-syllable (or emblem)	discriminating wisdom (<i>pratyaveksandjndnam</i>)
4. the emission and retraction of rays	performance wisdom (<i>krtydnusthdnajiindnam</i>)
5. the transformation of the seed-syllable into the deity	wisdom of pure reality (<i>suvisuddhadharmadbdtujhnam</i>)

v. 17a The *Vajravardhi Sadhana* covers the first two stages of the five awakenings in one line (v. 17a). It instructs the sadhaka 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 *dharmodaya*. The passage just cited from the *Abhisamayamanjari* describes a more complex version of the meditation. In a tradition following both the Hevajra and Samvara 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" (*dlikdliyogah*).³⁴⁰ The alphabetical sequence of letters has been shown above in the *vdgvisuddhi* (GSS5 Sed p. 125, K14V5); but here, the *Abhisamayamanjari* states that the sixteen vowels (*a diiurflue ai 0 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 *ksa* and six other letters (*da dha da dhaya 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" (*anuvyaṅjanas*) 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: no), thus supplying two of the three essential factors required for conception in traditional embryology (ADKbh ch. 3, w. 10-17). The third factor, the intermediate being, arises in the course of the next awakening.

v. 17b-d In the same verse, the *Vajravardhi Sadhana* describes the third awakening: the visualization of Vajravaraḥ's seed-syllable, *vam*, 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 *vam* as ted, quivering with light rays, and vividly clear. In some Vajravaraḥ

sadhanas, the seed in the womb is represented instead by a vajra that is empowered by a *vam* syllable encribed upon its central point.³⁴⁴ In his *Amnayamanjari*, Abhayakaragupta 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 Samvara through their familial genesis in the vajra family of Aksobhya, and as such is sometimes produced from *hum*, the seed-syllable of the vajra family. Although Vajrabhara'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 *Vajrabhara Sadhana* 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 *vam* is now pregnant with significance: It is at once the repository of the potentiality of buddhahood (GSS32 Ki05r2: *buddhatvam hetubhutam*...) and a symbol of its actuality, Vajrabhara.

- " *9a 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* (w. 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 (w. 12b-i6b), consciousness is said to arrive through the mouth, carried on winds that circulate in the seventy-two-thousand channels (*nddti*). The scripture (v. i6cd) 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 (*s'ukram*) and menstrual blood (*sonitam*) in the form of a dot (*binduh*)" (v. iyab), 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 (w. i7cd-iob), and these are correlated with the five buddhas. In the seventh month (v. itjcd), 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. 2od: *cetana*). 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 *sadhanas* 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 (*dharmakdyah*) 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 (*nirmdnakdyah*) 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 (*sambhogakdyah*), with all the major and minor marks of a tenth-stage bodhisattva (mKhas grub rje 1978: 27). Abhayakara-gupta explains that the *sambhogakdyah* and the *nirmdnakdyah* are conventional in that both are reflexes of emptiness and are therefore constructed.³⁴⁸

Self-Visualization As Vajravarahi

- w. The next six verses describe the culmination of the self-generation process
 4 as the meditator visualizes himself transforming into the *sambhogakdyah*

form of Vajravarahi. The prescription to "make his own body Varahi" (v. 24d) is a reminder to the yogin that it is "himself (*dtmdnam*) 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 sadhana adds the comment that after the emptiness mantras the body must be seen merely as an appearance.³⁵⁰ The *Vajravarahi Sadhana* now gives the iconographical details for Vajravarahi, prescribing her color, face, attributes, and stance. As we will see, these reveal an iconography closely based on Vajravarahi as consort to Cakrasamvara (plate 11).³⁵¹ In Tibetan works, it is a form very similar to this manifestation of Vajravarahi that is associated with the adept Naropa.³⁵²



Fig. 27. *Vajravarahi in warrior stance.*

Drawn according to the Sanskrit text by Dharmacari Aloka.
Cf. plates 7 and 10f.

Vajravarahi is deep red in color, a reflex of her red seed-syllable *vam*. The *Vajravarahi Sadhana* describes her as "saffron-colored" (v. 19b: *kds'mira-varndm*),³⁵³ but elsewhere she is compared to vermillion powder (*sindurah*), or to startlingly red flowers such as the China rose (*javdkusumam*), the *bandhukah* (*Pentapetes phoenicea* or *Terminalia tomentosa*), and the pomegranate flower (*dddimah*). 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 *dharmodaya* (GSS11 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 *Vajravaraḥi Sadhana* describes Vajravaraḥi as having one head (v. 19b), just as she had as consort to Cakrasamvara—that is, without her eponymous characteristic, the hog's head (*varahah*), 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 Siva.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 Vajravaraḥi (who holds a vajra) and forms of warrior-stance Vajrayogini (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 *Abhisamayamanjari* to symbolize "the five knowledges combined into one essence." Vajravaraḥi 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 Vajravaraḥi'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 Vajravaraḥi as consort to Cakrasamvara, but when the deities

are in embrace, it is Cakrasamvara who drinks the blood as Vajrabhahi 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 *kdpdlika* praxis, while the blood within it is often said to be that of the four wicked *mdras*, or of other evils; in the *Abhisamayamanjari*, however, it has the taste of great bliss and great compassion.³⁶²

Vajrabhahi's third attribute is the skull staff (*khatvdtigah/m*) balanced upon her left shoulder (v. 21a). According to the *Abhisamayamanjari*[^]

On her left [side] resting on her arm, Vajrabhahi is [visualized] carrying a skull staff (*khatvdnga-*) 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 (*khatvdnga*).

In illustrations, the "dry and wet heads" (*suskasdrdrasiras-*) 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 *Kriydsamuccaya* distinguishes a different type of skull staff altogether, with three dried heads.³⁶⁵ The equation of the skull staff with

means (GSS5: *updyasvabhdvd*) 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" (*d-sakta*).

Other tantric ornaments adorn Vajravārāhi's body. She wears a garland of heads (v. 21b), fifty in number corresponding to the fifty vowels and consonants, and said in the *Vajravardhi Sadhana* 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

Vajravārāhi is also beautified by a set of five tantric ornaments (w. 22-23), all made of human bone (perhaps embossed with vajras),³⁷⁰ and known collectively as the five *mudras*, or signs—indicating here the signs of *kapdlika* 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" (*kapdlikavratam*).³⁷¹ Perhaps as a reflection of the goddess's new cultic role as central deity, the sixth mudra of ashes is on occasion also assumed by female deities (see ch. 2). The *Abhisamayamanjari* lists both the fivefold and sixfold sets of mudras and comments on Vajravārāhi's new status:³⁷²

[Vajravārāhi] bears the five signs of observance (*mudras*), namely, chaplet (*cakri*), earrings (*kundalam*), necklace (*kanthi*), armlets (*rucakam*), and girdle made of pieces [of bone] (*khandnkamekhald*). 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 mandala.

As a set of five or six, the mudras 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 than in the manner of an armoring.³⁷⁵ As we will see, this type of symbolism pervades each of the mudras individually.

For the chaplet, the *Vajravardhi Sadhana* describes an ornate forehead band (v. nd). The cloth band would once have been a tie wound counterclockwise 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 sadhana for the next stage of the meditation; see v. 27).³⁷⁷ The *Vajravardhi Sadhana* (v. 22ab) also notes that Vajravarahi'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 mudras (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 (*keyuram*). There may also be anklets (*niipurah*), which Umapatideva says are "tinkling" (he lists them in v. 21c separately from the other mudras). 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, Vajravarahi 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 (*srngdrah*) 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 Cakrasamvara), and she laughs with her mouth open and her body horripilating, a perfect "receptacle of great bliss" (v. 24c).³⁸⁴

Another aspect of Vajravarahi's character is her compassionate wrath. This is particularly evident in her stance (v. ioxd). Like her former consort Cakrasamvara, Vajravarahi assumes the classical pose of the archer, the warrior stance (*dlidha-dsanam*): she steps onto her flexed left leg and stretches out her right leg behind, as described in the *Abhisamayamanjari*: "[Vajravarahi should be visualized]... with the *dlidha* [stance], bending her left leg and stretching back her right five *vitastis* [i.e., sixty finger-breadths], indicating that the world is "licked up" ($a + Vliḥ > dlidha$) by emptiness."³⁸⁵

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

supreme Saiva deities, Bhairava and Kalaratri, so is the solo Vajravarahi.³⁸⁶ The *Vajravarahi Sadhana* states that she stands with one foot (the left) upon Bhairava's head and the other (the right) upon Kalaratri's breast (v. **9cd**). Bhairava is described in another sadhana³⁸⁷ "with four arms, his torso heart-[side] down, [his] face up gazing at the lady [Vajravarahi], 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 *damaru* and trident, with three eyes, a snarling mouth, blue, with yellow hair, [and] adorned with [a chaplet] of white skulls." The subdued Saiva goddess, Kalaratri ("Kalaratri" and "Kalaratrika" are also attested in our texts, but in this instance she is called Carcika), 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 Saiva deities represents Vajravarahi'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 Mara, 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 Puranas, 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 (*bhaktih*) 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 *Sarvatathdgatatattvasamgraha* (ch. 6). It concerns the entry of Vajrapani, the tantric bodhisattva, into the mandala of the buddha Vairocana. Vajrapani has boldly announced that he will not enter (*prati-Vpad*) the mandala himself until he has seen the world's wickedness entirely transformed and brought within the mandala 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 Siva (Mahesvara) and his retinue of evil gods whom none, not even all the tathagatas, have succeeded in taming. Vajrapani then commands them to convert (*prati-Vpad*) by taking the three refuges and vowing to gain omniscient

knowledge. This outrages Mahesvara 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 Vajrapani, a mere spirit (*yaksam*)! Vajrapani 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 kataputanamdnusamdmsdhra citibhasmabhdksyabhojyasayydsanaprdvarana mamdjndm pdlayal*). But the proud god pays no heed, and he is eventually overcome by the mantra *om nisumbha vajra hum phat* (uttered by Vairocana) followed by Vajrapani's explosive Mw/Instantly, Mahesvara 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 Vajrapani—a compassionate bodhisattva—to kill them. Vajrapani at last restores them, and they experience divine blisses and serve him. But the conversion of recalcitrant Mahesvara is not so easy. Although he is restored to life, he insists that he would rather die than obey Vajrapani's demands. Thereupon, Vajrapani utters mantras that haul Mahesvara and his consort stark naked before him, and tramples them underfoot while the world looks on and laughs. With another mantra, Vajrapani stands with his left foot upon Mahesvara and his right foot upon Uma, and a great cry resounds through the three worlds proclaiming Vajrapani as the victor. Then through Vairocana's compassion, the touch of Vajrapani's foot becomes a source of consecrations, meditational powers, and so forth leading to enlightenment, and Mahesvara is transformed into a buddha (Bhasmesvaranirghosa) in another buddha realm (Bhasmacchanna) in a far-off world system.³²

The same themes of subjugation and conversion appear in other eighth-century texts, some of which show a marked increase in sex and violence.³³ The myth in the **Guhyagarbha/Guhyakosa* is a case in point, as the accounts by Sanderson (1995) and Davidson (1991) reveal. Following these scholars, we find that here Mahesvara'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 samsara, the tathagata emanates a consort for himself (Krodhesvari, 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 tathagata 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 Mahesvara and his consort prostrate

beneath his feet. As this still does not overcome his antagonist, the Tathagata 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 Mahesvara 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, Uccusmakrodha, drinks up. The gods are then revived. Properly grateful for what can only have been an extraordinary experience, Mahesvara and his minions beseech Heruka and the divinities of his mandala to accept their wives, mothers, and daughters as ritual consorts while they take their correct places as the seats of the divinities in the mandala."

The themes reappear in yoginītantra exegetical works, with some variations.¹⁴ In Bu ston's account (related at length by Kalff 1979: 67ff.), the twenty-four sacred sites (*pithas*) have been wickedly usurped by low-class spirits and demonic gods; *rdksasas*, *yaksas*, *ndgas*, *asuras*, and so forth. Steeped in lust and savagely cannibalistic, they scheme to take over the whole universe by inducing Mahesvara himself to lead them. Mahesvara agrees but is too busy making love to Kalaratri to commit himself personally, and so he sends twenty-four stone *lirigas* to be installed in the *pithas* 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 Cakrasamvara mandala with himself as its lord. He presses Bhairava and Kalaratri beneath his feet so that they gain enlightenment, and then emanates the twenty-four pairs of heroes and dakinis who subdue the evil spirits and gods in the twenty-four sites. In this account, the Saiva 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 *hum hum phatdX* at the end (cf. *Vajravardhi Sddhana* §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 Cakrasamvara versions of the myth, which are based around the battle for the *pithas*. The victorious Buddhist heroes not only take their adversaries' *kāpḍlika* attributes and their consorts, but strip them entirely of their identities by assuming the exact guise of their conquered foes. Individual Saiva gods are no longer revived to serve in the Buddhist mandala, 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 Saiva norms and methodology (p. 37 ff.). For although on their own level the myths clearly express the transcendence of the Buddhist tantras over the Saiva, they look suspiciously like a "doctrinal apology" (Sanderson 1995) for "an area of Buddhism so subjugated by Saivism 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 Saivism by the simple trick of demonizing it. Above all, the Buddhist function of the Saiva 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 Saiva '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 Saiva framework. This process is clearly illustrated by the *Vajravādrhī Sadhana*, where we will find that even such features as the Saiva *pithas* are overcoded and correlated with the traditional formulations of the Buddhist path. In our account of the visualization of Vajravarahi 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 Vajravarahi, 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

- 25a-c, §6 In the Vajrayogini tradition, the yogin-as-goddess performs the armoring with a placing or "installation" (*nydsah*) of six pairs of mantric syllables at six points on his/her body. The verse in the *Vajravdrdhi Sddhana* (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 sadhanas, the armor syllables may take iconographical form as six armor goddesses. This is the case in the *Abhisamayamanjari*, which states that "because of the indivisibility of the mantra and the deity" (*mantradevatayor abheddt*), the meditator is to generate six *kapalika* 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 Vajravarahi 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, Brahma's head, and chopper. The remaining armor goddesses are Yamini (blue-black), Mohini (white), Samcalini (yellow), Samtrasini (green), and Candika (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 *damaru* 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 sadhana describes the generation and visualization iconography of the "armor heroines" (*go cha V dpa' mo drug*) more fully, endowing them with the five mudras and a garland of freshly severed heads. They are each said to stand upon a sun disk (except Mohani, 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 *ddkiniioxm* 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 Vajravarahi and Yamini.

STUDY OF THE VAJRABHARI SADHANA



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



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

In contrast to other descriptions, the armoring in the *Vajravarahi Sadhana* 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 (*s'odhayet*) or "empower" (*adhitisthet*) 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	om	ah	hrih/hrim hohlhum humlhomhrih/hih			
senses & fields	bhrumlom	hum/hum	kham	ah/dm	hdm/hd	ham
elements	lorn	mam	pam	tdm	kham	

The empowerment process is similar to the preparatory meditation with purifying equations (*visuddhis*) described earlier, although it lacks the correlation with a deity visualized in iconographical form (summarized in table 9). Although the *Vajravdrdhi Sddhana* 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 *Yoginisamcdratanttra*, for example, repeatedly remarks that the purpose of identifying the five buddhas with the *skandhas* is to destroy the "ordinary idea of self (*prdkrtidhamkdrah*) by taking on the "divine idea of self (*devatdhamkdrah*). This is, of course, the process by which the tantric practitioner becomes "united" with his deity (*devatdyogavdn*).⁴⁰²

Taken altogether, the stages of empowerment and armoring are also related to the body mandala described later in the *Vajravdrdhi Sddhana*. The body mandala correlates deities with the yogin's internal and external being in order to identify him with the full mandala, a process that can be difficult to distinguish from the armoring.⁴⁰³ In some texts, the purifying correspondences (*visuddhis*) of body, speech, and mind (with *om ah hum*) are also incorporated into the armoring meditation, a correlation that again points to the full mandala, with its three circles of body, speech, and mind (*kdyacakra*, *vdkcakra*, and *cittacakra*).⁴⁰⁴ It seems that the armoring therefore forms a specialized application of the broader themes of the body mandala. 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

w. 2jd- Having prepared the pledge deity (*samayadevatd*) with the armoring, the 26, §7 *Vajravdrdhi Sddhana* (v. 25d) instructs the yogin to infuse it with the

knowledge deity (*jñānadevata*). The pledge deity is the imaginary form of the goddess created by the "pledge-holding" initiate through the self-generation. In his *Tantradrthvatdra*, Buddhaguhya describes the pledge forms (*samayasattvah*, *samayamandalam*, *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."⁴⁵ Buddhaguhya describes the knowledge forms (*jñānasattvam*, *jñānamandalam*, *jñānacakram*) as "the self-existent (**svabhavin*) 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 *Vajravdrdhi Sddhana* 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:⁴⁶

1. *jah* Summoning the knowledge being (*akarsanam*)
2. *hum* Causing its entry into the pledge form (*praves'anam*)
3. *vam* "Binding" of pledge and knowledge forms (*bandhanam*)
4. *hoh* Gratification of the fused forms (*tosanam*)

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

1. Summoning the knowledge being (omitted in the *Vajravdrdhi Sddhana*)
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 (*akarsanam*) is the first step, and the yogin (that is, the yogin-as-goddess) must visualize the knowledge deity of Vajravarahi standing in space before him. One commentator explains that there are two kinds of summoning, "invitation from the Dharmadhātu Palace of Akanistha, and attraction from the worldly realms of the ten quarters" (Padmavajra's *Tantrarthdrthvatdravydkhydnā* 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 Vajravarahi 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 (*mudrd*) at the forehead, and impelling the deities to descend with hooklike rays from the heart to the accompaniment of a scriptural verse (*{krtvdgragranthyd khalu madhyasuci...; see n. 505}*)—the very prescriptions laid down for the *bait* ritual itself.⁴⁰⁷

Once summoned, the *Vajravdrdhi Sddhana* (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—*jah hum vam hoh*—it is the last syllable, *hoh*, that is for worship, or "gratifying" (*tosanam*).⁴⁰⁹ There is another well-attested tradition that states that *hoh* 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 *hoh* by remarking that "Subduing means making (them) rejoice, pleasing (them)." The *Vajravdrdhi Sddhana* 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 *hum* and *vam*). 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" (*ekikaranam, 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 *sadhana*, the infusion of Vajravahī'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 *dharmakḍya*. This kind of repetition, however, is a hallmark of the *sadhana*, 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 *sadhanas* 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 tathagatas with the bodhisattva Manjus'ri at their hearts, and at the heart of Manjus'ri himself the syllable *a* from which he was himself produced (*akdrasambhavah*) (*Ndmamantrdrthdvalokini* in Tribe 1994: ch. 4). *A* is thus the most essential form of Manjus'ri, and hence the "limit of reality" (*bhutakotih*)."

The same reductionist urge is expressed in yogottara sources (Isaacson 1996b) as a theory of three "beings": the pledge being (*samayasattvah*), knowledge being (*jndnasattvah*), and meditation being (*samddhisattvah*). 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 *Pindikramasddhana* (w. 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.*).⁴¹ This seems to be the system bequeathed to the yoginitantras in the slightly simpler twofold theory of the pledge and knowledge beings.⁴² 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 *Vajrdvdrdhi Sddhana* now directs the yogin to visualize enlightened
 ~§8 beings bestowing consecration upon himself as Vajravarahi (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).⁴³ Our author states in the verse that these enlightened beings are tathagatas (v. 27b), but in the prose passage, he describes them as eight yoginis. As both tathagatas and yoginis 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 tathagatas who administer the consecration, while ten attendant goddesses sing and dance in praise.⁴⁴ But in the Cakrasamvara tradition, the tathagatas are summoned only in order to emanate the goddesses who will themselves bestow the consecration, or it is the yoginis alone who perform the ceremony.⁴⁵ In the VajrayoginI

texts, the yoginis rise still further, and appear in the *Abhisamayamahjari* as a special class of ten consecration goddesses called *vajravildsinis*.⁴⁷ The shift toward feminine power is mirrored by an increasing emphasis on cremation-ground symbolism. Thus, the *Vajravdrdhi Sadhana* describes how the yoginis 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 Cakrasamvara texts, the vessel is instead visualized as a ritual vase (*kalas'ah*).⁴⁸

. zj'i As the enlightened beings pour the liquid, they recite a traditional accompanying verse followed by the mantra *om sarvatathdgatdbhisekasamayas'riye hum* ("To the glory of the pledge [of?] consecration by all tathagatas!").⁴⁹ The verse (v. 27!) focuses upon the important purificatory function of the consecration, which is sometimes said to counteract ignorance and to wash away obscurations. In some *sadhanas* 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.⁵⁰ Here it gives rise to the buddha who seals Vajravaraḥi on her crown—in this case, Vairocana.

The consecration in the *sadhana* 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 (*pancdbhisekah*), and the higher consecrations, often starting with the teacher consecration (*dearydbhisekah*).⁵¹ 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 *sadhanas*⁵²—and the guru then sprinkles water from a vase as he recites an accompanying verse, exactly the same format as that in the *sadhana*. The influence of the teacher consecration can also be seen, as this rite requires the guru to visualize the tathagatas bestowing the empowerment from a vase upon the head of a pupil who is already "in union with his chosen deity" (*svestadevatdyogayuktah*); this is mirrored in the *sadhana* 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 *vajrdecdrya* 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 *sadhana* requires the yogin to preserve the form of the goddess (the consecration in HT1.4 actually ends with just this injunction: *devatdmurtyd sthatavyam*), and it paves the way for meditations based on sexual yoga.

- 28 The *Vajravardhi Sddhana* follows the consecration with typical acts of worship (v. 28ab) in which puja goddesses are visualized in space worshipping the newly consecrated yogin-goddess, the practitioner as Vajravarahi. 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 sadhana, which is devoted entirely to an explanation of the rituals of deity yoga.

Inner Yogic Practices

- w. With the consecration, the process of self-generation is finally complete.
- 3'' What follows in the sadhana 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 (*utpattih*) 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 Mahayana (*pdramitdnayah*), 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 *Guhyasamdjatantra*, 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 Nagarjuna's sixfold yoga (*sadangayoga*) developed in the yogottara exegetical tradition, and of particular importance in the later Kalacakra system, as expounded by Naropa.⁴²³ However, it is worth asking to what extent such labels apply within sadhana compositions themselves. Sadhana writers do, on occasion, refer to the yoga of the generation stage (*utpattikramah/utpattikramayogah*),

but they do not tend to make a distinction within the *sadhana* 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 Ratnakarasanti 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 tantrika Ratnakarasanti explains the generation stage as "that stage or type of yoga (*utpattikramayogah*) 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 *Hevajratantra* i.8.24cd-25ab in 2001: 470). The aim is ultimately to realize nondual emptiness, free of the mind's proliferation (*prapancah*), although to achieve this, the meditation itself relies on prescribed sequences involving just such proliferation. So much, it seems, was generally accepted by tantrikas 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 Ratnakarasanti 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 Ratnakarasanti, Isaacson explains the perfection stage, or *utpannakrama*, as the yoga of cultivating the *sahaja* or "innate" nature of the *sadhaka* himself, and of other beings.⁴⁴ It is called the *innate* nature, Ratnakarasanti 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 (*svdbhdvika*), and is thus already "born" (*utpanna*)⁴⁵—clearly a process that no longer needs the meditative apparatus of generation, such as the five awakenings. Indeed, in Ratnakarasanti's terms, it relies upon a cultivation or contemplation of a sensation of great bliss (*mahdsukham*) that "spreads throughout

the sadhaka'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. Ratnakarasanti then goes on to refine the meditations involved in the perfection stage, pinpointing both "ordinary" and "extremely profound" (*paramagambhira-utpannakrama*) stages and stating that the latter is itself "of many kinds" (*ibid.*: 472). But as Isaacson points out, Ratnakarasanti'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 *nispannakrama*. (The term "*sampannakrama*" 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 *nispannakrama* may have been used by some, such as Candrakirti and Ratnakarasanti, to point to the term *nispannayoga*. 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 *Mayajalatantra*, namely, a series of yogas called *nispanna-*, *kalpita-*, and *adhithana-yoga*. Other authors clearly knew of the categories of the *Mayajalatantra* and preserved them in their writings, but without attempting to equate them with other systems around at the time. Abhayakaragupta, for example, opens his *Nispannayogavali* (*Cycle of Completion Practices*) with a direct reference to the *Mayajalatantra*'s "completion yoga" (p. 1: *yogo nispannah*) (*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 *svddhisthna* 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 *Guhyasamdjatantra* and reveals that it is unmistakably modeled upon Nagarjuna's declaration

of the two truths, a doctrine essential to Nagarjuna's philosophy, and key to the development of the *pdramitdnaya*.⁴⁷⁷ 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 tantrikas (e.g., Kanha YRM p. 104 glossing HT1.1.1). But why should such distinctions be necessary? For Nagarjuna, 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 (*samvrtisat*), not so much to justify the higher (*paramdrthasat*), [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 *Guhyasamdjatantra* 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 *Guhyasamdjatantra* was, Isaacson proposes, motivated by the contemporary debate between gradual and subitist approaches to enlightenment, which he shows the Arya school of the *Guhyasamdjatantra* to have taken very seriously.

The inner yogic practices of the *sadhana*, 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" (*nddis*) and "body centers" (*cakras*), a topic well documented in published sources on the highest tantras.⁴⁷⁸ 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 *avadhiiti* (center), *rasand* (right), *laland* (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 *laland* (cf. n. 217; or sometimes male semen), blood in *rasand* (the female "semen"), and semen, or *bodhicitta*, in *avadhiiti* (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, *avadhiiti*. 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 *Abhisamayamanjari* includes prescriptions for such a practice (although it refers to the visualization of the complete mandala rather than the single deity as in the *Vajravdrdhi Sddhana*). Here the yogin is to use his absorption in the *vam* syllable (or its subtle sound, the *nddd*) to manipulate the flow of the outer winds. When he causes the upward wind (here, *prdnah*) and downward wind to enter *avadhiiti*, an experience of intense heat rises through the channel from the navel, characterized as the fire, *cdnddli* (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" (*dnandas*) that culminate in the highest kind of bliss, *sahaja* or "innate" bliss. In this blissful state, dualistic perception is said to be transcended:²⁸

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

[by focusing on the *ndda*, that is,] on the ray of light in the form of a thread of lotus fiber from the *vam* seed [-syllable], which [he visualizes] in the space between the sun and moon disks on the lotus at his navel. [By so doing (-*dvdrena*), he] removes the flow in both [left and right] veins of the vital (*prdnah*) and downward (*apdnah*) winds, because of which (-*parihdrdt*) the [winds] enter the central [channel]. When [this happens, *praves'e*], [then] there is the arising of *sahaja* [which comes about] through the sequential [experience of the four] joys etc., [which occurs] because (*kramena*) 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 *cdnddli*. [When this happens, *sahajodaye*], [there comes about] either the nonperception (*anupalamabhah*) of the mandala circle through the sudden removal of all proliferating thoughts or [through its] gradual disappearance (*antarbhdvah*) into emptiness.

The *Abhisamayamanjari* goes on to describe how the entire world, the cremation grounds, the mandala and its goddesses, and the yogin himself (self-visualized as Vajravarahi) each dissolve into each other so that only the *vam* remains. This also dissolves away, starting from the lowest part of the syllable, so that only its uppermost particle, the *ndda*, remains, but with a form so subtle that it is imperceptible.⁴³⁸ This reaffirms the yogin's inner experience of nonduality, expressed here in terms of the "highest point" (*bhutamotih*), clear light (*prabhdsvarah*), or *yuganaddha*—the fusion of the pair (emptiness and radiance)" (see n. 281).⁴³⁹

He should also see that *ndda* 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 (*prabhdsvare*). 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 (*vdta*) of breath on a mirror dissolves entirely, so the yogin should enter the highest point (*bhutamotih*) 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 *Vajravardhi Sddhana* now describes. The verses describing the yogic meditation (w. 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 Vajravarahi's seed-syllable *vam* (or the subtler *ndda*). He then begins to recite her mantra in its ten-syllable form (*om vajravairocāṇīye svāhā*). As he exhales, he sees the syllables of the mantra leaving the *vam* 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, *avadhiiti*, until they reach his navel. There they are absorbed back, taking on the form once again (v. 29c) of the seed-syllable *vam* (or the *ndda*), 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 *Abhisamayamanjari* (following the meditations on the winds cited earlier). As it assumes the prior generation of the entire mandala, 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 *Vajravardhi Sddhana*). 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 *avadhiiti*, out of the mouth, and back into Vajravarahi's body, via her sex.⁴¹

When he becomes tired, he should make his mind enter the *vam* 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 [mandala] circles from the *ndda* of that [*vam*]

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 [*vam* 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 mandala], 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 *avadhiiti*, [and] having emitted [the syllables] from his mouth, [they should be seen] going to their own place in [Vajravaraḥ's] sex (*padmah/m*) [and] whirling around just there. While he is visualizing (*bhadvayan*) [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 (*sthitdm*) winding around that very seed-syllable [*vam*], [he should recite whatever mantra he has chosen] without haste, without hesitation, and avoiding false notions.

The Mantra

3zab, Mantras are usually given at the end of a *sadhana*, often as an alternative
§9 to the visualization meditation, "when the yogin has grown tired." Our author's inclusion of Vajravaraḥ's mantras at this point indicates that the first meditation stage of the *Vajravardhi Sddhana* can be performed as a discrete *sadhana*, based on the generation of the single goddess, Vajravaraḥ.

The *Vajravardhi Sddhana* (§9) prescribes a version of Vajravaraḥ's mantra with ten syllables: *om vajravairocāṇīye svāhā*. Its dative name element—*vajravairocāṇīye*—salutes Vajravairocana, a form of the goddess otherwise barely mentioned in the *Guhyasamayasddhanamūlā*, but the presence of the name in the mantra points to Vajravaraḥ's family association with the buddha Vairocana. This is the "heart mantra" (*hrdayamantra*),

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 *Abhisamayamañjari* (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 sarvabuddhādākinīye 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 mahāvire paramasiddhayogeśvari phaṭ hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā.</i>

The mantra recitation is in some ways the most significant part of the sadhana 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 mandala, 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

- w. A favorite theme in tantric texts is the supreme power of the mantra. The
 32cd, *Vajravdrdhi Sddhana* likens it to a wish-fulfilling jewel or a wish-fulfilling
 33'd d g, antees that its constant recitation will bring speedy results;
 indeed "success" (*siddhi*), our author promises, will come about within six
 months. In the Sabara-related sadhanas, one month is said to bring "con-
 firmation of progress"—such as a dream or vision of the goddess—prac-
 tice for six months is said to bring about specific goals, and practice for a
 year is said to bring "magical powers" (*siddhis*). "

Its rather brief handling of the matter of *siddhi* is perhaps an indication of the *Vajravdrdhi Sadhanas* liberationist concerns. In its broadest sense, *siddhi* means "success" or "attainment" (the word is etymologically related to the verb *Vsddh*, and hence to *sddhana*, 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 (*s'dntih*), of increase or restoring to health (*pustih*), of subjugating a victim (*vasikaranam*), and of causing death (*mdranam*). Other powers include drawing victims toward one (*akarsanam*), paralyzing them (*stambhanam*), and driving them away (*uccdtanam*). A common list of eight *siddhis* includes: invincibility with the sword (*khadgasiddhi*), invisibility (*anjana*°), ointment to make one swift-footed (*pddalepa*°), invisibility (*antardhdna*°), the alchemical ability to transform base metals into gold or the elixir of immortality (*rasarasdyana*°, *sutaka*°), flying (*khecara*°, *vidyddhari*°), going anywhere in an instant (*bhiicara*°, *gulikd-/gutikd*°), and going to netherworlds (*pdtlla*°). Other popular *siddhis* are those that grant oratory powers (*kavitvam*), the powers of a sword-magician (*khadgavidyddharah*), 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" (*dnantaryakarmdni*).⁴ A siddhi that is particularly relevant to the sexual practices of mahamudra (as expounded from the orientation of its male practitioners) is the ability to gain power over women (*strindm vasyakaranam*). A yogin who recites the root mantra of Vajravarahi 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 *Candamahdrosanatantra* (e.g., ch. 12.6.39),⁵ 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 mahamudra is so strongly identified with methods of magical attainment that liberation itself is classed as the most superior of siddhis.

Dwelling As Vajravdrdhi

- w. The overall aim of the *Vajravdrdhi Sddhana* is expressed in the final verses 33ab— of the "short meditation" (v. 34d) that comprises its first meditation stage.
- 4 These are the concluding injunctions of any yoginltantra sadhana, namely, that the practitioner should continue to maintain the divine ego (*ahamkdrah*) of his chosen deity at all times (v. 33ab).⁴³⁷ In order to strengthen this inner conviction, the *Abhisamayamanjari* (K3or6—K3ir2) 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 mandala 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 Vajravarahi when he sits down the next time to meditate at one of the three junctures (*samdhys*) 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 sadhana is therefore a spiraling reinforcement of the tantric initiate's identity with the deity—and his eventual inner transformation into Vajravarahi herself.
- 35 (See above: "The Cosmos and Temple Palace," p. 1446°.)

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

- | | | |
|----------------|---------------------------|---|
| v. 36cd | meditation stage 2 | fivefold mandala
<i>Vajravardhi plus the four retinue goddesses on the petals of the central lotus, Ddkini, etc.</i> |
| v. 36cd | meditation stage 3 | thirteenfold mandala
<i>fivefold mandala plus eight outer goddesses, Kdkdsya, etc.</i> |
| v. 37 | meditation stage 4 | thirty-seven-fold mandala
<i>thirteenfold mandala plus twenty-four goddesses of the sites (pithas), Pracandd, etc.</i> |

These meditation stages offer the meditator alternative and progressively more complex methods of visualizing himself as Vajravarahi within her mandala. They do not form discrete sadhanas, 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 w. 19-24), depending on the length of the practice the practitioner chooses to undertake.⁴⁴⁰

Fivefold Mandala

- §10 The prose prescriptions for the fivefold mandala refer back to the scriptural verses just cited (v. **36ab**). Thus, the meditator is to visualize Vajravarahi 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: Dakini in the east, Lama in the north, Khandaroha in the west, and Rupini in the south (see plate 12, with fig. 32). (As a rule in the yoginitantras, installation (*nydsah*) on the cardinal points is performed in a counterclockwise direction, and clockwise in the intermediate directions.)⁴⁰ This level of the mandala is designated "the circle of great bliss" (see below),

w. 38-40 The iconography of the dakinis (w. 38-40) is similar to that of their mandala leader. They are naked *kdpdlika* 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 *damaru* 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, Dakini (east) is blue-black, Lama (north) is green, Khandaroha (west) is red, and Rupini (south) is yellow. The iconography of the arms is shown in the delightful red dakini 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.⁴²

§12 The mantras for the fivefold mandala are supplied at the end of the second meditation stage, first for Vajravarahi as a mandala leader, and then for the four retinue goddesses. Vajravarahi's mantras include the ten-syllabled heart mantra given already in meditation stage 1, based on the mantra deity Vajravairocāni (*om vajravairocāniye svdh*), and the auxiliary heart mantra, sometimes said to have twenty syllables (e.g., GSS4 Ki4r5: *upahrdayam vimsatyaksaram*), based on the mantra deities Sarvabuddhadakini and Vajravamanī (*om sarvabuddhaddkinīye vajravarnāniye hum hum phat svdh*). There is also the eight-part mantra, which frequently occurs in a ritual context for praise.⁴³ 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 *hum hum phat*.⁴⁴

The fivefold mandala—like the rest of Vajravarahi's mandala—was originally the mandala of the Heruka deity, Cakrasamvara. In his practice, the four goddesses on the petals generally appear with the same iconographic form as they have in the Vajravarahi mandala, 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 sadhana of the twelve-armed Vajravarahi redacted from the *Abhidhādnottaratantra* (GSS7), where they take the terrifying therianthrope form characteristic of that mandala, trampling the corpses of Bhairava and Kalaratri in *ardhaparyanka* pose, and holding a severed head (rather than the *damaru* of *Vajravdrdhisddhana*),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 Dakini, Lama, Khandaroha, and Rupini, 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 Aksobhya family (HT2.2.1-2). The *Abhidhādnottara* has chapters dedicated to the classes of yoginis, dakinis, lamas, and others; and Kalff (1979: 44-56; cf. 91-95)—who discusses this area in detail—suggests that the goddesses Rupini and Khandaroha (sometimes interchangeable for Lama) 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. Dakini represents all dakinis, and never appears as an individual goddess outside this set; Lama represents all lamas, and so on—in fact, these two only appear as classes of female within the *Cakrasamvaratantra* itself—and in this respect, the goddesses are akin to Vajravarahi, the supreme vajra-yogini. Their kinship is noted in the *Abhidhādnottaratantra*: Dakini is described as a vajra-dakini who has "arisen in the family of Vajravarahi"; the chapter on lamas describes the characteristics of "lamas who are varahis," while the commentary adds that lamas belong to "the varahi family" or "family of varahi's good qualities."⁴⁴⁷ Another chapter describes the "practice of the four dakinis" (ADUT ch. 19 *Caturddakiniyogapatala*) in which the goddesses are visualized with three faces and eight arms, trampling four maras, and with the vajra prefix to their mantras ("vajra-dakini," etc.). Although they are

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

Thirteen/old Mandala

§13-§15 In the third meditation stage, our author points once again to the verses
 v- 4¹ from the Cakrasamvara scriptures (v. 36cd) as the authority for the thirteenfold mandala.⁴⁸ This is done by adding a further eight goddesses to the fivefold mandala and installing them in the outer portion of the mandala, said here to be part of the circle of great bliss. Four of the goddesses are visualized at the gates (*dvdram*), 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 Kakasya, an owl for Ulukasya, a dog for Svanasya, and a hog for Sukarasya. 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 *damaru* 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.⁴⁹ (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 (*konah*) of the mandala where the walls intersect. These are the fearsome yoginis of the god of death, Yama.⁵⁰ Yamadadhi, Yamaduti, Yamadamstrini, and Yamamathani. 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 phat*). No additional mantras are given for Vajravarahi at this stage, which suggests they remain the same as those for the fivefold mandala: heart, auxiliary heart, and eight-part mantras.

The outer goddesses have already made an appearance in the *Vajravarahi Sadhana* 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 yoginitantras. For example, the **Guhyakosa* describes a mandala of fifty-eight wrathful deities surrounding Buddhaheruka and his consort Buddhakrodhesvari, in which there are eight theriocephalic divinities (*phra men ma*) and four "gate keepers" (**dvdrapdlis*),

plus an outer circuit of twenty animal-headed deities (Sanderson 1995). Similarly, in a complex mandala from the *Sarvabiddhasamdyogaddhikijdla-samvara*, the four gate keepers bear the heads of horse, hog, crow, and dog: *Hayasya, *Sukarasya, *Kakasya, and *Svanasya (*ibid.*).⁴⁵³ This mandala is a forerunner to the mandala of six cakravartins, a Cakrasamvara-based practice that includes the eight outer goddesses beginning with Kakasya (e.g., NYA p. 79). This, in turn, is the prototype for a rather different Vajravarahi mandala drawn from the *Vajravdrdhyabhyudayantra* and found in the *Guhyasamayassddhanamdld* (GSS7), the forty-one-fold mandala discussed earlier of twelve-armed Vajravarahi that is based upon the four mothers. In this mandala the outer goddesses are all strongly individual and preserve features quite distinct from the other goddesses of their mandala; the corner goddesses, for example, have protean (*visvarupa-*), theriocephalic forms, with the faces of buffalo, ass, camel, and horse.

Terms for Aspects of the Mandala

The *Vajravarahi Sddhana* gives the designation "circle of great bliss" (*mahdsukhacakram*) for the central lotus with Vajravarahi 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 *Abhidhnottaratantra*, 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 mandala are frequently said to reside in the "outer circle" (*bhdyacakram*) (e.g., GSS5 Sed p. 136, K23V3), while in the *Abhidhnottaratantra*, we also find the fivefold central mandala referred to as the vagina (*bhagah*), and the lotus petals distinguished as the knowledge circle (*jndnacakram*).⁴⁵³ The origin of these terms is not altogether clear.

MEDITATION STAGE 4

Thirty-seven-fold Mandala

§ 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 mandala of Vajravaraḥi is complete. In this meditation stage, the *Vajravaraḥi Sadhana* 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 mandala (§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 mandala so that it represents or "becomes" transcendental wisdom (the mandala as wisdom), the thirty-seven *bodhipṛkṣikadharmas* (the mandala as doctrine), and the body of the meditator himself (body mandala, *kaya-mandala*). The structure of the full mandala is shown on plate 12 with fig. 32.

Circles of Mind, Speech, and Body

§ 17 - The three circles visualized around the central lotus are called the circles of mind, speech, and body. The innermost circle is the "mind circle" (*cittacakra*, §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 (GSSS Sed p. 133, K2ir2: *pithasvabhava*-) certain semimythical sacred sites (*pithas*). Their individual names, Pullramalaya, 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 (*vakcakra*, §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

(*kadyacakram*, §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 (*pdtdlab*)."⁴⁵⁴

The three circles of mind, speech, and body also appear in the Cakrasamvara mandala, where they are occupied by twenty-four site gods, Khandakapalin, etc., in embrace with their consorts, Pracanda, etc. (see table 23). If we compare the structure of Vajravarahi's mandala with that of Cakrasamvara, we find that the two mandalas are identical except that in the mandala of Vajravarahi all the male gods have been removed. The mandala leader, Cakrasamvara, has been superseded by his consort, Vajravarahi, and the goddesses appear alone in the twenty-four sites, thus reducing the size of the mandala from sixty-two to thirty-seven deities. This adaptation of the Cakrasamvara mandala 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 mandala 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 *kdpdlika* 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 *damaru* (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 Aksobhya, are blue-black; those on the speech circle, sealed by Amitabha, 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 Saivism.⁴⁵⁵

§2.1 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, Kakasya, 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 mandala meditation, for which they will need

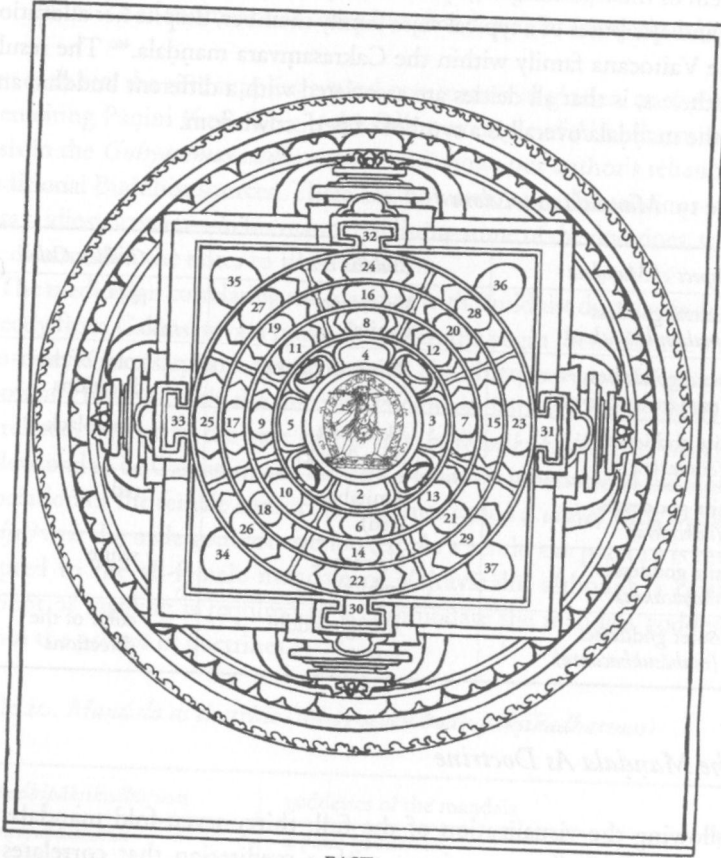
a cosmological status. Another explanation may be the ambiguous presence of the temple palace in this sadhana. Umapatideva never actually prescribed the visualization of the temple palace. Instead, he located the self-generation within the setting of the cremation grounds (v. 16); and even when he offered 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 sadhana, when they appeared in the construction of the circle of protection (at §4). If this cosmological orientation is an original contribution by Umapatideva (and it is absent in the other sources studied here), it is consistent with his attempt to replace the cakravartin-style architecture of the mandala palace with the cremation grounds.

Clearly following, and adapting from, his Cakrasamvara 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.⁴⁸ It is at this point that the *Abhisamayamanjari* (GSS5 Sed p. 139, K26r5) offers alternatives to the visualization of the full mandala, which are credited to the *Vajrdvaliby* the author's guru, Abhayakaragupta. These include the optional visualization of Vajravarahi as either yellow or blue, and changes to the colors and attributes of the deities of the retinue.⁴⁸

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

The Mandala As Wisdom

Once the full mandala 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 mandala are presided over by a buddha, each indicating a different aspect of enlightened wisdom. The sequence in the Vajravarahi mandala is exactly that of the Cakrasamvara mandala (excluding the presiding Buddha Aksobhya for Cakrasamvara himself).⁴⁹ The correspondences with the buddha families rarely work evenly throughout a given mandala, however. For example, Vairocana, who seals the goddesses of the body circle, appears twice in the Vajravarahi mandala, since he is also the buddha who seals the central goddess, Vajravarahi (§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. Pracaṇḍā
7. Caṇḍākṣī
8. Prabhāvati
9. Mahānāsā
10. Viramati
11. Kharvari
12. Laṅkeśvari

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. Śauṇḍinī
25. Cakravarmiṇī

26. Suvirā

27. Mahābalā
28. Cakravartini
29. Mahāviryā

Outer Maṇḍala (Gates)

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

Outer Maṇḍala (Corners)

34. Yamadāḍhi
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 Vajravaraḥi herself retains the character and attributes of a typical vajra family member, despite her allocation to the Vairocana family within the Cakrasamvara mandala.⁴⁰ The result, nevertheless, is that all deities are associated with a different buddha, and that the mandala overall is a symbol of perfect wisdom.

Table 19. *Mandala as wisdom*

<i>Aspect of Mandala</i>	<i>Buddha Seal</i>	<i>Goddess Color</i>
central goddess (<i>mahdsukhacakra</i>)	Vairocana (white)	red
petal goddesses (<i>mahdsukhacakra</i>)	Ratnasambhava (yellow)	color of the directions
site goddesses (<i>cittacakra</i>)	Aksobhya (blue/black)	blue/black
site goddesses (<i>vdhcakra</i>)	Amitabha (red)	red
site goddesses (<i>kdyacakra</i>)	Vairocana (white)	white
outer goddesses (<i>mahdsukhacakra</i>)	Amoghasiddhi (green)	color of the directions

The Mandala As Doctrine

- § 29 Following the visualization of the full, thirty-seven-fold mandala, the *Vajravaraḥi Sadhana* continues with a meditation that correlates the mandala with the entire Buddhist doctrine. The text states that this meditation deepens the meditator's conviction of himself as Vajravaraḥi within her mandala 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 *bodhipdksikadharmas*, "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-smrtyupasthānas*)

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

(§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 (*aryāṣṭāṅgo margah*)
 (§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 *Guhyasamayāsāadhanamālā* 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>rddhipādas</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 of aṣṭāṅgamarga</i>	3 site goddesses of body circle 4 gate goddesses 1 central goddess
4 <i>prahāṇas</i>	4 corner goddesses

The Mandala As Cosmos

Another major feature of the mandala 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 mandala 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 *Abhisamayamanjari* (GSS5 K28r6). However, the *Vajravarahi Sddhana* 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>valayah</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 *Abhisamayamanjari*, 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 *Abhisamayamanjari* with the *Vajravarahi Sddhana* and shows the slight inconsistencies of the latter. By comparing the cosmological structure of our mandala with that of the Kalacakra, it also reveals how the *Vajravarahi Sddhana* 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. *Mandala as cosmos*

aspect of mandala	GSS5	GSSn	inhabiting goddesses	Kalacakra 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 mandala		surface of underworld within rings of fire & wind	outer goddesses in cremation grounds	circle of fire & air

The Sacred Sites (pithas)

Another important cosmological structure in the full mandala is that of the twenty-four sacred sites (*pithas*), listed §17-§19 (and table 23). These, as we have seen, are understood to exist within the mandala, on the three circles of mind, speech, and body, with eight sites on each. The sacred sites have their origins in Saiva myth, which relates how Siva's body was dismembered and fell to earth (or how Siva scattered the dismembered body of Sati/Parvati 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 Siva's subjugation, which—as we saw earlier—generally begin with Mahesvara's (Siva's) demonic tyranny of the universe and end with his defeat and conversion at the hands of the Buddhist heroes. In Cakrasamvara exegetical literature, however, Mahesvara'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 mandala 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 Saiva 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 Kali-type deities.⁴⁶⁴

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

The Ten Places (des'as)

In the meditations that follow, yet another aspect of the cosmos is woven into the symbolic textures of the mandala. This is a set of ten "places" (*des'as*) 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 (w. 43-53), as shown in table 23. The places are correlated during the course of the body mandala with the ten bodhisattva stages (w. 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 Saiva praxis), the places and sites serve as dwelling places for various classes of yogini. 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' (*sahaja*) born of the dakini family. They are born in each district [i.e., place]; (these) yoginis 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 *Hevajratantra* (1.7.8-11), specifically refers to them as the "meeting place" (*melpakasthnam*) for yogins and yoginis 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 mandala 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 Saiva gods (quoted by Kalff 1979: 68-69),⁴⁶⁹ he first describes the Buddhist occupation of the Saiva sites and then states that four *kinnaris* 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 *pilavas* and *upapllavas* (i.e., the places). Within the mandala of the *Vajravaraḥi Sadhana* 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 mandala, in which they are otherwise located beyond the outer circle, within the circle of protection.

Table 22. *The ten places*

1. site	<i>p'fha</i>	2. nearby site	<i>upapitha</i>
3. field	<i>ksetra</i>	4. nearby field	<i>upaksetra</i>
5. <i>chandoha</i>	<i>chandoha</i>	6. nearby <i>chandoha</i>	<i>upacchandoha</i>
	<i>pilava</i> (HT)		nearby <i>pilava</i> (HT)
7. meeting place	<i>melpaka</i>	8. nearby meeting place	<i>upamelpaka</i>
9. cremation ground	<i>smasna</i>	10. nearby cremation ground	<i>upasmasna</i>

Body Mandala

- 42 Our author now introduces a meditation known as the body mandala (*kḍyamandalam*). The practice involves correlating the mandala as cosmos with the practitioner's own body. This type of purifying equation (*visuddhiḥ*)—of a divinity with an aspect of the yogin's body—has already appeared in the *sadhana*, 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 mandala serve to generate the mandala 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 (*nispannakramah*).⁴⁷⁰ The *Yoginisamcḍratāntra* emphasizes the importance of the practice in the Cakrasamvara tradition by ascribing it to the mythical *Lakṣḍbhidhḍnatantra* (although the practice was in fact Saiva in origin).⁴⁷⁰

The method of producing the body mandala 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 Pulllramalaya) with the added nasalization of the

anusvra (pum). He should then see the seed-syllable transforming into an empty circle that is understood to represent Pulliramalaya itself (and so on for all twenty-four sites). Simultaneously, the yogin installs the empty circle, Pulliramalaya, on a certain point on his body (in this case, his head), as shown in figure 33. Meanwhile the goddess Pracanda, who dwells within the site, is transformed into a channel or vein (*nddi*) inside the head. The placing of each site on a body point relocates the external world or cosmos symbolized by the mandala "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 mandala 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" (*adhyatmayogin* GSS5) and is deemed to be superior to ordinary external pilgrimage.⁴⁷¹

w. 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 mandala. 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 Vajrayogini tradition the body mandala 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. 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 mandala, 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 *Abhisamayamanjari* (GSS5) seem just as haphazard, and only vaguely related to those offered by the *Vajrabhara Sadhana*.⁴⁰ These inconsistencies arise in the Vajrayogini tradition because of its adaptation from the Cakrasamvara practice. There, the correlations of the body mandala applied to the body of the twelve-armed *heruka* in embrace with his consort (e.g., *Abhidhnottaratantra* 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 Vajrabhara, those goddesses are left without a clear function in her body mandala. Another inconsistency in the *Vajrabhara Sadhana* (as in the *Abhisamayamanjari*) is that our author is forced to reduce the body mandala 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 Cakrasamvara mandala and are therefore inadmissible in the all-female Vajrabhara mandala.

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

§3i The correlations of the body mandala also incorporate the subtle yogic body in the form of the channels or veins (*nddis*). 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., Pracanda within Pulliraya-

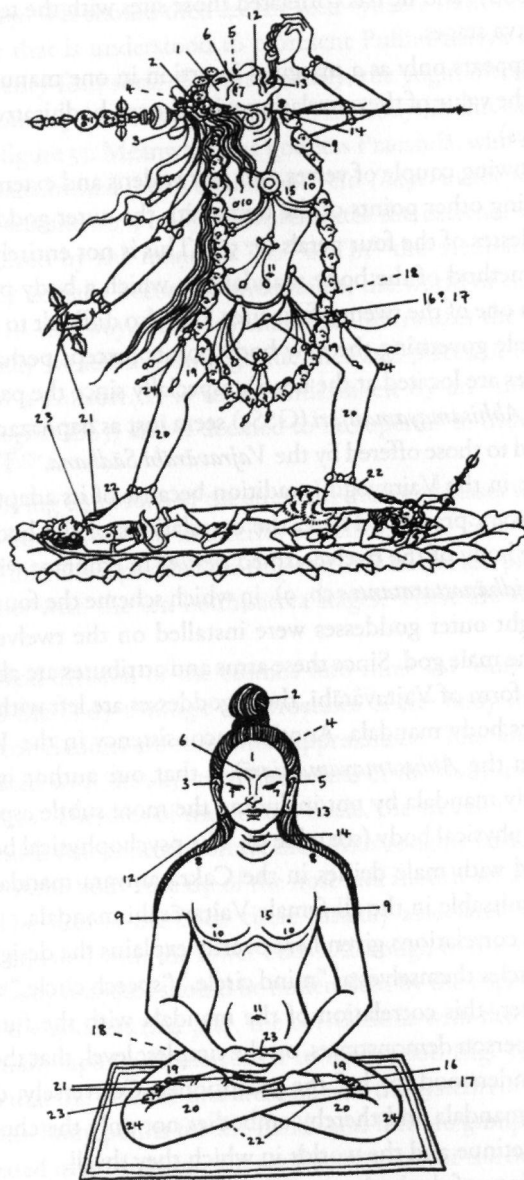


Fig. 33. *Body maṇḍala.*

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
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⇒ Aspect of body nourished by the veins as the hero in the Cakrasaṃvara tradition

Fivefold Maṇḍala					
pericarp	Vajravārāhi			eightfold path samyaksamādhi	
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	Pracandā	Pulliramalaya	pīṭhas pramuditā°	head
2	N	Caṇḍākṣi	Jālandhara		topknot
3	W	Prabhāvatī	Oḍḍiyāna		right ear
4	S	Mahānāsā	Arbuda		back of the head
5	SE	Viramati	Godāvari	upapīṭhas vimalā°	left ear
6	SW	Kharvari	Rāmeśvara		between eyebrows
7	NW	Lañkeśvari	Devikoṭa		2 eyes
8	NE	Drumacchāyā	Mālava		2 shoulders

⇒ nails & teeth (Khaṇḍakapālīn)

⇒ head & body hair (Mahākankālā)

⇒ skin & filth (Kaṅkāla)

⇒ flesh (Vikṣatadāṃṣṭrīn)

⇒ sinew (Surāvairin)

⇒ bones (Amittābha)

⇒ kidney? (Vajraprabha)

⇒ heart (Vajradeha)

Speech Circle (red, sealed by Amitābha; surrounded by red lotuses)					
9	E	Airāvati	Kāmarūpa	...indriyas prajñā°	2 armpits
10	N	Mahābhairavā	Oḍra	balas śraddhā°	2 breasts
11	W	Vāyuvagā	Triśakuni	virya°	navel
12	S	Surābhakṣi	Kośala	smṛti°	tip of nose
13	SE	Śyāmā(devī)	Kaliṅga	samādhi°	mouth
14	SW	Subhadrā	Lampāka	prajñā°	throat
15	NW	Hayakarnā	Kāñci	sambodhyaṅgas samādhi°	heart
16	NE	Khaṇānā	Himālaya	virya°	penis

⇒ eyes (Ankurika)

⇒ bile (Vajraṭṭila)

⇒ lungs (Mahāvira)

⇒ entrails (Vajrabhīṣṭkāra)

⇒ coiled gut (Subhadra)

⇒ belly (Vajrabhadra)

⇒ feces (Mahābhairava)

⇒ hair part (Virūpākṣa)

Body Circle (white, sealed by Vairocana; surrounded by white wheels)					
17	E	Cakravigā	Pretapuri	...sambodhyaṅgas priti°	sexual organ
18	N	Khaṇḍarohā	Gṛhadevatā	prasrabdhi°	anus
19	W	Sauṇḍini	Saurāṣṭra	dharma pravicaṇa°	2 thighs
20	S	Cakravarmīṇi	Suvarṇadvipa	smṛti°	2 shanks
21	SE	Suvirā	Nagara	upekṣā°	fingers & toes
22	SW	Mahābalā	Sindhu	...eightfold path samyagdarśi	back of feet
23	NW	Cakravartini	Maru	*saṃkalpa	thumbs & big toes
24	NE	Mahāviryā	Kulatā	*vāk	2 knees

⇒ phlegm (Mahābala)

⇒ pus (Rasnavajra)

⇒ blood (Hayagriva)

⇒ sweat (Ākāṣagarbha)

⇒ fat (Heruka)

⇒ tears (Padmanartteśvara)

⇒ phlegm (Vairocana)

⇒ snot (Vajrasattva)

Outer Maṇḍala					
E	Kākāśyā			*karmāntaḥ	mouth
N	Ulūkāśyā			*ājiva	navel
W	Śvānāśyā			*vyāyāma	sexual organ
S	Sūkāśyā			*smṛtiḥ	anus
SE	Yamadādhi			prahāṇas arising of kuśāladharmas	hair curl
SW	Yamadūti			maintaining°	ears
NW	Yamadāṃṣṭrīṇi			<eradicating... akuśāladharmas>	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 *avadhūtī*). 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 *avadhūtī* 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 (Pulliramalaya) 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 ⇔ Pulliramalaya [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 Pali 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 mandala is omitted in the *Vajravarahi Sadhana* because of its references to the male gods.

In a (presumably) later work in the *Guhyasamayasaddhanam*, the inconsistencies noted in the *Vajravarahi Sddhana*'s version of the body mandala are avoided by the invention of a new body mandala meditation that draws exclusively upon the cosmology of the cremation grounds.⁴⁷⁷

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

Mantras for the Complete Deity Mandala

- §32 The fourth meditation stage ends with the mantras to be inserted within the sadhana, as in the first meditation stage. First, our author gives the root mantra (*mulamantrah*) for Vajravarahi as leader of a full mandala, 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 con-
- §34 tain cryptic mantric elements called "vajra words" (*kulisapaddni*) and owe their form to the mantras of the site gods in the Cakrasamvara mandala. Thus, in Cakrasamvara sources, the mantras for the site god and the site goddess are listed side by side, as follows:⁴⁷⁵

om khandakapdlina kara kara hum hum phat svdh
(for site god, Khandakapalin).

om pracande hum hum phat svdh
(for site goddess, Pracanda).
etc.

Another Cakrasamvara source, Luyipada's *Herukdbhisamaya* (f. 130, 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 Vajravarahi texts: *om kara kara hum hum phat pracande hum hum phat* (for site god and goddess, Khandakapalin and Pracanda), etc. The Vajravarahi texts take the

process one step further, and omit both the name element of the male god, Khandakapalin, and its following mantra syllables: *om kara karapracande hum hum phat* (for site goddess Pracanda alone), etc. With the discussion of the mantras, the fourth meditation stage comes to a close.

RITUAL PRACTICES

Tantric Ritual

The next portion of the *Vajravarahi Sadhana* 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 *Guhyasamayasiddhanam* attributed to Indra-bhuti, the *Pradipdhutividhi* (GSS14). 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. Indrabhuti describes how mental intention, too (see p. 215), is a means to generate results (w. 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 Yogacara-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 Indrabhuti 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' (*sreyas*) and 'bad'; for samsara is nothing but the mind, and nirvana [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 Nagarjuna'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 (*lokasamvṛtisatyam*). This is the basis upon which the yogin proceeds: (v. 22) "The buddhas (*munisvarah*) 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 *Vajravarahi Sadhana* are as follows:

(v. 57-§40)	offering <i>bali</i> (<i>balividhih</i>)
(w. 59-66)	tasting nectar (<i>amrtdsvddanam</i>)
(§41—§49)	external worship (<i>bdhyapujd</i>)
(§46)	hand worship (<i>hastapujd</i>)
(§49)	alternative external worship (<i>bdhyapujd</i>)
(§51)	internal oblation (<i>adhydtmahomavidhih</i>)
(§52)	rite for leftover <i>bali</i> (<i>*uccchistabalividhih</i>)

Our text here is very similar to that of the *Abhisamayamanjari* (GSS5), and both works base their prescriptions on rites described in Cakrasamvara literature. Their comparison with a series of Cakrasamvara rituals by Sas'vatavajra (published by Finot in 1934 under the editorial title **Vidhisamgraha, Collection of Rites*) demonstrates how simple the redaction of material into the Vajravarahi corpus was. The **Vidhisamgraha* describes the same series of rites, but directs the prescriptions to the yogin in union with Cakrasamvara rather than with Vajravarahi. Sas'vatavajra's descriptions of the rites are very similar to our author's and are almost identical with those of the *Abhisamayamanjari* (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 *Guhyasamayassiddhanamālā* were probably not redacting directly from Sas'vatavajra's text, but that all three authors were looking to a common Cakrasamvara-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 *Vajravarahi Sddhana* is the *bali* ritual (*balividhih*), a propitiatory food offering (*balih*) to local spirits and deities and—in our sources—to the principal deities of the mandala. 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 Saiva and Vaisnava rites, in which the *bali* is often a concluding rite.⁴⁸⁶ The *Vajravarahi Sddhana* 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. 57-§40)	offering <i>bali</i> (<i>balividhih</i>)
(w. 59-66)	tasting nectar (<i>amrtdsvddanam</i>)
(§4i-§49)	external worship (<i>bdhyapujd</i>)
(§46)	hand worship (<i>hastapujd</i>)
(§49)	alternative external worship (<i>bdhyapujd</i>)
(§51)	internal oblation (<i>adhydtmahomavidhih</i>)
(§52)	rite for leftover <i>bali</i> (<i>*uccchistabalividhih</i>)

Our text here is very similar to that of the *Abhisamayamanjari* (GSS5), and both works base their prescriptions on rites described in Cakrasamvara literature. Their comparison with a series of Cakrasamvara rituals by Sas'vatavajra (published by Finot in 1934 under the editorial title **Vidhisamgraha, Collection of Rites*) demonstrates how simple the redaction of material into the Vajravarahi corpus was. The **Vidhisamgraha* describes the same series of rites, but directs the prescriptions to the yogin in union with Cakrasamvara rather than with Vajravarahi. Sas'vatavajra's descriptions of the rites are very similar to our author's and are almost identical with those of the *Abhisamayamanjari* (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 *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld* were probably not redacting directly from Sas'vatavajra's text, but that all three authors were looking to a common Cakrasamvara-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 *Vajravarahi Sddhana* is the *bali* ritual (*balividhih*), a propitiatory food offering (*balih*) to local spirits and deities and—in our sources—to the principal deities of the mandala. 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 Saiva and Vaisnava rites, in which the *bali* is often a concluding rite.⁴⁸⁶ The *Vajravarahi Sddhana* 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>Vajravaraḥi Sadhana</i> GSSn	<i>A bhisamayamahjari</i> GSS5	<i>*Vidhisamgraha</i> Finot1934
	<i>amrtasvddana</i> , following self generation (K2,n)	
<i>amrtasvddana</i> (w. 60-67) within <i>balividhi</i> (v. j8-§37)	<i>balividhi</i> (K2§r3) (without <i>balimantra</i> of our §36)	<i>Smasdnavidhi</i> by Luyipada (pp. 49-51)
(+ <i>bali</i> mantra §36)	midday & midnight junctures (K3OV4)	<i>*"Mantrapatha "</i> (PP- 53-54. 'e- <i>balimantra</i> as GSSn §36)
<i>bdhyapujd</i> (§38)	<i>bdhyapujd</i> (K3H2)	<i>bdhyapujd</i> , by Sasvatavajra (pp. 52-53)
<i>hastapujd</i> (§40)	<i>hastapujd</i> (K32r2)	<i>hastapujd</i> by Sasvatavajra (PP- 54-55); also SM253 (pp. 498-500)
alternative <i>bdhyapujd</i> + implied <i>hastapujd</i> (P41: <i>athavd</i>)	alternative <i>bdhyapujd</i> + implied <i>hastapujd</i> (K32V5: <i>yadvd</i>) (p. 55-56: <i>yadvd</i>)	alternative <i>hastapujd</i> with <i>bdhyapujd</i>
<i>adhydtmahomavidhi</i> (§42)	<i>adhydtmahomavidhi</i> (K33V1)	<i>Cakrasamvarabalividhi</i> by Sasvatavajra (pp. 56-58) (with preparation as for <i>amrtasvddana</i>)
<i>*ucchistabalividhi</i> (§43)	<i>*ucchistabalividhi</i> (K,, V 2)	<i>Vajravaraḥi</i> <i>Sadhana</i> (pp. 59-61)
ctemation grounds (w. 71-75)	reference to desiderative <i>homa</i> rites, considered too lengthy to be described by the author (K33V4: <i>vistarabhaydn</i> <i>na likhitdh</i>)	<i>Sekakriydkrama</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 (amrtdsvddanam)

- §35 As a preliminary part of the *bali* ritual itself the *Vajravaraḥi Sddhana* teaches
 v. 28) the rite of tasting nectar (*amrtdsvddanam*). Earlier in the *sadhana* 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 (*Abhisamayamanjari* and *Cakrasamvarabalividhi*), 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 *Vajrdvali* (SP f. i2or7), in which Abhayakaragupta joins the two rites together by first describing an *Amrtasddhana* for the preparation of the nectar, and then relating how the *bali* should be offered according to the Samaja, Hevajra, and Cakrasamvara systems. In contrast, the Advayavajra-based *sadhanas* clearly treat the tasting of nectar as a distinct rite of worship.⁴⁸⁹ In some *Guhyasamayassddhanamdld* 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 Cakrasamvara-based *bali* rituals may be appropriating the tasting of nectar rite, and thus joining two independent rites together. In the *Cakrasamvarabalividhi*, 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: *dvitiyam bali-bhdjanam*). Sasvatavajra 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* (*balisvikdrdrtham*). 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 Cakrasamvara 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,

w. The first step in the rite of tasting nectar is the preparation of a hearth, 59-60 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 *yam* and *ram* (v. 59). Above this, a hearth (*cullikd*; v. 60b) is then fashioned from three heads arranged like the base of a tripod; these are produced (in our tradition) from the syllable *kam*.⁴⁵¹ On top rests a skull bowl generated from *ah*, as the cauldron.⁴⁹² (See fig. 34.)

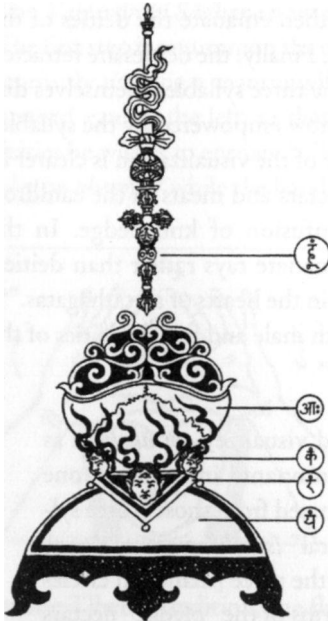


Fig. 34. Preparation of nectar.

- 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" (*paicapradipas*). The five nectars are semen, blood, flesh, urine, and feces, and the five lamps are the flesh of cow, dog, horse, elephant, and man.⁴⁴ 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.⁴⁴
- 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 *Vajrdvali* (seemingly following Cakrasamvara scripture) adds that the ordinary color, smell, and potency of the ingredients are removed with the syllables *ha ho hrih*.⁴⁵
- v. 63 Next, a white, inverted skull staff is visualized above the mixture, produced from *hum*. 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.⁴⁶
- w. 64—66 It only remains for the liquid to be empowered by the syllables *om ah hum*. These three syllables are generated from the letters of the alphabet and visualized above the liquid. The syllables then emanate the deities of the mandala 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 *Abhisamayamanjari*, the three syllables emanate rays rather than deities, and these draw out the "knowledge nectar in the hearts of all tathagatas."⁴⁷ The *Cakrasamvara balividhi* (based on both male and female deities of the Cakrasamvara mandala) reads as follows:⁴⁸

Next above that [liquid], [he should visualize] *om ah hum* 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" (*samkramananyayena*), he should draw down in the form of the three [mandala] circles (*tracakrakaram*) [the "knowledge" forms of the "pledge" nectars and meats, namely] the "knowledge nectars" and "knowledge

lamps" (*jndndmrtapradipam*) of the heroes and heroines in the ten directions.⁴⁹⁹ Having [caused those deities of the three mandala circles] to accomplish the welfare of the world, he should visualize them (*avalokya*) first coming together [in sexual union] [and then] melting (*dravibhuya*), and as entered accordingly (*yathdyatham*) into those [three syllables] *t and that in all the oceans*!. Then, having seen *om*, etc. melted in sequence (*kramavilinam*) [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 mandala deities, who would "taste" it and experience great bliss.⁵⁰⁰ In our text (§36), however, the nectar becomes the ^//offering, and thus the so-called "tasting of nectar" has served simply to prepare the offering.

Bali Offering with Mantras

§36 The *Vajravarahi Sadhana* 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, *phetor phem*),TM while the hand gesture is the flame mudra (*jvaldmudra*).⁵⁰³



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

In one Tibetan tradition, the flame mudra 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 mudra, the yogin "should place it at the center of his forehead and move it around several times."³⁰⁵ 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).³⁰⁶ In between them, the seed-syllable *hum* arises and is visualized transforming into the bowl of nectar. This visualization procedure is still followed even in the *Cakrasamvarabalividhi*, which prescribes the use of actual foodstuffs in a real bowl placed between the hands.³⁰⁷

- 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 Saṣ'vatavajra's *Cakrasamvarabalividhi* 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: *balisvikdrartham*). 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 mandala in the eight directions, passing the bowl counterclockwise in the cardinal directions—a prescription peculiar to the Samvara tradition (it is absent in *bali* rituals described in the *Vajrdvali* from the Samaja and Hevajra systems).³⁰⁸ 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 *Cakrasamvarabalividhi* (p. 58) names the deities who are to receive the offering with these mantras, we discover that the first mantra given in the *Vajravahni Sddhana* is for the site goddesses. It is recited once only.

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

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

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 mandala circles alone; shorter texts may give a more limited selection (often the goddesses of the thirteenfold mandala, or the ten protectors), with or without verses. In contrast, the offerings described by Abhayakaragupta in the *Vajravali* (f. i23r—v) are for many different categories of being, and include (1) a general *bali* mantra serving all beings (*sarvabhautika*), absent in GSSn; (2) *bali* mantras begging the beings of the thirteenfold mandala to accept the offering (similar to §38); (3) the longer mantra for the site deities on the three mandala 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 Samaja-based *bali* ritual in the *Vajravali* (SP f. i22r.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 (*abhicdrah*) 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, w. 19ff), where the worship of the mandala with food offerings, etc., is performed on behalf of a third party (*ddnapatih*), and the "teacher's assistant" (*karmavajrin*)⁵¹¹ therefore meditatively generates the donor as well as the mandala (v. 23ab: *utsarjayed ddnapatim mandalam capurahsaram*). The same is true in the *Vajravali* accounts, in which the mantras from all three systems leave the name of the beneficiary to be supplied (*amuka-*). The Samaja ritual adds that it is the sadhaka'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 *Vajravali* account, the individual mantras for the ten *krodhas* actually include the name of the person who requires their cooperation.⁵³ This is the function of the *^//*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.⁵⁴ The propitiatory agenda explains the emphasis in many *bali* mantras on the outermost (i.e., "lesser") beings of the cosmological mandala. Frequently, it is only the last *bali* mantra (§39: *om kha kha khahi khahi...*) that appears in a text, that is, the mantra designated in our work for the protectors, overlords of the wild cremation grounds. In the Samaja rite, Abhayakaragupta states that after all the deities have received their *bali* offerings, the mandala circle is absorbed back into the mantrin, whereas the protectors and *krodhas* are posted outside the mandala 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 mandala. The *bali* becomes another powerful means of worshiping deities within the practice of deity yoga for recognized rewards. Another feature of the Vajrayogini *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 Abhayakaragupta in a liberationist coda to his account of the *bali* rituals of the Samaja, Hevajra, and Samvara 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 Samaja, Samvara, 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 [mandala] deities, beginning with one's own lord of the mandala, 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, 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" (*Anguttaranikaya* III.415), this is somewhat counterbalanced by the emphasis we find in the *sadhanas* 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: *pujyapujapujakdn abhedena pasyei*) 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" (*kamaladvartamudra*). For this gesture, the *sadhaka* 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 mudra, while reciting the syllables of dismissal. Finally, the practitioner absorbs the mandala into himself.

External Worship

§41 The *Vajravarahi Sddhana* now moves on to the external rites of worship (*bdhyapujd*), 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 (§4i-§4\$) 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 §4i-§52.)

Like the *sadhana* 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, K3K2: *vajravairo-caniyogavdn 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 imaginably constitutes the ground in front of the yogin as the "vajra ground." Next, a mandala diagram is drawn onto the vajra ground. Here, the text prescribes a triangle containing a circle, which represents the lotus within the *dharmodayd*, the origin of existents (as in the self-generation of the *sadhana*). In the alternative external worship (§49), the yogin draws only the simple (inverted) triangle of the *dharmodayd* (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" (*gulikd*; here *vatikd* or *gudikd*) 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 *sakta* 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 *dharmodaya*, the yogin then generates the pledge form of Vajravarahi 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, Vajravarahi, at this stage. The method of doing the practice with the fuller mandala may be inferred (§45) from the meditation stages taught above. In contrast, the *Abhisamayamanjari* is faithful to its method of self-generating the mandala in its entirety upon the elements and Mount Meru.

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 sadhaka'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 *bali* ritual), this time with their names included in the mantras.

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 yoginitantra tradition; they confirm its usage in this context.⁵²² In these works, the opening sequence (termed *adiyoga*) is similar to the *Vajravarahi Sadhana* in that it includes: preparations, the generation of the mandala and its infusion with the knowledge deities (as at §41), the offering of a flower to each deity of the mandala 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 *Vajravarahi Sadhana* (§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 mandala with mantras and verses of praise and concludes with the bodhisattva preparations. This again mirrors the *ddiyoga* in the Nepalese ritual texts, which end with the supreme worship (it perhaps also overlaps with their *mandalddiyoga* portion, which begins with the *brahmavihdras* and meditations on emptiness). A rite of completion (**§45**) marks the end of the external worship.

Worship on the Hand (hastapujā)

§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 *Yogini-samcdratantra* (**§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" (*svestadevatdyukto mantri*), that is, self-generated as Vajravahni. He visualizes her within the festive "circle of the assembly and so on" (*ganamandalddau*). The gathering of an actual *ganamandala* or *ganacakra* 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 *Kriydsamuccaya*, for example in its *Nisdacakra*, which recommends eight types of taboo consort—all female relatives. Indeed, according to its *Ganacakraavidhi*, "that sacramental circle (*ganacakra*) that is without [sex with] a female partner (*prajnd*) is a [mere] meeting of rice scum" (cited Gellner 1992: 297).⁵²⁵ In the *Vajravahni Sddhana*, however, the feast is performed imaginally, and the tantric assembly comprises a mandala of armor gods and armor goddesses. There is also the alternative of visualizing the goddesses of the three mandala 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 Cakrasamvara 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>vaṣaṭ 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 /</i> <i>Paramāśva /</i> <i>Hayagrīva /</i> <i>Vajravāja</i>

Left Palm

<i>center</i>	<i>oṃ vaṃ</i>	Vajravārāhī	red
<i>east</i>	<i>hām yom</i>	Yāminī	blue
<i>north</i>	<i>brīm mom</i>	Mohinī	white
<i>west</i>	<i>breṃ hrīm</i>	Samcālīnī	yellow
<i>south</i>	<i>huṃ huṃ</i>	Samtrāsīnī	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 yoginis 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 "yoginis 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: *hum* (heart), *ah* (throat), *om* (forehead).⁵²⁸ Finally, the visualized deities/mantras are absorbed back into the body of the yogin.

Alternative External Worship

- §49 The *Vajravaraḥi Sddhana* describes another rite of external worship (*bdhya-pujd*), which is offered as an alternative (*athavd...*) 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 Vajravaraḥi 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 *bali* 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 mandala 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" (*devatddhistdndrtham*). The text then provides the option for the external worship to be performed for the fivefold, thirteenfold, or full mandala, according to the sadhana's meditation stages (the goal of which would be to induce all the chosen goddesses of the mandala to preside).⁵³⁰

Internal Oblation

The final rite described in the *Vajrabhāri Sadhana* 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 Vajrayogini tradition, we can turn to the *Pradīpādhutividhi* (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 (*jñāndgñi-*) 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 (Vajrayogini) seated in its heart. He worships Vajrayogini by making oblations into the fire consisting of the five nectars and of scented woods. The *Vajrabhāri Sadhana* 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 Vajrayogini texts. In an internal oblation described in the *Samputodbhāvanatātra* (w. i8-22ab), the "blazing fire of wisdom" is located within the meditator's genitals (while the *Vasāntatīlakā* 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, *avadhuti*.] and [blood in the right channel, *rasand*, and urine in the left channel, *laland*], 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 dakinis,

(20) is called yoga worship, since these [deities] are worshiped by him. Whereas (*tu*) [in the "inward" *homa*], this head skull (*kapālam*) [where semen (*s'ukra*) is stored]⁵³⁴ is the offering vessel (*bhājanam*).

(21) The ladle is called *rasand*; the heart cakras is identical with

laland, taught to be the [offering] bowl (*pdtri*) (or: the [offering] bowl is the mouth), and the fire pit is the navel.

(22ab) The fire is in the loins (*trikati-*), 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 mandala, in which the psychophysical body of the yogin is identified with the mandala 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 Vajravarahl but to the buddhas and mothers (dakinis) 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 (*sruvah*) held in the right hand, and the vessel holding the oblation of ghee (*[ghrta]pdtri*) held in the left hand (there is also a larger ladle, the *sruk*, sometimes used instead of the *sruvah*),⁵³⁷ In the internal oblation, the ladle and the vessel are understood to be the two lateral channels. *Rasand* on the right is the ladle, and *laland* on the left is the oblation vessel (SpUT v. **19d**: *havirbhdjanam*; referred to in GSSn simply as the "oblation": *ahutih*). This scriptural passage also seems to identify the ritual paraphernalia with yogic *cakras*, as the heart *cakra* is said to be *laland* (v. 20b).

The ritual prescriptions of the *Vajravarahl Sddhana* close (§52) with a rite that is concerned with an offering of *balim3.de* 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, Ucchistavajra (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 (*bhutas*) as well as to the god, "Ucchusma."

Concluding Verses

- vv. The remaining verses of the sadhana append a detailed account of the
70-76 nature of the eight cremation grounds (discussed above). It is possible that Umapatideva's source material included an account of the cremation grounds, since the so-called **Vidhisamgraha* (Finot 1934) includes the *Smas'dnavidhi* by Luyipada.
- v. 77 The text concludes in the proper manner with a dedication of merit, and a colophon stating Umapatideva's authorship.

Edition and English Translation of the

Vajravaraahl Sadhana

by Umapatideva

from the

Guhyasamayasddhanamdld (GSSu)

śrī-Vajravārāḥisādhana by Umāpatidevapāda

om namaḥ śrīvajrayoginyai

śrīvajradevīcaraṇāravindam {N37r}
saṃchinnaśaṃkalpa¹vibandhapāśam |
praṇamya vakṣyāmi yathopadeśam
tatsādhanaṃ † vikramasena †† yatnāt | (1[†])

<ghore>² śmaśāne girigahvare ca
srotasvatīsāgara³saṃnidhau ca |
anyatra vā *hr̥dyatame*⁴ pradeśe
dhyāyād imaṃ yogam abhiṣṭasiddhyai | (2)

vaṃ vikṣya bijam hr̥di padmamadhye
bandhūkaṣṭhadyutim ādadhānam |
tadraśmisam̐diptanabhas⁵talastham
paśyet samantāt sugatādivṇdam | (3)

tadbijaraśmiprabhavair vicitraiḥ {K54r}
saṃpūjya devān kusumādibhis tān |
kṛtvārcanām saptavidhām jinoktām
kuryāc caturbrahmavihārācintām | (4)

1 *saṃkalpa*] Kpc., N; (*saṃ*)*kalpa* K(mg2), D.

2 *ghore*] conj.; omit codd.; Tib. p. 32.3 *ḥjigs pa'i* (**ghora*, *bhīma*, *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.

Vajravarahl Sadhana by Umapatidevapada

[Meditation Stage i]

Salutation to the glorious Vajrayogini!

- (1) Having saluted the lotus-like foot of the glorious vajra goddess (*vajradevi*) by which the encircling noose of conceptual thought (*samkalpah*) is broken asunder, I will carefully relate her sadhana according to the teaching, t O Vikramasena t-
- (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 (*yogah*) in order to [obtain] the desired success (*siddhih*).
- (3) Having observed the seed-syllable *vam* in the heart, on the center of a lotus emitting the [red] glow of a *bandhuka* flower,' 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]" 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 (*brahmavihdras*).

Pentapetes Phoenicea (Terminalia tomentosa). Its red flower (***bandhukam, bandhil-kapusam***) is one of the commonest similes for the red color of Vajravarahi. The Sanskrit has "flowers, etc.," a typical abbreviated reference to the traditional fivefold offering (***pancopacarah***).

[§1][†] tatra saptavidhārcanā⁶ yathā pāpadeśanā puṇyānumodanā
triśaraṇagamanam 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 santu⁹ śubhena tena | (6)

ratnatrayaṃ vai śaraṇaṃ prayāmi
syām¹⁰ 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; ārcā 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.

[§i] 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 (*dtmabhdvah*).

- (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 follows"—

[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] 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 (*maitri*), [ii] compassion (*karund*), [iii] rejoicing [in the attainments of others] (*muditd*), and [iv] equanimity (*upeksd*)—those are also (*at*) [defined] in sequence as follows:

- (8) [i] Just as the conduct (*pravrttih*) of [ordinary] people toward their own son is (*vrttd*) invariably permeated with affection

iii I have numbered the successive stages listed in the prose (§1). This shows that the verses (w. 5cd-7) are not, in fact, in sequence. However, the stages of the puja in sadhana texts are very unstable.

iv Literally, "teachers and so on (*ddi-*)."

This refers to the tantric list, "teachers, buddhas, and bodhisattvas" (*gurubuddhabodhisattva-*).

duḥkhāt tathā duḥkha¹⁴ nimittabhūtāt
 proddhartum icchām¹⁵ sakalān¹⁶ janaughān |
 āghāta¹⁷ cittapratipakṣabhūtām
 vibhāvayet tām¹⁸ karuṇām jagatsu | (9)

anantasattvoddharaṇaṃ na śakyam
 evaṃ viśādasya vighātadakṣam |
 kīto 'pi buddho 'bhavad ity avekṣya
 saṃjātavīryo muditām vibhāvya | (10)

mamedam asyāham iti pravṛddhaṃ
 cittaṃ yad etat sa ca moha eva |
 tasyopahantrīm aparigrahatvād
 imām upekṣām paricintaya tvam | (11)

pratītyajātavā jalacandratulyaṃ
 paśyed alikaṃ bahir antaraṃ ca |
 svabhāvaśuddhādikamantrapāṭhāt¹⁹
 śūnyādhimokṣaṃ²⁰ vidadhīta mantrī | (12)

[§2] tatredaṃ²¹ mantradvayam. oṃ svabhāvaśuddhāḥ²² sarvadharmāḥ
 svabhāvaśuddho 'ham. oṃ śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātmake 'ham
 iti. {D4or}

14 *tathā duḥkha*] N; ~duḥkhā K; athā D.

15 *icchām*] 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.

(*snehd*), so they should also have that (*yd*) [loving-kindness (*maitri*)] 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 (*dgbatacitta*)," [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 skilful 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] *svabhdvasuddhd..* ..,"

[§2] For this there are the following two mantras:

om svabhdvasuddhdh sarvadharmah svabhdvas'uddho 'ham.'"
[and]
om s'unyatdjndnavajrasvabhdvdtmako 'ham.'"

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
 dr̥ṣṭvā samantāt sphuradaṃśu²³jālam |
 tenaiva bhūmim²⁴ atha pañjaraṃ²⁵ ca
 paśyed vitānaṃ śarajālakaṃ ca | (13)

pūrvottarādikramato diśāsu
 sumbhādimantrāṃśu²⁶ caturo niveśya
 tadraśmijālaprabhavān vidadhyāt²⁷ {K55r}
 prākāranāmaś caturo bahir²⁸ vai | (14)

kākāsyakādyāḥ punar aṣṭadeviḥ
 sumbhādimantraprabhavāḥ prapaśyet |
 hūṃjāṣṭakūpeṣu niveśya mārān
 ākoṭanaṃ²⁹ kilanaṃ ācarantiḥ³⁰ | (15) {N38r}

[§3][†] tatrāmi 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
 yamadādhī yamadūti yamadaṃṣṭriṇī³⁴ yamamathanī ceti.

23 *sphuradaṃśu*] conj.; *prasphuradaṃśu* K; *pras* – *aṃśu* N; *prasphura*(m?)*daṃśu* D.

24 *bhūmim*] codd. (*metri causa*, understand *bhūmim*).

25 *pañjaraṃ*] K; Tib. translates “walls” (p. 33.6: *ra ba*), also in v. 14 (p. 33.7).

26 *mantrāṃśu*] K; *mantrāś* N, D.

27 *prabhavān vidadhyāt*] conj. Isaacson; *prabhavān vibadhyāt* K;
prabhavāndhivandhyāt 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 incorporated 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; *yamaduṣṭri* D.

- (13) Next in this [meditation], he should visualize a *hum* 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 (*pan-jaram*), [then] the canopy and the [outer] shield (*jdlam*)"" 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 (*vibadhydt*) 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, Kakasya and so on, produced from the mantras beginning "[om]*sumbha*" [He should see them] hammering and nailing down the evil ones (*mdras*), which they have made to enter eight wells produced from *hum*.

In this [visualization], these are the [four] mantras:

om sumbha nisumbha hum hum phat.
om grhna grhna hum hum phat.
om grihnapaya grihnapaya hum hum phat.
om anaya ho bhagavdn vajra hum hum phat"

Here, the eight goddesses are as follows: Kakasya, Ulukasya, Svanasya, [and] Sukarasya* [in the cardinal directions]; Yamadadhi, Yamaduti, YamadamstrinI, and Yamamathani"" [in the intermediate directions].

Literally, "net."

"O [demon] Sumbha! O [demon] Nisumbha! Seize! Make [them] seize! Take! O Blessed One! O Vajra!"

Crow-face (Kakasya), Owl-face (Ulukasya), Dog-face (Svanasya), and Hog-face (Sukarasya).

Death's Tooth (Yamadadhi, *dddhd* is probably from *damstrd*, but may also mean "wish, desire." The Tibetan text consistently translates Yamadadhi *brtan ma* "the Stable One," as if from *drdh*), Death's Messenger (Yamaduti), Death's Fang (YamadamstrinI), and Death's Destruction (Yamamathani).

[§4] atropadeśaḥ. vāmahastasyāṅguṣṭhatarjanibhyāṃ choṭikāṃ dattvā
 “oṃ sumbha nisumbha huṃ huṃ phaḍ” ityādīmantrān
 uccārayan³⁵ kṛṣṇaharitaraktapīṭavarṇān pātālabrahmāṇḍavyāpi-
 jvalanmahākāyān <*vajraprākārān**> vāmāvartena pūrvādidikṣu³⁶
 yathākramaṃ niveśayet. pañjarād bahiḥ
 etanmantracatuṣṭayaniṣpannāḥ kākāsyādicatasro devīḥ,
 etanniṣpattikāla eva dakṣiṇāvartenāgneyyāder³⁷ ubhaya-
 mantrakōṇasya rāsmisaṃbhūtā yamadāḍhyādicatasro devīḥ
 paśyet. {D4ov} 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; vighnavṛndakam 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 "*om sumbha nisumbha hum hum phat*," 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 Brahma, burning [and] vast.

Outside the [vajra] zone (*panjaram*),TM he should see the four goddesses starting with Kakasya who are produced from these four mantras. At the same time that they are produced [he should visualize] the four goddesses starting with Yamadadhi produced from rays [issuing] from the corner angles of the two (*ubhaya*) mantras [that intersect at the intermediate points], starting from the south-east [proceeding] in a clockwise direction.

These eight [goddesses] have two arms and one face. In this context,TM 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 gatvd*),¹⁴ 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 *hiim* [and that are] located (*-vartisu*) 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" (*panjaram*) 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 (*prastdvah*) of the expulsion of obstacles from the circle of protection, from their later appearance within the deity mandala.

[§5] atra kilanamantro yathā – om̐ gha gha ghātaya⁴²⁺ ghātaya sarva-
duṣṭān phaṭ.⁴³ om̐⁴⁴ kilaya kilaya sarvapāpān phaṭ hūṃ hūṃ
hūṃ. vajrakila vajradhara ājñāpayati.⁴⁵ sarvaviḡnānām
kāyavākittavajraṃ kilaya⁴⁶ hūṃ phaṭ iti. ākoṭanamantro yathā –
om̐ vajramudgara vajrakilākoṭaya⁴⁷ hūṃ phaṭ iti.

*tatpañjarāntarnivasacchmaśāna-
madhyasthitām⁴⁸ ūrdhvaviśālarūpām |
paśyet trikoṇām śaradindugaurām⁴⁹
dharmodayām raktasarojagarbhām | (16)

tatpadmamadhyasthitayo ravindvor⁵⁰
madhyasthitam̐ visphuradam̐śujālam̐ |
vaṃkārabijam̐ sphuṭavidrumābham̐ {K56r}
vibhāvayet spaṣṭataram̐ yathā syāt | (17)

*niḥśṛtya⁵¹ bijodbhavarāśmijālāt
kṛtvā janaughān jinabodhibhājah | {D41r}
*tatraiva bije <hi> niveśitāntar-
buddhādikām samparibhāvayed vai⁵² | (18)

42 ghātaya] K, ghātaya N, D.

43 phaṭ] K, N; hūṃ phaṭ D.

44 om̐] N; omitted K, D.

45 dhara ājñā⁴⁵] D; dharo ājñā K; dharājñā N.

46 vajraṃ kilaya] N; vajraṃ kilam̐ K; vajrakilaya D.

47 vajrakilākoṭaya] K, N; kilakoṭaya D.

48 tatpañjarā→sthitām] conj. Sanderson; -jarā(r?)nti nirvviśataśmaśānamadhyā-
K; -jarā – r nirvviśataśmaśānamadhye- N; -jarān nirvviśataśmaśānamadhye- D.
(cf. GSS42 v. 4b: śmaśānāṣṭānīvāsini)

49 gaurām] K, D; gaurim̐ N.

50 tatpadmamadhyasthitayo ravindvor] em.; tatpadmadhyasthitayo ravindundor K;
tatpadmamadhyasthitayo ravindundor N; tatpadma(ma)dhyasthitayā ravindudor
D(add).

51 niḥśṛtya] conj.; naiḥśṛtya codd.

52 tatraiva bije hi→vai] conj. Sanderson; -niveśitār aneka(cāga)buddhābhikāḥ
samparibhāvayed vai Kpc.(add); -niveśitār aneke (b,y?)uddhābhi(k?)āḥ
samparibhāṣaye vai. N; -nirveśitār anekabuddhābhikāḥ samparibhāṣayed vai D.

In this [meditation] the "staking mantra" is as follows:

*om gha gha ghataya ghataya sarvadustdn phat. om kilaya kilaya
sarvapapan phat hum hum hum. vajrakila vajradhara ajnapa-
yati. sarvavighnanam kayavakcittavajram kilaya hum phafⁿ*

The "hammering mantra" is as follows;

om vajramudgara vajrakildkotaya hum phaf

- (16) Placed in the center of [eight] cremation grounds dwelling (*-vasat-*)TM within the zone (*panjaram*) of that [circle of protection], he should visualize, with its broad side uppermost [i.e., inverted], a triangular *dharmodayd*, 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 *vam* 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 [Vajravarahl] with the buddhas and so forth retracted inside [her] (*nivesitdntar-*) into that same seed-syllable.

"Kill all evils! Stake all sinners! O Vajrakila! O Vajradhara!—He commands [it] for the body-, speech-, and mind-vajras of all obstacles. Stake [them]!"

"O vajra hammer! O vajra stake! Hammer [them]!"

In v. 73, the cremation grounds are also said to "dwell" *Vvas*.

candrārkabija⁵³ prabhavāṃ trinetraṃ
 kāśmīravaraṇāṃ⁵⁴ dvibhujāikavaktrāṃ |
 āliḍha-m-ākṛānta⁵⁵ śīraḥkucāgrāṃ
 uttānayor bhairavakālarātryoḥ⁵⁶ | (19)

utkṣiptavāmasthitapadmabhāṇḍāt
 patatpravāhaṃ⁵⁷ rudhiraṃ pibantīm |
 †savajrasavyetara † — — †⁵⁸
 bhūtarjaṇi⁵⁹ tarjitaduṣṭavṛndām | (20)

khatvāṅgasamśobhitavāmbhāgāṃ⁶⁰
 vilambiraktākṛta⁶¹ nṛmuṇḍamālām |
 nagnāṃ kvaṇannūpura⁶² bhūṣitāṅghrīm⁶³
 daṃṣṭrākarālaṃ vadaṇaṃ vahantīm⁶⁴ | (21)

vajreṇa viśvadhvanipūrvakeṇa {N39r}
 krāntottamāṅgāṃ⁶⁵ cyutakeśabandhām |
 vajrāvalimadhyavirājamāna-
 lalāṭapaṭṭasthitapañcamuṇḍām | (22)

- 53 *candrārkabija*] Kac.; *candrārka(vahni)* Kpc.(add), N, D.
 54 *kāśmīravaraṇāṃ*] em.; *kāśmīravaraṇā* K, D; *kāśmīravaraṇa* 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; *savajravārāhī -4- kara prasṛti* N; *savyakaraprasṛti* D.
 59 *bhūtarjaṇi*] conj. Sanderson; *bhūt tarjaṇi* codd.
 60 *vāmbhāgāṃ*] Kpc.(*vāma* add); (*vṛndām*) *bhāgāṃ* K(del); *vāma -4- bhāgāṃ* N; *vāmbhāgā* D.
 61 *vilambiraktākṛta*] conj. Sanderson; *vilambiniṇ rakta* codd.
 62 *nagnāṃ kvaṇannūpura*] em.; *nagnā kvaṇannū-* K; *nagnā — no-* N; *nagnā vaṇannau-* D.
 63 *āṅghrīm*] K; *āṅghrim* N, D.
 64 *vadaṇaṃ vahantīm*] N; *vadana vahantī* K, D.
 65 *pūrvakeṇa krāntottamāṅgāṃ*] em. *pūrvakeṇa krāntottamāṅga* K; *pūrvakeṇa krāntottamāṅga* N; *pūrvakeṇa krāntonumāṅgī* 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 (*dtmatanum*) as [Vajra]varahi (v. 24d), who is produced from the moon, sun, and seed-syllable [*vam*], 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 Kalaratri, who lie face up [beneath her] (v. 19); drinking blood that streams down from the "lotus bowl" (*padmabhdndah*)^{xvii} placed in her upraised left hand, with a vajra in her right hand *f... f*threatening all who are wicked with the index finger pointing threateningly to the ground (*bhutarjani*) (v. 20); [her] left side adorned with a skull staff (*khatvdngah*), with a bloody (*raktdkta*) 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 (*dkrdnta-*) 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: *kdpdlam padmabhdjanam*.

xviii Literally, "having her topmost limb (*uttamdngam*) passed over (or 'subjected,' *krdntd*) by a vajra preceded by the word *vis'vd* [i.e., a *vis'vdydjra*]." ¹

xix Literally (v. 24c): "She is filled with the single taste (*rasdika*) that has the aspect (*dkdrdh*) of great bliss (*mahdsukham*)."

cakrīcalatkuṇḍalacārukaṇṭhī-
samullasadrocaka⁶⁶mekhalābhiḥ |
abhyullasan⁶⁷mastakakarṇakaṇṭha-
hastadvayagranthikaṭipradeśām | (23)

sphuradgabhastisthagita⁶⁸trilokām
ākṛāntadehām⁶⁹navayauvanena |
mahāsukhākārārasaikapūrṇām
vārāhikām ātmatanuṃ vidadhyāt | (24)

{K56v}

athātra nābhau hṛdaye ca vaktre
śīraḥ⁷⁰śikhāyām sakaletarāṅge |
mantrais tu ṣaḍbhiḥ kavacaṃ vidhāya |
jñānapraveśaṃ samaye vidadhyāt | (25)

[§6] amī te ṣaṇ mantrāḥ⁷¹ – om vaṃ, hām yoṃ, hrīm moṃ, hrem
hrīm, huṃ huṃ, phaṭ phaṭ⁷² iti. ete
vajravārāhiyāminīmohinīsaṃcālīnī⁷³saṃtrāsinīcaṇḍikāsvarūpāḥ
{D4iv} raktanilaśveta<pīta⁷⁴>haritadhūmradhūsaravarṇāś ca.

hṛdisthacakrasthītavaṃmayūkha-
prabhūtapuṣpādibhir arcayitvā |
praveśayet tām samaye nabhaḥsthām |
sarpir 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 *sthaḡita*] K; *stha* -4- N; *stha* - - D.

69 *dehām*] em.; *dehān* codd.

70 *śīraḥ*] codd. (*metri causa*). Understand *śīraṣi* (singular locative) or *śīraḥśikhāyām* (dual locative).

71 *mantrāḥ*] conj.; *mudrāḥ* codd.

72 *phaṭ phaṭ*] conj.; *phaṭ* codd.

73 *saṃcālīnī*] N; *sañcālīnī* K; *saṃcārinī* D.

74 *śvetapīta*] conj. *śveta* codd.; Cf. *śuklapīta* §46; *śitapīta* GSS5 K2iv(mg)

75 *vāri vāri*] codd. (loose syntax for *vāri vāriṇi*).

- (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: *om vam, ham yom, hrlm mom, hrem hrlm, hum hum, phat phat*. They embody Vajravarahi, Yamini, Mohini, Samcalini, Samtrasini, and Candika" 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" that are produced from rays [which themselves issue] from the *vam* [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 (Yamini), Deluder (Mohini), Agitator (Samcalini), Terrifier (Samtrasini), and Terrible One (Candika).

xxi This is another reference to the traditional offerings. See ch. 3.

[§7][†] jñānasattvapraveśe tu ākarṣaṇapraveśanabandhanatoṣaṇakarāḥ jaḥ
hūṃ vaṃ hor iti catvāro *mantrā*⁷⁶ boddhavyāḥ.

mantreṇa sekaṃ dadhato nabhaḥsthān⁷⁷

tathāgatāṃs tān⁷⁸ vyavalokya samyak |

śeṣābhiṣekodakabindujātaṃ

vairocanaṃ paśya *śironiviṣṭam*⁷⁹ | (27) {N39v}

[†]tatrāyaṃ sekamantraḥ:

yathā hi jātamātreṇa snāpitāḥ sarvatathāgatāḥ⁸⁰ | {K57v}

tathā 'haṃ snāpayiṣyāmi *śuddhaṃ* divyena vāriṇā | (27i)

[†]“oṃ sarvatathāgatābhiṣekasamayaśriye hūṃ” iti.

[§8] atrāyaṃ upadeśaḥ. hṛdbijaraśminā, aṣṭābhir yoginibhir yathā
hītyādikaṃ vāriṇetyantaṃ⁸¹ paṭhantibhir
iṣadāvarjitapañcāmṛtabhṛta⁸²vāmakarakapālebhyo[†]
nijajñānāmṛtavāridhārābhir abhiṣicyamānaṃ mahāsukhamayaṃ
ātmānaṃ vibhāvya, śeṣāmbuniṣpanna<ṃ> śīraśi vairocanaṃ
dṛṣṭvā, oṃ sarvatathāgatābhiṣeketyādimantram uccārayed iti.

76 *mantrā boddhavyāḥ*] conj.; *mudrā boddhavyāḥ* K; *mantrā boddhavyaḥ* N, *mantro boddhavyaḥ* D. (See Textual Note to §6.)

77 *dadhato nabhaḥsthān*] em.; *dadhato nasthās* Kac., D; *-na(bha)sthās* Kpc.(mg2); *dadhatā na - sthās* N.

78 *tathāgatāṃs tān*] conj. Sanderson; *tathāgatān* codd.

79 *śironiviṣṭam*] em.; *śironiveṣṭim* K, N; *sironiveṣṭim* 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, jah hum vam* [and] *hoh*. These attract [the knowledge being], make [it] enter, bind [it in place], and propitiate [it].

(27) Correctly visualize the tathagatas 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:

(271) "For even as the tathagatas were bathed as soon as they were born, so I will wash [you], *purified?*⁵⁴⁴ with heavenly water."

om sarvatathdgatdbhisekasamayasriye hum""

[§8] In this [rite] there is the following instruction: With [the transformation of] a ray from the [vam] syllable in the heart, he should [first] visualize himself being consecrated by eight yoginis⁵⁴⁴ 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 "*[om] sarvatathdgatdbhiseka* etc."

nabhaḥsthadevīr abhipūjayantīr⁸³
 vārāhikāṃ⁸⁴ tāṃ stuvatīr⁸⁵ ca vīkṣya |
 yad vakṣyamānakramasādhitaṃ vai
 piyūṣaṃ āśvādanam asya kuryāt | (28)

gatvā samastāṃ⁸⁶ spharaṇena kāṣṭhāṃ {D42r}
 kṛtvā ca sarvaṃ jagadarthakṛtyam |
 bīje svamūrṭiṃ⁸⁷ viśatiḥ prapaśyed
 ākḥedam evaṃ punar eva⁸⁸ kuryāt | (29)

atha svacittaṃ sthīratāṃ vinetaṃ
 paśyet susūkṣmāṃ⁸⁹ sphuradamaśurekhāṃ |
 nābhīsthaṇḍārākasamudgavartī-⁹⁰
 susūkṣmavaṃnāḍasamucchritā yā⁹¹ | (30)

atropadeśakramalabdha⁹²mārgo {K57v}
 vibhāvanīyo 'nupalambhayogaḥ |
 sattvārthasampādanahetubhūta-
 prabhāsvaratvapratilambhahetoḥ | (31)

- 83 *nabhaḥsthadevīr abhipūjayantīr*] conj.; *nabhaḥsthadevībhīr abhipūjayantīr* (bhi) Kpc.(del); *nabhaḥsthadevībhīr abhipūjayantiḥ* N; *nabhaḥsthadevībhīr abhipūjayantībhī* D.
- 84 *vārāhikāṃ*] K, N; *vārāhikāṃ* D.
- 85 *stuvatīr*] em.; *stuvatī* codd.
- 86 *samastāṃ*] em.; *samastāṃ* K, N; *samasta* D.
- 87 *bīje svamūrṭiṃ*] conj.; *bījeṣu mūrṭiṃ* codd. (Tib. p. 35.5 has no plural marker on **bīje*).
- 88 *ākḥedam evaṃ punar eva*] conj. Sanderson; *ā khedaparyantam evaṃ punar eva* codd.
- 89 *paśyet susūkṣmāṃ*] K, N; *paśyat susūkṣmyāṃ* D.
- 90 *nābhīsthaṇḍārākasamudgavartī*] conj. Sanderson; *nābhīsthaṇḍārākasamudbhavartī* codd. (Tib. p. 35.6: *lte ba la gnas nyi zla kha sbyar dbus nyid du*. "[being] in the center (dbus nyid du < vartī) of the conjoined sun and moon (kha sbyar < samudgaḥ) at the navel.")
- 91 *susūkṣmavaṃnāḍasamucchritā yā*] conj. Sanderson; *susūkṣmavaṃnāḍasamucchritādyai* codd.; Tib. p. 35.6: *baṃ gi nā da shin tu phra ba las bzheṅgs pa* "arisen from the very fine *nāḍa* of the baṃ."
- 92 *labdha*] K; *lartha* N, D.

- (28) [Then] having visualized goddesses in the sky worshipping [Vajrajvarahi and praising her, he should perform the tasting of nectar—for which the method of production will be taught below [w. 59-66].
- (29) Having pervaded all the limits [of the universe] by emanating [goddesses in mantric form], "" 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 [*vamj*]. 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] (*nddah*), [or from] the syllable *vam* [itself],⁵⁴⁵ which is located in (*varti*) the enclosed space (*samudgah*) 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 (*prabhdsvarah*), which is (*bhuta*) the cause of fulfilling the aims of all beings.

vibhāvanāyāṃ parijātakhedo |
 mantrī japeṇ mantravaraṃ vidhānāt |
 vṛkṣeṇa cintāmaṇinopamoktā⁹³ | {N4or}
 svayaṃ jinair yasya daśākṣarasya | (32)

tato 'pi khinno vihared yathēccham⁹⁴ |
 svadevatāhaṃkṛtim ādadhānaḥ |
 itthaṃ *japadhyāna*⁹⁵ sadābhiyogāt
 ṣaṇmāsataḥ siddhim upaiti yogī | (33)

yo 'nārataṃ⁹⁶ bhāvayituṃ na śaktaḥ
 so 'pi prasidhyed yadi tasya samyak |
 pratyūṣamadhyāhnadināvasāna-
 samdhyākhyakāle⁹⁷ kṣaṇabhāvanā syāt | (34)

[§9]* tatrāyaṃ daśākṣaro hṛdayamantraḥ. oṃ vajravairocanaṃ svāhā.
 asya japavidhir yathā, bhāvanāyāṃ khede sati jhaṭiti devatīm
 adhimucya, tannābhicandre raktavaṃkārāṃ nādaṃ vā dṛṣṭvā,
 mantraṃ uccārayan, tasmā<d bijān> nādād vā⁹⁸ nirgamavāyūnā
 devisamūhaṃ saṃsphārya, jagadārthaṃ kṛtvā ca punar mantraṃ
 uccārayan † *sahaiva mālā* † sūtrākaraṣaṇanyāyena praveśavāyūnā
 tasminn eva bije nāde vā praveśayen mantrī.⁹⁹ {D42v} evaṃ
 punaḥ kuryād yāvat khedo bhavatīti. {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 'nārataṃ*] conj. Isaacson (Tib. p. 36.1: *rgyun du*); *maunārataṃ* codd.

97 *samdhyākhyakāle*] conj.; *samdhyākhyakāla* 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 Vajravarahi, §9], which has been compared (*upamoktd*) 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 (*ahamkrtih*) 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 (*bhadvayitum*) continuously may attain success if he performs a short meditation (*ksanabhdvand*)TM in the correct [way] at dawn, midday, and the close of day, [that is,] at the times called the "junctions."

[§9] In this [meditation], the ten-syllabled heart mantra is:

om vajravairocāṇīye svāhā

The procedure for its utterance is as follows: "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 *vam* syllable, or the [even more subtle] *ndda*. Uttering the mantra [as given], he should emanate the multitude of goddesses from that seed-syllable, or from the *ndda*, with his outgoing breath. Once (*ca*) he has fulfilled (*krtvd*) 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 *ndda* [on his navel] with his incoming breath t • • t in the way that

xxiv This "short meditation" is probably a reference to the first meditation stage, comprising the self-generation of Vajravarahi alone, without her mandala.

xxv This rite was described in v. 29 above.

tatpañjarāntaḥparibhāvitānām
vāyavagnivārikṣitimaṇḍalānām |
svabijajānām uparisthamerau
tathaiva *devīm api*¹⁰⁰ bhāvayed vā | (35)

*<iti> prathamō bhāvanākramaḥ. 1.

atha

ḍākinyādicaturdevī¹⁰¹ catuṣkaroṭamadhyagāḥ |
kākāśyādyāṣṭadevīr vā, adhikatvena¹⁰² bhāvayet | (36)

yad vā cakratrayāsīna¹⁰³ pracaṇḍādivibhāvanām |
samadhikāṃ sudhīḥ kuryād iti syāt pūrṇamaṇḍalam | (37)
{N4ov}

[§10] mahāsukhacakrasthāṃ vajravārāhīm
pūrvottarapaścimadakṣiṇadiksthitābhir
ḍākinilāmākhaṇḍarohārūpiṇibhiḥ sahitāṃ bhāvayitum *icchā-*
taṃ[†] praty āha¹⁰⁴ –

“ḍākinyādicaturdevīḥ catuṣkaroṭamadhyagā” 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 rnam ni sngon bzhin rim pas bsgom*)

101 *devīḥ*] 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* ° *vī 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(m?)sīna* K; *cakratrayāmsīna* 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.

(*nyayena*) one draws in a thread.¹⁰⁰ He should repeat [the meditation] in this way until he becomes tired.

(35) Alternatively, ^{TMT} 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 Dakini in between four skull bowls, or, in addition, eight goddesses beginning with Kakasya.

(37) Alternatively, the knowledgeable [practitioner] should do the extended meditation [with the twenty-four goddesses], starting with Pracanda seated on the three circles [of body, speech, and mind]. This would be the complete mandala.^{TMTM}

[§10] For someone wishing (*icchāntam*) to visualize Vajravarahi on the circle of great bliss, accompanied by Dakini, Lama, Khandaroha, and Rupini in the cardinal directions to the east, north, west, and south [respectively], [scripture] says: "the four goddesses starting with Dakini 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 Sadhana, see p. 177 above.

xxvii This verse gives an alternative location for the generation of Vajravarahi from that described above in v. 16. The syllables for the visualization of the elements are: *yam*, *ram*, *vam*, and *lam*.

xxviii Prescriptions for the complete mandala 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 khaṭvāṅgakaṇḍālāḥ¹⁰⁵ dakṣiṇe¹⁰⁶ ḍamarukartrikāḥ | (39)

trinetrā muktakeśās ca¹⁰⁷ āliḍhāsanaśamsthītāḥ¹⁰⁸ |
daṃṣṭrākaraḷavadanāḥ pañcamudrāvibhūṣitāḥ | (40) {K58v}

[§11] †vidikṣu <caiva> catvāro bodhicittakaroṭākāḥ¹⁰⁹ | iti.

ḍākinīyādicatuṣṭayaṃ¹¹⁰ ratnaśaṃbhavamudritaṃ boddhavyam.

[§12] tatra bhagavatīyā hṛdayamantra uktaḥ.† {D43r} upahṛdayamantro
yathā –

om sarvabuddhaḍḍākinīye vajravarṇaṇīye huṃ huṃ¹¹¹ phaṭ
svāhā.

aṣṭapadamantras¹¹² tu yathā –

om namo bhagavati vajravārāhi vaṃ¹¹³ huṃ huṃ¹¹⁴ phaṭ.

105 *vāme*→*kaṇḍālāḥ*] em. (unmetric.); *vāme*→*kaṇḍālāḥ* K; *pāśakhaṭvāṅgakaṇḍālāḥ* 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 *karoṭākāḥ*] 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) Dakini, Lama, Khandaroha, and Rupini: he should place [these goddesses], who grant all siddhis, in position (*sthdne*) in the cardinal directions of the lotus.
- (39) They are black, dark-[green], red, and white (*gaurd*), they have one face and four arms; in [their] left [hands] they have a skull staff and skull, in their right they have a *damaru* 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 (*mudrds*).

[§11] [Scripture also says:] "In the intermediate directions there are four skull bowls [full] of semen."

The fourfold group [of goddesses] starting with Dakini are to be understood as sealed (*mudrita-*) by Ratnasambhava [on their crowns].

[§12] In this [fivefold mandala], the [ten-syllabled] heart mantra of the [central] goddess has already been taught [§9]. The auxiliary heart mantra is as follows:

om sarvahuḍḍhaddkiniye vajravarnaniye hum hum phat svdh.

As for the mantra in eight parts,⁵⁴⁷ [it is] as follows:^{TM"}

i) *om namo hhagavati vajravdrdhi vam hum hum phat. "*/'*

oṃ nama āryāparājite trailokyamāte¹¹⁵ mahāvidyeśvari huṃ huṃ
phaṭ.

oṃ namaḥ sarvabhūtabhayāvahe mahāvajre huṃ huṃ phaṭ.

oṃ namo vajrāsane¹¹⁶ ajite 'parājite vaśaṃkari¹¹⁷ netrābhrāmiṇi
huṃ huṃ phaṭ.

oṃ namaḥ śoṣaṇi¹¹⁸ roṣaṇi krodhani karālīni¹¹⁹ 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 kāmēśvari khage¹²⁶ huṃ
huṃ phaṭ.

ḍākinyādināṃ mantrā yathā. oṃ ḍākiniye huṃ huṃ¹²⁷ phaṭ. oṃ
lāme huṃ huṃ phaṭ. oṃ khaṇḍarohe huṃ huṃ phaṭ. {K59r} oṃ
rūpiṇīye huṃ huṃ phaṭ.

iti dvitīyo¹²⁸ bhāvanākramaḥ. 2.

115 trailokyamāte] codd.; understand trailokyamātar.

116 vajrāsane] GSS5; vajrāsani GSS11 codd., Finot.

117 vaśaṃkari] GSS11 codd.; vaśyaṃkari GSS5, Finot.

118 śoṣaṇi] K; śoṣani N; śokhani D.

119 krodhani karālīni] GSS11 codd., Finot; krodhakarāle GSS5.

120 saṃtrāsani] GSS5; saṃtrāsāni K, N; saṃtrāsani D; trāsani Finot.

121 suprabhedani] GSS11 codd.; prabhedani GSS5, Finot.

122 parājaye] codd.; aparājaye Tib.

123 jaye vijaye] conj. (§32); 'parājaye vijaye GSS11 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 kāmēśvari khage] K, N, Finot; mahāyogeśvari kha(r)ge D(del).
(GSS5: vajravārāhi mahāyogeśvari khage – eyeskip between mahāyogini &
kāmēśvari.)

127 huṃ huṃ] codd. The Tibetan text for all four mantras reads: huṃ hūṃ.

128 dvitīyo] em.; dvitīya codd.

- ii) *om nama aryaparajite trailokyamate mahavidyesvari hum hum phat.*
- iii) *om namah sarvabhutabhayahe mahavajre hum hum phat.*
- iv) *om namo vajrasane ajite parajite vasamkari netrabhṛdmini hum hum phat.*
- v) *om namah sosani rosani krodhani karalini hum hum phat.*
- vi) *om namah samtrasani marani suprabhedaniparajaye hum hum phat.*
- vii) *om namo jaye vijaye jambhani stambhani mohani hum hum phat.*
- viii) *om namo vajravarahi mahdyogini kdmes'vari khage hum hum phat.*

The mantras for Dakini etc. [are]:

om ddkiniye hum hum phat
om lame hum hum phat
om khandarohe hum hum phat
om rupiniye hum hum phat

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 toll!") (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) Vajravarah! Mighty yogini! Mistress of love! Sky-goer!

[§13] idānim eva mahāsukhacakra¹²⁹ pūrvottara¹³⁰ paścimadaḥṣiṇa-
dvāreṣv avasthitābhiḥ kākāsyolūkāsyāśvānāsyā¹³¹ sūkarāsyābhir¹³²
āgneyanairṭyavāyavyaiśānakonaṣṭhitābhir
yamadādḥīyamadūṭīyamadamṣṭriṇīyamamathanībhis¹³³ ca
sahitām¹³⁴ bhāvayitum icchantām¹³⁵ praty āha –

“kākāsyādyasṭadevī¹³⁶ vā, adhikatvena bhāvayed”¹³⁷ iti. [36cd]

[§14] kākāsyādayas¹³⁸ catasraḥ sva¹³⁹ nāmamukhāḥ. {D43v}
yamadādḥīyādayas¹⁴⁰ tu manuṣyamukhā¹⁴¹ dvivarnās ca. etā aṣṭāv
amoghasiddhimudritāḥ, ḍākinyādisamās ca śavāsanatvaṃ param
āsām viśeṣaḥ. tad uktām¹⁴² –

*yathā ḍākinījanasya tathā kākāsyādi tu bhedataḥ |
vidiksthās¹⁴³ <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; śūkarā N.

133 mathanībhis] corr.; mathanīcabhis K, N; mathanīcebbhis D.

134 sahitām] K, N; sahitā D.

135 icchantām] em.; iccham codd. (see Textual Note to §10.)

136 devī] K; devī N, D.

137 kākāsyādyasṭadevī vā, adhikatvena bhāvayed] conj. (syncop.); kākāsyādyas adevī
vā ātrādhikatvena vibhāvayed codd. (See v. 36cd.)

138 ādayas] D; āsyādyas Kpc., N; āsyā(dya)s K(mg2).

139 sva] K, D; svasva N.

140 dādḥīyādayas] em.; dādḥīyādi K, dādḥīyādis N, D.

141 mukhā] em.; mukhau codd.

142 tad uktām] Kpc.(mg2), N; tad ukta D; omit Kac.

143 sthās] 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, Vajravarahl], along with [the goddesses] Kakasya, Ulukasya, Svanasya, [and] Sukarasya installed at the gates to the east, north, west, [and] south [i.e., in the cardinal points, counterclockwise], and Yamadadhi, Yamaduti, YamadamstrinI, [and] Yamamathani 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 Kakasya. [v. 36cd]

- [§14] The four [goddesses] Kakasya (Crow-face), plus [Ulukasya (Owl-face), Svanasya (Dog-face), and Sukarasya (Hog-face)] have the faces of their names, but [the four goddesses] Yamadadhi (Death's Tooth), plus [Yamaduti (Death's Messenger), YamadamstrinI (Death's Fang), and Yamamathani (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 Dakini, and have the further (*param*) distinguishing feature of corpse thrones. It is taught [in scripture]:

- (41) Just as of Dakini and her crew, so, with some differences, [the four goddesses] Kakasya, etc., and the [four] goddesses of the intermediate directions with their charming two colors.TM [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 mandala 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 yamadādhiye¹⁴⁸ huṃ huṃ phaṭ. {K59v} oṃ yamadūtiye huṃ huṃ phaṭ. oṃ yamadamṣṭriṇiye huṃ huṃ phaṭ. oṃ yamamathaniye huṃ huṃ phaṭ.

iti tṛtiyo bhāvanākramah. 3.

[§16] adhunā saṃpūrṇam eva devīcakraṃ bhāvayitum¹⁴⁹ *icchantaṃ*¹⁵⁰ praty āha –

“yad vetyādi” [v. 37]

cakratrayaśabdēna cittacakraṃ vācchakam kāyacakram ucyate.

147 *huṃ huṃ* codd. The Tibetan text for all four mantras reads: *huṃ hūṃ*.

148 *dādhiye* K; *dādīye* N, D.

149 *bhāvayitum* K, N; *bhāvanātum* D.

150 *icchantaṃ* em.; *icchaṃ* codd. (cf. Textual Note on §10.)

[§15] Their mantras are as follows:

[gate goddesses] *om kdkdsye hum hum phat; om ulukasye hum hum phat; om svanasye hum hum phat; om sukarasye hum hum phat*

[corner goddesses] *om yamadadhiye hum hum phat; om yamadutiye hum hum phat; om yamadamstriniye hum hum phat; om yamamathaniye hum hum phat*

Here ends meditation stage 3.

[Meditation Stage 4]

[§16] Now for someone wishing (*icchāntam*) 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] tatṛākāśe meror aṣṭadikṣu¹⁵¹ cittacakram aṣṭāraṃ nīlavarṇaṃ
 nīla¹⁵² vajrāvalīparivṛtaṃ,¹⁵³ tasya pūrvottarapaścimadakṣiṇāreṣu
 pullīramalayajālandhara-oḍḍiyānārbudākhyeṣu yathākramaṃ
 pracaṇḍācaṇḍākṣīprabhāvatī¹⁵⁴ mahānāsā dhyeyāḥ,
 āgneyanairṛtyavāyavyaiśānāreṣu¹⁵⁵
 godāvarīrāmeśvaradevīkoṭamālāvākhyeṣu vīramatikharvarīlaṅkeś-
 varīdrumacchāyāḥ. {D44r} iti cittacakram. khecarīṇāṃ
 saṃgrahaḥ.
- [§18] tatra bhūmivalaye meror aṣṭadikṣu vākcakram aṣṭāraṃ raktaṃ
 raktapadmāvalīparivṛtaṃ. tasya pūrvottarapaścimadakṣiṇāreṣu
 kāmārūpa-oḍṛa¹⁵⁶ trīśakunikośalākhyeṣu
 airāvati mahābhairavā¹⁵⁷ vāyuvegāsura bhakṣyo¹⁵⁸ bhāvyaḥ, {K6or}
 āgneyanairṛtyavāyavyaiśānāreṣu
 kaliṅgalampākakāñcīhimālayasaṃjñakeṣu
 śyāmādevīsubhadrāhayakarnākhaḡānāṇāḥ.¹⁵⁹ iti vākcakram.¹⁶⁰
 bhūcarīṇāṃ¹⁶¹ saṃgrahaḥ.

151 *dikṣu*] N; *dikṣuḥ* K, D.

152 *nīla*] N; *nīlaṃ* K, D.

153 *vajrāvalīparivṛtaṃ*] codd.; emendation to *nīlavajrāvalīṃ 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 *oḍṛa*] 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 *khagānāṇāḥ*] corr.; *khagānāṇā* codd.

160 *vākcakram*] em.; *vākcakra* codd.

161 *bhūcarīṇāṃ*] K; *bhūcarāṇāṃ* N, D.

[§17] Of those [three circles of the full mandala], the mind circle is in space in the eight directions of Meru,⁵⁴⁹ with eight "sectors" (*dram*), "" 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 Pulliramalaya, Jalandhara, Oddiyana, [and] Arbuda respectively [i.e., installed counterclockwise] are to be imagined [the goddesses] Pracanda, Candaksi, Prabhavati, [and] Mahanasa/TM On the sectors in the southeast, southwest, northwest, [and] northeast [i.e., installed clockwise], in those [sites] called Godavari, Rames'vara, Devikota, [and] Malava are [the goddesses] Viramati, Kharvari, Lankesvari, [and] Drumacchaya.TM 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 Kamarupa, Odra, Tris'akuni, [and] Kos'ala are to be visualized [the goddesses] Airavati, Mahabhairava, Vayuvega, [and] Surabhaksi.TM On the sectors in the southeast, southwest, northwest, [and] northeast, in those [sites] designated Kalinga, Lampaka, Kanci, [and] Himalaya are [the goddesses] Syamadevi, Subhadra, Hayakarna, [and] Khaganana.TM This is the speech circle, the congregation of earth-dwelling [goddesses].

xxxi Literally, *dram* means "corner," or perhaps "spoke" if the circle (*cakrdm*) is thought of as a wheel.

xxxii Tetrable One (Pracanda), Fierce-eye (Candaksi), One Who Has Light (Prabhavati), and Great-nose (Mahanasa).

xxxiii Heroic One (Viramati), Dwarfish One (Kharvari), Queen of Lanka (Lankesvari), and Tree Shade (Drumacchaya). (*Ldrikes'vdri* may mean "Queen of Demons," as Lankesvara is another name of the demon king, Ravana. The Queen of Lanka is associated with cremation-ground-dwelling *rdhdsas* and meat-eating dakinis whose main dwelling was Lanka.)

xxxiv Elephant Queen? (Airavati; feminine of Indra's elephant), Greatly Terrible (Mahabhairava), Wind Turbulence (Vayuvega), and Wine Drinker (Surabhaksi).

xxxv Blue Queen (Syamadevi, Tib.: *sngo bsdngs*, pale blue), Good Lady (Subhadra), Horse-ears (Hayakarna), and Bird-face (Khaganana).

- [§19] tato bhūmitale samudravalaye kāyacakram aṣṭāraṃ śuklaṃ śukla-
cakraṇvaliparivṛtam. {N42r} tasya pūrvottarapaścimadakṣiṇāreṣu
pretapurigr̥hadevatāsaurāṣṭrasuvarṇadvīpakhyeṣu
cakravegākhaṇḍarohāṣaundīnicakravarmiṇyo dhyeyāḥ,
āgneyanairṛtyavāyavyaiśānāreṣu¹⁶²
nagarasindhumarukulatākhyeṣu
suvīrāmahābalācakravartinīmahāvīryāḥ.¹⁶³ iti kāyacakram.¹⁶⁴
pātālavāsinīnāṃ saṃgrahaḥ.
- [§20] tatra cittavākkāyacakrasthā devyo 'nukramāt kṛṣṇā raktāḥ śuklā
akṣobhyāmitābhavairocanamudritāś ca, sarvāḥ¹⁶⁵ pracandādayo
devya ekavaktrās caturbhujāḥ vāme khatvāṅgakapālādharāḥ
dakṣiṇe kartriḍamarudharās trinetrā muktakeśā nagnāḥ pañca-
mudrāvibhūṣitāś ca kaṇṭhāvalambinaraśiromālā āliḍhapadāś ca.
{K60v} {D44v}
- [§21] tataḥ pātālatale 'gnivāyuvalayamadhye meror aṣṭadikṣu aṣṭasu¹⁶⁶
śmaśāneṣu kākāsyādayo bhāvyaḥ.
sarvāsām eva vajravārāhyādīnāṃ lalāṭe vajramālā.

162 *vāyavyaiś*] K; *vāyuyaiś* N; *vāyuyes* D.

163 *mahāvīryāḥ*] corr.; *mahāvīryā* codd.

164 *kāyacakram*] em.; *kāyacakra* codd.

165 *sarvāḥ*] em.; *sarvā* codd.

166 *aṣṭasu*] Tib. (p. 39.7: *brgyad rnamś 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] Pretapuri, Grhadevata,⁵⁵⁰ Saurastra, [and] Suvarnadvipa, are to be imagined [the goddesses] Cakravega, Khandaroha, Saundini, [and] Cakravarmini.^{TM"} On the sectors in the southeast, southwest, northwest, [and] northeast, in those [sites] called Nagara, Sindhu, Maru, [and] Kulata⁵⁵¹ are [the goddesses] Suvira, Mahabala, Cakravartini, [and] Mahavirya.^{TM"} This is the body circle, the congregation of [goddesses] abiding in the under-world (*pdtdlam*).

[§20] In that [mandala] the goddesses placed in the mind circle, speech circle, and body circle are [colored] respectively, black, red, [and] white, and are sealed with Aksobhya, Amitabha, and Vairocana [on their crowns]. All [twenty-four] goddesses beginning with Pracanda 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 *damaru*. They have three eyes, loose hair, they are naked, and are adorned with the five signs of observance (*mudras*). 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 mandala] starting with Kakasya.⁵⁵²

All of the [thirty-seven goddesses of the mandala], from Vajravarahi on, have a garland of vajras on their foreheads.

xxxvi Discus Speed (Cakravega), Khandaroha (literally, "sprouting in bits," also the name of a goddess of the cardinal petals), Wine-seller's Wife (Saundini, Tib. "wine-seller" **chang 'tshong ma**), Armored with Cakras (Cakravarmini).

xxxvii Great Watrioness (Suvira), Mightily Strong (Mahabala), One Who Rules with the Wheel (Cakravartini, Tib. **'khor los sgyur ma**), Mighty Energy (Mahavirya).

xxxviii For black (**krsna**), the Tibetan reads "blue" (**sngon mo**).

[§22] *atha –

devatāhaṃkāralābhāya¹⁶⁷ sarvajñatāptaye tathā
devatāyogato yojyā bodhipākṣikadharmāḥ.
ete punar dharmāḥ saptatrimśat.

[§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
ātmaguṇa[†]vismaraṇapratipakṣabhūtam.¹⁷⁴

bhūtenndriyasamghātaḥ kāyaḥ, sukhādyanubhavo¹⁷⁵ vedanā,
bhūtakoṭir dharmāḥ, pratibhāsamātraṃ¹⁷⁶ cittam. {K61r} 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. GSS5 K26v4: *devatāhaṃkāratyāgāya*.

168 *catvāry a<nu>smṛtyupasthānāni* or *catvāri smṛtyupasthānāni*] conj.; *catvāryasmṛtyupasthānāni* codd.

169 *grhītagrāhi*] em.; *grhītagrāhi* codd.

170 *upasthāpakam*] conj.; *upasthānamyakam* K, D; *upasthānāyakam* N.

171 *nyarthāt*] K, N; *nyamarkṣāt* D.

172 *kartari lyuṭ.*] K, N; *kartāṇyūṭā* 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 *smaraṇam*] em.; *smaraṇ* codd.

- [§22] [The thirty-seven factors that favor enlightenment (*bodhipdksika-dharmas*) §§22-29]⁵⁵³

Next, in order to *establish* the ego identity (*ahamkdrah*) of the deity, also to gain omniscience, the factors that favor enlightenment (*bodhipdksikadharmas*) 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-smrtyupasthḍnas*)]TM
 [The first] of these are the bringers of awareness (*anusmrtyupasthḍnas*) because they oppose the four inverted views (*viparyḍsas*), [namely: that what is not pure, pleasurable, permanent, or possessing a selfreally is] pure, pleasurable, permanent, [and possessing] a self.⁵⁵⁵ They are four [in number and are embodied in the mandala] as follows: (i) bringing awareness of the body, as Dakini, (ii) bringing awareness of feelings, Lama, (iii) bringing awareness of reality, Khandaroha, and (iv) bringing awareness of mind, Rupini.

"Awareness" (*smrtih* > *smaranam*) means a cognition (*jñanam*) that grasps what has already been grasped [on a previous occasion]. [The compound *smrtyupasthḍnam* means] "the *upasthḍnam* of this awareness" [whete] *upasthḍnam* means "that which brings" (*upasthḍnam* > *upasthḍpakam*). The term *bahula* "in diverse circumstances" (in Panini 3.3.113) allows this suffix *lyut[> -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 (*ni*) being explicit in the form itself [i.e., *upasthḍnam* rather than *upasthḍpanam*]. Because it brings back (*punah... upasthḍpakatvdd*) what has been previously experienced, it is the antidote to forgetting *qualities ofoneself* (? *dtmaguna*) [such as body, feelings, reality, or mind].⁵⁵⁶

"Body" (*kḍyah*) is a conglomeration of elements and senses. "Feeling" (*vedand*) is the experience of pleasure and so forth. "Reality" (*dharma*) is [in the sense of] highest reality. "Mind" (*cittam*) is mere appearance (*pratibhḍsah*). [In compound], the bringers of awareness of body, [feeling, reality, and mind] indicate a genitive relationship, [namely] the bringing (*upasthḍpaka*) of that [awareness], i.e., recollection (*anusmaranam*) that (*-tvena*) those [four "qualities ofoneself," body, etc.] are [all] like an illusion.⁵⁵⁷

[§24] catvāra¹⁷⁸ ṛddhipādāḥ. tatra chandarddhipādāḥ pracaṇḍā, vīryard-
ddhipādāḥ¹⁷⁹ caṇḍākṣī, mīmāṃsārddhipādāḥ¹⁸⁰ prabhāvatī,¹⁸¹ citta-
rddhipādo mahānāsā, iti. {D45r}

saddharmaviṣaye śrutādyabhilāṣā¹⁸² chandāḥ.[†]

ṛddhiḥ samṛddhiḥ¹⁸³ cittasya samādhānaṃ, tasyāḥ pādā aṅgāni¹⁸⁴
ṛddhipādāḥ. chandaś cāsau ṛddhipādāś ceti vigrhya samāsaḥ.
evaṃ vīryarddhipādādiṣu ca boddhavyam.¹⁸⁵ “ṛty aka,”¹⁸⁶ iti
prakṛtibhāvād guṇābhāvaḥ. kuśale karmaṇi cetaso ’bhyutsāho
vīryaṃ,¹⁸⁷ mīmāṃsātyantavicāraṇā, cittaṃ jñānam.

[§25] indati jñānaṃ¹⁸⁸ yasmin sati tad indriyaṃ cakṣurādī.¹⁸⁹
tatsādharmyāt śraddhādikam apīndriyaṃ¹⁹⁰ ucyate. tat pañca-
vidhaṃ, tad yathā śraddhendriyaṃ vīramatī, {N43r} vīryen-
driyaṃ kharvarī, smṛtīndriyaṃ laṅkeśvarī, samādhīndriyaṃ
drumacchāyā, prajñēndriyaṃ airāvātī.

178 catvāra] D; catvāri K, N.

179 pādāḥ] N, D; pādāś K.

180 pādāḥ] corr.; pāda codd.

181 prabhāvatī→ṛddhipādāś ceti] KmgI, N, D.

182 śrutādyabhī] 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.; ṛtha- ty aka Kac.; rthaty aka N, D.

187 sāho vīryaṃ] K; sāhā vīrya N, D.

188 indati jñānaṃ] K; omit N, D.

189 cakṣurādī] K; cakṣurādikam D, N.

190 apīndriyam] corr.; api indriyam codd.

- [§24] [The four means of mind concentration [*rddhipadas*)]TM
 [Then] there are the four means of mind concentration [*rddhipadah*]. Of these, (i) desire (*chanda rddhipadah*) is Pracanda, (ii) energy (*virya rddhipadah*), Candaksi, (iii) investigation (*mimamsa rddhipadah*), Prabhavati, and (iv) mind (*citta rddhipadah*), Mahanasa.

[In the compound *chanda rddhipadah*], *chandas* (desire) means longing for [the development of wisdom by] learning, [reflection], and [meditation]⁵⁵⁹ in the sphere of Buddhist (*sad*) teaching.

[In the compound *rddhipadah*], *rddhi* means *samrddhi*, i.e., concentration of the mind.⁵⁶⁰ The *rddhipadah* are the means (*pdddh > arigdni'* of [accomplishing] *rddhi* [so understood]. The compound *chanda rddhipada* should be analyzed (*vigrhya*) as a *karmadhraya* compound [meaning, the means of mind concentration that is desire]. The terms *virya rddhipadah*, etc., should be understood in the same way. [The application of the grammatical rule means] there is no substitution of the *guna* vowel [*ar* in the place of *r*- (in *rddhih*)] because [it] remains in its natural state by the rule *rlyakah* (Panini 6.1.128).⁵⁶² [In compound with *rddhipadah*], *viryam* (energy) means mental energy with regard to [the ten] skillful actions, *mimamsa* (investigation) means the deepest cogitation, *citta* (mind) means cognition (*jnanam*).

- [§25] [The five "empowering" faculties (*indriyas*)]TM
 The eyes and other [sense organs] are called *indriya* because when they are present [and active], cognition is empowered (*Vind*). 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 (*sraddhendriyam*), which is Viramati, (ii) energy (*viryendriyam*), Kharvari, (iii) awareness (*smrtindriyam*), Lankesvari, (iv) meditation (*samddhindriyam*), Drumacchaya, and (v) wisdom (*prajhendriyam*), Airavati.

tatra vīryam uktam.¹⁹¹ smṛtiś cōktā. śraddhā tu
laukikalokottarāyāṃ samyagdr̥ṣṭau karmaphalopabhoge ca citta-
prasādaḥ. samādhiś¹⁹² cittaikāgratā. heyopādeyasyāvadhārikā
buddhiḥ prajñā.

śraddhendriyāśrītān¹⁹³ dharmān yad udānayat¹⁹⁴ upaḍhaukayati
tad vīryendriyam. {K6iv}
vīryopaḍhaukitasyārthasyāsaṃpramoṣaḥ smṛtiḥ. smṛtindriyam
āśrītān dharmān yad abhimukhī¹⁹⁵ karoti tat samādhindriyam.
samādhindriyeṇaikāgrikṛtān¹⁹⁶ dharmān yad vidhyati tat prajñen-
driyam.

[§26] indriyāṇy eva taratamādibhedena prakarṣaprapṛtāni balāny
ucyante. tad yathā śraddhābalaṃ mahābhairavā, vīryabalaṃ
vāyuvegā, smṛtibalaṃ surābhakṣi, samādhibalaṃ śyāmādevī,
prajñābalaṃ subhadrā ceti. {D45v}

[§27] *samyag bodher aṅgāni kāraṇāni saṃbodhyaṅgāni.¹⁹⁷ tāni punaḥ
sapta, tad yathā samādhisaṃbodhyaṅgaṃ hayakarnā,
vīryasaṃbodhyaṅgaṃ khagānanā, pritisamābodhyaṅgaṃ
cakravegā, prasaradbhisamābodhyaṅgaṃ khaṇḍarohā, dharmapra-
vicayasamābodhyaṅgaṃ śauṇḍinī, smṛtisam¹⁹⁸ bodhyaṅgaṃ
cakravarmiṇī,¹⁹⁹ upekṣā saṃbodhyaṅgaṃ suvīreti.

191 *vīryam uktam*] K; *vīryendriyam ukta* - N, *vīrya(ṃ?) indriyam ukta* D.

192 *samādhiś*] K; *samādhi* N, D.

193 *śraddhendriyāśrītān*] 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* - K(mg2); *tat samādhindriyer aikā* N, D.

197 *samyag bodher aṅgāni kāraṇāni saṃbodhyaṅgāni*] conj. Sanderson; *saṃbodhye kāraṇa samyaksambodher aṅgāni kāraṇāni bodhyaṅgāni* K, N; *sabodhyemga kāraṇā* → *bodhyaṅgāni* D.

198 *saṃ*] N, D; *sa* K.

199 *cakravarmiṇī*] K, N; *cakravarmaṇī* D.

Of these, "energy" has [already] been discussed [under *virya rddhipadah*, §24]; "awareness" too has been discussed [under *smrtyupasthānam*, §23]. As for "faith," this is clarity of mind (*citta-prasaddah*) 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" (*uddnāyati > upadhaukayati*) those existents (*dharmas*) that rest on the faculty of faith. Awareness (*smṛtiḥ*) is the nondestruction of things (*arthah*) [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 (*ekdṛikṛta*) through the faculty of meditation.⁵⁶⁵

[§26] [The five powers (*śālas*)]

These same faculties, when they have reached their highest degree through gradual intensification, are called the "powers" (*śālas*).⁵⁶⁶ Accordingly, (i) the power of faith (*śraddhābalaṃ*) is Mahābhairava, (ii) the power of energy (*virya-balaṃ*), Vāyuvega, (iii) the power of awareness (*smṛtibalaṃ*), Śurābhakṣī, (iv) the power of meditation (*saṃdhibalaṃ*), Śyamadevī, and (v) the power of wisdom (*prajñābalaṃ*), Subhadrā.

[§27] [The seven causes of complete enlightenment (*sambodhyāṅgas*)]⁵⁶⁷

[The next elements in the list of thirty-seven are] the *sambodhyāṅgas*, the causes (*āṅgāni > kāraṇāni*) of complete enlightenment (*sambodhiḥ > samyag bodhiḥ*). They are seven [in number]: (i) meditation (*saṃdhisambodhyāṅgaṃ*), which is Hayakarna, (ii) energy (*viryasambodhyāṅgaṃ*), Khaganana, (iii) joy (*pritisambodhyāṅgaṃ*), Cakravega, (iv) serenity (*prasrabhisambodhyāṅgaṃ*), Khandaroha, (v) investigation of dharmas (*dharma-pravicāyasambodhyāṅgaṃ*), Saundinī, (vi) awareness (*smṛtisambodhyāṅgaṃ*), Cakravarmīnī, and (vii) equanimity (*upekṣḍasambodhyāṅgaṃ*), Suvira.

samādhiś cittaikāgratā.²⁰⁰ sa cāsau bodhyaṅgaṃ ceti vighṛhya samāsaḥ. {N43v} evaṃ <vīrya>sambodhyaṅgādiṣu²⁰¹ boddhavyam. {K62r} kauśīdyānavakāśaṃ²⁰² vīryam. manaso dharmaikāgratā pritiḥ. ātmātmīyādi²⁰³vāsanocchedāt²⁰⁴ kāyavākcittānāṃ kuśale karmaṇi²⁰⁵ saktatvaṃ prasarabdhīḥ. dharmānāṃ nairātmyarūpeṇāvadhāraṇaṃ dharmapravicayaḥ.²⁰⁶ sakalasattvārthanimitta²⁰⁷sambodhipraṇidhānaśrutacintābhāvanāder asaṃpramoṣaḥ smṛtiḥ. audāsīnyacittatopekṣā.

- [§28] kleśāvaraṇasya pratipakṣabhūtatvād āryāṇi samyagdrṣṭyādīny aṣṭāṅgāni yasya sa āryāṣṭāṅgo²⁰⁸ mārgaḥ.
 jñeyāvaraṇa²⁰⁹ prahāṇabhāvanāyai mṛgyate 'nviṣyate, iti mārgaḥ.
 aṣṭāṅgāni yathā samyagdrṣṭir²¹⁰ mahābalā, samyaksamkalpaś cakravartinī, {D46r} samyagvāg mahāvīryā, samyakarmāntaḥ kākāsyā, samyagājiva ulūkāsyā, samyagvyāyāmaḥ śvānāsyā, samyaksmṛtiḥ sūkarāsyā, samyaksamādhīr bhagavatī vajravārāhi.
 tatra buddhavākye paramagauravaṃ samyagdrṣṭiḥ. prārabdhasya kṛtyasyāparityāgaḥ samyaksamkalpaḥ. sattvārthāviśaṃvādaḥ²¹¹ vacanaṃ samyagvāk. {K62v} daśakuśalānatikrameṇa kṛtyaṃ samyakarmāntaḥ. nyāyārjitavittanājīvanaṃ²¹² samyagājivaḥ. svaparārthasampannimittaṃ kāyavāñmanasāṃ karma samyagvyāyāmaḥ. buddhavacanānusmaraṇaṃ samyaksmṛtiḥ. śrīvajravārāhīrūpālambanaṃ samyaksamādhīḥ. {N44r}

200 samādhiś cittaikāgratā] em.; samādhicittekāgratā K, samādhicitta**atā N; samādhicitakāya D.

201 <vīrya>sambodhyaṅgādiṣu] conj.; sambodhyaṅgādiṣu K, N; sambodhyaṅgāniṣu D.

202 kauśīdyānavakāśaṃ] N.; kauśīdyānavakāśaḥ D; kośīdyāvākāśaḥ K.

203 ātmātmīyādi] em.; ātmā ātmīyādi codd.

204 occhedāt] conj.; occhedakāt codd.

205 kuśale karmaṇi] K; kuśaladharmaṇi N, D.

206 dharmā] em.; pradharma K; prārma N, pratidharma D.

207 nimitta] em.; nimittaṃ codd.

208 āryāṣṭāṅgo] K, N; āryāṣṭāṅgāni D.

209 jñeyāvaraṇa] K; yo jñeyāvaraṇa N; jogeyāvaraṇa D.

210 drṣṭir] K, N; drṣṭi D.

211 viśaṃvādaḥ] K; viśaṃvādaḥ N; viśaṃvādarakaḥ D.

212 nyāyārjitavittanājīvanaṃ] K; nyāyārjitacittanā- N, D.

Meditation (*samddhih*) is one-pointedness of mind. *Samddhibodhyariga*, the cause of complete enlightenment that is meditation, is to be analyzed (*vigrhya*, cf. §24) as a *karmadhdraya* 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 (*vasand*), 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 (*astdngamdrga*)]

In the term *drydstdngo margah* (the path having eight noble factors), the word *margah* (path) is qualified by the *hahuvrlhi* adjective, *drydstdngo* ([that] whose eight factors are noble). This refers to the fact that the path has eight (*asta*-) factors that promote it (*angdni*), namely right view and so on. These factors are termed *drya* (noble) because they oppose the barrier of the defilements (*kles'dvaranam*). The word *mdrga* (path) is from the verb *Vmrg* "to seek" as it is that which is sought (*mrgyate* > *anvisyate*) 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] (*jneydvaranam*).⁵⁶⁸

The factors of that [eightfold path] are as follows: (i) right view (*samyagdrstih*) is Mahabala, (ii) right resolve (*samyaksamkalpah*), Cakravartini, (iii) right speech (*samyagvdk*), Mahavirya, (iv) right action (*samyakkarantah*), Kakasya, (v) right livelihood (*samyagd-jivah*), Ulukasya, (vi) right effort (*samyagyayamah*), Svanasya, (vii) right mindfulness (*samyaksmrtih*), Sukarasya, and (viii) right meditation (*samyaksamddhih*), the goddess Vajravarahi.

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 yamadādhī,²¹⁴ utpannānām kuśālānām²¹⁵ dharmāṇām rakṣaṇam yamadūti. utpannānām akuśālānām dharmāṇām prahāṇam²¹⁶ yamadamṣṭriṇī,²¹⁷ anutpannānām akuśālānām dharmāṇām anutpādanam yamamathanī ceti.

athātaḥ²¹⁸ sampravakṣyāmi kāyamaṇḍalam uttamam |
piṭhādikramayogena daśabhūmivīsuddhitaḥ | (42)

[§30] ²¹⁹pu jā o a go rā de mā kā o tri ko ka la kā hi pre gr sau su na si ma ku. ity āgamaḥ. {D46v} atrārthaḥ, pullīramalayādīnām²²⁰ ādyākṣaraṇi <pu-jā>-ityādīni²²¹ sānusvārāṇy uccāryante.²²² puṁkāṛādyākṣarapariṇatāni {K63r} agre śūnyāni cakraṇi, pullīramalayādīni piṭhādīsthānāni śīraḥprabhṛtiṇi jhaṭiti boddhavyāni. teṣu²²³ śīraḥprabhṛtiṣv²²⁴ avasthitā nāḍyaḥ,²²⁵ pracaṇḍādidevatāpariṇāmeṇa vyavasthitā bhāvya itī.

213 ebhir] Kac.; ebhi²(vi)r K(mg2), N(mgt); evir D.

214 yamadādhī] 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; yamadusṭri D.

218 athātaḥ] K, N; athā D.

219 pu → ku] K, N; puṁ → kuṁ 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; nāmaḥ 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 Vajravarahi.

- [§29] [The four means of complete abandonment (*samyakprahdnas*)]⁵⁷⁰
 [Then] there are the *samyakprahdnas*, "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 Yamadadhi, (ii) the protection of skillful dharmas that have [already] arisen, Yamaduti, (iii) the abandoning of unskillful dharmas that have [already] arisen, Yamadamstrini, and (iv) the nonarising (*anutpddanam*) of unskillful dharmas that have not [yet] arisen, Yamamathani.

[The body mandala (*kdyamandala*)]

- (42) Now I shall teach the highest body mandala; [I will do this] through the sequence that begins with the sites (*pithddi*),⁵⁷¹ with their purifying correspondences (*vis'uddhita*-) for the ten stages (*das'abhumi*-).

- [§30] Scripture relates:⁵⁷⁰

*pujd 0 a go rd de md kd 0 tri ko ka la ka hi pre gr sau su
 na si ma ku*

xxxix The meaning of the abbreviation *pithddi* is expanded upon in the prose below (§30) and the following verses (w. 43-53). It indicates the correlations of the twenty-four sites with the twenty-four goddesses of the three mandala 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 caṇḍāṃ prapūrvāṃ²²⁶ śīrasi sthitām |
jālandhare śikhāyāṃ tu caṇḍākṣiṃ paribhāvayet | (43)

dakṣiṇakarṇato dhyāyād²²⁷ oḍḍiyāṇe prabhāvatim |
arbude śīrasaḥ prṣṭhe mahānāsāṃ vibhāvayet | (44)

iti pīṭhaṃ pramuditā bhūmiḥ. {N44v}

vāme godāvari karṇe²²⁸ vīramatim vicintayet |
rāmeśvare ca bhrūmadhye²²⁹ kharvarim paśya saṃsthitām |
cakṣurdvaye ca devīnāṃ koṭe laṅkeśvarim imām | (45)

skandhadvaye samākhyātāṃ mālavadeśasaṃjñakam²³⁰ |
tatra vai cintayet devīm²³¹ drumacchāyeti nāmikām | (46)

226 *prapūrvāṃ*] K, N; *prapūrnā* D.

227 *dhyāyād*] em.; *dhyeyād* codd.

228 *vāme godāvari karṇe*] codd. (loose Sanskrit). Understand *vāme godāvaryāṃ karṇe*, or an infelicitous *karmadhāraya*, “*godāvari-karṇe*.”

229 *ca bhrūmadhye*] conj.; *bhrūmadhye* K; *bhrū(tār)madhye* N, *rāmeśvaramadhye* D.

230 *mālavadeśasaṃjñakam*] conj.; *mālavaṃ 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 Pulliramalaya, *pu, jd*, etc., are [to be] pronounced adding a nasal ending (*anusvdrāh*) [i.e. *pum, jam*, 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, Pulliramalaya etc., [which are themselves understood] as [the points on the body] starting with the head. [Finally] one imagines that the goddesses Pracanda and so forth [reside in the sites, and that they] have transformed into the channels (*nddis*) [that issue] within those [points on the body] starting with the head. [As follows:]

(43) One should visualize Pracanda^{xi} in Pulliramalaya in one's head,^{xli} Candaksi in Jalandhara at the crown (*s'ikhā*).

(44) On the right ear he should imagine Prabhavati in Oddiyana; in Arbuda, on the back of the head (*sirasah prsthe*),^{xlii} he should visualize Mahanasa.

These are the sites (*pithas*) [that correspond with] the [first bodhisattva] stage (*bhumih*), "joyful" (*pramuditā*).^{xi}

(45) On the left ear in Godavari he should visualize Viramati; and in Ramesvara, the point between the eyebrows (*bhriimadhye*), see Kharvari positioned; and on the two eyes (*caksurdvaye*)^{xlii} in Devikota, Lankesvari.

(46) On the two shoulders (*skandhadvaye*)^{xlii} is the place known as Malava; just there, he should imagine the goddess named Drumacchaya.

xi Literally, "[The goddess called] *Candd* preceded by *Pra-*."

xli Literally, "Thus the site, joyful stage." The twenty-four sites, Pullitamalaya, etc., are further divided into ten kinds of "places": *pithas, upapithas, ksetras, upaksetras, chandohas, upachandohas, melapakas, upamelpakas, s'mas'dnas*, and *upas'mas'dnas*. These are now equated with the ten bodhisattva states (*hhiimis*). Umapatideva gives the fifth and sixth *bhumk* as *sudurjayd* and *abhimukhi*, which, according to the *Dasabhumikāsūtra* (Dayal 1932: 283-91), is in reverse order. The text for the eighth *bhiimi* (*acala*), has dropped out, as shown in Textual Note to <v. jii>. The places are also shown in table 23.

ity upaṇiṭhaṃ vimalā bhūmiḥ.²³²

kakṣayoḥ kāmarūpe tu dhyāyād airāvatīm imām |
oḍre²³³ stanadvaye devīm mahābhairavikāṃ tathā | (47)

iti kṣetram prabhākari bhūmiḥ.

nābhau triśakunau paśyed vāyuvegāṃ sphuraddyutim | {K63v}
kośale nāsikāgre tu surābhakṣīm imāṃ tathā | (48)

ity upakṣetram arciṣmatī bhūmiḥ.

kaliṅge vadane devīm śyāmākhyāṃ tu vibhāvayet | {D47r}
lampāke kaṇṭhadeśe tu subhadrām devatīm tathā | (49)

iti chandoho 'bhimukhī 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 (*upapithas*), the [second bodhisattva] stage, "stainless" (*vimala*).

- (47) In the two armpits (*kaksayoh*),⁵⁷⁶ in Kamarupa, he should imagine Airavati; similarly in Odra, on the two breasts, the goddess Mahabhairavika.

These are the fields (*ksetras*), the [third bodhisattva] stage, "illuminating" (*prabhakari*).

- (48) On the navel in Trisakuni, he should see Vayuvega of scintillating light (*sphuraddyutim*); and similarly in Kos'ala, on the tip of the nose, Surabhaksi.

These are the secondary fields (*upaksetras*), the [fourth bodhisattva] stage, "blazing" (*arcismati*).

- (49) In Kalihga, on the mouth (*vadane*),⁵⁷⁶ he should visualize the goddess called Syama; and similarly in Lampaka, at the throat, the deity Subhadra.

These are the *chandohas*, the [fifth bodhisattva] stage, "confident approach" (*abhimukhi*).⁵⁷⁷

- (50) In Kanci, at the heart, he should visualize the goddess Hayakarna; similarly on the penis (*medhre*)⁵⁷⁷ in Himalaya, Khaganana.

These are the secondary *chandohas* (*upacchandohas*), the [sixth bodhisattva] stage, "invincible" (*sudurjaya*).

- (51) In Pretapuri (*pretapurydm*),⁵⁷⁸ on the sexual organ, he should recollect Cakravega, of glistening light (*lasaddyutim*); in that [site] that is Grhadevata, in the anus, should be Khanda-rohika.

Literally, "turning toward," but also confidence in, firm belief, or conviction. Note that, traditionally, the fifth *bhūmi* is *sudurjaya*, which is followed by *abhimukhi* as the sixth.

iti melāpako dūraṅgamā bhūmiḥ.

<v. 51i>[†]

nagare 'ṅgulikāsv eṣā suvīrā nāma yoginī |
sindhau tatpādayoḥ pṛṣṭhe²³⁹ yoginiṃ tām mahābalām | (52)
{N45r}

iti śmaśānaṃ sādhumatī bhūmiḥ.

marāv²⁴⁰ aṅguṣṭhayor dhyāyād yoginiṃ cakravartinīm |
kulatāyāṃ mahāvīryā jānudvaye matā tathā | (53)

ity upaśmaśānaṃ dharmameghā bhūmiḥ.

(v. 54)[†]

kākāsyādyā²⁴¹ mukhe nābhau liṅge gude kramāt sthitāḥ |
ūrṇākaraṇākṣināse 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 *melapakas*, the [seventh bodhisattva] stage, "far-going" (*durangamd*).

- (51) <In Saurastra, on the two thighs, he should visualize the goddess Saundini; and similarly in Suvarnadvipa, on the two shanks, the goddess Cakravartini.>

<These are the secondary *melapakas* (*upameldpakas*), the eighth bodhisattva stage, "immoveable" (*acala*)>

- (52) In Nagara, on the fingers and toes (*angulikdsu*)⁷⁹ [is] this yogini called Suvira; in Sindhu, on the back of the two feet/⁸⁰ that yogini Mahabala.

These are the cremation grounds (*smasdnas*), the [ninth bodhisattva] stage, "good [thoughts]" (*sddhumati*).TM

- (53) In Maru, on the thumbs and toes (*arigusthayoh*),⁸¹ he should imagine the yogini Cakravartini; similarly Mahavirya is considered [to be] in Kulata on the two knees.

These are the secondary cremation grounds (*upas'mas'dnas*), the [tenth bodhisattva] stage, "cloud of Dharma" (*dharmameghd*).

(54) ⁸²

- (55) Kakasya, [Ulukasya, Svanasya, and Sukarasya] are placed on the mouth, navel, sexual organ, [and] anus respectively; and similarly, Yamadadhi, [Yamaduti, YamadamstrinI, and Yamamathani] 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.

ḍākinyādyāś caturdevyo hṛdayam²⁴³ āśritya saṁsthitāḥ |
iti saṁpūrṇaṁ²⁴⁴ sadā bhāvyaṁ kāyamaṇḍalam uttamam | (56)

[§31] *bāhye²⁴⁵ pīṭhādiṣu *nādyā*²⁴⁶ yathā toyena poṣaṇam²⁴⁷ kurvanti
tathā dehe nadyo²⁴⁸ śravantyo nakhādikaṁ poṣayanti. bāhye
vajrapīṭhaṁ mahābodhisthānaṁ,²⁴⁹ nirañjana²⁵⁰ nadi, dehe tu
mahāsukhacakraṁ vajrapīṭhaṁ²⁵¹ 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
mahāvīdeśvari – sarvabhūtabhayāvahe mahāvajre – vajrāsani
ajite 'parājite²⁵⁶ vaśaṁkari netrabhṛāmiṇi²⁵⁷ – śoṣaṇi roṣaṇi²⁵⁸
krodhani karālīni – saṁtrāsani²⁵⁹ {N45v} mārāṇi 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 fol-
lowing *pāda* is also hypermetrical, and neither fault is in the even *pāda*.)

244 *saṁpūrṇaṁ*] em.; *saṁpūrṇa* 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 *mahābodhisthānaṁ*] K; *mahābodhisthāna* N, D.

250 *nirañjana*] K, N; *nirasana* D.

251 *vajrapīṭhaṁ*] em.; (*vajra*)*pīṭhaṁ 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 *bhrāmiṇi*] corr.; cf. §12, GSS5; *bhrāmani* 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 Dakini, [Lama, Khandaroha, and Rupini] are in place (*samsthita*) at the heart. Complete in this way, the supreme body mandala 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 (*nddis*) nourish [aspects of the body, beginning with] the nails [and teeth].

"Outside" [refers to] the vajra seat (*vajrapitham*), the place of great enlightenment, [and] the river [is] Nirafijana. Whereas (*tu*) in the body, the circle of great bliss, is held to be the vajra seat, and [the central channel] *Avadhuti*, Nirafijana.

[§ 32] Now the mantras for the deities [of the mandala] are taught. Among these, Vajravarahi's heart mantra [§ 9], auxiliary-heart mantra, and eight-part mantra [§ 12] have been given above, but her root mantra is told [here]:⁵⁸²

*om namo bhagavati vajravarahi vam — aparajite trailokya-
mate mahavidyesvari — sarvabhutabhaydapahe mahdvajre —
vajrdsani ajite parajite vas'amkari netrabhrdmini — sosani
rosani krodhani karalini - samtrasani marani suprabhedani
parajaye — jaye vijaye jambhani stambhani mohani —
vajravarahi mahdyogini kdmes'vari khage —*⁵⁸³

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 sarvasattvānāṃ ca,²⁶⁷
*sarvapaśūnāṃ*²⁶⁸ mahāmāṃsacchedani krodhamūrte²⁶⁹
*daṃṣṭrākārālini*²⁷⁰ mahāmudre śriherukadevasyāgramahiṣi
 sahasragrīve sahasrabāhave²⁷¹ śatasahasrānane²⁷² jvalitajase
 jvālāmukhi²⁷³ piṅgalalocane vajraśarīre vajrāsane²⁷⁴ mili mili
 timili timili he he he²⁷⁵ huṃ huṃ²⁷⁶ kha kha dhu dhu²⁷⁷ ru
 ru,²⁷⁸ dhuru dhuru muru muru²⁷⁹ advaite mahāyogini paṭhita-
 siddhe *om dhraṃ*²⁸⁰ he he ha ha bhīme hasa hasa hā hā ho ho

261 *prottuṅge*] GSSII codd., GSS5; *om vajravārāhi protaṅge* Finot.

262 *kini 2 khinkhiṇi 2*] conj. Sanderson (cf. SM221 ms. AC p. 435: *kinikiṇi 2 khikhiṇi 2*); *kinikini khinkhiṇi* GSSII codd.; *kiṇi 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; *samnidhye* 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 → sarvapaśūnāṃ*] codd.; *hana hana prāṇān sarvapāpa<ṃ> sattvānāṃ sarvapūṣpānāṃ* Tib.

269 *hana → mūrte*] GSSII codd.; *hana hana prāṇān sarvapaśavānāṃ māṃsacchedani krodhakrodhamūrte* GSS5; *hana 2 prāṇān sarvapiśācānāṃ mahāmāṃsacchedani. krodha mūrte* Finot.

270 *daṃṣṭrākārālini*] GSS5, Finot; *daṃṣṭrākārāli* GSSII codd.

271 *sahasragrīve sahasrabāhave*] GSSII codd. (*bāhave*: for dative understand vocative); *sahasraśirosahasravāhave* Finot; *sahasraśive 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 *om → muru*] GSSII codd.; *rū rū suru suru* GSS5; *ru 2 muru 2 dhuru 2* Finot

280 *om dhraṃ*] K; *om* - N; *om* D; *drem (vrem, dhrem?) drem praṃ* GSS5 codd. (for which Sed reads *draiṃ dhaṃ draiṃ dhaṃ* but reports codd. reading *draṃ vraṃ draṃ praṃ*); *drem dhaṃ 2 graṃ 2* Finot; *drem dhaṃ drem dhaṃ graṃ graṃ* Tib.

smprotturige — hana hana pranan — kirii kirii khirikhini
 khinkhini — dhuna dhuna — vajrahaste — s'osaya s'osaya — vajra-
 khatvdrigakapdladhrini — mahdpis'itamdsds'ini — manusan-
 trapravrite — sdmnidhya — narasiromldgrathitadhrini —
 sumbhanisumbhe — hana hanapdpam mama sarvasattvanam ca
 — sarvapasundm mahdmdmsacchedani — krodhamiirte —
 damstrakaralini — mahamudre — s'riherukadevasyagramahisi —
 sahasragrivi — sahasrabahave — satahasranane — jvalitatejase
 — jvlddmukhi — pirigalalocane — vajrasarire — vajrasane — mili
 mili timili timili he he he he hum hum kha kha dhu dhu ru ru,
 dhuru dhuru muru muru — advaite — mahdyogini — pathita-
 siddhe — om dhram he he ha ha — bhime — hasa hasa hd hd ho

Elevated <?>, kill cteatutes! 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! (*sdmnidhya*: Sanderson [1998: personal communication] suggests this is a denominative form from *sdmnidhyd*m, "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 (*pas'uh*)! 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 ate realized when recited!... O terrible one!... Destroyer of the three worlds! O you with a retinue of 100,000 *kotis* of tathagatas!... 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 ate Mahayoges'vari! Dakini! 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 śiṃharūpe khaḥ
gajarūpe āḥ²⁸⁴ trailokyodare mahāsamudramekhale²⁸⁵ grasa
grasa hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ²⁸⁶ vīrādvaite huṃ huṃ hā hā²⁸⁷
mahāpaśumohani, mahāyogeśvarī tvam, dākinī sarvalokānām
vandani²⁸⁸ sadyaḥpratyayakāriṇī hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ²⁸⁹ bhūtatrāsani
mahāvīre paramasiddhayogeśvarī phaṭ hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ
svāhā.²⁹⁰ {K65r}

[S33] dākinyādinām mantrā²⁹¹ uktāḥ, {N46r} kākāsyādinām caṣṭānām,
pracaṇḍādinām tu *kuliśapadākrameṇa*²⁹² mantrāḥ, yathā –

†om̐ kara kara pracaṇḍe huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. om̐ kuru kuru
caṇḍākṣiye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. om̐ bandha bandha²⁹³ prabhāvātiye

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 om̐ hūṃ om̐ phaṭ* Finot.

287 *huṃ huṃ hā hā*] GSSII codd., GSS5; *hūṃ he 2* Finot.

288 *mahāyogeśvarī*→*vandani*] GSSII codd.; *yogeśvarī tvam dākinī lokānām vandani* GSS5; *yogeśvarī tvam dākinī sarvalokānām vandani* Finot.

289 *hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ*] GSSII codd.; *huṃ huṃ* GSS5, *huṃ hūṃ phaṭ* Tib.

290 *paramasiddha*→*svāhā*] GSSII codd.; *paramasiddhe yogeśvarī phaṭ huṃ huṃ phaṭ svāhā* GSS5; *paramasiddhayogeśvarī phaṭ hūṃ 2 phaṭ hūṃ 2 phaṭ svāhā* Finot, *paramasiddhe yogeśvarī 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 Pracaṇḍā etc. should be understood as being just like those of the vajras.”

293 *bandha bandha*] K, N; *badha badha* D.

*ho hiim hum — trailokyavinas'ini — s'atasahasrakotitathdgatapari-
vdre — hiim hiim hum phat phat — simharupe — khah — gajarupe
— ah — trailokyodare — mahasamudramekhale — grasa grasa —
hum hiim phat phat — virddvaite — hum hum hd hd —
mahapasumohani — mahayogesvari tvam — ddkini — sarva-
lokndm vandani — sadyahpratyayakarini — hiim hiim phat —
bhutatrasani — mahdvire — paramasiddhayogesvariTM — phat
hiim hum hum phat svdhd.*

[§33] The mantras of Dakini [Lama, Khandaroha, and Rupini] have been taught [§12], and of the eight [goddesses] starting with Kakasya [§15]; but the mantras of [the twenty-four goddesses] starting with Pracanda are as follows, with vajra words (*kulisapadakramena*)TM in sequence [after the om and before the vocatives]

- (1) *om kara kara pracande hum hum phat*
- (2) *om kuru kuru candaksiye hum hum phat*
- (3) *om bandha bandha prabhavatiye hum hum phat*

xlvi (1) Do! (2) Act! (3) Bind! (4) Terrify! (5) Make [them] shake!...(10) Burn! (11) Cook! (12) Eat! You with a hanging gatland of fat (***vasa = vasa***), 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 (? ***dkaddatldkddy***).

huṃ huṃ phaṭ. oṃ trāsaya trāsaya mahānāse huṃ huṃ phaṭ.
 oṃ kṣobhaya kṣobhaya vīramatiye huṃ huṃ phaṭ. oṃ hrem
 hrem²⁹⁴ kharvariye huṃ huṃ phaṭ. oṃ hrah hrah²⁹⁵
 laṅkeśvariye huṃ huṃ phaṭ. oṃ phem phem drumacchāye
 huṃ huṃ phaṭ. oṃ phaṭ phaṭ²⁹⁶ airāvatiye huṃ huṃ phaṭ. oṃ
 daha daha mahābhairaviye huṃ huṃ phaṭ. oṃ paca paca
 vāyuvege huṃ huṃ phaṭ. oṃ bhakṣa bhakṣa
 vasa²⁹⁷ rudhirāntramālāvalambini²⁹⁸ surābhakṣiye huṃ huṃ
 phaṭ. oṃ grihṇa grihṇa saptapātālagatabhujāṅgaṃ sarpaṃ vā²⁹⁹
 tarjaya tarjaya śyāmādeviye huṃ huṃ phaṭ. oṃ ākaḍḍa
 ākaḍḍa³⁰⁰ subhadre huṃ huṃ phaṭ. oṃ hrīm hrīm³⁰¹
 hayakarṇe huṃ huṃ phaṭ. oṃ jlom jlom³⁰² khagānane huṃ
 huṃ phaṭ. oṃ kṣyām kṣyām³⁰³ cakravege huṃ huṃ phaṭ. oṃ
 hām hām³⁰⁴ khaṇḍarohe huṃ huṃ phaṭ. {D48v} oṃ³⁰⁵ him
 him³⁰⁶ śauṇḍiniye huṃ huṃ phaṭ. oṃ huṃ huṃ³⁰⁷
 cakravarṇiye huṃ huṃ phaṭ. oṃ kili kili suvire huṃ huṃ
 {K65v} phaṭ. oṃ sili sili³⁰⁸ mahābale huṃ huṃ phaṭ. oṃ cili

294 *hrem hrem*] GSSII codd.; *braum* 2 §37, Tib.; *brau* 2 HĀ; Finot p. 53, p. 57 (for Amitābha).

295 *hrah hrah*] K, N; *hra hrah* 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; *āvalam-bine*, §37, HĀ (for Vajrahūmkāra).

299 *bhujāṅgaṃ sarpaṃ vā*] K, N; *bhujāṅga* D; *bhujāṅgasarpaṃ vā*, ADUT; *bhujāṅgān sarpaṃ vā* HĀ.

300 *ākaḍḍa ākaḍḍa*] GSSII codd. (possibly “*ākātṭa* 2” K §37); *ākadya* 2 §37 (N, D); HĀ (for Vajrabhadra); *ākadya* 2 em. Kalff ADUT (p. 325, with mss. reading variously, ADUT; *ākadḍha*? 2; *ākadhā* x 2; *ākadḍhya* 2); *ākātṭha* Finot p. 57; *ākanṛ* Finot p. 53.

301 *hrīm hrīm*] GSSII codd.; *oṃ hri hri* ADUT (some mss.).

302 *jlom jlom*] K, N; *jñom jñom* D; *jñom jñom* ADUT; *jtraum* 2 Finot (p. 54), *jraum* Finot (p. 57 for Virūpākṣe), *jṇaum jṇaum* 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 *him him*] codd.; *hīm hīm* ADUT, Finot (p. 57); *ḍim* 2 Finot (p. 54).

307 *hūm hūm*] K, N; *hum hum* D.

308 *sili sili*] K, N, (§37); *siri siri* D, ADUT; *mili* 2 Finot (p. 57; a misreading?).

- (4) *om trasaya trasaya mahanase hum hum phat*
- (5) *om ksobhaya ksobhaya viramatiye hum hiim phat*
- (6) *om hrem hrem kharvariye hum hiim phat*
- (7) *om hrah hrah lankes'variye hum hiim phat*
- (8) *om phem phem drumacchaye hum hum phat*
- (9) *om phat phat airavatiye hum hum phat*
- (10) *om daha daha mahabhairaviye hum hum phat*
- (11) *om paca paca vayuvege hum hum phat*
- (12) *om bhaksa bhaksa vasarudhirantramaldvalambini surabhaksiye
hum hiim phat*
- (13) *om grihna grihna saptapatdlagatabhujangam sarpam va tarjaya
tarjaya sydmddeviye hum hiim phat*
- (14) *om akadda akadda subhadre hum hum phat*
- (13) *om hrim hrim hayakarne hum hum phat*
- (16) *om jlom jlom khagdnane hum hum phat*
- (17) *om ksyam ksyam cakravege hum hum phat*
- (18) *om ham ham khandarohe hum hum phat*
- (ip) *om him him saundiniye hum hiim phat*
- (20) *om hum hum cakravarminiye hum hum phat*
- (21) *om kili kili suvire hum hum phat*
- (22) *om sili sili mahabale hum hiim phat*
- (23) *om cili cili cakravartiniye hum hum phat*
- (24) *om dhili dhili mahavirye hum hiim phat*

cili³⁰⁹ cakravartiniye huṃ huṃ phaṭ. oṃ dhili dhili³¹⁰
mahāvīrye huṃ huṃ phaṭ.

[§34] atra pracaṇḍādīmantreṣu prathamo hūṃkāro³¹¹ hrasvaḥ, dvitīyo
dīrghaḥ. *etac ca gurūpadeśād boddhavyam.³¹² bhavyādīmatena
tu³¹³ “oṃ pracaṇḍe³¹⁴ huṃ huṃ phaṭ, oṃ caṇḍākṣi³¹⁵ huṃ huṃ
phaṭ” ityādi ca āsāṃ mantra³¹⁶ iti vakṣyate, tathā hi – {N46v}

svanāmoccāraṇam³¹⁷ mantrāṇām huṃhuṃphaṭkārayojitam³¹⁸ |

ity asyāgamasyāyam arthas tair upadarśitaḥ. āsāṃ yoginīnām
svanāma³¹⁹ mantraḥ. ādau paramaomkāraḥ,³²⁰ ante ca
huṃhuṃphaṭkāraḥ kārya, iti svanāmetyādīnā darsītam.

iti cathurtho bhāvanākramaḥ.

pūjādivīdhayaḥ 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; *hūṃkāro* N, D.

312 *boddhavyaṃ*] K, N; *boddhavyā* D.

313 *bhavyādīmatena tu*] conj. Sanderson; *bhavyādīmattena tu* K; *bhavyādīmantre na tu* N; *bhavyādīmantreṣu(ra?) tu* D.

314 *pracaṇḍe*] N; *pracaṇḍo* K, *pracaṇḍo* D.

315 *ākṣi*] em.; *ākṣi* codd.

316 *mantrā*] em. Sanderson; *mantrāḥ* N; *mantraḥ* K; *mantra* D.

317 *svanāmoccāraṇam*] conj. (*hyper.*); *svanāmoccāraṇa* codd. (*hyper.*)

318 *huṃhuṃphaṭkārayojitam*] em.; *huṃhuṃphaṭkārayojitā* codd.

319 *svanāma*] N, D; *svanā* K.

320 *parama omkāraḥ*] em.; *param omkāraḥ* K, N; *paramo kāraḥ* D.

321 *pūjādivīdhayaḥ 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 Pracanda and the rest, the first *hum* is short [i.e., *hum*] and the second is long [i.e., *hiim*]. This is to be learned orally from the guru. But it will be stated below that according to the view of Bhavya[kirti?] and others their mantras are *om pracande hum hum phat. om candaksi hum hum phat*, etc. This is how they explain the text of scripture:

for [these] mantras there is the utterance of [the goddess's] own name with *hum hum phat*.

The mantra of each of these yoginis is her own name, but *om* is to be placed before it and *hum hum phat* 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 –

kṛṣṇayaṃkārasaṃbhūtaṃ dhanvābhaṃ vāyumaṇḍalam |
raktam asyopari madhye raṃjātaṃ³²⁴ vahnimaṇḍalam | (59)
{K66r}

tasyopari sthitaṃ śuklam āḥkārajaṃ karoṭakam |
†ākṛāntakamtrayodbhūta³²⁵ trimuṇḍakṛtacullikam³²⁶ | (60)
{D49r}

pañcāmṛtādi oṃādibijajaṃ³²⁷ tadadhiṣṭhitam |
tadrūpeṇa karoṭasthaṃ³²⁸ raktādyam³²⁹ ca³³⁰ vicintayet | (61)

†oṃāditi: oṃ <buṃ/vuṃ> āṃ jṛīm³³¹ khaṃ hūṃ³³² lām mām
pām tām iti pañcatathāgatacaturdevīnām bijāni.

vāyūddiptāgnitāpena³³³ vilinaṃ tatra bijajaṃ³³⁴ |
vikṣya³³⁵ tad dāḍīmīpuṣpa³³⁶ varṇena sadṛśa³³⁷ dyutim | (62)

323 *balyamṛtāsvādanam*] conj.; *balārtham amṛtasvādanam* codd. (or conj.: *balyādyamṛtāsvādanam*). The Tibetan text (p. 44.5) reads *gtor ma bdud rsir bsgrub par bya ba* “the practice of making the bali into nectar.”

324 *raṃjātaṃ*] em.; *yaṃraṃjātaṃ* codd.

325 *bhūta*] K, D; *bhuta* N. Sanderson notes that the Tibetan indicates the Sanskrit *ākṛāntatatrāyodbhūta- (*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; *bijaṃ* D.

328 *tadrūpeṇa karoṭasthaṃ*] K, N; *ta(ṭṭa?)peṇa karoṭakam(tyaṃ?)* D.

329 *raktādyam*] codd.; Tib. reads “food etc.” (**bhaktādi*, p. 44.7: *bza' ba la sogs*).

330 *ca*] K, D; *caram?* N.

331 *jṛīm*] K, N; *jīm* 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 dāḍīmīpuṣpa*] conj; *tadā ḍīmīpuṣpa* codd.

337 *sadṛśa*] K, N; *sadṛśam* D.

[§35] In that [*bali* ritual], the tasting of nectar with the *bali* (*balyamṛta-svddanam*) is taught as follows:

(59) [The practitioner should visualize] a bow-shaped wind mandala arisen from a black *yam*; above it, in the center, a red fire mandala as a transformation of *ram*.

(60) [He should visualize] a white skull bowl generated from *ah* above (*akranta*-) a hearth (*-cullikam*) that has been fashioned from three heads (*mundam*) produced from three *kam* [syllables].⁵⁸⁶

(61) In the skull bowl, he should visualize the five nectars and so on, produced from the seed-syllables *om*, etc.; [he should see them] presided over by those [same syllables] in their [alphabetic] form, and red, etc. [in color].

"*om*, etc." means: *om* <*bum/vum*> *am jrim kham hiim lam mam pam tarn*, [namely *om* plus] the seed-syllables of the five tathagatas and four [mother] goddesses."⁵⁸⁷

(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."⁵⁸⁸

xlvi The ten syllables (*om* plus the rest) refer to the five nectars and five meats,

xlx 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 = *Cakrasamvarabalividhi* p. 57: *abhinavabhdnuvarnadravariipam*).

tato hūmbhavaḥkhaṭvāṅge³³⁸ sudhātmādhomukhe³³⁹ site |
vilīne śuklaśīṭalaṃ dravaṃ tasyāvalokayer³⁴⁰ | (63)

tasyopary ālikālinām³⁴¹ 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
arghādīpurāḥsaram pūjayitvā {K66v} –

*<om> anyonyānugatāḥ sarvadharmāḥ parasparānupraviṣṭāḥ
sarvadharmāḥ hūm

338 khaṭvāṅge] K, N; śadvāmgaṃ D.

339 mukhe] em.; mukho codd.

340 vilīne śuklaśīṭalaṃ dravaṃ tasyāvalokayer] conj.? (unmetric.); vilīye dravaṃ
śuklaśīṭalaṃ sya* avalokayer K; -śuklaśīṭalaṃ avalokayer N; -śuklaśīṭalaṃ.
*valokayer D (cf. Finot p. 57: -śuklakhaṭvāṅge vilīne taṃ dravaṃ
pāradavarṇa<ṃ> śītibhūtaṃ dṛṣṭvā...).

341 tasyopary ālikālinām] conj; tasyoparirry ālikālinām 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.; ānita K, N; ānite D.

- (63) He should visualize a skull staff [above the skull bowl], produced from *hum*, 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] *om ah hum*, 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:

He should draw down the circle of deities with the flame hand gesture (*jvlddmudra*) and the syllable *phet*, and honor them with guest water and the other [offerings]. After reciting the mantra

*<om> anyonydnugatdh sarvadharmdh paraspardnupravistdh
sarvadharmdh hum'*

"All existents (*dharma*s) mutually accord with each other; all existents are mutually interpenetrating."

iti mantrapāṭhapūrvakam candrasūryārūḍha³⁴⁸ hūṃkāradvaya-
pariṇāmeṇa vajrāñjalikṛtakaratale³⁴⁹ amṛtabhāṇḍam avasthāpya
dhyātvā vā³⁵⁰ abhimatasiddhyartham paṭhed idam –

devyaḥ pramāṇam samayaḥ pramāṇam taduktavācaś ca param
pramāṇam |

etena satyena bhaveyur etā devyo mamānugrahaheṭubhūtā<ḥ>
| (67)

iti. tataḥ pūjyapūjāpūjakān abhedena paśyēt.³⁵¹ {D49v}
pūrvādidikṣu³⁵² vāmenāvartena vidikṣv agnikoṇam ārabhya
dakṣiṇenāvartena³⁵³ bhāṇḍam bhrāmāyan
hūṃbhavavajrajihvānām[†] devatānām mantradvayaṃ paṭhaṃś
tad amṛtam upaḍhaukayēt.

<v. 68^{†354}>

[§37] tatrāyam mantraḥ –

om̐ kara kara, kuru kuru, bandha bandha, trāsaya trāsaya,
kṣobhaya kṣobhaya, *hraum̐ hraum̐*,³⁵⁵ <³⁵⁶> hrah̐ hrah̐,³⁵⁷ phem̐
phem̐, phaṭ phaṭ,³⁵⁸ daha daha, paca paca, bhakṣa bhakṣa
vasa³⁵⁹ rudhirāntramālāvalambini,³⁶⁰ grihṇa grihṇa³⁶¹

348 *ārūḍha*] K; *ā - ḍha* N; *o(rū?)ḍha* D.

349 *karatale*] ?em.; *karatalam* codd.; (*vajrāñjalikṛtakaratale* Finot p. 57).

350 *avasthāpya dhyātvā vā*] conj.; *avasthāpayitvā vā* K, D; *apasthāpayitvā vā* N.

351 *paśyēt*] Kac.; *paśyēt* °Kpc. (see “v. 68” for insertion); *paśyēt. śuktijam̐→dāpayet* N, D.

352 *pūrvādidikṣu*] N; *pūrvādikṣu* K, D.

353 *dakṣiṇenāvartena*] conj.; *dakṣiṇāvartena* codd.

354 *śuktijam̐→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 *hraum̐ hraum̐*] codd.; *hrem̐ hrem̐* §33 (see variants).

356 omit] conj. (§33); *kṣmām* 2 K, N; (*) 2 D(del).

357 *hrah̐* 2] K, N; *hre* 2 D.

358 *phaṭ* 2] N, D; *phaṭ* °K.

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 *hum* syllable on each in order to make them into (*-parindmena*) 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 *hums*. [He should do this] while reciting the two mantras [given below].

<v. 68>ⁿ

[§37] Here is the [first] mantra [for the twenty-four goddesses of the sites]:⁵⁹⁰

*om kara kara, kuru kuru, bandha bandha, trasaya trdsdya,
ksobhaya ksobhaya, hraum hraum, hrah hrah, phem phem, phat
phat, daha daha, paca paca, bhaksa bhaksa vasarudhirdntra-
maldvalambini, grihna grihna saptapdtldagatabhujarigam*

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, *dhili dhili*,³⁷⁰ dhili dhili,³⁷¹ hūṃ hūṃ³⁷² phaṭ

iti. ayam mantra ekavāraṃ paṭhitavyaḥ.³⁷³

[§38] {K67r} tad anu ca –

†om vajrāralli hoḥ jaḥ hūṃ³⁷⁴ vaṃ hoḥ, vajraḍākinyaḥ samayas
 tvaṃ dṛśya hoḥ.

ity ayaṃ mantra. ekadvitricatuhṣaṅcavārān uccārya dhaukayed
 amṛtam. tata ācamanādikaṃ kṛtvābhimata³⁷⁵ siddhyartham
 ślokaṃ idaṃ paṭhet –

bhavaśamasamaśaṅgā³⁷⁶ bhagnasamkalpabhaṅgāḥ³⁷⁷
 kham iva sakalabhāvaṃ³⁷⁸ bhāvato vikṣamāṇāḥ |
 gurutarakarūṇāmbhaḥ³⁷⁹ sphītacittāmbunāthāḥ
 kuruta kuruta devyo mayy atīvānukampām | (69)

362 *bhujāṅgaṃ*] K; *bhujaṅga* N, D.

363 *ākaḍḍa* 2 OR *ākaṭṭa* 2] K; *ākadya* 2 N, D, *ākaḍḍhya ākaḍḍhya* Tib. (See variants §33.)

364 omit] conj. (§33); *blaum* codd.

365 *jloṃ* 2] N, (§33); *jlaum* 2 K; *jrom* 2 D, *jñauṃ jñauṃ* Tib. (See variants §33.)

366 *kṣmām* 2] K; omit N, *ksyām* 2 D; *ksyām, 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 Cakravartini).

370 *dhili* 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 *ekavāraṃ paṭhitavyaḥ*] em.; *ekavāraḥ paṭhitavya* codd.

374 *jaḥ hūṃ*] K, N; *ja hum* D.

375 *kṛtvābhimata*] corr.; *kṛtvā 'bhimata* K, N; *kṛtvā abhimata* D.

376 *bhavaśamasamaśaṅgā*] N, D; *bhavaśamasanaṅgā. masanaṅgā* 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 vd tarjaya tarjaya, akadda akadda, hnm hrIm, jlom
jlom, ksmdm ksmdm, ham ham, him him, <hum hum>, kili
kili, sili sili, dhili dhili, dhili dhili, hiim hiim phat"*

This mantra is to be recited once.

[§38] And then this mantra [for the thirteenfold mandala]:

*om vajraralli hohjah hum vam hoh, vajraddkinyah samayas
tvam drs'ya hoh"*

Having recited [it] once, twice, three, four, [or] five times, he should offer the nectar. Then having performed the sipping (*dcamanam*) [*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 (*bhadvatah*), 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 Vajraralli!... Vajradakinis! You [singular] are the pledge! Ah, pleasing!"

iti.

- [§39] tato 'ṣṭaśmaśānasthitadikpālādīnāṃ dikṣu vidikṣu ca pūrvavat
bhrāmayan³⁸⁰ mantraṃ dvitrivārān paṭhann³⁸¹ upaḍhaukayed
amṛtam.³⁸²
tatrayam mantraḥ – {D50r}

om̐ kha kha khāhi khāhi
sarvayakṣarākṣasabhūtapretapiśāconmādāpasmāraḍākaḍākinyā-
daya³⁸³ imaṃ balim̐ grhṇantu samayaṃ rakṣantu mama
sarvasiddhim̐ prayacchantu yathaiṣaṃ yatheṣṭaṃ bhuñjatha
pibatha jighratha mātikramatha mama sarvākāratayā satsukha-
vivṛddhaye³⁸⁴ sahāyakā bhavantu hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā.

iti dikpālāḥ samtuṣṭāḥ santo bhāvakasya siddhim dadato
draṣṭavyāḥ. {K67v}

- [§40] tad anu teṣāṃ samudāyena tāmbulādikaṃ dattvā cchomakahas-
tena samcchomya vāmena nyūnādhikavidhiparipūraṇārthaṃ
ghaṇṭāṃ vādyaṃ pūrvam̐ paṭhen mantraṃ amuṃ – {N48r}

om̐ vajraheruka samayaṃ anupālaya, herukatvenopatiṣṭha,
dṛḍho me bhava, sutoṣyo me bhava, supoṣyo me bhava, anu-
rakto me bhava, sarvasiddhim̐ me prayaccha, sarvakarmasu ca
me cittam̐ śreyaḥ kuru hūṃ, ha ha ha ha hoḥ bhagavan vajra-
heruka mā me muñca, heruko bhava mahāsamayasattva āḥ
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 *satsukhaviṣṭuddhaye*] 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 khahi khahi sarvayaksardksasabhiitapretapis'd-
conmdddpasmdraddkaddkinyddaya imam balim grhnantu
samayam raksantu mama sarvasiddhim prayacchantu yath-
aivam yathestam bhunjatha pibatha jighratha mdtikramatha
mama sarvdkdratayd satsukhavivrdhaye sahdyakd bhavantu
hiim hum phat svdhd'"*

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 (*samuddyena*), he should make the signals (*samcchomya*) 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 samayam anupdlaya, herukatvenopatistha,
drdho me bhava, sutosyo me bhava, suposyo me bhava, anurakto
me bhava, sarvasiddhim me prayaccha, sarvakarmasu ca me
cittam sreyah kuru hiim, ha ha ha ha hoh bhagavan vajraheruka
ma me munca, heruko bhava mahdsamayasattva ah hiim phat'"*

liv "...Eat! All *yaksas*, demons, spirits, hungry ghosts, *pis'ded* demons, madness [demons], epilepsy [demons], dakas, dakinis etc.! May you accept this *balii*! 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 (*sarvdkdratayd*)!"

Iv "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!... (laughet)... 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 Vajravarahi 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
 yogi³⁸⁷ *śucipradeśe vāmahastaṃ dattvā*³⁸⁸ {D50v} *oṃ sumbha*
nisumbhetyādīmantracatuṣṭayam uccārya
*pañcāmṛtasugandhādivaṭikayā*³⁸⁹ {K68r} *pañcāmṛtādyabhāve*
*'nyatamamiśritayā vā gomayamiśritayā vā madhya*³⁹⁰ *vartulaṃ*
trikoṇaṃ maṇḍalaṃ kṛtvā
*tanmadhyāvasthita*³⁹¹ *rakta*<*padma*³⁹²> *karṇikāyāṃ hṛdayanirgataṃ*
*vaṃkāraṃ avasthāpya tadbijaraśmibhir*³⁹³ *jñānasvabhāvāṃ bhaga-*
vatiṃ āniya vaṃkāre praveśya tatpariṇatāṃ bhagavatīm paśyet.

[§42] *tato hṛdbijavinirgatapuṣpādyaiḥ saṃpūjya
 yathā*vidhīśodhita*³⁹⁴ *vāmakareṇa oṃ āḥ hūṃ* iti mantraṃ
 uccārayan puṣpaṃ dadyāt tad anu {N48v}
 hṛdayopahṛdayāṣṭapadais ca puṣpaṃ dadyāt. tad anu

385 *āliṅganābhinayaṃ kṛtvānāmikāṅguṣṭha* conj.; *āliṅganābhinayenānāmikāṅguṣṭha-*
 K, N; *ābhinayanā-* D; cf. *āliṅganābhinayaṃ kṛtvā cchoṭikāṃ ca dattvā* (GSSII
 §45); *āliṅganābhinayapūrvakam* (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. *hastam dattvā* (GSS5); *samputahastam*
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]

om yogasuddhdh sarvadharmdh yogas'uddho 'ham'

he should gratify [the deities] with the lotus-turning gesture (*kamaldvartamudra*)⁵⁹⁵ [then] releasing that mudra, 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 *om muh*,⁵⁹⁶ [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 (*prdtah*);⁵⁹⁶ [then] having placed his left hand on a pure spot⁵⁹⁶ [and] having recited the set of four mantras beginning *om sumbha nisumbha* [§3], he should make a mandala [of] a triangle [V] with a circle inside, using a pill (*vafika*)⁵⁹⁷ 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 mandala within the triangle V], he should install, on the pericarp of that red lotus within the mandala, a *vam* syllable, [which he should visualize as having] emerged from his heart. Having [then] drawn down the goddess in her wisdom form (*jndnasva-bhdva*) with the rays from that seed-syllable, and having made her enter into the *vam* syllable, he should visualize her transformed out of that [*vam*].

- [§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 *om ah hiim*. Then he should also (*ca*) offer a flower with the heatt,

lvi "All existents are pure by yoga; I am pure by yoga."

lvii For *kamaldvartamudra*, the lotus-turning gesture, see chapter 3.

lviii An hour and a half, or two hours, before dawn.

lix Sometimes *vatika* is interchangeable for *gudika* or *gulika*, meaning "pill," or as here, something more paste-like.

śmaśānasthita³⁹⁵ dikpālādikaṃ tryakṣareṇa saṃpūjya nāma vidarbhitaṇa pūjayet.

[§43] *tato vāmakaravinyastānāṃ devatānāṃ tattat³⁹⁶ sthāneṣu tattanmantreṇa³⁹⁷ vakṣyamāṇena³⁹⁸ om ha ityādinā³⁹⁹ puṣpaṃ dadyāt.

<tatas tad vāmakaragatapūṣpaṃ aṣṭapadamanthroccāraṇa>-
pūrvakaṃ maṇḍale prakṣipyā śirasi puṣpāñjalim baddhvā
vāmakaragataṃ⁴⁰⁰ devatācakram⁴⁰¹ ātmani praveśayet.

[§44] *tato hṛdayaṣṭapadamantrair anyaiś ca stotraih⁴⁰² stutim {K68v} ca
kṛtvā pāpadeśanādikaṃ dhyānajapapraṇidhānādikaṃ ca kṛtvā –

[§45] *nyūnādhikavidhicchidrapūraṇārthaṃ śatākṣaramantram paṭhet.
tad anu om yogaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmā yogaśuddho 'ham {D51r}
iti mantrapāṭha⁴⁰³ pūrvakaṃ kamalāvartamudrayā saṃtoṣya tan-
mudropasaṃhāreṇāliṅganābhinayaṃ⁴⁰⁴ kṛtvā cchoṭikāṃ ca dattvā
bhūmiṃ⁴⁰⁵ sprśan om mur iti mantreṇa visṛjya tāṃ devatīm
ātmani praveśayet. tato maṇḍala⁴⁰⁶ rekhāṃ 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 vāmakaragatapūṣpamadhapadoccāraṇa(mg2) 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.; devatācakram codd.

402 stotraih] N, D; stautraiḥ K.

403 pāṭha] K, N; pātha 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 (*ndmavidarbhitena*)!"

[§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 *om ha*, etc.," which I shall state presently. <Then (*tatas*)> having thrown onto the mandala <that flower in [his] left hand> with (*purvakam*) <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 [*brahmavihdra*] meditations, the recitation [of the emptiness mantras], and the [bodhisattva] vow (*pranidhnam*)."

[§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 (*purvakam*) of the mantra recitation

*om yogasuddhdh sarvadharmdh yogas'uddho 'ham'*TM

he should gratify [the deities] with the lotus-turning gesture (*kamaldvartamudra*), [then] releasing that mudra, he should make the gesture of embrace, and having given a snap [of the thumb and

The syllables are those of the armor (*kavaca*) deities and are thus a means of protecting the deities generated on the hand by armoring.

The list describes the meditations preparatory to the sadhana.

Translated as above §40.

evam anayā⁴⁰⁸ diśā dvitīyādibhāvanākrameṣu devatīnām
pūjākramaḥ svayam ūhanīyaḥ.⁴⁰⁹

[§46] [†]atha hastapūjavidhir ucyate. gaṇamaṇḍalādaḥ sveṣṭadevatāyukto
mantrī vāmahastavṛddhātarijjanī⁴¹⁰ madhyamānāmikākaṇiṣṭhāsu
nakheṣu ṣaṭsu⁴¹¹ yathākramaṃ vajrasattvavairocanaṃ itābhākṣo-
bhyaratnasambhāvāmoghasiddhirūpān śuklasita⁴¹² raktakṛṣṇa-
pīṭaśyāma⁴¹³ varṇān.

{N49r}

[†]om ha,⁴¹⁴ nama hi, svāhā huṃ, vaṣaṭ he, huṃ huṃ ho, phaṭ
haṃ⁴¹⁵

iti mantrān nyaset. karodare tu jhaṭiti niṣpannaṃ raktaṃ
pañcadalakamalaṃ {K69r} dhyātvā karṇikāmadhye
vajravārāhisvarūpaṃ raktaṃ “om vaṃ” iti <bījaṃ⁴¹⁶> paśyet.
pūrvottara paścimada kṣiṇakoṇadaleṣu⁴¹⁷ yathākramaṃ
yāminī⁴¹⁸ mohinisaṃcālīnī⁴¹⁹ saṃtrāsini caṇḍikāśvarūpāni
nilaśuklapīṭaharita dhūmrādhūsaravarṇāni –

408 *evam anayā*] K, N; *evaṃ matayā* D.

409 *svayam ūhanīyaḥ*] K, N; *svayaṃ muhanīyaḥ* D.

410 *hastavṛddhātarijjanī*] Kpc., D; *ha(stavṛddhātarijjanivāmaha)statarijjanī* K(del); *hastavṛddhātarijjanī* N.

411 *kaṇiṣṭhāsu nakheṣu ṣaṭsu*] K, N; *-ṣa(ta)su* D(correction mark). The Tibetan reads “the thumb’s face” **aṅguṣṭhamukha* (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. *śuklapīṭaraktakṛṣṇaharita* (SM253=GSS5, i.e., omitting *sita*); Finot’s ms. is missing here altogether.

413 *pīṭaśyāma*] Kac.; *pīṭa śyāma* K(mg3) (Tibetan *akṣaras* on K68v6 gloss *śyāma* as *harita* at the insertion mark); *pīṭaharita* N (=GSS5=SM253); *pīṭa* D.

414 *om ha*] K, D; *om haḥ* N.

415 *phaṭ haṃ*] K; *phaṭ 2 haṃ* N, D.

416 *bījaṃ*] GSS5 (understand dual); omitted GSSr codd.

417 *daṣṣiṇakoṇadaleṣu*] conj.; *daṣṣiṇāsu koṇadaleṣu* K, N; *daṣṣiṇeṣu 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 rnam 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 muh*, [uttered] while touching the ground, [and then] make that goddess enter into himself. Then [finally] he should erase the outline (*rekhd*) of the mandala.

Along the same lines (*evam anaya dis'd*), 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 (*hastapujd*) is explained. The mantrin, who is unified with his chosen deity in the festive mandala (*ganamandala*)⁶⁰⁰ 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, Amitabha, Alcsobhya, Ratnasambhava, [and] Amoghasiddhi, with the colors [pure] white (*s'ukla*), white (*sita*), red, black, yellow, and dark [green]:

*om ha, nama hi, svaha hum, vausat he, hum hum ho, phat
ham*⁶⁰⁰

But in the hollow of the palm, having meditatively produced (*nispannam... dhydtvd*) a red five-petalled lotus all at once, he should see at the center of its pericarp the red <syllable(s)> *om vam* as Vajravarahi. In the eastern, northern, western, southern, <and> [southeastern] corner petals accordingly, he should see the syllables

lxiii The tetra *ganamandala* is parallel to *ganacakra*, the gathering of those who meet on the occasion of a tantric feast.

lxiv These are the Cakrasamvara 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, huṃ huṃ,⁴²⁰ phaṭ phaṭ

iti bijāni paśyet. etatkarasthabijākṣarapratibimbaṃ tricakram⁴²¹
vādhah karapṛṣṭhe⁴²² parisphuvaṃ paśyet.

[§47] †⁴²³tataḥ karagatāni sakala⁴²⁴bijākṣarāṇi {D5iv} *dravadravyeṇa*⁴²⁵
mrakṣayitvā karatalaṃ sarvayoginībhīr adhiṣṭhitam dhyātvā *tad-*
dravādidravyaṃ[†] tryakṣareṇāṣṭapadamantreṇa vā dadyāt.

[§48] † tataḥ saṃpūjya nyūnādhikavidhicchidrapūraṇārtham⁴²⁶
śatākṣaramantram paṭhitvā vajrayoginyā adhiṣṭhānārtham⁴²⁷

devyaḥ pramāṇaṃ samayaḥ pramāṇam | (cf. v. 68)

ityādinādhyeṣya tatkaragatadravyam aparadravye pātre vā⁴²⁸
sthāpayitvā, hasta⁴²⁹lagnena dravyeṇa vāmānamikāgrhītena
hṛjjihvāśīrāṃsi hūṃ āḥ oṃ ity {K69v} uccārya mrakṣayaṃ tad-
devatāvṛndam ātmani praviṣṭam adhimuñcet iti. eṣa tu vidhiḥ
saṃcāratantrokto⁴³⁰ boddhavyaḥ.

420 *huṃ huṃ*] codd.; *hūṃ hūṃ* Tib.

421 *tricakram*] codd. GSSII; cf. *trayacakram* (GSS5=SM253).

422 *karapṛṣṭhe*] GSSII; cf. *karapṛṣṭhe 'pi* (GSS5=Finot).

423 *tataḥ karagatān* → *adhimuñcet*] added GSS5 (=SM253); omit GSSII

424 *sakala*] K, N; *kara* D.

425 *dravadravyeṇa*] conj.; *yathāvidhisodhitamadanena* codd.; cf. *dravadravyeṇa* (GSS5); *dravadravyena* (SM253 ed.); *upadravadravyena* (SM253 mss. AC); *dravadravyāṇi* (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 *tantrokto*] K; *tantroktā* N, D. (Tib. omits *eṣa tu* → *boddhavyaḥ*.)

THE VAJRAVARAHI SADHANA OF UMAPATIDEVA

ham yom, hrim mom, hrem hrim, hum hum, phat phat

in the form of [the remaining five armor goddesses], Yamini, Mohini, Samcalini, Samtrasini, [and] Candika, 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 mandala, with their mantra deities].

[§47] <*> Then he should smear with liquid ingredient[s] (*drava-dravyena*) all the seed-syllables in his hand, [and] having contemplated the palm of his hand as presided over by all the yoginis,TM he should offer these liquids and other substances [that he has smeared onto his hand] (*taddravadidravayam*) 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 VajrayoginI [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 (*grhita*) by the left fourth finger onto the heart, tongue, and head—[while] pronouncing the syllables *hiim ah 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] Patani, Marani, Akarsani, Nartesvari, [and] Padmajvalini, are on his hand."

lxvi The parallel texts read: "...being convinced that the palm of his hand has the nature of the three [mandala] circles presided over by all the yoginis." (See Textual Note.)

[§49] †athavā⁴³¹ pūrvoktavidhiśodhitavāmakarasyānāmikayā⁴³² {N49v} yathā<vidhi>śodhita⁴³³ madanena⁴³⁴ sahitayā trikoṇaṃ vāmāvartena bhūmau maṇḍalakaṃ⁴³⁵ kṛtvā tanmadhye hṛdayavinirgatabijaniṣpannāṃ vajravārāhīm aṣṭaśmaśāśo-bhitāṃ dṛṣṭvā etasyai pañcāmṛtādirūpeṇa niṣpāditaṃ khādyādikaṃ⁴³⁶ tryakṣareṇāṣṭapadamantreṇa vā⁴³⁷ dhaukayitvā padmabhāṇḍādigatadravyam amṛtāyitaṃ madanaṃ vṛddhānāmikābhyāṃ grhītva bhagavatiṃ tryakṣaramantrahṛday-opahṛdayāṣṭapadamantraiḥ saṃtarpayet. śmaśānadevatās⁴³⁸ tryakṣareṇa tarpayet.

[§50] †evaṃ saṃpūjya nyūnādhikavidhicchidrapūraṇārthaṃ śatākṣara-mantraṃ paṭhitvā {D52r} devatādhiṣṭhānārthaṃ pūrvavad adhyeṣya ca <om> yogaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmā yogaśuddho 'ham iti paṭhan kamalāvartamudrayā saṃtoṣya †mudropasaṃhāreṇāliṅganābhinayapūrvakaṃ tricchoṭikābhir om mur iti viśṛjya devatām ātmani⁴³⁹ praveśayet. {K70r} tato bhūmigatamadanaṃ vāmānāmikayā⁴⁴⁰ grhītva hrjjihvāśīrāṃsi hūṃ āḥ om ity uccārya mrakṣayet. karagatam api devatācakram ātmani praviṣṭam avalokayed iti.

431 athavā] codd. GSS11; 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 maṇḍalakaṃ] K, N; maṇḍalaṃ D.

436 niṣpāditaṃ khādyādikaṃ] conj.; niṣpādita khādyādikaṃ K, N; niṣpāditaṃ D.

437 vā] conj.; (k)ā 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 madanaṃ vāmānāmikayā] K, D; (dhra)danaṃ (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 *[Yogini]samcdra Tantra*.^{60†}

[§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 (*krtvd*) on the ground, in a counterclockwise direction, a triangular mandala (*mandalakam*).^{mi} [Then,] in the center of that [triangle], he should see Vajravarahi 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* (?) (*ddi*), [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 (*devatddhisthna*),^{mi} he should gratify [her] with the lotus turning gesture (*kamaldvartamudrd*), [while] reciting the [emptiness] mantra:

om yogasuddhdh sarvadharmdh yogas'uddho 'ham'^{TM"}

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 {N5or} karṇikāvyaavasthitām
jvālāmālākulām devīm juhuyād ity⁴⁴⁶ adhyātmahomavidhiḥ.

[§52] *tad anu –

om āḥ ucchiṣṭavajrādhitiṣṭhemam⁴⁴⁷ balim hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ
phaṭ svāhā,

iti mantreṇocchiṣṭa*balim adhithāpayet*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.; *ucchiṣṭavajrādhitiṣṭhemam* codd.

448 *occhiṣṭabalim adhithāpayet*] 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 [*kamaldvarta*]*mudrd* and making the gesture of embrace, [and then] by [giving] three snaps [of the thumb and fourth finger, §40] with (*iti*) [the syllables] *om muh*. He should [then] make that goddess enter into himself.

Next, having taken the wine on the ground [used for tracing the mandala] on the fourth finger of the left hand, he should smear [it] onto his heart, tongue, and head uttering *hum ah om*. 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 *hiim*.^t [*The practitioner understands Rasand as*] his right hand holding the ladle (*sruvah*)^{'''} and [*Laland as*] his left hand holding the oblation [vessel] (*dhutih*); his navel [*at the Avadhuti*] is the fire pit.^m ^tThis is the rite of internal oblation.

[§52] Next,

*om ah ucchistavajradhitisthemam balim hiim hum hum phat
svaha*)TM

—with this (*iti*) mantra he should go outside and make [the deity of leftovers, Ucchistavajra], preside over the leftover *bali*.

Ixix Monier-Williams (1899) defines ***sruvah*** 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)."

Ixx "***Om ah Ucchistavajra***, preside [over] this *bali*..."

*idānīm *prāguddiṣṭam*⁴⁴⁹ śmaśānam ucyate –

prācyām udīcyām varuṇānvitāyām
yāmeśvarāyām diśi vai śmaśānam |
caṇḍogranāmātha ca⁴⁵⁰ gahvaram ca
*karaṅkakākhyam ca subhīṣaṇam ca | (70)

eṣu śmaśāneṣu⁴⁵¹ śīriṣabodhi⁴⁵²
kaṅkelicūtau kramato drumāḥ syuḥ⁴⁵³ |
indrah kuberō⁴⁵⁴ varuṇo yamaś ca |
prācyādikōṇe patayo⁴⁵⁵ nubodhyāḥ | (71) {K70v}

śrīvāsukis takṣakasamjñakaś ca {D52v}
karkoṭapadmāv iha santi nāgāḥ |
meghās tv amī garjitaghūrṇitau ca⁴⁵⁶
ghoras tathāvartakaśabdavācyāḥ | (72)

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 *śīriṣabodhi*] K; *śīriṣabodhi* N; *śīriṣabodhi* D.

453 *drumāḥ syuḥ*] em.; *drumā* (*syu*)ḥ K(unclear); *drumāś* 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 *garjitaghūrṇitau* 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 Candogra, Gahvara, Karankaka, and Subhisana.^{TM'}
- (71) In these cremation grounds there are the trees Sirlsa, Bodhi, Kahkeli (As'oka), and Cuta, respectively. Know that Indra, Kubera, Varuna, and Yama are the lords [dwelling] in the "area" (? *kone*)^{***} of the east, [north, west, and south].
- (72) Vasuki, Taksaka, Karkota, and Padma are the serpents (*ndgas*) here. The clouds are Garjita and Ghurnita, Ghora, and Avartaka.^{TM''}
- (73) Then in the four intermediate points belonging to Isana (Siva, NE), Vaisvanara (Agni, SE), Jatudhana (Nairrti, SW), and Prabhanjana (Vayu, NW) dwell these very terrifying cremation grounds, in order:

- lxxi "Fierce/Formidable" (Candogra, east); "Deep/Impenetrable" (Gahvara, north); "[Place] with bones" (Karankaka, west); "Very Frightening" (Subhisana, south),
- lxxii (?) *kone* 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" (*Vgarj*: to thunder, roar), "Rolled" (*Jghilrn*: to roll, shake), "Awful Cry" (*Vghur*: to frighten with cries), Avartaka, "Thunder Cloud" (personified).

aṭṭaṭṭahāsadhvanivācyam ekaṃ
lakṣmīvanam nāma tathā dvitīyam |
ghorāndhakāraṃ ca yathārthanāma
kilāravākhyam⁴⁶⁰ kila śabdapurvam⁴⁶¹ | (74)

vrkṣāḥ krameṇa trivāṭaḥ karañjaḥ⁴⁶²
śrīmallatāparkaṭir arjunaś ca |
īśānavaiśvānarajātudhāna-⁴⁶³
prabhañjanān koṇapatīn⁴⁶⁴ pratihi | (75)

nāgās⁴⁶⁵ tu padmo mahatā viśiṣṭo
hulur dvir uktaḥ *kulikaś*⁴⁶⁶ ca śamkhaḥ {N5ov}
eko ghano⁴⁶⁷ dvau *prapurāṇa*⁴⁶⁸ varṣau
caṇḍaś caturtho⁴⁶⁹ jaladāḥ⁴⁷⁰ syur etc | (76)

idaṃ vidhāyopacitaṃ madiyaṃ
puṇyaṃ śaraccandramarīcīgauram |
tenāhatāśeṣavikalpadoṣāḥ
śrīvajradevipadaviṃ labhantām⁴⁷¹ | (77)

<⁴⁷²> śrīvajravārāhīsādhanaṃ samāptam. kṛtir iyaṃ paṇḍitamā-
hopādhyāyaśrī-umāpatidevapādānām iti. {K71r}

460 *vākhyam*] em.; *vākhyā* K; *vākhyā(ṃ)* N(del?), D.

461 *kila śabdapurvam*] Kpc.; *kila śabda* '(purvam) K(add2); *kila śabda* - - - N; *śabda* D.

462 *trivāṭaḥ karañjaḥ*] K; *trivāṭaka karañja* N; *trivāṭaḥ 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 Śmasānavidhi 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(lyā)rtho* K(del); *catulyatho* N, D.

470 *jaladāḥ*] em.; *jaladā* codd.

471 *labhantām*] K; *labhante* N, *labhante* - D.

472 *iti śrīguhyasamayatatntre*] D; omit K, N.

- (74) First is Attattahasa,^{lxxiv} Laksmivana is second, [then] the appropriately named Ghorandhakara (Terrible Darkness), and [finally] Kilakilarava.^{lxxv}
- (75) The trees, in order, are the Trivata (Triple Banyan), Karafija, the glorious creeper Parkati, and Arjuna. Know Is'ana (Siva), Vaisvanara (Agni), Jatudhana (Nairrti), and Prabhafijana (Vayu) as the lords of the intermediate directions.
- (76) The *ndgas* are Mahapadma,^{lxxvi} Huluhulu, *Kulika*, and Sakhha. These are the clouds [in the intermediate directions]: Ghana; *Prapurdna* (or: *Prapurana*),^{lxxvii} Varsa, and Canda as the fourth.TM
- (77) Having composed this [sadhana], 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 sadhana of the glorious Vajravarahi.

It was written by Pandita MahopadhyayaTM Umapatideva.

lxxiv Literally, "denoted by the name Attattahasa" (*attatta* is the sound of boisterous laughter especially associated with Siva),

lxxv Boisterous Laughter (Attattahasa, NE), Fortune Fostest or Spring of Splendor or Abundant Wealth (?Laksmivana, SE), Terrible Darkness (Ghorandhakara, SW) and Kila-kila Clamor (Kilakilarava, NW).

lxxvi Literally, "Padma is distinguished by his 'greatness'" (i.e., because of the word *mahd*).

lxxvii Cloud Mass (Ghana, NE), Very Old/Very Full (Prapurana/Prapurana, SE), Rain (Varsa, SW), Deluge Cloud (Canda, NW).

lxxviii *Pandita* (scholar) and *Mahopadhyaya* (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>smaranam</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>ddi</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.
t t	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., §i]	Prose portions of text are numbered editorially.
v., w.	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., {D39W
< >	Angle brackets indicate text added editorially to the Sanskrit text or contain text added by a second hand in the manuscripts (as indicated).
t t	Daggers enclose letter(s) that the editor judges corrupt but cannot emend.
- or ^ or "	Indicate the missing heavy, light, or optionally weighted syllables respectively in a hypometrical verse, e.g., <i>tathdgatdn</i> — <i>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 (*dandah*) is inappropriate, but where the silent omission of the *danda* 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>kdkdsya-kddydh</i>] Kpc; <i>kdkdsyodydh</i> Kac.
add/add2	Added in the manuscript on the same line/added by a second hand on the same line, e.g., <i>iddnim</i> (<i>idam</i>) Kpc(add2). 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>aksara</i> (found only in ms. D). Devanagari paper ms. (ff. 39r3~52v8).
D	Damaged text.
dam.	Deletion of letters in the manuscript by the first hand, or by a second hand, e.g., <i>sthd(nam)</i> K(deh).
del/dek	The reading in the manuscript is due to the scribal error of dittography.
ditto.	
ed. X	Edition by X.
em./em. X	"I have emended" V X has emended."
f., ff.	Folio, folios.
haplo.	The reading in the manuscript is due to the scribal error of haplography.
hyper.	A line of verse is hypermetrical, e.g., <i>...sndpitdh sarvatathdgatdm</i> is shown in the apparatus, <i>sarvatathagatah</i>] corr. (<i>hyper.</i>); <i>sarvatathagatds</i> codd.

VAJRAYOGINI

A line of verse is hypometrical.

Kutila Newari palmleaf ms. (ff. *ftv^yui*).

The reading in the manuscript is due to the scribal error of metathesis.

"For the sake of the meter."

Text is placed in the margin by the first hand/by a second hand, e.g., (*sam*)*kalpa* K(mg2).

Manuscript/manuscripts.

Newari paper ms. (ff. 36V7-**50V2**).

Omitted by X.

"After correction" (*postcorrectionem*), e.g., *sthdnam*] Kpc; *sthd(nam)* K(add2).

folio recto.

A line of verse is syncopated.

Tibetan translation of *Vajravdrdhisddhana* by Uma-patidatta. T oh 1581/Ota 2292, N (T) 292.

The reading or suggested emendation is unmetrical.
folio verso.

Used inclusively to indicate a passage of text, "from X to Y," e.g., *pratitya*-**alika*m, "The passage starting *pratitya* and ending *allkam*."

A syllable in bold indicates faulty meter that is left unemended.

Prose portions of text, numbered for cross reference.
The square bracket encloses the lemma, presented as the accepted reading.

All letters prior to or following⁷ 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., *hantrim kuruta*] K; *hantim* ~ N; *hantl kuru* D (where tilde indicates "*kuruta*" in N).

In a variant, parentheses enclose the letters that are described beside the, e.g., *na(bha)sthdsK(mgi)* means that *bha* has been added in K's margin by a second hand; *mantredyd(va)tK(add)* means the *aksara* "*va*" has been inserted into the line of text in K.

(X?)	In a variant, the letter x is uncertain in the manuscript. In a variant, the letter x is an unfinished <i>aksara</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>aksara</i> . The estimated number of <i>aksaras</i> that the lacuna represents will be given for larger gaps, e.g., <i>vama</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>Cakrasamvarabalividhi</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 Samvarodaya Tantra: Selected Chapters</i> , 1974).

Silent Editorial Standardizations

The text has been regularized in the following respects:

1. Final *m* > *m*.
2. Homorganic nasals in external *sandhi* of *m* > *m*.
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. *Dandas* 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., *hum 2 > hum hunt*.

Scribal variations in these matters have not been recorded unless they are significant.



Plate 15: Tanka of the cosmos according to the *Abhidharmakośa*.
Tibet. Ethnographic Museum of the University of Zürich,
inventory number 13560 (92,5cm x 60cm).

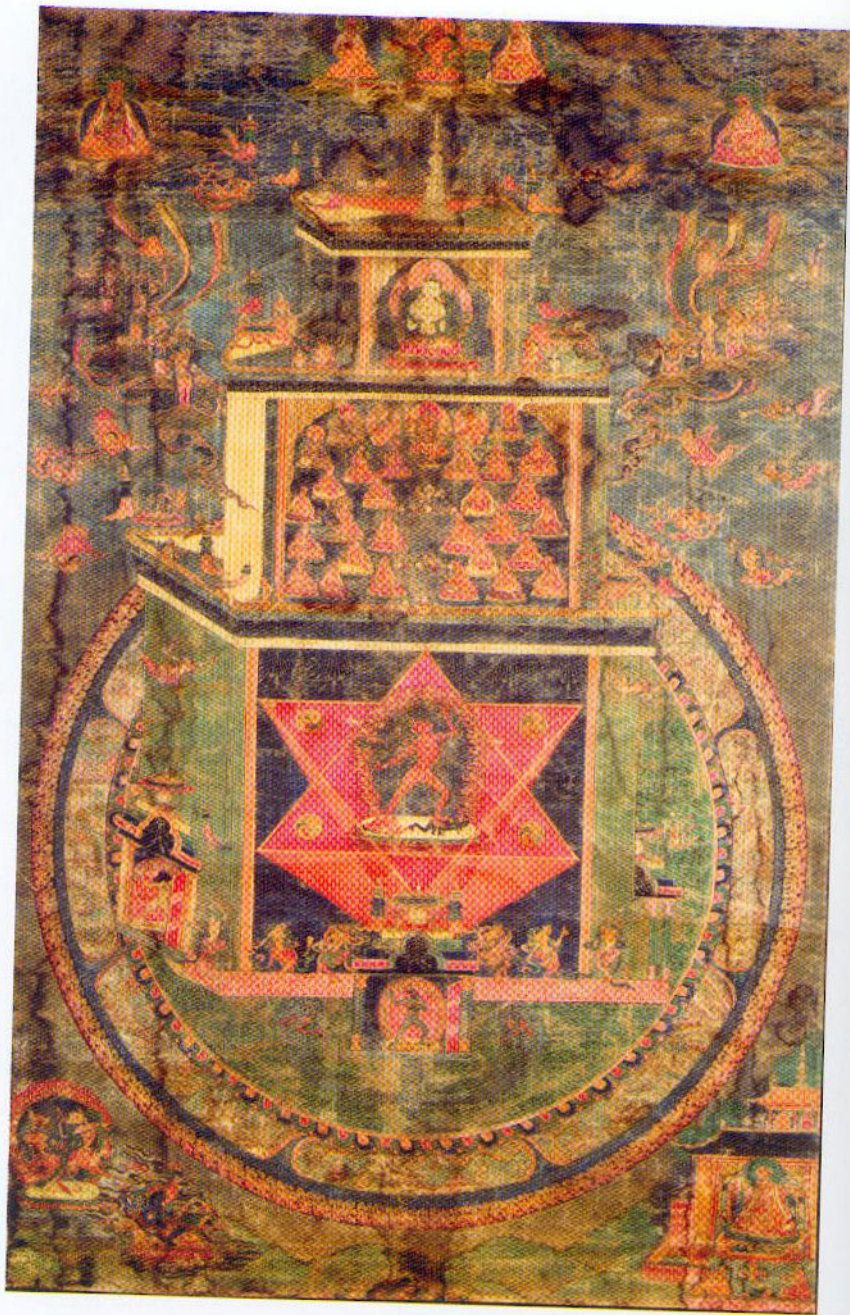


Plate 14: Tangka of "Vajrayogini in Kechara Paradise,"

Tibet, eighteenth century.

Collection of Tibet House, New York.

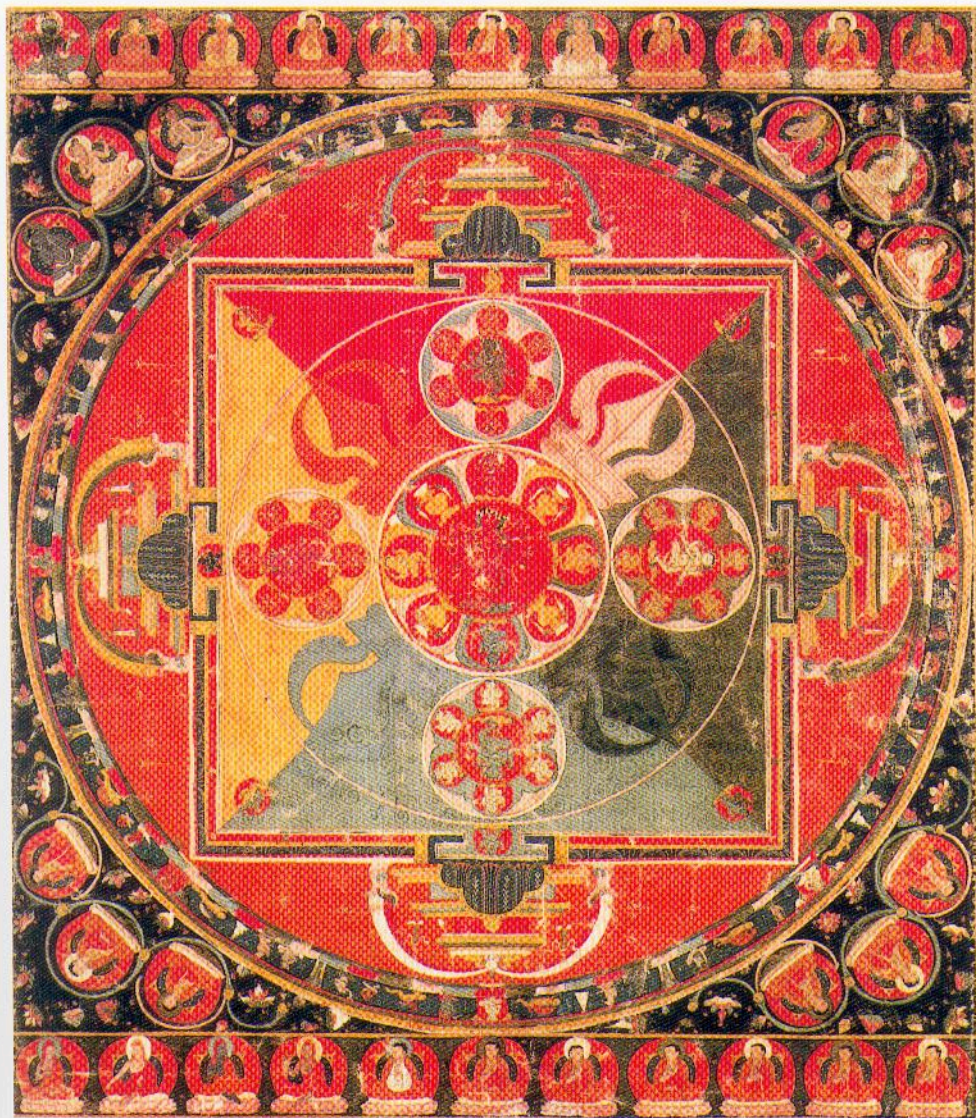


Plate 13: Tangka of Vārāhyabhyudaya Maṇḍala.
Courtesy of Anna Maria Rossi and Fabio Rossi.



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

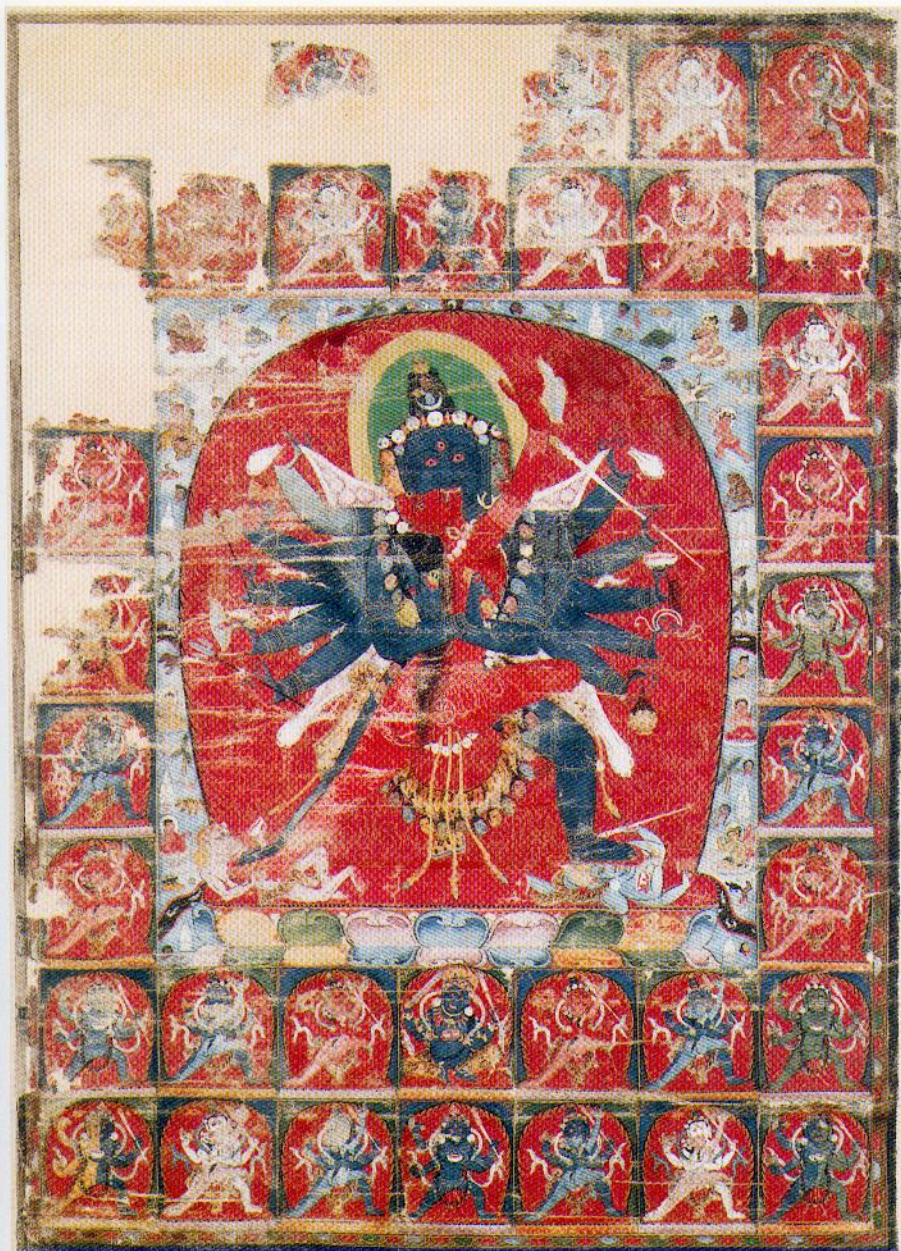


Plate II: Tangka of Cakrasamvara in union with Vajravārāhi.

Khara Khoto, twelfth–thirteenth century.

The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.



a



b



c



d



e



f

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



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

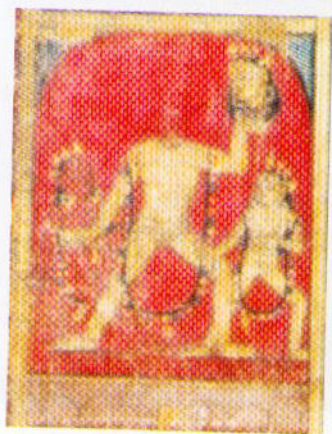


Plate 8: Vajravārāhī tangka (with detail of Severed-head Vajrayoginī).
Nepal, fourteenth century. John and Berthe Ford Collection.



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



Plate 6: Animal-headed Vajrayogini. Tibet, nineteenth century.
Painted clay. Courtesy of the British Museum (0A1948.7-16.24).



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



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

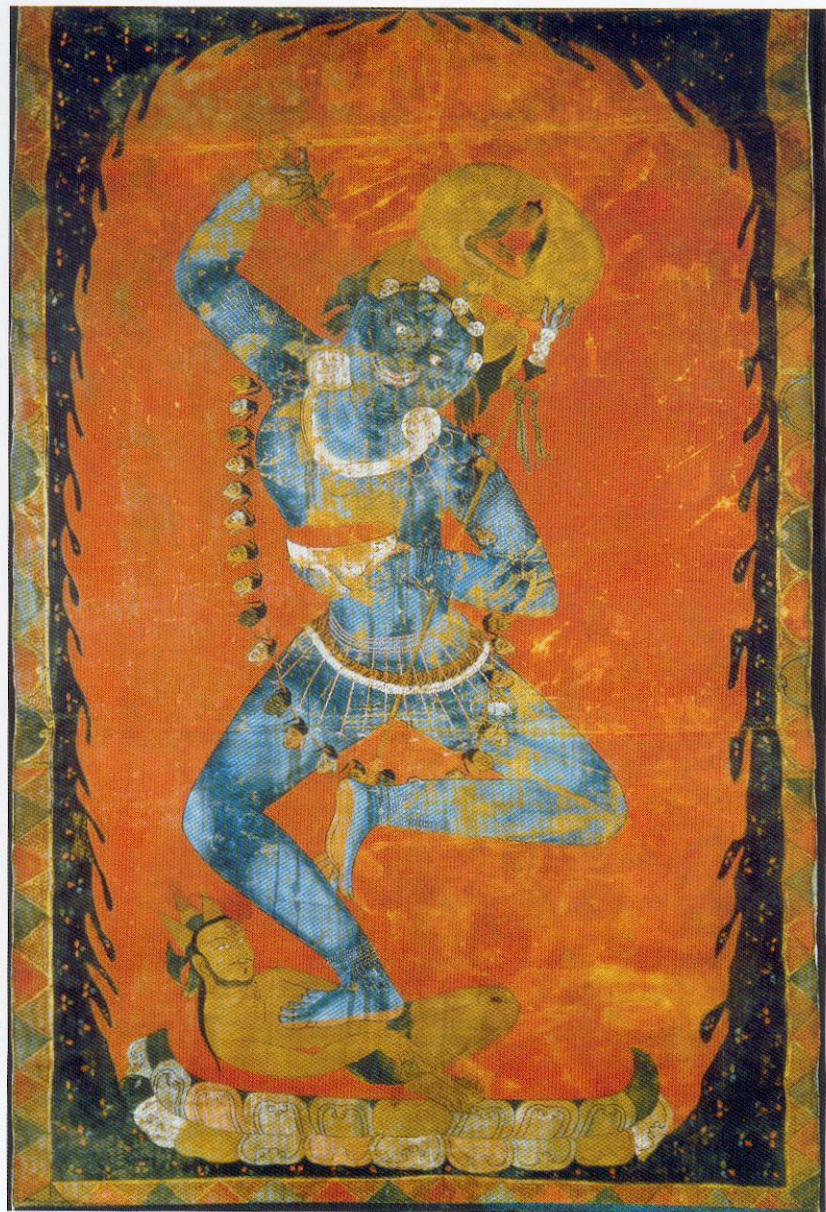


Plate 3: Blue Ḍākinī (Nairātmyā?). Khara Khoto, twelfth–thirteenth century.
The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.



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

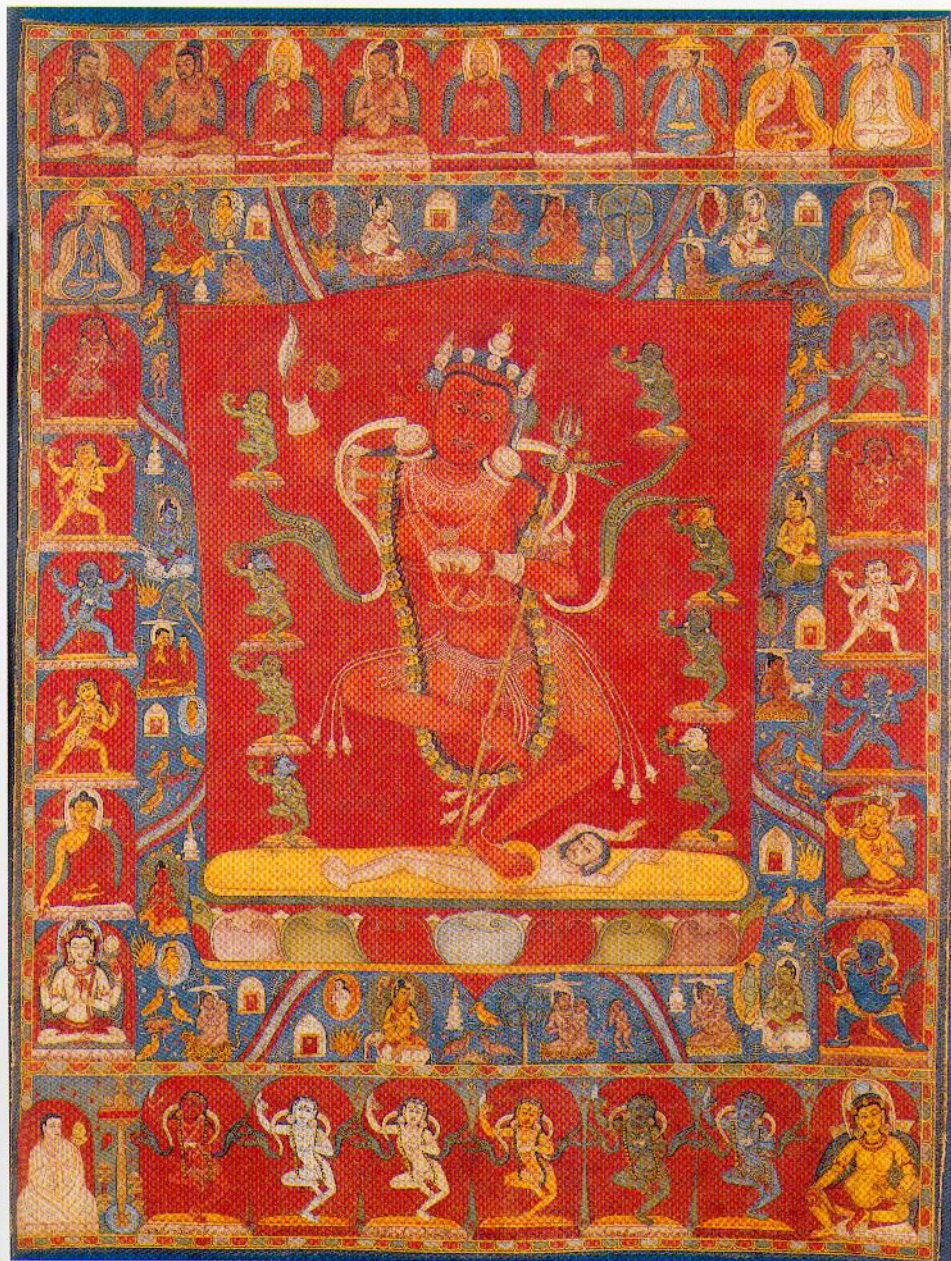


Plate 1: Vajravārāhī tangka. Central Tibet, twelfth–thirteenth century.
Courtesy of Anna Maria Rossi and Fabio Rossi.



Plate 16: Palm leaves from *kuṭiḷa* Newari 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 Guhyasamayasadhanamala (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 *kutīla-newdrī*. K is the oldest and most reliable witness for the collection of sadhanas, 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 sadhana 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 *Dḍkiniguhyasamayāsddhana* (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 *Sddhanamdld Tantra*. The sadhanas 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 *mantroddhḍra* (e.g., f. 52r-v, GSS10). Red *sindīra* powder appears

¹ The term *kutīla* (curved) was coined by Bendall; Sahrtyayana calls it "circular" (*vartula*) (Biihnemann 1994: 21).

on a number of leaves. Tibetan script is found in some of the margins, often bearing the colophon to a sadhana.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 *Vajravardhisiddhanam* appears twice in the collection (GSS2 and GSS11). The two leaves containing the folios were placed together, the second colophon (for GSSn 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, nr-v, 13r, 14V, 28r-v, 29r, 32r, 39r, 40r, 43V, 45r, 53V, 64r, 66v, 67r, 67I, *yoacv*, *jir*, 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, n8r, 120v, 121v, 122r, 123r, 124r, 125V, 127r, 128, 139acv, 140r, 143acv, 144acv, 145acr, 14jacv, 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 *hum*, and possibly a smudged *vam*. 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 *s'loka* saluting the Buddha, Lokanatha, 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 sadhanas (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 2jor 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 Sahgha. A numbered list on the right contains a legible list of the ten knowledges (*dasajndna*).

folio 2jov **GSSI(1)** — the first side of **GSSi**.

folio 2jir-v, or 2yor-v **GSSI(2)-GSSI(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 So (upside down) **GSSi(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 **GSSI(6)-GSS2(1)** and folio **4V** **GSS2(2)**. Ink stain continues.

*folio *o.r-v:* **GSS2(3)-GSS2(4)**. Ink stain continues.

folios nr—6pv **GSS2(5)—GSS11**. These folios appear in the correct numerical sequence until folio 70ac/iopc (**GSS11**).

folio joaclfolio iopc I found this leaf located before folio n and erroneously renumbered 10. It contains the colophon for **GSS11** (*Vajravdrdhissdhdhana*), 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 *bali* 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 refoiled 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 refoiled 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 (N91v1: *parihṛtadaśā. atrāpi trūṭitam asti. syā°*); D inserts nonsense (D94v4: *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 refoiled 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 971pc) → 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/961pc) → f. 97pc/145ac *verso*: GSS46(12) (on microfilm above 142act/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. *Newdriscript*. (Manuscript¹ of Sarnath edition of *Abhisamayamanjari*) 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 dvipatrakhanditau*). There is no collective title for the series of sadhanas. Following the colophon to the last sadhana (f. 98⁴: *iti sriddkiniguhyasamayasddhanam samdptam*), 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 *namaskdra* with four verses, and an illegible colophon. The four lists are the ten knowledges (as in K), the ten *paramitds*, the ten *dhdtus*, and the ten *kayos*. The text of GSSi begins on f. iv, which also contains an attractive line drawing of two-armed *ardebaparyarika-pose* Vajravarahi trampling a single prone corpse, her hog's head clearly visible. The IASWR supplies a handwritten list of contents, with the sadhanas 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 (*sri-Vajravdrdhigopyahomavidhi*), the sadhana for which the first portion is lost in N due to a missing folio. Like N, it also omits GSS28, the sadhana for which the early folios are lost in K. This manuscript supplies an individual colophon to each sadhana that records the name of an overall title for the collection, namely, the *sri-Guhyasamayatantra* (e.g., *iti sriguhyasamayatantra srivajravardhisddhanam samdptam*). This is a title drawn from the final sadhana in the collection (GSS46). This last colophon contains both the name of the final sadhana (*Ddkiniguhyasamayasddhanamdldtantra-*

- 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 *s'ri-Vajravdrdhisddhana* by Umapatideva (GSSn) is not recorded in this list, although appearing on ff. 36V-50V in the ms; (3) The *Vidyddharikramabhdvand* (GSS22) is not recorded as a separate work (see appendix); (4) the final *bali* mantra and colophon to the missing *Vajrayoginisddhana* GSS28 are omitted in N, which leaves no trace of this sadhana in the collection; (5) there is no record in the index of GSS40, the commentarial passage upon GSSi, although this appears in the ms. (ff. 87-88); (6) there is no record in the index of *Vajravdrdbikalpa* (GSS41), although this appears in the ms. with colophon (ff. 88-89).

raja), and the overall name for the collection, *Guhyasamayasadhanamaldtantrardja*."

Tibetan (Tib.) The Tibetan translation of *s'ri-Vajravdrdhisddhana* by "Umapatidatta" (GSS11). Toh 1581/Ota 2292, N (T) 292. (Bodleian reference: Tibetan blockbooks a.68 vol. 24, pp. 32-49). The colophon states that the *sadhana* was translated by Vagisvaragupta with Lotsawa Chos-rab, and was composed by "One who has the lineage of the instructions of Virupa, s'rl-Umapatidatta" (p. 49.7). The translation omits many of the prose expositions that interrupt the verses in the Sanskrit, also the *Abhidharmika* glosses on the body mandala 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 DIOIV: *samdpto 'yam ddkiniguhyasamayasadhanamaldtantrardjeti. vipravamsairi-vajrdcdryajlvaratnena guhyasamayasadhanamaldtantrardja<m> likhitam, subhanabhuydt. •ratnenaj* corr.; *ratnenena* D.
- 6 The Tibetan translation includes the following Sanskrit text: (omits *om*) "Homage to Bhagavan Vajrayogini," w. 1-4, (omits §1), w. 5-7, (omits v.8§), w. 8-12, §2, w. 13-15, (omits §3—§5), w. 16-25, (omits §6), v. 26, (omits §7), v. 27, (omits *tatrdyam sekamantrah* —* v.27§, §8), w. 28-34, (omits §9), v. 35, (omits *prathamobhadvandkramah*.-^* *athd*), §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), w. 55-56, (omits §31), §32-§34, (omits §34 *etac cagurupades'dd boddhavyam* -* *dars'i-tam*), w. 57-61 (omits *om <bum> dm* ...), w. 62-66, §36, (omits v. 68), §37~§48, (omits §48 *em tu* → *boddhavyah*), §49 *athavd* → *kamaldvartamudrayd samtosya* (omits *mudropasamhdrend°* → %<, *juhuyddity*), §51 *adhydtmahomavidhih* → *bahir gatveti*, (omits *iddmm*...w. 70—76), v. 77.
- 7 E.g., *ebhirj* Kac; *ebhi*"(vi)r K(mg2), N(mgi); *evirD*. cf. *candrdrkabljd* Kac; *candrdrka(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 *sadhana* GSS28 is lost, and omits the final *^/r* 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 correct' and on others, more problematic."

Manuscript D is also very close to K and N, but introduces many more errors. The scribe may have been copying from the *newdri* script, since on many occasions he misreads a short vowel for a long." 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: *vajravdrdhyd dvddasa-bhujdydh sddhanam*) and the start of GSS8. At this point, D ascribes a different (corrupt) colophon to GSS7 (*oddiydnapithddisthitadevisddhanam*) and omits GSS8 altogether. If it was reliant solely upon N after f. 29 had

- 8 E.g., *garjitaghurnitau ca* Kpc; *garji(tagburni)tdu ca* KfadU; *garjitt ca* Kac; *gar-jitt ca* N, D. Note that N also omits the mantra syllables that have been included in the margins to reveal the result of *mantroddhdra* in GSS10.
- 9 E.g., *mantrapdthdī* N; *mantrapdtK*; *mantredyd(va)tD*(add). cf. *purvddidiksuj* N; *piirvadiksu* K, D; *pddas* N, D; *pdds* K. cf. *diksuj* N; *diksuh* K, D; *upasthdpakam* conj.; *upasthdnamyakam* K, D; *upasthdnayakam* N.
- 10 E.g., *abhyullasan* K; *-6-san* N; *sat* D (no gap or marked omission in D); *dadhato nabhahsthdn* em.; *dadhato nasthanKac*, D; *-na(bha)sthdsKpc(mgi)*; *dadhatdnah sthds* N; *vlryam uktam* K; *viryendriyam ukta* - N, *virya(m?) indriyam ukta* D; *dharma* em. *pradharmak; pra~ rmma* 'N, *pratidharma* D.
- 11 E.g., *vinds'dc* N; *vindsdcK*; *vinds'dyaD*; *asydgamasydyam* K, N; *esydgamasyoyam* D; *bhuddil* K, N; *bhiitde* D. See also Insignificant Variants.
- 12 E.g., *dddhiye* K; *dddiye* N, D; *punar* K, *(su?)nar* N; *su na* D (marked faulty); *ebhir* Kac; *ebhi"(vi)rK(mgi)*, N(mgi); *evirD*.
- 13 E.g., *kila s'abdapurvam* Kpc; *kila iabda "(purvam)* K(add2); *kila sabda*-N; *s'abda* D.
- 14 E.g., *jandndm* K, D; *janapram* N; *viryam uktam* K; *viryendriyam ukta* - N, *virya(m?) indriyam ukta* D; *vighnavrndam* K; *vmdam* N; *vighnavnidakam* D; *catvdra* D; *catvdri* K, N. cf. *yamadamsnii* K, N; *yamadustri* D; *daksinesu* D; *daksinsu* 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 sadhana is lacking in N.

- As stated above, D employs different colophons for each sadhana, attributing each to the *Guhyasamayatantra*, its overall title for the whole collection; perhaps a late innovation.

Editorial Policy

Except in the edition to GSS11, 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 *Abhisamayamanjari* (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 sadhana, from §41 to §52, is reported in full from the *Abhisamayamanjari* (GSS5) and **Vidhisamgraha* (Finot 1934); see chapter 3 for details.

v.i Verse numbers: All verse numbers are editorial. The meter is *upajdti* (w. 1-35, 67, 70—77) with some verse citations in *anustubh* (v. 8§; v. 27§; w. 36-67; v. 68§) and *mdlini* (v. 69).

v.i *vikramasena*: Umapatideva 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 *Kathdsarit-sdgara*. 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 sadhana literature, and a "conversion" would be antithetical to the esoteric, initiation-based systems fundamental to tantric sadhanas. However, there is some doubt as to whether Umapatideva 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 yatndt* "for the benefit (**artha*) of the one(s) having the section (*sde* = **send*) of force (*rnam pargnon pa* = **vikrama*)" (p. 32.3: *rnam pargnon 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 sadhana. 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 sadhana into meditation stages (*bhdvanakramdh*).

§i Omitted in the Tibetan translation.

§3—§5 *tatrdmi te mantrah* —» *vajrakildkotaya humphad iti*: Omitted in the Tibetan translation.

§3 *grihna*: The orthography here is variable. K uses *grihna*; N and D both use the more correct *grhna*. These mantras in the *Vdrdhyabhyudayantra* (after v. 30) read long vowels in *hum* (rather than *hum*).

§4 <*vajraprdkdrandn*>: Umapatideva'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 *Abhisamayamanjari* (GSS5 Sed p. 129¹⁴, Ki7v-i8r, cited above: ... *caturo vajraprdkdrdn*) 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 Umapatideva). Umapatideva's prior verse description of the visualization also prescribes the erection of four vajra walls (v. i4d: *vajraprdkdrandmnah*). I therefore insert this object into the prose text at §4.

§5 *om gha gha ghdtaya*: G S T ch. 14 also reads *ghdtaya* rather than *ghdtaya* (Matsunaga 1978: 69): *om gha gha ghdtaya ghdtaya sarvadustdn phat kilaya kilaya sarvdpdndn phat hum hum hum vajrakilaya vajradhara djhdpayati kdyavdkcittavajram kilaya hum phat*. (Note that Candrakirti glosses the syllables *gha gha* as vocatives, PU p. 158: *ghdtakety amantranam*) The plural genitive *sarvavighndndm* in our mantra (§5) is attested by the *Pindikrtasddhana* (facsimile edition in Mimaki and Tomabechei 1994 p. 2* ms. A f.2v, p. 31* ms. B f.2r-v). Both the "staging" and "hammering" mantras are found in the *Vdrdhyabhyudayantra*: (after v. 30 and v. 31), with some corruptions and variants.

v.i6a *panjardntar*: As in v. 13 and also in v. 35, the Tibetan text reads "wall" (*ra ba*) for *pahjara*: "The cremation grounds are (*gnas* = *-sthal-sthita*) within that very wall (*ra ba de nyidf* (Tib p. 34.1: *ra ba de nyid nang na dur khrodyang dag gnas*). The reading with *panjara* (Sanskrit mss.) rather than **prdkdrah* (*ra ba*) is supported by two passages elsewhere in GSS11: (a) "within the canopy" (*panjardntar*) appears here in contrast to the preceding passage that begins "outside the canopy..." (*pafijardd bahih... yamaddhyddicatasro devih pas'yet*); (b) the alternative method of generation

supplied below also reads "within the canopy" (GSS11 v.35: *tatpahjardn-tah...devlm vibhvdvayed vd*), although here the Tibetan again reads *ra ba*. Other Vajrayogini/Samvara sources also read *panjara*, e.g., GSS5 (Sed p. 130^b, Kiqri): *vajrapanjarahmadhye dharmadhdtusvabhdvdm dharmodaydm ekdrdm upari vis'dldm adhah suksmdm vicintya*; SUT ch. 17, v. 36ab: *vajrapanjarahmadhye tu smasdndstakabhusitam*. However, the reading with *prkdra* is also found, cf. YRM on HT 1.3.16: *vajraprkdrasv antare ghordstas'mas'dndni tanmadhye kutdgdrodare viharati*.

v.i8a *nihsrtya bijodbhavarasmijldt*: The Tibetan has instead "countless" *dpagmed(*ameya, aparimita, aprameya, etc.)*. Tib p. 34.3: *sa bon las byung 'odzer dpag med phrospayis Iskye bo ma lus byang chub snoddu mdzad 'gyur bos*, "Countless light rays that have radiated from the seed-syllable transform all beings into vessels (*snod* < *bhdjana*, etc.) of enlightenment."

v.i8cd *tatraiva blje hi-^vai*: The Tibetan text has (p. 34.3): *slaryangsa bon de nyid las ni rnal 'byor mas I ma lus pa rnams 'dus paryang dag bsgom bya'o*. "Again (*slaryang*) meditate (*bsgom bya'o*) correctly (*yang dag*) that the yogini(s) (*rnal 'byor mas*, instrumental) from (*las*) that very (*de nyid*) seed-syllable (*sa bon*) gathers in (*'dus par*) everything (*ma lus pa rnams*). "Sanderson (1998: personal communication) suggests that the feminine °*buddhddikdm* would explain the Tibetan's "yogini."

v.i9a *candrdrkabijaprabhavam trinetrdm*: The earlier reading (with *bija*) is a reference to the third stage of the series of awakenings (*pancdbhisambodhikramah*) that has just been described (from w. 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 "*bija* (p. 34.4: *sa bon*).

v.20cd *savajrasavyetara—*dustavmddm*: A literal translation of the Tibetan reads "[Her] other-than-left [hand, i.e., **savyetara*l**vdm*etara] 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 Isdigs 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-pdda*. He notes that the word *prasrtih* means the palm of the hand when the

fingers are contracted (*Amarakos'a* 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 Vajravarahi and a chopper for *ardhavaryarika-pose* Vajravarahi and Vajrayogini, an iconographical distinction that seems to be lost in Tibetan sources; see ch. 3).

Sanderson also points out that the reading *bhutarjani* 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 *bhutarjani* (presumably the finger pointing threateningly to the ground) is entirely appropriate.

§6 *ami te san mantrah*: This prose paragraph is omitted in the Tibetan translation. The corruption *san mudrah* (for *san mantrah*) 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 (Ki3r3): *saddevatisuddhair mantrapadair bhagavatim kavacayet*, but the mantra syllables may have been accompanied by hand gestures (*mudrah*), and it is just possible that the reading "*mudrah*" in the mss. is correct. In a corrupt passage, the Y S C T uses both *mudra* and *mantra* to describe the armoring in *patala* 7 (A4r.7, B5V): *tatah kavacadvayam atmanam jnanacakram vibhavitam. samayacakre pravisy(asysa?) mudramantrena yogina*. Some *sadhanas* supply the syllables and describe their accompanying *mudras*, e.g., SM i (p. 5); SM28 (pp. 68-69): *tatah pancarigavinydsam mudrabhir mantrasamhatdbhih kurydt*; etc.

§7 *jndnasattvapraveśe tu*: §7 is omitted in the Tibetan text.

v.27i *tatrdyam sekamantrah* —>v. 27i, §8: Omitted in the Tibetan text.

v.27i "*om sarvatathdgatdbhisekasamayās'riye hum*" *iti*: There seem to be two traditions in the formulation of the mantra. Our texts (of the Cakrasamvara/Vajravarahi tradition from Luyipada) provide a single *hum* following the dative, "*s'riye*, e.g., HA (fi4r); GSS5 (Sed p. 135, K22V4), SM218 (p. 429), SM251 (p. 493). Elsewhere, other syllables are found, including *svaha*, *ah*, and *phat* as, for example, in ADUT ch. 9 (p. 287): *om sarvatathdgatdbhisekasamayāsriye svaha ah hum*, with variants *svahah hum* or *hum hum*; cf. ADUT ch. 14 (p. 321): *a hum phat svaha* (with variant *hiim hiim*).

§8 *isaddvarjitapancdmrtabhrtavdmakarakapdlebhyo*: The reading of the mss. ("*amrtabhiita*") is a scribal error due to the orthographical similarity between *bhil-* and *bhr-*. The skull bowls are "full" and do not themselves "become" the nectar; cf. SM250 (p. 489): *pancdmrtadravdpurnaih kapdlair*. The scribal error is found elsewhere, e.g., in Kumaracandra's *pahjikd* to the K Y T (p. 127): *pancdmrtabhutakalasair abisicyate*. The reading with *Vbhr* is well attested; see HT 1.4.2 *pancdmrtabhrtaih pancatathdgatdtmakaih kalas'aih*; cf. SM97 (p. 199); Ratnakaras'anti's *Vajratdrdsddhana* (SM110 p. 231); SM228 (p. 446): *pascdd amrtabhrtaih kumbhair abhisicyate*, etc.

v.29d *dkhedam evam punar eva kurydt*: 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 (*d... paryantam*)—may have entered the text by a substitution of an explanatory gloss for a less familiar term, the adverbial *bahuvrihi*, "*dkhedam*."

§9 Omitted in the Tibetan translation.

<iti> *prathamō bhdvandkramah*.[^]**atha*: Omitted in the Tibetan translation. (The other divisions into meditation stages *are* noted in the Tibetan.)

§10 *icchāntam*: The accusative present participle is correct Sanskrit, but the emendation is doubtful. The passage appears three times (§10, §13, §16), with the reading *iccham* in the second and third occurrences. Perhaps *iccham* should be preserved, taken loosely for *icchāntam*?

The Tibetan text from *mahdsukhacakrasthdm*[^]**iti* {v. 36ab} reads "The above [i.e., w. 36—37?] is for the benefit of one who wishes to meditate on the four skull bowls in the four intermediate directions together with Dakini, Lama, Khandaroha, and Rupini, in the east, north, west and south of Vajravarahi, who resides in [the cakra of] great bliss." (p. 36.4-5): *bde ba chen po la gnas pa 'i rdo rje phag mo V shar dang byang dang nub dang Iho phyogs rnams la gnas pa Imkha' 'gro ma dang Id ma dang khanda ro ha dang bsgom par 'dodpa'idon 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): *...danglha mo brgyadsgompar 'dodpa 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 V don du 'khor lo gsum 'di
Ita ste I thugs kyi 'khor lo dang I'gsunggi 'khor lo dang I sku V 'khor lo rnams
zhes bya '0.

w.38—40 The first verse (v. 38 *dakini ca tatha lama*) is scriptural, found in the *Yoginisamcdratantra* (A3r.2, B3V.2) with the reading *dakini tu...* (The scripture continues with a few words qualifying the goddesses as four-armed and one-faced, etc., and then gives a *pdda* similar to that cited at §11.) Luyipada also cites this verse in his HA (with *ca*: f. 6ri), and follows it with prose (or corrupt verse) similar to w. 39—40 plus the line opening §11. The metrically correct version produced by Umapatideva may be an example of "polishing." See also GSS12 (K71V1): the *z-pdda* by itself as in GSS11 with *ca*; SM225 (p. 439): *ddkinim tu...*cited immediately below. These verses seem to form the basis for the prose exposition in GSS3 (Ki2v6) and GSS5 (Sed p. 132", K20V3).

§11 *vidiksu <caiva> catvdro...*: This is another scriptural citation describing the fivefold mandala. It was probably once *anustubh*, as reflected in the Tibetan upon which the conjecture is based (p. 36.7). A similar line appears in the Y S C T (a possible source text) preserving the *anustubh* meter (A f-3r.2; B f}v.2): *vidisena tu catvdrahpāncapurnakārotakam*. It also appears in the SUT ch. 13, v. 28ab *vidiksu ca catvdro bodhicittdibhndakdh*, which is cited in Luyipada's HA (f. 6^4-5, omitting *ca*). Cf. SM225, in which the first *pdda* is that of v. 36a, followed by a hypermetrical *b-pdda* describing the intermediate petals (p. 439): *ddkinim tu tatha Idmdm khandarohdm tu rupinim I vidikpatre tatha bhdydh karotds catvdrah sobhandh*. This *sadhana* is reproduced in the GSS collection (GSS12, K71V), but the first *pdda* appears alone without the *b-pdda* mentioning the skull bowls in the intermediate directions.

§12 *hrdayamantra uktah* The Tibetan text cites the heart mantra in full.

v.41 *yathd ddkinijanasya...*: This verse, with its unusual syntax, is attested elsewhere, e.g., the HA (f. 8r.6-8v); also in GSS44 (Ki39(ac)n) as follows:

yathd ddkinijanasya tatha kdkdsyddi tu bhedatah

*vidiksthds tu tatha devyo° dvau hi rupau'" manoharau
prettsand mahdghordh sattvdrthakaranodyatdh*

The latter *pddas* also occur in the S U T ch. 13, v. 32: *vidiksthne" tatha devi dvau hi rupau manoharau Iprettsanamahdghordh pahcamudrdvibhusitdh*, and a portion of the verse in the Y S C T, but with a different verse describing the corpse thrones (A4r3, Bjr): *savam dkramyapddena dlidhdsanam f asram? tef*.

§22-§29 *atha devatdhamkdraldbhdya...*: The opening line (*devatdhamkdraldbhdya*—* °dharmdh) was probably originally intended to be metrical, as it is translated into Tibetan in four *pddas* within quotation marks (p. 40.1). The same list of equations between the thirty-seven *bodhipdksikadharms* and the site goddesses appears in **GSS5** (Sed p. i40°ff, K26v4-28r). These texts draw on the Y S C T (Aiv6-2r, B1V7): *atha saptatrimisadbodhipdhikd dharmd devatdyogena (?) pujaniydh • ms. A may K&dyunjaninydh...* and even more directly on the HA (ff. 8V3-9V5): *-bodhipaksadharmadevatdyoga....*

§23-§29 The Tibetan text omits all exegetical glosses of doctrinal terms, as follows: omits *tatra caturviparydsndm* —* *anusmrtyupasthdndni bhavanti*; continues *tad yathd kdydnusmrtyupasthdnam* —» *rupini*; omits *grhitagrddhi*°-° *tasyopasthdpakam kdyddyanusmrtyupasthdnam*; continues §24 *catvdra-rddhipddd* —* *mahdndsd, iti*; omits *saddharmavisaye* —* §25 *tad yathd*; continues *sraddhendriyam viramati* —» *airdvati*; omits *tatra viryam uktam* —» §26 *tad yathd*; continues *sraddhdbalam mahdbhairavd* —» *subhadrd ceti*; omits §27 *sambodhyai* —* *tad yathd*; continues *samddhisambodhyangam hayakarnd*°* *suvireti*; omits *samddhis cittaikdgratd* —* §28 *asydngdnyathd*; continues *samyagdrstir mahdbald* —* *vajravarahi*; omits *tatra buddhavdkye* —* §29 *tad yathd*; continues *anutpanndndm kusaldndm dharmdndm utpddanam yamadddhi* —* *yamamathani ceti*, v. 42 etc.

§23 *catvdry anusmrtyupasthdndni*: The usual Abhidharmic term for this doctrinal formula is *smrtyupasthdnam*. Umapatideva uses the variant *anu-*

15 *devyo* | em.; *deviK..*

16 *rupau* | em.; *riipoK.*

17 Tsuda reports *vidiksthne* as an insecure reading, with certain mss. rendering something nearer to ours (e.g., *-stham*, *-sthdm*, *-sthd*).

*vyavasthitā bhdvydh —yathā bdhye pithddisamipasthā nadyas toyena posanam kurvanti tadvad dehe 'pi nddyo nakhddindm posanam kurvantiti samdnatd. bdhye vajrapitham mahdbodhisamjhakam sthnam niranjand ca nadi. dehe mahdsukhacakram vajrapitham avadhiiti niranjand.*³⁰

§33 *om kara kara pracande hum hiim phat*: Both z-stem and tf-stem feminine nouns appear in this mantra with the suffix -ye. The dative inflexion -iye is discussed in n. 432. All feminine proper nouns are unemended here.

§34 *etac ca gurupadesdd boddhavyam^*darsitam*: This is omitted in the Tibetan text. The Tibetan text transcribes all mantras with the distinction commented upon by the author here: *hum hum phat* (as noted in the footnotes to the edition at §12). The distinction between *hum* and *hum* that Umapatideva makes here is clearly differentiated in K, but seems to be lost in other mss. N is small and faint but seems to read *hum hum*. D also reads *hum hum*. Umapatideva'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 sadhana extracted from the ADUT, in which the mss. supply a long vowel in *hum* (GSS7 K43V4-5): *pranavam ndmasamyuktam humhumphatkdrasamyutam*.

v.60 *dkrdntakamtrayodbhuta...*: Sanderson (1998: personal communication) notes that although our Tibetan witnesses prescribe *ah*, Stein records a different Tibetan tradition that supports *kam* (1976-77, p. 533: *Puis trois tetes humaines issues de ka servent depierres du foyer*); Sanderson adds that the reading *kam* is supported in the Sanskrit by the *Kriydsamuccaya* (SP 405.1: *kamjatriculikam dhydyt tadurdhva<m> prthubhdjanam d<h>kdrabijasambhutam*). 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. 135', K22V6): *pascdd amrtsdvddanam kurydt. yamkdrena vdyumandalam tadupariramkdrajgnimandalam. tatra s'ukla-dhkdrajam s'uklapadmabhdjanam mundatrayaktra<m> cullikdvasthitam*; also *Cakrasamvarabalividhi* (p. 56 ll. 25-26): *tatra purato yamkdrena vdyumandalam tadupari ramkdrajgnimandalam tatra sukla-dhkdrajamuridatritayaknacullikdmham suklapadmabhdjanam. •yam] em.; yam Finot • ram] em.; Finot ram; SM251 (p. 494): yamkdraparinatam vdyumandalam tadupari rephaparinatam agnimandalam tadupari rakta-*

dhkdrajam padmabhajanam. Different syllables altogether are given in the VA *om ah hum* {*Amrtasddhanam* SP f.nov): *tatrayamjavdyiipari ramjdgnavau d<h>kdrajasubhrdbjbahdjanam omdhhumjatrimundastha<m>*.

v.6iff. *omdditi-^bijdni*: Omitted in the Tibetan translation. The seed-syllable for Vairocana (*bumlvum*) 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. 135°, K23ri, and Finot 1934: 57). However, it is present in other texts, e.g., GSS16 (K8ir6) and SM251 (p. 494) cited in notes to chapter 3.

§36 *jvlddmudrd*: The GSS mss. *read jlddmudrd*, along with the majority of Cakrasamvara/Vajrayogini texts. As stated (ch. 3), this is something of a hybrid between *jvldd°* and *jldla°*. The former (*jvlddmudrd*) is the version attested in Abhayakaragupta's *Sdmvarikah Sdrvabhautikabalividhi* in the VA (SP f. **I23r4**): *laldtoparijvlddmudrdm krtvdpheaditisdtopam trir uccdrya...*, 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> anyonydnugatdh sarvadharmdh*: The *om* is omitted in all GSS11 mss. but included in the Tibetan translation (p. 45.3). It also appears in the *Cakrasamvarabalividhi* (p. 57) and GSS5 (Sed p. 143°, K^rj) where the mantra is given in a slightly different form (*om anyonydnugatdh sarvadharmd atyantdnupravistdh sarvadharmd hiim*). In other texts, (e.g., GSS4) the more common mantra appears (*om yogasuddhdh sarvadharmdh yogasuddho 'ham*), while other *halt* rituals omit the mantra altogether (e.g., GSS31, GSS35).

§36 *amrtabhdndam avasthdpya dhydtvd vd* (conj.): The missing alternative verbal action is found in parallel texts cited ch. 5, e.g., GSS5 (Sed p. 143°¹², K29V1): *tad amrtabhdndam avasthdpya dhydtvd vd*=Cakrasamvarabalividhi* (Finot 1934: 57): *tad amrtabhdndam avasthdpya dhydtvd ca*; *Sdmvarikah sdrvabhautikabalividhi* (VA SP f.i23r-v): *amrtabhdndam dropya dhydtvd vd*.

§36 *humbhava vajrajihvdndm*: The tongue is often described as white; cf. the parallel passages in GSS5 (Sed p. 143°, K29V3): *humbhavas'uklavajra-jihvdndm*,¹¹ *Cakrasamvarabalividhi* (p. 57): *hiimbhavasuklavajrarasandndm tricakra devatdndm*. Other rites involving the transformation of the tongue

¹¹ *jihvdnam*] em.: *jihvayanamK*.

also include the adjective, e.g., GSSII §51: *śuklahūṃkāraparīnataśuklavajrajihvā-*; GSS5 (Sed p. 145³, K30v3): *hūṃkāraṇiṣpannāṃ śuklavajramayīm jihvām vidhāya ...*; GSS5 (Sed p. 148⁶, K33v1): *omśukla-omkāraparīnatavajrajihvā-*; cf. GSS5 (Sed p. 150⁸, K35r4): *āḥkārajasarojadālābhasvajihvāyām...*

v.68 *śuktijaṃ* → *dāpayet*: Inserted into the lower margin of K66v (possibly by the first hand?):

*śuktije*²² *nārikele*²³ *tu kūrmaje kīcaje*²⁴ *tathā*
bhūkhevarīcarāṇāṃ 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 *upaḍhaukayet* 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 *om vajrāralli hoḥ* → *samayas tvam dṛśya hoḥ*: cf. YSCT (A5r3): *om āralli hoḥ jah hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ vajradākinyah samayas tvam dṛśya hoḥ. evaṃ tricituḥpañcavārānuccārya samayadravyāṇi... (dam)... om kha kha khāhi* etc.; HĀ (f. 14r6): *om āralli hoḥ jah hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ vajradākinyah samayas tvam dṛśya hoḥ vajrāñjalyorddhvavikacā? balim dadyān niśārdhake. om kha kha khāhi* etc.; GSS5 (Sed p. 143¹⁹, K29v3): *om āralli hoḥ jah hūṃ vaṃ ho<h> vajradākinyah samayas tvam dṛśya ho<h> ity anena ekadvitricatuḥpañca-*

22 *śuktije*] conj. Sanderson; *śuktijaṃ* K, N; *muktijaṃ* D.

23 *nārikele*] conj. Sanderson; *nārikela* K, N, *nārikela* D.

24 *kūrmaje kīcaje*] conj. Sanderson; *kūrmajaṃ kīsaṃ* codd.

vdroccdritena dhaukayet; ʔ'mot (1934: 58); GSS16 (K81V4): *om vajrdrallibob jab hum vam boh vajraddkinyah samayas warn drsya hob*.

The sequence *^/* hum vam hob* has been discussed in chapter 3. Other elements of this mantra also appear in earlier texts, such as *samayas warn*, e.g., *Sarvatathdgatatattvasamgraha* (p. 23); *Sarvadurgatiparisodhanatantra* (p. 152): *samayas tvam*, (p. 181): *drsya boh*. The mantra element *vajrdralli* or *dralli* is obscure. There is no dictionary entry in Sanskrit for the word. Sanderson (1998: personal communication) has noted that *dralli* may be derived from Tamil and Malayalam *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); *dral* "power," "wisdom" (*ibid.* s.v. entry 239).

The word appears in compound in GSSi=GSS2, cited in full in chapter 2 (p. 53) (K28ov/ov): *trikonamandalam ramyam vajrdrallivinihrtam*. 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 Mahasukhavajrapada's commentary to the *Canddmahdrosanatantra*, in which the lord of the mandala is said to have "arisen from the *vajrdralli*" (ms. N A K 3-402 N G M P P B 31/7 f. 6v2). Here its function seems to be that of the *dharmodayd*, as in the *Samputatantra* ch. 1 (p. 238): *ekdrkrtimadhye rasasyaivam yathd bhavati I trikone mandale ramye vajrdrallivinihrtam I dharmodayeti vikhydtamyositdm bhaga ity api I tasya madhyegatampadmam astapatram sakarnikam*; cf. *Vasantatilakd* ch. 9, v.6 (p. 73): *vajrdrallau padmagatdni pratidaladiksuvidiksu vinirgatdni*, in which the commentator does not gloss the word and the Tibetan translation transliterates. There is a group of *Vajrdrallitantras* in the tantric canon (e.g., the *Rgi-dralli*), now known only through quotations in surviving literature (Isaacson 1997: personal communication; cf. Bendall 1885: 171). The "*A ra /*" 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. 145^e, K3ir2): *bdhyapujdvidhir ucyate. iha bhagavatim pujayitukdmah prdtar utthdya yathdvasaram vd vajravairocanyogavdn mantri sucipradese hastam dattvd om sumbha nisumbhetyddimantram uccdrya*

§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, GSS11 agrees with Luyipada's HA (f. IIV3): *hum hum hoh*. 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 *Panjikd*, and these are found to agree with K in all instances except *svaha hum*, which Sanderson reports as *svaha 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 *am*) are known in the Saiva technical terminology of *mantras'dstra* as the "five shorts" (*hrasva-*). They are used to form the five "face mantras" of any *miilamantra*, 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 *svaha hum*) "is evidently the result of a scribe's error, a substitution of the common for the exceptional."

The YSCT (A4J4-5) 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 KalfFs mss. of the ADUT, pp. 286-87⁺ d p. 301):

Table 26. *Variants in Cakrasamvara armor syllables*

GSSn	YSCT ms. A/ch. 7, v.2	other variants
<i>om ha</i>	<i>om hah</i>	<i>om hum, om horn</i>
<i>nama hi</i>	<i>namah hih</i>	<i>nama hih, nama hri</i>
<i>svaha hum</i>	<i>svaha hiim</i>	<i>svaha hit</i>
<i>vausat he</i>	<i>vausat he</i>	<i>vausat I vausat hem</i>
<i>hum hum ho</i>	<i>hum hiim horn</i>	<i>hum hiim ho</i>
<i>phat ham</i>	<i>phat phat ham</i>	

=§47 GSS5 cont. (Sed p.147⁺, K32V1): *tatah karagatdn prthivyaptejo-vdyvdkdsadhdtn pdtanimdrani-dkarsaninartesvaripadmajvdlinsvabhvdn adhimuhcet.^ tatas tatkaragatdni bijdksardni dravadravyena^ mraksayitvd*

48 *tatah-*adhimuncet*] GSS5; this appears at the start of the rite in Finot. It is omitted altogether in GSS11.

49 *dravadravyena*] GSS5; *dravadravydni* Finot.

*tatkaratalaṃ*⁵⁰ *sarvayoginyadhiṣṭhitatricakrasvarūpaṃ*⁵¹ *adhimucya taddravādi-dravyaṃ tryakṣaramantreṇāṣṭapadamantreṇa 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 sog 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 nyūnādhikavidhi-pūranārthaṃ śatākṣaram paṭhitvā cakrādyadhiṣṭhānārthaṃ*⁵² *adhyesya taddravam aparadravye 'nyatra vā sthāpayitvā*⁵³ *hastalagnena dravyeṇa vāmā-nāmikāgrhitena hrjjiḥvāśirāmsi hūṃ-āḥ-omkāroccāraṇapūrvakaṃ mraṁṣayan taddevatāvr̥ndam ātmani praviṣṭam adhimuñcet. etat tu vidhānaṃ 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 pīṭhopapīṭhādidasānāmāny*⁵⁸ *uccārayan yathāvidhi śodhitamadanena trikoṇacakraḍvayam abhiliḥhya*⁵⁹ *tanmadhye vartulaṃ maṇḍalaṃ tatra svahṛdbījanirgataṃ tatkiraṇākṛṣṭaṃ vā sādharādheyamaṇḍalāṃ*⁶⁰ *bhagavatīm vicintya tasyai pañcāmṛtādirūpeṇa*

50 *tatkara(talaṃ)*] K(mg); *tatkara(gataṃ)* K(del).

51 *svarūpaṃ*] em.; *svarūpām* K.

52 *cakrādyadhiṣṭhānārthaṃ*] 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 vidhānaṃ* → *hastapūjāvidhiḥ*.] GSS5; *iti likhitā haste pūjā samasya saṃcāra-tantrasaṃbaddhā / smṛtaye mandadhiyām api Śāśvatavajreṇa guruvarāmnāyāt* Finot; *iti likhitā haste pūjā mayā 'sya* (etc. as Finot) SM253 (unmetric).

57 *yadvā*] GSS5=Finot; *athavā* GSS11; *atha* SM253.

58 *pīṭhopapīṭhādidasānāmāny*] GSS5; *pīṭhopapīṭhādisvabhāvapūjetyādi caturviṃsaty akṣarāny* Finot; *pīṭhopapīṭhādicaturviṃsaty akṣarāny* SM253.

59 *abhiliḥhya*] GSS5; *abhilekhyā* K; *ālikhyā* Finot.

60 *tatra* → *sādharādheyamaṇḍalāṃ*] GSS5= SM253; *tatra svahṛdbījanirgataṃ tatra kiraṇākṛṣṭaṃ vā ādhārādheyamaṇḍalaṃ* Finot; (GSS5 Sed reads *vāsādharādheyacakraṃ*).

*niṣpāditaṃ khādyabhojyādikaṃ*⁶¹ *tryakṣareṇāṣṭapadamantrena vā dattvā padmabhājanagatam amrtāyitam madanaṃ vṛddhānāmikābhyāṃ grhītvā bhagavatiṃ svahrdayopahrdayābhyāṃ ḍākinyādiyamamathanīparyantā*⁶² *ca yathāsvam etāsāṃ eva mantraiḥ saṃtarpayet.* [cont. below ≈§50]

≈§50 *tataḥ saṃpūjya nyūnātirekavidhipūraṇārtham śatākṣaram paṭhitvā ganacakrādhiṣṭhānārtham cādhyeṣya – oṃ yogaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmā yogaśuddho haṃ iti – paṭhan kamalāvartanamudrayā*⁶³ *saṃtoṣya tanmudropasaṃhāre<ṇa>*⁶⁴ *ālinganābhinayapūrvakam anāmikayā bhūmiṃ sprśan oṃ vajra mur iti paṭhitvā visarjya taccakram ātmani praveśayet. tatas tad*⁶⁵ *bhūmigatamadanaṃ*⁶⁶ *vāmānāmikayā grhītvā tena hrjjiḥvāsīrāṃsi hūṃ-āḥ-oṃ-kāroccāraṇapūrvakam mraṁṣayan, tat karagatam api devatācakram ātmani praviṣṭam ālokeyed 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-oṃkārapariṇata-vajrajihvāḥ dakṣiṇasruveṇetarābhutīm svanābhikamalakarṇikāyāṃ avasthita-jvālāmālākulacakreṣu † juhuyāt. ityadhyātmamahāḥ śeṣaḥ.* [cont. below ≈§52]

§52 *tad anu – oṃ āḥ ucchiṣṭavajra...*: The closing remark, *bahir gatvā*, in GSS11 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; *ḍākinyādiyamadādhiparyantā*s Kac.

63 *kamalāvartanamudrayā*] GSS5; *kamalāvarttamudrayā* Finot, SM253.

64 *tanmudropasaṃhāre<ṇa>*] GSS11; *tanmudropasaṃhāra* GSS5; *tanmudropasaṃhāre* Finot, SM253.

65 *tad*] corr.; *tata* K.

66 *madanaṃ*] corr.; *madamnam* K.

67 *hastena pūjoktā*] GSS5; *cakrasamvaranāthasya tryasramaṇḍalavarttinah / eṣā hastena pūjoktā yogināṃ hitakārini / saṃgrhya* (SM253: *saṃpūjya*) *yan mayāvāptaṃ hastapūjāvidheḥ* (SM253: *vidhiṃ*) *śubham / tena sarve janāḥ* (SM253: *sarvajanāḥ*) *santu hastapūjāparayānāḥ / hastapūjāvidhiḥ samāptaḥ. kṛtiḥ Śāśvatavajrapādānām iti.* (SM253: *Śāśvatavajrasya*) Finot, SM253.

GSS5 cont. (Sed p.148^s, K33V2): *om ah ucchistavajra'' adhitisthemam balim hiim svaha. sunyatdkarunddvayatraidhtukacakrkdrajndnavabnau tu yathopadesam skandhddindhanadahandn niruttarahomah. sdntikapauistikddi-bdhyahomas tu homavidhau karmdnurupavihitakundakusumasamidhasosanddikam anusrtya vidhayo vistarabhaydn na likhitdh. evam tadvat pujdbalividhndnddisametam vistarena bhagavatyd bhdvandmandalam nirdistam.*

iddnim—**w*. 70—**77**: Omitted in Tibetan text.

v.70 *karankakdkhyam ca subhisanam 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 Vajrajvalakulakarahkaka, Jvalakulakarahkaka, Karahkaka, and Jvalakula. For the southern cremation grounds, they may give Subhisana or Vibhisana, or omit Subhisana/Vibhisana altogether and split the compound for the western cremation grounds, to give Karahkaka (west) and Jvalakula (south). More textual research is needed to solve the problem, which may have arisen because both *jvalakula* and *subhisana/vibhisana* are possible qualifications of the proper nouns that designate the cremation grounds. From the sources examined so far, the names Jvalakulakarahkaka (west) and Vibhisana (south) are the most common (perhaps corroborated by the inclusion in this western cremation ground of the *asokalkankeli* tree, whose flaming red flowers also suggest a motif of flame), e.g., SUT ch. 17, v. **36cd**: *candogram gahvaram caiva vajrajvldldkararikinam*, which suggests Vajrajvala west and Karankin south, although the text should read a dual (... *vajrajvldldkarankini*). GSS16, although corrupt, seems to cite the SUT text (i7_36cd) but, confusingly, adds Vibhisana in what may have once been an insertion or qualifying gloss (GSS16 **K76V6**): *candogra<m> gahvaram caiva vajrajvldldkarankakah. vibhisanam ca piirvddidiksu vdmēna samsthitam*. GSS34 (Kii3r5) gives Jvalakula west and Karahkaka south. The *Adbhutasmasandnlamkdra* (reported by Meisezahl 1980:19) gives Karahkakin west and Vibhisana south. Luyipada's *Smas'dnavidhi* (v. 8) gives Jvalakulakarahkaka west and (v. 10) Vibhisana south. Cf. K. Gyatso (1999: 120-22). This is possibly corrupt, since the verse with the compound

Jvalakulakarahkaka actually omits the name of the protector, Varuna (v.8):
*pracydm pddapo 's'oko jvdldkulakarankake I svetah saptaphanah past
 makarasthah kapdladhrk."*

69 Finot takes the qualification "having a noose," *pail*, in the third *pdda* to indicate the proper name of a god Pasin = Varuna. Meisezafil notes that this is not the reading in the Tibetan, but he still translates *past* as "Varuna" on the basis of de Mailman's identification of the noose-bearing god Pasin as Varuna in the *Mahdbharata* (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., *yadakdrt]* K, N; *day akdriD* (meta.)
- some omission of *anusvdra* or *visarga*, e.g., *sthdnam]* N; *sthdna* K, D
- omission of "r," e.g., *sarva]* N, D; *sava* K
- "invisible" *virdma*, e.g., *vidadhita]* N; *vidadhitiK*, D
- some corrections to *samdhi*, e.g., *phat.}* corr.; *phadcodd.*
- confusion between sibilants, e.g., *sarpisi* em.; *sarpisi codd.*
- confusion between i/I, u/u, e.g., *°vdrdht* K, N; *vdrdhiD*
- lacuna, or confusion in the source-text of a ms. that makes no difference to the reading, e.g., *surdbhaksi]* K, D; *surd - bhaksiN*
- 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., *nairtya* (codd.) for *nairrtya*; *datvd* (codd.) for *dattvd*; *satva-* (codd.) for *sattva-*.

In ms. D:

- ' haphazard addition and omission of strokes of the *aksara* producing long

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; lāṃ D; kā] K,
 N; koṃ D; gr] K; gu N, gum D; ādyākṣarāṇi] K, N; ādyokṣarāṇi D;
 pullīramalayādīni] codd.; pullīramala(yā)dīni D(mg); śīraḥprabhṛtīni] K,
 N; śīraḥprabhṛtīni D; jālandhare] K, N; jālandhara D; caṇḍākṣiṃ] K, N;
 caṇḍākṣi D; dhyeyād oḍḍiyāne K, N; dhyāyād auḍḍiyāne D; mahānāsām]
 corr.; mahānāsām codd.; pīṭhaṃ] K; pīṭha N, D; bhūmiḥ - ⊗ - K (decora-
 tion); bhūmiḥ -7- N; bhūmiḥ no gap in D; v.45 vāme goḍāvarī karṇe] K,
 N; vāme goḍāvarī karṇa D; vīramatīm] K, N; vī(ra)matīm D(add); khar-
 varīm] K, N; kharvarī D; samsthitām] K, N; samsthitā 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; subhadrām 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; sādhumatī D; - ⊗ - K; -7- N; v.53
 dhyāyād K, N; dhyāyā D; ° ⊗ - K (omission mark applies to v.54); -7- N;
 v.54 °visuddhātmā] K, N; visuddhātmā 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; mataṃ - K; mataṃ -5- N; mataṃ - D; §32 idāniṃ]
 N, D; idāni K; bhagavati] K, N; bhagavati D; mahāvidyeśvari] K, N;
 mahāvidyeśvari D; vaśamkarī] K, N; vaśamkarī D; stambhani] codd.;
 sta(ni)mbhani K(del); mahāyoginī] K, N; mahāyoginī D; kāmēśvari] K, N;
 kāmēśvari D; śoṣaya] K, N; śoṣaye D; kapāladhāriṇi] K, N; kapāladhāriṇi
 D; mahāpīṣita] corr.; mahāpīṣita K, N; mahāpīṣi D; mānuṣāntraprāvṛtte]
 K, N; mānuṣāncapṛāvṛte D; naraśīro] K, N; narasiro D; °mūrte] K, N;
 °murte D; āgramahiṣi] K, N; āgramahiṣi D; vajrasarire] K, N; vajrasarire
 D; mahāyoginī] K, N; mahāyoginī D; hūṃ hūṃ] K, N; hūṃ hūṃ D;
 trailokyavināśinī] K, N; trailokyavināśinī D; śatasahasra] K, N; satasa-
 hasra D; hūṃ hūṃ] K, N; hūṃ hūṃ D; virāḍvaite] K, N; virāḍvaite D;
 °paśumohani] K, N; paśumohani D; vandani] K, N; vandani D;
 °pratrayakāriṇi] K, N; pratrayakāriṇi D; hūṃ hūṃ] K, N; hūṃ hūṃ D;

bhūtatrasāni] corr.; *bhūtatrasāni* K, N; *bhūtatrasāni* D; *paramasiddha-yogeśvarī*] K, N; *paramasiddhayogeśvarī* D; *svāhā* – - K; *svāhā* -5- N; §33 °*nāśe*] corr.; *tāśe* K; *suṁire*] K, N; *suṁire* 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 °*yaṁkāra*] K, N; *yekāra* D; v.64cd *viliye* K, N; *viliye* D; v.67b *tryakṣaram*] K, N; *tryeṣaram* D; v.67d *tryakṣaraiḥ*] K, N; *tryeṣaraiḥ* D; §36 *balim*] N, D; *bali* K; *pūrvakam*] corr.; *pūrvakam* codd.; v.68cd *etā*] K, N; *D; *grahahetu*] N, D; *grahetu* K; §37 *mantrah*] K, D; *mantra* N; *bandha* 2] K, N; (ve?)*dha* 2 D; §38 *ācamanādikaṁ*] codd., Kpc; *ācam(ā)nādikaṁ* K(del); §39 *upaḍhaukayed*] codd., Kpc; *upaḍhau(pa)kaye**(*)*d* K(del); *mātikramatha*] codd.; *mā*-tikramatha* K; *prayacchantu*→*mātikramatha* N(faint); *hūṁ hūṁ*] K, N; *hūṁ hūṁ* D; §40 *nyūnādhika*] K, N; *nyuvādhika* D; °*vidhī*] codd., Kpc; *vidhi* K(add); *paṭhen*] K, N; *paṭhe* D; *cittam 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); *āniya*] N, D; *ā(li)ya* K(del); §42 *puṣpādyaiḥ*] K, N; *puṣpādyais* D; *vāmakareṇa*] codd., Kpc; *vām(arṇṇ)akareṇa* K(del); *hrdayopahṛdayā*°] K, N; *hrdayo*dayā* D; °*dikpālā*°] K, N; *digpālā*° D; °*gatam*] codd., Kpc; (ga)*gatam* 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 *tryakṣareṇāṣṭapadamantrena*] codd.; §48 Kpc (ditto.); *tryakṣare(ṇāṣṭapadamantren)ṇāṣṭapada* - K(del); *grhītena*] K, N; *hrhītena* D (haplo.); §49 *tanmadhye*] K, N; *tatmadhye* D; °*sobhitām*] K, N; *sobhitām* D; *etasyai*] K, N; *yetasyai* D; °*rūpeṇa*] K, N; *rūpeṇa* D; *tryakṣareṇā*] K, N; *tryakṣaraṇā* D; *tricchoṭikābhir*] 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 udicyām*] K, N; *prācyā ṁ mudicyām* 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.; *amūnī*] N;
amuni K, D; **v.75** *aṭṭaṭṭa*] K, N; *aṭṭatta* D; °*kāram*] codd., Dpc; (*kā*)*ram*
 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; *nāgam tu*
 D; *hulur*] K, N; *hulu* D; **v.78** °*maricigauram*] K, N; *maricigoram* D;
 °*doṣāḥ*] K, N; *doṣoḥ* D; *samāptam* – K; *samāptam -ṣ-* N; *samāptam* D.

Appendix: Summary of Sadhanas in the *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld*

The following summary of the contents of the *Guhyasamayasddhanamdld* (GSS) provides a brief description of each sadhana 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 *Dhiih* I (Review of Rare Buddhist Texts, Sarnath: 7-41). For references to further discussions of the sadhanas, see the index.

GSSI *Vajrayoginimukhgdama (Oral Transmission of Vajrayogini) by
Indrabhiiti'*

The sadhana begins with a benedictory *s'loka* and proceeds with the preparations upon rising, including a mantra bath (*mantrasndnam*). The emptiness mantras follow, and the sudden self-generation of *ardhaparyarika-pose* Vajravarahi at the navel. Her mantra is visualized whirling and blazing in her sex and is supplied in a mantra extraction (*mantroddhdrah*). This is followed by an external worship (*parvapujd*) and ten traditional frame verses on the topics of secrecy, transgressive discipline, Yogacara 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 *Vajravdrdhisddhana* (GSS2) by Luyipada. The only commentarial text in the collection (GSS40) is a loose collection of

- 1 Witnesses: GSS K (the foliation in K is f. 279VI -> f. 271r-v -* f. 80 -> f. 415), Nin—3VI, DIVI—3V6; cf. GSS2; *Yum skor* in which Sahara is given as the author (Toh 1545, Ota 2253, BBK: 275); *sri-Vajrayoginirahasya-karndkarnamukhdmukha* IASWR MBB-III-13 (BBK: 282). Tokyo University Library 307 (*"Mr̥tasugatiniyojana and Other Texts"*); this ms. attributes the work to Srls'abarapada, as does the Tibetan translation above.

glosses upon Indrabhūti's text, including his *parvapujā* 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 (**K4T4**): *śrīvajrayoginirahasyam karṇḍī karnam mukhḍn mukham*.

GSS2 *Vajravdrdhisddhana by Luyipada'*

The text is nearly identical to GSSi until the end of the mantra extraction. The ritual injunctions then include a puja and the offering of transgressive substances to a two-armed, *dlidha-stz.nct* Vajravarahi. The sadhana ends with the promise of *siddhi*, and external food offerings as the *bali*.

GSS3 *Vajravdrdhisddhana by Advayavajra'*

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, *pratydlidha-st2.nct* Vajravarahi within the fivefold mandala. 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 *Samkṣiptavajravdrdhisddhana (Brief Vajravarahi Sadhana) by Vildsavajra(?)'*

Brief prescriptions cover the preliminaries, bodhisattva preparations, awakenings, visualization of the cremation grounds, and the self-generation in that place of a two-armed *pratydlidha-stance* Vajravarahi. 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. 4x5 -> f. 4V -> f. o.r-v -> f. nr-v7), N3V2-5V3, D3v6-6r7; cf. GSSi. Two authors in the GSS refer to Luyipada: (1) Sakyaraksita in the *Abhisamayamanjari* (GSS5 Sed p.139", K26r4; see ch. 1); and (2) Dhyayipada, who refers three times to Luyipada as the source of the teaching (GSS34 **KIIIVI**, Kii5r6, K116V4). Toh. / Ota. - ?
- 3 Witnesses: GSS Kuv7-i3r6, N5V3-6V5, D617-7V4 -> SM217; cf. GSS31. **Yum skor** (**BBK**: 273-74); Toh 3607, Ota 4429 (SS, **BBK**: 273-74,463). Edition of the Sanskrit text by Meiszahl (1967,1980, with Tibetan text) and Finot (1934: 59-61).
- 4 Witnesses: GSS Ki3r6-i4vi, N6V5-7v4, d7v4-8V4 = SM226; **Jvalavali** 10; Toh 3300; Ota 4122 - 5130 (SS, **BBK**: 465); **Jvalavali** 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.

GSS 5 *Abhisamayamanjari' (Flower Cluster of the Method of Realization)*
by Sakyaraksita"

The sadhana falls into two main parts. The first portion (K14VI-K33V5) describes the entire practice for the self-generation of the thirty-seven-fold mandala, from its preliminary prodedures to its closing rites. This includes: preliminaries, purification of speech (*vagvisuddhih*) and skandhas (*skandha-visuddhih*), bodhisattva preparations, visualization of the cosmos with Mount Meru and temple palace, circle of protection, self-generation with awakenings of two-armed *alidha-stznct* Vajravaraḥ within a thirty-seven-deity mandala, armoring, entry of knowledge circle, consecration, tasting

- 5 Witnesses: GSS Ki4vi-39r2, N7v4-25r6, D8v4-28r8. Toh. 1582. Ota. 2294. A Sarnath edition (Sed) of the text (attributed to Subhakaragupta) has been published in *Dhih* (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: the *Guhyasamayāsaddhanasamgraha* (Microfilm Catalog of the Buddhist Mss. Nepal 1981. p.no); W the *Ddkiniguhyasamayāsaddhanamldtantrardja* (a photocopy of a manuscript related to our ms. D); T the *Guhyasamayāsamgraha* (our ms. N); and ^ the *Abhisamayamanjari* (IASWR, MBB11-243) described as *prdcina newdri*. There are many portions of text in GSS5 that are found in similar or identical form in other sadhanas of the GSS and SM, listed as appropriate elsewhere in this book.
- 6 Mss. K, N, and D all refer to the author as Sakyaraksita (K39r2). The same colophon appears in the Nepali paper ms. (Sed ms.) but reading "Santaraksita," while the colophon to Sed (p. 154) reads "Subhakaragupta," although the source of this reading is unclear. According to B B K (p. 279), different mss. of the *Tattvajñānasiddhi* attribute the work to Santaraksita and Subhakaragupta. The antiquity of the GSS manuscript K supports the authorship of Sakyaraksita. Moreover, Sakyaraksita states that his guru was Abhayakaragupta (see ch. 1), while Subhakaragupta 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 Abhayakaragupta's pupil. Similarly, Santaraksita, the famous abbot of bSam yas in the latter eighth century is too early to be associated with Abhayakaragupta. (For the dating of Santaraksita, see Snellgrove 1987: 366 and 430ff., Dowman 1985: 233, *Dhih on Tattvasamgraha* no. 11, pp. 146-57, including notes in Hindi upon his authorship, and accounts of his reputed guru, Viriipa.)

GSS8 *Vajravdrdhyd Gopyahomavidhih*" (*Secret Oblation Rite of Vajravara*hi)

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.

GSSO *Vajrayoginisiddhana (lineage of Virupa?)*"

This is a short form of a Tri kayavajrayoginī sadhana but without reference to a severed head. The text includes self-generation in a red *dharmodaya*, 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 dakinis, where gss30 appears to intend *s'aktis* (*s'aktidvayam*] conj.; *sdntadvayam* K, *sdktdadvayam* N). The same text, under the same title, in appears in the *Sddhanamald* (sm234=gss9) following the "dakini" recension. The central goddess may be a red form of the severed-head Vajrayoginī.

GSSIO *Guhyavajravildsinisiddhana by Sabard'* (*Sadhana of Secret Vajravildsini*)

A lengthy sadhana of 152 predominantly *s'loka* verses (verse numbers are editorial), prescribing erotico-yogic techniques to be practiced on the basis of the self-visualization of Vajravilasinī and her consort Padmanartesvara in the lovely mountainous setting of Manobhahga and Cittavis'rama. After a *vasantatilakd* verse of homage to Lokanatha (v. 1), and a *sdrdulavikridita* verse of homage to Vajravilasinī (v. 2), Sahara states that he speaks the following (*s'loka*) verses through the power of Lokanatha (v. 3). The body of the text is as follows: w. 4-7 describe the bejeweled mountainous setting of Manobhahga and Cittavis'rama where guru Karuna taught [the sadhana of] Vilasini, and where "I practiced it with [my consort] Sabari"; w. 8-10 guarantee siddhis including mahamudra; w. 11-16 list those whose physical and ethical qualities disqualify them from practice, and those who qual-

- 10 Witnesses: GSS K44n-44v5; N has missing folios until the final lines of the sadhana (f. 301-2), D31V6 omits the sadhana. 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; *Jvalavali* no. 2 (BBK: 493); *Dhīh* no. 17 pp.5-17. Toh./Ota.-?

ify; w. 17-24 prescribe preliminaries: the site of a fragrant cave or glade in which the sadhaka 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 Padmanartes'vara and his consort, and then make love as long as the mind is not disturbed; w. 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 mahamudra; w. 30-32 prescribe the positioning of the sadhaka with his consort modeled on the poses of the deities; w. 33-36 prescribe preparatory rites: the yogin draws a circle on his consort's *dharmodayd-yantra* using saffron and red-sandal, and within that, a *dharmodayd* triangle enscribed with the [five-syllabled] mantra (to be taught in the mantra extraction below), he then offers a flower, practices the four *brahmavihdras*, and meditates on emptiness; w. 37-38 prescribe the armoring with the five-syllabled mantra on the sadhaka's body; w. 38-45 give the visualization of a blazing *dharmodayd* into which the whole world is seen to dissolve; w. 46—53 prescribe the visualization of the sadhaka's consort as Vajravilasini in sexual play; w. 54-62 prescribe the visualization of the sadhaka as Padmanartes'vara in sexual play; w. 63—64 describe the fusion of the three worlds into an ocean of blood, with the sadhaka playing with the goddess in the center in the bliss of great passion; w. 65—66 give the consecration of the self-generated couple; w. 67—73 detail the rites of worship, i.e., worship of the mandala (while uttering the mantra and the goddess's name), of the gw^{ytf} -mandala with flowers, fruit, etc., of the sadhaka's own penis (which has been fondled and is erect, *svakiyam kulis'am ... Idlittonnatam*), of the goddess' mantra, and of the parts of the consort's and the sadhaka's own body by waving incense; w. 74-79 describe how the couple offer betel, etc., and recite loving verses to each other; w. 80-92 prescribe the embrace and practice of the *navapuspi* (nine kinds of sexual play) with the arising of *sahajananda*; w. 93-95 describe the pervasion of the world with rays (from lovemaking) and the propitiation of deities with sexual fluid (*golakam*); w. 96-100 give an explicit description of the lovemaking, which is accompanied by the yogin's visualization that he plays with the goddess Vilasini; this includes a yogic meditation of his body as empty; w. 102-9 describe the pendulum recitation (*doldjdpah*), a yogic meditation in which the couple is in union, each imagining the five blazing syllables of Vilasini's mantra circulating through their bodies. The syllables start on the *vidy*'s sex, enter the male via his penis, exit through his nostril, enter the *vidy*'s 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 *ndda* and *bindu*; it is followed by a repeated "mutual sucking" of the male and female sex; w. 110—18 prescribe the visualization of the "fusion of the identities" of the couple and the entire world in the lovemaking (*dtmamelakah*) with the result that the defilements are cut off, all *kles'as* are burnt up, and everything is dissolved into the ocean of awakening with the end of conceptualization; w. 119-20 describe how the female consort does the practice on the yogin, making the mandala on his penis and practicing the meditation and mantra recitation as described; w. 121-22 enjoin that the couple abide outside this meditation as Nartes'vara and Vilasini and recite the mantra; w. 115—28 give prescriptions for practice when no male/female consort is available; w. 129-37 give the *mantroddhara* for the five-syllabled mantra (*em nlim rim rum blim*) and the *bali* mantra to be recited while making the *bali* offering; w. 138-51 comprise various frame verses praising the practice, guaranteeing mahamudra in twelve years, warning against undertaking the practice with illicit passion, prescribing secrecy, naming the teachers of the practice as Lokanatha (v. 146) and Karuna (v. 147), and advocating passion to destroy passion; v. 152 is a benediction, and is followed by the colophon.

GSSII *Vajravdrdhisiddhana by Umapatideva"*

See chapter 3 for a study of the sadhana and above for an edition and translation, with textual notes.

- 13 Witnesses: GSS K53v4-7in (Bodleian reference: ms. Sansk c.16 (R)), N36V7-50V2, D39r3~52v8; Toh 1581, Ota 2292, NCD292 (BBK: 279, 287); cf. Toh 1584, Ota. 2293.

The author's name in the Tibetan is transliterated as "Umapatidatta (BBK: 279): s'ri U ma pa ti dattahi shabs. The Tibetan colophon to GSS11 (Toh 1581/Ota 2292, N (T) 292. Bodleian Tibetan blockbooks a.68, vol. 24, pp. 32-49) states that the sadhana was translated by Vagis'varagupta with Locchava (Lo tsa ba) Chos rab (i.e., Rwa Chos rab), and written by "One who has the lineage of the instructions of Virupa, s'ri Umapatidatta" (p. 49.7). The only other work known to be by this author is Umapatidatta's *Vajrayogini mandalavidhi-ndma* (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 bKY 'gyur and ten in the bsTan 'gyur. Vagis'varagupta translated a total of four texts with Rwa Chos rab, including the two by Umapatidatta.

GSS12 *Oddiydnavinirgatavajrayoginisddhana** (*Vajrayogini Sadhana from Oddiydna*)

The text starts with the visualization of the cosmos with Mount Sumeru and is followed by the self-generation of the red two-armed Vajravaraḥi in *urdhvapadda* pose in the center of the fivefold mandala. It supplies heart and auxiliary-heart mantras (although SM225 gives only the latter). GSS12 (Kyrvi) and SM225 both share *pddas* from the textual tradition of the YSCT (SM225 p. 469, *ddkinim tu tatha Idmdm...* cf. GSS11 v. 38a, with Textual Note). The *a-pada* from GSS12 (Kyrvi 6: *tarjayantidis'ah sarvddustatarjana-vajrikd*) is also attested in the visualization of warrior-stance Vajravaraḥi (GSS4 K13V2, reading accusatives).

GSS13 *Vajrayoginimatena Gopyahomavidhi (Secret Oblation Rite According to the System of Vajrayogini) by Buddhadatta*[^]

The text prescribes the generation of a red fire deity from *ram* in a triangular fire pit (he is four-armed, making the "fearless gesture" (*abhaya-mudrd*), 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 Vajrayogini with her mandala 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 mandala cakṛa entering the practitioner's body, *bali* offerings, a supreme worship (*lokottarapujd*), and the request for siddhi. Two frame verses guarantee siddhi and mahamudra.

GSS14 *Pradipdhutividhi (Gloriously Elucidated] Oblation Rite) by Indrabhūti*^{*}

The thirty-seven (unnumbered) verses are ascribed in the colophon to

14 Witnesses: GSS K7iri-7iv2, N50v3-5ir3, D52v8-53r8«Srv225 (*iri-Odiydnava-jra-pithavinirgata-urddhvapddavajravdrdhisddhana*); *Tori* 3299, Ota4i2i»»5i29 (BBK: 465); cf. GSS5 (Sed p.148", K33v6-34r).

15 Witnesses: GSS K7iv2-72r6, N5ir3-5iv4, Dj3r8-54r2; *Toh* 1556, Ota 2264 (BBK: 278). This is the sixth of the *Six Texts of Vajravdrdhi*. A passage in the *Blue Annals* (PP- 393-97) describes how Buddhadatta came to compose the *sri-Vajrayogini-homavidhi*. A layman receives initiation of Paṇḍapatika and then requests that he write down the *in- Tattvajñānasiddhi*, the *Sawarṥasiddhi-sadhana-ndma*, and the *sri-Vajrayoginihomavidhi*. The guru refuses, but permits his nephew Buddhadatta to write down the *Vajrayoginihomavidhi*.

16 Witnesses: GSS K72r6-74vi, N5iv4-53r7, D54r2-55V5. *Toh*, Ota.-?

Indrabhuti and, in the opening verse, to his lineage (K 72r6). There are two further references to the doctrine (*matam*) of "King Indrabhuti" (v. 16 K73r4, v. 35 K74rj). The meter is mainly *anustubh* with two verses in *upajdti* and two in *sragdhard*. 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 Avalokitesvara is seated on two rams). The fire deity is seen as four-armed, making the *varadamudrd*, with a rosary, a pot (*kamandalu*), and a firebrand (w. 7-8). The following verses enjoin offerings of wood, etc., to be made into the fire to the chosen deity (Vajrayogini) in the heart of the fire-deity (w. 9-11), also a hand worship (v. 12), the recitation of mantras, and various oblations (w. 13-15). The author then comments upon the method of the ritual (w. 16-33) and concludes with dedications of merit (w. 34-37)-

GSS15 *Sarvdrthasiddhisiddhana (Sadhana for [Gaining] Siddhi in All Things) by Advayavajra"*

The text opens with a *bali* offering and prescribes the generation from *hrih* of a hog-faced wrathful Vajravarahi in the *dlidha* stance (*Vajraghond*). This is followed by the entry of the knowledge deity and rites of worship for Vajrayogini to preside.

GSS16 *Trayodas'dtmikavajraddkinivajravdrdhisddhand* (Sadhana of the Thirteenfold Vajraddhini-Vajravdrdhi) (in the lineage of Advayavajra?)"*

The text opens with seven verses praising Vajravarahi 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 Vajravarahi*. Cf. GSS18; GSS5 (Sed p.149', K34r4). A translation of the self-visualization section from the *Sarvdrthasiddhisiddhana* appears in the *Rin 'byung brgya rtsa* (Willson and Brauen 2000: 259), with some slight differences. Another sadhana with a similar name appears in the bsTan-'gyur, *Vajravdrdhikālpasārvdrthasiddhisiddhana* (Toh 1578, Ota 3610).

18 *trayodas'dtmika*]D; *trayodasdtmika*]K, N.

19 Witnesses: GSS K75vi-82r5, N54r3-59V2, Dj6r9-6iv7. Sanderson (1997: personal communication) notes that the source for this sadhana is ADUT *patala* 56 (NGMPP, E 695/3 ff. 220v3-222r3: *hrdayamantrakavacau devyd hrdayabhdvand-patalah*). Toh 1595, Ota. 2306.

sadhana was taught by the lord in the *Laksdbhidhndatantra*, on Mount Manobhahga/Cittavisrama. The visualization is of a six-armed warrior-stance Vajravarahi and her generation from the thirteen syllables of the Vajravarahi/Vajrayogini heart mantra. The sequence of the prescriptions in the text is as follows: preliminaries (≡ GSS3/GSS31) ending with a bodhisattva vow, armoring, circle of protection, temple palace (*mahdvimdna*) surrounded by cremation grounds (with a short description of the cremation grounds drawing on SUT), visualization of the thirteen-syllabled mantra as the thirteenfold mandala, the generation through awakenings of Vajravarahi in iconographic form surrounded by Vajradakini 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 Vajravarahi produced suddenly with the mandala retinue placed on points on the body, worship, the tasting of nectar, external *bali* offerings, another bodhisattva vow, concluding verses possibly by Advayavajra, and dedication of merit.

This sadhana combines several important themes. In its preparatory stages, it describes the cremation grounds in detail, as well as prescribing the visualization of a palace (*vimdnahlm*). The erotic overtones of the sadhana may be associated with the fact that the sadhana was supposedly taught by the Buddha in the location of Mount Manobhahga and the pavilion, Cittavis'rama, a place associated with erotic manifestations of Vajrayogini. The structure of the sadhana is also unusual. The mandala 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 mandala is then repeated in a completion-stage practice, by self-generating it "all at once" (*jhatiti*), thus indicating the sadhaka's complete integration of the external forms within himself. Finally, the mantra syllables of which the dakini goddesses are representations are placed upon his body in a short body mandala, thus internalizing the mandala back into the body of the yogin. Every step in this process includes an armoring, and the sadhana therefore includes far more armor sections than is normal. This may be related to the fact that its central form of six-armed Vajradakini-Vajravarahi seems to have emerged from the form of the armor goddess, Vajravarahi.

GSS17 *Ūrdhvapādaśuklavajrayoginīsādhana*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 sādhanas, 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 Vajravārāṇī (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: *siddhaśabarapādaśeṣitaṃ* (D63r9 is without its usual colophon *iti śrīguhya-samayatantra...*).

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 sādhana, 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 (*oṃ sarvaḍākinī...oṃ sarvayoginī*), while the GSS version contains more “laughing” syllables (*ha ha hiḥ*) and includes the coercion syllables *oṃ jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ*. The text shares some features of other Mahāmāyā sādhanas, 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, Vajraḍākinī, 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 *ūrdhva*pāda forms of Vajrayoginī, Vajraḍākinī 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* sādhana 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 siddhih. vidyaddharikramabhdvand*). It has no colophon (ending simply: *iti dmndyah*). Since the previous sadhana (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 sadhana 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" (*unmattacaryd*) prescribed in the text and for this text's relationship to other Sabara-based texts.

GSS23 *Vidyaddharivajrayoginydrddhanavidhi (Propitiation Rite of Vidyaddhari Vajrayogini) according to Sahara²⁷*

The *Arddhanavidhi* begins with a hagiographical account of Sahara'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 (K87ri-88r2). The text then lists eight teachers in the transmission lineage (K88r2, cf. **Siddha-Amndya* p. 10). Finally, it describes five kinds of rite: worship, visualization, subjection, *bali* offering, and accepting a pupil (K88r3: *atrapujdbhdvandas'ikaranabalisisydnugraha itipancaprakdrdh*).

- 27 Witnesses: K87ri-89v6, N6317-65V3, D65V4-67V8; cf. GSS21, GSS22, GSS10, GSS5 Sed p.153", K38n, Toh, Ota.-? Cf. **Siddha-Amndya*. Sahara's lineage is only named directly in this Vidyadhari text (GSS23), although the rite in GSS22 is related to the *Arddhanavidhi* in Sahara's lineage in GSS5. There are also similarities with the *Guhyavajraviidsinisiddhanaby* Sahara (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 mahamudra (also mentioned in GSS22, K86v2). GSS10 may also hint at the hagiography in GSS23 in which the sadhaka loses heart and decides that the lord's promise must be untrue (cf. GSS10 K5313-4 v. *i^y.yadi candras tatha suryo bhumau patati siryate I tathdpi lokandthasya nedam vaco bhavet*). The **Siddha-Amndya* is similar in structure to GSS23. It opens with a verse hagiography of Advayavajra's life, in the course of which he discovers Sahara in the same mountainous location as that described in the GSS Vidyadhari/Guhyavajravilasini texts. After the hagiographical introduction, both texts include a succession list and a Vajrayogini-based ritual. This is followed in the longer **Siddha-Amndya* by another succession list, a repeat of its verse hagiography in prose, another succession list, and another Vajrayogini rite.

GSS24 *Laksmisiddhana*^a by Laksmi/Laksmirikard?²⁸

After an opening *namaskdra*, the text describes preliminary preparations and the self-generation of Trikayavajrayogini with attendant goddesses Vajravairocana (left) and VajravarnanI (right). An external puja follows, with prescriptions for traditional offerings within a drawn mandala 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 *purvasevd* is supplied, with the siddhi they achieve. The sadhana ends with a frame verse and a concluding *bali* mantra. This sadhana varies slightly in phrasing and content from the other Trikayavajrayogini sadhanas in the GSS, as in details of the awakenings, more elaborate external offerings, and the *purvasevd* 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 *brim* (GSS24) appears in my bsTan 'gyur edition as *hrih*. The offerings to the mandala are slightly expanded, and a corrupt passage in the Sanskrit describing the fruits *ojapa* is found intact in the Tibetan.

GSS25 *Trikdyavajrayoginisiddhana*^a (*Sadhana of Triple-Bodied Vajrayogini*) by Virupa"

The text covers the self-generation of Trikayavajrayogini with attendant

28 Witnesses: K89v6-9r5, N65V3-66V7, D67v8-69r3. This is the second of the Six Texts of Vajravahni (Toh. 1554, Ota. 2262). Cf. Benard (1994: 66 & 79 n. 14).

29 According to Benard (1994: 66), **Laksmi** in the title is a reference to the text's author, whom she identifies as Laksminkara. The Tibetan translation of the **Laksmisiddhana** (GSS24) appears in the bsTan 'gyur as * **Chinnamundd Vajravahni Sadhana**. Its translator bLo ldan shes rab (1059-1109) names the Indian author as Srimatidevi. Bernard concludes that since the sadhana is not of the deity **Laksmi**, the title must refer to the author, and that Srimatidevi is therefore an epithet of the ninth Laksmi/Laksminkara. Laksminkara'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 Vajravahni*.

30 "**sddhanam**] con.; itydyatrik^avajrayogini(piutccchinmmastd)sda7janamK^2v6{mgi), -pitacchinnamastdsddhanam N68r2, ity dryaguhyasamayatan tre trikyavajrayogini-citacchinnamastdsddhanam D7or7-8.

3' Witnesses GSS K91T5-92V6, N66v7-68r3, D69r3~7or8. For close witnesses see GSS20. Toh. 1555, Ota. 2263 (?).

See also Nihom's article (1992). The Vajrayogini text that Nihom presents

goddesses Vajravairocani (left) and VajravarnanI (right); utterance of the tripartite *japa* mantra; an external puja within a drawn mandala, 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 *mulamantrah*); and finally, a dedication of merit.

GSS26 *Pindrthah Sodasaslokds Trikdya vajrayoginydh* (Sixteen Praise Verses of Triple-Bodied Vajrayogini with Essential Meaning) by Viriipa³²

The text opens with four salutations to (1) the Three Jewels, (2) the guru, buddha, and bodhisattvas, (3) the *vajravildsinis*, 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 Vajrayogini'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 *hiim* and *phat* 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 vajravairocaniye hiim phat hrdayamantrah. om vajrayoginiye upahradyamantrah omkdrddi-dsvdhntena purvavad visarjayediti*). This is a rather unwelcome addition. No other sadhanas 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 Vajrayogini's own head should be from *avadhiiti* (Nihom 1992: 227, 229). Nihom 1992 n. 37 (*kabandhdd avadhrtivartmandnihsrtd srgdhdrd*) should read *kabandhdd avadhutivartmand nihsrtd srgdhdrd....* Other conclusions reached in the article should also be revised or elaborated upon in the light of the evidence presented by the *Guhyasamayasadhanamldd*.

32 Witnesses: GSS K92v6~94r6, N68r3-6~9r3, D7or8-7ir9; ed. *Dhih* (no. 2 1986: 4-5). Cf. Benard (1994: 74) for an English translation from the edition in *Dhih*. The edition in *Dhih* 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 *Trikdyavajrayoginistutipranidhdna*[^] (*Praise Contemplation of Triple-Bodied Vajrayogini*) by *Virupa*^P

The opening salutations are identical to GSS26. The text then gives a verse description of the iconography of Trikāyavajrayogini and her attendants, which is followed by verses supplicating the compassionate goddesses to help the humble devotee.

GSS28 *Vajrayoginisddhana* (*incomplete*)[^]

The bulk of the sadhana 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 Vajrayogini. The sadhana also appears in a group of repeated sadhanas. It is not known whether the missing folios included one long work or whether other sadhana(s) may have been lost also.

GSS29 *Samkṣiptavajravdrdhisddhana*^a (*Brief Vajravaraḥi Sadhana*) by *Vilasavajra*^a?

The opening verse is almost identical to that in SM226/SM227. The text then continues parallel to GSS4=SM2±7 except that it prescribes the *dlidha* stance with the six signs of observance (*mudrds*) (rather than the *pratydlidha* stance as in GSS4, with no mention of the mudras), and it omits the armor-ing and summoning of deities and *bali* offering.

33 *trikdyavajrayoginistutipranidhdna*] corr.; *trikdyavajrayoginydh stutipranidhdnam* 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: Kioin-2; cf. GSS19, GSS5 (Sed p.151^b, K36r4), SM236.

36 Witnesses: GSS Kioir2-io2n, N7or2-7ir4, D72V8-73V2 = SM227, *Jvalavalino*. 11 (*Vajravdrdhisddhanakalpa*); Toh 3300; Ota 4i22»5i30 (SS, BBK: 465); cf. GSS4-SM226.

37 Tribe (1994) has distinguished Vilasavajra, author of this tantric sadhana, 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 *Ndmamantrdrthdvalokini* commentary to the *Aryamanjusrindmasamgiti* by the earlier Vilasavajra (sometimes also called "Lilavajra" and occasionally confused with an eleventh-century "Lalitavajra," disciple of Maitripa, Tilopa, and Naropa). Tribe records that he was teacher to Buddhajnana/Jnanapada (a pupil of Hari-

GSS30 *Vajrayoginisadhana*™ See above, GSSp.

GSS31 *Vajravdrdhisddhana*^

The work is nearly identical to GSS3 except for an opening *namaskdra* and an additional *balipijid*.

GSS32 *Binduciiddmanir nama svddhistdnakramah*

(*Self-Consecration Method Known As the Crest Jewel of the Drop*)
by *Sahajdvalokanasamddhivajra* *

This is the first of three *svddhistdna* (self-consecration) method sadhanas in the GSS collection (GSS32, GSS33, and GSS34). The set is unusual in a number of ways. All three sadhanas focus upon the male deity Cakrasamvara as well as his consort, Vajrayogini/Vajravaraḥ. Both deities are visualized as drops (*bindus*) within the sadhaka's body, which is visualized as a skeleton-arch (*karankatoranam*) 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 (*namah s'rivajrayogini*): 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 Vajrayogini corpus. The vocabulary of the sadhanas shows the influence of *Hevajratantra* 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 Jnanapada tradition of *Guhyasamdjatantra* 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 Santaraksita (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 *Mahdtilakakrama* (Toh 1290). Tribe states that it is "placed in the *Hevajratantra* section of the bsTan-'gyur...concerned with completion stage practices." Vilasavajra is hailed as guru by Sahajavalokanasamadhivajra, author of the first Svadhisthana text (GSS32).

- 38 Witnesses: K102ri-i02v2, N7H4-71V4, D73v2-74r2 - GSS9 — SM234. Toh., Ota.-?
- 39 Witnesses: GSS K102V3-104V5, N71V4-73VI, 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, N73VI-74V7, D75v8-77r8; cf. GSS33, GSS34.

often found for *mahdsukham* (e.g., *urusdtam*, *mahdsdtam*, *s'arman*), as well as for Vajrayogini (e.g., Sarustri, Sahajangana, Suruyogini, Paviyogini, Vyadhamayogini). The development of the *svddhisthdna* wing of the *kdpdlika* movement requires further research. Isaacson (in his unpublished annotations to the *Hevajrasekaprakriyd* 1996) explores its textual provenance. He refers to the *Pancakrama* (chapter 3 of *Svddhisthdnakrama*), which provides the backdrop to the yoginltantra practices and to yoginltantra exegetes, such as Advayavajra (e.g., in the *Advayavajrasamgraha: Pancatathdgatamudrdivarana*, *Caturmudrdrniscaya*, and *Amanasikdrddhdra*), Laksmihkara (in *Advayasiddhi'm Guhydyastasiddhisamgraha* Rare Buddhist Texts no. 1, Sarnath, 1987 pp. 162-63), Abhayakaragupta (in *Buddhakapdlatantra*), and Padmavajra (in *Guhyasiddhih* 4.61). Typical references to *svddhisthdna* refer to its completion methodology, its inconceivability, and its rejection of ritual, including *diksd*, *homa*, mantras, and special days for observance.⁴¹ Isaacson (1998: personal communication) has also pointed to the connection between *svddhisthdna* practices and the late tantric methodology of the *Vasantatilakd*, which also deals with internalized yogic practice (Vasanta/ Heruka as a drop in the heart merges with Tilaka/Varahi, a drop in the navel or sex, *nirmdnacakra*), but whereas the *Vasantatilaka* 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, w. 6ff.; *Pancakrama* (ch. 3, v. 45): *sarvapujiangparityajya guru-pujmd samdrabhet I tena tustena tal labhyam sarvajnajndnam uttamam* (also cited SUT ch. 33, v. 27); YSCT (ch. 12, v. 1): *na raksaniyam na bhaksaniyam na mandaleyam, na ca mandalam ca I na mantrajdp na tapo na homah samsatas cittasamdjarupi*; ch. 15 (A7V): *ndkdryam vidyate kimcit ndcintyam vidyate sadd I ndbhaksam vidyate kimcit ndvdeyam yac chubhdsbham I... iti samcintya yogdtmd sarvamudrdmantravarjitam simhavad vicaret virah sarvdsdparipurakah*; Aryadeva's *Svddhisthdnaprabheda* {*Dhih* vol. 10, pp. 20-24, v. 7) *ndtra s'aucam na niyamo na tapo na ca duskaram I aduskarair aniyamaih sukhair harsais ca sidhyati*. Cf. *Vdrdhyabhyudayantra* w. 4-5.

42 In terms of dating such practices, Isaacson (*ibid.*) notes that Abhayakaragupta was aware of the method, and refers to it in his commentary to the *Buddhakapdlatantra*. There is also a reference to *vasantatilakd* in the *Samputodbhavatantra* (6.2.ifE), here referring to the fusion of two drops (TilalcaVNairatmya in the navel, with Vasanta/*hūm*, the "unsounded syllable" *andhatam bijam*, in the heart).

GSS32 starts with three *namaskdra* verses. The first lauds the non-discriminatory mind "without remembrance and recollections" (*asmrti-manasikdra*); the second salutes the supreme Binduraja; the third acknowledges the teacher Vilasavajra. The sadhana is divided into three "teachings" (*upades'dh*). The first *upades'a* states that in the *svddhisthdna*-method practice (*svddhisthdnakramayoge*), there is no necessity for place, time, or purification in rites of the mandala, or for oblation with mantric utterances. It prescribes the contemplation of the Binduraja within the *dharmodayd* on the sex organ (*nirmdnbdjam*). The second *upades'a* prescribes the cultivation of passion (*anurdgam*) in obscure Sanskrit (including a verse also found in HT1.9.19). The third *upades'a* describes the internalization of sites and places, the generation of Vajravarahi from *hum* in the navel, her contemplation as a *bindu* moving along the internal channels, her embrace with Heruka, and the bliss (*sdtam*) of the union of the vagina (*kakkolah*) and penis (*bolah*).

GSS33 *Paramagambhirakarankatoranakramavajrayoginisddhanasvd-dhisthdnakrama^* (Self-Consecration Method Vajrayogini Sadhana with the Supremely Profound Method of the Skeleton Arch)

The sadhana is divided into profound (*gambhira*) expositions of the generation (*utpattih*) and completion (*utpannah*) stages, with a teaching (*uddesah*) and a detailed teaching (*nirdesah*) upon each.

1. *gambhirotptattikrama-uddes'ah*: The written syllables *sri-va-jra-yo-gi-ni* produce the shape of a skeleton arch. From the syllables *na-ma*, the yogin visualizes himself in its center as Cakres'a (Cakrasamvara) in union with Paviyogini (*pavi* = *vajra*). From the sexual yoga arise two throbbing *bindus* that fuse together. This gives rise to the armor goddesses produced from syllables *s'ri-va-jra-yo*, the first called Vyadhamayogini (*vyddhdma* = *vajra*), with YaminI, Mohani, etc.

2. *gambhirotptattikramanirdes'ah*: The divine couple produced from *na-ma* are seen inside the temple of the skeleton arch. The Cakrasamvara/Vajravarahi mandala of *kdpdlika* gods surrounding the central deity (called

43 Witnesses: GSS Kio6v5-nir4, N74V7-78r3, D77r8-8ov9. Toh 1568, Ota. 2276 "*Kankldatdlasaddhana* attributed to Darikapa." 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 Kumarabodhi).

here *Jndnasdgara*) is visualized on the erect penis, which "whirls intensely" in the vagina.

3. *utpannakrama-uddes'ah*: The syllables *na-ma* are internalized yogic drops; this introduces four yogas that describe the two *bindus* moving through the body creating great bliss (*urusdtam*, *mahdsdtam*, *s'arman*). The yogas describe different *samddhis*, in which Vajrayogini is denoted by synonyms (Sarustri, Sahajahgana, Suruyogini, Paviyogini, Vyadhamayogini).

4. The final section of the sadhana describes a *kumdripujd*. (It quotes Saraha in an *apabhramsa* verse, part of which appears also in the HT2.4.67.)

GSS34 *Paramagambhiropadeso*" *Vajrayoginydh Karankatoranakramah Svddhisthndnam (Supremely Profound Teaching: Self-Consecration As Skeleton-Arch Method of Vajrayogini) by Dhydyipdda*⁴⁴

The author acknowledges that the work is written by the grace of Luyipada, and through the power of self-consecration (**KIIIVI**: *luyipddaprasddena svddhisthndnabalena ca*) and later ascribes a *bhdvand* to Luyipada (Ki±5r6). He cites many verses from other sources, referring by name to the *s'ri-Hevajradvikalpardja* (Ki±4r3), *Sahajanirdesa* (K114V2), and *Caturmudrñvaya* (Kii5r4) (none of which are listed in BBK although a *Sahajasiddhi* by Dombheruka is given on p. 351, and a *Caturmudrñiscaya* by Nagarjuna on pp. 352, 358). He refers also to the *Tattvajndnasamsiddhi-svddhistdnakrama* (BBK: 277, now published). The opening *sdrdulavikridita* verse is a homage to Vyadhamas'riyogini. 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 dharmas, not reliance on persons."⁴⁵ In the choice of a site that follows, there is a suggestion of lay involvement (K111V3: *svagrhe <vd> vijane nirupadrave vasan*).

44 *paramagambhiropades'o*] em.: *paramagmbhiropadesa K*.

45 Witnesses: Kinr4-ii8r2, ^813-8314, D8in-86r4. I can find no other reference to the author, Dhayipada, who seems to have been a pupil in the lineage of Luyipada, as he refers three times to Luyipada as the source of the teaching (GSS34 **KIIIVI**, Kii5r6, K116V4). Toh., Ota.-?

46 GSS34 (Kinr6): *arthapratissaranatd mahyam na vyanjanapratissaranata. dharmapratissaranatd caiva na pudgalapratissaranatd. • vyanjanapratissaranata*] corr.: *vyanjanapratissaranato K*. In fact, this expresses a common idea in Buddhist literature, and references are given by Edgerton q.v. *pratisaranalapratissarana*, e.g., *Mahdvyyutpatti* 1546: *arthapratissaranena bhavitavyam na vyanjanapratissaranena*, "one must rely on the real meaning, not the 'letter,'" etc.

In outline, the meditations of the practice are as follows:

1. The sadhana describes the visualization of the syllables of the obeisance *na-ma-s'ri* 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 Vyadhamayogini (from *s'ri-*). Next comes the teaching on the five syllables (*pancdksaranirdes'ah*) *va-jra-yo-gi-ni*, which produces the armor goddesses (K112V4).

2. The twenty-four sites are then equated with the skeleton arch visualized in the *nirmdna* lotus, i.e., the vagina (Kii3r3). These are internalized (lit: suppressed, *nirodhah*).

3. The cremation grounds are also internalized and equated with the psychophysical organism in a kind of yogic body mandala (Kii3r5-H4r3).

4. A yogic meditation induces a deep meditative state (ascribed to a text called the *Sahajanirdesa*, K114V2).

5. There is an installation (of syllables?) onto the limbs of four goddesses equated with the four types of consort (*mudrd*) (karma-, dharma-, samaya-, and mahamudra, K114V5). The meditations and quotes that follow expand upon the four mudras, e.g., the *Caturmudrānvaya* is cited regarding the qualities of the *karmamudrd* (Ki±5r4).

6. A six-spoked Cakrasamvara/Vajravarahi mandala 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 Luyipada (Kii5r6) equate the cremation ground with the eight *vijhḍnas*; the skeleton arch is visualized in their midst with the fusion of two *bijas* in its center productive of "great lust and passion" (*mahdrḍgdndrdga-*). There is a reflection on the *bindu* upon the syllable *hiim* and the union of two *bindus*.

8. An explanation follows of the *samayamudrd'm* which *samaya* is defined as twofold, *raksanam*, and *bhaksanam* (Kii6r2; see ch. 3), and each is further defined as tenfold. Yogic meditations on the *ndda* are prescribed, producing the nondual awareness called *samayamudrd*.

9. The yogin is to meditate on mahamudra according to the teaching of Luyipada (K116V4), with the contemplation of the skeleton as compassion and the arch as emptiness, and mahamudra within that. The siddhi of mahamudra is attained through yogic meditations. (The text includes a citation from the *Tattvajndnasamsiddhi* K117V2-3.)

GSS35 *Indrabhutikramena Vajrayoginisddhanam (Vajrayogini Sadhana in the Tradition of Indrabhuti) by Vijayavajra"*

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, Oddiyana," and to wear red. Following his enjoyment of the five nectars and contemplation of the *brahmavihdras*, he suddenly takes on the *ahamkdra* of the deity. The vajra ground is installed, followed by emptiness meditations and the visualization of the cosmos with Mount Sumeru. A four-armed Vajrayogini is generated internally. The knowledge deities are summoned and worshiped with the supreme worship and the tasting of nectar (Kii9r2), which is followed by a yogic-type armoring (of the six cakras and nine orifices with *hum*, 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 mandala 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 (Kii9v6-i2or), namely, the hand worship, tasting of nectar, and ^//offerings, followed by praise, the bodhisattva vow, and a dedication of merit. Two short rites describe the means of accepting a pupil (Ki2or2) and of creating an amulet (Ki2or6-v).

GSS36 *Kurmapatanakramena Vajrayoginisddhana'" (Sadhana of Vajrayogini with the Method of the Falling Turtle)*

This form of Vajrayogini is generated in front of the sadhaka inside a double *dharmodayd* 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: Kii8r2-i20v3, 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 Sahara in the bsTan gyur, including one called *Kurmapddasiddhisddhana*. This is not among the texts that Robinson lists from the bsTan 'gyur by Sahara (1979: 291). Toh. 1560, Ota. 2268; Toh. 1559, Ota. 2267; cf. Ota. 5134.

yogic meditation with drops based on the four consecrations in the Hevajra system. It then comments upon the *parvapujā* upon the frame verses praising transgressive practice. The remaining commentary is upon text that is not part of GSSi in this recension of the *sadhana*.

GSS41 *Vajravdrdhikalpa (Vajravarahi Ritual)*ⁿ

A sacrificial rite (*vdgākriyā*) in the cremation ground in which a wrathful form of Vajravarahi is visualized in the fire and is propitiated with ground-up buffalo meats for the attainment of black-magic *siddhi*.

GSS42 *Vajrayoginiprandmaikavimsikā (Stotra) (Twenty-One Praise Verses for Saluting Vajrayogini)*ⁿ

A twenty-one-verse *stotra* (verses are numbered in the text) praising Vajrayogini: her embodiment of the four blisses, her compassion, her transcendent wisdom (in Yogacara terms), and her ability to manifest with many different forms, including as the supreme goddess in other religious systems (Sakti, Candi, "Vedavati," Kumbhika, VaisnavatI, etc., according to the different religious systems).

GSS43 *Vajravildsinistotra (Praise of Vajravildsini) by Vibhūticandra*^{*}

The *stotra* consists of forty-five (unnumbered) couplets. The meter is not *dryagiti* 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 Vajravildsinī are described.

GSS44 *Svddhishthdnakumḍritarpanavidhi*ⁿ (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 *sadhana* is contained in the missing portion. The text resumes (Ki39r1) with a description of the outer portion of the thirty-seven-deity mandala, citing a verse from the YSCT/SUT group (= GSS11

54 Witnesses: GSS Ki25r3-i25v5, N88v2-89r2, D9iv4-92r4. Toh., Ota.-?

55 Witnesses: GSS Ki25v5-i27r2, N89r2-9in, 09214-9314; Ms. "C" (CUL ms. add. 1697 IV, photocopy); ed. *Dhīh* no. 1 (1986: 1-3). Toh., Ota.-?

56 Witnesses: GSS Ki27r2-i28v4, N9ir2-9ir6, D9314-94V2; ed. *Dhīh* no. 1 (1986: 4-6). Cf. Toh. 1602, Ota. 4681.

57 Witnesses: GSS K128V5-139V2, N9ir6-9iv7, D94v2-95f4. 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 *Ḍākinijālapañjara*. He is extensively influenced by Kālacakra exegetical works, such as the *Vimala-prabhā*, Vajrapāṇi's *Laghutantraṭīkā* (*Piṇḍārtha*), the *Amṛtakaṇikā*, and *Sekkoddeṣaṭīkā*. 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 *Ḍākinijālasaṃvararahasya* (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.)

- SM224 *Vajravdrhisddhana*-'GSSiS.
 - SM225 *Ōdiydnavajrapithavinirgata-urdbvapdaavajravdrbisddhana*>°GSSi2.
 - SM226 *Samksiptavajravdrbisddhana*^GSS^.
 - SM227 *Samksiptavajravdrhisddhana***GSSz9*>SM22j.
 - SM232 *Vajrayoginisddhana* (Trikaya-Vajrayoginj)«GSS20«'GSS25.
 - SM233 *Vajrayoginisddhana*"GSSi% cf. GSS28.
 - SM234 *Vajrayoginisddhana*~GSS<)=GSS}o.
 - SM235 *nandydvarttena siddhasavarapadiyamata vajrayoginydrddhanavidhih*" GSS5 (K38n-, Sed p. i,3)-GSS22 (K86r6-86); cf. GSS23.
 - SM236 *Vajrayoginisddhana**>GSSi<).
 - SM237 *vajrayoginyupades'ah*. Fragment probably from the end of a sadhana describing yogic meditations with recitation of mantra.
 - SM238 *vajrayoginyd balividhih*=*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 lbs *Tan*-'gyur in two volumes, July 22, 1980 (Berkeley CA: Dharma Publishing).
 - 4 The *Six Texts of Vajravarahi* (*Phag mo gZhung drug*) in the bsTan 'gyur (Toh 1551-56) comprise the *Sri-Tattvajndnasiddhi* by *Sunyasamddbi* (Toh 1551), *Sarvdrthasiddhisddhana* by *Avadhutipa* (Toh i552=GSSi5), *Jndndvesa* by *Sunyasamadhi* (Toh 1553), *Chinnamunddvajravdrhisddhana* by *Srimatidevi* (Toh 1554=GSS24), *Chinnamunddsddhana* by *Virupa* (Toh 1555=GSS 25/GSS20), and *Sri-Vajrayogini-homavidhi* by *Buddhadatta* (Toh 1556=GSSi3). All six were translated by *Varendraruci* and *bLo ldan shes rab*. The transmission of this set is sometimes credited to *Sabarisvara/Sabara* (Robinson 1979: 290; *Bhattacharya* 1928 vol. 2: cxv). However, it is elsewhere attributed either to *Laksmīnkara* (from her brother, *Indrabhūti*) and her disciple, *Virupa*, or to *Kambala* (a problem Dowman attempts to solve by suggesting that *Kambala* was *Laksmīnkara*'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 pancben na ro pa* 'i rnam thar ngo mtshar rmad byung. For the transmission from *Tilopa*, see *Guenther* (*ibid.*: 44), and for *Naropa*'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 *Naropa*, see *Wylie* 1982.
 - 6 The earliest lifestory by *sGam po pa* (1079-1153), the *Ta'i lo dang ndro'i rnam thar*, simply describes how a female deity (not identified as *Vajrayogini*, but vaguely as "mother of/from Khada") appears in a dream and persuades him to seek *Tilopa*; only after studying under *Tilopa* does he enter *Nalanda* and

become a fully fledged *pandita*. (*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, Naropa dreams of many dakinis (again, not specifically Vajrayogini); he becomes a *pandita*, again only after serving as a pupil of Tilopa, but at Vikramas'ila. There is also a life of Naropa accredited to Marpa in the eleventh century, found within the collection *brGyud pa yid bzhin nor bu'i mam 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-mchogmkha'-'grosNyan-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 Vajrayogini practice (details for which I thank Dr. Sobisch; 2001: personal communication), as follows:

dPal rye btsun rdo rje mal 'byor ma 'i gsang ba 'i sgrub thabs kyi mam par bshad pa zab mo mam 'byed: A Detailed Exegesis of the Esoteric Meditation-Devotional Practice (Guhyasaddhana) Focusing upon Vajrayogini 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 mal '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 mal 'byor ma 'i gsang ba 'i sgrub thabs kyi mam bshad pa zab mo rnam 'byed: A Detailed Explanation of the Twelve Esoteric Instructions on the Guhyasaddhana of Vajrayogini Transmitted by Naropa. Rumtek: Dharma Cakra Center, 1975. 512 pp.; 9 x 50 cm. Added Tibetan title on boards: *dBal (sic.) rje btsun rdo mal 'byod (sic.) ma 'i gsang ba V sgrub thabs kyi mam par bshad pa zab mo mam 'byedches (sic.) bya ba bzhugsso. 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 sadhana by Chogyam Trungpa have been published (1982, 1991, 1999), and Simmer-Brown's exploration of the dakini and her description of Vajrayogini (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 sadhanas. The initiations and sadhanas themselves have been published in recent years amongst Sa skya pas in India, in a six-volume collection of teachings on Vajrayogini, entitled the *dPal Idan sa skya pa 'i lugs naro mkha' spyod ma* (*skor*). They are also found in *sgrub thabs kun btus*, the monumental fourteen volumes of Vajrayana 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 sadhana of Vajravahni found in the "One Hundred Sadhanas of Bari" (in vol. 12 of *sgrub thabs kun btus*), the collection of Vajrayana practices brought from India by Bari Lotsava (b. 1040) and transmitted onward through Sa chen Kun dga' snying po.
 - 12 The initiations and sadhanas for these esoteric instructions are located in *sgrub thabs kun btus*. Unlike the two other forms of Vajrayogini and the rest of *The Thirteen Golden Dharmas*, Maitri Khengar 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 Maitri Khengar (in *dPal Idan sa skya pa V lugs naro mkha' spyod ma'i skor* vol. 6, p. 203), he received it from one Dar ma Yon ten, a disciple of Sum pa Lo tsa 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 tsa wa.
 - 13 Found in volume 2 of *dpal Idan sa skya pa z lugs naro mkha' spyod ma z 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 Vajravahni 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 z glu 'phrengjhas* 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*[^] (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/Vajravarahi/Vajrayogini is plentiful, e.g., Klein (1995: 139, 144, 147), Patrul (1994: 313), Khyentse (1988), Thondup (1983,1992). The *Tharpa'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 mchogspyi 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 dakini Simhamukha (*sic*), who is the focus of the *yangsang* ("utterly secret") part of the generation-stage practices. He writes, "The employment of Vajrayogini 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 *Tharpa z bde lam*.
 - 17 The full name of the Tibetan text is *rDzogs pa chen po sku gsum rang shar las thun monggtum mo'i nyams lenye shes me dpung bzugs so*, which the author translates into pidgin Sanskrit as *Kayasahasarvam trisvayambürpasya sdmanya-canddugnibhyd jndjvlla 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, '993), Janice Willis (1989), Miranda Shaw (1994), Anne Klein (1995), and June Campbell (1996). There is also the synthetic account of Chinnamasta Vajrayogini from Buddhist and Saiva 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 Cakrasarnvara and Vajravarahi.
- *9 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.).
- ° 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 Tohoku 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 dharani 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 *Ndmamantrdrthdvalokini*, Vilasavajra's commentary upon the *Aryamanjus'rindmasamgiti* (or *Ndmasamgiti*), 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 Lilavajra), see Dudjom 1991: 463.
- 22 Skorupski (1994: 201 n. 47), for example, notes that the commentators on the *Samputodbhavantra*, such as Indrabhuti, use the phrase "yoga and yogini tantras"; cf. *Kriydsamuccaya* f. 409: *yoginiyogatantresu*.
- 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 *Hevajatantra* from the latter eighth to early ninth century, using the myth of Padmasambhava's connection with King Indrabhuti. 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 Taranatha, who makes the eminent commentator Kanha a contemporary of the eminent King Devapala (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 yoginitantras. Although Heruka-type material was in existence from the mid-eighth century (in the *Sarvabuddhasamdyogaddkinijdlas'amvara*, see n. 26 below), neither the *Hevajatantra* nor the *Cakrasamvaratantra* 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 *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinijālaśaṃvara*, 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 siddhidā 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: *śam-*, "bliss," is used as a synonym for *sāta*, *sukha*, and there is no doubt an allusion intended to Śiva, the "creator of bliss" (*śam-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 *śdom pa* for Saṃvara).
- 28 GSS16 (K75v3): *tantrē lakṣābhidhāne hi nāthena kathitā svayam*.
- 29 According to the colophons of the Tibetan manuscripts, the *Legends* are a translation of the *Caturaśītisiddhapravṛtti* 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

- 43 Bñhnnemann (1994: 19) shows that the basis of Bhattacharyya's edition is the third and largest of Bu ston's collections known variously as **Sddhanasdgara/Sddhanasamuccaya/Sddhanamdld*, which Bhattacharyya entitled *Sddhanamdld* according to the catalog description of one of the Cambridge manuscripts (Add. 1593). However, the catalog entry for the palmleaf manuscript of the *Sddhanas'atapancds'ikd* in Cambridge (Add. 1686) was also cataloged by Bendall (1883: 174) as the *Sddhanamdld tantra* (Bñhnnemann 1994: 17). This catalog entry, and the appearance of this title in manuscripts, misled Bhattacharyya into including it in his edition of sadhanas.
- 44 These extracts from the *Sarvadurgatiparisodhanatantra* show how close its subject matter is to the stages of the sadhanas in the *Guhyasamayassddhanamdld*. See *Sarvadurgatiparisodhanatantra*, 8a, for opening prescriptions and assurance of success (*anenayathoktatantrdnusdrdnukramena vidhñnenapratyāham prabhd kḍla utpattikramena bhdvayamdno bhdvayet. devatdyogam samddhitrayam uttamam yatnato durgatiparis'odhanasiddhir bhavati.*); 9b—10a for preliminaries (*tatsddhanam s'dkyandthēna bhdsitam. prathamam tadvad vijāne mano 'nukil pradesē mrdusukumdrdsane nisannah sugandhena mandalam krtvd pancopal puja karaniyd. tatah sarvadharmānairdṁmyam bhdvayitvd. dtmdnam humkdr vajrajvddnaldrkam bhdvayet. tasya kanthe hrihkḍrena padmam <...generations. ...> tena vajrajihvd bhavati, mantrajdpaksamo bhavet...*); 10a-nb for the construction of the circle of protection, with the "binding" of creatures in the directions; a *vajramḍldbhiseka* and armoring follow here, out of place according to later structures; 13ab for obeisances, twentyfold offerings and puja; 17a for emptiness mantras; 17b—18b for bodhisattva vow; 19b for the generation of the mandala and the summoning of previous puja deities who are then made to enter the mandala in the yogin's heart, and the two mandalas merge into one; self-visualization of the yogin himself as deity at the center of the mandala.
- 45 GST ch. 12 w. 60C-63: *vijñdyā vajrabhedena tatah karmḍni sddhayetl sevdsamddhisamyogam bhdvayed bodhim uttamam I upasddhanasiddhyagre vajrdyatanavicdranam I sddhane codanam proktam mantrddhipatibhḍvanam mahdsddhanakḍlesu bimbam svamantravajrinah I makute 'dhipatim dhydtvd sidhyate jñḍnavajrinah*. Also GST ch. 18 v. i36ff. v. 136: *sevḍvidhñnam prathamam dvitīyam upasddhanam I sddhanam tu trtīyam vai mahdsddhanam caturthakam*. Wayman (1977: 34, on ch. 12 w. 60-61a and pp. 156-57) translates the four "steps" as: "service" (*sevḍ*), "near-evocation" (*upasddhana*), "evocation" (*sddhana*), and "great evocation" (*mahdsddhana*). I suggest a better translation of *sddhana* here is that of "attainment [of the deity]," or "mastery [over the deity]."
- 46 Texts of the generation and completion method in Nagarjuna's Arya school are the *Pindikramasddhana* and *Pancakrama* respectively, and in the Jñānapada school of Buddhas'rijñana, the *Caturangasddhanasamantabhadrandmasddhana* and *Muktilākanama* (Matsunaga 1978: xxi-xxii; Wayman 1977: 93-95). Of these, the *Caturangasddhana* 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* (*Sadarigayogandma*) attributed to the tantric Nagarjuna (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 *sadhana* such as GSS11 analyzed below. Like the *sadhana*, 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 prndyadma* practices (chs. 5-6), *yoga*, *yoginis*, *sites*, etc. (ch. 7-9=body mandala); 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 *yoginis* (HT1.7-1.8), and generation of the full mandala through *vis'uddhik* (HT1.9).
- 49 GSSi (K279V2)*»GSS2 (K4r6): *ddau tdvan mantri gurubuddhayor abhinna-bhaktimdnaso drdhagrhitabodhicittah samyakprdpdbhisekah... • drdha] sudrdha* GSS2. Cf. SM218 p. 431.
- 50 GSSi (K4r2) and GSS5 (Sed p. 154', K38V4): *gurur buddho gurur dharmo guruh samghas tathaiva ca I gurur vajradharah srmdn gurur evdtra kdramam I guruh arddhayet tasmdd buddhatvapadavdnchayd. 'vdnchayd] GSSi; vdnchayati GSS5.*

The GSS produces many other citations on this vast subject. At the start of the *Abhisamayamanjari* (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 gurubuddhayor abhinnaśraddhah...yogi*; cf. GSSi (K279V2): *ddau tdvan mantri gurubuddhayor abhinnaśraddhah...yogi*; GSS46 (K14TV) 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): *gurupddam vind vatsa ma gacchayogininayam*, and GSS33 (Kinr3). For scriptural sources, see e.g., SUT ch. 8 w. 5-12, also SUT ch. 18 v. i-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 *samaya* as post-initiatory observance, see the VA (SP p. 180): *samayo mantratantramudrddih*. 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., *Cakrasamvaratantra* i.iocd, ncd: *samaydn pdayen nityam*. Jayabhadra's *Panjikā* (NAK 3-365, f. 2ori-2) on the *Laghusamvara* states that the *mantrin* is "committed to the *samvara*, 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 GSSi (K8or₁): *...suguptam caiva kartavayam pujdkale samahitah. ...yadi siddhim pardm icchan raksayet samayam sadd... srivajrayoginirahasyam karndt*

- karmaṃ mukān mukham*. Cf. GSS44 *Svādhīṣṭhānakumārītarpaṇavidhiḥ* (K128v5): *kanyāpūjākramaṃ vaksye guruvaktrakramāgataṃ • kramāgataṃ* em.; *kramāgataḥ* K; GSS18 (K83r6): *yasya kasyacin na kathanīyam*. Note injunctions to secrecy following the declaration of the efficacy of transgressive discipline in the *Mahācaṇḍaroṣanatantra* ch. 13.
- 53 See *Ratnāvalīpañjikā* (p. 80): *pūrvasevām vinā na kāryasiddhiḥ*; SM1 (p. 1): *iba khalu... mahātantre mantramāṇḍale raḥomaṇḍale vā vidhivallabdhādhikāro mantrī taduktasamayasaṃvarasthaḥ pūrvasevām cikīrṣuḥ... vasaṃ*. This sādhanā prescribes different numbers of recitations, e.g., (p. 1): *tatpraṇāmālam-banajāpam abhyasaṃ sahasraṃ japeṭ / tataḥ sarvamantrāṇām lakṣajāpāḥ kṛto bhavati...*; this constitutes the prior service that is the opening part of the sādhanā (p. 2): *tataḥ svaparābhūdayasādhanaṅgam evaṃ pūrvasevāvidhim anuṣṭhet*; SM37 (p. 83): <gives mantra> *pūrvasevāyutaṃ japtvā paścāt sādhanam ārabhet*; SM266 (p. 524): *mantrī abhiṣikto 'nujñātaḥ kṛtapūrvasevo vajradharaṃ 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): *hr̥dindumadhye bijam... tadbijarāsmijagurubuddhabodhisattvān dr̥ṣṭvā; pūrvoktabijaniṣpannam śrīmañjuvajram... cintayet*; SM61 (p. 127): *śrīdharmadhātuvāgiśvaraṃ... ātmānaṃ nispādyā*; GSS3 (K12v3): *etatsarvapariṇāmenātmānaṃ bhagavatīm vajravārāhiṃ... bhāvayet*; cf. GSS31; GSS9 (K45r1): *pūrvoktaiḥ samastaiḥ pariṇāmena vajrayoginīm... bhāvayet*; SM3 (p. 19): *sakalasamastapariṇāta... samastam etat pariṇāmya*; SM4 (p. 22): *sarvam etat pariṇāmya*; SM14 (p. 39): *tad etat sakalapariṇātam ātmānaṃ bhagavantaṃ dhyāyāt*; etc.
- 55 E.g., GSS5 (Sed p. 125, K15r2): *phenabudbudamaricikadalīmāyopamatvena niśceyā vairocanaḍāyāḥ*; GSS11 v. 48b, v. 51b, SM3 (p. 19): *tad eva jyotīrūpapariṇātam candramaṇḍalam*; SM36 (p. 82): *sūryamaṇḍalam raśmimayaṃ vicintya*; SM55 (pp. 133–34): *nyaset purastāt khalu jālinīprabhaṃ | suśubhraphodbbhavam eva nirmalam | paṃkārajaṃ 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 sādhanā, for example in the *vāgvisuddhi*, worship, awakenings, etc.
- 56 She appears as the subject of the practice in seven different sādhanas: in the warrior stance in GSS2 (*parvapūjā*, K11r1), GSS5 (Sed p. 132, K20r3), GSS11, GSS29, and in the reverse warrior (*pratyalīḍhaḥ*) 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*

Ida.n), comprising these three collections is *Rin 'byungsnar thang brgya rtsa rdor 'phrreng bcas nas gsungspa 'i bris sku mthong ba don Idan* (Tachikawa 1995: 7) •

Rin 'byung brgya rtsa or *Jewel Mine of Hundred [texts]* is itself an abbreviation for Taranatha's collection, the full title of which is: *The Mine of Jewels, Sddghanas of the Ocean of Yidam Deities: Yi dam rgya mtsho V sgrub thabs rin che;n 'byung gnas*. This collection has been reprinted in two volumes in New Delhi, 1974-76, as Jo nang rje btsun Taranatha's *Yi-dam rgya-mtsho z sgrub-thabs rin-chen 'byung-gnas: A Collection of Sddghanas for Invoking the Various Tuitelary Deities of Lamaism* (Willson and Brauen 2000: 231, 233 n. 1; Tachikawa *op.cit.*).

Large as Taranatha's work already was, the fourth Panchen 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 sadhana text and a rite conferring permission. This work is called *The Clear Meaning of the Jewel Mine, an Expansion of "Tlbe Mine of Jewels, Sddghanas of the Ocean of Yidam Deities" (Yi dam rgya mtsrho z 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 *Sacdhana-Mala of the Panchen Lama bs Tan-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*. Biihnnemann (1994: 14-15) notes that the *Rin lhan* has its roots in the collection of sadhanas translated as the *Sddghanas'ataka* about the turn of the twelfth century or earlier (and also, according to Chandra, in the *Sddhana-sagara; op.cit.*: 45-46). The fourth chapter of the *Rin lhan* is dedicated to sadhanas of Vajravarahi (Tachikawa 1995: 10, Chandra 1986 vol.i, p. 47).

Where icons from the Mongolian pantheon are used below, I have compared the relevant Sanskrit sadhana of the *Guhyasamayassddhanam dld* with the Tibetan source; for this, I have relied upon the translations of the *Rin lhan/Rin byitung brgya rtsa* 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/TWS), 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 chapter 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 Haimburg (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 Inga 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 Idan*, 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 Zurich Painting of the "Icons Worthwhile to See (Bris sku mthon don Idan)."*

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 Saiva traditions in the ninth and tenth centuries in Kashmir. For a detailed analysis of the dating of the Saiva tantras themselves, see Sanderson 2001b. The nouns *mantra* (masculine) and *vidyā* (feminine) in Mantrapitha and Vidyapitha 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 Saiva Siddhanta also belongs to the Mantramargaj. See also Dyczkowski 1988.

- 61 For the chief cremation ground cults, the *Picumatabrahmaydmalatantra* is the authority (approximately 1,200 verses on the cult of Canda Kapalini and Kapalisabhairava; Sanderson 1995). The textual basis of the Trika system is the *Siddhayoges'varimata* and the *Tantrasadbhdva* (also the *Nis'isamedra* and *Mdlini-vijayottaratantra*). The text underpinning the worship of Kali is the *Jayad-rathaydmalatantra* (or *Tantrardjabhattadrikd*), which teaches the *kdpdlika* cult of Bhairava, Kali, and the yoginis. These are "the main pillars of the esoteric Saiva tradition" (Sanderson 1994i: 94).
- 62 *Vajrdvali* (SP f. 219.5): *viracarydvratam eva yauvardjyavratacaryeti vajrakd-pdllicacarydvratam iti cuktam srisamputatanetre*. Cited by Sanderson (1994i: 91, 98 n. 2) who also describes and discusses the rite.
- 63 Cf. HT2.5.59; *Kriydsamuccayai*. 409; HT1.5.2, HT2.5.59, *Samputatantra* ch. 1, Skorupski 1994: 221-22). From the description of the *Vajrdvali Guhyd-bhisekavidhi* (SP p. 210.3): *s'isyo 'bhinavayauvanddisampannd<m> samayini<m> tadaldbhe 'nydm vdprajnd<m> guhydbhisekdrtha<m> gurave nirydtya krtndjalir guru<m> vajrasatvamadhimucya... • tadaldbhe{ conj.; tadandmeSP • nydm|em; 'nyds SP • nirydtya SP*. Cf. GSi8.n8ab: *atis'raddhdm mahdprdnim surupdm sddhakapriydm*.
- 64 *Mahdcandarosanatantra* ch. 13: *yenayenaivapdpna sattvdgacchanty adhogatim I tena tenaiva pdpna yogi s'ighram prasiddhyati* (v. 5) II ... *rdgena hanyate rdgo vahniddho 'tha vahnind I visendpi visam hanydd upadesaprayogatas II* (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 recieved instructions." Cf. HT2.2.46—49 and HT2.2.5iab.
- 65 I am grateful to Dr. Isaacson for his help in translating this passage, attributed to Indrabhuti. GSSI (K*8ov5): *vdmodbhavam jagat sarvam trailokyam sacardcaram I vdmcdrah saddyogi vdmappedah purah kramet \ [iv] I pujayed vdmahastena vdmatarpanabhaksanam I pahcavarnasamcdram ekavarnam tu kalpitam I [v] I bhaksydbhaksyam tathd peyam ghrndm lajjdm ca varjayet I sarvasamkalpanirmuktah sarvadvandvavivarjitah I simhavad vicared yogi yoginijldlasamvaraih. [vi]*. Lines from these verses, or variations upon them, appear also in YSCT, e.g., [v. i cd] ch. 15 v. i5ab, [v. iii cd] v. 13b *simhavad vicared virah sarvds'dparipurakah*; Luyipada's HA (f. 15V6, f. i6n); SUT 9.27a; cf. HT1.6.5ab. For *yoginijldlasamvaram*, see YSCT ch. 9 v. 3a with commentary; Tsuda's remarks (1974: introduction: 54-60), Herrmann-Pfandt (1992: 395ff).
- 66 For the categorization in Saivism see Heilijgers-Seelen (1994:126) citing *Kubjikdmatatantra* i8.78cd on their categorization, and Ksemaraja's commentary on *Netratantra* 2.13-14 for their malicious tendencies.
- 67 The term *ddkini* is usually glossed from *Vdai* "to fly," as in the YRM (Snellgrove 1959 vol. 2: 142), which states that *ddkini* derives from the root "to fly," understood literally as "to go in space, which is the Siddhi of moving anywhere in space." *Hevajatantratikd* f. 49V (cited *Bauddhatantrakos'a*: 45): *dai vihdya-sagamane dhdtur atra vikalpitah. sarvdkds'acari siddhir ddkinitr, Vasantatilakdtikd*:

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 Inga 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 mthongba don Idan*, 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 Zurich Painting of the "Icons Worthwhile to See (Bris sku mthon don Idan)."*

- 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 Saiva traditions in the ninth and tenth centuries in Kashmir. For a detailed analysis of the dating of the Saiva tantras themselves, see Sanderson 2001b. The nouns *mantra* (masculine) and *vidyā* (feminine) in Mantrapitha and Vidyapitha 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 Saiva Siddhanta also belongs to the Mantramarga). See also Dyczkowski 1988.

- 61 For the chief cremation ground cults, the *Picumatabrahmaydmalatantra* is the authority (approximately 1,200 verses on the cult of Canda Kapalini and Kapalisabhairava; Sanderson 1995). The textual basis of the Trika system is the *Siddhayogesvarimata* and the *Tantrasadbhdva* (also the *Nis'isamcdra* and *Mdlini-vijayottaratantra*). The text underpinning the worship of Kali is the *Jayad-rathaydmalatantra* (or *Tantrardjabhattadrika*), which teaches the *kdpdlika* cult of Bhairava, Kali, and the yoginis. These are "the main pillars of the esoteric Saiva tradition" (Sanderson 1994i: 94).
- 62 *Vajrdvali* (SP f. 219.5): *viracarydvratam eva yauvardjyavratacaryeti vajrakd-pdllicacarydvratam iti cektam srisamputatanetre*. Cited by Sanderson (1994i: 91, 98 n. 2) who also describes and discusses the rite.
- 63 Cf. HT2.5.59; *Kriydsamuccayai*. 409; HT1.5.2, HT2.5.59, *Samputatantra* ch. 1, Skorupski 1994: 221-22). From the description of the *Vajrdvali Guhyd-bhisekavidhi* (SP p. 210.3): *s'isyo 'bhinavayauvanddisampannd<m> samayini<m> tadaldbhe 'nydm vdprajnd<m> guhydbhisekdrtha<m> gurave nirydtya krtndjalir guru<m> vajrasatvamadhimucya... • tadaldbhe| conj.; tadandmeS? • 'nydm| em.; 'nyds SP • nirydtya SP*. Cf. GSi8.n8ab: *atis'raddhdm mahdprdnim surupdm sddhakapriydm*.
- 64 *Mahdcandarosanatantra* ch. 13: *yenayenaivapdpna sattvdgacchanty adhogatim I tena tenaiva pdpna yogi sighram prasiddhyati* (v. 5) II...rdgena hanyate rdgo vahniddho 'tha vahnind I visendpi visam hanydd upades 'aprayogatas II (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 recieved instructions." Cf. HT2.2.46-49 and HT2.2.5iab.
- 65 I am grateful to Dr. Isaacson for his help in translating this passage, attributed to Indrabhuti. GSSi (K*8ov5): *vdmdbhavam jagat sarvam trailokyam sacardcaram I vdmcdrah sadd yogi vdmappedah purah kramet I [iv] I pujayed vdmahastena vdmatarpanabhaksanam I pancavarnasamcdram ekavarnam tu kalpitam I [v] I bhaksydbhahyam tathdpeyam ghrndm lajjdm ca varjayet I sarvasamkalpanirmuktah sarvadvandvavivarjitah I simhavad vicared yogi yoginijldlasamvaraih. [vi]*. Lines from these verses, or variations upon them, appear also in YSCT, e.g., [v. i cd] ch. 15 v. i5ab, [v. iii cd] v. 13b *simhavad vicaredvirah sarvds'dparipurakah*; Luyipada's HA (f. 15V6, f. i6n); SUT 9.27a; cf. HT1.6.5ab. For *yoginijldlasamvaram*, see YSCT ch. 9 v. 3a with commentary; Tsuda's remarks (1974: introduction: 54-60), Herrmann-Pfandt (1992: 395ff).
- 66 For the categorization in Saivism see Heilijgers-Seelen (1994:126) citing *Kubjikmatatantra* i8.78cd on their categorization, and Ksemaraja's commentary on *Netratantra* 2.13-14 for their malicious tendencies.
- 67 The term *ddkini* is usually glossed from *Vdai* "to fly," as in the YRM (Snellgrove 1959 vol. 2: 142), which states that *ddkini* derives from the root "to fly," understood literally as "to go in space, which is the Siddhi of moving anywhere in space." *Hevajratantratikd* f. 49V (cited *Bauddhatantrakos'a*: 45): *dai vihdya-sagamane dhdtur atra vikalpitah. sarvdkds'acari siddhir ddkiniti; Vasantatilakdtikd*:

41 (cited *ibid.*): *tatraprthivdykds'e dayanddddkini, Vasantatilakdtikd*: 60 (cited *ibid.*): *dai vaihdyasi gamane buddho dhd turprakalpitaḥ Isarvdkdsacard siddha ddkiniti nigadyate*. It is this etymology that is carried into the Tibetan term for dakini, *kha'gro ma*, "one who goes in space" (a translation of another term for dakini in Sanskrit, *khe-cari*). The word dakini, and its rich polyvalence, is discussed elsewhere, e.g., by Herrmann-Pfandt (1992: njff.) 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 Oddiyana may be related to *ddkini* through the root *Vdi* "to fly, to soar."
- 69 Sanderson (2001: personal communication) has collated detailed citations from Buddhist, Jain, and Saiva Sanskrit sources that confirm the location of Oddiyana (also spelled: Odiyana, Odryana, Uddiyana, Udiyana, Udyana, and Udyana) in the northwest of India, as well as references in Tibetan to Oddiyana (U rgyan or O rgyan), in Chinese (Wuzhangna guo (Pinyin), Wu-chang-na kuo (Wade-Giles)), and in Japanese (Ujona 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 (1994!, 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 (Ki24r4): *tirthikddiyogininirdkarandrtham vajra<m> <iti>*.
- 72 GSS24 (K89V6): *namah srivajrayoginyaiyoginicakrandyikdyai... • ndyikdyat/ em.; nayike K.*
- 73 For early stone sculptures of Marici from Nalanda, 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 mandala of Marici 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 Marici as an attendant to Tara (1981: 489, plate 138E and 2001: 1055, plates 73A, 93C, 121D, 267A (reproduced here as plate 5), and 357B). Studies of Marici, 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 sadhana texts relating to illustrations from the nineteenth-century Mongolian icons (nos. 195-96, 267, 430, 502), and (peaceful) forms of Marici appear likewise in the line drawings of Lokesh Chandra's version of this pantheon (1961-72). A number of useful articles on Marici also contain early images, by Donaldson (1988, 1995), Mitra (1991), and Bautze-Picron (2000), who dates the earliest images recovered at Bodh Gaya 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 Marici (*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 (*kr̥ṣṇa*) 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 ekavaktṛā asthyābharaṇāḥ piṅgorddhvakeśā muṇḍamālārahitā vāme kapālaṃ dakṣiṇe kartṛikā 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 *Mahāmāyātāntṛa* (1.7a): *guhyakānām iyaṃ mātā*; and as the (female) source of creation, (1.6): *saiśā saṃharate viśvaṃ sṛjate sā punaḥ punaḥ*. Ratnākaraśānti confirms that Mahāmāyā is a male Heruka form: *saiśeti 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 *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālaśaṃvara*, in Ānandagarbha's *Vajrajvālodaya nāma Śriherukasādhanaopayikā* (Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen, MS Xc 14/39, f. 170r6–186r5; ms. Xc 14/39), f. 178r: *atra śriherukasyābhyantaramaṇḍalakoṣṭhas tasya tadযোগিনী বা তস্মিন্ eva koṣṭhake pūrvadigbhāge gaurī gauravarṇā śāntadṛṣṭiḥ saumyamukhā... pāścīme pramohā ādivarāhamukhā pramohadṛṣṭir †vakrasthā †caturbhujā madyapūrṇakapālavāmakarā dakṣiṇakare vajrasphoṭanam sarvaṃ krodhakula<m> bandhayanti*. (I thank Professor Sanderson for this reference.)
- 78 E.g., ADUT *paṭala* 56 f. 221r1–5: *karuṇākrodhabhīṣaṇā*. The notion of *karuṇākrodha* is widely attested elsewhere. Cf. SM117 p. 246: *Jāṅguli...saroṣahasitā*, lit.: “Jāṅguli...smiling, with anger.”
- 79 E.g., in the *Saptadaśatmakavevajra Maṇḍala* (NYĀ no. 5, p. 14): *athavā caturbhujō dvibhujavat aparabhujābhyāṃ svābhavajravārāhisamālīṅgita 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, Vajrasmkhala (HT1.3.18); also in NYA no. 5.

- 80 *Vasantatilakdtikd* p. 41 (cited *Bauddhatantrakos'a* p. 45): *sarvd eva ddkinyo vdrdhikulasam bhavdh*.
- 81 *Theparydnka*, as we will see (n. 238), is a seated meditation posture. In the half-paryanka (*ardhaparyanka*), 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., NYA (p. 14): [Hevajra] *vamorau daksinacarandgram samsthdpdrdhaparyanki*"[Hevajra] is in the *ardhaparyanka* [pose], having placed the tip of his right foot on his left thigh." SM241 (p. 469): *vis'vapadmasurye vdmappddam tasyaivorau daksinacaranam vinyasya nrtyam kurvantam herukaviram bhdvayet*. "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] *suryamandalam tanmadhye samupavistham...ardhaparyankinam*; SM254 p. 502: [devi] *ardhaparyankanrtyasthdh*; etc. Sanderson (2002: personal communication) notes that Bhavabhata's commentary to the *Cakrasamvaratantra* glosses the root text (19.10c: *dkuhcitavdmapaddn tu*) as: "The phrase, 'With the left foot bent' means, he should be seen dancing in the *ardhaparyanka* pose." (*Cakrasamvaratantravivrti* IASWRMBB-I-33, f. 76V6): *dkuncitavdmapddeti. ardhaparyankandtyam dars'ayed ity arthah*.

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-paryanka* as the "dancing" pose; e.g., GSS2 (K28or3/Kor2): *ardhaparyankatndavdm*; GSS7 (f40r5): *ardhaparyankam dsind nrtyamdnd*; GSS32 (Kio6r2): *nrtydrdhaparyankini*; and describing Heruka's form, e.g., KYT (p. 142): *caturmdrasamd-krdntam ardhaparyankatndavam*. For the *rasas*, see e.g., GSS34 (Kmv6): *navandtyarasdnvitt*, also of Heruka forms such as Samvara, e.g., NYA (p. 26): *navandtyarasardsih*, cf. SUT ch. 13.22b.

- 82 The two texts are very similar. Cf. GSS5 (Sed p. 152, K37r3): *Vasantatilakdch*. 9. GSSi (K28ori)=GSS2 (K4v6-or): *tatah svadeham traidhtukavis'uddhakutgdgram ity dkalayya jhatiti tato ndbhimandale dvibhujdm kartrikapdladhrinim muktasiroruhdm nagndm trinetrdm—navayauvanaldvanydm pahcamudrdvibhusitdm I pancabrahmamahdmukutim ardhaparyankatndavdm*
 11 I somasurydgnimadhyasthdmjavdsindurasannibhdm I idrgrupadhardm devimbhdvayeddyogavit sadd I 2 I koldsyam daksinam tasydh krodhsydm vdmatas tath I samvrtiparamdrthena vaktradvayam pragiyate I 3 I guriipadesamdrgena jiidtavyah kramavistarah I tasydh kuses'aydntahstham cakram sarvdrthasiddhia
 14 I trigundlamkrtam cihnam raktavarnam mahddyuti I mantrdk Saraswampurnakuldlacakravadd bhramet I 5 I rdkasdsydm samdkuncya samujjydydya vibhdivasum koldsyasannidhau drstvd nandydvarte bhramed vapuh I 6 I mudrddvayaprayogetrailokyam api sddhayet I jhatitdkdrayogdtmdyogi sidhyati ndnyathd I 7 I

• *ity ākalayya*] GSS1, *abhivikṣya* GSS2 • *tato*→*dvibhujāṃ*] GSS1, *vajrayoginīm dvi(bhujāṃ) dvimukhāṃ* GSS2(del) • *muktaśīroruhāṃ*] GSS1, *muktakeṣīm* GSS2 • (1c) *pañcabrahma*] GSS1, ******hā* GSS2(dam) • (1d) *tāṇḍavāṃ*] GSS1; *tāṇḍaviṃ* GSS2 • (3b) *vāmataḥ tathā*] GSS1, GSS2; *vāmam eva ca* GSS5 • (3c) *saṃvṛtiparamārthena*] GSS1, GSS2; *satyadvayaviśuddhyā tu* GSS5 • (3d) *pragīyate*] 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) *kuśeṣayāntaḥsthaṃ*] GSS1; *pañkajamadyasthaṃ* GSS2 • (5b) *raktavarṇaṃ*] conj.; *vai raktavarṇaṃ* GSS1; *raktavarṇa* GSS2 • (5b) *mahādyuti*] em.; *°dyutiḥ* GSS1, *°dyutiṃ* GSS2 • (5c) *°susampūrṇaṃ*] corr.; *śūṣampūrṇaṃ* GSS1, *sampūrṇaṃ* GSS2 • (6a) *rākṣasāśyaṃ*] GSS2, *rākṣasāśya* GSS1 • (6b) *vibhāvasum*] GSS1; *prabhāsvaram* GSS2 • (6d) *nandīāvarte*] conj.?: *nandīāvarta* GSS1, GSS2 • (7b) *apī*] GSS1; *kha(lu)* GSS2(mg2) • (7c) *jhaṭitākārayogātmā*] GSS1; *jhaṭitākārayogena* GSS2.

- 83 The *Sādhanaṃālā* works listed for Vajravārāhi by von Schroeder include a short line of text describing the form of Vajravārāhi for a rite of subjugation (SM220 p. 433: *digambarā muktakeśī vajravārāhi nābhideśe kartrikapālādharīṇī nr̥tyanti cintyā. vāśyaṃ bhavatīti. vajravārāhyā vāśyavidhiḥ*). This is evidently a fragment from the *vāśyavidhi* 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 Vajravārāhi 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 “Vāśya-Vajravārāhi” for *ardhaparyāṅka* chopper-holding forms of Vajravārāhi (see many plates in publications published 1981 and 2001, with 2001: 1052). As this form of Vajravārāhi 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 (*pratyālīḍha*) 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 Vajravārāhi 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 Vajravārāhi. 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 Vajravarahi from Central Tibet (Reedy 1997: C180, and C189), a beautiful laughing gilt-bronze Vajravarahi 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 "Indrabhuti Vajradakin!" 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, Pala style), plate 95F (fourteenth century, Nepalese), plate 115A (fifteenth-century Tibetan), and 120F (sixteenth-seventeenth-century Tibetan).

- 85 According to Lokesh Chandra, Taranatha's title for no. 586 is *dPyal-lugs rDorje Phag-mo*. The Tibetan text of the Chel form (but not of Indrabhuti'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 Naropa.
- 86 For the set of three deities, see Willson and Brauen 2000: 258, with n. 1. Further references for Indrabhuti's Vajravarahi are also given (*ibid.*: 259): P22J3-54/Toh 1545-46 by Indrabhuti, and the first of the Six Varahi 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 sadhanas, 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 Vajravarahi (*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) Vajravarahi 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 GSSi⇒GSS2 (cited above n. 82): *pahcabrahmamahdmukutim*. In Saivism, the "five Brahmas" originate from the five faces of Sadasiva and refer to the five *brahmanmantras* purified as Sadyojata, Vamadeva, Aghora, Tatpurusa, and Is'ana. See *Kiranavrtti* on *Kiranatantra* 3.i7c-i8b, further discussed in ch. 62 entitled *Pancabrahmavidhi* (in Goodall 1998: 283, n. 373) and Dyczkowski (1988: 32, citing *Tantrdloka* 29.18-27).
- 89 GSSi (K28or2): *navayauvanaldvanyd-*; GSS34 (Kii2v6): *dosdngghriyugacdrupivard • dosdngghri\ conj.; dosndkriK*.
- 90 GSSi (K28or5)⇒GSS2 (Kor3) w. 3D-4, cited n. 82 above; also in *Vasantatilak* 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 vīravīreśicakrasaṃvarasaṃvare | bhakṣyair bhojyais ca yair yais ca | lehyais coṣyais tathā paraiḥ | • daśamyām aṣṭamibhūtām?* conj.; *daśamyāṃṣṭamibhūtām nkhyāḥ K • caikām* em.; *caika K • yoginī* corr.; *yogini K • sthām* em.; *sthām 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 pravaḥsyāmi mantroddhāravidhīm parāṃ | trikoṇamaṇḍalaṃ ramiyaṃ vajrāralliviniḥśṛtaṃ | 8 | dharmodayeti vikhyātāṃ yoṣitāṃ bhagavā ity api | tatralikālibhedena varḡān aṣṭau kramāl likhet | 9 | rūpāgnibāṇamunayo randhresau kāma eva ca | kramāt koṣṭhasya vinyāsaḥ kartavya upadeśataḥ | 10 | akārādikam ārabhya hakārākṣarasamantataḥ | dakṣiṇāvartayogena yathoktaṃ saṃvarārṇave | 11 | thordhvam triguṇitaṃ kuryād bindunāḍavibhūṣitaṃ | ...etc.*
• *ataḥ* conj. Sanderson; *athānyataḥ K • vajrāralliviniḥśṛtaṃ* 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 (*īśas*), 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 Vajravārāhi is based on the sixty-two-fold Cakrasaṃvara 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 *Vārāhyabhyudayatāntra* (vv. 101–2). Following the description of the Vajravārāhi maṇḍala, the *Vārāhyabhyudayatāntra* also goes

on to describe the cremation grounds in some detail and ends with a ^//offering typical of the *Vajravaraḥi Sadhana* (GSSn).

- 98 Cakrasamvara's iconography is described, for example, by Abhayakaragupta in the NYA (p. 26.4): *bhagavdn...savajravajraghantdbhujayugmdlingitavajra-vdrdhiko bhujdbhydm prsthataḥ subhrasaraktaprasrtagajacarmadharas tadap damaruparas'ukartritis'uldni bibhrad vdmair vajrdnkitakhatvngaraktapurita kapdlam vajrapds'am brahmas'irasca...; cf. ADUT ch. 9 (p. 156).*
- 99 The *ArdhandrisvaralGaurisvara* icon is well attested within Saivism, 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/ *Vdrdhyabhudayantra*, he has encountered this type in the (*Yathdlabdha*-)*Khasamatantra*, as transmitted in a manuscript of the *Khasamd*, Ratnakarasanti's commentary upon it.
- 100 The corpses beneath Vajravaraḥ'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 Saiva deities (GSS7 K40r6): *pretaprsthe 'rdhaparyanka vikatokatabhisanah I bhairavab kdlardtris ca devydpddatale krtau*. Cf. *Vdrdhyabhyudayantra*^ 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 Cakrasamvara (table 5). The parallel in ADUT/ *Vdrdhyabhyudayantra* (w. 45-54, from ADUT *patala* 12.3-12.44b, plus *prospatala* 9) is very similar in content, though its phraseology varies and the lines of various verses appear in different orders. GSS7 (I<40r5): *dvddasabhujd caturvaktrd trinetrd ca madanotkatd I ardhaparyankam dsind nrtyamdnnd sus'obhand I digvdsd muktakes'd ca, ardhandris'varimukhi I sitaraktedrs'ariipd I f ... f I vis'vavajrdnkacandrdrkd kapdlamukutokatd I vajraghantdkaravyagrđ kamaldvartavartini I laldte jvlddmudrd tu naracarmapatottari I karaih kapdhkhatvngapdsdmkus'akrpitakam dadhati kartrikdm brahmamundam <ca> anyais f caturmukham. nilapitaharitadivyaṃ f damstrldlsyđ tathdrund I sanmudrdmudritd devi khandamanditamekhald I keyuranupurdbhydm cayathdsthdnam vibhiisitd I laldte vajramldlsyđ I ...*
- *sitarakteđrs'ariipđ Vdrdhyabhyudayantra* v. 49 (Tib); *sitaraktadharirupdm* K; *sitaraktadharirupđ* ADUT'. • *candrđnkđ* em.; *candrđnka* K • *naracarmapatottari Vdrdhyabhyudayantra* (ADUT=Tib.); *naracarmapatordhvadhariK* • *vibhiisitđ* em.; *ca vibhiisitđ* K. Cf. *Vdrdhyabhyudayantra* (w. 49-51): *sitarakteđrsarupđ kapdlamakutokatd I vajraghantdkaravyagrđ kamaldvartavartini I 49 I laldte jvlddmudrd tu naracarmapatottari I kapdlakhatvngadhard pds'dnkus'adhardpara I 50 I damarum kartri mundam ca I caturvaktram ca brahmakam I nilapitaharitadivyaṃ vaktropasobhitđ I 51 I ...*
- 101 I have altered the prescriptions in the texts to allot the correct attribute to each direction. Surely incorrectly, the injunctions in the *Vdrdhyabhyudayantra*

and *Abhidhndottara* (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): *bdhyvestya tatas cakram I vajrdvali tu purvatah I cakrdvalys tu uttare I pascime vis'vavajrdvalyd I padmdvalyd tu daksine I madhye vajrdvali sus'obhand I* (v. 70) *konabhdgesu sarvesu viivavajrdn samalikhet I tadbhdye vestsayed dhimdn I pretbdvalyd savis'vayd*. (I do not reproduce Sanderson's apparatus here, as it contains no variants significant to this problem.)

- 102 This chapter of the *Abhidhndottaratāntra* also prescribes an optional six-faced, twelve-armed form, with a hog's (*vdrdha-*) face on top (Sanderson 1996: personal communication).
- 103 (I do not generally attempt to emend the very faulty meter.) GSS6 (K39r5):
*athdnyam <sam>pravaksydmī vdrdhydh sddhanottamam I utpattikramayogena
 dtmabhdvam vibhdvayet I dvddas'drkanibham deham sinduraksodasamnibham I
 bandhukajavdprakhyam ca, trimukhdm sadbhujdm tathd I sarvdlamkdra-
 sampurndm sattvaparyankasusthitdm I kapdlamdlamukutdm kes'avicchuritd <m>
 s'ubbdm I vajraghantdsamdpandm updyddharapiditdm I bdnagnddivadhardm
 karndpuritaksobhitdm I kapdlakhatvdngadbardm amkus'dkarsanapardm I rakta-
 padmasya madhyasthdm sarvakdmapraddyikdm \...*

• *dharm amkus'dkarsana* | em.; *dharam akusdkarsandm K*.

- 104 The mandala of the "six-armed Vajravaraḥi *Yab-Yum* with Heruka" is also illustrated within her mandala in R. V. Chandra and L. Chandra (1961-72: part 14 no. 82). Here, however, the mandala 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 Vajravilasini and Guhyavajravilasini, discussed below. The six-armed Vajravaraḥi 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 Vajravaraḥi's implements. In the *sadhana* of the *Rin 'byung brgya rtsa* (Willson and Brauen 2000: 261-62), Vajrayogini 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 *vajraparyanka* and holds Samvara "in her lap." Her consort is depicted smaller and with his back toward us, holding the attributes normally assigned to Vajrayogini. In his left hand he brandishes a chopper, and his right arm embraces Vajrayogini and simultaneously pours blood from the skull bowl into his own mouth. Neither wears any ornaments or garments. The mantra is given as *om vajravairocaniye hiim hum phat I om hrih ha ha hum hum phat*.



Endnote fig. i.
"Sahaja reversed"
(Go bslog I Han skyes)
 Mongolian woodblock print
 (IWS/T 88, LC 598).

The Tibetan *go bzlog* ("reversed") translates the Sanskrit *viparitaas* in *viparita-surata-* (also known as *purusdyitam*), 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 (*Kdmasiitra* 2.8.17: *ndyake ndyikdpurusavaddcareditipurusdyitam*), in that she lies on top of him (*Kdma-siitra* 2.8.1-3): *ndyakasya samtatdbhydsdtparis'ramam upalabhya rdgasya cdnupas'amam anumata tena tarn adho 'vapdtya purusdyitena sdhdyyam dadydt (I) svdbhiprdydd va vikalpajoyandrdthini (I) ndyakakutuhald d vd*): "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 *purusdyita* [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 *oiayumyab* 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/Sri Mata Devi (*Rang- 'byunggyal mo*) sits facing outwards on her blue 'iron mule,' whilst the dwarf form of Mahakala 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."

om s'rivajravdrdhi ah vam hum hum phat svdhd • hum hum/ADUTBi47r2; hüm hum hum GSS ICpri. The syllables of attraction (see ch. 3) appear only in GSS6 and depend upon the following conjectural insertions (K4or2): om srivajrajvdlottame jah hum hum phat. om srivajrdmrtottame <hum?> hum hüm phat. om s'rivajrakrodhottame <vam?> hüm hüm phat. om s'rivajradamstrotta

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 GSS16 (K75v4): *trayodaśātmikā ghorā vajravārāhināyikā*. • *vajravārāhī* K *metri causa*. For the connection this *sādhana* bears to the armoring processes, see the appendix.
- 107 GSS16 (K77v1): *bhagavatīm vajravārāhīm sarvalakṣaṇasampūrnā*<ṃ> *vicin-tayet. dāḍimakusumasadyīm ekānanām trinetrām muktakesām śadbhujām digambarām kṛṣodarām khaṇḍamaṇḍitamekhalām pañcabuddhamukutīnīm sārdrāmundaṃmālāmaṇḍitām śaṇmudrāmudritām hāranūpura † ghughura † samalamāṇḍitām sarvasiddhipradāyikām dedīpyamānavaḍavānalaśadyīm devīm vibhāvayet, savyabhujē vajrāṃkuśaparaśudharām vāmabhujē kapālapāśa-khaṭvāṅgadharām ālīḍhāsanasthām pādākrāntakṛtāsambhucāmundaṃmālām † bhaya † vihvālā*<ṃ> *kapālamālīnī*<ṃ> *sarvālamkārabhūṣitām. bhagavatīyā hṛdī rakta-padmopari raktacandramaṇḍalām tadupari raktamukulitavajrām vaṃkāra-dhīṣṭhitām cintanīyā*<ṃ> *tasya rāṣṇīnīrḡgatasamcoditān bāhyabijāksarān avabhāṣya svasvarūpeṇa pariniṣpannān devigaṇamaṇḍalān paśyet.*
• *dāḍima*] em.; *drāḍima* K • *sārdra*] em.; *sādra* K • *hāranūpura*] em.; *hāranopura* K • *sadyīm*] em.; *sadyīṣām* K • *kṛtāsambhucāmundaṃmālām*] em.; *kṛtām. śambhuś cāmundaṃmālām* K • *mukulitā*] em.; *mukulitām* K • *samcoditān*] em.; *samcoditām* K • *avabhāṣya*] corr.; *avabhāṣya* K • *maṇḍalān*] K (I do not emend to neuter).
- 108 In the *Abhidhānottaratāntra*, *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): *nilapitaraktaharita-ūrdhvasītānānā*; (f. 221r1–5): *kapālakhaṭvāṅgaśūlakartrika-ḍamaruvajraghaṇṭāpāśāṇikuśabrahmaśīraḥparaśutarjanīdharā naracarmapaṭor-dhvakarā... • śīraḥ*] corr. Sanderson, *śīrā* codd.
- 109 GSS16 (K75v4): *mantrākṣaraviniṣpannam maṇḍalam maṇḍalottamam • niṣpannam*] corr.; *niṣpannam* K.
- 110 GSS16 (K78r3): ... *pinastanoruyugalā divyārūpā manoramā*<ḥ> *kiñcidvikṛtā-nanā*<ḥ> *kaṭākṣeṣaṇacañcalā*<ḥ> • *pinastanoruyugalā*] conj.; *pīnatana-uruyyugalā* K.
- 111 GSS16 (K78v4): *nagnā sthūlapadmā madavihvalā*.
- 112 The first practice in the *Abhisamayamanjari* (GSS5 Sed p. 149⁴, K34r4) is that found in GSS15 and GSS18; the second (GSS5 Sed p. 149¹⁸, K34v5) bears similarities to the white two-armed *Vajravārāhī* in GSS38 (*Āryasuklavajravārāhī-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 bṛgya 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 sughōṇe vajramāmaki bhara 2 sambhara 2*

traidhtukamahdmadyamdkarsayajah. Ratndvalipahjikdm KYT ch. 17 (p. 126):
mīlaghondvadand.

115 GSS5 (Sed p. 149¹, K34r6): *itisrivajraghondkramah*; GSS5 (Sed p. 149¹⁵, K34V4):

anena prathamato balim dattvd vajraghondsddhanam idam anusttheyam.

116 GSS15 (K74V3): *tato baliddnapurvakam vajravdrdhim bhdvayet. tatra svandbhi-*

madhye raktatrikoticakram vibhdvya. tanmadhye raktavartuLtdalakamalakarnu

kdydm savdrkamandalopari kalpdgnisamnibhd<m> raktahrihkr̥tim pasyet. tad

tadbijaparindmajdm vajravdrdhim sindurdrunavarnd<m> padmapretdrkaman-

dale, dlidhsanenasthitd<m>. urdbvakacaromardjikdmpancakapdlakmkṛtaUla

mundamdldvibhusitagdtrdm pancamudrdkrtasobhdm ekavadandm trinetrdm

bhrukutikoldnandm vajravajrapralambhdm lalajjihvdm ni<r>vdsasdm caturbhū-

jdm, dahine vajravajrdmkus'adhardm, vdme kapdlakhatvangatarjjanipds'ahast

kharvalambodarim sarvadustaduhsahahasitakrodharupdm, ithambhutdm bhdv

yet. • bhriikuti| em.; bhr̥kūti K • ithambhutdm| em.; ithambhutam K. Cf.

GSS5 (Sed p. 149¹, K34r6): *koldsydm*; GSS18 (K83r2): *urdhvapingalakesdm* (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): *lalajjihvdm*; GSS35 (KII8V6): *lalitakrodhamukhdm.*

uj The same stance is illustrated in the other fully hog-headed illustration in the

pantheon, "Vajravarahi in the Tradition of the *Br̥dhmana* Sridhara" (*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 Varnani on her left and a yellow Vairocāni on her right, as in our *Trikḍya-*

vajrayoginī sadhanas, with the mantras: *om krodhābuddhaddkīniye hūm phat*

svdhḍ, om vajravarnnaniye hūm phat svaha, om vajravairocāriye hūm phat svaha

Willson and Brauen (*ibid.*: n. 1) supply the further references for Sridhara:

P2297/T011 1586: *Krodhavdrdhivajrayoginisddhana*, and P4825/T011 1990

Srivajravdrdhisddhana-ndma.



Endnote fig. ii. *Vajravarahi in the tradition of the Br̥dhmana Sridhara* (*Bram ze dpal dzin lugs kyi rdo rje phag mo*) Mongolian woodblock print (IWS/T 86, LC 596)

- 118 *om vajravarahi dves'aya sarvadustdn hrim svdhd • hrim/* GSS5 (Sed p. 149ⁿ, K34r6-v), GSS18 (K83r3); *hrih* GSS15 (*Kj5r\$*). 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. 149ⁿ, K34V2): *mahdmmsacumena dhupam dadydt*, GSS5 (Sed p. 149ⁿ, K34V2): *sarvamdraprasamandrtham nis'd balih pancopacdreña ddtavyah*.
- 120 GSS5 (Sed p. 149ⁿ, K34V3-4): *tēna vajrayoginyo 'dhitisthanti*; cf. GSS18 (K83r6). GSS15 puts this same statement in the singular (K74r6): *tato 'dhitisthati vajrayogini nanyathd*,
- 121 GSS5 (Sed p. 149ⁿ, K34V5): *adhikam hipras'asyata iti. kvacidiyam hrdraktapadme, dmkdrajasuryasthasitahrihkdrddhisthitdmnapancasukavajraparinatd bhojasthasuryasuptdjndnapurusopari, dlidhapadasthitd suryasthahrihkdrddhisthitasuryasthavajrahdayd, visvapadmasuryasthdksobhydbhisekajd. aparam sarvam purvat. • sitalohitdm bhoja/ conj.; sitdlohitudmbha K; Cf. Sed p. 149.*
- 122 Vajravarahi also appears in the Aksobhya family in the long sadhana by Kumaracandra, while Vairocana (the usual seal for Vajravarahi in our texts) presides over Vajracarcika (*Ratndvalipanjkd* in KYT p. 127). Another white form of Vajravarahi is described in the sadhana as the consort to a manifestation of Krsnayamari called Dvesayamari/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 Vajravarahi also states that she has Aksobhya on her crown (Willson and Brauen 2000: 257-58, 259).
- 123 GSS38 (K122r5): *namah srivajrayoginyai. pranamyā vajravdrdhim satsukhd-dhdrahetukdm I kriyate ruciram tasydh samskiptam raudrasddhanam I amkdra<ja>suryasthmitabrihkdrarasmijdUnirmitacan vajravdrdhyddikam sampujya svabhdvas'uddhety adhimucya siinyatddibhdvand-purashsaram raktapadmopari amkarajasurye sitahrihkdrapancasukavajrena nispanndm vajravdrdhim suklm raktatrinetrdm damstrdkardlavaktrdm mukta-kes'dm vajrdvalidvayamadhyikrtakapdlamlddhdharm pancamudrdmudritdm daksinarasthitavajrdm vame khatvanga dhdrayantim dlidhapadasthdm nagndm devdsuramanusyabhayaddm anantaras'min sphdrayantim suryasthahrihkdrddhisthitahrdydm vajravdrdhim dtmdnam bhdvayet. • suka/ em.; suka K • suklm/ em.; s'ukla K • damsp-dkarala/ em.; damstrddamsp-dkardmla K. GSS38 (K122V5): *pracandddibhir dtmdna<m> sampujydmrtdsvadam krtyd**

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 mandala 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 mandala circle—and skulls (p. 427ⁿ: *vajrapadmacakrakapdlamald-vabaddhatris'ikhdUmkrtsirobhih*). In the visualization of Vajravarahi 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 Aksobhya, her presiding buddha (p. 428^r: *krsnavajrd-*

validvayamadhyikrtakapdlamlddvabaddhatrisikhdm). Expertise in the ways of tying up matted braids would no doubt shed light on the matter!

- 124 GSS5 (Sed: p. 150', K35n)=SM2i8 (p. 429): *tad anu svandbhau visva-padmasthdrunas'ubhrasuryamandale sitahrihkdrdm drstvd tanmantramlddm aksasutrakdrdm sitdm cakrabhramanayogena vadanavivarena niscdrya buddha gunaganamanimantrausadhicandratdrdlipis'dstrakalddiprabhdvdm dddya ndv vivarepravis'antim svaparesdm sarvdjndnadahandtmikdm dhydydt*. GSS5 (cont.): *drutddidosarahita<m> mantram japet. mantrah hrih. yadotthdtukdmo bhavati <tadd> td<m> mantramlddm ndbhisthahrihkdre 'ntarbhdivya pujddikam krtva yathdsukham viharet*.
 • *svandbhau* SM218, *ndbhau* GSS5 • *drunas'ubhra* GSS5; *druna* SM(ed.) • (*sitajhrih*) K(mg2); *hrih* Kac • *mantramlddm* corr; *mantramlddm* K • *ndbhivare* K; *ndbhivare(na)* K(del) (Sed. p. 150 gives the mantra as *hrim hrim*, reporting two mss. with this reading and four, including the Tibetan, reading *hrih*.) (cf. GSS38 K122V6)
- 125 GSS19 (K83V4): *netrdm sabhrubhangabhrkutinim damstrdkardlavadam lalaj-jihvdm muktakesim pitasavdrudhdm navayauvandm hdrdrddhahdrakinkinighur ghurdravaih sanmudropetdm vdme khatvngakapdladhardm daksine vajrakart bhimarupdm s'mas'dnddau bhdvayedyogi mahdkrpah*. GSS5 (Sed p. 151, K36n): *urdhvajvalitaraktakes'dm*; (K36r4): *kvacidiyam raktahumkdrajtdt muktakuntalalaldpd drs'yate kvacic chavarahitd...*
- 126 GSS42 (K126r3-4 v. 8): *vdme kapdlakhatvndge daksine kartridhdrini I sunyatdkarundvdhi namas te vajrayogini I 8 I • daksine* K; *deksine* C • "dhdrini] C.; *dhdrini* K • *vdhij* K; *vdhinakartrir jagato dukkhachedani*; cf. HTI.8.20ab: *tathd mdnddisaddosdn kartitum kartrkd sthiid*, KYT thirteenth *patala*, v. 1 (p. 83): *athdtah sarvasattvasya ydvantah pdpakarmakdh I tan vai kdrayitum kartri kosah kles'ddi chedandt*.
- 127 GSS19 (K84r.3): *pujddikam kartavyam*. GSS5 (Sed p. 151, K36r4): *visesatvendstamyddau nisi s'masdne ddtavyah [balih]*; GSS19 (K84r2): *astamydm das'amydm caturdas'ydm vd*; SM236 (p. 459): *astamydm pancamydm caturdas'ydm*; *GSS28 (Kioin): *astamydm pancadas'ydm caturdas'ydm*.
- 128 *Tantrasdra*, *Ahnika* 13, KSTS ed. (p. 151): *sarvesu naimittikesu s'dkinityddis'abddn na vadet*. Professor Sanderson (1998: personal communication) supplied this reference and the following: *Tantrdloka* i5-552ab: *s'dkinivdcakam s'abdam na kadd citsamuccaret*; cf. *Siddhayoges'varimata* 6. §2cd (A=ASB 5465 [G] f. I2r6-vi; B=NAK 5-2403, NGMPP A 203/6): *ddki(ki A: gi B)niti na vaktavyam pramddd nmantrind-m-api*; *Tantrasadbhdva* (A=NAK 5-445, NGMPP A 44/2 f. 56V1; B=NAK 1.363, NGMPP A 44/1, f. 103V3-4): *s'd(s'd B : sdA)jkiniti na vaktavyam dhappatim varavarani I chindd{ndd A : nnaB)li<m> ca mahddevi sehtri<m> naiva-m-ucca (ccaB: tsaA)ret*.
- 129 The mantra offerings in GSS19 are (K83V2): *om vajrayogini vajrapuspam praticcha svaha. purvadale. om ddkiniye hiim tram vajrapuspam praticcha svaha daksinadale. om lame hum lam vajrapuspam praticcha svdh. pas'cimadale. om khandarohē hum kham vajrapuspam praticcha svdh. uttaradale. om riipini hiim*

- validavyamadyikrtakapālamālāvabaddhatrīśikhām). Expertise in the ways of tying up matted braids would no doubt shed light on the matter!
- 124 GSS5 (Sed: p. 150³, K35r1)=SM218 (p. 429): *tad anu svanābhau viśva-padmasthāruṇaśubhrasūryamaṇḍale sitahriḥkāraṁ dṣṣtvā tanmantramālām akṣasūtrākārām sitām cakrabhramaṇayogena vadanavivareṇa niscārya buddha-guṇagaṇamaṇimantrauśadhicandratārālīpīśāstrakalādīprabhāvam ādāya nābhivivare praviśantiṁ svapareṣām sarvājñānadahanātmikām dhyāyāt*. GSS5 (cont.): *drutādidoṣarahita<m> mantram jāpet. mantrah hriḥ. yadotthātukāmo bhavati <tadā> tā<m> mantramālām nābhīstahhriḥkāre 'ntarbhāvya pūjādikam kṛtvā yathāsukham vihare*.
 • *svanābhau*] SM218, *nābhau* GSS5 • *āruṇaśubhra*] GSS5; *āruṇa* SM(ed.) • (*sita*)*hriḥ*] K(mg2); *hriḥ* Kac • *mantramālām*] corr; *mantrāmālām* K • *nābhivivare*] K; *nābhivivare(ṇa)* K(del) (Sed. p. 150 gives the mantra as *hriṁ hriṁ*, reporting two mss. with this reading and four, including the Tibetan, reading *hriḥ*.) (cf. GSS38 K122v6)
- 125 GSS19 (K83v4): *netrām sabhrūbhaṅgabhykṛtīnīm daṁṣṭrākārālvadanām lalajjihvām muktakesiṁ pīṭasavārūdhām navayauvanām hārārddhahārakīnikīnighurghurāravaiḥ śaṇmudropetām vāme khaṭvāṅgakapāladharām dakṣiṇe vajrakartrikām bhīmarūpām śmaśānādaḥ bhāvayed yogī mahākṛpaḥ*. GSS5 (Sed p. 151, K36r1): *ūrdhvajvalitaraktakesiṁ*; (K36r4): *kvacid iyaṁ raktahūmkārājātā muktakuntalalakalpā dṛṣyate kvacid chavarahitā...*
- 126 GSS42 (K126r3–4 v. 8): *vāme kapālakhaṭvāṅge dakṣiṇe kartridhārīni | śūnyatākaruṇāvāhi namas te vajrayogini | 8 | dakṣiṇe* K; *dekṣiṇe* C • °*dhārīni*] C.; *dhārīni* K • *vāhi*] K; *vāhinakartrir jagato duḥkhachedanī*; cf. HTI.8.20ab: *tathā mānādiṣaddoṣān kartitum kartrkā sthitā*, KYT thirteenth *paṭala*, v. 1 (p. 83): *athātāḥ sarvasattvasya jāvantāḥ pāpakarmakāḥ | tān vai kārayitum kartrī kośaḥ kleśādi chedanāt*.
- 127 GSS19 (K84r.3): *pūjādikam kartavyam*. GSS5 (Sed p. 151, K36r4): *viśeṣatvenāṣṭamyādaḥ niśi śmaśāne dātavyaḥ [balih]*; GSS19 (K84r2): *aṣṭamyām daśamyām caturdaśyām vā*; SM236 (p. 459): *aṣṭamyām pañcamyām caturdaśyām*; *GSS28 (K101r): *aṣṭamyām pañcadaśyām caturdaśyām*.
- 128 Tantrasāra, Āhnika 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 śabdaṁ na kadā cit samuccaret*; cf. *Siddhayaogēśvarimata* 6.52cd (A=ASB 5465 [G] f. 12r6–v1; B=NAK 5–2403, NGMPP A 203/6): *ḍāki(ki A: gi B)nīti na vaktavyaṁ pramādān mantriṇā-m-āpi*; *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 vaktavyaṁ dhappatiṁ varavarṇini / chiṇḍā(ṇḍā A : nna B)li<m> ca mahādevi sehārī<m> naiva-m-ucca (cca B: tsa A)ret*.
- 129 The mantra offerings in GSS19 are (K83v2): *om vajrayogini vajrapuṣpaṁ praticcha svāhā. pūrvadale. om ḍākinīye hūṁ trāṁ vajrapuṣpaṁ praticcha svāhā. dakṣiṇadale. om lāme hūṁ lām vajrapuṣpaṁ praticcha svāhā. pāścimadale. om khaṇḍarobe hūṁ khaṁ vajrapuṣpaṁ praticcha svāhā. uttaradale. om rūpiṇi hūṁ*

mm vajrapuspam praticcha svaha. • vajrapuspam/ em.; *vajrapuspe K • rum/* em.; *rum 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 *hum* with the long vowel: *om sarvabuddhaddkīniye vajravarnaniye vajravairocaniye hūm hum hum phat phat phat svaha*. The heart mantra is either (in GSS5 Sed p. 151, K36r2, SM236) *om vajraddkīniye hrim hūm phatsvdhdor* (in GSS19 K84ri=SM236) *om sarvasiddhim prayaccha hri<m> hum phat svdhd*. The auxiliary heart mantra is *om vajrayoginiye hum phat svdhd*.
- 131 The *bali* mantra is either (GSS19 K84r2) *om vajraddkīniye hum hūm imam balim grhna 2 hah 2 jah 2 ah 2 hūm phat mama siddhim prayaccha svdhd*, or (GSS5 Sed p. 151, K36r2, SM236) *om vajraddkīniye imam balim grihna grihna ha ha ha ha kha kha kha kha aaaa mama siddhim prayaccha hūm phat svdhd*. In GSS28 (Kioiri) only the latter part is preserved: *...kha kha kha kha aaaa mama siddhim prayaccha prayaccha hum phat svdhd*.
- 132 GSS35 (K119V5): *caturnddisvabhdvacaturdalakamalopari*. For the three channels, see ch. 3. Isaacson (1999: personal communication) states that a fourth channel containing feces is mentioned in the *Cakrasamvaratantra* and in the *Vasantatilakd* (p. 79).
- 133 GSS35 (Kn8vi): *tatah sukla-akarad hetuvajradharasvabhdvdt prthivyiddica-turmahdbhutasvabhdvayam yamramvamlamkdraparinatam caturatnamayam saptaparvatasaptasitakalpavrksadvddasadvipaparitam sumerum bhdvayet. tanmadhye haritahumkdraparinatapahcdngasvabhdva<m> visvavajram tanmadhye rakta-ekdraparinata<m> lohita varnam sarirasvariipam urdhvadharmodayam trikone vajrdnkitam jvdlamdMahitanavadvdrasvabhdvdstadalapadmam f padmoparistham tadantas f caturnddisvabhdvacaturdalakamalopari candm-sumandale avadhutisvabhdvasubhrakartriparinatam vajrayogini<m> kimsuka-sydmasamnibhdm sphutavarapitalohitdm sodas'dbddd sukumdranavayauvandm lalitakrodhamukhdm pancamudrdmudritdm pancdsannarasirohdrodhardm dli-dhacarandkrntacatu h k Usavisuddhabrahmendraharahardm vairocana mukutinim prathamadaksina vdmakaratalakalitavajraghantd<m> updydlirigandbhina ydm punar daksinakare kartri vdmakarakalitordhvanabhastalavilasatkapdlavini-vistadrstim vdm dngakhaw dngasamgatdm <bhdvayet>.*
• saptas'tita/ em.; *saptas'tid K* (cf. A D K ch. 5 v. 51) • *lohitavarnam/* em.; *lohita-varnd K* • *padmam padmoparistham/* conj.(?); *padma sadmoparistham K* • *kims'ukasydma/* em.; *kimsukasymd(m) K*(pc) • *carand/* em.; *cardnd K* • *vairocana/* em.; *verocana K* • *talakalita/* conj.; *talakali K*.
- 134 *Varjayoginydrddhanavidhi* by Sahara GSS23 (K88vi): *bdhyasitdbhyantararak-tapuritapadmabhdjanadhrta vdmakarenoddhrtasvavdmapddalin^andbhina ydm padmabhdjanastharaktadhrdm anavaratam pibantim... dhydtvd • bdhya/* em. *bdhye K • bhdjanadhrta/ K* (understand *bhdjanadhara*) • *oddhrt/* corr.; *odhrta K* • *dlingand/* em.; *dlingitand K*.
- 135 The brief reference in the *Abhisamayamanjari* to the *urdhvapdda* pose of Vajravaraḥi likewise states its provenance in Oddiyana, (GSS5 Sed p. 148,

K33v6–34r): *oḍḍiyānavinirgatakrāme punar iyaṃ ūrdhvaṇḍā 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 ūrdhvaṇḍāsthitām śakrabrahmākṛāntām adhaḥpādena bhairavakālārātrīm dvibhujām ekānanām muktakeśīm nagnām nirābharaṇām pinonnatapayodharām raktavartulacalatpracaṇḍanayanām bhrūbhaṇḍabhrīkuṭī<ṃ>da<ṃ>ṣṭrākārālavadanām vāme khaṭvāṅgakarōṭadharām dakṣiṇe vajrakartri-dharām atibhīmarūpām* <GSS45: *śmaśānādau> bhāvayet. • kālārātrīm* corr.; *kālārātrīm • pinonnata* pinonata K • *vajrakartri-dharām* GSS45; *vajrakartri-dharām* GSS17 • *śakrabrahmākṛāntām* GSS17 K; *śa(kra)brahmāṇḍākṛāntām* GSS45(mg) (the variant reading in GSS45 states that the goddess stands upon Śakra and “Brahmā’s egg” (*śakrabrahmāṇḍākṛāntām*), indicating her subjection of the entire cosmos. The related Tibetan sādhana in the *Rin ’byung brgya rtsa* describes her stance as follows: “Her right leg, outstretched to the seven underworlds, tramples on Bhairava and Kālārātri. 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> pheṃ pheṃ pheṃ aṃ aṃ aṃ mama siddhiṃ prayaccha baliṃ grhṇa hūṃ phaṭ svāhā*. GSS45 (K140r1): *oṃ vajrayoginī imaṃ baliṃ grhṇa 2 ru 2 kha 2 pheṃ pheṃ 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 Vajrayoginis 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 hrī gha gha ghātaya ghātaya hūṃ phaṭ*). The mantras, however, are very similar to those of the Sanskrit text. They include the root mantra (*oṃ sarvabuddha-ḍākinīye vajravārāṇiye vajravairocaṇīye 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 sādhana, the eight-part mantra is also prescribed (p. 179).

139 GSS36 (K120v4): *prathamam tāvat sādhaḥ vajrayoginyāḥ pratikṛtiṃ kārayet. yathā tathā yena tenākāreṇa raktatrikoṇadvayasampūṭamadhya śuklavartulapadme, tanmadhya bhairavacarmopari upaviṣṭām kūrmapatanakrameṇa pīta-vārṇām nagnām muktaśikhāṃ dvinayanām kartṛkarparadharām aṭṭaṭṭahāsām kāmōtkāṭabhīṣāṇām sādhaḥ nirikṣayantiṃ bhāvayet. • sādhaḥ* em.; *sādhaḥ* K • *tenākāreṇa* em.; *kena tenākāreṇa* K • *padme* conj.; *padmam* K • *bhairava-*

carmo/D88r6; *bhairacarmo* K120V5, N85r5 • *karparadhardm*/conj.; *karparam* K.

For the yogin in this stance, see n. 142 below. It is worth noting that there was an adept called Kurmapada, who was associated with the Vajravaraḥi tradition through his lineal descent from Ghantapada (*Blue Annals* pp. 754, 803). Ghantapada was one of the main transmitters of the Cakrasamvara tradition (n. 356), although whether he had any connection with this practice I do not know.

- 140 GSS36 (K120v6-12ir): ...*divydmrtam iva yogidravayam niveddyet*. Isaacson (1997: personal communication) suggests this may be the same as the Saiva *viradravya*, 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 Vajravaraḥi texts, see ch. 3; cf. ADUT ch. 14 (p. 326) and GSS31 (K104ri).
- 142 GSS36 (K12ir3): *tato laldte jvlddmudrdm vdmdivartena bhrdmayet. phemkdram uccdrayet kurmapatanapdaordhvadrstyd, anena yoginydkarsanam. tatrapathet om aralli boh jab hum vam boh vajraddkinyah samayas warn drsya hoh. vajrdnjalyd urdhvavikacaya balim dadydt. om kha kha khdhi khdhi...* (for mantra, see GSS11 §39)-
• *jvlddmudrdm*/em.; *jlddmudrdm* K (cf. n. 504); • *phemkdram*/corr.; *phem-kdra(nd)dam* K(del) • *kurmapatanapdda urdhvadntydt*/em. Sanderson; *kurmapatanapddordhvadrstyd* K • *tatra*/Kpc; *tatah* Kac.
- 143 GSS36 (K121VI, N85V5, D88v6): *satatam vajrayoginydliṅgitam atmdnampas'yet. svapatnim iva kalpayet, tato 'cirenaiva kdlena vajrayoginyddhisthnam bhavati. siddhd sati vdnchitampurayati ndtra samsayah. • vajrayoginydliṅgitam atmdnam* D, *vajrayoginydliṅgitam *****nam* K(dam.); *vajrayoginydliṅgi**m atmdnam* N(dam/del?).
- 144 Willson and Brauen 2000: 261. The Tibetan sadhana is a self-visualization in which Vajrayogini is described in typical *kapdlika* 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 ptescribes a Vajravaraḥi mantra, although one closer to her thirteen-syllabled mantra than the ten-syllabled mantra of GSS36: *om vajra-vairocaniye hum phat svdhd*.
- 145 Three GSS works prescribe the self-visualization of the *Vidyddhari* goddess (GSS21, GSS22, and GSS23), and there is also a reference to one of her rites in the *Abhisamayamanjari* (GSS5 Sed p. 153, K38n-38r6). Other GSS texts also describe her mountainous abode (GSS10, GSS16). This manifestation of Vajrayogini has a particular association with the adept Sahara, as many of these texts will show, an association confirmed by the hagiography of Advayaṣvaja that appears in the **Siddha-Amndya* (see appendix). The classical reference to *Vidyddharis* is from Kalidasa's *Kumdrasambhava* 1.7.
- 146 GSS21 (K85r6): *tadbijaparinatdm raktm urdhvapddordhvadrstim kapdlamldd-vestitakaram puspamlddpds'asavydgrdm ddksine vajrahastdm sarvdbharanavini<r>-muktdm vidyddharikramayuktdm sphuratsamhdravigrahdm, mdnddravds'okapdri-*

jdtakodbhutam ratnakutam <grham>(mgi) pravis'antim atmdnam bhdvayet. • sarvdbharana/ em.; sarvavarana K • savydgrdm/ conj. (or: savya<kard>grdm); savyagrmd K • vidyddhart/ em. vimdyusir K (cf. GSS22 K86r1 vidyddharikram-abhdvand) • mdnddravd/ corr.; mdnddrvdK °odbhiitam/ em.; °odbhutdmK.*

GSS22 (K86r3): *jhatiti mldldvidyddharivajrayoginim udydnddastas'pigopetaratna-grham pravis'antim sphuratsamhdravigrahdm atmdnam bhdvayet. • udydndd/ corr.; udydndt. codd.*

- 147 The mantra appears twice in GSS22, first as the principle *japa* mantra (K86r.5): *bhdvandt khinno mantram 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): *om vajravairocaniye om vajravarnaniye hum 3 phat 2 svdh.* It appears again as a *mdldmantra* with the name elements once again altered from the standard version (K86v6): *om vajravarnaniye om vajravairocaniye om sarva-buddhaddkiniye hiim phat phat svdh.*
- 148 Willson and Brauen (2000: pp. 258-59) give the Sanskrit equivalent as *Maitri-khecari Vidyddhari-keli*. The text of the *Rin 'byung brgya rtsa* is similar to our Sanskrit sources in its description of Vajrayogini 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 *ndga* tree flowers, she stands naked and without ornaments...." However, the Tibetan sadhana reveals a far more wrathful deity, with frown and bared fangs, who is aligned not with Vajrayogini, but with Vajravarahi ("I appear in the form of Lady Vajravarahi Vidyadhari-keli") and crowned with Aksobhya. The usual tripartite mantra is given *{ibid. : 213}*: *om om om sarvabuddhaddkiniye, vajravarnaniye, vajravairocaniye, hiim hiim hiim phat phat phat svdh.*
- 149 GSS22 K85r6 (N63r4~5, D65V2): *caryd tasydh kathyatesddhakndm hitdrthdya. candragrahe suryagrahe vd darpanatale kimcit sindiiram <pdtyitvd> suvarna-s'aldkayd bhatdrikdm likhya pancopacdredbhipuja tasya (?) sindiiram grhitv tdmrabhdnde sthdpayet. Idngaliyd gaccham utpdya svasthdne pdtayet. evam sanmsdsni pratyaham pujayet. mahdmudrdphalam daddhi me. pratyaham sampujya vandayet. evam sanmsdsni sampurnam krtvdyoginindm pancopacdr bhojanam krtvd pranamydjhdn prayaccha iti prdrthayet. Idngaliyd madhye sindiiram bharet. kapdlam grhitvd unmattacaryayd caret, sa kondkrti<m> sindiiram laldte krtvd bhramet. sanmsdsni s'iinyagehabhagnakupasamipe bahubhi<h> stri<m> vmdmvartenapradaksindm drabhet. unmattacaryayd ca sanmsdsena pancdnantaryakdriyah so 'pi sidhyati.*
 • *candragrahe/ N, D; candragrheK • kimcit/ conj.; a Kac; (kdm)ciK(mg); vd jalataleD; N omit. • pdtyitvd/ conj. (see GSS5 K38n) • tasya/ codd. Possible conjectural emendation to tasmtd (?) • caryayd/ conj. (or carydm); carydyd K, cdrydydm N63r4, caryd D65VI • samipe/ corr.; same(pe) K(mg2). • unmatta-caryayd/ conj. (or unmattacarydm); unmattacarydcodd.*

GSS5 K38r1 (Sed p. 153, N24v3, D27v2): *api cātyantanirmṛṣṭadarpa<na> tale śṣṭamyām sindūram pātayitvā tatra dharmodayamudrām likhitvā koṇeṣu bāhyeṣu devibijam vilikhya madhye mantram ca dharmodayābāhyeṣu catuḥpārśveṣu vāmāvartena nandyāvartim likhitvā puṣpādibhiḥ sampūjya yathāśakti mantram parijapya sindūra<m> tad ekatra bhāṇḍe sthāpayet. evaṃ śaṇmāsaṃ yāvat kuryāt. tato lāṅgaliyā viṣanalikāmadhye tat sindūram prakṣipya śmaśāne nikhanya balipūjām ca vidhāya mantram japet yathākāmaṃ. evaṃ pratyahaṃ māsam ekaṃ kuryāt. tat sindūreṇa nandyāvartākṛtiṃ tilakaṃ vidhāya bhikṣārthaṃ grāmaṃ praviśet. yatra tattilakaṃ saṃkrāntaṃ drśyate tām <strīm> yatnenārādhayed iti. evaṃ nandyāvartena siddhaśabarapādīyavajrayoginyārādhanaividhiḥ. • nirmṛṣṭa] em.; nirmṛṣṭa K • devibijam] N, D, debijam 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 caryām kartuṃ sukhotsahaḥ / asahāyaḥ paryaṭen nityam ekāki ekamānasaḥ / udhhrāntapatrivād bhrāmed unmattavratam āśritaḥ*. 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 prabhuh. • samudbhūtaṃ] corr.; samudbhūtai-tam K; Cf. Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra* (p. 18 line 1.14) [*bhagavān*]: *mām na jānanti ye mūḍhāḥ sarvapumvapuṣi sthitaṃ; (line 1.20) [bhagavati]: mām na jānanti yā nāryaḥ sarvastridehasamsthitaṃ*.
- 153 GSS23 (K88r6): *tataḥ śūnyatām sarvadharmānirālambārūpām vicintya jhagiti pūrvoktamanobhaṅgacittaviśrāmaparvatamadhye gaganalikhitām citravadan-ā<m>, śaktirūpām sārdrasusnigdharūpām raktavarṇām trinetraṃ dvādaśākṣikām saha-jānandarūpām nagnām muktakeśām iśaddhasantiṃ romāñcakañcukitām bāhyasitābhyantararakṣapūritapadmabhājanadhṛtavāmakareṇodhṛtasavavāmapā-dālīṅganābhīnayaṃ padmabhājanastharaktadhārām anavaratam pibantiṃ tīrya-gūrdhvikṛtadakṣiṇapāḍoparisthadakṣiṇakareṇa raktapañcaśūkavajradhārīṇīm vikaṣitanāgakesarakusumābharaṇā<m> samullasitapadmabhājanagata-drṣṭim dhyātūvā...*
• *pūrvokta*] Kpc(add2) • omit, Kac; *gaganalikhitām*] em.; *li(khitam)* Kpc(add2); *gaganalita* K • *śaktirūpām*] em.; *śaktirūpām*:Kpc(add2); *śaktarūpā* Kac • *susnig-dharūpām*] conj.; *susnigdha* K • *bāhya*] em.; *bāhye* K • *bhājanadhṛta* K (under-stand °dhara) • *kareṇodhṛta*] 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 vajravārṇanīye vajravairocanīye huṃ huṃ huṃ phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ ca svāhā*.
- 155 GSS23 (K87v2): *tato jhagiti atīmanohararamaṇīyataravicitrāsaraḥ pravikaṣita-nāgakeśarodīyānavibhūsitapañcavarṇaśikharamanobhaṅgacittaviśrāmaparvata-*

- madhye vakṣyamāṇavarṇabhujādibhūṣitadevyāḥ sahasā sākṣāddarśanam abhūt. • vibhūṣita*] em.; *vibhūṣita* K • *manobhaṅga*] *manobhagaṅga* K. (The adjectives *atimanohara* and *ramaṇīyātara* 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 (*ālaya*) as the self.
- 157 GSS23 (K89r3): *pratyūṣasandhyāyām aruṇodaye nānāvicitraratnavibhūṣitaparvatadvayopari pādadvayam dhrtvā prasāritabhujadvayām pūrvoktalakṣaṇām devīm atiraktavarṇām...sādhakas tu...vicintya...iti devyā balividhiḥ.*

The other references in the *Ārādhana* (GSS23) either repeat the ambiguity, as in the *bhāvanā* (GSS23 (K88r6): *jhaṅgati <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 nagaragrāmādīnām upary ākāśe pūrvoktaparvatopari bhagavatīm ālambya tad-vāmapādaṃ skhalitvā parvataśikharasprṣṭamātreṇa bodhicittāmṛtibhūta-...iti vaśyavidhiḥ.*

- 158 **Siddha-Amṇāya* (p. 11): *lakṣiṇāpathe manobhaṅgacittaviśrāmau parvatau.*
- 159 GSS16 (K75v2): *prthivyām sārasmabhūte manobhaṅge mahidhare | tasmīn kūṭe mahācittaikacittaviśrāmamaṇḍape | tantre lakṣābhīdhāne hi nāthena kathitā svayam | trayodaśātmikā ghorā vajravārāhināyikā | mantrākṣaraviniṣpannam maṇḍalam maṇḍalottamam | yathānujñā mayā labdhā tathaiḥ kathayāmy aham. • trayodaśātmikā ghorā vajravārāhināyikā*] em.; *trayodaśātmikā ghorā vajravārāhināyikā* K (*vajravārāhi*, *metri causa*) • *vinīṣpannam*] em.; *vinīṣpannam* K • *tathaiḥ*] conj.; *vai* K.
- 160 The passages prescribing the visualization of the goddess are given in full in n. 146. GSS21 (K85r6–v2; N62r; D64r): *...māndāravāśokapārijātakodbhūtam ratnakūṣam <grhaṃ>(mg2) pravīṣantiṃ. • māndāravā*] corr.; *māndārāv* K • *°odbhūtam*] em.; *°odbhūta* K.

GSS22 (K86r3; N62v; D64v): *jhaṭiti mālāvidyādhariḥ vajrayoginīm udyānād aṣṭaśṛṅgopetaratanagrhaṃ pravīṣantiṃ...ātmanam 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 *Hevajratana* (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): *nānārūpavilāsinīyaḥ sarvābharaṇa-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 | tadbhujayugaparirambbhihṛadbje • rambbhiḥ* Kpc; *rasthi* Kac.

164 For the attributes, see v. 4 (K127r4), for the pearl ornaments, vv. 12–13 (K127v(mg)–K127v6–128r1), and the vajra, v. 5 (K127r5). GSS43 K127r4–5 (v. 3cd): *mātar devī nibhālaya mahyaṃ | kiṃ sahasa mama duḥkham asaḥyaṃ? • mātar* em.; *mātur* K. Cf. v. 6cd (K127v1–2): *bālaravitṛilokanarakte | jagato duḥkhanirākṛtisakte*.

165 GSS43 v. 3ab (K127r4): *harikarīṣikhiphaṇitaskarabhītiḥ | tvatparacitte naiva sameti*. The eight great dangers (*aṣṭamahābhayāni*/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., *Tattvajñānaśāstra* (p. 26): *harikarīṣikhiphaṇitaskaranigadamahārṇavapi-śāca>bhayaśamani | śaṣkīraṇakāntihārīṇi 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 sthitām vidyām dhyāyād vajravilāsinīm*; (K48v2; K94r6): *vilāsinī namo 'stu te*; (K50v3): *...vilāsinī bhāveḍyātmaṇigrahaṃ*; also K51v4; K51v5.

168 GSS10 (K45v3): *na śrutaṃ paṭhitaṃ kiñcic chabareṇādrīcārīṇā | lokanāthādhipatyena vade 'yaṃ kiyad akṣaram*. • (v. 3a) *paṭhitaṃ* conj.; *na paṭhitaṃ* K.

169 GSS10 (K45v4): *sarvaratnamaye rāmye gandhamṛgasugandhīni | manobhaṇge (?) padaṃ dattvā cittaviśrāmaparvate | (4) tatpradeśe mahārāmye sugandhikūsumāśraye | lasatsundaramākande mandrakūjitakokile | (5) raktāśokaghaṇodyāne māśāśokāḥ amṛtīṭhau | gurūṇā karuṇāhvena deśiteyaṃ vilāsinī | (6)*

• (4c) *manobhaṇge* conj. Sanderson; *manobhaṇgaṃ* 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 *manobhaṇga* and *cittaviśrāma*, it is worth considering the text without the emendation of the accusative *manobhaṇgaṃ dattvā* to the locative *manobhaṇge dattvā*. An unemended reading of the manuscript (*manobhaṇgaṃ 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 vilāsini*). Thus it would be the guru’s foot that would “destroy the [defiled] mind.”

- 170 The *āśoka* 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 *āśokāṣṭamivratam* is so called, according to the *paurāṇika* sources that advocate it, because one observing it is to drink/eat eight *āśoka* 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 *āśokaḥ*, 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 *Liṅgapurāṇa* and the *Kūrmapurāṇa*. The latter prescribes worship of Rudra: *caitramāsi sitāṣṭam-yaṃ budhavāre punarvasau / āśokakusumai rudram arcayitvā vidhānataḥ / āśoka-syāṣṭakalikā mantrenoktena bhakṣayet / śokaṃ naivāpnuyān martyo rūpavān api jāyate*. The former prescribes worship of the tree itself: *āśokakalikāpānam āśokatarupūjanam / śuklāṣṭamyāṃ tu caitrasya kṛtvā prāpnoti nirvṛtim*.”
- 171 *Siddha-Āmnāya** (p. 11.18): *paramadine manobhaṅgacittaviśrāmau prāpyete*.
- 172 *Siddha-Āmnāya** (p. 11.22): *daśame divase grīvāṃ chetum ārabdhah. tatksaṇāt sāksāddarśanaṃ bhavati sekaṃ dadāti. Advaya vajranāmābhūt*.
- 173 Śabara twice states that he has been taught the sādhana by his teacher, Karuṇa (GSS10 K451r/v and K53r). Lokanātha is hailed in the opening *vasantatilakā* verse (K451v): *...śrīlokanāthacaranam śaranam vrajāmi*. He is also the power through which the illiterate Śabara is able to communicate the sādhana (v. 3c K45v4), *lokanāthādhipatyena*, which the colophon states had been taught by Lokanātha in the *Mahāyoginijālatantra*: (K53v): *mahāyoginijālatantra śrīmal-lokanāthapādena deśitam yoginīsarvasvaṃ nāma guhyavajravilāsiniśādhanaṃ samāptam. • nāmaḥ* corr., *nāmaḥ* K. Cf. GSS23 (K871r): *śrīmacchabararūpadhāriṇā...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” (*gauri*–; usually white, but it can also mean yellowish, reddish, or pale red); although earlier in the sādhana, she is described as “arrayed in yellow/having yellow rays” (v. 46 K47v6): *etatparinatām devīm bandhūkakusumaprabhām / raktahemajjvalām gaurīm nijalāvanyabhūṣitām*. Cf. (K45v2): *pīṭāṃśukā*.
- 175 GSS10 (K47v6 ff.): *padmanartadhvajocchrāyasamāropitapaṇikajām / utkuṭāsana-nṛtyasthām kaṭākṣasmitabhāṅgurām / (49)...ullasadbhidurasparśaiḥ 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): *vitastyantaritām pādadvayam āsane nyasya*

- utkutakas tisthed ity utkutakdsanam*. 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): *vyaktapadmotkatdsandm*.
- 177 GSS10 (v. j8d K48V1): *kimciduttdnas'dyinam*; GSS10 (v. 30cd-3ia K47r2): *svajanghdm kinciddkuncya daksindm tu prasdrayet I taylor madhye gatdm vidydm*. Cf. GSS10 (w. 58-59 K48V1).
- 178 GSS10 (v. 59cd K48V2): *svyaktaguhyavajrena nartayantam vildsinim*.
- iji) GSS10 (w. 18-19 K46V1): *parvatddiguhdmadhye sugandhikusumds'raye I bhdva-niyd sakdntena guhyavajravilasini I sunyavesmani svacchandam udydne vijane vane I pujaniyd sadd devi sddhaniyd yathdvidhi*.
- 180 GSS10 (v. 77 K49V1): *anyonyavandandm kurydt madhurdksarabhdsanaih* _
- 181 GSS10 (w. 123—27 K51V6). The male himself makes the mandala upon his penis and fondles it (without emitting semen) while reciting the mantra. The female makes the mandala 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): *updyamelakdbhdve vidydpi svdbjamandale I purvavad mandalam krtvd nitya-pujdvidhim caret I tarjanydngulijyesthdbhydm ekikrtya suyugmakam I tadvajrdb-janiyogena jdpadhyndnddikam caret*.
- 182 E.g., *Nitydsodas'ikdrnava* (ch. 1 w. 130-50), also Sanderson (1988: 688), Pal (1981: 74-75), and Biihneemann 2000a: (154-57).
- 183 The arrow syllables extracted from a *mantroddhara* by Jayaratha are *dram, drim, klim, blum, sah* (*Vdmes'varimatavivarana* on 4.61, quoting the *Nitydkaula*; emending *nitydkdloktah* to *nitydkauloktah*). Cf. Sivananda on the same (*Rjuvimars'anion Nitydsodas'ikdrnava* 4.62): *dram, drim, klim, blum, sah*. Another set that may have influenced the form of the Buddhist mantra are the three *bijas* of Bala Tripurasundari (Vamaki 1.83C-86): *aim, klim, sauh*. (There is also another similar set of eight *bijas*, *ibid.*: 1.64-78.) I am grateful to Professor Sanderson for these references.
- 184 Kames'vara is described in *Kdmakaldvildsa* 37 cited Khanna (1986), Renfrew Brooks (1992: 64). GSS10 (K48V3, v. 62): *ityevambhutam atmdnam bhdvayet surates'varam I mahdsukham iva vyaktam padmanartes'varam prabhnum*. GSS10 ends with a reference to the god of love, Kamadeva (whose banner is the mythical sea monster or *makarah*), promising that [practitioners of this sadhana] "fervently clasping their lover enjoy the *makara* bannered [i.e., fe/wa/Kama]" (K53VI-2, v. i5icd): *kdmmini<m>gddham dlingya bhujanti makaradhvajam*.
- 185 Synonyms for Siva Nataraja include *Ndtyes'vara*, *Nates'a*, and in an east Bengali inscription, *Nartes'vara*; see the study of Nataraja by Sivaramamurti (1974). Further research is needed to establish the origins of Padmanartes'vara and the sources behind the GSS sadhana here. Sanderson (1997: personal communication) notes that the *Lokes'varakalpa* is concerned with Padmanatha/Padmanartesvara, and that a possible root text for this is the *Sarvabuddha-samyogaddkinisamvaratantra*. In this proto yoginitantra, Padmanartes'vara 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-ying 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 *Ḍākinivajrapañjaratantra* (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 Mahābalā (see table 23). He remains there when this maṇḍala is taken over by Mahāvārāhamukhī 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 *mañirimdu* festival, Thangbochi Monastery, Nepal (Martin Boord 1999: personal communication).
- 186 GSS10 (K45v6): *vaśyākaraṇastambhanamāraṇocātānāni ca | añjanaṃ 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.; *padārūḍhaḥ* K; GSS26 (K94r6): *gajendra iva madhupair nārībhīr 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): *pradīpaṃ jvālayet tatra prabhākarasamaprabham | yathā prakāśate viśvaṃ pratyaṅgaṃ ca viśeṣataḥ.*
- 191 GSS10 (K49v5, v. 84ab): *yathā dātavyaṃ paścāttāpanivṛttaye.* Wounding with nails and teeth for enhancing sexual pleasure is a topos of the *Kāma-sūtra*.
- 192 GSS10 (K46v5, v. 25cd): *tāvanmātram tu kartavya<m> na mano vihvalam yathā.*
- 193 GSS10 (K48v5, vv. 65–66): *tadanu cintayet tūrṇam abhīṣīncanti mām punaḥ | tathāgatā lokapālāḥ kiṃnaroragamānavāḥ |* (65) *rambhā tilottamā caiva nānāpsarogaṇānvitāḥ | puṣpadhūpādibhir vādyair nānānrtyamahotsavaiḥ |* (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 *Hevajratantra*. In the latter, she is to be attracted as foremost of *apsarases* beginning with Rambhā (HT2.9.21c–d: *karṣayet sadya*

rambhādinām tilottamām), and on another occasion, as the agent of consecration (HT2.5.42cd: *abhiṣekaṃ vajragarbhasya dātum kṛyaṃ tilottamam*). 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 (K50r1, v. 87): *niścālanān mukhaṃ bodher aticālanāc cañcalaṃ manah / helayā khelayed devīm sahaajāśaktacetasaḥ*. • *niścālanān* conj. Sanderson; *niścālānnamukhaṃ* K. Cf. GSS43 (K128r5 v. 17cd): *pratyāṅgasparśo ’py animittah | sahaajāmbudhiviplāvitacittah*, “The signless touching, also, of every limb, by which the mind is bathed in the ocean of *sahaaja*.”
- 195 See Davidson (2002) for a discussion of the four *ānandas*, particularly in relation to the meaning of *sahaaja*. 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 Hevajratāntra*

consecrations (<i>abhiṣekas</i>)	blisses (<i>ānanadas</i>)	moments (<i>kṣaṇas</i>)
ācārya	ānanda	vicitra
guhya	paramānanda	vipāka
prajñājñāna	vīramānanda/ <i>sahaaja</i> -	vīrarda
caturtha	sahaajānanda/ <i>vīrama</i> -	vilakṣaṇa

- 196 GSS10 (K50r1–2): *manthānāndolanaṃ kāryaṃ devadevyoḥ svamudrayā | sahaajānandaṃ tu boddhavyaṃ vilakṣaṇakṣaṇoditam | (90) | vajreṇa kṣobhayed devīm bodhicittaṃ na cotsrjet | utsrjete bodhicitte tu kutas tatra mahāsukham | (91) | manthayet kamalāmbhodhiṃ sahaajāmr̥takāmṛtāyā | vairāgyakālakūṭam 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 srjet*; “swinging” (*āndolanam*) would refer to the female action, cf. GSS10 v. 98ab (K50r2): *kuryād āndolanāhlādam kiṃcid ākuñcya pañkajam*, and GSS10 v. 108ab (K51r2): *daśadhāndolanaṃ 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 virdgdvasaro nasty atra kim bahuneti*. Cf. *Candamahd-rosanatantra* (6.182-83, PP-3°~3') *anurgdtpdrpyate punyam virdgdd agham dpyate I na virdgdtparam pdpam na punyam sukhatah param*.
- 199 The preliminaries to the sadhana 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): *sphuratsamhdayogena bhdvayed dtmavigraham I gandharvanagardkdram mrgatrmdbucancalam*.
- 200 GSS10 (K49W. 83): *cumbanam tu praddtvayam yatra puspaihsupujitam I masta-kddipddaparyantam vis'aty ariga<m>fsamangatau fl Cf. Meghadiita (v. 99): arigendngam pratanu tanund... vis'ati*.
- 201 GSS10 (K48V4 w. 63-64). Other instances are at GSS10 K47VI-6 w. 39-45 (visualization of the *dharmodaya*), K50r5 w. 93-100 (producing offerings from the lovemaking), and K53r3 w. 110-14 (*dtmamelaka* discussed below).
- 202 GSS10 (K5in): *ekadaiva samuccdrya vidyayd saha susvaram I nddabindulaydli-nam idam jdpasya laksanam I (106) satam astottaram japtvd kurydd anyonyacu-sanam I vajrdbjayos samam tatra muhur garudamudrayd/(107)*.
- 203 GSS10 (K5ir5, v. md): *samarasojjvalam*; (K5ir5, v. ii2cd): *chedayantam jagat-kles'am trailokyasydpi mandalam*.
- 204 GSS10 (K5ir6-v, v. 114): *s'akracdpakramenaiva tal linam gagandmbudhau \gaga-nam sahaje linam bodhdmbhodhau mahodaye*.
- 205 GSS10 (K51V3): *ity evam hi samddhisthah samagdbhydsaniscalah I taddyogi bhavet siddho mahdmudrmdaharddhikah I (v. 118) • bhavet em.; bhavetyogiK. (ditto.)*.
- 206 The colophons to Virupa's sadhana and two *stotras* name her "Trikeyavajrayogini," while in the colophons to GSS20, SM232, and SM238, and in the body of the texts themselves, she is simply referred to as "Vajrayogini."

The epithet "She Whose Head Is Severed" appears in Tibetan translations. Chinnamunda is the name given by all the sadhanas in the bsTan 'gyur (Benard 1994: 18 n. 35; see the appendix for details). Thus, for example, the Tibetan translation of the *Laksmisiddhana* (GSS24) is entitled the **Chinnamundd-vajravardhisiddhana* (Benard 1994: 66). Similarly, in the *Nandydvartatraya-mukhgdgama* attributed to Mekhala and Kanakhala (sDe dge bsTan 'gyur rgyud 'grehol. 43 (Zi): 34-35), the sadhaka is instructed to visualize himself as *dBu bead ma yum*, i.e., as "Chinnamunda" Vajravarahi (*ibid.*: 14). A *Chinnamunda Sadhana* also appears in the *Rin 'byung brgya rtse*, "Vajrayogini of the Severed Head" (*rDo rje mal 'byor ma dbu bead ma*), or, according to Taranatha, "Vajravarahi of the Severed Head" (*rDo rje phag mo dbu bead ma*) (Willson and Brauen 2000: 259-60), details for which see below n. 210.

In the Sanskrit sadhanas and *stotras*, that I have seen, however, there are only two references to the name Chinnamasta, 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 dryatrikdyavajrayogini<pitachinnamastd>sddhana*. In the second instance, a second scribe inserts a corrupt verse in *sragdhard* meter at the start of GSS24 that actually interrupts the first and second *pdas*

of the benedictory verse in *anustubh*. This states that the goddess generated inside the *dharmoday* is Chinnamasta, "who has attained a threefold body, the triple path," GSS24 (K89V6): *tasmin madhye trimdr̥gd tritayatanugatd cchinna-mastdpras'astd • trimdr̥gd* em. *trimdr̥gam* codd. Cf. GSS27 (K94V5, v. 4cd): *trimdr̥ge samsthīt dēvi trikdyavajrayoginī*.

- 207 SM232 is almost identical to GSS20, but it has no *bali* mantra. However, a "floating" *bali* mantra is printed as SM238 (*Vajrayoginyd Balividdhih*), which tallies with the longer *bali* mantra in GSS25, cited below. I suggest that SM232 and SM238 therefore belong together.

- 208 GSS25 (K9ir5): *svandbhau vikajitas'ukUvarnapamkdr̥parinatam sitapadmam s'atadalam vibhdvayet. tatropari raktavarnarephajam suryamandalam bhdvayet. tatropari sinduravarndm dharmodaydm ca vibhdvayet. tatr̥dpi ca madhye pita-hrimkdr̥ajdpita svayam eva kartryd kartita<m> svamastakam vdmahastasthitam dhdr̥yanti daksinahastasthakartryd sahīt d urdhvavistr̥ta<vdma>b dhvi, adhona-mītadaksinabhujd, vdsas'unyd, prasdr̥itadaksinapddd dkuncitavdmacarand, kaban-dhdd avadhutivartmand nihsr̥t̥dsgdhdr̥d tasya mukhe patati pravisati ca. apare lalandrasandbh̥ydm ca nihsr̥tya pdr̥s'vayoginyor mukhe pravis'ata iti bhdvyam. • sinduravarndm* em.; *sinduravarniK* pitahrimkdr̥ajd* em.; *pitahrimkdr̥ajdm K« vdsas'unyd* SM232; *vdmas'unydK, vdmahs'iinydm* GSS20 K84VI. Cf. GSS24 (K9or4): *digvdsasdm, GSS27 (K94V5): nagn̥d. • pravisati ca* conj.; *pravisati vd K*. Cf. GSS20 (K84V2): *svamukhepravisati*.

GSS24 (K90n): *tatah samayi svandbhimadhye raktavikasitakamalam vibhdvayet. tadupari raktaravimandalam pas'yēt. tasyopari raktahrimkdr̥asambhutdm dharmodaydm vis'vdbj̥r̥kodard<m>, tatra hrimkdr̥am vibhdvya taddhrimkdr̥a-parinatdm bhagavatim vajrayoginim pitavarndm raktacch̥dydm svakarakartyd svas'iram cch̥ityd vdmahastenordhavadh̥dr̥nim kartr̥ikdsametadaksinakard<m> dhdr̥dprasdr̥inim dlidhapadasthitdm kapdlldamkr̥tas'irasdm muktakes'dm digvdsasdm mudr̥dmudr̥it̥ngdm s'ribuddhaddkinim madhye, tatah cchinna's'irodhardm srotasam urdhvam sr̥vantim rudhiradhd̥rd<m> svamukheplavanti bhdvayet.*

- *raktahrimkdr̥a^* corr.; *raktahrimkdr̥am K • vibhdvya* corr.; *vibhdvyas K • dhdr̥d* em.; *dhara K • srotasam* corr.; *srotasam K • sr̥vantim* corr.; *sr̥vanti K*
- 209 GSS27 (K95r2): *karavadetayohpddau viparitau ca tausthitau; GSS20 (K84V4): ubhayor yoginyor madhye 'ntarikse cdtibhaydkulam smas'dnam bhdvayed iti bhavand* kulam* corr.; *kuldm K*. Cf. GSS25 K92n; GSS24 Kgor.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 Vajrayogini (in warrior stance, trampling Bhairava and Kalaratri, and holding the usual attributes, chopper and skull bowl, including a skull staff for the central figure). They are visualized as orange (Sarvabuddhadakini in the center), green ("Vajravarnani" to the left), and yellow ("Vairocāni" to the right), with garlands and bone ornaments of the five mudras, very wrathful amid blazing fire. Their mantras are given separately and are to be visualized with the syllables "all stacked up" within their *dharmoday*s (i.e., within the sexual organs): *om sarvabuddhadakini hīṃ phat svdh̥d*;

om vajravarnaniye hum phat; om vajravairocaniye hum phat. 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, *laland*, a jet of 'semen' (*kunda*) mixed with Aksobhya pours into the mouth of the left deity; and from the right channel, *rasand*, menstrual blood (*rajas*) mixed with ordinary blood pours into the mouth of the right one." The *sadhana* then continues with other meditations and rites.

The Mongolian icons also depict this *sadhana*, illustrating each deity separately. The central deity, Chinnamasta (dBu bead ma), is not shown with her head severed (IWS/T 81, LC 591), and she is described as a form of Vajravarahi. "Vajravarnani" (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 "Vajraprana"). "Vairocani" (rNam snang ma) is yellow, also with the addition of a skull staff in the IWS (IWS/T 83, LC 593).

- 211 GSS9 (K44V5): *hrdi ndndvarnapamkdraparindmena vis'vapadmam bhdvayet. atropari raktarephaparindmena suryamandale dharmodayam samadhikarakta-varnam bhdvayet. dharmodayopari raktavarnam hrinkdram. hrinkdrddibhih purvoktaih samastaih parindmena vajrayoginim kanakas'ydm dm surydsane padmadhye. tathdtra pdrs've ddkinidvayam bhdvayet. kartrikarotadhardm dlihdapadasamsthitdm. • ddkinidvayam* SM234; *sd(hu?)ladvayam* GSS9 K45n, *sdtadvayam* GSS30 Ki02r3 (perhaps for *saktidvayam*T).
- 212 GSS25 (Kc)2r2): *iddnimpujocyate. mandalam caturasram tatra suryopari tallagndm dharmodaydm likhitvd tanmadhye hrinkdram dlikhya pujayet, tadbhavdm vdpurvoktarupdm bhagavati<m> madhye dropya...* (mantras given table 7). • *tallagndm* GSS25 (cf. GSS20: *surydlalayalagndm*) • *hrinkdram dlikhya* conj.; *hrimvdm dlikhya* K (cf. GSS20: *hrinkdrasahitdm*, GSS5: *hrinkdra<m> ca vicintya*) • *purvokta* conj.; *purvoktdm K* madhye dropya* GSS25, cf. GSS20: *tatahpurvoktabhdvanayd bhattdrikdm madhye dropya*, GSS5: *tajjdm uktarupdm bhagavatim pujayet.*
- 213 The mantric unit *vajrapuspa* also appears in GSS25, in the worship section of the Vajradakini mandala in GSS16 (K79r6): *om vajravairocaniye hum hum phat vajrapuspe svdhd. om pranavdvajraddkiniye hum hum phat vajrapuspe svdhd* and in the installation of the fivefold mandala of the red two-armed Vajrayogini in GSS19 cited above (K83V2): *om vajrayogini vajrapuspa praticcha svdhd. om* etc.; see n. 129. The association of the unit *vajrapuspa* with rites of worship is apparently borne out by the *Sddhanamald*. Nihom (1992: 224) finds that of the 312 *sadhanas* of this collection, thirteen use the vocative *vajrapuspe* in mantras of worship, and the remaining 299 appear in the context of traditional puja. 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, *vajrapuspe* is usually found as first of a set of five relating to the five gifts of the standard puja (*pancopacdrah*). 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 dhūpagandhā-dibhiḥ 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 Vajravārṇanī (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 vajravārṇanīye 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 *oṃ*s.” This formulation of the mantra is found also in Virūpā’s *Chinnamundāsādhana* in the bṣTan ’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 Trikāvajrayoginīsādhana*

	SUT Ch. 7, vv. 16–18		GSS texts	
center	Avadhūti	semen	Sarvabuddhaḍākinī	yellow
right	Rasanā	blood	Vajravairocanī	yellow
left	Lalanā	urine	Vajravārṇanī	dark/red

218 GSS27 (K94v4): *hrīmḱāro madhyabhāge 'syāḥ pītavarṇaḥ prakīrtitaḥ* | (2cd) | *tadbhavaḥ pītavarṇa ca. avadhūtyā<ṃ> ca svayaṃ sthitaḥ | lalanāyāṃ tu suśyāmā. rasanāyāṃ ca gaurikā* | (3) | *pratyalīḍhapadā nagnā madhye pīṭamanoramā | trimārge saṃsthitā devī trikāvajrayoginī* | (4) | *seyaṃ nāmnā bhaved ekā sarvasambuddhaḍākinī* | (ṣab).

- (v. 2a) °bhāge 'syāh] 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 avadhūti 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 / tayoṛ madhyagatam devī amkāraṃ 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, Oḍḍiyāna, 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 *bali* mantra appears in full in Virūpa's sādhanā (GSS25 K92v3) and almost identically in the *Sāadhanamālā* (SM238 p. 458). Only the second half of this *bali* mantra appears in GSS20 (K85r3). GSS25 (K92v3): *om <śrī> vajrayogini sarvabhūtapretapiśācādin āśodhaya 2 hana 2 daha 2 grāsa 2 sarvasiddhisāadhanāni prayaccha sarvāśāṃ me paripūraya svāhā. om śrīvajrayogini sarvasiddhiṃ <me> kuru 2 sarvaviḡhnavināyakān hana 2 samyaksambodhaye mama idaṃ baliṃ 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; *sarvāśāṃ* GSS25, SM (variant in ms. "C") • *om śrīvajrayogini sarvasiddhiṃ*] GSS25, SM238; *om vajrayoginiye saṃsiddhiṃ me* GSS20 • *vināyakān*] GSS25, SM238; *vināyakānāṃ* GSS20 • *idaṃ baliṃ*] GSS25; *baliṃ* SM238 • *grhṇa 2*] GSS25; *grhṇa* SM238; *grhṇatha 2* GSS20 • *hūṃ*] GSS25; *hum* SM238.

In contrast, the *bali* 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 Trikāyavajrayoginī cult. Chinnamastā is one of the ten Mahāvidyās (emanations of Sati); her severed-headed form is explained in a myth recounted in the *Śaktisamgamatantra* (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 *Toḍalatantra* (vv. 2.2–20), Sarvānandanātha (*Sarvavollāsa* 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 Bühnenmann 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 *Chinnamastātantra* that forms part of the nineteenth-century *Śākta Pramoda* (a popular manual of tantric ritual for pūjā of the ten *mahāvidyās* and *pañcādevatā*). 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 Vajravārāhī 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 vajrayoginī ucyate. asyās 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 Vajravārāhī related to the adept Nāropa. She mentions the appearance of Sarvabuddhaḍākinī in three sādhanas in the *Sādhnamālā* (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 Trikāyavajrayoginī 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): *sattvāśayaśaśenaiva nirmītānekarūpiṇī • vaśenaiva* C; *vasenaiva* K • *nirmītānekarūpiṇī* em.; *nirmītā-naikarūpiṇī* K, *nirmītā ekarūpiṇī* C.
- 230 GSS5 (Sed p. 152, K37r4): *tad evamādayaḥ siddhopadesaparamparāyātā vineyāśayabhedād anantā bhagavatya āmnāyā boddhavyāḥ. dīnīmātram idaṃ darśitam. eṣu ca krameṣu kramam ekam ādāya śraddhādayāvān niḥsaṅgaḥ samayasevī nirvicikitsa bhāvayen niyamena sādhayati. • evamādayaḥ* em.; *ādāya(h)* K(del) • *āmnāyā* em.; *āmnāya • śraddhā* conj., *śraddho* K.
- 231 *Namaskāra* in *anuṣṭubh* GSS5 (Sed p. 125¹, K14v1): *namo 'stu vajrayoginyai śūnyatākaruṇātmane | bibharti mūrtivaicitryaṃ yā jagadbhāvabhedaṭaḥ. • yā* em.; *yo* K.
- Āśīrvāda* in *śārdūlavikrīḍita* GSS5 (Sed p. 125³, K14v2): *yā sambodhisudhā-sudhāvanavaśād vaiśadyavidyotitā, śāntāpy ātanute vineyajanatārāgād bahiḥ śoṇatām | bibhrāṇā kuliśaṃ kapālam amalāṃ khaṭvāṅgam ugradyuti, seyaṃ*

vajravilāsini bhagavati 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): *giriḡahvarādīmanorame sthāne*; GSS3 (K102v4): *prātar ūthāya mukhaśaucādīkaṃ kṛtvā grhāḍau, athavā mantram samayaṃ prāpya śmaśāna-giriḡahvare, ekavṛkṣe naditīre parvatamastake vā manonukūle*; GSS34 (K111v3): *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 | giriḡahvarakuñjeṣu mahodadhitāṣeṣu vā | śmaśāne mātṛgrhe ca nadisaṃgamamamadhyaṭab; and ibid.: f. 20r. 4–5; Yoginijālamahātāntra* (f. 30v.9, 16.13): *giriḡahvarakuñjeṣu mahodadhitāṣeṣu ca | catuṣpatheṣu maṇḍapasthāne śmaśāne ca manorame*; ADU (f. 14.5, 4.5c): *giriḡahvarakuñjeṣu naditīreṣu saṃgame mahodadhitāṣe ramye | ekavṛkṣe śivālaye mātṛgrhe śmaśāne vā, udyāne vividhottame | viḡhāracaityalayane grhe vātha catuṣpathe; Ḍākinijālasaṃvara* (f. 3r.5–6). Cf. HT1.6.6: *mātṛgrhe* and the glosses cited in Snellgrove 1959: 63, n.6; and GS 12.65: *giriḡahvarakuñjeṣu sadā siddhir avāpyate • kuñjeṣu* conj. Isaacson. *kuleṣu* ed.; *Vārāhyabhūdayatantra* vv. 7–8. In the *Sādhnamālā*, see SM1 (p. 1) *parvatāranyādiṣu guhāgrhārāmalayanādiṣu vā viviktavijaneṣu manorameṣu vasan*; SM7 (p. 28): *devagrhe*; SM142 (p. 290): *devagrhaṃ praviṣya*; SM172 (p. 347): *kva cin manonukūle sthāne strījanasaṃsargādirahite*; SM187 (p. 389): *śmaśāne gahanagiriḡuhāḡahvarakroḍasaṃdh<y>au vṛkṣe vātha svagehe kvacid api viḡatopadrave vā pradeṣe. • kroḍa*] em. Sanderson, *krodha* SMed.; SM239 (p. 458): *dhyānālayaṃ praviṣya*; SM265 (p. 515): *nadisaṃgame śmaśāne vā ekavṛkṣe devāyatane śrīvajradhāragrhe vā ityevamādisthāne*; SM267 (p. 525): *kvacit giriḡahvarāḍau manonukūle pradeṣe*.

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 niṣpadya*; SM52 (p. 109): *sugandhopalīptam nānāpuspāva-kirṇaṃ bhūmibhāgaṃ kṛtvā*; etc.
- 235 GSS1 (K279v3 = GSS2 K11v4): *sukumārāsane yogalīlayā*. Cf. GSS24 (K89v6): *bhūbhāge sukhāsanāsina-*; SM1 (p. 3): *sukhāsanopaviṣṭaḥ*; SM24 (p. 54): *mṛduviṣṭarāsanopaviṣṭaḥ • °viṣṭarāsano*] conj. Sanderson; °*viṣṭarāmalo* SMed.; SM54 (p. 110): *tatra madhye paṭṭamasūrakam tatropaviṣya...*; 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 (Kiiv7-i2n) and SM251 (p. 490): *vis'vavajrasamsinah*; GSS31 (K102V4): *visvavajramayi-dsinah*; GSS16 (Ky6r2) and SM217 (p. 424): *vis'vavajrdsandsinah*. 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 *vis'va* [*vajra*-] over a spread [*of kus'a* grass]." *visvamudrdsane ramye vistaresu samdhitah*. • *vistaresu*/em. Sanderson; *vistaresu*.

For the cotpse seat, see for example GSS5 (Sed p. 125, K14V5): *kvacic chma-s'anaparvatddidese sukhdsanopavistah sdksac chavopavistho vd*; cf. SM218 Korika-datta's *Prajnalokasddhana* (p. 426): *kvacit smasndddu mano'nukule sthdne saccandandyupalipse ndnapuspaprakaropasobhite sdksdt savdsane vd yatha sukhham upavis'ya...*; and (p. 430): *kvacitprades'e savaparyankena sukhdsano-pavisthah*.

- 237 Sanderson (1994, n. 7) notes that this is no different from the posture described by mainstream Mahayana exegetes such as Kamalasila, and traditionally understood to be modeled upon the Buddha's posture. He cites *Bhadvandkrama* II (p. 4): *mrdutarasukhdsane vairocana bhattdrakabaddhaparyankendrdhpariyankena nisadya*, "Having sat down in the *pariyanka* [posture] adopted by the lord Vairocana, or in the *ardhaparyanka* [posture], on a very soft and comfortable seat." And *Bhadvandkrama* I (p. 205): *sukhdsanopavistahpariyankam dbhujya samddhim abhinispdayet*. Cf. SM81 (p. 157): *mandalamadhye vajraparyankenopavistah*, etc.; SM82 (p. 159): *pariyankenopavisya*; SM110 (p. 224): *-dhyndgarddikam pravisya sukhdsane pariyankam baddhvd*; etc.
- 238 This is a quote from a longer passage (again cited by Sanderson 1994 n. 7) that appears also in the *Kriydsamuccaya* (66, 5-6): VA (ms. A f. nvi-6) (my underlining): *tatra vajraparyankam bhumisparsamudrdbandhandd vajrdsandbhinayah 1, samddhimudrdbandhandd dhynddsandbhinayah 2, daksinajamghoromadhye vdmam pddam nyasya tadupari vamajamghoromadhye daksinam nyased iti va pariyankah* }, *daksinajamghaydm vdmajamghdm krtv dvanatam jdnudvayam kurydd iti padmsanam 4, vdmorupari daksinam pddam vinyasya vdmam daksinorutalesthpayet <iti> satvaparyankah 5...*

The passage in full describes a series of ten postures to be assumed one after the other by the Vajracarya during the preliminary ritual of "appropriating the site" (*bhuparigrahavidhih*). The first is the *vajrdsana*, in which the legs are in the *vajraparyanka* and the hands are in the earth-touching *mudrd* (see *Sddhanamdlld* vol. 2 cxlviii plate I). The next is the *dhynddsana*, which is identical except that the hands are in the meditation mudra. After the *vajraparyanka* itself comes the *padmsana*, 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 sadhana practice, the *sattvaparyarika* (e.g., SM39 p. 85; SM80 p. 154; SM147 p. 305). This reverses the position of the feet in the *vajraparyanka* and puts the left foot on top, as stated in the VA: "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 *sattvaparyarika* [posture]." Cf. *Cand-*

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 / savyajaṅghām tu līlayā / khyāto ’yam sattva-paryāṅkaḥ / 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): *mantrādhīṣṭhitasthāne upaviśya*. For a complex preparatory rite prior to worship, see mKhas grub rje (pp. 279–83).
 241 E.g., SM218 (p. 426): *ardhayāmāvaśeṣāyām rājanyām vidhinotthitah*. Sanderson (1999: personal communication) points to Aghoraśiva’s prescription to rise within “five *nāḍikās* [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 pañcanāḍikāvacchede samutthāya*.
 242 E.g., GSS16 (K76r1): *prātar utthāya mukhaśaucādikam kṛtvā...*; SM20 (p. 51): *prathamam mukhaśaucādikam kṛtvā*; SM48 (p. 100): *vadanaśaucādiṃ kṛtvā*; SM239 (p. 458): *prātar utthāya svahr̥tsūryasthabhūṃkāraśamibhir ātmānam viśodhya kṛtamukhaśaucādikah*; SM123 (p. 254): *om huṃ vajrāṅge mama rakṣa rakṣa phaṭ svāhā ity anienātmarakṣāṃ 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 i u ū r ṛ ! l l ū e ai o au am aḥ ka kha ga gha na ca cha ja jha ṇa ṭa ṭha ḍa dha 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> spharattricakradevatāvṛndamarditavighnavṛndam 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 Advayavajra-related texts GSS3=31 (K12r1): *ālikāliṃ vāratrayam uccārya...*; and GSS16 (K76r2): *yogī ālikāliṃ vāratrayam uccārya...*

- 244 Śāsvatavajra’s *Bāhyapūjavidhi* (p. 52): *iha śricakrasamvaraṃ maṇḍalake pūjay-itukāmo yogi prātar utthāya yathāvasaram vā, avismṛtadevatāyogas tathaiva sudṛḍhatadahaṃkāravān, vismṛtadevatāyogas tu pañcaskandhādyahaṃkāravān, svabhāvasuddhamantrocčāraṇapūrvakam śūnyatām adhimucya...*
 245 GSS5 (Sed p. 125¹⁵, K15r1): *viśuddhaskandhādisamuttham pūjādikam bodheḥ śighrakāraṇam bhavatiiti skandhādiviśuddhim adhimuñcet. tatra rūpādiṣu vijñānaparyanteṣu phenabudbudamaricikadalimāyopamatvena niśceyā vairocanaḍādayaḥ. tathatāyām akṣobhyaḥ. yad vā vairocanaḍidevatādhimokṣa eva teṣāṃ 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 *Abhisamayamañjari* (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-Samdup 1919: 79), and the *Vārāhyabhyu-*

ddyatantra (w. 22—26). The practice is common in earlier tantric systems also; note GS (ch. 17 v. 50): *pancaskandhdh samdsena pahcabuddhdh prakirtitdh I vajrdyatanany eva bodhisattvdgryamanddham*; Candrakirti discusses this practice in the opening portion of his commentary (PU on GST ch. I, p. 18).

There are various discrepancies between these texts. For the buddhas correlated with the skandhas, HA, YSCT, and *Vdrdhyabhyuddyantra* read Vajrasurya for Ratnasambhava; Padmanartesvara for Amitabha; Vajraraja for Amoghasiddhi; Srl-Herukavajra for Aksobhyavajra. For the buddhas correlated with the sense organs, the alternative buddha names (Mohavajra, etc.) do not appear in my mss. of HA, YSCT, or in the *Vdrdhyabhyuddyantra* (except for AisVaryavajra, v. 24). For "whole body," ADUT ch. 9 (p. 286) reads "touch" (*sparse*). The set of goddesses correlated with the elements does not appear in the HA, while the YSCT mentions them, but without giving them their alternative names. For Nartesvari the YSCT (ch. 1, v. 6, A1V5) reads Padmanartesvari, and *Vdrdhyabhyuddyantra* (v. 26b), Nartani. For Padmajvalini there is the variant Padmajalini (Ki6r2, *Vardhyabhyudayantra* w. 26c).

- 246 The alternate names appear only in GSS5: (Sed p. 126, K15V5): *tatra mohavinds' andn mohavajrah, dvesadvesandd dvesavajrah, irsydsarvdsangamatsaryavinds' dd irsyavajrddayas trayah, sarvais' varyaddndd ais' varyavajrah*.
- 247 The yogatantra "mothers" are identified with the elements in a verse from the GST (ch. 17 v. 51: *prthivi locandkhytd, abdhdtur mdmaki smrtd Ipdndardkhyd bhavet tejo vdyus taraprakirtitd*). In earlier tantric systems they are the consorts of the five buddhas, the fifth consort being Vajradhvatishvari (e.g., *Vimalaprabka*, cited *Bauddhatantrakos'a* p. 85).
- 248 GSSi«GSS2 (K279V4/K4V2): *tad anu kayavdkcittaparish'uddhaye mddhvim gaudim paistim trividham divyodakam yathdlldbham pancapiyusasamyuktam arghapdre samsthapyā tryaksaramantrendbhimantrayaitenodakena vamaḥastadrabhya sarvangapratyangamantrasndnam kurydt tenaiva pujddravyam ca proksayet. tadanantaram <om vam?> ham yom, hrim mom, hrem hrim, hum hum, phatphad—ity etair mantraksarair vdmakardngusthddikam visodhya trivisuddhim uccdrayet... mddhvim gaudim paistim trividham divyoddhani\ conj.; rnddhvigaudipaistitridhdivyodakam GSSi mrdvikmdmddhvikdgaudikdpaistikdcatuṣṭridham GSS2; • sarvangapratyangamantrasndnam\ GSS2; sarvṅgam pratyangamantram GSSi • om vam\ GSS2, omitted GSSi. (The inclusion of *om vam* 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 vam* is placed on the palm, not on the digits of the hand; see above) • vamaḥkarangusthddikam visodhya\ GSS2; vdmakardngulisu sams'odhya GSSi. On the types of spiritous liquor, note SUT (ch. 26, w. 30-33).*
- 249 E.g., GSS35 (Kn8r4): *nagno muktakesah. athavd raktakesaparidhdyiraktavastra-sukhi*. This process of assimilation to the deity is well attested in the Saiva 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 (*tripurikrtavighraha*, *NitydsOasikarnava* 1,122b). The adept is to adorn himself in a manner that resembles his inner vision of the deity. Thus, in the Tripurasundari tradition, he dresses as a woman in fine red garments, hair and body adorned with red flowers, mouth filled with betel and herbs (ro dye it red), the body red with vermilion powder and scented with musk (*Nitydsodds'ikdrnava* ch. 1, w. 103-5). Assuming the guise of a woman (*strirupadhdritvam*) was accepted by exegetes such as Bhaskararaya (*Setubandhu*, *ibid.*: p. 78): *raktakusumasya strivesasya vdparigraha*. In later sources, false breasts and wigs were also prescribed (*Saktisamgamatantra* vol. 2.18, 72-75) in order to promote the sadhaka's "immersion in the religious sentiment" (*bhadvdesah*). See also *Jayadrathaydmala* (NAK ms. 1.1468, f. 3r 1.4 cited Khanna *op. cit.*: 219): *rasdvesavasasthityd devatdkdrdlambanam*. (References as supplied by Khanna are to the *Nitydsodds'ikdrnavav/ith Setubandbaby* Bhaskararaya, eds. Kas'inatha Vasudeva Abhayamkara and Ganes'as'astri Ambadasa Joshi. 1976. ASG no. 56; and *Saktisasamgamatantra*, vol. 1 *Kdlikhanda*, vol. 2 *Tdrdkhanda*, and vol. 3 *Sundarikhanda*, ed. Benoyotosh Bhattacharyya. 1932-47. GOS nos. 61, 91, and 104.)

- 250 For the *vis'uddbis* as a preliminary practice in this way, see SM123 (p. 254): *ds'ayavis'uddhir ahamkdramamakdraparitydgas ceti maitrikarundmuditopeksdm ca bhdvayet*. Dvivedi (1992: 121) traces the statement "Having become a god, he attains the gods" to the Vedic corpus (*Brhadranyakopanisad*), and interprets it in the light of comparable statements in the *Satapathabrdhmana* to mean that "having assumed the nature of one's chosen god, one should propitiate gods." It is this injunction (*sivibhiiya s'ivam yajet*) that is commonly cited in Saiva tantras; e.g., Khanna (1986: 22) notes its appearance in the *Svacchanda-tantroddyota*. However, its meaning varies according to the different Saiva traditions. Davies (1992: inff.) discusses its significance in the Saiva-Siddhanta, and Dvivedi (*op. cit.*) in nondual Saivism.
- 251 E.g., GSS5 (Sed p. 128°, Ki7r2): *saptavidhnduttarapujdm krtvd...maitrim...karundm... muditdm... upeksdm ca bhdvayitvopdrjitapunyasambhdrah. jndna-sambhdrdbhivrdhdhaye om svabhdvasuddhdh sarvadharmdh svabbdvas'uddho 'ham ity arthdbhimukhikaranapurvakam pathet. • bhdvayitvo] em.; bhdvayitvd Kpc; bhdvayeyitvd Kac. Cf. SUT ch. 13, v. 7 (=SMi23 p. 254): cittamdttram tu vai tisthed bodhisambhdrabhdvanaih; SM67 (p. 138): etena punyasambhdrdrtham yogijagad dkalayati; SM71 (p. 142): pujayet vandeta ca s'ubhavrdhdhyartham; etc.*
- 252 For the rays as hooks, see SM24 (p. 55): *hrihkdrabijdd nihsrtya...ankusdkdrair maricivisaraih...dknya; SM58 (p. 121)...dhihkdrabijavinirgatdnkusakdraras'mydkrstdrapacana-; SM82 (p. 156): tanmaricisamcayair ankusdkdrair dksrya bhagavantam...; cf. Ddkinijdlasamvara* (ed. Sanderson 1994, n. 10) (fjṛ-v: *bijahrdaydntardlamadhyavarttisphuradraktaravimanddUmadhyasthiuparamd aranirgataptaldms'uvisarair dds'adiganantdparyantalokajadhdtun avabhdsya fair evdms'uvisarair vydvarttamdnair ankusakarair gurubuddhabodhisattvayoginica-kram aprameyamdkrsya... • bija°] em.; bija° ms. • visarair] em.; visarair ms. • dksrya] em.; dksrya 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 nīscarayet, taiś ca raśmibhir mañjughoṣarūpaiḥ saṃcchannaṃ gaganam paśyet*; SM 128 (p. 268): *hūmkārād ātmano romavivareṇa mukhādidvāreṇa <ca> pañcakārān raśmīn nīscarataś 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 *Abhisamayālaṃkāṛāloka* (Buddhist Sanskrit Texts No. 4, Dharbhanga: 281, cited Sanderson 1994 n. 12): *śākyamunitathāgatādirūpo nirmāṇakāyaḥ punyajñānasambhārāṃsaja eva śrāvakādyupalambhayogyo deśitāḥ*.
- 254 E.g., GSS4 (K137): *oṃkārakiraṇair gurubuddhabodhisattvān ānīya purato ‘valambya pūjāpādeśanādikam kṛtvā...;* cf. also the opening salutations in GSS26=GSS27 (K92v6/K94r1): *namo buddhadharmasaṃghebhyaḥ. namo gurubuddhabodhisattvebhyaḥ...*
- 255 GSS5 (Sed p. 127¹¹, K16r5): *tataḥ svahr̥dante śuśire raṃkārābījaniryāta-ravimaṇḍalastharaktavaṃkāraṃ dṛṣṭvā tatkiraṇair antaḥkalmaṣam apasārya pratiromavivaravinirgatair vaksyamānabhagavatīmaṇḍalacakraṃ gurubuddhabodhisattvāṃś cākṛṣyānīya nabhasi purato vibhāvya... • svahr̥dante] em.; svahr̥danta 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): *svahr̥dabjasūrye raktavaṃkāraṃ paśyet. tadīyarakṭarasāmbhīḥ pralayānaladuḥ-sahair akaniṣṭhabbhuvanavartinīm vajravārāhīm vaksyamānavarṇabhujāyudhām gurubuddhabodhisattvāṃś cānīyakāśe purataḥ saṃsthāpya hr̥draśmivinirgatapūjābhiḥ 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 daśadiksthatricakradevatām ānīya... bhagavantaṃ saparivāraṃ sarvākāraṇiṣpannaṃ 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 yogini at the head, see SM251 (p. 490): *tataḥ svabījāt saṃsphāryya bāhyaguhyatattvapūjāviśeṣair bhagavantaṃ 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 paripūrṇaṃ jambūdvīpe saṃdrśyate*; and in the GST ch. 1 (p. 4): *api nāma tilabimbam iva paripūrṇaḥ sarvākāśadhātuḥ sarvatathāgataiḥ saṃdrśyate sma*. On this, Candrakīrti points out that the image is of the seeds packed together inside a pod (*śimbah/śimbā*) (PU p. 18): *yathā tilaśimbe tilabījani anyonya-saṃprṣṭāny aparasparapīḍārūpeṇa [?] sthitāni, tathā deśanākāle sarvatathāgata*

gaganam vyāpya sthitā bhagavanta iti); also on the Tibetan translation to SM251 (*til gyi gan bu lta bu*). The simile recurs elsewhere, e.g., *Vārāhyabhyudayatāntra* (v. 17cd): *tilabimbopamam dṛṣṭvā krodhadevīḥ samantataḥ*; and in *sādhana* literature, e.g., SM251 (p. 490): *tais ca rāsmibhir akaniṣṭhabbhuvanavartinaṃ bhagavantaṃ vaksyamāṇavarṇabhujāyudhaṃ 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): *śuklaḥṛīḥkāraṃ hṛdi paśyet. tadraśmibhis traidhātukam avabhāsyākaniṣṭhabbhuvanavartinaṃ simhanādam... ākr̥ṣya*; SM45 (p. 94): *taccakraraśmisamūham antaḥśarīram avabhāsyā pratiromakūpavivaraiḥ niḥśṛtya daśadiglokadhātum avabhāsyā punas tair eva romakūpavivaraiḥ praviśyāntaḥśarīram avabhāsyantaṃ ciraṃ vicintayet*; SM98 (p. 201): *tato 'pi pītātāmkārābījād niḥśṛtya jaganmohāndhakārāpahāribhir 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): *hṛdbijaraśmisambhava-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, dipaḥ, 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 *Sādhana-mālā*. The offerings of guest water are prescribed in GSS34 (K114r): *arghapādyādikaṃ dattvā... puṣpadhūpādikaṃ 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 (*dhvajāḥ*), an endless knot (*śrīvatsaḥ*), a white right-spiraling conch shell (*śanikhāvartaḥ*), and a parasol (*chattraḥ*).

The seven jewels are prescribed in the outer worship (*bāhyapūjā*) in GSS5 (Sed 146', K31r6): *tato hṛdbijanirgataviṇādidevībhīḥ sampūjya saptaratnādīni ca tannirgatāni dhaukayitvā • tannirgatāni* em., *tannirgatāni* 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 asama aparigrahā daśadiglokadhātuṣu pūjāṅgaviśeṣaḥ sthalaajā ratna-parvatakalpavarṇakādayo jalajāḥ sāmudraratnādayaḥ kanakapaṇikajādayaś ca ye*

canye sarvalokadhātuṣu divyamanuṣyakāḥ sarvarūpaśabdagandharasasparśadayas tān sarvān buddhabodhisatṭebhyo niryātayāmi udāharet. manomayāṃs 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 (*guhyapūjā*), 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: *guhyatattvamahāpūjāṃ sampūjya ca vibhavaṣet*; and GST 8.25: *taruṇiḥ samprāpya subhagaṃ cāruvak-trāṃ suśobhanāṃ / adhiṣṭānapadaṃ dhyātvā tattvapūjāṃ 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*; GSS16 (K79r2): *tataḥ pūjayet. puṣpair dhūpair dipair gandhair naivedyair nānāvidhaiḥ pūjābhiḥ pūjayet. manomaya-pūjā tattvapūjādirbhiḥ*. Also SM125 (p. 263): *gurubuddhabodhisattvān sampūjya*; 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,” Bhavabhaṭṭa (p. 68): *catvāraḥ pūjācatuḥ...bāhya-guhyamanomayasakṣādbhābhedena 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 (*mudras*) 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: 127-3*)-
- 262 Table 10 summarizes the text of GSS5 (Sed p. 127^{is}, Ki6r5-i7r). The same sixteen goddesses, with individual iconography, appear in the outer parts of the Vajrasatva mandala from the *Samputatantra* (NYA p. 10). Two other sadhanas in the *Sddhanamdld* list offering goddesses starting with Lasya, either eight goddesses (cf. SM265 p. 518: *astabhih guhyapujdbhihpujayet*), or sixteen goddesses SM266 (p. 523: *sodas'aldsydpujdbhihpujaye*). The set of eight is given as follows (one has dropped out): Vajralasya, Vajramalya, Vajragita, Vajranrtya, Vajrapuspa, Vajradhupa, and Vajraloka. Charming line drawings of the offering goddesses are provided by L. Chandra (1986: 141-42). Offering goddesses are depicted in plate 2.
- 263 For sadhanas with typical Mahayana-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 sadhana, see GSS35 (Kii8r4): *sevitapancamrtah prathamatas caturbrahmavihdrdn bhavayet*; *Ddkinijldlasamvara*S. 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 pahcdmrtapujd<m> khdhi*.
- 264 E.g., *Siksdsamuccaya* (p. 152ⁿ): *vandand sarvabuddhnd namasydmiti*. The salutation may be verbal, bodily, or accomplished with body, speech, and mind (*kdyavdkcitta*), as attested in many sources.
- 265 E.g., SM3 (p. 19): *tatah sndnapujdmeghaprasaraih sampujya tatah pdpadesandm...tatah s'iinyatdm vibhdvayet*; SM181 (p. 373): *pujayitvdparamakdruniko yogi bhaktinamrah kdyavdkcittena vandayed iti vandand vanddyitvd ca pdpa-desandpunydnmodanddikam kurute*; etc.
- 266 The *brahmavihdra* meditations do not appear in the proto-sadhanas of Vilasavajra (*Ndmamantrarthdvalokini*, *adhikdra* 4), or in the *Sarvadurgatiparisodhanatantra* (Skorupski 1983:132). They are found, however, in the scriptural sadhanas of the HT(I.3.1) and SUT (13.7). Umapatideva's glosses are consonant with other sources, particularly those in the *Sddhanamdld*, e.g., on *maitri* in SM48 (p. 100): *maitrim satputrasampritisahasragunitdm jane l duhkhahetor duhkhddccakrpdmd uddhartukdmandmL...dhydtvd*; cf. SM56 (p. 115), SM67 (p. 138), SM87 (p. 192), SM98 (p. 202-3), SM185 (p. 385), SM187 (p. 389), SM206 (p. 405), etc. Umapatideva's gloss on *upeksd* is more unusual in its direct reference to Yogacara insight. A commoner explanation is found in SM48 (p. 57): *keyam upeksd?pratighanunayanibandhanam apahdya hitdhitesu sattvesu paramahitdcaranam*; expanded upon in SM98 (p. 203). Overall, Umapatideva's explanation of the four *brahmavihdras* is similar to that of Advayavajra (*Advayavajrasamgraha*, *Kudrstinirghdtana* pp. 4—5.24): *sarvasattvesv ekaputrapremdkdrdm maitrim, duhkhdduhkhahetoh samsdrasdgardt samuddharanavdnchdsavbhdvdm*

karuṇāṃ, ratnatrayasāraṇagamanāt samullasanmanahprabhavāṃ muditāṃ, adhyāsaṅgaparilakṣaṇāṃ upekṣāṃ 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 pratītyajā 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 nityaṃ 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 māyāṃ yadā saṃharate punaḥ | na kiṃcid vidyate tatra dharmāṇāṃ sā hi dharmatā |* (=Nāgārjuna’s *Mahāyānaviṃśikā* v. 17 in Tucci 1956: 203). For the end of conceptualization, see *Ḍākiniguhyaśamaya-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): *vijñānamātrātmako bhāvakaḥ*; SM71 (p. 143): *tato bhavantaṃ nijabijena sahaiki-bhūtaṃ dṛṣṭvā sarvaṃ traidhātukaṃ sthāvaraṃ jaṅgamaṃ pratītyasamutpannaṃ svapnamāyāpratibimbopamaṃ avicārasaḥ 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 grāhyavisūddhiḥ svabhāvasūddho ’ham iti grāhakavisūddhiḥ*. Cf. the *Bhramaharanāma* *Hevajrasādhana*: *nāsti cittād bāhyaṃ cittagrāhyam. grāhyābhāvāc cittam api grāhakaṃ na bhavati. tasmāc cittaśarīrāḥ 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): *vighnopasāmo 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 (*vijñāptimātra*)...”; 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 *yogaśūddha-* 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 *vajrasūddha-* 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 *Vajrasekhara* (*Advaya-vajrasaṃgraha* p. 23, and p. 37): *ḍṛḍhaṃ sāram asaśīryam acchedyābhedyalakṣaṇam / adāhi avināśi ca śūnyatā vajram ucyate*.
- 273 GSS5 (Sed p. 129¹, K17v1): *traidhātukam atitamaṇḍalacakraṃ ca pratibhāsa-mātrasvabhāvaṃ prabhāsvara eva praveśya, ātmānaṃ ca ravau, taṃ vaṃkāre, tam ardhacandre, taṃ bindau, taṃ nāde, tadvikalpam api—oṃ śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātmaḥ ‘ham—ity arthānugamenoccārya tyajet. śūnyatājñānam evābhedyatvād vajram tasya svabhāvas tadātmaḥ ‘ham ity arthaḥ. • atita]* K. This may refer to the “previous” *maṇḍalacakra* visualized in the preceding pūjā, or a conjectural emendation may be considered to *ānita*, 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): *jñānavajram advayajñānaṃ tad eva pradhānatvād agraṃ taddhāraṇāj jñānavajrāgradhāriṇaḥ*. “In this analysis of the compound *jñānavajrāgradhāriṇaḥ* (holders of the foremost nondual knowledge) he glosses *-jñānavajra-* as *advayajñāna*.”
- 275 GST 3.II. See also SM67, as when the mantra forms a contemplation of the five wisdoms (pp. 139–40): *<oṃ> ādarsājñānasvabhāvātmaḥ ‘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 <oṃ?> sarvayoginīkāyavākcitta<vajra>svabhāvātmaḥ ‘ham oṃ vajrasuddhāḥ sarvadharmaḥ vajrasuddho ‘ham iti mantratrāyaṃ uccārayan. jhaṭīti 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., *<oṃ> sarvatathāgatācittavajrasvabhāvātmaḥ ‘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 naiḥsvabhāvīyam, 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 bS Tan 'gyur, *rgyud* vol. cha, f. 110v).

278 SM210, translated by Sanderson 1994 n. 24 (p. 515): *tadanantaram om svabhāvaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ svabhāvaśuddho 'ham iti mantram uccārya muhūrtam śūnyatām bhāvayet. tataḥ om śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātma* 'ham ity ahaṁkāram utpādya.... 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 (K10312): *tataḥ—svabhāvaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ svabhāvaśuddho 'ham om śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātma* 'ham—iti imaṁ mantrārtham āmukhikurvan muhūrtam apratiṣṭharūpeṇa tiṣṭhet. Also GSS16 (K79v6): *tataḥ svabhāvaśuddhāḥ 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; *sū(dddhā)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 ahaṁkāram utpādya sarvadharmāḥ om śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātma 'ham iti sakalavastutattvasārasaṁgrāhakaṁ mantrārtham āmukhikurvan. • *tataḥ*] em. Tib.; *tataḥ om* SMed. • *ātma* kāḥ] SMed.; *ātma* 'ham SM mss. AC. The other sādhanas in the Advaya-vajra group are all similar, though all slightly corrupt: SM17 (*Simhanāda-sādhana* p. 47), SM217 (*Vajravārāḥisādhana* p. 425), and GSS3 (K12r4).

281 In the Ārya school of yogottara exegesis, *yuganaddha* is dealt with in the *Pañcakrama*, chapter 5. For yoginītantra exegesis, see especially Advaya-vajra, 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 yugandhaṃ tu bhāsate* (v. 7) *śūnyatākṛpayor aikyaṃ vidheyaṃ na svakalpataḥ / śūnyatāyāḥ prakāśasya prakṛtyā yuganaddhatā* (v. 8); also his *Kudṛṣṭinirghātana* (*Advayavajrasaṃgraha* p. 1): *prañidhānavegasāmarthyāt yuganaddhānābhogayogataḥ...*; *Mahāsukhaprakāśa* (*ibid.*: p. 50): *bhūtakoṭiṃ tato viṣṭvā yuganaddhapadaṃ gataḥ / yuganaddhasthito yogi sattvārthaikaparo bhavet*. Cf. Ratnākara Gupta’s *Dvibhujasaṃvaropadeśa* SM255 (p. 505): *ekaḥ svābhāvikaḥ kāyaḥ śūnyatākaruṇādvayaḥ / napuṃsakam iti khyāto yuganaddha iti kvacit*.

- 282 Anupamarakṣita’s *sādhana* of *Khasarpaṇa* (see SM24 p. 58), trans. Sanderson (1994 n. 26) and Isaacson (2002: personal communication): *sarvadharmasūnyatām dhyāyāt. tatreyam śūnyatā: manomātram evedaṃ tena tenākāreṇa prakāśātmakam pratibhāsate yathā svapne <. > nāsti manaso bāhyam manogrāhyaṃ. grāhyābhāvād grāhakam api mano nāsti. tataś ca khasvarūpāḥ sarvadharmāḥ. teṣāṃ grāhya-grāhakādisakalakalpanāprapañcasūnyatā tattvaṃ paramārtha iti yāvat. ayam arthaḥ; advaitaprakāśamātrātmakam sacarācaram jagad iti cintaniyam. imām eva śūnyatām—om śūnyatājñānavajrasvābhāvātmake ’ham ity amunā mantrēṇādhitīṣṭhet. • khasvarūpāḥ]* em. Sanderson; *khariūpāḥ* SM ms. “A”; *manaḥsvarūpāḥ* 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 apratiṣṭhānariṣaṃ kṣaṇamātram vibhāvayet*; SM251 (p. 490): *muhūrtam apratiṣṭharūpeṇa saṃtiṣṭhet*, etc. Cf. GSS23 (K88r6): *tataḥ śūnyatām sarvadharmānirālambarūpāṃ vicintya*; GSS35 (K118r6): *tataḥ sarvadharmānirālambara śūnyatām vibhāvya mantram uccārayet*.

- 284 GSS32 (K104v6): *avikalpitasamkalpa apratiṣṭhitamānasa | asmṛtīmanasikāra nirālamba namo ’stu te | • mānasaḥ]* K (the masculine vocative assumes that the verse addresses a transcendent Bindurāja) • *asmṛtīmanasikāra nirālamba]* em.; *asmṛtīmanasikāram nirālambaḥ* K • *asmṛti]* 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., *Pañcatathāgatamudrāvivarāṇa* (p. 25), *Caturmudrāṇīśaya* (p. 38), *Amanasikārādhāra* (p. 60), in which it is identified as a verse from the *Āryasarvabuddhaviśayāvatārañjānalokālāṅkāramahāyānasūtra*.

- 285 Some Yogācārin exegesis arguably posits the *paratantrasvabhāva* as a really existent substrate, e.g., Maitreya-nātha’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. *Madhyāntavibhāgatikā*.) 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 *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* (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 *Madhyāntavibhāgaṭīka* and examples from the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* and *Mahāyānasamgraha*.
- 286 *Madhyamakālaṃkāra* (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): *prākṛtavīṣayā iti. prakṛtir atrāvidyā tayādhyāropitāḥ prākṛtāḥ* (cited Sanderson 1994 n. 31). Cf. GSS16 (K76r5–6): *bodhicittotpāda āśayaviśuddhiḥ ahaṃkāramamakāraparityāga iti • °parityāga* em.; *parityāga* K; GSS35 (K118r5): *tato jhaṭīti vakṣyamāṇadevyahaṃkāreṇa...*; Cf. SM3 and SM4 (p. 22–23): *om dharmadhātusvabhāvātmaḥ 'ham iti advayāhaṃkāraṃ kuryāt*; SM67 (p. 139): ["purity mantra"] *cintayan prākṛtaśarīrāhaṃkāraṃ tyaktvā yogacittamātreṇā-vatīṣṭhāmi*; SM181 (p. 373): *prākṛtakāyaparityāgāya svabhāvasuddhamantram āmukhikurvan*; SM171 (p. 344): *cittaṃ śūnyāṃ tataḥ kuryāt prākṛtākārahānaye. • prākṛtā* em. Sanderson; *prākṛtā* 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): *muhūrtaṃ śūnyatāyogaṃ kuryāc cittasya viśramam | pratijñāṃ prāktanīm smṛtvā bijamātraṃ punaḥ smaret | pratāritā mayā sattvā. ekāntaparinirvṛtaḥ | kathaṃ tāt uddharīṣyāmi agādhdā bhavasāgarāt | iti sattvakṛpāviṣṭo niśceṣṭāṃ śūnyatāṃ tyajet | • nirvṛtaḥ* em. Sanderson; *nirvṛtāḥ* SMed. For typical references to the vow in sādhana literature, see e.g., the Advayavajra group, GSS3=GSS31 (K12r5/K103r3): *pūrvapraṇidhānavasāt samādher vyutthāya*; GSS16 (K79v6): *punaḥ stutipāṭha<m> mantreṇa praṇidhānaṃ ca karaṇīyam iti*; SM251 (p. 490): *pūrvapraṇidhānāvedhasāmarthyāt prabhāśvarād utthāya*; SM17 (p. 47): *tataḥ praṇidhānam anusmṛtya*; also, SM181 (p. 373): *pūrvāhitapraṇidhānabalāt*

sattvdrtham abhiviksamdno mantri; SM248 (p. 482): *tatah samsdraduhkhebhayah sattvdbhyuddharands'ayah I mdyopamam jagattattvam yathdbhiitam vilokyasah*; SM54 (p. in); SM65 (p. 130), etc. Many sadhanas also comment on the mantrin's vow to make himself/the world "become" the deity, e.g., GSS3<–GSS3i (K102V5): *aham vajravarahi bhutvd taddkdrām jagat sarvam karisydmīti*; GSS16 (K76r5): *aham sarvavid bhutvd taddkdrām jagat sarvam karisydmīti krtanis'caya<h>*; SM251 (p. 490): *prabhdsvardd utthdya svapnamdyavat vis'vam pasyan jaga-darthdytmanah s'riherukatvam vibhdvayet. • jagadarthdyd*] em. Sanderson; jagadutthdya SMed.; vibhdvayet conj. Sanderson; vibhdvayan SMed.; cf. other mainstream sadhanas, e.g., SM24 (p. 61): punahpunar anavaratandndprakdrām pardrtham krtvd jagadapi bhagaval lokeśvararupena nisṣṛḍḍya... samddher utthito jagalokesvararupam vikṣya tadahamkdrenayathestam vihareti itī*; SM48 (p. 101): *svayam manjuvaro bhutvd jagat pasyams ca tanmayam*; SM51 (p. 106); ere.

- 291 Sadhanas use the term "circle of protection" or *rakṣdeakra* interchangeably for vajra ground (*vajrabhumih*), vajra roof (*vajrapahjaram*), 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 sadhana of Uddiyanavinirgata-Kurukulla (p. 359): *prdkdrām pañjarabandhanam {ca} vajramayim <ca> bhumim vibhdvayedīti rakṣdeakram*; cf. GSS35 (Kī8r5): *tato jhatīti vakṣyamdnadevyahamkdrena caturo humkdrdmṣ caturdikṣu ca samantato vajraprdkdravajrapahjaram bhdvayet, athavd sūmbhanisūmbhddicaturmukha-mantrena rakṣddigbandhddikam vidadhydt. • ca] em.; carma K • (vajrapahjaram) K(mg) • caturmukha] Kpc; caturmuntra Kac*. The term can also have a more specialised sense, as in a Kalacakra mandala 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 mandala (NYA p. 83: *kḍlacakramandale vajrapañjardbhīyāntare rakṣdeakram ddsdram tasya purvadaksināpas'cimottararesv...*)

Umapatideva's prose text is related to the *Abhisamayamanjari* (GSS 5, Sed pp. 129-30, Kī7V5-i9r and K20V2). The latter (GSS5 Sed p. 132, K20V cired below) refers to, and probably redacts from, Luyipada's HA. Unfortunately, there is damage to the relevant folios of the HA 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): *vajrapañjara-madhye_*

- 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 mandala and the religious architecture of India have been studied by Snodgrass (*ibid.*) and others. One classical reference to the canopy (*vitdnah*) suspended over the sacred spot in a temple is *Kumdra-sambhava(j.io)*: *vitdnāvantamyuktam maṇistambhacatustayena lpativratdbhih*

- 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, K18r3ff.): *hūmkārajatadadhiṣṭhitaviśvavajreṇa*; YRM (p. 114): *rephenāgnivarnena sūryamaṇḍalaṃ dṛṣṭvā, tadupari nilahūmbhava-viśvavajraṃ*.
- 294 GSS5 (Sed p. 129⁹, K17v5–18r): *tataḥ ...caturo vajraprākārān. oṃ vajraprākāra hūṃ vaṃ hūṃ ity uccārya niveśayet. tatsamakālam eva hūmkārajatadadhiṣṭhitaviśvavajreṇa. oṃ medini vajribhava vajrabandha hūṃ iti paṭhitvā viśvavajramayim bhūmim ārasātalaparyantām adhiṣṭhet. <tato vajrasāmibhiḥ>(mg2) oṃ vajrasarajāla trāṃ saṃ trāṃ ity abhidhāya pañcaśūkavajrākāram atinibidam upari sarajālam. tasyādho vajrapañjara hūṃ paṃ hūṃ ity uccārya vajrapañjaram. oṃ vajravitāna hūṃ khaṃ hūṃ. ity pāthāntaram yathāsthānaṃ vajravitānam oṃ vajrajvālānalārka hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ ity uktvā vajrajvālāṃ ca cintayet. • tasyādho] em.; tasyādha K.*
- 295 E.g., NYĀ (p. 1): *ārasātalam upary upary uccairghananibidajvaladvajraprākārdhvato niḥsaṃdhyekakhaṇḍibhūtam upari vajravitānamanditam jvaladvajrapañjaram*.
- 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 ('Bri gung pa) dKon mchog ratna (1590–1654), with commentary by ('Bri gung pa) bsTan 'dzin padma'i rgyal mtshan (1770–1826), ('Bri gung pa) Rig 'dzin 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 vajrāgnijvālāṃ bhāvayet*. For outer rings of vajras, lotuses, and cakras, see n. 307.
- 299 GSS5 (Sed p. 129⁹, K17v5): *tataḥ oṃ sumbha nisumbha huṃ huṃ phaṭ. oṃ grihna grihna huṃ huṃ phaṭ. oṃ grihnāpaya 2 huṃ huṃ phaṭ. oṃ ānaya ho bhagavān vajra huṃ huṃ phaṭ iti caturo mantrān vāmatarjanyāṅguṣṭhe choṭikādānapūrvakam utsārya kṣṇaharitaraktapitavarnān brahmāṇḍarasātalavyāpījvalanmahākāyān pūrvottarapaścimadaḥśināsu dīkṣu krameṇa sumbhādimantraraśmibhir yāvadicchāvistarān caturo vajraprākārān...cintayet. • °haritarakta] 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 rnams g.yon skor du / nag ljang dmar ser kha dog can / tshangs pa'i 'jig rten nas bzung ste / gser gyi sa gzhir thug gi bar / khyab cing 'bar*

ba 'i 'odzer gyis I rdo rje 'i ra ba gru bzhipa I 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 mdogspros dgra bgegs thams cadtshar bead 'odzer tshur 'duspa sngags rnam la thim pas, rdo rje 'i ra ba gru bzhipa*

- 300 E.g., GSS35 (Ki8r6): *athavdsumbhanisumbhddicaturmukhamantrenaraksdig-bandhddikam vidadhydt*. Note the slightly different fourth mantra with *vidydrdja*, as attested in Nagarjuna's *Pindikramasddhana* (Mimaki and Tomabechei 1994 p. 1* ms. Af.2r, p. 31* ms. Bf.2r) and in the SUT ch. 10, v. 26; and SUT ch. 13, w. 2c—3x: *digbandhanam tu prdkdram caturmukhamantram uccaret I 2 I—om sumbha nisumbha hiim hum phat. purve. —om grihna grihna hum hum phat. uttare —om grihndpaya grihndpaya hiim hiim phat. pascime. —om anaya ho vidydrdja hum hum phat. daksine —chotikdm ddpayed diksu dustamdranam trdsanam I }ab.*
- 301 The idea of "binding" is prominent in the early account of the *raksdeakra* in the *Sarvadurgatiparisodhanatantra* (p. 134; 10a), which is constructed with a variety of mantras and mudras (interrupted by some other rituals, such as *abhiseka* and *kavacana*), and which results in the binding of its various parts plus aspects of the mandala, e.g., (10a): *vajrabandham krtvdy...; (na-b): mudrdyuktyd sarvavighnabandham kurydt. vajrabandham baddhvdngustha-dvayam prasdrya... prasdritavajrabandham bhummydm pratisthdpdyddhobandham kurydt... pürvam dis'am bandhayet... (nb) digvidiksv adha urdhvam ca vighna-nikrntanam kurydt vajrakdlyottardm dis'am bandhet; (12a): vajrakarmand mandalabandham krtvdyd prdkdram dadydt*. This usage remains in place, e.g., HT1.3.3: *pahjarabandhanam*, with *Muktdvali: uparigataih prakarasikharod-gatam panjaram, tdbhydm api sphuradbhiih simdbandham* (note that there is no *vitana* in the HT). For the boundary, see SMi (pp. 5-6) in which the *vajramandapa* is installed with hand gestures and mantras (p. 5): *tato vajramandapamudraya svasthndnam vajramayam adhitisthet*, in the following order: ground, walls, roof, Vajrajvalavahita mantra (i.e., flame ring), and "boundary" (p. 6): *tatah simdn badhniydt; NYA* (p. 1): *anantd vajramayi bhitmih, tajjvalanmayukhajvlddvalisimdbandhah; SMno* (p. 226): *bahir dvdre simdbandhah karya iti...*, etc.
- 302 For the installation mantras following the sequence in the Advayavajra texts, see GSS5 (Sed p. 129", Ki8t2, cited n. 294), also GSS3 (Ki2r6)≡GSS3i (Ki03r5)≡SM2i7 (p. 424), and SM25i (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 raksa raksa hum hum hum phat svdhd*.
- 303 The equivalent generation of the intermediate goddesses in the *Abhisamaya-manjari* (GSS5) supplies a distributive, stating that they are produced "from rays from both [pairs of those mantras] individually" (Ki8r—i8v): *ubhaya-ubhayara-smisambhutd*. 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 prdkdram caturmukhamantram uccaret*.

- 304 *Devibhḍgavatapurḍna, skandha 5*. The fourfold mantra appears prior to the *kilanamantra* in the Arya school of the *Guhyasamdja* (*Pindikramasddhana* by Nagarjuna, Mimaki and Tomabechi 1994 p. 1* ms. Af.2r, p. 31* ms. Bf.2r). Despite its reference to Puranic *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.; Marcotry 1987: 29; and illustrations by Beer 1999: 245-49, with plate 114. The cult status of the *kila* as deity in the Vajrakīlaya corpus has been studied by Bootd (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 (*kilanavidhi*), see VA *Vighnakilanavidhi* SP f. 17v-i8r. This rite is often associated with the ten *krodhardjas*. 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 Usnisacakravartin, 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 Aksobhya with the recitation of the appropriate mantra, and the wheel melts into space.

- 306 Mote specifically, in GSS5, the wells are created from "the lengthy subde resonance of the syllable when it is recited" (K18VI): *dasadiggatavighnavrṇdam dñiya dlrghanddoccdritahumkdranispānnesu prdkdrabdhyesu samipe digvidig kupesupravesya*. 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): *rdorje'ira phyir hum yig las lbyung ba v khron zab brgyad... I* (understanding *ra phyir* as *ra ba'iphyi 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 bcuyis hum zhe pas, rdo rje'i ra baphyi ma z rgyab tu hum las byung ba z khron pa zab mo brgya ioj* GSS5 (Sed p. 130, K18V4): ...*dkotanakilandbhydm vighnavrṇdam mahdsukhena*

*tathataikarūpaṃ kurvanti<m> bhāvayet. punaḥ śeṣaviḥnān utsārya prākāreṣu liyamānāsu tāsu toye † toyāspalanabindunirgamanyā † <iva> yena simābandhārtha<m> vartulān vajrapadmacakraprākārān cintayet. tad evaṃ vajraprākārādiviḥnotsāreṇa viśuddhyā niḥsandhaikakhaṇḍibhūtaṃ nirviḥnaṃ ca jagad adhimucya ... • niḥsandhaika] em.; niḥsandhyaika K • jagad] corr.; jagat. K. This text is based on the *Vajrāvali* (Vighnakilanavidhi 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 zegs 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 raksdcakrabhdvand kartavyd*), the same sequence as that found in the SUT ch. 13, w. 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, Ki7v5-i8r), the Advayavajra-based sadhanas GSS3 (Ki2r6), GSS4 (Ki3r7)⇒SM226 (p. 440), SM227 (p. 442): *humvajrikrtabhumyddu...*, GSS16 (K76V1), also SM40 (p. 83): *sunyatabhdvananantaram*, etc. In GSS35 (Kii8r5) the protective circle is generated after the accumulation of merit but prior to the emptiness meditations. Note SMi (pp. 10-11): *yadis'akto bhavati apardhne pisarvam etat raksdiparikarampujddikam ca krtvdjapet, no cetpurvdhna krtva eva raksd di avisarjitam sthitam eva drdham adhimucya... vikdle ca prakdrapan-jarddikam visarjya ras'mimdlinyd kavacam kurydt*.
- 309 GSS5 (Sed p. 132ⁿ, K20V2): *yat tu luyipdddbhisamaye raksdpanjardderanantaram sunyatdbhdvanoktd tad adhimdtraprajnddhikdrdt. tasya sunyataiva para raksa sarvajanasamgrahanai<h>punar atra sunyatabhdvananantaram raksdpanjarddikam uktam. bahusu cdbhisamayem iyam evdnupurvi drsyeta iti. • sunyataiva/ conj.; sunyateva K*. The suggestion that the realization of emptiness is the supreme protection is made elsewhere (Isaacson 1997), e.g., in the *Yogimanohara Pancakramatippani*, ed. Zhongxin Jiang and Toru Tomabechi. 1996. Bern. vol. 23 (p. 13): *tadanuparamdrthesunyataivaparamdrakseti*; also by Ratnakaras'anti, *Muktdvalion* HT1.3.3: *tatra maitryddibhdvanamprathamdraksd, sunyatdbodhir dvityid, trtiydm raksdm repddislokendha*. Cf. SMno (p. 226).
- 310 This translation depends upon the conjectural emendation of *sunyateva* (codd.) > *sunyataiva* (conj.). Without emendation, the text translates: "For him it is said (*iti*) other protection is like emptiness__" The function of *iti* (*rakseti*) is not entirely clear. Perhaps it indicates a citation, for example, from Luyipada's HA.
- 311 In the GSS collection, only two sadhanas apart from the *Vajravaraḥi Sadhana* elaborate upon the cremation grounds: the *Trayodas'atmikavajraddkinisddhana* (GSS16) and the "skeleton arch" practice of Dhyayipada (GSS34). These, and other sources for the cremation grounds, are discussed below in n. 312. It is common, however, for GSS sadhanas to refer in brief to the visualization of the goddess within the cremation grounds, e.g., GSS4⇒GSS29 (K13V1): *vajrikrtabhumau s'masdnstakamadhye*; GSS19 (K83V6): *bhimarupdm masdnnddu bhdvayed yogi mahdkrpah; Tnka.yav!LJTayoffni* sadhanas, e.g., GSS20 (K84V4): *ubhayoryoginyor madhye ntarikse cdtibhaydkulam smasanam bhdvayed*; GSS35 (Kii8r3-4): *dhydnasthdne utpdditoddiydnamahds'masdnnddhimoksah. • oddiydna/ corr.; odiydnamK*; GSS37 (K121V2): *masdnnddu bhdvayedvidhipurvakam*. Cf. other tantric sadhanas, such as SM40 (p. 83): *vajraprkdram vajrapanjarām ca vibhdvya tanmadhyeghoras'masdnām tasya ca madhye raktdstadalakamalam...*; 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 ere-

mation-ground culture pervades the HT, but without mention of the eight cremation grounds as such. For example, in its proto-sadhana (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 yoginis (HTi.3.i6ab): *s'masdne kridate ndtho 'stayoginifbhijpravrtah*. The text later finds a convenient etymology (*nirukthi*) of the word *smas'dna* from the verbal root "to expire" (HTi.3.i6cd): *s'vasatity anayd yuktyd s'mas'dnety abhidhiyate*.

The *locus classicus* for the eight cremation grounds in the Samvara tradition is the SUT (ch. 17, w. 36-45), and it is to this passage that Umapatideva's verses are related. The scripture describes the types of inhabitants by group (eight named cremation grounds, eight trees, eight protectors, etc.). Umapatideva rearranges this grouping slightly and divides the cardinal cremation grounds (w. 70-72) and intermediate cremation grounds (w. 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)/' *Vdrdhyabhyudayantra* (w. 103-9) that mentions colors, animals, corpses, etc., but no individual features or names. An important exegetical work from the Samvara corpus is the *Smasdnavidhi* by Luyipada (in Finot 1934 and Meisezahl 1980). This text allots two verses to each feature (but gives the clouds separately, v. i8ff.), 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 Cakrasamvara exegetical texts in the Tibetan canon: the *Adbhutas'masndnlamkdra* (a subcommentary in the Cakrasamvara collection in bKa' 'gyur, Toh 413, reported in Meisezahl *op. cit.*: 18-21); and the *Smas'dndlamkdratantra* (Toh 402, reported in Meisezahl *op. cit.*: 21-22). These seem to be related to Luyipada's *Smasdnavidhi* since they have many features in common (including the same imprecision in the intermediate directions).

In the GSS collection, the *Trayodasdtmikavajraddkinisddhana* (GSS16, K76V5-770) merely lists the direction and name of each cremation ground (drawing initially on SUT ch. 17 w. 36cd-37ab). The "skeleton arch" practice of Dhyayipada (GSS34) gives a brief description of them as the setting for the skeleton arch (GSS34, Kii2ri) and then supplies a more detailed account as the cremation grounds are internalized by the yogin (Kii3r5) and used as the basis for a series of equations with his psychophysical being, in an internalized, cremation-ground version of the yogic body mandala (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 Samvara-based texts (SUT, the *Adbhutasmasandlamkara*, *Smas'ndlamkdratantra*, and Luyipada's *Smas'dnavidhi*). Tsuda (1974: 292, nn. 1-3) mentions a description of the cremation grounds in the *Laghutantrapindrthavivarana*, in works by Tsong kha pa, and in a *sadhana* 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 *Vajrapradipatippaniof* Suratavajra).

I draw these primary and secondary materials together in the annotations to table 14.

- 313 For birds and animals, see SUT ch. 17, w. 42-43[^] ADUT ch. 9, p. 293; *Smas'dnavidhi* w. 25; Tsuda (SUT p. 293) gives references to them in Bu ston's *Mandalavidhi*. For descriptions of the corpses, see SUT ch. 17, w. 43c-44b, ADUT ch. 9, *Smas'dnavidhi* v. 26, and *Smas'ndlamkdratantra* reported in Meisezahl (1980: 22). For supernatural beings, see SUT w. 44-45 and the *Smas'dnavidhi*, which describes yoginis 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 Samvara texts are also shown in table 14. Of these, only the *Smas'dnavidhi* (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 (*Mandala of Chinnamunda-Vajravrdhipicture* no. 4072, Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leyden, Netherlands); he names the *ksetrapdla*, 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 stupa (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 (Kii2ri): *tatrdyam smas'ndni ddrunam atibhisanam I dikpdlavrksanagendrameghardjasamanvicihndstakasamdyuktah s'mas'dnasya tu lanchanam Itad uktam — mahdhavadvikrte 'tighorepretdngandsamkulabhimasabde I bhutipis'dcis'ivayositddyaih smasdne khalupurvasevd<m> I <dik/ corr.; digK • ndgendrah/ em.; ndgendrah K • samanvitd/ K, understand samanvitam • cihnd/ corr.; cihndK • samdyuktah/ K, understand samdyuktam • lanchanam/ em.; Idnjanam 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 Cakrasamvara tradition; there are many of Heruka-based mandalas, including those of the Hevajra tradition (e.g., mandalas of Hevajra, Nairatma, Buddhakapala, and Vajrahumkara

- 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 Vajravarahi practices.
- 316 See *Abhidharmakos'abhdasya* ch. 3, w. 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, w. 48D-49C; for the lakes, ADK/B ch. 3, w. 510-520. There are seven lakes (literally "cools": *sītḍs*) that separate the mountain ranges, plus the great ocean itself beyond. The interpretation of *sītḍ* 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: 2056°).
- 318 Sanderson (1994 n. 35) demonstrates that the use of the standard seed-syllables (*yam ram vam lam*) in the Buddhist sadhanas corresponds to that of the Vaisnava and Saiva 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. 129°, K17V3): *tatahpurvapranidhndvedhavasdt sunyatdsamddher vyutthdya svacittam evopary upari yamramvamlamparinatadhanustrikonavartu-lacatMrasrdkdranilaraktas'vetapitavarnacalatpatakdnkakotidvayajvd a<tris'ukavajrdrika>mg2konacatustayam. vdyuvahnivamnaksitimandalasvabhd-vam vicintya tadupari sumkdrasamudbhavam caturasram astas'mgam purva-daksinapascimottarapdrs'vesu rupyavaiduryasphatikasuvarnamayam sumerum dhydtvd • astasrngam piirva/ em. astasrngo purvo* K. Cf. SUT ch. 13, w. 9-12; HA (f. 3v); and sadhanas 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 ramkdrendgneyam trikonam raktakonesu repndnkam* (cf. SM95, SM97); the elements may have the seed-syllable and the emblem upon them (as in Kumaracandra's commentary on the KYT *patala* 17 (p. 124); *Vdrdhya-bhyudayantra* w. 35-40; etc).
- 320 Changes to the Abhidharmic model can be observed as early as the yogatantra corpus in the Vairocana sadhana of the *Sarvadurgatiparis'odhana* (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" (*mahodddhih*), and generates the mandala of gold above that from the syllable *kam*. The changes in the yogintantras accord with the cosmic systems described in Saiva and Vaisnava 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 Catuspitha tradition uses quite different syllables: *yum hum sum hum*.

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 *Abhidharmakosa*, 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 *kdmadhdtu*, the *rupadhdtu* (culminating in the Akanistha heaven), and the *driipyadhdtu*.

- 321 Sadhanas 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 *Vajravahni Sadhana*, 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 *Sarvadurgatiparis'odhanatantra* (p. 160); SUT ch. 13, w. 8-9; HA (f. *ii*); GSS5 (Sed p. 129', K17V3); GSS3 (Ki2r5); and GSS12 (Kyiri). 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 Ki2r6: *tadupari*), perhaps "superimposed"? The *dharmodaya* 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: *caturasram caturatnamayam astaspigopasobhitam vicintya*.
- 323 E.g., STTS ch. 6 (p. 56): *sumerugirimurdgni vajramaniratnakutgdre samdjam dgamya*—
- 324 E.g., STTS ch. 6 (p. 63): *caturasram caturdydram catustoranasobhitam...*; *Sarvadurgatiparisodhana* (p. 160), *Ndmamantrdrthdvalokini* (Tribe 1994: 244); cf. GSS16 (K76V2), ADUT (ch. 14, p. 316), and similar descriptions in many other sources, e.g., HTi.10.20; KYT (p. 140); SM54; SM95; SM97; SMno; 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 *visuddhi* of the temple palace with the body of Vairocana, e.g., GSS5 (Sed p. 130", Ki9ri-2): *-savidydvairocandtmakam kutgdram... <bhdvayet>; Hevajrasekaprakriydvairocanasuddhyd kutgdram.. J/SMuo (p. 227): parisuddhabuddhaksetram samksepariipam mahdmoksapuram vairocanasvabhdvam ndndratnamayam kutgdram...* etc. Studies have shown that the traditional Indian temple, based on the intricately conceived *vdstupurusamandala*, is equated with both the cosmos and the

- body (Snodgrass 1985: 104-17). For a brief resume of work on this topic, see Brauen (1997: 73-74).
- 325 Earlier *sadhanas* 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); FLA (f. 3v); *Bhramaharandma Hevajrasddhana* (ed. Isaacson 1997); SM97 (p. 136); SM110 (p. 227); NYA (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 mandala is discussed by Brauen and illustrated with a helpful series of explanatory models (1997 fig. 47 and plates 15–21).
- 327 Another "transitional" GSS *sadhana* is the *Trayodds'dtmikavajraddkinisddhana* (GSS16), which fuses the tradition of the temple palace with the setting of the eight cremation grounds; it is the only GSS *sadhana* to locate the self-generation within the eight cremation grounds and also to endow the goddess with a palace (*vimdnam*) 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 mandalas within the cremation grounds. Cf. commentary on HT1.3.16 (*s'mas'dne kridate ndtho*) in YRM (p. 115): *vajraprdrkdrsv antare ghordstasmasndni tanmadhye kiitgdrodare viharati ndtho hevajrah*.
- 328 Cf. YRM (on HT1.8.3). Its color differs in other Vajrayogini *sadhanas*, in which it may be visualized as red and may rest upon a red sun disk generated from a red syllable *ram*. E.g., GSS35 (K118V3): *rakta-ekdraparinatam lohitavarnam s'arirasvarupam urdhvadharmodayam*; GSS10 (K47V2): *tatra dharmodaydm dhydtvd raktddyaksarasambhavdm*; GSS24 (Kc<or2): *raktahrimkarasambhutam dharmodaydm*.
- 329 The compound *dharmodayd* 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* > *dharmodayd*) (Sanderson 1998: personal communication). However, it also appears as a masculine noun, functioning as a genitive *tatpurusa* compound, *dharmoddyah*.
- 33° The triangular fire pit in the *Gopyahomavidhi* (GSS8) is referred to as "vagina shaped" (K44ri): *bkagdkare vas'yakunde....* As for the letter *e*, see GSS5 (Sed p. I30", Ki9ri): *dharmodaydm ekdrdm uparivis'dldm adhahsuksmdm vicintya*. For its correlation with the female sex organ, see GSSi=2 (K280VI-2): *dharmoddyeti vikhydtam yositdm bhagam ity api*; also cited *Vasantatilakd* ch. 9, v. 2, p. 71. A corrupt passage in the SUT ch. 2, v. 25ab: *dharmodayayonidvdrndm abhimukham bhavati niscitam* 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 (*dvara-*) the vagina that is the source of existents (*dharmodayayonih*)."
"Similar instances are

- cited in the *Bauddhatantrakosa* (p. 20) e.g., *Vimalaprabhd* (p. 39): *e rahasye khadhdtau vd bhage dharmodaye 'mbuje*.
- 331 Sanderson (1999: personal communication) points out that the *dharmoddydis* already present in the root text of the Caryatantra, the *Vairocandbhisambodhi-tantra*, as depicted in the 122-deity mandala based on the scripture in the Ngor mandalas 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: *evam mayds 'rutam ekasmin samaye bhagavdn sarvathatdgata-kdyavdkittahrdayavajrayosidbhagesu vijahdra*.
- 333 For the *dharmodayd* as Sukhavati, see HT2.2.38ab: *vihare 'ham sukhdvatydm; sadvajrayosito bhage*; HT2.2.41a: *yosidbhage sukhdvatydm*; HT2.4.30c-31b: *strikakkolasukhavatydm evamkdrasvarupake I' sukhasya raksandd eva sukhdsabditam*. The YRM (p. 139) states unambiguously: *amitdbhasya tathdgatasya buddhaksetram sukhdvatity ucyate. iha tu nairdmyddindm bhagdni sukhdvat samksepdni, niruttarasukhasya raksandt*. Hence the *dharmodayd* is frequently described in terms of "self-perceived {svasamvedyam, known-in-itself} great bliss" (HTi.8.46b: *svasamvedyam mahat sukham*) and as wisdom and means, viz. buddhahood, HTi.8-49ab: *dharmodayodbhavam jiidnam khasamam sopd-yanvitam*. On Sukhavati as a "generalized religious goal," see Schopen 1977.
- 334 GSS42 (K125V5): *evamkdrasamsine sahajdnandarupini I prajndjndne ca dehasthe namas te vajrayogini 11 • prajndjndne ca dehasthe\ em.; prajndjndnadehastho K prajndjndne ca dehdgre C*. Cf. GSS17 (K82r5—6): *ekdramadhye vamkdram*; and the related *sadhana* GSS45 (K139V2): *prathamam tdvadevamkdramadhye...*; and citations in *Bauddkatantrakosa* (p. 20). Note that in the Hevajta tradition, *evam* designates innate bliss (*sahajdnandah*), the summation of four types of sexual activity that are equated with four tantric initiations. For example, HT2.3.2~4b: "The union (*samvaram*) of all the buddhas is grounded in the sound *evam*. Correctly produced through [the four] consecration [s], *evam* is great bliss... the syllable *e*, which is divine, is adorned with *vam* in the center." *samvaram sarvabuddhdndm evam-kdre pratisthitam* [cf. SUT ch. 3, v. 17] *I abhisekdjjndyate samyagevam-kdram mahat sukham 12... e-kdrdkniyad divyam madhye vamkdrrabhusitam*. Ratnaraksita's *Panjikd* on the SUT also explains *evam* with reference to the fourth *abhiseka* (Tsuda 1974: 246 n. 2); Kanha's commentary upon the HT (YRM pp. 103-4) identifies *e* as vagina (*bhagah*), and *vam* as penis (*kulis'ah*). In one Tibetan exegetical tradition, mKhas grub rje (pp. 333-36) describes three types of *evam* stating that the inseparability of bliss (*vam*) and void (*e*) is the principal subject matter of the highest tantras.
- 335 Introduction to Adhikara IV, *Ndmamantrdrthdvalokini* by Vilasavajra (Tribe 1994): *samvaragrahanapurvakam bodhicittam utpddyapancdkdrdbhisambodhim bhdvayed anena kramena*. See Tribe 1997: 122.
- 336 See Kanha commenting on HTi.8.4b-8b in YRM (p. 115): *yogasarirampunar atrapancdkdrdbhisambodhih*; and Vajragarbha's *Hevajrapanjikatd*. Sanderson

1994, n. 57 (ff. 47v–48r): *ādarśasamatājñānapratyavekṣaṇakam kramāt / teṣām aikyam anuṣṭhānam bimbaṇiṣpattihetuḥ / dharmadhātur idaṃ proktaṃ pañcamam jñānam uttamam / pañcākārābhisambuddhaṃ hevajraṃ dvibhujam bhāvayet.*

- 337 The *vajracatuṣka* comprise: (1) awareness of emptiness (*śūnyatābodhiḥ*), (2) producing the seed-syllable (*bijaśaṃgrahaḥ*), (3) concentrating the seed (*bijaniṣpattiḥ*), 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 *ahaṃkāra*. 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, Buddhaguhya, 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 raktapaṃkārājāṣṭadalakamalakarnikāyām avidyāndhakāravidhamanaviśuddhyā sūryamaṇḍale dviguṇālīpariṇatādarśajñānasvabhāvacandraḍaḍhadadhayalopeta-dviguṇakālīpariṇatasamatājñānasvabhāvasūryayor melāpakamahāsukhaṃ samputamadhye raktapaṃkārājajavajramuṣṭyāntargatabhānustha<vaṃ?>bijam pratyavekṣāṇasvabhāvaṃ tannirmītarasminā spharitvā daśadikṣu bhagavatyākāreṇa sattvārthaṃ kṛtvā punas tatraiva saṃharaṇam kṛtyānuṣṭhāna<m>. etat sarva<m> pariṇāmeṇātmanam bhagavatīm vajravārāhīm suviśuddhajñānasvabhāvaṃ ... bhāvayet. • upalakṣayed] N; upaleyaḍ K.*

- 339 Note that in contrast to the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* (which directs the yogin to visualize the red lotus inside the *dharmodayā*), the *Abhisamayamañjari* 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): *sthitāliś candrarūpeṇa kālirūpeṇa bhāskarah; cf. Saṃputod-bhavanāntara 3.3.5ff. In the GSS, see GSS12 (K71r3): tanmadhye paṃkāra-pariṇatam viśvapadmam. tasyopari hūṃkārapariṇatam viśvavajram. tadvaraṭake*

- ālikāliyyogam...*; GSS7 (K40r4): *tadantar ālikāliḥ syād madhye vaṃkārabbhūṣitam*; GSS16 (K77r5–6): *madhye... ālipariṇāmena candramaṇḍalam. kālipariṇāmena sūryamaṇḍalam. hāṃvvaṃpariṇāmena mukulitavajram*; GSS33 (K107v1–2): *ātmānam adhimucyāṣu kuryāt sahasasādhanaṃ | vajropamasamādhinā kālyāli-samputaṃ kuru*. Other sādhanā texts contain lengthy descriptions of the process; e.g., SM67 (p. 139), the sādhanā of Cakrasaṃvara translated by Beyer (1978: 112), and Sanderson (1994, n. 57) cites Tathāgatarakṣita's *Yoginisaṃcāranibandha*, where only the moon disk appears (NAK ms. No. 5–22/vi *Samcāratantrapāñjikā* 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): *dvātriṃsallakṣaṇāśītyanuvyañjanātmakam prabham...*; cf. SM95 (p. 190), etc.
- 341 For the revolving vowels and consonants, see the sādhanā of Cakrasaṃvara (Dawa Samdup 1919: 88) and ADUT 6.3 cited Sanderson *op.cit.* (NVMP Reel no. E 695/3): *tanmadhye ālikālidvigunīkṛtvānulomaviloma<ṃ> hūṃkārothi-taṃ vā vajrasattvayogena suratasukhodbhūtaśriherukātmānam bhāvayet. • hūṃ-kārothitaṃ* 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 *Muktāvali* 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* (*paricchedasukham*), and (4) the bliss of the innumerable yoginis 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 prajñopāyasvabhāvayoḥ candrasūryayoh, tanmadhye mahāsukhasvabhāvaṃ bijam uktam • svabhāvayoḥ* em. Sanderson; *svabhāvaṃ ca* Snellgrove.
- 344 For descriptions of the seed/emblem, see GSS3 (K12v2–3): *tadvaraṭake ālikālipariṇātacandrasūryasaṃputamadhyaḥ raktavajrāntargataṃ raktavaṃkārāṃ prakṛtiprabhāsvaram paśyet*; GSS12 (K71r3): *tanmadhye paṃkārāpariṇātaṃ viśva-padmaṃ. tasyopari hūṃkārapariṇātaṃ viśvavajram. tadvaraṭake ālikāliyyogam. tanmadhye vaṃkārāṃ tatpariṇātā bhagavatī vajravārāhī raktavarṇā*, GSS38 (K122v1–2): *sitahriḥkārājapañcaśūkaḥ vajreṇa nīṣpannāṃ vajravārāhiṃ • hriḥ* Kpc; (*hūṃ*)*hriḥ* K(del).
- 345 Cf. SM6 (p. 26): *tato nīścarad anekaraśmīśatasahasraṃ dhyātvā tena sarva-sattvānāṃ aśeṣānādikālasaṃcitāṃ rāgādiklēśasamūhaṃ sattvānāṃ viśodhyante*; SM66 (p. 133): *punaś ca guhyaṃ paramaṃ pavitraṃ | bijākṣaraṃ prakṣarad-aṇīśujālam | bandhūkapuṣpadyutasannikāśaṃ | vācāṃ prapañcaprasarataikahetuṃ...*

SM67 (p. 140): *tato bijākṣarān niḥsr̥tya rāśmibhir pañcagatikasattvān āman-trayet... āmantritaśaḍgatikasattvān bijākṣare praveśya...* The “expansion and contraction” of rays is a common term, e.g., SM56 (pp. 116, 118): *spharaṇasam-haraṇākāreṇa*; SM58 (p. 122): *sphuraṇasamharaṇam ca dhyāyāt*.

346 SUT (ed. Tsuda 1974), *Utpattinirdeśapaṭala* (ch. 2, vv. 12c.–20): *sāmagrīm na labhate tāvat saptāham antarābhve tiṣṭhati / 12bc / kathamcit karmasūtreṇa śaḍgatiś ca prajāyate / 13 / mātrpitṛādisamyogā ikṣayed bhavajanminah / atinir-bharam ānandam mukhamārge praveśyate / 14 / aśvārohaṇavaj jñānam vāyu-vāhanarūḍhavad / śighratarām samāgatya muhūrtakṣaṇamātrakam / 15 / dvāsapatisahasraṇ ca nāḍīḥ saṃcodya tatksaṇam / paramānanda saṃprāptam ālikāli dravikṛtam / 16 / śukraśoṇitayor madhye bindurūpeṇa tiṣṭhati / prathamam kalalākāram arbudaṇ ca dvitīyakam / 17 / tṛtiye peṣito jātaṇ caturtham ghanam eva ca / vāyunā preryamāṇaṇ ca māṃsākāravat bhavet / 18 / pañcamāsagatam bijam pañcasphoṭaḥ prajāyate / keśaromanakhācīhnam saptamāsena jāyate / 19 / indriyāṇi ca rūpāṇi vyajyante cāṣṭamāsataḥ / saṃpūrṇam navamāsena cetanaḥ daśamāsataḥ / 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 *Bhramaharaṇāma Hevajrasādhana* (Isaacson 1997: 5): *tasyānandina āsyena dvihohkāravidarbhitaṃ / 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 *aṃ* and *hūṃ*, preceded and followed by *hoḥ*, and that he then enters into the mouth of the Hevajra generated in the *pañcākārābhisaṃbodhi* 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 spharaṇasam-haraṇātmakam devatādehaṃ nirmāṇakāyasvabhāvaṃ jñātveti śeṣaḥ...ata eva dharmaśaṃbhogadvāreṇa kūṭāgārasthitadevatābhīḥ saṃbhujyamānatvāt saṃbhogakāya ity ucyate*; also, “The Body of Transformation in the state of radiating the deities is like the state of begetting sons and so on” (*Amṇāyamañjari* cited Beyer 1978: 126). On the conventionality of the *saṃbhoga* 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 Dharmakaya. But the Emanation-Body, the 'constructed-Buddha' that is taught in the Paramitanaya, 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 Dharmakaya, in the Paramitanaya [the Enjoyment-Body] is ordinary/conventional simply (*eva*) because it enjoys the Dharma" (cited Sanderson *op. cit.*). *Abhayapaddhati* (f. 6r2): *iha tv asau dharmakdyavas'ena vineydnurodhato herukddirupena tathdtathdnirmitena nirmdnakdya ucyate. yas tu nirmitabuddho nirmdnakdyahpdramitdnaye kathya so 'trdpi tadvad eva nirmitatvdc ca. satyapi dharmakdyanirmitatve sambhogakdyasya pdramitdnaye prthaktvam dbarmasambhogdd eva. • nirmitatvdc] em.* Sanderson; *nirmitatvdc*vas. Cf. YRM (on HT1.1.5): *nirmdnakdyah samayasattvas'abdenbhidhiyate.*

349 The reflexive pronoun is usually supplied, e.g., GSS34 (K112V3): *mahddevim dtmdnam adhimuncayet.*

350 SM25 (p. 62): *etadanantarampratibhsamdrakam svakdyam avalokya.*

351 Cakrasamvara is described, for example, in SUT ch. 13, w. 22C-24, and NYA, *Samvaramandala* p. 26.

352 Naropa's connection with Vajravarahi/Vajrayogini is described in his Tibetan life story (Guenther 1963: 24). Rhie and Thurman (1991: 261) refer to three Vajradakini forms, which are said to have been revealed to Indrabhuti, Maitripa, and Naropa. These three masters are all associated with separate lineages in the Tibetan tantric tradition, according to an analysis of nine Samvara schools by Tibetan commentator Ngag dbang rigs 'dzin rnam rgyal rdo rje, namely the three main lineages of Luyipada, Ghantapada, and Krsna/Kanhapa, plus the lesser-known methods of Prabhutacandra, Kambala, Nagarjuna, Indrabhuti, Maitripada, and Trinetra (L. Chandra in Dawa-Samdup 1919: 9).

A sadhana of this form of Vajravarahi is found in the *Rin 'byung brgya rtsa*, in which she is called "Naro's Dakini" (*Na 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 sadhana (*ibid.*) differs from our Sanskrit description in the following ways: Naro-Dakini holds in her right hand either a "knife marked with a vajra, or a *damaru* 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 *ndga-xxtt* flowers," and her garland is of dried skulls; she wears only five signs of observance. The mantra given is: *om om om sarva-buddhaddkinye, vajravdrnnaniye, vajravairocaniye, hum hum hum phat phat phat svdhd* (*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 (K8or4): *raktapadmacandrsanasthdm*; GSS20 (K84r5): *vikasita-*

s'uklavarnapadmam bhdvayet. tatropari atiraktavamam suryamandalam bhdvayet; GSS2 (K11r4): *vdme padmabhdjanam sitavarnam asrkapilnam, etc.*

- 355 The Saiva symbolism of the three eyes is as follows: "Spontaneously, I realize [my] three eyes as the three circles [in the earthly sphere of the cakras], whose form is the three luminaries: the sun, the moon and fire" (translation by Khanna 1986 of the *Subhagodayavdsandhy* Sivananda, v. 11): *somasuryakrsdn-vdtma tejas tritayarupam I netratrayam bhdvaydmi vrttatdtritayam anjasd.*
- 356 E.g., GSS5 (Sed p. 131¹⁶, K19V6): *mithydrstiprahndnddvikrtakdnandm caturmd-ravinds'and damstrotkatabhissandm*; GSS17 (K82V2): *damstrdkardlavadandm*; the goddess is also described as only "slightly fanged" GSS16 (K8or5): *isaddam-sp'dkardlinim*; GSS4 (K13V3): *damstrdkardlavadandm trinetrmd vikrtndandm*; GSS45 (K139V4): *caladvartulatrinetrmd bhrubhangabhrkutini<m>*; see GSS17 (K82V2): *raktavartulacalatpracandanayandm..atibhimarupdm*; GSS19 (K83V4): *ugrd<m>...caladvartularaktatrinetrmd*; although also with a lustful or compassionate expression, GSS7 (K40r5): *trinetrmd ca madanotkatd*; GSS5 (Sed p. 131¹⁶, K19V6): *kdyavdkittavis'tiddhakrpdraktanetratraydm*. For Samvara, see SUT ch. 13, v. 21a: *vikrtndanam*; NYA p. 26: *-damsttavakro, etc.*
- 357 Buddhist tantric sources follow Saiva 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]." *Siddhayoges'varimata* (6.i9cd-28): *vdmm daksinam evdtra daksinam cottaram smrtam*. ed. Torzsok 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 sadhana of Naro-Dakini (Willson and Brauen 2000: 258) notes that she holds in her right hand either a "knife marked with a vajra, or a damaru dangling from a vajra."
- 359 GSS5 (Sed p. 131¹⁶, K19V2): *vajravdrdhim...samarasibhutapancajndnavisud-dhydrunavajradhardm*; SM218 (p. ^i%): *...arunapancasilcivajramdhydtvd*. In contrast, Luyipada prescribes a vajra with a single point (GSS2 K11r4): *daksine ekasukavajram*. In sadhanas of the tantric goddess Mariel, both types of vajra are prescribed, illustrating that they are classed as different attributes, e.g., SM138 (*vajram*); SM143 (*ekasucivajram*); SM134 (both *vajra* and *sueta*); SM140 (both *visvavajram* and *ekasucivajram*). 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): *daksine tarjanivajram*. In the GSS, see; GSS3 (Ki2v): *vajravdrdhim...dvi-bhujdm daksinena vajratarjanikdkardm • kardm* em., *karam* K; GSS5 (K19V2): *bhagavatim vajravdrdhim...satyadvayavisuddhyd bhujadvaydm daksinena*

- prasṛtordhvatārjanikayā duṣṭatārjanikayā duṣṭatārjanapareṇa samarasābhūta-pañcājñānaviśuddhyāruṇavajradharāṇi*. • *bhujadvayāṃ*] codd. (understand *bāhuvrihi*); GSS6 (K39v6): *vajrollālanatārjanyā* <ṃ>; SM218 (p. 428): *vilasattripatākōjjivalasavyakarapallavasthitapūrvokta* [= *aruṇapañcasūcikavajra*] *vajreṇa ajñānapuruṣasya bhayānuvidhāyiniṃ*.
- 360 E.g., GSS35 (K119r1): *vāmakarakalitordhvanabhastalavilasatkapālaviniviṣṭadṛṣṭiṃ*.
- 361 NYĀ (p. 26.9): *vajravārāhī tu... āliṅganakaradhṛtakapālāgalitarajodhārāyā prabhūṃ pāyayanti prasṛtordhvaḥbhujatārjanāikavajreṇa 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): *vāmabhujē ca kapālaṃ duṣṭamārā-dyaśṛkṣpūrnadhārā*; SUT ch. 13, v. 24c: *duṣṭamārādyaśṛgdharā*; SM218 (p. 428): *caturmārāśṛgāpūrnāpadmabhājanam*. 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 *Saptadaśātmakahevajraṃḍala*) ascribes each attendant goddess a skull bowl containing animate creatures ranging from a turtle swimming in the blood (*sakūrmaraḥkapūrnakapāla*) 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-śūkasitadāṇḍānugataśuṣkaśārdraśiroviśvavajrakanakakalaśamūlavinirgatarāṇatsū-ṣmaghaṇṭikānvitaviśvapatākāvīrājītopāyavabhāvabāhudaṇḍāsaktakeḥaṭvāṅga* <ṃ> *mahāsukhamahākaraṇārasasamayāśṛkṣpūrnakapālaṃ ca bibhṛatīm* • *śārdra*] SM218 (p. 428); *śārdraṃ* 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 *keḥaṭvāṅga* with just two skulls

(rather than three), see the six attendant goddesses to the Khara Khoto Vajravarahi (*ibid.*: *phte* 93). A staff with only one human head is held by Raktayamari (*ibid.*: plate 107). Beer (1999: 2.53-58, with plates 115-16) discusses and illustrates the variations.

- 365 SP 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: *s'uskamundatraya*]. It has a *vis'vavajra* 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 *vis'vavajra-whh* 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): *khatvṅgam devatdmurtihprajna damarukal-pitam I khandakapḍḍayah sarve s'ariradhdtukalpita*. Cf. K. Gyatso 1999:126.
- 367 E.g., GSS2 (Kiir4-5): *dlikḍlimundamdldmudritdm*; and GSS5 (Sed p. 132', K2or2-3): *dlikḍlipancds'adaksarasvabhvdym grathitasdrdranaras'iromdlinim*. For the dripping garland on Heruka forms, see SUT ch. 13, v. 2id: *s'atdrdhanaras'iravibhusitam*; YRM on HT2-5.9a (p. 152): *mundeti sdrdramundamdld*, the Mahamaya sadhanas (SM240, SM242, SM244), etc. For the same on the lone Vajravarahi goddess, see GSS12 (K7K5): *s'atdrdhanaras'iromdldpralambitd*; GSS3=GSS3i (K12V5): *sdrdramundamdldlamkrtagdtrdm*. On twelve-armed Marici, the dried skulls of the chaplet are distinguished from the dripping heads of the garland, SM139 (p. 185): *s'uskapancamundamdldmaulikdm viganamundamdldpralambitakandhardm*.
- 368 E.g., NYA (p. 26): *nirakatvena s'uskanaras'iromdlini* (see *Sacred Art of Tibet* plates 68, 69, 70). This is not a rule since Nairatma, consort to Hevajra, also wears the bloody garland of heads (NYA 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 Mahakala Brahmanarupa 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): *nupurair mekhaldhbhis ca keyurair vajraldnchitaiḥ*; SM245 (p. 475): *nardsthi kundalinam*.
- VJ E.g., *Cakrasamvarapanjikā* (f. 6v): *avayave kṛtam lingam sḍ mudrd*. Cf. the *Caryāvatāddnavidhi* cited by Sanderson (1994 n. 69), and mentioned n. 381.
- 372- GSS5 (Sed p. 131", K2on, Nnv, Di3r2): *cakrikundalakanthirucakakhanddnkamekhaldkbyapancamudrddhardm. - kanthikdrucakakundaldni s'iromanivibhilsitdm Iyajnopavitam bhasmeti mudrdsatkam prakiritam — iti. mandalandyikḍtvena sanmudritdm ity eke. • kanthiḥ K; kantbi N, D • khanddiikaḥ K, N, Dpc; kha(dvṅga) D(mg) • mekhaldkhyā em.; mekhaldkhydh codd. • kanthikd-^*

- vibhūṣitām*] codd.; Understand “*kaṇṭhikārucakakunḍalaśiromaṇivibhūṣitām*” (the text is corrupt and unmetrical; but the sense is clear). • *yajñopavītaṃ*] D; *yajñopavītinam* K, N • *ṣaṭkaṃ*] K, N; *ṣaḍkaṃ* D • *ṣaṇmudritām*] corr.; *ṣaḍmudritām* K, N; *ṣaṇmudritām* D). Cf. GSS7 (K40v2): *ṣaṇmudrāmudritā devī khaṇḍamaṇḍitamekhalā | keyūranūpurābhyāṃ ca yathāsthānaṃ 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 *Cakrasaṃvaratantra-pañjikā* (f. 18v): *pañca mudrā<ḥ> rucakaśiromaṇikunḍalakaṇṭhikāyajñopavītāḥ*; Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara in NYĀ (p. 54): *pañcabuddharatnakirīṭi*; and Vajrasattva/Mañjuvajra in NYĀ (p. 2); and SM250, which equates the six mudrās with the six perfections (p. 489): *kaṇṭhikā rucakaṃ ratna<m> kunḍalam bhasma sūtraka | ṣaḍ vai pāramitā etā mudrārūpeṇa yojitāḥ*.
- 374 This is described in the *Caryāvrataḍānavidhi* from the *Kriyāsamuccaya* (cited Sanderson 1994: n. 69), in which the ornaments are said to symbolize Akṣobhya (chaplet), Amitābha (earrings), Ratnasambhava (necklace), Śāśvata=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 kunḍalātmaḥ | ratneśaḥ kaṇṭhamālāyāṃ haste vairocanaḥ smṛtaḥ | mekhalāyāṃ 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 Dvibhūja Heruka SM245 (p. 475): *śirasy akṣobhyātmakanaraśirogṛhaṭitacakridharaṃ karṇe amitābhātmakanarāsthikunḍalinam kaṇṭhe ratnasambhavātmakakaṇṭhikāyuktam haste vairocanaṭmakarucakadharaṃ kaṭyām amoghasiddhyātmakamekhalāyuktam*.
- 375 ADUT ch. 14 (p. 322): *evam vicintya ātmānam ākṣepamantrarakṣitam brahmacaryam sadā bhuñjēt*. 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): *lalāṭordhvapañcakapālāmālī vāmavarttitārḍhacandraviśvavajrākṛāntakṛṣṇajātāmukutaḥ*. Vajrasattva/Vajradhara in the *Śrīsampuṭatantra* troktavajrasattvamaṇḍala has black twisted locks (*jaṭājūṭa*) beneath a double vajra with a jewel in it (*nivīṣṭa*), 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 nivīṣṭamaṇivīśvakulīśāḍ adho vāmavalayitārḍhasudhāṃśupañcabuddhamukutaḥ lalāṭopari pañcakaroṭakacarikunḍalakaṇṭhīrucakamekhalābhasmavibhūṣitas...*; Navātmakaheruka (*ibid.*: p. 20): *lalāṭopari niḥstabdhitapañcamuṇḍamaṇḍitaḥ pañcabuddhamukutī*; SUT ch. 13, v. 20: *kapālamālālamkṛtasekharām ardhacandravibhūṣitam | viśvavajrāṅkitam mūrdhni kulādhipatimastakam*.
- 377 Cf. GSS5 (Sed p. 132⁹, K20r6): *vajrāvalidvayamadyikṛtapañcatathāgātāmaka-kapālamālābaddhatrīśikhām, viśvānugrāhakatvena viśvavajrākṛāntamaulīm*; GSS6 (K39r6): *kapālamālāmukutām*; GSS7 (K40v2): *lalāṭe vajramālāsyāḥ |*

kapdlamaldmukutyah pancamudrdvibhusitdh; GSS16 (K77V3): *pancabuddhamukutinim*. E.g., GSS35 (Kii8v6-ii9r): *vairocanamukutini*.

- 378 For Vajravarahi's loose hair, see GSS6 (K39r6: *kes'avicchuritd*), commonly expressed *muktakuntalalaldpd-*. 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., Ksemendra *Kaldvildsa* ch. 7.3: *muktakesakakalapdh*).
- 379 The tied-up locks form a "crown" (*mukutahlm*), which Monier-Williams (1899) states may be crescent shaped at the top, pointed (*kiritam*, *s'ikhā*), or three-pointed (*maulih*, *trisulajata*); e.g., ten-armed Marīcī in SM13Z (p. 274): *ndndratnavira-citatrikhdUmkrtajatdmukutim*. The hair clasp, perhaps originally a piece of bone, appears in *sadhana* visualizations in various ways, including a double vajra, a half-crescent moon (famously, the attribute of Siva), and a head jewel, e.g., GSS4 (K13V2-3): *muktakesa<m>... vis'vavajradhardm miirdhni vajrakapdlamldds'obhitdm*; GSS7 (K4or6): *vis'vavajrdrikacandrndkd kapdlamukutotkatd*; HT2.5.9C: *vis'vavajradharam murdhni*. An elaborate clasp contained within an open lotus is illustrated in *Sacred Art of Tibet* plate 102.
- 380 E.g., *Muktdvalion* HTi.6.nd (f.i7r): *hasta iti prakosthagata<m>rucakam*.
- 381 GSS37 (K121V4): *hdrdrdhahdrakinkinijdUkhandamanditamekhaldmldlisanmudropetdm*. • *kirikini* em.; *kinkinim* K; cf. GSS5 (Sed p. 132^o, K20V6): *mekhaldsardvaghughurddvibhusitd*; cf. SUT ch. 13, v. 22d. Exegetical works distinguish different types of girdle, depending upon the number of loops they contain. See the *Carydvrataddnavidhi* 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 *rasand* 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=GSS3i (K12V5-6): *sravadrudhiram*; GSS5 (Sed p. 132^o, K20r5): *rajayogdt sravantim*; GSS12 (K7ir6): *kalpdgnivan mahdtejsravanti rudhirapriyd*; GSS16 (K8or6): *sravanti<m> rudhirapriydm*; SUT ch. 13 (v. 23d): *sravanti rudhirapriyd*. For the goddess menstruating while in embrace with Cakrasamvara, see NYA (p. 26): *rajahsvald*. In contrast, Tsuda (1974: 284 n. 3) notes that the ADUT suggests "dribbling blood from the mouth, and fond of blood" ch. 7: *khraḡ la dgyes shing zhal nas 'dzag* (vol. 2, 48-5-7) and ch. 9: *zhal khraḡ 'dzag cing khraḡ 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" (*s'rrigdrarasah*) is commonplace in descriptions of yoginītantra deities, cf. Halahala-Lokesvara in SM27 (p. 65): *srngdrarasasundara*, and tantric forms of Manjus'ri, e.g., SM59, SM60 (p. 124): *mahdsrngaramurti*, SM61, SM62, SM63 (p. 128): *mahdrdgas'rngdrarasojjvalam*.

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): *raudrahāsyāśṛṅgāravirabhibhatsalehānanam*, and Hevajra in *Bhramaharanāma Hevajrasādhana* (p. 7): *śṛṅgāravirabhibhatsaraudrahāsyabhayānakaiḥ karuṇād-bhutaśāntaiś ca navanātyarasair yutam*.

- 384 See GSS5 (Sed p. 131¹⁰, K19v2–3): *mahārāgaviśuddhyā dāḍimikusumasam-kāśām*; GSS10 (K47r3): *nijalāvanyabhūṣitām*; GSS23 (K88v1): *sārdrasusnig-dharūpām... īśaddhasantiṃ romāñcakañcukitām*; GSS16 describes her retinue in a similar fashion (K78r3): *digvāsā muktakeśā<h> pīnastanoruyugālā divyarūpā manoramā<h> kiñcidvikirtānanā<h> kaṭākṣekṣaṇacañcalā<h>*; cf. NYĀ (p. 26): *rajaḥśvalā romāñcakañcukitā*; HT2.5.7cd *mahārāgānūrāgeṇa sahañānandasvarūpataḥ* | ...*ratidvandvasamāpannam nairātmyā saha samyutam*. For the goddess in union, see SM251, e.g., (p. 492): *paramānanda-vihvalā bhāvya*, etc.

- 385 GSS5 (Sed p. 132⁵, K20r3): *śūnyatāliḍhajāgacchūcakatvena vāmapādam ākuñ-cya dakṣiṇapañcavitastiprasāraṇād āliḍhenā • chūcakatvena* [Kpc; *chūkaratvenā* Kac • *pādam*] 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): *pañcavitastitī ṣaṣṭhyāṅgulam* (cited Sanderson 1994). Cf. GSS25 (K91r5ff.): *prasāritadakṣiṇapādā ākuñcitavāmacaraṇā*.

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): *bhānusthabhairavakālarātryāv āliḍhacaraṇābhyām 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., Svachchandaḥbhairava in the *Svachchandatantra* 2.88c–94b; Bhairava in *Netrat Tantra* 10.1–6b). The Buddhists' Bhairava is closer in scale to those of the cycle of eight Bhairavas *Śivadīpaśrāddha* (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 adhoḥṛdayordhvamukhaṃ bhaṭārikā<m> nirīkṣayantaṃ sthitam kartrikapālādhyataprathamabhujadvayaṃ vyāghracarma-pariḍhānam. aparabhujābhyām ḍamarutśiśūladharaṃ trinetraṃ vikarālāśyaṃ nila<m> pīṅgalakeśaṃ sitakapālamuṇḍamaṇḍitam. • kartrikapālādhyatā* em.; *kartrikapālam dhṛtaṃ* K • *āśyaṃ*] em.; *āśyām* K.

- 388 GSS2 (K11r2): *carcikā<m> raktā<m>*. GSS texts are otherwise silent on the iconography of Kālarātri, and her representation in Tibetan art is variable. Plates 10f and 11 show a two-armed form of Kālarātri, 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 *ekavira* Samvara (Pal 1975: plate 64a, b), which vividly depicts a writhing Bhairava and an emaciated Kalaratri/Camunda holding a trident, a vajra chopper, a skull bowl, and another implement (? damaged).
- 389 GSS35 prescribes the visualization of Brahma, Indra, Visnu, and Siva, symbolizing the four Maras (KII8V6): *dlidhacarandkrntacatuhklesavisuddhabrahmendraharihardm*. Cf. HT2.5.8C *caturmdrasamdkrdntam*; and SM3 (pp. 19-20). For the equation of Mahes'vara/Rudra with Mara, see Davidson (1991: 216) and Mayer (1996: 122, 1998). Sometimes, however, Vajravarahl subdues only a single, unnamed corpse representing ignorance (e.g., plates 1 and 3 and Khara Khoto Vajravarahl 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. Hiltebeitel 1989, W. Doniger O'Flaherty 1975, and others.
- 392 This is followed by the conversion of the gods of the three worlds, Narayana (= Visnu), Sanatkumara (= Skandha), Brahma, and Indra, and the deities of intermediate space, space, earth, and hell, all of whom receive new names. The lesser evils (*dustakrodhas*, dakinis, illnesses, hells, and calamities) are converted or thrown into the sea, while for humans, the mandala of victory over the three worlds (*trilokavijayamandala*) 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 *Trailokyavijayamahdkalparaja* and *Vajras'ekharamahdyogatantra*. He then shows how the myth takes a more violent turn in the *Candragubya-manitilakamahdtantrardja* and in the *Guhyagarbhatattvaviniscaya* (= *Guhyagarbhatantra*/**Guhyakos'atantra*). Another eighth-century text that shares the theme of subjugation is the *Sawabuddhasamdyogaddkinijldlasamvara* (discussed by Sanderson 1995). Its pantheon is similar to that in the **Gubhyagarbhal Guhyakosa*, and it also represents Heruka subduing the Brahmanical gods and taking their wives as his consorts.
- 394 Sanskrit originals dealing with the Cakrasamvara-based myth are scant. Stein (Annuaire 1973: 468) has noted the existence in the Tibetan canon of translations of (unspecified) Sanskrit commentaries by Indrabhuti, Vajra, and Naropa, 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 Naropa'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 *Cakrasamvaratantra* (Kalff 1979: 67ft), admittedly relying on Sanskrit authors, including Bhavabhata. 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.: 209ft.) 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 Saiva text, the *Haracaritacintamani* of Jayadratha. Sanderson (1994, 1995) describes how, in this account of the Puranic 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 Siva, and so the teacher of the gods, Brhaspati, cleverly sets about undermining their adherence to Saivism, 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, Brahma, Visnu, Rudra, Isvara, Sadas'iva, and Bhairava, will be portrayed as his parasol bearers, and the Buddhist idols will be shown standing on the heads of Ganapati and other high Saiva 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 Siva." Brhaspati does not stop here but devises the cunning scheme of culling mantras from Saiva tantras, and even lifting passages out of Saiva scriptures with which to "propagate a system of [Buddhist] tantric ritual." He would also attack the demons on the meta-physical front: "My liberation will be a 'voidness' calculated to undermine their faith in their Saiva rituals...and I shall deny the existence of the Supreme Lord by arguing that there is no self." In this way Brhaspati 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 Saivas respond in kind with the terrible form of Kali "Destroyer of the Buddhas" (*Sugatasamhtrini*), whose ornaments are created from the dismembered parts of Buddhist deities (cited Sanderson 1994 n. 72 from *Jayadrathaydmala*, *satka* 2 21.9-14).

- 396 The scriptural source for Umapatideva may be the SUT, which concludes the generation of Samvara's thirteenfold mandala in ch. 13 with "two armorings (referring to Cakrasamvara and Vajravara in union) and the subsequent infusion of the knowledge circle, (v. 34): *tatah kavacadvayam jndtvd jdnacakram vibhdvayet*. Another scriptural source is the YSCT, which describes the double armoring (*kavacadvaya*) in ch. 7 (as cited in textual note to §6), and the "*cakrdkarsanam*" in ch. 8. This is the method that informs Luyipada's HA (f. nv): *tatah kavacadvayam krtvd jdnacakram vibhdvayet. samayacakre pravesya* and thus also the *Abhisamayamanjari* 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 ankuṣayogena jñānacakraṃ tu-m-ākaraṣayed 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 śīraḥśikhe'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): *śīraḥ 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. bhrūṇhūmkhaṇāṇhāmhaṇkārair āyatanāni saṃśodhya vārāhiyāminimohanīsaṃcālīnīsaṃtrāsīnicāṇḍikānāṃ ṣaṇṇām devīnāṃ mantraiḥ svasvadevatāvan nairātmyena kavacayet. oṃ vaṃ nābhau. hām yom hṛdi. hṛim moṃ vaktre. hreṃ hrīm mūrḍhi. huṃ huṃ śikhāyām. phaṭ phaṭ sarvāṅgeṣu astre. athavā mantradevatayor abhedāt † tattan † manasi niṣpannās teṣu teṣu sthāneṣu <tat>taddevatā eva bhāvīyāḥ. tatra vārāhi<m> raktanīlaharitamukhi<m>, vāme kapālākhaṭvāṅga-pāśa<dharām> dakṣiṇe ankuṣābrahmamuṇḍakartribibhrāṇām <draṣṭavyā?>. yāmanimohanīsaṃcālīnīsaṃtrāsīnicāṇḍikā nīlasitapīṭaharitatadhūmrādhiśaravarnāś caṭurbbhujāḥ sakapālākhaṭvāṅgās ca vāme ḍamarukartrikā dadhānāḥ, sarvās ca muktakeśyo nagnās trinetṛā āliḍhāsanaṣṭhā draṣṭavyāḥ.*

• *lūyīpādoktaṃ kavacaṃ* em.; *lūyīpādoktaḥ kavacaṃ* K; *lūyīpādoktara-kṣākavacaṃ* Sed p. 134 • *hāmhaṃ* em.; *hāmhaṃ* K • *haritā* em.; *haritā* K • *ankuṣābrahma=ca vāme* K(mg). • *bibhrāṇām draṣṭavyā* conj.; *bibhrāṇām* K •

- dhūsara*] em.; *dhūsara* K • *sakapālakhaṭvāṅgāḥ*] *sakapālakhaṭvāṅgāṃ 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* (Yāminī) and *hūṃ hūṃ* (Saṃtrāsinī). Both the Tibetan sādhanā and the “conferral” are rather different from the Sanskrit texts. The former includes the self-visualization of Vajravārāhī with Vajrasattva as consort.
- 401 See GSS5 (Sed p. 134¹⁻², K21v6) cited above; GSS3 (K13r3): *tataḥ bhrūṃhūṃ-khaṃāḥhāṃkārair āyatanāni śodhayet. śaḍdevatīśuddhair mantrapadair bhagavatīm kavacayet*; GSS16 (K8ov3): *tata āyatanam viśodhayet. omhūṃkhaṃ-āṃhāṃham. cakṣuḥśrotraghrāṇajihvāḥkāyamanā<ṃsi> śaḍdevatīmantreṇa kavacayet. kāyavākcittapathesu om āḥ hūṃ iti sthāpayet • tata*] corr.; *tato* K • *śaḍdevatī*] corr.; *śaḍdevatī* K; SM251 (p. 462): *jñānasattvahr̥dbijam dhyātvā loṃ māṃ pām tām kham ityebhiḥ pañca dhātūn adhitiṣṭhet, omāḥbhriḥhohhūṃbhriḥkāraiḥ 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 Alakakalāśa on the *Yoginisamcāratanaṭṭikā* (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: *pañcaskandhādyahāṃkāraṃ 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 *visuddhi* 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 Sadhanamala no. 3.*

<i>Purification</i>	<i>Syllable</i>	<i>Site</i>	<i>Emblem</i>	<i>Color</i>
body	om	head/forehead	wheel	white
speech	ah	throat	lotus	red
mind	hum	heart	vajra	black

- 405 *Tantrdrthdvatdra* by Buddhaguhya translated from Tibetan (Toh 2501, 7b ff.) by Lessing and Wayman (1978: pp. 234–35, 3°)– 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" (*samayah* = convention) of the form. I prefer to translate it "pledge being" (*samayah* = pledge), the form created by the "pledge-holding" initiate (*samayin*). The samaya is the sadhaka's pledge of postinitiatory observances.
- 406 This set dates from at least the yogatantras, e.g., *Sarvadurgatiparisodhanatantra* (19b; 21b) and STTS ch. 6, cited Snellgrove (1987: 216). For the four syllables in yogintantra texts, see GSS3≡GSS3i (Ki3r2): *tadanu bhagavatthrdbijanirgataras'mi<bhi>r jahkdrena jdnacakram dntya humkdrena samayacakre jale jalam ivapraves'ya vamkdrena bandhanam hohkdrena tosanam kurydt • tad anu* em., *tadagra K • samayacakre* conj.; *svasamayacakre K*; GSS5 (Sed p. 134°, K22r4): *tato hmadhyavartiraktdstaaakpadmasthitabhdnumandalopari raktavajravarata-kdnMrgataravisthavambijaras'mibhirdas'adigvartisawaviraviresvaripari jdnacakram jahkdrendkrsya tannirgatavinddisodas'adevibhir arghddipurahsaram pujayitvd phemkdrandditapdthapurvakam jvlddmudrdm baddhvd laldte vmdm-vartena bhrdmayet. humkdrena samayacakre jale jalam iva pravesya vamkdrena bandhayitvd hohkdrena samtosya om yogaiuddhdh sarvadharmdyogas'uddho 'ham itipathet. • hrnmadhyd* corr.; *hrtamadhya YL' ravisthavambijaras'mibhir* em.; *ravistham bimbijaras'mir K • sodas'adevibhir* corr. *sodas'o devibhir K • jvlddmudrdm* em.; *jlddmudrdm K*. Cf. *Hevajrasekaprakriy*(p. §). *jah hum vam hoh yathdkramam gauricaurivettldighasmaribhi rajomandale dkananam pravesanam bandhanam tosanam caksurddyadhishthnam kurydt*; etc. mKhas grub rje (pp. 235–49) discusses the four syllables as the "four seas" and describes the different ways of fusing them according to whether the mandala 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); HA (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 Vajrasana sadhanas, e.g., SM3 (p. 21), which includes offerings, nectar tasting, and *stutk*; SM4 (p. 23): *tato hrdbija<ras'mi>samdkrstajndnasattvam arghyapddyddindndvidhapujd-santarpanastutiprandmapurvakam samayasattvena sahaikikrtya*; also the Khasarpana sadhanas, e.g., SM15 (p. 45) in which *jah hum vam hoh* is placed inside a *vandandmantra*; SM24 prescribes *bdhya* and *guhya* offerings with praise verses and the four syllables with mudras (p. 60): *bhavantam jndnasattvdmakam arcayet*.
- 409 For deities in union, gratifying (*tosanam*) may consist of the rays issuing from their lovemaking (*anurdganam*); e.g., AD UT ch. 9 (p. 321): *pravesya baddhvd tu samtosya anurdenayogatah*. 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; *Cakrasamvarasddhana* in Beyer 1973:114.
- 410 This tradition seems to be based in the yogatantra scriptures, e.g., the *Sarvadurgatiparisodhanatantra* 19b; 21b: *jah hum vam hohpravartayet. yathdsthdnesu dksyapravesya baddhvd vas'ikurydt*; and in generating the Vajradhatu mandala in the STTS ch. 1, w. 7-8: *jah hum vam hoh... I tato buddhddayah sarvamahd-sattvah samagratah I dkrstd supravistds ca badhvdymyanti tadvasam*, a passage translated by Snellgrove (1987: 216; see also 223). The tradition also appears widely in the yoginitantra strata, e.g. in Ratnakaras'anti's *Bhramaharandma Hevajrasddhana* (p. 10): *jah hum vam hoh ityebhiryathdkramam dkarsana-praves'anabandhanavas'ikarandni krtvd samayajndnamandalayor ekalolibhdva-vibhdvya*; SM110 (p. 230): *om vajrdrnkus'i dkarsaya jah, om vajrapds'i pravesaya hum, om vajrasphota bandhaya vam, om vajrdvese vasikuru hoh*; SM226 (p. 441): *jah hum vam hoh vajrdrnkus'ddiyogena dksya praves'ya baddhvd vas'an nayet. vas'an/* em.; *vasan* ed. The same "yoga of the vajra hook" is described in the AD UT (ch. 9, p. 287; cf. ch. 14, p. 321). See Snellgrove (1987: 235-40) on "The Power of Coercion."
- 411 Manjus'ri-related texts may have been influential to the formation of the notion of a *jndnasattva* because of Manjus'ri's association with wisdom. Thus, Vilasavajra's root text refers to the deity Manjus'rijnanasattva; the text describes itself as the "*Ndmasamgiti* of the Knowledge Being Mafijus'ri, who is the knowledge body (*jndnakdya*) of all the Tathagatas" (Tribe 1997:115, with n. 31). Although Vilasavajra shows no acquaintance with a mature *sattva* theory, he was familiar with the term *jndnasattva* (e.g., ch. 4, v. 27; Tribe 1994), and elements of the later theory are also present in his sadhana (Tribe 1997:116—17).

The appearance of the *samayasattva* and *jndnasattva* 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 *Paramddya* and *Vajras'ekhara*, rather than the root yogatantra, the *Sarvatathdgata-tattvasamgraha*. Mention of the *samayasattva* appears in the *Sarvadurgatiparisodhanatantra* (19b) where it is described in terms that are associated in our texts with the *jndnasattva*, namely, the drawing down of deities into the heart mandala with rays, a process that, however, is said to complete the *samayamandala*.

The Mafijus'ri sadhanas of the *Sddhanamdld* 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 *Vddirdd-Manjusri-sddhana* SM51 (p. 107), which describes itself as following the kriyatantra, the seed-syllable is placed on the heart of the self-generated deity; in the *Vddirdd-Mahjusrisddhana* SM54 (p. in) accredited to the *Mahjusrikalpa*, the self-visualized god is said to have a knowledge body (*jndnadeham*) as a result of a five-colored seed-syllable *mum* (an early equivalent of the five awakenings). In the SM56 *Arapacana-Manjus'risddhana* (pp. 117-18) there is still no series of awakenings, but Mafijus'ri arises having "the knowledge essence of all tathagatas" (*sarvatathdgatajndnasvarupa*) and with the ego of the pledge being (*samayasattvdhamkdravdn*). Then *am* 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 *jndnasattva* (p. 122): *tato ndyakahrdbijavinirgatdms'v-dkrstajndnasattvena sahaikatdm ca cakram ca sighram bhramet*. The *Vajranga-Manjusrisddhana* SM59 (showing more higher tannic influences) again incorporates the *jndnasattva* within a yogic practice (p. 122): *bijebhyah sphdrayed ras'min ucebvdsendtha ras'mibhih I nihs'vdsaughair jndnasattvam bijesv dkrasya samharet I visramya jndnasattvdyabijakasphdrasamhni I svdsasya sthiradhih kurydt nirga-magamayoh kramdt*. In the following sadhanas, the wisdom being is unified with the self-generated Manjusri just as in the VajrayoginI sadhanas, SM60 (p. 124): *tatah jndnasattvenaikikrtya om manjughosa hrihjah iti mantram japet*; SM65 (p. 132): *samayasattvdbhinnasvarupam jndnasattvam dnayantim vibhadvayet*.

The letter *A* is widely regarded as the "source" or "essence." In the yogatantras, as Mafijus'ri is born from *A*, the syllable is hailed as *dharmadhtu*, *mahaksara*, the "vajra womb of the buddhas," etc. (Tribe 1994 citing *Aryamanjusri-ndmasamgiti* and its subcommentaries; see Tribe 1997: 123). Cf. the string of qualifications awarded the syllable in the *Ndmamantrdrthdvalokini*, ch. 4 (ed. Tribe 1994; commentary below v. 27): *taddhrdaye candramandalam vibhdya tadupari prajndpdramitdsvabhdvam sarvajndjndnodayakdranam sarvasrdvakapratyekabuddhdndm utpattibhutam sarvamahdbhodhisattvndm punyajndnasambhadrabhutam paramdrthdksaram sarvdksardndm kdranabhutam akdram vinyaset*. In yogottara exegesis, the letter *A* appears at the heart of the buddhas in the illustrious company of *om* and *ah* (*Pancakrama* 1.42: *akdroddesa-kam jndnam buddhasya hrdayam bhavet*) and is awarded the etymology from *anutpannatvdt* (*Pancakramatippani*: ms. F, f. 8a.i, *ibid*: p. 95*): *akdroddes'akam jndnam ityddy anutpannatvdt sarvadharmndm*. Cf. GSS26 (K93r2), HT1.2.1, and HT2.4., iff.

In Candrakirti's P U, the *samddhisattva* is again an aniconic, mantric entity (ch. 10, p. 92; ch. 11, pp. 98-99, 115). See also GST12 w. 46-47 (in Wayman 1977: 32). Dr. Isaacson (unpublished 1996b) cites many Samaja exegetes on this subject.

- 413 Dr. Isaacson (*ibid.*) also notes that the supposedly early *Hevajraprakṣa* by Rahulagupta has traces of both the twofold division of the yoginītantras (*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 *Abhisamayamanjari*, the deities of the consecration appear at exactly the same moment that the yogin draws down the knowledge circle (Sed p. 134¹⁶, GSS5 K22V1): *jñānacakṛd-karsanasamakḍlam 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, *devatdbhiseka-patalaḥ*) without a prior summoning of the knowledge deity.
- 415 HT1.4: *devatdbhisekapatalam*. Cf. Mahayana-style sadhanas, e.g., SM25 (p. 63): *tathdgatdn sphdrydbhisincet dtmdnam mauldy amitabhamudranam cintayet*. The attendance of women singing and dancing at a bathing ceremony is, of course, a classical Indian motif, e.g., in the *Kumdrasambhava* (ch. 7.iocd), where women bathe Uma with water poured out from golden pots to the accompaniment of musical instruments.
- 416 E.g., Advaya-vajra's *Saptakṣarasaddhana* SM251 (p. 493). The goddesses also appear as agents in some other Cakrasamvara texts, e.g., SM250 (p. 489): *satcakravartiacakrasthadevivrndakarasthitaiḥ I pañcāmndravdpurnaiḥ kapdlair abhisecayet*; ADUT ch. 14 (p. 321): *jāḥ hum vāḥ hoh prayendkrśya pravesya baddhvd vaś 'ikṛtya ca. virayoginibhir gaganatalam paripurnam drstvd jñānd-mbundmrtakalāś 'agrhitahastdbhiḥ sincet*. Cf. ch. 9 (p. 287); also SM36 (pp. 81-82): *nāndnirmdnadhrinyo vajrayoginyo 'bhisekamprayacchanti*; and SM67 (p. 140), in which the consecration of Siddhaikavira comprises his bathing by *pūjḍdevh* emanated for that purpose, to the accompaniment of dancing and singing.
- 417 *Abhisamayamanjari* (Sed p. 134¹⁶, GSS5 K22VI continued from n. 406): *jñānacakṛd-karsanasamakḍlam evdkṛstdbhir vajravildsinibhir jñānamaydmrtapurnakapd Udamarudhṛdrinibhi- <r> hṛdbijanirgatavinddevipujitdbhi- <r> -yathd hi jdtamdtrena sndpitdh sarvatathdgatds I tathdham sndpayisydmi suddham divyena vdrineti -pathantibhir isaddvarjitavdmakarakapdlanipatitajñāndmrtadhrdbhir abhisicyamdnām mahdsukham dtmdnam vicintya s'esdmbunispanndr tathdgatdn sirasi vibhḍvya — om sarvatathdgatdbhisekasamayās 'riye hum — ity adhitisthet. tatra bhagavatydḥ kulesah sirasi vairocanaḥ. ddkinyyddindm ratnasambhavaḥ. cittavdkkdyagatdnām yathdsamkhyam aksobhydmitdbhasdsvatdh. samayacakrasthndm amoghasiddhiḥ. • jñānamaydmrtaj corr. (or jñāndmrtaj); jñānaramṛta Kac; jñāna(mayajmṛta K(mg2) * suddham divyena] K (see Textual Note to v. 271) * kapdlanipatita] corr.; kapdlanipatata K * kulesah] em.; kules'dh K * dmitdbhā] em.; dmitdbhd 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 yoginis/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 *Abhisamayamanjari* cited in n. 417. Cf. SM218 (p- 4*9)-

- 419 The use of this mantra referring to "all tathagatas" in Umapatideva's text is somewhat incongruous, as he deals with the consecration of the solo deity, Vajravaraḥ, presided over by Vairocana. It makes more sense when it appears in the *Abhisamayamanjari* (cited n. 417) in which the water of consecration is understood to produce all five tathagatas as the seal; these are then allocated as presiding buddhas to the goddesses in different parts of the mandala.
- 420 On the purificatory function of the consecrations, Dr. Isaacson (1996b) notes that in the VA, Abhayakaragupta states that the five consecrations (*vidydbhisekas*) plus the "Garland Consecration as the sixth" counteract ignorance (VA B f. 73r): *ete mdlodakddayah sad abhisekd avidydvipahayogyatdpddandd vidydbhiseka ucyate*; see also YRM on HT 1.4 (p. 115): *abhiseko jndndmbubhih savdsanasarvydvaranaksdlandrtham*. Elsewhere the consecration liquid is imagined transforming into the buddhas of hate, slander, envy, craving, ignorance (and the dharmadhatu 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. I: 95, n. 1), and Bontor (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 (*kalas'dbhisekah*) after the vessel bestowing the empowerment, or the knowledge consecration (*vidydbhisekah*), either because of its association with wisdom (*vidya*) 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 (*udakdbhisekah*), the head jewel consecration (*mukutdbhisekah*), the vajra consecration (*vajrdbhisekah*), the bell consecration (*ghantdbhisekah*), and the name consecration (*ndmdbhisekah*). 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 (*dcdrydbhisekah*) within them (for example Abhayakaragupta, who gives an account of the various systems in his VA [ms. "B" f. 8iv]; Kuladatta, as implied in his *Kriydsamgrahapanjikd* Cambridge [f. 106v]; Kumaracandra in his *Ratndvalipanjikd* to the KYT [Sed p.

100]; the unknown author of the *Hevajrasekaprakriyd*; and Advayavajra in his *Advayavajrasamgraha* [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 (*dearydbhisekah*), or as the irreversible consecration (*avaivarydbhisekah*) 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 (*kalas'a*"), secret (*guhya*"), wisdom (*prajnd*"), 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." Dharmakirti explains the first of these (the vase or teacher consecration) as follows (Snellgrove's translation HT vol. 11959: 95, n. 1):

"The first is called Jar consecration (*kalas'dbhiseka*) or the Master's consecration (*dcdrydbhiseka*). 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 [*vidydbhiseka*] because it overthrows ignorance and arouses an awareness of the five spheres of knowledge (*pancavidyadjndna*)."

- 422 E.g., SM251 (p. 493): *abhisekam anundthayet bhagavantah sarvatathdgatd abhisekam dadantu me iti*; cf. HT1.4, *Hevajrasekaprakriyd*, etc. The consecration verse supplied by Umapatideva (v. 270 would normally provide the "reply" to the request.
- 423 Direct references to the *utpattikrama* in the GSS are found in GSS6 (K39rj); *utpattikramayogendtmabhdvayet* and GSS23 (K87ri): *lokes'varena bhagavatoddista utpattikramasddhana*<h>. The six *arigas* are treated in some depth in the final commentarial-style work of the GSS, the *Ddkiniguhyasamaya-sddhana* GSS46 (K143V ff.). They are: (1) withdrawal [of the senses] (*pratydhdrah*), (2) *dhydna-medhiLUon*, (3) breath-control (*prndndymah*), (4) concentration of the mind (joined with retention of the breath) (*dhdrand*), (5) recollection (*anusmrthi*), and (6) *samddhi-mtdinaxion*. Apart from their early exposition in the *Sadangayoga-ndma* (Peking Tibetan Tripitaka vol. 85), they are widely expounded in Sanskrit and Tibetan texts, e.g., in yogottara works such as the PU commentary to the *Guhyasamdjatantra* (PU p. n6ff. on GST ch. 12, w. 60-64), in which Candraldrti cites and comments on the six yogas as given in the "Uttaratantra" portion GST ch. 18, v. 137 and w. 140-54 (also edited and translated by Wayman 1977: 38-50). Kalacakra texts dealing with the system include Naropa's *Sekoddesatika* from the *Sekoddesa* portion of the *Kllacakra-tantra* (see Orofino 1994), the main commentary on the root *tantra*, the *Vimala-prabhdikt* by Pundarika, and the *Gundbharani ndma Sadangayogatippani* by Ravisrijfiana (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 sahaṣaṃ jagat sarvaṃ*) with Ratnākaraśānti's gloss: *sahaṣajena buddhatvena yogāt sahaṣaṃ jagat sarvaṃ*, cited by Isaacson (2001: 471 n. 96). For a full discussion of the origin and development of the term *sahaṣa*, 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): *idānim utpattikramaṃ nirdiṣya dvitīyam utpannakramaṃ prastotum āha krametyādi. kramaḥ prakāraḥ. kasya kramaḥ? samādhēḥ. candracihnabijādipariṇāmena devatākāraṇisattir utpattiḥ. sā yasmin samādhāv asti sa utpattikramaḥ. utpannam svābhāvikaṃ eva rūpam. tad eva tattvarūpeṇādhimucyate bhāvīyate 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” (*jhaṭitākāram*). However, many *sādhana*s seemingly of “generation” type also refer to “*jhaṭiti*,” e.g., see GSS1=GSS2 (K280r2): *jhaṭiti tato nābhimaṇḍale...devīm bhāvayet yogavit sadā*; also GSS1 (K280r6–v1): *jhaṭitākārayogātmā yogi sidhyati nānyathā*; GSS5 (Sed p. 133¹⁹, K21v5): *tā devyā bhagavatīṇisattisamakālam eva jhaṭiti nispannā draṣṭavyāḥ*; GSS22 (K86r3); GSS16 (K80v2); GSS35 (K119v3); cf. HĀ (f. 11r.5–6). For its mention in the ADUT, see Tsuda's citations (1974: 244).

426 GST 18.84 (Samājottara 84) edited by Isaacson: *kramadvayam upāśrītya vajrīṇaṃ dharmadeśanā / kramaṃ autpattikaṃ caiva kramam autpannakam tathā*. (Cf. HT1.8.24b–25.) Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* 24.8: *dve satye samupāśrītya buddhānāṃ 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 *Nāḍīcakrakramopāyapaṭala* (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 kalāpāñcadaśātmakāḥ*; 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. hṛtkaṇṭhayaoniṣu yathākramam*; or of cakras

at the sex organ, heart, throat, and head (HT2.4.51ff.): *dharmasambhoganirmāṇam mahāsukhaṃ tathaiva ca / yonihṛtkañṭhamasteṣu trayāḥ kāyā vyavasthitāḥ*; cf. *Bhramaharanāma Hevajrasādhana* (p. 8): *kañṭhahṛdbbhagamasteṣu catuṣcakraṃ 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 nābhikamalastharavisomasamputāntargatavaṃbijamṇālatantvākārāsmirekhāyām cittasthirikaranadvāreṇa prāṇāpānāyora nāḍīdvayavāhāparihārān madhyamāpraveśe jvalitayā cāṇḍālyā drāvitasya śiraḥśaśinaś cakravayāptikrameṇānandādibhedāt sahaḥjodaye sakalavikalpasamhārāt sakṛd vā maṇḍalacakrasyānupalambhaḥ krameṇa vā śūnyatāntarbhāvaḥ. • asamarthas] corr.; asamarthaḥ K.*

429 I am paraphrasing GSS5 cont. (Sed p. 136⁴, K23v3, N14r5): *tatrāyaṃ kramaḥ jagat śmaśāneṣu, śmaśānāni bāhyacakre, bāhyacakraṃ kāyacakre, kāyacakraṃ vākcakre, vākcakraṃ cittacakraṃ, cittacakraṃ diggataḍākinyādiṣu, ḍākinyādiś ca mahāsukhacakraḥ jagatā bhagavatimukhe, bhagavatyaśanāmbhojaṃ bhānau, bhānuṃ bhairave, bhairavaṃ kālarātryāṃ, kālarātri <m> khaṭvāṅge, khaṭvāṅgaṃ bhagavatyaṃ, bhagavatim nābhikamale, nābhikamalaṃ ravisomasampute, <ravisoma>-samputaṃ vakāre, vakāraṃ ardhacandre, ardhacandraṃ bindau, binduṃ nāde 'ntarbhāvya... [paśyet].*

• *cittacakraṃ*] em.; *cittacakrasya* K, N • *diggataḍākinyādiṣu*] N; *diggataḍākinyādiṣu* K • *ḍākinyādiś*] N, (*vidiggatā****diṣu*) *ḍākinyādiś* K(mg2)

430 GSS5 cont. (Sed p. 136¹⁰, K23v6, N14v1): *nādam tam api vālāgrasatasahasrabhāgarūpaṃ paśyet, adhimātras tu tam api nopalabhate. jñānacakraṣvabhāvatayāpi bhagavatyaḥ prabhāsvare praveśaḥ. evaṃ bhūyo bhūyaḥ praviśed uttiṣṭhet <ca>. tad uktam—śvāsavāto yathādarśe layaṃ gacchati sarvataḥ | bhūtakoṭim tathā yogi praviśet ca muhur muhuḥ | punaḥ punaḥ praveśavyutthānaiś ca satyadvayābhinnanīṣpannayuganaddhasamādhiṃ yogi sāṅśātkaṛotiti.*

• *nādam*] em.; (*nāda*) K(mg2) • *nopalabhate*] em. Isaacson; *nopalabhyate* K • *svabhāvatayāpi*] em.; *svabhāvayātāpi* K

431 GSS5 (Sed p. 136¹⁶, K24r2, N14v3): *khede sati nābhisarojasthavambije cittam niveśya vakṣyamāṇahṛdayopahṛdayamantrayor yathābhilāṣam anyatarasyoccāraṇasamayam eva tadbijānādān nirgamavāyūnā pañca cakrāṇi saṃsphārya jagadarthaṃ kārayitvā vāyoḥ praveśasamaye mālāsūtrākaraṇānyāyena mantrēṇa saha tasmīn eva praveśayet. vakṣyamāṇapratyekadevīmantrajāpārthinaṃ tu pratyekadevatāmanthroccāraṇasamāptau pratyekaspharaṇasamharaṇaṃ pūrvavat kartavyam. athavā tad eva <bijaṃ> pūrvavad uttiṣṭhantīm avadhūtiṣvartmanā mukhān niḥsrtya padme svasthānaṃ gatvā tathaiva bhramantīm akṣaramālāṃ bhāvayan hṛdayopahṛdayor anyataram vakṣyamāṇamālāmantraṃ vā jayet.*

athavā tad eva <bijaṃ> pariveṣṭya sthitā<ṃ> pradīpamālām iva mantramālām ālokeyan adrutam avilambitam asatsaṃkalpavarjitam iti.

• *mālāsūtrā*] em.; *mālāśrṭā* 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 K119r4): *evaṃ vicintya mantram japet. hṛdayasthasūryasthāruṇākārāt śvāsanirgamaṇa tatsvarūpāṇy akṣarāṇi nirgatāni, śvāsapraveśe svaguhyena praveśyāvadhūtyām akāre lināni. karmabhedato 'kṣaravarṇabhedah. tadanu khede prabhāsvare višet. tatra nābhīmadhye 'vadhūtisūre śukranakṣatravad ujjvalam akāraṃ, dipaval lohitam bindum vā bhāvayet. evaṃ cīratarābhyāsād uđiyate jñānaṃ...* (K119v3) *sarvadharmānupalambhaṃ sambhāvayet.*

• *hṛdayastha*] em.; *hṛdaya(sthā)* K(del) • *gamaṇa*] em.; *gameṇa* K • *praveśyā*] em.; *praviśyā* K • *sūre*] corr.; *śūre* 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 *kūrmapatana* Vajrayoginī (GSS36). The thirteen-syllabled heart mantra appears for the same two-armed, warrior-stance manifestation of Vajravārāhī (GSS5), for *ūrdhvapāda* 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 *hum/hūm* 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 (*hūm*) 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 (*hum*). 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 (*mantroddhārah*) 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 Indie forms, primarily Pali *-iyd* and Prakrit *-la*. (Details are given in Wackernagel's *Altindische Grammatik* band 3 §83-96.) Edgerton records that *-lye* may indicate the instrumental (10.91), ablative (10.93), genitive (10.94), *d locative (10.95) °f -zand *-I* stems, but, significantly, cites *-lye* only as the dative of *-i* stems. However, he states that *-lye* is extremely common in some manuscripts (10.90) and seems to suggest that *-iy^* is interchangeable with *-lyai* (10.131). Mantric syntax is generally fluid. For example, many mantras may include the salutation *namah* but without supplying a dative inflexion, as in Vajravahā's mantra here. (Cf. the eightfold mantra in GSS11 §32).

- 433 Gtsang smyon Heruka. (1995:138). For the mantra "as" the deity, see GSS5 (Sed p. 134', K22r2): *athavd mantradevatayor abheddt...*; cf. Kumaracandra on KYT p. 117. The same understanding of the mantra is found in other nondual tantric traditions, as in the Saiva Trika tradition noted by Khanna (1986: 225) from the *Gandharvatantra* (11, 54b): *svam mantratanur bhutvddvml mantramaylm yajet*.
- 434 For the proper manner of reciting a mantra, see GSS5 (Sed p. 150', K35r3): *drutddidosarahita<m> mantram japet*; v. 43ab: *dyutajdpaspastenadirghanndena cdrund*, KYT ch. 12 v. 7: *na drutam na vilambitam na ca hrasvam na dlrgghakam I na kincic chriiyate mantram japam dno narottamah*; SMi (p. 10): *tatah... jdpam abhyasan yathdbhilasitam mantram na drutam na vilambitam asatsamkalpavarjitam mantrksaragatacittam tdvaj japetydvan na khedo bhav* SM29 (p. 72): *antarjalpam atispastam na drutam na vilambitam Iyathdsukham japam krtvd...*; SM172 (p. 349): *...na mdtrdhlam...*; etc. mKhasgrub rjegives 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 *anusvra*, or the *visarga*" (citing *Subdhupariprcchdantra*, T oh 805). In one Avalokitesvara-based *dbdranl* (SM41), the mantra is to be recited with 108 beans in the mouth (p. 87): *somagrahe silryagrahe vdpancagavyenapraksdlya astottara-satamdsdn mukhe praksipyta tdvaj japet ydvan na mukto bhavati*. Cf. Tharchin 1997: 222.
- 435 For the promise of siddhi in six months, see GSS23 (appendix), also GSS10 v. 140 (K52V6): *yathdsvsaldhbho bhaven mdse satmdse vdnchitam phalam I rddhi-siddhir bhavedabde vasydkrstipunabsard • dktipunabsard* conj.; *dkrstihpunabsard* codd.; SM71 (p. 143): *manjuvajrahamkdrenotthdya tathaiva vihareditī. sanmdsena vdgisvaratdm dsddayati*; SM7 (p. 30); SM28 (p. 70); SM80 (p. 156), etc. The nature of such guarantees is pan-tantric, e.g., *Siddhayogesvarlmata* i2.iocd-nab: *kavitvam mdsamdtrena salankaramanoharam.. sadbhir mdsaihv svayam kartd sdstrdnmd jdyate tu sah* (edition supplied by Judit Torzsok 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 Abhayakaragupta's *Homavidhi* (VA SP fif. n6r-n8r). On the eight siddhis, see e.g., SM172 (p. 350), SM221 (p. 434), *Vasantatilakd* (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 sarvakarmāvaranākṣayārthaṃ sarvatathāgatāhṛdayaṃ śatākṣaram tenaiva vidhinā aṣṭasahasraṃ japet. saddharmadūṣaṇānantaryādikāṃ karmāvaranāṃ prahīyate*, but with a rider that the sādhaḥa must believe himself able to do so (pp. 12–13): *yathokte nāhaṃ śakta iti nāvasāditavyam*; cf. SM8 (p. 30): *pañcānantaryakārīṇo '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 saṃhared iti yathāsukhaṃ vihartavyaṃ sarvārthaṃ siddhyati*; GSS3 (K13r5): *trisaṃdhyāṃ balipūrvakaṃ bhagavatīm bhāvayet. viharan bhagavatirūpeṇa sarvadā vihareṭ*; GSS5 (Sed p. 145⁸, K30v5): *sarvaṃ kṛtvā yathāsukhaṃ vihareṭ iti*; (K35r4): *pūjādikāṃ kṛtvā yathāsukhaṃ vihareṭ*; GSS38 (K123r1): *tanmūrtyā vihareṭ saṃdhyāntare 'py evam*); etc. Cf. SM218 (p. 430): *saṃdhyāntare 'pi bhaṭiti devyākāraṃ 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 *Mahāmāyā-sādhana* by Ratnākaraśānti (SM238 p. 464). Cf. SM218 (p. 430).

439 On the midnight juncture, see GSS5 (Sed p. 145¹⁰, K30v5): *ardharātrasaṃdhyāyāṃ madhyāhnaśaṃdhyāvat sarvaṃ kṛtvā...prabhāsvaraṃ 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 *Abhisamayamañjari* 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): *sarvās 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 prācyādīdikṣu vāmāvartena vahnyādividikṣu dakṣiṇāvartena nyāsaḥ • vahnyādī* conj. *caḥvādi* ed. Bhattacharyya.
- 442 For the contents of the skull bowls, see GSS3 (K13r1): *vidigdaleṣu catvāri bodhicittādiṣṭhāni kapālāni vicintayet*; GSS7 with ornamental stands (K40v5): *āgneyādicatuḥkoṇe bodhicittādiḥhājanam / kalaśopari vinyastaṃ śaṃkhakunden-dusannibham*; GSS5 (Sed p. 132²⁰, K20v6): *āgneyādividigdaleṣu dakṣiṇāvartena bodhicittena rajasā pañcāmrtaiḥ pañcapradīpaiḥ siddharasavadamṛtibhūtaiḥ pūrṇāni catvāri padmabhājanāni bhāvyaṇi*; cf. NYĀ *Samvara Maṇḍala* (p. 26): *vidigdaleṣu bodhicittena rajasā pañcāmrtaiḥ pañcapradīpaiḥ ca siddharasavadamṛtibhūtaiḥ pūrṇāni abjabbhājanāni, catvāry api pañcāmṛtapūrṇāni vā*.
- 443 For the eightfold mantra associated with praise, see GSS35 (K120r1): ... *balim dadyāt. aṣṭapadamantreṇa stutvā prañidhānam vidhāya puṇyam pariṇāmayet*... (K120r6): *aṣṭapadamantreṇa sarvatra stutiḥ*; GSS5 (Sed p. 146⁸, K31v5): *tad anu hṛdayādyāṣṭapadamāntrastutipūrvakaṃ yathāhvartitastutibhiḥ saṃstutya yathāśakti pāpadeśanādikāṃ dhyānamāntrajāpaprāṇidhānādikāṃ ca vidhāya*. This is based on the same usage in YSCT (Af.7v6) and HĀ (f15v). Cf. K. Gyatso 1997: 132–37.
- 444 GSS7 (K43v4): *praṇavaṃ nāmasamyuktaṃ huṃhuṃphaṭkārasamyutam • huṃhuṃ* 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) Vajravārāhi appears in the reverse warrior stance; and GSS5 describes a fivefold maṇḍala “from Oḍḍiyāna,” with Vajravārāhi in *ūrdhvaṇḍa* 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 Vajravārāhi as its presiding goddess but Vajrayogini. 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 *Siddhayogēśvarimata*). For classes of female consort, see SUT ch. 9 *Chomāpiṭhasaṃketabhūminirdeśapaṭala*; ch. 31 *Caturyoginīnirdeśacatuścakraṃkramabodhicittasaṃkramaṇapaṭala*; ADUT ch. 39 *Yoginīlakṣaṇapaṭala* (pp. 376ff.); ch. 40 *Ḍākinīlakṣaṇapaṭala* (pp. 385ff.), ch. 41 *Lāmālakṣaṇapaṭala* (pp. 390ff.), ch. 42 *Anīgamudrālakṣaṇapaṭala* (pp. 397ff.). Other yoginītantra

- sources that deal with this subject include the HT and its commentaries, e.g., HT i.6.8-9 ("*vajrakanyd*"), HT 1.7 (with Snellgrove's quotations from its commentaries, p. 66); HT 2.2.1-2, HT 2.5.4-5, etc.
- 447 The *Cakrasamvaratantra* (chs. 2 and 3) contains several references to the four goddesses, but with Dakini and Lama always as a class of females, e.g., 3.15: *ddkinyo yogamdtardh, ddkinyo Idmayas caiva khandarohd tu rupini* (draft edition by Professor Sanderson based on Oriental Institute, MS University, Baroda, Acc. no. 13290: "Herukavidhanatamtra," ff. 2v-3r). Cf. ADUT ch. 40 (p. 385): [Dakini] *vajravdrdhikulodbhutd*; ch. 41 (p. 391): *vdrdhindm tu Idmdndm etad bhavati laksanam*. For Surangamavajra's commentary, see Kalff 1979: 252, n. I.
- 448 Umapatideva 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, w. 29-33 "d HA (f. 8r4). The iconographical schema generally echoes that of the SUT in which, however, the goddesses hold a chopper rather than a damaru (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 *Mahdbhdrata*, in the *Sdvitryupdkhydna*, 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 Yamantaka, "stopper of death," with a new iconography. The latter's main forms are Raktayamari, Krsnayamari, and Vajrabhairava Yamantaka (*Sacred Art of Tibet* pp. 283-89, with plates).
- 451 This set of gate goddesses is similar to that of the Heruka-Hevajra mandala, in which Simhasya replaces Kakasya, e.g., Hevajra and Nairatma mandalas NYA (pp. 14 and 16).
- 452 For other references to the outer goddesses in the "*samayacakra*," see GSS5 (Sed p. 135, K22V5): *samayacakrasthdndm amoghasiddhi*; NYA (p. 28); ADUT ch. 9 (pp. 289-90): *samayacakravis'uddhi*, and Surangamavajra's commentary to the ADUT (see ch. 14, Kalff 1979: 217 n.i). (Note that Kalff's translation p. 180 needs revision.) For the association of the petal goddesses and the "knowledge" level of the mandala, see ADUT ch. 9 (p. 288): *jndnapadmavisuddhi*; also ch. 9 (p. 290): *jndnaddkiriyyogena vis'vapadmddimadhyatah*. Here, the site goddesses of the *cittacakra* are also called *vajraddkinh* (as they are surrounded by ring of vajras) and the *vdkcakra* site goddesses *padmaddkinis* (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" (*samayacakra*).

- 453 "Circle of great bliss" may be a reference to the blissful conception of the goddess in the sequence of awakenings within the *dharmodaya*, a synonym for vagina or womb. A "body of great bliss" (*mahdsukhakadya*) is also applied to a fourth buddha body, whose transcendent status may be reflected by the centrality of the *mahdsukhacakra* in the mandala. The yogic system of body cakras also designates the head cakra as the *mahdsukhacakra*, but the fact that the terms coincide is probably incidental, as none of the other levels of the mandala 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 mandala. 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 K2in and Sed p. 142² K28r4). The first instance (GSS5 K2in: *tadbahir...*) comes after the description of the fivefold mandala and describes the next level of the complete mandala, namely, the site goddesses on the three cakras that "have the nature of (*svabhdvesu*) the sites. Here, there is no mention of the site goddesses as generic groups within the cosmos, as in GSS11 (*khecarindm samgrahah* etc.). The next instance (GSS5 K28r4) is in the context of the body mandala (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 mandala. 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 khecari...; vdkcakrasya bhucari...; kdyacakrasyapdtldavdsini...* 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. 142², K28r6): *...cittacakrasya khecari. anaydsvargagatndm samgrahah. ... vdkcakre bhucari. anayd martyndm samgrahah... kdyacakre pdtldavdsini. anaydpdtldagatndm samgrahah. • cittacakrasya/ K; possibly emend: cittacakre • bhucari/ conj.; khecari K.*

In GSS11, Umapatideva (§17~§19) speaks rather more lucidly when he describes "the collection of those [goddesses] who dwell...." Kalff (1979: 33 n.i) notes that in the HT1.8.15, there is a reference to the single, feminine goddesses Khecarī and Bhucari.

- 455 Sanderson (1995) has pointed to the Saiva provenance of these goddesses, particularly their many correspondences with the twenty-four yoginīs listed in the

Yoginisamcdraprakarana, the third *satka* of the Jayadrathayamala. This is also discussed by Kalff (1979: 8iff.).

456 Redacting from his source texts, Umapatideva 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" (*bhdvydh*) within the eight cremation grounds.

457 The process of Umapatideva's redaction from the HA is evident here. Luyipada follows his description of the outer goddesses with a remark applying to the full mandala, namely, that vajra garlands are worn by all heroes and yoginis of the mandala, (f. 8v2): *sarvesdm virayoginindm laldte vajramldd*. Umapatideva has therefore borrowed the closing line of Luyipada'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*) *vajramldds*" (the Tibetan syntax is not smooth).

458 First, the *Abhisamayamanjaris*X3X.cs, that all the deities of the mandala may be visualized as two-armed, except (it seems) Dakini, etc., who are said to be four-armed. The two-armed outer goddesses, Kakasya, etc., hold only a skull bowl in their left hands (with the staff tucked into the crook of their arms) and a damaru in their right; everything else is as described before. Another alternative to the visualization is that the central form of Vajravahni may be visualized as either yellow or blue. In this case, the four goddesses on the petals (Dakini, etc.) are all yellow, and presumably two-armed, as they are said to hold in their right hands a *damaru*. The yoginis 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, Kakasya, etc., hold a chopper threateningly in their right hands, and Yamadadhi, etc., a *damaru* (with bowl and staff to the left). All twelve deities (of the petals and the gates) are in the dancing *ardhaparyarika* pose, and their iconography is otherwise as before. GSS5 (Sed p. 139", K26r5): *tatraiva mandalabheddnantaram vajrdvalydm asmadgurubhir upadars'itam. likhyate ndyikddayah sarvd dvibhujdh, ddkinyddayas' caturbhujdscatasrah, kdkdsyddayasca vdmna kapdlam bdhvsaktakhatvdngam ca bibhrndh savyena damarukam aparam sarvam purvavat. athavd bhagavati pitavamd nila vd. ddkinydaayas cata-sras tupitdh savyena damarubhrtah. cittacakrasyayoginyah siidh savajratarjanikasa-vyakard, vdkcakrasya krsndh sapadmatarjani<ka>savyahastdh, kdyacakrasya raktdh savyena tarjanikacakrahbhrtah, kdkdsyddayah savyena satarjanikakartridhardh sarvd devyd vdmahastena kapdladhdhrtah, yamadddyddayah savyena damarum vdmna tarjanikamundam bibhratyah, ddkinyddindm kdkdsyddindm ca vdmabdhau khatvdngam. etas' ca dvddasd <d>rdhaparyankena nrtiyantyah. aparam sarvam purvavat. • kdkdsyddindm/ Kpc(mg2); Kacomit.*

459 E.g., Cakrasamvara mandala in NYA (p. 28): *kulesas tu bhagavato 'ksobhyo*

*vajravdrdhyd vairocano ddkinyddindm ratnes'ah. cittavdkkdyagatdndm aksobh
mitdbhasds'vatdh samayacakrasthndm amoghasiddhih.*

- 460 The rather haphazard nature of the correspondences of the buddhas with the levels of the mandala is highlighted by a survey of the mandalas in the NYA. For example, in the Aksobhya mandala, Aksobhya at the center is presided over by Vajrasattva (*ibid.*: 5, summarized p. 35), while in the Vajrasattva mandala, the leader Vajrasattva is presided over by Aksobhya (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 Narayana and his retinue. Here Visnu's retinue comprises the gods of intermediate space, of space, of the earth and the underworld, and their female counterparts (*antariksacari-; khecari-; bhucari-; ptdldavdsini-*).
- 462 Sircar (1948: 8–11) notes that the earliest written evidence of the *pithas* is probably the reference to them as places of *s'akti* worship in the *Mahdbhadrata* (*Tirthaydtrd, Vanaparvan*) at a site actually associated with Bhimadevi. See Sanderson (1994K 94-95) for references to the Saiva ritual texts influential here, such as the *Yoginilaksana*, ch. 16 of *Tantrasadbhdva*.
- 463 Sanderson (personal communication) points to the systems of twenty-four *pithas* in the *Kubjikmata* (22.23-36) and in *Tantrdloka* *zy.tf-jzb* (especially *Tantrdloka z^yic—jzb*): *hrt kundali bhruvor madhyam etadeva kramdt trayam IIs'mas'dndni drumdh* (*drumdh em.: kramdted.*) *ksetrabhavam sadyoginiganam*. He states (*ibid.*) that an earlier version in the Trika is seen in the *Nis'isamcdra*, *patala* 4 and the *Tantrasadbhdva*, *patala* 19 (*ksetropaksetrdrcanam*). The developing cosmological model of the cremation grounds in the Buddhist tradition may have its roots in the Saiva model of the sites, which are each said to include a goddess, a cremation ground, a tree, and a Bhairava who is the *ksetrapala* (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 *bodhisattvabhūm* (HT1.7.11, see Snellgrove's note p. 69). The Hevajra system describes the same list, but follows (or replaces) *meldpaka* and *upamebpaka* with two other kinds of "place" called *pilava* and *upapilava* (HT1.7.10, HT1.7.13, HT1.7.17). Kalff (1979:101) notes that there is no agreement between the Hevajra and Cakrasamvara 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 Cakrasamvara literature to the division of sites into places, see

SUT ch. 9, w. 13-19; Tsuda (p. 271) also cites their appearance in the *Samputa-tantra* (*kalpa* 5, *prakaraṇa* 1), the *Dakṛṇava* (*pāṭala* 15, giving a "very unusual" account of the sites in comparison), ADUT (chs. 5, 9, 14, and 56), and the *Yoginisamcitra* (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 mandala (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 *Netravibhāṅga*) glosses the "secondary" or "auxiliary" type of place (*upa-*) as "nearby to that [place]" (*tatsamnivesam*), cited in Snellgrove (1959: 68–69'–')–Snellgrove also discusses the difficulties this presented to Tibetan translators, who either rendered "absurd" translations (which exegetes then attempted to explain, see *Blue Annals*^, 980, 983) or who resorted to transliteration (e.g., of the terms "*chandoḥa*" and "*pilava*"). Indian exegetes had also struggled with the terms. Snellgrove mentions Dharmakīrti's etymologies that attempt to explain the terms, for example *chandoḥa*: "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 *chandoḥa*."

467 Tsuda's translation of SUT ch. 9, v. 12: *madyamdsapriyā nityam lajjibhayan-
dāṇi cā yā I ddkinikulasambhūdh sahajā itī kathyate I dese des'e 'bhijdyante
yoginīḥ sevayetsadd*; cf. also SUT ch. 8, v. 25. Sanderson (1994: 99–100, n. 20)
cites a passage from the *Tantrasadbhāṣā* (*Yoginīlaksana* 16, v. 63), the text from
which the list of sites has been redacted in the *Laghusamvara*, which includes
the comment: *esu des'esu yāḥ kanyā<h> striyā vā klīnāyānāyā I sarvāḥ tab
kdmārupīṇyā manovegānuvrttāyāḥ*.

468 These remarks appear in the context of an internalized contemplation of the
places and sites. See SUT ch. 4 (v. 29cd): *pīthaksetre tu samketeyoginīyogi-
melakam*, and GSS11 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" (*ksetrajā*), and "one born in a site" (*pīthajā*).
These listings also include those of sky, earth, underworld, as in our texts (here
described as *gandharvārī*, *yaksanī*, *nagānī*, 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
nīṣpannakrama, and the **anucdravis'uddhi* 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 *visuddhi* with divisions of the tantric corpus: the
purification of the (gross) psychophysical organism (*skandhas*, *dhātus*, *dyātanās*)
with the "father tantras" (yogottaratantra texts), the (yogic) purification of the
veins with the "mother tantras" (yoganiruttara/yoginītantras), and the purifi-
cation of both with the "nondual tantras" (*Kḍlacakratantra*, *Nḍmasamgiti*).
Our yoginītantra texts are not, in fact, recognizable under this classification,
as they include both types of *visuddhi*, gross and yogic.

470 YSCT ch. 13 (A6v. 6; B10r.1): *lakṣābhīdhānatantrasya uddhṛtaṃ tena saṃvaram / 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 Pāñcārātra 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*, *paṭala* 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 *Nīśaṃcāra* (*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-arcīṣmatī-abhimukhī-sudurjayā-dūraṅgamā-acalā-sādhumatī-dharmameghākhyā-daśabhūmiviśuddhyā krameṇa pīṭhopapīṭhā-dirūpaṃ kāyamaṇḍalam adhyātmayoginā bhāvayitavyam. tad uktam – caturviṃśati bhedenā pīṭhādy atra vyavasthitaṃ | atas tadbhramanenaiva khedaḥ kāryo na tattvikaiḥ | kṣīyante dhātavas teṣāṃ bhramanād bāhyayoginām | ato bāhyam nirākṛtya sthātavyam yogināy | 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 *Dohakośa* (*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 kākā-syādayo dvārapālyah. savyāpasavyaśrotrasavy-āpasavyanetreṣu yamadāḍhyādayah. hṛllalāṭakāṇṭhanābhikamalakarnikāyāsu dākinyādayaś catasrah. • yamadāḍhyādayah*] em.; *yamadāḍhyāt* K.

473 For the site goddesses “as” the veins, see *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5 Sed p. 142¹⁹, K28v6): *teṣu pīṭhādiṣu tattatsthānagatā nāḍyas tattaddevatārūpeṇa parīnamayya vyavasthītā bhāvyaḥ*; also Tsuda (1974: 55) citing Tsong kha pa: “*Dākini* 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: *viraviśuddhiḥ*. 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. 2off.) and chapter 13 (w. 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 Samvara literature."

- 475 This retranslates the passage from Tsuda's edition, expanding on the terse Sanskrit verses (SUT ch. 7 v. 3ff): *nddisthnam ca pitham ca caturvimsat-pramanatah I tesdm madhye trayo nddya dsrayanti ca sarvagdh I 3 I pulliramalaye s'irasi nakhadantavahd sthitd I jdlamdhara's'ikhdsthdne kes'aromasamdvaht 14 I oddiyyne daksine karne nodi tvanmalavdhini I etc.*
- 476 Kalff (1979:197 n. 1) refers here to Digha Nikaya, sutta 22, vol. 2, Pali Text Society, London, 1903.
- 477 In the "self-consecration" (*svddhisthna-*) method *sadhana* of Dhyayipada (GSS34), the traditional Cakrasamvara contemplation of the mandala-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. 143¹, K29r3): *iti sampurnam kdyamandalam muhurmuhu<r> drdham adhimoktavyam.*
- 479 For parallels, see footnotes to the Translation, § 33.
- 480 GSS14 (K73r4): *dbarmatd khalu lokndm idrs'i tivrakarmanah Ipuspamdtram ihaiva sydtparalokephalam mahatIYJ. • paraloke/ em.; paraloka K.*
- 481 GSS14 (K73V3): *yenayena vidhndenayatrayatrayathdyathdI adhimuktena cit-tenayatpunyam parindmyate I 24. / tena tendpi rupena tatra tatra tathd tathd I utpadyate tathd <phalam?> kumbhakdraghatddivat I 25.*
- 482 GSS14 cont. (K73V5): *yadyad bhdvyate bhiiyo bhuyas ca parindmyate I tat pratiphalaty eva darpane sadasadyathd I 26/ . . . cittdd eva na cdnyasmde chreyo-heyadvayds'rayah I cittam eva hi samsdro nirvdnam cittam eva ca I 28 • v. 26 bhdvyate/ corr. (hypo.); bhyavyateK. *chreyoheya/ conj.; chrethayaK. Cf. GSSi (K16r.i): yenayena hi bhdvena manah samyujiyate nrndm I tena tanmayatdmtydi vis'varupo maniryathd • yujiyate/ em.; pujiyate K; "With whatever state (*bhdva-*) 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 Saiva sources, e.e., by Tavadratha in*

Endnote table iv. *Yogic body mandala**

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	Astakoti, fKarkotakat, Kota, fKotibhat, Kola, Kolava, Kolagandha, Kolibha
8 trees	<i>o</i> named veins (<i>nddis</i>)	Ugra, Ghora, Agnivadana, Tejani, Khargadharani, Cakrl, Sucimukha, Kubji
8 clouds	<P> sense spheres (<i>-dhdtum</i>)	taste, olfactory, touch, "ideas" (<i>dharmadhatum</i>), sound, cognition (<i>vijndna</i> ^o), consciousness (<i>Qnana</i> "), form

"The practice requires a knowledge of the Cakramsavara/Vajravaraḥi body mandala, 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, Candogra, is correlated with the mouth, for which the text explains: "Candogra is in the entrance to Kalinga" (GSS34, Kii3r): *tatra smasndni kalingadvre candogram_Kalinga*, we find, is the site for the mouth in the Calaasavara/Vajravaraḥi body mandala. The cremation-ground body mandala therefore draws on the traditional language of the body mandala, but moves beyond it to a type of yogic practice based on exclusively on *kdpdlika* cosmology.

The *Smasndnlamkdratantra* (reported by Meisezahl 1980: 21–2) also mentions "secret" 01 "interior" cremation grounds (**guhyasmasndni*) and describes a similar subde body mandala. This relates the five features of the cremation grounds to five groups of *nddis* on the body: 8 *nddis* at the tip of the nose (= 8 cremation grounds); 8 *nddis* at the navel (= trees); 8 *nddis* at the chest? *snying kar red brgydd*(= *dikpdlas*); 8 *nddis* at the throat (= *nagas*); 8 *nddis* at the head *spyi bor rca brgyad*(= clouds). The eight cremation grounds are also equated with the eight types of consciousness in the *Visesadyota* by Tathagatavajra 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 **Vid-hisamgraha* includes the *Smas'dnavidhiby* Luyipada, raising the possibility that cremation ground material appeared in a shared source, and that Umapatideva 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 *Amrtasyddana* differs in the three texts, (v) For the *hastapujā*, all three texts share a reference to the YSCT, stating that fuller prescriptions for the rite appear in that tantra. In Sasvatavajra's text this appears in a colophon verse. Sasvatavajra's *hastapujā* text also appears by itself in the *Sddhanamāla* (SM253 pp. 498-500). (vi) The second, alternative, external worship in GSS11 (at §49) implies the (optional?) inclusion of the *hastapujā* within the rite, an option that is explicit in Sasvatavajra's text (*yadvd...*) because of his use of colophon verses to mark the separate rites in the series.

- 485 See Kane (1941) *History of Dharmas'āstra* (ch. 20, p. 74iff.) on the "*vaiśvadeva*" (including *baliharanālbhūṭayajna*), and (ch. 18, p. 6966°.) on the "*pañcayajna*." For the latter, Kane states that the *Satapathabrāhmaṇa* (11. 5.6.1.) contains the *locus classicus* for the *mahdyajñas* {*Taittiriya Aranyaka* 2.10}, where they are defined as *devayajna* (offering to fire), *pitryajna* (*s'rddha*), *bhūṭayajna* (*bali* offering), *manuṣyayajna* (food to brahmins), and *brahmayajna* (study of the Vedas). The Grhyasūtras and Śrautasūtras refer to the *mahdyajnas* 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 w. 87-93, Yajñavalkya 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: *svddhydyena vratair homais traividylenejyādsutaiḥ I mahdyajñais ca yajñais ca brāhmiyam 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 [*adhivṛṣṭadinam*] and is offered to all *bhūtas* (celestial, terrestrial, and aerial), to the *kṣetrapāṇḍas*, *pātitas*, and *s'vapacas*. It is similar in the (unpublished) *Nis'isamcāra*, in which esoteric *balk* of the five nectars and wine are offered by Mahāvratīn *sādhakas*. The offerings are presented by *sādhakas* when they enter a power site, in order to gratify (and so placate) its guardian (*kṣetrapālāsthnapāṇḍa*), and are accompanied by wild laughter and the rattling of the *damaru* drum, with a *balimantra* (*om hrim hum he hah phati...*). This ritual has been taken over through the redaction of *Nis'isamcāra* into Buddhist tantras such as the *Catuhpīṭhatantra* (*Parapīṭha*, *pāṭala* 3) and the *Vajraddhātatantra* 18.16. In Śaiva rites, the *bali* offerings may be to animals, *bhūtas*, the *matrs*, and *yoginīs* etc., e.g., *Netratantra* 19.112c: *trptyartham bhūtasamghasya mantri rakṣdrtham udyataḥ* (and its commentary): *sangho mdtryoginyddiganah*. The making of *bali* offerings to principal mandala 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 *Vajravārāhī Sddhana*, the tasting of nectar appears in the *Abhisamayā-*

manjari following the self-generation, but in contrast to Umapatideva's text, it appears in full at this stage. When he later describes the *balividhi*, Sakya-raksita's text refers simply to the purification of the offering "as above," without naming it specifically as the *amrtdsvddanam*, and without describing it again (GSS5 Sed p. 143, K29r3): *tato balim dadydt. bhojyddikam puratah samsthdpyaprdguktakramena vis'odhya*. Umapatideva's text is therefore closer to Sasvatavajta's *Cakrasamvarabalividhi* (pp. 56-58), in which the *amrtdsvddana* also appears as an integrated part of the *balividhi*. Curiously, although the *Cakrasamvarabalividhi* describes the same process as that given the GSS texts, it never actually names the rite as the "*amrtdsvdaana*."

- 489 In the *Saptidsarasaddhana* (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 *amrtdsvddana* (p. 494). Similarly in GSS4, the tasting of nectar is a distinct means of worshipping the deity (K13V4): *pujdstutyamrtdsvddam krtvd*. In SM219 the tasting of nectar is the preliminary to a rite of subjugation (p. 432: *vasyavidhih*).

- 490 E.g., GSS35 (K119V6): *yathldlbhato hastapujayd sampujya amrtam dsvddya ganabhojanam ca vidhdya balim dadydt*. GSS16 (K8ir6):... *mantram japet. ydvad udvego na bhavati tdvad amrtam dsvddayet. evam balibhdjanam dlokyā vum dm jrim kham hum dravibhutam cintayed iti. dtmano jihvdgre candramandalopari nilavajram yavaphalamdtram rasmispharantam vibhdvyam. taya rasmydvabhdndlikdrupendtmndnampdyayet dvddas'adevibhih. evamprinayet. pitvd mahdsukhanuvartet<a>. pranidhnam kurydt. dvitiya<m> balibhdjana<m> vistirnam vicintayet. tatra bhaktakulattha-indariparpati-vadivatSL(?)—matsyamdsapupvyanjanamadyasidhusurdphal fophali fndndrasasamtosanam krtvd puspadhupadipagandhamdlyavilepananaivedyam casthdnsmas'dnavrksanadi fparvatasthitdlayete bhyo ddpdyet—om vajrdralli hohjah hum vam hoh vajraddkinyah samayas tv drs'ya hoh -puspdn avakirneyet. — om kha kha khdhi khdhi... — tatah pranidhnam ca.*

alokya [corr.; *dloksa* K • *candramandalo*] *con.*; *candramandalalo* K • *rasmispharantam vibhdvyam*] *em.*; *ras'mipharantam vibhdvyahK'* *rasmydvabhdhsena*] *corr.*; *rasmydvabhdhsena* K • *vadivataQ*] perhaps for "*vadabdnald*" (digestive powder)? • *naivedyam*] *corr.*; *naivaidyamK* **parvatasthitdlayesu*] *conj.?* *parvatsthitdlayete* 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 *bañt* is offered (e.g., GSS31 K104V2): *tad anu nispdditabalim amrtdsvddavidhindnena mantrena dadydt*.

- 491 The text has "*munda-*," which could refer to a severed head, a dried-up head, or a complete skull. However the seed syllable *kam* (see note to Translation) suggests "head" (*kam*). 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 Tibetphte* 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 Hayagriva (no. 57: 137).

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 Y A M appears. This is the seed of the wind element ____ The Y A M transforms into a gigantic wind mandala. 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 mandala causing the wind to blow. Above the wind mandala there appears a red letter R A M ____ This letter transforms into a triangular fire mandala that is flat and red. It has one corner pointing toward us, directly above the straight edge of the wind mandala, and the other two corners above the semi-circular edge of the wind mandala. This red triangle, which is slightly smaller than the wind mandala, is the core of the fire mandala. As this core is fanned by the wind, red-hot flames blaze and cover the whole wind mandala. Above the fire mandala there appear three A H letters of different colors. The letter A H 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 A H...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."

In the *Cakrasamvaratantra*, the nectars are listed cryptically as: "honey, blood, and *karpura*, with *rakta*, and sandalwood." (i.iocd, ncd): ...*madhu raktam sakarpuram raktacandanayojitam*. Bhavabhatta 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 (*hasti*), and a man (*narahj*) 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. '*Karpura*' is flesh, that [whose existence is] established through the addition and elision of sounds, [the term *karpuram* being used here not in its literal sense, namely 'camphor,' but etymologically as] that which causes joy (*kar-* from *kam* 'joy') to fill (*pīra-* from the causative of *Vpr* 'to be full') the body. "*Rakta*" "t • • • t [means 'urine']. 'Sandalwood' means Vairocana [i.e., feces] because [defecation like sandalwood] is a source of delight." *Cakrasamvaravivrti* (f. i8r-v); *bhdvandn ca kurvvdnogokudahandndm pancdmrtasya ca vatikam bhdvandrambhe bhaksayet. tena hi nirvighnatd.... aparam pancdmrtasevdrupdm sdxsdtpujdm aha madhv ityddi. madhusaddharmydt madhu sukram, samyoge tridosaghnatvena sanketitavdt. raktam prasiddham. kam*

*sukhaṃ śarīre pūrayatīti karppūraṃ varṇṇāgamavināśābhyāṃ siddha(i)ṃ. ta*ca māṇsaṃ. †ramyatannāḍīti †raktaṃ. candanam āhlādakaratvād 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-parināmena pañcāmṛtapañcapradīpaṃ svabijāṅkitaṃ.* 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 oṃ	⇒ yellow excrement
Amoghasiddhi	āṃ	trāṃ	āṃ	N	green khaṃ	⇒ white brains
Amitābha	jriṃ	āṃ	jriṃ	W	red aṃ	⇒ white sperm
Ratnasambhava	khaṃ	khaṃ	khaṃ	S	yellow trāṃ	⇒ red blood
Akṣobhya	hūṃ	hūṃ	hūṃ	Mid	blue hūṃ	⇒ blue urine
Locanā	lāṃ	lāṃ		SE	white lāṃ	⇒ black corpse of cow/bull
Māmaki	māṃ	māṃ		SW	blue māṃ	⇒ red/blue corpse of dog
Pāṇḍaravāsini	pāṃ	pāṃ		NW	red pāṃ	⇒ white corpse of elephant
Tārā	tāṃ	tāṃ		NE	green tāṃ	⇒ green corpse of horse
(Vajravārāhi)				Mid	red vaṃ	⇒ red human corpse

495 *Vajrāvalī* (ŚP f. 120v): *hahohriḥkārair yathākramam hṛtaprākṛtagandhavarṇa-vīryam.* 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): *pāradavarṇahūmbhāvādhomukhāmṛtamayaśuklakhatvāṅge vilīne.*

Sobisch (2001: personal communication) notes that in the Tibetan Cakra-

samvara tradition, both the staff and the syllable *hum* 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 *hum* syllable which is the form that manifests from the steam of that [boiling nectar] points head-down. Even though the syllable *hum* 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 *khatvdnga* staff arises from the mercury-colored *hum*.' The *hum* melts and a white *khatvdnga* 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 skull cup by... *Idemgyi Ihung 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 humyig mgo mthur bstan, humyig tshiggis ma zin kyangsdome byungdu, 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 Ita, byang chub sems kyi bdud rtsi z rgyun 'dzag pa, de nyid kyang 'oggi slas(?) pas zhu nas thodpa 'i nang du Idemgyi Ihung bos bdud rtsi dang dbyer med du 'dres pas, bdud rtsi V rgya mtsho kha dog dkar po, reg bya bsil ba, byang chub sems kyi rang bzhin du gyur par dmigs.*

497 GSS5 (Sed p. 135", K23r2): *tadupari tryaksaram uparyuparidrstvd tadras'mibhis trailokyodaravartisarvdmrtena sdrdham as'esatathdgatahrdayavarti jndndmrtam dkrasya tatraivdntarbhdivya kramas'a<s> tryaksarendpi vilinai<h>*. Cf. SM251 (p. 494): *tatah om-dh-hum-ity uccarya sarvadevatdndm amrtam dkrasya tatraiva praves'ayet, anenaivddhisthdyā... • hum\ conj. Sanderson; hum SMed. See also VA (SP f. I20v-i21r) and the graphic descriptions in K. Gyatso (1999: 63).*

498 I am grateful to Professor Sanderson for explaining this passage (p. 57): *tadu-pari dlikdliparinatdn om-dh-humkdrdn anukramenoparyuparisthitdn tebhayah sphuritaras'mind das'adigvarttiviravires'varindm jndndmrtapradipam samkramananydyena tricakrkdrām dkrasya jagadartham kdrayitvd samdpdttipurvakam dravibhuya yathdyatham tesu pravistam fsakalasdgarddistham ca ftata omkdrddikam kramavilinam avalokya tryaksarena ydvadiccham adhitisthet. • humbhavd\ em.; humbhvdv Finot.*

499 Sanderson (1998: personal communication) explains *samkramananydyā* 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 mandala deities. This imaginary process of transferral is usually accomplished along a "circuit of energy" that runs from the sadhaka 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 K8ir6 (n. 490); also GSS5 (Sed p. 135", K23r5 com.): *punas*

- tryakṣarenādhiṣṭhāyātmano māṇḍale yadevīnām ca jihvāyām śuklahūmkārajayava-
phalapramānaṃ śuklavajraṃ dhyātvā tadraśminalikayā prāśanaṃ kuryāt. tato
vakyamānāṣṭapādārcanamantraiḥ stuyāt. • nalikayā] em.; nalikayābbhiḥ K.
- 501 For other references to the *baḷi* 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): ākrāntapādordhvaḍṣṭiṃ (>s) tu; with com-
mentary *Yoginisaṃcāranibandha* “Saṃcāratantrapañjikā” cited by Sanderson
1994: ūrdhvaḍṣṭiṃ tv iti vāmaḥalitorḍhvaḍṣṭyā.
- 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
ūrdhvaḥvikacāṃ kṛtvā tad anu jālāmudrāṃ vidhāya, āvartyāvartyena vīrayoginīṃ
ākṛṣya... • vīrayoginīṃ] em.; vīrayoginīnām K; *Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi* (p. 57):
tato jālāmudrātanmantrābhyām ānītaṃ sarvākāraṇiṣpannaṃ maṇḍalaṃ purato
avasthāpya...; GSS5 (Sed p. 143⁷, K29r–v): tato baḷiṃ dadyāt. bhojyādikaṃ
purataḥ saṃsthāpya prāguktakrameṇa viśodhya jālāmudrātanmantrābhyām ānītaṃ
sarvākāraṇiṣpannaṃ maṇḍalacakraṃ purato 'vasthāpya...; GSS36 (K121r): tato
lalāṭe jālāmudrāṃ vāmāvartena bhrāmayet phetkārānādam uccārayet kūrma-
patanapādordhvaḍṣṭyā, anena yoginyākaraṇam.... This is a something of a
hybrid between *jvālāmudrā (the flame mudrā), and *jālāmudrā (the “net ges-
ture”). 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 phetkārāśabdena vīravīreṣvariparivṛtaṃ
jñānacakraṃ puro ḍṣṭvā... This is the version transmitted into Tibetan, how-
ever. It is elsewhere described as the “vajra-offering gesture, open at the top,”
e.g., SM251, GSS31 (K104v1): vajrāñjalim ūrdhvaḥvikacāṃ kṛtvā, and as a “vajra
hook,” ADUT ch. 9, SM226 (p. 441): vajrāñkuṣyādīyogena ākrṣya.
- 505 The full verse reads: kṛtvāgragranthyā khalu madhyasūci- <ṃ> / aṅguṣṭhavaajra-
vṛddha saṃprapīḍya (or: saṃsthāpya) / saṃsthāpya tām madhyalalāṭadeśe / āvarti-
vartena bhrāmayet. It is cited, with variants, at YSCT (8th paṭala A4r, B5v)
with gloss in *Yoginisaṃcāranibandha* (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 mudra (*vikasitakalamudra*) described in SM24 p. 60 below (see n. 516).

- 506 GSS5 (Sed p. 143, *Kzyt^Cakrasamvarabalividhi*. 57): *mandalacakram purato 'vasthdpdrghddikapurahsaram sampujydlidliparinatacandrasuryasvabhvakardvaydntargatahumkdram drstvd — om anyonydnugatdh sarvadharmdh atyantdnupravistdh sarvadharmd hum — ity uccdranapurvakam candrasurydrudhahumkdraparindmena vajrdnjalikrtakaratale tad amrtabhdndam avasthdpya dhydtvd vd, abhmatasiddhyartham itipathet. — devyah pramdnam samayah pramdnam.. etc.*
- 507 The Cakrasamvara-related *balividhi*s describe a rite in which "actual" foods are also involved, laid out prior to the ceremony in front of the mantrin (*Cakrasamvarabalividhi*. 56) *prathamato...mantribhaksyabhojiddikampuratahsamsthdpya*. Cf. the rite according to the *Samvaratantra* in the *Vajrdvali*, in which the yogin points with his right hand to the bowl of nectar in his left (SP f. 123V): *pddyddiddnapurvakam purvavat trimandalavisuddhyd vdmakaratale candrasthita-humjavisvavajrandbhvd amrtabhdndam dropya dhydtvd vd vajramustikrtasavya-karaprasrtatarjanyd tad dars'ayan*.
- 508 In the *Sdmvarikasarvabhautikabalividhi* (VA SP f. i23r), the VA provides a rather different version of the *balividhi* according to the Samvara system. This is more clearly related to the rite according to the Samaja system, *Sdmjdika-sarvabhautikabalividhi* (VA SP f. m r.i), said to be according to the method of the *Pindikrama* (Nagarjuna) and the *Caturanga* (Buddhajnanapada), and also to the Hevajra-based rite, *Haivajrikasarvabhautikabalividhi* (VA SP f. 124 v. 6).
- 509 *Cakrasamvarabalividhi* (p. 58) ⇒ GSS5 (Sed p. 144", ICjora): *tadamrtabhaksandd dipdlddayo mahdsukhasamarpitavigrahd bhdvydh*; GSS16 (K8IVI): *evamprinayet. pltvd mahdsukham anuvarteta* (understand: causative).
- 510 GSS31 (Ki04ri) prescribes a *balitwxA* 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 (*sattvndm prdnaraksdya vighndd vindyakdddpi*) and then lists the types of siddhi that will ensue from the worship of "all beings" through utterance of the *bali* mantras and *apabhrams'a* verses (HT2.4.89c-95d): *vasyabhicdraripusainyands'anam uccdtammdrandkarsanam ca s'dntisukham paustikam bhavet ca*.
- 511 The term is unexplained by Tsuda, but Sanderson (1999: personal communication) translates "teacher's assistant." According to the rites of the *Kriydsamucaya*, the *karmavajrin* is a ritual specialist, much like the *karmacdrya* in Newar ritual practice, whose task is to ensure the correct performance of the rites (Gellner 1992: 273, with n.25).
- 512 VA (SP f. 122ff.): *anydrtham api balipraddne mantreyathsambhavam me mameti vd yathdvasthitam eva pathaniyam. sa cdtmatvenddhimoktavyah. asyopakdre mamaivopakdro bhavaty ds'ayato hitakdryasiddhir bhavati. anantare ca tadartham vijndpayed....* This Samaja *bali* ritual is more complex than the rite out-

lined in our texts. The *ball* 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 (*mṛtpindi*) surmounted by appropriately colored banners arranged on the ground in their respective directions. Beyond those, the mantṛin should offer saucers of milk to the eight *nagas* who are either represented by clay balls or by circular cow pats (*gomayakṛtamandala-*), and outside that, he is to strew *ball* 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 Saiva *ball*, also called "external" (*bḍhya-*).

- 513 The form of the mantra is: *om vajra-[name of krodha] vajra imam balim grhna amukasya s'dntim raksdm ca kuru hum phat*. The names of the ten *krodhas* to be inserted into the mantras are: (1) Vajrahumkara, (2) Vajradanda, (3) Vajranalarka, (4) Vajrakundali, (5) Vajrayaksa, (6) Vajrakala, (7) Vajramahabala, (8) Vajrabhisana, (9) Vajrosnisacakravarti, and (10) Vajrapatala. They are understood to occupy a circle of protection with ten "spokes" radiating from the central point of the meditation hut (*sakroddhasararakscakra-*). For the protective function of the ten *krodhas*, see also the "rite of expelling obstacles" *{vighnanivdranavidhi VK, SP f. 252.3}*.
- 514 E.g., GSS18 (K83r5): *dadydt nis'aydm balim sarvamdrapras'amanam*; GSS15 (K74V2): *samayi sthndntmayogarahdyai sarvavighnopasamanamantram udirayet. om hrihgha 2ghdtaya2 sarvadustan humphatsvdhd*. Cf. *VajrdvaliSP* (f. I20r7): *atroktavidhisu kdrydntaresu cdddv ante ca vighnopas'dntaye balim dadydt*.
- 515 VA (SP f. I26r4): *etac cotpattikrame balividhitrayam. utpannakrame tu prajnopdydnucalitena cetasd samanvdhdramdtrdnitebhyah prajnopdyarupebhyah evd svestamandaks'ddidvtatsahitmdrddibhyojndnarsdvyatiriktasya baler upadha kanam balividhih*.
- \$16 On the "*kamaldvartamudrd*" (GSS11, Finotp. 58) also "*kamaldvartanamudrd*" (GSS5 Sed p. 144", K3or5/ Sed p. 148', K33r4), Durjayacandra's commentary on the *Catuhpithatantra* states (f. 4414—5): *mdrutaprerandiprabuddhapadma-syeva prasrtnguler agrapdnuyugasya nartanam kamaldvartah*. (I am grateful to Dr. Isaacson for this reference.) The "blossoming-lotus mudra" in SM24 may be related (p. 60): *kincit ucchritam samputanjalim krtvd madhyame sucikurydt sesds cdngulyah kincit samkocya sammukham asamslistd dhdayet, angustha janidvayasamipe sthdpayed iti vikasitakalamudreyam*. There is also a dance movement of the hands called *kamalavartanikd* (Bose 1970:151-52). In GSS7, a twelve-armed Vajravarahi is visualized revolving the vajra and bell in her fingers with the *kamaldvartamudrd* (K4016): *vajraghantdkdravyagrkd kamaldvartavartini*, and the four-armed *ekavird* mothers also (each at the center of their individual cakras, K4ir3): *tadvad ghandddhardh sarvdh kamaldvartavartinyah*. For the bell as feminine consort, see *Jndnasiddhi* §.Z4: *prajndghantdbhidhiyate* (cited *Bauddhatantrakos'a* p. 35).
- It is perhaps this gesture that is depicted in the bronze of Mahasiddha

- Ghantapa and consort as Cakrasamvara and Vajravarahi, 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 Guhyasamaja Aksobhyavajra in embrace with Spars'avajra, 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* phte 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. 144^r, K3or5 and Sed p. 146^r, K32ri), three snaps (GSS11 K69V), or the fourth finger (*andmīkd*) touching the ground (GSS11 K68v, Sed p. 148^r; GSS5 K_{3,r}).
- 518 Other texts specify a *dharmodayd* (i.e., a triangle) inside a triangle (e.g., GSS35), or a square containing a triangle (e.g., GSS25). The parallel account (*bdhyapujdvidhi*^GSS^) prescribes a square mandala in the first *bdhyapujd*, with the syllables of the sites (*pu, jd*, etc.) probably drawn onto it, representing the ten places. In the alternative *bdhyapujd*, the parallel texts enjoin a double *dharmodayd* with a circle inside it (Finot 1934: 55): *trikonacakradvayam dlikhya tanmadhye ca vartulamandalam*.
- 519 E.g., GSS5 (Sed p. 125^r, K14V4): *pancavatikddiprayogaparisodhitavaktro yogi*; GSS3=GSSi6 (Kiiiv7/K76r3): *samayagudikdm mukhe praksipyā*. Referring to the root tantra (*Cakrasamvaratantra* i.iocd, ncd: *samaydn pdlayen nityam*,,) Bhavabhata 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*," *Cakrasamvaravivrti* (f. i8r—v): *samayapdlanam samayabhaksanam pancdmrtabhaksanam ganacakre somapdnatpancdmrtdsvddah*. 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." *Cakrasamvarapahjīkd*: *samayo dvividhah raksaniyo bhaksaniyas ca* (cited Sanderson *ibid.*, f. jr).
- 520 GSS35 (K120V1): *kumkumagorocandsindurendnyatamena vd*; GSS2 (K11V2): *rajasvaldkanydprathamasyayambhukusumena*; GSS2 (K11V3): *asrkhingulamisram krtvd likhitvd ca*.
- 521 GSS2 (K11V3): *cauryakesdlekhanyd*. Cf. *cauryakesakrtmd mukutdm* (HT1.6.15). Snellgrove notes that the intended meaning of *cauryakesa* is *caudakesa* "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 (-kes'a-) cod pan (mukuti-)*. Kanha glosses **caurakes'ah* (em: *cauryakes'ah* Snellgrove) with the word, *udbaddhakes'ah*, 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 kes'ena*; KYT-vydkhyd (p. 68): *vrksdvalambitam udbddham*; and Saiva sources, e.g., *Picumata* i. ^zd-yy tato nimbam samdlikhet Isaptaddlam mahdbhimam citibhih prajvalantibhih I ekaikasmim likhet dale 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." *Jayadrathayamala*, *Yoginisamcdra* (8.7id-72b): *dis'air vrksdn samdlikhet I udbaddhanara-pracchanndn*,

522 These texts were introduced to me by Professor Sanderson (1999: personal communication). They are the *Cakrasamvarapujvidhi* (NGMPP D35/25) and *Hevajrasamksiptatrisamddhipujd* (Takaoka DH 372). Sanderson (*ibid.*) outlines the stages of the rite as follows: the *ddiyoga* section, followed by the *mandald-diyoga* (similar sequences of preparatory meditations and self-generations, but for the full mandala), the *suksmayoga* (completion-stage practices), *japa* with a rosary, *balividhi*, and concluding rites.

523 Sanderson (*ibid.*) lists the contents of the *ddiyoga* as follows: (1) *s'unyatd-bhdvand*, (2) *karas'odhanam*, (3) *ghantdvddanam*, (4) *s'ankhddhisthnam*, (5) *balyadhisthnam*, (6) *mandalddhisthnam*, (7) *mantrapdtras'odhanam* (skull vessel), (8) installation of twenty-four syllables of *pithas* etc., (9) *anganydsah {om ha hi svdhd}*, etc.), (10) purification of body, speech, and mind, (11) installation of deities in *skhandas*, *dyatanas*, and *dhdus*, (12) generation-in-front of mandala (Heruka with eight yoginis), (13) protection, expulsion of obstacles, (14) bringing of knowledge deities, (15) offering of a flower to each deity on the mandala with their mantras, the five offerings, praise, etc., ringing of bell, (16) eight-part mantra, (17) hand worship, (18) one hundred-syllabled mantra, (19) *anuttarapujd*.

524 The Textual Notes cite GSS5, which is almost identical to Sasvatavajra's *Hastapujdvidhi* (Finot pp. 54-55) and SM253 (pp. 498-500). Sasvatavajra's *Hastapujdvidhi* contains a colophon following the *hastapujd* (and its stated source in the *fYoginiJ-Samcdratanttra*). It continues with the alternative *bdhyapujd* text (*yadvd...*) and supplies a second colophon *vetse* at the end of that, which also describes the rite as a *hastapujd* {cited in Textual Notes}. This *hastapujd* text is also published in Meizezahl (1985: 29ft), although with some errors (e.g., he omits the buddha Aksobhya in his translation, thus mistakenly reducing the buddhas to five).

Reference to the rite in the *Yoginisamcdratanttra* 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 (Ayr4; Bnv2): *yogidaridram arthi sydt hastapujena sepsitam (=satipsitam) prdpya...*, and a further praise of the *hastapujd*'m the fourteenth *patala*. 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 (Cakrasamvara-based) source other than the YSCT, which also makes this claim.

525 *Kriydsamuccaya's Ganacakravidhi* (cited Gellner 1992: 297, f. 411): *prajndhinam yac cakram tac cakram mandamelakam*. Gellner (*ibid.*) records that for Newar Buddhists today, a *ganacakra* is a sacramental meal after a tantric ritual.

For alcoholic substances, see *Cakrasamvaravivrti* (f. i8r-v cited above n. 519). The *Kriydsamuccaya* mentions foods, e.g., (f. 411): *tad uktaganacakravindhind mandaldgdre khdnapndndibhis...* and sexual yogic practice, including the types of consort spelled out in its *Nis'dcakram*, (f. 409): *yoginiyogatantresu yaduktam ganamelakam. ... vajram padmepratisthdpya bodhicittam na cotsrjet. ... evamvidhe nis'dcakre varjana<m> naiva kasyacit. janani<m> bhagini<m> caiva duhitam bhdgineyakdm. mdmakasya tathd bhdrydm svasrkd'm' tathdpunah I pitubhagini mdtus ca astau prajnd<h> susiddhidd<h>. etdsdm pujanam karya<m> bolakakkolayogatah.*

526 The parallel texts also mention the goddesses who traditionally empower the psychophysical organism. As yoginitantra reflexes of the mothers, these goddesses are also consorts to the five buddhas. Sasvatavajra's *Hastapujvidhi* opens with the yogin's conviction that on his hand are the elements with the nature of the goddesses (SM253, p. 498): *svavdmakarasthdn prthivyaptejovdyvdks'a-dhdtun pdtanimdrani-akarsaninartesvaripadmajdlinisvabhdydn adhimucya*. As the buddhas are then placed immediately on the hand, there is an implicit pairing of the deities in union. Sakyaraksita (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. Umapatideva's omission of this line may be to accommodate his single-sex mandala; he is unable to remove the male buddhas from the *hastapujd*, but he can remove any trace of their union.

527 GSS5 (Sed p. 146³, K32r3) (cited Textual Notes) describes them as "their nails' face" (*-tannakhamukhesu*). In the Tibetan text of the *sadhana*, the sixth buddha is placed only on "the thumb's face" (see apparatus: **angusthamukha*). 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 bsduspa*).

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. 134⁴, K22r3): *tad anu laldtakanthahridayesu om-dh-hum-ityaksardni s'uklaraktanildni nivesayet*, and for example, the Khasarpana-Lokes'vara *sadhanas*, e.g., SM13 (p. 37): *tatah s'irasi omkdram, kanthe dhkdram, hrdi humkdram*, and for other prescriptions, SM70 (p. 142): *fahjalim]hrdi urndyam kanthe miirdhni nyaset*; SM95 (p. 191): *kdyavdkcittesu om-ah-humkdraparinatdh khecari-bhucari-nairdtmds cintaniydh; Hevajrasekaprakriyd* (p. 17): *adhisthdyah mahdmudrdm buddhais traidhdtukasamsthitai, sirohrtpddades'esu om hum ah iti tryaksaraih.*

529 This is also suggested by Sasvatavajra's parallel text (Finot p. 57: "*yadvd...*"), as it is included as part of the text of the *Hastapujvidhi*. This portion opens with a benediction and closes with a dedication of merit, both of which refer to the *hastapujd*.

- 530 In contrast, the parallel texts (cited in Textual Notes) state that it is for the *ganacakra* to preside (*ganacakrddhisthndrtham cddhyesya*), presumably because they deal with the generation of the complete mandala in the first instance, and not optionally, as in Umapatideva's version of the rite.
- 531 GSS14 (K72V3-6): *kundam ca kdrdyet karmabhedadharmaprabhedatah I catura-sram vartulam tryasram rephdnkitamadhyagam I 5. I svahrbijdmu<m> samutsrjya jndndgnim jainam uttamam I pradipakalikdkdram karsayed dipti-vattaram I 6. I kundamadhye nyased agni<m> bhdva<ye>c cd caturbhujam I varadaksasutrakamandalulkddandadhrina<m> I 7. I sphuradrupam kumardkdram raktavarnam prdbhdsvdram I kapilacchagaldrudha<m> pinga<la>-jvldlaydvrtam I 8. I hrdaye tasya samvistdm bhdvayen nijadevatdm I argham dadydscamanam prandmddipuraskrtam I 9.*
- v. 5cd unmetric; possibly emend 5d *rephdnkitam ca madhyagam* • (v. 6) *pradipakali<kd>kdram/ conj.; pradipakalikaram K* (lit: a great luster "with the form of a streak of a lamp") • (v. 7) *sutrakamandalu/ unmetric.* • (v. 8) 8a and 8c unmetric; cf. SM36 where Avalokitesvara has a similar form. • (v. 9) *samvistdm/ conj.; samvista K.*
- 532 *Samputodbhavatantra* 6.3.i7d cited below: *prajndgni-*; GSS5, cited Textual Notes: *sunyatakamnddvayatraidhtukdcdrkdrajndnavahni-*.
- 533 I am grateful to Professor Sanderson and Dr. Isaacson respectively for pointing out these two passages: *Samputodbhavatantra* (SpU) *Vasantatilakd* section 6.3.i8-22b (text supplied by Sanderson; see also *Vasantatilakd* (VT) 8.20C-24 pp. 66-7): *abhyantaraih sukrddyais tu bdhyai rupddibhis tathd I hdvibhih kriyate homah prajndgnau tu mahojjvale I 18 / saddyatanadhtundm skandhddindm visesatah I devatdrupindm tesdm ddkinindm tathaiva ca I 19 / yogapujd samdkkhytd tena te pujita yatah I sirahkapdlam etat tu havirbhdjanam ucyate I 20 / sruvam tu rasand khytd hrccakram (hrccakram SpU; hrccandro VT 8.23d) lalandtmikd Ipdtriti ca samuddistam (ca samuddistam ed; mukham uddistam VT 8.24a) kundam ca ndbhimandalam I 21 / karmamarutanirdhuto vahnis trikatisamsthitah (vahnis trikatisamsthitah) conj. Isaacson; vahnistrikatisamsthitah SpU; brahmdgnis trikate (trikate > guhye VT-tikd) sthitah VT 8.24)/22ab.*
- 534 E.g., *Vasantatilakdtikd* *ibid.* (p. 67): *candrdjya*, "moon-butter."
- 535 Cf. VT ch. 8.3 (p. 61): *sthitahpddatale vdyur vairambho dhanurdkrtih Isthitas trikatides'e tu trikone jvalanas tathd.*
- 536 GSS5 cited Textual Notes: *skandhddindhanadahana-*.
- 537 For the *pdtri* held in the left hand, see *Kriydsdmuccaya* SP f. 387.3 (cited Sanderson 1999: personal communication). The two ladles are referred to in the commentary to the *Vasantatilakd* 8.20C-24 p. 67, in which Lalana is identified with the *srukancI* Rasana with the *sruvah*. According to the root text, the *pdtri* is the mouth (VT 8.24a).
- 538 In the related *Abhisamayamanjari*, 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" (*niruttarahomah*) because it burns the "fuel" of the *skandhas*.

- 539 The compound *girigahvara-* is taken as a *tatpurusa*, 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 (*girigahvarayoh* or *girigahvarddyoh*). Both cave and mountain are mentioned independently in other texts, and are traditionally associated with meditative practice (Saiva texts frequently prescribe a "mountain top" *parvatdgre*, also *giris'rnge*). 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 *giriguhd*, e.g., SM24 (p. 61): *vijanavanas'masdnagiriguhdsina-*; SM24 (p. 54): *vijanagiriguhdydm sthdne sucau vd kva cit*. Sanderson (1994: n. 8) notes that elsewhere *gahvara* means a "thicket." In the list of sites for *siddhi-sddhana* in the SUT (ch. 11.2-3, f. 2r.3: *girigahvarakunjesu mahodadhitatesu vd*), *gahvara* is more closely defined in a following verse as a place "full of trees" (5ab: *gahvare vrksasamkirne mandalam vartayet soda*), despite the semantic overlap with *kunjah* ("a place over run with plants or overgrown with creepers," Monier-Williams 1899). Bhavabhata 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]" (*Cakrasamvaravivrti* f. 27r.2: *girthparvatah. gahvarasabdena tadbhittidvaydntaram*) (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., (i6.ijab f. 31 r.2), and the Tibetan translation of SM251, which takes *girigahvara* (in *girigahvarddi-*) as a *dvandva* compound meaning "mountain and dense copse" (*ri bo dang tshang tshing*) (cited Sanderson *op. cit*). Comparing *Umapatideva*'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 *kunjah*. This might suggest the emendation <kuhje> *smas'dnegirigahvare 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 "samnidhau as "on the banks/shore" (p. 32.4: 'gram dag).
- 540 Lengthier sentiments of this kind in the *Bodhicarydvatdra* (e.g., ch. 3, v. 9: *daridrdndm ca sattvdndm nidhih sydm aksayah...*) are glossed in Prajñākarāmatī's commentary—apparently on the scriptural authority of the *Aryavajradhvaṃśasūtra*—as the "dedication" (*parinamand*) of "roots of goodness" (p. 39): *sa tñi kusalamuldniparindmayan evamparindmayati*. A more common expression of the *parinamana* in the context of the sevenfold worship is found in many *Sddhanamldd* sadhanas, e.g., SM24, "I dedicate all that merit that has arisen here to the sake of complete enlightenment" (p. 57): *punyam prabhutam yad ihdpi sarvam sambodhaye tatparindmaydmi*. In v. 7b, the "King of Righteousness" refers to the Buddha. Cf. SM51 (p. 106): ...*anumode jagatpunyam buddhabodhau dadhe manah I utpdaydmi varabodhicittam nimantraydmi aham sarvasattvdn I istdm carisye varabodhicidrikdm buddho bhavayam jagato hitdya.*

Buddhacarita (1.75b): *lokasyasambudhya ca dharmardjah karisyate bandhanamoksam esah*. According to the prose list (§ 1), the resolve to become a buddha in v. 7b relates to the "arising of the will to enlightenment" (*bodhicittotpadda*).

- 541 The simile derives, famously, from one of the earliest Buddhist texts, the *Mettsutta* (*Sutta Nipatta*, 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 *sadhana* literature, see SM98 (pp. 202-3): *tatra keyam maitri sarvasattvesv ekaputraprematd-*; SM56 (p. 115), etc.
- 542 The expression *spharanayogena/sphuranayogena* is common in meditative generation for the process of emanating rays, mantras, or deities, e.g., SM56 (pp. 116-18): *spharanasamharandkdrena*; SM58 (p. 122): *sphuranasamharanam cadhydyt*, etc.
- 543 The Sanskrit supplies a rather forced object for the causative *sndpayisydmi*, "I will bathe [you who are] purified (*s'uddham*)...." 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 *suddham* in the *d-pdda* of the verse is well attested. It appears in Luyipada's HA (f. 14^v), and in all the GSS mss., such as the *Abhisamayamanjari* (GSS§ K22V3) and in SM26 (p. 65); SM180 (p. 364); SM218 (p. 429: *suddham tu*). Isaacson (1996: personal communication) notes an early text that has the same reading, namely, Rahulagupta's *Hevajraprakasa*, which probably dates from the late tenth century, since the author was supposedly a teacher of Atiśa (palmleaf ms. IASWR MBB 1-34 f. xy). In the ADUT ch. 9 (Kalf 1979 p. 303) reports three mss. reading *s'uddhen*, but perhaps these mss. are veering toward the reading attested by the Tibetan translation of his text, *suddhena*.
- 544 The eight yoginis described by Umapatideva are possibly eight goddesses from the Vajravahni retinue. In the Hevajra tradition, Ratnakarasanti (*Muktdvali* i. 21V4) describes the yoginis as the eight yoginis Gauri, etc. (*gauryddibhih*), i.e., the eight goddesses who surround the central couple. Only four goddesses (Dakini, etc.) surround the central deity in the Vajravahni mandala, however.
- 545 Sanderson (1998: personal communication) suggests that the visualization of the syllable *vam* is intended as an alternative (as is the case at § 9), despite the lack of clarity in the verse. The *ndda* is frequently visualized as a subtle ray of light rising from the dot (*binduh*) of the nasal ending (*anusvdrāh*) of the syllable, e.g., SM79 (p. 153): *nddo ras'mirekhd*.
- 546 The following verses (36-37) seem to be scriptural, although I have not traced their source. Umapatideva cites them as the starting point in each meditation stage to illustrate the composition of the mandala at its different phases. They do not appear in our recension of the YSCT (nor derivative HA), which is curious, as other *pddas* earlier do (w. 38-40, §11).
- 547 The eight-part mantra appears in abbreviated form within the longer *milla-mantragiven* in §32. Significant variants in the parallel texts GSS5 (K24V3) and *Vajravdrdhisddhana* (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 hum phat*. This is also true of the auxiliary-heart mantra (§12), of the mantras of the four petal goddesses, Dakini, etc. (§12), of the outer goddesses, Kakasya, etc. (§15), and of the *mulamantra* (§32), which similarly read *hum hum*.
- 549 The "eight directions of Meru" (§17 and §18 *meror astadiksu...*) refer to the cardinal and intermediate points of the compass. Meru is conceived as the central point. The parallel text in GSS5 (K2iri 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 "Grhadevata" as a site is an anomaly, the roots of which lie in the Buddhist redaction of these lists from the Saiva *Tantrasadhdhva* (*Adhikdra* 19; *Yoginilaksana*). In the source texts, each site is equated with groups of deities. In these pairings, Saurashtra is correlated with the set of household deities (*grhadevata*). 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 *Kulutd* (sometimes *Kulutam*, *Kulutah*); in the vernacular, *Kulu*. The Cakrasamvara corpus seems to have been responsible for a preservation of the erroneous form, *Kulutd*, 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 gzhyas khanggi shar Ltsogspa mams su hsgompar bya'o*).
- 553 The translation "factors that favor enlightenment" (*bodhipdksikadharms/bodhi-paksadharma*) has been suggested by Sanderson (1997: personal communication). The set is listed in *Abhidharmakosalbhdya* ch. 6, v. 67ab and explained there (v. 67b—c) as favorable (*anuloma*) to enlightenment (*bodhih*). Gethin (2001), in his comprehensive analysis of the *bodhipakkiyd dhammd*, 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-pakkiyd dhammd* 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 Nikayas and Abhidhamma, with some reference also to Sanskrit Abhidharmic sources (chs. 7-10).

Umapatideva's glosses on the *bodhipdksikadharmanas* are the fullest example of Abhidharmic exegesis in the GSS collection. His work reveals the influence of Abhidharmic mainstays, such as the *Abhidharmakosa* and *bhdsya* (ch. 6) and the *Arthavinis'cayasutra* (chs. 13-19), and has a strongly traditional basis, as when he cites Panini (§23) to explain the *smrtyupasthndnas*, thus taking after Yas'omitra (*Vydkhydp.* 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 Umapatideva. Other tantric texts, such as the *Samputatantra* ch. 1 (Skorupski 1994: 224-31), also cite traditional glosses, but use the correct sequences; similarly the *Vasantatildkdtik{di.* 7, p. 51), although this text shows some overlap with Umapatideva's lists (e.g., *anusmrtyupasthndnas* ch. 7, v. 2, p. 52, *rddhipddas* p. 53, etc.). For the *bodhipdksikadharmanas* themselves, Umapatideva changes the traditional sequence, in which the four right exertions *{samyakprahndnas}* are second. See endnote table vi:

Endnote table vi. *Thirty-seven bodhipdksikadharmanas*

ADK/B / Asu/N	GSS11
<i>smrtyupasthndnas</i>	<i>smrtyupasthndnas</i> (§23)
<i>samyakprahndnas</i>	<i>rddhipddas</i> (§24)
<i>rddhipddas</i>	<i>indriyas</i> (§25)
<i>indriyas</i>	<i>balas</i> (§26)
<i>balas</i>	<i>bodhyangas</i> (§27)
<i>bodhyangas</i>	<i>drydstdngo margah</i> (§28)
<i>drydstdrigamarga</i>	<i>samyakprahndnas</i> (§29)

The translation of *anusmrtyupasthndnas {smrtyupasthndnas}* as "bringers of awareness" is because of Umapatideva'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 *satipatthndnas*, mostly from Pali sources, which he terms "The Establishing of Mindfulness" (2001: 29-68). The sequence in Umapatideva'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. *anusmrtyupasthndnas*

ADK/B ch. 6, i4abff; Asu/N ch. 13	GSSn
<i>kdaya</i> "	<i>kdaya</i> °
<i>vedand</i> "	<i>vedand</i> °
<i>citta</i> °	<i>dharma</i> "
<i>dharma</i> "	<i>citta</i> "

- 555 For the *smrtyupasthḍnas* as an antidote to the four *viparyḍsas*, see ADK/B v. i5cd., with *Vydkkhyd* (p. 906); also Asu/N (p. 208).
- 556 See ADK/B with *Vydkkhyd* (following 6.15b, p. 904), where Yas'omitra cites the same Paninian sutra; cf. Asu/N p. 211, n. 4.1 am grateful to Professor Sander-son for his help in emending and translating this passage.
- 557 ADK/B (ch. 6 v. i4cdff.) discusses the characteristics of body, etc. See Asu/N ch. 13 (pp. 212, 210): *atha kḍya itiko 'rthah? samghdtrthah*.
- 558 The translation of *rddhipḍḍas* 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 *iddhipḍḍas* as "Bases of Success." Umapatideva himself defines them later in this work as the "means of mind concentration," following the traditional asso-ciation of the set with *samddhi* (*ibid.*: 92, with n. 46).

The *rddhipḍḍas* traditionally come third in the list of *bodhipḍksikadharma*s, following the *prahḍnas*. Umapatideva's sequence for the *rddhipḍḍas* also varies from any of the Abhidharmic sources but may represent the usual tantric account, since this is the list supplied in the *Bauddhatantrakos'a* 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, w. 66 and 69ff), which leaves it to Yas'omitra to clarify (*Vydkkhydp.* 1015, cf. p. 1019 for the questionable inclusion of *samddhi* in the list). The Asu/N sup-plies more detail (ch. 15).

Endnote table viii. *rddhipḍḍas*

Sanskrit sources (Edgerton)	ADK-Vyakhya Asu/N	Pali sources	GSS11
<i>chandas"</i>	<i>chandas"</i>	<i>chanda"</i>	<i>chandas"</i>
<i>citta"</i>	<i>virya"</i>	<i>virya"</i>	<i>virya"</i>
<i>virya"</i>	<i>citta"</i>	<i>citta"</i>	<i>mimḍmsa"</i>
<i>mimḍmsa"</i>	<i>mimḍmsa"</i>	<i>mimḍmsa"</i>	<i>citta"</i>
<i>samddhi"</i>			
<i>prahḍna"</i>			

- 559 For wisdom as a result of hearing, reflection, and meditation (*srutacintdbhḍva-ndmayiprajḍnd*), see ADK/B ch. 1, v. 2b; ADK/B ch. 6, v. 15, and Asu/N ch. 13, p. 211. In these Abhidharmic texts, this threefold set is given within the expo-sition of *dharmasmrtyupasthḍna*. Umapatideva deviates from the norm in placing them here within his exposition of the *rddhipḍḍas*.
- 560 Asu/N also explains *rddhih* with *samrddhih* meaning "wealth of all qualities

- such as supernatural knowledges" (p. 219): *sarvasydbhijnddikasya gunasya sam-rddhih rddhih*; cf. Samtani *ibid.*: n.2, *Madhydntavibhgdgabhdsya and Vibhanga-atthakathd*.
- 561 The traditional gloss is *pdda > pratisthd* (ADK/B p. 1019; Asu/N p. 218: *tasyd rddheh pratisthdnena pdddh rddhipdddh*). Here, the author specifies that *pdda* means a subsidiary (*angam*), namely, that without which the principal (in this case, *bodhih*) cannot be accomplished.
- 562 *rti* (when the vowel *r* follows) *akah* (there is no substitution in the place of the simple vowels a, i, u, r,}). 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 common to all Buddhist schools," contains twenty-two such faculties. This set comprises the "spiritual" faculties (i.e., numbers fifteen to nineteen). His discussion of the set ends with comments upon their "ubiquity in the Nikayas" (*ibid.*: 138—40). I follow Professor Sanderson's suggestions for the translation of this paragraph.
- 564 Some of these glosses appear in Asu/N, although not all relating to the *indriyas*. For *sraddhendriya*, the Asu/N also glosses *s'raddhd*, "*cetasahprasddah*" (ch. 16, p. 223; also given ADK/B ch. 2, v. 256°.) and supplies the same connections with *samyagdrsti* and *karmavipdka* (Asti/Asu/N ch. 16, pp. 31/224). For *viryendriya*, Umapatideva gives the gloss supplied in Asu/N (ch. 16, p. 223) but under *virya-rddhipdda* (§24). For *smrtendriya*, Umapatideva supplies a similar gloss to that in the Asu/N ch. 16 (p. 223): *smrtir dlambandpramosah*, which would indeed be repeating what he has said above (§23), although this does not prevent him from repeating it in the next paragraph. For *samddhindriya*, Umapatideva's gloss on *samddhi* is identical with the Asu/N (p. 223): *samddhis cittasyaikdgrata*. For *prajnendriya*, he differs from the traditional gloss on *prajnd* in this context (ADK/B ch. 6, v. 68ff., p. 1017): *smrtyupasthdndni dharmapravicayasambodhyangam samyagdrstis ca prajnaiva*; Asu/N (p. 223): *prajnd dharmapravicayah*. But his reference to mental states to be abandoned or developed seems to draw on the description of *chanda-rddhipdda* given in the *AsvJN*, which defines these mental states exactly (Asu/N pp. 220-21).
- 565 In this sequence, Umapatideva draws on traditional Abhidharmic exegesis, e.g., AKD/B ch. 6, w. 68-69 (p- 1020): *indriydnmd kimkrto 'nukramab? s'radda-dhdno hiphaldrthdm viryam drabhate, drabdhaviryasya smrtir upatisthate...*; cf. the identical analysis in the Asu/N (p. 224). Umapatideva's text, however, is closer to the Asu itself (ch. 16, p. 32; cf. *Samputatantra* ch. 1, p. 227). Like the sutra, Umapatideva omits *s'raddhd* {torn the sequence, having dealt with it first (and in the same manner). He then echoes the relative-clause construction of the sutra in dealing with the remaining *indriyas*. His exposition amounts to a short, derivative summary of the contents of the Asu, with some changes; for example, he glosses the verb *samuddnayati* with *upadhaukayati* and changes the phrasing *na viprandsayati* to *abhimukhikaroti*. (Asu ch. 16, p. 32):...*idam ucyate sraddhendriyam. tatra katamad viryendriyam? ydn dharmdn s'raddhen-*

driyena s'raddhayati tan dharmdn virendriyena samttddnayati. idam ucyate viryendriyam. tatra katamat smrtindriyam? ydn dharman viryendriyena samuddnayati tdn dharmdn smrtindriyena na viprands'ayati. idam ucyate smrtindriyam. tatra katamat samddhindriyam? ydn dharman smrtindriyena na viprandsayati tan dharmdn samddhindriyena ekdgrikaroti. idam ucyate samddhindriyam. tatra katamat prajñendriyam? ydn dharmdn samddhindriyena ekdgrikaroti tan dharmdn prajñendriyenapratividhyate. sa tesu dharmempratyaveksanajdtiyo bhavati. idam ucyate prajñendriyam.

- 566 Cf. ADK/B ch. 6, w. 68-70 (p. 1020): *kasmd indriydney eva baldny uktdni? mrdvadhimdtrdbheddd avamardaniydnavamardaniyatvdt*; there is also a long exposition of this in the *Vydkhyd*. Asu/N follows suit, in brief (p. 226): *tdny eva sraddhddinipancendriydn balavanti baldny ucyate*. Cf. ADK/B ch. 6, v. 7off. (p. 1022): *samddhisannis'rayena lokottaradharmddhipatibhutdn sraddhddinin-driydn. tdny eva ca nirjitavipaksasamuddcdrdni baldni*. Pali sources list many *balas*, including ten *balds* of a buddha (e.g., in in PED/Edgerton 1953); these are discussed in his analysis of the *balas* by Gethin (2001:140-45).
- 567 Umapatideva's list of *sambodhyangas* differs from the norm in placing *samddhi* first instead of *smrti*, and in juggling the order of the other *angas* (see endnote table ix). This same sequence is attested in the *Vasantatilakdtikd*, which provides similar glosses to some *drigds* (pp. 55-56). In his discussion of this set, Gethin (2001:146-89) translates the *bojjhangas* as "the Factors of Awakening."

Endnote table ix. *sambodhyangas*

ADK/B / Asu/AsuN (ch. 18)	GSSn
<i>smrti</i> "	<i>samddhi</i> "
<i>dharmapracicaya</i> °	<i>viryd</i> "
<i>virya</i> "	<i>pṛiti</i> "
<i>pṛiti</i> "	<i>prasrabdhi</i> "
<i>pras'rabdhi</i> "	<i>dharmapracicaya</i>
<i>samddhi</i> "	<i>smrti</i> "
<i>upeksd</i> "	<i>upeksd</i> "

Umapatideva's glosses do not relate directly to passages in the ADK/B or Asu/N ch. 18 (see Samtani 1971: p. 228 n. 3 for references to other sources). On the *sambodhyangas* as part of the *bodhipaksadharmas* see ADK/B ch. 6, w. 67-69, and as a prelude to the *astdngamarga*, ADK/B ch. 6, v. 7off.; ch. 6, w. 71-73. For the role of *pṛiti* and *prasrabdhi* in *dhydn*, see ADK/B ch. 8, v. 9b ff. and Asu ch. 8 (*catvdri dhydn*); for *prasrabdhi* (also *pṛiti* and *upeksd*) relating to the ten good actions, see ADK/B ch. 2, v. 25ff.; on the cultivation of the *sambodhyangas* see ADK/B ch. 7, v. nff.

- 568 Vasubandhu notes that the four noble truths are called such because they are

the "truths of the noble ones (*dryas*)" (ADK/B ch. 6, commentary to v. 2c, p. 874: *dryasatydniti sutre ucyante. ko 'sydrthah? aryndnm etdni satydni tasmdd dryasatydni siitre 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 Yogacara terms as the antidote to *jneydvdrana* (the obstructive belief that things really exist as other than consciousness, i.e., belief in an object) and to *klesdvarana* (the obstructive belief in real individuality *satkdyadrstih*, i.e., belief in a subject). The Asu/N describes it in more traditional terms as the antidote to wrong views, etc. (ch. 19, p. 231): *mithyddrstipratipaksena ydvan mithydsdmddhipratipaksena samyagdrstyddindm mdrdngdndm yathdkramam vyavasthd*

The sequence of the eightfold path in relation to the *sambodhyangas* 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 (*mdrgah*) of each of the *bodhipaksadharmas* (ADK/B ch. 6; cf. *Vasantatildkatikd* ch. 7, p. 51). It is to this discussion that Umapatideva refers here (ADK ch. 6, v. iab: *klesaprahndnam dkhydtam satyadarsanabhavandt...*). Abhidharmikas enumerated five stages of the path (*sambhdramdrga*, *prayoga*", *dars'ana*", *bhdvand*", *as'aiksa*°), in the course of which all defilements (*kles'as*) would be removed. In this analysis, the eightfold path is said to belong to the path of seeing (*dars'anamdrgah*), that is, the path of removing (*prahndnamdrgah*) the *kles'as* of belief in a self (*drstih*). The type and number of *kles'as* are reckoned according to how "strong" they are, and how "weak" the practitioner is. The most subtle *kles'as* are destroyed only once the *darsanamarga* has been traversed (according to some, this happens in a flash), and the stage of "meditation" is reached. The *bhdvandmdrgd* comprises the path of removing more subtle defilements (*rdgah*, *dvesah*) (cf. *Vasantatilakdtikd* ch. 7, p. 56: *kles'dvaranapratipakse darsanamdrgam uktvd jneydvarana-pratipaksam bhdvandmdrgdm dhd*). The subtlest *kles'as* are removed with the very highest meditation, called *Vajropamasamddhi*, and this opens the way to the final path of "no more training" (*as'aiksa*), which is characterized by the "knowledge of the destruction of the defilements" (*ksayajndnam*) and "knowledge that they will never arise again" (*anutpdajndnam*). In GSS11, Umapatideva ascribes the eightfold path to both paths, the *darsanamdrga* and *bhdvandmarga*. In the *Vasantatilakdtikd* it belongs only to the latter (ch. 7, p. 56: *tatra bhdvandmarge jneydvarana<m> nihsvabhdvam itiyd dhih sd samyagdrstih...*). The varying distribution of the *bodhipaksikadharmas* over the five paths is discussed by Gethin (2001: 338-42).

- 569 The change to the normal sequence of *bodhipaksikadharmas* (in which the *samyakprahndnas* 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 *bodhipaksikadharmas* (see especially *Vydkhyd* on ADK/B ch. 6, v. 68, p. 1017). However, the traditional glosses on the first *prahndnas* (ADK/B

69a, *Vydkhyd* p. 1015, *Asu/N* ch. 14) justify their original position in the sequence, in that they are causally related to the *rddhipddas* (for example, the abandoning of unskillful states gives rise to *chandasa*, the first of the *rddhipddas*; *prahdna* is also defined as *virya*).

The meaning of *samyakprahana* is "right abandonment," and this term (*Cprahdnam*) is usual in Sanskrit sources. However, the Pali term for this four-fold formula was "right effort," *samma-(p)padhdna* (e.g., *Dighanikdya* II.120, *Majjhimanikdya* II.11, III.296; further references in PED). There is another similar set of four *padhdnas* in Pali literature, namely, restraint [of the senses] (*samvarah*), abandonment [of sinful thoughts] (*pahdnam*), cultivation [of skillful states] (*bhavana*), and guarding [skillful states] (*anurakkhand*) (*Dighanikdya* III.225, *Anguttaranikdya* II.16, etc.). "Effort" (*padhdnam*, *pradhdnam*) 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 (*padhdnam*) with the Sanskrit (*prahdna*), 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 *prahdna*, and it is this reading that also went into Tibetan translations (see Pruden's translation of *Abhidharmakos'a* 1991, n. 423, p. 1080 to *Abhidharmakos'a*). 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-pradhdna*) is also found in Sanskrit literature, namely: effort (*prayatnah*), endurance (*utsahah*), valor (*viryam*), and resolve (*vyavasdyah*).

The sequence in which the stages appear in the texts varies, and although Umapatideva'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. *Fourprahanas*

ADK ch. 6, v. 69a; <i>Vydkhyd</i> (p. 1015 on ADK 6.66) <i>Asu</i> (ch. 14, variation in 1 & 2; <i>Samtani ibid.</i> p. 29, n. 2)	Pali sources	GSS11
(i) abandoning of unskillful	(ii)	(iii)
(ii) nonarising of unskillful	(i)	(iv)
(iii) giving rise to skillful	(iii)	()
(iv) protection of skillful	(iv)	(ii)

570 The scriptural citation opens the description of the body mandala. The notes below show some variant readings from the Cakrasamvara/Vajrayogini traditions, and comment upon some problems in the texts of the Cakrasamvara

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 uttamaṃ*; 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 cakra and its place in the vertical cosmos (*ibid.*): *pumkārādi-samāyogā?* (B damaged; A: *pu-kāra*)...*deśe deśe vyavasthitāḥ. pu iti pulliramalaye khaṇḍakapālīnapracandāḥ...pīṭham...cittacakrasya khecarī*. The YSCT thirteenth *paṭala* describes the body maṇḍala again (A6v. 2, B9v. 1): *atha param pravakṣyāmi...vīrayoginīm advayam—śrīherukamahāyogisthānam akṣara-bhūmyakam*; cf. GSS11 v. 42. This time it includes the body points with the structure: “In the site on the body point...the places” (*pulliramalaye 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 uttamaṃ. pum khaṇḍakapālīnapracandā śīrasi*; ADUT ch. 14 (p. 319); also Lūyīpāda's HĀ (f. 10r1 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-. pulliramalayaśīrasi 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 (f.4v6) is unclear, but may read *vrkke*.

574 A variant in other texts reads “armpits,” *bāhumūlayoh* (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-narteśvara”).

576 Other texts also read “mouth,” e.g., *mukhaśthāne* (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; *gunavarti* in ADUT) and their Tibetan translations, arguing that the intended meaning is "coiled gut." Other readings include *gunavatti* (GSS7); *gudavartti* (HA f. 15T.1-2 and SUT); *gulavati* (YSCT B f. 31.4).

- 577 The body mandala practice in the Cakrasamvara tradition gives this body point as "penis" (*medhre*) with the corrupt form *medram* (YSCT ms. B); *medre* (HA, GSS5, GSS11); *medhrasthdne* (SUT ch. 7, v. 11a); *medhre* (ADUT ch. 9). Cf. ADUT ch. 14 (with variants in different mss.: *medre*, *madhre*, *matre*, Tib.: *bshangsgo*). 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 Khandaroha in Grhadevata). 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* (»zftiz\$="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 Vajrayogini tradition in that the body mandala is supposedly conducted by the yogin who has self-generated himself as the goddess Vajravarahi. If the body mandala 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 *Pretddhivdsini* (YSCT ch. 13 and SUT ch. 7, v. 12a).
- 579 Our tradition (GSS texts, YSCT ch. 13, HA) reads *ariguli*, meaning either "fingers" or "toes," although the Tibetan translates as "on the fingers" (p. 42.4: *sor mo rnam*s). Kalff {*op. cit.*: 159–60} notes that there are two traditions here (as also for the twenty-third goddess, see *angustha* below). One tradition specifies "toes" (e.g., SUT ch. 7, v. 14: *pddangulau*; also the ADUT commentary by Surangavajra: *rkangpa'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, Luyipada states, "the sixteen fingers (and toes) {*ser* [sic] *mo bcu drug*, no reference, Meisezahl 1967: 296); *Cakrasamvarasddhana* (Dawa-Samdup 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 *nydsa* 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 *nydsa* of sites/deities in the *kdyamandala* 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 Vajravarahi for the *kdyamandala*.
- 580 *sddhumat* (*fcm.*: *sddhumati*) is literally "having good," but this is usually translated as if from *sddhumati* "having a good mind/heart," e.g., Dayal (1932: 290). This is the standard translation of the Tibetan "good intelligence/excellent knowledge" (*legs pa V bio gros*).
- 581 Our tradition gives *angusthayoh*, also in the Tibetan translation (p. 42.5: *mthe*

- bo dag*) (e.g., GSS texts, HA, 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.i) again notes that two traditions exist. He states that Surangavajra's comment on the ADUT specifies the two big toes (*rkangpa'imthe bognyisla*). The *Cakrasamvarasddhana* (Dawa-Samdup *op. cit.*: 21) and Luyipada (Meisezahl *op. cit.*: 296) specify both thumbs and big toes (Tib.: *mthe bongb'zi*), as does Tucci (*op. cit.*: 41). Once again, I prefer the latter, in line with the earlier arguments (v. 52a).
- 582 Vajravarahi'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 *protunge*, introduced in the Tibetan by **tadyathd* (p. 43.2). This also appears in GSS5 (Sed p. 137^v, K24V6), directly following the full form of the eight-part mantra (GSS5 Sed p. 137^v, K24V3), and the second part alone (*protunge...*) appears in the *Vajravdrasiddhana* (Finot 1934: 60-61=GSS3). In the *Vajravdrasiddhdnd* (Finot *op. cit.*) this is also called the *mulamantra*, but in GSS5 it is termed the "garland mantra" (GSS5 Sed p. 137^v, K24V6: *atha ca mlddmantra 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 *aksara* 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 Saiva flavor of this epithet is unmistakable since Paramasiddhayogesvari is the name of a Saiva goddess from the nondual Trika tradition.
- 584 The term "vajra words" (*kulisapaddh, vajrapaddh*) 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 Cakrasamvara mandala, e.g., *kdrd kara*. Another version of the mantra, consisting solely of the vajra words, appears in the *ball* ritual described below (§37). It also appears in this form in the **Mantrapatha* (Finot *op.cit.*: 53-54) and *Cakrasamvarabalividhi* (*ibid.*: p. 57); also in the mantras of the twenty-four gods of the sites in the Cakrasamvara mandala, as in the HA (f. i3r) 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 Sakyaraksita states that it is a general mantra, applicable to all types of ritual (GSS5 Sed p. 139^v, K25V4: *sarvakarmiko 'yam mantrah*).
- 586 There seem to be two traditions for the generation of the heads. The Sanskrit prescribes the syllable *kam* (presumably based on the meaning *kam*, "head") and the Tibetan, the syllable *ah*. 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: *a li kd liyongs su gyur pa laszla ba...*).
- 589 The verse is also recited by the practitioner during the hand worship [§46]. In the SUT ch. 8, w. 22cd-26, this *indravajrd* verse follows the offering of food stuffs to the emanated mandala (w. 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. i43¹⁸-44¹³, K29V3~3or3) and *Cakrasamvarabalividhi* (p. 58). The latter also indicates the recipients of each mantra offering (shown here in square brackets).
- 591 "Sipping" (*acamanam*) is usually the ritual cleansing by sipping water and touching it to parts of the body (e.g., *Kriydsamuccaya* SP f. 414.3: *pddydcama-nadikam dattvd*; f. 415.2: *acamanam tato datvd sugandhair s'odhayet {s'odhayet conj.; suksayetSP} karam*). Here the context may suggest the sipping of nectar.
- 592 This *mdlini* verse appears in SUT ch. 8, v. 28 and is used in the context of *bali* offering in GSS5 (Sed p. 144¹, 29V1) and *Cakrasamvarabalividhi* (p. 58). It is absent in the account of the *bali* mantras in YSCT (A5r) and HA (f. i4r-v).
- 593 Parallels with almost identical text appear elsewhere in the GSS, e.g., in GSS11 (§45, §48, §49); GSS5 (Sed p. 144¹⁴, K3or4): *cchomdhastena samcchomya nyunddhikavidhipurandrtham s'atdksaramantramghantdyddanapurvakam pathet*. = *Cakrasamvrabalividhi* (p. 58; a line has dropped out of the mantra in Finot's edition); cf. VA, *Sdmvarikah sdrvabhautikabalividhi* (SP f. i24r) and *Mandalopasamhdrddividhi* (SP ff. n8r-U9v); and the hundred-syllabled mantra as short-hand 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 Umapatideva's text repeats this form of the dismissal mantra (§45, §50). However, it appears as *om vajra muh* in GSS5 (Sed p. 144¹⁷, K3or6; Sed p. 146¹¹, K32r; Sed p. 148¹, K33r5) and the *Cakrasamvarabalividhi* (Finot *op. cit.*: 58), and in the *Mandalopasamhdrddividhi* 'm the VA (SPf. n8v) as *om ah hum vajra muh*. The final mantra syllable *muh* is associated with dismissal (e.g., Khasarpana-Lokesvara SM24 p. 57: *om ah hum muh*). It appears in (or in association with) a much-cited scriptural verse for dismissing deities, e.g., GSS16 (K82n): *tatah. om ah hum mur iti mantrenapdnnyaculukdm grhitvd mandalam sincayet*. - *om krto vah sarvasattvdrtha* <h> *siddhir dattdyathdnugd I gacchadhvam buddhavisayam punardgamandy ca. • dattd* [em.; *datvd* K. The ms. reading (*datvd*) seems to be influenced by the parallel in SUT ch. 23, v. 52a-d: *om krto vah sarvasattvdrthah siddhim dattvd yathdnugdm I gacchadhvam buddhavisayam viharadhvam yathdsukham*. For the emendation to *dattd*, and for other variants in the *d-pdda*, cf. SM29 (*om krto vah... siddhir dattd yathdnugd... punardgamandya ca*), and for the final element *muh*, see SM67 (p. 138), SM211 (p. 417), and SM247 (p. 480): *krto vah... siddhir dattd yathdnugd... punardgamandya muh*.
- 595 The parallel text of the *Abhisamayamahjari* (GSS5 Sed p. 145¹¹, K3ir2) is cited in full in the Textual Notes and is indicated in the apparatus along with the closely related text of the *Bdhyapujdividhi* of Sas'vatavajra (Finot *op. cit.*: 52-53).

- Sasvatavajra encloses his work with a benediction and dedication of merit, both of which mention the *Bahyapujdvidhi* by name. Other puja texts mentioned are from GSS2 (Kiin), GSS20 (K84V5)–GSS25 (K92r2), and GSS35 (K119V3).
- 596 The text of GSS11 contains one injunction "to place the left hand (on)" *vdmahastam dattvd* following the locative *s'ucipradese*. The parallel texts (GSS5=*Bahyapujdvidhi*) cited in the Textual Notes contain two similar injunctions (*hastam dattvd*). The construction is familiar from other texts, e.g., *Hevajrasekaprakriyd* (*s'irasi hastam dattva*), Kumaracandra's *panjikā* on *Kṛṣṇa-yamdrītantra* (p. 110).
- 597 The meaning of *vidarbhanam* is explained by Padoux (1977: 345) as the utterance of the mantra a single time after the name. Umapatideva repeats the same sequence of offerings in the alternative *bdhyapujā* 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 mandala. Umapatideva intends this last offering to be to the outermost inhabitants of the mandala, in the manner of the final *bali* mantra. The same method is adopted for the outermost deities, the ten *krodhas*, in the Samvara *bali* ritual in the VA (n. 513), their names likewise inserted before the mantas.
- 598 The parallel texts include this instruction (*vaksyamdnā*); see Textual Notes.
- 599 The parallel text in GSS5 is cited in the Textual Notes, with some variants from the very close text of Sasvatavajra's *Hastapujdvidhi* (Finot *op. cit.*: 54–55) reported where of interest. (Text dealing with the Cakrasamvara 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 Sasvatavajra's *Hastapujdvidhi*, 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 tīte is mentioned only briefly in this tantra (see n. 524).
- 602 Sanderson (1998: personal communication) notes that *mandalakam* 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 *Saṃputodbhāvanā* 6.3.18–22b.
- 604 The SUT ch. 17, v. 42c has *Prapūraṇa*, which Umapatideva seems to have altered for metrical reasons to *Prapūraṇa*, although the sense is not as good.

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