STUDIES IN INDIAN AND TIBETAN BUDDHISM



VAJRAYOGINĪ

HER VISUALIZATIONS, RITUALS, AND FORMS

ELIZABETH ENGLISH

VAJRAYOGINĪ

Studies in Indian and Tibetan Buddhism

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Her Visualizations, Rituals, & Forms

A Study of the Cult of Vajrayoginī in India

Elizabeth English



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To my teachers

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

The central Vajravārāhī is in ardhaparyaṅka *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, Saṃtrāsinī (green), Caṇḍikā? (grey?), Vajravārāhī (red); and three to the right, Saṃcālinī? (yellow?), Mohinī? (white?), and Yāminī (blue-black). Armor Vajravārāhī has three heads and six arms, and the rest hold skull bowl and staff (left) and ḍamaru and chopper (right). Upper and lower registers of the full tangka hold figures datable to the twelfth century from a Bka' brgyud lineage. Published: Kossak and Casey Singer 1999, plate 21.*

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

The central Vajravārāhī is in ardhaparyaṅka *pose against a backdrop of the eight cremation grounds. She is flanked by eight goddesses (holding skull bowl and ḍamaru in their two arms); four have animal heads, possibly black crow and black dog (left), and red owl and white hog (right). (These goddesses are similar to the goddesses of the outer maṇḍala in GSS11; but the latter have four arms, holding staff and skull bowl, ḍamaru and chopper; the animal heads on the gate goddesses are: black crow (east), green owl (north), red dog (west) and yellow hog (south); and the intermediate goddesses are bitonal.) The central frames of the vertical registers depict four ḍākinīs to left and right, in warrior stance with various attributes in their four arms. Below them are Śakyamuni and four-armed Avalokiteśvara (left), and Mañjughoṣa and Vajrapāṇi (right). The upper register contains siddhas and monks. The bottom register has six dancing deities (possibly offering goddesses), with a monk (far left) and bodhisattva (far right). Published: Christian Deydier Oriental Bronzes Ltd. 1997, item 14: 44–45; Rossi and Rossi 2002, plate 4.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

Reproduced in Willson and Brauen 2000.

a. Armor Vajravārāhī (IWS 62)
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Cakrasaṃvara appears against a backdrop of the cremation grounds within a sixty-two deity maṇḍala. Two of the outer goddesses of the gates are recognizable here: Kākāsyā (crow-faced, black, to the east) in the center of the bottom register, and Ulūkāsyā (owl-faced, green, to the north) in the center of the vertical frame to the right. Of the bitonal intermediate outer goddesses, we can recognize: Yamaḍāḍhī (southeast/bottom left corner), Yamamathanī (northeast/bottom right corner) and Yamadaṃṣṭriṇī (northwest/top-right corner). The remaining visible figures are the gods and goddesses (in union) of the twenty-four sites. Two additional deities are also depicted: two-armed Heruka, blue (center of second row from top), and four-armed Acala (center of second row from bottom). See Piotrovsky 1993: 156–58 for attributions for this maṇḍala, "Paramasukha Cakrasaṃvara, Yab-Yum, Luipa Maṇḍala." Published: Rhie and Thurman 1991, no. 92; Piotrovsky 1993, no. 26.

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

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

Reproduced in Brauen 1997.

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

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b. f. 70v showing colophon to Vajravārāhī Sādhana *by Umāpatideva (continued on f. 71r).*

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

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

Preface

My interest in the Buddhist tantras—and in sādhana 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 *kuṭila* script. The text comprised a collection of some fifty sādhanas—meditation and ritual works—all of which were concerned with the practice of Vajrayoginī, a deity of the highest tantras. With Professor Sanderson's help, and the untiring support of Dr. Harunaga Isaacson, I set about the tasks of editing the texts and attempting to understand their contents. Without the knowledge of these two outstanding scholars, I could hardly have begun to fathom the complexity of the Buddhist tantric traditions, let alone begin my doctoral thesis. The thesis was completed in 1999 and was entitled *Vajrayoginī: Her Visualisation, Rituals and Forms*. This book is an adaptation of that thesis.

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

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

The decision to base the study upon a single sādhana from the *Guhyasamayasādhanamālā* 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 Abhayākaragupta's encyclopedic *Vajrāvalī* or Jagaddarpaṇa's derivative *Kriyāsamuccaya,* cannot be taken as conclusive evidence for practice on the ground, as those authors themselves struggled with the various currents of opinion without necessarily reaching their own conclusions. In addition, the meanings of many terms remain obscure and will only come to light when a far broader field of reference is available.

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

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

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

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

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

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

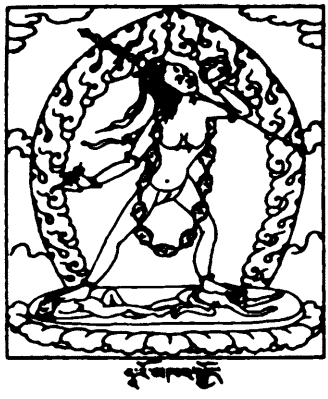


Fig. 1. *Nāro-khecarī.*
Mongolian woodblock print
(IWS/T 77, LC 587)

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I have begun in chapter 1 by locating Vajrayoginī within the complex traditions of the Buddhist tantras. I then turn to the *Guhyasamayasādhanamālā* itself and explore what is known of its provenance, both of its authors and of the tantric sādhana that makes up the bulk of its contents. Chapter 2 forms a survey of all the different forms of Vajrayoginī within the *Guhyasamayasādhanamālā*, 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 sādhana from the collection, the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* by Umāpatideva, which is divided into its own distinctive meditation stages and final ritual portion. The Sanskrit edition (with notes) and the translation to the sādhana follow chapter 3. The appendix gives a list of all sādhanas in the *Guhyasamayasādhanamālā* (with witnesses where I have found them) and a summary of their contents.

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Elizabeth English
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1. Vajrayoginī and the Buddhist Tantras

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

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

The Buddhist Tantric Systems

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Complicated as the divisions and subdivisions of the tantric corpus are, they have been made more so by mistranslations in use in the West. Sanderson (1993) has pointed out that the term *anuttarayogatantra* found in some secondary sources does not occur in Sanskrit enumerations of the different classes of tantras and is likely to derive from an incorrect back-formation from the Tibetan *rnal 'byor bla med kyi rgyud* or "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 "yoginītantra"; Sanderson 1994b: 98 n. 1). The term "yogānuttara-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 Vajrayoginī belong to the most developed phase of the yoginītantras. Vajra-

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

> The root text *(mūlatantram)* is the *Laghuśaṃvaratantra*, also called *Herukābhidhāna-* or *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* (BBK: 251). The text does not survive in its entirety; lost portions are accessible only through the early eleventh-century Tibetan translation, lemmata in tenth-century Sanskrit commentaries, and in secondary texts such as the *Abhidhānottaratantra*.
>
> The *Abhidhānottaratantra* (BBK: 254). Its relationship with the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* is that of explanatory tantra *(*vyākhyātantram)* to root text *(mūlatantram)*, according to Buddhaguhya's terminology.
>
> *Vajraḍākatantra* (BBK: 255).
> *Saṃvarodayatantra* (BBK: 256).
> *Ḍākārṇavatantra* (BBK: 255).
> *Yoginīsaṃcāratantra* (BBK: 258).
> *Herukābhyudaya* (not surviving in Sanskrit).
> *Caturyoginīsaṃpuṭa* (BBK: 259).

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

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

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

Authors	*Works in GSS*
Indrabhūti (or his lineage)	Vajrayoginimukhāgama (GSS1) Pradīpāhutividhi (GSS14) Indrabhūtikrameṇa Vajrayoginisādhana by Vijayavajra (GSS35)
Lūyipāda	Vajravārāhīsādhana (GSS2)
Advayavajra	Vajravārāhīsādhana (GSS3) Sarvārthasiddhisādhana (GSS15) Vajravārāhisādhana (GSS31) Possibly Trayodaśātmikāvajraḍākinīvajravārāhīsādhana (GSS16)
Śākyarakṣita	Abhisamayamañjarī (GSS5)
Śabara (and his lineage)	Guhyavajravilāsinīsādhana (GSS10) Vajrayoginīsādhana (GSS19) Vidyādharīvajrayoginyārādhanavidhi (GSS23) Possibly Vidyādharikramavajrayoginīsādhana (GSS21) Vidyādharikramabhāvanā (GSS22) [Vidyādharī-]ārādhanavidhi (GSS5, K38r1)
Umāpatideva	Vajravārāhīsādhana (GSS11)
Buddhadatta	Gopyahomavidhi (GSS13)
Virūpa	"Piṇḍārthāḥ Ṣoḍaśaślokās Trikāyavajrayoginyāḥ" (GSS26) Trikāyavajrayoginīstutipraṇidhāna (GSS27) Trikāyavajrayoginisādhana (GSS25) Possibly Vajrayoginīsādhana (GSS20) Trikāyavajrayoginī text in GSS5 (K36r5) Vajrayoginīsādhana (GSS9, GSS30)
"Lakṣmī" (?)	Lakṣmīsādhana (GSS24)
Vilāsavajra	Saṃkṣiptavajravārāhīsādhana (GSS29) Possibly GSS4
Sahajāvalokana- samādhivajra	Binducūḍāmaṇir nāma svādhiṣṭhānakrama (GSS32) Possibly GSS33
Dhyāyīpāda	"Paramagambhīropadeśo Vajrayoginyāḥ Karaṅkatoraṇakramaḥ Svādhiṣṭhānam" (GSS34) Possibly GSS33
Vijayavajra	Indrabhūtikrameṇa Vajrayoginīsādhana (GSS35)
Vibhūticandra	Vajravilāsinīstotra (GSS43)
Anaṅgayogin	Ḍākinīguhyasamayasādhana (GSS46)

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

The Guhyasamayasādhanamālā and Its Authors

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

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

that even pinpointing three Indrabhūtis is "surely an underestimate" and points to "the tendency for traditional apologists and modern scholars to amalgamate the various personalities into one grand persona." Dowman *(op. cit.)* also puts forward three possible candidates for Indrabhūti's sister, Lakṣmīṅkarā, including a nun of similar name; however, even if we agree that this same Lakṣmīṅkarā is the author of our *Lakṣmīsādhana* (GSS24), the only certainty we can have is that she was no later than the Tibetan translator of the text, who was known to have lived 1059–1109.[30] Virūpa, traditionally the pupil of Lakṣmīṅkarā (*Blue Annals:* 390), is just as elusive, and may have lived as early as the eighth century (Tāranātha *History:* 197) or as late as the eleventh century, when he supposedly taught Maitrīpāda (also called Advayavajra) and Mar pa the translator (*Blue Annals:* 390). Similar problems beset the dating of the Mahāsiddha Lūyīpāda. Kvaerne (1977: 5–6), for example, hesitantly cites Tāranātha (*History:* 311), according to whom "Lui" was a contemporary of Maitrī (Advayavajra) in the eleventh century, and notes that in one tradition, Lūyīpāda's guru was Saraha, who may have flourished in the eleventh century or earlier (see also Dasgupta 1946: 6). Davidson (1991: n. 24) notes that Lūyīpāda's *Śrī-Bhagavadabhisamaya* was translated into Tibetan in the first part of the eleventh century, "apparently the earliest attested practice of the Cakrasaṃvara" in the Tibetan canon. However, Sa skya legends assert that Lūyīpāda was a scribe at the court of Dharmapāla in the late eighth century (Dowman 1985: 37). The dating of Śabara 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 Śabara, the only merit of which is that it echoes the legend of Śabara's immortality, according to which he would still be teaching today. Another of Śabara's pupils is said to be Advayavajra, whose dates have been discussed at length by Tatz (1987: 697) and shown to be tied to the reign of King Neyapāla in the eleventh century (1007–85).[31] Śabara also apparently initiated Vibhūticandra into the sixfold yoga system *(ṣaḍaṅgayogaḥ)* (*Blue Annals:* 727). Stearns (1996: 127–71) places Vibhūticandra in the later twelfth to early thirteenth centuries at the time of the Moslem invasions. Vibhūticandra would thus be the youngest author in our collection.

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

(Herukābhisamaya) by Lūyīpāda. Apart from the similarity of his title, Śākyarakṣita refers twice to Lūyīpāda's work, commenting on Lūyīpāda's method for establishing the vajra ground (*vajrabhūmi*, K20v2) and knowledge circle (*jñānacakra*, K21v6), and referring to it for an in-depth treatment of Vajravārāhī's thirty-seven-deity maṇḍala.[32] Śākyarakṣita adds that this was taught "by my teacher in the Vajrāvalī," which reveals that his guru was Abhayākaragupta, abbot of the monastic university Vikramaśīla during the reign of King Rāmapāla (c. 1084–1126/1130).[33] If Śākyarakṣita was a younger contemporary of Abhayākaragupta, he would probably have flourished in the mid-twelfth century.

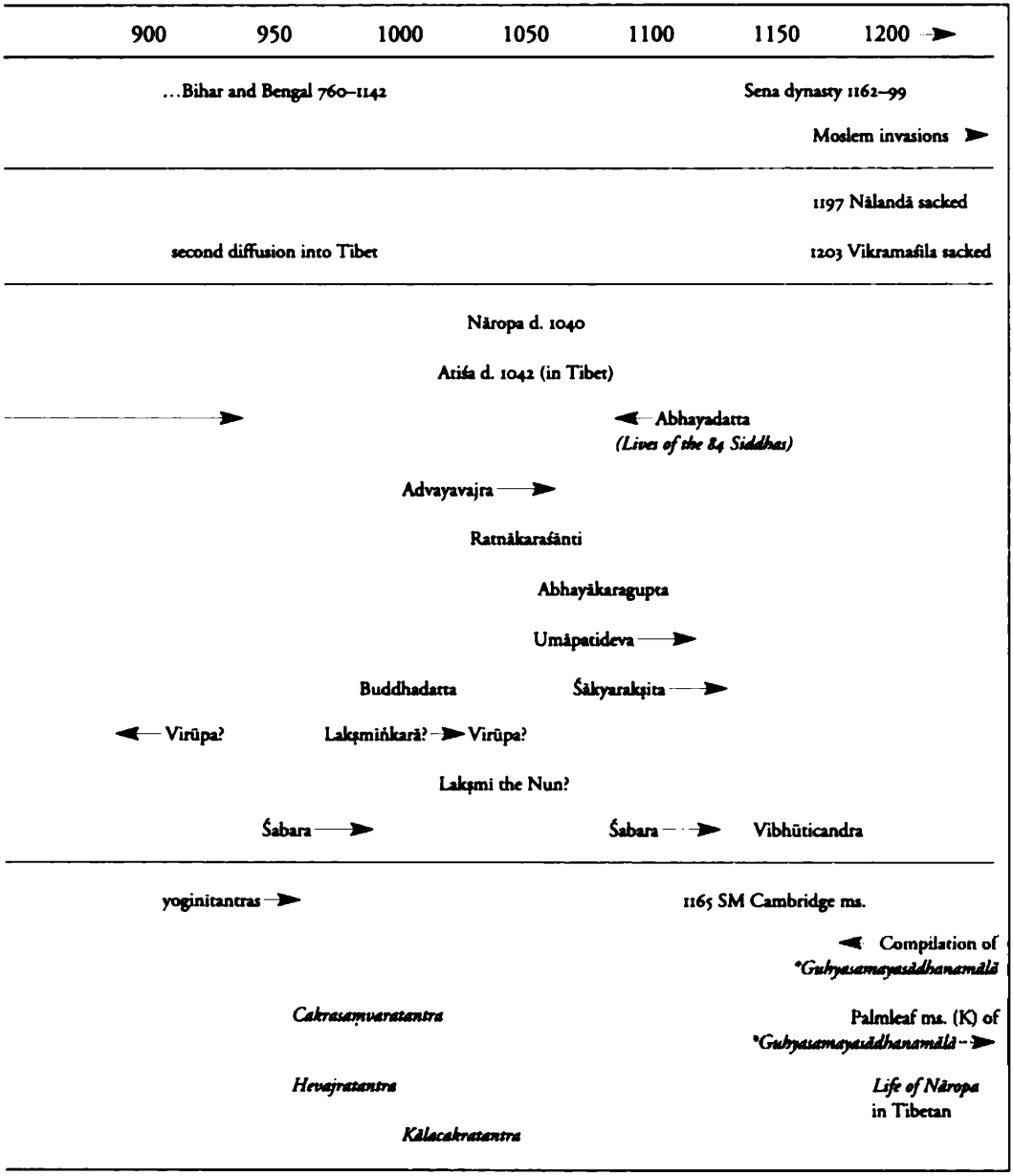
Our study of Umāpatideva's *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* (GSS11) will show that it shares much in common with Śākyarakṣita's work, in both its subject matter and use of sources. Fortunately, Umāpatideva's lineage and dates are on slightly firmer ground, and these place him in the same generation as Śākyarakṣita,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

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

Table 2. *Time chart*†

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

† 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.


900
950
1000
1050
1100
1150
1200
...Bihar and Bengal 760–1142
Sena dynasty 1162–99
Moslem invasions
1197 Nālandā sacked
second diffusion into Tibet
1203 Vikramaśīla sacked
Nāropa d. 1040
Atiśa d. 1042 (in Tibet)
Abhayadatta
(Lives of the 84 Siddhas)
Advayavajra
Ratnākaraśānti
Abhayākaragupta
Umāpatideva
Buddhadatta
Śākyarakṣita
Virūpa?
Lakṣmiṅkarā?
Virūpa?
Lakṣmi the Nun?
Śabara
Śabara
Vibhūticandra
yoginitantras
1165 SM Cambridge ms.
Compilation of
*Guhyasamayasādhanamālā
Cakrasaṃvaratantra
Palmleaf ms. (K) of
*Guhyasamayasādhanamālā
Hevajratantra
Life of Nāropa
in Tibetan
Kālacakratantra

ing to the Tibetan tradition, he is one of three main transmitters of the Cakrasaṃvara system along with Ghaṇṭāpāda and Kṛṣṇapāda (*Blue Annals:* 389; Dawa-Samdup 1919: 9; Jackson 1994: 125). Śabara is also associated with the spread of mahāmudrā, according to the evidence of the *Guhyasamayasādhanamālā* (see chapter 2), and is an important transmitter of the Ṣaḍaṅgayoga discipline (Padma gar dbang, cited Stearns 1996: 140). One tradition putatively connects Śabara with the origins of the Trikāya-vajrayoginī tradition through his lineal descendant Kṛṣṇācārya (Dowman 1985: 320; 7.19), although Benard (1994: 12–13) prefers to credit Lakṣmīṅkarā. In Tibet, Virūpa was regarded as the "first lama or *ādiguru*" of the Sa skya sect (Dowman 1985: 52; Dudjom 1991: 853). The fact that the *Guhyasamayasādhanamālā* opens with two texts, one attributed to Indrabhūti (or elsewhere to Śabara; see GSS1 in the appendix) and an almost identical work to Lūyīpāda, is significant. It asserts the antiquity of the collection, and hence its authenticity. Similarly, Indrabhūti's authorship implies that the geographical source of the teachings is Oḍḍiyāna, the very homeland of esoteric spiritual revelation, as many tantric colophons testify.[36] The text itself (GSS1–GSS2) reveals an East Indian influence, with its clear exchange of the consonants *v* for *b* in its *mantroddhāra.*

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

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

The reference to the academic milieu in the **Siddha-Āmnāya* is interesting because it illustrates the contrast between the life of Advayavajra, the yogin-paṇḍit working within the monastic universities, and the supposed source of his learning, the illiterate adept and mountain-dwelling huntsman Śabara. Although our younger authors may have lived and worked in the intellectually charged milieu of the monastic universities, their sādhana 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-Āmnāya* (p. 11) first describes his formal training in grammar and orthodox (nontantric) Buddhist disciplines at monastic universities such as Vikramaśīla; it then recounts his tantric studies (possibly under Nāropa) at Nālandā, but only finally launches him on his higher tantric career when he leaves the monastic life and sets out on his magical journey to seek Vajrayoginī, prompted by a voice in a dream. In Tibetan accounts, 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 Virūpa's life. According to the *Legends* (Dowman 1985: 43–52), this mahāsiddha first became a monk of Somapura monastery, but despite his initiation into the practice of sow-faced Vajravārāhī, he failed to see her even in a dream until, after twelve years, in a depressed state, he threw his rosary into the toilet. He attained mahāmudrā after another twelve years. Virūpa's subsequent expulsion from Somapura (for eating pigeon pie) was accompanied by various miracles, such as walking on water and holding back the sun in a ploy to avoid settling his tab at the local tavern.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sādhana Collections

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

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

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

1. The *One Hundred and Fifty Sādhanas (*Sādhanaśatapañcāśikā, sGrub thabs brgya dang lnga bcu),*[42] consisting of about this number of sādhanas.

2. The *Hundred Sādhanas (*Sādhanaśataka, sGrub thabs brgya rtsa),* which contains about ninety-three sādhanas.

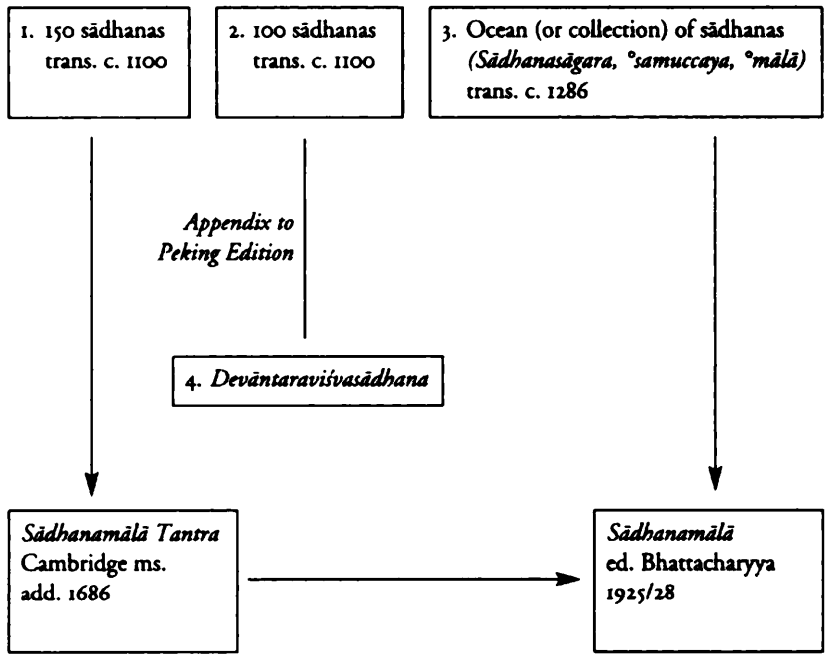
3. The *Ocean of Sādhanas* (**Sādhanasāgara* in Bu ston's catalog), also called the *Collection of Sādhanas* (*Sādhanasamuccaya* in the Peking edition P4221–4466), and the *Garland of Sādhanas* (*Sādhanamālā* in the colophon of some Sanskrit manuscripts), consisting of a large collection of 242 sādhanas.

4. The **Devāntaraviśvasādhana* collection, which appears in the Peking edition as an appendix to the second collection, the **Sādhanaśataka.*

It is from these collections that Bhattacharyya (1925/28) produced his edition of the so-called *Sādhanamālā,* accidentally conflating the largest collection of 242 sādhanas *(*Sādhanasāgara)* with the collection of 150 sādhanas *(*Sādhanaśatapañcāśikā).*[43]

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

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



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

twelfth century and continued into the thirteenth century (and beyond), that is, in the period when the monastic universities under the Pāla dynasties were at their height. Records of the Sanskrit manuscripts confirm this picture. Comparing the evidence of the manuscript collections with the dates of likely authors, it is clear that the time between the composition of a sādhana 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 *Guhyasamayasādhanamālā* collection. There are, however, notable differences. The *Guhyasamayasādhanamālā* is far smaller, containing only forty-six works. Moreover, it seems to have been relatively stable. Only one sādhana (GSS8) is omitted in the later recension of the collection represented by the devanāgarī manuscript, a sādhana that is anyway repeated identically later in the collection (GSS39). The *Guhyasamayasādhanamālā* was not translated into Tibetan, although some of its sādhanas appear in the *bsTan 'gyur* as part of other collections (details are given in notes to the appendix). Remarkable is that all forty-six sādhanas of the *Guhyasamayasādhanamālā* focus upon Vajrayoginī/Vajravārāhī. Other sādhana collections, apart from being much larger, are more diverse. They include sādhanas relating to various deities, sometimes arranged accordingly in groups inside the compilation. There are, for example, groups of sādhanas within the so-called *Sādhanamālā* 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 *Guhyasamayasādhanamālā* remained a discrete collection and was not absorbed into another collection is unknown. Perhaps as a grouping it was too large to be placed inside another collection, or perhaps it had its own pretensions to reach a desirable "fifty." Another suggestion is that this collection—with its single-minded concern with Vajrayoginī and its "contemporary" nature—may have been the initiative of a single scholar. This impression is heightened by its internal organization. The collection begins with traditional-style maṇḍalas of the Cakrasaṃvara tradition adapted to the female deity Vajravārāhī. There follows a gradual shift toward maṇḍalas exhibiting a more fully *kāpālika* character, a trend that is further developed in the "skeleton arch" *(karaṅkatoraṇa)* sādhanas, which reject the temple-palace structure of the maṇḍala altogether. Within this overall structure, the works seem to have been carefully, if approximately, grouped according to particular manifestations of Vajrayoginī, and to the type of work in question. These groupings may be roughly broken down as follows, with some sādhanas appearing in this list more than once where

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

GSS1–GSS2
The first two sādhanas in the collection deal primarily with the hog-headed *ardhaparyaṅka*-pose Vajravārāhī, and are attributed to the prestigious figures Indrabhūti and Lūyīpāda.

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

GSS3, GSS4, GSS5 (GSS11, GSS16)
The third sādhana (GSS3) is by another eminent figure, Advayavajra. It is the first in a group of essentially Cakrasaṃvara-based works, all similar in their exposition of the warrior-stance Vajravārāhī within a maṇḍala based on the temple palace. All sādhanas in this group salute Vajravārāhī in their opening reverence. Umāpatideva's *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* (GSS11) is also of this type. An interesting sādhana that belongs in part to the Advayavajra group and in part to the Śabara-related texts, is the sādhana of the thirteenfold Vajraḍākinī Vajravārāhī (GSS16).

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

GSS8–GSS39, GSS13, GSS14, GSS41
The oblation ritual *(homavidhiḥ)* that follows is one of a more dispersed group of oblation rituals in the collection.

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

GSS12, GSS17–GSS45
Similarly amorous are the "raised-foot" *(ūrdhvapāda-)* pose deities, first the red Vajravārāhī (GSS12), and then the white Vajrayoginī (GSS17–GSS45).

GSS15, GSS18, GSS38

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

GSS19

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

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

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

GSS21, GSS22, GSS23

Another such group is that of the flying Vidyādharī Vajrayoginī forms of the Śabara school.

*GSS28?, GSS29, GSS30, GSS31, GSS39

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

GSS32, GSS33, GSS34, GSS35

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

GSS36, GSS37, GSS38

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

GSS42, GSS43

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

GSS40, GSS46

Finally, there are two commentarial works.

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

Tantric Sādhana

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

A sādhana 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 sādhanas 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 sādhana practices appears in the yogatantra scripture, the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra*, which recounts "a sādhana taught by Śākyanātha" (p. 132 9b). The meditation is to be done "with the method of generation" (p. 130 8a: *utpattikrameṇa*), and it is described as "the highest deity yoga" *(devatāyogaṃ... uttamaṃ)*. Despite the inclusion of material not generally found in later sādhanas, it clearly sets out the key features of a mature sādhana, all of which will be seen as distinct stages in the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* (GSS11) studied here in chapter 3. Thus, it includes the usual

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. The Cult of Vajrayoginī in India

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Influence of Nondual Śaivism

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

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

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

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

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

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

Second, the Buddhist tantras have taken their wrathful and erotic orientation from Śaiva praxis. The terrifying, cremation-ground character of the higher Buddhist tantras has its roots in Śaiva mythology. According to the myth (described variously in the Purāṇas), the original skull observance *(kāpālavratam)*, or "great observance" *(mahāvratam)*, was the result of a quarrel between Brahmā and the Vedic form of Śiva, Rudra. When Rudra ends the matter by plucking off Brahmā's head, he finds he has commited the heinous crime of slaying a brahmin *(brahmahatyā)*. He is then forced to undergo a period of extreme penance in which he lives in exile from society, dwells in cremation grounds (sites of the greatest impurity), smears himself with ashes of the dead, and begs for food using a bowl made of a human skull. Orthodox Dharmaśāstra (as mirrored by the myth) states that brahmin-slayers can only expiate their offence through a period of twelve years in exile, by inhabiting cremation grounds and by carrying a skull bowl *(kapālam)* and skull staff *(khaṭvāṅgaḥ)* when begging food. Manu, for example, states that "A priest-killer should build a hut in the forest and live there for twelve years to purify himself, eating food that he has begged for and using the skull of a corpse as his flag" (11.73, trans. Doniger 1991). The mythical role model of the penance of Rudra became the direct inspiration for early ascetic cults in the *atimārga* ("outer path") stream of Śaivism, such as the Pāśupatas (dating from the second century) and in particular their more extreme offshoot, the Lākulas (Sanderson 1988: 664–66). Lākula ascetics adopted the outer appearance and behavior of Rudra as part of a progressive series of practices aimed at complete immersion in the god. Skull

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

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

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

Transgressive Discipline (vāmācāraḥ)

As in the esoteric Śaiva systems, ***kāpālika*** 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, ***kāpālika*** 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" *(vāmācāraḥ).*

The "left" *(vāma)* in ***vāmācāra*** refers to the left hand, which in Indian society is reserved for impure bodily functions and signifies impurity. The rites of the highest tantras, however, specifically prescribe the use of the left hand. This forms a powerful contradiction of cultural norms that rely on the use of the right hand to maintain purity. Use of the left hand, especially within a ritual context, was from an orthodox standpoint, nothing short of socioreligious iconoclasm. Because orthodox brahmanical society relied upon the strictest preservation of purity, transgressive discipline set out to undermine sanctified distinctions between pure and impure wherever possible, embracing deeply felt taboos and relishing contact with sources of the greatest impurity. Thus, by taking place in cremation grounds, and requiring ornaments of human bone, ***kāpālika*** 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 *Śauṇḍinī,* a female from the liquor-selling caste (GSSII v. 511). The ideal consort is erotically provocative. Abhayākaragupta states that, if possible, a consort should be young and beautiful, as well as an initiate (*samayinī;* lit: "holder of the pledge").[63] Sanderson (1995) has commented on the difference between the two tantric traditions, stating that "If there is a significant difference between the iconographies of the rival systems, it is that the Buddhist is more explicitly erotic than the Śaiva.... In internalising the image of Śaivism, the Buddhist has exaggerated it." Transgressive discipline is central to the practices and iconography

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

Within the context of the ordained Buddhist sangha, prescriptions for sexual practices were (if possible) even more radical in that they required a deliberate, yet legitimate, inversion of the celibate monastic code. In this way, transgressive discipline not only overturns embedded cultural norms, it intentionally challenges the fundamental ethical and doctrinal tenets of Buddhism. Rather than eradicating the "poisons" (*kleśas*) of lust *(rāgaḥ)* and wrath *(dveṣaḥ)*, as traditional Buddhism would have it, the yogin is to use his passions as a means of eradicating all defilements. The highest tantras explain this type of practice as operating through a "homeopathic cure" (Snellgrove's translation of *viparitauṣadhikalpanāt*, 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 *Guhyasamayasādhanamālā* ends with some typical tantric verses in praise of *vāmācāra*. These begin with a pun on the word *vāma* (left)/*vāmā* (woman); they then describe how socioreligious norms governing religious rituals and commensalism are to be broken, and instinctive notions of impurity put aside. The passage ends with a reminder that the "cure" worked by *vāmācāra* functions on the metaphysical plane through the principle of nondualism:[65]

> (v. 4) The entire universe, the three worlds including the animate and inanimate, have arisen from the left *(vāma-)* (or: have arisen from woman, *vāmā-*). The yogin whose discipline is always transgressive should step out with his left foot in front [when starting to walk], he should make offerings with the left hand,—
>
> (v. 5) gratify deities and eat food with the left. The observance of five classes [namely, the four classes plus "untouchables"] is considered to be as one class.
>
> (v. 6) One should abandon [notions of] "to be eaten" or "not to be eaten" [with regard to solid substances], and "to be drunk"

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

The Emergence of Vajrayoginī

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Emergence of Vajravārāhī

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

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

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

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

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

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

Dancing-Pose (ardhaparyaṅka) Vajravārāhī

One of the main manifestations of Vajrayoginī is as Vajravārāhī in the half-*paryaṅka (ardhaparyaṅka)* pose. This is the posture in which she stands upon her left leg, deeply flexed, and bends her right leg so that the sole of her foot rests upon her left thigh. She is dancing the wild *tāṇḍava* dance of Śiva at the end of the aeon. Dance *(nāṭyam)* plays a large part within classical Indian notions of dramatic art, and Buddhist tantric deities (following Śaiva norms) are often said to be equipped with the nine dramatic sentiments (*rasas*).[81] Vajravārāhī appears with this form in the two opening sādhanas of the *Guhyasamayasādhanamālā*, in two very similar texts, both ascribed to key tantric authorities. The *Oral Tradition of Vajrayoginī* (*Vajrayoginīmukhāgama* GSS1) is ascribed to Indrabhūti (and elsewhere to Śabara, see appendix), and the *Vajrayoginīsādhana* (GSS2) to Lūyīpāda. Drawing on this older material, the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5 Sed p. 152, K3713) also includes the form, as do two of the self-consecration *(svādhiṣṭhāna)* sādhanas (GSS32 K10611, GSS34 K11216).[82]

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

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



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

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

Despite her wrathful nature, the iconography of the goddess is also overtly erotic. She is red like the China rose, "lovely with fresh youth," and with "charming plump arms and feet."[89] The letters of her mantra are to be visualized within a *dharmodayā* that is located inside the goddess's sex; it is red in color, blazing, full to the brim with syllables, and whirling around "like a potter's wheel."[90] This visualization is externalized in a rite prescribed by Indrabhūti (GSS1 K80r5) that mirrors the vision of the whirling mantra syllables. The yogin draws the *dharmodayā* 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" *(nandyāvartaḥ)*, makes both traditional and transgressive offerings, and then performs the worship of a young virgin *(kumārī)*, the *kumārīpūjā*. The only other prescription in this text is that the rite is to be conducted on *parvan* days, here the tenth day of the lunar month.[91] Another text in the *Guhyasamayasādhanamālā* (GSS33) adds that the worship of the *kumārī* may be performed either "internally" (imaginatively) or externally:[92]

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

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

oṃ oṃ oṃ
sarvabuddhaḍākiniye vajravarṇṇanīye vajrabairocaniye
huṃ huṃ huṃ phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā

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

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

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

The mantra as extracted:	GSS mantra:
oṃ oṃ oṃ	*oṃ oṃ oṃ*
sarvabuddhaḍākinīye	*sarvabuddhaḍākinīye*
bajravarṇṇanīye	*vajravarṇanīye*
bajrabairocanīye[96]	*vajravairocanīye*
huṃ huṃ huṃ	*huṃ huṃ huṃ*
phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā	*phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā*

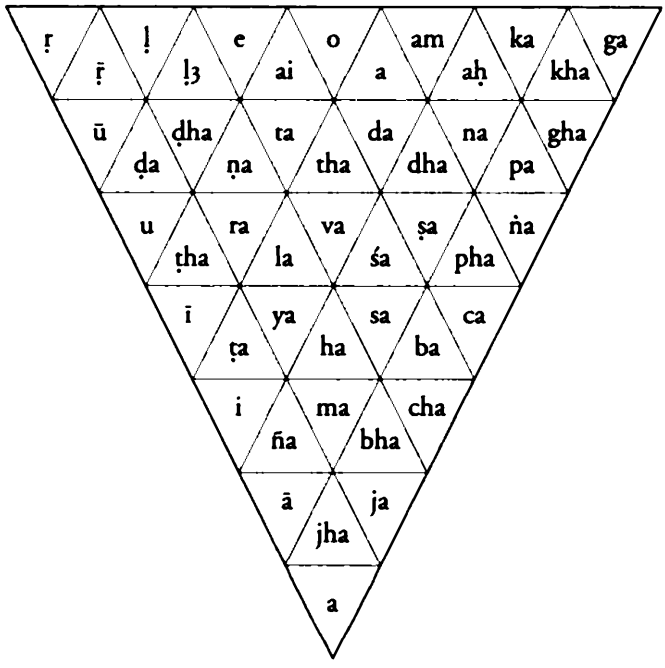


Table 4. *Root mantra of Vajrayoginī*
(The key for the extraction of the mantra of Vajrayoginī)

Twelve-Armed Vajravārāhī in Dancing Pose

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

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

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



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

Table 5. *Attributes of Twelve-armed Vajravārāhī*

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

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

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

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

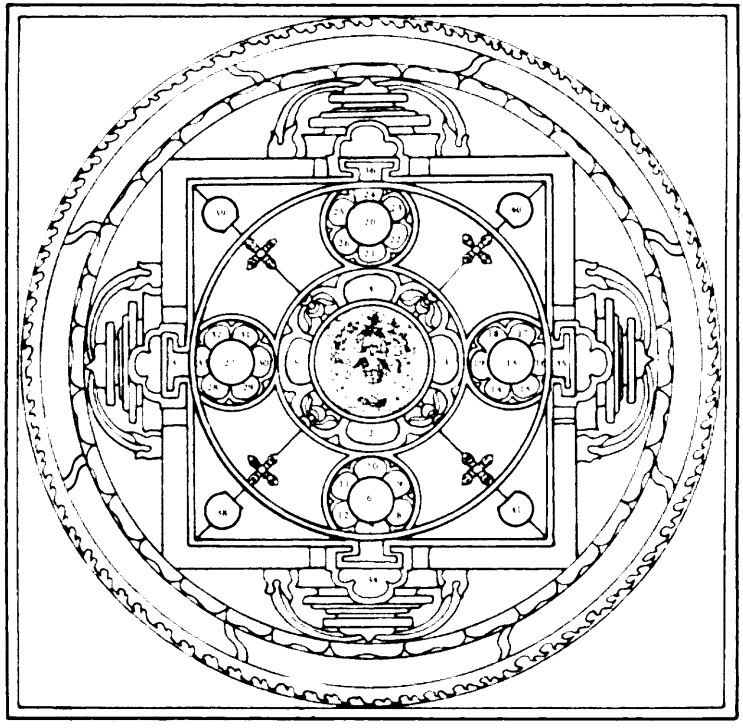
The four lotuses upon which the mothers stand each have six petals, and upon those the meditator sees a further six goddesses. These twenty-four deities are exactly those of the wheels of body, speech, and mind in the thirty-seven-deity maṇḍala of Vajravārāhī (as described in the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana*).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

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

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

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

Fig. 5. *Vārāhyabhyudaya maṇḍala*



EAST

Vajravārāhyabhyudaya maṇḍala key

Central Lotus

1. Twelve-armed Vajravārāhī

Cardinal Petals

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

Lotuses in Cardinal Directions

6. Māmakī (East)
   7. Pracaṇḍā in Pulliramalaya
   8. Caṇḍākṣī in Jālandhara
   9. Prabhāvatī in Oḍḍiyāna
   10. Mahānāsā in Arbuda
   11. Viramatī in Godāvarī
   12. Kharvarī in Rāmeśvara

13. Locanā (North)
   14. Laṅkeśvarī in Devīkoṭa
   15. Drumacchāyā in Mālava
   16. Airāvatī in Kāmarūpa
   17. Mahābhairavā in Oḍra
   18. Vāyuvegā in Triśakuni
   19. Surābhakṣī in Kośala

20. Tārā (West)
   21. Śyāmā(devī) in Kaliṅga
   22. Subhadrā in Lampāka
   23. Hayakarṇā in Kāñci
   24. Khagānanā in Himālaya
   25. Cakravegā in Pretapurī
   26. Khaṇḍarohā in Gṛhadevatā

27. Pāṇḍaravāsinī (South)
   28. Śauṇḍinī in Saurāṣṭra
   29. Cakravarmiṇī in Suvarṇadvīpa
   30. Suvīrā in Nagara
   31. Mahābalā in Sindhu
   32. Cakravartinī in Maru
   33. Mahāvīryā in Kulatā

Outer Maṇḍala (gates)

34. Kākāsyā (crow-faced)
35. Ulūkāsya (owl-faced)
36. Śvānāsyā (dog-faced)
37. Sūkarāsyā (hog-faced)

Outer Maṇḍala (corners)

38. Yamadāḍhī
39. Yamadūtī
40. Yamadaṃṣṭriṇī
41. Yamamathanī

Six-Armed Vajravārāhī with Consort

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

> And now I will teach the supreme sādhana of [Vajra-]vārāhī: Through the practice of the generation stage *(utpattikramayogena)*, [the practitioner] should visualize, as himself, a body that is as bright as twelve suns, [red] like vermilion powder, [and red] like the *bandhūka* flower and the China rose. [Vajravārāhī should be visualized] with three heads and six arms. [She should be seen] replete with all [the bone] ornaments, sitting firmly *(su-)* in the *sattvaparyaṅka* [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]



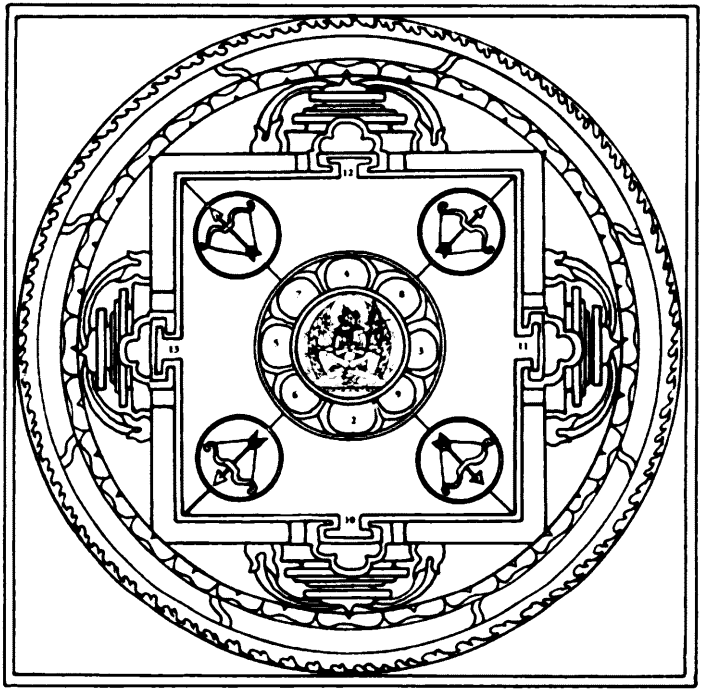
Fig. 6. *Six-armed Vajravārāhi with consort*
Drawn according to the Sanskrit text by Dharmacāri Āloka

oṃ śrīvajravārāhi āḥ vaṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā

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

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

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



EAST

Central lotus

1. Six-armed Vajravārāhī with consort

Cardinal petals

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

Intermediate petals

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

Outer maṇḍala (gates)

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

Six-Armed Vajraḍākinī Vajravārāhī in Warrior Stance

A six-armed form of Vajravārāhī in warrior stance is described a couple of times in the *Guhyasamayasādhanamālā*. On one occasion, "Vārāhi" is to be

visualized as an armor goddesss within the armoring section of the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5 K21v5, see ch. 3). She has three faces (red, blue, and green), and her six arms hold a chopper, Brahmā's head, and hook (right), and a skull bowl, staff, and noose (left), as shown in the Mongolian icons (plate 10a and fig. 30).

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



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

oṃ vajravairocaniye huṃ huṃ phaṭ svāhā

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

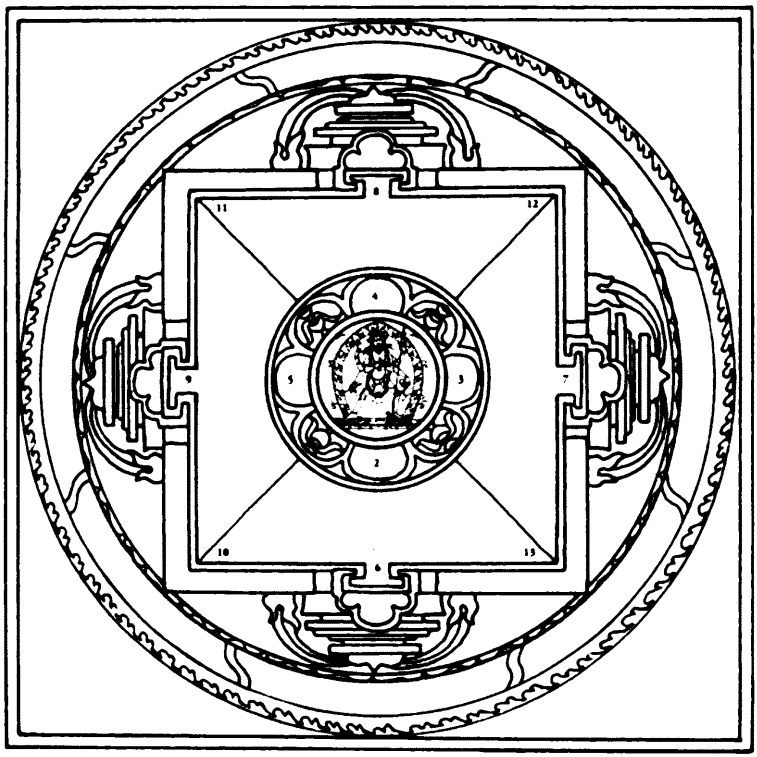
Vajraḍākinī Vajravārāhī is said to be "thirteenfold" in nature because she is a reflex of the thirteen-syllabled heart mantra. The yogin first visualizes her as the syllable *vaṃ*. He then emanates a thirteenfold maṇḍala from the thirteen syllables of Vajravārāhī's mantra: *oṃ va-jra-vai-ro-ca-nī-ye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

The maṇḍala retinue is described in some detail (GSS16 K78r1–79r2). It begins first of all with the four ḍākinīs who are installed counterclockwise on the petals of the central lotus. They are visualized with one face, four arms, three eyes, and wearing all the tantric ornaments. They stand upon corpses in the dancing *ardhaparyaṅka* pose, naked with loose hair, their bodies sensuous, "with full breasts, celestial forms, captivating, their faces [only] a little furrowed, [and] amorous with [their] sidelong glances."[110] In their right hands, they hold a vajra and ḍamaru, in their left, a staff and a bowl filled with blood. On the intermediate petals are ornamental vases topped with a skull bowl, which are filled with the nectars, including semen *(bodhicittam)*, first menstrual blood *(svayambhūkusumam)*, urine *(vajrāmbu)*, and human feces *(mahābhaiṣajam)*.

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

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

Fig. 9. *Maṇḍala of Vajraḍākinī Vajravārāhī*



EAST

Central pericarp

1. Six-armed Vajraḍākinī Vajravārāhi

Cardinal petals

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

Outer maṇḍala (gates)

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

Outer maṇḍala (corners)

10. Hūṃkārīvajraḍākinī (white)
11. Hūṃnādīvajraḍākinī (blue)
12. Phaṭanīvajraḍākinī (yellow)
13. Svākārīvajraḍākinī (red)

Red Vajraghoṇā Vajravārāhī

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

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

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

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



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

Heart mantra:
oṃ hrīṃ hūṃ hrīṃ hraṃ (in GSS5);
oṃ hūṃ hrīṃ hāṃ (in GSS18)

Auxiliary heart mantra:
oṃ vajravārāhī āveśaya sarvaduṣṭān hrīṃ (or *hriḥ*) *svāhā*

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

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

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

White Vajraghoṇā Vajravārāhī

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

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

White Vajravārāhī

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



Fig. 11. *White Vajravārāhī* (GSS38). Drawn according to the Sanskrit text by Dharmacāri Āloka

oṃ vajravairocanīye
huṃ huṃ phaṭ svāhā

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

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

The texts describe further rites using the *mantramālā* (GSS5 Sed p. 150.8, K35r4, SM218 p. 430, and briefly in GSS38 K123r2) for the acquisition of other siddhis, such as supreme learning, scholarship, powers of oration, invincibility in debate, and freedom from fevers and poisons—all of which would seem particularly handy in the political arena. For this, the tongue is first imagined in the shape of a lotus petal, and on it a flaming white *hrīḥ* forms a garland of fifty beads. So powerful is this practice, that—the texts claim—if a piece of chalk is consecrated with this mantra in this way, then the one who holds it, be he even a fool, will become a poet. Toward similar ends perhaps, the GSS texts also claim the power of this *mantramālā* for bending another to his will or subjugation *(vaśyam)*, although the rather fuller sādhana that describes this rite in the *Sādhanamālā* (SM219–20) states that the purpose of this rite is to bring beings into the four truths of the Buddhists (p. 432:

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

Two-Armed Vajrayoginī in Warrior Stance

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



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

Heart mantra:
oṃ vajraḍākinīye hrīṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā (GSS5, SM236)
oṃ sarvasiddhiṃ prayaccha hrī<ṃ> hūṃ phaṭ svāhā (GSS19)

Auxiliary heart mantra:
oṃ vajrayoginīye hūṃ phaṭ svāhā (GSS19, SM236)
oṃ vajravairocanīye hūṃ phaṭ svāhā (GSS5)

Root mantra:
oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākinīye oṃ vajravarṇanīye oṃ vajravairocanīye huṃ huṃ huṃ phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā

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

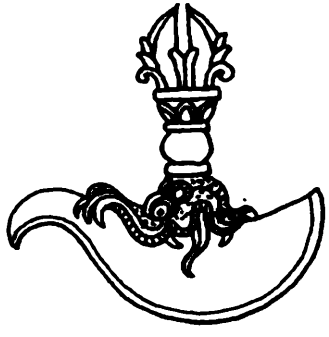


Fig. 13. *Vajra chopper (kartṛī).*

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

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

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

Four-Armed Vajrayoginī in Warrior Stance

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



Fig. 14. *Four-armed Vajrayoginī in warrior stance.*
Drawn according to the Sanskrit text by Dharmacāri Āloka.

oṃ vajravairocaniye
huṃ huṃ phaṭ svāhā

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

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

Red Vajravārāhī with Foot Raised

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

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



Fig. 15. *Red Vajravārāhī with foot raised.*
Drawn according to the Sanskrit text by Dharmacāri Āloka.
Cf. plates 9 and 10b.

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

White Vajrayoginī with Foot Raised

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

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



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

oṃ vajraḍākinī(ye) hrīḥ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā

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

oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākiniye vajravarṇaniye vajravairocaniye hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā

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

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

Vajrayoginī in the Falling-Turtle Pose

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



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

oṃ vajravairocanīye svāhā

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

Having visualized Vajrayoginī as if she were present before his very eyes *(sākṣād iva),* the yogin is then to worship her with transgressive *bali* offerings of yogic substances *(yogidravyam).*[140] The *bali* mantra is based on the mantra deity Vajrayoginī, although the following *japa* mantra is the ten-syllabled heart mantra of Vajravārāhī *(oṃ vajravairocanīye svāhā).* The text then continues with a *bali* ritual, again given according to Vajravārāhī texts. Thus, the yogin is to stand naked upon a hilltop at midnight (GSS36, K121v1: *niśisamaye*), with hair flying loose and his gaze directed upward as he performs the gestures and mantric utterances that will attract the vajrayoginīs.[141] The sādhana outlines the hand gestures (*mudrās*) and mantras, adding that, as he performs them, the yogin is to assume the "falling-turtle" pose *(kūrmapatanapādaḥ).*[142]

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

Vidyādharī Vajrayoginī

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



Fig. 18. *Vidyādharī Vajrayoginī "Maitrī-khecarī."* Mongolian woodblock print (IWS/T 78, LC 588). *Cf. plate 10b.*

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

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

A Mongolian woodblock print illustrates this form of Vajrayoginī, clearly showing the garland in her left hand (see the line drawing in figure 18). The related color plate, however, omits the garland, and embellishes the figure with ornaments and yellow (rather than black) hair (plate 10b). The Tibetan text calls this form "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 Vidyādharī 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, Vidyādharī 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]

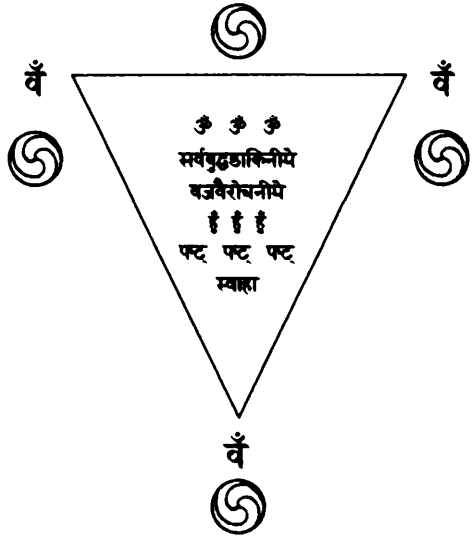


Fig. 19. *Dharmodayā with mantra syllables and bliss swirls*

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 burried *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 *Saṃvarodayatantra* 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 Vidyādharī Vajrayoginī text (GSS23), and in the erotic sādhana of Guhyavajravilāsinī described below.

Flying Vidyādharī Vajrayoginī

The second vidyādharī in the *Guhyasamayasādhanamālā* is a flying form of Vajrayoginī, with four three-eyed faces of different colors. She is described in the *Propitiation Ritual* (*Ārādhanavidhi* GSS23) within a meditation rite *(bhāvanāvidhiḥ)*. The text directs the meditator to see her with left leg in the raised-foot *(ūrdhvapādaḥ)* 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 vidyādharī is ornamented by blossoming red *nāgakeśa* flowers *(Mesua roxburghii)*. She seems to be even more erotic than the last. Her nature is feminine power *(śaktiḥ)* and innate bliss *(sahajānanda-)*; her red, naked body is fresh and tender, her hair hangs loose, and she is visualized laughing a little with her body horripilating.[153] Her mantra is a variant of Vajrayoginī's tripartite mantra.[154]

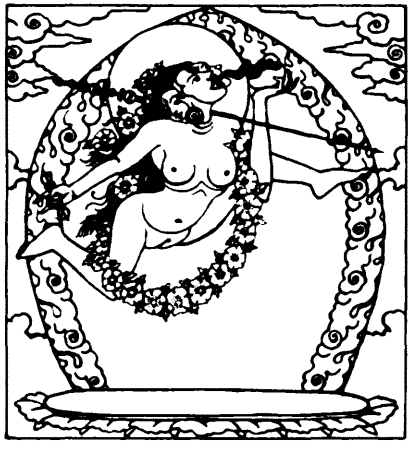


Fig. 20. *Flying Vidyādharī Vajrayoginī.*
Drawn according to the Sanskrit text by Dharmacārī Āloka.
Cf. plate 9.

oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākiniye vajravarṇaniye vajravairocaniye huṃ huṃ huṃ phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ ca svāhā.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Vajravilāsinī Vajravārāhī

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



Fig. 21. *Vajravilāsinī.*
Drawn according to the Sanskrit text by Dharmacāri Āloka.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Guhyavajravilāsinī

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



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

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

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

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

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

> (v. 4) Having set foot on Manobhaṅga [and] on the delightful mountain [called] Cittaviśrāma, abundant with all sorts of jewels, fragrant with the odor of musk deer,
> (v. 5) in that very lovely place where highly fragrant flowers grow *(-āśraye)*, where the beautiful *(sundara-?)* mango trees glisten [and] the cuckoos coo low,
> (v. 6) in a glade massed full of red[-flowering] *aśoka* trees, on the lunar day of the "Aśoka-eighth,"[170] this [goddess] Vilāsinī was taught me by the teacher named Karuṇa.

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

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

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

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

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

Vajravilāsinī. The first descriptions appear in the preparations to the sādhana, in which the partners are directed to wash and adorn themselves and, after making love, position themselves in the posture of the deities ready for the preliminary meditations and the self-generation (these elaborate prescriptions are summarized in the appendix). After evoking the deities through a series of awakenings consonant with practice of sexual yoga (K47vi ff, vv. 38–45), the yogin is ready to visualize his consort as Guhyavajravilāsinī. He sees her as bright red, or perhaps yellow, in color, "clad [only] in her own loveliness." She is thus naked, without any ornament except the pearl necklace, an *aśoka* flower behind her ear, and an added streak of red lac across her forehead.[174] In her right hand she holds aloft a vajra chopper in a graceful arc; in her left she holds a noose. She is dizzy with the intoxication of love *(lolā-)*, and her girdle swings to and fro with the movements of her love-play *(līlāndolitamekhalā-)*. She is visualized making love to her consort in the following posture: "[seated] with her sex placed on the elevation of Padmanarta's "banner" (i.e., penis), in the squatting *(utkuṭa)* posture,[175] giving seductive smiles with flirtatious glances... lovely with [her] flowing sex because of the touches of [his] throbbing penis."[176]

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

The deities are shown in figure 22, in which we attempt to depict this anatomically challenging pose. We follow the conventions of the Mongolian icons in seating the deities upon a lotus, although none is prescribed in our text. Since the yogin is to place himself upon a "comfortable seat" (K47z: *sukhāsanasamāsīna-*), we show them seated upon a deerskin (cf.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The yogin's control over his mundane sexuality is achieved by one-pointed concentration upon the goal of his practice, *sahaja* bliss: "The mind is fickle because of excessive movement; because it is motionless *(niścālanāt)* [it becomes] the means *(mukham)* of enlightenment. His mind set on [the bliss of] *sahaja (sahajāsaktacetasaḥ),* 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" *(ānanda*s). Each bliss arises at a particular "moment" *(kṣaṇaḥ),* the final, highest bliss occurring at the moment said to be free of both passion and nonpassion (HT2.3.8: *vilakṣaṇam).*[195] The ultimate, *sahaja* bliss is described here as that final moment of intensity when he "excites the goddess," but retains his own semen:[196]

> (v. 90) The god and goddess should perform [the sexual movements of] churning and swinging *(manthānāndolanam)*[197] according to their own mudrā *(svamudrā).* But one should realize that *sahaja* bliss has arisen in the moment of *vilakṣaṇa.* (v. 91) With his penis he should excite the goddess, and he should not emit his semen. If he emits his semen, how can there be great bliss? (v. 92) He should churn the ocean of the vagina through his desire for the ambrosia of *sahaja,* but in such a way that the poison *(kālakūṭaṃ)* 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 *(kālakūṭaṃ)*, in contrast, the churning of sexual yoga should avoid the poison (passionlessness) and produce only nectar (*sahaja* bliss). In an inversion of traditional Buddhist values, tantric sexual yoga is based on the premise that there can be "no greater sin than passionlessness": "In short, there is no place for passionlessness in a buddha."[198]

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

The sexual fusion is related to the yogic fusion of winds and drops. For example, during the "pendulum recitation" (*dolājāpaḥ*, K5ov5, vv. 102–09) the couple is in union, each imagining the five blazing syllables of Vilāsinī's mantra circulating through their bodies. The syllables start on the sex of the female consort *(vidyā)*, enter the male via his penis, exit through his nostril, enter the *vidyā* via her nostril, and again pass into her sex. The mantra is recited up to five hundred times as it revolves through their united bodies, resulting in the fusion of *nāda* and drop *(binduḥ)* within the internal bodily channels. This is followed by a repeated "mutual sucking" of the male and female sex.[202] At the end of the pendulum recitation, the practioner imagines the "fusion of their identities" (*ātmamelakaḥ*, K5i3, vv. 110–14), and the three worlds are visualized whirling around like a wheel in the liquid form of purified gold "blazing with the flavor of sameness," and cutting off the defilements of the world down to the most subtle.[203] Only then does it become extinguished and dissolve like a rainbow into the ocean of space, upon which space itself dissoves 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 (K5ivi,

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

Trikāyavajrayoginī (Chinnamastā)

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



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

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

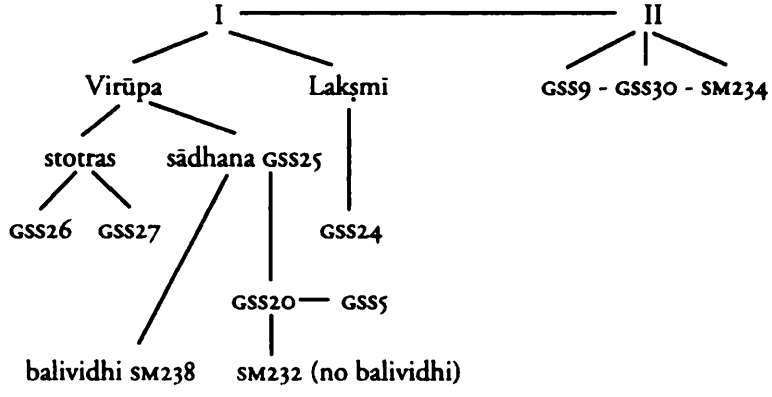
Right	*Center*	*Left*
Vajravairocanī yellow	Sarvabuddhaḍākinī yellow	Vajravarṇanī red
rasanā	avadhūtī	lalanā

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

1. The first group (I) comprises the *Lakṣmīsādhana* (GSS24), perhaps by Lakṣmī (see the appendix), the *Sādhana of Triple-Bodied Vajrayoginī (Trikāyavajrayoginīsādhana* GSS25), and two praise works (*stotras* GSS26 and GSS27) by Lakṣmī's pupil, Virūpa. This group also includes two other texts that are closely related to Virūpa's sādhana, the *Vajrayoginīsādhana* (GSS20=SM232)[207] and a portion of the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5 Sed p. 151, K36r5).

2. The second group (II) is centered on a text also called the *Vajrayoginīsādhana,* which appears in three nearly identical versions (GSS9=GSS30=SM234). Here the iconographical material is so scant that its relationship with Trikāyavajrayoginī is chiefly indicated by the form and arrangment of the offering mantras.

Table 6.
Trikāyavajrayoginī texts in Guhyasamayasādhanamālā *and* Sādhanamālā



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 *hrīṃ,* within which Vajrayoginī is generated, also from the syllable *hrīṃ.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 7. *Trikāyavajrayoginī offering mantras*

	Offering Mantras Group I[i]	Offering Mantras Group II[ii]
1st set	In the center of the *dharmodayā: japa* mantra[iii]	In the center: *oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākinīye vajrapuṣpe svāhā*
	Center: *oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākiniye hūṃ (phaṭ) svāhā*	In front: *oṃ (sarva?)buddhaḍākini yellow-colored vajrapuṣpe svāhā*
	On the left: *oṃ vajravarṇaniye hūṃ (phaṭ) svāhā*	†On the right/south†: *oṃ vajravarṇanī dark-colored vajrapuṣpe svāhā*
	On the right: *oṃ vajravairocaniye hūṃ (phaṭ) svāhā*	†Behind/west†: *oṃ vajravairocani white-colored vajrapuṣpe svāhā*
2nd set	[Center] *oṃ oḍḍiyāṇa vajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā*	*oṃ dharmakāyavajrapuṣpe svāhā*
	[Left] *oṃ pūrṇagiri vajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā*	*oṃ saṃbhogakāyavajrapuṣpe svāhā*
	[Right] *oṃ kāmākhya vajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā*	*oṃ nirmāṇakāyavajrapuṣpe svāḥā*
	Again in the center: *oṃ śirihaṭṭa vajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā*	In the center: *oṃ mahāsukhavajrapuṣpe svāhā*
3rd set	[Center] *oṃ dharmakāya vajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā*	*oṃ oḍḍiyānavajrapuṣpe svāhā*
	[Left] *oṃ sambhogakāya vajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā*	*oṃ purṇagirivajrapuṣpe svāhā*
	[Right] *oṃ nirmāṇakāya vajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā*	*oṃ kāmarūpavajrapuṣpe svāhā*
	Again in the center: *oṃ mahāsukhakāya vajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā*	In the center: *oṃ śrihaṭṭavajrapuṣpe svāhā*
	(GSS25 only) Again in the center: *oṃ namaḥ sarvagurubuddhabodhisattvebhyo vajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā*	Again in the center: *oṃ namaḥ sarvabuddha-bodhisattvavajrapuṣpe svāhā*
	[*Japa* mantra]: *oṃ namaḥ sarvabuddhaḍākini oṃ namaḥ sarvavajravarṇani oṃ namaḥ hriṃ sarvavairocani hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā*	[*Japa* mantra]: *oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākiniye oṃ vajravarṇaniye oṃ vajravairocaniye hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā*

NOTES TO TABLE 7

i E.g., GSS25 (K92r3) (my numbering): (1) *tatra dharmodayāmadhye "oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākinīye" ityādimantreṇa prathamam arcayet. tad anu "oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākini" hūṃ phaṭ svāhā' ity anenārgho deyaḥ, vāme "oṃ vajravarṇanīye hūṃ phaṭ svāhā" dakṣiṇe "oṃ vajravairocanīye hūṃ phaṭ svāhā" ity arcayet.* (2) *"oṃ oḍḍiyāṇa vajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā," "oṃ pūrṇagiri vajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā," "oṃ kāmākhya vajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā," punar madhye "oṃ śirihaṭṭa vajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā."* (3) *"oṃ dharmakāya vajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā," "oṃ saṃbhogakāya vajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā," "oṃ nirmāṇakāya vajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā," punar madhye "oṃ mahāsukhakāya vajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā."* [Texts diverge. GSS25 continues] *punar madhye "oṃ namaḥ sarvagurubuddhabodhisattvebhyo vajrapuṣpe hūṃ svāhā." dhyānāt khinno mantraṃ japet, tatrāyaṃ mantraḥ, "oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākinīye svāhā," "oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākinīye oṃ vajravarṇanīye oṃ vajravairocanīye hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā."*

• *phaṭ*] GSS25 only • *vāme*] GSS25, GSS5; *paścād vāmapārśve* GSS20, *tatas tasyaiva tadvāmapārśve ca* GSS24 • *vajrapuṣpe*] GSS25, om. GSS20, GSS24, GSS5 (also in the following mantras) • *pūrṇagiri*] GSS20, GSS5; *purṇagiri* GSS25, GSS24 • *kāmākhya*] in various mss. it appears as *kāmākhyā* and *kāmarūpa* • *śirihaṭṭa*] GSS25, GSS20, GSS24; *śrihaṭṭa* GSS5 •

The mantras for the second and third sets of offerings are given in full only in GSS25 (K92r3). In GSS24 (90v3), GSS20 (84v6), and GSS5 (K36v6) the mantras are given in abbreviated form, e.g., GSS5: *oṃ <oḍḍiyāṇa>*(mg2) *pūrṇagirikāmākhyāśrihaṭṭa <dharma>*(mg2) *saṃbhoganirmāṇamahāsukhakāyākhyānāṃ pratyekaṃ caturthyantaṃ nāma vidarbhya oṃkārādisvāhāntena pūjayitvā pūrvavat.* This *japa* mantra differs slightly in the different texts for groups I and II.

ii In group II (GSS9 K45r.2, GSS30 K102r3, SM234 p. 455), the three sets of mantras are as follows (my punctuation and numbering): (1) *oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākinīye vajrapuṣpe <hūṃ>*(SM234) *svāhā, madhye. agrataḥ oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākini pitavarṇā vajrapuṣpe svāhā. dakṣiṇe oṃ vajravarṇani śyāmavarṇā vajrapuṣpe svāhā. paścime oṃ vajravairocani gauravarṇā vajrapuṣpe svāhā.* (2) *oṃ dharmakāyavajrapuṣpe svāhā. oṃ saṃbhogakāyavajrapuṣpe svāhā. oṃ nirmāṇakāyavajrapuṣpe svāhā. madhye oṃ mahāsukhavajrapuṣpe svāhā.* (3) *oṃ oḍḍiyānavajrapuṣpe svāhā. oṃ purṇagirivajrapuṣpe svāhā. oṃ kāmarūpavajrapuṣpe svāhā. madhye oṃ śrihaṭṭavajrapuṣpe svāhā. punar madhye oṃ namaḥ sarvabuddhabodhisattvavajrapuṣpe svāhā. oṃ namaḥ sarvabuddhaḍākinī oṃ namaḥ sarvavajravarṇanī oṃ namaḥ hrīṃ sarvavairocanī hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā.*

(1) • *°varṇanī*] GSS30, SM234; *°varṇana* GSS9 • *agrataḥ oṃ sarvabuddha°*] GSS9; *agrataḥ oṃ buddha°* GSS30, SM234 • *vajravarṇani*] GSS30, SM234; *vajravarṇana* GSS9 • *oṃ vajravairocanī gauravarṇā*] SM234; *gauravarṇā oṃ vajravairocani* GSS9, GSS30 • (3) *sarvavairocanī*] SM234; *sarvavairocanīye* GSS9, GSS30

iii This is omitted in GSS24, which begins with the offering mantras to Sarvabuddhaḍākinī in the center. In GSS25, GSS20, and GSS5 it appears in shorthand with *iti (sarvabuddhaḍākinīye ityādimantreṇa),* which can only refer back to the *japa* mantra given after the visualization in GSS25 and GSS5. In GSS20 the *japa* mantra is omitted after the visualization (it appears instead at the end), and thus there is no referent for *iti* in this sādhana.

three central yogic channels or veins in the body, and each represents the channel from which she drinks the blood. In the *Trikāyavajrayoginīstotra* (GSS27), Vajrayoginī is said to be established within each channel in turn, and to manifest in each with a particular color[217] and a particular iconography:[218]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Conclusions

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

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

oṃ oṃ oṃ
sarvabuddhaḍākinīye vajravarṇanīye vajravairocanīye
huṃ huṃ huṃ phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā

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

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

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

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

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

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

the mantra deity Vajravārāhī is included in the mantra utterance for the three forms of Vajravārāhī: the Vajraghoṇā forms, the six-armed embracing Vajravārāhī, and a warrior-stance Vajravārāhī (in GSS2 K11v3). We also find the same mantra deities, Vajraḍākinī and Vajrayoginī, in mantras relating to the warrior-stance form of Vajrayoginī with a chopper, and to both the raised-leg-pose goddesses, white Vajrayoginī, and red Vajravārāhī. It seems to be Vajravārāhī-as-consort who bequeathed the tripartite root mantra to the Vajrayoginī tradition. The mantra element Sarvabuddhaḍākinī appears in the Cakrasaṃvara texts in the auxiliary heart mantra of Vajravārāhī (e.g., ADUT ch. 14, p. 288: *oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākinīye hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā*), and the inclusive nature of this epithet *sarvabuddhaḍākinī* ("ḍākinī of all the buddhas") is a testimony to Vajravārāhī's importance as consort to Cakrasaṃvara and may have been another factor in equating her with the generic form of Vajrayoginī. The epithet "Vajravairocanī" probably arose because in the Cakrasaṃvara maṇḍala Vajravārāhī is assigned to the buddha family of Vairocana. I have found no clear directions as to the origins of the third epithet, *vajravarṇanī*. Although the three mantra epithets do not seem to have referred to separate forms of the goddess in the first instance, they may have acquired such status over time, as suggested by Śākyarakṣita's (relatively late) reference above to a solo form of Vajravārāhī called Vajravairocanī. The same development seems to have affected the epithet *sarvabuddhaḍākinī* in later traditions. In Indian sources, I have not seen an independent goddess called Sarvabuddhaḍākinī attested outside the Trikāyavajrayoginī sādhanas. However, a deity iconographically identical with warrior-stance, chopper-wielding Vajrayoginī is referred to, on occasion, in Tibetan sources as Sarvabuddhaḍākinī, or Sangs rgyas thams cad kyi mkha' 'gro ma (e.g., von Schroeder 1981: plate 111E), although this seems rare. In fact, the appellation "Sarvabuddhaḍākinī" may be something of a Western usage, perhaps originating in a misreading of the *Sādhanamālā* sādhanas of Trikāyavajrayoginī.[228]

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

Although the transmissions were oral to begin with, we have seen how their "textualization" occured very early. In a traditional Buddhist enviroment, this would have little affect on the esoteric nature of the worship and the still-primary role of the guru in granting intiation into the practices.

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. Study of the Vajravārāhī Sādhana

Outline of the Sādhana

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

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

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

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

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

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

Vajravārāhīsādhana (GSS11) by Umāpatideva		*Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5) by Śākyarakṣita
meditation stage 1	sādhana for Vajravārāhī alone	sādhana for visualization of complete 37-fold maṇḍala including ritual practices
meditation stage 2	5-fold maṇḍala (with 4 goddesses on petals)	
meditation stage 3	13-fold maṇḍala (with 8 outer-goddesses)	
meditation stage 4	37-fold maṇḍala (with 24 site goddesses & contemplations)	5-fold maṇḍala (first alternative)
ritual practices	*bali* rituals, hand *pūjā*, etc.	single goddess Vajravārāhi (next alternative)
verse "appendix"	verses describing the cremation grounds	more alternative meditations for five other manifestations of Vajrayoginī
closing verses		closing verses

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

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

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

Meditation Stage 1

Benediction

v. 1 The sādhana opens in traditional fashion with a verse of benediction *(maṅgalam)*. This takes the form of an expression of obeisance and homage *(namaskāraḥ)* to the chosen deity of the practice *(iṣṭadevatā)* and gives voice to the devotion felt by the author. Our author, Umāpatideva, begins by saluting the lotuslike foot of the vajra goddess, which—in true poetic *(kāvya)* style—suggests both her extraordinary beauty and his inability to describe more than a single feature of so awe-inspiring a whole. Hinting perhaps at the goddess's dance, Umāpatideva praises the divine qualities of such a foot, which is capable of destroying dichotomizing consciousness and engendering the realization of emptiness. For comparison, here are the benedictory verses to the other major sādhana of Vajravārāhī in the *Guhyasamayasādhanamālā*, the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5). These include a brief *namaskāra* followed by a prayer *(āśīrvādaḥ)* for the deity's favor. Once again, salient features of the composition are highlighted, in this case, the manifold nature of Vajrayoginī's forms and her evident compassion:[231]

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

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

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

Preliminaries

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

Having chosen the site for his meditation, the yogin then sits himself down "on a very comfortable seat, with yogic ease"—*Sādhanamālā* sources speak of soft cushions and tender pillows.[235] Vajrayoginī texts occasionally mention two other types of seat. One is "made of a double vajra" *(viśvavajramayī-)*, 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 *(paryaṅkaḥ/vajraparyaṅkaḥ)*, which seems to be the commonest position prescribed in the *Sādhanamālā*.[237] In a passage that lists a number of seated meditation postures, Abhayākaragupta explains the *vajraparyaṅka* 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 *vajraparyaṅka* [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 *oṃ āḥ hūṃ.*[239]

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

The "protection of the person" involves the purification of the practitioner's body, speech, and mind. Many sādhanas begin with bodily purification. The yogin is instructed to rise early *(prātar ūtthāya...),* "when the night has 'one hour and a half' *(ardhayāma)* remaining" (or, according to Śaiva 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-śaucādika-),* 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 *(vāgviśuddhiḥ),* the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5) prescribes a threefold recitation of the syllables of the alphabet. The syllables represent the undifferentiated mantric form of the deities. They are visualized forming three circles around the meditator as the three circles (*cakras*) of the maṇḍala (see below), while light rays shine from the syllables and transform into a mass of deities who destroy all the obstacles impeding the practice. The *vāgviśuddhi,* which is referred to several times in the *Guhyasamayasādhanamālā,* is derived from Cakrasaṃvara literature. The longest version, although still confusingly terse, is found in the *Abhisamayamañjarī.* (The alphabet is shown in plate 16a from ms. K.):[243]

> *"oṃ a ā i ī u ū ṛ ṝ ḷ ḹ e ai o au aṃ aḥ ka kha ga gha ṅa ca cha ja jha ña ṭa ṭha ḍa ḍha ṇa ta tha da dha na pa pha ba bha ma ya ra la va śa ṣa sa ha kṣa huṃ huṃ phaṭ."* 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 *(vāgviśuddhiḥ).*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Bodhisattva Preparations

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

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

Worship

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

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

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

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

v. 4ab The next verse in the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* instructs the yogin to worship the celestial hosts with imaginary offerings. These billow out like clouds from the rays of the seed-syllable in his heart or through the pores of his body.[257] Here, in an abbreviated reference, they comprise the five offerings (*upacāras*), which usually refers to flowers, incense, lamps, perfumed powders, and food—although the exact sequence may alter according to the class of tantra (mKhas grub rje: 179–83). The worship visualization may become more elaborate still as sādhanas prescribe other offerings, such as water to drink and water for washing the feet, or other traditional sets of offerings, such as the seven jewels *(saptaratna)* or the eight auspicious symbols *(aṣṭamaṅgala)*.[258] This type of offering is referred to as "outer worship" *(bāhyapūjā)* and is distinguished from an "inner worship" *(adhyātmapūjā)* comprising offerings of the five sense organs *(kāmaguṇas)*, which are represented by their respective sense objects: a mirror for form or sight, music for sound, incense for smell, food for taste, and cloth for touch.[259]

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

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

Table 10. *Sixteen worship goddesses*

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

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

v. 4c, § 1, vv. 5–7. Following the worship of the deities, Umāpatideva prescribes the sevenfold "supreme worship" *(anuttarapūjā)* of traditional Mahāyāna ritual and composes verses that were probably intended for recitation (vv. 5–7). The

seven steps of the pūjā begin here with "confession of faults." This differs from the Mahāyāna model, which opens with "worship" *(pūjanā)*, followed by "salutation" (*vandanā*, "bowing down to all the buddhas").[264] In the sādhana, the stage of worship has already been performed (v. 4ab), and so Umāpatideva omits it, along with the salutation. This is typical of many other sādhana writers, who tend to detach these two stages from the sevenfold model.[265] Without the stages of worship and salutation, Umāpatideva is forced to add two more stages in order to preserve the sevenfold sequence, and he therefore finishes the pūjā with "resorting to the path" and "dedication of one's body." Not all sādhana writers produce such a neat solution to the loss of the first two steps in the sequence. The *Abhisamaya-mañjarī* (GSS5 Sed p. 128, K1712), for example, follows its elaborate visualization of the worship with a salutation in the form of the eight-part mantra. It then presents the Mahāyāna sequence from the third stage (confession), but adds, rather vaguely, that two more stages—"going for refuge" and "resorting to the path"—are to be done "beforehand" (which make seven). Table 11 lays out the Mahāyāna sequence beside Umāpatideva's, and gives examples of the sequences adopted in other sādhanas. The parallels illustrate the amount of variation and inconsistency at this point in the sādhana, despite the fact that many authors cite verses very similar to those given by Umāpatideva. This seems to reveal a certain awkwardness in integrating the traditional Mahāyāna *anuttarapūjā* with the methodology of the sādhana.

Brahmavihāra Meditations

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

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

Mahāyāna	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
Bhadracaryā	salutation	worship	confession of faults	rejoicing [in merit]	requesting [teaching]	prayer/ *bodhicittot-pāda*	dedication [of merit]		
Tantric Sādhana			1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Vajravārāhi Sādhana GSS11	visualized worship		confession of faults	rejoicing in merit	going for refuge	transfer of merit	awakening bodhicitta	resorting to the path	dedication of one's body
GSS5 (K171)	visualized worship	& praise	confession of faults	rejoicing in merit	prayer	requesting [teaching]	dedication of merit	*"preceded by" going for refuge*	*& resorting to the path*
SM14 p. 38	visualized worship		confession of faults	rejoicing in merit	going for refuge	prayer bodhicitta	awakening	resorting to the path	
SM26 p. 64	visualized worship		confession of faults	rejoicing in merit	dedication of merit	going for refuge	resorting to the path	requesting [teaching]	awakening bodhicitta
SM46 p. 95	visualized worship		confession of faults	rejoicing in merit	dedication of merit	going for refuge	awakening bodhicitta	requesting [teaching]	dedication of one's body
SM48 p. 100	visualized worship	& salutation	confession of faults	rejoicing in merit	requesting [teaching]	going for refuge	resorting to the path	awakening bodhicitta	
SM67 p. 138	visualized worship		confession of faults	rejoicing in merit	dedication of merit	dedication of one's body	resorting to the path	going for refuge	awakening bodhicitta
SM71	visualized worship	& salutation	confession of faults	rejoicing in merit	dedication of merit	going for refuge			
SM110	visualized worship		confession of faults	rejoicing in merit	dedication of merit	going for refuge	resorting to the path		
SM171	visualized worship		going for refuge	dedication of merit	rejoicing in merit	dedication of mind			
SM218	actual worship with guest water, etc.	salutation	confession of faults and undertaking not to do wrong again	rejoicing in merit	going for refuge	awakening bodhicitta	resorting to the path	dedication of one's body	prayer & requesting [teaching] + *dedication of merit gained*

Development of Wisdom

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

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

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

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† The following is the approximate sequence of the *anuttarapūjā* in Mahāyāna texts. Crosby and Skilton (1995: 10) suggest variations to this structure in their updating of the classic study by Dayal (1932: 54–58). Commenting on Śāntideva's citations in his *Śikṣāsamuccaya* from the *Bhadracaryāpraṇidhāna-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 *Ajātaśatrukaukṛtyavinodanā*, which was translated far earlier, in the late second century C.E. The "prayer" *(yācanā)* is the request to the buddhas to remain in saṃsāra for the sake of beings. It may be replaced by the awakening of the will to enlightenment *(bodhicittotpāda)*.

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

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

Alternatively, the identification may be made on the basis of the pledge *(samayaḥ)* (e.g., GSS5 Sed p. 145, K3or4–5): *oṃ samayaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ, samayaśuddho 'ham.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

The sequence in which the two emptiness mantras are given in the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* is significant. Our author follows the general pattern in sādhanas, 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 '*oṃ*—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 *(ahaṃkāram utpādya)* [through meditating on the mantra] '*oṃ*—I am identical with the essence of the nondual knowledge of emptiness.'"[278]

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

> *śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvāḥ sarvadharmāḥ—*
> *oṃ śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātmako 'ham*
>
> All existents have the essence of the nondual knowledge of emptiness—
> "*oṃ* I am identical with the essence of the nondual knowledge of emptiness."

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

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

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

> fact *(tattvam)* that they are void of all such conceptual elaborations *(kalpana-)* as object *(grāhya-)* and subject *(grāhaka-)*; that is, their ultimate nature *(paramarthaḥ)*. This is what is meant. One should reflect that the [whole] world of the animate and inanimate is of the nature of just nondual *(advaita-)* bringing forth *(prakāśa-)*. This same emptiness he should make firm [or empower] with this mantra: "*oṃ*—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 sādhana at this point. It is only a stepping stone and must itself be transcended by an understanding of emptiness that negates even the intrinsic existence of the nondual mind. This is why most sādhanas follow the meditations on emptiness with the instruction to remain for only a short while in the contemplation of emptiness as nonduality; the meditator is to remain in the contemplation, but "without resting on it [i.e., on emptiness] as an object" *(apratiṣṭhitarūpeṇa, apratiṣṭharūpeṇa)*.[283] This points to the Madhyamaka-based doctrine of universal nonobjectification *(sarvadharmāpratiṣṭhānavāda)*, 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 *Guhyasamayasādhanamālā*, including the well-attested verse: "Homage to you whose conceptualization is without discrimination, whose mind does not rest [on emptiness as an object] *(apratiṣṭhitamānasa)*, who are without remembrance and recollections, without support!"[284]

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

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

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

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

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

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

Creating the Circle of Protection

vv. 13–15, §3–§5

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

vv. 13–14

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

Table 12. *Circle of protection*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1	ground *(bhūmim)*	*oṃ medini* vajribhava vajrabandha hūṃ*
2	walls *(prākārām)*	*oṃ vajraprākāra hūṃ vaṃ hūṃ*
3	roof *(pañjaram)*	*oṃ vajrapañjara hūṃ paṃ hūṃ*
4	canopy *(vitānam)*	*oṃ vajravitāna hūṃ khaṃ hūṃ*
5	arrow shield *(śarajālam)*	*oṃ vajraśarajāla trāṃ śāṃ trāṃ*
6	ring of flames	*oṃ vajrajvālānalārka hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ*

* • *medini*] conj.; *medini* K (GSS3, GSS31). I emend on the basis of GSS5 (Ki813), which preserves a vocative, *medini*. However, *medini* is attested in the Tibetan translations to the Advayavajra texts SM251 and SM217 (Sanderson 1994a), and in the *Vārāhyabhyudayatantra* (from ADUT 4.28).

v. 15, §3–§4

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

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

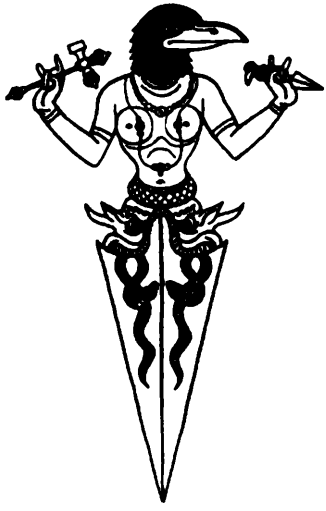


Fig. 24. *Dagger deity: Kākāsyā.* Drawn according to the Sanskrit text by Dharmacāri Āloka.

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

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

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

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

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

The Cremation Grounds

v. 16a and vv. 70–76

The next line in the sādhana directs the yogin to visualize a suitable dwelling place for the goddess inside the circle of protection. In accordance

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

vv. 70–76 The *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* verses describe the cremation grounds first in the cardinal, and then in the intermediate, directions. Here we see that each cremation ground has its own distinctive characteristics. Each is individually named and has a named set of features and creatures dwelling within it. These include a tree, a protector, a serpent *(nāgaḥ)*, and a cloud. Other texts also mention demons (*rākṣasas*), great adepts (*mahāsiddhas*), funeral monuments (*caityas*), mountains, fires, lakes (the abode of the nāgas), and rivers (which in pictorial representations often divide the cremation grounds). Sometimes the inhabitants are described in relation to each other, as when the nāga at the foot of the tree makes obeisance to the protector (see notes to table 14).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 14. *The eight cremation grounds*[i]

	E	N	W	S	NE
Cremation gr. *(śmaśānam)*	Caṇḍogra	Gahvara	"Karaṅkaka"* (Jvālākula)	"Subhīṣaṇa"	Aṭṭaṭṭahāsa
Tree[ii] *(vṛkṣaḥ)*	Śiriśa[iv]	Bodhi[v]	Kaṅkeli[vi]	Cūta[vii]	Trivaṭa[viii]
Protector[ix] *(dikpatiḥ)*	Indra[x]	Kubera[xi]	Varuṇa[xii]	Yama[xiii]	Īśāna[xiv]
Serpent[xv] *(nāgaḥ)*	Vāsuki[xvi]	Takṣaka[xvii]	Karkoṭa[xviii]	Padma[xix]	Mahāpadma[xx]
Cloud[xxi] *(meghaḥ)*	Garjita	Ghūrṇita	Ghora	Āvartaka[xxii]	Ghana
Caitya Mountain [Not in SUT/GSS11]	*Sitavajra Sumeru*	*Saṃskāravajra Mandara*	*Saṃjñāvajra 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 *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 *vaṅga* 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 *rākṣasa*s would seem to be the same as the eight *kṣetrapāla*s mentioned in the *Adbhutaśmaśānālaṃkāra* (Meisezahl 1980: 19), whose colors correspond to those of the *dikpāla*s and who are also animal-headed, their theriocephalic forms determined by the *dikpāla*'s mount. In the details from the Vajravārāhī tangka on plate 1, the tree-dwelling *rākṣasa*s 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 *abhinaya*s with no attributes. Some illustrations also seem to depict the *rākṣasa*s 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/Makarāsya? (not given), red (W); *Mahiṣamukha/Mahiṣāsya? (not given), black (S); Gomukha (NE); Chagānana, red (SE); Ghorāndhakāra, buffalo's head (SW); Mṛganana (NW).

iv Usually Śiriṣa, but Śukataru in GSS34, both names for *Acacia Sirissa*. Perhaps problematically, the *Adbhutaśmaśānālaṃkāra* 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 *Śmaśānālaṃkāratantra* (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 *Adbhutaśmaśānālaṃkāra* (Meisezahl 1980: 19) and *Śmaśānavidhi* (v. 8). It has flaming red flowers.

SE	SW	NW
Lakṣmivana	Ghorāndhakāra	Kilakilārava
Karañja[x]	Latā-Parkaṭi[x]	Arjuna[xi]
Vaiśvānara[xii,xiii]	Jātudhāna[xii,xiv]	Prabhañjana[xii]
Huluhulu[xii,xvi]	Kulika[xii,xvii]	Śaṅkha[xii,xviii]
Prapurāṇa[xii,xix]	Varṣa[xii,xx]	Caṇḍa
Kāyavajra *Gandhamādana*	*Ratnavajra* *Hemaparvata*	*Dharmavajra* *Śriparvata*

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 *Adbhutaśmaśānālaṃkāra*, 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 *Adbhutaśmaśānālaṃkāra*.

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/Pṛthivī (NE), Agni (SE), Sūrya/Nirṛti (SW), Pavana/Vāyu (NW). The protectors (also termed here *dikpatis /dikpālas/lokapālas*) are described iconographically in Lūyipāda's *Śmaśānavidhi*, and the *Adbhutaśmaśānālaṃkāra* 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 *Śmaśānālaṃkāratantra* (Meisezahl 1980: 21–22) includes Sūrya, Soma, and Pṛthivī 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 *Adbhutaśmaśānālaṃkāra* (Meisezahl *ibid.*: 20) he is said to hold a vajra (left), and make the threatening gesture, the *tarjanimudrā* (right).

xiv Synonyms for Kubera are Dhanada (in SUT ch. 17 v. 39a), Yakṣādhipa (in GSS34) or Vaiśravaṇa (Gyatso). Kubera is the custodian of wealth, and king of the *yakṣas* (cf. Vana-parvan ch. 3, v. 10 of the *Mahābhārata*). In *kāvya*, he appears famously at the start of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*. In Purāṇic literature, *yakṣas* are a class of "semi-god" *(upadevaḥ)*, which include the *vidyādhara, apsaras, yakṣa, rākṣasa, gandharva, kinnara, piśāca, guhyaka, siddha*, and *bhūta*. These are all spirits associated with cremation grounds in Buddhist texts and appear in the *bali* 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 *Adbhutaśmaśānālaṃkāra* (Meisezahl 1980: 20) he is yellow, mounted on a "nidhi" and holds a club (left) and makes the gesture of threatening (right).

xv Varuṇa is a prominent god in the Vedas; his later association is as lord of the waters. Hence, he is listed as Nāgendra (in SUT ch. 17, v. 39b) and is described in the *Adbhutaśmaśānālaṃkāra* (Meisezahl 1980: 20) as mounted on a *makara*. He is red in color and brandishes a lasso (left). K. Gyatso states that he is white, has a hood of seven snakes, and holds a snake rope and skull cup.

xvi Yama is associated with the south and with the sun (*vivasvat*, descended from Sūrya), hence he is also "Vaivasvata" (GSS34) or "Yama Vaivasvata." He is also god of death, Kāla, whose agents brings departed souls to Yamapuri. Iconographically, the *Śmaśānavidhi* describes Yama as mounted on a buffalo (v. 10: *mahiṣārūḍha-*), black, red-eyed, fat, fearsome, holding a stick/cudgel *(daṇḍaḥ)* and a skull bowl. This accords with the description reported by Meisezahl (1980: 20) in the *Adbhutaśmaśānālaṃkāra*.

xvii The northeast *(aiśāni)* is associated with Śiva, hence Īśāna also appears as Nīlalohita (in GSS34), a synonym of Śiva in epic and Purāṇic tales, and Kapāliśa (in *Śmaśānavidhi* v. 12). He is described as white, carrying a trident *(śūli)*, mounted on a bull, and wearing a tiger-skin (in *Śmaśānavidhi* v. 12 and *Adbhutaśmaśānālaṃkāra* Meisezahl 1980: 20).

xviii The southeast *(āgneyya)* belongs to Agni (in *Śmaśānavidhi* v. 14 and the *Adbhutaśmaśānālaṃkāra* Meisezahl 1980: 20). Here, the synonym "Vaiśvānara" is given, the name of the fire in the Cāturmāsya sacrifice; hence it is also listed as Hutavahadigiśa (GSS34) and "Hutāśana" (in SUT ch. 17, v. 39c = GSS16). He is described in the *Adbhutaśmaśānālaṃkāra* as mounted on a goat, potbellied, red-limbed, having a "firepit skull bowl" (?*kuṇḍakapāli*) and a "pot with rosary" *(sākṣasūtrakamaṇḍaluḥ)*.

xix The southwest *(nairṛti)* is the quarter of the demons, lorded over by the demon-imp Nairṛti (in *Śmaśānavidhi* v. 16). Naiṛrti is the child of Nirṛti, "Calamity/Death," wife of Mṛtyu. He is also called Rākṣasa (as in *Adbhutaśmaśānālaṃkāra* Meisezahl 1980: 20) and Niścāreśa, "Lord of Night Wanderers" (in GSS34). "Jātudhāna" also appears as *Yātudhāna* (Monier-Williams 1899), a kind of evil spirit or demon responsible for sorcery or witchcraft *(yātuḥ)*. He is described in the *Śmaśānavidhi* (v. 16) and *Adbhutaśmaśānālaṃkāra* as blue-back *(nila)*, standing on a corpse, holding sword and skull bowl, naked, with men's skulls on his head [as a chaplet].

xx The northwest *(vāyavi)* is protected by Prabhañjana [Vāyu], hence listed also as the wind, "Vāta" (in *Śmaśānavidhi* v. 18), but—problematically, suggesting the southwest—as Rākṣasendra/Rākṣasa in SUT (ch. 17, v. 39d) and *Adbhutaśmaśānālaṃkāra* (Meisezahl 1980: 20). He is described in the *Adbhutaśmaśānālaṃkāra* and *Śmaśānavidhi* as blue/smoke-colored (respectively), mounted on an antelope *(mṛgaḥ)*, holding a yellow banner *(dhvajaḥ)* and skull bowl.

xxi The nāga kings (here, *nāgarāja-*, *nāgeśa-*, *nāgendra-*, *bhujageśa-*) are described iconographically in Lūyīpāda's *Śmaśānavidhi* and the related *Adbhutaśmaśānālaṃkāra* 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: *sitālaṃkārabhūṣitāḥ*). The plates to planche I (Meisezahl *ibid.*: 85–92) show that the nāgas have human torsos above their coiled snaketails and raised hoods above their heads. Meisezahl (1980: 20–21) consults Bu ston for their colors and describes the markings that each bears upon his raised hood. They all make obeisance to the *dikpati* who is before them. They are seated beneath the tree (in *Śmaśānavidhi* v. 17). Their presence must be related to that of the cloud king, since nāgas are associated with water and rain. More complex accounts (e.g., K. Gyatso and some tangkas) provide a lake in the cremation ground as an abode for the nāga.

xxii In the *Śmaśānavidhi* (v. 5), Vāsuki is white (Bu ston: yellow), with a blue lotus on his hood. He makes the *añjali*, bowing before the lord before him.

xxiii The *Śmaśānavidhi* states that Takṣaka is red (v. 7: *bandhūkapuṣpasaṃnibhaḥ*) and has a *svastika* on his hood, making the *añjali* with bowed head. Meisezahl (following Bu ston) states that he is black.

xxiv In the *Śmaśānavidhi* (v. 9), the nāga Karkoṭa is described as "resplendent as dark-green *dūrvā* grass" *(dūrvāśyāmasamadyutiḥ)*, with three lines on his throat, and making the *añjali*. (Meisezahl, following Bu ston, describes him as red.)

xxv The *Śmaśānavidhi* (v. 11) states that Padma is white and has on his hood speckles of

sea[water] (Meisezahl reads: *vaṅkabindusiroṅkitaḥ;* Finot reads *vaṅga°*, a type of flower mentioned on the *upavṛkṣaḥ* in v. 24). He supplicates his teacher *(yācann ājñāṃ ca śāstāraṃ)* in the usual manner with the *añjali.* (Meisezahl, following Bu ston, states that he is red.)

xxvi In the *Śmaśānavidhi* (v. 13), Mahāpadma is "lovely like the moon," with a trident *(triśūlaḥ)* on his hood, making the usual *añjali.* (Meisezahl, following Bu ston, states that he is green.)

xxvii Huluhulu is also "Ananta" (in the *Śmaśānavidhi* v. 15 and *Adbhutaśmaśānālaṃkāra* Meisezahl 1980: 20), described there as [colored] like a peacock's neck *(śikhikaṇṭhanibha),* with a lotus on his hood, making the *añjali* before his lord's feet. (In Meisezahl, following Bu ston, he is yellow-white.)

xxviii Kulika/Kuliśa is described in the *Śmaśānavidhi* as smoke-colored, having a half-moon on his hood, seated beneath the mass of creepers *(latājaṭyāṃ),* making the *añjali.* (In Meisezahl, following Bu ston, he is yellow-white.) The mss. of GSS report Kuliśa (see GSS11 edition, apparatus to v. 77).

xxix Śaṅkha is also listed as Śaṅkhapāla (GSS34). In *Śmaśānavidhi* (v. 19), there is a very brief description of him as yellow, with spots [on his hood] *(kalaṅkita),* or a *tilaka* (Meisezahl reporting the *Adbhutaśmaśānālaṃkāra*).

xxx The clouds, or cloud kings (*megharāja* GSS34), in the cardinal directions have names that are associated with the loud noises of thunderclouds; the names of the clouds in the intermediate directions (GSS11 v. 77) are associated with rain. The names in the *Śmaśānavidhi* (v. 21) are different in some cases (the sequence for the directions is insecure): Jayabhadra, Śrīnando (Tib: °Śrighana, Meisezahl 1980: 37), Vṛṣṭisupriya, Drutaghoṣa, Caṇḍa, Varṣa, Purāṇa, and Cāpala. As these names suggest, the clouds are loud and terrifying, emitting lightning and torrents of rain (*Śmaśānavidhi* v. 22). Their presence in the cremation grounds may be connected with the appearance of the nāgas who are deemed responsible for rain.

xxxi Āvartaka: "Personified Cloud," also listed as Balāhaka, "Thundercloud" (in GSS34).

xxxii Pūraṇa (in SUT ch. 17, v. 41c), but GSS11 mss. report *prapurāṇa.*

xxxiii Varṣa is also given as Varṣaṇa (GSS34).

The Cosmos and Temple Palace

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

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

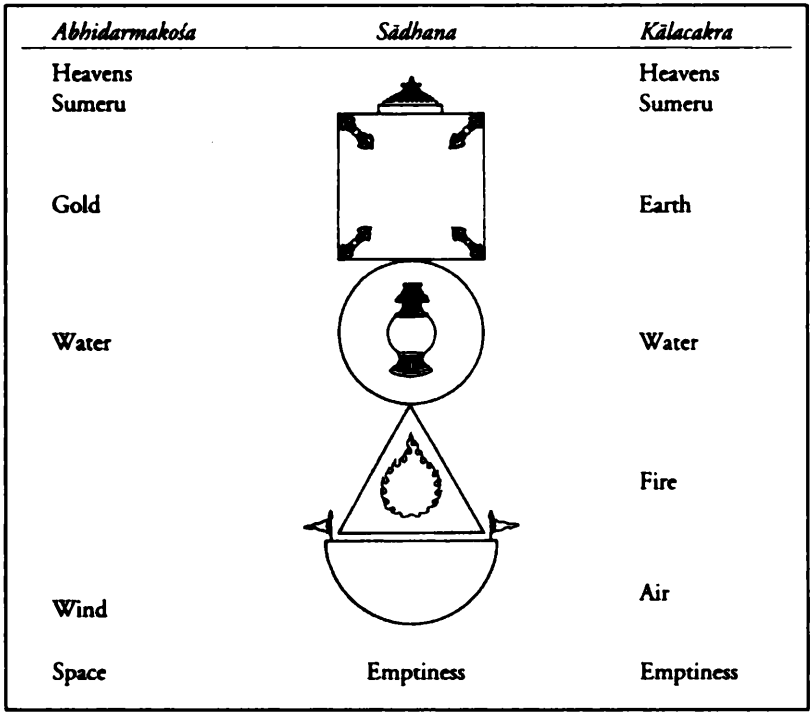
> Arising from the meditation on emptiness under the influence of the latent impressions *(āvedha)* [established in his consciousness] by his original resolve [i.e., the bodhisattva vow], he should visualize his own consciousness as the maṇḍalas of wind, fire, water, and earth, one above the other. [These are] generated from the syllables *yaṃ*, *raṃ*, *vaṃ* and *laṃ* in the shape of a semicircle, triangle, circle, [and] square, colored blue/black, red, white, and yellow, [the semicircle] having a fluttering flag marking both tips, [the triangle] marked by a flame, [the circle] marked with a vase, and [the square] with three-pronged vajras in the four corners as symbols. Then on top of that, generated from the syllable *suṃ*, 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	*yaṃ*	semicircle	blue/black	blue flag fluttering at each end
fire	*raṃ*	triangle	red	red flame
water	*vaṃ*	circle	white	white vase
earth	*laṃ*	square	yellow	yellow three-pronged vajra at each corner
Sumeru	*suṃ*	four-sided	bejeweled	surrounded by seven square mountain ranges, etc.

Figure 25. *The cosmos.*



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

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

Comparing this with the sādhana 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 sādhana because the visualization of the cosmic substrate "emptiness" arises out of the experience of emptiness that the yogin has cultivated in the foundational meditations on emptiness that precede it (sometimes directly preceding it, as in the *Abhisamayamañjarī* cited earlier).[321] Next, the sādhana visualizations introduce the element fire between the maṇḍalas of wind and water, producing the new sequence: wind, fire, water, and earth. This sequence mirrors the traditional list of the elements within the human body (ADK ch. 3, v. 44b) and has the effect of correlating macrocosm (the cosmos) and microcosm (the practitioner). This correlation is a theme developed later in the sādhana, particularly in the meditations upon the body maṇḍala. Finally, the sādhana visualization directs the meditator to visualize Mount Meru resting directly upon the element earth, somewhat simplifying the traditional cosmic features of the ocean and its continents.

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

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

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

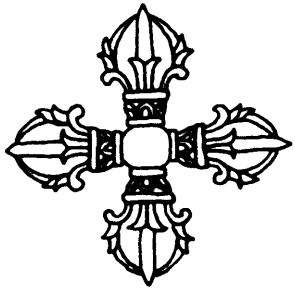


Fig. 26. *Double vajra.*

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

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

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

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

Self-Generation through the Awakenings

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

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

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

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

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

At the center of that [temple palace][39] he should perceive a red *paṃ* transforming into an eight-petaled lotus symbolizing the eight worldly dharmas *(aṣṭalokadharmatā-)*. On the pericarp, on a sun disk symbolizing the extinguishing of the darkness of ignorance, [he should visualize] a <*vaṃ*> seed-syllable situated on a sun disk inside the central hub of a vajra, which has [itself] been produced from a red *vaṃ*, and which is in the space between a sun disk and a moon disk *(saṃpuṭamadhye)*. [The *vaṃ* syllable is understood as] the great bliss of the union of the moon [on the one hand], which is produced by the transformation of a double row of vowels and is identical with mirror wisdom *(ādarśajñāna-svabhāva-)*, and the sun [on the other], which is produced by the transformation of a double row of consonants including *ḍ ḍh d dh ya la* and is identical with the wisdom of equality *(samatā-jñānasvabhāva-)*. [The *vaṃ* syllable itself is] identical with discriminating wisdom *(pratyavekṣaṇāsvabhāva-)*. With rays created by that *[vaṃ]* that have the form of the goddess, he should [then] irradiate the ten directions, [and then] perform the welfare of [all] beings, [followed by] the withdrawal [of the rays] back again into [the *vaṃ*] itself. [This is] the performance wisdom *(kṛtyānuṣṭhā-naṃ)*. With the transformation of all that, [he should visualize] himself as the goddess Vajravārāhī, identical with the wisdom of pure reality *(suviśuddhajñānasvabhāvā-)*.

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 *(ādarśajñānam)*
2. the sun disc	wisdom of equality *(samatājñānam)*
3. the seed-syllable (or emblem)	discriminating wisdom *(pratyavekṣaṇājñānam)*
4. the emission and retraction of rays	performance wisdom *(kṛtyānuṣṭhānajñānam)*
5 the transformation of the seed-syllable into the deity	wisdom of pure reality *(suviśuddhadharmadhātujñānam)*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Self-Visualization As Vajravārāhī

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

form of Vajravārāhī. The prescription to "make his own body Vārāhī" (v. 24d) is a reminder to the yogin that it is "himself" *(ātmānam)* that he is to visualize becoming the deity.[349] Strictly, this must be metaphorical, since the notion of an ordinary "self" has already been dissolved during the meditations on emptiness. Indeed, one sādhana adds the comment that after the emptiness mantras the body must be seen merely as an appearance.[350] The *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* now gives the iconographical details for Vajravārāhī, prescribing her color, face, attributes, and stance. As we will see, these reveal an iconography closely based on Vajravārāhī as consort to Cakrasaṃvara (plate 11).[351] In Tibetan works, it is a form very similar to this manifestation of Vajravārāhī that is associated with the adept Nāropa.[352]



Fig. 27. *Vajravārāhī in warrior stance.*
Drawn according to the Sanskrit text by Dharmacāri Āloka.
Cf. plates 7 and 10f.

Vajravārāhī is deep red in color, a reflex of her red seed-syllable *vaṃ*. The *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* describes her as "saffron-colored" (v. 19b: *kāśmīra-varṇāṃ),*[353] but elsewhere she is compared to vermilion powder *(sindūraḥ),* or to startlingly red flowers such as the China rose *(javākusumam),* the *bandhūkaḥ (Pentapetes phoenicea* or *Terminalia tomentosa),* and the pomegranate flower *(dāḍimaḥ).* Her radiance is likened to the fire that blazes at the end of the aeon. Throughout the visualization her redness contrasts vividly with white, as the yogin sees the red lotus juxtaposed against a white *dharmodayā* (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 *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* describes Vajravārāhī as having one head (v. 19b), just as she had as consort to Cakrasaṃvara—that is, without her eponymous characteristic, the hog's head *(varāhaḥ),* which appears in her other main manifestation (ch. 2). Her face is fanged (v. 21d) and has three eyes; these are a standard feature of tantric iconography drawn from the iconography of Śiva.[355] Other texts add that her face is distorted by wrath, with brows knit together in a fearsome frown, and eyes "red, round, and rolling."[356] In her two arms (v. 20) she holds her particular attributes, a vajra and a skull bowl filled with blood; these are held in her right and left hands respectively (as seen from the point of view of the meditator/deity herself).[357]



Fig. 28. *Vajra.*

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

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

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

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

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



Fig. 29. *Skull staff (khaṭvāṅga).*

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

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

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

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

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

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

For the chaplet, the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* describes an ornate forehead band (v. 22d). The cloth band would once have been a tie wound 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 sādhana for the next stage of the meditation; see v. 27).[377] The *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* (v. 22ab) also notes that Vajravārāhī's hair tie has come adrift, leaving her hair loose and disordered—a statement of her untrammeled sexuality.[378] Some hair (perhaps her matted locks) is fastened on the top of her head by a hair clasp formed of a double vajra.[379] The other mudrās (v. 23) are also of human bone. Apart from the necklace and earrings (often depicted as two large loops), there are two sorts of armlet on each arm, a wrist bracelet *(rucakam),*[380] and an armlet worn on the upper arm *(keyūram).* There may also be anklets *(nūpuraḥ),* which Umāpatideva says are "tinkling" (he lists them in v. 21c separately from the other mudrās). The girdle is particularly ornate as it is "adorned with pieces [of bone]," and "swings seductively" around the goddess's hips, perhaps embellished with bells and strings of pearls. As the Khara Khoto tangkas (e.g., plate 11) show, artists like to exploit the beautiful lacelike effect of intricate ivory work.[381]

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

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

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

supreme Śaiva deities, Bhairava and Kālarātri, so is the solo Vajravārāhī.[386] The *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* states that she stands with one foot (the left) upon Bhairava's head and the other (the right) upon Kālarātri's breast (v. 19cd). Bhairava is described in another sādhana[387] "with four arms, his torso heart-[side] down, [his] face up gazing at the lady [Vajravārāhī], with a chopper and skull held in the first pair of arms, wearing a tiger skin [as a lower garment], [and] in his other pair of arms holding a *ḍamaru* and trident, with three eyes, a snarling mouth, blue, with yellow hair, [and] adorned with [a chaplet] of white skulls." The subdued Śaiva goddess, Kālarātri ("Kālarātrī" and "Kālarātrikā" are also attested in our texts, but in this instance she is called Carcikā), is simply described as "red." Illustrations generally depict her lying face up, holding a vajra chopper and skull bowl in her two arms.[388] In general terms, the subjugation of the Śaiva deities represents Vajravārāhī's conquest over all evil, whether that represented by another religious system (other brahmanical gods are sometimes trampled upon, too), or of evil per se in the classic guise of Māra, the Buddhist embodiment of the defilements and death.[389]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Armoring

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

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

v. 25a–c, §6 In the Vajrayoginī tradition, the yogin-as-goddess performs the armoring with a placing or "installation" *(nyāsaḥ)* of six pairs of mantric syllables at six points on his/her body. The verse in the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* (v. 25) is based upon a scriptural citation that often accompanies the syllables, and that names the parts of the body upon which, or within which (the locative is ambiguous) the armoring syllables are to be placed: navel, heart, mouth, head, crown, and all limbs "as the weapon" *(astram)*.[397]

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

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



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



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

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

Table 17. *Syllables of empowerment*

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

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

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

Pledge and Knowledge Beings

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

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

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

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

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

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

In both the verse and prose, summoning or attraction *(ākarṣaṇam)* is the first step, and the yogin (that is, the yogin-as-goddess) must visualize the knowledge deity of Vajravārāhī standing in space before him. One commentator explains that there are two kinds of summoning, "invitation from the Dharmadhātu Palace of Akaniṣṭha, and attraction from the worldly realms of the ten quarters" (Padmavajra's *Tantrārthāvatāravyākhyāna* cited by Lessing & Wayman 1978: 236, n. 33). The first is reminiscent of the sādhana's preliminary worship visualization and indicates that the knowledge deity is Vajravārāhī in her *saṃbhogakāya* 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 *pheṭ/phem,* making a hand gesture *(mudrā)* at the forehead, and impelling the deities to descend with hooklike rays from the heart to the accompaniment of a scriptural verse (*kṛtvāgragranthyā khalu madhyasūci...*; see n. 505)—the very prescriptions laid down for the *bali* ritual itself.[407]

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

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

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

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

Consecration

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

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

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

The consecration in the sādhana is, of course, based on the actual rituals enacted by the guru when he consecrates a pupil into the practices of the highest tantras. Such initiatory rites are divided into two types: the lower consecrations, of which there are usually five *(pañcābhiṣekaḥ)*, and the higher consecrations, often starting with the teacher consecration *(ācāryābhiṣekaḥ)*.[421] For example, the first of the lower consecrations (the water consecration) begins with the pupil's request to his guru that he bestow the consecration upon him—an element also included in many sādhanas[422]—and the guru then sprinkles water from a vase as he recites an accompanying verse, exactly the same format as that in the sādhana. The influence of the teacher consecration can also be seen, as this rite requires the guru to visualize the tathāgatas bestowing the empowerment from a vase upon the head of a pupil who is already "in union with his chosen deity" *(sveṣṭadevatāyoga-yuktaḥ)*; this is mirrored in the sādhana in all but the third-party intervention of the guru. The function of the teacher consecration is also significant. As the first of the higher consecrations, it permits and obliges the new *vajrācārya* to remain in union with his deity, to bestow consecrations upon pupils, and to progress to further esoteric consecrations, such as the taking of a consort for sexual yoga practice. Similarly, the consecration in the sādhana requires the yogin to preserve the form of the goddess (the consecration in HT1.4 actually ends with just this injunction: *devatāmūrtyā sthātavyam*), and it paves the way for meditations based on sexual yoga.

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

Inner Yogic Practices

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Mantra

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

The *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* (§9) prescribes a version of Vajravārāhī's mantra with ten syllables: *oṃ vajravairocanīye svāhā*. Its dative name element—*vajravairocanīye*—salutes Vajravairocanī, a form of the goddess otherwise barely mentioned in the *Guhyasamayasādhanamālā*, but the presence of the name in the mantra points to Vajravārāhī's family association with the buddha Vairocana. This is the "heart mantra" *(hṛdayamantraḥ)*,

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 Vajravārāhi's heart mantra. The *Abhisamayamañjarī* (Sed p. 137, GSS5 K24v) prescribes a mantra with thirteen syllables as the main one, with the ten-syllabled version as an alternative. Although manuscripts yield a good many variants (as the manifestations described in chapter 2 have shown), the two heart mantras for Vajravārāhī are generally as follows: thirteenfold: *oṃ vajravairocanīye huṃ huṃ phaṭ svāhā,* and tenfold: *oṃ vajravairocanīye svāhā.*[432] The *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* is precise in giving only Vajravārāhī's heart mantra at this point, at the close of the first meditation stage. In the following meditation stages, we will find that other mantras are required as the visualized maṇḍala increases. For the fivefold maṇḍala, the text prescribes another type of heart mantra that is auxiliary, secondary, or "near" to the heart mantra itself, the *upahṛdaya* 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: *oṃ vajravairocanīye svāhā* [GSS5, 13 syllables: *oṃ vajravairocanīye huṃ huṃ phaṭ svāhā*]
Fivefold maṇḍala (meditation stage 2)	[heart mantra, plus:] auxiliary heart mantra & eight-part mantra (§12)	*oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākiniye vajravarṇanīye huṃ huṃ phaṭ svāhā* *oṃ namo bhagavati vajravārāhi vaṃ huṃ huṃ phaṭ...oṃ namo vajravārāhi mahāyogini kāmeśvari khage huṃ huṃ phaṭ*
Full 37-fold maṇḍala (meditation stages 3 and 4)	[heart, auxiliary heart, and eight-part mantra, plus:] root mantra (§32)	*oṃ namo bhagavati vajravārāhi vaṃ...bhūtatrāsani mahāvire paramasiddhayogeśvari phaṭ hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā.*

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

vv. 32cd, 33cd

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

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

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

Dwelling As Vajravārāhī

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

v. 35 (See above: "The Cosmos and Temple Palace," p. 144ff.)

Meditation Stage 2

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

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

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

Fivefold Maṇḍala

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

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

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

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

§12 The mantras for the fivefold maṇḍala are supplied at the end of the second meditation stage, first for Vajravārāhī as a maṇḍala leader, and then for the four retinue goddesses. Vajravārāhī's mantras include the ten-syllabled heart mantra given already in meditation stage 1, based on the mantra deity Vajravairocanī *(oṃ vajravairocanīye svāhā)*, and the auxiliary heart mantra, sometimes said to have twenty syllables (e.g., GSS4 K145: *upahṛdayaṃ viṃśatyakṣaram*), based on the mantra deities Sarvabuddhaḍākinī and Vajravarṇanī *(oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākinīye vajravarṇanīye huṃ huṃ phaṭ svāhā)*. There is also the eight-part mantra, which frequently occurs in a ritual context for praise.[443] The mantras for the four goddesses on the petals follow the standard format for all goddesses of the retinue: *oṃ*, the insertion of the goddess's name, then the insertion of the syllables *huṃ huṃ phaṭ*.[444]

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

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

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

Meditation Stage 3

Thirteenfold Maṇḍala

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

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

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

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

Terms for Aspects of the Maṇḍala

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

Meditation Stage 4

Thirty-seven-fold Maṇḍala

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

Circles of Mind, Speech, and Body

§17–§19 The three circles visualized around the central lotus are called the circles of mind, speech, and body. The innermost circle is the "mind circle" (*citta-cakram*, §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" (GSS5 Sed p. 133, K21r2: *piṭhasvabhāva-*) certain semimythical sacred sites (*piṭhas*). Their individual names, Pulliramalaya, 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 (*vākcakram*, §18), understood to exist on the "circumference of the earth." It is red, encircled with red lotuses, and with eight goddesses similarly installed on its eight sacred sites. These goddesses are described collectively as the "congregation of earth-dwelling goddesses." Finally, the outermost concentric circle is the body circle

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

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

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

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

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

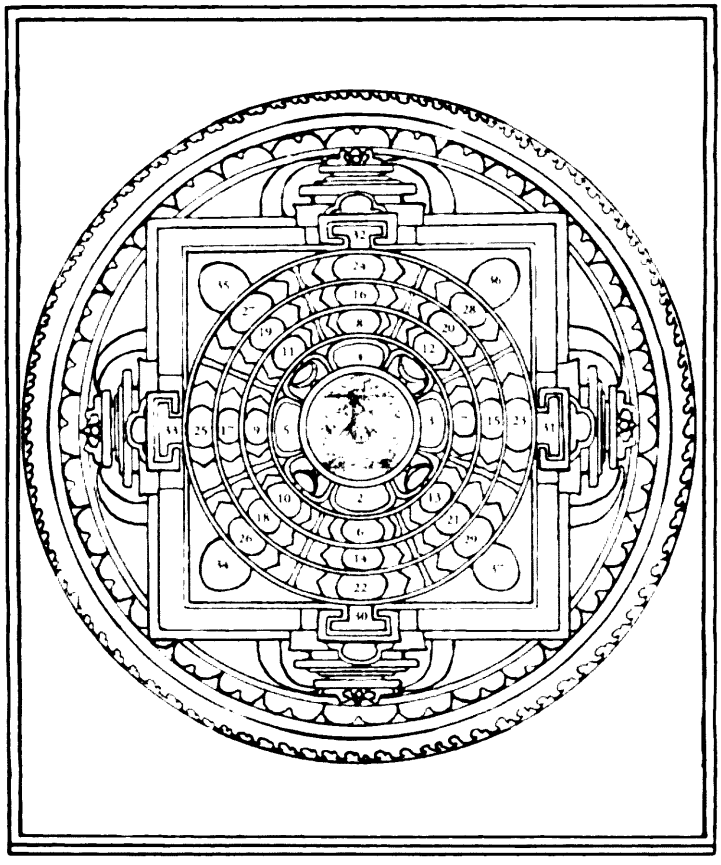
Clearly following, and adapting from, his Cakrasaṃvara sources, our author ends his prescriptions in §21 with a final comment covering all the goddesses in the retinue, stating that all of them are to be visualized wearing chaplets of vajras.[457] It is at this point that the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5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

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

The Maṇḍala As Wisdom

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

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



EAST

Central Lotus
1. Vajravārāhī

Cardinal Petals
2. Ḍākinī
3. Lāmā
4. Khaṇḍarohā
5. Rūpiṇī

Mind Circle
6. Pracaṇḍā
7. Caṇḍākṣi
8. Prabhāvatī
9. Mahānāsā
10. Viramatī
11. Kharvarī
12. Laṅkeśvarī
13. Drumacchāyā

Speech Circle
14. Airāvatī
15. Mahābhairavā
16. Vāyuvegā
17. Surābhakṣi
18. Śyāmā(devi)
19. Subhadrā
20. Hayakarṇā
21. Khagānanā

Body Circle
22. Cakravegā
23. Khaṇḍarohā
24. Śauṇḍinī
25. Cakravarmiṇi
26. Suvirā
27. Mahābalā
28. Cakravartinī
29. Mahāvīryā

Outer Maṇḍala (Gates)
30. Kākāsyā
31. Ulūkāsyā
32. Śvānāsyā
33. Sūkarāsyā

Outer Maṇḍala (Corners)
34. Yamadāḍhi
35. Yamadūti
36. Yamadaṃṣṭriṇi
37. Yamamathanī

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

Table 19. *Maṇḍala as wisdom*

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

The Maṇḍala As Doctrine

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

(§23) The four bringers of awareness (*anu-smṛtyupasthānas*)
(§24) The four means of mind concentration (*ṛddhipādas*)
(§25) The five empowering faculties (*indriyas*)
(§26) The five powers (*balas*)

(§27) The seven causes of enlightenment (*bodhyaṅgas*)
(§28) The eight factors of the path *(aryāṣṭāṅgo margaḥ)*
(§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 *Guhyasamayasādhanamālā* 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 *bodhipākṣikadharmas*	goddesses of the maṇḍala
4 *smṛtyupasthānas*	4 petal goddesses
4 *ṛddhipādas*	4 site goddesses of mind circle
5 *indriyas*	4 site goddesses of mind circle + 1 site goddess of speech circle
5 *balas*	5 site goddesses of speech circle
7 *bodhyaṅgas*	2 remaining site goddesses of speech circle 5 site goddesses of body circle
8 *aṅgas* of *aṣṭāṅgamarga*	3 site goddesses of body circle 4 gate goddesses 1 central goddess
4 *prahāṇas*	4 corner goddesses

The Maṇḍala As Cosmos

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

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

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

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

Table 21. *Maṇḍala as cosmos*

aspect of maṇḍala	GSS5	GSS11	inhabiting goddesses	Kālacakra cosmos
mind circle	sky	space	site goddesses "sky-dwellers"	12 winds orbiting Meru
speech circle	earth	circumference of earth	site goddesses "earth-dwellers"	circle of earth
body circle	underworld	surface of earth encircled by oceans	site goddesses "underworld-dwellers"	circle of water
outer maṇḍala		surface of underworld within rings of fire & wind	outer goddesses in cremation grounds	circle of fire & air

The Sacred Sites (pīṭhas)

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

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

The Ten Places (deśas)

In the meditations that follow, yet another aspect of the cosmos is woven into the symbolic textures of the maṇḍala. This is a set of ten "places" (*deśas*) made up of five primary places, and five secondary or "nearby" places. Each of the places contains two or four of the twenty-four sacred sites (vv. 43–53), as shown in table 23. The places are correlated during the course of the body maṇḍala with the ten bodhisattva stages (vv. 43–53). They also appear within a slightly different, twelvefold account in the Hevajra system.[465] These are summarized in table 22.[466]

In the semi-mythical world of the highest tantras (and drawing once again on Śaiva praxis), the places and sites serve as dwelling places for various classes of yoginī. Such texts devote some time to explaining the means of identifying and conversing with these types of women, as in a passage from the *Saṃvarodayatantra:* "A woman who is always fond of meat and spirituous liquors and forgets shame and fear is said to be an 'innate woman' *(sahajā)* born of the ḍākinī family. They are born in each district [i.e., place]; (these) yoginīs should be worshiped at all times."[467] The idea is that the yogin should visit the places in search of his consort. The lord himself, in the *Hevajratantra* (1.7.8–11), specifically refers to them as the "meeting place" *(melāpakasthānam)* for yogins and yoginīs who know the "secret signs" *(choma).* The texts clearly suppose that the places and the sacred sites that they contain have a real, external existence because, on occasion, they make derogatory remarks about such goings-on, complaining that the expert yogin need not "tire himself out by wandering around the twenty-four sites in person," and emphasizing that the sites are mentioned merely "for the benefit of simple fools who wander about the country."[468]

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

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

Table 22. *The ten places*

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

Body Maṇḍala

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

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

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

vv. 43–54 The purifying equations of the sites and their goddesses with points on the yogin's body are given in a series of verses. After each verse, the text gives a one-line description allocating the sites to the ten places, and correlating those with the ten bodhisattva stages. These are summarized in table 23.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

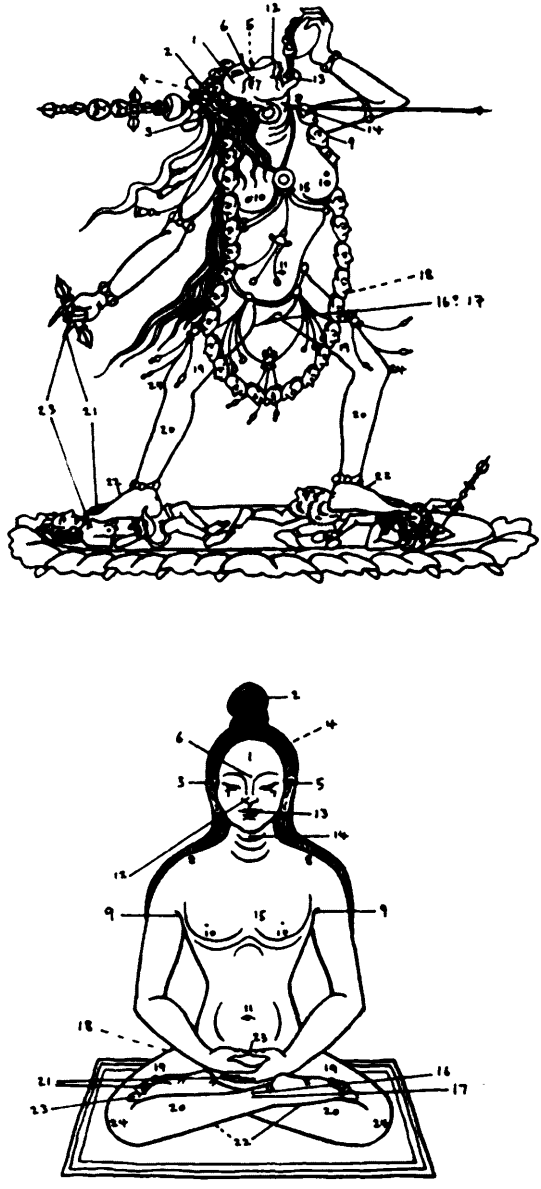


Fig. 33. *Body maṇḍala.*
with
Table 23. *Body maṇḍala (tabular summary, opposite)*

Position in the maṇḍala		Goddess (as the vein)	Twenty-four sites	Ten places (bodhisattva-bhūmis)	Thirty-seven bodhipākṣika-dharmas	Body point	⇔	*Aspect of body nourished by the veins as the hero in the Cakrasaṃvara tradition*
Fivefold Maṇḍala								
pericarp		Vajravārāhī			**eightfold path** samyaksamādhi			
	E	Ḍākinī			**smṛtyupasthānas** kāya°			
	N	Lāmā			vedanā°	**heart**		
	W	Khaṇḍarohā			dharma°			
	S	Rūpiṇī			citta°			
Mind Circle *(blue-black, sealed by Akṣobhya; surrounded by blue-black vajras)*								
1	E	Pracaṇḍā	Pullīramalaya	**pīṭhas** pramuditā°	**ṛddhipādas** chanda°	head	⇔	*nails & teeth (Khaṇḍakapālin)*
2	N	Caṇḍākṣī	Jālandhara		vīrya°	topknot	⇔	*head & body hair (Mahākaṅkāla)*
3	W	Prabhāvatī	Oḍḍiyāna		mīmāṃsā°	right ear	⇔	*skin & filth (Kaṅkāla)*
4	S	Mahānāsā	Arbuda		citta°	back of the head	⇔	*flesh (Vikaṭadaṃṣtrin)*
5	SE	Vīramatī	Godāvari	**upapīṭhas** vimalā°	**indriyas** śraddhā°	left ear	⇔	*sinew (Surāvairin)*
6	SW	Kharvarī	Rāmeśvara		vīrya°	between eyebrows	⇔	*bones (Amitābha)*
7	NW	Laṅkeśvarī	Devikoṭa		smṛti°	2 eyes	⇔	*kidney? (Vajraprabha)*
8	NE	Drumacchāyā	Mālava		samādhi°	2 shoulders	⇔	*heart (Vajradeha)*
Speech Circle *(red, sealed by Amitābha; surrounded by red lotuses)*								
9	E	Airāvatī	Kāmarūpa	**kṣetras** prabhākarī°	**…indriyas** prajñā°	2 armpits	⇔	*eyes (Aṅkurika)*
10	N	Mahābhairavā	Oḍra		**balas** śraddhā°	2 breasts	⇔	*bile (Vajrajaṭila)*
11	W	Vāyuvegā	Triśakuni	**upakṣetras** arciṣmatī°	vīrya°	navel	⇔	*lungs (Mahāvīra)*
12	S	Surābhakṣī	Kośala		smṛti°	tip of nose	⇔	*entrails (Vajrabhūṃkāra)*
13	SE	Śyāmā(devī)	Kaliṅga	**chandohas** abhimukhī°	samādhi°	mouth	⇔	*coiled gut (Subhadra)*
14	SW	Subhadrā	Lampāka		prajñā°	throat	⇔	*belly (Vajrabhadra)*
15	NW	Hayakarṇā	Kāñci	**upacchandohas** sudurjayā°	**saṃbodhyaṅgas** samādhi°	heart	⇔	*feces (Mahābhairava)*
16	NE	Khagānanā	Himālaya		vīrya°	penis	⇔	*hair part (Virūpākṣa)*
Body Circle (*white, sealed by Vairocana; surrounded by white wheels)*								
17	E	Cakravegā	Pretapurī	**melāpakas** dūraṅgamā°	**…saṃbodhyaṅgas** prīti°	sexual organ	⇔	*phlegm (Mahābala)*
18	N	Khaṇḍarohā	Gṛhadevatā		prasrabdhi°	anus	⇔	*pus (Ratnavajra)*
19	W	Sauṇḍinī	Saurāṣṭra	**upamelāpakas** acala°	dharmapravicaya°	2 thighs	⇔	*blood (Hayagrīva)*
20	S	Cakravarmiṇi	Suvarṇadvīpa		smṛti°	2 shanks	⇔	*sweat (Ākāśagarbha)*
21	SE	Suvirā	Nagara	**śmaśānas** sādhumatī °	upekṣā°	fingers & toes	⇔	*fat (Heruka)*
22	SW	Mahābalā	Sindhu		**…eightfold path** samyagdṛṣṭi	back of feet	⇔	*tears (Padmanarteśvara)*
23	NW	Cakravartinī	Maru	**upaśmaśānas** dharmameghā°	°saṃkalpa	thumbs & big toes	⇔	*phlegm (Vairocana)*
24	NE	Mahāvīryā	Kulatā		°vāk	2 knees	⇔	*snot (Vajrasattva)*
Outer Maṇḍala								
	E	Kākāsyā			°karmāntaḥ	mouth		
	N	Ulūkāsyā			°ājīva	navel		
	W	Śvānāsyā			°vyāyāma	sexual organ		
	S	Sūkarāsyā			°smṛtiḥ	anus		
	SE	Yamadāḍhī			**prahāṇas** arising of kuśaladharmas	hair curl		
	SW	Yamadūtī			maintaining°	ears		
	NW	Yamadaṃṣṭriṇī			<eradicating… akuśaladharmas°>	eyes		
	NE	Yamamathanī			not producing°	nose		

malaya, at the head), but they are imaginitively 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 *Saṃvarodayatantra* (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 *avadhūti* nourishes the circle of great bliss upon which Vajravārāhī stands.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mantras for the Complete Deity Maṇḍala

§32 The fourth meditation stage ends with the mantras to be inserted within the sādhana, as in the first meditation stage. First, our author gives the root mantra *(mūlamantraḥ)* for Vajravārāhī as leader of a full maṇḍala, adding it to her mantras for earlier stages of the practice (namely, the heart, auxiliary heart, and eight-part mantras). The root mantra is full of terrifying epithets, aggressive imperatives, fearsome laughter, and general clamor.

§33–§34 Next, the text supplies mantras for the site goddesses (§33). These contain cryptic mantric elements called "vajra words" *(kuliśapadāni)* and owe their form to the mantras of the site gods in the Cakrasaṃvara maṇḍala. Thus, in Cakrasaṃvara sources, the mantras for the site god and the site goddess are listed side by side, as follows:[479]

> *oṃ khaṇḍakapālina kara kara hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā*
> (for site god, Khaṇḍakapālin).
> *oṃ pracaṇḍe hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā*
> (for site goddess, Pracaṇḍā).
> etc.

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

process one step further, and omit both the name element of the male god, Khaṇḍakapālin, and its following mantra syllables: *oṃ kara kara pracaṇḍe huṃ hūṃ phaṭ* (for site goddess Pracaṇḍā 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 *Vajravārāhi Sādhana* deals with ritual practices. These are chiefly rites of worship and offering, but adapted for the context of deity yoga. A comment on the nature of tantric ritual in general is found in an oblation text in the *Guhyasamayasādhanamālā* attributed to Indrabhūti, the *Pradīpāhutividhi* (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. Indrabhūti describes how mental intention, too (see p. 215), is a means to generate results (vv. 24–25): "Whatever merit is dedicated with a mind firmly convinced, with whichever method, in whatever place, in whatever way, <fruit?> arises in a corresponding form, in a corresponding place, in a corresponding way, like the pot of a potter."[481] In a Yogācāra-Madhyamaka environment, such promises are made possible by the infinite possibilities of emptiness. Once appearances are understood to be empty and thus unreal (in that they lack intrinsic existence), then they are no different from magical appearances, which are also empty and unreal. As Indrabhūti explains: (v. 26) "Whatever he cultivates further, and whatever more is dedicated, that bears fruit, like a reflection in a mirror that is both real and not real," (v. 28) "Only through the mind, not through anything else, does one resort to the dualities 'good' *(śreyas)* and 'bad'; for saṃsāra is nothing but the mind, and nirvāṇa [too] is nothing but the mind."[482] It is not the case, however, that the ontology of Mind-only renders external ritual actions meaningless, as they are justified on the basis of Nāgārjuna's doctrine of two truths (cf. Bentor 1996: 13–21). Although on the level of ultimate truth *(paramārthasatyam)*, ritual action is empty, it is meaningful because it is understood to operate on the level of conventional truth *(lokasaṃvṛtisatyam)*. This is the basis upon which the yogin proceeds: (v. 22) "The buddhas *(munīśvarāḥ)* say that with one hundred and eight oblations, [performed] on the basis of an understanding of the two truths, the fruit of universal monarch-hood or buddhahood [is attained]."[483]

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

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

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

The Bali Ritual

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

Table 24. *Rituals in parallel texts*

Vajravārāhī Sādhana GSS11	*Abhisamayamañjarī* GSS5	**Vidhisaṃgraha* Finot 1934
	amṛtāsvādana, following self generation (K23r1)	
amṛtāsvādana (vv. 60–67) within *balividhi* (v. 58–§37)	*balividhi* (K29r3) (without *balimantra* of our §36)	*Śmaśānavidhi* by Lūyipāda (pp. 49–51)
(+ *bali* mantra §36)	midday & midnight junctures (K30v4)	**"Mantrapāṭha"* (pp. 53–54, i.e., *balimantra* as GSS11 §36)
bāhyapūjā (§38)	*bāhyapūjā* (K31r2)	*bāhyapūjā*, by Śāśvatavajra (pp. 52–53)
hastapūjā (§40)	*hastapūjā* (K32r2)	*hastapūjā* by Śāśvatavajra (pp. 54–55); also SM253 (pp. 498–500)
alternative *bāhyapūjā* + implied *hastapūjā* (P41: *athavā*)	alternative *bāhyapūjā* + implied *hastapūjā* (K32v5: *yadvā*) (p. 55–56: *yadvā*)	alternative *hastapūjā* with *bāhyapūjā*
adhyātmahomavidhi (§42)	*adhyātmahomavidhi* (K33v1)	*Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi* by Śāśvatavajra (pp. 56–58) (with preparation as for *amṛtāsvādana*)
**ucchiṣṭabalividhi* (§43)	**ucchiṣṭabalividhi* (K33v2)	*Vajravārāhī Sādhana* (pp. 59–61)
cremation grounds (vv. 71–75)	reference to desiderative *homa* rites, considered too lengthy to be described by the author (K33v4: *vistarabhayān na likhitāḥ*)	*Sekakriyākrama* (incomplete) (pp. 61–62)

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

Tasting Nectar (amṛtāsvādanam)

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

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

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

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

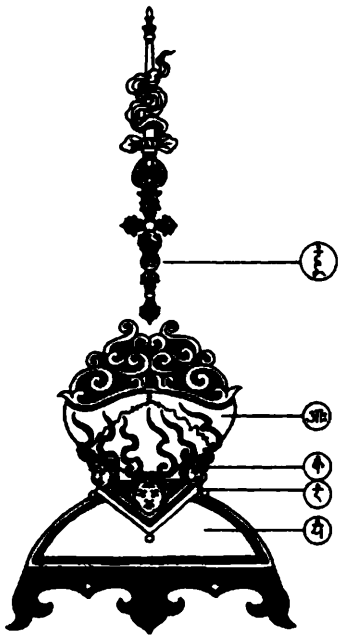


Fig. 34. *Preparation of nectar.*

v. 61 The next verse (plus the following prose) describes the preparation of the nectar inside the cauldron. The ingredients are generated from seed-syllables and comprise the usual esoteric offerings, namely, the five nectars and the five meats, or "lamps" (*pañca pradīpas*). The five nectars are semen, blood, flesh, urine, and feces, and the five lamps are the flesh of cow, dog, horse, elephant, and man.[493] The seed-syllables are not a very stable set, and the Advayavajra-based sources, for example, prescribe the generation of the ten transgressive substances from the five syllables of the buddhas alone.[494]

v. 62 Our author then describes the cooking process itself. The fire should be visualized blazing up and heating the ingredients and turning them bright red. The *Vajrāvalī* (seemingly following Cakrasaṃvara scripture) adds that the ordinary color, smell, and potency of the ingredients are removed with the syllables *ha ho hrīḥ*.[495]

v. 63 Next, a white, inverted skull staff is visualized above the mixture, produced from *hūṃ*. From its contact with the heat or steam rising from the liquid below, the skull staff melts and drips into the cauldron, cooling the red liquid and turning it white, or "quicksilver," in the process.[496]

vv. 64–66 It only remains for the liquid to be empowered by the syllables *oṃ āḥ hūṃ*. These three syllables are generated from the letters of the alphabet and visualized above the liquid. The syllables then emanate the deities of the maṇḍala into the universe to benefit beings. Finally, the deities are retracted and dissolve into the three syllables, and the three syllables themselves dissolve into the nectar below. The liquid is now empowered by the syllables and is complete. The meaning of this stage of the visualization is clearer in the parallel texts, which imply that the nectars and meats in the cauldron are pledge forms, as they require the infusion of knowledge. In the *Abhisamayamañjarī*, the three syllables emanate rays rather than deities, and these draw out the "knowledge nectar in the hearts of all tathāgatas."[497] The *Cakrasaṃvara balividhi* (based on both male and female deities of the Cakrasaṃvara maṇḍala) reads as follows:[498]

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

> lamps" *(jñānāmṛtapradīpaṃ)* of the heroes and heroines in the ten directions.[499] Having [caused those deities of the three maṇḍala circles] to accomplish the welfare of the world, he should visualize them *(avalokya)* first coming together [in sexual union] [and then] melting *(dravībhūya)*, and as entered accordingly *(yathāyathaṃ)* into those [three syllables] † *and that in all the oceans* †. Then, having seen *oṃ*, 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 maṇḍala deities, who would "taste" it and experience great bliss.[500] In our text (§36), however, the nectar becomes the *bali* offering, and thus the so-called "tasting of nectar" has served simply to prepare the offering.

Bali Offering with Mantras

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

§39 Our author then names the recipients of the final offering as the ten protectors of the directions. The mantra is uttered twice.

The recipients of the *bali* offering vary in other texts. In the *Saṃvarodayatantra* (ch. 8, v. 25), it is given to the deities of the three maṇḍala circles alone; shorter texts may give a more limited selection (often the goddesses of the thirteenfold maṇḍala, or the ten protectors), with or without verses. In contrast, the *bali* offerings described by Abhayākaragupta in the *Vajrāvalī* (f. 123r–v) are for many different categories of being, and include (1) a general *bali* mantra serving all beings *(sarvabhautika)*, absent in GSS11; (2) *bali* mantras begging the beings of the thirteenfold maṇḍala to accept the offering (similar to §38); (3) the longer mantra for the site deities on the three maṇḍala circles (as given in §37); (4) mantras inserting the individual names of the ten *krodha*s ("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 (*siddhi*s) to the yogin (§39). Related texts add that the mantrin also sees the protectors experiencing great bliss.[509] This reflects the desiderative function of the *bali* ritual. The Samāja-based *bali* ritual in the *Vajrāvalī* (ŚP f. 122r.7ff.) states that the method of performing the rite depends upon which class of siddhi is foremost. This will influence the time at which the rite is performed, the direction in which *bali* is offered, and the color of the *bali* offering. For example, a black-magic rite *(abhicāraḥ)* would be performed at midnight to the south, with black *bali*s.[510] A desiderative *bali* ritual may also be performed on behalf of another person. This is described in the *Saṃvarodayatantra* (ch. 8, vv. 19ff.), where the worship of the maṇḍala with food offerings, etc., is performed on behalf of a third party *(dānapatiḥ)*, and the "teacher's assistant" *(karmavajrin)*[511] therefore meditatively generates the donor as well as the maṇḍala (v. 23ab: *utsarjayed dānapatiṃ maṇḍalaṃ ca puraḥsaram*). The same is true in the *Vajrāvalī* accounts, in which the *bali* mantras from all three systems leave the name of the beneficiary to be supplied *(amuka-)*. The Samāja ritual adds that it is the sādhaka'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 *Vajrāvali* account, the individual mantras for the ten *krodhas* actually include the name of the person who requires their cooperation.[513] This is the function of the *bali* offering when it is performed as a preliminary rite and when (along with other preparatory procedures) it serves to purify the site and to quell obstacles, particularly those of wild or malevolent spirits that may impede the practice.[514] The propitiatory agenda explains the emphasis in many *bali* mantras on the outermost (i.e., "lesser") beings of the cosmological maṇḍala. Frequently, it is only the last *bali* mantra (§39: *oṃ kha kha khāhi khāhi*...) that appears in a text, that is, the mantra designated in our work for the protectors, overlords of the wild cremation grounds. In the Samāja rite, Abhayākaragupta states that after all the deities have received their *bali* offerings, the maṇḍala circle is absorbed back into the mantrin, whereas the protectors and *krodhas* are posted outside the maṇḍala hut in the ten directions, "intent on protection and fulfilling desires."

The fact that the *bali* rituals in our texts go beyond a merely protective function is perhaps the logical consequence of extending the *bali* offerings to the complete maṇḍala. The *bali* becomes another powerful means of worshiping deities within the practice of deity yoga for recognized rewards. Another feature of the Vajrayoginī *bali* ritual is that actual foodstuffs are often superseded by imaginal transgressive offerings, purified and nectarized according to the methods given for the rite of tasting nectar. This is again symptomatic of an upgrading of the *bali*, as it transforms the ancient food offering into a means of inducing great bliss. The deities so propitiated are understood to be all the more powerful in that they fulfill desires on both the mundane and transcendental levels. These developments are borne out by Abhayākaragupta in a liberationist coda to his account of the *bali* rituals of the Samāja, Hevajra, and Saṃvara systems. He classifies these methods as generation-method practices, then adds a final *bali* ritual to be performed according to the superior completion method. The completion-method *bali* ritual intensifies the "internalization" already evident in those of the generation method. The visualized forms of the deities are distilled

in the crucible of pure awareness, and the *bali* transformed into an offering of knowledge itself:[515]

> These three bali rituals [of the Samāja, Saṃvara, and Hevajra systems] are within the generation method. In the completion method, however, the *bali* ritual [consists of] an offering of *bali* that is not distinct from the [unique] flavor of knowledge. [It is offered] to [the protectors of the directions] starting with Indra together with the [maṇḍala] deities, beginning with one's own lord of the maṇḍala, whose forms are wisdom and means [and] who have been drawn [down] merely by focusing the attention on them, with a mind "not shaken" from wisdom and means.

Rite of Completion

§40 (§45, §48, and §49) 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" (*Anguttaranikāya* III.415), this is somewhat counterbalanced by the emphasis we find in the sādhanas on cultivating and maintaining the correct ontological understanding of action, with frequent reminders of its basis in emptiness. Thus, the yogin's mental attitude is still deemed to be crucial, as he must maintain the correct attitude toward his actions, and the texts supply frequent reminders of their basis in nonduality (e.g., §36 following v. 67: *pūjyapūjāpūjakān abhedena paśyet*) and frequent injunctions in the course of the rituals themselves to recite the emptiness mantras.

For the rite of completion, betel and other foodstuffs are first offered to the assembled deities all together. Secret hand signals *(choma)* are performed, and the bell is rung. The hundred-syllabled mantra is then recited, followed by the recitation of an emptiness mantra, and the deities are simultaneously gratified with the gesture of "turning the lotus" *(kamalāvarta-mudrā)*. For this gesture, the sādhaka holds a vajra and vajra bell in his outstretched fingers and revolves them with a fluttering motion—a "dance"

that resembles "a blossoming lotus stirred by the wind." (The bell is another symbol of the feminine aspect or consort, and as such is often visualized along with the vajra, representing the male aspect.)[516] The deities are then dismissed as the yogin moves his arms into the crossed gesture of embrace, snaps his fingers (or touches the ground),[517] and then withdraws the mudrā, while reciting the syllables of dismissal. Finally, the practitioner absorbs the maṇḍala into himself.

External Worship

§41 The *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* now moves on to the external rites of worship *(bāhyapūjā)*, the essential features of which are (1) the generation of the goddess in a locus external to the yogin's own body, (2) her worship in that locus, and (3) a rite of completion. Our author describes two rituals of worship. The following paragraphs (§41–§45) give detailed prescriptions for the first, and this is followed below (at §49) with a second, briefer account, involving the imaginal feasting of deities with food offerings. Both optionally involve the "hand worship" (§46). (The parallel texts for these portions are cited in full in the Textual Notes to §41–§52.)

Like the sādhana meditation, these rites were probably intended to be performed three or four times a day. Indeed, the self-generation is the necessary preliminary to their performance, as they are to be undertaken by the yogin in union with the goddess (GSS5 Sed p. 145, K31r2: *vajravairocanīyogavān mantrī*). However, the practitioner of deity yoga may also undertake the rites independently from the self-generation meditation, as the passage (§41) begins with prescriptions to rise early and to purify the place. With the appropriate mantras, the yogin also visualizes a circle of protection that imaginally constitutes the ground in front of the yogin as the "vajra ground." Next, a maṇḍala diagram is drawn onto the vajra ground. Here, the text prescribes a triangle containing a circle, which represents the lotus within the *dharmodayā*, the origin of existents (as in the self-generation of the sādhana). In the alternative external worship (§49), the yogin draws only the simple (inverted) triangle of the *dharmodayā* (and the shape of the diagram does vary in other texts).[518] The diagram is drawn using a paste made of esoteric substances, or failing those, of cow dung (and, in the second rite, of wine §49). The nectars are described as a "pill" *(gulikā;* here *vaṭikā* or *guḍikā)* made of the five nectars, and sometimes called the *samaya* pill.[519] Elsewhere prescriptions require the yogin to draw

the diagram "using saffron, bright yellow orpiment, and vermilion powder, or with [just] one of them." Other esoteric substances may also be used, such as the first menstrual blood of a young girl, a highly valued substance in pan-Indian *śākta* traditions, or a mixture of blood and onion.[520] The yogin draws the diagram by tracing it with the liquid or paste onto the ground with the fourth finger of his left hand (§49). According to other accounts he does this with an implement such as a golden stylus (GSS35), or a brush made of the hair of thieves executed in the cremation ground.[521]

Within the drawn *dharmodayā*, the yogin then generates the pledge form of Vajravārāhī from her seed-syllable, *vaṃ*, which has issued from his heart, and the knowledge form is drawn into the pledge form with rays in the usual way. Our author adheres to his sequential approach, prescribing only the generation of the central deity, Vajravārāhī, at this stage. The method of doing the practice with the fuller maṇḍala may be inferred (§45) from the meditation stages taught above. In contrast, the *Abhisamayamañjarī* is faithful to its method of self-generating the maṇḍala in its entirety upon the elements and Mount Meru.

§42 The stage is now set for the worship itself, which constitutes a number of different ceremonies. It begins with traditional offerings visualized billowing from the sādhaka'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.

§43 Next, the yogin offers a flower to the deities that he has visualized "on his hand." This is a slightly ambiguous reference to the hand worship (full details for which are only given by the author below, §46) but one confirmed by the parallel texts (see Textual Notes). The hand worship also appears in two Nepalese Sanskrit ritual texts of the yoginītantra tradition; they confirm its usage in this context.[522] In these works, the opening sequence (termed *ādiyoga*) is similar to the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* in that it includes: preparations, the generation of the maṇḍala and its infusion with the knowledge deities (as at §41), the offering of a flower to each deity of the maṇḍala with the appropriate mantra followed by the eight-part mantra (as at §42), and finally the hand worship (apparently here at §43).[523] The practice as described in the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* (§43) ends with the

absorption of the deities on the yogin's left hand into himself, which again points to the the hand worship.

§44–§45 The following paragraph continues the worship of the maṇḍala with mantras and verses of praise and concludes with the bodhisattva preparations. This again mirrors the *ādiyoga* in the Nepalese ritual texts, which end with the supreme worship (it perhaps also overlaps with their *maṇḍalādiyoga* portion, which begins with the *brahmavihāras* and meditations on emptiness). A rite of completion (§45) marks the end of the external worship.

Worship on the Hand (hastapūjā)

§46 The hand worship is to be inserted into a rite of external worship in the manner just described (§43). Our sources (parallel text is cited in the Textual Notes) all state that the hand worship is derived from the *Yoginīsaṃcāratantra* (§48), although this scripture sheds no further light on the practice.[524]

The hand worship begins (§46) by stating that the mantrin is "in union with his own chosen deity" *(sveṣṭadevatāyukto mantrī)*, that is, self-generated as Vajravārāhī. He visualizes her within the festive "circle of the assembly and so on" *(gaṇamaṇḍalādau)*. The gathering of an actual *gaṇamaṇḍala* or *gaṇacakra* included a tantric feast at which alcoholic substances such as *soma* were drunk, delectable foods eaten, and sexual yogic rites with consorts performed. The orgiastic nature of the rites is explicitly described in the *Kriyāsamuccaya*, for example in its *Niśācakra*, which recommends eight types of taboo consort—all female relatives. Indeed, according to its *Gaṇacakravidhi*, "that sacramental circle *(gaṇacakra)* that is without [sex with] a female partner *(prajñā)* is a [mere] meeting of rice scum" (cited Gellner 1992: 297).[525] In the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana*, however, the feast is performed imaginally, and the tantric assembly comprises a maṇḍala of armor gods and armor goddesses. There is also the alternative of visualizing the goddesses of the three maṇḍala circles (whose association with the sites as meeting places for sexual yogic practices has already been discussed.

In the first stages of the rite, six syllables are placed on the fingers on the palm side of the left hand. These are the syllables of the armor gods in the Cakrasaṃvara tradition and are represented by the six buddhas (variants to the syllables are shown in the footnotes to the translation).[526] The Sanskrit text states that the syllables are placed on the fingers and thumb of

the left hand, plus their "nails."[527] Sanderson (1999: personal communication) notes that in Śaiva prototypes, the thumb's mantra is installed with the index finger and the mantras of the fingers with the thumb. For the nails, one would presumably curl the fingers and run the thumb over the nails, so that the sixth buddha (the mantra syllables *phaṭ haṃ*) is placed on them collectively—much as the sixth *kavaca* deity is for the "whole body" in the armoring.

Then, in the palm of the hand itself, the yogin sees a lotus with *oṃ vaṃ* on its pericarp, the essentialized form of Vajravārāhī as armor goddess. Surrounding her on a five-petaled lotus *(pañcadalakamalam)* are the syllables of the five remaining armor goddesses in sequence. On the back of the hand is seen the mirror image of the syllables. As an alternative, the back of the hand may be visualized with the three maṇḍala circles (probably indicating the visualization of the syllables of the sites, *puṃ*, etc., as at §30).

Table 25. *Syllables for hand worship (hastapūjā)*

LEFT DIGITS	SYLLABLES	AS BUDDHAS		USUAL ARMOR GOD
thumb	*oṃ ha*	Vajrasattva	[pure-]white	*Vajrasattva*
first finger	*nama hi*	Vairocana	white	*Vairocana*
middle finger	*svāhā huṃ*	Amitābha	red	*Padmanarteśvara*
fourth finger	*vauṣaṭ he*	Akṣobhya	black	*Heruka[vajra]*
little finger	*huṃ huṃ ho*	Ratnasambhava	yellow	*Vajrasūrya*
nails	*phaṭ haṃ*	Amoghasiddhi	dark-green	*Paramāśvāstra / Paramāśva / Hayagrīva / Vajrarāja*

Left Palm

center	*oṃ vaṃ*	Vajravārāhī	red
east	*hāṃ yoṃ*	Yāminī	blue
north	*hriṃ moṃ*	Mohinī	white
west	*hreṃ hriṃ*	Saṃcālini	yellow
south	*huṃ huṃ*	Saṃtrāsini	green
**southeast*	*phaṭ phaṭ*	Caṇḍikā	smoky gray

§47 The worship itself (§50) is performed by smearing purified wine on the syllables/deities on the hand. This consititutes a transgressive food offering so irresistible to the yoginīs that they are attracted into the presence of the yogin, where they "preside" over him.

§48 The hand worship concludes with the hundred-syllabled mantra as a rite of completion (cf. §45, §48) and verses of supplication that again express the wish that the "yoginīs preside." The text also tells the yogin how to dispose of the transgressive liquids that remain after the worship has ended. This involves daubing points of his body as he utters the three syllables in their inverted sequence: *hūṃ* (heart), *āḥ* (throat), *oṃ* (forehead).[528] Finally, the visualized deities/mantras are absorbed back into the body of the yogin.

Alternative External Worship

§49 The *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* describes another rite of external worship *(bāhya-pūjā)*, which is offered as an alternative *(athavā...)* to the previous one (at §41). It is conducted along similar lines to the first rite but involves a few variations. Here the yogin is to imagine feasting the single goddess Vajravārāhī with food offerings, but in a different external locus. He visualizes her within a triangle drawn upon the ground, dwelling in the eight cremation grounds. The offerings of food are visualized as the production of the nectars and so on, and the beings of the cremation grounds are again to be gratified with a final mantra offering in the manner of a final *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 maṇḍala on the hand."[529]

§50 The rite ends with a rite of completion that is very similar to that prescribed for the hand worship and that states that the goal of the worship is for the "deity to preside" *(devatādhiṣṭhānārtham)*. The text then provides the option for the external worship to be performed for the fivefold, thirteenfold, or full maṇḍala, according to the sādhana's meditation stages (the goal of which would be to induce all the chosen goddesses of the maṇḍala to preside).[530]

Internal Oblation

§51 The final rite described in the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* is an oblation *(homaḥ)*, and is based upon a traditional external rite of oblation—an offering made into fire. In our text, however, the oblation ritual takes the form of a visualization performed internally, within the yogin. For an external oblation ritual within the Vajrayoginī tradition, we can turn to the *Pradīpāhutividhi* (GSS14).[531] This text describes how the mantrin in union with his deity creates a fire pit (v. 5), within which he lights a fire, both by kindling wood (v. 7a) and through mentally drawing down the "supreme fire of knowledge *(jñānāgni-)* of the conquerors" with the seed-syllable in his own heart (v. 6ab). He then visualizes the fire deity in the heart of the fire (the only solitary male deity mentioned in the GSS) and his own deity (Vajrayoginī) seated in its heart. He worships Vajrayoginī by making oblations into the fire consisting of the five nectars and of scented woods. The *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* adapts and internalizes this kind of external oblation to suit the context of meditative yogic performance. Thus we find that the fire pit is understood to be the yogin's own navel, and offerings are made to the goddess who is visualized within it engulfed in the "fire of wisdom."[532]

The process of internalizing the oblation ritual can also be observed in two other Vajrayoginī texts. In an internal oblation described in the *Saṃputodbhavatantra* (vv. 18–22ab), the "blazing fire of wisdom" is located within the meditator's genitals (while the *Vasantatilakā* adds that the wind that fans the fire is within his feet):[533]

> (18) The oblation *(homaḥ)* should be made into the greatly blazing fire of wisdom, with the offering *(havis)* that inwardly is semen [in the central channel, *avadhūtī*,] and [blood in the right channel, *rasanā*, and urine in the left channel, *lalanā*], and outwardly is [the skandhas] beginning with form.
> (19) [The "outward" worship] of the six sense fields, elements, [and] skandhas etc., which have the form of the deities, likewise of the ḍākinīs,
> (20) is called yoga worship, since these [deities] are worshiped by him. Whereas *(tu)* [in the "inward" *homa*], this head skull *(kapālam)* [where semen *(śukra)* is stored][534] is the offering vessel *(bhājanam)*.
> (21) The ladle is called *rasanā;* the heart cakra is identical with

> *lalanā*, taught to be the [offering] bowl *(pātrī)* (or: the [offering] bowl is the mouth), and the fire pit is the navel.
> (22ab) The fire is in the loins *(trikaṭi-)*, fanned up by the winds of karma [which are in the feet].[535]

As this passage shows, the oblations that are to be made into the wisdom fire are said to have an "outer" and "inner" value. The "outward" level is that of a body maṇḍala, in which the psychophysical body of the yogin is identified with the maṇḍala of goddesses. In this oblation, the offering consists of the skandhas, which are burnt up as "fuel,"[536] while the offerings into the fire are not to the goddess Vajravārāhī but to the buddhas and mothers (ḍākinīs) who are equated with the psychophysical organism. The "inward" level is that of internal yogic practice, in which the oblation offerings are understood to be the contents of the three central veins or channels (semen, blood, and urine), which will all be drawn into the central channel in the course of being offered into the fire.

In these internal oblation texts, the traditional ritual tools of an external oblation rite are also represented. For example, traditional oblation requires a ladle *(sruvaḥ)* held in the right hand, and the vessel holding the oblation of ghee *([ghṛta]pātrī)* held in the left hand (there is also a larger ladle, the *sruk*, sometimes used instead of the *sruvaḥ*).[537] In the internal oblation, the ladle and the vessel are understood to be the two lateral channels. *Rasanā* on the right is the ladle, and *lalanā* on the left is the oblation vessel (SpUT v. 19d: *havirbhājanam;* referred to in GSS11 simply as the "oblation": *āhutiḥ*). This scriptural passage also seems to identify the ritual paraphernalia with yogic *cakra*s, as the heart *cakra* is said to be *lalanā* (v. 20b).

§52 The ritual prescriptions of the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* close (§52) with a rite that is concerned with an offering of *bali* made up of actual foodstuffs. (This is probably because the source text continued with a series of external oblation rituals, as shown in the parallel texts and Textual Notes.)[538] The *bali* is offered to the eponymous deity of leftovers, Ucchiṣṭavajra (as the imperative of the mantra reveals). With the offering of the leftover *bali*, the yogin induces him to preside. This rite appears also in the *Saṃvarodaya-tantra* (ch. 8, v. 38), in which the remnants of the oblation are offered to the spirits (*bhūta*s) as well as to the god, "Ucchuṣma."

Concluding Verses

vv. 70–76 The remaining verses of the sādhana append a detailed account of the nature of the eight cremation grounds (discussed above). It is possible that Umāpatideva's source material included an account of the cremation grounds, since the so-called **Vidhisaṃgraha* (Finot 1934) includes the *Śmaśānavidhi* by Lūyīpāda.

v. 77 The text concludes in the proper manner with a dedication of merit, and a colophon stating Umāpatideva's authorship.

Edition and English Translation of the

Vajravārāhī Sādhana

by Umāpatideva



from the

Guhyasamayasādhanamālā (GSS$_{II}$)

śrī-Vajravārāhīsādhana by Umāpatidevapāda

oṃ namaḥ śrīvajrayoginyai

śrīvajradevīcaraṇāravindaṃ {N37r}
saṃchinnasaṃkalpa[1]vibandhapāśam |
praṇamya vakṣyāmi yathopadeśaṃ
tatsādhanaṃ † vikramasena †[2] yatnāt | (1[3])

<*ghore*>[2] śmaśāne girigahvare ca
srotasvatīsāgara[3]saṃnidhau ca |
anyatra vā *hṛdyatame*[4] pradeśe
dhyāyād imaṃ yogam abhīṣṭasiddhyai | (2)

vaṃ vīkṣya bījaṃ hṛdi padmamadhye
bandhūkapuṣpadyutim ādadhānam |
tadraśmisaṃdīptanabhas[5]talasthaṃ
paśyet samantāt sugatādivṛndam | (3)

tadbījaraśmiprabhavair vicitraiḥ {K54r}
saṃpūjya devān kusumādibhis tān |
kṛtvārcanāṃ saptavidhāṃ jinoktāṃ
kuryāc caturbrahmavihāracintām | (4)

1 *saṃkalpa*] Kpc., N; *(saṃ)kalpa* K(mg2), D.
2 *ghore*] conj.; omit codd.; Tib. p. 32.3 *'jigs pa'i* (**ghora, bhima, raudra* qualifying **śmaśāne*).
3 *srotasvatisāgara*] conj.; *śrotasvatisāra* codd.
4 *hṛdyatame*] conj.; *hṛdyaṃ me* codd. (Tib. p. 32.4: "pleasing" *yid du 'ong ba'i*).
5 *nabhas*] Kpc.; *na(bhas)* K(mg); *nabha* N, D.

Vajravārāhī Sādhana by Umāpatidevapāda

[Meditation Stage 1]

Salutation to the glorious Vajrayoginī!

(1) Having saluted the lotus-like foot of the glorious vajra goddess *(vajradevī)* by which the encircling noose of conceptual thought *(saṃkalpaḥ)* is broken asunder, I will carefully relate her sādhana according to the teaching, † O Vikramasena †.

(2) In a terrifying cremation ground, on a mountain, in a mountain cave *(girigahvare)*,[539] or *(ca)* near a river [or] ocean, or elsewhere in a place pleasing to the heart, [the practitioner] should contemplate this practice *(yogaḥ)* in order to [obtain] the desired success *(siddhiḥ)*.

(3) Having observed the seed-syllable *vaṃ* in the heart, on the center of a lotus emitting the [red] glow of a *bandhūka* flower,[i] he should see all about [him] a mass of buddhas and so on in the sky, which is irradiated by rays from that [seed-syllable].

(4) Having worshiped those deities with manifold flowers, [incense, lamps, perfumed powders, and food][ii] issuing from the rays from that seed-syllable, he should perform the sevenfold worship taught by the conquerors, [and then] he should do the meditation on the four sublime abodes (*brahmavihāras*).

i *Pentapetes Phoenicea (Terminalia tomentosa)*. Its red flower *(bandhūkam, bandhūkapuṣpam)* is one of the commonest similes for the red color of Vajravārāhī.

ii The Sanskrit has "flowers, etc.," a typical abbreviated reference to the traditional fivefold offering *(pañcopacāraḥ)*.

[§1][4] tatra saptavidhārcanā[6] yathā pāpadeśanā puṇyānumodanā triśaraṇagamanaṃ puṇyapariṇāmanā bodhicittotpādo[7] mārgāśrayaṇam ātmabhāvaniryātanaṃ ceti.

etasya pāpādikadeśanāder
nirūpaṇaṃ 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 ca[8]
sattvā jināḥ santu[9] śubhena tena | (6)

ratnatrayaṃ vai śaraṇaṃ prayāmi
syāṃ[10] dharmarājo jagato hitāya |
mārgaṃ jinānām aham āśrayāmi
gṛhṇīta nāthāḥ svatanuṃ dadāmi | (7)

caturbrahmavihārās tu maitrīkaruṇāmuditopekṣālakṣaṇāḥ – te cānukramato yathā:

yathā janānāṃ[11] svasute pravṛttiḥ {N37v}
snehānuviddhā[12] niyamena vṛttā | {K54v}
tathā bhaved yānyasute 'pi teṣāṃ
tāṃ dveṣahantrīṃ kurutātra[13] maitrīm | (8)

6 *ārcanā*] K; *ārcana* N; *ārca* D.
7 *otpādo*] corr.; *otpādaḥ* K, D; *otpāda* N.
8 *yac ca*] K; *ya* ¯ N; *yatna* D.
9 *sattvā jināḥ santu*] conj.; *satvājināsmanta* K, *satvā(hn?)ināsmanta* N; *satvā* itāsmanta* D. (Tib. p. 32.7: *sems can ma lus rgyal bar smon*, "I pray that all beings may be victors.")
10 *syāṃ*] conj.; *syād* K, N; *sad-* D.
11 *janānāṃ*] conj.; *jinānām* codd.; (Tib. p. 33.1–2: *'jig rten pa* "those in the world.")
12 *viddhā*] em.; *vidhā* codd.
13 *hantrīṃ kurutā*] K; *hantīṃ-* N; *hantī kuru* D.

[§1] In this, worship is of seven kinds, as follows: [i] confession of faults, [ii] rejoicing in merit, [iii] going for threefold refuge, [iv] transference of merit, [v] arising of the will to enlightenment, [vi] resorting to the path, and [vii] dedication of one's body *(ātmabhāvaḥ)*.

(5) The definition of these teachings and [practices] beginning with the confession of faults, etc., as it is in the sequence [of practice], is as follows[iii]—

[i] I confess before these [deities] all the sins that I have done.

(6) [ii] I rejoice at all the merit that has been accumulated by the teachers, [buddhas, and bodhisattvas].[iv]

[iv] By that good that I have done [in the past], will do [in the future], and am doing [now], *may beings become conquerors.*

(7) [iii] I go for refuge to the Three Jewels.

[v] May I be a king of righteousness for the welfare of the world.[540]

[vi] I resort to the path of the conquerors.

[vii] Accept [it], lords—I offer my own body!

As for the four sublime abodes—namely, [i] loving-kindness *(maitrī)*, [ii] compassion *(karuṇā)*, [iii] rejoicing [in the attainments of others] *(muditā)*, and [iv] equanimity *(upekṣā)*—those are also *(ca)* [defined] in sequence as follows:

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

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

iv Literally, "teachers and so on *(ādi-)*." This refers to the tantric list, "teachers, buddhas, and bodhisattvas" *(gurubuddhabodhisattva-)*.

duḥkhāt tathā duḥkha[14]nimittabhūtāt
proddhartum icchāṃ[15] sakalān[16] janaughān |
āghāta[17]cittapratipakṣabhūtāṃ
vibhāvayet tāṃ[18] karuṇāṃ jagatsu | (9)

anantasattvoddharaṇaṃ na śakyam
evaṃ viṣādasya vighātadakṣām |
kiṭo 'pi buddho 'bhavad ity avekṣya
saṃjātavīryo muditāṃ vibhāvya | (10)

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

pratītyajatvāj jalacandratulyaṃ
paśyed alikaṃ bahir antaraṃ ca |
svabhāvaśuddhādikamantrapāṭhāt[19]
śūnyādhimokṣaṃ[20] vidadhīta mantrī | (12)

[§2] tatredaṃ[21] mantradvayam. oṃ svabhāvaśuddhāḥ[22] sarvadharmāḥ svabhāvaśuddho 'ham. oṃ śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātmako 'ham iti. {D40r}

14 *tathā duḥkha*] N; *-duḥkhā* K; *athā* D.
15 *icchāṃ*] corr.; *icchā* codd.
16 *kalān*] N, D; *kālān* K.
17 *āghāta*] K; *ādyāta* N, D. (Tib. p. 33.3: *srog gcod las dang mi mthun phyogs kyi bsam pa* "thought that is contrary to the act of killing.")
18 *tāṃ*] em.; *tā* K, N; *āṃ* D.
19 *mantrapāṭhāt*] N; *mantrapāt* K; *mantred yā(va)t* D(add).
20 *śūnyādhimokṣaṃ*] conj.; *śūnyā(vi?)kamokṣaṃ* K; *śūnyādhikamokṣaṃ* N; *śūnyādhikamokṣa* D.
21 *tatredaṃ*] conj.; *tatreyaṃ* K, D; *tatrāyaṃ* N.
22 *svabhāvaśuddhāḥ*] em.; *svabhāvaśuddhā* K, N; *śubhāvasuddhā* D.

(snehā), so they should also have that *(yā)* [loving-kindness *(maitrī)*] toward the son[s] of others: you should now *(atra)* cultivate that loving-kindness that destroys hatred.[v]

(9) [ii] He should cultivate that compassion with regard to the world that is the antidote to cruelty *(āghātacitta)*,[v] [namely] the wish to extract the entire mass of beings from suffering and the causes of suffering.

(10) [iii] "It is not possible to extract numberless beings [from suffering]!" He should cultivate rejoicing that is skilfull at destroying this kind of depression, being [himself] one who has gained energy [by] considering that "Even a worm became a buddha!"

(11) [iv] "This belongs to me!" [or] "I belong to that!" It is a puffed-up mind that thinks so *(iti)*—and this is just delusion! Contemplate equanimity that destroys such [thoughts] because it is free of grasping.

(12) He should see [everything, both] external and internal, as false like the moon [reflected] in water, because it is produced in dependence [upon causes]. The mantrin should establish the conviction of emptiness through the recitation of the mantras that have the opening *"[oṃ] svabhāvaśuddhā..."*

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

oṃ svabhāvaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ svabhāvaśuddho 'ham.[vi]
[and]
oṃ śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātmako 'ham.[vii]

v Literally, "a mind of striking."
vi "All existents are pure by nature; I am pure by nature."
vii "I am identical with the essence of the nondual *(vajra)* knowledge of emptiness."

athātra hūṃkārajaviśvavajraṃ
dṛṣṭvā samantāt sphuradaṃśu[23]jālam |
tenaiva bhūmīm[24] atha pañjaraṃ[25] ca
paśyed vitānaṃ śarajālakaṃ ca | (13)

pūrvottarādikramato diśāsu
sumbhādimantrāṃś[26] caturo niveśya
tadraśmijālaprabhavān vidadhyāt[27] {K55r}
prākāranāmnaś caturo bahir[28] vai | (14)

kākāsyakādyāḥ punar aṣṭadevīḥ
sumbhādimantraprabhavāḥ prapaśyet |
hūṃjāṣṭakūpeṣu niveśya mārān
ākoṭanaṃ[29] kilanam *ācarantīḥ*[30] | (15) {N38r}

[§3][‡] tatrāmī te mantrāḥ. oṃ sumbha nisumbha huṃ huṃ phaṭ. oṃ gṛhṇa[‡] gṛhṇa huṃ huṃ[31] phaṭ. oṃ grihṇāpaya grihṇāpaya huṃ huṃ phaṭ. oṃ ānaya ho bhagavān vajra[32] huṃ huṃ phaṭ. atrāṣṭau devyo[33] yathā kākāsyā ulūkāsyā śvānāsyā sūkarāsyā yamadāḍhī yamadūtī yamadaṃṣṭriṇī[34] yamamathanī ceti.

23 *sphuradaṃśu*] conj.; *prasphuradaṃśu* K; *pras – aṃśu* N; *prasphura(ṃ?)daśuṃ* D.
24 *bhūmiṃ*] codd. *(metri causa,* understand *bhūmiṃ).*
25 *pañjaraṃ*] codd.; Tib. translates "walls" (p. 33.6: *ra ba*), also in v. 14 (p. 33.7).
26 *mantrāṃś*] K; *mantrāś* N, D.
27 *prabhavān vidadhyāt*] conj. Isaacson; *prabhavān vibadhyāt* K; *prabhavāndhivadhyāt* N; *prabhavāndhivandhyāt* D. (Tib. suggests "he should meditate" p. 33.7: *bsgom par bya.* Cf. GSS35: *rakṣādigbandhādikaṃ vidadhyāt.*)
28 *caturo bahir vai*] em.; *caturo dikṣu bahi vai* K; *caturo ˉ dikṣu. bahi* – N; *caturo dikṣu bahi* D. (Possibly *dikṣu* was an explanatory gloss that became incorporated into the text.)
29 *hūṃ→ākoṭanaṃ*] conj.; *huṃjāṣṭakūpeṣu niveśya māran ākoṭanaṃ* Kpc.; *- māra(ko)n ākoṭanaṃ* Kac.(del); *huṃjāṣṭadeviḥ kūpeṣu niveśya mārān ākoṭanaṃ* N; *huṃjāṣṭakūpeṣu niveśya mārakoṭanaṃ* D. (Tib. p. 34.1 *bdud rnams* = *mārān*).
30 *ācarantīḥ*] em.; *ācarentī* 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; *yamaduṣṭī* D.

(13) Next in this [meditation], he should visualize a *hūṃ* syllable transforming into *(-ja)* a double vajra, having all about it a net of quivering rays. It is with this [net of rays] that he should then visualize the ground, and then the domed roof *(pañjaram)*, [then] the canopy and the [outer] shield *(jālam)*[viii] of arrows [as the circle of protection].

(14) He should cause the four mantras beginning with *"[oṃ] sumbha"* to enter the directions, east, north, [west, and south] in [a counterclockwise] sequence; he should fasten in place *(vibadhyāt)* four walls that have been produced from a net of rays [issuing] from those [four mantras] at the very exterior [of the circle of protection].

(15) Moreover, he should visualize eight goddesses, Kākāsyā and so on, produced from the mantras beginning *"[oṃ] sumbha."* [He should see them] hammering and nailing down the evil ones (*māra*s), which they have made to enter eight wells produced from *hūṃ*.

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

oṃ sumbha nisumbha huṃ huṃ phaṭ.
oṃ gṛhṇa gṛhṇa huṃ huṃ phaṭ.
oṃ grihṇāpaya grihṇāpaya huṃ huṃ phaṭ.
oṃ ānaya ho bhagavān vajra huṃ huṃ phaṭ.[ix]

Here, the eight goddesses are as follows: Kākāsyā, Ulūkāsyā, Śvānāsyā, [and] Sūkarāsyā[x] [in the cardinal directions]; Yamadāḍhī, Yamadūtī, Yamadaṃṣṭriṇī, and Yamamathanī[xi] [in the intermediate directions].

viii Literally, "net."

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

x Crow-face (Kākāsyā), Owl-face (Ulūkāsyā), Dog-face (Śvānāsyā), and Hog-face (Sūkarāsyā).

xi Death's Tooth (Yamadāḍhī, *dāḍhā* is probably from *daṃṣṭrā*, but may also mean "wish, desire." The Tibetan text consistently translates Yamadāḍhī *brtan ma* "the Stable One," as if from *dṛḍha*), Death's Messenger (Yamadūtī), Death's Fang (Yamadaṃṣṭriṇī), and Death's Destruction (Yamamathanī).

[§4] atropadeśaḥ. vāmahastasyāṅguṣṭhatarjanībhyāṃ choṭikāṃ dattvā "oṃ sumbha nisumbha huṃ huṃ phaḍ" ityādimantrān uccārayan[35] kṛṣṇaharitaraktapītavarṇān pātālabrahmāṇḍavyāpi-jvalanmahākāyān <*vajraprākārān*> vāmāvartena pūrvādidikṣu[36] yathākramaṃ niveśayet. pañjarād bahiḥ etanmantracatuṣṭayaniṣpannāḥ kākāsyādicatasro devīḥ, etanniṣpattikāla eva dakṣiṇāvartenāgneyyāder[37] ubhaya-mantrakoṇasya raśmisaṃbhūtā yamadāḍhyādicatasro devīḥ paśyet. {D40v} etā aṣṭau dvibhujaikavaktrāḥ. {K55v} atra prastāve nābher adhaḥ śūlākārāḥ, dakṣiṇe vajramudgara[38]dharāḥ, vāme ātmarūpakīlakahastāḥ. spharaṇayogena gatvā digvidiksthita-sakalavighnavṛndam[39] ānīya hūṃkāraniṣpanneṣv aṣṭasu kūpeṣu[40] svamantrasamānavarṇaprākārasamīpavartiṣu praveśya kilanākoṭana[41]mantroccāraṇapūrvakaṃ vighnavṛndaṃ kīlayitvā koṭayitvā ca prākāreṣu līyamānās tāḥ paśyet. {N38v}

35 *uccārayan*] K, N; *uccārayet* D.
36 *pūrvādidikṣu*] N; *pūrvādikṣu* K, D.
37 *āgneyyāder*] corr.; *āgnyāder* codd.
38 *mudgara*] em.; *mudgarā* K, N; *mudgaro* D.
39 *vighnavṛndam*] K; *vṛndam* N; *vighnavṛndakaṃ* D.
40 *kūpeṣu*] em.; *kūpe* codd.
41 *koṭana*] em.; *koṭanā* codd.

[§4] The teaching on this [is as follows]: He should give a snap of the forefinger and thumb of the left hand, [and while] uttering the mantras beginning *"oṃ sumbha nisumbha huṃ huṃ phaṭ,"* he should make <the vajra walls> enter into the directions starting in the east in a counterclockwise sequence; [they are] colored black, green, red, [and] yellow, extending from the underworld to the sphere of Brahmā, burning [and] vast.

Outside the [vajra] zone *(pañjaram),*[xii] he should see the four goddesses starting with Kākāsyā who are produced from these four mantras. At the same time that they are produced [he should visualize] the four goddesses starting with Yamadāḍhī produced from rays [issuing] from the corner angles of the two *(ubhaya)* mantras [that intersect at the intermediate points], starting from the southeast [proceeding] in a clockwise direction.

These eight [goddesses] have two arms and one face. In this context,[xiii] they are [described as] spike-shaped beneath the navel. In their right [hands] they hold a vajra hammer; in their left they have in their hands a stake that has their own form. He should visualize those [eight goddesses] going forth through self-projection [to the limits of the universe] *(spharaṇayogena gatvā),*[142] fetching the entire mass of obstacles found *(sthita)* in the cardinal directions and intermediate directions, placing [the mass of obstacles] in eight wells that have been produced from the syllable *hūṃ* [and that are] located *(-vartiṣu)* near the walls of the same color as the respective *(sva)* mantras [from which they were produced], staking and hammering the mass of obstacles with the recitation of the mantras for staking and hammering down, and [finally he should see those eight goddesses] dissolving into the [vajra] walls.

xii The domed "roof" or (literally), "cave" *(pañjaram)* of the circle of protection is that which surrounds the structure on the top and on the sides, and which defines the space within. K. Gyatso (1999: 119) describes it as having "the shape of a Mongolian tent."

xiii The text is distinguishing the appearance of the eight goddesses here within the topic *(prastāvaḥ)* of the expulsion of obstacles from the circle of protection, from their later appearance within the deity maṇḍala.

[§5] atra kīlanamantro yathā – oṃ gha gha ghātaya[42] ghātaya sarvaduṣṭān phaṭ.[43] oṃ[44] kīlaya kīlaya sarvapāpān phaṭ hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ. vajrakīla vajradhara ājñāpayati.[45] sarvavighnānāṃ kāyavākcittavajraṃ kīlaya[46] hūṃ phaḍ iti. ākoṭanamantro yathā – oṃ vajramudgara vajrakīlākoṭaya[47] hūṃ phaḍ iti.

ᵗtatpañjarāntarnivasacchmaśānamadhyasthitām[48] ūrdhvaviśālarūpām |
paśyet trikoṇāṃ śaradindugaurāṃ[49]
dharmodayāṃ raktasarojagarbhām | (16)

tatpadmamadhyasthitayo ravīndvor[50]
madhyasthitaṃ visphuradaṃśujālam |
vaṃkārabījaṃ sphuṭavidrumābhaṃ {K56r}
vibhāvayet spaṣṭataraṃ yathā syāt | (17)

ᵗniḥsṛtya[51] bījodbhavaraśmijālāt
kṛtvā janaughān jinabodhibhājaḥ | {D41r}
ᵗtatraiva bīje <hi> niveśitāntarbuddhādikāṃ samparibhāvayed vai[52] | (18)

42 *ghātaya*] K, *ghāṭaya* N, D.
43 *phaṭ*] K, N; *hūṃ phaṭ* D.
44 *oṃ*] N; omitted K, D.
45 *dhara ājñā*[¶]] D; *dharo ājñā* K; *dharājñā* N.
46 *vajraṃ kīlaya*] N; *vajraṃ kīlaṃ* K; *vajrakīlaya* D.
47 *vajrakīlākoṭaya*] K, N; *kīlakoṭaya* D.
48 *tatpañjarā→sthitām*] conj. Sanderson; *-jarā(r?)nti nirvviśataśmaśānamadhya-* K; *-jarā – r nirvviśataśmaśānamadhye-* N; *-jarān nirvisataśmaśānamadhye-* D. (cf. GSS42 v. 4b: *śmaśānāṣṭanivāsini*)
49 *gaurāṃ*] K, D; *gaurīṃ* N.
50 *tatpadmamadhyasthitayo ravīndvor*] em.; *tatpadmadhyasthitayo ravīndundor* K; *tatpadmamadhyasthitayo ravīndundor* N; *tatpadma(ma)dhyasthitayā ravīndudor* D(add).
51 *niḥsṛtya*] conj.; *naiḥsṛtya* codd.
52 *tatraiva bīje hi→vai*] conj. Sanderson; *-niveśitār aneka(cāga)buddhābhikāḥ samparibhāvayed vai* Kpc.(add); *-niveśitār aneke (b,y?)uddhābhi(k?)āḥ samparibhāṣaye vai.* N; *-nirveśitār anekabuddhābhikāḥ samparibhāṣayed vai* D.

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

oṃ gha gha ghātaya ghātaya sarvaduṣṭān phaṭ. oṃ kīlaya kīlaya sarvapāpān phaṭ hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ. vajrakīla vajradhara ājñāpayati. sarvavighnānāṃ kāyavākcittavajraṃ kīlaya hūṃ phaṭ[xiv]

The "hammering mantra" is as follows;

oṃ vajramudgara vajrakīlākoṭaya hūṃ phaṭ[xv]

(16) Placed in the center of [eight] cremation grounds dwelling *(-vasat-)*[xvi] within the zone *(pañjaram)* of that [circle of protection], he should visualize, with its broad side uppermost [i.e., inverted], a triangular *dharmodayā*, white as the autumn moon [and] containing a red lotus.

(17) In the center of that lotus, between a sun disc and a moon disc, he should visualize a *vaṃ* seed-syllable in such a way that it is [all] vividly clear, with a quivering net of rays [emanating from it, and] with the color of blossoming [red] coral.

(18) Having sent forth [the buddhas and so on] from the net of rays produced from the seed-syllable, he should make multitudes of people share the awakening of the conquerors; then *(hi)* he should imagine [Vajravārāhī] with the buddhas and so forth retracted inside [her] *(niveśitāntar-)* into that same seed-syllable.

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

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

xvi In v. 73, the cremation grounds are also said to "dwell" √*vas*.

candrārkabīja[53]‡prabhavāṃ trinetrāṃ
kāśmīravarṇāṃ[54] dvibhujaikavaktrām |
ālīḍha-m-ākrānta[55]śiraḥkucāgrām
uttānayor bhairavakālarātryoḥ[56] | (19)

utkṣiptavāmasthitapadmabhāṇḍāt
patatpravāhaṃ[57] rudhiraṃ pibantīm |
‡savajrasavyetara †–˘––†[58]
bhūtarjanī[59]tarjitaduṣṭavṛndām | (20)

khaṭvāṅgasaṃśobhitavāmabhāgāṃ[60]
vilambiraktākta[61]nṛmuṇḍamālām |
nagnāṃ kvaṇannūpura[62]bhūṣitāṅghrīṃ[63]
daṃṣṭrākarālaṃ vadanaṃ vahantīm[64] | (21)

vajreṇa viśvadhvanipūrvakeṇa {N391r}
krāntottamāṅgāṃ[65] cyutakeśabandhām |
vajrāvalīmadhyavirājamāna-
lalāṭapaṭṭasthitapañcamuṇḍām | (22)

53 *candrārkabija*] Kac.; *candrārka(vahni)* Kpc.(add), N, D.
54 *kāśmiravarṇāṃ*] em; *kāsmiravarṇā* K, D; *kāsmiravarṇa* N.
55 *ālīḍhamākrānta*] N; *ālīḍhāmākrānta* K, D.
56 *rātryoḥ*] em.; *rātryāḥ* codd.
57 *bhāṇḍāt patatpravāhaṃ*] Kpc.; *bhā(ṇḍa)ṇḍāta patat (v-). pravāhaṃ* K(del); *bhāṇḍe. te patat-* N; *bhāṃḍat patat. pravyahaṃ* D.
58 *savajrasavyetara †–˘––†*] conj. Sanderson; *savajravārāhimālyakara prasṛti* K; *savajravārāhi -4- kara prasṛti* N; *savyakaraprasṛti* D.
59 *bhūtarjanī*] conj. Sanderson; *bhūt tarjani* codd.
60 *vāmabhāgāṃ*] Kpc.(*vāma* add); *(vṛndāṃ) bhāgām* K(del); *vāma -4- bhāgām* N; *vāmabhāgā* D.
61 *vilambiraktākta*] conj. Sanderson; *vilambiniṃ rakta* codd.
62 *nagnāṃ kvaṇannūpura*] em.; *nagnā kvanannū-* K; *nagnā – no-* N; *nagnā vaṇannau-* D.
63 *āṅghrīm*] K; *āṅghrim* N, D.
64 *vadanaṃ vahantīṃ*] N; *vadana vahantī* K, D.
65 *pūrvakeṇa krāntottamāṅgāṃ*] em. *pūrvaṃkeṇa krāntottamāṅga* K; *pūrvakena krāntottamāṅga* N; *pūrvakena 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 *(ātmatanum)* as [Vajra]vārāhī (v. 24d), who is produced from the moon, sun, and seed-syllable *[vaṃ]*, with three eyes, having the color of [red] saffron, with two arms and one face, trampling in the warrior pose on the head and breast of Bhairava and Kālarātri, who lie face up [beneath her] (v. 19); drinking blood that streams down from the "lotus bowl" *(padmabhāṇḍaḥ)*[xvii] placed in her upraised left hand, with a vajra in her right hand †...† threatening all who are wicked with the index finger pointing threateningly to the ground *(bhūtarjanī)* (v. 20); [her] left side adorned with a skull staff *(khaṭvāṅgaḥ)*, with a bloody *(raktākta)* 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 *(ākrānta-)* of fresh youth, [and] filled with the single taste of great bliss[xix] (v. 24b–d).

xvii The "lotus vessel" is the tantric term for skull bowl, e.g., HT2.3.58b: *kapālaṃ padmabhājanam.*

xviii Literally, "having her topmost limb *(uttamāṅgam)* passed over (or 'subjected,' *krānta*) by a vajra preceded by the word *viśva* [i.e., a *viśvavajra*]."

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

cakrīcalatkuṇḍalacārukaṇṭhī-
samullasadrocaka[66]mekhalābhiḥ |
abhyullasan[67]mastakakarṇakaṇṭha-
hastadvayagranthikaṭipradeśām | (23)

sphuradgabhastisthagita[68]trilokām {K56v}
ākrāntadehāṃ[69] navayauvanena |
mahāsukhākārarasaikapūrṇāṃ
vārāhikām ātmatanuṃ vidadhyāt | (24)

athātra nābhau hṛdaye ca vaktre
śiraḥ[70] śikhāyāṃ sakaletarāṅge |
mantrais tu ṣaḍbhiḥ kavacaṃ vidhāya |
jñānapraveśaṃ samaye vidadhyāt | (25)

[§6] amī te ṣaṇ mantrāḥ[71] – oṃ vaṃ, hāṃ yoṃ, hrīṃ moṃ, hreṃ hrīṃ, huṃ huṃ, phaṭ phaḍ[72] iti. ete vajravārāhīyāminīmohinīsaṃcālinī[73]saṃtrāsinīcaṇḍikāsvarūpāḥ {D41v} raktanīlaśveta<pīta[74]>haritadhūmradhūsaravarṇāś ca.

hṛdisthacakrasthitavaṃmayūkha-
prabhūtapuṣpādibhir arcayitvā |
praveśayet tāṃ samaye nabhaḥsthām |
sarpir yathā sarpiṣi vāri vāri[75] | (26)

66 *rocaka*] codd. *(metri causa); roca(ka)* Kpc.(mg). Understand °*rucaka.*
67 *abhyullasan*] K; *-6- san* N; *sat* D (no gap or marked omission in D).
68 *sthagita*] K; *stha -4-* N; *stha* ¯ ¯ D.
69 *dehāṃ*] em.; *dehān* codd.
70 *śiraḥ*] codd. (*metri causa.*). Understand *śirasi* (singular locative) or *śiraḥśikhāyāṃ* (dual locative).
71 *mantrāḥ*] conj.; *mudrāḥ* codd.
72 *phaṭ phaḍ*] conj.; *phaṭ* codd.
73 *saṃcālinī*] N; *sañcālinī* K; *saṃcārinī* D.
74 *śvetapita*] conj. *śveta* codd.; Cf. *śuklapita* §46; *sitapita* GSS5 K21v(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: *oṃ vaṃ, hāṃ yoṃ, hrīṃ moṃ, hreṃ hrīṃ, huṃ huṃ, phaṭ phaṭ.* They embody Vajravārāhī, Yāminī, Mohinī, Saṃcālinī, Saṃtrāsinī, and Caṇḍikā[xx] and are colored red, blue-black, white, <yellow>, green, [and] smoky-gray.

(26) He should [first] honor [the knowledge deity] with flowers and so on[xxi] that are produced from rays [which themselves issue] from the *vaṃ* [syllable] on the circle [of the lotus pericarp] in his heart. [Then] he should cause that [knowledge deity], which is [visualized before him] in the sky, to enter into the pledge [deity], just like ghee into ghee, or water, water.

xx Lady of Night (Yāminī), Deluder (Mohinī), Agitator (Saṃcālinī), Terrifier (Saṃtrāsinī), and Terrible One (Caṇḍikā).

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

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

mantreṇa sekaṃ dadhato nabhaḥsthān[77]
tathāgatāṃs tān[78] vyavalokya samyak |
śeṣābhiṣekodakabindujātaṃ
vairocanaṃ paśya *śironiviṣṭam*[79] | (27) {N39v}

ᵗtatrāyaṃ sekamantraḥ:

yathā hi jātamātreṇa snāpitāḥ sarvatathāgatāḥ[80] | {K57v}
tathā 'haṃ snāpayiṣyāmi *śuddhaṃ* divyena vāriṇā | (27i)

ᵗ"oṃ sarvatathāgatābhiṣekasamayaśriye hūṃ" iti.

[§8] atrāyam upadeśaḥ. hṛdbījaraśminā, aṣṭābhir yoginībhir yathā hītyādikaṃ vāriṇetyantaṃ[81] paṭhantībhir īṣadāvarjitapañcāmṛtabhṛta[82]vāmakarakapālebhyoᵗ nijajñānāmṛtavāridhārābhir abhiṣicyamānaṃ mahāsukhamayam ātmānaṃ vibhāvya, śeṣāṃbuniṣpanna<ṃ> śirasi 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.; *śironiveṣṭiṃ* K, N; *śironiveṣṭiṃ* D. Tib. p. 35.4 *gtsug tor nyid du* "on the very crown of the head *(gtsug tor)*."
80 *sarvatathāgatāḥ*] corr. *(hyper.)*; *sarvatathāgatās* codd.
81 *vāriṇetyantaṃ*] conj.; *vāriṇe* codd.
82 *bhṛta*] conj.; *bhūta* codd.

[§7] Know that when the knowledge being enters, there are four mantras [to be uttered], namely, *jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ* [and] *hoḥ*. These attract [the knowledge being], make [it] enter, bind [it in place], and propitiate [it].

(27) Correctly visualize the tathāgatas in the sky consecrating [you] with the mantra. [Then] visualize Vairocana on [your] head [imagining that he has] come forth from the drops of the water remaining from the consecration.

The consecration mantra here is:

(27i) "For even as the tathāgatas were bathed as soon as they were born, so I will wash *[you], purified,*[343] with heavenly water."

oṃ sarvatathāgatābhiṣekasamayaśriye hūṃ[xxii]

[§8] In this [rite] there is the following instruction: With [the transformation of] a ray from the *[vaṃ]* syllable in the heart, he should [first] visualize himself being consecrated by eight yoginīs[344] who are reciting [the verse invocation] beginning *"For even as..."* ending *"...with [heavenly] water."* [He should visualize them consecrating him] with streams of water, which is the nectar of innate knowledge, from the slightly inclined skull bowls full of the five nectars in [their] left hands, [so that he is] full of great bliss. [Next], having visualized Vairocana on [his] head produced from the remaining liquid, he should recite the mantra beginning "*[oṃ] sarvatathāgatābhiṣeka* etc."

xxii "To the glory of the pledge *[of?]* consecration by all tathāgatas!"

nabhaḥsthadevīr abhipūjayantīr[83]
vārāhikāṃ[84] tāṃ stuvatīr[85] ca vīkṣya |
yad vakṣyamāṇakramasādhitaṃ vai
pīyūṣam āsvādanam asya kuryāt | (28)

gatvā samastāṃ[86] spharaṇena kāṣṭhāṃ {D42r}
kṛtvā ca sarvaṃ jagadarthakṛtyam |
bīje svamūrtiṃ[87] viśatīḥ prapaśyed
ˢākhedam evaṃ punar eva[88] kuryāt | (29)

atha svacittaṃ sthiratāṃ vinetuṃ
paśyet susūkṣmāṃ[89] sphuradaṃśurekhām |
nābhisthacandrārkasamudgavarti-[90]
susūkṣmavaṃnādasamucchritā yā[91] | (30)

atropadeśakramalabdha[92]mārgo {K57v}
vibhāvanīyo 'nupalambhayogaḥ |
sattvārthasampādanahetubhūta-
prabhāsvaratvapratilambhahetoḥ | (31)

83 *nabhaḥsthadevīr abhipūjayantīr*] conj.; *nabhasthadevībhir abhipūjayanti(bhi)* Kpc.(del); *nabhasthadevībhir abhipūjayantīḥ* N; *nabhasthadevībhir abhipūjayantībhi* D.

84 *vārāhikāṃ*] K, N; *vārāhikāṃ* D.

85 *stuvatīr*] em.; *stuvati* codd.

86 *samastāṃ*] em.; *samastaṃ* K, N; *samasta* D.

87 *bīje svamūrtiṃ*] conj.; *bījeṣu mūrtiṃ* codd. (Tib. p. 35.5 has no plural marker on **bīje*).

88 *ākhedam evaṃ punar eva*] conj. Sanderson; *ā khedaparyantam evaṃ punar eva* codd.

89 *paśyet susūkṣmāṃ*] K, N; *paśyat susūkṣmyāṃ* D.

90 *nābhisthacandrārkasamudgavarti*] conj. Sanderson; *nābhisthacandrārkasamudbhavārti* codd. (Tib. p. 35.6: *lte ba la gnas nyi zla kha sbyar dbus nyid du.* "[being] in the center *(dbus nyid du* < *varti)* of the conjoined sun and moon *(kha sbyar* < *samudgaḥ)* at the navel."

91 *susūkṣmavaṃnādasamucchritā yā*] conj. Sanderson; *susūkṣmavaṃnādasamucchritādyai* codd.; Tib. p. 35.6: *baṃ gi nā da shin tu phra ba las bzhengs pa* "arisen from the very fine *nāda* of the baṃ."

92 *labdha*] K; *lartha* N, D.

(28) [Then] having visualized goddesses in the sky worshiping [Vajra]vārāhi and praising her, he should perform the tasting of nectar—for which the method of production will be taught below [vv. 59–66].

(29) Having pervaded all the limits [of the universe] by emanating [goddesses in mantric form],[xxiii] and having [thereby] accomplished all the needs of sentient beings, he should visualize them entering [i.e., assuming] a form according to the seed-syllable *[vaṃ]*. He should repeat this procedure until he tires.

(30) In order to make his mind firm he should visualize a very fine, brilliant ray of light rising from the subtlest resonance [of the visualized syllable] *(nādaḥ)*, [or from] the syllable *vaṃ* [itself],[345] which is located in *(varti)* the enclosed space *(samudgaḥ)* between the moon and sun at his navel.

(31) In this [yogic practice], he should meditate upon the yoga of nonperception, the path that is obtained through *(krama)* instruction [from a guru], in order to obtain the state of clear light *(prabhāsvaraḥ)*, which is *(bhūta)* the cause of fulfilling the aims of all beings.

xxiii A prose explanation of this yogic practice appears below [§9].

vibhāvanāyāṃ parijātakhedo |
mantrī japen mantravaraṃ vidhānāt |
vṛkṣeṇa cintāmaṇinopamoktā[93] | {N40r}
svayaṃ jinair yasya daśākṣarasya | (32)

tato 'pi khinno vihared yatheccham[94] |
svadevatāhaṃkṛtim ādadhānaḥ |
itthaṃ *japadhyāna*[95]sadābhiyogāt
ṣaṇmāsataḥ siddhim upaiti yogī | (33)

yo 'nārataṃ[96] bhāvayituṃ na śaktaḥ
so 'pi prasidhyed yadi tasya samyak |
pratyūṣamadhyāhnadināvasāna-
saṃdhyākhyakāle[97] kṣaṇabhāvanā syāt | (34)

[§9][1] tatrāyaṃ daśākṣaro hṛdayamantraḥ. oṃ vajravairocanīye svāhā. asya japavidhir yathā, bhāvanāyāṃ khede sati jhaṭiti devatīm adhimucya, tannābhicandre raktavaṃkāraṃ nādaṃ vā dṛṣṭvā, mantram uccārayan, tasmā<d bījān> nādād vā[98] nirgamavāyunā devīsamūhaṃ saṃsphārya, jagadarthaṃ kṛtvā ca punar mantram uccārayan † *sahaiva mālā* † sūtrākarṣaṇanyāyena praveśavāyunā tasminn eva bīje 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 *saṃdhyākhyakāle*] conj.; *saṃdhyākhyakāla* codd.
98 *tasmād bījān nādād vā*] conj. Sanderson; *tasmān nādān* codd.
99 *mantrī*] em.; *mantra* codd.

(32) When he has grown tired in the meditation, the mantrin should utter, according to the rules, the best of mantras, the ten-syllabled [heart mantra of Vajravārāhī, §9], which has been compared *(upamoktā)* by the Buddha himself with the [wishing] tree [or] wish-fulfilling jewel.

(33) When he is tired of that, too, he may [end the meditation and] dwell as he wishes, providing that he preserves the [conviction of his] identity *(ahaṃkṛtiḥ)* with his chosen *(sva)* deity. In this way, through constant practice of mantra recitation and meditation, the yogin attains siddhi after six months.

(34) Even one who is not able to practice *(bhāvayitum)* continuously may attain success if he performs a short meditation *(kṣaṇabhāvanā)*[xxiv] in the correct [way] at dawn, midday, and the close of day, [that is,] at the times called the "junctures."

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

oṃ vajravairocanīye svāhā

The procedure for its utterance is as follows:[xxv] When [the practitioner] becomes tired in the meditation, he should immediately be convinced of [himself as] the deity, [and then, on the basis of this conviction], he should see on the moon [disc] on his navel a red *vaṃ* syllable, or the [even more subtle] *nāda*. Uttering the mantra [as given], he should emanate the multitude of goddesses from that seed-syllable, or from the *nāda*, with his outgoing breath. Once *(ca)* he has fulfilled *(kṛtvā)* the welfare of [all beings in] the world [through them], the mantrin, once more uttering the mantra, should make [the goddesses] enter into that very seed-syllable or *nāda* [on his navel] with his incoming breath †...† in the way that

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

xxv This rite was described in v. 29 above.

tatpañjarāntaḥparibhāvitānāṃ
vāyvagnivārikṣitimaṇḍalānām |
svabījajānām uparisthamerau
tathaiva *devīm api*[100] bhāvayed vā | (35)

[‡]<iti> prathamo bhāvanākramaḥ. 1.

atha
ḍākinyādicaturdeviś[101] catuṣkaroṭamadhyagāḥ |
kākāsyādyaṣṭadevīr vā, adhikatvena[102] bhāvayet | (36)

yad vā cakratrayāsīna[103]pracaṇḍādivibhāvanām |
samadhikāṃ sudhīḥ kuryād iti syāt pūrṇamaṇḍalam | (37)
{N40v}

[§10] mahāsukhacakrasthāṃ vajravārāhīṃ
pūrvottarapaścimadakṣiṇadiksthitābhir
ḍākinīlāmākhaṇḍarohārūpiṇībhiḥ sahitāṃ bhāvayitum *icchantaṃ*[‡] praty āha[104] –

"ḍākinyādicaturdeviś catuṣkaroṭamadhyagā" iti [v. 36ab].

100 *devīm api*] conj.; *deviṃ ˇ vi*°N; *devi ˇ vi*° K, D (*hypo.* codd.). The Tibetan for this *pāda* reads "meditate on the goddesses as before, in the order as before." (p. 36.3: *sngon bzhin lha mo rnams ni sngon bzhin rim pas bsgom*)

101 *deviś*] em.; *devī* codd. cf. below where K reads °*devīr* but N & D retain the reading °*devi*.

102 *ādyaṣṭadevīr vā adhikatvena*] conj. *(syncop.); ādyaṣṭadevī bodhisattvena* K; *ādyaṣṭade ˇ vi bodhisattvena* N; *ādi aṣṭadevī bodhisattvena* D. Cf. §13. Tib. p. 36.3: *lha mo khwa yi gdong sogs brgyad / de ltar lhag ma'i bdag nyid* ("nature of the addition," i.e., addition-ness > *adhikatvena*) *dam.*

103 *cakratrayāsīna*] corr.; *cakratrayā(ṃ?)sīna* K; *cakratrayāṃsīna* N, D.

104 *icchantaṃ praty āha*] conj.; *iccha ˇ(ti)r āha.* K(del); *icchati tad āha.* N; *icchatir āha.* D. Cf. §13, §16, & Textual Note.

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

(35) Alternatively,[xxvii] he should visualize the goddess *herself (api)* in the same way, [but she is to be generated instead] upon Mount Meru, which is situated on top of the [four] elements of wind, fire, water, and earth; [these are] to be visualized inside the [vajra] zone, produced from their own seed-syllables [one on top of the other].

Here ends meditation stage 1.

[Meditation Stage 2]

Next:[346]

(36) He should visualize the four goddesses starting with Ḍākinī in between four skull bowls, or, in addition, eight goddesses beginning with Kākāsyā.

(37) Alternatively, the knowledgeable [practitioner] should do the extended meditation [with the twenty-four goddesses], starting with Pracaṇḍā seated on the three circles [of body, speech, and mind]. This would be the complete maṇḍala.[xxviii]

[§10] For someone wishing *(icchantaṃ)* to visualize Vajravārāhī on the circle of great bliss, accompanied by Ḍākinī, Lāmā, Khaṇḍarohā, and Rūpiṇī in the cardinal directions to the east, north, west, and south [respectively], [scripture] says: "the four goddesses starting with Ḍākinī in between four skull bowls." [v. 36ab]

xxvi GSS5 describes this as like drawing in the thread of a rosary. For a similar but extended rite in this Sādhana, see p. 177 above.

xxvii This verse gives an alternative location for the generation of Vajravārāhī from that described above in v. 16. The syllables for the visualization of the elements are: *yaṃ*, *raṃ*, *vaṃ*, and *laṃ*.

xxviii Prescriptions for the complete maṇḍala are given in meditation stage 4 below.

tad uktaṃ –

ᵗ ḍākinī ca tathā lāmā khaṇḍarohā tu rūpiṇī |
nyaset padmadiśaḥ sthāne sarvasiddhipradāyikāḥ | (38)

kṛṣṇā śyāmā raktā gaurā ekavaktrāś caturbhujāḥ |
vāme khaṭvāṅgakapālāḥ[105] dakṣiṇe[106] ḍamarukartrikāḥ | (39)

trinetrā muktakeśāś ca[107] ālīḍhāsanasaṃsthitāḥ[108] |
daṃṣṭrākarālavadanāḥ pañcamudrāvibhūṣitāḥ | (40) {K58v}

[§11] ᵗvidikṣu <*caiva*> catvāro bodhicittakaroṭakāḥ[109] | iti.

ḍākinyādicatuṣṭayaṃ[110] ratnasaṃbhavamudritaṃ boddhavyam.

[§12] tatra bhagavatyā hṛdayamantra uktaḥ.ᵗ {D43r} upahṛdayamantro yathā –

oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākinīye vajravarṇanīye huṃ huṃ[111] phaṭ svāhā.

aṣṭapadamantras[112] tu yathā –

oṃ namo bhagavati vajravārāhi vaṃ[113] huṃ huṃ[114] phaṭ.

105 *vāme→kapālāḥ*] em. *(unmetric.); vāme→kapālaṃ* K; *pāśakhaṭvāṅgakapālaṃ* N, D.

106 *dakṣiṇe*] codd. *(hyper.)*. A conjectural emendation to *dakṣe* is possible, but unnecessary in this type of Sanskrit, probably considered scriptural.

107 *muktakeśāś ca*] em.; *muktakeśā* K; *raktakeśā* N, D.

108 *sthitāḥ*] corr.; *sthitā* codd.

109 *karoṭakāḥ*] conj.; *karoṭā* codd. (Tib. p. 36.7: *phyogs dang bral ba'i mthams bzhi na / byang chub sems gang thod pa bzhi / zhes pa'o.*)

110 *catuṣṭayaṃ*] em.; *catuṣṭayāṃ* codd.

111 *huṃ huṃ*] codd. The Tibetan text (p. 37.1) reads: *huṃ hūṃ.*

112 *mantras*] em.; *mantrās* codd.

113 *vaṃ*] codd., omit Tib.

114 *huṃ huṃ*] codd. The Tibetan text for each mantra of the eight-part mantra reads: *huṃ hūṃ.*

So it is said [in scripture]:

(38) Ḍākinī, Lāmā, Khaṇḍarohā, and Rūpiṇī: he should place [these goddesses], who grant all siddhis, in position *(sthāne)* in the cardinal directions of the lotus.

(39) They are black, dark-[green], red, and white *(gaurā)*, they have one face and four arms; in [their] left [hands] they have a skull staff and skull, in their right they have a *ḍamaru* and chopper.

(40) They have three eyes [and] loose hair, stand in the warrior stance, have fanged, grimacing faces, [and] are adorned with the five signs of observance (*mudrās*).

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

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

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

oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākiniye vajravarṇanīye huṃ huṃ phaṭ svāhā.

As for the mantra in eight parts,[547] [it is] as follows:[xxix]

i) *oṃ namo bhagavati vajravārāhi vaṃ huṃ huṃ phaṭ.*[548]

xxix (The numbering is mine.) (i) Homage! Blessed Vajravārāhi! (ii) Noble invincible! Mother of the three worlds! O goddess of great knowledge! (iii) You who are

oṃ nama āryāparājite trailokyamāte[115] mahāvidyeśvari huṃ huṃ phaṭ.
oṃ namaḥ sarvabhūtabhayāvahe mahāvajre huṃ huṃ phaṭ.
oṃ namo vajrāsane[116] ajite 'parājite vaśaṃkari[117] netrabhrāmiṇi huṃ huṃ phaṭ.
oṃ namaḥ śoṣaṇi[118] roṣaṇi krodhani karālini[119] huṃ huṃ phaṭ.
oṃ namaḥ saṃtrāsani[120] māraṇi suprabhedani[121] parājaye[122] huṃ huṃ phaṭ. {N41r}
oṃ namo jaye vijaye[123] jambhani <stambhani> mohani[124] huṃ huṃ phaṭ.
oṃ namo[125] vajravārāhi mahāyogini kāmeśvari khage[126] huṃ huṃ phaṭ.

ḍākinyādīnāṃ mantrā yathā. oṃ ḍākinīye huṃ huṃ[127] phaṭ. oṃ lāme huṃ huṃ phaṭ. oṃ khaṇḍarohe huṃ huṃ phaṭ. {K59r} oṃ rūpiṇīye huṃ huṃ phaṭ.

iti dvitīyo[128] 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 karālini*] GSS11 codd., Finot; *krodhakarāle* GSS5.
120 *saṃtrāsani*] GSS5; *saṃtrāśani* 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 kāmeśvari khage*] K, N, Finot; *mahāyogeśvari kha(r)ge* D(del). (GSS5: *vajravārāhi mahāyogeśvari khage* – eyeskip between *mahāyogini* & *kāmeśvari.*)
127 *huṃ huṃ*] codd. The Tibetan text for all four mantras reads: *huṃ hūṃ.*
128 *dvitīyo*] em.; *dvitīya* codd.

ii) *oṃ nama āryāparājite trailokyamāte mahāvidyeśvari huṃ huṃ phaṭ.*
iii) *oṃ namaḥ sarvabhūtabhayāvahe mahāvajre huṃ huṃ phaṭ.*
iv) *oṃ namo vajrāsane ajite 'parājite vaśaṃkari netrabhrāmiṇi huṃ huṃ phaṭ.*
v) *oṃ namaḥ śoṣaṇi roṣaṇi krodhani karālini huṃ huṃ phaṭ.*
vi) *oṃ namaḥ saṃtrāsani māraṇi suprabhedani parājaye huṃ huṃ phaṭ.*
vii) *oṃ namo jaye vijaye jambhani stambhani mohani huṃ huṃ phaṭ.*
viii) *oṃ namo vajravārāhi mahāyogini kāmeśvari khage huṃ huṃ phaṭ.*

The mantras for Ḍākinī etc. [are]:

oṃ ḍākinīye huṃ huṃ phaṭ
oṃ lāme huṃ huṃ phaṭ
oṃ khaṇḍarohe huṃ huṃ phaṭ
oṃ rūpiṇīye huṃ huṃ phaṭ

Here ends meditation stage 2.

terrifying to all creatures! You with a mighty vajra! (iv) Vajra-throned! Invincible! Invincible to others! Subduer! Eye-roller! (Lit: "you who cause [your own] eyes to roll!") (v) Withering one! Angry one! Enraged one! Gaping one! (vi) Terrifying one! Exterminator! Finely piercing one! Invincible! (vii) Victorious one! Very victorious! Crushing one! Paralyzing one! Bewildering one! (viii) Vajravārāhī! Mighty yoginī! Mistress of love! Sky-goer!

[§13] idānīm eva mahāsukhacakraṃ[129] pūrvottara[130]paścimadakṣiṇa-dvāreṣv avasthitābhiḥ kākāsyolūkāsyāśvānāsyā[131]sūkarāsyābhir[132] āgneyanairṛtyavāyavyaiśānakoṇasthitābhir yamadāḍhīyamadūtīyamadaṃṣṭriṇīyamamathanībhiś[133] ca sahitāṃ[134] bhāvayitum icchantaṃ[135] praty āha –

"kākāsyādyaṣṭadevīr[136] vā, adhikatvena bhāvayed"[137] iti. [36cd]

[§14] kākāsyādayaś[138] catasraḥ sva[139]nāmamukhāḥ. {D43v} yamadāḍhyādayas[140] tu manuṣyamukhā[141] dvivarṇāś ca. etā aṣṭāv amoghasiddhimudritāḥ, ḍākinyādisamāś ca śavāsanatvaṃ param āsāṃ viśeṣaḥ. tad uktaṃ[142] –

[‡]yathā ḍākinījanasya tathā kākāsyādi tu bhedataḥ |
vidiksthās[143] <tu> tathā devyo, dvau hi rūpau[144] manoharau |
pretāsanā mahāghorāḥ[145] sattvārthakaraṇodyatāḥ[146] | (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 *mathanībhiś*] corr.; *mathanīcabhiś* K, N; *mathanīcebhiś* D.
134 *sahitāṃ*] K, N; *sahitā* D.
135 *icchantaṃ*] em.; *icchaṃ* codd. (see Textual Note to §10.)
136 *devīr*] K; *devī* N, D.
137 *kākāsyādyaṣṭadevir vā, adhikatvena bhāvayed*] conj. *(syncop.); kākāsyādyaṣ adevir vā ātrādhikatvena vibhāvayed* codd. (See v. 36cd.)
138 *ādayaś*] D; *āsyādyaś* Kpc., N; *āsyā(dya)ś* K(mg2).
139 *sva*] K, D; *svasva* N.
140 *dāḍhyādayas*] em.; *dāḍhyādi* K, *dāḍhyādis* N, D.
141 *mukhā*] em.; *mukhau* codd.
142 *tad uktaṃ*] 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 *(icchantaṃ)* to visualize the circle of great bliss [namely, Vajravārāhī], along with [the goddesses] Kākāsyā, Ulūkāsyā, Śvānāsyā, [and] Sūkarāsyā installed at the gates to the east, north, west, [and] south [i.e., in the cardinal points, counterclockwise], and Yamadāḍhī, Yamadūtī, Yamadaṃṣṭriṇī, [and] Yamamathanī placed in the corners to the southeast, southwest, northwest, [and] northeast [i.e., in the intermediate points, clockwise], [scripture] says:

> Or, in addition, he should visualize eight goddesses beginning with Kākāsyā. [v. 36cd]

[§14] The four [goddesses] Kākāsyā (Crow-face), plus [Ulūkāsyā (Owl-face), Śvānāsyā (Dog-face), and Sūkarāsyā (Hog-face)] have the faces of their names, but [the four goddesses] Yamadāḍhī (Death's Tooth), plus [Yamadūtī (Death's Messenger), Yamadaṃṣṭriṇī (Death's Fang), and Yamamathanī (Death's Destruction)] have human faces and are of two colors. [All] eight are sealed with Amoghasiddhi [on their crowns]. They are similar to [the four goddesses on the petals] starting with Ḍākinī, and have the further *(paraṃ)* distinguishing feature of corpse thrones. It is taught [in scripture]:

> (41) Just as of Ḍākinī and her crew, so, with some differences, [the four goddesses] Kākāsyā, etc., and the [four] goddesses of the intermediate directions with their charming two colors.[xxx] [All eight] have corpse thrones. They are very fearsome [and are] intent upon accomplishing the welfare of [all] beings.

xxx These four goddesses are bitonal as they occupy the corners of the maṇḍala where the colors of the four directions meet.

[§15] āsāṃ mantrā yathā. oṃ kākāsye huṃ huṃ[147] phaṭ. oṃ ulūkāsye huṃ huṃ phaṭ. oṃ śvānāsye huṃ huṃ phaṭ. oṃ sūkarāsye huṃ huṃ phaṭ. {N41v} oṃ yamadāḍhīye[148] huṃ huṃ phaṭ. {K59v} oṃ yamadūtīye huṃ huṃ phaṭ. oṃ yamadaṃṣṭriṇīye huṃ huṃ phaṭ. oṃ yamamathanīye huṃ huṃ phaṭ.

iti tṛtīyo bhāvanākramaḥ. 3.

[§16] adhunā saṃpūrṇam eva devīcakraṃ bhāvayitum[149] *icchantaṃ*[150] praty āha –

"yad vetyādi" [v. 37]

cakratrayaśabdena cittacakraṃ vākcakraṃ kāyacakram ucyate.

147 *huṃ huṃ*] codd. The Tibetan text for all four mantras reads: *huṃ hūṃ.*
148 *dāḍhīye*] 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] *oṃ kākāsye huṃ huṃ phaṭ; oṃ ulūkāsye huṃ huṃ phaṭ; oṃ śvānāsye huṃ huṃ phaṭ; oṃ sūkarāsye huṃ huṃ phaṭ*
>
> [corner goddesses] *oṃ yamadāḍhīye huṃ huṃ phaṭ; oṃ yamadūtīye huṃ huṃ phaṭ; oṃ yamadaṃṣṭriṇīye huṃ huṃ phaṭ; oṃ yamamathanīye huṃ huṃ phaṭ*

Here ends meditation stage 3.

[Meditation Stage 4]

[§16] Now for someone wishing *(icchantaṃ)* to visualize the circle of deities actually complete, [scripture] says [the verse beginning]:

> Alternatively...etc. [v. 37]

By the expression "the three circles" [in v. 37] is meant the mind circle, the speech circle, [and] the body circle.

[§17] tatrākāśe meror aṣṭadikṣu[151] cittacakram aṣṭāraṃ nīlavarṇaṃ nīla[152]vajrāvalīparivṛtaṃ,[153] tasya pūrvottarapaścimadakṣiṇāreṣu pullīramalayajālandhara-oḍḍiyānārbudākhyeṣu yathākramaṃ pracaṇḍācaṇḍākṣīprabhāvatī[154]mahānāsā dhyeyāḥ, āgneyanairṛtyavāyavyaiśānāreṣu[155] godāvarīrāmeśvaradevīkoṭamālavākhyeṣu vīramatīkharvarīlaṅkeśvarīdrumacchāyāḥ. {D44r} iti cittacakram. khecarīṇāṃ saṃgrahaḥ.

[§18] tatra bhūmivalaye meror aṣṭadikṣu vākcakram aṣṭāraṃ raktaṃ raktapadmāvalīparivṛtam. tasya pūrvottarapaścimadakṣiṇāreṣu kāmarūpa-oḍra[156]triśakunikośalākhyeṣu airāvatīmahābhairavā[157]vāyuvegāsurābhakṣyo[158] bhāvyāḥ, {K60r} āgneyanairṛtyavāyavyaiśānāreṣu kaliṅgalaṃpākakāñcīhimālayasaṃjñakeṣu śyāmādevīsubhadrāhayakarṇākhagānanāḥ.[159] iti vākcakram.[160] bhūcarīṇāṃ[161] 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 *oḍra*] Kpc., *o(ḍra)* K(mg); - *mālava* - N; omit D.
157 *bhairavā*] K, D; *bhairavī* N.
158 *surābhakṣyo*] conj.; *surābhakṣī* K, D; *surā – bhakṣī* N.
159 *khagānanāḥ*.] corr.; *khagānanā* codd.
160 *vākcakram*] em.; *vākcakra* codd.
161 *bhūcarīṇāṃ*] K; *bhūcarāṇāṃ* N, D.

[§17] Of those [three circles of the full maṇḍala], the mind circle is in space in the eight directions of Meru,[549] with eight "sectors" *(āram),*[xxxi] blue in color [and] surrounded by a ring of blue vajras. On its sectors in the east, north, west, [and] south, in those [sites] called Pullīramalaya, Jālandhara, Oḍḍiyāna, [and] Arbuda respectively [i.e., installed counterclockwise] are to be imagined [the goddesses] Pracaṇḍā, Caṇḍākṣī, Prabhāvatī, [and] Mahānāsā.[xxxii] On the sectors in the southeast, southwest, northwest, [and] northeast [i.e., installed clockwise], in those [sites] called Godāvarī, Rāmeśvara, Devīkoṭa, [and] Mālava are [the goddesses] Vīramatī, Kharvarī, Laṅkeśvarī, [and] Drumacchāyā.[xxxiii] This is the mind circle, the congregation of sky-dwelling [goddesses].

[§18] The speech circle is on the circumference of the earth in the eight directions of Meru, with eight sectors, red, surrounded by a ring of red lotuses. On its sectors in the east, north, west, [and] south, in those [sites] called Kāmarūpa, Oḍra, Triśakuni, [and] Kośala are to be visualized [the goddesses] Airāvatī, Mahābhairavā, Vāyuvegā, [and] Surābhakṣī.[xxxiv] On the sectors in the southeast, southwest, northwest, [and] northeast, in those [sites] designated Kaliṅga, Lampāka, Kāñcī, [and] Himālaya are [the goddesses] Śyāmādevī, Subhadrā, Hayakarṇā, [and] Khagānanā.[xxxv] This is the speech circle, the congregation of earth-dwelling [goddesses].

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

xxxii Terrible One (Pracaṇḍā), Fierce-eye (Caṇḍākṣī), One Who Has Light (Prabhāvatī), and Great-nose (Mahānāsā).

xxxiii Heroic One (Vīramatī), Dwarfish One (Kharvarī), Queen of Laṅkā (Laṅkeśvarī), and Tree Shade (Drumacchāyā). (*Laṅkeśvarī* may mean "Queen of Demons," as Laṅkeśvara is another name of the demon king, Rāvaṇa. The Queen of Laṅkā is associated with cremation-ground-dwelling *rākṣasas* and meat-eating ḍākinīs whose main dwelling was Laṅka.)

xxxiv Elephant Queen? (Airāvatī; feminine of Indra's elephant), Greatly Terrible (Mahābhairavā), Wind Turbulence (Vāyuvegā), and Wine Drinker (Surābhakṣī).

xxxv Blue Queen (Śyāmādevī, Tib.: *sngo bsangs,* pale blue), Good Lady (Subhadrā), Horse-ears (Hayakarṇā), and Bird-face (Khagānanā).

[§19] tato bhūmitale samudravalaye kāyacakram aṣṭāraṃ śuklaṃ śuklacakrāvalīparivṛtam. {N42r} tasya pūrvottarapaścimadakṣiṇāreṣu pretapurīgṛhadevatāsaurāṣṭrasuvarṇadvīpākhyeṣu cakravegākhaṇḍarohāśauṇḍinīcakravarmiṇyo dhyeyāḥ, āgneyanairṛtyavāyavyaiśānāreṣu[162] nagarasindhumarukulatākhyeṣu suvīrāmahābalācakravartinīmahāvīryāḥ.[163] iti kāyacakram.[164] pātālavāsinīnāṃ saṃgrahaḥ.

[§20] tatra cittavākkāyacakrasthā devyo 'nukramāt kṛṣṇā raktāḥ śuklā akṣobhyāmitābhavairocanamudritāś ca, sarvāḥ[165] pracaṇḍādayo devya ekavaktrāś caturbhujāḥ vāme khatvāṅgakapāladharāḥ dakṣiṇe kartriḍamarudharās trinetrā muktakeśā nagnāḥ pañcamudrāvibhūṣitāś ca kaṇṭhāvalambinaraśiromālā ālīḍhapadāś ca. {K60v} {D44v}

[§21] tataḥ pātālatale 'gnivāyuvalayamadhye meror aṣṭadikṣu aṣṭasu[166] śmaśāneṣu kākāsyādayo bhāvyāḥ.
sarvāsām eva vajravārāhyādīnāṃ lalāṭe vajramālā.

162 *vāyavyaiś*] K; *vāyuvyaiś* N; *vāyuvyes* D.
163 *mahāviryāḥ.*] corr.; *mahāvīryā* codd.
164 *kāyacakram*] em.; *kāyacakra* codd.
165 *sarvāḥ*] em.; *sarvā* codd.
166 *aṣṭasu*] Tib. (p. 39.7: *brgyad rnams la*); *su* codd.

[§19] Then *(tato)*, on the surface of the earth encircled by the oceans, is the body circle, with eight sectors, white, surrounded by a ring of white wheels (*cakras*). On its sectors in the east, north, west, [and] south, in the [sites] Pretapurī, Gṛhadevatā,[550] Saurāṣṭra, [and] Suvarṇadvīpa, are to be imagined [the goddesses] Cakravegā, Khaṇḍarohā, Śauṇḍinī, [and] Cakravarmiṇī.[xxxvi] On the sectors in the southeast, southwest, northwest, [and] northeast, in those [sites] called Nagara, Sindhu, Maru, [and] Kulatā[551] are [the goddesses] Suvīrā, Mahābalā, Cakravartinī, [and] Mahāvīryā.[xxxvii] This is the body circle, the congregation of [goddesses] abiding in the underworld *(pātālam)*.

[§20] In that [maṇḍala] the goddesses placed in the mind circle, speech circle, and body circle are [colored] respectively, black,[xxxviii] red, [and] white, and are sealed with Akṣobhya, Amitābha, and Vairocana [on their crowns]. All [twenty-four] goddesses beginning with Pracaṇḍā have one face [and] four arms. In their [two] left [hands] they hold a skull staff and a skull bowl; in their [two] right [hands] they hold a chopper and a *ḍamaru*. They have three eyes, loose hair, they are naked, and are adorned with the five signs of observance (*mudrās*). They have garlands of human heads hanging around their necks and are in the warrior stance.

[§21] Then, on the surface of the underworlds within rings of fire and wind, in the eight directions of Meru, in the eight cremation grounds, are to be visualized [the goddesses of the outer maṇḍala] starting with Kākāsyā.[552]

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

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

xxxvii Great Warrioress (Suvīrā), Mightily Strong (Mahābalā), One Who Rules with the Wheel (Cakravartinī, Tib. *'khor los sgyur ma*), Mighty Energy (Mahāvīryā).

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

[§22] ‡atha –
devatāhaṃkāra*lābhāya*[167] sarvajñatāptaye tathā
devatāyogato yojyā bodhipākṣikadharmāḥ.
ete punar dharmāḥ saptatriṃśat.

[§23]‡ tatra caturviparyāsānāṃ śucisukhanityātmanāṃ pratipakṣatayā catvāry anusmṛtyupasthānāni[168]‡ bhavanti. tad yathā kāyānusmṛtyupasthānaṃ ḍākiṇī, {N42v} vedanānusmṛtyupasthānaṃ lāmā, dharmānusmṛtyupasthānaṃ khaṇḍarohā, cittānusmṛtyupasthānaṃ rūpiṇī.

gṛhītagrāhi[169] jñānaṃ smṛtiḥ smaraṇaṃ, tasyā upasthānam *upasthāpakaṃ,*[170] bahulavacanāt antarbhāvitaṇyarthāt[171] kartari lyuṭ.[172] tat punaḥ pūrvānubhūtasyopasthāpakatvād[173] *ātmaguṇa*‡vismaraṇapratipakṣabhūtam.[174]

bhūtendriyasaṃghātaḥ kāyaḥ, sukhādyanubhavo[175] vedanā, bhūtakoṭir dharmaḥ, pratibhāsamātraṃ[176] cittam. {K61r} teṣāṃ māyopamatvenānusmaraṇaṃ,[177] tasyopasthāpakaṃ kāyādyanusmṛtyupasthānam.

167 *lābhāya*] conj. (Tib. p. 40.1: translates *dgod pa* "to stabilize," i.e., as if reading **sthāpanīya*); *nāśāya* codd.; cf. GSS5 K26v4: *devatāhaṃkāratyāgāya.*
168 *catvary a<nu>smṛtyupasthānāni* or *catvāri smṛtyupasthānāni*] conj.; *catvāryasmṛtyupasthānāni* codd.
169 *gṛhītagrāhi*] em.; *gṛhītāgrāhi* codd.
170 *upasthāpakaṃ*] conj.; *upasthānaṃyakaṃ* K, D; *upasthānayakaṃ* N.
171 *ṇyarthāt*] K, N; *ṇyaṃarkṣāt* D.
172 *kartari lyuṭ.*] K, N; *kartāṇyūṭā* D.
173 *pūrvānubhūtasyopasthāpak<atvād>*] conj. Sanderson *pūrvādbhūtārthasyopasthāyak-* codd.
174 *bhūtaṃ*] em.; *bhūtaḥ* codd.
175 *anubhavo*] K, D; *anubhavye* N.
176 *mātraṃ*] em.; *mātra* codd.
177 *smaraṇaṃ*] em.; *smaraṃ* codd.

[§22] [The thirty-seven factors that favor enlightenment (*bodhipākṣika-dharmas*) §§22–29][553]
Next, in order to *establish* the ego identity *(ahaṃkāraḥ)* of the deity, also to gain omniscience, the factors that favor enlightenment (*bodhipākṣikadharmas*) are to be applied through [the practice of] deity yoga. Moreover, these factors are thirty-seven [in number].

[§23] [The four bringers of awareness (*anu-smṛtyupasthānas*)][554]
[The first] of these are the bringers of awareness (*anusmṛtyupasthānas*) because they oppose the four inverted views (*viparyāsas*), [namely: that what is not pure, pleasurable, permanent, or possessing a self really is] pure, pleasurable, permanent, [and possessing] a self.[555] They are four [in number and are embodied in the maṇḍala] as follows: (i) bringing awareness of the body, as Ḍākinī, (ii) bringing awareness of feelings, Lāmā, (iii) bringing awareness of reality, Khaṇḍarohā, and (iv) bringing awareness of mind, Rūpiṇī.

"Awareness" *(smṛtiḥ > smaraṇam)* means a cognition *(jñānam)* that grasps what has already been grasped [on a previous occasion]. [The compound *smṛtyupasthānam* means] "the *upasthānam* of this awareness" [where] *upasthānam* means "that which brings" *(upasthānam > upasthāpakam)*. The term *bahula* "in diverse circumstances" (in Pāṇini 3.3.113) allows this suffix *lyuṭ* [> *-ana*] to be added in the sense of the agent to this root ("to come forth") in a causative sense ("that which causes to come forth") without that causativity *(ṇi)* being explicit in the form itself [i.e., *upasthānam* rather than *upasthāpanam*]. Because it brings back *(punaḥ... upasthāpakatvād)* what has been previously experienced, it is the antidote to forgetting *qualities of oneself* (? *ātmaguṇa*) [such as body, feelings, reality, or mind].[556]

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

[§24] catvāra[178] ṛddhipādāḥ. tatra chandarddhipādaḥ pracaṇḍā, vīryarddhipādaś[179] caṇḍākṣī, mīmāṃsārddhipādaḥ[180] prabhāvatī,[181] cittarddhipādo mahānāsā, iti. {D45r}

saddharmaviṣaye śrutādyabhilāṣaś[182] chandaḥ.[‡]

ṛddhiḥ samṛddhiḥ[183] cittasya samādhānaṃ, tasyāḥ pādā aṅgāni[184] ṛddhipādāḥ. chandaś cāsau ṛddhipādaś ceti vigṛhya samāsaḥ. evaṃ vīryarddhipādādiṣu ca boddhavyam.[185] "ṛty aka,"[186] iti prakṛtibhāvād guṇābhāvaḥ. kuśale karmaṇi cetaso 'bhyutsāho vīryaṃ,[187] mīmāṃsātyantavicāraṇā, cittaṃ jñānam.

[§25] indati jñānaṃ[188] yasmin sati tad indriyaṃ cakṣurādi.[189] tatsādharmyāt śraddhādikam apīndriyam[190] ucyate. tat pañcavidhaṃ, tad yathā śraddhendriyaṃ viramatī, {N43r} vīryendriyaṃ kharvarī, smṛtīndriyaṃ laṅkeśvarī, samādhīndriyaṃ drumacchāyā, prajñendriyam airāvatī.

178 *catvāra*] D; *catvāri* K, N.
179 *pādaś*] N, D; *pādāś* K.
180 *pādaḥ*] corr.; *pāda* codd.
181 *prabhāvatī→ṛddhipādaś ceti*] Kmg1, N, D.
182 *śrutādyabhi*] K, N; *śrutā abhi* D.
183 *ṛddhiḥ samṛddhiḥ*] conj.; *ṛddhi* (*saṇga?*)*ṛddhiḥ*. K; *ṛddhipādāḥ* N, D.
184 *pādā aṅgāni*] K; *pādāṅgāni* N, D.
185 *boddhavyaṃ*] K; *bodhyaṅgaḥ* N, D.
186 *ṛty aka*] Kpc.; *ṛtha- ty aka* Kac.; *ṛthaty aka* N, D.
187 *sāho vīryaṃ*] K; *sāhā vīrya* N, D.
188 *indati jñānaṃ*] K; omit N, D.
189 *cakṣurādi*] K; *cakṣurādikaṃ* D, N.
190 *apindriyam*] corr.; *api indriyam* codd.

[§24] [The four means of mind concentration (*ṛddhipādas*)][558]
[Then] there are the four means of mind concentration (*ṛddhipādas*). Of these, (i) desire *(chanda ṛddhipādaḥ)* is Pracaṇḍā, (ii) energy *(vīrya ṛddhipādaḥ)*, Caṇḍākṣī, (iii) investigation *(mīmāṃsā ṛddhipādaḥ)*, Prabhāvatī, and (iv) mind *(citta ṛddhipādaḥ)*, Mahānāsā.

[In the compound *chanda ṛddhipādaḥ*], *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 *ṛddhi pādāḥ*], *ṛddhi* means *saṃṛddhi*, i.e., concentration of the mind.[560] The *ṛddhipādas* are the means *(pādāḥ > aṅgāni)*[561] of [accomplishing] *ṛddhi* [so understood]. The compound *chanda ṛddhipāda* should be analyzed *(vigṛhya)* as a *karmadhāraya* compound [meaning, the means of mind concentration that is desire]. The terms *vīrya ṛddhipādaḥ*, etc., should be understood in the same way. [The application of the grammatical rule means] there is no substitution of the *guṇa* vowel [*ar* in the place of *ṛ-* (in *ṛddhiḥ*)] because [it] remains in its natural state by the rule *ṛty akaḥ* (Pāṇini 6.1.128).[562] [In compound with *ṛddhipādaḥ*], *vīryam* (energy) means mental energy with regard to [the ten] skillful actions, *mīmāṃsā* (investigation) means the deepest cogitation, *cittam* (mind) means cognition *(jñānam)*.

[§25] [The five "empowering" faculties (*indriyas*)][563]
The eyes and other [sense organs] are called *indriya* because when they are present [and active], cognition is empowered (√*ind*). Because they share this character, the term *indriya* is also used for faith, [energy, awareness, meditation], and [wisdom]. This ["empowerer" *(indriyam)*] is of five kinds: (i) faith *(śraddhendriyam)*, which is Vīramatī, (ii) energy *(vīryendriyam)*, Kharvarī, (iii) awareness *(smṛtindriyam)*, Laṅkeśvarī, (iv) meditation *(samādhīndriyam)*, Drumacchāyā, and (v) wisdom *(prajñendriyam)*, Airāvatī.

tatra vīryam uktam.[191] smṛtiś coktā. śraddhā tu laukikalokottarāyāṃ samyagdṛṣṭau karmaphalopabhoge ca cittaprasādaḥ. samādhiś[192] cittaikāgratā. heyopādeyasyāvadhārikā buddhiḥ prajñā.

śraddhendriyāśritān[193] dharmān yad udānayaty[194] upaḍhaukayati tad vīryendriyam. {K61v}
vīryopaḍhaukitasyārthasyāsaṃpramoṣaḥ smṛtiḥ. smṛtīndriyam āśritān dharmān yad abhimukhī[195]karoti tat samādhīndriyaṃ. samādhīndriyeṇaikāgrīkṛtān[196] dharmān yad vidhyati tat prajñendriyam.

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

[§27] 'samyag bodher aṅgāni kāraṇāni saṃbodhyaṅgāni.[197] tāni punaḥ sapta, tad yathā samādhisaṃbodhyaṅgaṃ hayakarṇā, vīryasaṃbodhyaṅgaṃ khagānanā, prītisaṃbodhyaṅgaṃ cakravegā, prasrabdhisaṃbodhyaṅgaṃ khaṇḍarohā, dharmapravicayasaṃbodhyaṅgaṃ śauṇḍinī, smṛtisaṃ[198]bodhyaṅgaṃ cakravarmiṇī,[199] upekṣā saṃbodhyaṅgaṃ suvīreti.

191 *vīryam uktaṃ*] K; *vīryendriyam ukta* - N, *vīrya(ṃ?) indriyam ukta* D.
192 *samādhiś*] K; *samādhi* N, D.
193 *śraddhendriyāśritān*] conj. Sanderson; *śraddhepāyam* codd.; cf. Asū ch. 16, p. 32 (cited in full in n. 565 to Translation).
194 *yad udānayaty upa*] conj.; *yady udānayaty upa* codd.
195 *abhimukhī*] em.; *ābhimukhī* codd.
196 *tat→aikā*] Kpc.; *ta't (samādhīndriyaṃ) sam-* K(mg2); *tat samādhīndriyer aikā* N, D.
197 *samyag bodher aṅgāni kāraṇāni saṃbodhyaṅgāni*] conj. Sanderson; *saṃbodhye kāraṇa samyaksambodher aṅgāni kāraṇāni bodhyaṅgāni* K, N; *sabodhyeṃga kāraṇā → bodhyaṅgāni* D.
198 *saṃ*] N, D; *sa* K.
199 *cakravarmiṇī*] K, N; *cakravarmaṇi* D.

Of these, "energy" has [already] been discussed [under *vīrya ṛddhipādaḥ*, §24]; "awareness" too has been discussed [under *smṛtyupasthānam*, §23]. As for "faith," this is clarity of mind *(citta-prasādaḥ)* in respect of the correct view in its worldly and supramundane [sense], and in respect of the experience of the fruits of one's actions. "Meditation" is one-pointedness of mind. "Wisdom" is understanding what is to be abandoned and what is to be taken up.[564]

The faculty of energy is that which "presents" *(udānayati* > *upaḍhaukayati)* those existents (*dharmas*) that rest on the faculty of faith. Awareness *(smṛtiḥ)* is the nondestruction of things *(arthaḥ)* [i.e., existents] presented by [the faculty of] energy. The faculty of meditation is that which makes actual those existents that rest on the faculty of awareness. The faculty of wisdom is that which imbues *(vidhyati)* those existents that have been brought into focus *(ekāgrīkṛta)* through the faculty of meditation.[565]

[§26] [The five powers (*balas*)]
These same faculties, when they have reached their highest degree through gradual intensification, are called the "powers" (*balas*).[566] Accordingly, (i) the power of faith *(śraddhābalam)* is Mahābhairavā, (ii) the power of energy *(vīryabalam)*, Vāyuvegā, (iii) the power of awareness *(smṛtibalam)*, Surābhakṣī, (iv) the power of meditation *(samādhibalam)*, Śyāmādevī, and (v) the power of wisdom *(prajñābalam)*, Subhadrā.

[§27] [The seven causes of complete enlightenment (*saṃbodhyaṅgas*)][567]
[The next elements in the list of thirty-seven are] the *saṃbodhyaṅgas*, the causes *(aṅgāni* > *kāraṇāni)* of complete enlightenment *(saṃbodhiḥ* > *samyag bodhiḥ)*. They are seven [in number]: (i) meditation *(samādhisaṃbodhyaṅgam)*, which is Hayakarṇā, (ii) energy *(vīryasaṃbodhyaṅgam)*, Khagānanā, (iii) joy *(prītisaṃbodhyaṅgam)*, Cakravegā, (iv) serenity *(prasrabdhisaṃbodhyaṅgam)*, Khaṇḍarohā, (v) investigation of dharmas *(dharmapravicayasaṃbodhyaṅgam)*, Śauṇḍinī, (vi) awareness *(smṛtisambodhyaṅgam)*, Cakravarmiṇī, and (vii) equanimity *(upekṣāsaṃbodhyaṅgam)*, Suvīrā.

samādhiś cittaikāgratā.[200] sa cāsau bodhyaṅgaṃ ceti vigṛhya samāsaḥ. {N43v} evaṃ <vīrya>saṃbodhyaṅgādiṣu[201] boddhavyam. {K62r} kauśīdyānavakāśaṃ[202] vīryam. manaso dharmaikāgratā prītiḥ. ātmātmīyādi[203]vāsanocchedāt[204] kāyavākcittānāṃ kuśale karmaṇi[205] saktatvaṃ prasrabdhiḥ. dharmāṇāṃ nairātmyarūpeṇāvadhāraṇaṃ dharmapravicayaḥ.[206] sakalasattvārthanimitta[207]saṃbodhipraṇidhānaśrutacintābhāvanāder asaṃpramoṣaḥ smṛtiḥ. audāsīnyacittatopekṣā.

[§28] kleśāvaraṇasya pratipakṣabhūtatvād āryāṇi samyagdṛṣṭyādīny aṣṭāṅgāni yasya sa āryāṣṭāṅgo[208] mārgaḥ.
jñeyāvaraṇa[209]prahāṇabhāvanāyai mṛgyate 'nviṣyate, iti mārgaḥ. asyāṅgāni yathā samyagdṛṣṭir[210] mahābalā, samyaksaṃkalpaś cakravartinī, {D46r} samyagvāg mahāvīryā, samyakkarmāntaḥ kākāsyā, samyagājīva ulūkāsyā, samyagvyāyāmaḥ śvānāsyā, samyaksmṛtiḥ sūkarāsyā, samyaksamādhir bhagavatī vajravārāhī.

tatra buddhavākye paramagauravaṃ samyagdṛṣṭiḥ. prārabdhasya kṛtyasyāparityāgaḥ samyaksaṃkalpaḥ. sattvārthāvisaṃvādakaṃ[211] vacanaṃ samyagvāk. {K62v} daśakuśalānatikrameṇa kṛtyaṃ samyakkarmāntaḥ. nyāyārjitavittenājīvanaṃ[212] samyagājīvaḥ. svaparārthasampannimittaṃ kāyavāṅmanasāṃ karma samyagvyāyāmaḥ. buddhavacanānusmaraṇaṃ samyaksmṛtiḥ. śrīvajravārāhīrūpālambanaṃ samyaksamādhiḥ. {N44r}

200 *samādhiś cittaikāgratā*] em.; *samādhicittekāgratā* K, *samādhicitta**atā* N; *samādhicitakāya* D.
201 *<vīrya>saṃbodhyaṅgādiṣu*] conj.; *saṃbodhyaṅgādiṣu* K, N; *saṃbodhyaṅgānidiṣu* D.
202 *kauśīdyānavakāśaṃ*] N.; *kauśīdyenavakāśaṃ* D; *kośīdyāvakāśaṃ* K.
203 *ātmātmīyādi*] em.; *ātmā ātmīyādi* codd.
204 *occhedāt*] conj.; *occhedakāt* codd.
205 *kuśale karmaṇi*] K; *kuśaladharmaṇi* N, D.
206 *dharma*] em.; *pradharma* K; *pra ¯ rmma* N, *pratidharma* D.
207 *nimitta*] em.; *nimittaṃ* codd.
208 *āryāṣṭāṅgo]* K, N; *āryāṣṭāṅgāni* D.
209 *jñeyāvaraṇa*] K; *yo jñeyāvaraṇa* N; *yogeyāvaraṇa* D.
210 *dṛṣṭir*] K, N; *dṛṣṭi* D.
211 *visaṃvādakaṃ]* K; *visaṃvodakaṃ* N; *visaṃvādarakaṃ* D.
212 *nyāyārjitavittenājīvanaṃ*] K; *nyāyorjitacittenā-* N, D.

Meditation *(samādhiḥ)* is one-pointedness of mind. *Samādhibodhyaṅga*, the cause of complete enlightenment that is meditation, is to be analyzed (*vigṛhya*, cf. §24) as a *karmadhāraya* compound. The same [type of compound] is to be understood in relation to the cause of complete enlightenment that is energy, and so on. "Energy" gives no opportunity for sluggishness. "Joy" is the state of focusing the mind on *dharmas*. "Serenity" is the adherence of body, speech, and mind to [the ten] good actions because of the cutting off of latent impressions *(vāsanā)*, such as those related to [the ideas of] self and ownership. The investigation of existents (*dharmas*) is ascertaining that existents are by nature without self. "Awareness" is not losing hold of [one's] learning, reflection, and meditation, [nor of one's] vow to attain enlightenment caused by [one's desire for] the welfare of the entire [mass of] beings. "Equanimity" is the state of having [one's] mind uninvolved.

[§28] [The eight factors of the path *(aṣṭāṅgamārga)*]
In the term *āryāṣṭāṅgo mārgaḥ* (the path having eight noble factors), the word *mārgaḥ* (path) is qualified by the *bahuvrīhi* adjective, *āryāṣṭāṅgo* ([that] whose eight factors are noble). This refers to the fact that the path has eight *(aṣṭa-)* factors that promote it *(aṅgāni)*, namely right view and so on. These factors are termed *ārya* (noble) because they oppose the barrier of the defilements *(kleśāvaraṇam)*. The word *mārga* (path) is from the verb √*mṛg* "to seek" as it is that which is sought *(mṛgyate* > *anviṣyate)* as the means of accomplishing [the stage of] meditation through which one may remove the barrier of [the perception of] objects [as other than consciousness] *(jñeyāvaraṇam)*.[568]

The factors of that [eightfold path] are as follows: (i) right view *(samyagdṛṣṭiḥ)* is Mahābalā, (ii) right resolve *(samyaksaṃkalpaḥ)*, Cakravartinī, (iii) right speech *(samyagvāk)*, Mahāvīryā, (iv) right action *(samyakkarmāntaḥ)*, Kākāsyā, (v) right livelihood *(samyagājīvaḥ)*, Ulūkāsyā, (vi) right effort *(samyagvyāyāmaḥ)*, Śvānāsyā, (vii) right mindfulness *(samyaksmṛtiḥ)*, Sūkarāsyā, and (viii) right meditation *(samyaksamādhiḥ)*, the goddess Vajravārāhī.

Of these, right view is supreme respect for the Buddha's word; right resolve is not giving up a task that has been begun; right speech is

[§29] rāgādayaḥ samyak prahīyante ebhir[213] iti kṛtvā samyakprahāṇāni catvāri, tad yathā anutpannānāṃ kuśalānāṃ dharmāṇām utpādanaṃ yamadāḍhī,[214] utpannānāṃ kuśalānāṃ[215] dharmāṇāṃ rakṣaṇaṃ yamadūtī. utpannānām akuśalānāṃ dharmāṇāṃ prahāṇam[216] yamadaṃṣṭriṇī,[217] anutpannānām akuśalānāṃ dharmāṇām anutpādanaṃ yamamathanī ceti.

athātaḥ[218] sampravakṣyāmi kāyamaṇḍalam uttamam |
pīṭhādikramayogena daśabhūmiviśuddhitaḥ | (42)

[§30] [219]pu jā o a go rā de mā kā o tri ko ka la kā hi pre gṛ sau su na si ma ku. ity āgamaḥ. {D46v} atrārthaḥ, pullīramalayādīnām[220] ādyākṣarāṇi <*pu-jā*>-ityādīni[221] sānusvārāṇy uccāryante.[222] puṃkārādyakṣaraparipāṭīni {K63r} agre śūnyāni cakrāṇi, pullīramalayādīni pīṭhādisthānāni śiraḥprabhṛtīni jhaṭiti boddhavyāni. teṣu[223] śiraḥprabhṛtiṣv[224] avasthitā nāḍyaḥ,[225] pracaṇḍādidevatāpariṇāmeṇa vyavasthitā bhāvyā iti.

213 *ebhir*] Kac.; *ebhi ˚(vi)r* K(mg2), N(mg1); *evir* D.
214 *yamadāḍhī*] K; *yamadā(ḍ?)ī* N; *yamadāḍi* D.
215 *kuśalānāṃ*] N, D; *kuśalāṃ* K.
216 *prahāṇam*] corr.; *prahāṇa* N; *nāśanaṃ* Kmg; omit D.
217 *yamadaṃṣṭriṇī*] K, N; *yamaduṣṭrī* D.
218 *athātaḥ*] K, N; *athā* D.
219 *pu→ku*] K, N; *puṃ→kuṃ* D.
220 *pullīramalayādīnām*] K; *pullīramalaye. dīnām* N, D.
221 *<pu-jā>-ityādīni*] conj.; *ityādini* K, N; *ityādīni* D.
222 *sānusvārāṇy uccāryante*] K; *sānu - raṇicchāyante* N; *lānugāraṇyic codyante* D.
223 *teṣu*] K; *te* N, D.
224 *śiraḥprabhṛtiṣv*] Kpc.; *(śiraḥ)prabhṛtiṣv* K(mg2); *śiraḥprabhṛti vy°* N; *śiraḥprabhiti 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 Vajravārāhī.

[§29] [The four means of complete abandonment (*samyakprahāṇas*)][569] [Then] there are the *samyakprahāṇas,* "the means of complete abandonment," passion and the other [defilements] being what is completely abandoned. They are four [in number]: (i) The giving rise to skillful dharmas that have not [yet] arisen, which is Yamadāḍhī, (ii) the protection of skillful dharmas that have [already] arisen, Yamadūtī, (iii) the abandoning of unskillful dharmas that have [already] arisen, Yamadaṃṣṭriṇī, and (iv) the nonarising *(anutpādanam)* of unskillful dharmas that have not [yet] arisen, Yamamathanī.

[The body maṇḍala *(kāyamaṇḍala)*]

(42) Now I shall teach the highest body maṇḍala; [I will do this] through the sequence that begins with the sites *(piṭhādi),*[xxxix] with their purifying correspondences *(viśuddhita-)* for the ten stages *(daśabhūmi-).*

[§30] Scripture relates:[570]

pu jā o a go rā de mā kā o tri ko ka la kā hi pre gr sau su na si ma ku

xxxix The meaning of the abbreviation *piṭhādi* is expanded upon in the prose below (§30) and the following verses (vv. 43–53). It indicates the correlations of the twenty-four sites with the twenty-four goddesss of the three maṇḍala cakras of body, speech, and mind. These are further equated with points on the yogin-deity's body. Table 23 gives a summary of the following correspondences.

pullīramalaye caṇḍāṃ prapūrvāṃ[226] śirasi sthitām |
jālandhare śikhāyāṃ tu caṇḍākṣīṃ paribhāvayet | (43)

dakṣiṇakarṇato dhyāyād[227] oḍḍiyāne prabhāvatīm |
arbude śirasaḥ pṛṣṭhe mahānāsāṃ vibhāvayet | (44)

iti pīṭhaṃ pramuditā bhūmiḥ. {N44v}

vāme godāvarī karṇe[228] vīramatīm vicintayet |
rāmeśvare *ca bhrūmadhye*[229] kharvarīṃ paśya saṃsthitām |
cakṣurdvaye ca devīnāṃ koṭe laṅkeśvarīm imām | (45)

skandhadvaye samākhyātaṃ mālavadeśasaṃjñakam[230] |
tatra vai cintayet devīṃ[231] drumacchāyeti nāmikām | (46)

226 *prapūrvāṃ*] K, N; *prapūrṇā* D.
227 *dhyāyād*] em.; *dhyeyād* codd.
228 *vāme godāvarī 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 *devīṃ*] em.; *devī* codd.

The meaning here is that the first syllables of [the sites] beginning with Pullīramalaya, *pu, jā,* etc., are [to be] pronounced adding a nasal ending *(anusvāraḥ)* [i.e., *puṃ, jāṃ,* etc.]. One is to understand the syllables *puṃ,* etc., transforming into [twenty-four] empty circles in front [of one], simultaneously [perceived to be identical with] the places beginning with the sites, Pullīramalaya etc., [which are themselves understood] as [the points on the body] starting with the head. [Finally] one imagines that the goddesses Pracaṇḍā and so forth [reside in the sites, and that they] have transformed into the channels (*nāḍīs*) [that issue] within those [points on the body] starting with the head. [As follows:]

(43) One should visualize Pracaṇḍā[xl] in Pullīramalaya in one's head,[571] Caṇḍākṣī in Jālandhara at the crown *(śikhā).*

(44) On the right ear he should imagine Prabhāvatī in Oḍḍiyāna; in Arbuda, on the back of the head *(śirasaḥ pṛṣṭhe),*[572] he should visualize Mahānāsā.

These are the sites (*pīṭhas*) [that correspond with] the [first bodhisattva] stage *(bhūmiḥ),* "joyful" *(pramuditā).*[xli]

(45) On the left ear in Goḍāvarī he should visualize Vīramatī; and in Rāmeśvara, the point between the eyebrows *(bhrūmadhye),* see Kharvarī positioned; and on the two eyes *(cakṣurdvaye)*[573] in Devīkoṭa, Laṅkeśvarī.

(46) On the two shoulders *(skandhadvaye)*[574] is the place known as Mālava; just there, he should imagine the goddess named Drumacchāyā.

xl Literally, "[The goddess called] *Caṇḍā* preceded by *Pra-*."

xli Literally, "Thus the site, joyful stage." The twenty-four sites, Pullīramalaya, etc., are further divided into ten kins of "places": *pīṭhas, upapīṭhas, kṣetras, upakṣetras, chandohas, upacchandohas, melāpakas, upamelāpakas, śmaśānas,* and *upaśmaśānas.* These are now equated with the ten bodhisattva states (*bhūmis*). Umāpatideva gives the fifth and sixth *bhūmis* as *sudurjayā*° and *abhimukhī*°, which, according to the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* (Dayal 1932: 283–91), is in reverse order. The text for the eighth *bhūmi (acalā°),* has dropped out, as shown in Textual Note to <v. 51i>. The places are also shown in table 23.

ity upapīṭhaṃ vimalā bhūmiḥ.[232]

kakṣayoḥ kāmarūpe tu dhyāyād airāvatīm imām |
oḍre[233] stanadvaye devīṃ mahābhairavikāṃ tathā | (47)

iti kṣetraṃ prabhākarī bhūmiḥ.

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

ity upakṣetram arciṣmatī bhūmiḥ.

kaliṅge vadane devīṃ śyāmākhyāṃ tu vibhāvayet | {D47r}
lampāke kaṇṭhadeśe tu subhadrāṃ devatīṃ tathā | (49)

iti chandoho 'bhimukhī bhūmiḥ.

kāñcyāṃ tu hṛdaye devīṃ hayakarṇām vibhāvayet |
meḍhre[234] himālaye sthāne khagānanām imāṃ tathā | (50)

iti upacchandohaḥ[235] sudurjayā bhūmiḥ.

pretapuryāṃ smarel[236] liṅge cakravegāṃ lasad[237]dyutim |
yā gṛhadevatā tasyāṃ gude syāt khaṇḍarohikā[238] | (51)

232 *vimalā bhūmiḥ*] K; *prabhākarī bhūmiḥ* N; *vimalā bhūmiḥ* D.
233 *oḍre*] K, N; *oṃ* D.
234 *meḍhre*] *medre* K, N; *medra* D, Tib. p. 42.3: *mdoms* "groin."
235 *upacchandohaḥ*] N; *upacchandoha* K, D.
236 *smarel*] em.; *smare* K, N; *smara* D.
237 *lasad*] em.; *lasata* codd.
238 *khaṇḍarohikā*] em.; *khaṇḍarohikāṃ* codd.

These are the secondary sites (*upapīṭhas*), the [second bodhisattva] stage, "stainless" *(vimalā)*.

(47) In the two armpits *(kakṣayoḥ)*,[575] in Kāmarūpa, he should imagine Airāvatī; similarly in Oḍra, on the two breasts, the goddess Mahābhairavikā.

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

(48) On the navel in Triśakuni, he should see Vāyuvegā of scintillating light *(sphuraddyutim)*; and similarly in Kośala, on the tip of the nose, Surābhakṣī.

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

(49) In Kaliṅga, on the mouth *(vadane)*,[576] he should visualize the goddess called Śyāmā; and similarly in Lampāka, at the throat, the deity Subhadrā.

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

(50) In Kāñcī, at the heart, he should visualize the goddess Hayakarṇā; similarly on the *penis (meḍhre)*[577] in Himālaya, Khagānanā.

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

(51) In Pretapurī *(pretapuryāṃ)*,[578] on the sexual organ, he should recollect Cakravegā, of glistening light *(lasaddyutim)*; in that [site] that is Gṛhadevatā, in the anus, should be Khaṇḍarohikā.

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

iti melāpako dūraṅgamā bhūmiḥ.

<v. 51i>[1]

nagare 'ṅgulikāsv eṣā suvīrā nāma yoginī |
sindhau tatpādayoḥ pṛṣṭhe[239] yoginīṃ tāṃ mahābalām | (52)
{N45r}

iti śmaśānaṃ sādhumatī bhūmiḥ.

marāv[240] aṅguṣṭhayor dhyāyād yoginīṃ cakravartinīm |
kulatāyāṃ mahāvīryā jānudvaye matā tathā | (53)

ity upaśmaśānaṃ dharmameghā bhūmiḥ.

(v. 54)[1]

kākāsyādyā[241] mukhe nābhau liṅge gude kramāt sthitāḥ |
ūrṇākarṇākṣināse tu yamadāḍhyādayas[242] tathā | (55) {K64r}

239 *pṛṣṭhe*] N, D; *pṛṣṭha* K.
240 *marāv*] K, N; *merāv* D.
241 *kākāsyādyā*] K, N; *kākāsyādi* D.
242 *yamadāḍhyā*] K; *yamadādyā* N, D.

These are the *melāpakas*, the [seventh bodhisattva] stage, "far-going" *(dūraṅgamā)*.

(51i) <In Saurāṣṭra, on the two thighs, he should visualize the goddess Śauṇḍinī; and similarly in Suvarṇadvīpa, on the two shanks, the goddess Cakravarminī.>

<These are the secondary *melāpakas* (*upamelāpakas*), the eighth bodhisattva stage, "immoveable" *(acalā)*.>

(52) In Nagara, on the fingers and toes *(aṅgulikāsu)*[579] [is] this yoginī called Suvīrā; in Sindhu, on the back of the two feet,[xliii] that yoginī Mahābalā.

These are the cremation grounds (*śmaśānas*), the [ninth bodhisattva] stage, "good [thoughts]" *(sādhumatī)*.[580]

(53) In Maru, on the thumbs and toes *(aṅguṣṭhayoḥ)*,[581] he should imagine the yoginī Cakravartinī; similarly Mahāvīryā is considered [to be] in Kulatā on the two knees.

These are the secondary cremation grounds (*upaśmaśānas*), the [tenth bodhisattva] stage, "cloud of Dharma" *(dharmameghā)*.

(54)[xliv]

(55) Kākāsyā, [Ulūkāsyā, Śvānāsyā, and Sūkarāsyā] are placed on the mouth, navel, sexual organ, [and] anus respectively; and similarly, Yamadāḍhī, [Yamadūtī, Yamadaṃṣṭriṇī, and Yamamathanī] are on the hair-curl between the eyebrows, the ears, the eyes, [and] the nose.

xliii The "back" of the foot is the upper part above the toes, opposite to the sole (equivalent to the "back" of the hand).

xliv This verse seems to be an incorrect marginal insertion in ms. K. See Textual Notes.

ḍākinyādyāś caturdevyo hṛdayam[243] āśritya saṃsthitāḥ |
iti saṃpūrṇaṃ[244] sadā bhāvyaṃ kāyamaṇḍalam uttamam | (56)

[§31] ¹bāhye[245] piṭhādiṣu *nadyā*[246] yathā toyena poṣaṇam[247] kurvanti tathā dehe nadyo[248] śravantyo nakhādikaṃ poṣayanti. bāhye vajrapīṭhaṃ mahābodhisthānaṃ,[249] nirañjanā[250] nadī, dehe tu mahāsukhacakraṃ vajrapīṭhaṃ[251] avadhūtī nirañjaneti matam. {D47v}

[§32] idānīṃ devatānāṃ mantrā[252] ucyante. tatra vajravārāhyā hṛdayopahṛdayāṣṭapada[253]mantrā uktāḥ. mūlamantras tv asyāḥ[254] kathyate:

oṃ namo bhagavati vajravārāhi vaṃ – aparājite[255] trailokyamāte mahāvidyeśvari – sarvabhūtabhayāvahe mahāvajre – vajrāsani ajite 'parājite[256] vaśaṃkari netrabhrāmiṇi[257] – śoṣaṇi roṣaṇi[258] krodhani karālini – saṃtrāsani[259] {N45v} māraṇi suprabhedani parājaye[260] – jaye vijaye jambhani stambhani mohani – vajravārāhi mahāyogini kāmeśvari khage –

243 *hṛdayam*] K, N (*hyper.*); *hṛdayem* D. (One could emend to *hṛdam*, but the following *pāda* is also hypermetrical, and neither fault is in the even *pāda*.)
244 *saṃpūrṇaṃ*] em.; *saṃpūrṇa* codd.
245 *bāhye*] K, N; *bāhya* D.
246 *nādyā*] conj.; *nāḍyo* K; *nānyo* N, D.
247 *poṣaṇaṃ*] K; *to(va?)ṇaṃ* N; *toṣaṇaṃ* D.
248 *nadyo*] conj. Isaacson; *nāḍyaḥ* K; *nānyaḥ-* N, D. (cf. GSS5 K28v6 in Textual Note.)
249 *mahābodhisthānaṃ*] K; *mahābodhisthāna* N, D.
250 *nirañjanā*] K, N; *nirasanā* D.
251 *vajrapiṭhaṃ*] em.; *(vajra)piṭhaṃ ca* K(mg2), codd.
252 *mantrā*] K, N; *mantra* D.
253 *hṛdayopahṛdayāṣṭa*] conj.; *dayopahṛdayādyaṣṭa* 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 *saṃtrāsani*] corr.; *saṃtrāsiṇi* K, N; *saṃtrāsaṇi* D.
260 *suprabhedani parājaye*] codd.; *prabhedani aparājaye* Tib.

(56) The four goddesses Ḍākinī, [Lāmā, Khaṇḍarohā, and Rūpiṇī] are in place *(saṃsthitāḥ)* at the heart. Complete in this way, the supreme body maṇḍala is to be visualized at all times.

[§31] Just as outside there is nourishment in the sites [and other places] with the water of the river, so in the body, the flowing channels (*nāḍīs*) nourish [aspects of the body, beginning with] the nails [and teeth].

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

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

oṃ namo bhagavati vajravārāhi vaṃ – aparājite trailokya-māte mahāvidyeśvari – sarvabhūtabhayāpahe mahāvajre – vajrāsani ajite 'parājite vaśaṃkari netrabhrāmiṇi – śoṣaṇi roṣaṇi krodhani karālini – saṃtrāsani māraṇi suprabhedani parājaye – jaye vijaye jambhani stambhani mohani – vajravārāhi mahāyogini kāmeśvari khage – [xlv]

xlv This is an abbreviated form of the eight-part mantra (see §12).

prottuṅge,[261] hana hana prāṇān, *kiṅi kiṅi khiṅkhiṇi khiṅkhiṇi*[262] dhuna *dhuna*[263] vajrahaste śoṣaya śoṣaya vajrakhatvāṅgaka-pāladhāriṇi mahāpiśitamāṃsāśini {K64v} mānuṣāntraprāvṛte *sāṃnidhya*[264] naraśiromālāgrathitadhāriṇi,[265] *sumbhanisumbhe,*[266] hana hana pāpaṃ mama sarvasattvānāṃ ca,[267] sarvapaśūnāṃ[268] mahāmāṃsacchedani krodhamūrte[269] daṃṣṭrākarālini[270] mahāmudre śrīherukadevasyāgramahiṣi sahasragrīve sahasrabāhave[271] śatasahasrānane[272] jvalitatejase jvālāmukhi[273] piṅgalalocane vajraśarīre vajrāsane[274] mili mili timili timili he he he he[275] huṃ huṃ[276] kha kha dhu dhu[277] ru ru,[278] dhuru dhuru muru muru[279] advaite mahāyogini paṭhita-siddhe *oṃ dhraṃ*[280] he he ha ha bhīme hasa hasa hā hā ho ho

261 *prottuṅge*] GSS11 codd., GSS5; *oṃ vajravārāhī protaṅge* Finot.

262 *kiṅi 2 khiṅkhiṇi 2*] conj. Sanderson (cf. SM221 ms. AC p. 435: *kiṅkiṇi 2 khikhiṇi 2*); *kiṅkini khiṅkhiṇi* GSS11 codd.; *kiṇi 2 khikhi 2* GSS5.

263 *dhuna dhuna*] corr.? (cf. *dhuna* 2 GSS5, Finot); *dhuna* K; *muna* N; *punar* D.

264 *sāṃnidhya*] Finot; *sānnidhma* K, N; *sānidhye* D; *saṃnidhye* GSS5.

265 *grathitadhāriṇi*] K, N; *grathitadhāriṇī* D (for *naraśiromālāgrathitadhāriṇi* understand *naraśirograthitamālādhāriṇi*).

266 *sumbhanisumbhe*] GSS11 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 sarvapūśpānāṃ* Tib.

269 *hana→mūrte*] GSS11 codd.; *hana hana prāṇān sarvapaśavānāṃ māṃsacchedani krodhakrodhamūrte* GSS5; *hana 2 prāṇān sarvapiśācānāṃ mahāmāṃsacchedani. krodha mūrte* Finot.

270 *daṃṣṭrākarālini*] GSS5, Finot; *daṃṣṭrākarāli* GSS11 codd.

271 *sahasragrīve sahasrabāhave*] GSS11 codd. (*bāhave:* for dative understand vocative); *sahasraśirosahasravāhave* Finot; *sahasraśive sahasravāhave* GSS5.

272 *śatasahasrānane*] K, N; *śatasahasranetre* D.

273 *jvālāmukhi*] K, N; *jvālāmukhī* D.

274 *vajrāsane*] GSS5, Finot; *vajrāsani* GSS11 codd.

275 *he he he he*] GSS11 codd.; *he he ha ha* GSS5, Finot, Tib.

276 *huṃ huṃ*] codd.; *hūṃ hūṃ* Tib.

277 *dhu dhu*] N, D; *dhu(ru) dhu(ru) dhu* K(del).

278 *ru ru*] codd. omit Tib.

279 *ru→muru*] GSS11 codd.; *rū rū suru suru* GSS5; *ru 2 muru 2 dhuru 2* Finot

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

[xlvi]*prottuṅge – hana hana prāṇān – kiṅi kiṅi khiṅkhiṇi khiṅkhiṇi – dhuna dhuna – vajrahaste – śoṣaya śoṣaya – vajrakhatvāṅgakapāladhāriṇi – mahāpiśitamāṃsāśini – mānuṣāntraprāvṛte – sāṃnidhya – naraśiromālāgrathitadhāriṇi – sumbhanisumbhe – hana hana pāpaṃ mama sarvasattvānāṃ ca – sarvapaśūnāṃ mahāmāṃsacchedani – krodhamūrte – daṃṣṭrākarālini – mahāmudre – śrīherukadevasyāgramahiṣi – sahasragrīve – sahasrabāhave – śatasahasrānane – jvalitatejase – jvālāmukhi – piṅgalalocane – vajraśarīre – vajrāsane – mili mili timili timili he he he he huṃ huṃ kha kha dhu dhu ru ru, dhuru dhuru muru muru – advaite – mahāyogini – paṭhitasiddhe – oṃ dhraṃ he he ha ha – bhīme – hasa hasa hā hā ho*

xlvi Elevated <?>, kill creatures! O female jackal!…O vajra hands! Parch! O holder of vajra-staff and skull! O eater of human flesh! O you who are enveloped by human entrails! Be present! (*sāṃnidhya:* Sanderson [1998: personal communication] suggests this is a denominative form from *sāṃnidhyam*, "presence"), O you who carry a garland with human heads tied together! O Sumbhanisumbha! (or: "O Sumbha Nisumbha," see §3); kill evil for me and all [evil] beings! O cutter of human flesh of all creatures *(paśuḥ)*! You with anger-form! Fanged one! Great consort! Foremost queen of the glorious god Heruka! Thousand-necked! Thousand-armed! One hundred thousand-faced! Flaming brilliance! Flame-faced one! Red-eyed one! Vajra-bodied! With vajra stance!… Nondual one! Great yoginī! O you who are realized when recited!… O terrible one!… Destroyer of the three worlds! O you with a retinue of 100,000 *koṭi*s of tathāgatas!… You with lion form!… You with elephant form!… O you who have swallowed the three worlds! Whose girdle is the great ocean! Eat, eat!… One with heroes!… Stunner of great beasts! You are Mahāyogeśvarī! Ḍākinī! Saluter of all worlds! Creator of instant proof!… Terrifier of spirits! Great heroine! Peerless-magic yoginī!…

hūṃ hūṃ[281] trailokyavināśini[282] {D48r} śatasahasrakoṭi-tathāgataparivāre hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ[283] siṃharūpe khaḥ gajarūpe āḥ[284] trailokyodare mahāsamudramekhale[285] grasa grasa hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ[286] vīrādvaite huṃ huṃ hā hā[287] mahāpaśumohani, mahāyogeśvarī tvaṃ, ḍākini sarvalokānāṃ vandani[288] sadyaḥpratyayakāriṇi hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ[289] bhūtatrāsani mahāvīre paramasiddhayogeśvari phaṭ hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā.[290] {K65r}

[§33] ḍākinyādīnāṃ mantrā[291] uktāḥ, {N46r} kākāsyādīnāṃ cāṣṭānām, pracaṇḍādīnāṃ tu *kuliśapadakrameṇa*[292] mantrāḥ, yathā –

'oṃ kara kara pracaṇḍe huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ kuru kuru caṇḍākṣīye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ bandha bandha[293] prabhāvatīye

281 *hā hā ho ho hūṃ hūṃ*] GSS11 codd., GSS5; *vire ha 2 hoḥ 2* Finot, *vire ha ha hoḥ hoḥ huṃ hūṃ* Tib.

282 *trailokyavināśini*] GSS11 codd.; *trailokyavināśani* GSS5.

283 *hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ*] GSS11 codd.; *huṃ huṃ phaṭ* GSS5, Finot.

284 *āḥ*] GSS11 codd., Finot; *gaḥ* GSS5, Tib.

285 *mahāsamudramekhale*] conj.; *mahāsumudra-* GSS11 codd. & GSS5; *samudra-mekhale* Finot.

286 *grasa→phaṭ*] GSS11 codd.; *grasa 2 huṃ huṃ phaṭ* GSS5; *grasa grasa huṃ hūṃ phaṭ* Tib. *grasa oṃ hūṃ oṃ phaṭ* Finot.

287 *huṃ huṃ hā hā*] GSS11 codd., GSS5; *hūṃ he 2* Finot.

288 *mahāyogeśvarī→vandani*] GSS11 codd.; *yogeśvari tvaṃ ḍākini lokānāṃ vandani* GSS5; *yogeśvari tvaṃ ḍākini sarvalokānāṃ vandani* Finot.

289 *hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ*] GSS11 codd.; *huṃ huṃ* GSS5, *huṃ hūṃ phaṭ* Tib.

290 *paramasiddha→svāhā*] GSS11 codd.; *paramasiddhe yogeśvari phaṭ huṃ huṃ phaṭ svāhā* GSS5; *paramasiddhayogeśvarī phaṭ hūṃ 2 phaṭ hūṃ 2 phaṭ svāhā* Finot, *paramasiddhe yogeśvari huṃ hūṃ phaṭ huṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā* Tib.

291 *mantrā* K, N; *mantra* D.

292 *kuliśapadakrameṇa*] ?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 hūṃ hūṃ – trailokyavināśini – śatasahasrakoṭitathāgataparivāre – hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ – siṃharūpe – khaḥ – gajarūpe – āḥ – trailokyodare – mahāsamudramekhale – grasa grasa – hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ – vīrādvaite – huṃ huṃ hā hā – mahāpaśumohani – mahāyogeśvarī tvaṃ – ḍākini – sarvalokānāṃ vandani – sadyaḥpratyayakāriṇi – hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ – bhūtatrāsani – mahāvīre – paramasiddhayogeśvari[383] *– phaṭ hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā.*

[§33] The mantras of Ḍākinī [Lāmā, Khaṇḍarohā, and Rūpiṇī] have been taught [§12], and of the eight [goddesses] starting with Kākāsyā [§15]; but the mantras of [the twenty-four goddesses] starting with Pracaṇḍā are as follows, with vajra words *(kuliśapadakrameṇa)*[384] in sequence [after the oṃ and before the vocatives]:[xlvii]

(1) oṃ kara kara pracaṇḍe huṃ hūṃ phaṭ
(2) oṃ kuru kuru caṇḍākṣīye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ
(3) oṃ bandha bandha prabhāvatīye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ

xlvii (1) Do! (2) Act! (3) Bind! (4) Terrify! (5) Make [them] shake!...(10) Burn! (11) Cook! (12) Eat! You with a hanging garland of fat *(vasa = vasā)*, blood, [and] entrails! Wine Drinker! (13) Seize the snake in the seven netherworlds, or the serpent! Threaten! (Note Kalff's translation 1979: 209: "Seize, seize the snake-demon gone to the seven regions under the earth or else threaten, threaten the serpent.") (14) Make them Eat (? *ākaḍḍa?/ākādya*).

huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ trāsaya trāsaya mahānāśe huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ kṣobhaya kṣobhaya vīramatīye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ hreṃ hreṃ[294] kharvarīye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ hraḥ hraḥ[295] laṅkeśvarīye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ pheṃ pheṃ drumacchāye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ phaṭ phaṭ[296] airāvatīye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ daha daha mahābhairavīye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ paca paca vāyuvege huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ bhakṣa bhakṣa vasa[297]rudhirāntramālāvalambini[298] surābhakṣīye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ grihṇa grihṇa saptapātālagatabhujaṅgaṃ sarpaṃ vā[299] tarjaya tarjaya śyāmādevīye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ ākaḍḍa ākaḍḍa[300] subhadre huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ hrīṃ hrīṃ[301] hayakarṇe huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ jloṃ jloṃ[302] khagānane huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ kṣyāṃ kṣyāṃ[303] cakravege huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ hāṃ hāṃ[304] khaṇḍarohe huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. {D48v} oṃ[305] hiṃ hiṃ[306] śauṇḍinīye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ hūṃ hūṃ[307] cakravarmiṇīye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ kili kili suvīre huṃ hūṃ {K65v} phaṭ. oṃ sili sili[308] mahābale huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ cili

294 *hreṃ hreṃ*] GSS11 codd.; *hraum 2* §37, Tib.; *hrau 2* HĀ; Finot p. 53, p. 57 (for Amitābha).

295 *hraḥ hraḥ*] K, N; *hra hraḥ* D; *ha 2* HĀ.

296 *phaṭ phaṭ*] K, D; *pha pha* N.

297 *vasa*] GSS11 codd.; understand *vasā-* (fat, marrow), although Finot (pp. 53, 57) reads *vama* (vomit).

298 *āvalambini*] GSS11 codd.; *āvalambino* Finot (pp. 53, 57); ADUT ch.14; *āvalambine*, §37, HĀ (for Vajrahūṃkāra).

299 *bhujaṅgaṃ sarpaṃ vā*] K, N; *bhujaṅga* D; *bhujaṅgasarpaṃ vā*, ADUT; *bhujaṅgān sarpaṃ vā* HĀ.

300 *ākaḍḍa ākaḍḍa*] GSS11 codd. (possibly "*ākaṭṭa* 2" K §37); *ākaḍya 2* §37 (N, D); HĀ (for Vajrabhadra); *ākaḍya 2* em. Kalff ADUT (p. 325, with mss. reading variously, ADUT; *ākaḍḍha?* 2; *ākaḍha* x 2; *ākaḍḍhya 2*); *ākaṭṭha* Finot p. 57; *ākaṇṛ* Finot p. 53.

301 *hrīṃ hrīṃ*] GSS11 codd.; *oṃ hrī hrī* ADUT (some mss.).

302 *jloṃ jloṃ*] K, N; *jñoṃ jñoṃ* D; *jñoṃ jñoṃ* ADUT; *jtrauṃ 2* Finot (p. 54), *jraum* Finot (p. 57 for Virūpākṣe), *jṇauṃ jṇauṃ* Tib.

303 *kṣyāṃ kṣyāṃ*] GSS11 codd.; *kṣmāṃ 2* (with variants *kṣmoṃ 2*, *kṣmaṃ 2*) ADUT; *kṣāṃ 2* Finot (p. 53 for Mahābala), *kṣmaṃ kṣmaṃ* Tib.

304 *hāṃ hāṃ*] GSS11 codd.; *ḍāṃ 2* Finot (p. 54); *haṃ 2* Finot (p. 57).

305 *oṃ*] N, D; *ha oṃ* K.

306 *hiṃ hiṃ*] codd.; *hiṃ hiṃ* ADUT, Finot (p. 57); *ḍiṃ 2* Finot (p. 54).

307 *hūṃ hūṃ*] K, N; *huṃ huṃ* D.

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

(4) *oṃ trāsaya trāsaya mahānāśe huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
(5) *oṃ kṣobhaya kṣobhaya vīramatīye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
(6) *oṃ hreṃ hreṃ kharvarīye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
(7) *oṃ hraḥ hraḥ laṅkeśvarīye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
(8) *oṃ pheṃ pheṃ drumacchāye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
(9) *oṃ phaṭ phaṭ airāvatīye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
(10) *oṃ daha daha mahābhairavīye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
(11) *oṃ paca paca vāyuvege huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
(12) *oṃ bhakṣa bhakṣa vasarūdhirāntramālāvalambini surābhakṣīye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
(13) *oṃ grihṇa grihṇa saptapātālagatabhujaṅgaṃ sarpaṃ vā tarjaya tarjaya śyāmādevīye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
(14) *oṃ ākaḍḍa ākaḍḍa subhadre huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
(15) *oṃ hrīṃ hrīṃ hayakarṇe huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
(16) *oṃ jloṃ jloṃ khagānane huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
(17) *oṃ kṣyāṃ kṣyāṃ cakravege huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
(18) *oṃ hāṃ hāṃ khaṇḍarohe huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
(19) *oṃ hiṃ hiṃ śauṇḍinīye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
(20) *oṃ hūṃ hūṃ cakravarmiṇīye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
(21) *oṃ kili kili suvīre huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
(22) *oṃ sili sili mahābale huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
(23) *oṃ cili cili cakravartinīye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*
(24) *oṃ dhili dhili mahāvīrye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*

cili[309] cakravartinīye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ dhili dhili[310]
mahāvīrye huṃ hūṃ phaṭ.

[§34] atra pracaṇḍādimantreṣu prathamo hūṃkāro[311] hrasvaḥ, dvitīyo dīrghaḥ. ‡etac ca gurūpadeśād boddhavyam.[312] bhavyādimatena tu[313] "oṃ pracaṇḍe[314] huṃ huṃ phaṭ, oṃ caṇḍākṣi[315] huṃ huṃ phaṭ" ityādi ca āsāṃ mantrā[316] iti vakṣyate, tathā hi – {N46v}

svanāmoccāraṇaṃ[317] mantrāṇāṃ huṃhuṃphaṭkārayojitam[318] |

ity asyāgamasyāyam arthas tair upadarśitaḥ. āsāṃ yoginīnāṃ svanāma[319]mantraḥ. ādau paramaoṃkāraḥ,[320] ante ca huṃhuṃphaṭkāraḥ kārya, iti svanāmetyādinā darśitam.

iti cathurtho bhāvanākramaḥ.

pūjādividhayaḥ sarve[321] ye kecid āgamoditāḥ |
balipradānapūrvās te kartavyāḥ[322] siddhikāṅkṣibhiḥ | (57)

devatāyogayuktena balir deyo yato mataḥ |
tasmāt tadyogataḥ paścād balir eṣa nigadyate | (58)

309 *cili cili*] GSS11 codd.; *ḍhili 2* §37; *hili hili* HĀ, ADUT, Finot (p. 57), Tib.; *vili 2* Finot (p. 54).
310 *dhili dhili*] K, N (§37); *dhiri dhiri* D; ADUT; *aṅgaṃ 2* Finot (pp. 54, 57).
311 *hūṃkāro*] K; *huṃkāro* N, D.
312 *boddhavyaṃ*] K, N; *boddhavyā* D.
313 *bhavyādimatena tu*] conj. Sanderson; *bhavyādimattena tu* K; *bhavyādimantre na tu* N; *bhavyādimantreṣu(ra?) tu* D.
314 *pracaṇḍe*] N; *pracaṇḍo* K, *pracaṇḍo* D.
315 *ākṣi*] em.; *ākṣī* codd.
316 *mantrā*] em. Sanderson; *mantrāḥ* N; *mantraḥ* K; *mantra* D.
317 *svanāmoccāraṇaṃ*] conj. *(hyper.); svanāmoccāraṇa* codd. *(hyper.)*
318 *huṃhuṃphaṭkārayojitam*] em.; *huṃhuṃphaṭkārayojitā* codd.
319 *svanāma*] N, D; *svanā* K.
320 *parama oṃkāraḥ*] em.; *param oṃkāraḥ* K, N; *paramo kāraḥ* D.
321 *pūjādividhayaḥ sarve*] conj. (*ādi* is not translated in the Tibetan p. 44.4: *mchod pa'i rim pa ma lus pa'i* "of the stages of offering without exception"); *pūjā-vidhayaḥ sarvā* codd. (unmetric.)
322 *kartavyāḥ*] em.; *kartavyā* codd.

[§34] In these mantras of Pracaṇḍā and the rest, the first *hūṃ* is short [i.e., *huṃ*] and the second is long [i.e., *hūṃ*]. This is to be learned orally from the guru. But it will be stated below that according to the view of Bhavya[kīrti?] and others their mantras are *oṃ pracaṇḍe huṃ huṃ phaṭ. oṃ caṇḍākṣi huṃ huṃ phaṭ*, etc. This is how they explain the text of scripture:

> for [these] mantras there is the utterance of [the goddess's] own name with *huṃ huṃ phaṭ.*

The mantra of each of these yoginīs is her own name, but *oṃ* is to be placed before it and *huṃ huṃ phaṭ* after it. This is what is demonstrated by this line of scripture.[585]

Here ends meditation stage 4.

[Ritual Practices]

(57) Those who desire siddhi should perform all rites of worship and so on that are taught in the scriptures, with a preceding offering of *bali.*

(58) Since it is held that a *bali* should be offered by one engaged in deity yoga, the [ritual of offering] *bali* is taught here, after [teaching] union with that [deity, and not before it].

§35 tatra *balyamṛtāsvādanam*[323] ucyate, tad yathā –

kṛṣṇayaṃkārasaṃbhūtaṃ dhanvābhaṃ vāyumaṇḍalam |
raktam asyopari madhye raṃjātaṃ[324] vahnimaṇḍalam | (59)
{K66r}

tasyopari sthitaṃ śuklam āḥkārajaṃ karoṭakam |
‡ākrāntakaṃtrayodbhūta[325]trimuṇḍakṛtacullikam[326] | (60)
{D49r}

pañcāmṛtādi oṃādibījajaṃ[327] tadadhiṣṭhitam |
tadrūpeṇa karoṭasthaṃ[328] raktādyaṃ[329] ca[330] vicintayet | (61)

‡oṃādīti: oṃ <buṃ/vuṃ> āṃ jrīṃ[331] khaṃ hūṃ[332] lāṃ māṃ pāṃ tāṃ iti pañcatathāgatacaturdevīnāṃ bījāni.

vāyūddīptāgnitāpena[333] vilīnaṃ tatra bījajam[334] |
vīkṣya[335] tad dāḍimīpuṣpa[336]varṇena sadṛśa[337]dyutim | (62)

323 *balyamṛtāsvādanam*] conj.; *balārtham amṛtasvādanam* codd. (or conj.: *balyādyamṛtāsvādanam*). The Tibetan text (p. 44.5) reads *gtor ma bdud rtsir bsgrub par bya ba* "the practice of making the bali into nectar."
324 *raṃjātaṃ*] em.; *yaṃraṃjātaṃ* codd.
325 *bhūta*] K, D; *bhuta* N. Sanderson notes that the Tibetan indicates the Sanskrit **ākrāntatattrayodbhūta-* (*de nyid* > *tat, sa eva, tad eva* etc.). (p. 44.6: *de nyid gsum las yongs su gyur / thod pa gsum gyi rgyed pu ste/ de'i steng a yig las 'byung pa / thod pa dkar po yongs su brtag*).
326 *cullikam*] em. Sanderson; *cullikām* K, *cūllikām* N; *cūlikāṃ* D.
327 *bījajaṃ*] K, N; *bījaṃ* D.
328 *tadrūpeṇa karoṭastham*] K, N; *ta(ṭṭa?)peṇa karoṭakam(tyaṃ?)* D.
329 *raktādyaṃ*] codd.; Tib. reads "food etc." *(*bhaktādi*, p. 44.7: *bza' ba la sogs).*
330 *ca*] K, D; *caraṃ?* N.
331 *jrīṃ*] K, N; *jīṃ* D.
332 *hūṃ*] K, D; *hūṃ* - N (marked omission suggesting a missing *bīja*?).
333 *vāyūd*] N; *vāyud* K, D.
334 *bījajam*] em.; *sabījajam* codd.
335 *vīkṣya*] D; *vikṣye* K, N.
336 *tad dāḍimīpuṣpa*] conj; *tadā ḍimīpuṣpa* codd.
337 *sadṛśa*] K, N; *śadṛśaṃ* D.

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

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

(60) [He should visualize] a white skull bowl generated from *āḥ* above *(ākrānta-)* a hearth *(-cullikam)* that has been fashioned from three heads *(muṇḍam)* produced from three *kaṃ* [syllables].[xlvi]

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

"*oṃ,* etc." means: *oṃ <buṃ/vuṃ> āṃ jrīṃ khaṃ hūṃ lāṃ māṃ pāṃ tāṃ,* [namely *oṃ* plus] the seed-syllables of the five tathāgatas and four [mother] goddesses.[xlviii]

(62) With the heat of the fire blazing up because of the wind, he should see [the nectars and so on] that have been produced from the seed-syllables [being] dissolved in that [skull bowl], then [taking on] a bright luster like the color of a pomegranate flower.[xlix]

xlviii The ten syllables (*oṃ* plus the rest) refer to the five nectars and five meats.

xlix A bright red color is intended; elsewhere the heated liquid is compared in color to the "very early morning sun" (GSS5 Sed p. 135, K2312 = *Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi* p. 57: *abhinavabhānuvarṇadravarūpam*).

tato hūṃbhavakhaṭvāṅge[338] sudhātmādhomukhe[339] site |
vilīne śuklaśītalaṃ dravaṃ tasyāvalokayet[340] | (63)

tasyopary ālikālīnāṃ[341] pariṇāmasamudbhavāt[342] |
oṃ āḥ hūṃ ity ato mantrāt kramoparyuparisthitāt | (64)
{N47r}

spharitvā devatācakraṃ kṛtvā sattvaprayojanam |
vilīya tryakṣare viṣṭaṃ tryakṣaraṃ cāmṛte[343] tathā | (65)

tam amṛtaṃ[344] dravaṃ paśyet tryakṣaraiḥ samadhiṣṭhitam |
† *niṣpādite*[345] *tasmin baliṃ dadyāt vidhināmunā.* † (66)

[§36] ‡*jvālāmudrā*[346]phetkārābhyām ānītaṃ[347] devatācakram arghādipuraḥsaraṃ pūjayitvā {K66v} –

‡<oṃ> anyonyānugatāḥ sarvadharmāḥ parasparānupraviṣṭāḥ sarvadharmāḥ hūṃ

338 *khaṭvāṅge*] K, N; *ṣadvāṃgaṃ* D.
339 *mukhe*] em.; *mukho* codd.
340 *vilīne śuklaśītalaṃ dravaṃ tasyāvalokayet*] conj.? (unmetric.); *vilīye dravaṃ śuklaśītalaṃ sya* avalokayet* K; *-śuklaśītalaṃ avalokayet* N; *-śuklaśītalaṃ. *valokayet* D (cf. Finot p. 57: *-śuklakhaṭvāṅge vilīne taṃ dravaṃ pāradavarṇa<ṃ> śītībhūtaṃ dṛṣṭvā...*).
341 *tasyopary ālikālīnāṃ*] conj; *tasyopariryy ālikālīnāṃ* codd.
342 *pariṇāmasamudbhavāt*] conj.; *pariṇāme samudbhavāt* K; *pariṇāme samudbhavati* 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 asmmin* 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 *ānītaṃ*] em.; *ānita* K, N; *ānite* D.

(63) He should visualize a skull staff [above the skull bowl], produced from *hūṃ*, filled with nectar, inverted, [and] white [like quicksilver]; [he should see it] melting [because of the heat below], and then [visualize] its liquid form as white and cool.

(64) [He should visualize] *oṃ āḥ hūṃ*, one on top of the other in sequence, [the three syllables of which have been] produced through a transformation of the vowels and consonants [visualized] above that [liquid], [and] from this mantra,

(65) he should emanate the circle of deities, and then fulfill the aim of [all] beings. [He should see] the circle of deities dissolve and enter the three syllables [and] the three syllables dissolve and enter the nectar,[587]

(66) [and, finally,] he should see that liquid nectar empowered by the three syllables. When this has been produced, he should offer the *bali* according to the following method:

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

<oṃ> anyonyānugatāḥ sarvadharmāḥ parasparānupraviṣṭāḥ sarvadharmāḥ hūṃ[1]

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

iti mantrapāṭhapūrvakaṃ candrasūryārūḍha[348]hūṃkāradvaya-pariṇāmeṇa vajrāñjalikṛtakaratale[349] amṛtabhāṇḍam avasthāpya dhyātvā vā[350‡] abhimatasiddhyarthaṃ paṭhed idam –

devyaḥ pramāṇaṃ samayaḥ pramāṇaṃ taduktavācaś ca paraṃ pramāṇam |
etena satyena bhaveyur etā devyo mamānugrahahetubhūtā<ḥ> | (67)

iti. tataḥ pūjyapūjāpūjakān abhedena paśyet.[351] {D49v} pūrvādidikṣu[352] vāmenāvartena vidikṣv agnikoṇam ārabhya dakṣiṇenāvartena[353] bhāṇḍam bhrāmayan hūṃbhavavajrajihvānāṃ ‡ devatānāṃ mantradvayaṃ paṭhaṃs tad amṛtam upaḍhaukayet.

<v. 68‡[354]>

[§37] tatrāyam mantraḥ –

oṃ kara kara, kuru kuru, bandha bandha, trāsaya trāsaya, kṣobhaya kṣobhaya, *hrauṃ hrauṃ*,[355] <[356]> hraḥ hraḥ,[357] pheṃ pheṃ, phaṭ phaṭ,[358] daha daha, paca paca, bhakṣa bhakṣa vasa[359]rudhirāntramālāvalambini,[360] grihṇa grihṇa[361]

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; *apasthāpyayitvā vā* N.
351 *paśyet*] Kac.; *paśyet* ˇKpc. (see "v. 68" for insertion); *paśyet. śuktijaṃ→dāpayet* N, D.
352 *pūrvādidikṣu*] N; *pūrvādikṣu* K, D.
353 *dakṣiṇenāvartena*] conj.; *dakṣiṇāvartena* codd.
354 *śuktijaṃ→dāpayet*] omit, ed.; K(mg1 or 2), incorporated into text in N & D but omitted in Tibetan translation. The verse is given in the Textual Note.
355 *hrauṃ hrauṃ*] codd.; *hreṃ hreṃ* §33 (see variants).
356 omit] conj. (§33); *kṣmāṃ 2* K, N; (*) 2 D(del).
357 *hraḥ 2*] K, N; *hre 2* D.
358 *phaṭ 2*] N, D; *phaṭ* ˇK.
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 consonants[588]] with a *hūṃ* syllable on each in order to make them into *(-pariṇāmeṇa)* the vajra gesture of offering. Between the palms of his hands he should [then] place or visualize the bowl of nectar. He should [then] recite this [verse] in order to achieve his desired goals:

(67) "The goddesses are the authority, the pledge is the authority, and the words spoken by them are the supreme authority. By the virtue of this truth may these goddesses bring me grace."[589]

Then he should see the object of worship, the worship, and the worshiper without [any] difference [from each other]. Circulating the bowl in the cardinal directions beginning in the east in a counterclockwise direction, [and then] in the intermediate directions starting from the southeast corner in a clockwise direction, he should offer that nectar to the deities whose tongues [should be visualized] as [white] vajras produced from *hūṃs*. [He should do this] while reciting the two mantras [given below].

<v. 68>[li]

[§37] Here is the [first] mantra [for the twenty-four goddesses of the sites]:[590]

oṃ kara kara, kuru kuru, bandha bandha, trāsaya trāsaya, kṣobhaya kṣobhaya, hrauṃ hrauṃ, hraḥ hraḥ, pheṃ pheṃ, phaṭ phaṭ, daha daha, paca paca, bhakṣa bhakṣa vasarudhirāntramālāvalambini, grihṇa grihṇa saptapātālagatabhujaṅgaṃ

li A verse inserted into the lower margin of ms. K. See Textual Notes.

saptapātālagatabhujaṅgaṃ[362] sarpam vā tarjaya tarjaya, {N47v} *ākaḍḍa ākaḍḍa,*[363] hrīṃ hrīṃ, <[364]> *jloṃ jloṃ,*[365] kṣmāṃ kṣmāṃ,[366] hāṃ hāṃ,[367] hiṃ hiṃ,[368] <hūṃ hūṃ[369]>, kili kili, sili sili, *ḍhili ḍhili,*[370] dhili dhili,[371] hūṃ hūṃ[372] phaṭ

iti. ayam mantra ekavāram paṭhitavyaḥ.[373]

[§38] {K67r} tad anu ca –

ǂoṃ vajrāralli hoḥ jaḥ hūṃ[374] vaṃ hoḥ, vajraḍākinyaḥ samayas tvaṃ dṛśya hoḥ.

ity ayaṃ mantra. ekadvitricatuḥpañcavārān uccārya ḍhaukayed amṛtam. tata ācamanādikaṃ kṛtvābhimata[375]siddhyarthaṃ ślokam idaṃ paṭhet –

bhavaśamasamasaṅgā[376] bhagnasaṃkalpabhaṅgāḥ[377]
kham iva sakalabhāvaṃ[378] bhāvato vīkṣamāṇāḥ |
gurutarakaruṇāmbhaḥ[379]sphītacittāmbunāthāḥ
kuruta kuruta devyo mayy atīvānukampām | (69)

362 *bhujaṅgaṃ*] 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); *hlauṃ* codd.
365 *jloṃ 2*] N, (§33); *jlauṃ 2* K; *jrom 2* D, *jñauṃ jñauṃ* Tib. (See variants §33.)
366 *kṣmāṃ 2*] K; omit N, *kṣyāṃ 2* D; *kṣyāṃ, kṣmaṃ kṣmaṃ* Tib., §33 (See variants.)
367 *hāṃ 2*] K, N; *hāṃ* D.
368 *hiṃ 2*] K, *hiṃ* D; omit N (See variants §33.)
369 *hūṃ hūṃ*] conj. (§33); omit K, N; *hi-ūṃ* D (for Cakravarmiṇī).
370 *ḍhili 2*] K; *hili hili* N, D; *cili cili* Tib, §33 (See variants for Cakravartinī.)
371 *dhili 2*] K, N; *dhiri 2* D.
372 *hūṃ hūṃ*] K, N; *huṃ huṃ* D, *huṃ hūṃ* Tib.
373 *ekavāram paṭhitavyaḥ*] em.; *ekavāraḥ paṭhitavya* codd.
374 *jaḥ hūṃ*] K, N; *ja huṃ* D.
375 *kṛtvābhimata*] corr.; *kṛtvā 'bhimata* K, N; *kṛtvā abhimata* D.
376 *bhavaśamasamasaṅgā*] N, D; ˇ*bhavaśamasaṅgā. masaṅgā* K (The insertion mark may relate to the cursive Tibetan in upper margin.)
377 *bhaṅgāḥ*] K, N; *saṅgāḥ* D.
378 *sakalabhāvaṃ*] codd.; *bhāvān* SUT 8.28 (ed.).
379 *āmbhaḥ*] em.; *āmbha* codd.

sarpam vā tarjaya tarjaya, ākaḍḍa ākaḍḍa, hrīṃ hrīṃ, jloṃ jloṃ, kṣmāṃ kṣmāṃ, hāṃ hāṃ, hiṃ hiṃ, <hūṃ hūṃ>, kili kili, sili sili, ḍhili ḍhili, dhili dhili, hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ[lii]

This mantra is to be recited once.

[§38] And then this mantra [for the thirteenfold maṇḍala]:

oṃ vajrāralli hoḥ jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ, vajraḍākinyaḥ samayas tvaṃ dṛśya hoḥ[liii]

Having recited [it] once, twice, three, four, [or] five times, he should offer the nectar. Then having performed the sipping *(ācamanam)* [*of nectar, accompanied by the mantra recitation and other rituals* (?)],[591] he should recite this verse in order to gain siddhi.

(69) "O ye who are equally conjoined to existence and to quietude, by whom the obstacles of conceptualization have been broken, regarding all existing things as [like] space because of the state you have realized *(bhāvataḥ)*, the oceans of whose hearts are filled with the water of extreme compassion: Pray, goddesses, bestow immeasurable compassion upon me!"[592]

lii See §33 for translation, and chapter 3 for a discussion of its structure.

liii "O Vajrāralli!...Vajraḍākinīs! You [singular] are the pledge! Ah, pleasing!"

iti.

[§39] tato 'ṣṭaśmaśānasthitadikpālādināṃ dikṣu vidikṣu ca pūrvavat bhrāmayan[380] mantraṃ dvitrivārān paṭhann[381] upaḍhaukayed amṛtam.[382]
tatrāyam mantraḥ – {D50r}

oṃ kha kha khāhi khāhi
sarvayakṣarākṣasabhūtapretapiśāconmādāpasmāraḍākaḍākinyādaya[383] imaṃ baliṃ gṛhṇantu samayaṃ rakṣantu mama sarvasiddhiṃ prayacchantu yathaivaṃ yatheṣṭaṃ bhuñjatha pibatha jighratha mātikramatha mama sarvākāratayā satsukhavivṛddhaye[384] sahāyakā bhavantu hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā.

iti dikpālāḥ saṃtuṣṭāḥ santo bhāvakasya siddhiṃ dadato draṣṭavyāḥ. {K67v}

[§40] tad anu teṣāṃ samudāyena tāmbulādikaṃ dattvā cchomakahastena saṃcchomya vāmena nyūnādhikavidhiparipūraṇārthaṃ ghaṇṭāṃ vādayan pūrvaṃ paṭhen mantram amuṃ – {N48r}

oṃ vajraheruka samayam anupālaya, herukatvenopatiṣṭha, dṛḍho me bhava, sutoṣyo me bhava, supoṣyo me bhava, anurakto me bhava, sarvasiddhiṃ me prayaccha, sarvakarmasu ca me cittaṃ śreyaḥ kuru hūṃ, ha ha ha ha hoḥ bhagavan vajraheruka 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*] GSS11 codd.; *ḍākinyādayaḥ* YSCT (A51, B71).
384 *satsukhavivṛddhaye*] GSS11 codd., GSS5 (K29v6); *satsukhaviśuddhaye* YSCT. (B712), HĀ (f.14v1); *pravṛddhaye;* YSCT (A514).

[§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]:

> *oṃ kha kha khāhi khāhi sarvayakṣarākṣasabhūtapretapiśāconmādāpasmāraḍākaḍākinyādaya imaṃ baliṃ gṛhṇantu samayaṃ rakṣantu mama sarvasiddhiṃ prayacchantu yathaivaṃ yatheṣṭaṃ bhuñjatha pibatha jighratha mātikramatha mama sarvākāratayā satsukhavivṛddhaye sahāyakā bhavantu hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā*[liv]

With this *(iti)*, the protectors of the quarters should be seen being gratified [and thus] granting siddhi to the meditator.

[§40] Next,[593] having given the betel and so on to those [deities and protectors] collectively *(samudāyena)*, he should make the signals *(saṃcchomya)* using hand signs *(cchoma)*, [and then] he should first recite this mantra, ringing the bell with his left hand in order to fill out omissions or [to counteract] additions in the rite:

> *oṃ vajraheruka samayam anupālaya, herukatvenopatiṣṭha, dṛḍho me bhava, sutoṣyo me bhava, supoṣyo me bhava, anurakto me bhava, sarvasiddhiṃ me prayaccha, sarvakarmasu ca me cittaṃ śreyaḥ kuru hūṃ, ha ha ha ha hoḥ bhagavan vajraheruka mā me muñca, heruko bhava mahāsamayasattva āḥ hūṃ phaṭ*[lv]

liv "...Eat! All *yakṣa*s, demons, spirits, hungry ghosts, *piśāca* demons, madness [demons], epilepsy [demons], ḍākas, ḍākinīs etc.! May you accept this *bali*! May you protect the pledge! May you grant me all siddhis! As you like it, as you want it, eat, drink, savor! Do not transgress [your pledge]! May you be my helpers so that [my experience of] excellent bliss may increase all-encompassingly *(sarvākāratayā)*!"

lv "O Vajraheruka! Guard the pledge! Be present to me as Heruka! Be firm for me! Be very glad for me! Be very abundant for me! Love me deeply! Grant me all siddhi! And in all actions, make my intention better!...(laughter)...O blessed one, Vajraheruka! Do not desert me! Be a Heruka, great samaya being!..." This invocation of Heruka is an adaptation from the more frequent invocation of Vajrasattva, also found in Vajravārāhī texts (e.g., SM218 p. 430).

iti. tataḥ oṃ yogaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ yogaśuddho 'ham iti paṭhan kamalāvartamudrayā saṃtoṣya tanmudropasaṃhāreṇāliṅganābhinayaṃ kṛtvānāmikāṅguṣṭha[385]cchoṭikādānapūrvakam, oṃ mur iti mantraṃ paṭhan visarjya tac cakram ātmani[386] praveśayet.

[§41] [1]atha bāhyapūjāvidhir ucyate. prātar utthāya svadevatāyogavān yogī [387]*śucipradeśe vāmahastaṃ dattvā*[388] {D50v} *oṃ sumbha nisumbhetyādimantracatuṣṭayam uccārya pañcāmṛtasugandhādivaṭikayā*[389] {K68r} *pañcāmṛtādyabhāve 'nyatamamiśritayā vā gomayamiśritayā vā* madhya[390]vartulaṃ trikoṇaṃ maṇḍalaṃ kṛtvā tanmadhyāvasthita[391]rakta<padma[392]>karṇikāyāṃ hṛdayanirgataṃ vaṃkāram avasthāpya tadbījaraśmibhir[393] jñānasvabhāvāṃ bhagavatīm ānīya vaṃkāre praveśya tatpariṇatāṃ bhagavatīṃ paśyet.

[§42] [1]tato hṛdbījavinirgatapuṣpādyaiḥ saṃpūjya yathā*vidhi*śodhita[394]vāmakareṇa oṃ āḥ hūṃ iti mantram uccārayan puṣpaṃ dadyāt tad anu {N48v} hṛdayopahṛdayāṣṭapadaiś ca puṣpaṃ dadyāt. tad anu

385 *āliṅganābhinayaṃ kṛtvānāmikāṅguṣṭha*] conj.; *āliṅganābhinayenānāmikāṅguṣṭha-* K, N; *ābhinayanā-* D; cf. *āliṅganābhinayaṃ kṛtvā cchoṭikāṃ ca dattvā* (GSS11 §45); *āliṅganābhinayapūrvakaṃ* (GSS5=Finot).

386 *ātmani*] GSS11 codd.; cf. *ātmani sarvātmanā* (GSS5).

387 *śucipradeśe→gomayamiśritayā vā*] GSS11 codd. ≈ GSS5. (Possibly emend as per Finot: *śucipradeśe pañcāmṛtasugandhādivaṭikayā pañcāmṛtādyabhāve 'nyatamamiśritayā vā gomayamiśritayā vā vāmahastaṃ dattvā oṃ sumbha nisumbhetyādimantracatuṣṭayam uccārya.*)

388 *vāmahastaṃ dattvā*] codd. GSS11; cf. *hastaṃ dattvā* (GSS5); *saṃpuṭahastaṃ 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; *tatmadhyevasthita* 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. *yathāvidhiśodhitamadanena* (§46 in apparatus & GSS5 ≈§42 & ≈§46); but *yathāśodhitamadanena* (§49, & Finot p. 52).

Then reciting [the emptiness mantra]

oṃ yogaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ yogaśuddho 'ham[lvi]

he should gratify [the deities] with the lotus-turning gesture *(kamalāvartamudrā),*[lvii] [then] releasing that mudrā, he should make the gesture of embrace; [then] he should dismiss [them] with a snap of the thumb and fourth finger while reciting the mantra *oṃ muḥ,*[594] [and finally] he should make that circle [of deities] enter into himself.

[§41] Next[595] the rite of external worship is given. The yogin in union with his chosen deity should rise before sunrise *(prātaḥ);*[lviii] [then] having placed his left hand on a pure spot[596] [and] having recited the set of four mantras beginning *oṃ sumbha nisumbha* [§3], he should make a maṇḍala [of] a triangle [▽] with a circle inside, using a pill *(vaṭikā)*[lix] composed of the five nectars, fragrant powders, and so forth, or if [the full range of substances starting with] the five nectars cannot be found, [using a paste] mixed with [just] one of them, or with cow dung. [Having then traced a red lotus in the center of the maṇḍala within the triangle ▽], he should install, on the pericarp of that red lotus within the maṇḍala, a *vaṃ* syllable, [which he should visualize as having] emerged from his heart. Having [then] drawn down the goddess in her wisdom form *(jñānasvabhāva)* with the rays from that seed-syllable, and having made her enter into the *vaṃ* syllable, he should visualize her transformed out of that *[vaṃ].*

[§42] Next, having worshiped [her] with flowers [and the other traditional offerings] issuing from the seed-syllable in [his] heart, he should offer a flower with his left hand that has been purified according to the [correct] method, while reciting the mantra *oṃ āḥ hūṃ.* Then he should also *(ca)* offer a flower with the heart,

lvi "All existents are pure by yoga; I am pure by yoga."

lvii For *kamalāvartamudrā,* the lotus-turning gesture, see chapter 3.

lviii An hour and a half, or two hours, before dawn.

lix Sometimes *vaṭikā* is interchangeable for *guḍikā* or *gulikā,* meaning "pill," or as here, something more paste-like.

śmaśānasthita[395]dikpālādikaṃ tryakṣareṇa saṃpūjya nāmavidarbhitena pūjayet.

[§43] ‡tato vāmakaravinyastānāṃ devatānāṃ tattat[396]sthāneṣu tattanmantreṇa[397] vakṣyamāṇena[398] oṃ ha ityādinā [399]puṣpaṃ dadyāt. *<tatas tad vāmakaragatapuṣpam aṣṭapadamantroccāraṇa>*-pūrvakaṃ maṇḍale prakṣipya śirasi puṣpāñjaliṃ baddhvā vāmakaragataṃ[400] devatācakram[401] ātmani praveśayet.

[§44] ‡tato hṛdayāṣṭapadamantrair anyaiś ca stotraiḥ[402] stutiṃ {K68v} ca kṛtvā pāpadeśanādikaṃ dhyānajapapraṇidhānādikaṃ ca kṛtvā –

[§45] ‡nyūnādhikavidhicchidrapūraṇārthaṃ śatākṣaramantraṃ paṭhet. tad anu oṃ yogaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmā yogaśuddho 'ham {D51r} iti mantrapāṭha[403]pūrvakaṃ kamalāvartamudrayā saṃtoṣya tanmudropasaṃhāreṇāliṅganābhinayaṃ[404] kṛtvā cchoṭikāṃ ca dattvā bhūmiṃ[405] spṛśan oṃ mur iti mantreṇa visṛjya tāṃ devatīm ātmani praveśayet. tato maṇḍala[406]rekhāṃ lumped[407] iti.

395 *sthita*] Kac; *(sthita)* K(del2?); omit N, D.
396 *vāmakaravinyastānāṃ devatānāṃ tattat*] em.; *~vinyasta nai tattat* K; *~vinyasta* ‾ ‾ ‾ N; *~vinyastā (da?)kṣiṇakare* D.
397 *mantreṇa*] codd., Kpc.; *mantre(ṣu)ṇa* K(del).
398 *vakṣyamāṇena*] conj. Sanderson; *rakṣamāṇena* codd.
399 *puṣpaṃ→pūrvakaṃ*] conj.; *puṣpaṃ dadyāt˅. (tadārgha?* tasme vāmakaragatapuṣpamadhupadoccārana)*(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.; *devatācakraṃm* codd.
402 *stotraiḥ*] 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 *(nāmavidarbhitena).*[597]

[§43] Next, [according to the method of the hand worship to be described below, §46],[598] he should offer a flower to the deities placed on his left hand in their respective positions with their respective mantras *oṃ ha,* etc.,[lx] which I shall state presently. <Then *(tatas)*> having thrown onto the maṇḍala <that flower in [his] left hand> with *(pūrvakam)* <the recitation of the eight-part mantra>, he should form the flower gesture of offering at his head, [and then] he should cause the circle of deities on his left hand to enter into himself.

[§44] Next, having performed a praise [ritual] with the heart and eight-part mantras and with other verses of praise, he should perform [the "bodhisattva preparations," namely, the sevenfold worship] starting with the confession of faults and the *[brahmavihāra]* meditations, the recitation [of the emptiness mantras], and the [bodhisattva] vow *(praṇidhānam).*[lxi]

[§45] [And having performed these] he should recite the hundred-syllabled mantra in order to fill out omissions or [to counteract] additions in the rite. Then, to the accompaniment *(pūrvakaṃ)* of the mantra recitation

oṃ yogaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ yogaśuddho 'ham[lxii]

he should gratify [the deities] with the lotus-turning gesture *(kamalāvartamudrā),* [then] releasing that mudrā, he should make the gesture of embrace, and having given a snap [of the thumb and

lx The syllables are those of the armor *(kavaca)* deities and are thus a means of protecting the deities generated on the hand by armoring.

lxi The list describes the meditations preparatory to the sādhana.

lxii Translated as above §40.

evam anayā[408] diśā dvitīyādibhāvanākrameṣu devatīnāṃ pūjākramaḥ svayam ūhanīyaḥ.[409]

[§46] [‡]atha hastapūjāvidhir ucyate. gaṇamaṇḍalādau sveṣṭadevatāyukto mantrī vāmahastavṛddhātarjjanī[410]madhyamānāmikākaniṣṭhāsu nakheṣu ṣaṭsu[411] yathākramaṃ vajrasattvavairocanāmitābhākṣobhyaratnasambhavāmoghasiddhirūpān śuklasita[412]raktakṛṣṇapītaśyāma[413]varṇān.

{N49r}

[‡]oṃ ha,[414] nama hi, svāhā huṃ, vauṣaṭ he, huṃ huṃ ho, phaṭ haṃ[415]

iti mantrān nyaset. karodare tu jhaṭiti niṣpannaṃ raktaṃ pañcadalakamalaṃ {K69r} dhyātvā karṇikāmadhye vajravārāhīsvarūpaṃ raktaṃ "oṃ vaṃ" iti <*bījaṃ*[416]> paśyet. pūrvottarapaścimadakṣiṇakoṇadaleṣu[417] yathākramaṃ yāminī[418]mohinīsaṃcālinī[419]saṃtrāsinīcaṇḍikāsvarūpāṇi nīlaśuklapītaharitadhūmradhūsaravarṇāni –

408 *evam anayā*] K, N; *evaṃ matayā* D.
409 *svayam ūhanīyaḥ*] K, N; *svayaṃ muhunīyaḥ* D.
410 *hastavṛddhātarjjanī*] Kpc., D; *ha(stavṛddhātarjjanīvāmaha)statarjjanī* K(del); *hastavṛddhāstarjjanī* N.
411 *kaniṣṭhāsu 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* ˇ Kpc(mg2); (Tibetan *akṣara*s in the lower margin of K68v read *sīta*); *sita* ˇ D.; cf. *śuklapītaraktakṛṣṇaharita* (SM253=GSS5, i.e., omiting *sita*); Finot's ms. is missing here altogether.
413 *pītaśyāma*] Kac.; *pīta ˇśyāma* K(mg3) (Tibetan *akṣara*s on K68v6 gloss *śyāma* as *harita* at the insertion mark); *pītaharita* N (=GSS5=SM253); *pīta* D.
414 *oṃ ha*] K, D; *oṃ haḥ* N.
415 *phaṭ haṃ*] K; *phaṭ 2 haṃ* N, D.
416 *bījaṃ*] GSS5 (understand dual); omitted GSS11 codd.
417 *dakṣinakoṇadaleṣu*] conj.; *dakṣiṇāsu koṇadaleṣu* K, N; *dakṣiṇeṣu* koṇadaleṣu D; GSS5≈Finot reads: *pūrvādidigdaleṣu vāmāvartena yathākramaṃ*. Tib p. 48.4: *shar phyogs dang / byang phyogs dang / nub phyogs dang / lho phyogs dang / me mtshams kyi 'dab ma rnams la* "in the petals of the east, north, west, south, and fire direction *(me mtshams)* [i.e. southeast]."
418 *yāminī*] K, N; *yoginī* D.
419 *saṃcālinī*] K, N; *saṃcārinī* D.

fourth finger (§40)], he should dismiss [them] with the mantra *oṃ muḥ*, [uttered] while touching the ground, [and then] make that goddess enter into himself. Then [finally] he should erase the outline *(rekhā)* of the maṇḍala.

Along the same lines *(evam anayā diśā)*, he should infer for himself the sequence of worship for the deities in the second, [third], and [fourth] meditation stages.

[§46] And now[599] the rite of hand worship *(hastapūjā)* is explained. The mantrin, who is unified with his chosen deity in the festive maṇḍala *(gaṇamaṇḍala)*[lxiii] and so forth, should place the mantras on the six [places of his hand, namely]: the thumb, first finger, middle finger, fourth finger, and little finger of the left hand [and] on the [tips of their] nails,[600] in sequence, in the form of [the buddhas] Vajrasattva, Vairocana, Amitābha, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, [and] Amoghasiddhi, with the colors [pure] white *(śukla)*, white *(sita)*, red, black, yellow, and dark [green]:

> *oṃ ha, nama hi, svāhā huṃ, vauṣaṭ he, huṃ huṃ ho, phaṭ haṃ*[lxiv]

But in the hollow of the palm, having meditatively produced *(niṣpannaṃ...dhyātvā)* a red five-petalled lotus all at once, he should see at the center of its pericarp the red <syllable(s)> *oṃ vaṃ* as Vajravārāhī. In the eastern, northern, western, southern, <and> [southeastern] corner petals accordingly, he should see the syllables

lxiii The term *gaṇamaṇḍala* is parallel to *gaṇacakra*, the gathering of those who meet on the occasion of a tantric feast.

lxiv These are the Cakrasaṃvara male armor *(kavaca)* syllables that appear with many minor variants in the texts (and are represented iconographically in the Mongolian icons). See Textual Notes for details.

hāṃ yoṃ, hrīṃ moṃ, hreṃ hrīṃ, huṃ huṃ,[420] phaṭ phaṭ

iti bījāni paśyet. etatkarasthabījākṣarapratibimbaṃ tricakraṃ[421] vādhaḥ karapṛṣṭhe[422] parisphuvaṃ paśyet.

[§47] ‡[423]tataḥ karagatāni sakala[424]bījākṣarāṇi {D51v} *dravadravyeṇa*[425] mrakṣayitvā karatalaṃ sarvayoginībhir adhiṣṭhitaṃ dhyātvā *taddravādidravyaṃ*‡ tryakṣareṇāṣṭapadamantreṇa vā dadyāt.

[§48] ‡tataḥ saṃpūjya nyūnādhikavidhicchidrapūraṇārthaṃ[426] śatākṣaramantraṃ paṭhitvā vajrayoginyā adhiṣṭhānārtham[427]

devyaḥ pramāṇaṃ samayaḥ pramāṇam | (cf. v. 68)

ityādinādhyeṣya tatkaragatadravyam aparadravye pātre vā[428] sthāpayitvā, hasta[429]lagnena dravyeṇa vāmānāmikāgṛhītena hṛjjihvāśirāṃsi hūṃ āḥ oṃ ity {K69v} uccārya mrakṣayaṃs taddevatāvṛndam ātmani praviṣṭam adhimuñced iti. eṣa tu vidhiḥ saṃcāratantrokto[430] boddhavyaḥ.

420 *huṃ huṃ*] codd.; *hūṃ hūṃ* Tib.
421 *tricakraṃ*] codd. GSS11; cf. *trayacakraṃ* (GSS5=SM253).
422 *karapṛṣṭhe*] GSS11; cf. *karapṛṣṭhe 'pi* (GSS5=Finot).
423 *tataḥ karagatān → adhimuñcet*] added GSS5 (≈SM253); omit GSS11
424 *sakala*] K, N; *kara* D.
425 *dravadravyeṇa*] conj.; *yathāvidhiśodhitamadanena* 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); *aparasmin 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*.)

hāṃ yoṃ, hrīṃ moṃ, hreṃ hrīṃ, huṃ huṃ, phaṭ phaṭ

in the form of [the remaining five armor goddesses], Yāminī, Mohinī, Saṃcālinī, Saṃtrāsinī, [and] Caṇḍikā, blue, white, yellow, green, and smoky gray in color.

On the back of his *(etat)* hand, underneath, he should see very clearly the mirror image of these seed-syllables on [the palm of] his hand, or alternatively, the three circles [of the maṇḍala, with their mantra deities].

[§47] <[lxv]> Then he should smear with liquid ingredient[s] *(dravadravyeṇa)* all the seed-syllables in his hand, [and] having contemplated the palm of his hand as presided over by all the yoginīs,[lxvi] he should offer these liquids and other substances [that he has smeared onto his hand] *(taddravādidravyam)* with the three syllables or with the eight-part mantra.

[§48] Then, having worshiped [the deities] [and] having recited the hundred-syllabled mantra in order to make good any defects of deficiency or excess in the rites, he should entreat [the goddesses] in order that Vajrayoginī [may] preside, with the [verse] beginning:

> The goddesses are the authority, the *samaya* is the authority... (v. 67)

He should [then] place the substance on his hand into the other offering substance[s] or into [another] vessel. [Then,] smearing [himself] with the liquid [still] stuck to his hand—which has been dabbed *(gṛhīta)* by the left fourth finger onto the heart, tongue, and head—[while] pronouncing the syllables *hūṃ āḥ oṃ,* 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] Pātanī, Māraṇī, Ākarṣaṇī, Narteśvarī, [and] Padmajvālinī, are on his hand."

lxvi The parallel texts read: "...being convinced that the palm of his hand has the nature of the three [maṇḍala] circles presided over by all the yoginīs." (See Textual Note.)

[§49] ˢathavā[431] pūrvoktavidhiśodhitavāmakarasyānāmikayā[432] {N49v} yathā<*vidhi*>śodhita[433]madanena[434] sahitayā trikoṇaṃ vāmāvartena bhūmau maṇḍalakaṃ[435] kṛtvā tanmadhye hṛdayavinirgatabījaniṣpannāṃ vajravārāhīm aṣṭaśmaśānaśobhitāṃ dṛṣṭvā etasyai pañcāmṛtādirūpeṇa niṣpāditaṃ khādyādikaṃ[436] tryakṣareṇāṣṭapadamantreṇa vā[437] ḍhaukayitvā padmabhāṇḍādigatadravyam amṛtāyitaṃ madanaṃ vṛddhānāmikābhyāṃ gṛhītvā bhagavatīṃ tryakṣaramantrahṛdayopahṛdayāṣṭapadamantraiḥ saṃtarpayet. śmaśānadevatās[438] tryakṣareṇa tarpayet.

[§50] ˢevaṃ saṃpūjya nyūnādhikavidhicchidrapūraṇārthaṃ śatākṣaramantraṃ paṭhitvā {D52r} devatādhiṣṭhānārthaṃ pūrvavad adhyeṣya ca <*oṃ*> yogaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmā yogaśuddho 'ham iti paṭhan kamalāvartamudrayā saṃtoṣya ˢmudropasaṃhāreṇāliṅganābhinayapūrvakaṃ tricchoṭikābhir oṃ mur iti visṛjya devatām ātmani[439] praveśayet. {K70r} tato bhūmigatamadanaṃ vāmānāmikayā[440] gṛhītvā hṛjjihvāśirāṃsi hūṃ āḥ oṃ 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; *niṣpāditakaṃ* D.
437 *vā*] conj.; *(k)ā* K(del. of *k* to *v*?); *pra* N, D.
438 *devatās*] conj.; *devatāṃ* 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 *[Yoginī]saṃcāra Tantra.*[601]

[§49] Alternatively, with the fourth finger of his left hand, which has been purified according to the rite described above using wine made pure according to the [correct] rite, he should trace *(kṛtvā)* on the ground, in a counterclockwise direction, a triangular maṇḍala *(maṇḍalakam).*[602] [Then,] in the center of that [triangle], he should see Vajravārāhī produced from the seed-syllable emanated from his heart, beautified by the eight cremation grounds [around her]. [Then] he should offer to this [goddess] food and so on that has been generated in the form of the five nectars and so on, with [the recitation of either] the three syllables or the eight-part mantra. [Then,] having taken, with the fourth finger and thumb, the substance in the skull bowl *or other vessel* (?) *(ādi),* [that is,] the wine that has been turned into nectar, he should gratify the goddess [with it], with [the simultaneous recitation of] the three-syllabled mantra, the heart and auxiliary-heart, and eight-part mantras. He should satisfy the deities in the cremation grounds [i.e., the protectors of the quarters] with the three syllables.

[§50] Having worshiped [her] thus, he should [first] recite the hundred-syllabled mantra in order to make good any defects of deficiency or excess in the rites, and [then], having prayed [to the goddess] as before for the deities to preside *(devatādhiṣṭhāna),*[lxvii] he should gratify [her] with the lotus turning gesture *(kamalāvartamudrā),* [while] reciting the [emptiness] mantra:

oṃ yogaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ yogaśuddho 'ham[lxviii]

lxvii Presumably he prays as above, with the verse beginning, "The goddesses are the authority etc." (v. 67)

lxviii Translated as above §40.

evam anayā[441] diśā dvitīyādibhāvanākrameṣu svasvamantrair[442] devatāḥ[443] pūjayed iti.

[§51] ᵗtad anu śuklahūṃkāraparipūrṇaśuklavajrajihvāṃ[444] † *dakṣiṇahastasruvetarāhutiḥ* †[445] svanābhikamale {N5or} karṇikāvyavasthitāṃ jvālāmālākulāṃ devīṃ juhuyād ity[446]adhyātmahomavidhiḥ.

[§52] ᵗtad anu –

oṃ āḥ ucchiṣṭavajrādhitiṣṭhemaṃ[447] baliṃ hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā,

iti mantreṇocchiṣṭa*balim adhisthāpayet*[448] bahir gatveti.

441 *evam anayā*] Kpc.; *evamm ˚(an)ayā* K(add); *evamm* – N; *evammaśa* D.
442 *svasvamantrair*] K; *svasvamantra* N, D.
443 *devatāḥ*] D; *devatyaḥ* K, N.
444 *jihvāṃ*] 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 *ucchiṣṭavajrādhitiṣṭhemaṃ*] conj.; *utsiṣṭavajrādhiṣṭhemaṃ* codd.
448 *occhiṣṭabalim adhisthāpayet*] conj.; *otsiṣṭabalir adhi(ti-)ṣṭhed* K(unfinished); *otsiṣṭabalir adhiṣṭhed* N; *ātsiṣṭabalir adhiṣṭhad* D. (See Textual Note.)

He should [then] dismiss [the goddess] first by withdrawing that *[kamalāvarta]mūdrā* and making the gesture of embrace, [and then] by [giving] three snaps [of the thumb and fourth finger, §40] with *(iti)* [the syllables] *oṃ muḥ*. He should [then] make that goddess enter into himself.

Next, having taken the wine on the ground [used for tracing the maṇḍala] on the fourth finger of the left hand, he should smear [it] onto his heart, tongue, and head uttering *hūṃ āḥ oṃ*. He should also visualize the assembly of deities on his hand entering himself.

In the same way he should worship the deities in the second and [in the third and fourth] meditation stages, using the mantras of each.

[§51] Next, [the practioner] should make oblations to the goddess [who is visualized] standing *(vyavasthita)* on the pericarp on the lotus in his own navel, engulfed in flames, [and] with a white vajra tongue, [which he has visualized] transformed from the white syllable *hūṃ*. † *[The practitioner understands Rasanā as] his right hand holding the ladle (sruvaḥ),*[lxix] *and [Lalanā as] his left hand holding the oblation [vessel] (āhutiḥ); his navel [at the Avadhūtī] is the fire pit.*[403] † This is the rite of internal oblation.

[§52] Next,

> *oṃ āḥ ucchiṣṭavajrādhitiṣṭhemaṃ baliṃ hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā*[lxx]

—with this *(iti)* mantra he should go outside and make [the deity of leftovers, Ucchiṣṭavajra], preside over the leftover *bali*.

lxix Monier-Williams (1899) defines *sruvaḥ* as, "a small wooden ladle (with a double extremity, or two oval collateral excavations, used for pouring clarified melted butter into the large ladle or Sruk; sometimes also employed instead of the latter in libations)."

lxx "*Oṃ āḥ Ucchiṣṭavajra*, preside [over] this bali..."

[1]idānīṃ *prāguddiṣṭaṃ*[449] śmaśānam ucyate –

prācyām udīcyāṃ varuṇānvitāyāṃ
yāmeśvarāyāṃ diśi vai śmaśānam |
caṇḍogra*nāmātha ca*[450] gahvaraṃ ca
[1]karaṅkakākhyaṃ ca subhīṣaṇaṃ ca | (70)

eṣu śmaśāneṣu[451] śirīṣabodhī[452]
kaṅkelicūtau kramato drumāḥ syuḥ[453] |
indraḥ kubero[454] varuṇo yamaś ca |
prācyādikoṇe patayo[455] 'nubodhyāḥ | (71) {K70v}

śrīvāsukis takṣakasaṃjñakaś ca {D52v}
karkoṭapadmāv iha santi nāgāḥ |
meghās tv amī garjitaghūrṇitau ca[456]
ghoras tathāvartakaśabdavācyaḥ | (72)

īśānavaiśvānarajātudhāna[457] –
prabhañjanānām[458] atha koṇakeṣu |
caturṣu catvāry atibhīṣaṇāni[459]
kramāc chmaśānāni vasanty amūni | (73)

449 *prāguddiṣṭaṃ*] ?conj.; *prāguddiṣṭa* codd.
450 *nāmātha ca*] conj.; *nātham ātha ca* codd.
451 *śmaśāneṣu*] conj.; *śmaśāne* codd.
452 *śirīṣabodhī*] K; *śirīṣabodhi* N; *śirīṣabodhi* D.
453 *drumāḥ syuḥ*] em.; *drumā (syu)ḥ* K(unclear); *drumāś ca* N; *drumāḥ* D.
454 *kubero*] K; *kubera* N; *kuberau* D.
455 *koṇe patayo*] conj.; *ko(ṇe)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 *atibhiṣaṇāni*] conj.; *atibhiṣaṇeṣu* codd.

[Cremation Grounds]

Now the cremation grounds are taught, as indicated above [v. 16].

(70) In the eastern, northern, western, [and] southern direction are the cremation grounds Caṇḍogra, Gahvara, Karaṅkaka, and Subhīṣaṇa.[lxxi]

(71) In these cremation grounds there are the trees Śirīṣa, Bodhi, Kaṅkeli (Aśoka), and Cūta, respectively. Know that Indra, Kubera, Varuṇa, and Yama are the lords [dwelling] in the "area" (? *koṇe*)[lxxii] of the east, [north, west, and south].

(72) Vāsuki, Takṣaka, Karkoṭa, and Padma are the serpents (*nāgas*) here. The clouds are Garjita and Ghūrṇita, Ghora, and Āvartaka.[lxxiii]

(73) Then in the four intermediate points belonging to Īśāna (Śiva, NE), Vaiśvānara (Agni, SE), Jātudhāna (Nairṛti, SW), and Prabhañjana (Vāyu, NW) dwell these very terrifying cremation grounds, in order:

lxxi "Fierce/Formidable" (Caṇḍogra, east); "Deep/Impenetrable" (Gahvara, north); "[Place] with bones" (Karaṅkaka, west); "Very Frightening" (Subhīṣaṇa, south).

lxxii (?) *koṇe* cannot here mean "intermediate point" or "corner(s)," but must be "part" or "area" encompassed by the cardinal directions, or possibly the corner of each cremation ground.

lxxiii "Thundered" (√*garj:* to thunder, roar), "Rolled" (√*ghūrṇ:* to roll, shake), "Awful Cry" (√*ghur:* to frighten with cries), Āvartaka, "Thunder Cloud" (personified).

aṭṭaṭṭahāsadhvanivācyam ekaṃ
lakṣmīvanaṃ nāma tathā dvitīyam |
ghorāndhakāraṃ ca yathārthanāma
kilāravākhyaṃ[460] kila śabdapurvaṃ[461] | (74)

vṛkṣāḥ krameṇa trivaṭaḥ karañjaḥ[462]
śrīmallatāparkaṭir arjunaś ca |
īśānavaiśvānarajātudhāna-[463]
prabhañjanān koṇapatīn[464] pratīhi | (75)

nāgās[465] tu padmo mahatā viśiṣṭo
hulur dvir uktaḥ *kulikaś*[466] ca śaṃkhaḥ {N5ov}
eko ghano[467] dvau *prapurāṇa*[468]varṣau
caṇḍaś caturtho[469] jaladāḥ[470] syur ete | (76)

idaṃ vidhāyopacitaṃ madīyaṃ
puṇyaṃ śaraccandramarīcigauram |
tenāhatāśeṣavikalpadoṣāḥ
śrīvajradevipadavīṃ labhantām[471] | (77)

<[472]> śrīvajravārāhīsādhanaṃ samāptam. kṛtir iyaṃ paṇḍitamahopādhyāyaśrī-umāpatidevapādānām iti. {K71r}

460 *vākhyaṃ*] em.; *vākhya* K; *vākhyā(ṃ)* N(del?), D.
461 *kila śabdapurvaṃ*] Kpc.; *kila śabda˚(purvaṃ)* K(add2); *kila śabda - - -* N; *śabda* D.
462 *trivaṭaḥ karañjaḥ*] K; *trivaṭaka karañja* N; *trivaṭaḥ karañja* D.
463 *jātudhāna*] K; *(jā)tudhāne* N, D(corr. mark).
464 *prabhañjanān koṇapatīn*] K; *prabhañjanāna koṇapatina* N; *prabhañjanāna koṇayatina* D.
465 *nāgās*] em.; *nāgas* codd.
466 *kulikaś*] ?em.; *kuliśaś* codd.; (Kulika is given in SUT ch. 17, v. 40d and *Śmaśānavidhi* v. 17; also in HT texts.)
467 *ghano*] em.; *ghane* K; *ghana* N.
468 *prapurāṇa*] codd.; *prapūraṇa* SUT ch. 17, v. 42c.
469 *caṇḍaś caturtho*] Kpc.; *caṇḍaś catu(lya)rtho* K(del); *catulyatho* N, D.
470 *jaladāḥ*] em.; *jaladā* codd.
471 *labhantāṃ*] K; *labhante* N, *labhante* – D.
472 *iti śriguhyasamayatantre*] D; omit K, N.

(74) First is Aṭṭaṭṭahāsa,[lxxiv] Lakṣmīvana is second, [then] the appropriately named Ghorāndhakāra (Terrible Darkness), and [finally] Kilakilārava.[lxxv]

(75) The trees, in order, are the Trivaṭa (Triple Banyan), Karañja, the glorious creeper Parkaṭi, and Arjuna. Know Īśāna (Śiva), Vaiśvānara (Agni), Jātudhāna (Nairṛti), and Prabhañjana (Vāyu) as the lords of the intermediate directions.

(76) The *nāgas* are Mahāpadma,[lxxvi] Huluhulu, *Kulika,* and Śaṅkha. These are the clouds [in the intermediate directions]: Ghana; *Prapurāṇa* (or: *Prapūraṇa*),[604] Varṣa, and Caṇḍa as the fourth.[lxxvii]

(77) Having composed this [sādhana], I have accumulated merit that is as fair as the rays of the autumn moon. By it may [all beings], with the entire faults of conceptualization destroyed, attain the state *(padavī)* of the glorious vajra goddess *(vajradevī)*!

Here ends the sādhana of the glorious Vajravārāhī.
It was written by Paṇḍita Mahopādhyāya[lxxviii] Umāpatideva.

lxxiv Literally, "denoted by the name Aṭṭaṭṭahāsa" (*aṭṭaṭṭa* is the sound of boisterous laughter especially associated with Śiva).

lxxv Boisterous Laughter (Aṭṭaṭṭahāsa, NE), Fortune Forest or Spring of Splendor or Abundant Wealth (?Lakṣmīvana, SE), Terrible Darkness (Ghorāndhakāra, SW), and Kila-kila Clamor (Kilakilārava, NW).

lxxvi Literally, "Padma is distinguished by his 'greatness'" (i.e., because of the word *mahā*).

lxxvii Cloud Mass (Ghana, NE), Very Old/Very Full (Prapurāṇa/Prapūraṇa, SE), Rain (Varṣa, SW), Deluge Cloud (Caṇḍa, NW).

lxxviii *Paṇḍita* (scholar) and *Mahopādhyāya* (great teacher) are academic titles.

Conventions, Abbreviations, and Symbols

Conventions in the Translation

commentary	Translation of terse Sanskrit passages dealing with the analysis of terms tends to be generous. The translation of the term under discussion is given in double quotation marks, with its Sanskrit original appearing beside it in parentheses. If the author provides an additional gloss of the Sanskrit word, this will be contained within parentheses with the symbol > showing that it is a gloss, thus: "Awareness" *(smṛtiḥ > smaraṇam)* 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., *-ādi* ("beginning with," "and so on") is often filled out with the intended or implied referents.
footnotes (fn.)	Footnotes translate terms and names not given in the main text of the translation.
italics	English words in italics indicate that the text, or an emendation to the text, is uncertain at this point. Some untranslated Sanskrit terms are also in italics.
mantras	Mantras and seed-syllables are supplied in lowercase in italics. Where necessary, a summary translation is supplied in the footnotes, omitting seed-syllables and onomatopoeic syllables, and aiming to represent the lack of syntax.

proper names	Where a name seems to be an attempt to communicate the nature of a deity, a loose translation is given, using English compounds or phrases that reproduce the sometimes ambiguous compounding of the Sanskrit.
prose paragraphs [§]	The numbering and arrangement of prose paragraphs (§) is editorial.
Sanskrit text	Sanskrit text in parentheses indicates the word or passage translated, either because the translation needs clarification because the word is polyvalent, or because the translation is loose. Nouns in parentheses usually appear with their nominative inflections.
verse (v.)	Numbering of verses is editorial.
† †	Daggers enclose text that the editor judges corrupt but cannot emend.
‡	A double dagger in the text refers to the Textual Notes covering linguistic points, problems, and parallels.

Abbreviations and Symbols in the Sanskrit Text

§ [e.g., §1]	Prose portions of text are numbered editorially.
v., vv.	Verse numbers are added editorially.
‡	A double dagger indicates that there is a note in the Textual Notes on the associated word or passage.
{ }	Braces contain new folio numbers for each ms., e.g., {D39v}
< >	Angle brackets indicate text added editorially to the Sanskrit text or contain text added by a second hand in the manuscripts (as indicated).
† †	Daggers enclose letter(s) that the editor judges corrupt but cannot emend.
– or ˅ or ˘	Indicate the missing heavy, light, or optionally weighted syllables respectively in a hypometrical verse, e.g., *tathāgatān – vyavalokya samyak.*
bold	A syllable in bold indicates faulty meter that is left unemended.
italics	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 *(daṇḍaḥ)* is inappropriate, but where the silent omission of the *daṇḍa* 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" *(ante correcturam)*, e.g., *kākāsya-kādyāḥ*] Kpc; *kākāsyodyāḥ* Kac.
add/add2	Added in the manuscript on the same line/added by a second hand on the same line, e.g., *idānīm (idam)* Kpc(add2).
cf.	Identifies allusions to testimonia for comparison, either identical (=) or similar (≈), that throw light upon the text, e.g., a paraphrase of its subject matter or a passage in the same or another text supporting the editor's choice of reading.
codd.	The manuscripts K, N, and D *(codices)*.
conj./conj. X	"I have conjectured."/"X has conjectured."
corr.	"I have corrected."
corr. mark	Correction mark of three dots over an *akṣara* (found only in ms. D).
D	Devanāgarī paper ms. (ff. 391r3–52v8).
dam.	Damaged text.
del/del2	Deletion of letters in the manuscript by the first hand, or by a second hand, e.g., *sthā(naṃ)* K(del2).
ditto.	The reading in the manuscript is due to the scribal error of dittography.
ed. X	Edition by X.
em./em. X	"I have emended"/"X has emended."
f., ff.	Folio, folios.
haplo.	The reading in the manuscript is due to the scribal error of haplography.
hyper.	A line of verse is hypermetrical, e.g.,...*snāpitāḥ sarvatathāgatāṃ* is shown in the apparatus, *sarva-tathāgatāḥ*] corr. *(hyper.)*; *sarvatathāgatās* codd.

hypo.	A line of verse is hypometrical.
K	*Kuṭila* Newārī palmleaf ms. (ff. 53v4–71r1).
meta.	The reading in the manuscript is due to the scribal error of metathesis.
metri causa	"For the sake of the meter."
mg/mg2	Text is placed in the margin by the first hand/by a second hand, e.g., *(saṃ)kalpa* K(mg2).
ms./mss.	Manuscript/manuscripts.
N	Newārī paper ms. (ff. 36v7–50v2).
omit. X	Omitted by X.
pc	"After correction" *(post correctionem)*, e.g., *sthānaṃ*] Kpc; *sthā(naṃ)* K(add2).
r	folio recto.
syncop.	A line of verse is syncopated.
Tib.	Tibetan translation of *Vajravārāhīsādhana* by Umāpatidatta. Toh 1581/Ota 2292, N (T) 292.
unmetric.	The reading or suggested emendation is unmetrical.
v	folio verso.
X→Y	Used inclusively to indicate a passage of text, "from X to Y," e.g., *pratītya→alīkaṃ*, "The passage starting *pratītya* and ending *alīkaṃ*."
x	A syllable in bold indicates faulty meter that is left unemended.
§ [e.g., §1]	Prose portions of text, numbered for cross reference.
]	The square bracket encloses the lemma, presented as the accepted reading.
°	All letters prior to or following ° in the lemma are as they appear in the edited text. (The symbol is not reused for the variant readings or where the lemma is clear.)
~	A tilda in the variant readings indicates the continuation of text as in the lemma, e.g., *hantrīṃ kurutā*] K; *hantīṃ ~* N; *hantī kuru* D (where tilda indicates *"kurutā"* in N).
(x)	In a variant, parentheses enclose the letters that are described beside the, e.g., *na(bha)sthās* K(mg2) means that *bha* has been added in K's margin by a second hand; *mantred yā(va)t* K(add) means the *akṣara "va"* has been inserted into the line of text in K.

(x?)	In a variant, the letter x is uncertain in the manuscript.
x-	In a variant, the letter x is an unfinished *akṣara* in the manuscript.
¯	A hyphen above the line indicates a marked omission in the text, e.g., *ya* ¯ .
- (e.g., *-7-*)	A hyphen on the line indicates an unmarked omission in the text of approximately one *akṣara*. The estimated number of *akṣaras* that the lacuna represents will be given for larger gaps, e.g., *vāma -7-* N
*	Illegible syllables in the text are indicated by asterisks.
ˇ	Omission marker in the text.
⊗	Decoration in the text.

Other Editors

Finot	L. Finot (*Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi* ed. 1934).
Isaacson	Dr. Harunaga Isaacson (personal communication).
Meisezahl	R. O. Meisezahl (*Geist und Ikonographie,* 1980).
Sanderson	Professor Alexis Sanderson (personal communication).
Tsuda	S. Tsuda (*The Saṃvarodaya Tantra: Selected Chapters,* 1974).

Silent Editorial Standardizations

The text has been regularized in the following respects:

1. Final *ṃ* > *m*.
2. Homorganic nasals in external *sandhi* of *m* > *ṃ*.
3. Seed-syllables are shown without external *sandhi*.
4. *Avagrahas* have been added.
5. Consonants after *r*, frequently doubled in the mss., are single.
6. Double *t*'s before *v* (e.g., *tattva, bodhisattva*) where the scribes regularly write a single consonant *(tatva, °satva)*.
7. *Daṇḍas* are not shown, unless significant to the accepted reading or suggestive of the cause of corruption in a variant reading.

8. Numbered repetitions of mantra syllables within a mantra are written out in full, e.g., *hūṃ 2* > *hūṃ hūṃ*.

Scribal variations in these matters have not been recorded unless they are significant.



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



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



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



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



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



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



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

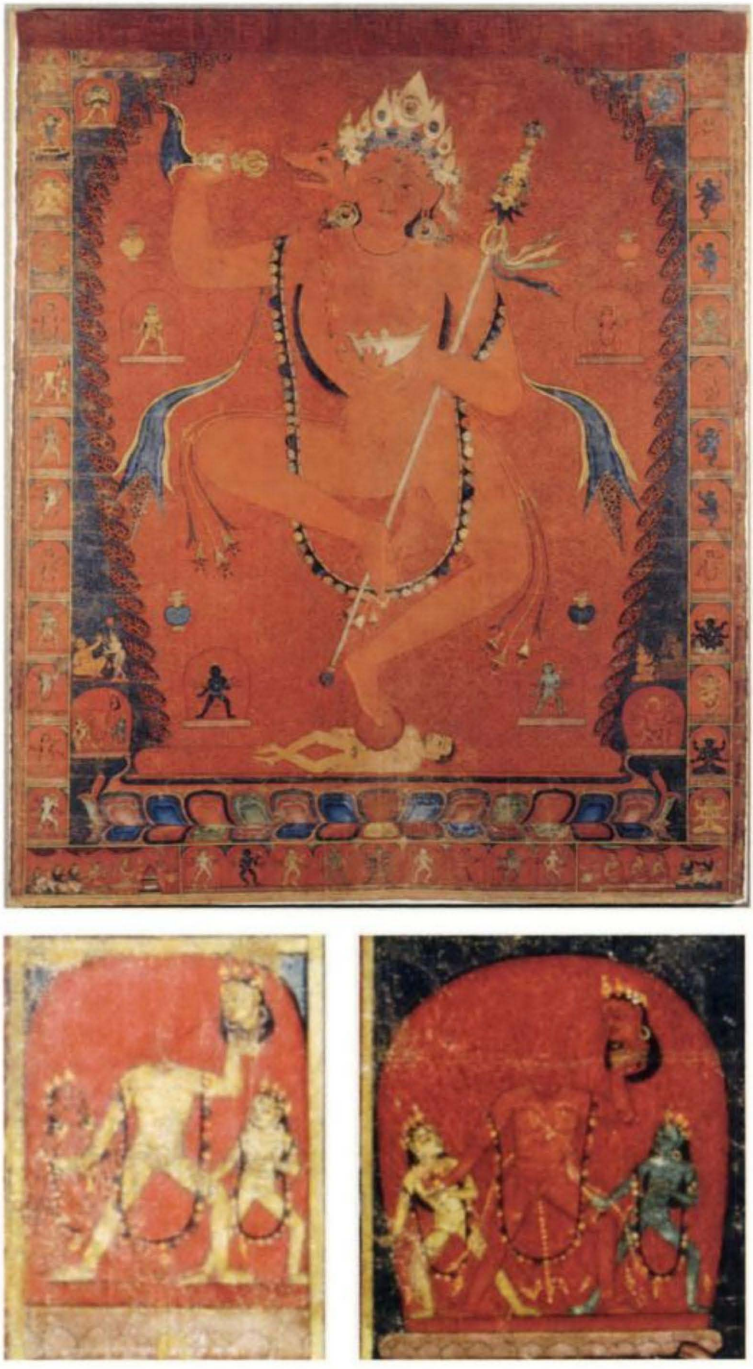


Plate 8: Vajravārāhī tangka (with detail of Severed-head Vajrayoginī). Nepal, fourteenth century. John and Berthe Ford Collection.



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



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



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



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

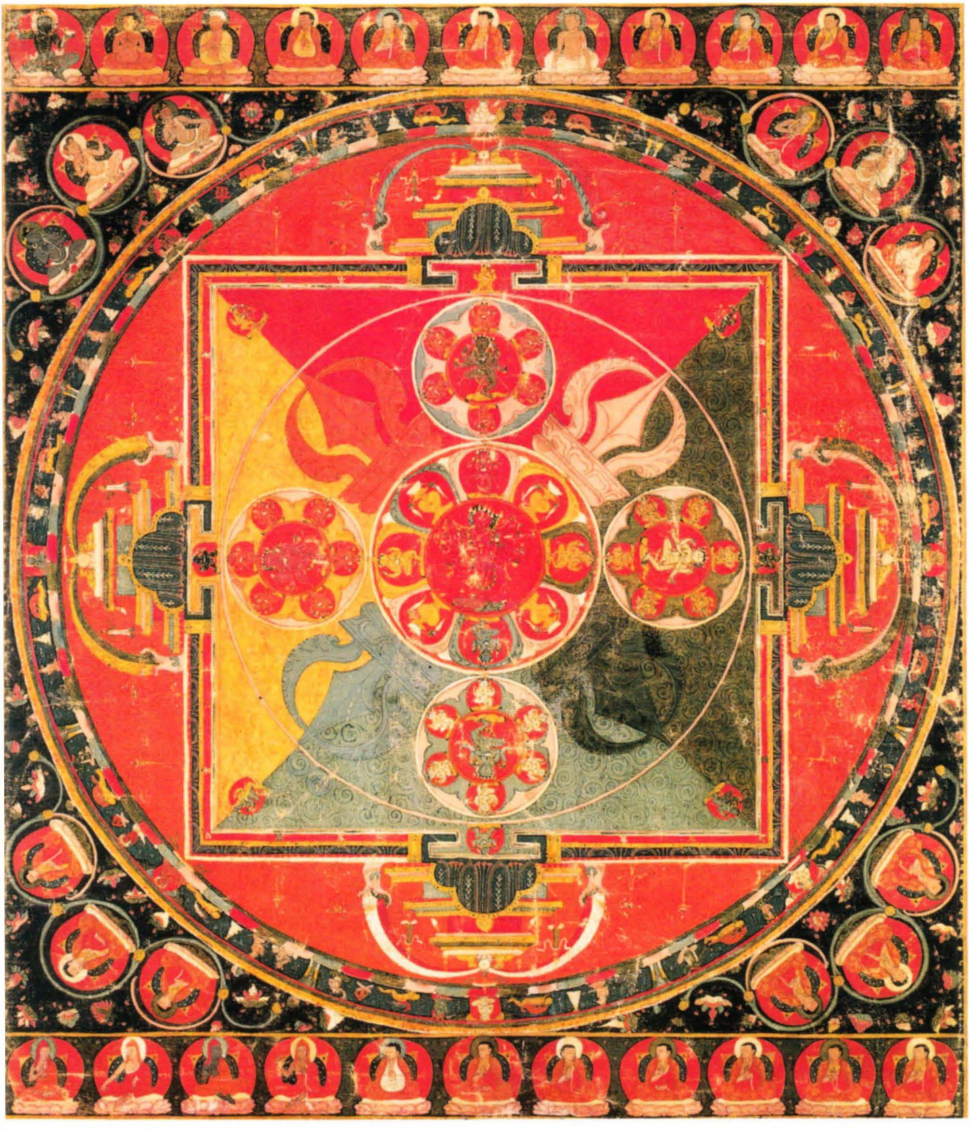


Plate 13: Tangka of Vārāhyabhyudaya Maṇḍala.
Courtesy of Anna Maria Rossi and Fabio Rossi.

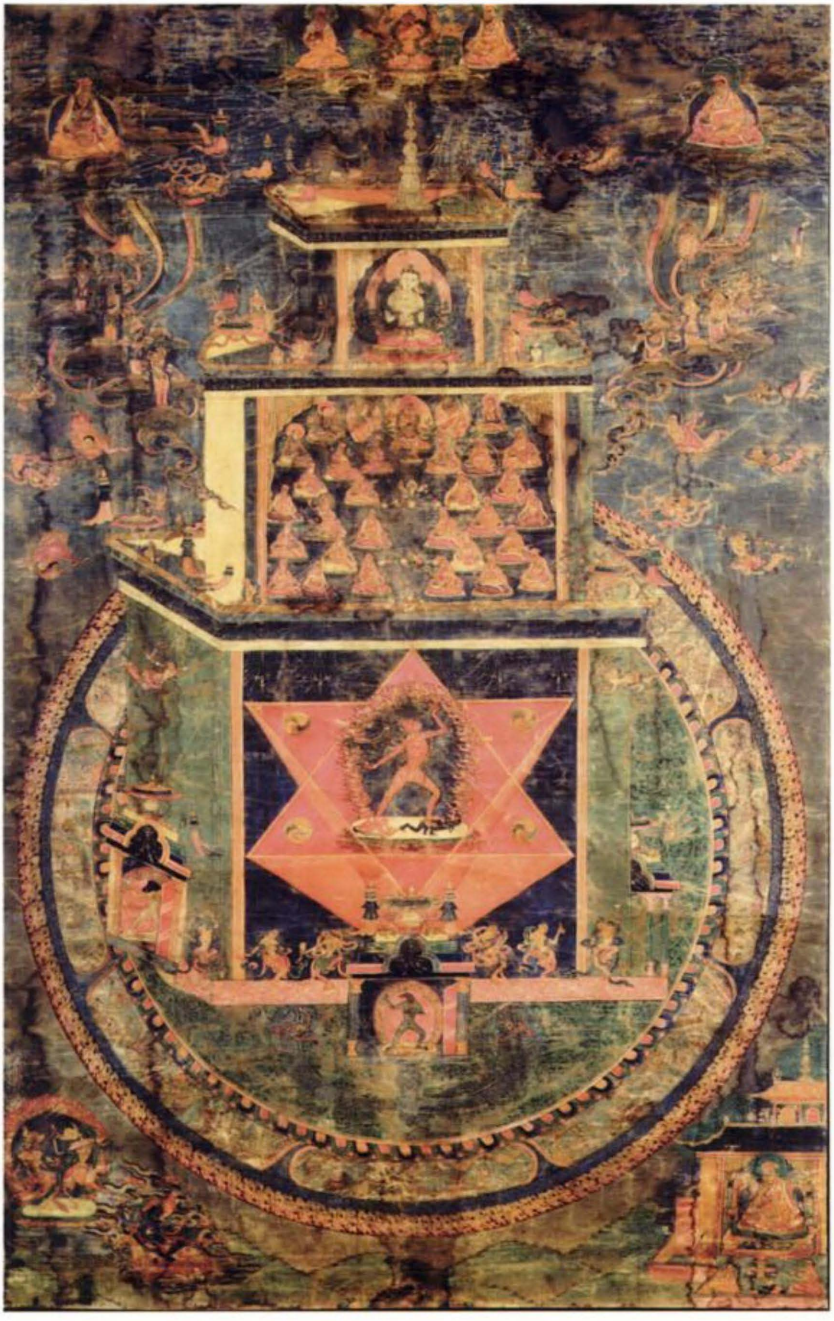
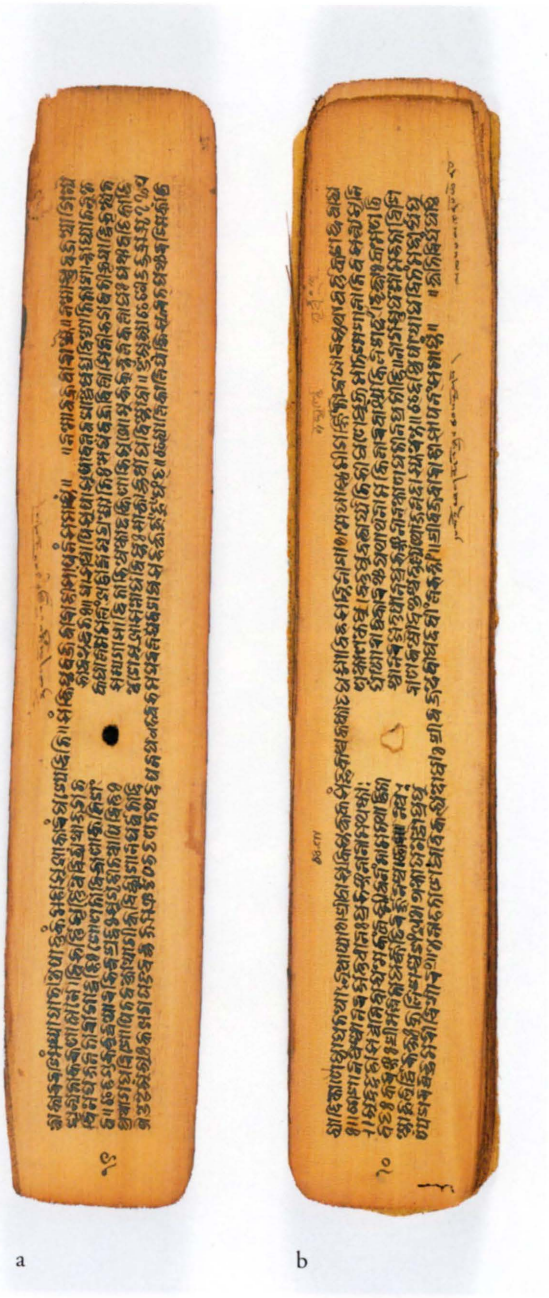


Plate 14: Tangka of "Vajrayoginī in Kechara Paradise."
Tibet, eighteenth century.
Collection of Tibet House, New York.



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



a b

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

Manuscript Sources

The Manuscripts of the Guhyasamayasādhanamālā (GSS)

Ms. K Oxford, Bodleian Library. Ms. Sansk c. 16 (R). No. 1455 (Winternitz and Keith 1905). Palm-leaf, cataloged as probably fourteenth century, although it may date from as early as the twelfth or thirteenth centuries (Sanderson 1995: personal communication). The last folio is numbered f. 147. The script is *kuṭila-newārī*.[1] K is the oldest and most reliable witness for the collection of sādhanas, written in a clear, bold hand. Due to the derivative nature of the later manuscripts, citations from the GSS in the footnotes to the Edition are from manuscript K only, unless other manuscripts contribute to the sense (significant variants alone are recorded).

Each sādhana in K has a short colophon, but K does not provide an overall title to the collection as a whole. The last work in the series is the *Ḍākinīguhyasamayasādhana* (GSS46), which seems to have given its title to the collection as a whole in a later manuscript (D). The Bodleian catalog calls the collection the *Sādhanamālā Tantra*. The sādhanas themselves are not numbered (the scribe leaves a small gap between them), and the numbering of the GSS collection (GSS1–GSS46) is thus entirely editorial.

There are fifteen missing folios (ff. 96–100, and ff. 29–38 inclusive). Four highly damaged folios in a second hand have been placed at the bottom of the pile of leaves, and these may contain some of the missing passages of text. Most palm leaves have been reduced around the edges, and some are a little split, although this rarely impedes legibility. Most folios have corrections written in by either the first or a second hand, some with evidence of several hands, such as the addition of the mantra syllables to be extracted with a *mantroddhāra* (e.g., f. 52r–v, GSS10). Red *sindūra* powder appears

1 The term *kuṭila* (curved) was coined by Bendall; Sāṅkṛtyāyana calls it "circular" *(vartula)* (Bühnemann 1994: 21).

on a number of leaves. Tibetan script is found in some of the margins, often bearing the colophon to a sādhana.[2] The foliation is problematic. I found the folios of the manuscript out of sequence, a confusion that has been transferred to the photographs of the Bodleian microfilm (Reel No. SF. Or. 2584). I have now corrected the sequence of the folios and have the following observations to make on the foliation (and misfoliation) of the collection:

1) The original foliation probably occurred after the text was first copied, because some folio numbers are not in text sequence, and because the hand of the first foliator may be different from that of the main scribe.
2) At some stage, the sequence of the leaves was disordered, and the original foliation was tampered with by a second foliator without reference to the sequence of the Sanskrit text. This gave rise to the following problems:

- There is a folio without a number containing the middle portion of GSS2. I have numbered this folio "0" (0.r. and 0.v.).
- The colophon *Vajravārāhīsādhanam* appears twice in the collection (GSS2 and GSS11). The two leaves containing the folios were placed together, the second colophon (for GSS11 on f. 70) being placed before the first (for GSS2 on f. 11). The folio number on the former was altered from 70 to 10, to accord with its new position prior to folio 11.
- The missing folios 96 through 99 were "replaced" with folios from the bottom of the pile (belonging to GSS46), and the numbers on these folios altered to read 96, 97, 98, 99, regardless of the actual text. (Folio 100 remains missing.)
- Folio 102 was misplaced under 128 and corrected to read 129.
- Folio 80 was upside down and found following folio 70. It was numbered by a second foliator after it had been put upside down since the numeral appears on the recto.
- The number 139 was altered to 129 by a second foliator who didn't realize there were folios missing following folio 128.

2 Folios bearing Tibetan script: folio ii recto and verso, 279v, 4r, 11r–v, 13r, 14v, 28r–v, 29r, 32r, 39r, 40r, 43v, 45r, 53v, 64r, 66v, 67r, 67r, 70acv, 71r, 71v, 74v, 75v–76r, 82r, 82v, 83r/v, 84r, 85r, 87r, 88r–v, 91r, 92v, 94r, 95v, 101r, 104v, 105r, 106v, 107v, 108r, 108v, 112r, 115v, 118r, 120v, 121v, 122r, 123r, 124r, 125v, 127r, 128, 139acv, 140r, 143acv, 144acv, 145acr, 145acv, 147v.

Because the Bodleian microfilm has photographed the folios out of sequence, and without a logical progression of recto and verso, I describe them here in text sequence (* = my foliation):

folio *i Perhaps a leaf reused by a second scribe, as it contains two center holes (all other leaves have one center hole), and on both sides looks as if it once contained writing that has now faded or been washed off. On one side is a faint *oṃ* and *hūṃ*, and possibly a smudged *vaṃ*. Two items of a list also appear in the top right corner, possibly a continuation of the "index" from the folio beneath (folio *ii). On the other side is a *śloka* saluting the Buddha, Lokanātha, and Vajrasattva, delicately written, perhaps in the first hand but corrupt/illegible.

folio *ii This leaf is discolored and may have suffered damage from water. It also appears to have been reused by the current scribe; its contents are smudged and faded. The side bearing the Bodleian stamp holds a list of numbered sādhanas (a few titles are legible). This list is continued on the reverse of the leaf, which also contains some Tibetan script (and possibly on folio *i).

folio 279r Also discolored, as by water, with evidence of older writing underneath. A few lines on the left contain a salutation to the Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha. A numbered list on the right contains a legible list of the ten knowledges *(daśajñāna)*.

folio 279v GSS1(1)—the first side of GSS1.

folio 271r–v, or 279r–v GSS1(2)–GSS1(3). The leaf is slightly discolored with the number added by a different hand, as the last numeral 1 or 9 (?) is not like those of the other foliators.

folio 80 (upside down) GSS1(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 GSS1(6)–GSS2(1) and folio 4v GSS2(2). Ink stain continues.

folio *0.r–v: GSS2(3)–GSS2(4). Ink stain continues.

folios 11r–69v GSS2(5)–GSS11. These folios appear in the correct numerical sequence until folio 70ac/10pc (GSS11).

folio 70ac/folio 10pc I found this leaf located before folio 11 and erroneously renumbered 10. It contains the colophon for GSS11 *(Vajravārāhisādhana)*, 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 refoliated 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 refoliated 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 truṭitam 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 refoliated 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. 129o?pc/141ac *recto:* GSS46(3) (on microfilm found below f. 102v) → f. 129o?pc/141ac *verso:* GSS46(4) (on microfilm found above 139rac) → f. 98pc/142ac *recto:* GSS46(5) (on microfilm found following 97vpc) → f. 98pc/142ac *verso:* GSS46(6) (on microfilm found following 99rpc) → f. 43pc/143ac *recto:* GSS46(7) (on microfilm found under f. 141v) → f. 43pc/143ac *verso:* GSS46(8) (on microfilm found mysteriously at the start of the collection above GSS1) → f. 99pc/144ac *recto:* GSS46(9) (on microfilm following f. 142v); → f. 99pc/144ac *verso:* GSS46 (10) (on microfilm preceding f. 101r) → f. 97pc/145ac *recto:* GSS46(11) (on microfilm following 146ac/*96v*pc) → f. 97pc/145ac *verso:* GSS46(12) (on microfilm above 142acr/98rpc) → f. 96pc/146ac *recto:* GSS46(13) (on microfilm beneath 95v) → f. 96pc/146ac *verso:* GSS46(14) (on microfilm after f. 95v, as if *f. 96) → f. 147 *recto:* GSS46(15) (on microfilm found following f. 140v) → f. 147 *verso:* GSS46(16) (on microfilm found preceding 143r).

Ms. N IASWR MBB 1972 I–140. Nepali, paper. N.S. 1038 (=1918 C.E.). 98 folios. *Newārī* script. (Manuscript ग of Sarnath edition of *Abhisamaya-mañjarī*.) A faint, delicately written manuscript, difficult to read but fairly correct. There is one leaf missing containing the end of GSS7 and the start of GSS8 (f. 29, with marginal note on f. 28: *atra dvipatrakhaṇḍitau*). There is no collective title for the series of sādhanas. Following the colophon to the last sādhana (f. 98r4: *iti śrīḍākinīguhyasamayasādhanaṃ samāptaṃ*), a second colophon states the year, month, and day of completion, and names the scribe as Nīlavajra. On the first leaf (recto) there are four lists, a *namaskāra* with four verses, and an illegible colophon. The four lists are the ten knowledges (as in K), the ten *paramitās*, the ten *dhātus*, and the ten *kāyas*. The text of GSS1 begins on f. 1v, which also contains an attractive line drawing of two-armed *ardhaparyaṅka*-pose Vajravārāhī trampling a single prone corpse, her hog's head clearly visible. The IASWR supplies a handwritten list of contents, with the sādhanas numbered 1 through 40. There are some mistakes in this handwritten index, and the numbering differs from that given editorially to K (GSS1–GSS46).[4]

Ms. D IASWR *Guhyasamayatantra* MBB–II–126. Paper. Twentieth century. Although copied clearly and in good condition, the manuscript is the most corrupt and suffers from a large number of scribal errors. It omits GSS8 *(śrī-Vajravārāhīgopyahomavidhi)*, the sādhana for which the first portion is lost in N due to a missing folio. Like N, it also omits GSS28, the sādhana for which the early folios are lost in K. This manuscript supplies an individual colophon to each sādhana that records the name of an overall title for the collection, namely, the *śrī-Guhyasamayatantra* (e.g., *iti śrīguhyasamayatantre śrīvajravārāhīsādhanaṃ samāptam*). This is a title drawn from the final sādhana in the collection (GSS46). This last colophon contains both the name of the final sādhana *(Ḍākinīguhyasamayasādhanamālātantra-*

4 The handwritten index is incorrect in the following respects: (1) GSS7 is incomplete, and the leaf containing its colophon (f. 29) is missing; (2) The *śrī-Vajravārāhīsādhana* by Umāpatideva (GSS11) is not recorded in this list, although appearing on ff. 36v–50v in the ms; (3) The *Vidyādharīkramabhāvanā* (GSS22) is not recorded as a separate work (see appendix); (4) the final *bali* mantra and colophon to the missing *Vajrayoginīsādhana* GSS28 are omitted in N, which leaves no trace of this sādhana in the collection; (5) there is no record in the index of GSS40, the commentarial passage upon GSS1, although this appears in the ms. (ff. 87–88); (6) there is no record in the index of *Vajravārāhīkalpa* (GSS41), although this appears in the ms. with colophon (ff. 88–89).

rāja), and the overall name for the collection, *Guhyasamayasādhanamālā-tantrarāja*.[5]

Tibetan (Tib.) The Tibetan translation of *śrī-Vajravārāhīsādhana* by "Umāpatidatta" (GSSII). Toh 1581/Ota 2292, N (T) 292. (Bodleian reference: Tibetan blockbooks a.68 vol. 24, pp. 32–49). The colophon states that the sādhana was translated by Vāgīśvaragupta with Lotsawa Chos-rab, and was composed by "One who has the lineage of the instructions of Virūpa, śrī-Umāpatidatta" (p. 49.7). The translation omits many of the prose expositions that interrupt the verses in the Sanskrit, also the *Ābhidharmika* glosses on the body maṇḍala and the final verses describing the cremation grounds.[6] It may therefore represent an older version of the text. It is cited here where it helps clarify the Sanskrit text, but minor variations from the Sanskrit text are not recorded. (My thanks to Dr. Peter Alan Roberts, Professor Sanderson, and Dr. Isaacson for helping me record the Tibetan variants.)

Textual Transmission

The three manuscripts, K, N, and D, are closely related. N is derivative of K. It shares the same colophons (different from those in D), and where K has been corrected or enlarged by text in the margins, N often incorporates the correction or the marginal text into itself.[7] In places N does not incorporate a marginal gloss, suggesting that, on those occasions, the transmis-

5 D101v: *samāpto 'yaṃ ḍākinīguhyasamayasādhanamālātantrarājeti. vipravaṃśaśrī-vajrācāryajīvaratnena guhyasamayasādhanamālātantrarāja<ṃ> likhitaṃ, śubhaṃ bhūyāt.* • *ratnena*] corr.; *ratneṇena* D.

6 The Tibetan translation includes the following Sanskrit text: (omits *oṃ*) "Homage to Bhagavan Vajrayogini," vv. 1–4, (omits §1), vv. 5–7, (omits v.8§), vv. 8–12, §2, vv. 13–15, (omits §3–§5), vv. 16–25, (omits §6), v. 26, (omits §7), v. 27, (omits *tatrāyaṃ sekamantraḥ* → v.27§, §8), vv. 28–34, (omits §9), v. 35, (omits *prathamo bhāvanākramaḥ.*→ *atha*), §16–§22, §23–§29 (omits all exegetical glosses of doctrinal terms; see Textual Note for details), v. 42, §30, v. 43–53, (omits v. 54), vv. 55–56, (omits §31), §32–§34, (omits §34 *etac ca gurūpadeśād boddhavyam* → *darśitam*), vv. 57–61 (omits *oṃ <buṃ> āṃ* ...), vv. 62–66, §36, (omits v. 68), §37–§48, (omits §48 *eṣa tu* → *boddhavyaḥ*), §49 *athavā* → *kamalāvartamudrayā saṃtoṣya* (omits *mudropasaṃhāreṇā°* → §51 *juhuyād ity*), §51 *adhyātmahomavidhiḥ* → *bahir gatveti*, (omits *idāniṃ*...vv. 70–76), v. 77.

7 E.g., *ebhir*] Kac; *ebhi˚(vi)r* K(mg2), N(mg1); *evir* D. cf. *candrārkabīja*] Kac; *candrārka(vahni)* Kpc(add), N, D. cf. also the text of v. 68.

sion occurred before the latter was added in K.[8] N tidies the text of K on some occassions, as when it admits that the text of sādhana GSS28 is lost, and omits the final *bali* mantra and colophon that remain in K (N91v1). Occasionally, it provides the correct reading where K fails. It does not descend directly from K, for it appears to rely upon an intermediary that on occasion is more correct[9] and on others, more problematic.[10]

Manuscript D is also very close to K and N, but introduces many more errors. The scribe may have been copying from the *newārī* script, since on many occasions he misreads a short vowel for a long.[11] D is more closely derivative of N, and shares many of its errors.[12] However, it also blurs the text of N, as when it fails to record lacunae carefully marked in N.[13] D sometimes seems to rely on a transmission closer to K, or produces a different reading altogether, thereby suggesting that it is not N's direct descendant, and/or that it also had access to other sources, and/or that it innovates.[14] This may be illustrated by two points:

- There is a problem in N produced by a missing folio (f. 29). This loses the end of GSS7 including the colophon (in K: *vajravārāhyā dvādaśabhujāyāḥ sādhanam*) and the start of GSS8. At this point, D ascribes a different (corrupt) colophon to GSS7 *(oḍḍiyānapīṭhādisthitadevīsādhanam)* and omits GSS8 altogether. If it was reliant solely upon N after f. 29 had

8 E.g., *garjitaghūrṇitau ca*] Kpc; *garji(taghūrṇi)tāu ca* K(add2); *garjitā ca* Kac; *garjitā ca* N, D. Note that N also omits the mantra syllables that have been included in the margins to reveal the result of *mantroddhāra* in GSS10.

9 E.g., *mantrapāṭhāt*] N; *mantrapāt* K; *mantred yā(va)t* D(add). cf. *pūrvādidikṣu*] N; *pūrvādikṣu* K, D.; *pādaś*] N, D; *pādāś* K. cf. *dikṣu*] N; *dikṣuḥ* K, D; *upasthāpakaṃ*] conj.; *upasthānaṃyakaṃ* K, D; *upasthānayakaṃ* N.

10 E.g., *abhyullasan*] K; *-6- san* N; *sat* D (no gap or marked omission in D); *dadhato nabhaḥsthān*] em.; *dadhato nasthās* Kac, D; *- na(bha)sthās* Kpc(mg2); *dadhatā naḥ sthās* N; *vīryam uktaṃ*] K; *vīryendriyam ukta* - N, *virya(ṃ?) indriyam ukta* D; *dharma*] em.; *pradharma* K; *pra ¯ rmma* N, *pratidharma* D.

11 E.g., *vināśāc*] N; *vināsāc* K; *vināśāya* D; *asyāgamasyāyam*] K, N; *esyāgamasyoyam* D; *bhūtāt*] K, N; *bhūtāte* D. See also Insignificant Variants.

12 E.g., *dāḍhiye*] K; *dādīye* N, D; *punar*] K, *(ṣu?)nar* N; *ṣu na* D (marked faulty); *ebhir*] Kac; *ebhi ¯(vi)r* K(mg2), N(mg1); *evir* D.

13 E.g., *kila śabdapurvaṃ*] Kpc; *kila śabda ¯(purvaṃ)* K(add2); *kila śabda - - -* N; *śabda* D.

14 E.g., *janānām*] K, D; *janāpram* N; *viryam uktaṃ*] K; *viryendriyam ukta* - N, *virya(ṃ?) indriyam ukta* D; *vighnavṛndam*] K; *vṛndam* N; *vighnavṛndakaṃ* D; *catvāra*] D; *catvāri* K, N. cf. *yamadaṃṣṭriṇī*] K, N; *yamaduṣṭri* D; *dakṣiṇeṣu*] D; *dakṣiṇāsu* K, N.

been lost, it would not have been able to finish GSS7. It seems at this point to draw upon another source that attributes a different colophon to GSS7. The subsequent omission of GSS8 is also suspicious, as the start of this sādhana is lacking in N.

- As stated above, D employs different colophons for each sādhana, attributing each to the *Guhyasamayatantra*, its overall title for the whole collection; perhaps a late innovation.

Editorial Policy

Except in the edition to 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 *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5) are not given, where clear readings from K exist.

Textual Notes

The Textual Notes (ᵗ in Edition) attempt to clarify linguistic problems and remark on textual matters. Parallel text for the ritual portion of the sādhana, from §41 to §52, is reported in full from the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5) and **Vidhisaṃgraha* (Finot 1934); see chapter 3 for details.

v.1 Verse numbers: All verse numbers are editorial. The meter is *upajāti* (vv. 1–35, 67, 70–77) with some verse citations in *anuṣṭubh* (v. 8§; v. 27§; vv. 36–67; v. 68§) and *mālinī* (v. 69).

v.1 *vikramasena:* Umāpatideva addresses Vikramasena in his benedictory verse. Proper nouns in a benedictory verse would normally be those of the deity or the guru. Although "Vikramasena" may be the name of an unknown Buddhist preceptor, it is famously the name of the industrious and pious brahmanical king whose exploits are recounted in the *Kathāsaritsāgara.* If it were "King Vikramasena" who was addressed, it would suggest that our author is teaching—indeed, converting—the king. This epic-type frame story is not found in sādhana literature, and a "conversion" would be antithetical to the esoteric, initiation-based systems fundamental to tantric sādhanas. However, there is some doubt as to whether Umāpatideva was himself an ordained monk, and it is just possible that the naming of a lay personage may have some significance. The Tibetan text is unconvincing; it attempts a literal translation of *Vikramasena,* rendering *vikramasena yatnāt* "for the benefit *(*artha)* of the one(s) having the section *(sde = *senā)* of force *(rnam par gnon pa = *vikrama)*" (p. 32.3: *rnam par gnon pa'i sde ldan don du*), indicating that the work is written for the sake of a student who may have asked him to compose the sādhana. Another possibility would be that the text is a corruption of the logical *krameṇa,* a reading that would accord with the careful divisions of the sādhana into meditation stages *(bhāvanakramāḥ).*

§1 Omitted in the Tibetan translation.

§3–§5 *tatrāmi te mantrāḥ → vajrakīlākoṭaya hūṃ phaḍ iti:* Omitted in the Tibetan translation.

§3 *grihṇa:* The orthography here is variable. K uses *grihṇa;* N and D both use the more correct *grhṇa.* These mantras in the *Vārāhyabhyudayatantra* (after v. 30) read long vowels in *hūṃ* (rather than *huṃ*).

§4 <*vajraprākāranān*>: Umāpatideva's text is ambiguous here, since without this conjectural addition it is not clear what exactly is projected into the four directions. The nearest available object is the "mantras" in the previous sentence. In contrast, the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5 Sed p. 129[14], K17v–18r, cited above: ...*caturo vajraprākārān*) states unambigously that it is the walls that are projected into the directions (the adjectives that describe their color and size are the same as those used by Umāpatideva). Umāpatideva's prior verse description of the visualization also prescribes the erection of four vajra walls (v. 14d: *vajraprākāranāmnaḥ*). I therefore insert this object into the prose text at §4.

§5 *oṃ gha gha ghātaya:* GST ch. 14 also reads *ghātaya* rather than *ghāṭaya* (Matsunaga 1978: 69): *oṃ gha gha ghātaya ghātaya sarvaduṣṭān phaṭ kīlaya kīlaya sarvapāpān phaṭ hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ vajrakīlaya vajradhara ājñāpayati kāyavākcittavajraṃ kīlaya hūṃ phaṭ.* (Note that Candrakīrti glosses the syallables *gha gha* as vocatives, PU p. 158: *ghātakety āmantraṇam.*) The plural genetive *sarvavighnānāṃ* in our mantra (§5) is attested by the *Piṇḍīkṛtasādhana* (facsimile edition in Mimaki and Tomabechi 1994 p. 2* ms. A f.2v, p. 31* ms. B f.2r–v). Both the "staking" and "hammering" mantras are found in the *Vārāhyabhyudayatantra:* (after v. 30 and v. 31), with some corruptions and variants.

v.16a *pañjarāntar:* As in v. 13 and also in v. 35, the Tibetan text reads "wall" *(ra ba)* for *pañjara:* "The cremation grounds are *(gnas = -stha/-sthita)* within that very wall *(ra ba de nyid)*" (Tib p. 34.1: *ra ba de nyid nang na dur khrod yang dag gnas*). The reading with *pañjara* (Sanskrit mss.) rather than **prākāraḥ (ra ba)* is supported by two passages elsewhere in GSS11: (a) "within the canopy" *(pañjarāntar)* appears here in contrast to the preceding passage that begins "outside the canopy..." *(pañjarād bahiḥ... yamadāḍhyādicatasro deviḥ paśyet);* (b) the alternative method of generation

supplied below also reads "within the canopy" (GSS11 v.35: *tatpañjarāntaḥ...deviṃ vibhāvayed vā*), although here the Tibetan again reads *ra ba.* Other Vajrayoginī/Saṃvara sources also read *pañjara,* e.g., GSS5 (Sed p. 130[15], K19r1): *vajrapañjaramadhye dharmadhātusvabhāvāṃ dharmodayām ekārām upari viśālām adhaḥ sūkṣmāṃ vicintya;* SUT ch. 17, v. 36ab: *vajrapañjaramadhye tu śmaśānāṣṭakabhūṣitam.* However, the reading with *prākāra* is also found, cf. YRM on HT I.3.16: *vajraprākārāsv antare ghorāṣṭaśmaśānāni tanmadhye kūṭāgārodare viharati.*

v.18a *niḥsṛtya bījodbhavaraśmijālāt:* The Tibetan has instead "countless" *dpag med* (**ameya, aparimita, aprameya,* etc.). Tib p. 34.3: *sa bon las byung 'od zer dpag med 'phros pa yis / skye bo ma lus byang chub snod du mdzad 'gyur bas,* "Countless light rays that have radiated from the seed-syllable transform all beings into vessels (*snod* < *bhājana,* etc.) of enlightenment."

v.18cd *tatraiva bīje hi→vai:* The Tibetan text has (p. 34.3): *slar yang sa bon de nyid las ni rnal 'byor mas / ma lus pa rnams 'dus par yang dag bsgom bya'o.* "Again *(slar yang)* meditate *(bsgom bya'o)* correctly *(yang dag)* that the yoginī(s) (*rnal 'byor mas,* instrumental) from *(las)* that very *(de nyid)* seed-syllable *(sa bon)* gathers in *('dus par)* everything *(ma lus pa rnams).*" Sanderson (1998: personal communication) suggests that the feminine °*buddhādikāṃ* would explain the Tibetan's "yoginī."

v.19a *candrārkabījaprabhavāṃ trinetrāṃ:* The earlier reading (with *bīja*) is a reference to the third stage of the series of awakenings *(pañcābhisambodhikramaḥ)* that has just been described (from vv. 16–18) and therefore seems likelier than the corrected text reading *vahni* (probably inserted because it suggests the yogic symbolism of the three eyes as moon, sun, and fire; see ch. 3). The Tibetan supports °*bīja* (p. 34.4: *sa bon*).

v.20cd *savajrasavyetara→duṣṭavṛndām:* A literal translation of the Tibetan reads "[Her] other-than-left [hand, i.e., **savyetara*/**vāmetara*] is together with a chopper [shaped] like a leaf; through pointing made at the ground, the hosts of the angry [ones] are defeated." (Tib. p. 34.5): *gyon pa las gzhan gri gug dang bcas shing lo 'dra / sdigs mdzub sa gzhir mdzad pas sdang pa'i tshogs rnams 'joms.* The Tibetan strongly supports Sanderson's conjecture in the first half of v. 20c, *sa- (dang bcas) -vajrasavyetara°.* However, Sanderson states that he sees no metrical solution to the second half of the c-*pāda.* He notes that the word *prasṛtiḥ* means the palm of the hand when the

fingers are contracted (*Amarakośa* 2.85c: 152), as when it is holding something—here, the vajra. (The Tibetan has "chopper" rather than vajra, which is interesting because the texts of the GSS prescribe a vajra for warrior-stance Vajravārāhī and a chopper for *ardhavaryaṅka*-pose Vajravārāhī and Vajrayoginī, an iconographical distinction that seems to be lost in Tibetan sources; see ch. 3).

Sanderson also points out that the reading *bhūtarjanī°* at the start of v. 20d (supported by the Sanskrit mss.) is consistent with the Tibetan, which indicates the gesture to the ground *(mdzub sa gzhir mdzad pas)*, and also with the Sanskrit, which clearly specifies the vajra—an implement for which a *bhūtarjanī* (presumably the finger pointing threateningly to the ground) is entirely appropriate.

§6 *amī te ṣaṇ mantrāḥ:* This prose paragraph is omitted in the Tibetan translation. The corruption *ṣaṇ mudrāḥ* (for *ṣaṇ mantrāḥ*) appears again in K when supplying mantras (below, §7), although N and D there have the variant *mantra-*. Other texts refer to six "mantras," e.g., GSS3 (K13r3): *ṣaḍdevatiśuddhair mantrapadair bhagavatīṃ kavacayet*, but the mantra syllables may have been accompanied by hand gestures *(mudrāḥ)*, and it is just possible that the reading *°mudrāḥ* in the mss. is correct. In a corrupt passage, the YSCT uses both mudrā and mantra to describe the armoring in *paṭala* 7 (A4r.7, B5v): *tataḥ kavacadvayam ātmānaṃ jñānacakraṃ vibhāvitaṃ. samayacakre pravisy(āsysa?) mudrāmantreṇa yoginā.* Some sādhanas supply the syllables and describe their accompanying mudrās, e.g., SM1 (p. 5); SM28 (pp. 68–69): *tataḥ pañcāṅgavinyāsaṃ mudrābhir mantrasaṃhatābhiḥ kuryāt;* etc.

§7 *jñānasattvapraveśe tu:* §7 is omitted in the Tibetan text.

v.27i *tatrāyaṃ sekamantraḥ* →v. 27i, §8: Omitted in the Tibetan text.

v.27i *"oṃ sarvatathāgatābhiṣekasamayaśriye hūṃ" iti:* There seem to be two traditions in the formulation of the mantra. Our texts (of the Cakrasaṃvara/Vajravārāhī tradition from Lūyīpāda) provide a single *hūṃ* following the dative, *°śriye*, e.g., HĀ (f14r); GSS5 (Sed p. 135[5], K22v4), SM218 (p. 429), SM251 (p. 493). Elsewhere, other syllables are found, including *svāhā, āḥ,* and *phaṭ* as, for example, in ADUT ch. 9 (p. 287): *oṃ sarvatathāgatābhiṣekasamayaśriye svāhā āḥ hūṃ*, with variants *svāhāḥ hūṃ* or *hūṃ hūṃ;* cf. ADUT ch. 14 (p. 321): *ā hūṃ phaṭ svāhā* (with variant *hūṃ hūṃ*).

§8 *iṣadāvarjitapañcāmṛtabhṛtavāmakarakapālebhyo:* The reading of the mss. *(°amṛtabhūta)* is a scribal error due to the orthographical similarity between *bhū-* and *bhṛ-*. The skull bowls are "full" and do not themselves "become" the nectar; cf. SM250 (p. 489): *pañcāmṛtadravāpūrṇaiḥ kapālair.* The scribal error is found elsewhere, e.g., in Kumāracandra's *pañjikā* to the KYT (p. 127): *pañcāmṛtabhūtakalaśair abiṣicyate.* The reading with √*bhṛ* is well attested; see HT 1.4.2 *pañcāmṛtabhṛtaiḥ pañcatathāgatātmakaiḥ kalaśaiḥ;* cf. SM97 (p. 199); Ratnākaraśānti's *Vajratārāsādhana* (SM110 p. 231); SM228 (p. 446): *paścād amṛtabhṛtaiḥ kumbhair abhiṣicyate,* etc.

v.29d *ākhedam evaṃ punar eva kuryāt:* Sanderson's conjecture is supported by the prose (§9) and the meter. He notes (1998: personal communication) that the corrupt reading—the more usual way of stating the idea in prose *(ā ... paryantam)*—may have entered the text by a substitution of an explanatory gloss for a less familiar term, the adverbial *bahuvrīhi, "ākhedam."*

§9 Omitted in the Tibetan translation.

<iti> prathamo bhāvanākramaḥ.→atha: Omitted in the Tibetan translation. (The other divisions into meditation stages *are* noted in the Tibetan.)

§10 *icchantaṃ:* The accusative present participle is correct Sanskrit, but the emendation is doubtful. The passage appears three times (§10, §13, §16), with the reading *iccheṃ* in the second and third occurrences. Perhaps *iccheṃ* should be preserved, taken loosely for *icchantaṃ?*

The Tibetan text from *mahāsukhacakrasthāṃ→iti* {v. 36ab} reads "The above [i.e., vv. 36–37?] is for the benefit of one who wishes to meditate on the four skull bowls in the four intermediate directions together with Ḍākinī, Lāmā, Khaṇḍarohā, and Rūpiṇī, in the east, north, west and south of Vajravārāhī, who resides in [the cakra of] great bliss." (p. 36.4–5): *bde ba chen po la gnas pa'i rdo rje phag mo'i shar dang byang dang nub dang lho phyogs rnams la gnas pa / mkha' 'gro ma dang lā ma dang khaṇḍa ro ha dang gzugs can ma rnams dang / mtshams bzhir thod pa bzhi dang bcas pa rnams bsgom par 'dod pa'i don du'o.* At §13, the Tibetan text lists the goddess and their directions "Now Crow-face...residing on east..." and concludes: "That was said for the benefit for those wishing to meditate [on all the above] and the eight goddesses." (p. 37.5): *...dang lha mo brgyad sgom par 'dod pa rnams kyi don du gsungs zhes pa'o.* At §16, the Tibetan text reads:

"Now for the purpose of completing the circle of the goddesses, three circles that are like this, the mind circle, speech circle, body circle," (p. 38.2): *da ni lha mo'i 'khor lo yongs su rdzogs par bya ba'i don du 'khor lo gsum 'di lta ste / thugs kyi 'khor lo dang / gsung gi 'khor lo dang / sku'i 'khor lo rnams zhes bya'o.*

vv.38–40 The first verse (v. 38 *ḍākinī ca tathā lāmā*) is scriptural, found in the *Yoginīsamcāratantra* (A3r.2, B3v.2) with the reading *ḍākinī tu*.... (The scripture continues with a few words qualifying the goddesses as four-armed and one-faced, etc., and then gives a *pāda* similar to that cited at §11.) Lūyīpāda also cites this verse in his HĀ (with *ca:* f. 6r1), and follows it with prose (or corrupt verse) similar to vv. 39–40 plus the line opening §11. The metrically correct version produced by Umāpatideva may be an example of "polishing." See also GSS12 (K7iv1): the a-*pāda* by itself as in GSS11 with *ca;* SM225 (p. 439): *ḍākinīṃ tu*...cited immediately below. These verses seem to form the basis for the prose exposition in GSS3 (K12v6) and GSS5 (Sed p. 132[16], K20v3).

§11 *vidikṣu <caiva> catvāro...:* This is another scriptural citation describing the fivefold maṇḍala. It was probably once *anuṣṭubh,* as reflected in the Tibetan upon which the conjecture is based (p. 36.7). A similar line appears in the YSCT (a possible source text) preserving the *anuṣṭubh* meter (A f.3r.2; B f3v.2): *vidiśena tu catvāraḥ pañcapūrṇakaroṭakaṃ.* It also appears in the SUT ch. 13, v. 28ab *vidikṣu ca catvāro bodhicittādibhāṇḍakāḥ,* which is cited in Lūyīpāda's HĀ (f. 6r4–5, omitting *ca*). Cf. SM225, in which the first *pāda* is that of v. 36a, followed by a hypermetrical *b-pāda* describing the intermediate petals (p. 439): *ḍākinīṃ tu tathā lāmāṃ khaṇḍarohāṃ tu rūpiṇīm / vidikpatre tathā bhāvyāḥ karoṭāś catvāraḥ śobhanāḥ.* This sādhana is reproduced in the GSS collection (GSS12, K7iv), but the first *pāda* appears alone without the *b-pāda* mentioning the skull bowls in the intermediate directions.

§12 *hṛdayamantra uktaḥ* The Tibetan text cites the heart mantra in full.

v.41 *yathā ḍākinījanasya...:* This verse, with its unusual syntax, is attested elsewhere, e.g., the HĀ (f. 8r.6–8v); also in GSS44 (K139(ac)r1) as follows:

yathā ḍākinījanasya tathā kākāsyādi tu bhedataḥ

vidiksthās tu tathā devyo[15] *dvau hi rūpau*[16] *manoharau*
pretāsanā mahāghorāḥ sattvārthakaraṇodyatāḥ

The latter *pādas* also occur in the SUT ch. 13, v. 32: *vidiksthāne*[17] *tathā devī dvau hi rūpau manoharau / pretāsanamahāghorāḥ pañcamudrāvibhūṣitāḥ,* and a portion of the verse in the YSCT, but with a different verse describing the corpse thrones (A4r3, B5r): *śavam ākramya pādena āliḍhāsanam † asraṃ? te †.*

§22–§29 *atha devatāhaṃkāralābhāya...:* The opening line *(devatāhaṃkāralābhāya→ °dharmāḥ)* was probably originally intended to be metrical, as it is translated into Tibetan in four *pādas* within quotation marks (p. 40.1). The same list of equations between the thirty-seven *bodhipākṣikadharmas* and the site goddesses appears in GSS5 (Sed p. 140[6]ff., K26v4–28r). These texts draw on the YSCT (A1v6–2r, B1v7): *atha saptatriṃśadbodhipākṣikā dharmā devatāyogena* (?) *pūjanīyāḥ* • ms. A may read *yuñjanīyāḥ...* and even more directly on the HĀ (ff. 8v3–9v5): *-bodhipakṣadharmadevatāyoga....*

§23–§29 The Tibetan text omits all exegetical glosses of doctrinal terms, as follows: omits *tatra caturviparyāsānāṃ → anusmṛtyupasthānāni bhavanti;* continues *tad yathā kāyānusmṛtyupasthānaṃ → rūpiṇi;* omits *gṛhītagrāhi → tasyopasthāpakaṃ kāyādyanusmṛtyupasthānam;* continues §24 *catvāraṛddhipādāḥ → mahānāsā, iti;* omits *saddharmaviṣaye →* §25 *tad yathā;* continues *śraddhendriyaṃ vīramatī → airāvatī;* omits *tatra vīryam uktam →* §26 *tad yathā;* continues *śraddhābalaṃ mahābhairavā → subhadrā ceti;* omits §27 *saṃbodhyai → tad yathā;* continues *samādhisaṃbodhyaṅgaṃ hayakarṇā → suvīreti;* omits *samādhiś cittaikāgratā →* §28 *asyāṅgāni yathā;* continues *samyagdṛṣṭir mahābalā → vajravārāhī;* omits *tatra buddhavākye →* §29 *tad yathā;* continues *anutpannānāṃ kuśalānāṃ dharmāṇām utpādanaṃ yamadāḍhī → yamamathanī ceti,* v. 42 etc.

§23 *catvāry anusmṛtyupasthānāni:* The usual Abhidharmic term for this doctrinal formula is *smṛtyupasthānam.* Umāpatideva uses the variant *anu-*

15 *devyo*] em.; *devī* K.
16 *rūpau*] em.; *rūpo* K.
17 Tsuda reports *vidiksthāne* as an insecure reading, with certain mss. rendering something nearer to ours (e.g., *-sthaṃ, -sthāṃ, -sthā*).

smṛtyupasthānam consistently (*kāyānusmṛtyupasthāna,* etc.), and so I leave the term unemended, although it is unattested in the mainstream Abhidharmic sources. It is noticeable that when Umāpatideva explains the compound (citing Pāṇinī), he gives it its usual form, *smṛtyupasthānam,* and it may be that he is drawing on another source at this point. Following the Pāṇinian passage, he returns to his previous usage, *anu-smṛtyupasthānam.* The addition of the prefix *anu-* may be a tantric peculiarity; it appears in the *Vasantatilakāṭīkā,* which also glosses *anu,* e.g., (p. 52): *tatra katamāni catvāri smṛtyupasthānāni? āha – kāyānusmṛtyupasthānam...;* (p. 53): *tasmād ubhayadharmarahitatvāc chūnyo 'yam kāya iti yā 'nusmṛtis tasyā upa samīpe cittasya sthāpanaṃ kāyānusmṛtyupasthānam;* cf. *Vimalaprabhā* vol. 2, p. 129 (the sequence of the 37 *bodhipākṣikadharmas* is different here because the correlations with the maṇḍala deities are different; however, the commentary follows the traditional sequence for the *smṛtyupasthānas*). The form *anusmṛtyupasthānam* may have arisen from its similarity to the appellation of a popular Mahāyāna formula, the "recollections of the Buddha" *(buddhānusmṛtayaḥ).* The *anusmṛtis* are listed in Edgerton's *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* 1953 *(buddha°, dharma°, saṃgha°, śīla°, tyāga°, devatā°);* an extended version of this set in the *Visuddhimagga* includes *kāyagata°.* However, Edgerton notes that *kāyagata* is usually compounded with *sati* rather than *anussati,* which makes it a distant contender as a possible source of confusion with *kāyasmṛtyupasthāna.*

§23 *ātmaguṇavismaraṇapratipakṣabhūtam:* Sanderson (1998: personal communication) comments that in the absence of parallels, *ātmaguṇa* is uncertain. The first syllable *āt-* may be the survival of his conjectured *-tvāt (pūrvānubhūtasyopasthāpak<atvād>).*

§24 *saddharmaviṣaye...chandaḥ:* Sanderson *(ibid.)* notes that the gloss of *chanda-ṛddhipāda* given in the first sentence of this paragraph would normally follow the gloss of *ṛddhipāda* supplied here in the second sentence. However, a similar structure is found below (§27), and so the text is not emended.

§27 *samyag bodher → tad yathā:* Omitted in Tibetan translation. Sanderson notes that the corruption in the Sanskrit mss. *(saṃbodhye/sabodhyeṃga kāraṇa/ā)* is highly suspect. It seems to be a corruption of part of the complete sentence that follows, which is itself corrupted by a misplaced *saṃ (samyaksambodher...bodhyaṅgāni).*

§27 *°avakāśam:* Edgerton (1953: 69) notes that *avakāśam* appears once as neuter.

<v.51i> There is a verse missing in the Sanskrit mss. but present in the Tibetan text (p. 42.4), which should supply the places *Saurāṣṭra* and *Suvarṇadvīpa.* The goddesses at those places are *Śauṇḍinī* and *Cakravarminī,* to be placed on the body at the two thighs and two shanks, respectively. This pair represents the places known as the *upamelaka,* which are in turn equated with the *acalābhūmiḥ.* The missing correlations are supplied from other texts, e.g., SUT ch. 7, v. 13: *saurāṣṭra ūruyugale śoṇitaṃ ca sadā vahā / suvarṇadvīpe jaṅghasthāne nāḍī prasvedavāhinī;* ADUT ch. 9 (p. 286): *sauṃ ūrudvaye hayagrīvasauṇḍinī / suṃ jaṅghāyāṃ ākāśagarbhacakravarmiṇi / upamelāpakaḥ;* ADUT ch. 14 (p. 320): *saurāṣṭre ūrudvaye śauṇḍinī. suvarṇadvīpe jaṅghādvayoś cakravarmiṇī. upamelāpakaḥ.* For the correlating *bodhisattvabhūmi,* see HĀ (ff. 10v6–11r):...*upamelāpakadvayaṃ. acalābhūmiḥ;* ff. 6r6–7.v4; also YSCT A6v5, B9v6 cf. fifth *paṭala* A3r damaged, B4r3.

v.54 Omitted in the Tibetan text, and in the Sanskrit mss. N and D, the verse only is included in a marginal insertion in K63v: *daśapāpavināśāc*[18] *ca daśabhūmīśvarī*[19] *matā | daśajñānaviśuddhātmā tenāpi hi daśaharā.* "And because [Vajravārāhī] destroys the ten bad deeds she is deemed the lady of the ten [bodhisattva] stages. Her nature is purified by the ten knowledges, and therefore *she removes the ten [bad deeds] (daśaharā).*" The reference is to the canonical list of "ten bad deeds" (*akuśalakarmas*). (The ten knowledges are listed in a second hand on one of the unnumbered folios at the start of K and on the first leaf in N.)

§31 *bāhye pīṭhādiṣu...:* It is doubtful whether this passage belonged to the original *Bhāvanākrama* because it deals with the correspondences belonging to the male gods of the Cakrasaṃvara maṇḍala. It should perhaps be dropped. In addition to its evidently corrupt state (and the divergences between ms. K and mss. N and D), it is also lacking in the Tibetan translation, and there are no related lines in YSCT, HĀ, or edited portions of SUT. However, a similar passage appears in GSS5 (Sed p. 142[19], K28v6): *teṣu pīṭhādiṣu tattatsthānagatā nāḍyas tattaddevatārūpeṇa pariṇamayya*

18 *vināśāc*] N; *vināsāc* K; *vināśāya* D.
19 *īśvarī*] K, N; *īśvarā* D.

vyavasthitā bhāvyāḥ – yathā bāhye pīṭhādisamīpasthā nadyas toyena poṣaṇaṃ kurvanti tadvad dehe 'pi nāḍyo nakhādīnāṃ poṣaṇam kurvantīti samānatā. bāhye vajrapīṭhaṃ mahābodhisaṃjñakaṃ sthānaṃ nirañjanā ca nadī. dehe mahāsukhacakraṃ vajrapīṭham avadhūtī nirañjanā.[20]

§33 *oṃ kara kara pracaṇḍe huṃ hūṃ phaṭ:* Both *ī*-stem and *ā*-stem feminine nouns appear in this mantra with the suffix *-ye*. The dative inflexion *-īye* is discussed in n. 432. All feminine proper nouns are unemended here.

§34 *etac ca gurūpadeśād boddhavyam→darśitam:* This is omitted in the Tibetan text. The Tibetan text transcribes all mantras with the distinction commented upon by the author here: *huṃ hūṃ phaṭ* (as noted in the footnotes to the edition at §12). The distinction between *huṃ* and *hūṃ* that Umāpatideva makes here is clearly differentiated in K, but seems to be lost in other mss. N is small and faint but seems to read *huṃ huṃ*. D also reads *huṃ huṃ*. Umāpatideva's statement is also not borne out in other sources examined for this book. A scriptural parallel for the key to the mantras is cited in another GSS sādhana extracted from the ADUT, in which the mss. supply a long vowel in *hūṃ* (GSS7 K43v4–5): *praṇavaṃ nāmasaṃyuktaṃ hūṃhūṃphaṭkārasaṃyutam.*

v.60 *ākrāntakaṃtrayodbhūta...:* Sanderson (1998: personal communication) notes that although our Tibetan witnessess prescribe *āḥ*, Stein records a different Tibetan tradition that supports *kaṃ* (1976–77, p. 533: *Puis trois têtes humaines issues de ka servent de pierres du foyer*); Sanderson adds that the reading *kaṃ* is supported in the Sanskrit by the *Kriyāsamuccaya* (ŚP 405.1: *kaṃjatricūlikaṃ dhyāyāt tadūrdhva<ṃ> pṛthubhājanaṃ ā<ḥ>kārabijasaṃbhūtaṃ*). 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[7], K22v6): *paścād amṛtāsvādanaṃ kuryāt. yaṃkāreṇa vāyumaṇḍalaṃ taduparirāṃkārajāgnimaṇḍalaṃ. tatra śukla-āḥkārajaṃ śuklapadmabhājanaṃ muṇḍatrayakṛta<ṃ> cullikāvasthitaṃ;* also *Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi* (p. 56 ll. 25–26): *tatra purato yaṃkāreṇa vāyumaṇḍalaṃ tadupari raṃkārajāgnimaṇḍalaṃ tatra śuklaāḥkārajamuṇḍatritayakṛtacullikārūḍhaṃ śuklapadmabhājanaṃ.* • *yaṃ*] em.; *yāṃ* Finot • *raṃ*] em.; Finot *rāṃ;* SM251 (p. 494): *yaṃkāraparipataṃ vāyumaṇḍalaṃ tadupari rephaparipataṃ agnimaṇḍalaṃ tadupari rakta-*

20 *nirañjanā*] em.; *nirañjanāṃ* K.

āḥkārajaṃ padmabhājanaṃ. Different syllables altogether are given in the VĀ *oṃ āḥ hūṃ* (*Amṛtasādhanam* ŚP f.120v): *tatra yaṃjavāyūpari raṃjāgnau ā<ḥ>kārajaśubhrābjabhājanaṃ oṃāḥhūṃjatrimuṇḍastha<ṃ>.*

v.61ff. *oṃādīti→bījāni:* Omitted in the Tibetan translation. The seed-syllable for Vairocana *(buṃ/vuṃ)* 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[9], K231r, and Finot 1934: 57). However, it is present in other texts, e.g., GSS16 (K81r6) and SM251 (p. 494) cited in notes to chapter 3.

§36 *jvālāmudrā:* The GSS mss. read *jālāmudrā,* along with the majority of Cakrasaṃvara/Vajrayoginī texts. As stated (ch. 3), this is something of a hybrid between *jvālā°* and *jāla°*. The former *(jvālāmudrā)* is the version attested in Abhayākaragupta's *Sāmvarikaḥ Sārvabhautikabalividhi* in the VĀ (ŚP f. 123r4): *lalāṭopari jvālāmudrāṃ kṛtvā pheḍ iti sāṭopaṃ trir uccārya...,* and is that transmitted into the Tibetan tradition. However, it appears only once in the GSS (GSS35), as shown in the (unemended) citations in notes to chapter 3.

§36 *<oṃ> anyonyānugatāḥ sarvadharmāḥ:* The *oṃ* is omitted in all GSS11 mss. but included in the Tibetan translation (p. 45.3). It also appears in the *Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi* (p. 57) and GSS5 (Sed p. 143[10], K29r5) where the mantra is given in a slightly different form *(oṃ anyonyānugatāḥ sarvadharmā atyantānupraviṣṭāḥ sarvadharmā hūṃ).* In other texts, (e.g., GSS4) the more common mantra appears *(oṃ yogaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ yogaśuddho 'ham),* while other *bali* rituals omit the mantra altogether (e.g., GSS31, GSS35).

§36 *amṛtabhāṇḍam avasthāpya dhyātvā vā* (conj.): The missing alternative verbal action is found in parallel texts cited ch. 5, e.g., GSS5 (Sed p. 143[12], K29v1): *tad amṛtabhāṇḍam avasthāpya dhyātvā vā≈Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi* (Finot 1934: 57): *tad amṛtabhāṇḍam avasthāpya dhyātvā ca; Sāṃvarikaḥ sārvabhautikabalividhi* (VĀ ŚP f.123r–v): *amṛtabhāṇḍam āropya dhyātvā vā.*

§36 *hūṃbhava vajrajihvānāṃ:* The tongue is often described as white; cf. the parallel passages in GSS5 (Sed p. 143[17], K29v3): *hūṃbhavaśuklavajrajihvānāṃ;*[21] *Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi* (p. 57): *hūṃbhavaśuklavajrarasanānāṃ tricakradevatānām.* Other rites involving the transformation of the tongue

21 *jihvānām*] em.; *jihvāyānāṃ* K.

also include the adjective, e.g., GSS11 §51: *śuklahūṃkāraparinataśuklavajrajihvā-;* GSS5 (Sed p. 145[3], K30v3): *hūṃkāranispannāṃ śuklavajramayīṃ jihvāṃ vidhāya ...;* GSS5 (Sed p. 148[6], K33v1): *oṃśukla-oṃkāraparinatavajrajihvā-;* cf. GSS5 (Sed p. 150[8], K35r4): *āḥkārajasarojadalābhasvajihvāyāṃ....*

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*
> *bhūkhevāricarāṇāṃ ca pañcamāṃsāni dāpayet* (v. 68).
>
> "He should offer the five meats of creatures moving on the earth, in the air, and in water [i.e., animal, bird, and fish] in [a vessel] made of mother-of-pearl *(śuktija),* coconut shell *(nārikela/nārikera),* turtle shell, and bamboo" (trans. Sanderson).

There are several problems with this verse: (1) The insertion mark is on line 3 of ms. K following *paśyet* (and incorporated at this point into the text of N and D). I have moved the insertion in the edition here to a more logical position, following *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 *oṃ vajrāralli hoḥ→samayas tvaṃ dṛśya hoḥ:* cf. YSCT (A5r3): *oṃ āralli hoḥ jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ vajraḍākinyaḥ samayas tvaṃ dṛśya hoḥ. evaṃ tricatuḥpañcavārānuccarya samayadravyāṇi...(dam)...oṃ kha kha khāhi* etc.; HĀ (f. 14r6): *oṃ āralli hoḥ jaḥ huṃ vaṃ hoḥ vajraḍākinyaḥ samayas tvaṃ dṛśya hoḥ vajrāñjalyorddhvavikacā? baliṃ dadyān niśārddhake. oṃ kha kha khāhi* etc.; GSS5 (Sed p. 143[19], K29v3): *oṃ āralli hoḥ jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ ho<ḥ> vajraḍākinyaḥ samayas tvaṃ dṛśya ho<ḥ> ity anena ekadvitricatuḥpañca-*

22 *śuktije*] conj. Sanderson; *śuktijaṃ* K, N; *muktijaṃ* D.
23 *nārikele*] conj. Sanderson; *nārikelas* K, N, *nārikela* D.
24 *kūrmaje kicaje*] conj. Sanderson; *kūrmajaṃ kisajaṃ* codd.

vāroccāritena ḍhaukayet; Finot (1934: 58); GSS16 (K81v4): *oṃ vajrāralli hoḥ jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ vajraḍākinyaḥ samayas tvaṃ dṛśya hoḥ.*

The sequence *jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ* has been discussed in chapter 3. Other elements of this mantra also appear in earlier texts, such as *samayas tvam,* e.g., *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* (p. 23); *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* (p. 152): *samayas tvam,* (p. 181): *dṛśya hoḥ.* The mantra element *vajrāralli* or *āralli* is obscure. There is no dictionary entry in Sanskrit for the word. Sanderson (1998: personal communication) has noted that *āralli* may be derived from Tamil and Malayālam *araḷi* meaning "oleander" (Burrow and Emeneau 1961. *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary.* Oxford: entry 173), but that there are also other Dravidian possibilities, namely, Tamil *araḷ* "to be terrified" (*ibid.* s.v. entry 2980), and *aṟal,* "to burn," "to become angry" / *aṟali,* "fire" (*ibid.* s.v. entry 234); *āṟṟal* "power," "wisdom" (*ibid.* s.v. entry 239).

The word appears in compound in GSS1–GSS2, cited in full in chapter 2 (p. 53) (K280v/0v): *trikoṇamaṇḍalaṃ ramyaṃ vajrāralliviniḥsṛtam.* Here it may be equivalent to *padma,* and hence the term would mean: "produced from [the union of] vajra (penis) and padma (vagina)." Isaacson (1996) has shown other instances of the term, including a possibly similar usage in Mahāsukhavajrapāda's commentary to the *Caṇḍāmahāroṣaṇatantra,* in which the lord of the maṇḍala is said to have "arisen from the *vajrāralli*" (ms. NAK 3–402 NGMPP B 31/7 f. 6v2). Here its function seems to be that of the *dharmodayā,* as in the *Saṃputatantra* ch. 1 (p. 238): *ekārākṛtimadhye rasasyaivaṃ yathā bhavati / trikoṇe maṇḍale ramye vajrāralivinismṛtaṃ / dharmodayeti vikhyātaṃ yoṣitāṃ bhaga ity api / tasya madhye gataṃ padmam aṣṭapatraṃ sakarṇikam;* cf. *Vasantatilakā* ch. 9, v.6 (p. 73): *vajrārallau padmagatāni pratidaladikṣuvidikṣu vinirgatāni,* in which the commentator does not gloss the word and the Tibetan translation transliterates. There is a group of *Vajrārallitantras* in the tantric canon (e.g., the *Ṛgi-āralli*), now known only through quotations in surviving literature (Isaacson 1997: personal communication; cf. Bendall 1885: 171). The *"A ra li"* tantras appear in Bu ston's analysis of the Tibetan canon within the *Ye shes rgyud (wisdom tantras)* within the Saṃvara *(bDe mchog)* groupings, that also contain the *Laghusaṃvara* and the *Saṃvarodayatantra* (see Tsuda 1974: 28 and Dawa-Samdup 1919: 7–8).

–§41 GSS5 (Sed p. 145[15], K31r2): *bāhyapūjāvidhir ucyate. iha bhagavatīṃ pūjayitukāmaḥ prātar utthāya yathāvasaraṃ vā vajravairocanīyogavān mantrī śucipradeśe hastaṃ dattvā oṃ sumbha nisumbhetyādimantram uccārya*

pañcāmṛtasugandhādivaṭikayā anyatama[25] *dravyamiśritagomayavaṭikayā caturasramaṇḍalam upalipya tanmadhye hastaṃ dattvā pujetyādicaturviṃśatyakṣarāṇi pīṭhopapīṭhādidaśanāmāni ca tattadbhūmyadhimokṣapūrvakam uccārayet. tatas tatra maṇḍalake jhaṭiti caturmahābhūtasthasumerūpari raktapadmasthasūryavaṃkāraṃ dṛṣṭvā tadraśmibhir jñānamaṇḍalam ānīya tatra praveśya tatpariṇatāṃ bhagavatīṃ saparivārāṃ sarvākāraniṣpannāṃ paśyet.* [cont. below ≈§42]

Cf. *Bāhyapūjāvidhi* Śāśvatavajra (Finot 1934: 52). This text outlines the ritual for the yogin in union with Cakrasaṃvara. GSS5 is closely related to the Cakrasaṃvara text, although Śāśvatavajra's text is longer, describing the preparatory acts more elaborately. There is also some difference in word order in the following problematic passage: *śrīsaṃvarayogavān sucipradeśe pañcāmṛtasugandhādivaṭikayā tadabhāve 'nyata[ma]dravyamiśritagomayavaṭikayā vā saṃyuta[ṃ] hastaṃ dattvā, oṃ sumbhanisumbhetyādikaṃ uccārya, caturasramaṇḍalakam upalipya, oṃ āḥ vajrarekhe huṃ ity adhiṣṭhāya, tanmadhye hastaṃ dattvā pujetyādicaturviṃśatyakṣarāṇi pīṭhopapīṭhādidaśabhūmisvabhāvāni tattadbhūmyadhimokṣapūrvakam uccārayet.*

≈§42 GSS5 cont. (Sed p. 146[1], K31r6) (≈Finot 1934: 52–53): *tato hṛdbījanirgatavīṇādidevībhiḥ saṃpūjya saptaratnādīni ca tannirgatāni*[26] *ḍhaukayitvā yathāvidhiśodhitavāmakareṇa maṇḍalamadhye bhagavatyai tryakṣareṇa puṣpaṃ dadyāt. punas tatraiva bhagavatīhṛdayopahṛdayamantrābhyāṃ. tato ḍākinyādīnāṃ yamamathanīparyantānāṃ svasvamantreṇa dikṣu vāmāvartena vidikṣu dakṣiṇāvartena yathāsthānaṃ maṇḍalake puṣpa<ṃ> deyam.* ≈§43 [27]*tato vakṣyamāṇahastapūjākrameṇa karavinyastānāṃ devatānāṃ*[28] *tattatsthāneṣu tattanmantreṇa oṃ ha ityādinā puṣpaṃ dadyāt. tatas tad vāmakaragatapuṣpam aṣṭapadamantroccāraṇapūrvakaṃ maṇḍalake prakṣipya śirasy añjalikaraṇapūrvakaṃ karatalagatadevatācakram ātmani praveśayet.* ≈§44 *tad anu hṛdayādyaṣṭapadamantrastutipūrvakaṃ yathāvartitastutibhiḥ saṃstutya yathāśakti pāpadeśanādikaṃ dhyānamantrajāpapraṇidhānādikaṃ ca vidhāya* – [cont. below ≈§45]

≈§45 GSS5 cont. (Sed p. 146[10], K31v6) (≈Finot 1934: 53): – *śatākṣaram*

25 *anyatama*] corr.; *anyatamā* K.
26 *tannirgatāni*] em.; *tannirgatādi* K.
27 *tato vakṣyamāṇahastapūjākrameṇa karavinyastānāṃ devatānāṃ*] GSS5; *tata<ḥ> karavinyastānāṃ devatānāṃ* Finot.
28 *devatānāṃ*] Finot, *devatānāṃ ca* GSS5.

uccārya oṃ yogaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmā[29] *yogaśuddho 'ham iti mantrasahita-kamalāvartamudrayā saṃtoṣya mudropasaṃhāreṇāliṅganābhinaya*[30] *puraḥ-saraṃ choṭikādānasahitam*[31] *oṃ vajra mur iti paṭhan*[32] *visarjya tac cakram ātmani praveśayet. tato maṇḍalarekhāṃ lumped iti.*[33] [cont. below ≈§46]

≈§46 GSS5 cont. (Sed p. 146[14], K32r2) (≈Finot 1934: 54–56): *hastapūjā-vidhir ucyate.*[34] *tatra gaṇamaṇḍalādau śrīvajravārāhīyogavān yogī vāmakare vṛddhātarjanīmadhyamānāmikā*[35] *kaniṣṭhātannakhamukheṣu*[36] *vajrasattva-vairocanāmitābhākṣobhyaratnasambhavāmoghasiddhisvarūpān*[37] *yathākramaṃ śuklasitaraktakṛṣṇapītaharita*[38] *varṇān oṃ ha.*[39] *nama hi.*[40] *svāhā huṃ. vauṣaṭ he. huṃ huṃ ho. phaṭ haṃkārān vinyaset. karatale jhaṭiti niṣpannaṃ*[41] *rakta-pañcadalakamalaṃ dhyātvā pūrvādidigdaleṣu vāmāvartena yathākramaṃ yāminīmohinīsaṃcālanīsaṃtrāsanīcaṇḍikāsvarūpāṇi nīlaśvetapītaharita-dhūmra*[42] *dhūsaravarṇāni. hāṃ yoṃ hrīṃ moṃ hreṃ hrīṃ huṃ huṃ phaṭ phaḍ iti bījākṣarāṇi paśyet. karṇikāyāṃ*[43] *vajravārāhīsvabhāvaṃ*[44] *rak-tavarṇaṃ oṃ vaṃ iti bījam.*[45] *etatpratibimbaṃ*[46] *tricakraṃ vādhaḥ*[47] *karapṛṣṭhe 'pi parisphuṭaṃ paśyet.* [cont. below ≈§47].

29 *sarvadharmā*] corr.; *savadharmā* K.
30 *abhinaya*] em, *ābhinaye* K.
31 *puraḥsaraṃ choṭikādānasahitam*] GSS5; cf. *pūrvakam anāmikayā bhūmiṃ spṛśan* Finot.
32 *paṭhan*] em.; *paṭhana* K.
33 *tato maṇḍalarekhāṃ lumped iti.*] GSS5; cf. *maṇḍalarekhāproñchanādikaṃ kuryād iti. bāhyapūjāvidheḥ puṇyaṃ saṃgrahād yan mayārjjitaṃ / tena bhūyāj jagat sarvaṃ buddhapūjāparāyaṇaṃ* (plus colophon) Finot.
34 *hastapūjāvidhir ucyate.*] GSS5; *atha hastapūjāvidhir ucyate* GSS11; *praṇamya vajravārāhīṃ yoginīcakranāyikām / saṃgrhyate yathānyāyaṃ hastapūjāvidhir mayā* SM253.
35 *nāmikā*] corr.; *'nāmikā* K.
36 *tannakhamukheṣu*] GSS5; *tannakheṣu* SM253.
37 *siddhisvarūpān*] GSS5; *siddhisvabhāvān* SM253.
38 *śuklasitaraktakṛṣṇapītaharita*] em.; *śuklapītaraktakṛṣṇaraktaharita* K; *śuklapīta-raktakṛṣṇaharita* SM253.
39 *oṃ ha* GSS5; *oṃ haḥ* Finot.
40 *nama hi*] GSS5; *namaḥ hi* Finot.
41 *niṣpannaṃ*] em.; *niṣpa(nnāṃ)* K(mg2).
42 *dhūmra*] corr.; *dhūmrava* K.
43 *karṇikāyāṃ*] GSS5; *karṇikāyāṃ ca* Finot.
44 *svabhāvaṃ*] em.; *svabhāvāṃ* K.
45 *bījaṃ*] understand dual.
46 *bimbaṃ*] em.; *bimbāṃ* K.
47 *tricakraṃ vādhaḥ*] corr.; *tricakraṃ vā adhaḥ* K; *cakratrayaṃ vādhaḥ* Finot.

§46 *oṃ 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 Lūyipāda's HĀ (f. 11v3): ***huṃ huṃ hoḥ.*** Sanderson (1994a n. 88) examines the form of the *kavaca* syllables with reference to the Tibetan transliterations and their description in the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* and its *Pañjikā,* and these are found to agree with K in all instances except ***svāhā huṃ,*** which Sanderson reports as ***svāhā hu.*** He notes (2001: personal communication) that the short vowel u (in ***hu***) is required to fit the sequence ***ha, hi, <hu> he ho, ham.*** Sanderson adds, "These vowels *(a, i, u, e, i,* with the syllable *aṃ)* are known in the Śaiva technical terminology of *mantraśāstra* as the "five shorts" *(hrasva-).* They are used to form the five "face mantras" of any *mūlamantra,* when they are substituted for the vowel of the seed-syllable *(bījam).* In the light of this, the presence of the syllable ***huṃ*** in our texts (in ***svāhā huṃ***) "is evidently the result of a scribe's error, a substitution of the common for the exceptional."

The YSCT (A4r4–5) represents a different tradition, however, and its variants are shown here in table 26, followed by variants from other texts (including mss. of SM251 and Kalff's mss. of the ADUT, pp. 286–87 and p. 301):

Table 26. *Variants in Cakrasaṃvara armor syllables*

GSS11	YSCT ms. A/ch. 7, v.2	other variants
oṃ ha	***oṃ haḥ***	***oṃ hūṃ, oṃ hoṃ***
nama hi	***namaḥ hiḥ***	***nama hiḥ, nama hri***
svāhā huṃ	***svāhā hūṃ***	***svāhā hū***
vauṣat he	***vauṣat he***	***vauṣat / vauṣaṭ heṃ***
huṃ huṃ ho	***hūṃ hūṃ hoṃ***	***hūṃ hūṃ ho***
phaṭ haṃ	***phaṭ phaṭ haṃ***	

¬§47 GSS5 cont. (Sed p.147[4], K32v1): ***tataḥ karagatān pṛthivyaptejovāyvākāśadhātūn pātanīmāraṇī-ākarṣaṇīnarteśvarīpadmajvālinīsvabhāvān adhimuñcet.***[48] ***tatas tatkaragatāni bījākṣarāṇi dravadravyeṇa***[49] ***mrakṣayitvā***

48 *tataḥ→adhimuñcet.*] GSS5; this appears at the start of the rite in Finot. It is omitted altogether in GSS11.

49 *dravadravyeṇa*] GSS5; *dravadravyāṇi* Finot.

tatkaratalaṃ[50] *sarvayoginyadhiṣṭhitatricakrasvarūpam*[51] *adhimucya taddravādidravyaṃ tryakṣaramantreṇāṣṭapadamantreṇa vā dadyāt.* [cont. below ~§48]

§47 *taddravādidravyam:* All the sources read *taddravādidravyam.* Finot (1934: 55) emends to *tatra dravādidravyam.* The SM edition (p. 498) interprets it *tad dravādidravyam.* The Tibetan text implies *taddravādidravyatryakṣareṇa,* "the three syllables of that which has melted, etc." (p. 48.7: *zhu ba'i de nyid la sogs pa'i yi ge gsum*). I preserve *tad-* in compound, as this yields some sense, although the passage as a whole includes a number of questionable demonstrative pronouns in compound.

~§48 GSS5 cont. (Sed p. 147[8], K32v3): *tataḥ saṃpūjya nyūnādhikavidhipūraṇārthaṃ śatākṣaraṃ paṭhitvā cakrādyadhiṣṭhānārtham*[52] *adhyeṣya taddravam aparadravye 'nyatra vā sthāpayitvā*[53] *hastalagnena dravyeṇa vāmānāmikāgṛhītena hṛjjihvāśirāṃsi hūṃ-āḥ-oṃkāroccāraṇapūrvakaṃ mrakṣayan taddevatāvṛndam ātmani praviṣṭam adhimuñcet. etat tu vidhānaṃ saṃcāratantre*[54] *prasiddham.*[55] *hastapūjāvidhiḥ.*[56] [cont. below ~§49]

~§49 GSS5 cont. (Sed p. 147[12], K32v5) (~Finot 1934: 55–56; SM253): *yadvā*[57] *pūrvoktavidhiśodhitavāmakarānāmikayā piṭhopapiṭhādidaśanāmāny*[58] *uccārayan yathāvidhi śodhitamadanena trikoṇacakradvayam abhilikhya*[59] *tanmadhye vartulaṃ maṇḍalaṃ tatra svahṛdbījanirgatāṃ tatkiraṇākṛṣṭāṃ vā sādhārādheyamaṇḍalāṃ*[60] *bhagavatīṃ vicintya tasyai pañcāmṛtādirūpeṇa*

50 *tatkara(talaṃ)*] K(mg); *tatkara(gataṃ)* K(del).
51 *svarūpam*] em.; *svarūpām* K.
52 *cakrādyadhiṣṭhānārtham*] em.; *cakrādyadhiṣṭhānādyartham* K, Finot ms. (possibly retain this reading); *cakrādhiṣṭhānād bandham* Finot ed.
53 *sthāpayitvā*] Kpc; *sthāpayet* Kac.
54 *tantre*] em.; *tantra* K.
55 *prasiddham*] em.; *pratisiddham* K.
56 *etat tu vidhānaṃ →hastapūjāvidhiḥ.*] GSS5; *iti likhitā haste pūjā samasya saṃcāratantrasaṃbaddhā / 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 *piṭhopapiṭhādidaśanāmāny*] GSS5; *piṭhopapiṭhādisvabhāvapūjetyādi caturviṃśaty akṣarāṇy* Finot; *piṭhopapiṭhādicaturviṃśaty akṣarāṇy* SM253.
59 *abhilikhya*] GSS5; *abhilekhya* K; *ālikhya* Finot.
60 *tatra→sādhārādheyamaṇḍalāṃ*] GSS5= SM253; *tatra svahṛdbījanirgataṃ tatra kiraṇākṛṣṭam vā ādhārādheyamaṇḍalaṃ* Finot; (GSS5 Sed reads *vāsādhārādheyacakrāṃ*).

niṣpāditaṃ khādyabhojyādikaṃ[61] *tryakṣareṇāṣṭapadamantreṇa vā dattvā padmabhājanagatam amṛtāyitaṃ madanaṃ vṛddhānāmikābhyāṃ gṛhītvā bhagavatīṃ svahṛdayopahṛdayābhyāṃ ḍākinyādiyamamamathanīparyantāś*[62] *ca yathāsvam etāsām eva mantraiḥ saṃtarpayet.* [cont. below ≈§50]

≈§50 *tataḥ saṃpūjya nyūnātirekavidhipūraṇārthaṃ śatākṣaraṃ paṭhitvā gaṇacakrādhiṣṭhānārthaṃ cādhyeṣya – oṃ yogaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmā yogaśuddho ham iti – paṭhan kamalāvartanamudrayā*[63] *saṃtoṣya tanmudropasaṃhāre<ṇa>*[64] *āliṅganābhinayapūrvakam anāmikayā bhūmiṃ spṛśan oṃ vajra mur iti paṭhitvā visarjya taccakram ātmani praveśayet. tatas tad*[65] *bhūmigatamadanaṃ*[66] *vāmānāmikayā gṛhītvā tena hṛjjihvāśirāṃsi hūṃ-āḥ-oṃkāroccāraṇapūrvakaṃ mrakṣayan, tat karagatam api devatācakram ātmani praviṣṭam ālokayed iti hastena pūjoktā.*[67] [cont. below ≈§51]

§49 *mudropasaṃhāreṇā* → §51 *juhuyād ity:* Omitted in the Tibetan text.

≈§51 GSS5 cont. (Sed p. 148[6], K33v1): *tataḥ † oṃśukla-oṃkārapariṇatavajrajihvāḥ dakṣiṇasruveṇetarāhutiṃ svanābhikamalakarṇikāyām avasthitajvālāmālākulacakreṣu † juhuyāt. ityadhyātmahomaḥ 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 *ḍākinyādiyamamathanīparyantaṃ*] Kpc2, Finot, SM253; *ḍākinyādiyamadāḍhīparyantāś* Kac.

63 *kamalāvartanamudrayā*] GSS5; *kamalāvarttamudrayā* Finot, SM253.

64 *tanmudropasaṃhāre<ṇa>*] GSS11; *tanmudropasaṃhāra* GSS5; *tanmudropasaṃhāre* Finot, SM253.

65 *tad*] corr.; *tata* K.

66 *madanaṃ*] corr.; *madaṃnaṃ* K.

67 *hastena pūjoktā*] GSS5; *cakrasamvaranāthasya tryasramaṇḍalavarttinaḥ / eṣā hastena pūjoktā yoginām hitakāriṇī / saṃgṛhya* (SM253: *saṃpūjya*) *yan mayāvāptaṃ hastapūjāvidheḥ* (SM253: *vidhiṃ*) *śubhaṃ / tena sarve janāḥ* (SM253: *sarvajanāḥ*) *santu hastapūjāparāyaṇāḥ / hastapūjāvidhiḥ samāptaḥ. kṛtiḥ Śāśvatavajrapādānām iti.* (SM253: *Śāśvatavajrasya*) Finot, SM253.

GSS5 cont. (Sed p.148[8], K33v2): *oṃ āḥ ucchiṣṭavajra*[68] *adhitiṣṭhemaṃ baliṃ hūṃ svāhā. śūnyatākaruṇādvayatraidhātukacakrākārajñānavahnau tu yathopadeśaṃ skandhādīndhanadahanān niruttarahomaḥ. śāntikapauṣṭikādibāhyahomas tu homavidhau karmānurūpavihitakuṇḍakusumasamidhaśoṣaṇādikam anusṛtya vidhayo vistarabhayān na likhitāḥ. evaṃ tāvat pūjābalividhānādisametaṃ vistareṇa bhagavatyā bhāvanāmaṇḍalaṃ nirdiṣṭam.*

idānīṃ→vv. 70–77: Omitted in Tibetan text.

v.70 *karaṅkakākhyaṃ ca subhīṣaṇaṃ 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 Vajrajvālākulakaraṅkaka, Jvālākulakaraṅkaka, Karaṅkaka, and Jvālākula. For the southern cremation grounds, they may give Subhīṣaṇa or Vibhīṣaṇa, or omit Subhīṣaṇa/Vibhīṣaṇa altogether and split the compound for the western cremation grounds, to give Karaṅkaka (west) and Jvālākula (south). More textual research is needed to solve the problem, which may have arisen because both *jvālākula* and *subhīṣaṇa/vibhīṣaṇa* are possible qualifications of the proper nouns that designate the cremation grounds. From the sources examined so far, the names Jvālākulakaraṅkaka (west) and Vibhīṣaṇa (south) are the most common (perhaps corroborated by the inclusion in this western cremation ground of the *aśoka/kaṅkeli* tree, whose flaming red flowers also suggest a motif of flame), e.g., SUT ch. 17, v. 36cd: *caṇḍograṃ gahvaraṃ caiva vajrajvālākaraṅkinam*, which suggests Vajrajvālā west and Karaṅkin south, although the text should read a dual *(...vajrajvālākaraṅkinī)*. GSS16, although corrupt, seems to cite the SUT text (17.36cd) but, confusingly, adds Vibhīṣaṇa in what may have once been an insertion or qualifying gloss (GSS16 K76v6): *caṇḍogra<ṃ> gahvaraṃ caiva vajrajvālākaraṅkakaḥ. vibhīṣaṇaṃ ca pūrvādidikṣu vāmena saṃsthitaṃ*. GSS34 (K113r5) gives Jvālākula west and Karaṅkaka south. The *Adbhutaśmaśānālaṃkāra* (reported by Meisezahl 1980: 19) gives Karaṅkakin west and Vibhīṣaṇa south. Lūyīpāda's *Śmaśānavidhi* (v. 8) gives Jvālākulakaraṅkaka west and (v. 10) Vibhīṣaṇa south. Cf. K. Gyatso (1999: 120–22). This is possibly corrupt, since the verse with the compound

68 *ucchiṣṭavajra*] corr.; *utsiṣṭavajra* K.

Jvālākulakaraṅkaka actually omits the name of the protector, Varuṇa (v.8): *pracyāṃ pādapo 'śoko jvālākulakaraṅkake / śvetaḥ saptaphaṇaḥ pāśī makarasthaḥ kapāladhṛk.*[69]

69 Finot takes the qualification "having a noose," *pāśī*, in the third *pāda* to indicate the proper name of a god Pāśin = Varuṇa. Meisezahl notes that this is not the reading in the Tibetan, but he still translates *pāśī* as "Varuṇa" on the basis of de Mallman's identification of the noose-bearing god Pāśin as Varuṇa in the *Mahābharata* (1980: 42 n. 33).

Insignificant Variants

A variant is judged "insignificant" when it is suggestive of scribal practice or scribal error rather than a separate manuscript lineage. (Variants in proper nouns are shown in the apparatus, however, except those showing faulty declensions.)

Typical examples of insignificant variants:

In all mss.:

- scribal errors such as dittography or metathesis, e.g., *yad akāri*] K, N; *day akāri* D *(meta.)*
- some omission of *anusvāra* or *visarga*, e.g., *sthānaṃ*] N; *sthāna* K, D
- omission of "r," e.g., *sarva*] N, D; *sava* K
- "invisible" *virāma*, e.g., *vidadhīta*] N; *vidadhīt* K, D
- some corrections to *saṃdhi*, e.g., *phaṭ.*] corr.; *phaḍ* codd.
- confusion between sibilants, e.g., *sarpiṣi*] em.; *sarpisi* codd.
- confusion between i/ī, u/ū, e.g., °*vārāhī*] K, N; *vārāhi* D
- lacuna, or confusion in the source-text of a ms. that makes no difference to the reading, e.g., *surābhakṣī*] K, D; *surā – bhakṣī* N
- intentional lacunae or decoration dividing sections of the text, e.g., - ⊗ - K; -7- N.
- additions or corrections by the first or second scribe in K that have been preserved in transmission, e.g., *etasya*] codd., Kpc; *(e)tasya* K(add2)
- regular orthographical "mistakes," e.g., *naiṛtya* (codd.) for *nairṛtya; datvā* (codd.) for *dattvā; satva-* (codd.) for *sattva-*.

In ms. D:

- haphazard addition and omission of strokes of the *akṣara* producing long

vowels, e.g., *asyāgamasyāyam*] K, N; *esyāgamasyoyam* D, or *bhūtāt*] K, N; *bhūtāte* D

- confusion between r and l, e.g., *śiro°*] K, N; *śila* D
- nonsense probably produced through sloppy copying, e.g., *viṣādasya*] K, N; *vivyadasma* D

Insignificant Variants to GSS11

v.2d *abhiṣṭa*] K, N; *abhiṣṭa* D; **v.3b** *°dyutim*] K, N; *°dyutit* D; **v.4a** *°bhavair*] N, D; *°bhavai* K; **v.4d** *catur*] N, D; *catu* K; **§1** *°āśrayaṇam*] corr.; *āśrayaṇaṃ* K, N; *āśayaṇaṃ* D; **v.5a** *etasya*] codd., Kpc; *(e)tasya* K(add2); **v.5d** *samastaṃ*] corr.; *samastam* codd., Kpc; *sa(pta)mastam* K(del); *yad akāri*] K, N; *day akāri* D *(meta.);* **v.8§a** *caturbrahmavihārās*] N, D; *catubrahmāvihārās* K; **v.9a** *bhūtāt*] K, N; *bhūtāte* D; **v.10a** *°raṇaṃ na śakyam*] K, N; *ranaṃ ṇa sakyam* D; **v.10b** *viṣādasya*] K, N; *vivyadasma* D; **v.10d** *°vīryo muditāṃ*] K; *vīyo-* N; *vīsyā muditā* D; **v.11c** *°hantrīm*] K, N; *haṃtīm* D; **v.12ab** *pratītya→alikaṃ*] K, N; *pratitejatvāj (vra?)lacandratubhyaṃ paśyad alikaṃ* D; **v.12d** *vidadhīta*] N; *vidadhīt* K, D; **§2** *sarva*] N, D; *sava* K; *svabhāvaśuddho*] N, D; *svarvvadhabhāvaśuddho* K *(ditto.); śūnyatā*] K, N; *śūnyatāṃ* D; **v.13d** *paśyed vitānaṃ*] K, N; *paśyad vitāna* D; **v.14a** *diśāsu*] K, N; *diśāśu* D; **v.14b** *caturo niveśya*] K, N; *caturām iveśya* D; **v.15a** *kākāsyakādyāḥ*] Kpc; *kākāsyodyāḥ* Kac; *kākāsyākādyoḥ* N; *kākāśyākādyoḥ* D; **v.15b** *paśyet*] K, N; *paśyat* D; **§3** *mantrāḥ*] K, N; *mantraḥ* D; *sūkarāsyā*] K, N; *śūkalāsyā* D; **§4** *dattvā*] em.; *datvā* codd.; **v.17b** *visphuradaṃśujālam*] K, N; *visphuratadaśujālam* D; **v.20b** *pibantīm*] K, N; *pibantī* D; **v.22c** *°virājamāna*] K, N; *virājamānā* D; **v.23d** *°granthi*] Kac, N; *gra(nthi?)* Kpc2. (correction obscure); *graṇthi* D; **§6** *°vārāhī*] K, N; *vārāhi* D; *saṃtrāsinī*] em.; *satrāsinī* K; **v.26a** *mayūkha*] K, N; *mayukha* D; **v.26c** *nabhaḥsthām*] em.; *nabhasthāṃ* codd.; **v.26d** *sarpiṣi*] em.; *sarpisi* codd.; **v.27c** *°ṣekodaka*] K, N; *khebhyedaka* D; **§7** *samaya*] K, N; *sama* D; **§8** *aṣṭābhir yoginībhir*] K, N; *aṣṭābhi yoginībhi* D; **v.28d** *pīyūṣam*] K, N; *piyuṣam* D; **v.30d** *susūkṣma*] K, N; *susūkṣmya* D; **v.31c** *sampādana*] K, N; *sapādana* D; **v.34c** *pratyūṣa*] K, N; *pratyuṣa* D; **§9** *°ākṣaro*] K, N; *ākṣarā* D; *jhaṭiti*] K, D; *jhaṭati* N; *nirgama*] K, D; *nirga ¯ ma* N; *tasminn*] K; *tasmin* N, D; *khedo*] K, N; *khedau* D; **v.35a** *tat*] em.; *tata* K, D; *tataḥ* N; *prathamo bhāvanākramaḥ* 1.] K; – - *prathamo bhāvanākramaḥ* – – N; *prathamo*

bhāvanākramaḥ – - D; **v.36** *atha*] codd., Kpc; *a(tha)* K(mg); °*karoṭa*] K, N *(syncop.); karoṭa(ka)* Dpc(add2); **v.37c** *samadhikāṃ*] K, N *(unmetric.); samadhikyaṃ* D; *kuryād*] N, D; *kuryātd* K; **v.37d** *pūrṇamaṇḍalam*] codd. *(syncop.);* **§10** *vajravārāhiṃ*] K, N; *vajravārāhi* D; *pūrvottara*] K. D; *pūrvā - ttara* N; °*ābhir*] K, N; *ābhi* D; *ḍākinī*] Kpc, N, D; *ḍākinī(bhi)* K(del); *sahitāṃ*] K, N; *sahitā* D; °*devīś*] K; *devī* N, D; **v.38a** *ca*] K, N; *ca* D(add); **v.38b** *tu*] K, N; *tu* Dadd; **v.40c** *daṃṣtrā*] K, N; *duṣṭrā* D; **§11** *catvāro*] codd., Kpc; *catvā(ri)ro* K(del); **§12** *bhagavatī*] N; *bhavati* K; *bhagavatī* D; °*vārāhī*] K, N; *vārāhī* D (*vajravārāhi→phaṭ itī*] K, N read *-i;* D reads *-ī* unless otherwise stated.); °*eśvari*] K; *esvari* N; *eśvarī* D; *'parājite*] K, N; *aparājite* D; *vaśaṃ*] K, N; *vaśyaṃ* D; *namaḥ*] N; *namo* K, D; *phaṭ*] N, D; *pha* K; *mantrā*] K, N; *mantro* D; *phaṭ.*] corr.; *phaḍ iti* codd.; *2.*] K, D; – *2* – N; **§13** *idānīm*] Kac, N, D; *idānīm (idam)* Kpc(add2); *nairṛtya*] corr.; *naiṛtya* K, N; *naiṛtye* D; *aiśāna*] K, N; *eśāne* D; °*bhir*] K, N; *bhīr* D; °*dāḍhī*] K; *dādī* N, D; **§14** °*samāś*] K, N; *śamāś* D; *śavāsanatvaṃ*] K, N; *savāsanātvaṃ* D; *viśeṣaḥ*] K, N; *viśe** D; **v.41c** *sattvā*¶] em.; *satvā* codd.; **§15** *śvānāsye*] K, N; *svānāsye* D; *sūkarāsye*] K, N; *śūkarāsye* D; °*daṃṣtriṇīye*] K, N *daṃṣtrīye* D; *phaṭ.*] corr.; *phaḍ* codd.; *3*] K, *-3-* N; **§16** *devīcakraṃ*] K; *devīcakra* N, D; *cakratraya*] K, N; *cakratraye* D; **§17** °*cakram*] K, N; *cakrem* D; *valī*] K; *vali* N, D; *pullīramalaya*] K, N; *pullilamalaye* D; °*kramaṃ*] K, N; *krama* D; °*nāsā*¶] D; *nāśā* K, N; *nairṛtya*] corr.; *naiṛtya* codd.; *mālavā*¶] K, N; *molavā* D; *saṃgrahaḥ-* K; *saṃgrahaḥ – 1 –* N; *saṃgrahaḥ* – - D; **§18** *nairṛtya*] em.; *naiṛtya* codd.; *vāyavyai*¶] K, N; *vāyuve* D; *saṃgrahaḥ-* K; *saṃgrahaḥ- - 2 - -* N; *saṃgrahaḥ* – D; **§19** *śuklaṃ*] K, N; *sukla* D; *dvīpā*] K, N; *dvipā* D; *varmiṇyo*] codd.; *varmi(ṇī)ṇyo* K(del); *nairṛtya*] em.; *naiṛtya* codd.; *saṃgrahaḥ*] K, D; *saṃgraha. 3* N; **§20** *cittavākkāya*] codd.; *cittavā(ka)kāya* D(add); *vibhūṣitāś*] K, N; *vibhuṣitāś* D; *śiro*¶] K, N; *śila* D; **§21** *suśma*¶] K, N; *śuśma* D; **§22** *nāśāya*] K; *śānāya* N, D *(meta.);* °*yogato yojyā*] K; *yogato yo -* N; *yogata yo -* D; *punar*] K, *(ṣu?)nar* N; *ṣu na* D (marked faulty); **§23** *sthānaṃ*] N; *sthāna* K, D; *antar*] K, N; *anta* D; *pūrvād*] corr.; *pūrvāt* codd.; °*koṭir*] K, N; *koṭi* D; *teṣāṃ*] K, N; *teṣā* D; *sthānaṃ*] Kpc, N, D; *sthā(naṃ)* K(add2); **§24** *pādāḥ*] codd., Kpc; *pāyāḥ* Kac; *ṛddhi*¶] K, N; *ṛddhī* D; °*chaṇḍaḥ*] codd., *chaṇḍa(ḥ)* N(add); *ṛddhi*¶] K, N; *ṛddhī* D; *cetī*] codd., *(ceti) ceti* Kpc(mg); **§25** *tat pañcavidhaṃ*] K, N; *tat pañcavidhaṃ tat pañcavidhaṃ* D *(ditto.); vīryendriyaṃ*] K, N; *vīryindriyaṃ* D; °*deyasyāva*¶] K, N; *dayasyora* D; °*kitasyārthasyā*] Kpc; *kita(syārtha)syā* K(add); *kitasyārthasyo* N, D; *smṛtiḥ*] K, N; D(add); *tat*

prajñe-] N, D; *tata prajñe-* K; **§27** *sapta*] K, N; *saptaḥ* D; °*bodhyaṅgaṃ*] Kpc, N, D; *dhy-bodhyaṅgaṃ* Kac; *upekṣā*] codd.; *upe(kṣā)* K(add); *opekṣā*] K, N; *opekṣo* D; **§28** *sūkarāsyā*] K; *śūkarāsyā* 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, *guṃ* D; *ādyākṣarāṇi*] K, N; *ādyokṣarāni* D; *pulliramalayādīni*] codd.; *pulliramala(yā)dīni* D(mg); *śiraḥprabhṛtīni*] K, N; *śiraḥprabhitini* D; *jālandhare*] K, N; *jālandhara* D; *caṇḍākṣīṃ*] K, N; *caṇḍākṣi* D; *dhyeyād oḍḍiyāne* K, N; *dhyāyād auḍḍiyāne* D; *mahānāsāṃ*] corr.; *mahānāśāṃ* codd.; *pīṭhaṃ*] K; *pīṭha* N, D; *bhūmiḥ* - ⊗ - K (decoration); *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); *kharvariṃ*] K, N; *kharvarī* D; *saṃsthitāṃ*] K, N; *saṃsthitā* D; **v.46** *cintayet*] K, N; *cintaye* D; *bhūmiḥ-* ⊗ - K; *bhūmiḥ-7-* N; *bhūmiḥ* - ⊗ - D; **v.47** *devīṃ*] K, N; *devī* D; *bhūmiḥ* - ⊗ - K; *bhūmiḥ -5-* N; *bhūmiḥ* - ⊗ - D; **v.48** *nāsikāgre*] corr.; *nāśikāgre* K, D; *nāsikāge* N; *bhūmiḥ* - ⊗ - K; *bhūmiḥ -7-* N; *bhūmiḥ* – D; **v.49** *subhadrāṃ*] K, N; *śubhadrāṃ* D; *bhūmiḥ* - ⊗ - K; *bhūmiḥ -7-* N; *bhūmiḥ* D; **v.50** *devīṃ*] K, N; *devī* D; *himālaye*] K, N; *himālaya* D; *bhūmiḥ*] K, N; *bhūmī* D; ⊗ - K; *-7-* N; **v.51** *pretapuryāṃ*] K, N; *pretapuryā* D; *cakravegāṃ*] K, N; *cakravegā* D; *yā*] K, N; *yo* D; - ⊗ - K; *-7-* N; **v.52** *yoginīṃ*] K, N; *yoginī* D; *mahābalāṃ*] K, N; *mahābalā* D; *sādhumatī*] K, N; *sādhumati* D; - ⊗ - K; *-7-* N; **v.53** *dhyāyād* K, N; *dhyāyā* D; ˇ ⊗ – K (omission mark applies to v.54); *-7-* N; **v.54** °*viśuddhātmā*] K, N; *visuddhātmā* D; **v.55** *nāse*] em.; *nāśe* codd.; **v.56** °*maṇḍalam*] N, D; *maṇḍalaṃam* K; *uttamam* – K, *uttamam -6-* N; **v.57** *poṣayantī*] K, N; *poṣayantī* D; **§31** *bāhye*] K, N; *bāhya* D; *avadhūtī*] K, N; *avadhūti* D; *mataṃ* - K; *mataṃ -5-* N; *mataṃ* – - D; **§32** *idānīṃ*] N, D; *idānī* K; *bhagavatī*] K, N; *bhagavati* D; *mahāvidyeśvarī*] K, N; *mahāvidyeśvarī* D; *vaśaṃkarī*] K, N; *vaśaṃkarī* D; *stambhanī*] codd.; *sta(ni)mbhani* K(del); *mahāyoginī*] K, N; *mahāyoginī* D; *kāmeśvarī*] K, N; *kāmeśvarī* D; *śoṣaya*] K, N; *śoṣaye* D; *kapāladhāriṇī*] K, N; *kapāladhāriṇī* D; *mahāpiśita*°] corr.; *mahāpisita* K, N; *mahāpiśi* D; *mānuṣāntraprāvṛtte*] K, N; *mānuṣāñcaprāvṛte* D; *naraśiro*] K, N; *narasiro* D; °*mūrte*] K, N; °*murte* D; *āgramahiṣī*] K, N; *āgramahiṣī* D; *vajraśarīre*] K, N; *vajrasarīre* D; *mahāyoginī*] K, N; *mahāyoginī* D; *hūṃ hūṃ*] K, N; *huṃ huṃ* D; *trailokyavināśinī*] K, N; *trailokyavināśinī* D; *śatasahasra*] K, N; *satasahasra* D; *hūṃ hūṃ*] K, N; *huṃ huṃ* D; *virādvaite*] K, N; *virādvaite* D; °*paśumohanī*] K, N; *paśumohanī* D; *vandanī*] K, N; *vandanī* D; °*pratyayakāriṇī*] K, N; *pratyayakāriṇī* D; *hūṃ hūṃ*] K, N; *huṃ huṃ* D;

bhūtatrāsani] corr.; *bhūtatrāśani* K, N; *bhūtatrāśanī* D; *paramasiddha-yogeśvari*] K, N; *paramasiddhayogeśvarī* D; *svāhā* – - K; *svāhā -5-* N; **§33** °*nāśe*] corr.; *tāśe* K; *suvīre*] K, N; *suvire* 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** °*yaṃkāra*] K, N; *yekāra* D; **v.64cd** *vilīye* K, N; *viliye* D; **v.67b** *tryakṣaraṃ*] K, N; *tryekṣaraṃ* D; **v.67d** *tryakṣaraiḥ*] K, N; *tryekṣaraiḥ* D; **§36** *baliṃ*] N, D; *bali* K; *pūrvakaṃś*] corr.; *pūrvakaṃ* codd.; **v.68cd** *etā*] K, N; *D; *grahahetu*] N, D; *grahetu* K; **§37** *mantraḥ*] K, D; *mantra* N; *bandha 2*] K, N; *(ve?)dha 2* D; **§38** *ācamanādikaṃ*] codd., Kpc; *ācam(ā)nādikaṃ* K(del); **§39** *upaḍhaukayed*] codd., Kpc; *upaḍhau(pa)kaye(*)d* K(del); *mātikramatha*] codd.; *mā*-tikramatha* K; *prayacchantu→mātikramatha* N(faint); *hūṃ hūṃ*] K, N; *huṃ huṃ* D; **§40** *nyūnādhika*] K, N; *nyuvādhika* D; °*vidhi*] codd., Kpc; *vidhi* K(add); *paṭhen*] K, N; *paṭhe* D; *cittaṃ śreyaḥ*] K, N; *citta śreyaṃ* D; *yogaśuddhāḥ*] K, N; *yogaśuddhā* D; *tac*] K, N; *ta* D; *praveśayet* - K; *praveśayet -7-* N; **§41** *utthāya*] K, N; *utsthāya* D; *yogī*] K, N; *yogi* D; *miśritayā*] K, N; *miśritayo* D; *vā gomayamiśritayā*] codd., K(add); *ānīya*] N, D; *ā(lī)ya* K(del); **§42** *puṣpādyaiḥ*] K, N; *puṣpādyais* D; *vāmakareṇa*] codd., Kpc; *vām(arṇṇ)akareṇa* K(del); *hṛdayopahṛdayā°*] K, N; *hṛdayo*dayā* D; *°dikpālā°*] K, N; *digpālā°* D; *°gataṃ*] codd., Kpc; *(ga)gataṃ* K(del); *devatācakram*] corr.; *devatācakraṃm* 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); *vajravārāhī*] K, N; *vajravārāhi* D; *°bimbaṃ*] K, N; *bimba* D; *°pṛṣṭhe*] K, N; *pṛṣṭha* D; **§47** *tryakṣareṇāṣṭapadamantreṇa*] codd.; **§48** Kpc *(ditto.); tryakṣare(ṇāṣṭapadamantre)ṇāṣṭapada-* K(del); *gṛhītena*] K, N; *hṛhītena* D *(haplo.);* **§49** *tanmadhye*] K, N; *tatmadhye* D; *°śobhitāṃ*] K, N; *sobhitāṃ* D; *etasyai*] K, N; *yetasyai* D; *°rūpeṇa*] K, N; *rūpena* D; *tryakṣareṇā*] K, N; *tryakṣaraṇā* D; *tricchoṭikābhir*] N; *tricchoṭikābhi* K, D; **§51** *ākulāṃ devīṃ*] 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 udīcyāṃ*] K, N; *prācyā ṃ mudicyāṃ* D; *ānvitāyāṃ*] K; *ā(nv?)itāyāṃ* N; *āndhitāyāṃ* D; *subhīṣaṇaṃ*] K, N; *subhīṣaṇaś* D; **v.74** *koṇakeṣu*] codd., Kpc *(ditto.); koṇa(koṇa)keṣu* K(del); *caturṣu*] K; *catuṣu*

N, D; *kramāc chmaśānāni*] corr.; *kramāt śmaśānāni* codd.; *amūni*] N; *amuni* K, D; **v.75** *aṭṭaṭṭa*] K, N; *aṭṭatta* D; °*kāraṃ*] codd., Dpc; *(kā)raṃ* D(add); **v.76c** *īśāna*] codd., Kpc; ***na* Kac(del); *(iśā)na* K(add2); *vaiśvānara*] K, N; *vaiśvānala* D; **v.77** *nāgas tu*] K; *nāgam tu* N; *nāgaṃ tu* D; *hulur*] K, N; *hulu* D; **v.78** °*maricigauram*] K, N; *maricigoram* D; °*doṣāḥ*] K, N; *doṣoḥ* D; *samāptam* – K; *samāptam -ṣ-* N; *samāptam* D.

Appendix: Summary of Sādhanas in the *Guhyasamayasādhanamālā*

The following summary of the contents of the *Guhyasamayasādhanamālā* (GSS) provides a brief description of each sādhana and notes witnesses and publications where I am aware of them. I also give the reference to the work in BBK. A list of contents of the GSS (with citations) may also be found in *Dhīḥ* I (Review of Rare Buddhist Texts, Sarnath: 7–41). For references to further discussions of the sādhanas, see the index.

GSS1 *Vajrayoginīmukhāgama (Oral Transmission of Vajrayoginī) by Indrabhūti*[1]

The sādhana begins with a benedictory *śloka* and proceeds with the preparations upon rising, including a mantra bath *(mantrasnānam)*. The emptiness mantras follow, and the sudden self-generation of *ardhaparyaṅka*-pose Vajravārāhī at the navel. Her mantra is visualized whirling and blazing in her sex and is supplied in a mantra extraction *(mantroddhāraḥ)*. This is followed by an external worship *(parvapūjā)* and ten traditional frame verses on the topics of secrecy, transgressive discipline, Yogācāra metaphysics, the success of the practice, and the guru. The bulk of this text (up to and including the mantra extraction, but excepting the concluding worship and frame-verses) is the same as the *Vajravārāhīsādhana* (GSS2) by Lūyīpāda. The only commentarial text in the collection (GSS40) is a loose collection of

1 Witnesses: GSS K (the foliation in K is f. 279v1 → f. 271r–v → f. 80 → f. 415), N1r1–3v1, D1v1–3v6; cf. GSS2; *Yum skor* in which Śabara is given as the author (Toh 1545, Ota 2253, BBK: 275); *śrī-Vajrayoginirahasya-karṇākarṇamukhāmukha* IASWR MBB–III–13 (BBK: 282). Tokyo University Library 307 *("Mṛtasugatiniyojana and Other Texts")*; this ms. attributes the work to Śriśabarapāda, as does the Tibetan translation above.

glosses upon Indrabhūti's text, including his *parvapūjā* and final verses. The work probably owes its title to its emphasis upon the role of the transmission lineage in the opening verse (K279v1) and the concluding line (K414): *śrīvajrayoginīrahasyaṃ karṇāt karṇaṃ mukhān mukham.*

GSS2 *Vajravārāhīsādhana by Lūyīpāda*[2]

The text is nearly identical to GSS1 until the end of the mantra extraction. The ritual injunctions then include a pūjā and the offering of transgressive substances to a two-armed, *ālīḍha*-stance Vajravārāhī. The sādhana ends with the promise of siddhi, and external food offerings as the *bali.*

GSS3 *Vajravārāhīsādhana by Advayavajra*[3]

The work begins with the standard preliminaries and bodhisattva preparations. Following the emptiness mantras, the cosmos is visualized with Meru and the temple palace, and the circle of protection is installed. The self-generation through the sequence of awakenings is of a two-armed, *pratyālīḍha*-stance Vajravārāhī within the fivefold maṇḍala. The following prescriptions include the entry of the knowledge circle, armoring, mantras, and a concluding *bali.* GSS3 is almost identical to GSS31, except that the latter has an extended *bali* section.

GSS4 *Saṃkṣiptavajravārāhīsādhana (Brief Vajravārāhī Sādhana) by Vilāsavajra(?)*[4]

Brief prescriptions cover the preliminaries, bodhisattva preparations, awakenings, visualization of the cremation grounds, and the self-generation in that place of a two-armed *pratyālīḍha*-stance Vajravārāhī. After worship, the yogin-as-goddess puts on the armor with the armoring mantras, sum-

2 Witnesses: GSS K (the foliation in K is f. 4r5 → f. 4v → f. 0.r–v → f. 11r–v7), N3v2–5v3, D3v6–6r7; cf. GSS1. Two authors in the GSS refer to Lūyīpāda: (1) Śākyarakṣita in the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5 Sed p.139[15], K26r4; see ch. 1); and (2) Dhyāyīpāda, who refers three times to Lūyīpāda as the source of the teaching (GSS34 K111v1, K115r6, K116v4). Toh. / Ota. – ?

3 Witnesses: GSS K11v7–13r6, N5v3–6v5, D6r7–7v4 ≈ SM217; cf. GSS31. *Yum skor* (BBK: 273–74); Toh 3607, Ota 4429 (SS, BBK: 273–74, 463). Edition of the Sanskrit text by Meisezahl (1967, 1980, with Tibetan text) and Finot (1934: 59–61).

4 Witnesses: GSS K13r6–14v1, N6v5–7v4, D7v4–8v4 ≈ SM226; *Jvālāvali* 10; Toh 3300; Ota 4122 ≈ 5130 (SS, BBK: 465); *Jvālāvali* 10 (BBK: 493, but erroneously recorded as SM3, instead of SM226.); cf. GSS29 ≈ SM227. For authorship, see GSS29 below.

mons deities, and offers *bali* with the *bali* mantra. The heart and auxiliary-heart mantras are followed by a concluding yogic meditation. See GSS29 below in this list for parallels.

GSS5 *Abhisamayamañjarī*[5] *(Flower Cluster of the Method of Realization) by Śākyarakṣita*[6]

The sādhana falls into two main parts. The first portion (K14v1–K33v5) describes the entire practice for the self-generation of the thirty-seven-fold maṇḍala, from its preliminary prodedures to its closing rites. This includes: preliminaries, purification of speech *(vāgviśuddhiḥ)* and skandhas *(skandha-viśuddhiḥ)*, bodhisattva preparations, visualization of the cosmos with Mount Meru and temple palace, circle of protection, self-generation with awakenings of two-armed *ālīḍha*-stance Vajravārāhī within a thirty-seven-deity maṇḍala, armoring, entry of knowledge circle, consecration, tasting

5 Witnesses: GSS K14v1–39r2, N7v4–25r6, D8v4–28r8. Toh. 1582. Ota. 2294. A Sarnath edition (Sed) of the text (attributed to Śubhākaragupta) has been published in *Dhiḥ* (no. 13 1992: 123–154), and again as a separate booklet with a Tibetan edition in the Rare Buddhist Text Series no. 11, 1993. References to the 1992 edition are given in citations in this book, but without noting variants, as our manuscript K is the oldest and most reliable witness. The Sarnath edition is based on four Sanskrit manuscripts, as follows: क the *Guhyasamayasādhana-saṃgraha* (Microfilm Catalog of the Buddhist Mss. Nepal 1981. p.110); ख the *Ḍākiniguhyasamyasādhanamālātantrarāja* (a photocopy of a manuscript related to our ms. D); ग the *Guhyasamayasaṃgraha* (our ms. N); and घ the *Abhisamaya-mañjari* (IASWR, MBB11–243) described as *prācina newāri*. There are many portions of text in GSS5 that are found in similar or identical form in other sādhanas of the GSS and SM, listed as appropriate elsewhere in this book.

6 Mss. K, N, and D all refer to the author as Śākyarakṣita (K39r2). The same colophon appears in the Nepali paper ms. (Sed ms. घ) but reading "Śāntarakṣita," while the colophon to Sed (p. 154) reads "Śubhākaragupta," although the source of this reading is unclear. According to BBK (p. 279), different mss. of the *Tattvajñānasaṃsiddhi* attribute the work to Śāntarakṣita and Śubhākaragupta. The antiquity of the GSS manuscript K supports the authorship of Śākyarakṣita. Moreover, Śākyarakṣita states that his guru was Abhayākaragupta (see ch. 1), while Śubhākaragupta was a scholar associated with Jagaddala at the end of the twelfth century just before its destruction (Dutt 1962: 378), and probably too young to have been Abhayākaragupta's pupil. Similarly, Śāntarakṣita, the famous abbot of bSam yas in the latter eighth century is too early to be associated with Abhayā-karagupta. (For the dating of Śāntarakṣita, see Snellgrove 1987: 366 and 430ff., Dowman 1985: 233, *Dhiḥ* on *Tattvasaṃgraha* no. 11, pp. 146–57, including notes in Hindi upon his authorship, and accounts of his reputed guru, Virūpa.)

of nectar, yogic meditations, mantras, alternative iconography drawn from VĀ (K26r5), correlations with the thirty-seven *bodhipākṣikadharmas*, the body maṇḍala *(kāyamaṇḍalam)*, a *bali* rite, rituals to be undertaken at different times, and finally, the external worship, hand worship, and internal oblation (cited in full in the Textual Notes).

The second part of the sādhana (K33v5–K38r4) forms a compendium of alternative manifestations of the goddess with their associated mantras and ritual applications. These include the *ekavīrā* Vajravairocanī within a fivefold maṇḍala *(Oḍḍiyānavinirgatakrama)*, *ekavīrā* Vajravairocanī, two forms of Vajraghoṇā, rites associated with a white form of Vajravārāhī (see GSS38), red warrior-stance Vajrayoginī, Trikāyavajrayoginī, and *ardhaparyaṅka*-pose Vajravārāhī. The work closes with frame statements (K38r–v) in praise of transgressive discipline and the guru, and with a dedication of merit.

GSS6 *Raktavajravārāhīsādhana (Sādhana of Red Vajravārāhī)*[7]

The GSS text opens with two *śārdūlavikrīḍita* verses of homage to Vajravārāhī and to Cakrasaṃvara. The text following (K39r5: *athānyaṃ <saṃ>pravakṣyāmi vārāhyāḥ sādhanottamam*) is lifted, with some editing by the redactor, from the ADUT *(Guhyasamayottamapaṭala)*. It describes the visualization of a six-armed form of Vajravārāhī seated in embrace with Cakrasaṃvara and in the center of a thirteenfold maṇḍala, with a retinue of eight goddesses of the petals and four goddesses at the gates. The sādhana also prescribes the entry of the knowledge deity, and some mantras. (The ADUT provides the mantras for the goddesses of the petals longhand, whereas GSS7 gives the formula for the mantra. It also finishes with verses on the nature of *dharmatā* absent in the GSS redaction.)

7 Witnesses: GSS K39r2–40r3, N25r6–26r4, D28r8–29r7; ADUT *Guhyasamayottamapaṭala* ch. 33 (NGMPP E 695/3 f. 160v3–162v3. Toh 1541, Ota. 2286 (Toh/Ota. by Prajñābhadra); from chapter 36 of the Tibetan translation of the ADUT (Toh 369, Ota. 17).

Herrmann-Pfandt (1997: 21 with n. 40) states that this appears in ADUT ch. 36 (Lokesh Chandra's edition pp. 201.7–204.2; iconography pp. 202.1–203.1), with the Tibetan translation in Peking Kanjur no. 17, fol.180a1–b8. She also traces this form to the *Śri-Vajravārāhī-sādhana* by Prajñābhadra, Peking bsTan 'gyur no. 2286. She goes on to show that the tradition was known to Tāranātha in the seventeenth century, and that it appears within the nineteenth-century Sa skya pa collection by 'Jam dbyangs blo gter dbang po, where the transmission is credited to Virūpa (*ibid.*: 23, with nn. 43, 44).

GSS7 *Dvādaśabhujavajravārāhīsādhana*[8] *(Sādhana of the Twelve-Armed Vajravārāhī)*[9]

The GSS text redacts from the ADUT/ *Vārāhyabhyudayatantra,* correcting the Sanskrit in places and omitting a dozen or more verses. Its starts abruptly with the self-generation, omitting the opening two verses from the source text praising the work (ADUT ch. 9: *atha yogaṃ pravakṣyāmi...*). It prescribes the visualization of an *ardhaparyaṅka*-pose, twelve-armed Vajravārāhī in the midst of an extended forty-one-deity maṇḍala with the addition of the four mothers, and with the visualization of therianthropic features for the retinue goddesses. It continues with the installation *(nyāsaḥ)* for the body maṇḍala, including correlations of the skandhas and *āyatanas* with male deities. There is a brief closing reference to the entry of the knowledge deity, consecration, mantras, and a yogic meditation. The text in the ADUT is problematic, and its difficulties have been inherited by the GSS text. The problem lies in the order in which the mothers—Māmakī, Locanā, Pāṇḍaravāsinī, and Tārā—are listed; this affects the directions they occupy, their *cihna,* and their membership in the respective buddha families. A fourteenth-century Tibetan maṇḍala painting (Rossi and Rossi 1993) depicts the maṇḍala described in this text (see plate 13).

8 *dvādaśabhujavajravārāhīsādhana*] conj.; *vajravārāhyā dvādaśabhujāḥ sādhanam* K, *oḍḍiyānapīṭhādisthitadevīsādhanam* D ("Sādhana of the Goddess in Oḍḍiyāna and the Other Power Places [*pīṭhas*]"). The colophons in D and K do not relate directly to the colophon to chapter 9 in ADUT *(yoginīpīṭhasiddhikramanimittanirdeśa),* while the colophon in N is missing due to a missing folio (f. 29).

9 Witnesses: GSS K401r3–43v7, N26r4–28v1 incomplete, D291r7–311v6; ADUT *Yoginīpīṭhasiddhikramanimittanirdeśapaṭala* 9 (mss. details ms. A: NGMPP E 695/3 ff. 64r6–71v4) = ch. 12 in Tibetan Toh. 377, Ota. 22, and ADUT 37. The sādhana is based upon *Vārāhyabhyudayatantra* vv. 45ff. (as reconstructed from the Tibetan translation of this text, and from *paṭala* 9 of the ADUT by Professor Sanderson, unpublished). For the Tibetan maṇḍala painting reproduced in plate 13 (from Rossi and Rosssi 1993), the accompanying entry by Jane Casey Singer (unnumbered sheet) describes it as the "Vajravārāhī Abhibhāva Maṇḍala" *(phagmo mnob 'byung gi dkyil 'khor).* Sanderson (annotations to his edition of the *Vārāhyabhyudayatantra,* before v. 45) writes "The Sanskrit is evidently another mistaken Tibetan reconstruction, the original name, which the Tibetan exactly renders, being *Vārāhyabhyudaya.*" Singer identifies only the five deities of the inner circle; the remainder are identified above in chapter 2.

GSS8 *Vajravārāhyā Gopyahomavidhiḥ*[10] *(Secret Oblation Rite of Vajravārāhī)*

GSS8 includes oblations and mantras for black-magic rites of subordination, attraction, inciting hatred in a named person, and stunning; it also includes desiderative oblations for prosperity and increase of wealth.

GSS9 *Vajrayoginīsādhana (lineage of Vīrūpa?)*[11]

This is a short form of a Trikāyavajrayoginī sādhana but without reference to a severed head. The text includes self-generation in a red *dharmodayā*, mention of two attendants flanking the central goddess, and offerings to the center, front, behind, and center again. Apart from a couple of minor variants, the text of GSS9 is identical to that of GSS30, except that GSS9 describes the two attendant goddesses as ḍākinīs, where GSS30 appears to intend *śaktis* (*śaktidvayam*] conj.; *śāntadvayam* K, *śāktadvayam* N). The same text, under the same title, in appears in the *Sādhanamālā* (SM234=GSS9) following the "ḍākinī" recension. The central goddess may be a red form of the severed-head Vajrayoginī.

GSS10 *Guhyavajravilāsinīsādhana by Śabara*[12] *(Sādhana of Secret Vajravilāsinī)*

A lengthy sādhana of 152 predominantly *śloka* verses (verse numbers are editorial), prescribing erotico-yogic techniques to be practiced on the basis of the self-visualization of Vajravilāsinī and her consort Padmanarteśvara in the lovely mountainous setting of Manobhaṅga and Cittaviśrāma. After a *vasantatilakā* verse of homage to Lokanātha (v. 1), and a *śārdūlavikrīḍita* verse of homage to Vajravilāsinī (v. 2), Śabara states that he speaks the following *(śloka)* verses through the power of Lokanātha (v. 3). The body of the text is as follows: vv. 4–7 describe the bejeweled mountainous setting of Manobhaṅga and Cittaviśrāma where guru Karuṇa taught [the sādhana of] Vilāsinī, and where "I practiced it with [my consort] Śabarī"; vv. 8–10 guarantee siddhis including mahāmudrā; vv. 11–16 list those whose physical and ethical qualities disqualify them from practice, and those who qual-

10 Witnesses: GSS K44r1–44v5; N has missing folios until the final lines of the sādhana (f. 30r2), D31v6 omits the sādhana. 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; *Jvālāvali* no. 2 (BBK: 493); *Dhiḥ* no. 17 pp.5–17. Toh./Ota.–?

ify; vv. 17–24 prescribe preliminaries: the site of a fragrant cave or glade in which the sādhaka and consort wash themselves, rub their bodies with fragrant flowers, put on eye liner and hair oil, adorn their naked bodies so that they resemble Padmanarteśvara and his consort, and then make love as long as the mind is not disturbed; vv. 25–29 give times for the worship of the goddess (four times per month, etc.), to be done in a well-lit place so that the details of the body are illuminated, abandoning negative states, shyness, or inhibition for the attainment of mahāmudrā; vv. 30–32 prescribe the positioning of the sādhaka with his consort modeled on the poses of the deities; vv. 33–36 prescribe preparatory rites: the yogin draws a circle on his consort's *dharmodayā-yantra* using saffron and red-sandal, and within that, a *dharmodayā* triangle enscribed with the [five-syllabled] mantra (to be taught in the mantra extraction below), he then offers a flower, practices the four *brahmavihāra*s, and meditates on emptiness; vv. 37–38 prescribe the armoring with the five-syllabled mantra on the sādhaka's body; vv. 38–45 give the visualization of a blazing *dharmodayā* into which the whole world is seen to dissolve; vv. 46–53 prescribe the visualization of the sādhaka's consort as Vajravilasinī in sexual play; vv. 54–62 prescribe the visualization of the sādhaka as Padmanarteśvara in sexual play; vv. 63–64 describe the fusion of the three worlds into an ocean of blood, with the sādhaka playing with the goddess in the center in the bliss of great passion; vv. 65–66 give the consecration of the self-generated couple; vv. 67–73 detail the rites of worship, i.e., worship of the maṇḍala (while uttering the mantra and the goddess's name), of the *guhya*-maṇḍala with flowers, fruit, etc., of the sādhaka's own penis (which has been fondled and is erect, *svakīyaṃ kuliśaṃ ... lālitonnatam*), of the goddess' mantra, and of the parts of the consort's and the sādhaka's own body by waving incense; vv. 74–79 describe how the couple offer betel, etc., and recite loving verses to each other; vv. 80–92 prescribe the embrace and practice of the *navapuṣpī* (nine kinds of sexual play) with the arising of *sahajānanda;* vv. 93–95 describe the pervasion of the world with rays (from lovemaking) and the propitiation of deities with sexual fluid *(golakam);* vv.96–100 give an explicit description of the lovemaking, which is accompanied by the yogin's visualization that he plays with the goddess Vilāsinī; this includes a yogic meditation of his body as empty; vv. 102–9 describe the pendulum recitation *(dolājāpaḥ),* a yogic meditation in which the couple is in union, each imagining the five blazing syllables of Vilāsinī's mantra circulating through their bodies. The syllables start on the *vidyā*'s sex, enter the male via his penis, exit through his nostril, enter the *vidyā* via her nostril and again pass into her sex. The

mantra is recited up to five hundred times as it revolves through the bodies united in lovemaking. The recitation results in the fusion of *nāda* and *bindu;* it is followed by a repeated "mutual sucking" of the male and female sex; vv. 110–18 prescribe the visualization of the "fusion of the identities" of the couple and the entire world in the lovemaking *(ātmamelakaḥ)* with the result that the defilements are cut off, all *kleśa*s are burnt up, and everything is dissolved into the ocean of awakening with the end of conceptualization; vv. 119–20 describe how the female consort does the practice on the yogin, making the maṇḍala on his penis and practicing the meditation and mantra recitation as described; vv. 121–22 enjoin that the couple abide outside this meditation as Narteśvara and Vilāsinī and recite the mantra; vv. 115–28 give prescriptions for practice when no male/female consort is available; vv. 129–37 give the *mantroddhāra* for the five-syllabled mantra *(eṃ ñlīṃ rīṃ rūṃ blīṃ)* and the *bali* mantra to be recited while making the *bali* offering; vv. 138–51 comprise various frame verses praising the practice, guaranteeing mahāmudrā in twelve years, warning against undertaking the practice with illicit passion, prescribing secrecy, naming the teachers of the practice as Lokanātha (v. 146) and Karuṇa (v. 147), and advocating passion to destroy passion; v. 152 is a benediction, and is followed by the colophon.

GSS11 *Vajravārāhīsādhana by Umāpatideva*[13]

See chapter 3 for a study of the sādhana and above for an edition and translation, with textual notes.

13 Witnesses: GSS K53v4–71r1 (Bodleian reference: ms. Sansk c.16 (R)), N36v7–50v2, D39r3–52v8; Toh 1581, Ota 2292, N(T)292 (BBK: 279, 287); cf. Toh 1584, Ota. 2293.

The author's name in the Tibetan is transliterated as *Umāpatidatta (BBK: 279): śrī U ma pa ti dattaḥi shabs. The Tibetan colophon to GSS11 (Toh 1581/Ota 2292, N (T) 292. Bodleian Tibetan blockbooks a.68, vol. 24, pp. 32–49) states that the sādhana was translated by Vāgīśvaragupta with Locchāva (Lo tsā ba) Chos rab (i.e., Rwa Chos rab), and written by "One who has the lineage of the instructions of Virūpa, śrī Umāpatidatta" (p. 49.7). The only other work known to be by this author is Umāpatidatta's *Vajrayoginī maṇḍalavidhi-nāma* (Toh. 1581, Bodleian Tibetan blockbooks a.68, vol. 24, pp. 96–135), translated by the same translators. In total, Rwa Chos rab translated two texts in the bKa' 'gyur and ten in the bsTan 'gyur. Vāgīśvaragupta translated a total of four texts with Rwa Chos rab, including the two by Umāpatidatta.

GSS12 *Oḍḍiyāṇavinirgatavajrayoginīsādhana*[14] *(Vajrayoginī Sādhana from Oḍḍiyāna)*

The text starts with the visualization of the cosmos with Mount Sumeru and is followed by the self-generation of the red two-armed Vajravārāhī in *ūrdhvapāda* pose in the center of the fivefold maṇḍala. It supplies heart and auxiliary-heart mantras (although SM225 gives only the latter). GSS12 (K71v1) and SM225 both share *pādas* from the textual tradition of the YSCT (SM225 p. 469, *ḍākinīṃ tu tathā lāmāṃ*... cf. GSS11 v. 38a, with Textual Note). The a-*pāda* from GSS12 (K71r6: *tarjayantī diśaḥ sarvā duṣṭatarjana-vajrikā*) is also attested in the visualization of warrior-stance Vajravārāhī (GSS4 K13v2, reading accusatives).

GSS13 *Vajrayoginīmatena Gopyahomavidhi (Secret Oblation Rite According to the System of Vajrayoginī) by Buddhadatta*[15]

The text prescribes the generation of a red fire deity from *raṃ* in a triangular fire pit (he is four-armed, making the "fearless gesture" *(abhaya-mudrā)*, and holding a pitcher, a firebrand, and a rosary; he is then merged with the knowledge deity. There follow oblations of transgressive substances, the recitation of mantras, and the worship of Vajrayoginī with her maṇḍala retinue in the center of the fire. The text explains the different substances to be offered for rites of different kinds and concludes with the maṇḍala cakra entering the practitioner's body, *bali* offerings, a supreme worship *(lokottarapūjā)*, and the request for siddhi. Two frame verses guarantee siddhi and mahāmudrā.

GSS14 *Pradīpāhutividhi (Glorious[ly Elucidated] Oblation Rite) by Indrabhūti)*[16]

The thirty-seven (unnumbered) verses are ascribed in the colophon to

14 Witnesses: GSS K71r1–71v2, N50v3–51r3, D52v8–53r8=SM225 *(śrī-Oḍiyānavajra-piṭhavinirgata-ūrddhvapādavajravārāhisādhana)*; Toh 3299, Ota 4121=5129 (BBK: 465); cf. GSS5 (Sed p.148[16], K33v6–34r).

15 Witnesses: GSS K71v2–72r6, N51r3–51v4, D53r8–54r2; Toh 1556, Ota 2264 (BBK: 278). This is the sixth of the *Six Texts of Vajravārāhi*. A passage in the *Blue Annals* (pp. 393–97) describes how Buddhadatta came to compose the *śrī-Vajrayoginī-homavidhi*. A layman receives initiation of Paiṇḍapātika and then requests that he write down the *śrī-Tattvajñānasiddhi*, the *Sarvārthasiddhi-sādhana-nāma*, and the *śrī-Vajrayoginīhomavidhi*. The guru refuses, but permits his nephew Buddhadatta to write down the *Vajrayoginihomavidhi*.

16 Witnesses: GSS K72r6–74v1, N51v4–53r7, D54r2–55v5. Toh, Ota.–?

Indrabhūti and, in the opening verse, to his lineage (K72r6). There are two further references to the doctrine *(matam)* of "King Indrabhūti" (v. 16 K73r4, v. 35 K74r5). The meter is mainly *anuṣṭubh* with two verses in *upajāti* and two in *sragdharā*. The text describes the preparation of the firepit, its shape depending on the rite (v. 5), the drawing down of the knowledge deity into the middle of the firepit (v. 6), and the visualization of the fire deity as a young man, colored red and mounted on a goat (cf. SM36, where a red Avalokiteśvara is seated on two rams). The fire deity is seen as four-armed, making the *varadamudrā*, with a rosary, a pot *(kamaṇḍalu)*, and a firebrand (vv. 7–8). The following verses enjoin offerings of wood, etc., to be made into the fire to the chosen deity (Vajrayoginī) in the heart of the fire-deity (vv. 9–11), also a hand worship (v. 12), the recitation of mantras, and various oblations (vv. 13–15). The author then comments upon the method of the ritual (vv. 16–33) and concludes with dedications of merit (vv. 34–37).

GSS15 *Sarvārthasiddhisādhana (Sādhana for [Gaining] Siddhi in All Things) by Advayavajra*[17]

The text opens with a *bali* offering and prescribes the generation from *hrīḥ* of a hog-faced wrathful Vajravārāhī in the *ālīḍha* stance *(Vajraghoṇā)*. This is followed by the entry of the knowledge deity and rites of worship for Vajrayoginī to preside.

GSS16 *Trayodaśātmikavajraḍākinīvajravārāhīsādhana*[18] *(Sādhana of the Thirteenfold Vajraḍākinī-Vajravārāhī) (in the lineage of Advayavajra?)*[19]

The text opens with seven verses praising Vajravārāhī and stating that the

17 Witnesses: GSS K74v1–75v1, N53r7–54r3, D55v5–56r9; Toh 1552, Ota 2260 (BBK: 278). This is the second of the *Six Texts of Vajravārāhi*. Cf. GSS18; GSS5 (Sed p.149¹, K34r4). A translation of the self-visualizaton section from the *Sarvārthasiddhisādhana* appears in the *Rin 'byung brgya rtsa* (Willson and Brauen 2000: 259), with some slight differences. Another sādhana with a similar name appears in the bsTan-'gyur, *Vajravārāhikalpasarvārthasiddhisādhana* (Toh 1578, Ota 3610).

18 *trayodaśātmika*] D; *trayodaśātmikā* K, N.

19 Witnesses: GSS K75v1–82r5, N54r3–59v2, D56r9–61v7. Sanderson (1997: personal communication) notes that the source for this sādhana is ADUT *paṭala* 56 (NGMPP, E 695/3 ff. 220v3–222r3: *hṛdayamantrakavacau devyā hṛdayabhāvanāpaṭalaḥ*). Toh 1595, Ota. 2306.

sādhana was taught by the lord in the *Lakṣābhidhānatantra*, on Mount Manobhaṅga/Cittaviśrāma. The visualization is of a six-armed warrior-stance Vajravārāhī and her generation from the thirteen syllables of the Vajravārāhī/Vajrayoginī heart mantra. The sequence of the prescriptions in the text is as follows: preliminaries (≈ GSS3/GSS31) ending with a bodhisattva vow, armoring, circle of protection, temple palace *(mahāvimāna)* surrounded by cremation grounds (with a short description of the cremation grounds drawing on SUT), visualization of the thirteen-syllabled mantra as the thirteenfold maṇḍala, the generation through awakenings of Vajravārāhī in iconographic form surrounded by Vajraḍākinī goddesses produced from syllables, the worship of the goddesses with imaginary offerings, entry of knowledge deities, armoring, praise, and bodhisattva vow, sevenfold worship with the recitation of flower-offering mantras followed by another bodhisattva vow, emptiness mantras with nonabiding, the repetition of the installation of the circle of protection and the subsequent visualization of Vajravārāhī produced suddenly with the maṇḍala retinue placed on points on the body, worship, the tasting of nectar, external *bali* offerings, another bodhisattva vow, concluding verses possibly by Advayavajra, and dedication of merit.

This sādhana combines several important themes. In its preparatory stages, it describes the cremation grounds in detail, as well as prescribing the visualization of a palace *(vimānaḥ/m)*. The erotic overtones of the sādhana may be associated with the fact that the sādhana was supposedly taught by the Buddha in the location of Mount Manobhaṅga and the pavilion, Cittaviśrāma, a place associated with erotic manifestations of Vajrayoginī. The structure of the sādhana is also unusual. The maṇḍala is first produced through an externalization of the thirteen syllables of the deity's mantra. This is then intensified by its transformation from mantric to iconographic form. The emanation of the iconographic maṇḍala is then repeated in a completion-stage practice, by self-generating it "all at once" *(jhaṭiti)*, thus indicating the sādhaka's complete integration of the external forms within himself. Finally, the mantra syllables of which the ḍākinī goddesses are representations are placed upon his body in a short body maṇḍala, thus internalizing the maṇḍala back into the body of the yogin. Every step in this process includes an armoring, and the sādhana therefore includes far more armor sections than is normal. This may be related to the fact that its central form of six-armed Vajraḍākinī-Vajravārāhī seems to have emerged from the form of the armor goddess, Vajravārāhī.

GSS17 *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 *Vajravārāhīkalpa*[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 *vajrayoginī*s 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 Vajravarṇanī (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.149[3], 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.151[6], K35v6; *GSS28.

23 K84r3: *siddhaśabarapādadeśitaṃ* (D63r9 is without its usual colophon *iti śrīguhya-samayatantre...*).

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 *Vidyādharīkramavajrayoginīsādhana*[25] *(Vajrayoginī Sādhana with the Vidyādharī Method) (in the lineage of Śabara? 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 Vidyādharī 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 *ūrdhvapāda* forms of Vajrayoginī, Vajraḍākinī is the epithet in the heart mantra.

GSS22 *Vidyādharīkramabhāvanā*[26] *(Vidyādharī Method Meditation) (in the lineage of Śabara? See GSS23 below)*

The *bhāvanā* opens by describing itself as a "Vidyādharī-method meditation"

The Chinnamuṇḍāvajravārāhisādhana 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 Meisezahl (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 *(mahāymāyātantrasya 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.

(oṃ siddhiḥ. vidyādharīkramabhāvanā). It has no colophon (ending simply: *iti āmnāyaḥ*). Since the previous sādhana (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 sādhana except that it begins with a yogic emptiness meditation in which the body is dissolved in stages into clear light. See chapter 2 for a description of the "mad observance" *(unmattacaryā)* prescribed in the text and for this text's relationship to other Śabara-based texts.

GSS23 *Vidyādharīvajrayoginyārādhanavidhi (Propitiation Rite of Vidyādharī Vajrayoginī) according to Śabara*[27]

The *Ārādhanavidhi* begins with a hagiographical account of Śabara's attempts to achieve a vision of the goddess, her eventual appearance to him in her mountainous setting, and her promise to teach a method by which even lazy practitioners can achieve a vision of her in six months (K87r1–88r2). The text then lists eight teachers in the transmission lineage (K88r2, cf. **Siddha-Āmnāya* p. 10). Finally, it describes five kinds of rite: worship, visualization, subjection, *bali* offering, and accepting a pupil (K88r3: *atra pūjābhāvanāvaśīkaraṇabaliśiṣyānugraha iti pañcaprakārāḥ*).

27 Witnesses: K87r1–89v6, N63r7–65v3, D65v4–67v8; cf. GSS21, GSS22, GSS10, GSS5 Sed p.153[11], K38r1, Toh, Ota.–? Cf. **Siddha-Āmnāya*. Śabara's lineage is only named directly in this Vidyādharī text (GSS23), although the rite in GSS22 is related to the *Ārādhanavidhi* in Śabara's lineage in GSS5. There are also similarities with the *Guhyavajravilāsinīsādhana* by Śabara (GSS10), such as the mountainous location, the wish to obtain a vision of the goddess, the goal of siddhi in six months, and the focus on mahāmudrā (also mentioned in GSS22, K86v2). GSS10 may also hint at the hagiography in GSS23 in which the sādhaka loses heart and decides that the lord's promise must be untrue (cf. GSS10 K53r3–4 v. 145: *yadi candras tathā sūryo bhūmau patati śīryate / tathāpi lokanāthasya nedaṃ vaco mṛṣā bhavet*). The **Siddha-Āmnāya* is similar in structure to GSS23. It opens with a verse hagiography of Advayavajra's life, in the course of which he discovers Śabara in the same mountainous location as that described in the GSS Vidyādharī/ Guhyavajravilāsinī texts. After the hagiographical introduction, both texts include a succession list and a Vajrayoginī-based ritual. This is followed in the longer **Siddha-Āmnāya* by another succession list, a repeat of its verse hagiography in prose, another succession list, and another Vajrayoginī rite.

GSS24 *Lakṣmīsādhana*[28] *by Lakṣmī/Lakṣmīṅkarā?*[29]

After an opening *namaskāra,* the text describes preliminary preparations and the self-generation of Trikāyavajrayoginī with attendant goddesses Vajravairocanī (left) and Vajravarṇanī (right). An external pūjā follows, with prescriptions for traditional offerings within a drawn maṇḍala accompanied by offering mantras to the goddesses, to four sites, to the four bodies of the Buddha, and ending with the utterance of a tripartite root mantra. The number of mantric utterances required for the *pūrvasevā* is supplied, with the siddhi they achieve. The sādhana ends with a frame verse and a concluding *bali* mantra. This sādhana varies slightly in phrasing and content from the other Trikāyavajrayoginī sādhanas in the GSS, as in details of the awakenings, more elaborate external offerings, and the *pūrvasevā* section. Judging by Benard's translation of the Tibetan text (1994: 74–75), the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts diverge only slightly, e.g., the seed-syllable *hrīṃ* (GSS24) appears in my bsTan 'gyur edition as *hrīḥ.* The offerings to the maṇḍala are slightly expanded, and a corrupt passage in the Sanskrit describing the fruits of *japa* is found intact in the Tibetan.

GSS25 *Trikāyavajrayoginīsādhana*[30] *(Sādhana of Triple-Bodied Vajrayoginī) by Virūpa*[31]

The text covers the self-generation of Trikāyavajrayoginī with attendant

28 Witnesses: K89v6–91r5, N65v3–66v7, D67v8–69r3. This is the second of the Six Texts of Vajravārāhī (Toh. 1554, Ota. 2262). Cf. Benard (1994: 66 & 79 n. 14).

29 According to Benard (1994: 66), *Lakṣmī* in the title is a reference to the text's author, whom she identifies as Lakṣmiṅkarā. The Tibetan translation of the *Lakṣmīsādhana* (GSS24) appears in the bsTan 'gyur as **Chinnamuṇḍā Vajravārāhī Sādhana.* Its translator bLo ldan shes rab (1059–1109) names the Indian author as Śrīmatidevī. Bernard concludes that since the sādhana is not of the deity Lakṣmī, the title must refer to the author, and that Śrīmatidevī is therefore an epithet of the ninth Lakṣmī/Lakṣmiṅkarā. Lakṣmiṅkarā's best-known surviving work in Sanskrit is the *Advayasiddhi* (ed. Mishra 1995). There are nine works attributed to her in the Tibetan bsTan 'gyur (listed by Robinson 1979: 306), although her fame rests chiefly upon her transmission of the *Six Texts of Vajravārāhī.*

30 °*sādhanam*] corr.; *ity āryatrikāyavajrayoginī(pitacchinnamaṣṭā)sādhanam* K92v6(mg2), *-pitacchinnamastāsādhanam* N68r2, *ity āryaguhyasamayatantre trikāyavajrayoginicitacchinnamastāsādhanam* D70r7–8.

31 Witnesses GSS K91r5–92v6, N66v7–68r3, D69r3–70r8. For close witnesses see GSS20. Toh. 1555, Ota. 2263 (?).

See also Nihom's article (1992). The Vajrayoginī text that Nihom presents

goddesses Vajravairocanī (left) and Vajravarṇanī (right); utterance of the tripartite *japa* mantra; an external pūjā within a drawn maṇḍala, with offering mantras to the goddesses, to four sites, and to the four bodies of the Buddha; the subsequent utterance of the tripartite root mantra and a concluding *bali* mantra (called *mūlamantraḥ*); and finally, a dedication of merit.

GSS26 *Piṇḍārthāḥ Ṣoḍaśaślokās Trikāyavajrayoginyāḥ (Sixteen Praise Verses of Triple-Bodied Vajrayoginī with Essential Meaning) by Virūpa*[32]

The text opens with four salutations to (1) the Three Jewels, (2) the guru, buddha, and bodhisattvas, (3) the *vajravilāsinī*s, and (4) the ten *krodha*s with their consorts. This is followed by a brief *bali* mantra and two introductory praise verses. The sixteen (unnumbered) verses of the *stotra* praise different aspects of Vajrayoginī's inner and outer nature, especially her universal aspect as a manifestation of all other goddesses. The *stotra* ends with a praise section of six verses (K94r3–6).

(from a manuscript belonging to J. Locke) is identifiably our GSS25. According to Nihom's edition, Locke's manuscript differs in a few minor points. For example, there are a handful of variants and scribal errors, the omission of mantra units *hūṃ* and *phaṭ* on a couple of occasions, and some differences in the final dedicatory verse. One significant difference is the addition in Locke's ms. of heart and auxiliary-heart mantras. These appear after the worship section with tripartite *japa* mantra, and before the *bali* mantra *(oṃ vajravairocanīye hūṃ phaṭ hṛdayamantraḥ. oṃ vajrayoginīye upahṛdyamantraḥ oṃkārādi-āsvāhāntena pūjāyitvā pūrvavad visarjayed iti).* This is a rather unwelcome addition. No other sādhanas in this set mention these mantras, and the auxiliary-heart mantra is, in any case, incomplete. It is followed by the phrase used in GSS5 to explain the formulation of the mantras with the sites and to finish the visualization (see ch. 2). I suggest that Locke's manuscript has become contaminated at this point. Some emendations/corrections to Nihom's edition are desirable in the light of our texts. In particular, the flow of blood into Vajrayoginī's own head should be from *avadhūtī* (Nihom 1992: 227, 229). Nihom 1992 n. 37 *(kabandhād avadhṛtivartmanā niḥsṛtā ṣṛgdhārā)* should read *kabandhād avadhūtīvartmanā niḥsṛtā ṣṛgdhārā....* Other conclusions reached in the article should also be revised or elaborated upon in the light of the evidence presented by the *Guhyasamayasādhanamālā.*

32 Witnesses: GSS K92v6–94r6, N68r3–69r3, D70r8–71r9; ed. *Dhīḥ* (no. 2 1986: 4–5). Cf. Benard (1994: 74) for an English translation from the edition in *Dhīḥ.* The edition in *Dhīḥ* omits the opening salutations, *bali* mantra, and two introductory praise verses and, judging by its distinctive colophon, was based on our manuscript D or one related to it. Toh., Ota.–?

GSS27 *Trikāyavajrayoginīstutipraṇidhāna*[33] *(Praise Contemplation of Triple-Bodied Vajrayoginī) by Virūpa?*[34]

The opening salutations are identical to GSS26. The text then gives a verse description of the iconography of Trikāyavajrayoginī and her attendents, which is followed by verses supplicating the compassionate goddesses to help the humble devotee.

GSS28 *Vajrayoginīsādhana (incomplete)*[35]

The bulk of the sādhana is lost due to five missing folios in K (ff. 96–100). The final folio of the work (f. 101r) contains the concluding *bali* mantra, injunctions to practice on auspicious nights, and the colophon. The final injunctions are similar to those in other texts that prescribe the visualization of a warrior-stance Vajrayoginī. The sādhana also appears in a group of repeated sādhanas. It is not known whether the missing folios included one long work or whether other sādhana(s) may have been lost also.

GSS29 *Saṃkṣiptavajravārāhīsādhana*[36] *(Brief Vajravārāhī Sādhana) by Vilāsavajra*[37]

The opening verse is almost identical to that in SM226/SM227. The text then continues parallel to GSS4≈SM217 except that it prescribes the *ālīḍha* stance with the six signs of observance (*mudrās*) (rather than the *pratyālīḍha* stance as in GSS4, with no mention of the mudrās), and it omits the armoring and summoning of deities and *bali* offering.

33 *trikāyavajrayoginīstutipraṇidhāna*] corr.; *trikāyavajrayoginyāḥ stutipraṇidhānaṃ* codd.

34 Witnesses: GSS K94r6–95v6, N69r6–70v2, D71v4–72v7. The author's name has been added by a second hand in the oldest manuscript (K95v7) and is included in N and D. Toh., Ota.–?

35 Witnesses: K101r1–2; cf. GSS19, GSS5 (Sed p.151[13], K36r4), SM236.

36 Witnesses: GSS K101r2–102r1, N70r2–71r4, D72v8–73v2 ≈ SM227, *Jvālāvalī* no. 11 *(Vajravārāhīsādhanakalpa);* Toh 3300; Ota 4122≈5130 (SS, BBK: 465); cf. GSS4≈SM226.

37 Tribe (1994) has distinguished Vilāsavajra, author of this tantric sādhana, from the mid to late eighth-century yogatantra exegete of the same name. A discussion of the two authors appears in Tribe's introduction to his doctoral thesis on the *Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī* commentary to the *Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* by the earlier Vilāsavajra (sometimes also called "Līlāvajra" and occassionally confused with an eleventh-century "Lalitavajra," disciple of Maitrīpa, Tilopa, and Nāropa). Tribe records that he was teacher to Buddhajñāna/Jñānapāda (a pupil of Hari-

GSS30 *Vajrayoginīsādhana*[38] *See above, GSS9.*

GSS31 *Vajravārāhīsādhana*[39]
The work is nearly identical to GSS3 except for an opening *namaskāra* and an additional *balipūjā.*

GSS32 *Binducūḍāmaṇir nāma svādhiṣṭhānakramaḥ*
(Self-Consecration Method Known As the Crest Jewel of the Drop)
by Sahajāvalokanasamādhivajra[40]
This is the first of three *svādhiṣṭhāna* (self-consecration) method sādhanas in the GSS collection (GSS32, GSS33, and GSS34). The set is unusual in a number of ways. All three sādhanas focus upon the male deity Cakrasaṃvara as well as his consort, Vajrayoginī/Vajravārāhī. Both deities are visualized as drops (*bindus*) within the sādhaka's body, which is visualized as a skeleton-arch *(karaṅkatoraṇam)* located in the midst of the cremation grounds. The meditations espoused are often obscure, based on the visualization of the deities-as-drops produced from the syllables of the salutation *(namaḥ śrīvajrayoginī):* their fusion in yogic meditations is productive of great bliss. The visualization of iconic forms are sited on/in the sexual organs and often involve deities not mentioned elsewhere in the Vajrayoginī corpus. The vocabulary of the sādhanas 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 Jñānapāda tradition of *Guhyasamājatantra* exegesis in the eighth century), and that he also has a tenuous connection with the early Indrabhūti lineage in that he may be linked to the translator rMa Rin chen mchog, "known to be one of the first six or seven Tibetans ordained at bSam-yas by Śāntarakṣita (779 C.E.)" *(ibid.).* Another work sometimes attributed to the earlier commentator, but which Tribe considers to be more likely that of the later author, is the *Mahāṭilakakrama* (Toh 1290). Tribe states that it is "placed in the *Hevajratantra* section of the bsTan-'gyur...concerned with completion stage practices." Vilāsavajra is hailed as guru by Sahajāvalokanasamādhivajra, author of the first Svādhiṣṭhāna text (GSS32).

38 Witnesses: K102r1–102v2, N71r4–71v4, D73v2–74r2 ≈ GSS9 ≈ SM234. Toh., Ota.–?

39 Witnesses: GSS K102v3–104v5, N71v4–73v1, D74r2–75v8 ≈ GSS3 ≈ SM217, Toh. 1542, Ota 2287 (BBK: 274), *Yum skor* (BBK: 273–74). Cf. Toh. 3607, Ota. 4429; Meisezahl (1967, 1980).

40 Witnesses: K104v6–106v5, N73v1–74v7, D75v8–77r8; cf. GSS33, GSS34.

often found for *mahāsukham* (e.g., *urusātam, mahāsātam, śarman*), as well as for Vajrayoginī (e.g., Sarustrī, Sahajāṅganā, Suruyoginī, Paviyoginī, Vyādhāmayoginī). The development of the *svādhiṣṭhāna* wing of the *kāpālika* movement requires further research. Isaacson (in his unpublished annotations to the *Hevajrasekaprakriyā* 1996) explores its textual provenance. He refers to the *Pañcakrama* (chapter 3 of *Svādhiṣṭhānakrama*), which provides the backdrop to the yoginītantra practices and to yoginītantra exegetes, such as Advayavajra (e.g., in the *Advayavajrasaṃgraha: Pañcatathāgatamudrāvivaraṇa, Caturmudrāniścaya,* and *Amanasikārādhāra*), Lakṣmīṅkarā (in *Advayasiddhi* in *Guhyādyaṣṭasiddhisaṃgraha* Rare Buddhist Texts no. 1, Sarnath, 1987 pp. 162–63), Abhayākaragupta (in *Buddhakapālatantra*), and Padmavajra (in *Guhyasiddhiḥ* 4.61). Typical references to *svādhiṣṭhāna* refer to its completion methodology, its inconceivability, and its rejection of ritual, including *dīkṣā, homa,* mantras, and special days for observance.[41] Isaacson (1998: personal communication) has also pointed to the connection between *svādhiṣṭhāna* practices and the late tantric methodology of the *Vasantatilakā,* which also deals with internalized yogic practice (Vasanta/ Heruka as a drop in the heart merges with Tilakā/Vārāhī, a drop in the navel or sex, *nirmāṇacakra*), but whereas the Vasantatilakā practices are internal and relate mainly to the movement of drops between the heart and navel, the emphasis in the GSS texts is upon the locus of the sex organs and the generation of sexual passion, either in practice with a consort or imaginally.[42]

41 See SUT ch. 21, vv. 6ff.; *Pañcakrama* (ch. 3, v. 45): *sarvapūjāṃ parityajya gurupūjāṃ samārabhet / tena tuṣṭeṇa tal labhyaṃ sarvajñajñāñam uttamam* (also cited SUT ch. 33, v. 27); YSCT (ch. 12, v. 1): *na rakṣaṇīyaṃ na bhakṣaṇīyaṃ na maṇḍaleyaṃ, na ca maṇḍalaṃ ca / na mantrajāpo na tapo na homaḥ samāsataś cittasamājarūpī;* ch. 15 (A7v): *nākāryam vidyate kiṃcit/ nācintyaṃ vidyate sadā / nābhakṣaṃ vidyate kiṃcit nāvācyaṃ yac chubhāśubhaṃ /... iti saṃcintya yogātmā sarvamudrāmantravarjitaṃ siṃhavad vicaret vīraḥ sarvāśāparipūrakaḥ;* Āryadeva's *Svādhiṣṭhānaprabheda* (*Dhīḥ* vol. 10, pp. 20–24, v. 7): *nātra śaucaṃ na niyamo na tapo na ca duṣkaram / aduṣkarair aniyamaiḥ sukhair harṣaiś ca sidhyati.* Cf. *Vārāhyabhyudayatantra* vv. 4–5.

42 In terms of dating such practices, Isaacson *(ibid.)* notes that Abhayākaragupta was aware of the method, and refers to it in his commentary to the *Buddhakapālatantra.* There is also a reference to *vasantatilakā* in the *Saṃputodbhavatantra* (6.2.iff.), here referring to the fusion of two drops (Tilakā/Nairātmyā in the navel, with Vasanta/ *hūṃ,* the "unsounded syllable" *anāhataṃ bījaṃ,* in the heart).

GSS32 starts with three *namaskāra* verses. The first lauds the non-discriminatory mind "without rememberance and recollections" *(asmṛti-manasikāra);* the second salutes the supreme Bindurāja; the third acknowledges the teacher Vilāsavajra. The sādhana is divided into three "teachings" *(upadeśāḥ).* The first *upadeśa* states that in the *svādhiṣṭhāna-*method practice *(svādhiṣṭhānakramayoge),* there is no necessity for place, time, or purification in rites of the maṇḍala, or for oblation with mantric utterances. It prescribes the contemplation of the Bindurāja within the *dharmodayā* on the sex organ *(nirmāṇābjam).* The second *upadeśa* prescribes the cultivation of passion *(anurāgam)* in obscure Sanskrit (including a verse also found in HT1.9.19). The third *upadeśa* describes the internalization of sites and places, the generation of Vajravārāhī from *hūṃ* in the navel, her contemplation as a *bindu* moving along the internal channels, her embrace with Heruka, and the bliss *(sātam)* of the union of the vagina *(kakkolaḥ)* and penis *(bolaḥ).*

GSS33 *Paramagambhīrakaraṅkatoraṇakramavajrayoginīsādhanasvādhiṣṭhānakrama*[43] *(Self-Consecration Method Vajrayoginī Sādhana with the Supremely Profound Method of the Skeleton Arch)*

The sādhana is divided into profound *(gambhīra)* expositions of the generation *(utpattiḥ)* and completion *(utpannaḥ)* stages, with a teaching *(uddeśaḥ)* and a detailed teaching *(nirdeśaḥ)* upon each.

1. *gambhīrotpattikrama-uddeśaḥ:* The written syllables *śrī-va-jra-yo-gi-nī* produce the shape of a skeleton arch. From the syllables *na-ma,* the yogin visualizes himself in its center as Cakreśa (Cakrasaṃvara) in union with Paviyoginī *(pavi = vajra).* From the sexual yoga arise two throbbing *bindus* that fuse together. This gives rise to the armor goddesses produced from syllables *śrī-va-jra-yo,* the first called Vyādhāmayoginī *(vyādhāma = vajra),* with Yāminī, Mohanī, etc.

2. *gambhīrotpattikramanirdeśaḥ:* The divine couple produced from *na-ma* are seen inside the temple of the skeleton arch. The Cakrasaṃvara/Vajravārāhī maṇḍala of *kāpālika* gods surrounding the central deity (called

43 Witnesses: GSS K106v5–111r4, N74v7–78r3, D77r8–80v9. Toh 1568, Ota. 2276 "*Kaṅkālatālasādhana* attributed to Dārikapa." I thank Dr. Isaacson for noting the Tibetan translation (he adds that the Tibetan text is similar to GSS34, but with added material at the end, possibly from Toh 1569, which may be a commentary on 1568 by Kumārabodhi).

here *Jñānasāgara*) is visualized on the erect penis, which "whirls intensely" in the vagina.

3. *utpannakrama-uddeśaḥ:* The syllables *na-ma* are internalized yogic drops; this introduces four yogas that describe the two *bindu*s moving through the body creating great bliss *(urusātam, mahāsātam, śarman).* The yogas describe different *samādhi*s, in which Vajrayoginī is denoted by synonyms (Sarustrī, Sahajāṅganā, Suruyoginī, Paviyoginī, Vyādhāmayoginī).

4. The final section of the sādhana describes a *kumārīpūjā.* (It quotes Saraha in an *apabhraṃśa* verse, part of which appears also in the HT2.4.67.)

GSS34 *Paramagambhīropadeśo*[44] *Vajrayoginyāḥ Karaṅkatoraṇakramaḥ Svādhiṣṭhānam (Supremely Profound Teaching: Self-Consecration As Skeleton-Arch Method of Vajrayoginī) by Dhyāyīpāda*[45]

The author acknowledges that the work is written by the grace of Lūyīpāda, and through the power of self-consecration (K111v1: *lūyīpādaprasādena svādhiṣṭhānabalena ca*) and later ascribes a *bhāvanā* to Lūyīpāda (K115r6). He cites many verses from other sources, referring by name to the *śrī-Hevajradvikalparāja* (K114r3), *Sahajanirdeśa* (K114v2), and *Caturmudrān-vaya* (K115r4) (none of which are listed in BBK although a *Sahajasiddhi* by Ḍombiheruka is given on p. 351, and a *Caturmudrāniścaya* by Nāgārjuna on pp. 352, 358). He refers also to the *Tattvajñānasaṃsiddhi-svādhiṣṭāna-krama* (BBK: 277, now published). The opening *śārdūlavikrīḍita* verse is a homage to Vyādhāmaśrīyoginī. Its (perhaps willfully?) corrupt Sanskrit is followed by the author's claim that "To me [what matters is] reliance on meaning not reliance on syllables, and similarly, reliance on dharmas, not reliance on persons."[46] In the choice of a site that follows, there is a suggestion of lay involvement (K111v3: *svagṛhe <vā> vijane nirupadrave vasan*).

44 *paramagambhiropadeśo*] em.; *paramagāmbhiropadeśa* K.

45 Witnesses: K111r4–118r2, N78r3–83r4, D81r1–86r4. I can find no other reference to the author, Dhāyīpāda, who seems to have been a pupil in the lineage of Lūyīpāda, as he refers three time to Lūyīpāda as the source of the teaching (GSS34 K111v1, K115r6, K116v4). Toh., Ota.–?

46 GSS34 (K111r6): *arthapratisaraṇatā mahyaṃ na vyañjanapratisaraṇatā. dharma-pratisaraṇatā caiva na pudgalapratisaraṇatā.* • *vyañjanapratisaraṇatā*] corr.; *vyañjanapratisaraṇato* K. In fact, this expresses a common idea in Buddhist literature, and references are given by Edgerton q.v. *pratisaraṇa/apratiśaraṇa*, e.g., *Mahāvyutpatti* 1546: *arthapratisaraṇena bhavitavyaṃ na vyañjanapratisaraṇena*, "one must rely on the real meaning, not the 'letter,'" etc.

In outline, the meditations of the practice are as follows:

1. The sādhana describes the visualization of the syllables of the obeisance *na-ma-śrī* and the production from those of the skeleton arch and deities. First is visualized the skeleton arch (from *na-*) surrounded by fearsome cremation grounds, the corpse throne with sun disc (from *ma-*), and the goddess Vyādhāmayoginī (from *śrī-*). Next comes the teaching on the five syllables *(pañcākṣaranirdeśaḥ) va-jra-yo-gi-nī,* which produces the armor goddesses (K112v4).

2. The twenty-four sites are then equated with the skeleton arch visualized in the *nirmāṇa* lotus, i.e., the vagina (K113r3). These are internalized (lit: suppressed, *nirodhaḥ*).

3. The cremation grounds are also internalized and equated with the psychophysical organism in a kind of yogic body maṇḍala (K113r5–114r3).

4. A yogic meditation induces a deep meditative state (ascribed to a text called the *Sahajanirdeśa,* K114v2).

5. There is an installation (of syllables?) onto the limbs of four goddesses equated with the four types of consort *(mudrā)* (karma-, dharma-, samaya-, and mahāmudrā, K114v5). The meditations and quotes that follow expand upon the four mudrās, e.g., the *Caturmudrānvaya* is cited regarding the qualities of the *karmamudrā* (K115r4).

6. A six-spoked Cakrasaṃvara/Vajravārāhī maṇḍala is visualized on the erect penis and another within the vagina. The central figure is the lord under the arch; there follow yogic meditations of union.

7. Meditations by Lūyīpāda (K115r6) equate the cremation ground with the eight *vijñānas*; the skeleton arch is visualized in their midst with the fusion of two *bījas* in its center productive of "great lust and passion" *(mahārāgānurāga-).* There is a reflection on the *bindu* upon the syllable *hūṃ* and the union of two *bindus*.

8. An explanation follows of the *samayamudrā* in which *samaya* is defined as twofold, *rakṣaṇam,* and *bhakṣaṇam* (K116r2; see ch. 3), and each is further defined as tenfold. Yogic meditations on the *nāda* are prescribed, producing the nondual awareness called *samayamudrā.*

9. The yogin is to meditate on mahāmudrā according to the teaching of Lūyīpāda (K116v4), with the contemplation of the skeleton as compassion and the arch as emptiness, and mahāmudrā within that. The siddhi of mahāmudrā is attained through yogic meditations. (The text includes a citation from the *Tattvajñānasaṃsiddhi* K117v2–3.)

GSS35 *Indrabhūtikrameṇa Vajrayoginīsādhanam (Vajrayoginī Sādhana in the Tradition of Indrabhūti) by Vijayavajra*[47]

The preparations stress the practitioner's assimilation to the form and identity of the deity; they require him to face west, to understand himself to be in the "great cemetery, Oḍḍiyāna," and to wear red. Following his enjoyment of the five nectars and contemplation of the *brahmavihāra*s, he suddenly takes on the *ahaṃkāra* of the deity. The vajra ground is installed, followed by emptiness meditations and the visualization of the cosmos with Mount Sumeru. A four-armed Vajrayoginī is generated internally. The knowledge deities are summoned and worshiped with the supreme worship and the tasting of nectar (K119r2), which is followed by a yogic-type armoring (of the six cakras and nine orifices with *hūṃ,* K119v4) and a yogic meditation in which mantras are visualized flowing through the body, culminating in the nonperception of dharmas. In an external rite, the form of the goddess is self-generated suddenly and empowered with an armoring (as before, K119v3). The ground is prepared with transgressive substances, a maṇḍala is drawn, and offerings made. In this rite, the letters of the mantra are drawn counterclockwise on the surface of a mirror with vermilion powder, and the knowledge form is drawn into it. There follow rites performed with the left hand (K119v6–120r), namely, the hand worship, tasting of nectar, and *bali* offerings, followed by praise, the bodhisattva vow, and a dedication of merit. Two short rites describe the means of accepting a pupil (K120r2) and of creating an amulet (K120r6–v).

GSS36 *Kūrmapatanakrameṇa Vajrayoginīsādhana*[48] *(Sādhana of Vajrayoginī with the Method of the Falling Turtle)*

This form of Vajrayoginī is generated in front of the sādhaka inside a double *dharmodayā* with the aid of an image of the goddess. She is produced through a sequence of awakenings and stands in the "falling-turtle" stance. It concludes with a *bali* ritual.

47 Witnesses: K118r2–120v3, N83r4–85r4, D86r4–88r4. Toh., Ota.–?

48 Witnesses: K120v3–121v2, N85r4–85v6, D88r4–88v8. Bhattacarya (SM vol. 2, p. cxiv) provides a list of sixteen texts by Śabara in the bsTan 'gyur, including one called *Kūrmapādasiddhisādhana.* This is not among the texts that Robinson lists from the bsTan 'gyur by Śabara (1979: 291). Toh. 1560, Ota. 2268; Toh. 1559, Ota. 2267; cf. Ota. 5134.

GSS37 *Oḍḍiyānasvādhiṣṭhānakramavajrayoginīsādhana (Vajrayoginī Sādhana from Oḍḍiyāna with the Self-Consecretion Method) by Virūpa*[49]

The text prescribes the self-generation (from *hrīṃ*) of white Vajrayoginī with two arms in a standing pose, or alternatively an aniconic visualization of the syllable *hrīṃ* in the *dharmodaya*, with offerings of *bali* at the four junctures. After practice on ten *parvan* days, a vision of Vajrayoginī is promised, to be preceded by omens. Rites of appeasement, etc., are then to be performed. The text is corrupt where it prescribes the pose *(† pratyālīḍhastham ūrdhvapādaṃ ca †).*[50] Although there is no trace of a dual in the text, it may have intended these poses to refer to two attendant goddesses who would be placed one on each side of the central goddess. It is noteworthy in this respect that Vajrayoginī wears the six mudrās of a maṇḍala leader. Another threefold maṇḍala is also described in other texts associated with Virūpa, cf. the Trikāyavajrayoginī group. Possibly indicative of corruption is the unnecessary repetition of the goddess as two armed *(dvibhujāṃ)* just before the poses are given.

The white form of Vajrayoginī described in GSS37 appears in the GSS collection beside the white warrior-stance Vajravārāhī (GSS38) shown to be related to white Vajraghoṇā-Vajravārāhī. The two manifestations share some details, such as the goddess's generation from a white syllable *hrīṃ* (GSS37) or *hriḥ* (GSS38). However, the white Vajrayoginī in GSS37 has most in common with the red warrior-stance Vajrayoginī, as described in GSS19. The ritual portions are similar in that both prescribe worship of the goddess on an auspicious night. GSS37 adds that the goal is siddhi (K122r1: *vajrayoginīsiddhyarthaṃ*) and mentions various omens and a vision of the goddess as a prerequisite for peaceful rites. The heart and auxiliary-heart mantras and *bali* mantra are the same in both texts, and both also supply the tripartite root mantra. In GSS37 the latter is a little unusual because

49 Witnesses: K121v2–122r5, N85v6–86r7, D88v8–89v1; cf. GSS38, GSS19. Toh., Ota.–?

50 GSS37 (K121v3): *svahṛdi padme candrasūryadharmodayāmadhye śuklahrīṃkārapariṇāmena bhagavati<ṃ> vajrayoginīm ekamukhāṃ muktakeśāṃ nagnāṃ pīnonnatapayodharāṃ dvibhujāṃ raktavarṇā<ṃ> trilocanāṃ śavārūḍhāṃ hārārdhahārakiṅkiṇījālakhaṇḍamaṇḍitamekhalāmālādiṣaṇmudropetāṃ bhāvayet. dharmodayāmaṇḍale dvibhujāṃ kapālavajrakhaṭvāṅgadharāṃ † pratyālīḍhastham ūrdhvapādaṃ ca † brahmaśirasam ākramya sādhayet sthiramānasaḥ /* (mantras follow).

• *kiṅkiṇī*] em.; *kiṅkiṇīṃ* K • *dharmodayā*] em; *dharmodaya* K • *śirasam*] conj. (*śiras* used as masc.); *brahmaśiram* K.

the mantra deity Vajravairocanī appears in first place (rather than the usual third place), and the syllable *hrīṃ* is inserted at the end *(oṃ vajravairocanīye sarvabuddhaḍākinīye vajravarṇanīye hrīṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā).*

GSS38 *Āryaśuklavajravārāhīsādhana*[51] *(Sādhana of Noble White Vajravārāhī)*

After a *namaskāra* verse, the text describes the preliminary worship and emptiness meditations, a series of awakenings from a white, five-pointed vajra produced from *hrīḥ,* and the self-generation of white, two-armed Vajravārāhī in *ālīḍha* stance. The awakenings, yogic recitation of a *mantramālā,* and rites are those associated with the (white?) Vajraghoṇā manifestation described in GSS5, the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5 Sed pp. 150–51, K35r1–35v1). A much fuller sādhana centering on this white form of Vajravārāhī and her associated rites, is found in the *Prajñālokasādhana* by Koṅkadatta (SM218), with some overlapping text, especially in the ritual portions. The brief reference to the rite of subordination (preceded by a rite of tasting nectar) with which GSS38 ends is also found in the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS K35v1–6), and this is described much more fully in SM219, probably ending with the final line listed as SM220. The GSS texts in fact demonstrate that SM218–SM220 are continuous text; the colophons in the SM (perhaps editorial?) are misleading, and the opening lines in SM219 referring to the generation of the goddess in the sequence "given previously" (p. 432: *pūrvoktakrameṇa niṣpannāṃ bhagavatīṃ*) refers to the previous sādhana, SM218.

GSS39 *Vajravārāhīhomavidhi.*[52] *See GSS8*

GSS40 *Commentary on Portions of GSS1 (Colophon in D: Vajravārāhīsādhana)*[53]

GSS40 opens with commentary upon the *namaskāra* verse (GSS1: *namaḥ śrīvajrayoginyai śūnyatākaruṇātmane...*), which it interprets as an internal

51 *āryaśuklavajravārāhīsādhanam*] corr.; *āryaśuklavajravārāhyāḥ sādhanam* K. Witnesses: K122r5–123r4, N86r7–87r3, D89v1–90r5; cf. GSS5 (Sed p.150[3], K35r1). Cf. SM218 (p. 426–31); with SM219–20.

52 *vajravārāhīhomavidhiḥ*] corr.; *vajravārāhyā homavidhiḥ* K. Witnesses: GSS K123r4–124r3, N87r3–87v6, D90r5–908v ≈ GSS8. Toh., Ota.–?

53 Witnesses: GSS K124r3–125r3, N87v6–88v2, D90v1–91v3; cf. GSS1. The colophon in D *(Vajravārāhīsādhana)* is a misleading late addition. Toh., Ota.–?

yogic meditation with drops based on the four consecrations in the Hevajra system. It then comments upon the *parvapūjā* and upon the frame verses praising transgressive practice. The remaining commentary is upon text that is not part of GSS1 in this recension of the sādhana.

GSS41 *Vajravārāhīkalpa (Vajravārāhī Ritual)*[54]
A sacrificial rite *(yāgakriyā)* in the cremation ground in which a wrathful form of Vajravārāhī is visualized in the fire and is propitiated with ground-up buffalo meats for the attainment of black-magic siddhis.

GSS42 *Vajrayoginīpraṇāmaikaviṃśikā (Stotra) (Twenty-One Praise Verses for Saluting Vajrayoginī)*[55]
A twenty-one-verse *stotra* (verses are numbered in the text) praising Vajrayoginī: her embodiment of the four blisses, her compassion, her transcendent wisdom (in Yogācāra terms), and her ability to manifest with many different forms, including as the supreme goddess in other religious systems (Śakti, Caṇḍī, "Vedavatī," Kubjikā, Vaiṣṇavatī, etc., according to the different religious systems).

GSS43 *Vajravilāsinīstotra (Praise of Vajravilāsinī) by Vibhūticandra*[56]
The *stotra* consists of forty-five (unnumbered) couplets. The meter is not *āryagīti* proper, since the final short syllable must often be read as long to make up the full sixteen *mātrās* in each *pāda;* there is some rhyme and *yamaka.* The iconography and character of Vajravilāsinī are described.

GSS44 *Svādhiṣṭhānakumārītarpaṇavidhi*[57] *(The Self-Consecration Rite for Propitiating a Virgin)*
After the *namaskāra* and an expression of the guru's worth, the text is lost. Ten folios are missing in K (ff. 129–38), and N and D note the lacuna. It seems that one lengthy sādhana is contained in the missing portion. The text resumes (K139r1) with a description of the outer portion of the thirty-seven-deity maṇḍala, citing a verse from the YSCT/SUT group (= GSS11

54 Witnesses: GSS K125r3–125v5, N88v2–89r2, D91v4–92r4. Toh., Ota.–?
55 Witnesses: GSS K125v5–127r2, N89r2–91r1, D92r4–93r4; Ms. "C" (CUL ms. add. 1697 IV, photocopy); ed. *Dhīḥ* no. 1 (1986: 1–3). Toh., Ota.–?
56 Witnesses: GSS K127r2–128v4, N91r2–91r6, D93r4–94v2; ed. *Dhīḥ* no. 1 (1986: 4–6). Cf. Toh. 1602, Ota. 4681.
57 Witnesses: GSS K128v5–139v2, N91r6–91v7, D94v2–95r4. Toh., Ota.–?

v.41) and the statement that all goddesses wear vajra garlands on their brows (= GSS11 §21). There is a brief reference to the purification of the sense organs, the summoning of a knowledge maṇḍala, and its empowerment with the respective mantras for each deity. There follow worship and praise, the offering of *bali*, and the dismissal of the deities.

GSS45 *Indrajitkramavajrayoginīsādhana*[58] *(Vajrayoginī Sādhana with the Method for Conquering Indra)*

This is very similar to GSS17 (see above) and prescribes the generation of a white, raised-foot-pose form of Vajrayoginī.

GSS46 *Ḍākinīguhyasamayasādhana*[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, *Saṃvarodayatantra, Abhidhānottaratantra, Kālacakramūlatantra (Paramādibuddhatantra)*, the *Catuṣpīṭha, Māyājāla*, and *Ḍākinījālapañjara*. He is extensively influenced by Kālacakra exegetical works, such as the *Vimalaprabhā*, Vajrapāṇi's *Laghutantraṭīkā (Piṇḍārtha)*, the *Amṛtakaṇikā*, and *Sekkoddeśaṭīkā*. The text deals with a sexual-yogic interpretation of the consecrations, the *brahmavihāras*, Amṛtakuṇḍalī, yogic meditations with the four blisses for the attainment of siddhi, the six yogas, etc. There are many frame verses on the methodology and success of the practice, its metaphysics, and the authority of the guru.

58 Witnesses: GSS K139v2–140r3, N91v7–92r7, D95r4–95v3 = GSS17. Toh., Ota.–?

59 Witnesses: GSS K140r3–147v6, N92r7–98r6, D95v3– 101v5. Published as *Ḍākinījālasaṃvararahasya* (ed. Samdhong Rinpoche and Vrajavallabha Dvivedi. 1990). Toh., Ota.–?

60 The *namaskāra* verse states that the sādhana is written by Anaṅgayogin, whom I have not traced. (The mahāsiddha Anaṅga has been identified by Dowman 1985: 368–71 with the earlier Anaṅgavajra dated to the ninth century; cf. Snellgrove 1987: 182.)

Notes

1 About fifteen Vajrayoginī/Vajravārāhī texts are listed in Bhattacharyya's edition of the so-called (n. 42) *Sādhanamālā* (1925/1928), although many of these are actually portions of longer texts, printed separately because they contain brief colophons. All of the *Sādhanamālā* works appear in almost identical or similar form in the *Guhyasamayasādhanamālā*. The one exception is the longest *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* in the *Sādhanamālā* (SM218, with SM219 and SM220), although this is still represented in the *Guhyasamayasādhanamālā* in two separate, but much shorter, versions (in GSS5 and GSS38). One can also find iconographical descriptions of Vajravārāhī as consort in the *Sādhanamālā*'s small collection of Cakrasaṃvara sādhanas (e.g., SM250, 251, 255). A few sādhanas of other deities also incorporate Vajrayoginī materials into them, for example, the *Mañjuśrī Sādhana* SM48 *"vajrayoginībhāṣitaṃ vādirājamañjuśrīsādhanam,"* which has no reference to Vajrayoginī except in the title, and contains minimal tantric elements; the *Ekajaṭā Sādhana* SM123; and a *Vidyādharikrama* text SM249 from the Mahāmāyā tradition, containing the *balividhi* from GSS21. The main sources in the *Sādhanamālā* are:

- SM217 *Vajravārāhīsādhana*=GSS3; cf. GSS31.
- SM218–220: SM218 *Prajñālokasādhana* by Koṅkadatta with SM219 *vaśyavidhi* given as *"Vajravārāhīsādhana"* and SM220 *"vajravārāhyā vaśyavidhiḥ"* (final line of preceding *vaśyavidhi* with colophon)=GSS5 (K34v5–35v6, Sed p. 149) and GSS38 (see appendix entry to GSS38).
- SM221–223: Printed as three texts (though probably redacted from a single source) focusing on the (male) deity Mahāmayā, but with the Vajravārāhī root mantra. SM221 (colophon in one ms. only: *jvālāmukhīsādhanaprayogaḥ*) opens with verses extolling the deity, followed by the Vajravārāhī root mantra, identical (with a few variants) to GSS11 §32 and related texts. SM222 (colophon in one ms. only: *mahāmāyājvālāmukhīvajravārāhīprayogasādhanam*) refers to the previous Vajravārāhī root mantra, with instructions for its recitation and rites for siddhi. SM223 *mahāmāyādevyāḥ śmaśānam* is a short paragraph giving an account of cremation grounds a little different from that in Vajravārāhī materials.

- SM224 *Vajravārāhīsādhana*=GSS18.
- SM225 *Oḍiyānavajrapiṭhavinirgata-ūrdhvapādavajravārāhīsādhana*=GSS12.
- SM226 *Saṃkṣiptavajravārāhīsādhana*=GSS4.
- SM227 *Saṃkṣiptavajravārāhīsādhana*=GSS29=SM227.
- SM232 *Vajrayoginīsādhana* (Trikāya-Vajrayoginī)=GSS20=GSS25.
- SM233 *Vajrayoginīsādhana*=GSS19; cf. GSS28.
- SM234 *Vajrayoginīsādhana*=GSS9=GSS30.
- SM235 *nandyāvarttena siddhaśavarapādīyamatavajrayoginyārādhanavidhiḥ*=GSS5 (K38r1–5, Sed p. 153)=GSS22 (K86r6–86); cf. GSS23.
- SM236 *Vajrayoginīsādhana*=GSS19.
- SM237 *vajrayoginyupadeśaḥ*. Fragment probably from the end of a sādhana describing yogic meditations with recitation of mantra.
- SM238 *vajrayoginyā balividhiḥ=balimantra* from GSS25.

2 Isaacson (2001: personal communication) suggests that the *Saṃvarodayatantra* was influential chiefly in Nepal, and may even be a Nepalese composition, possibly dating from as late as the twelfth century.

3 Guide to the Nyingma Edition of the *sDe-dge bKa'-'gyur/bsTan-'gyur* in two volumes, July 22, 1980 (Berkeley CA: Dharma Publishing).

4 The *Six Texts of Vajravārāhī (Phag mo gZhung drug)* in the bsTan 'gyur (Toh 1551–56) comprise the *Śrī-Tattvajñānasiddhi* by *Śūnyasamādhi* (Toh 1551), *Sarvārthasiddhisādhana* by Avadhūtipa (Toh 1552=GSS15), *Jñānāveśa* by Śūnyasamādhi (Toh 1553), *Chinnamuṇḍāvajravārāhīsādhana* by Śrīmatidevī (Toh 1554=GSS24), *Chinnamuṇḍāsādhana* by Virūpa (Toh 1555=GSS 25/GSS20), and *Śrī-Vajrayoginī-homavidhi* by Buddhadatta (Toh 1556 =GSS13). All six were translated by Varendraruci and bLo ldan shes rab. The transmission of this set is sometimes credited to Śabarīśvara/Śabara (Robinson 1979: 290; Bhattacharya 1928 vol. 2: cxv). However, it is elsewhere attributed either to Lakṣmīṅkarā (from her brother, Indrabhūti) and her disciple, Virūpa, or to Kambala (a problem Dowman attempts to solve by suggesting that Kambala was Lakṣmīṅkarā's guru, 1985: 375). See the *Blue Annals* (pp. 389–94) for the transmission lineage from Indrabhūti and the eventual written composition of some of the six texts.

5 This Tibetan lifestory, translated by Guenther (1963), is by Lha btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal (1473–1557) and is entitled *mKhas grub kun gyi gtsug rgyan paṅchen nā ro pa'i rnam thar ngo mtshar rmad byung*. For the transmission from Tilopa, see Guenther (*ibid.*: 44), and for Nāropa's famous vision (*ibid.*: 24–25). Guenther (*ibid.*: xv) dates this biography to the late twelfth century, but more recent scholarship has shown its author to have been a follower of the "mad lama" *(bla ma smyon pa)*, gTsang smyon Heruka (1452–1507), (Samuel 1993: 522, citing Gene Smith 1969: 26–27). For a discussion of the dating of Tilopa and Nāropa, see Wylie 1982.

6 The earliest lifestory by sGam po pa (1079–1153), the *Ta'i lo dang nāro'i rnam thar*, simply describes how a female deity (not identified as Vajrayoginī, but vaguely as "mother of/from Khadā") appears in a dream and persuades him to seek Tilopa; only after studying under Tilopa does he enter Nālandā and

become a fully fledged *paṇḍita*. (*sGam po pa bSod nams rin-chen* 1974: 18–30.) The other text ascribable to before 1200 is by sGam po pa's nephew's pupil, founder of the Tshal pa bKa' brgyud school, Bla ma Zhang (g.Yu bra pa brTson 'grus grags pa, 1123–93). This text appears in Bla ma Zhang's collection of life stories entitled *Deeds and Lives* (*mDzad-pa rNam-thar gyi skor*, 1972). Here, Nāropa dreams of many ḍākinīs (again, not specifically Vajrayoginī); he becomes a *paṇḍita*, again only after serving as a pupil of Tilopa, but at Vikramaśila. There is also a life of Nāropa accredited to Marpa in the eleventh century, found within the collection *brGyud pa yid bzhin nor bu'i rnam par thar pa, The Life Stories of the Wish-Fulfilling Jewel Lineage*. This collection is contained within a sixteenth-century compilation of texts by Byang chub bzang po entitled *bDe-mchog mKha'-'gro sNyan-rgyud* (New Delhi: 1973. Reproduced from a rare manuscript in the library of Apho Rinpoche (no publisher given)). However, this compilation is in fact a later work clearly abbreviated from earlier sources (see Roberts 2002: ch. 2). I am indebted to Peter Alan Roberts (personal communication: 2002) for providing this endnote and references, and the following details of transmissions within the bKa' brgyud traditions.

7 There are two editions of dPa' bo's work on the Vajrayoginī practice (details for which I thank Dr. Sobisch; 2001: personal communication), as follows:

dPal rje btsun rdo rje rnal 'byor ma'i gsang ba'i sgrub thabs kyi rnam par bshad pa zab mo rnam 'byed: A Detailed Exegesis of the Esoteric Meditation-Devotional Practice (Guhyasādhana) Focusing upon Vajrayoginī According to the bKa' brgyud pa Tradition. dPa'bo gTsug-lag Phreng-ba of gNas-gnang. Bir: [s.n.], 1974. 1 v. (unpaged). On boards: Cover title: *rDo rje rnal 'byor ma'i gsang sgrub kyi rnam bshad*. Reproduced from a manuscript transcription of an ancient blockprint in the library of Nam mkha' rdo rje (Microfilm no.): Set 2–16. LMpj-012066. R-2241-74-901524.

dPal rje btsun rdo rje rnal 'byor ma'i gsang ba'i sgrub thabs kyi rnam bshad pa zab mo rnam 'byed: A Detailed Explanation of the Twelve Esoteric Instructions on the Guhyasādhana of Vajrayoginī Transmitted by Nāropa. Rumtek: Dharma Cakra Center, 1975. 512 pp.; 9 x 50 cm. Added Tibetan title on boards: *dBal (sic.) rje btsun rdo rnal 'byod (sic.) ma'i gsang ba'i sgrub thabs kyi rnam par bshad pa zab mo rnam 'byed ches (sic.) bya ba bzhugs so. Study of Esoteric Teachings Practiced by the Karma Kargyudpa (sic.) Tradition of Tibetan Lamaism*. (Microfilm no.): Set 3–20. LMpj-012504. SB-2214. LCCN-76-900087.

8 For example, teachings on the sādhana by Chögyam Trungpa have been published (1982, 1991, 1999), and Simmer-Brown's exploration of the ḍākinī and her description of Vajrayoginī (2001: ch. 4) is based mainly upon transmissions within the bKa' brgyud and rNying ma schools (*ibid.*: xii–xix).

9 I owe this entire paragraph, with notes and references to a full letter written to me on the subject by Lama Jampa Thaye (January 15, 2002), whom I sometimes cite word for word. This was particularly kind given his reservations about bringing esoteric tantric material into the public domain. He points out that sources dealing with the topic are almost exclusively in Tibetan. Although this

overview is itself extremely condensed, other published references in English are far more fleeting; namely, Chogay Trichen's *History of the Sakya Tradition* (Bristol: Ganesha Press, 1983) and Sherab Gyaltsen Amipa's *A Waterdrop from the Glorious Sea* (Rikon, Swizterland: Tibetan Institute, 1976).

10 The full details of the transmission lineages of these three are found in the lineage supplications *(rgyud 'debs)* attached to the relevant sādhanas. The initiations and sādhanas themselves have been published in recent years amongst Sa skya pas in India, in a six-volume collection of teachings on Vajrayoginī, entitled the *dPal ldan sa skya pa'i lugs nāro mkha' spyod ma'i skor.* They are also found in *sgrub thabs kun btus,* the monumental fourteen volumes of Vajrayāna teachings collected by Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo ('Jam dbyangs mKhyen brtse dbang-po, 1811–1892) and Jamgon Loter Wangpo ('Jam mgon bLo gter dbang po, 1847–1914), published some years ago by Dzongsar Institute for Advanced Studies, Bir, Kangra, H.P., India.

11 There is an initiation and sādhana of Vajravārāhī found in the "One Hundred Sādhanas of Bari" (in vol. 12 of *sgrub thabs kun btus*), the collection of Vajrayāna practices brought from India by Bari Lotsava (b. 1040) and transmitted onward through Sa chen Kun dga' snying po.

12 The initiations and sādhanas for these esoteric instructions are located in *sgrub thabs kun btus.* Unlike the two other forms of Vajrayoginī and the rest of *The Thirteen Golden Dharmas,* Maitrī Khecarī entered the Sa skya tradition with Sa chen Kun dga' snying po's son, rJe brsun Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147–1216). According to the material on Maitrī Khecarī (in *dPal ldan sa skya pa'i lugs nāro mkha' spyod ma'i skor* vol. 6, p. 203), he received it from one Dar ma Yon ten, a disciple of Sum pa Lo tsā wa. One Tibetan publication (with the English title *A History of the Sa-skya-pa Sect of Tibetan Buddhism,* by T. G. Dongthog, New Delhi, 1977: 173), states that he received it directly from Sum pa Lo tsā wa.

13 Found in volume 2 of *dpal ldan sa skya pa'i lugs nāro mkha' spyod ma'i skor.*

14 None of these teachers aims to present a textual analysis of his original sources. Indeed, Ngawang Dhargyey (1992: 19) notes that in imparting the Sa skya lineage teachings, his own teacher, Kyabje Trijang Dorjechang, was often speaking from his own experience rather than relying on textual transmissions or commentaries. To what extent these works can help throw light on the Indian textual tradition studied here is very doubtful. Where I provide citations from these works, I do so with caution. This caution is all the more necessary because the teachers have tended to compose and edit their works from transcriptions of their oral commentaries (Tharchin 1997: Acknowledgments; K. Gyatso 1997: ix)—transcriptions made by pupils who themselves may have relied upon a translator. Apart from the difficulty in locating the sources used by the teachers, it is not always evident how a given translation relates to its explanation, as Dr. Sobisch has pointed out, e.g., Tharchin 1997: 192.

15 The appearance of Vajravārāhī within rNying ma theology, hagiography, and myth is well attested, as in the definitive volumes by Dudjom Rinpoche (1991), as well as in many other published works, e.g., Germano and Gyatso (2000:

246ff.). Ye shes mtsho rgyal's lifestory *(Bod kyi jo mo ye shes mtsho rgyal gyi mdzad tshul rnam par thar pa gab pa mngon byung rgyud mangs dri za'i glu 'phreng)* has been translated by Tulku (1983), Dowman (1984), and Changchub and Nyingpo (1999). References to Ye shes mtsho rgyal as the principal custodian and transmitter of "treasure" texts *(gter-ma)* abound, e.g., *Dancing Moon in Water* 14 (J. Gyatso 1998: 31–2), Dudjom (1991: 581, 586–87), Dowman (1984: 73, 121–41), Germano and Gyatso (2000: 244, 248).

16 Literature on the meditative practice of Ye shes mtsho rgyal/Vajravārāhī/Vajrayoginī is plentiful, e.g., Klein (1995: 139, 144, 147), Patrul (1994: 313), Khyentse (1988), Thondup (1983, 1992). The *Thar pa'i bde lam* was composed by Jam mgon Kong sprul bLo gros mtha' yas (1813–99). This is the *sngon 'gro* of the extremely popular treasure cycle *dKon mchog spyi 'dus* derived from the treasure revealer, Rig 'dzin 'Ja 'tshon snying po (1585–1656). Lama Jampa Thaye (to whom I owe this information) points out that the chief deity of the cycle is in fact the ḍākinī Siṃhamukha *(sic)*, who is the focus of the *yang gsang* ("utterly secret") part of the generation-stage practices. He writes, "The employment of Vajrayoginī in the *sngon 'gro* may reflect the influence of the bKa' brgyud tradition among the rNying ma. 'Ja 'tshon sNying po, prior to his activity as a treasure-revealer, was a 'Brugs pa bKa' brgyud monk and the *sngon 'gro* itself was formulated later by 'Jam mgon Kong sprul, who was of course a Karma bKa' brgyud pa." I also thank Rigdzin Shikpo for sending me his outline and explanation of the *Thar pa'i bde lam.*

17 The full name of the Tibetan text is *rDzogs pa chen po sku gsum rang shar las thun mong gtum mo'i nyams len ye shes me dpung bzhugs so,* which the author translates into pidgin Sanskrit as *Kayāsahāsarvaṃ trisvayaṃbūrpasya sāmanyacaṇḍāugṇībhyā jñājvāla tisma.* I thank Dr. Peter Alan Roberts for this information and for providing me with a copy of his unpublished translation.

18 Simmer-Brown's *(op. cit.)* wide-ranging survey includes an interesting analysis of the various Western encounters with the subject, in a critique of both the Jungian approach (*pace* Guenther 1963) and feminist models. Apart from Herrmann-Pfandt, other feminist writers in the field include Rita Gross (1989, 1993), Janice Willis (1989), Miranda Shaw (1994), Anne Klein (1995), and June Campbell (1996). There is also the synthetic account of Chinnamastā Vajrayoginī from Buddhist and Śaiva sources by Elisabeth Anne Benard (1994), and studies that touch on the subject from other academic disciplines, such as David Gellner's (1992) anthropological work, or Toni Huber's (1999) ethnohistorical study of Tsari, a region in Tibet associated with Cakrasaṃvara and Vajravārāhī.

19 The problems of defining tantra in the Buddhist context have been explored in recent years, for example by Hodge (1994: 58–59). A full overview of the difficulties and how various scholars have attempted to meet them is given in Lopez (1996: 78–104), and contributions to the subject continue, e.g., Williams and Tribe (2000: 196, 197 ff.).

20 The figures for the Tibetan translations are reached by counting the texts in the tantric sections of the Tibetan bKa' 'gyur and bsTan 'gyur, both from the Tōhoku Catalogue of the Derge edition (Toh/D) of 1733, and from the Otani Catalogue

of the Beijing Qianlong edition (Ota/Q) of 1717–20. (Figures remain approximate, as there are other editions of the canon that vary slightly, and also manuscript editions that did not undergo revisions and so include texts not found in later editions.) The rGyud 'bum section of the bKa' 'gyur (Toh/D 360–845) numbers just under five hundred texts, and there are in addition about twenty-four dhāraṇī texts (from the gZungs 'dus section, Toh/D 846–1108) not contained here. This means that in all there are about five hundred and ten tantric texts in the bKa' 'gyur of the Derge edition. The rGyud section of the bsTan 'gyur (Toh/D 1109–3785) includes just under two thousand seven hundred texts. An additional tantra collection appears in the Beijing and Narthang bsTan 'gyurs (Ota/Q 4604–5183) that contains about five hundred texts over and above those found in the Derge bsTan 'gyur. This brings the number of tantric texts in the different bsTan 'gyur editions to just under three thousand two hundred. I thank Dr. Hermann-Pfandt for this information (2002: personal communication). See also Sanderson 1998: 661, and Williams and Tribe 2000: 195.

As for the Sanskrit texts, BBK lists 1,500 Sanskrit tantric texts, although Isaacson (1998) notes that there are many texts not listed there. Matsunami (1965) lists about forty pages of tantric Sanskrit texts.

21 A portion of the *Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī*, Vilāsavajra's commentary upon the *Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* (or *Nāmasaṃgīti*), has been edited and translated by Tribe in his unpublished doctoral thesis (1994) and discussed in a published article (1997: 109–36). For the life of this yogatantra scholar (also known as Lilāvajra), see Dudjom 1991: 463.

22 Skorupski (1994: 201 n. 47), for example, notes that the commentators on the *Saṃputodbhavatantra*, such as Indrabhūti, use the phrase "yoga and yoginī tantras"; cf. *Kriyāsamuccaya* f. 409: *yoginīyogatantreṣu*.

23 Gellner (1992: 373, n. 5) notes that "veiled and peripheral references to sexual rites do occur" rather earlier in the yogatantras, for example in chapter 5 of the STTS. Cf. Sanderson 1994i: 97 n. 1.

24 Snellgrove (1959 vol. 1: 12–13) dates the *Hevajratantra* from the latter eighth to early ninth century, using the myth of Padmasambhava's connection with King Indrabhti. Herrmann-Pfandt (Herrmann 1983) comments that this connection is doubtful because the Padmasambhava myth belongs to later rNying ma apologetics from the twelfth century. The evidence of Tāranātha, who makes the eminent commentator Kāṇhā a contemporary of the eminent King Devapāla (first half of the ninth century; Snellgrove 1959 vol. 1: 14), is likewise untrustworthy (see Isaacson 2001: 458 n. 4, who also discusses the commentator's name). It is, in fact, extremely difficult to date the emergence of the yoginītantras. Although Heruka-type material was in existence from the mid-eighth century (in the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālaśaṃvara*, see n. 26 below), neither the *Hevajratantra* nor the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* were transmitted into Tibet until the second diffusion (from the latter tenth century). The dating of translators and commentators is helpful, but this tells us only that the tantras were in existence by the late tenth or early eleventh centuries at the time the commentaries

and translations were written. For example Gaya(ā)dhara, translator of the *Hevajratantra,* was active in the second quarter of the eleventh century, and its commentator Ratnākaraśānti was a pupil of Nāropa's, and datable to the early eleventh century (Mimaki 1992: 297 n. 1); the first commentary on the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* is late tenth century. But we still do not know how long the tantras had been in existence before this; and given the exegetical productivity of the period, there is no reason to assume that the texts are much older than their commentaries. It is also unclear which tantra is the older of the two. The *Hevajratantra* is built upon a maṇḍala of the older *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālaśaṃvara,* 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: *śaṃ-,* "bliss," is used as a synonym for *sāta, sukha,* and there is no doubt an allusion intended to Śiva, the "creator of bliss" *(śaṃ-kara)* (Isaacson 2001: personal communication). "Saṃvara" (literally, "restraint") was probably just a shorthand for "Cakrasaṃvara." The two different spellings occur in the Tibetan translations also (*bde mchog* for Śaṃvara, and *sdom pa* for Saṃvara).

28 GSS16 (K75v3): *tantre 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) decribes the *Legends* as belonging to *The Cycle of Blessings of the Eighty-Four Indian Mahāsiddhas (rGya gar grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i byin brlabs chos skor),* a cycle of texts found in the bsTan 'gyur and also in the *sGrub thabs kun btus.* He states that an edition in Tibetan of the *Legends* in the sNar thang bsTan 'gyur is also available (Sangpo Khetsun, ed. 1973. *Biographical Dictionary of Tibet.* Dharamsala Tibetan Library: 633–770). See also Robinson's translation (1979) and the review by Tatz (1989) of Dowman's and Robinson's work. The other main source for the lives of the

eighty-four siddhas is Tārānātha, who groups his stories according to the lineage of teachings to which they belong in a work entitled *The Seven Instruction Lineages by Jo Nang Taranatha* (Templeman 1983).

30 Benard 1994: 66, cf. *Blue Annals:* 847 and Tāranātha's *History:* 197 n. 13.

31 See *Blue Annals:* 841–42, Tāranātha's *History:* 305, Bhattacarya SM II: xci, and Cordier *Catalogue,* vol. III: 273 cited Kvaerne 1977: 6.

32 GSS5 (Sed p. 139, K2614): *evaṃ tāval lūyīpādābhisamayakrameṇa vistarataḥ saptatriṃśadātmakaṃ bhagavatyā maṇḍalam. tatraiva maṇḍalabhedāntaraṃ vajrāvalyām asmadgurubhir upadarśitaṃ.*

33 The colophons of three of Abhayākaragupta's works state that they were written during specific years of Rāmapāla's reign: the *Abhayapaddhati* commentary on the *Buddhakapālatantra* during the twenty-fifth year, the *Munimatālaṅkāra* during the thirtieth, and the *Āmnāyamañjarī* during the thirty-seventh (Bühnemann 1992). Abhayākaragupta is an important author and translator, and in his history in the *Blue Annals,* he is said to be the transmitter of the **Sādhanasamuccaya* (p. 1048). Twenty-four works are ascribed to him in Cordier's bsTan 'gyur (cited Bhattacharyya 1972: 9, see also Bühnemann 1994, 1992).

34 The other work by Umāpatideva in the bsTan 'gyur is a Vajrayoginī maṇḍala rite (1584 in the Derge edition). Vāgīśvaragupta and Rwa Chos rab were also co-translators of a number of Kālacakra texts (1358, 1359, 1362, 1392, 1393, and 1394).

35 Apart from his work with Vāgīśvaragupta, Rwa Chos rab translated another six texts (365, 440, 1374, 1754, 1755, and 1964), five of them with Samantaśrī, including two of Samantaśrī's own compositions. It seems that Rwa Chos rab flourished in the early twelfth century. His dates may be tentatively deduced from two sources. First, the *Blue Annals* (p. 756) lists the "followers of the Rwa-lo tradition" and places Rwa Chos rab two lineage successions after "Kālacakra Junior," who is identified with Nāropa who died in 1040 (Newman 1991: 65–76, Wylie 1982: 691) and two lineage successions before another datable translator, rGya lo (1203–82). The second source is the biography of Rwa Chos kyi grags pa (eleventh to early twelfth century, introducer of Yamāntaka to Tibet), which describes Rwa Chos rab as his nephew and pupil. This biography (which is said to have been written by Chos rab's own pupil, successor, and possibly son, Rwa Ye shes seng ge; see *Blue Annals:* 756), states that after the death of Rwa Chos kyi grags pa (Tibetan text p. 343): "His heart son [principal pupil], Locchāva Rwa Chos-rab continued his activities for five years. Then he went to Nepal [where he met Samantaśrī]." The deathdate of the uncle, Rwa Chos kyi grags pa, is therefore significant. He seems to have died in the early twelfth century since his biography, though fantastical, states that he outlived Mar pa Chos kyi blo gros (pupil of the elderly Nāropa, and teacher of Milarepa, who died c. 1096). It also states that he traveled in the same group with Ras chung pa to India. According to the *Lho rong chos 'byung* (rTa-tshag Tshe-dbang rGyal, *Lho-rong Chos-'byung,* China: Bod-ljongs dPe-yig dPe-rnying dPe-skrun-khang, 1994: 87), Ras chung pa's visit to India took place c. 1110 (Roberts 2000: 294,

328–29, 422–23.) This would place Rwa Chos rab's visit to Nepal (Newman 1991: 76)—where according to Bu ston he stayed for five years, ten months, and five days—in the first half of the twelfth century. Rwa Chos rab is also said to have traveled with Samantaśrī to Tibet, where they transmitted and translated Kālacakra teachings (in the "Rwa-locchāva tradition," *Blue Annals:* 756, 789, Newman *ibid.*). I thank Dr. Peter Alan Roberts for his help in researching this subject and providing translations from the Tibetan text.

36 E.g., GSS7, GSS12, GSS37; also see historical sources such as Tāranātha's *History:* 332.

37 **Siddha-Āmnāya* p. 11: *deśanāprakāśanāḥ kuru!* Tatz (1989: 695) describes the *amanasikāra* as "a philosophic system called 'nonattentiveness.'" There are twenty-four works by Advayavajra and his pupils in the bsTan 'gyur (Toh / Tg. rGyud 2229–52). The **Siddha-Āmnāya* (I designate this text according to its listing in BBK: 291) opens by locating itself within the *amanasikāra* tradition (p. 8: *amanasikārāmnāyaṃ vakṣyate*). In a useful article, Tatz (1987: 695–711) compares the life of Maitrīgupta/Advayavajra as it is told in the **Siddha-Āmnāya* with that in later Tibetan sources.

38 "If such is available then other mantrins, [that is to say nonmonastic *tāntrikas*] should not be venerated. For if all three are found together and the householder is worshiped then the three jewels of Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha are cheapened." *Kriyāsamuccaya* (ŚP f. 3.6): *uttame vidyamāne tu nārādhyā anyamantriṇaḥ/satsu triṣv ekadeśeṣu gṛhasthaḥ pūjyate yadā/tadā buddhaś ca dharmaś ca saṃgho gacchaty agauravam/iti.*

39 *Kuḍṛṣṭinirghātanam* in *Advayavajrasaṃgraha:* 1–12. Gellner (1992: 300) comments that these are much the same as the routinized version of tantric practice now found among Newar followers of the Vajrayāna.

40 *Kriyāsamuccaya* ŚP f. 6$^{3-5}$ (translated by Sanderson, cited Gellner 1992: 295); a passages discussed with text excerpts by Sanderson (1994i: 87–102, especially n. 37). Abhayākaragupta explains the sexual nature of the *guhyābhiṣeka* and *prajñābhiṣeka* in his *Vajrāvali* (Ms. B f. 64r6–64v5 cited Isaacson 1996b n. 80).

41 Bühnemann's survey of primary materials and secondary opinions is based on historical sources such as the *Blue Annals, The Collected Works of Bu ston,* (part 26 (LA), ed. by Lokesh Chandra from the collections of Raghu Vira. 1971), and Bu ston's *History of Buddhism (Chos 'byung)* (parts I and II, translated from Tibetan by E. Obermiller. 1931–32). She uses catalogs by Bendall (1883), Cordier (1909–15), and others, while her discussions of dating are indebted to the work of modern scholars such as Meisezahl (1980) and especially N. Okuyama (1988. "Tibetto bukkyō pantheon keisei ni kansuru futatsu no kadai." *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū* 36/2. 892–96). More detailed bibliographical references for her study can be found in her bibliography, pp. 24–26. Lokesh Chandra also describes the four collections in the bsTan 'gyur in his introduction to the Narthang Pantheon (1986 vol. 1: 34).

42 Also less correctly entitled **Sādhanaśataka (sGrub thabs brgya rtsa),* according to Bühnemann (1994: 11 with n.1).

43 Bühnemann (1994: 19) shows that the basis of Bhattacharyya's edition is the third and largest of Bu ston's collections known variously as **Sādhanasāgara/ Sādhanasamuccaya/Sādhanamālā,* which Bhattacharyya entitled *Sādhanamālā* according to the catalog description of one of the Cambridge manuscripts (Add. 1593). However, the catalog entry for the palmleaf manuscript of the *Sādhanaśatapañcāśikā* in Cambridge (Add. 1686) was also cataloged by Bendall (1883: 174) as the *Sādhanamālā tantra* (Bühnemann 1994: 17). This catalog entry, and the appearance of this title in manuscripts, misled Bhattacharyya into including it in his edition of sādhanas.

44 These extracts from the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* show how close its subject matter is to the stages of the sādhanas in the *Guhyasamayasādhanamālā.* See *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra,* 8a, for opening prescriptions and assurance of success *(anena yathoktatantrānusārānukrameṇa vidhānena pratyahaṃ prabhātakāla utpattikrameṇa bhāvayamāno bhāvayet. devatāyogaṃ samādhitrayam uttamaṃ yatnato durgatipariśodhanasiddhir bhavati.);* 9b–10a for preliminaries *(tatsādhanaṃ śākyanāthena bhāṣitaṃ. prathamaṃ tāvad vijane mano 'nukūlapradeśe mṛdusukumārāsane niṣaṇṇaḥ sugandhena maṇḍalam kṛtvā pañcopahārapūjā karaṇīyā. tataḥ sarvadharmanairātmyaṃ bhāvayitvā. ātmānaṃ huṃkāreṇa vajrajvālānalārkaṃ bhāvayet. tasya kaṇṭhe hrīḥkāreṇa padmaṃ* <...generations...> *tena vajrajihvā bhavati, mantrajāpakṣamo bhavet...);* 10a–11b for the construction of the circle of protection, with the "binding" of creatures in the directions; a *vajramālābhiṣeka* and armoring follow here, out of place according to later structures; 13ab for obeisances, twentyfold offerings and pūjā; 17a for emptiness mantras; 17b–18b for bodhisattva vow; 19b for the generation of the maṇḍala and the summoning of previous pūjā deities who are then made to enter the maṇḍala in the yogin's heart, and the two maṇḍalas merge into one; self-visualization of the yogin himself as deity at the center of the maṇḍala.

45 GST ch. 12 vv. 60c–63: *vijñāya vajrabhedena tataḥ karmāṇi sādhayet/ sevāsamādhisaṃyogaṃ bhāvayed bodhim uttamam / upasādhanasiddhyagre vajrāyatanavicāraṇam / sādhane codanaṃ proktaṃ mantrādhipatibhāvanam / mahāsādhanakāleṣu bimbaṃ svamantravajriṇaḥ / makuṭe 'dhipatiṃ dhyātvā sidhyate jñānavajriṇaḥ).* Also GST ch. 18 v. 136ff. v. 136: *sevāvidhānaṃ prathamaṃ dvitīyam upasādhanam / sādhanaṃ tu tṛtīyaṃ vai mahāsādhanaṃ caturthakam.* Wayman (1977: 34, on ch. 12 vv. 60–61a and pp. 156–57) translates the four "steps" as: "service" *(sevā),* "near-evocation" *(upasādhana),* "evocation" *(sādhana),* and "great evocation" *(mahāsādhana).* I suggest a better translation of *sādhana* here is that of "attainment [of the deity]," or "mastery [over the deity]."

46 Texts of the generation and completion method in Nāgārjuna's Ārya school are the *Piṇḍikramasādhana* and *Pañcakrama* respectively, and in the Jñānapāda school of Buddhaśrījñāna, the *Caturaṅgasādhanasamantabhadranāmasādhana* and *Muktitilakanāma* (Matsunaga 1978: xxi–xxii; Wayman 1977: 93–95). Of these, the *Caturaṅgasādhana* supplies the fullest elaboration of the four vajras as belonging to the generation stage (Matsunaga *ibid.:* xxii), while the stage of

completion is most famously expounded in the six yogas *(Ṣaḍaṅgayoganāma)* attributed to the tantric Nāgārjuna (Wayman *ibid.*: 36, 163–73); see n. 423.

47 The topics of the early chapters of the SUT (published by Tsuda, 1974) are also those of a mature sādhana such as GSS11 analyzed below. Like the sādhana, the SUT deals, in sequence, with birth and the generation method (chs. 1 and 2), the completion method (ch. 3), the armoring of the psychophysical organism (ch. 4), yogic *prāṇāyāma* practices (chs. 5–6), yoga, yoginis, sites, etc. (ch. 7–9=body maṇḍala); and ritual acts (ch. 10).

48 In the HT, the sequence of the topics is: self-generation (HT1.3), self-consecration (HT1.4), meditation on emptiness (HT1.5), ritual performance *(caryā)* (HT1.6), sites and yoginis (HT1.7–1.8), and generation of the full maṇḍala through *viśuddhis* (HT1.9).

49 GSS1 (K279v2)–GSS2 (K4r6): *ādau tāvan mantrī gurubuddhayor abhinnabhaktimānaso dṛḍhagṛhītabodhicittaḥ samyakprāptābhiṣekaḥ...* • *dṛḍha*] *sudṛḍha* GSS2. Cf. SM218 p. 431.

50 GSS1 (K4r2) and GSS5 (Sed p. 154[9], K38v4): *gurur buddho gurur dharmo guruḥ saṃghas tathaiva ca | gurur vajradharaḥ śrīmān gurur evātra kāraṇam | gurum ārādhayet tasmād buddhatvapadavāñchayā.* • *vāñchayā*] GSS1; *vāñchayati* GSS5.

The GSS produces many other citations on this vast subject. At the start of the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5) the author claims: "In the [tantric] system, the yogin is one whose devotion to the Buddha and the guru is undifferentiated" (Sed p. 125, K14v.4): *iha gurubuddhayor abhinnaśraddhaḥ...yogī;* cf. GSS1 (K279v2): *ādau tāvan mantrī gurubuddhayor abhinnabhaktimānaso...;* GSS46 (K147v) cites a number of verses from scripture extolling the guru, comparing him with various buddhas, and warning the pupil of the dire consequences that will follow if he transgresses the guru's commands, such as leprosy in this life and hell in the next. Frame verses also appear in GSS10 (e.g., K53r3): *gurupādaṃ vinā vatsa mā gaccha yoginīnayam,* and GSS33 (K111r3). For scriptural sources, see e.g., SUT ch. 8 vv. 5–12, also SUT ch. 18 v. 1–v. 6ab (somewhat balanced by a description of a good pupil) within passages on consecration, e.g., STTS ch. 6 (cited Snellgrove 1987: 218). There is a great deal of primary and secondary literature available on this topic; especially useful is the work of Sparham (1999).

51 For the *samaya* as post-initiatory observance, see the VĀ (ŚP p. 180): *samayo mantratantramudrādiḥ.* 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., *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* 1.10cd, 11cd: *samayān pālayen nityaṃ.* Jayabhadra's *Pañjikā* (NAK 3–365, f. 201r–2) on the *Laghuśaṃvara* states that the mantrin is "committed to the *saṃvara,* both those that have to be observed [i.e., the pledges of the initiate] and those that have to be consumed [the 'impure' substances of the cult]" (edited and translated by Sanderson 2001b).

52 GSS1 (K80r3): *...suguptaṃ caiva kartavayaṃ pūjākāle samāhitaḥ. ...yadi siddhiṃ parām icchan rakṣayet samayaṃ sadā...śrīvajrayoginīrahasyaṃ karṇāt*

karṇaṃ mukān mukham. Cf. GSS44 *Svādhiṣṭhānakumāritarpaṇavidhiḥ* (K128v5): *kanyāpūjākramaṃ vakṣye 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 *Mahācaṇḍaroṣaṇatantra* ch. 13.

53 See *Ratnāvalīpañjikā* (p. 80): *pūrvasevāṃ vinā na kāryasiddhiḥ;* SM1 (p. 1): *iha khalu...mahātantre mantramaṇḍale rajomaṇḍale vā vidhivallabdhādhikāro mantrī taduktasamayasamvarasthaḥ pūrvasevāṃ cikīrṣuḥ...vasan.* This sādhana prescribes different numbers of recitations, e.g., (p. 1): *tatpraṇāmālambanajāpam abhyasan sahasraṃ japet / tataḥ sarvamantrāṇāṃ lakṣajāpaḥ kṛto bhavati...;* this constitutes the prior service that is the opening part of the sādhana (p. 2): *tataḥ svaparābhyudayasādhanāṅgam evaṃ pūrvasevāvidhim anutiṣṭhet;* 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): *hṛdindumadhye bījaṃ...tadbījaraśmijagurubuddhabodhisattvān dṛṣṭvā; pūrvoktabījaniṣpannaṃ śrīmañjuvajraṃ...cintayet;* SM61 (p. 127):.*śrīdharmadhātuvāgīśvaraṃ...ātmānaṃ niṣpādya;* GSS3 (K12v3): *etatsarvapariṇāmenātmānaṃ bhagavatīṃ vajravārāhīṃ...bhāvayet;* cf. GSS31; GSS9 (K45r1): *pūrvoktaiḥ samastaiḥ pariṇāmena vajrayoginīṃ...bhāvayet;* SM3 (p. 19): *sakalasamastapariṇata-...samastam etat pariṇamya;* SM4 (p. 22): *sarvam etat pariṇamya;* SM14 (p. 39): *tad etat sakalapariṇatam ātmānaṃ bhagavantaṃ dhyāyāt;* etc.

55 E.g., GSS5 (Sed p. 125, K15r2): *phenabudbudamarīcikadalīmāyopamatvena niśceyā vairocanādayaḥ;* GSS11 v. 48b, v. 51b, SM3 (p. 19): *tad eva jyotirūpapariṇataṃ candramaṇḍalam;* SM36 (p. 82): *sūryamaṇḍalaṃ raśmimayaṃ vicintya;* SM55 (pp. 133–34): *nyaset purastāt khalu jāliniprabhaṃ | suśubhrarephodbhavam eva nirmalam | paṃkārajaṃ raśmimayaṃ manoharaṃ;* SM65 (p. 130): *trilokīṃ ālokamayīm avalokayet;* SM66 (p. 133): *māyāmarīcyudakacandrakalpaṃ vibhāvayel lokam imaṃ samagram;* etc. The purificatory power of rays will emerge throughout the sādhana, for example in the *vāgviśuddhi,* 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 *(pratyālīḍhaḥ)* stance in GSS3–GSS31 and GSS4.

57 The *Rin 'byung brgya rtsa* is the first and largest of three collections that make up the complete set of Mongolian images of the IWS. The second collection is the *sNar thang brgya rtsa,* and the third comprises the main deities of the collection of maṇḍalas described by Abhayākaragupta in the *Vajrāvalī (rDor 'phreng ba).* The full name of the *Icons Worthwhile to See (Bris sku mthong ba don*

ldan), comprising these three collections is *Rin 'byung snar thang brgya rtsa rdor 'phreng bcas nas gsungs pa'i bris sku mthong ba don ldan* (Tachikawa 1995: 7).

Rin 'byung brgya rtsa or *Jewel Mine of Hundred* [texts] is itself an abbreviation for Tāranātha's collection, the full title of which is: *The Mine of Jewels, Sādhanas of the Ocean of Yidam Deities: Yi dam rgya mtsho'i sgrub thabs rin chen 'byung gnas.* This collection has been reprinted in two volumes in New Delhi, 1974–76, as Jo nang rJe btsun Tāranātha's *Yi-dam rgya-mtsho'i sgrub-thabs rin-chen 'byung-gnas: A Collection of Sādhanas for Invoking the Various Tutelary Deities of Lamaism* (Willson and Brauen 2000: 231, 233 n. 1; Tachikawa *op.cit.*).

Large as Tāranātha's work already was, the fourth Paṇchen bLa ma added to it to compile his own text as the basis for the empowerment ceremony of 1810, presenting for each practice both a sādhana text and a rite conferring permission. This work is called *The Clear Meaning of the Jewel Mine, an Expansion of "The Mine of Jewels, Sādhanas of the Ocean of Yidam Deities" (Yi dam rgya mtsho'i sgrub thabs rin chen 'byung gnas kyi lhan thabs Rin 'byung don gsal).* This was also published in New Delhi in 1974 by Lokesh Chandra under the title *Sadhana-Mala of the Panchen Lama bsTan-pa'i-Nyi-ma Phyogs-las rNam-rgyal.* The abbreviated title for this work, which appears in the margin of each page, is *Rin lhan.* Bühnemann (1994: 14–15) notes that the *Rin lhan* has its roots in the collection of sādhanas translated as the *Sādhanaśataka* about the turn of the twelfth century or earlier (and also, according to Chandra, in the *Sādhanasāgara; op.cit.:* 45–46). The fourth chter of the *Rin lhan* is dedicated to sādhanas of Vajravārāhī (Tachikawa 1995: 10, Chandra 1986 vol.1, p. 47).

Where icons from the Mongolian pantheon are used below, I have compared the relevant Sanskrit sādhana of the *Guhyasamayasādhanamālā* with the Tibtean source; for this, I have relied upon the translations of the *Rin lhan/Rin 'byung 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/IWS), and I also crossrefer to the different numbering system of the line-drawings commissioned by Lokesh Chandra (LC) on the basis of the woodblock prints, several of which are reproduced in chter 2.

58 An analysis and critical comparison of these different publications is given by Willson and Brauen (2000: 7–22). The woodblock prints published by Tachikawa et al. are chiefly located at the Indian Institute of the University of Hamburg (the missing folios of this set—8 percent of the whole—being found in the Library of Tibetan works and Archives in Dharamsala; Tachikawa et al. 1995: 3). No further information is given by the editors as to the origin of this set. Willson and Brauen (*op. cit.:* 8) note, however, that there are apparently other copies: two in St. Petersburg and one in Ulan-Ude. There is also one set in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

Brauen's discussion highlights the difficulty of nomenclature for the Mongolian icons. Lokesh Chandra (e.g., 1986, 1987) refers to them as the "Narthang Pantheon," apparently basing this on nineteenth-century scholarship that mistakenly claimed that the blockprints were from Narthang Monastery in Tibet (*op.cit.:* xvii). The title "Narthang Pantheon" has been mistakenly picked up by other secondary authors, such as von Schroeder (2001). Tachikawa et al. (1995) corrected this to *Five Hundred Buddhist Deities.* Brauen points out, however, that while there are just over five hundred (507) images (and Tibetan sources do refer to "five hundred images": *sKu brnyan lnga brgya*), many depict more than one deity, both male and female. He notes that the authentic Tibetan title of the blockprint set is *Bris sku mthong ba don ldan,* translated as *Icons Worthwhile to See* (IWS). Willson and Brauen's publication of the painted icons therefore appears under the title *Deities of Tibetan Buddhism: The Zürich Painting of the "Icons Worthwhile to See (Bris sku mthoṅ don ldan)."*

59 As for the origins of the set published by Lokesh Chandra, he writes (2001: personal communication): "The line-drawings are based on an original xylography my father Prof. Raghu Vira brought from Ulan Bator in 1955, on a photocopy of the Leningrad copy, and also on the copy of Prof. Lessing. The Tibetan artists who worked with me had to consult all the three prints to clarify the details. The work of tracing and drawing was completed in 1960." In the absence of a clearer set of woodblock prints, such as that produced by Tachikawa et al., the Tibetan artists seem to have been concerned with producing both clear copies and images that were artistically pleasing in their own right. This led to a number of changes that are internally consistent within the set but that have altered aspects of the original woodblocks. Thus, the dimensions of the drawings differ and, while standard, are more rectangular than the woodblock prints; the mantras for each deity appear below the images (rather than on the reverse, as on the woodblock prints). The artists have also drawn clouds in the background, sometimes adding foreground landscape too (much as the painters of the IWS have done), replacing the simple sun and moon that flank the deities in some of the woodblocks. They have also used a different convention for the lotus, drawing downward-pointing lotus leaves rather than the upward-pointing leaves of the woodblocks.

60 Sanderson (1988: 668) notes that these classifications are postscriptural and belong to a period of systemization of nondual Śaiva traditions in the ninth and tenth centuries in Kashmir. For a detailed analysis of the dating of the Śaiva tantras themselves, see Sanderson 2001b. The nouns *mantra* (masculine) and *vidyā* (feminine) in Mantrapīṭha and Vidyāpīṭha signify "sacred sound-formulas" (*ibid.:* 669), and Sanderson comments that the progression in terminology from masculine to feminine is another indication of the progressive tendency within the Bhairava tantras toward extolling feminine power. (It is worth noting, perhaps, that the pure, dualistic tradition of the Śaiva Siddhānta also belongs to the Mantramārga).See also Dyczkowski 1988.

61 For the chief cremation ground cults, the *Picumatabrahmayāmalatantra* is the authority (approximately 1,200 verses on the cult of Caṇḍā Kāpālinī and Kapāliśabhairava; Sanderson 1995). The textual basis of the Trika system is the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* and the *Tantrasadbhāva* (also the *Niśisaṃcāra* and *Mālinīvijayottaratantra).* The text underpinning the worship of Kālī is the *Jayadrathayāmalatantra* (or *Tantrarājabhaṭṭārika*), which teaches the *kāpālika* cult of Bhairava, Kālī, and the yoginīs. These are "the main pillars of the esoteric Śaiva tradition" (Sanderson 1994i: 94).

62 *Vajrāvalī* (ŚP f. 219.5): *vīracaryāvratam eva yauvarājyavratacaryeti vajrakāpālikacaryāvratam iti coktaṃ śrīsaṃpuṭatantre.* Cited by Sanderson (1994i: 91, 98 n. 2) who also describes and discusses the rite.

63 Cf. HT2.5.59; *Kriyāsamuccaya* f. 409; HT1.5.2, HT2.5.59, *Saṃpuṭatantra* ch. 1, Skorupski 1994: 221–22). From the description of the *Vajrāvali Guhyābhiṣekavidhi* (ŚP p. 210.3): *śiṣyo 'bhinavayauvanādisampannā<ṃ> samayinī<ṃ> tadalābhe 'nyāṃ vā prajñā<ṃ> guhyābhiṣekārtha<ṃ> gurave niryātya kṛtāñjalir guru<ṃ> vajrasatvam adhimucya...* • *tadalābhe*] conj.; *tadanāme* ŚP • *'nyāṃ*] em.; *'nyās* ŚP • *niryātya* ŚP. Cf. GS18.118ab: *atiśraddhāṃ mahāprājñiṃ surūpāṃ sādhakapriyāṃ.*

64 *Mahācaṇḍaroṣaṇatantra* ch. 13: *yena yenaiva pāpena sattvā gacchanty adhogatim | tena tenaiva pāpena yogī śighraṃ prasiddhyati* (v. 5) || *...rāgeṇa hanyate rāgo vahnidāho 'tha vahninā | viṣeṇāpi viṣaṃ hanyād upadeśaprayogatas* || (v. 6) "Passion is destroyed by passion. One who has been burned by fire [is healed] by fire. Poison also is destroyed by poison, through the application of the recieved instructions." Cf. HT2.2.46–49 and HT2.2.51ab.

65 I am grateful to Dr. Isaacson for his help in translating this passage, attributed to Indrabhūti. GSS1 (K*80v5): *vāmodbhavaṃ jagat sarvaṃ trailokyaṃ sacarācaram | vāmācāraḥ sadā yogī vāmapādaḥ puraḥ kramet |* [iv] *| pūjayed vāmahastena vāmatarpaṇabhakṣaṇam | pañcavarṇasamācāram ekavarṇaṃ tu kalpitam |* [v] *| bhakṣyābhakṣyaṃ tathā peyaṃ ghṛṇāṃ lajjāṃ ca varjayet | sarvasaṃkalpanirmuktaḥ sarvadvandvavivarjitaḥ | siṃhavad vicared yogī yoginījālasaṃvaraiḥ.* [vi]. Lines from these verses, or variations upon them, appear also in YSCT, e.g., [v. i cd] ch. 15 v. 15ab, [v. iii cd] v. 13b *siṃhavad vicared viraḥ sarvāśāparipūrakaḥ;* Lūyīpāda's HĀ (f. 15v6, f. 16r1); SUT 9.27a; cf. HT1.6.5ab. For *yoginījālasaṃvaram,* see YSCT ch. 9 v. 3a with commentary; Tsuda's remarks (1974: introduction: 54–60), Herrmann-Pfandt (1992: 395ff.).

66 For the categorization in Śaivism see Heilijgers-Seelen (1994: 126) citing *Kubjikāmatatantra* 18.78cd on their categorization, and Kṣemarāja's commentary on *Netratantra* 2.13–14 for their malicious tendencies.

67 The term *ḍākinī* is usually glossed from √*ḍai* "to fly," as in the YRM (Snellgrove 1959 vol. 2: 142), which states that *ḍākinī* derives from the root "to fly," understood literally as "to go in space, which is the Siddhi of moving anywhere in space." *Hevajratantraṭikā* f. 49v (cited *Bauddhatantrakośa:* 45): *ḍai vihāyasagamane dhātur atra vikalpitaḥ. sarvākāśacarī siddhir ḍākinīti; Vasantatilakāṭikā:*

41 (cited *ibid.*): *tatra pṛthivyākāśe ḍayanād ḍākinī*, *Vasantatilakāṭikā*: 60 (cited *ibid.*): *ḍai vaihāyasi gamane buddho dhātur prakalpitaḥ / sarvākāśacarā siddhā ḍākinīti nigadyate.* It is this etymology that is carried into the Tibetan term for ḍākinī, *kha 'gro ma*, "one who goes in space" (a translation of another term for ḍākinī in Sanskrit, *khe-carī*). The word ḍākinī, and its rich polyvalence, is discussed elsewhere, e.g., by Herrmann-Pfandt (1992: 115ff.) and J. Gyatso (1998: 305 n. 8; cf. 246–64). Heilijgers-Seelen (1994: 126–128) reviews the diverse scholarly opinions on the matter of dating.

68 Oḍḍiyāna may be related to *ḍākinī* through the root √*ḍī* "to fly, to soar."

69 Sanderson (2001: personal communication) has collated detailed citations from Buddhist, Jain, and Śaiva Sanskrit sources that confirm the location of Oḍḍiyāna (also spelled: Oḍiyāna, Oḍryāna, Uḍḍiyāna, Uḍiyāna, Uḍyāna, and Udyāna) in the northwest of India, as well as references in Tibetan to Oḍḍiyāna (U rgyan or O rgyan), in Chinese (Wūzhàngnà guó (Pinyin), Wu-chang-na kuo (Wade-Giles)), and in Japanese (Ujōna koku). Sanderson's findings shed light on the work of previous scholars, who have discussed and disputed the location, for example, Snellgrove (1987: 182) and Mishra (1995: 15–16), who summarizes the debate.

70 Some of Sanderson's findings on the processes of redaction (1994i, 1995, 2001b) have been presented above (ch. 2). For other Buddhist literature on classes and types of female spirit, see also n. 446.

71 GSS40 (K124f4): *tīrthikādiyoginīnirākaraṇārthaṃ vajra<m> <iti>*.

72 GSS24 (K89v6): *namaḥ śrīvajrayoginyai yoginīcakranāyikāyai...* • *nāyikāyai*] em.; *nāyike* K.

73 For early stone sculptures of Mārīcī from Nālandā, Bengal, Orissa, and elsewhere (from tenth to eleventh century), see Mullick (1991: 58–59, with plates 42, 52, 56, 61, 66, 82); Ray (1986: plate 203), and S. Huntingdon (1984: plate 213). An early fifteenth-century maṇḍala of Mārīcī is found in the chapel devoted to her at Gyantse (Ricca and Lo Bue 1993: 227, plates 50, 87, 88, 89). References and plates are also published by von Schroeder, mostly of Mārīcī as an attendant to Tārā (1981: 489, plate 138E and 2001: 1055, plates 73A, 93C, 121D, 267A (reproduced here as plate 5), and 357B). Studies of Mārīcī, or references to her, appear in Bhattacharyya (1985/1924: 95–98, with plates), de Mallmann (1975: 55–56, 75, 259–265), Misra (1998 vol. 3: 92–93), and Patry and Thurman (1977: 35). Willson and Brauen (2000) provide translations and summaries of Tibetan sādhana texts relating to illustrations from the nineteenth-century Mongolian icons (nos. 195–96, 267, 430, 502), and (peaceful) forms of Mārīcī appear likewise in the line drawings of Lokesh Chandra's version of this pantheon (1961–72). A number of useful articles on Mārīcī also contain early images, by Donaldson (1988, 1995), Mitra (1991), and Bautze-Picron (2000), who dates the earliest images recovererd at Bodh Gayā to the nineth and tenth centuries (*ibid.*: 265, figs. 1–2) but proposes that images were being made "at least one century earlier." This article includes a helpful list of images of Mārīcī (*ibid.*: 286–91).

74 A small set of sādhanas in the *Sādhanamālā* is devoted to the single deity Nairātmyā/Nairātmā without a consort (SM228–231; also NYĀ no. 6). From these, it emerges that she is black/blue *(kṛṣṇa)* and usually two-armed, holding chopper and bowl (with or without staff). This is the iconography of Nairātmyā as consort to Hevajra (e.g., SM245; NYĀ no. 8). In SM254 *(Buddhakapāla-sādhana)*, a set of goddesses including Nairātmyā surround Buddhakapāla and his consort, all of them blue, one-faced, holding chopper (right) and skull bowl (left) in *ardhaparyaṅka* pose (p. 502: *sarvā devyo nilavarṇā dvibhujā ekavaktrā asthyābharaṇāḥ piṅgorddhvakeśā muṇḍamālārahitā vāme kapālaṃ dakṣiṇe kartrikā ardhaparyaṅkanṛtyasthāḥ)*. 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 ḍākinīs are: Vajraḍākinī (east), Ratnaḍākinī (south), Padmaḍākinī (west), and Viśvaḍākinī (north). E.g., SM239, SM240, SM248, NYĀ no. 9 (de Mallmann 1975: 132–33). These ḍākinīs 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 *guhyaka*s see *Mahāmāyātantra* (1.7a): *guhyakānām iyam mātā;* and as the (female) source of creation, (1.6): *saiṣā saṃharate viśvaṃ sṛjate sā punaḥ punaḥ*. Ratnākaraśānti confirms that Mahāmāyā is a male Heruka form: *saiṣeti herukarūpā mahāmāyā*. (I thank Dr. Isaacson for these references.) We see this first qualification referring also to Vajravārāhī (SM221 p. 434), with material from the Mahāmāyā tradition appearing in some Vajrayoginī sādhanas, such as SM221–223, and our GSS21 (see appendix).

76 GSS7 (K405): *tanmadhyād utthitā devī vārāhi 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 *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālasaṃvara*, in Ānandagarbha's *Vajrajvālodayā nāma Śriherukasādhanopayikā* (Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibiliothek, Göttingen, MS Xc 14/39, f. 170r6–186r5; ms. Xc 14/39), f. 178r: *atra śriherukasyābhyantaramaṇḍalakoṣṭhas tasya tadyogino vā tasminn eva koṣṭhake pūrvadigbhāge gauri gauravarṇā śāntadṛṣṭiḥ saumyamukhā... paścime pramohā ādivarāhamukhā pramohadṛṣṭir †vakrasthā† caturbhujā madyapūrṇakapālavāmakarā dakṣiṇakare vajra-sphoṭanaṃ sarvaṃ krodhakula<ṃ> bandhayantī*. (I thank Professor Sanderson for this reference.)

78 E.g., ADUT *paṭala* 56 f. 221r1–5: *karuṇākrodhabhiṣaṇā*. The notion of *karuṇā-krodha* is widely attested elsewhere. Cf. SM117 p. 246: *Jāṅguli... saroṣahasitā*, lit.: "Jāṅguli...smiling, with anger."

79 E.g., in the Saptadaśātmakahevajra Maṇḍala (NYĀ no. 5, p. 14): *athavā caturbhujo dvibhujavat aparabhujābhyāṃ svābhavajravārāhisamāliṅgita ity eva viśeṣaḥ;* also in the Navātmakaherukacatuṣṭaya Maṇḍala (NYĀ No. 8 p. 21). The

following verse in the HT also describes a six-armed form of Hevajra embracing a different, and now little-known goddess, Vajraśṛṅkhalā (HT1.3.18); also in NYĀ no. 5.

80 *Vasantatilakāṭīkā* p. 41 (cited *Bauddhatantrakośa* p. 45): *sarvā eva ḍākinyo vārāhīkulasaṃbhavāḥ.*

81 The *paryaṅka*, as we will see (n. 238), is a seated meditation posture. In the half-*paryaṅka (ardhaparyaṅka)*, the deity is standing up and dancing, that is, with one leg on the ground, flexed with the movement of dance, and with the other raised up, the sole of the foot placed against the opposite thigh (similar to the seated meditation position). E.g., NYĀ (p. 14): [Hevajra] *vamorau dakṣiṇacaraṇāgraṃ saṃsthāpyārdhaparyaṅkī* "[Hevajra] is in the *ardhaparyaṅka* [pose], having placed the tip of his right foot on his left thigh." SM241 (p. 469): *viśvapadmasūrye vāmapādaṃ tasyaivorau dakṣiṇacaraṇaṃ vinyasya nṛtyaṃ kurvantaṃ herukaviraṃ bhāvayet.* "One should visualize the hero, Heruka, with his left foot on a sun [disk] on a multicolored lotus, having placed his right foot on his [left] thigh, doing a dance." SM242 p. 490: [Heruka] *sūryamaṇḍalaṃ tanmadhye samupaviṣṭhaṃ...ardhaparyaṅkinaṃ;* SM254 p. 502: [devīs] *ardhaparyaṅkanṛtyasthāḥ;* etc. Sanderson (2002: personal communication) notes that Bhavabhaṭṭa's commentary to the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* glosses the root text (19.10c: *ākuñcitavāmapadān tu)* as: "The phrase, 'With the left foot bent' means, he should be seen dancing in the *ardhaparyaṅka* pose." (*Cakrasaṃvaratantravivṛti* IASWR MBB–I–33, f. 76v6): *ākuñcitavāmapādeti. ardhaparyaṅkanāṭyaṃ darśayed ity arthaḥ.*

Warrior-stance forms are also said to be dancing, but this posture is more clearly associated with dance, and I therefore tend to refer to the half-*paryaṅka* as the "dancing" pose; e.g., GSS2 (K280r3/K0r2): *ardhaparyaṅkatāṇḍavāṃ;* GSS7 (K4or5): *ardhaparyaṅkam āsinā nṛtyamānā;* GSS32 (K106r2): *nṛtyārdhaparyaṅkiṇī;* and describing Heruka's form, e.g., KYT (p. 142): *caturmārasamākrāntam ardhaparyaṅkatāṇḍavam.* For the *rasas*, see e.g., GSS34 (K112v1): *navanāṭyarasānvitā*, also of Heruka forms such as Saṃvara, e.g., NYĀ (p. 26): *navanāṭyarasarāśiḥ*, cf. SUT ch. 13.22b.

82 The two texts are very similar. Cf. GSS5 (Sed p. 152, K37r3); *Vasantatilakā* ch. 9. GSS1 (K280r1)=GSS2 (K4v6–0r): *tataḥ svadehaṃ traidhātukaviśuddhakūṭāgāram ity ākalayya jhaṭiti tato nābhimaṇḍale dvibhujāṃ kartrikapāladhāriṇīṃ muktaśiroruhāṃ nagnāṃ trinetrāṃ—navayauvanalāvaṇyāṃ pañcamudrāvibhūṣitāṃ | pañcabrahmamahāmukuṭīṃ ardhaparyaṅkatāṇḍavām | 1 | somasūryāgnimadhyasthāṃ javāsindūrasannibhām | idṛgrūpadharāṃ deviṃ bhāvayed yogavit sadā | 2 | kolāsyaṃ dakṣiṇaṃ tasyāḥ krodhāsyaṃ vāmatas tathā | saṃvṛtiparamārthena vaktradvayaṃ pragīyate | 3 | gurūpadeśamārgeṇa jñātavyaḥ kramavistaraḥ | tasyāḥ kuśeśayāntaḥsthaṃ cakraṃ sarvārthasiddhidam | 4 | triguṇālaṃkṛtaṃ cihnaṃ raktavarṇaṃ mahādyuti | mantrākṣarasusampūrṇaṃ kulālacakravad bhramet | 5 | rākṣasāsyaṃ samākuñcya samujjvālya vibhāvasum | kolāsyasannidhau dṛṣṭvā nandyāvarte bhramed vapuḥ | 6 | mudrādvayaprayogeṇa trailokyam api sādhayet | jhaṭitākārayogātmā yogī sidhyati nānyathā | 7 |*

• *ity ākalayya*] GSS1, *abhivīkṣya* GSS2 • *tato→dvibhujāṃ*] GSS1, *vajrayoginīṃ dvi(bhujāṃ) dvimukhāṃ* GSS2(del) • *muktaśiroruhāṃ*] GSS1, *muktakeśīṃ* GSS2 • (1c) *pañcabrahma°*] GSS1, ******* *hā* GSS2(dam) • (1d) *tāṇḍavāṃ*] GSS1; *tāṇḍaviṃ* GSS2 • (3b) *vāmatas tathā*] GSS1, GSS2; *vāmam eva ca* GSS5 • (3c) *saṃvṛtiparamārthena*] GSS1, GSS2; *satyadvayaviśuddhyā tu* GSS5 • (3d) *pragīyate*] GSS1; *udāhṛtam* GSS2, GSS5 • (4b) *jñātavyaḥ kramavistaraḥ*] em.; *jñātavyaṃ kramavistaram* GSS1; *jñātavyaṃ kramavistaraḥ* GSS2 (Perhaps leave the reading as it stands in GSS1 since GSS40 glosses the lemma *kramavistaram.*) • (4c) *kuśeśayāntaḥstthaṃ*] GSS1; *paṅkajamadhyasthaṃ* GSS2 • (5b) *raktavarṇaṃ*] conj.; *vai raktavarṇaṃ* GSS1; *raktavarṇa* GSS2 • (5b) *mahādyutī*] em.; *°dyutiḥ* GSS1, *°dyutiṃ* GSS2 • (5c) *°susaṃpūrṇaṃ*] corr.; *suṃsaṃpūrṇaṃ* GSS1, *saṃpūrṇaṃ* GSS2 • (6a) *rākṣasāsyaṃ*] GSS2, *rākṣasāsya* GSS1 • (6b) *vibhāvasum*] GSS1; *prabhāsvaraṃ* GSS2 • (6d) *nandyāvarte*] conj.?; *nandyāvarta* GSS1, GSS2 • (7b) *api*] GSS1; *kha(lu)* GSS2(mg2) • (7c) *jhaṭitākārayogātmā*] GSS1; *jhaṭitākārayogena* GSS2.

83 The *Sādhanamālā* works listed for Vajravārāhī by von Schroeder include a short line of text describing the form of Vajravārāhī for a rite of subjugation (SM220 p. 433: *digambarā muktakeśī vajravārāhī nābhideśe kartrikapāladhāriṇī nṛtyantī cintyā. vaśyaṃ bhavatīti. vajravārāhyā vaśyavidhiḥ*). This is evidently a fragment from the *vaśyavidhi* described in the preceding sādhana (SM219), which in turn is a ritual applying to the previous sādhana (SM218) (see GSS38 with appendix entry). Perhaps misled by the fact that SM220 describes Vajravārāhī here as "dancing" (which may be most evident iconographically in the *ardhaparyaṅka* forms of deities, but which is frequently also an aspect of warrior-stance forms), von Schroeder takes this line of text as the basis for coining the appellation "Vaśya-Vajravārāhī" for *ardhaparyaṅka* chopper-holding forms of Vajravārāhī (see many plates in publications published 1981 and 2001, with 2001: 1052). As this form of Vajravārāhī is associated with all types of rites, not just rites of subjugation, this appellation is misleading. It is also based on the scantiest of evidence, and in fact von Schroeder's source (GSS220) is actually a continuation of the previous two works (SM218 and SM219), and the pose intended for this form is rather the reverse warrior stance *(pratyālīḍhaḥ)* and not the *ardhaparyaṅka* at all. Ironically, von Schroeder does state that the form is in the *"pratyālīḍha"* pose, but he confuses this term with *ardhaparyaṅka,* erroneously describing the former as "dancing on the left foot with the right leg raised and bent" (2001: 1052)—that is, as the *ardhaparyaṅka* 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 sādhanas, although the reason for this is because these sādhanas do not focus on the hog-headed *ardhaparyaṅka* form of Vajravārāhī but on her warrior-stance forms, which are invariably without a hog's head.

84 There are plenty of published depictions of the *ardhaparyaṅka*-pose Vajravārāhī. Some of the earliest, including a few contemporary with our texts, are early Indian statues in late Pāla style dating from the eleventh to twelfth

centuries (von Schroeder 2001: plates 125A–E), and thirteenth-century Nepalese (*ibid.*: plate 173B–E) and twelfth-thirteenth-century Tibetan sculptures (*ibid.*: plates 289A–C, 295A, 94A–F; Leidy and Thurman 1998: plate 17). Slightly later are the fourteenth–fifteenth-century brasses of Vajravārāhī from Central Tibet (Reedy 1997: C180, and C189), a beautiful laughing gilt-bronze Vajravārāhī from fourteenth-century Tibet (Pal 1969: plate 55), the sixteenth-century silver and gold free-standing sculpture (*Sacred Art of Tibet:* plate 113), the similar seventeenth-century Tibetan bronze (Rawson 1973: plate 73), the Tibetan (?) bronze of "Indrabhūti Vajraḍākinī" c. 1700 (*Sacred Art of Tibet*, p. 261), and the serenely ecstatic statues (of unknown date) in Snellgrove (1987: plate 27) and Pal (1974: plate 287). See also many plates in von Schoeder 1981: plate 70G (twelfth century, Pāla style), plate 95F (fourteenth century, Nepalese), plate 115A (fifteenth-century Tibetan), and 120F (sixteenth–seventeenth-century Tibetan).

85 According to Lokesh Chandra, Tāranātha's title for no. 586 is *dPyal-lugs rDorje Phag-mo.* The Tibetan text of the Chel form (but not of Indrabhūti's mentioned below) prescribes the visualization of the mantra within the deity's sex, as in our Sanskrit text. The history of the dPyal family is given in the *Blue Annals* (p. 395), starting with the pupil of a mid-twelfth-century Nepalese master, Pham mthing pa, who was a pupil in the lineage of Nāropa.

86 For the set of three deities, see Willson and Brauen 2000: 258, with n. 1. Further references for Indrabhūti's Vajravārāhī are also given (*ibid.*: 259): P2253–54/Toh 1545–46 by Indrabhūti, and the first of the Six Vārāhī Texts (*Blue Annals* pp. 390–97), P2259/Toh 1551, known as "the Great Two-Faced." The root mantra in the Tibetan texts is the same as the tripartite mantra of the Sanskrit sādhanas, given below.

87 Two examples of Tibetan sculptures, namely, *Sacred Art of Tibet* plate 113, and Snellgrove: 1987 plate 27, show no trace of a staff, consonant with the texts in the GSS. In contrast, the early Khara Khoto tangka of Vajravārāhī (*Sacred Art of Tibet*, plate 93; Piotrovsky 1993, plate 22), the bronze in Rawson (1973: 94), and the Mongolian icons all show her with a staff. In two bronzes (Snellgrove 1987 and Rawson 1973) Vajravārāhī is depicted standing upon a single corpse, while in plates 1 and 8 she stands upon a sun disk placed on top of the corpse.

88 GSS1–GSS2 (cited above n. 82): *pañcabrahmamahāmukuṭiṃ.* In Śaivism, the "five Brahmās" originate from the five faces of Sadāśiva and refer to the five *brahmamantras* purified as Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Aghora, Tatpuruṣa, and Īśāna. See *Kiraṇavṛtti* on *Kiraṇatantra* 3.17c–18b, further discussed in ch. 62 entitled *Pañcabrahmavidhi* (*in* Goodall 1998: 283, n. 373) and Dyczkowski (1988: 32, citing *Tantrāloka* 29.18–27).

89 GSS1 (K280r2): *navayauvanalāvaṇyā-;* GSS34 (K112v6): *doṣāṅghriyugacārupivarā* • *doṣāṅghri*] conj.; *doṣṇākrī* K.

90 GSS1 (K280r5)–GSS2 (K0r3) vv. 3b–4, cited n. 82 above; also in *Vasantatilakā* ch. 9.

91 GSS1 (K80r6): *daśamiparvaṇi 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 (K110v.5): *daśamyām aṣṭamibhūtāṃ* (?) *sitakṛṣṇe ca vā sadā | kumārīṃ caikāṃ <sampūjya>*mg2 *suruyoginikalpitām | pārśvasthāṃ svāntar madhyasthāṃ bāhye likhitacakragām | pūjayed viravireśīcakrasaṃvarasaṃvare | bhakṣyair bhojyaiś ca yair yaiś ca | lehyaiś coṣyais tathā paraiḥ | • daśamyām aṣṭamibhūtāṃ*]? conj.; *daśamyāṃṣṭamibhūtāṃ nkhyāḥ* K • *caikāṃ*] em.; *caika* K • *yoginī*] corr.; *yogini* K • *sthāṃ*] em.; *sthaṃ* K • *yair*] em.; *ye* K • *coṣyais*] em.; *cauṣyais* K.

The rite also appears in the *Saṃvarodayatantra, 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 *kumāripūjā* 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 (K280v1) ≈ GSS2 (K0v6) (verse numbers added): *ataḥ paraṃ pravakṣyāmi mantroddhāravidhiṃ parām | trikoṇamaṇḍalaṃ ramyaṃ vajrārallivinihṣṛtam* | 8 | *dharmodayeti vikhyātaṃ yoṣitāṃ bhagam ity api | tatrālikālibhedena vargān aṣṭau kramāl likhet* | 9 | *rūpāgnibāṇamunayo randhreśau kāma eva ca | kramāt koṣṭhasya vinyāsaḥ kartavya upadeśataḥ* | 10 | *akārādikam ārabhya hakārākṣarasamantataḥ | dakṣiṇāvartayogena yathoktaṃ saṃvarārṇave* | 11 | *thordhvam triguṇitaṃ kuryād bindunādavibhūṣitam* |...etc.

• *ataḥ*] conj. Sanderson; *athānyataḥ* K • *vajrārallivinihṣṛtam*] 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 Vajravarahi is based on the sixty-two-fold Cakrasamvara maṇḍala, the maṇḍala of this twelve-armed form of Vajravārāhī 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 *Vārāhyabhyudayatantra* (vv. 101–2). Following the description of the Vajravārāhī maṇḍala, the *Vārāhyabhyudayatantra* also goes

on to describe the cremation grounds in some detail and ends with a *bali* offering typical of the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* (GSS11).

98 Cakrasaṃvara's iconography is described, for example, by Abhayākaragupta in the NYĀ (p. 26.4): *bhagavān...savajravajraghaṇṭābhujayugmāliṅgitavajravārāhiko bhujābhyāṃ pṛṣṭhataḥ śubhrasaraktaprasṛtagajacarmadharas tadaparair ḍamaruparaśukartritriśūlāni bibhrad vāmair vajrāṅkitakhaṭvāṅgaraktapūritakapālaṃ vajrapāśaṃ brahmaśiraś ca...*; cf. ADUT ch. 9 (p. 156).

99 The *Ardhanārīśvara/Gaurīśvara* icon is well attested within Śaivism, but androgynous deities of this kind appear within the Buddhist tantras also. Sanderson (1996: personal communication) notes that, apart from this instance in the GSS/ADUT/*Vārāhyabhudayatantra*, he has encountered this type in the *(Yathālabdha-)Khasamatantra*, as transmitted in a manuscript of the *Khasamā*, Ratnākaraśānti's commentary upon it.

100 The corpses beneath Vajravārāhi's feet are not mentioned in the Sanskrit text for the main deity, but all the goddesses of the retinue stand upon corpses, which in the case of the four goddesses on the petals are named as the Śaiva deities (GSS7 K40r6): *pretapṛṣṭhe 'rdhaparyaṅkā vikaṭotkaṭabhīṣaṇāḥ | bhairavaḥ kālarātriś ca devyā pādatale kṛtau.* Cf. *Vārāhyabhyudayatantra* v. 58. The corpses are clearly depicted beneath the central deity in the Tibetan tangka, plate 13.

In this rather corrupt self-visualization passage, the attributes are listed in verse. In depicting the image from the text in figure 4, we have therefore not followed the particular order of the verses (which are determined by the meter) but base the drawing on the attributes as held by Cakrasaṃvara (table 5). The parallel in ADUT/*Vārāhyabhyudayatantra* (vv. 45–54, from ADUT *paṭala* 12.3–12.44b, plus prose/*paṭala* 9) is very similar in content, though its phraseology varies and the lines of various verses appear in different orders. GSS7 (K40r5): *dvādaśabhujā caturvaktrā trinetrā ca madanotkaṭā | ardhaparyaṅkam āsinā nṛtyamānā suśobhanā | digvāsā muktakeśā ca, ardhanārīśvarimukhī | sitaraktedṛśarūpā | † ... † | viśvavajrāṅkacandrāṅkā kapālamukuṭotkaṭā | vajraghaṇṭākaravyagrā kamalāvartavartinī | lalāṭe jvālāmudrā tu naracarmapaṭottarī || karaiḥ kapālakhaṭvāṅgapāśāṃkuśakṛpiṭakaṃ dadhatī kartrikāṃ brahmamuṇḍam <ca> anyaiś † caturmukham. nīlapītaharitadivyaṃ † daṃṣṭrālāsyā tathāruṇā | ṣaṇmudrāmudritā devi khaṇḍamaṇḍitamekhalā | keyūranūpurābhyāṃ ca yathāsthānaṃ vibhūṣitā | lalāṭe vajramālāsyāḥ | ...*

• *sitaraktedṛśarūpā*] *Vārāhyabhyudayatantra* v. 49 (Tib); *sitaraktadharirūpāṃ* K; *sitaraktadharirūpā* ADUT. • *candrāṅkā*] em.; *candrāṅka* K • *naracarmapaṭottarī*] *Vārāhyabhyudayatantra* (ADUT=Tib.); *naracarmapaṭordhvadharī* K • *vibhūṣitā*] em.; *ca vibhūṣitā* K. Cf. *Vārāhyabhyudayatantra* (vv. 49–51): *sitaraktedṛśarūpā kapālamakuṭotkaṭā | vajraghaṇṭākaravyagrā kamalāvartavartinī | 49 | lalāṭe jvālāmudrā tu naracarmapaṭottarī | kapālakhaṭvāṅgadharā pāśāṅkuśadharā parā | 50 | ḍamaruṃ kartri muṇḍaṃ ca | caturvaktraṃ ca brahmakam | nīlapītaharitadivyavaktropaśobhitā | 51 | ...*

101 I have altered the prescriptions in the texts to allot the correct attribute to each direction. Surely incorrectly, the injunctions in the *Vārāhyabhyudayatantra*

and *Abhidhānottara* (absent in GSS7) state that the double vajras ring the cakra in the south, and wheels in the north. Sanderson's (2001a: 22–23) edition of the former reads (v. 69): *bāhyāveṣṭya tataś cakraṃ / vajrāvalī tu pūrvataḥ / cakrāvalyās tu uttare / paścime viśvavajrāvalyā / padmāvalyā tu dakṣiṇe / madhye vajrāvalī suśobhanā* / (v. 70) *koṇabhāgeṣu sarveṣu viśvavajrān samālikhet / tadbāhye veṣṭsayed dhīmān / pretāvalyā saviśvayā.* (I do not reproduce Sanderson's apparatus here, as it contains no variants significant to this problem.)

102 This chapter of the *Abhidhānottaratantra* also prescribes an optional six-faced, twelve-armed form, with a hog's *(vārāha-)* face on top (Sanderson 1996: personal communication).

103 (I do not generally attempt to emend the very faulty meter.) GSS6 (K39r5): *athānyaṃ <saṃ>pravakṣyāmi vārāhyāḥ sādhanottamam* | *utpattikramayogena ātmabhāvaṃ vibhāvayet* | *dvādaśārkanibhaṃ dehaṃ sindūrakṣodasaṃnibham* | *bandhūkajavāprakhyaṃ ca, trimukhāṃ ṣaḍbhujāṃ tathā* | *sarvālaṃkārasaṃpūrṇāṃ sattvaparyaṅkasusthitām* | *kapālamālāmukuṭāṃ keśavicchuritā<ṃ> śubhām* | *vajraghaṇṭāsamāpannām upāyādharapiḍitām* | *bāṇagāṇḍivadharāṃ karṇāpūritakṣobhitām* | *kapālakhatvāṅgadharām aṃkuśākarṣaṇaparām* | *raktapadmasya madhyasthāṃ sarvakāmapradāyikām* | ...

• *dharām aṃkuśākarṣaṇa*] em.; *dharamṃ akuśākarṣaṇāṃ* K.

104 The maṇḍala of the "six-armed Vajravārāhī *Yab-Yum* with Heruka" is also illustrated within her maṇḍala in R. V. Chandra and L. Chandra (1961–72: part 14 no. 82). Here, however, the maṇḍala includes four goddesses in the intermediate directions of the outer temple, instead of the bow and arrow described in our text. Other practices in the GSS, in which the female deity is the main partner, are those of Vajravilāsinī and Guhyavajravilāsinī, discussed below. The six-armed Vajravārāhī and its sources are noted by Herrmann-Pfandt (1997: 21–26) and its implications for feminist discourse discussed; Simmer-Brown (2001: 158–60) offers a critique of this approach. Other examples of ritual and meditative contexts for the *yum yab* practice are also documented Herrmann-Pfandt (1992: 325–28; 2001: 580–82) and Simmer-Brown (*op.cit.*: 331–32 nn. 104–5).

The Mongolian icons (IWS/T 88, LC 598) illustrate the figure entitled Sahaja Reversed *(Go bzlog lhan skyes).* Here, the male deity takes the role reversal so far as to adopt Vajravārāhī's implements. In the sādhana of the *Rin 'byung brgya rtsa* (Willson and Brauen 2000: 261–62), Vajrayoginī is white, with one face and two arms. She holds a lotus stem in each hand, one "marked" with (i.e., bearing) a vajra, the other a bell. She sits upon a spotted antelope skin in the *vajraparyaṅka* and holds Saṃvara "in her lap." Her consort is depicted smaller and with his back toward us, holding the attributes normally assigned to Vajrayoginī. In his left hand he brandishes a chopper, and his right arm embraces Vajrayoginī and simultaneously pours blood from the skull bowl into his own mouth. Neither wears any ornaments or garments. The mantra is given as *oṃ vajravairocanīye hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ / oṃ hriḥ ha ha hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ.*



Endnote fig. i.
"Sahaja reversed"
(Go bslog lHan skyes)
Mongolian woodblock print
(IWS/T 88, LC 598).

The Tibetan *go bzlog* ("reversed") translates the Sanskrit *viparita* as in *viparita-surata-* (also known as *puruṣāyitam*), which indicates a so-called reversed or inverted position for lovemaking (Sanderson 2001: personal communication). In the language of Indian erotology, this position is one in which the woman is said to "act like a man" in relation to her lover *(Kāmasūtra* 2.8.17: *nāyake nāyikā puruṣavad ācared iti puruṣāyitaṃ),* in that she lies on top of him (*Kāma-sūtra* 2.8.1–3): *nāyakasya saṃtatābhyāsāt pariśramam upalabhya rāgasya cānu-paśamam anumatā tena tam adho 'vapātya puruṣāyitena sāhāyyaṃ dadyāt (/) svābhiprāyād vā vikalpayojanārthinī (/) nāyakakutūhalād vā):* "Having seen that the male lover has become tired because of [their] continual lovemaking [lit: practice] and that his passion is not yet assuaged, with his permission she should put him underneath [her] and help him by means of the *puruṣāyita* [position]. Alternatively, [she may do this] because she desires to unite differently by her own wish, or because the male lover is curious."

Another example in Tibetan art of a *yum yab* figure is one mentioned to me by Robert Beer (2001: personal communication), who writes, "The only major deity I know of who appears in *Yum-Yab* is the Karma bKa' brgyud protector Palden Lhamo in union with Dorje Bernagchen. This union of deities is known as *ma-mgon zhal-sbyor* meaning 'Mother Protector Face to Face,' and originates from a vision of the second Karma-pa, Karma Pakshi. Here the four-armed form of Palden Lhamo/Śri Mātā Devi *(Rang-'byung gyal mo)* sits facing outwards on her blue 'iron mule,' whilst the dwarf form of Mahākāla as Ber-nag-can (the Black-Cloaked) is seated upon her lap. The mass of cloaks and silks that cover both deities depicts nothing of their sexual union."

105 *oṃ śrivajravārāhi āḥ vaṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā • hūṃ hūṃ*] ADUT B147r2; *hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ* GSS K401. The syllables of attraction (see ch. 3) appear only in GSS6 and depend upon the following conjectural insertions (K402): *oṃ śrivajrajvālottame jaḥ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ śrivajrāmṛtottame <hūṃ?> hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ śrivajrakrodhottame <vaṃ?> hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ. oṃ śrivajradaṃṣṭrottame*

hoḥ hūṃ hūṃ 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 huṃ 2 phaṭ svāhā,* etc.

106 GSS16 (K75v4): *trayodaśātmikā ghorā vajravārāhināyikā.* • *vajravārāhi*] K *metri causa.* For the connection this sādhana bears to the armoring processes, see the appendix.

107 GSS16 (K77v1): *bhagavatīṃ vajravārāhīṃ sarvalakṣaṇasampūrṇā<ṃ> vicintayet. dāḍimakusumasadṛśīm ekānanāṃ trinetrāṃ muktakeśāṃ ṣaḍbhujāṃ digambarāṃ kṛṣodarāṃ khaṇḍamaṇḍitamekhalāṃ pañcabuddhamukuṭinīṃ sārdramuṇḍamālālaṃkṛtāṃ ṣaṇmudrāmudritāṃ hāranūpura † ghughura † samalaṃkṛtāṃ sarvasiddhipradāyikāṃ dedipyamānavaḍavānalasadṛśīṃ devīṃ vibhāvayet, savyabhuje vajrāṃkuśaparaśudharāṃ vāmabhuje kapālapāśakhaṭvāṅgadharāṃ āliḍhāsanasthāṃ pādākrāntakṛtaśambhucāmuṇḍāṃ † bhaya † vihvalā<ṃ> kapālamālinī<ṃ> sarvālaṃkārabhūṣitām. bhagavatyā hṛdi raktapadmopari raktacandramaṇḍalaṃ tadupari raktamukulitavajraṃ vaṃkārādhiṣṭhitaṃ cintanīya<ṃ> tasya raśminirgatasaṃcoditān bāhyabījākṣarān avabhāsya svasvarūpeṇa pariniṣpannān devigaṇamaṇḍalān paśyet.*
• *dāḍima*] em.; *drāḍima* K • *sārdra*] em.; *sādra* K • *hāranūpura*] em.; *hāranopura* K • *sadṛśīṃ*] em.; *sadṛśāṃ* K • *kṛtaśambhucāmuṇḍāṃ*] em.; *kṛtāṃ. śambhuś cāmuṇḍāṃ* K • *mukulita*] em.; *mukulitaṃ* K • *saṃcoditān*] em.; *saṃcoditaṃ* K • *avabhāsya*] corr.; *avabhāsya* K • *maṇḍalān*] K (I do not emend to neuter).

108 In the *Abhidhānottaratantra, paṭala* 56, the main form of Vajravārāhī differs in that it is self-visualized with five faces and twelve arms and wears only five mudrās (Sanderson 1997: personal communication). ADUT (f. 221r1–5): *nīlapītaraktaharita-ūrdhvasitānanā;* (f. 221r1–5): *kapālakhaṭvāṅgaśūlakartrikaḍamaruvajraghaṇṭāpāśāṅkuśabrahmaśīraḥparaśutarjanīdharā naracarmapaṭordhvakarā...* • *śiraḥ*] corr. Sanderson, *śirā* codd.

109 GSS16 (K75v4): *mantrākṣaraviniṣpannaṃ maṇḍalaṃ maṇḍalottamam* • *niṣpannaṃ*] corr.; *niṣpannāṃ* K.

110 GSS16 (K78r3): ... *pīnastanoruyugalā divyarūpā manoramā<ḥ> kiñcidvikṛtānanā<ḥ> kaṭākṣekṣaṇacañcalā<ḥ>* • *pīnastanoruyugalā*] conj.; *pīnatana-uruyugalā* K.

111 GSS16 (K78v4): *nagnā sthūlapadmā madavihvalā.*

112 The first practice in the *Abhisamayamanjari* (GSS5 Sed p. 149[4], K34r4) is that found in GSS15 and GSS18; the second (GSS5 Sed p. 149[18], K34v5) bears similarities to the white two-armed Vajravārāhī in GSS38 *(Āryaśuklavajravārāhisādhana).* In the Tibetan canon (references in the appendix), this is the second of the *Six Texts of Vajravārāhī.* The *Sarvārthasiddhisādhana* appears in the *Rin 'byung brgya rtsa,* with a translation of the self-visualization portion in Willson and Brauen (2000: 259 "Accomplishing Vārāhī"). The Tibetan text shows some minor variations, but gives the identical root mantra: *oṃ vajravārāhī aveśaya sarvaduṣṭaṃ* (for *sarvaduṣṭān*) *hrīḥ svāhā.*

113 ch. 7, v. 2ab (p. 50): *trimukhāṃ ṣaḍbhujāṃ ghoṇāṃ vajrahastām sunīlikām.*

114 ch. 7, v. 9 (p. 51): *oṃ vajraghoṇe sughoṇe vajramāmaki bhara 2 sambhara 2*

traidhātukamahāmadyam ākarṣaya jaḥ. Ratnāvalīpañjikā in KYT ch. 17 (p. 126): *mūlaghoṇāvadanā.*

115 GSS5 (Sed p. 149[8], K34r6): *iti śrīvajraghoṇākramaḥ;* GSS5 (Sed p. 149[15], K34v4): *anena prathamato baliṃ dattvā vajraghoṇāsādhanam idam anuṣṭheyam.*

116 GSS15 (K74v3): *tato balidānapūrvakaṃ vajravārāhīṃ bhāvayet. tatra svanābhimadhye raktatrikoṭicakraṃ vibhāvya. tanmadhye raktavartuladalakamalakarṇikāyāṃ śavārkamaṇḍalopari kalpāgnisaṃnibhā<ṃ> raktahrīḥkṛtiṃ paśyet. tad anu tadbījapariṇāmajāṃ vajravārāhīṃ sindūrārūṇavarṇā<ṃ> padmapretārkamaṇḍale, ālīḍhāsanena sthitā<m>. ūrdhvakacaromarājikāṃ pañcakapālālaṃkṛtalalāṭāṃ muṇḍamālāvibhūṣitagātrāṃ pañcamudrākṛtaśobhām ekavadanāṃ trinetrāṃ bhrūkuṭikolānanāṃ vajravajrapralambhāṃ lalajjihvāṃ ni<r>vāsasāṃ caturbhujāṃ, dakṣiṇe vajravajrāṃkuśadharāṃ, vāme kapālakhaṭvāṅgatarjjanīpāśahastāṃ kharvalambodarīṃ sarvaduṣṭaduḥsahahasitakrodharūpām, itthaṃbhūtāṃ bhāvayet.* • *bhrūkuṭī*] em.; *bhṛkuṭi* K • *itthaṃbhūtāṃ*] em.; *itthaṃbhūtaṃ* K. Cf. GSS5 (Sed p. 149[7], K34r6): *kolāsyāṃ;* GSS18 (K83r2): *ūrdhvapiṅgalakeśāṃ* (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): *lalajjihvāṃ;* GSS35 (K118v6): *lalitakrodhamukhāṃ.*

117 The same stance is illustrated in the other fully hog-headed illustration in the pantheon, "Vajravārāhī in the Tradition of the *Brāhmaṇa* Śrīdhara" (*Bram ze dpal 'dzin lugs kyi rdo rje phag mo;* IWS/T 86; LC 596; translation from Tibetan text in Willson and Brauen 2000: 261). In this form, the deity is flanked by a blue Varṇanī on her left and a yellow Vairocanī on her right, as in our *Trikāya-vajrayoginī* sādhanas, with the mantras: *oṃ krodhabuddhaḍākinīye hūṃ phaṭ svāhā, oṃ vajravarṇṇanīye hūṃ phaṭ svāhā, oṃ vajravairocanīye hūṃ phaṭ svāhā.* Willson and Brauen (*ibid.:* n. 1) supply the further references for Śrīdhara: P2297/Toh 1586: *Krodhavārāhīvajrayoginīsādhana,* and P4825/Toh 1990 *Śrīvajravārāhīsādhana-nāma.*



Endnote fig. ii. *Vajravārāhī in the tradition of the Brāhmaṇa Śridhara* (Bram ze dpal 'dzin lugs kyi rdo rje phag mo) Mongolian woodblock print (IWS/T 86, LC 596)

118 *oṃ vajravārāhi āveśaya sarvaduṣṭān hrīṃ svāhā* • *hrīṃ*] GSS5 (Sed p. 149[9], K34r6–v), GSS18 (K83r3); *hriḥ* GSS15 (K75r3). This seems to have been a crucial mantra, as it is the only one prescribed for the *japa* in GSS15 (K75r3) and actually appears before the heart mantra in GSS18 (K83r3).

119 E.g., GSS5 (Sed p. 149[11], K34v2): *mahāmāṃsacūrṇena dhūpaṃ dadyāt*; GSS5 (Sed p. 149[13], K34v2): *sarvamārapraśamanārthaṃ niśā baliḥ pañcopacāreṇa dātavyaḥ.*

120 GSS5 (Sed p. 149[14], K34v3–4): *tena vajrayoginyo 'dhitiṣṭhanti;* cf. GSS18 (K83r6). GSS15 puts this same statement in the singular (K74r6): *tato 'dhitiṣṭhati vajrayogini nānyathā.*

121 GSS5 (Sed p. 149[16], K34v5): *adhikaṃ hi praśasyata iti. kvacid iyaṃ hṛdraktapadme, āṃkārajasūryasthasitahriḥkārādhiṣṭhitāruṇapañcaśūkavajraparinatā sitalohitāmbhojasthasūryasuptājñānapuruṣopari, ālidhapadasthitā sūryasthahriḥkārādhiṣṭhitasūryasthavajrahṛdayā, viśvapadmasūryasthākṣobhyābhiṣekajā. aparaṃ sarvaṃ pūrvavat.* • *sitalohitāmbhoja*] conj.; *sitālohitāmbha* K; Cf. Sed p. 149.

122 Vajravārāhi also appears in the Akṣobhya family in the long sādhana by Kumāracandra, while Vairocana (the usual seal for Vajravārahi in our texts) presides over Vajracarcikā *(Ratnāvalipañjikā* in KYT p. 127). Another white form of Vajravārāhi is described in the sādhana as the consort to a manifestation of Kṛṣṇayamāri called Dveṣayamāri/Vajrasattva (*ibid.*: p. 124). She is like her consort, namely, white with three faces and six arms. The *Rin 'byung brgya rtsa* text for the two dancing forms of Vajravārahi also states that she has Akṣobhya on her crown (Willson and Brauen 2000: 257–58, 259).

123 GSS38 (K122r5): *namaḥ śrivajrayoginyai. praṇamya vajravārāhiṃ satsukhādhārahetukām | kriyate ruciraṃ tasyāḥ saṃkṣiptaṃ raudrasādhanam | aṃkāra<ja>sūryasthasitahriḥkāraraśmijālanirmitacaṇḍākhyāditricakradevībhi<r> vajravārāhyādikaṃ saṃpūjya svabhāvaśuddhety adhimucya śūnyatādibhāvanāpuraḥsaraṃ raktapadmopari aṃkārajasūrye sitahriḥkārajapañcaśūkavajreṇa niṣpannāṃ vajravārāhiṃ śuklāṃ raktatrinetrāṃ daṃṣṭrākarālavaktrāṃ muktakeśāṃ vajrāvalīvayamadhyikṛtakapālamālādharāṃ pañcamudrāmudritāṃ dakṣiṇakarasthitavajrāṃ vāme khatvāṅgaṃ dhārayantīm ālidhapadasthāṃ nagnāṃ devāsuramanuṣyabhayadāṃ anantaraśmin sphārayantīṃ sūryasthahriḥkārādhiṣṭhitahṛdayāṃ vajravārāhim ātmānaṃ bhāvayet.* • *śūka*] em.; *sūka* K • *śuklāṃ*] em.; *śukla* K • *daṃṣṭrākarāla*] em.; *daṃṣṭrādaṃṣṭrākarāṃla* K. GSS38 (K122v5): *pracaṇḍādibhir ātmāna<ṃ> saṃpūjyāmṛtāsvādaṃ kṛtvā....*

The unusual garland described in the GSS text is possibly explained by SM218 (pp. 427–28). In describing the visualization of the twenty-four goddesses of the maṇḍala circles, the SM text describes them with triple topknots bound up with a garland of vajras, lotuses, and cakras—i.e., probably the attribute of their own maṇḍala circle—and skulls (p. 427[10]: *vajrapadmacakrakapālamālāvabaddhatriśikhālaṃkṛtaśirobhiḥ*). In the visualization of Vajravārāhi that follows, she is described as having her triple topknot bound up with a garland of skulls between two rows of black vajras, i.e., probably pointing to her place in the vajra family of Akṣobhya, her presiding buddha (p. 428[4]: *kṛṣṇavajrā-*

validvayamadhyikṛtakapālamālāvabaddhatriśikhāṃ). Expertise in the ways of tying up matted braids would no doubt shed light on the matter!

124 GSS5 (Sed: p. 150', K351r1)=SM218 (p. 429): *tad anu svanābhau viśvapadmasthāruṇaśubhrasūryamaṇḍale sitahrīḥkāraṃ dṛṣṭvā tanmantramālām akṣasūtrākārāṃ sitāṃ cakrabhramaṇayogena vadanavivareṇa niścārya buddhaguṇagaṇamaṇimantrauṣadhicandratārālipiśāstrakalādiprabhāvam ādāya nābhivivare praviśantīṃ svapareṣāṃ sarvājñānadahanātmikāṃ dhyāyāt.* GSS5 (cont.): *drutādidoṣarahita<ṃ> mantraṃ japet. mantraḥ hrīḥ. yadotthātukāmo bhavati <tadā> tā<ṃ> mantramālāṃ nābhisthahrīḥkāre 'ntarbhāvya pūjādikaṃ kṛtvā yathāsukhaṃ viharet.*

• *svanābhau*] SM218, *nābhau* GSS5 • *āruṇaśubhra*] GSS5; *āruṇa* SM(ed.) • *(sita)hrīḥ*] K(mg2); *hrīḥ* Kac • *mantramālām*] corr; *mantrāmālām* K • *nābhivivare*] K; *nābhivivare(ṇa)* K(del) (Sed. p. 150 gives the mantra as *hrīṃ hrīṃ*, reporting two mss. with this reading and four, including the Tibetan, reading *hrīḥ*.) (cf. GSS38 K122v6)

125 GSS19 (K83v4): *netrāṃ sabhrūbhaṅgabhṛkuṭinīṃ daṃṣṭrākarālavadanāṃ lalajjihvāṃ muktakeśīṃ pītaśavārūḍhāṃ navayauvanāṃ hārārddhahārakiṅkiṇighurghurāravaiḥ ṣaṇmudropetāṃ vāme khaṭvāṅgakapāladharāṃ dakṣiṇe vajrakartrikāṃ bhīmarūpāṃ śmaśānādau bhāvayed yogi mahākṛpaḥ.* GSS5 (Sed p. 151, K361r1): *ūrdhvajvalitaraktakeśāṃ;* (K361r4): *kvacid iyaṃ raktahūṃkārajātā muktakuntalakalāpā dṛśyate kvacic chavarahitā...*

126 GSS42 (K126r3–4 v. 8): *vāme kapālakhaṭvāṅge dakṣiṇe kartridhāriṇi | śūnyatākaruṇāvāhi namas te vajrayogini | 8 |* • *dakṣiṇe*] K; *dekṣiṇe* C • *°dhāriṇi*] C.; *dhāriṇi* K • *vāhi*] K; *vāhinakartrir jagato duḥkhachedani;* cf. HTI.8.20ab: *tathā mānādiṣaḍdoṣān kartituṃ kartṛkā sthitā,* KYT thirteenth *paṭala*, v. 1 (p. 83): *athātaḥ sarvasattvasya yāvantaḥ pāpakarmakāḥ | tān vai kārayituṃ kartrī kośaḥ kleśādi chedanāt.*

127 GSS19 (K84r.3): *pūjādikaṃ kartavyam.* GSS5 (Sed p. 151, K361r4): *viśeṣatvenāṣṭamyādau niśi śmaśāne dātavyaḥ [baliḥ];* GSS19 (K84r2): *aṣṭamyāṃ daśamyāṃ caturdaśyāṃ vā;* SM236 (p. 459): *aṣṭamyāṃ pañcamyāṃ caturdaśyāṃ;* *GSS28 (K101r1): *aṣṭamyāṃ pañcadaśyāṃ caturdaśyāṃ.*

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: *śākinivācakaṃ śabdaṃ na kadā cit samuccaret;* cf. *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 6.52cd (A=ASB 5465 [G] f. 12r6–v1; B=NAK 5–2403, NGMPP A 203/6): *ḍāki(ki* A: *gi* B)*niti na vaktavyaṃ pramādān mantriṇā-m-api; 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)*kiniti na vaktavyaṃ dhappatiṃ varavarṇini / chiṇḍā(ṇḍā* A : *nna* B)*li<ṃ> ca mahādevi sehārī<ṃ> naiva-m-ucca* (*cca* B: *tsa* A)*ret.*

129 The mantra offerings in GSS19 are (K83v2): *oṃ vajrayogini vajrapuṣpaṃ praticcha svāhā. pūrvadale. oṃ ḍākiniye hūṃ trāṃ vajrapuṣpaṃ praticcha svāhā. dakṣiṇadale. oṃ lāme hūṃ lāṃ vajrapuṣpaṃ praticcha svāhā. paścimadale. oṃ khaṇḍarohe hūṃ khaṃ vajrapuṣpaṃ praticcha svāhā. uttaradale. oṃ rūpiṇi hūṃ*

rūṃ vajrapuṣpaṃ pratīccha svāhā. • *vajrapuṣpaṃ*] em.; *vajrapuṣpe* K • *rūṃ*] em.; *ruṃ* K. For similar sets of offering mantras, see n. 213.

130 There is a variant to the usual root mantra: GSS19 (K83v6–84r) and SM236 omit *oṃ* before the second and third datives and give the final *hūṃ* with the long vowel: *oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākinīye vajravarṇanīye vajravairocanīye hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā.* The heart mantra is either (in GSS5 Sed p. 151, K36r2, SM236) *oṃ vajraḍākinīye hrīṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā* or (in GSS19 K84r1=SM236) *oṃ sarvasiddhiṃ prayaccha hrī<ṃ> hūṃ phaṭ svāhā.* The auxiliary heart mantra is *oṃ vajrayoginīye hūṃ phaṭ svāhā.*

131 The *bali* mantra is either (GSS19 K84r2) *oṃ vajraḍākinīye hūṃ hūṃ imaṃ baliṃ gṛhṇa 2 haḥ 2 jaḥ 2 aḥ 2 hūṃ phaṭ mama siddhiṃ prayaccha svāhā,* or (GSS5 Sed p. 151, K36r2, SM236) *oṃ vajraḍākinīye imaṃ baliṃ gṛihṇa gṛihṇa ha ha ha ha kha kha kha kha a a a a mama siddhiṃ prayaccha hūṃ phaṭ svāhā.* In GSS28 (K101r1) only the latter part is preserved: *...kha kha kha kha a a a a mama siddhiṃ prayaccha prayaccha hūṃ phaṭ svāhā.*

132 GSS35 (K119v5): *caturnāḍīsvabhāvacaturdalakamalopari.* For the three channels, see ch. 3. Isaacson (1999: personal communication) states that a fourth channel containing feces is mentioned in the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* and in the *Vasantatilakā* (p. 79).

133 GSS35 (K118v1): *tataḥ śukla-akārād hetuvajradharasvabhāvāt pṛthivyādicaturmahābhūtasvabhāvaṃ yaṃraṃvaṃlaṃkāraparipūrṇataṃ catūratnamayaṃ saptaparvatasaptaśītakalpavṛkṣadvādaśadvīpaparitaṃ sumeruṃ bhāvayet. tanmadhye haritahūṃkāraparipūrṇatapañcāṅgasvabhāva<ṃ> viśvavajraṃ tanmadhye rakta-ekāraparipūrṇata<ṃ> lohitavarṇaṃ śarīrasvarūpam ūrdhvadharmodayaṃ trikoṇe vajrāṅkitaṃ jvālāmālāsahitanavadvārasvabhāvāṣṭadalapadmaṃ † padmoparistha tadantaś † caturnāḍīsvabhāvacaturdalakamalopari caṇḍāmśumaṇḍale avadhūtīsvabhāvaśubhrakartṛipariṇatāṃ vajrayoginī<ṃ> kiṃśukaśyāmasaṃnibhāṃ sphuṭavarapītalohitāṃ ṣoḍaśābdāṃ sukumāranavayauvanāṃ lalitakrodhamukhāṃ pañcamudrāmudritāṃ pañcāśannaraśirohāradharāṃ ālīḍhacaraṇākrāntacatuḥkleśaviśuddhabrahmendrahariharāṃ vairocanamukuṭinīṃ prathamadakṣiṇavāmakaratalakalitavajraghaṇṭā<m> upāyāliṅganābhinayāṃ punar dakṣiṇakare kartrī vāmakarakalitordhvanabhastalavilasatkapālavinivīṣṭadṛṣṭiṃ vāmāṅgakhaṭvāṅgasaṃgatāṃ <bhāvayet>.*

• *saptaśīta*] em.; *saptaśītā* K (cf. ADK ch. 5 v. 51) • *lohitavarṇaṃ*] em.; *lohitavarṇā* K • *padmaṃ padmoparistha*] conj.(?); *padma sadmoparistha* K • *kiṃśukaśyāma*] em.; *kiṃśukaśyāmā(ṃ)* K(pc) • *caraṇā*] em.; *carāṇā* K • *vairocana*] em.; *verocana* K • *talakalita*] conj.; *talakali* K.

134 *Varjayoginyārādhanavidhi* by Śabara GSS23 (K88v1): *bāhyasitābhyantararaktapūritapadmabhājanadhṛtavāmakareṇoddhṛtasvavāmapādāliṅganābhinayāṃ padmabhājanastharaktadhārāṃ anavarataṃ pibantīṃ...dhyātvā* • *bāhya*] em. *bāhye* K • *bhājanadhṛta*] K (understand *bhājanadhara*) • *oddhṛta*] corr.; *odhṛta* K • *āliṅganā*] em; *āliṅgitanā* K.

135 The brief reference in the *Abhisamayamañjarī* to the *ūrdhvapāda* pose of Vajravārāhī likewise states its provenance in Oḍḍiyāna, (GSS5 Sed p. 148,

K33v6–34r): *oḍḍiyānavinirgatakrame punar iyam ūrdhvapādā bhavati.* Here it is presented as an alternative form of the main (warrior-stance) Vajravārāhī visualization for those who want a "medium-length" practice (K33v5): *madhyarucis tu...*

136 GSS17 (K82r6) (≈GSS45 K139v3): *bhagavatiṃ deviṃ vajrayoginiṃ śuklāṃ ugrakiraṇām ūrdhvapādasthitāṃ śakrabrahmākrāntām adhaḥpādena bhairavakālarātriṃ dvibhujām ekānanām muktakeśiṃ nagnāṃ nirābharaṇāṃ pinonnatapayodharāṃ raktavartulacalatpracaṇḍanayanāṃ bhrūbhaṅgabhṛkuṭi<ṃ>da<ṃ>ṣṭrākarālavadanāṃ vāme khaṭvāṅgakaroṭadharāṃ dakṣiṇe vajrakartridharām atibhimarūpāṃ* <GSS45: *śmaśānādau> bhāvayet.* • *kālarātriṃ*] corr.; *kālārātriṃ* • *pinonnata*] *pinonata* K • *vajrakartridharāṃ*] GSS45; *vajrakartrim* GSS17 • *śakrabrahmākrāntāṃ*] GSS17 K; *śa(kra)brahmāṇḍākrāntāṃ* GSS45(mg) (the variant reading in GSS45 states that the goddess stands upon Śakra and "Brahmā's egg" *(śakrabrahmāṇḍākrāntāṃ),* 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 Kālarātri. Her raised left leg, stretching to the realm of Brahmā, tramples Brahmā and Śakra into the worlds above" (Willson and Brauen 2000: 260).

137 GSS17 (K83v4): *oṃ vajrayoginī hrīḥ ru ru ru khaḥ khaḥ kha<ḥ> phem phem phem aṃ aṃ aṃ mama siddhiṃ prayaccha baliṃ gṛhṇa hūṃ phaṭ svāhā.* GSS45 (K140r1): *oṃ vajrayoginī imaṃ baliṃ gṛhṇa 2 ru 2 kha 2 phem phem a a mama siddhim prayaccha hūṃ phaṭ svāhā.* The *mālāmantra (oṃ hūṃ vaṃ jaḥ)* 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 sarvabuddhaḍākiniye vajravarṇaniye vajravairocaniye hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā),* the auxiliary mantra *(oṃ vajraḍākinī hrī hūṃ phaṭ svāhā),* the heart mantra *(oṃ vajraḍākini hrī hūṃ phaṭ svāhā),* and a seed mantra (*oṃ vaṃ hūṃ).* In common with many of the Tibetan sādhanas, the eight-part mantra is also prescribed (p. 179).

139 GSS36 (K120v4): *prathamaṃ tāvat sādhako vajrayoginyāḥ pratikṛtiṃ kārayet. yathā tathā yena tenākāreṇa raktatrikoṇadvayasampuṭamadhye śuklavartulapadme, tanmadhye bhairavacarmopari upaviṣṭāṃ kūrmapatanakrameṇa pītavārṇāṃ nagnāṃ muktaśikhāṃ dvinayanāṃ kartṛkarparadharām aṭṭaṭṭahāsāṃ kāmotkaṭabhiṣaṇāṃ sādhakaṃ nirikṣayantiṃ bhāvayet.* • *sādhako*] em.; *sādhaka* K • *tenākāreṇa*] em.; *kena tenākāreṇa* K • *padme*] conj.; *padmaṃ* K • *bhairava-*

carmo] D88r6; *bhairacarmo* K120v5, N85r5 • *karparadharām*] conj.; *karparam* K.

For the yogin in this stance, see n. 142 below. It is worth noting that there was an adept called Kūrmapāda, who was associated with the Vajravārāhī tradition through his lineal descent from Ghaṇṭāpāda (*Blue Annals* pp. 754, 803). Ghaṇṭāpāda was one of the main transmitters of the Cakrasaṃvara tradition (n. 356), although whether he had any connection with this practice I do not know.

140 GSS36 (K120v6–121r): *...divyāmṛtam iva yogidravyaṃ nivedayet.* Isaacson (1997: personal communication) suggests this may be the same as the Śaiva *vīradravya,* which consist of the five nectars, plus onion, garlic, human flesh, beef, goat's meat, fish, and fowl.

141 For a description of the *bali* rite according to Vajravārāhī texts, see ch. 3; cf. ADUT ch. 14 (p. 326) and GSS31 (K104r1).

142 GSS36 (K121r3): *tato lalāṭe jvālāmudrāṃ vāmāvartena bhrāmayet. pheṃkāram uccārayet kūrmapatanapādordhvadṛṣṭyā, anena yoginyākarṣaṇam. tatra paṭhet oṃ aralli hoḥ jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ vajraḍākinyaḥ samayas tvaṃ dṛṣya hoḥ. vajrāñjalyā ūrdhvavikacayā baliṃ dadyāt. oṃ kha kha khāhi khāhi...* (for mantra, see GSS11 §39).

• *jvālāmudrāṃ*] em.; *jālāmudrāṃ* K (cf. n. 504); • *pheṃkāram*] corr.; *pheṃkāra(nā)dam* K(del) • *kūrmapatanapāda ūrdhvadṛṣṭyā*] em.Sanderson; *kūrmapatanapādordhvadṛṣṭyā* K • *tatra*] Kpc; *tataḥ* Kac.

143 GSS36 (K121v1, N85v5, D88v6): *satataṃ vajrayoginyāliṅgitam ātmānaṃ paśyet. svapatnīm iva kalpayet. tato 'cireṇaiva kālena vajrayoginyādhiṣṭhānaṃ bhavati. siddhā satī vāñchitaṃ pūrayati nātra saṃśayaḥ.* • *vajrayoginyāliṅgitam ātmānaṃ*] D, *vajrayoginyāliṅgitam ****naṃ* K(dam.); *vajrayoginyāliṅgi**m ātmānaṃ* N(dam/del?).

144 Willson and Brauen 2000: 261. The Tibetan sādhana is a self-visualization in which Vajrayoginī is described in typical *kāpālika* terms, with three eyes, hair black and loose, and wearing all the bone ornaments with a garland of dry heads. (The artist of the IWS deviates from the text by giving her yellow hair.) The Tibetan text also prescribes a Vajravārāhī mantra, although one closer to her thirteen-syllabled mantra than the ten-syllabled mantra of GSS36: *oṃ vajravairocanīye hūṃ phaṭ svāhā.*

145 Three GSS works prescribe the self-visualization of the *Vidyādharī* goddess (GSS21, GSS22, and GSS23), and there is also a reference to one of her rites in the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5 Sed p. 153, K38r1–38r6). Other GSS texts also describe her mountainous abode (GSS10, GSS16). This manifestation of Vajrayoginī has a particular association with the adept Śabara, as many of these texts will show, an association confirmed by the hagiography of Advayavajra that appears in the **Siddha-Āmnāya* (see appendix). The classical reference to *Vidyādharī*s is from Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava* I.7.

146 GSS21 (K85r6): *tadbījapariṇatāṃ raktām ūrdhvapādordhvadṛṣṭiṃ kapālamālāveṣṭitakarāṃ puṣpamālāpāśasavyāgrāṃ dakṣiṇe vajrahastāṃ sarvābharaṇavini<r>muktāṃ vidyādharīkramayuktāṃ sphuratsaṃhāravigrahāṃ, māndāravāśokapāri-*

jātakodbhūtaṃ ratnakūṭaṃ <gṛhaṃ>(mg2) *praviśantīm ātmānaṃ bhāvayet.* • *sarvābharaṇa*] em.; *sarvāvaraṇa* K • *savyāgrāṃ*] conj. (or: *savya<karā>grāṃ*); *savyagrāṃ* K • *vidyādharī*] em. *vimdyuṣir* K (cf. GSS22 K86r1 *vidyādharikramabhāvanā*) • *māndāravā*] corr.; *māndārāvā* K • *°odbhūtaṃ*] em.; *°odbhūtāṃ* K.

GSS22 (K86r3): *jhaṭiti mālāvidyādharīvajrayoginīm udyānād aṣṭaśṛṅgopetaratnagṛhaṃ praviśantīṃ sphuratsaṃhāravigrahām ātmānaṃ bhāvayet.* • *udyānād*] corr.; *udyānāt.* codd.

147 The mantra appears twice in GSS22, first as the principle *japa* mantra (K86r.5): *bhāvanāt khinno mantraṃ japet,* with the mantra itself given as an addition in the lower margin in K, but incorporated into the text of N62r7 and D65r6 (K86r5): *oṃ vajravairocaniye oṃ vajravarṇaniye huṃ 3 phaṭ 2 svāhā.* It appears again as a *mālāmantra* with the name elements once again altered from the standard version (K86v6): *oṃ vajravarṇanīye oṃ vajravairocanīye oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākiniye hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā.*

148 Willson and Brauen (2000: pp. 258–59) give the Sanskrit equivalent as *Maitrīkhecarī Vidyādharī-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 *nāga* tree flowers, she stands naked and without ornaments...." However, the Tibetan sādhana reveals a far more wrathful deity, with frown and bared fangs, who is aligned not with Vajrayoginī, but with Vajravārāhi ("I appear in the form of Lady Vajravārāhi Vidyādharī-keli") and crowned with Akṣobhya. The usual tripartite mantra is given (*ibid.:* 213): *oṃ oṃ oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākiniye, vajravarṇaniye, vajravairocanīye, hūṃ hūm hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā.*

149 GSS22 K85r6 (N63r4–5, D65v2): *caryā tasyāḥ kathyate sādhakānāṃ hitārthāya. candragrahe sūryagrahe vā darpaṇatale kiṃcit sindūraṃ <pātayitvā> suvarṇaśalākayā bhaṭārikāṃ likhya pañcopacāreṇābhipūjya tasya (?) sindūraṃ gṛhītvā tāmrabhāṇḍe sthāpayet. lāṅgaliyā gaccham utpādya svasthāne pātayet. evaṃ ṣaṇmāsāni pratyahaṃ pūjayet. mahāmudrāphalaṃ dadāhi me. pratyahaṃ saṃpūjya vandayet. evaṃ ṣaṇmāsāni saṃpūrṇaṃ kṛtvā yoginīnāṃ pañcopacārabhojanaṃ kṛtvā praṇamyājñāṃ prayaccha iti prārthayet. lāṅgaliyā madhye sindūraṃ bharet. kapālaṃ gṛhītvā unmattacaryayā caret. ṣa koṇākṛti<ṃ> sindūraṃ lalāṭe kṛtvā bhramet. ṣaṇmāsāni śūnyagehabhagnakūpasamīpe bahubhi<ḥ> strī<ṃ?> vāmāvartena pradakṣiṇām ārabhet. unmattacaryayā caret. ṣaṇmāsena pañcānantaryakārī yaḥ so 'pi sidhyati.*

• *candragrahe*] N, D; *candragṛhe* K • *kiṃcit*] conj.; *ci* Kac; *(kāṃ)ci* K(mg); *vā jalatale* D; N omit. • *pātayitvā*] conj. (see GSS5 K38r1) • *tasya*] codd. Possible conjectural emendation to *tasmāt* (?) • *caryayā*] conj. (or *caryāṃ*); *caryāyā* K, *cāryāyāṃ* N63r4, *caryā* D65v1 • *samīpe*] corr.; *same(pe)* K(mg2). • *unmattacaryayā*] conj. (or *unmattacaryāṃ*); *unmattacaryā* codd.

GSS5 K38r1 (Sed p. 153, N24v3, D27v2): *api cātyantanirmṛṣṭadarpa<ṇa> tale ṣṭamyāṃ sindūraṃ pātayitvā tatra dharmodayamudrāṃ likhitvā koṇeṣu bāhyeṣu devībijaṃ vilikhya madhye mantraṃ ca dharmodayābāhyeṣu catuḥpārśveṣu vāmāvartena nandyāvartiṃ likhitvā puṣpādibhiḥ saṃpūjya yathāśakti mantraṃ parijapya sindūra<ṃ> tad ekatra bhāṇḍe sthāpayet. evaṃ ṣanmāsaṃ yāvat kuryāt. tato lāṅgaliyā viṣanalikāmadhye tat sindūraṃ prakṣipya śmaśāne nikhanya balipūjāṃ ca vidhāya mantraṃ japet yathākāṇam. evaṃ pratyahaṃ māsam ekaṃ kuryāt. tat sindūreṇa nandyāvartākṛtiṃ tilakaṃ vidhāya bhikṣārthaṃ grāmaṃ praviśet. yatra tattilakaṃ saṃkrāntaṃ dṛśyate tāṃ <strīṃ> yatnenārādhayed iti. evaṃ nandyāvartena siddhaśabarapādīyavajrayoginyārādhanavidhiḥ.* • *nirmṛṣṭa*] em.; *nirmiṣṭa* K • *devībijaṃ*] N, D, *debījaṃ* K • *strīṃ*] 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 vātulāṃ nāma caryāṃ kartuṃ sukhotsahaḥ / asahāyaḥ paryaṭen nityam ekāki ekamānasaḥ / udbhrāntapatrivad bhramed 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 | sarvanārimayā devī sarvopāyamayaḥ prabhuḥ.* • *samudbhūtaṃ*] corr.; *samudbhūtaitaṃ* K; Cf. *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra* (p. 18 line 1.14) *[bhagavān]: māṃ na jānanti ye mūḍhāḥ sarvapumvapuṣi sthitaṃ;* (line 1.20) *[bhagavati]: māṃ na jānanti yā nāryaḥ sarvastrīdehasaṃsthitāṃ.*

153 GSS23 (K88r6): *tataḥ śūnyatāṃ sarvadharmanirālambarūpāṃ vicintya jhagiti pūrvoktamanobhaṅgacittaviśrāmaparvatamadhye gaganalikhitāṃ citravadanā<ṃ>, śaktirūpāṃ sārdrasusnigdharūpāṃ raktavarṇāṃ trinetrāṃ dvādaśākṣikāṃ sahajānandarūpāṃ nagnāṃ muktakeśām īṣaddhasantīṃ romāñcakañcukitāṃ bāhyasitābhyantararaktapūritapadmabhājanadhṛtavāmakareṇoddhṛtasvavāmapādāliṅganābhinayāṃ padmabhājanastharaktadhārām anavarataṃ pibantīṃ tiryagūrdhvikṛtadakṣiṇapādoparisthadakṣiṇakareṇa raktapañcaśūkavajradhāriṇīṃ vikasitanāgakesarakusumābharaṇā<ṃ> samullasitapadmabhājanagatadṛṣṭiṃ dhyātvā…*

• *pūrvokta*] Kpc(add2) • omit, Kac; *gaganalikhitāṃ*] em.; *li(khitaṃ)* Kpc(add2); *gaganalita* K • *śaktirūpāṃ*] em.; *śaktirūpāṃ*?Kpc(add2); *śaktarūpā* Kac • *susnigdharūpāṃ*] conj.; *susnigdha* K • *bāhya*] em.; *bāhye* K • *bhājanadhṛta* K (understand °*dhara*) • *kareṇoddhṛta*] em.; *kareṇodhṛta* K • *pādāliṅganā*] corr.; *pādāliṅgitanā* K • *pañcaśūka*] corr.; *pañcasūka* K • *kesara*] corr.; *keśara* K.

154 The mantra here has only one *oṃ* and a curious *ca*, GSS23 (K89v4): *oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākinīye vajravarṇanīye vajravairocanīye huṃ huṃ huṃ phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ ca svāhā.*

155 GSS23 (K87v2): *tato jhagiti atimanohararamaṇīyataravicitrasaraḥpravikasitanāgakeśarodyānavibhūṣitapañcavarṇaśikharamanobhaṅgacittaviśrāmaparvata-*

madhye vakṣyamāṇavarṇabhujādibhūṣitadevyāḥ sahasā sākṣāddarśanam abhūt. • *vibhūṣita*] em.; *vibhūṣitaṃ* K • *manobhaṅga*] *manobhagaṅga* K. (The adjectives *atimanohara* and *ramaṇiyatara* may be taken to qualify the colored pools only.)

156 The defiled mind *(kliṣṭamanas)* is the seventh category in the Yogācāra's analysis of mind, by virtue of which one clings to the storehouse consciousness *(ālayaḥ)* as the self.

157 GSS23(K89r3): *pratyūṣasandhyāyām aruṇodaye nānāvicitraratnavibhūṣitaparvatadvayopari pādadvayaṃ dhṛtvā prasāritabhujadvayāṃ pūrvoktalakṣaṇāṃ devīṃ atiraktavarṇāṃ...sādhakas tu...vicintya...iti devyā balividhiḥ.*

The other references in the *Ārādhanavidhi* (GSS23) either repeat the ambiguity, as in the *bhāvanāvidhi*, GSS23 (K88r6): *jhagiti <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 tadvāmapādaṃ skhalitvā parvataśikharaspṛṣṭamātreṇa bodhicittāmṛtībhūta-...iti vaśyavidhiḥ.*

158 **Siddha-Āmnāya* (p. 11): *dakṣiṇāpathe manobhaṅgacittaviśrāmau parvatau.*

159 GSS16 (K75v2): *pṛthivyāṃ sārasambhūte manobhaṅge mahīdhare | tasmin kūṭe mahācittaikacittaviśrāmamaṇḍape | tantre lakṣābhidhāne hi nāthena kathitā svayam | trayodaśātmikā ghorā vajravārāhināyikā | mantrākṣaraviniṣpannaṃ maṇḍalaṃ maṇḍalottamaṃ | yathānujñā mayā labdhā tathaiva kathayāmy aham.* • *trayodaśātmikā ghorā vajravārāhināyikā*] em.; *trayodaśātmikāṃ ghorāṃ vajravārāhināyikām* K *(vajravārāhi, metri causa)* • *viniṣpannaṃ*] em.; *viniṣpannāṃ* K • *tathaiva*] conj.; *vai* K.

160 The passages prescribing the visualization of the goddess are given in full in n. 146. GSS21 (K85r6–v2; N62r; D64r): *...māndāravāśokapārijātakodbhūtaṃ ratnakūṭaṃ <gṛhaṃ>*(mg2) *praviśantiṃ.* • *māndāravā*] corr.; *māndārvā* K • *°odbhūtaṃ*] em.; *°odbhūtāṃ* K.

GSS22 (K86r3; N62v; D64v): *jhaṭiti mālāvidyādharivajrayoginīm udyānād aṣṭaśṛṅgopetaratnagṛhaṃ praviśantiṃ...ātmānaṃ bhāvayet.* • *udyānād*] *corr.; udyānāt.* codd. GSS22 seems problematic, since it describes the goddess "entering from a glade into a jewel hut with eight peaks."

161 The ten goddesses include the four mothers (Locanā, Māmakī, Paṇḍarā, and Tārā) and six others who are unnamed (GSS26 K92v6=GSS27 K94v1): *namo buddhadharmasaṃghebhyaḥ. namo gurubuddhabodhisattvebhyaḥ. namo locanādidaśavajravilāsinībhyaḥ. namo yamāntakādi daśakrodhavīrebhyaḥ saprajñebhyaḥ.* These are probably the six goddesses of the sense organs, agents of consecration in the *Hevajratantra* (HT1.4): Rūpavajrā, Śabdavajrā, 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): *nānārūpavilāsinyaḥ sarvābharaṇabhūṣitāḥ,* in which they appear as essentially *kāpālika* goddesses in the intermediate corners of the outer maṇḍala of the "great Heruka," Yamāntaka (*ibid.*: vv. 7–9).

162 GSS43 v. 2cd (K127r3): *vajravārāhi narāhisurāṇāṃ | tvaṃ śaraṇaṃ tava nāmaparāṇāṃ.* Cf. the opening obeisance in the *Abhisamayamañjarī,* cited p. 113, in which Vajravilāsinī is also named as a form of Vajravārāhī.

163 GSS43 v. 13cd (K128r1): *saṃvaramadhupavicumbi<ta>mukhābje | tadbhujayugaparirambhihṛdabje • rambhi*] Kpc; *rasthi* Kac.

164 For the attributes, see v. 4 (K127r4), for the pearl ornaments, vv. 12–13 (K127v(mg)–K127v6–128r), and the vajra, v. 5 (K127r5). GSS43 K127r4–5 (v. 3cd): *mātar devi nibhālaya mahyaṃ | kiṃ sahase mama duḥkham asahyaṃ? • mātar*] em.; *mātur* K. Cf. v. 6cd (K127v1–2): *bālaravitrivilokanarakte | jagato duḥkhanirākṛtisakte.*

165 GSS43 v. 3ab (K127r4): *harikariśikhiphaṇitaskarabhītiḥ | tvatparacitte naiva sameti.* The eight great dangers *(aṣṭamahābhayāni/bhayāṣṭakam)* traditionally include those mentioned here, plus other calamities such as drowning at sea, imprisonment by kings, sea monsters, demons, and plagues, etc., e.g., *Tattvajñānasaṃsiddhiṭīkā* (p. 26): *harikariśikhiphaṇitataskaranigaḍamahārṇavapi-<śāca>bhayaśamani / śaśikiraṇakāntihāriṇi bhagavati tāre namas tubhyam.* (I thank Professor Sanderson for supplying this text.)

166 See GSS43 v. 13 (K127v6–128r1), and v. 15a (K128r2): *patimaulisthitavidhum amṛṣantī.*

167 Apart from the title and salutation, the *Guhyavajravilāsinīsādhana* (GSS10) once calls the deity "Guhyavajravilāsinī" (K46v1), on one ocassion "Śrīvajravilāsinī" (K45v2), but most commonly—because of the restraints of meter—simply "Vilāsinī" (K45v6, K48r4): *tām evāgre sthitāṃ vidyāṃ dhyāyād vajravilāsinīṃ;* (K48v2; K94r6): *vilāsini namo 'stu te;* (K50v3): *...vilāsinī bhāveyed ātmavigraham;* also K51v4; K51v5.

168 GSS10 (K45v3): *na śrutaṃ paṭhitaṃ kiñcic chabareṇādricāriṇā | lokanāthādhipatyena vade 'yaṃ kiyad akṣaram.* • (v. 3a) *paṭhitaṃ*] conj.; *na paṭhitaṃ* K.

169 GSS10 (K45v4): *sarvaratnamaye ramye gandhamṛgasugandhini | manobhaṅge (?) padaṃ dattvā cittaviśrāmaparvate | (4) tatpradeśe mahāramye sugandhikusumāśraye | lasatsundaramākande mandrakūjitakokile | (5) raktāśokaghanodyāne mamāśokāṣ amītithau | guruṇā karuṇāhvena deśiteyaṃ vilāsinī | (6).*

• (4c) *manobhaṅge*] conj. Sanderson; *manobhaṅgaṃ* K. • (5c) *lasatsundaramākande*] conj. Sanderson; *lasatkandaramākanda* K (*kandara* must be a corruption for some word that either qualifies the mango trees *[mākanda-]* or that is another type of tree).

Given the descriptive nature of the terms *manobhaṅga* and *cittaviśrāma,* it is worth considering the text without the emendation of the accusative *manobhaṅgaṃ dattvā* to the locative *manobhaṅge dattvā.* An unemended reading of the manuscript *(manobhaṅgaṃ padaṃ dattvā cittaviśrāmaparvate)* reads,

"having placed [his] foot that destroys the [defiled] mind on the Mountain Cittaviśrāma...." This is reminiscent of the adjectival interpretation considered above for the compound *manobhaṅgacittaviśrāmaparvata* in GSS23 ("the mountain[s] where consciousness comes to rest because of the destruction of the [defiled] mind"). It is also possible that the subject of the "placing foot" is not the sādhaka at all, but his teacher Karuṇa, who is the logical subject in the following verse *(guruṇā karuṇāhvena deśiteyaṃ vilāsinī).* Thus it would be the guru's foot that would "destroy the [defiled] mind."

170 The *aśoka 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 *aśokāṣṭamīvratam* is so called, according to the *paurāṇika* sources that advocate it, because one observing it is to drink/eat eight *aśoka* 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 *aśokaḥ,* 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 sitāṣṭamyāṃ budhavāre punarvasau / aśokakusumai rudram arcayitvā vidhānataḥ | aśokasyāṣṭakalikā mantreṇoktena bhakṣayet / śokaṃ naivāpnuyān martyo rūpavān api jāyate.* The former prescribes worship of the tree itself: *aśokakalikāpānam aśokatarupūjanam / śuklāṣṭamyāṃ tu caitrasya kṛtvā prāpnoti nirvṛtim."*

171 *Siddha-Āmnāya** (p. 11.18): *paramadine manobhaṅgacittaviśrāmau prāpyete.*

172 *Siddha-Āmnāya** (p. 11.22): *daśame divase grīvāṃ chetuṃ ārabdhaḥ. tatkṣaṇāt sākṣāddarśanaṃ bhavati sekaṃ dadāti. Advayavajranāmābhūt.*

173 Śabara twice states that he has been taught the sādhana by his teacher, Karuṇa (GSS10 K45r/v and K53r). Lokanātha is hailed in the opening *vasantatilakā* verse (K45v1): *...śrīlokanāthacaraṇaṃ śaraṇaṃ 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 *Mahāyoginījālatantra:* (K53v): *mahāyoginījālatantre śrīmallokanāthapādenedaṃ deśitaṃ yoginīsarvasvaṃ nāma guhyavajravilāsinīsādhanam samāptam.* • *nāma*] corr., *nāmaḥ* K. Cf. GSS23 (K87r1): *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" (*gaurī-;* 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): *etatpariṇatāṃ devīṃ bandhūkakusumaprabhām | raktahemajjvalāṃ gaurīṃ nijalāvaṇyabhūṣitām.* Cf. (K45v2): *pītāṃśukā.*

175 GSS10 (K47v6 ff.): *padmanartadhvajocchrāyasamāropitapaṅkajām | utkuṭāsanānṛtyasthāṃ kaṭākṣasmitabhaṅgurām | (49)...ullasadbhidurasparśaiḥ kṣaratkamalavibhramām | (51).*

176 This is a squatting pose with the feet twelve finger-breadths apart (VĀ *bhūparigrahavidhiḥ* ms. A f. 11v; ŚP f. 16r–v): *vitastyantaritaṃ pādadvayam āsane nyasya*

utkuṭakas tiṣṭhed ity utkuṭakāsanaṃ. 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): *vyaktapadmotkaṭāsanāṃ.*

177 GSS10 (v. 58d K48v1): *kiṃciduttānaśāyinaṃ;* GSS10 (v. 30cd–31a K47r2): *svajaṅghāṃ kiñcid ākuñcya dakṣiṇāṃ tu prasārayet | tayor madhye gatāṃ vidyāṃ.* Cf. GSS10 (vv. 58–59 K48v1).

178 GSS10 (v. 59cd K48v2): *suvyaktaguhyavajreṇa nartayantaṃ vilāsinīm.*

179 GSS10 (vv. 18–19 K46v1): *parvatādiguhāmadhye sugandhikusumāśraye | bhāvaniyā sakāntena guhyavajravilāsinī | śūnyaveśmani svacchandam udyāne vijane vane | pūjanīyā sadā devī sādhanīyā yathāvidhi.*

180 GSS10 (v. 77 K49v1): *anyonyavandanāṃ kuryāt madhurākṣarabhāṣaṇaiḥ....*

181 GSS10 (vv. 123–27 K51v6). The male himself makes the maṇḍala upon his penis and fondles it (without emitting semen) while reciting the mantra. The female makes the maṇḍala upon her own sex, then puts her thumb and forefinger together as a "good pair." "She should perform the mantra recitation, meditation, and so on using this [substitute] penis in her sex." GSS10 (K52r2): *upāyamelakābhāve vidyāpi svābjamaṇḍale | pūrvavad maṇḍalaṃ kṛtvā nityapūjāvidhiṃ caret | tarjanyāṅgulijyeṣṭhābhyāṃ ekīkṛtya suyugmakam | tadvajrābjaniyogena jāpadhyānādikaṃ caret.*

182 E.g., *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava* (ch. 1 vv. 130–50), also Sanderson (1988: 688), Pal (1981: 74–75), and Bühnemann 2000a: (154–57).

183 The arrow syllables extracted from a *mantroddhāra* by Jayaratha are *drāṃ, driṃ, kliṃ, bluṃ, saḥ (Vāmeśvarīmatavivaraṇa* on 4.61, quoting the *Nityākaula;* emending *nityākāloktaḥ* to *nityākauloktaḥ).* Cf. Śivānanda on the same *(Ṛjuvimarśanī* on *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava* 4.62): *drāṃ, driṃ, kliṃ, blūṃ, saḥ.* Another set that may have influenced the form of the Buddhist mantra are the three *bījas* of Bālā Tripurasundarī (Vāmaki 1.83c–86): *aiṃ, klīṃ, sauḥ.* (There is also another similar set of eight *bījas, ibid.:* 1.64–78.) I am grateful to Professor Sanderson for these references.

184 Kāmeśvara is described in *Kāmakalāvilāsa* 37 cited Khanna (1986), Renfrew Brooks (1992: 64). GSS10 (K48v3, v. 62): *ityevaṃbhūtam ātmānaṃ bhāvayet surateśvaram | mahāsukham iva vyaktaṃ padmanarteśvaraṃ prabhum.* GSS10 ends with a reference to the god of love, Kāmadeva (whose banner is the mythical sea monster or *makaraḥ*), promising that [practitioners of this sādhana] "fervently clasping their lover enjoy the *makara* bannered [i.e., *kāma*/Kāma]" (K53v1–2, v. 151cd): *kāminī<ṃ> gāḍham āliṅgya bhujanti makaradhvajam.*

185 Synonyms for Śiva Naṭarāja include *Nāṭyeśvara, Naṭeśa,* and in an east Bengali inscription, *Narteśvara;* see the study of Naṭarāja by Sivaramamurti (1974). Further research is needed to establish the origins of Padmanarteśvara and the sources behind the GSS sādhana here. Sanderson (1997: personal communication) notes that the *Lokeśvarakalpa* is concerned with Padmanātha/Padmanarteśvara, and that a possible root text for this is the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākiniśaṃvaratantra.* In this proto yoginitantra, Padmanarteśvara is lord of one of six families headed respectively by Vajrasattva, Vairocana,

Heruka, Padmanarteśvara, Vajrasūrya, and Paramāśva (Tanaka 1993, citing Sanderson). Tanaka's introduction to the Chinese version of the *Lokeśvarakalpa* (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, Pāṇḍaravāsinī; the nearest to Padmanarteśvara of the GSS text is SM30 *Padmanarteśvaralokanāthasādhana.*) 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 Mahāvarāhamukhī in the *Ḍākārṇavatantra,* a thirty-seven-deity maṇḍala of a form of Vajravārāhī with thirty-six animal faces (the central one of which is a boar), seventy-two arms, and eighteen legs (Ngor maṇḍalas plate 82, listings p. 146). Padmanarteśvara is also one of the armor gods (table 25). I am informed that the cult of Padmanarteśvara/Avalokiteśvara is central to the *maṇirimdu* festival, Thangbochi Monastery, Nepal (Martin Boord 1999: personal communication).

186 GSS10 (K45v6): *vaśyākarṣaṇastambhanamāraṇoccāṭanāni ca | añjanaṃ guḍikāsiddhiṃ tathānyāni bahūni ca | (8) | mahāmudrāpadaṃ labdhvā vācā saṃyācitā mayā | vidhinā bhāvayet yas tvāṃ tasmai dāsyasi tatphalam | (9) • guḍikāsiddhiṃ*] em.; *guḍikāsiddhis.*

187 GSS10 (v. 142cd K53r1): *mahāmudrāpadārūḍhaḥ siddho bhavati sādhakaḥ • padārūḍhaḥ*] em.; *padarūḍhaḥ* K; GSS26 (K94r6): *gajendra iva madhupair nārībhir veṣṭito bhramet • madhupair*] conj. Sanderson; *madhurair* K.

188 GSS10 (K50r1–2, v. 88ab): *rāgāmbhodhijalaṃ tartuṃ sunaukeyam upasthitā.*

189 GSS10 (K53r6 v. 149): *yathā mahauṣadhaṃ kiñcit susvādaṃ vyādhighātakam | prajñopayasukhaṃ tadvat helayā kleśanāśakam.*

190 GSS10 (K46v6–47r, v. 27): *pradīpaṃ jvālayet tatra prabhākarasamaprabham | yathā prakāśate viśvaṃ pratyaṅgaṃ ca viśeṣataḥ.*

191 GSS10 (K49v5, v. 84ab): *nakhakṣataṃ na dātavyaṃ paścāttāpanivṛttaye.* Wounding with nails and teeth for enhancing sexual pleasure is a topos of the *Kāmasūtra.*

192 GSS10 (K46v5, v. 25cd): *tāvanmātraṃ tu kartavya<ṃ> na mano vihvalaṃ yathā.*

193 GSS10 (K48v5, vv. 65–66): *tadanu cintayet tūrṇam abhiṣiñcanti māṃ punaḥ | tathāgatā lokapālāḥ kiṃnaroragamānavāḥ | (65) rambhā tilottamā caiva nānāpsarogaṇānvitāḥ | puṣpadhūpādibhir vādyair nānānṛtyamahotsavaiḥ | (66) • vādyair*] corr.; *vadyair* K.

Nihom (1995) has discussed the appearance of Tilottamā in other Buddhist tantras, e.g., as one of eight *apsaras*es in the (kriyātantra) *Bhūtaḍāmaratantra,* and in particular, in the *Hevajratantra.* In the latter, she is to be attracted as foremost of *apsaras*es beginning with Rambhā (HT2.9.21c–d: *karṣayet sadya*

rambhādināṃ tilottamāṃ), and on another occasion, as the agent of consecration (HT2.5.42cd: *abhiṣekaṃ vajragarbhasya dātuṃ kṛsyaṃ tilottamaṃ).* 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 (K5011, v. 87): *niścālanān mukhaṃ bodher aticālanāc cañcalaṃ manaḥ / helayā khelayed devīṃ sahajāsaktacetasaḥ.* • *niścālanān*] conj. Sanderson; *niścalānnamukhaṃ* K. Cf. GSS43 (K12815 v. 17cd): *pratyaṅgasparśo 'py animittaḥ | sahajāmbudhiviplāvitacittaḥ,* "The signless touching, also, of every limb, by which the mind is bathed in the ocean of *sahaja.*"

195 See Davidson (2002) for a discussion of the four *ānandas*, particularly in relation to the meaning of *sahaja.* The *ānandas* are related to the "four consecrations" (*caturabhiṣekas*) of the Hevajra system as follows, although some traditions invert the final two blisses (HT1.1.24 and HT2.3.5–9):

Endnote table i. *Four consecrations in the Hevajratantra*

consecrations (*abhiṣekas*)	blisses (*ānandas*)	moments (*kṣaṇas*)
ācārya	ānanda	vicitra
guhya	paramānanda	vipāka
prajñājñāna	viramānanda/*sahaja-*	vimarda
caturtha	sahajānanda/*virama-*	vilakṣaṇa

196 GSS10 (K5011–2): *manthānāndolanaṃ kāryaṃ devadevyoḥ svamudrayā | sahajānandaṃ tu boddhavyaṃ vilakṣaṇakṣaṇoditam | (90) | vajreṇa kṣobhayed devīṃ bodhicittaṃ na cotsṛjet | utsṛṣṭe bodhicitte tu kutas tatra mahāsukham | (91) | manthayet kamalāmbhodhiṃ sahajāmṛtakāṃkṣayā | vairāgyakālakūṭaṃ 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" *(āndolam)* would refer to the female action, cf. GSS10 v. 98ab (K5012): *kuryād āndolanāhlādam kiṃcid ākuñcya paṅkajam,* and GSS10 v. 108ab (K5112): *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 virāgāvasaro nāsty atra kiṃ bahuneti.* Cf. *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra* (6.182–83, pp. 30–31): *anurāgāt prāpyate puṇyaṃ virāgād agham āpyate / na virāgāt paraṃ pāpaṃ na puṇyaṃ sukhataḥ param.*

199 The preliminaries to the sādhana include the recitation of the emptiness mantra, and during the course of the subsequent love practices, the yogin is to contemplate his body as illusory. GSS10 (K50v3 v. 100): *sphuratsaṃhārayogena bhāvayed ātmavigraham | gandharvanagarākāraṃ mṛgatṛṣṇāmbucañcalam.*

200 GSS10 (K49v v. 83): *cumbanaṃ tu pradātvayaṃ yatra puṣpaiḥ supūjitam | mastakādi pādaparyantaṃ viśaty aṅga<ṃ> † samaṅgatau † /* Cf. *Meghadūta* (v. 99): *aṅgenāṅgaṃ pratanu tanunā... viśati.*

201 GSS10 (K48v4 vv. 63–64). Other instances are at GSS10 K47v1–6 vv. 39–45 (visualization of the *dharmodayā*), K50r5 vv. 93–100 (producing offerings from the lovemaking), and K53r3 vv. 110–14 (*ātmamelaka* discussed below).

202 GSS10 (K51r1): *ekadaiva samuccārya vidyayā saha susvaram | nādabindulayālīnam idaṃ jāpasya lakṣaṇam |* (106) *śatam aṣṭottaraṃ japtvā kuryād anyonyacūṣaṇam | vajrābjayos samaṃ tatra muhur garuḍamudrayā /* (107).

203 GSS10 (K51r5, v. 111d): *samarasojjvalam;* (K51r5, v. 112cd): *chedayantaṃ jagatkleśaṃ trailokyasyāpi maṇḍalam.*

204 GSS10 (K51r6–v, v. 114): *śakracāpakrameṇaiva tal līnaṃ gaganāṃbudhau | gaganaṃ sahaje līnaṃ bodhāṃbhodhau mahodaye.*

205 GSS10 (K51v3): *ity evaṃ hi samādhisthaḥ samagābhyāsaniścalaḥ | tadā yogī bhavet siddho mahāmudrāmaharddhikaḥ |* (v. 118) • *bhavet*] em.; *bhavet yogī* K (ditto.).

206 The colophons to Virūpa's sādhana and two *stotra*s name her "Trikāyavajrayoginī," while in the colophons to GSS20, SM232, and SM238, and in the body of the texts themselves, she is simply referred to as "Vajrayoginī."

The epithet "She Whose Head Is Severed" appears in Tibetan translations. Chinnamuṇḍā is the name given by all the sādhanas in the bsTan 'gyur (Benard 1994: 18 n. 35; see the appendix for details). Thus, for example, the Tibetan translation of the *Lakṣmīsādhana* (GSS24) is entitled the **Chinnamuṇḍāvajravārāhīsādhana* (Benard 1994: 66). Similarly, in the *Nandyāvartatrayamukhāgamanāma* attributed to Mekhalā and Kanakhalā (sDe dge bsTan 'gyur *rgyud 'grel* vol. 43 (Zi): 34–35), the sādhaka is instructed to visualize himself as *dBu bcad ma yum*, i.e., as "Chinnamuṇḍā" Vajravārāhī (*ibid.*: 14). A *Chinnamuṇḍā Sādhana* also appears in the *Rin 'byung brgya rtsa*, "Vajrayoginī of the Severed Head" *(rDo rje rnal 'byor ma dbu bcad ma)*, or, according to Tāranātha, "Vajravārāhī of the Severed Head" *(rDo rje phag mo dbu bcad ma)* (Willson and Brauen 2000: 259–60), details for which see below n. 210.

In the Sanskrit sādhanas and *stotra*s that I have seen, however, there are only two references to the name Chinnamastā, and these are made in a later hand in K (which in both cases are transmitted in N and D). In one instance, a second scribe adds to the original colophon in GSS25 that she is yellow and has a severed head (K92v6): *ity āryatrikāyavajrayoginī<pītachinnamastā>sādhana.* In the second instance, a second scribe inserts a corrupt verse in *sragdharā* meter at the start of GSS24 that actually interrupts the first and second *pāda*s

of the benedictory verse in *anuṣṭubh*. This states that the goddess generated inside the *dharmodayā* is Chinnamastā, "who has attained a threefold body, the triple path," GSS24 (K89v6): *tasmin madhye trimārgā tritayatanugatā cchinnamastā praśastā* • *trimārgā*] em. *trimārgaṃ* codd. Cf. GSS27 (K94v5, v. 4cd): *trimārge saṃsthitā devī trikāyavajrayoginī*.

207 SM232 is almost identical to GSS20, but it has no *bali* mantra. However, a "floating" *bali* mantra is printed as SM238 *(Vajrayoginyā Balividdhiḥ)*, which tallies with the longer *bali* mantra in GSS25, cited below. I suggest that SM232 and SM238 therefore belong together.

208 GSS25 (K91r5): *svanābhau vikasitaśuklavarṇapaṃkāraparipūrṇaṃ sitapadmaṃ śatadalaṃ vibhāvayet. tatropari raktavarṇarephajaṃ sūryamaṇḍalaṃ bhāvayet. tatropari sindūravarṇāṃ dharmodayāṃ ca vibhāvayet. tatrāpi ca madhye pītahrīṃkārajā pītā svayam eva kartryā kartita<ṃ> svamastakaṃ vāmahastasthitaṃ dhārayantī dakṣiṇahastasthakartryā sahitā ūrdhvavistṛta<vāma>bāhvi, adhonamitadakṣiṇabhujā, vāsaśūnyā, prasāritadakṣiṇapādā ākuñcitavāmacaraṇā, kabandhād avadhūtīvartmanā niḥsṛtāsṛgdhārā tasyā mukhe patati praviśati ca. apare lalanārasanābhyāṃ ca niḥsṛtya pārśvayoginyor mukhe praviśata iti bhāvyam.* • *sindūravarṇāṃ*] em.; *sindūravarṇī* K • *pītahrīṃkārajā*] em.; *pītahrīṃkārajāṃ* K • *vāsaśūnyā*] SM232; *vāmaśūnyā* K, *vāmaḥ śūnyāṃ* GSS20 K84v1. Cf. GSS24 (K90r4): *digvāsasāṃ*, GSS27 (K94v5): *nagnā*. • *praviśati ca*] conj.; *praviśati vā* K. Cf. GSS20 (K84v2): *svamukhe praviśati*.

GSS24 (K90r1): *tataḥ samayī svanābhimadhye raktavikasitakamalaṃ vibhāvayet. tadupari raktaravimaṇḍalaṃ paśyet. tasyopari raktahrīṃkārasaṃbhūtāṃ dharmodayāṃ viśvābjārkodarā<ṃ>, tatra hriṃkāraṃ vibhāvya taddhrīṃkāraparipūtāṃ bhagavatīṃ vajrayoginīṃ pitavarṇāṃ raktacchāyāṃ svakarakartryā svaśiraṃ cchittvā vāmahastenordhvadhāriṇīṃ kartrikāsametadakṣiṇakarā<ṃ> dhārāprasāriṇīṃ ālīḍhapadasthitāṃ kapālālaṃkṛtaśirasāṃ muktakeśāṃ digvāsasāṃ mudrāmudritāṅgāṃ śrībuddhaḍākinīṃ madhye, tataḥ cchinnaśirodharāṃ srotasam ūrdhvaṃ sravantīṃ rudhiradhārā<ṃ> svamukhe plavantīṃ bhāvayet.* • *raktahrīṃkāra-*] corr.; *raktahrīṃkāraṃ* K • *vibhāvya*] corr.; *vibhāvyas* K • *dhārā*] em.; *dhara* K • *srotasam*] corr.; *śrotasam* K • *sravantīṃ*] corr.; *śravantī* K

209 GSS27 (K95r2): *karavad etayoḥ pādau viparītau ca tau sthitau;* GSS20 (K84v4): *ubhayor yoginyor madhye 'ntarikṣe cātibhayākulaṃ smaśānaṃ bhāvayed iti bhāvanā* • *kulaṃ*] corr.; *kulāṃ* K). Cf. GSS25 K92r1; GSS24 K90r.5.

210 Willson and Brauen (2000: 259–60). The text of the *Rin 'byung brgya rtsa* differs considerably from our Sanskrit sources, as the three deities are first self-visualized as one-headed forms of Vajrayoginī (in warrior stance, trampling Bhairava and Kālarātri, and holding the usual attributes, chopper and skull bowl, including a skull staff for the central figure). They are visualized as orange (Sarvabuddhaḍākinī in the center), green ("Vajravarṇanī" to the left), and yellow ("Vairocanī" to the right), with garlands and bone ornaments of the five mudrās, very wrathful amid blazing fire. Their mantras are given separately and are to be visualized with the syllables "all stacked up" within their *dharmodayās* (i.e., within the sexual organs): *oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākinī hūṃ phaṭ svāhā;*

oṃ vajravārṇanīye hūṃ phaṭ; oṃ vajravairocanīye hūṃ phaṭ. The self-visualization then continues, as the meditator sees the principal deity cutting off her own head and holding it aloft by the hair "with the three eyes looking downward." The text continues: "From the severed central channel in her neck, a jet of mixed white and red *bodhicitta* pours into her own mouth; from the left channel, *lalanā,* a jet of 'semen' *(kunda)* mixed with Akṣobhya pours into the mouth of the left deity; and from the right channel, *rasanā,* menstrual blood *(rajas)* mixed with ordinary blood pours into the mouth of the right one." The sādhana then continues with other meditations and rites.

The Mongolian icons also depict this sādhana, illustrating each deity separately. The central deity, Chinnamastā (dBu bcad ma), is not shown with her head severed (IWS/T 81, LC 591), and she is described as a form of Vajravārāhī. "Vajravarṇanī" (rDo rje rab sngags ma) is seen as green, and painted in the IWS with a skull staff not given in the text or woodblock prints (IWS/T 82, LC 592, in which she is called "Vajrapraṇavā"). "Vairocanī" (rNam snang ma) is yellow, also with the addition of a skull staff in the IWS (IWS/T 83, LC 593).

211 GSS9 (K44v5): *hṛdi nānāvarṇapaṃkāraparipāmena viśvapadmaṃ bhāvayet. atropari raktarephaparipāmena sūryamaṇḍale dharmodayaṃ samadhikaraktavarṇaṃ bhāvayet. dharmodayopari raktavarṇaṃ hrīṃkāraṃ. hrīṃkārādibhiḥ pūrvoktaiḥ samastaiḥ paripāmena vajrayoginīṃ kanakaśyāmāṃ sūryāsane padmamadhye. tathātra pārśve ḍākinīdvayaṃ bhāvayet. kartrikaroṭadharāṃ ālīḍhapadasaṃsthitāṃ.* • *ḍākinīdvayaṃ*] SM234; *sā(hu?)ladvayaṃ* GSS9 K45r1, *śāntadvayam* GSS30 K102r3 (perhaps for *śaktidvayam*?).

212 GSS25 (K92r2): *idānīṃ pūjocyate. maṇḍalaṃ caturasraṃ tatra sūryopari tallagnāṃ dharmodayāṃ likhitvā tanmadhye hrīṃkāram ālikhya pūjayet, tadbhavāṃ vā pūrvoktarūpāṃ bhagavatī<ṃ> madhye āropya...* (mantras given table 7).
• *tallagnāṃ*] GSS25 (cf. GSS20: *sūryālayalagnāṃ*) • *hrīṃkāram ālikhya*] conj.; *hrīṃvāmālikhya* K (cf. GSS20: *hrīṃkārasahitāṃ,* GSS5: *hrīṃkāra<ṃ> ca vicintya*) • *pūrvokta*] conj.; *pūrvoktāṃ* K • *madhye āropya*] GSS25, cf. GSS20: *tataḥ pūrvoktabhāvanayā bhaṭṭārikāṃ madhye āropya,* GSS5: *tajjām uktarūpāṃ bhagavatīṃ pūjayet.*

213 The mantric unit *vajrapuṣpa* also appears in GSS25, in the worship section of the Vajraḍākinī maṇḍala in GSS16 (K79r6): *oṃ vajravairocanīye hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ vajrapuṣpe svāhā. oṃ praṇavāvajraḍākinīye hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ vajrapuṣpe svāhā* etc., and in the installation of the fivefold maṇḍala of the red two-armed Vajrayoginī in GSS19 cited above (K83v2): *oṃ vajrayogini vajrapuṣpaṃ pratīccha svāhā. oṃ* etc.; see n. 129. The association of the unit *vajrapuṣpa-* with rites of worship is apparently borne out by the *Sādhanamālā.* Nihom (1992: 224) finds that of the 312 sādhanas of this collection, thirteen use the vocative *vajrapuṣpe* in mantras of worship, and the remaining 299 appear in the context of traditional pūjā. Nihom states that the occasions upon which a single flower is offered are those upon which the name of the deity is specifically cited. Otherwise, *vajrapuṣpe* is usually found as first of a set of five relating to the five gifts of the standard pūjā *(pañcopacāraḥ).* 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" prefex *vajra-* is sometimes omitted, e.g., in SM12, SM67, and SM147. The name of the deity appears in conjunction with the offering of a single flower in SM3, SM35, SM36, and SM159.

214 E.g., GSS24 (K90v3): *tatra oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākinīye hūṃ svāhety anena mantreṇa dharmodayāmadhye puṣpaṃ dattvā tato 'rghaṃ dattvā dhūpagandhādibhiḥ samantraiḥ pūjayet.* For the offering of guest water alone, see GSS25 cited table 7, n. i.

215 In the second group of sources, the first offering (presumably the unilateral offering to the central goddess as three-in-one) is made in the center, but to the single mantra deity Sarvabuddhaḍākinī. The next offerings are made to Sarvabuddhaḍākinī "in front" (or to "Buddhaḍākinī" in GSS30 and SM234), to Vajravarṇanī (usually left) "in the south/right" *(dakṣiṇe)*, and to Vajravairocanī (usually right) "to the west/behind" *(paścime)*. 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 saravabuddhaḍākinīye vajravarṇanīye vajravairocanīye huṃ huṃ huṃ 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 *oṃs*." This formulation of the mantra is found also in Virūpā's *Chinnamuṇḍāsādhana* in the bsTan 'gyur (vol. 23: 411–15), which Nihom (1992: 224) presents as partial evidence for Virūpā's authorship of SM232 (=our anonymous GSS20).

217 The colors of the three goddesses do not seem to be determined by the contents of the channel, which in SUT ch. 7 vv. 16–18 are given as semen in *Avadhūtī*, blood in *Rasanā*, and urine in *Lalanā* (cf. HT1.1.15).

Endnote table ii. *Yogic channels in the Trikāyavajrayoginīsādhana*

	SUT Ch. 7, vv. 16–18		*GSS texts*	
center	Avadhūti	semen	Sarvabuddhaḍākinī	yellow
right	Rasanā	blood	Vajravairocanī	yellow
left	Lalanā	urine	Vajravarṇanī	dark/red

218 GSS27 (K94v4): *hrīṃkāro madhyabhāge 'syāḥ pītavarṇaḥ prakīrtitaḥ* | (2cd) | *tadbhavā pītavarṇā ca. avadhūtyā<ṃ> ca svayaṃ sthitā* | *lalanāyāṃ tu suśyāmā. rasanāyāṃ ca gaurikā* | (3) | *pratyāliḍhapadā nagnā madhye pītamanoramā* | *trimārge saṃsthitā devī trikāyavajrayoginī* | (4) | *seyaṃ nāmnā bhaved ekā sarvasaṃbuddhaḍākinī* | (5ab).

• (v. 2a) *°bhāge 'syāḥ*] conj. *°bhāgebhyoḥ* K • (v. 5a) *nāmnā*] conj.; *nāmvā* K94v5, *nāmrā* D72r1. (The verses continue with an iconographical description of Vajravarṇanī and Vajravairocanī.)

219 GSS26 (v. 12cd): *lalanārasanāyogād avadhūtī mahāsukhā.*

220 The notion that the yogic structures of the body can be understood as a goddess with a fourfold nature also appears in the *Saṃvarodayatantra.* 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 saṃsthitā / tayor madhyagataṃ devī aṃkāraṃ viśvarūpiṇī / 29 / catuṣkāyātmakaṃ devī sarvasiddhipradāyinī.* 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 bhāvalakṣaṇakalpitāḥ.*

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: *pīṭhaṃ jālandharaṃ khyātaṃ oḍḍiyānaṃ tathaiva ca / pīṭhaṃ paurṇagiriś caiva kāmarūpaṃ tathaiva ca.*

Sanderson (2001: personal communication) has remarked that although in Śaiva sources, Oḍḍiyāṇa, Pūrṇagiri, and Kāmarūpa 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): *yāṃ labdhvā yogino muktā bhavasāgarabandhanāt.*

223 The *bali* mantra appears in full in Virūpa's sādhana (GSS25 K92v3) and almost identically in the *Sādhanamālā* (SM238 p. 458). Only the second half of this *bali* mantra appears in GSS20 (K85r3). GSS25 (K92v3): *oṃ <śrī>vajrayogini sarvabhūtapretapiśācādīn āśodhaya 2 hana 2 daha 2 grasa 2 sarvasiddhisādhanāni prayaccha sarvāśāṃ me paripūraya svāhā. oṃ śrīvajrayogini sarvasiddhiṃ <me> kuru 2 sarvavighnavināyakān hana 2 samyaksambodhaye mama idaṃ baliṃ grhṇa 2 hūṃ 3 phaṭ 3 svāhā.*

• *oṃ...paripūraya svāhā*] GSS25, SM238, omitted GSS20 • *śrīvajrayoginī*] SM238; *vajrayoginī* GSS25 • *āśodhaya*] GSS25; *sodhaya sodhaya* SM238 (SM 238 repeats imperatives rather than supplying "2") • *sādhanānī*] SM238, *sādhani* GSS25; *prādhanī* Locke's ms. (Nihom 1992: 228) • *sarvāśāṃ*] em; *sarvāsāṃ* GSS25, SM (variant in ms. "C") • *oṃ śrīvajrayogini sarvasiddhiṃ*] GSS25, SM238; *oṃ vajrayoginīye saṃsiddhiṃ me* GSS20 • *vināyakān*] GSS25, SM238; *vināyakānāṃ* GSS20 • *idaṃ baliṃ*] GSS25; *baliṃ* SM238 • *grhṇa* 2] GSS25; *grhṇa* SM238; *grhṇatha* 2 GSS20 • *hūṃ*] GSS25; *huṃ* 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 (K9113).

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 Trikāyavajrayogini cult. Chinnamastā is one of the ten Mahāvidyās (emanations of Satī); her severed-headed form is explained in a myth recounted in the *Śaktisaṃgamatantra* (4.5.152–73) (see S. Gupta 2000). Sanderson (2001: personal communication) dates the earliest evidence for Chinnamastā worship in Śaivism to the work of Sarvānandanātha, one of the earliest east Indian tantric authors, living in Bangladesh probably in the fifteenth century. Included in a list of some sixty-four Śaiva tantras from the *Toḍalatantra* (vv. 2.2–20), Sarvānandanātha (*Sarvollāsa* 3.1–29) helpfully quotes a section from the *Jñānadvīpa* that mentions Chinnamastā (3.23). This passage lists ten Mahāvidyās: Kālī, Tārā, Tripurā, Bhuvaneśvarī, Bhairavī, Chinnamastā, Dhūmāvatī, Bagalāmukhī, Mātaṅgī, and Kamalā (Sanderson *ibid.*). See also Kinsley (1997: 144–66), Pal (1981: 79–86) for Chinnamastā as one of the ten Mahāvidyās, and the full discussions by Bühnemann that chronicle the Hindu borrowings from the Buddhist tradition (2000i: 37–38, 107–12).

Śākta Śaivas adopted Chinnamastā into their ritual practices, and *paddhatis* for her worship appear throughout the period to the present day (Sanderson 1999: personal communication). Benard (1994: 33–34) describes a Chinnamāstā sādhana 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 *pañcadevatā*). B. Bhattacharyya (1932: 159–61) compares the iconography and mantras of the Buddhist [Trikāya]vajrayoginī and the "Hindu Chinnamastā" from the later *śākta* texts, the *Tantrasāra* and the *Chinnamastākalpa*. 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 intiation 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 (K3413): *kiṃ ceyam eva bhagavatī vajravairocanī vajrayoginity ucyate. asyāś 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 *Sādhanamālā* (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 (K1261): *sattvāśayavaśenaiva nirmitānekarūpiṇi* • *vaśenaiva*] C; *vasenaiva* K • *nirmitānekarūpiṇī*] em.; *nirmitānaikarūpiṇi* K, *nirmitā ekarūpiṇi* C.

230 GSS5 (Sed p. 152, K3714): *tad evamādayaḥ siddhopadeśaparamparāyātā vineyāśayabhedād anantā bhagavatyā āmnāyā boddhavyāḥ. diṅmātram idaṃ darśitam. eṣu ca krameṣu kramam ekam ādāya śraddhādayāvān niḥsaṅgaḥ samayasevī nirvicikitso bhāvayen niyamena sādhayati.* • *evamādayaḥ*] em.; *ādāya(ḥ)* K(del) • *āmnāyā*] em.; *āmnāya* • *śraddhā*] conj., *śrāddho* K.

231 *Namaskāra* in *anuṣṭubh* GSS5 (Sed p. 125[1], K14v1): *namo 'stu vajrayoginyai śūnyatākaruṇātmane | bibharti mūrtivaicitryaṃ yā jagadbhāvabhedataḥ.* • *yā*] em.; *yo* K.

Āśīrvāda in *śārdūlavikrīḍita* GSS5 (Sed p. 125[3], K14v2): *yā saṃbodhisudhāsudhāvanavaśād vaiśadyavidyotitā, śāntāpy ātanute vineyajanatārāgād bahiḥ śoṇatām | bibhrāṇā kuliśaṃ kapālam amalaṃ khaṭvāṅgam ugradyuti, seyaṃ*

vajravilāsinī bhagavatī bhūyād vibhūtyai tava. • *ugradyuti*] conj. Isaacson.; *ugrajyotiḥ* K. *(hyper.)*

232 E.g., YRM on HT1.6.6 (p. 119): *caryānurūpaṃ sthānam;* SM172 (p. 347): *mano'anukūle sthāne.*

233 For lists of sites in the GSS, see the Advayavajra-based sādhanas GSS3≈SM217≈ SM251 (K11v7): *girigahvarādimanorame sthāne;* GSS3 (K102v4): *prātar ūtthāya mukhaśaucādikaṃ kṛtvā gṛhādau, athavā mantraṃ samayaṃ prāpya śmaśānagirigahvare, ekavṛkṣe naditīre parvatamastake vā manonukūle;* GSS34 (K111v3): *vṛkṣamūle svagṛhe <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): *svagṛheṣu guptasthāne vijane ca manorame | girigahvarakuñjeṣu mahodadhitaṭeṣu vā | śmaśāne mātṛgṛhe ca nadīsaṃgamamadhyataḥ;* and *ibid.*: f. 20r. 4–5; *Yoginījālamahātantra* (f. 30v.9, 16.13): *girigahvarakuñjeṣu mahodadhitaṭeṣu ca | catuṣpatheṣu maṇḍapasthāne śmaśāne ca manorame;* ADU (f. 14.5, 4.5c): *girigahvarakuñjeṣu naditīreṣu saṃgame mahodadhitaṭe ramye | ekavṛkṣe śivālaye mātṛgṛhe śmaśāne vā, udyāne vividhottame | vihāracaityalayane gṛhe vātha catuṣpathe; Ḍākinījālasaṃvara* (f. 3r.5–6). Cf. HT1.6.6: *mātṛgṛhe* and the glosses cited in Snellgrove 1959: 63, n.6; and GS 12.65: *girigahvarakuñjeṣu sadā siddhir avāpyate* • *kuñjeṣu*] conj. Isaacson. *kuleṣu* ed.; *Vārāhyabhyudayatantra* vv. 7–8. In the *Sādhanamālā,* see SM1 (p. 1) *parvatāraṇyādiṣu guhāgṛhārāmalayanādiṣu vā viviktavijaneṣu manorameṣu vasan;* SM7 (p. 28): *devagṛhe;* SM142 (p. 290): *devagṛhaṃ praviśya;* SM172 (p. 347): *kva cin manonukūle sthāne strījanasaṃsargādirahite;* SM187 (p. 389): *śmaśāne gahanagiriguhāgahvarakroḍasaṃdh<y>au vṛkṣe vātha svagehe kvacid api vigatopadrave vā pradeśe.* • *kroḍa*] em. Sanderson, *krodha* SMed.; SM239 (p. 458): *dhyānālayaṃ praviśya;* SM265 (p. 515): *nadīsaṃgame śmaśāne vā ekavṛkṣe devāyatane śrīvajradharagṛhe vā ityevamādisthāne;* SM267 (p. 525): *kvacit girigahvarādau manonukūle pradeśe.*

Extreme practices of this kind are not new to the Buddhist tradition. The *dhutaṅga*s (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 *dhutaguṇa* in Edgerton (1953).

234 E.g., SM47 (p. 97): *cauradhvanipramukhakaṇṭakavarjite ca nirvartya kṛtyam aparaṃ ca sukhaṃ niṣpadya;* SM52 (p. 109): *sugandhopaliptaṃ nānāpuṣpāvakīrṇaṃ bhūmibhāgaṃ kṛtvā;* etc.

235 GSS1 (K279v3 ≈ GSS2 K11v4): *sukumārāsane yogalīlayā.* Cf. GSS24 (K89v6): *bhūbhāge sukhāsanāsīna-;* SM1 (p. 3): *sukhāsanopaviṣṭaḥ;* SM24 (p. 54): *mṛduviṣṭarāsanopaviṣṭaḥ* • *°viṣṭarāsano*] conj. Sanderson; *°viṣṭarāmalo* SMed.; SM54 (p. 110): *tatra madhye paṭṭamasūrakaṃ tatropaviśya...;* SM65 (p. 130): *masūrakādyupaviṣṭaḥ;* SM96 (p. 193): *atyantasukhāsanopaviṣṭaḥ;* SM112 (p. 238): *mṛdvāsanopaviṣṭaḥ;* etc.

236 The references to the vajra seat are found in the Advayavajra-based texts. See

GSS3 (K11v7–12r1) and SM251 (p. 490): *viśvavajrasamāśīnaḥ;* GSS31 (K102v4): *viśvavajramayī-āsīnaḥ;* GSS16 (K76r2) and SM217 (p. 424): *viśvavajrāsanāsīnaḥ.* The last is closest to the Tibetan translation of SM251, *sNa tshogs rdo rje gdan la 'dug ste,* cited by Sanderson (1994 n. 7); cf. ADUT 4.10 *(ibid.),* which describes the meditator, "[seated] with focused awareness on a lovely seat sealed with a *viśva [vajra-]* over a spread [of *kuśa* grass]." *viśvamudrāsane ramye vistareṣu samāhitaḥ.* • *vistareṣu*] em. Sanderson; *viṣṭareṣu.*

For the corpse seat, see for example GSS5 (Sed p. 125[8], K14v5): *kvacic chmaśānaparvatādideśe sukhāsanopaviṣṭaḥ sākṣāc chavopaviṣṭho vā;* cf. SM218 Koṅkadatta's *Prajñālokasādhana* (p. 426): *kvacit śmaśānādau mano'nukūle sthāne saccandanādyupalipte nānāpuṣpaprakaropaśobhite sākṣāt śavāsane vā yathāsukham upaviśya...;* and (p. 430): *kvacit pradeśe śavaparyaṅkena sukhāsanopaviṣṭhaḥ.*

237 Sanderson (1994, n. 7) notes that this is no different from the posture described by mainstream Mahāyāna exegetes such as Kamalaśīla, and traditionally understood to be modeled upon the Buddha's posture. He cites *Bhāvanākrama* II (p. 4): *mṛdutarasukhāsane vairocanabhaṭṭārakabaddhaparyaṅkenārdhparyaṅkena vā niṣadya,* "Having sat down in the *paryaṅka* [posture] adopted by the lord Vairocana, or in the *ardhaparyaṅka* [posture], on a very soft and comfortable seat...." And *Bhāvanākrama* I (p. 205): *sukhāsanopaviṣṭaḥ paryaṅkam ābhujya samādhim abhiniṣpādayet.* Cf. SM81 (p. 157): *maṇḍalamadhye vajraparyaṅkenopaviṣṭaḥ,* etc.; SM82 (p. 159): *paryaṅkenopaviśya;* SM110 (p. 224): *-dhyānāgārādikaṃ praviśya sukhāsane paryaṅkaṃ baddhvā;* etc.

238 This is a quote from a longer passage (again cited by Sanderson 1994 n. 7) that appears also in the *Kriyāsamuccaya* (66, 5–6): VĀ (ms. A f. 11v1–6) (my underlining): *tatra vajraparyaṅkaṃ bhūmisparśamudrābandhanād vajrāsanābhinayaḥ 1, samādhimudrābandhanād dhyānāsanābhinayaḥ 2, dakṣiṇajaṃghorumadhye vāmaṃ pādaṃ nyasya tadupari vāmajaṃghorumadhye dakṣiṇaṃ nyased iti vajraparyaṅkaḥ 3, dakṣiṇajaṃghāyāṃ vāmajaṃghāṃ kṛtvāvanataṃ jānudvayaṃ kuryād iti padmāsanaṃ 4, vāmorūpari dakṣiṇaṃ pādaṃ vinyasya vāmaṃ dakṣiṇorutale sthāpayet <iti> satvaparyaṅkaḥ 5,...*

The passage in full describes a series of ten postures to be assumed one after the other by the Vajrācārya during the preliminary ritual of "appropriating the site" *(bhūparigrahavidhiḥ).* The first is the *vajrāsana,* in which the legs are in the *vajraparyaṅka* and the hands are in the earth-touching *mudrā* (see *Sādhanamālā* vol. 2 cxlviii plate I). The next is the *dhyānāsana,* which is identical except that the hands are in the meditation mudrā. After the *vajraparyaṅka* itself comes the *padmāsana,* in which both knees are on the ground with the left calf placed on the right. This is followed by another seated posture commonly prescribed for sādhana practice, the *sattvaparyaṅka* (e.g., SM39 p. 85; SM80 p. 154; SM147 p. 305). This reverses the position of the feet in the *vajraparyaṅka* and puts the left foot on top, as stated in the VĀ: "Having placed the right foot on top of the left thigh, he should position the left on the surface of the right thigh. This is *sattvaparyaṅka* [posture]." Cf. *Caṇḍ-*

mahāroṣaṇatantra 6.161–62: "Having placed the right shank gracefully on top of the left shank, it is called the *sattvaparyaṅka*, which grants all happiness and desires." *vāmajaṅghopari sthāpya / savyajaṅghāṃ tu līlayā / khyāto 'yam sattvaparyaṅkaḥ / sarvakāmasukhapradaḥ*. The remaining postures are variations on seated or squatting poses.

239 E.g., GSS16 (K76r3): *sthānātmayogarakṣāṃ kuryāt, oṃ āḥ hūṃ mantreṇa.*

240 E.g., GSS2 (K4v2): *mantrādhiṣṭhitasthāne upaviśya.* For a complex preparatory rite prior to worship, see mKhas grub rje (pp. 279–83).

241 E.g., SM218 (p. 426): *ardhayāmāvaśeṣāyāṃ rajanyāṃ vidhinotthitaḥ.* Sanderson (1999: personal communication) points to Aghoraśiva's prescription to rise within "five *nāḍikā*s [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): *prātassamayāt pūrvaṃ pañcanāḍikāvacchede samutthāya.*

242 E.g., GSS16 (K76r1): *prātar ūtthāya mukhaśaucādikaṃ kṛtvā...;* SM20 (p. 51): *prathamaṃ mukhaśaucādikaṃ kṛtvā;* SM48 (p. 100): *vadanaśaucādiṃ kṛtvā;* SM239 (p. 458): *prātar utthāya svahṛtsūryasthahūṃkāraraśmibhir ātmānaṃ viśodhya kṛtamukhaśaucādikaḥ;* SM123 (p. 254): *oṃ huṃ vajrāṅge mama rakṣa rakṣa phaṭ svāhā ity anenātmarakṣāṃ kṛtvā prathamaṃ tāvad yogī mukhaśaucādikaṃ kṛtvā...;* etc. For the bath conceived as a consecration, see above.

243 GSS5 (Sed p. 125[9], K14v5): *oṃ a ā i ī u ū ṛ ṝ ḷ ḹ ū e ai o au aṃ aḥ ka kha ga gha ṅa ca cha ja jha ña ṭa ṭha ḍa ḍha ṇa ta tha da dha na pa pha ba bha ma ya ra la va śa ṣa sa ha kṣa huṃ huṃ phaṭ. ity ālikālipaṅkti<ṃ> spharatpañcaraśmikāṃ trir uccārya pariveṣya sthitāṃ spharattricakradevatāvṛndamarditavighnavṛndāṃ bhāvayet. iti vāgviśuddhiḥ • devatāvṛnda*] em. Sed/Tib; *devatāvṛndaṃ* 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): *ālikālim vāratrayam uccārya...;* and GSS16 (K76r2): *yogī ālikālim vāratrayam uccārya...*

244 Śāśvatavajra's *Bāhyapūjāvidhi* (p. 52): *iha śrīcakrasaṃvaraṃ maṇḍalake pūjayitukāmo yogī prātar utthāya yathāvasaraṃ vā, avismṛtadevatāyogas tathaiva sudṛḍhatadahaṃkāravān, vismṛtadevatāyogas tu pañcaskandhādyahaṃkāravān, svabhāvaśuddhamantroccāraṇapūrvakaṃ śūnyatām adhimucya...*

245 GSS5 (Sed p. 125[15], K15r1): *viśuddhaskandhādisamutthaṃ pūjādikaṃ bodheḥ śīghrakāraṇaṃ bhavatīti skandhādiviśuddhim adhimuñcet. tatra rūpādiṣu vijñānaparyanteṣu phenabudbudamarīcikadalīmāyopamatvena niśceyā vairocanādayaḥ. tathatāyām akṣobhyaḥ. yad vā vairocanādidevatādhimokṣa eva teṣāṃ viśuddhiḥ. • viśuddhaskandhā*] em.; *viśuddhiskandhā* K • *samutthaṃ*] conj.; *samutthā(na)* K(del). The remaining text is summarized in table 9.

The practice given by Śākyarakṣita in the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5 Sed p. 125, K15r1) is related to Lūyīpāda's HĀ (f. 1v) in that it uses the same correlations, but it is fuller than Lūyīpāda's version. The scriptural source for Lūyīpāda is probably the YSCT (ch. 1, vv. 5–9; A1v3): *prathamaṃ tāvad yogiśvareṇa pañcaskandhāhaṃkāram utpādayet.* It also appears as a preliminary practice in the *Cakrasaṃvarasādhana* (Dawa-Samdup 1919: 79), and the *Vārāhyabhyu-*

dayatantra (vv. 22–26). The practice is common in earlier tantric systems also; note GS (ch. 17 v. 50): *pañcaskandhāḥ samāsena pañcabuddhāḥ prakīrtitāḥ / vajrāyatanāny eva bodhisattvāgryamaṇḍalam;* Candrakīrti discusses this practice in the opening portion of his commentary (PU on GST ch. 1, p. 18).

There are various discrepancies between these texts. For the buddhas correlated with the skandhas, HĀ, YSCT, and *Vārāhyabhyudayatantra* read Vajrasūrya for Ratnasaṃbhava; Padmanarteśvara for Amitābha; Vajrarāja for Amoghasiddhi; Śrī-Herukavajra for Akṣobhyavajra. For the buddhas correlated with the sense organs, the alternative buddha names (Mohavajra, etc.) do not appear in my mss. of HĀ, YSCT, or in the *Vārāhyabhyudayatantra* (except for Aiśvaryavajra, v. 24). For "whole body," ADUT ch. 9 (p. 286) reads "touch" *(sparśe)*. The set of goddesses correlated with the elements does not appear in the HĀ, while the YSCT mentions them, but without giving them their alternative names. For Narteśvarī the YSCT (ch. 1, v. 6, A1v5) reads Padmanarteśvarī, and *Vārāhyabhyudayatantra* (v. 26b), Nartanī. For Padmajvālinī there is the variant Padmajālinī (K16r2, *Vārāhyabhyudayatantra* v. 26c).

246 The alternate names appear only in GSS5: (Sed p. 126[7], K15v5): *tatra mohavināśanān mohavajraḥ, dveṣadveṣaṇād dveṣavajraḥ, īrṣyāsarvāsaṅgamātsaryavināśād īrṣyāvajrādayas trayaḥ, sarvaiśvaryadānād aiśvaryavajraḥ.*

247 The yogatantra "mothers" are identified with the elements in a verse from the GST (ch. 17 v. 51: *pṛthivī locanākhyātā, abdhātur māmaki smṛtā / pāṇḍarākhyā bhavet tejo vāyus tārā prakīrtitā*). In earlier tantric systems they are the consorts of the five buddhas, the fifth consort being Vajradhvātīśvarī (e.g., *Vimalaprabhā*, cited *Bauddhatantrakośa* p. 85).

248 GSS1=GSS2 (K279v4/K4v2): *tad anu kāyavākcittapariśuddhaye mādhvīṃ gauḍiṃ paiṣṭiṃ trividhaṃ divyodakaṃ yathālābhaṃ pañcapīyūṣasaṃyuktam arghapātre saṃsthāpya tryakṣaramantreṇābhimantryaitenodakena vāmahastād ārabhya sarvāṅgapratyaṅgamantrasnānaṃ kuryāt tenaiva pūjādravyaṃ ca prokṣayet. tadanantaram <oṃ vaṃ?> hāṃ yoṃ, hrīṃ moṃ, hreṃ hrīṃ, huṃ huṃ, phaṭ phaḍ—ity etair mantrākṣarair vāmakarāṅguṣṭhādikaṃ viśodhya triviśuddhim uccārayet...• mādhvīṃ gauḍiṃ paiṣṭiṃ trividhaṃ divyodakaṃ*] conj.; *mādhvigauḍipaiṣṭitrividhadivyodakaṃ* GSS1 *mṛdvikāmādhvikāgauḍikāpaiṣṭikācaturvidhaṃ* GSS2; • *sarvāṅgapratyaṅgamantrasnānaṃ*] GSS2; *sarvāṅgaṃ pratyaṅgamantraṃ* GSS1 • *oṃ vaṃ*] GSS2, omitted GSS1. (The inclusion of *oṃ vaṃ* in GSS2 is possibly because it is the first of the set of six armor syllables (GSS11 §6), but the addition is perhaps unnecessary because the purification here is of the "thumb and fingers," for which a set of five syllables suffices. In the hand worship, *oṃ vaṃ* is placed on the palm, not on the digits of the hand; see above) • *vāmakarāṅguṣṭhādikaṃ viśodhya*] GSS2; *vāmakarāṅgulīṣu saṃśodhya* GSS1. On the types of spiritous liquor, note SUT (ch. 26, vv. 30–33).

249 E.g., GSS35 (K11814): *nagno muktakeśaḥ. athavā raktakeśaparidhāyī raktavastrasukhī.* This process of assimilation to the deity is well attested in the Śaiva tantric tradition. Khanna (1986: 217) describes the "special rule" that before approaching the deity, the devotee must abolish all distinction of sex and person and

assume the identity of the deity (*tripurīkṛtavigraha, Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava* I, 122b). The adept is to adorn himself in a manner that resembles his inner vision of the deity. Thus, in the Tripurasundarī tradition, he dresses as a woman in fine red garments, hair and body adorned with red flowers, mouth filled with betel and herbs (to dye it red), the body red with vermilion powder and scented with musk (*Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava* ch. 1, vv. 103–5). Assuming the guise of a woman *(strīrūpadhāritvam)* was accepted by exegetes such as Bhāskararāya (*Setubandhu, ibid.*: p. 78): *raktakusumasya strīveṣasya vā parigrahaḥ.* In later sources, false breasts and wigs were also prescribed (*Śaktisaṃgamatantra* vol. 2.18, 72–75) in order to promote the sādhaka's "immersion in the religious sentiment" *(bhāvāveśaḥ).* See also *Jayadrathayāmala* (NAK ms. 1.1468, f. 3r 1.4 cited Khanna *op. cit.*: 219): *rasāveśavaśasthityā devatākārālambanaṃ.* (References as supplied by Khanna are to the *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava* with *Setubandha* by Bhāskararāya, eds. Kāśīnātha Vāsudeva Abhayaṃkara and Gaṇeśaśāstrī Ambādāsa Joshi. 1976. ASG no. 56; and *Śaktisasaṃgamatantra,* vol. 1 *Kālīkhaṇḍa,* vol. 2 *Tārākhaṇḍa,* and vol. 3 *Sundarīkhaṇḍa,* ed. Benoyotosh Bhattacharyya. 1932–47. GOS nos. 61, 91, and 104.)

250 For the *viśuddhi*s as a preliminary practice in this way, see SM123 (p. 254): *āśayaviśuddhir ahaṃkāramamakāraparityāgaś ceti maitrīkaruṇāmuditopekṣāṃ ca bhāvayet.* Dvivedi (1992: 121) traces the statement "Having become a god, he attains the gods" to the Vedic corpus *(Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad),* and interprets it in the light of comparable statements in the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* to mean that "having assumed the nature of one's chosen god, one should propitiate gods." It is this injunction *(śivībhūya śivaṃ yajet)* that is commonly cited in Śaiva tantras; e.g., Khanna (1986: 22) notes its appearance in the *Svacchandatantroddyota.* However, its meaning varies according to the different Śaiva traditions. Davies (1992: 111ff.) discusses its significance in the Śaiva-Siddhānta, and Dvivedi *(op. cit.)* in nondual Śaivism.

251 E.g., GSS5 (Sed p. 128[10], K1712): *saptavidhānuttarapūjāṃ kṛtvā...maitrīṃ... karuṇāṃ...muditāṃ...upekṣāṃ ca bhāvayitvopārjitapuṇyasambhāraḥ. jñānasaṃbhārābhivṛddhaye oṃ svabhāvaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ svabhāvaśuddho 'ham ity arthābhimukhīkaraṇapūrvakaṃ paṭhet.* • *bhāvayitvo*] em.; *bhāvayitvā* Kpc; *bhāvayeyitvā* Kac. Cf. SUT ch. 13, v. 7 (=SM123 p. 254): *cittamātraṃ tu vai tiṣṭhed bodhisambhārabhāvanaiḥ;* SM67 (p. 138): *etena puṇyasambhārārthaṃ yogī jagad ākalayati;* SM71 (p. 142): *pūjayet vandeta ca śubhavṛddhyartham;* etc.

252 For the rays as hooks, see SM24 (p. 55): *hrīḥkārabījād niḥsṛtya...aṅkuśākārair marīcivisaraiḥ...ākṛṣya;* SM58 (p. 121):...*dhīḥkārabījavinirgatāṅkuśakāraraśmyākṛṣṭārapacana-;* SM82 (p. 156): *tanmarīcisaṃcayair aṅkuśakārair ākṛṣya bhagavantaṃ...; cf, Dākinījālasaṃvara* (ed. Sanderson 1994, n. 10) (f3r–v: *bījahṛdayāntarālamadhyavarttisphuradraktaravimaṇḍalamadhyasthitaparamākṣaranirgatapāṭalāṃśuvisarair daśadiganantāparyantalokajadhātūn avabhāsya tair evāṃśuvisarair vyāvarttamānair aṅkuśakarair gurubuddhabodhisattvayoginīcakram aprameyam ākṛṣya...* • *bīja°*] em.; *bīja°* ms. • *visarair*] em.; *visarair ms.* • *ākṛṣya*] em.; *ākṛsya* 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): *muḥkārāt pañcavarṇān raśmimeghān svaromakūpebhyo niścarayet, taiś ca raśmibhir mañjughoṣarūpaiḥ saṃcchannaṃ gaganaṃ paśyet;* SM 128 (p. 268): *hūṃkārād ātmano romavivareṇa mukhādidvāreṇa <ca > pañcakārān raśmin niścarataś cintayet;* SM251 (p. 490) etc.

253 Buddhas reside in the Akaniṣṭha realm in their body of enjoyment *(saṃbhogakāyaḥ)* 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 *Abhisamayālaṃkārāloka* (Buddhist Sanskrit Texts No. 4, Dharbhanga: 281, cited Sanderson 1994 n. 12): *śākyamunitathāgatādirūpo nirmāṇakāyaḥ puṇyajñānasaṃbhārāṃśaja eva śrāvakādyupalambhayogyo deśitaḥ.*

254 E.g., GSS4 (K1317): *oṃkārakiraṇair gurubuddhabodhisattvān āniya purato 'valambya pūjāpāpadeśanādikaṃ kṛtvā...;* cf. also the opening salutations in GSS26–GSS27 (K92v6/K94r1): *namo buddhadharmasaṃghebhyaḥ. namo gurubuddhabodhisattvebhyaḥ....*

255 GSS5 (Sed p. 127[11], K16r5): *tataḥ svahṛdante śuśire raṃkārabijaniryātaravimaṇḍalastharaktavaṃkāraṃ dṛṣṭvā tatkiraṇair antaḥkalmaṣam apasārya pratiromavivaravinirgatair vakṣyamāṇabhagavatīmaṇḍalacakraṃ gurubuddhabodhisattvāṃś cākṛṣyāniya nabhasi purato vibhāvya...* • *svahṛdante*] em.; *svahṛdanta* K; • *raṃkārabija*] conj.; *raṃbija* K • *apasārya*] em.; *apasarya* K • *vinirgatair*] em.; *vinirgatavarair* K. Cf. GSS3, which is similar except that Vajravārāhī is summoned by herself, without her entire *maṇḍala* retinue (K12r1): *svahṛdabjasūrye raktavaṃkāraṃ paśyet. tadiyaraktaraśmibhiḥ pralayānaladuḥsahair akaniṣṭhabhuvanavartiniṃ vajravārāhīṃ vakṣyamāṇavarṇabhujāyudhāṃ gurubuddhabodhisattvāṃś cānīyakāśe puratah saṃsthāpya hṛdraśmivinirgatapūjābhiḥ saṃpūjya ca.* For other examples of the inclusion of all the maṇḍala deities within the preliminary pūjā, see *Bāhyapūjāvidhi* by Śaśvatavajra (p. 52): *tadbijaraśmibhir daśadiksthatricakradevatām ānīya... bhagavantaṃ saparivāraṃ sarvākāraniṣpannaṃ 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 svabijāt 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 jambūdvipe saṃdṛśyate;* and in the GST ch. 1 (p. 4): *api nāma tilabimbam iva paripūrṇaḥ sarvākāśadhātuḥ sarvatathāgataiḥ saṃdṛśyate sma.* On this, Candrakīrti points out that the image is of the seeds packed together inside a pod *(śimbaḥ/śimbā)* (PU p. 18): *yathā tilaśimbe tilabijani anyonyasaṃpṛṣṭāny aparasparapiḍārūpeṇa* [?] *sthitāni, tathā deśanākāle sarvatathāgatā*

gaganaṃ vyāpya sthitā bhagavanta iti); also on the Tibetan translation to SM251 *(til gyi gan bu lta bu).* The simile recurs elsewhere, e.g., *Vārāhyabhyudayatantra* (v. 17cd): *tilabimbopamaṃ dṛṣṭvā krodhadevīḥ samantataḥ;* and in sādhana literature, e.g., SM251 (p. 490): *taiś ca raśmibhir akaniṣṭhabhuvanavarttinaṃ bhagavantaṃ vakṣyamāṇavarṇabhujāyudhaṃ sarvayoginīgurubuddhabodhisattvāṃś ca tilaśimbopamān ānīya • 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): *śuklaḥrīḥkāraṃ hṛdi paśyet. tadraśmibhis traidhātukam avabhāsyākaniṣṭhabhuvanavartinaṃ siṃhanādam...ākṛṣya;* SM45 (p. 94): *taccakraraśmisamūham antaḥśarīram avabhāsya pratiromakūpavivaraiḥ niḥsṛtya daśadiglokadhātum avabhāsya punas tair eva romakūpavivaraiḥ praviśyāntaḥśarīram avabhāsayantaṃ ciraṃ vicintayet;* SM98 (p. 201): *tato 'pi pitatāṃkārabījād niḥsṛtya jaganmohāndhakārāpahāribhir mayūkhasamūhair daśasu dikṣu ye cāparyantā lokadhātavo vidyante, tān sarvān avabhāsya tatrasthān apy asaṃkhyeyān aprameyān buddhabodhisattvāṃś cākāśadeśe 'py ānīyāvasthāpyante.* A good example of the ornate sūtra setting in some sādhanas 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): *hṛdbījaraśmisambhavapūjāmeghaiḥ sampūjya;* SM14 (p. 38); SM15 (p. 44); SM28 (pp. 67–68); SM48 (p. 100): *pūjāṃ manomayīm;* SM52 (p. 109); etc.

258 For the *pañcopacārāḥ (puṣpam, dhūpaḥ, dīpaḥ, gandhaḥ, naivedyam)* offered with offering mantras and mudrās, see SM3 (pp. 18–19); SM7 (p. 28); SM 15 (p. 44); SM29 (p. 72), SM50 (p. 105); SM65 (p. 130), etc. Nihom (1992 n. 15) usefully summarizes the variations in this set of five found in sādhanas of the *Sādhanamālā.* 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 *(uparatnāṇi).* The eight auspicious symbols comprise a pair of golden fishes *(suvarṇamatsyaḥ),* a lotus *(padmam),* a treasure vase *(nidhighaṭaḥ),* a golden wheel *(suvarṇacakram),* a banner of victory *(dhvajaḥ),* an endless knot *(śrīvatsaḥ),* a white right-spiraling conch shell *(śaṅkhāvartaḥ),* and a parasol *(chattraḥ).*

The seven jewels are prescribed in the outer worship *(bāhyapūjā)* in GSS5 (Sed 146[1], K31r6): *tato hṛdbījanirgataviṇādidevibhiḥ saṃpūjya saptaratnādīni ca tannirgatāni ḍhaukayitvā • tannirgatāni*] em., *tannirgatādi* K; also SM159 (p. 223); and in the *Bāhyapūjāvidhi* by Śāśvatavajra (Finot 1934: 52). For a list of various traditional offerings (to be offered with mudrās and mantras), see SM 1 (pp. 7–8): *tato daśadiglokadhātusthitacitrapūjāṅgāny evaṃ niryātayet. praṇāmāñjaliṃ baddhvā ye asamā aparigrahā daśadiglokadhātuṣu pūjāṅgaviśeṣaḥ sthalajā ratnaparvatakalpavṛkṣādayo jalajāḥ sāmudraratnādayaḥ kanakapaṅkajādayaś ca ye*

canye sarvalokadhātuṣu divyamanuṣyakāḥ sarvarūpaśabdagandharasasparśadayas tān sarvān buddhabodhisattebhyo niryātayāmity udāharet. manomayāṃs tu pūjāmeghān 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 trangressive 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 saṃpūjya ca vibhavayet;* and GST 8.25: *taruṇiḥ saṃprāpya subhagāṃ cāruvaktrāṃ suśobhanām / 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 (K13914): *bāhyaguhyapūjāviśeṣaiḥ;* GSS 16 (K7912): *tataḥ pūjayet. puṣpair dhūpair dīpair gandhair naivedyair nānāvidhaiḥ pūjābhiḥ pūjayet. manomayapūjā tattvapūjādibhih.* 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... bāhyaguhyamanomayasakṣādbhāvabhedena tā uktāḥ.*

261 The five sense offerings *(kāmaguṇāḥ)* are offered in present-day Newar and Tibetan practice as follows: a mirror with a flaming border for form, a pair of cymbals or flute (Tibetan) or bell (Newar) for sound, a conch shell full of fragrant powder for smell, a bowl of food for taste, and a band of cloth for touch. The emphasis on bells for the musicians and dancers in the Newar tradition echoes the account given here in GSS5 (see Gellner 1992: 106 for a full account). For a discussion of the offerings and illustrations of their artistic depiction, see Beer (1999: 194–203 with plates 92–95). The offerings are often depicted together in a single bowl on the altar table, the mirror in the center, the pair of cymbals flanking it, with the conch shell and fruit to either side of the cymbals, and the cloth as a scarf draped around the whole (cf. Olschak 1973: 45, K.

Gyatso 1999: 499). The mantras and hand gestures *(mudrās)* that accompany the offerings are illustrated in Beyer (1978: 160 fig. 19), (quite differently) in K. Gyatso (1999: 492ff.), and (differently again) in Tsong ka pa (1987 vol. 2: 127–32).

262 Table 10 summarizes the text of GSS5 (Sed p. 127[15], K16r5–17r). The same sixteen goddesses, with individual iconography, appear in the outer parts of the Vajrasattva maṇḍala from the *Sampuṭatantra* (NYĀ p. 10). Two other sādhanas in the *Sādhanamālā* list offering goddesses starting with Lāsyā, either eight goddesses (cf. SM265 p. 518: *aṣṭabhiḥ guhyapūjābhiḥ pūjayet*), or sixteen goddesses SM266 (p. 523: *ṣoḍaśalāsyāpūjābhiḥ pūjayet*). The set of eight is given as follows (one has dropped out): Vajralāsyā, Vajramālyā, Vajragītā, Vajranṛtyā, Vajrapuṣpā, Vajradhūpā, and Vajrālokā. Charming line drawings of the offering goddesses are provided by L. Chandra (1986: 141–42). Offering goddesses are depicted in plate 2.

263 For sādhanas with typical Mahāyāna-style glosses on the worship, see SM24 (pp. 55–57), SM44 (p. 90), SM51 (p. 106), SM56 (pp. 116–17), SM80 (p. 154), SM 171 (p. 344), etc. But for references to transgressive offerings at this stage of the sādhana, see GSS35 (K118r4): *sevitapañcamṛtaḥ prathamataś caturbrahmavihārān bhavayet; Dākinījālasaṃvara* ff. 3v–4r (cited Sanderson 1994, n. 16); also Beyer (1978: 158–59), who states that the offering is made by flicking drops of water with the right ring finger while reciting the mantra *oṃ pañcāmṛtapūjā<ṃ> khāhi*.

264 E.g., *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (p. 152[29]): *vandanā sarvabuddhān namasyāmiti*. The salutation may be verbal, bodily, or accomplished with body, speech, and mind *(kāyavākcitta)*, as attested in many sources.

265 E.g., SM3 (p. 19): *tataḥ snānapūjāmeghaprasaraiḥ saṃpūjya tataḥ pāpadeśanāṃ...tataḥ śūnyatāṃ vibhāvayet;* SM181 (p. 373): *pūjayitvā paramakāruṇiko yogī bhaktinamraḥ kāyavākcittena vandayed iti vandanā vandayitvā ca pāpadeśanāpuṇyānumodanādikaṃ kurute;* etc.

266 The *brahmavihāra* meditations do not appear in the proto-sādhanas of Vilāsavajra (*Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī, adhikāra* 4), or in the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* (Skorupski 1983: 132). They are found, however, in the scriptural sādhanas of the HT(1.3.1) and SUT (13.7). Umāpatideva's glosses are consonant with other sources, particularly those in the *Sādhanamālā*, e.g., on *maitrī* in SM48 (p. 100): *maitrīṃ satputrasamprītisahasraguṇitāṃ jane / duḥkhahetor duḥkhāc ca kṛpām uddhartukāmanām /...dhyātvā;* cf. SM56 (p. 115), SM67 (p. 138), SM87 (p. 192), SM98 (p. 202–3), SM185 (p. 385), SM187 (p. 389), SM206 (p. 405), etc. Umāpatideva's gloss on *upekṣā* is more unusual in its direct reference to Yogācāra insight. A commoner explanation is found in SM48 (p. 57): *keyam upekṣā? pratighānunayanibandhanam apahāya hitāhiteṣu sattveṣu paramahitācaraṇam;* expanded upon in SM98 (p. 203). Overall, Umāpatideva's explanation of the four *brahmavihāras* is similar to that of Advayavajra *(Advayavajrasaṃgraha, Kudṛṣṭinirghātana* pp. 4–5.24): *sarvasattveṣv ekaputrapremākārāṃ maitrīṃ, duḥkhāduḥkhahetoḥ saṃsārasāgarāt samuddharaṇavāñchāsvabhāvāṃ*

karuṇāṃ, ratnatrayaśaraṇagamanāt samullasanmanaḥprabhavāṃ muditām, adhyāsaṅgaparilakṣaṇām 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." (K5IV1): *ataḥ pratityajā bhāvāḥ svapnajātamahopamāḥ.* Also, GSS16, "Like illusion, like a dream, like an invented construction—seeing the world [in this way, he understands it to be] made of cognition, eternal and undefiled." (K82r3): *yathā māyā yathā svapnaṃ yathā nirmāṇanirmitaṃ | jñānarūpaṃ jagat sarvaṃ paśyan nityam anāvilaṃ.* 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. 128[19], K17r6): *māyāṃ vidhāya māyāvī 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 *Ḍākiniguhyasamaya-sādhana* (GSS46), which contains the most systematic philosophizing in the collection, and which cites Vasubandhu, "For the cutting of the defilements is awakening" (K14611): *tathā coktaṃ āryavasubandhupādaiḥ āvaraṇapariccheḍo hi bodhiḥ.* Such references are typical of mainstream sādhanas, for example SM3 (p. 19): *tataḥ śūnyatāṃ vibhāvayet. sarvadharmān niḥsvabhāvarūpān vibhāvya akṣararūpaṃ bodhicittasvarūpaṃ prabhāsvaram atmānaṃ paśyet;* SM14 (p. 39): *vijñānamātrātmako bhāvakaḥ;* SM71 (p. 143): *tato bhavantaṃ nijabījena sahaikībhūtaṃ dṛṣṭvā sarvaṃ traidhātukaṃ sthāvaraṃ jaṅgamaṃ pratītyasamutpannaṃ svapnamāyāpratibimbopamam avicārasahaṃ vicintya prakṛtiprabhāsvaram eva kevalaṃ pariśuddham ātmānaṃ bhāvayet. oṃ svabhāvaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ svabhāvaśuddho 'ham;* SM24 (p. 58), SM44 (p. 90), SM45 (pp. 93–94), SM110 (pp. 225–26), etc.

268 GSS5=GSS2 (Sed p. 128[17], K17r5/K4v4): *atra svabhāvaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmā iti grāhyaviśuddhiḥ svabhāvaśuddho 'ham iti grāhakaviśuddhiḥ.* Cf. the *Bhramaharanāma Hevajrasādhana: nāsti cittād bāhyaṃ cittagrāhyam. grāhyābhāvāc cittam api grāhakaṃ na bhavati. tasmāc cittaśarīrāḥ sarvadharmāḥ, teṣāṃ grāhya-grāhakaśūnyatā paramārtha iti;* and *Sādhanamālā* texts, e.g., SM6 (p. 27); SM7 (p. 29), SM28 for the mantra's power to expel obstacles (p. 68): *vighnopaśamo 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 authoratitive *Triṃśikā* (c. 320–400 C.E.) opens: "All this is only perception *(vijñāptimātra)...*"; see *ibid.:* vv. 27–29b on the *paratantrasvabhāvaḥ.* Cf. Asaṅga's *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* 3:29 (cited Williams 1989: 90).

270 E.g., GSS1 (K279v6) and GSS2 (K4v4). The mantra with *yogaśuddha-* appears alone in some external rituals, such as the *balividhi* in GSS11 (§40, §45, and §50); cf. GSS4, GSS5, and GSS38=SM218 (p. 428). A lone mantra with *vajraśuddha-* is also not uncommon, e.g., HĀ (f. 11r6ff.), SM35 (p. 80), SM36 (p. 82), etc.

271 Literally, "I am one whose self has the inherent nature *(svabhāvaḥ)* of the nondual knowledge of emptiness." (The translation "I am identical with the essence" is by Sanderson 1994.) For other examples of the mantra, see e.g., SM17 (p. 47), SM24 (p. 58, with gloss), SM46 (p. 95), SM48 (p. 100), SM52 (p. 109), SM80 (p. 154), etc. Isaacson (1997: personal communication) points out that this mantra is of vital importance from at least the GST onward, where it is found in chapter 3 (prose before v. 1). The PU commentary (p. 67) breaks down the mantra in a series of verses.

272 A fuller gloss on *vajra* is cited by Advayavajra from the *Vajraśekhara* (*Advayavajrasaṃgraha* p. 23, and p. 37): *dṛḍhaṃ sāram asauśīryam acchedyābhedyalakṣaṇam / adāhi avināśi ca śūnyatā vajram ucyate.*

273 GSS5 (Sed p. 129[1], K17v1): *traidhātukam atitamaṇḍalacakraṃ ca pratibhāsamātrasvabhāvaṃ prabhāsvara eva praveśya, ātmānaṃ ca ravau, taṃ vaṃkāre, tam ardhacandre, taṃ bindau, taṃ nāde, tadvikalpam api—oṃ śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātmako 'ham—ity arthānugamenoccārya tyajet. śūnyatājñānam evābhedyatvād vajram tasya svabhāvas tadātmako '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 *ānīta*, i.e., to a maṇḍala that has just been "drawn down" [by rays]. • *vaṃkāre*] Kpc *vaṃkāre(ṇa)* K(del); • *svabhāvas*] Kpc; *svabhāv(vā)as* K(del).

274 The *karmadhāraya* relationship "nondual=knowledge" is also suggested in an earlier gloss by Candrakīrti (PU p. 123 on GST ch. 13; prose before v. 1): *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 3.11. See also SM67, as when the mantra forms a contemplation of the five wisdoms (pp. 139–40): *<oṃ> ādarśajñānasvabhāvātmako 'haṃ iti paṭhati;* and for the consecration (p. 140): *oṃ suviśuddhadharmadhātujñānasvabhāvātmako 'haṃ.*

276 This mantra appears in a short midday meditation prescribed in GSS5 (Sed p. 145[6], K30v4): *madhyāhnasaṃdhyāyāṃ tu dhyānagṛhaṃ praviśya oṃ āḥ hūṃ <oṃ?> sarvayoginīkāyavākcitta<vajra>svabhāvātmako 'ham oṃ vajraśuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ vajraśuddho 'ham iti mantratrayam uccārayan. jhaṭiti maṇḍalacakram adhimucya pūrvavat sarvaṃ kṛtvā yathāsukhaṃ vihared iti.* • *dhyānagṛhaṃ*] em.; *dhyānaṃ gṛhaṃ* K; • *sarvayoginī*] Kac; *sarvayoginī(nāṃ)* K(mg2); • *<vajra>*] K(mg2); omit Kac.

277 E.g., *<oṃ> sarvatathāgatacittavajrasvabhāvātmako 'haṃ.* There seems to be a variant reading of the mantra *oṃ dharmadhātusvabhāvātmako 'ham* in GS 3.11, since Matsunaga has printed *oṃ dharmadhātu<vajra>svabhāvātmako '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. Abhayākaragupta, in the *Abhayapaddhati* (MS NAK 5–21=NGMPP A 48/2 f. 10v), analyzes the mantra *oṃ śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātmako 'ham* in this way: *oṃ iti kāyavākcittam, śūnyatā naiḥsvābhāvyam, jñānaṃ mahākaruṇā, tat trayam abhedyatvād vajrasvabhāvam ātmā svabhāvo yasya so 'ham.* "[The meaning of] *oṃ* 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 *[oṃ, 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, Abhayākaragupta gives a more natural interpretation, basically agreeing with that in GSS5 above (see the Tibetan translation, Toh 1198, sDe dge bsTan 'gyur, *rgyud* vol. cha, f. 110v).

278 SM210, translated by Sanderson 1994 n. 24 (p. 515): *tadanantaraṃ oṃ svabhāvaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ svabhāvaśuddho 'ham iti mantram uccārya muhūrtaṃ śūnyatāṃ bhāvayet. tataḥ oṃ śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātmako 'ham ity ahaṃkāram 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 *oṃ* and the restructuring of the pair of mantras, see GSS31 (K103r2): *tataḥ—svabhāvaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ svabhāvaśuddho 'haṃ oṃ śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātmako 'ham—iti imaṃ mantrārtham āmukhikurvan muhūrtam apratiṣṭharūpeṇa tiṣṭhet.* Also GSS16 (K79v6): *tataḥ svabhāva-<śuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ svabhāvaśuddho 'haṃ tu,—oṃ śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātmako 'ham—iti> śūnyatāṃ vibhāvya ākāśopamān sarvadharmān vicintya apratiṣṭhānarūpaṃ kṣaṇamātraṃ vibhāvayet.* • *<śuddhāḥ... 'ham iti>*] Kpc(mg1); Kac omit • *śūnyatāṃ*] Kpc; *śū(ddhā)nyatāṃ* 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 śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātmakāḥ sarvadharmāḥ oṃ śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātmako 'ham iti sakalavastutattvasārasaṃgrāhakaṃ mantrārtham āmukhikurvan.* • *tataḥ*] em. Tib.; *tataḥ oṃ* SMed. • *ātmakāḥ*] SMed.; *ātmako 'haṃ* SM mss. AC. The other sādhanas in the Advayavajra group are all similar, though all slightly corrupt: SM17 (*Siṃhanādasādhana* p. 47), SM217 (*Vajravārāhīsādhana* 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 Advayavajra, e.g., *Yuganaddhaprakāśa:* (v. 7) "The fact of non-production [is] due to lack of inherent existence; the fact of non-cessation is due to condition(s); hence *(ataḥ)* there is neither existence and non-existence, for there appears the "fusion of Emptiness and Radiance" (*yuganaddha;* this translation is by Sanderson 1994i; 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): *naiḥsvābhāvyād ajātatvaṃ pratyayād aniruddhatā / bhāvābhāvāv ato na sto yuganddhaṃ tu bhāsate* (v. 7) *śūnyatākṛpayor aikyaṃ vidheyaṃ na svakalpataḥ / śūnyatāyāḥ prakāśasya prakṛtyā yuganaddhatā* (v. 8); also his *Kudṛṣṭinirghātana (Advayavajrasaṃgraha* p. 1): *praṇidhānavegasāmarthyāt yuganaddhānābhogayogataḥ...; Mahāsukhaprakāśa* (*ibid.*: p. 50): *bhūtakoṭiṃ tato viṣṭvā yuganaddhapadaṃ gataḥ / yuganaddhasthito yogī sattvārthaikaparo bhavet.* Cf. Ratnākaragupta's *Dvibhujasamvaropadeśa* 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): *sarvadharmaśūnyatāṃ dhyāyāt. tatreyaṃ śūnyatā: manomātram evedaṃ tena tenākāreṇa prakāśātmakaṃ pratibhāsate yathā svapne<.> nāsti manaso bāhyam manogrāhyaṃ, grāhyābhāvād grāhakam api mano nāsti. tataś ca khasvarūpāḥ sarvadharmāḥ. teṣāṃ grāhyagrāhakādisakalakalpanāprapañcaśūnyatā tattvaṃ paramārtha iti yāvat. ayam arthaḥ; advaitaprakāśamātrātmakaṃ sacarācaraṃ jagad iti cintanīyam. imām eva śūnyatāṃ—oṃ śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātmako 'ham ity amunā mantreṇādhitiṣṭhet.* • *khasvarūpāḥ*] em. Sanderson; *kharūpāḥ* SM ms. "A"; *manaḥsvarūpāḥ* SMed.

283 E.g., SM6 (p. 26): *śūnyatāṃ 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):...*śūnyatāṃ vibhāvya ākāśopamān sarvadharmān vicintya apratiṣṭhānarūpaṃ kṣaṇamātraṃ vibhāvayet;* SM251 (p. 490): *muhūrtam apratiṣṭharūpeṇa saṃtiṣṭhet,* etc. Cf. GSS23 (K88r6): *tataḥ śūnyatāṃ sarvadharmanirālambarūpāṃ vicintya;* GSS35 (K118r6): *tataḥ sarvadharmanirālambana śūnyatāṃ vibhāvya mantram uccārayet.*

284 GSS32 (K104v6): *avikalpitasaṃkalpa apratiṣṭhitamānasa | asmṛtimanasikāra nirālamba namo 'stu te |* • *mānasaḥ*] K (the masculine vocative assumes that the verse addresses a transcendent Bindurāja) • *asmṛtimanasikāra nirālamba*] em.; *asmṛtimanasikāraṃ nirālambaṃ* 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., *Pañcatathāgatamudrāvivaraṇa* (p. 25), *Caturmudrāniścaya* (p. 38), *Amanasikārādhāra* (p. 60), in which it is identified as a verse from the *Āryasarvabuddhaviṣayāvatārajñānalokālaṅkāramahāyānasūtra.*

285 Some Yogācārin exegesis arguably posits the *paratantrasvabhāva* as a really existent substrate, e.g., Maitreyanātha's opening to the *Madhyāntavibhāga:* "The imagination of the non-existent *(abhūtaparikalpaḥ)* exists. In it duality does not exist. Emptiness, however, exists in it." (Williams 1989: 86, citing Friedmann 1937. *Madhyāntavibhāgaṭikā.*) 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 *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* (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 *Mahāyānasaṃgraha.*

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. 103): *prākṛtaviṣayā iti. prakṛtir atrāvidyā tayādhyāropitāḥ prākṛtāḥ* (cited Sanderson 1994 n. 31). Cf. GSS16 (K76r5–6): *bodhicittotpāda āśayaviśuddhiḥ ahaṃkāramamakāraparityāga iti* • *°parityāga*] em.; *parityaga* K; GSS35 (K118r5): *tato jhaṭiti vakṣyamāṇadevyahaṃkāreṇa...*; Cf. SM3 and SM4 (p. 22–23): *oṃ dharmadhātusvabhāvātmako 'ham iti advayāhaṃkāraṃ kuryāt;* SM67 (p. 139): ["purity mantra"] *cintayan prākṛtaśarīrāhaṃkāraṃ tyaktvā yogacittamātreṇāvatiṣṭhāmi;* SM181 (p. 373): *prākṛtakāyaparityāgāya svabhāvaśuddhamantram āmukhikurvan;* SM171 (p. 344): *cittaṃ śūnyāṃ tataḥ kuryāt prākṛtākārahānaye.* • *prākṛtā*] em. Sanderson; *prakṛtā* SMed.; etc.

288 E.g., Wayman citing Tsong kha pa 1990: 211–17; Beyer 1978: 122 citing Abhayākaragupta; K. Gyatso 1997: 80–88.

289 Tribe (1994: 242): *tataś ca sarvasattvārthakriyāvirahito yogī pūrvapraṇidhānāhitacittasaṃtāna 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 prāktaniṃ smṛtvā bījamātraṃ punaḥ smaret | pratāritā mayā sattvā. ekāntaparinirvṛtaḥ | kathaṃ tān uddhariṣyāmi agādhād 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): *pūrvapraṇidhānavaśāt samādher vyutthāya;* GSS16 (K79v6): *punaḥ stutipāṭha<ṃ> mantreṇa praṇidhānaṃ ca karaṇīyam iti;* SM251 (p. 490): *pūrvapraṇidhānāvedhasāmarthyāt prabhāsvarād utthāya;* SM17 (p. 47): *tataḥ praṇidhānam anusmṛtya;* also, SM181 (p. 373): *pūrvāhitapraṇidhānabalāt*

sattvārtham abhivikṣamāṇo mantrī; SM248 (p. 482): *tataḥ saṃsāraduḥkhebhyaḥ sattvābhyuddharaṇāśayaḥ | māyopamaṃ jagattattvaṃ yathābhūtaṃ vilokya saḥ;* SM54 (p. 111); SM65 (p. 130), etc. Many sādhanas also comment on the mantrin's vow to make himself/the world "become" the deity, e.g., GSS3–GSS31 (K102v5): *ahaṃ vajravārāhī bhūtvā tadākāraṃ jagat sarvaṃ kariṣyāmiti;* GSS16 (K76r5): *ahaṃ sarvavid bhūtvā tadākāraṃ jagat sarvaṃ kariṣyāmīti kṛtaniścaya<ḥ>;* SM251 (p. 490): *prabhāsvarād utthāya svapnamāyāvat viśvaṃ paśyan jagadarthāyātmanaḥ śrīherukatvaṃ vibhāvayet.* • *jagadarthāyā*°] em. Sanderson; *jagadutthāya* SMed.; *vibhāvayet*] conj. Sanderson; *vibhāvayan* SMed.; cf. other mainstream sādhanas, e.g., SM24 (p. 61): *punaḥ punar anavaratanānāprakāraṃ parārthaṃ kṛtvā jagad api bhagaval lokeśvararūpeṇa niṣpādya...samādher utthito jagallokeśvararūpaṃ vikṣya tadahaṃkāreṇa yatheṣṭaṃ viharet iti;* SM48 (p. 101): *svayaṃ mañjuvaro bhūtvā jagat paśyaṃś ca tanmayam;* SM51 (p. 106); etc.

291 Sādhanas use the term "circle of protection" or *rakṣācakra* interchangeably for vajra ground *(vajrabhūmiḥ),* vajra roof *(vajrapañjaram),* and so on, as citations below will show (the base of the structure is, of course, square and not circular, as it is formed by the walls in the cardinal directions). E.g., SM179 sādhana of Uḍḍiyānavinirgata-Kurukullā (p. 359): *prākāraṃ pañjarabandhanaṃ [ca] vajramayīṃ <ca> bhūmiṃ vibhāvayed iti rakṣācakram;* cf. GSS35 (K118r5): *tato jhaṭiti vakṣyamāṇadevyahaṃkāreṇa caturo hūṃkārāṃś caturdikṣu ca samantato vajraprākāravajrapañjaraṃ bhāvayet, athavā sumbhanisumbhādicaturmukhamantreṇa rakṣādigbandhādikaṃ vidadhyāt.* • *ca*] em.; *carma* K • *(vajra)pañjaram*] K(mg) • *caturmukha*] Kpc; *caturmuntra* Kac. The term can also have a more specialised sense, as in a Kālacakra maṇḍala that describes a wheel with spokes in the cardinal and intermediate directions and the nadir and zenith inside the vajra zone, upon which are placed the protective deities of the maṇḍala (NYĀ p. 83: *kālacakramaṇḍale vajrapañjarābhyantare rakṣācakraṃ daśāraṃ tasya pūrvadakṣiṇapaścimottarāreṣv...*)

Umāpatideva's prose text is related to the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5, Sed pp. 129–30, K17v5–19r and K20v2). The latter (GSS5 Sed p. 132, K20v cited below) refers to, and probably redacts from, Lūyīpāda's HĀ. Unfortunately, there is damage to the relevant folios of the HĀ in the manuscript available (f. 3v). The previous folio (f. 3r) contains the emptiness meditation and mantras followed by the element visualization with Mount Meru (f. 3v), below which the folio is damaged. However, the missing text probably described the circle of protection, because the next folio begins with the self-generation of Herukavajra "within the vajra zone" (f. 4r4): *vajrapañjaramadhye....*

292 On the structure of a temple, note the ground plan of Bayon at Angkor given by Snodgrass (1985: 74–75 fig. 30). The underlying correspondences between the structure of the complete maṇḍala and the religious architecture of India have been studied by Snodgrass *(ibid.)* and others. One classical reference to the canopy *(vitānaḥ)* suspended over the sacred spot in a temple is *Kumārasambhava* (7.10): *vitānavantaṃ yuktaṃ maṇistambhacatuṣṭayena | pativratābhiḥ*

parigṛhya ninye [Umā]. For references in sādhanas, 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. 129[15], K183ff.): *hūṃkārajatadadhiṣṭhitaviśvavajreṇa;* YRM (p. 114): *repheṇāgnivarṇena sūryamaṇḍalaṃ dṛṣṭvā, tadupari nīlahūṃbhava-viśvavajraṃ.*

294 GSS5 (Sed p. 129[9], K17v5–18r): *tataḥ ...caturo vajraprākārān. oṃ vajraprākāra hūṃ vaṃ hūṃ ity uccārya niveśayet. tatsamakālam eva hūṃkārajatadadhiṣṭhi-taviśvavajreṇa. oṃ medini vajrībhava vajrabandha hūṃ iti paṭhitvā viśvavajra-mayiṃ bhūmim ārasātalaparyantām adhitiṣṭhet. <tato vajraraśmibhiḥ>*(mg2) *oṃ vajraśarajāla trāṃ śaṃ trāṃ ity abhidhāya pañcaśūkavajrākāram atinibiḍam upari śarajālam. tasyādho vajrapañjara hūṃ paṃ hūṃ ity uccārya vajrapañjaraṃ. oṃ vajravitāna hūṃ khaṃ hūṃ. ity pāṭhāntaraṃ 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 uccairghananibiḍajvaladvajraprā-kārordhvato niḥsaṃdhyekakhaṇḍibhūtam upari vajravitānamaṇḍitaṃ jvalad-vajrapañjaram.*

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 sādhanas and commentaries also vary somewhat, as will be seen in extracts below provided by Dr. Sobisch (2001: personal communication) on the Cakrasaṃvara sādhanas 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. 129[17], 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. 129[9], 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 phaḍ iti caturo mantrān vāmatarjanyaṅguṣṭhe choṭikādānapūrva-kaṃ utsārya kṛṣṇaharitaraktapītavarṇān brahmāṇḍarasātalavyāpijvalanmahā-kāyān pūrvottarapaścimadakṣiṇāsu dikṣu krameṇa sumbhādimantraraśmibhir yāvadicchāvistarān caturo vajraprākārān...cintayet.* • *°haritarakta*] corr.; *hari-taraktaharita* 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 'od zer gyis / rdo rje'i ra ba gru bzhi pa / phyogs mdog.... "This is explicit in the prose of dKon mchog ratna, which continues: "[The mantras] are emitting rays of light in their respective colors, 'cutting off' [or eliminating] all enemies and obstructors. The rays of light are gathered [again and] dissolve into the mantras. Thereby a square vajra fence [arises]...." (p. 710): *'od zer rang rang gi mdog spros dgra bgegs thams cad tshar bcad 'od zer tshur 'dus pa sngags rnams la thim pas, rdo rje 'i ra ba gru bzhi pa....*

300 E.g., GSS35 (K118r6): *athavā sumbhanisumbhādicaturmukhamantreṇa rakṣādigbandhādikaṃ vidadhyāt.* Note the slightly different fourth mantra with *vidyārāja,* as attested in Nāgārjuna's *Piṇḍikramasādhana* (Mimaki and Tomabechi 1994 p. 1* ms. Af.2r, p. 31* ms. Bf.2r) and in the SUT ch. 10, v. 26; and SUT ch. 13, vv. 2c–3b: *digbandhanaṃ tu prākāraṃ caturmukhamantram uccaret / 2 / – oṃ sumbha nisumbha hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ. pūrve. – oṃ grihṇa grihṇa hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ. uttare – oṃ grihṇāpaya grihṇāpaya hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ. paścime. – oṃ ānaya ho vidyārāja hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ. dakṣiṇe – choṭikāṃ dāpayed dikṣu duṣṭamārāṇāṃ trāsanam / 3ab.*

301 The idea of "binding" is prominent in the early account of the *rakṣācakra* in the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* (p. 134; 10a), which is constructed with a variety of mantras and mudrās (interrupted by some other rituals, such as *abhiṣeka* and *kavacana*), and which results in the binding of its various parts plus aspects of the maṇḍala, e.g., (10a): *vajrabandhaṃ kṛtvā...;* (11a–b): *mudrāyuktyā sarvavighnabandhaṃ kuryāt. vajrabandhaṃ baddhvāṅguṣṭhadvayaṃ prasārya...prasāritavajrabandhaṃ bhūmyāṃ pratiṣṭhāpyādhobandhaṃ kuryāt...pūrvāṃ diśaṃ bandhayet...*(11b) *digvidikṣv adha ūrdhvaṃ ca vighnanikṛntanaṃ kuryāt vajrakālyottarāṃ diśaṃ bandhet;* (12a): *vajrakarmaṇā maṇḍalabandhaṃ kṛtvā prākāraṃ dadyāt.* This usage remains in place, e.g., HT1.3.3: *pañjarabandhanaṃ,* with *Muktāvalī: uparigataiḥ prākāraśikharodgataṃ pañjaram, tābhyāṃ api sphuradbhiḥ sīmābandham* (note that there is no *vitāna* in the HT). For the boundary, see SM1 (pp. 5–6) in which the *vajramaṇḍapa* is installed with hand gestures and mantras (p. 5): *tato vajramaṇḍapamudrayā svasthānaṃ vajramayam adhitiṣṭhet,* in the following order: ground, walls, roof, Vajrajvālāvahita mantra (i.e., flame ring), and "boundary" (p. 6): *tataḥ sīmān badhnīyāt;* NYĀ (p. 1): *anantā vajramayī bhūmiḥ, tajjvalanmayūkhajvālāvaliśīmābandhaḥ;* SM110 (p. 226): *bahir dvāre sīmābandhaḥ karya iti...,* etc.

302 For the installation mantras following the sequence in the Advayavajra texts, see GSS5 (Sed p. 129[13], K18r2, cited n. 294), also GSS3 (K12r6)=GSS31 (K103r5)=SM217 (p. 424), and SM251 (p. 491). This is not part of the Hevajra system, which empowers the circle of protection with a different mantra, as in YRM (p. 114): *oṃ rakṣa rakṣa hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā.*

303 The equivalent generation of the intermediate goddesses in the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5) supplies a distributive, stating that they are produced "from rays from both [pairs of those mantras] individually" (K18r–18v): *ubhaya-ubhayaraśmisaṃbhūtā.* 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: *digbandhanaṃ tu prākāraṃ caturmukhamantram uccaret.*

304 *Devībhāgavatapurāṇa, skandha* 5. The fourfold mantra appears prior to the *kīlanamantra* in the Ārya school of the *Guhyasamāja* (*Piṇḍikramasādhana* by Nāgārjuna, Mimaki and Tomabechi 1994 p. 1* ms. Af.2r, p. 31* ms. Bf.2r). Despite its reference to Purāṇic *asuras*, *niśumbha* in the Buddhist tantric tradition seems to have been generally understood as an imperative (cf. PU p. 153).

305 See Huntington 1975: 2–5, with plate 45, etc.; Marcotty 1987: 29; and illustrations by Beer 1999: 245–49, with plate 114. The cult status of the *kīla* as deity in the Vajrakīlaya corpus has been studied by Boord (1993) and Mayer (1996).

Examples of deity daggers are given in Huntington (e.g., figs. 19, 21, 22, and 24, all of which hold another dagger). The last shows a three-tiered dagger. The topmost deity is four-armed and holds instruments for staking and hammering, the central deity holds a single hammer, and the third face above the blade is therianthropic.

On the rite of staking *(kīlanavidhiḥ)*, see VĀ *Vighnakīlanavidhi* ŚP f. 17v–18r. This rite is often associated with the ten *krodharājas*. A vivid example is a Hevajra rite described by Davidson (1992: 116), in which the creation of the circle of protection is followed by the visualization of a "rimless wheel with blade-like spokes in the ten directions" that are occupied by the ten *krodhas*. The meditator as Uṣṇīṣacakravartin, with retinue, sits in the center, summons the demonic forces with rays, and causes them to fill the area between the sharp spokes of the wheel. He then sees the wheel revolving, chopping the *vighnas* into pieces, burning them with fire, and dispersing them by wind. Their "mental principles" are sent to the realm of Akṣobhya with the recitation of the appropriate mantra, and the wheel melts into space.

306 More specifically, in GSS5, the wells are created from "the lengthy subtle resonance of the syllable when it is recited" (K18v1): *daśadiggatavighnavṛndam āniya dirghanādoccāritahūṃkāraniṣpanneṣu prākārabāhyeṣu samipe digvidigas tu kūpeṣu praveśya.* The instruction to dig the wells "near" the vajra walls is unclear to me and is not clarified by the Tibetan texts, which state that the wells appear "outside" the wall or fence. (Once again, I owe the translations to Dr. Sobisch.) Mi bskyod rdo rje comments on the "eight deep wells that appeared from the *huṃ* syllable(s?) on the outside *(phyi la)* of the vajra fence..." (4v): *rdo rje'i ra phyir hum yig las / byung ba'i khron zab brgyad... /* (understanding *ra phyir* as *ra ba'i phyi la*). The commentary on a similar passage in dKon mchog ratna says, "Having moved toward the vajra fence, the ten female guardians of the gates that have been visualized earlier utter *huṃ*. Thereby the eight deep wells that arise from the *huṃ* behind the outer vajra fence...." (p. 715): *rdo rje'i ra ba dang nye bar slebs nas, sngar bsgom pa'i sgo mtshams ma bcu yis hum zhes brjod pas, rdo rje'i ra ba phyi ma'i rgyab tu hum las byung ba'i khron pa zab mo brgyad.*

307 GSS5 (Sed p. 130⁹, K18v4): ...*akoṭanakīlanābhyāṃ vighnavṛndaṃ mahāsukhena*

tathataikarūpaṃ kurvantī<ṃ> bhāvayet. punaḥ śeṣavighnān utsārya prākāreṣu līyamānāsu tāsu toye † toyāsphalanabindunirgamanyā † <iva> yena sīmābandhārtha<ṃ> vartulān vajrapadmacakraprākārān cintayet. tad evaṃ vajraprākārādivighnotsāreṇa viśuddhyā niḥsandhaikakhaṇḍibhūtaṃ nirvighnaṃ ca jagad adhimucya ... • *niḥsandhaika*] em.; *niḥsandhyaika* K • *jagad*] corr.; *jagat.* K. This text is based on the *Vajrāvalī* (*Vighnakīlanavidhi* ŚP f. 18v).

Dr. Sobisch (2001: personal communication) comments that in the three Cakrasaṃvara sādhanas mentioned above, the circle of protection is sealed not only by a ring of fire, but by rings of vajras, lotuses, and wheels (*cakras*) (thus echoing the maṇḍala circles inside the temple palace). He translates the Tibetan texts as follows, e.g., Mi bskyod rdo rje: "The wrathful [female goddesses] dissolve into the fence. As droplets are scattered by throwing water into water, rays of light again come forth [that] turn [into] a vajra, lotus, and wheel-fence [that is] round, without interstices, and of one piece. Thereby [one] is free from obstacles...." (fol. 4v): *khro mo rnams // ra ba la thim chu la chu / brdabs pas zegs ma 'thor ba bzhin // 'od zer phyir 'phros rdo rje dang / padma 'khor lo'i ra ba ni // zlum po bar med dum bu gcig // gyur pas bgegs dang bral ba'o.* Cf. dKon mchog ratna's slightly extended prose (p. 35) and its commentary, which reads: "The deities return and dissolve into the vajra fence. Thereby, like the spraying of droplets [when] water is thrown into water, or like the sparkling of fire sparks [when] a fire stick(?) is striking against a vajra, they form three fences, one of blue vajras, behind that one of red lotuses, and behind that one of wheels of weapons, which are round, without gaps, and of a single piece. Behind that, beginning with the powerful vajra fire that is arising from the rays of light of these [fences], sixty-four levels of white, yellow, red, green, and blue, [circulating?] counterclockwise, blazing and moving upward, downward, and into all directions, become one with the [wall of] fire that was visualized earlier." (p. 718): *lha mo rnams tshur byon rdo rje'i ra ba la thim pas, chu la chu brdab pa'i zeg ma 'thor ba'am, me lcags rdo rje(?) la brdab pa'i me stag 'phro ba bzhin rdo rje sngon po de'i phyir, padma dmar po, de'i phyir mtshon cha'i 'khor lo'i ra ba gsum zlum po bar mtshams med cing, dum bu gcig tu gyur pa'i phyi rol du, de rnams kyi 'od zer las skyes pa'i rdo rje'i me dbang ldan nas brtsams te, dkar ser dmar ljang sngo ba'i rim pa drug bcu re bzhi g.yon skor du steng 'og phyogs mtshams kun tu 'bar zhing 'khrugs pa, sngar bsgom pa'i me dang gcig tu gyur pas.* Similarly, in the *Vajrayoginīsādhana* of Rig 'dzin Chos kyi grags pa: "Again the goddesses are dissolving into the fence, thereby [manifesting] as a single round fence of fire, vajras, jewels, lotuses, and wheels, being firm and reliable." (vol. ta, p. 580): *slar yang lha mo rnams ra ba la thim pas me dang, rdo rje dang, rin po che dang, padma dang, 'khor lo'i ra ba zlum po gcig tu sra zhing brtan pa'i bdag nyid can du gyur.* Note that the outer rings of vajras, lotuses, and fire are depicted in the Ngor maṇḍalas, p. 126 (a maṇḍala in the same tradition as that described by Mi bskyod rdo rje).

308 The structure of the material still seems to be stabilizing in the earlier texts. Thus, in the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra*, the circle of protection appears

before the worship section (p. 134, 10a: *tato rakṣācakrabhāvanā kartavyā*), the same sequence as that found in the SUT ch. 13, vv. 2–8. The HT1.3.3 mentions the installation of the walls and canopy following the sequence of awakenings (1.3.2). Its commentators, however, are in line with our GSS texts, which place the circle of protection after the accumulations; e.g., YRM (p. 114). Cf. GSS5 (Sed p. 129, K17v5–18r), the Advayavajra-based sādhanas GSS3 (K12r6), GSS4 (K13r7)≈SM226 (p. 440), SM227 (p. 442): *huṃvajrīkṛtabhūmyādau...*, GSS16 (K76v1), also SM40 (p. 83): *śūnyatābhāvanānantaram,* etc. In GSS35 (K118r5) the protective circle is generated after the accumulation of merit but prior to the emptiness meditations. Note SM1 (pp. 10–11): *yadi śakto bhavati aparāhṇe 'pi sarvam etat rakṣādiparikaraṃ pūjādikaṃ ca kṛtvā japet, no cet pūrvāhṇakṛtam eva rakṣādi avisarjitaṃ sthitam eva dṛḍham adhimucya...vikāle ca prākārapañjarādikaṃ visarjya raśmimālinyā kavacaṃ kuryāt.*

309 GSS5 (Sed p. 132[13], K20v2): *yat tu lūyīpādābhisamaye rakṣāpañjarāder anantaraṃ śūnyatābhāvanoktā tad adhimātraprajñādhikārāt. tasya śūnyataiva parā rakṣeti. sarvajanasaṃgrahaṇai<ḥ> punar atra śūnyatābhāvanānantaraṃ rakṣāpañjarādikam uktam. bahuṣu cābhisamayeṣu iyam evānupūrvī dṛśyeta iti.* • *śūnyataiva*] conj.; *śūnyateva* K. The suggestion that the realization of emptiness is the supreme protection is made elsewhere (Isaacson 1997), e.g., in the *Yogimanoharā Pañcakramaṭippaṇī,* ed. Zhongxin Jiang and Toru Tomabechi. 1996. Bern. vol. 23 (p. 13): *tad anu paramārthe śūnyataiva paramā rakṣeti;* also by Ratnākaraśānti, *Muktāvalī* on HT1.3.3: *tatra maitryādibhāvanaṃ prathamā rakṣā, śūnyatābodhir dvitīyā, tṛtīyāṃ rakṣāṃ rephādiślokenāha.* Cf. SM110 (p. 226).

310 This translation depends upon the conjectural emendation of *śūnyateva* (codd.) > *śūnyataiva* (conj.). Without emendation, the text translates: "For him it is said *(iti)* other protection is like emptiness...." The function of *iti (rakṣeti)* is not entirely clear. Perhaps it indicates a citation, for example, from Lūyīpāda's HĀ.

311 In the GSS collection, only two sādhanas apart from the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* elaborate upon the cremation grounds: the *Trayodaśātmikavajraḍākinīsādhana* (GSS16) and the "skeleton arch" practice of Dhyāyīpāda (GSS34). These, and other sources for the cremation grounds, are discussed below in n. 312. It is common, however, for GSS sādhanas to refer in brief to the visualization of the goddess within the cremation grounds, e.g., GSS4≈GSS29 (K13v1): *vajrīkṛtabhūmau śmaśānāṣṭakamadhye;* GSS19 (K83v6): *bhīmarūpāṃ śmaśānādau bhāvayed yogī mahākṛpaḥ;* Trikāyavajrayoginī sādhanas, e.g., GSS20 (K84v4): *ubhayor yoginyor madhye 'ntarīkṣe cātibhayākulaṃ smaśānaṃ bhāvayed;* GSS35 (K118r3–4): *dhyānasthāne utpāditoḍḍiyānamahāśmaśānādhimokṣaḥ.* • *oḍḍiyāna*] corr.; *oḍiyānaṃ* K; GSS37 (K121v2): *śmaśānādau bhāvayed vidhipūrvakam....* Cf. other tantric sādhanas, such as SM40 (p. 83): *vajraprākāraṃ vajrapañjaraṃ ca vibhāvya tanmadhye ghoraśmaśānaṃ tasya ca madhye raktāṣṭadalakamalaṃ...;* etc.

312 A detailed study of the evolution of the eight cremation grounds is yet to be made. In the Buddhist tantras, early references to the cremation ground appear in the yogatantra corpus, particularly within the subjugation myths. The cre-

mation-ground culture pervades the HT, but without mention of the eight cremation grounds as such. For example, in its proto-sādhana (HT1.3.4), the yogin is to seat himself inside the vajra zone on a corpse; later in the chapter, the text states that the lord plays in the cremation ground surrounded by his eight yoginīs (HT1.3.16ab): *śmaśāne krīḍate nātho 'ṣṭayoginī[bhiḥ] pravṛtaḥ.* The text later finds a convenient etymology *(niruktiḥ)* of the word *śmaśāna* from the verbal root "to expire" (HT1.3.16cd): *śvasatīty anayā yuktyā śmaśānety abhidhīyate.*

The *locus classicus* for the eight cremation grounds in the Saṃvara tradition is the SUT (ch. 17, vv. 36–45), and it is to this passage that Umāpatideva's verses are related. The scripture describes the types of inhabitants by group (eight named cremation grounds, eight trees, eight protectors, etc.). Umāpatideva rearranges this grouping slightly and divides the cardinal cremation grounds (vv. 70–72) and intermediate cremation grounds (vv. 73–76). The SUT ends with a more generalized description of the terrifying contents of the cremation grounds, and this seems to be the basis for a similar account in the ADUT (ch. 9, p. 293)/ *Vārāhyabhyudayatantra* (vv. 103–9) that mentions colors, animals, corpses, etc., but no individual features or names. An important exegetical work from the Saṃvara corpus is the *Śmaśānavidhi* by Lūyīpāda (in Finot 1934 and Meisezahl 1980). This text allots two verses to each feature (but gives the clouds separately, v. 18ff.), and like the SUT ends with a general description of the cremation grounds. The order of the intermediate cremation grounds in this text is suspect (southwest, northwest, and omitting northwest and northeast). Meisezahl (1980) discusses two Tibetan translations of Cakrasaṃvara exegetical texts in the Tibetan canon: the *Adbhutaśmaśānālaṃkāra* (a subcommentary in the Cakrasaṃvara collection in bKa' 'gyur, Toh 413, reported in Meisezahl *op. cit.:* 18–21); and the *Śmaśānālaṃkāratantra* (Toh 402, reported in Meisezahl *op. cit.:* 21–22). These seem to be related to Lūyīpāda's *Śmaśānavidhi* since they have many features in common (including the same imprecision in the intermediate directions).

In the GSS collection, the *Trayodaśātmikavajraḍākinīsādhana* (GSS16, K76v5–77r) merely lists the direction and name of each cremation ground (drawing initially on SUT ch. 17 vv. 36cd–37ab). The "skeleton arch" practice of Dhyāyīpāda (GSS34) gives a brief description of them as the setting for the skeleton arch (GSS34, K112r1) and then supplies a more detailed account as the cremation grounds are internalized by the yogin (K113r5) and used as the basis for a series of equations with his psychophysical being, in an internalized, cremation-ground version of the yogic body maṇḍala (n. 477 with endnote table vi).

Secondary materials on the eight cremation grounds are limited, and not consistent (which reflects the unstudied diversity of the primary sources). Meisezahl *(op. cit.)* examines the contents of cremation grounds and illustrates them with plates, but this is a short and preliminary study (with several mis-

takes) that concentrates on a small number of Saṃvara-based texts (SUT, the *Adbhutaśmaśānālaṃkāra, Śmaśānālaṃkāratantra,* and Lūyīpāda's *Śmaśānavidhi*). Tsuda (1974: 292, nn. 1–3) mentions a description of the cremation grounds in the *Laghutantrapiṇḍārthavivaraṇa,* in works by Tsong kha pa, and in a sādhana by Bu ston. Kalff (1979: 24) discusses the relevance of Pali sources describing meditations on decaying corpses. K. Gyatso (1999: 120–23) gives an account of the meditation, also drawing upon Tsong kha pa and dGe lugs sources. Their symbolism is discussed by L. Chandra (Preface to Dawa Samdup 1919: 28–32, citing the *Vajrapradipaṭippaṇī* of Suratavajra).

I draw these primary and secondary materials together in the annotations to table 14.

313 For birds and animals, see SUT ch. 17, vv. 42–43b; ADUT ch. 9, p. 293; *Śmaśānavidhi* v. 25; Tsuda (SUT p. 293) gives references to them in Bu ston's *Maṇḍalavidhi.* For descriptions of the corpses, see SUT ch. 17, vv. 43c–44b, ADUT ch. 9, *Śmaśānavidhi* v. 26, and *Śmaśānālaṃkāratantra* reported in Meisezahl (1980: 22). For supernatural beings, see SUT vv. 44–45 and the *Śmaśānavidhi,* which describes yoginīs with chopper and skull bowl, drums, and food (v. 27) and eight siddhas (v. 28). Some features of the cremation grounds that are not included in the Saṃvara texts are also shown in table 14. Of these, only the *Śmaśānavidhi* (v. 28) mentions that eight *caityas* (unnamed) adorn the cremation grounds; Meisezahl (*op. cit.:* 56) suggests these are drawn from the tradition of eight holy sites of the Buddha's life. The additional features are mentioned by Meisezahl in his annotations to planche 1 (*Maṇḍala of Chinnamuṇḍa-Vajravārāhī* picture no. 4072, Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leyden, Netherlands); he names the *kṣetrapāla,* the *caityas,* and the mountains individually, but his textual sources for so doing are unclear (elsewhere, he mentions that Bu ston supplies a list of ten *caityas, ibid.:* 21). K. Gyatso's account *(op.cit.)* also mentions the additional features, such as a stūpa (unnamed) on the top of the mountain (named).

314 The Sanskrit text of GSS34 is very uncertain (see the appendix), and I have not even attempted to make full emendations here. GSS34 (K112r1): *tatrāyaṃ śmaśānāni dāruṇam atibhīṣaṇam / dikpālavṛkṣanāgendramegharājasamanvitā / cihnāṣṭakasamāyuktaḥ śmaśānasya tu lāñchanam / tad uktaṃ – mahāhavādau vikṛte 'tighore pretāṅganāsaṃkulabhīmaśabde / bhūtipiśāciśivayoṣitādyaiḥ kuryāt śmaśāne khalu pūrvasevā<ṃ> / • dik*] corr.; *dig* K • *nāgendra*] em.; *nāgendraḥ* K • *samanvitā*] K, understand *samanvitam* • *cihnā*] corr.; *cihṇā* K • *samāyuktaḥ*] K, understand *samāyuktam* • *lāñchanam*] em.; *lāñjanaṃ* K.

315 The artistic sources suggest a more fully developed and perhaps standardized version of the cremation grounds than that described in our texts. Further textual research upon this subject is needed, drawing on Tibetan authors such as Bu ston and Tsong kha pa, against a study of the artistic representations. The cremation grounds do not just appear in tangkas in the Cakrasaṃvara tradition; there are many of Heruka-based maṇḍalas, including those of the Hevajra tradition (e.g., maṇḍalas of Hevajra, Nairātmā, Buddhakapāla, and Vajrahūṃkāra

in *Tibetan Painted Mandalas,* Rossi and Rossi 1993). Some show the cremation grounds beyond the felly of the circle of protection and some within it. I see no basis from artistic works for Kelsang Gyatso's remark (1997: 89) that the cremation grounds are inside the circle of protection principally in Vajravārāhī practices.

316 See *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* ch. 3, vv. 53b–56 for the four continents (including Jambudvīpa) extending in the cardinal directions. Each continent is flanked by two smaller continents. There are therefore twelve continents, but only eight cremation grounds. For the mountains, see ADK/B ch. 3, vv. 48b–49c; for the lakes, ADK/B ch. 3, vv. 51c–52c. There are seven lakes (literally "cools": *sītās*) that separate the mountain ranges, plus the great ocean itself beyond. The interpretation of *sītā* is debatable, however (see Pruden, nn. 380–82). The Abhidharmic cosmology is discussed and helpfully illustrated by Brauen (1997: 18–21).

317 A summary of *How Heruka Was Born* (*dPal he ru ka'i byung tshul,* SK III.298.4.2–300.2.6) by Davidson (1991: 205ff.).

318 Sanderson (1994 n. 35) demonstrates that the use of the standard seed-syllables *(yaṃ raṃ vaṃ laṃ)* in the Buddhist sādhanas corresponds to that of the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva tantric traditions, and he proposes that these, and the tradition of relating each to a symbol, are in origin brahmanical (on which see also Heilijgers-Seelen 1994: 20).

319 GSS5 (Sed p. 129[5], K17v3): *tataḥ pūrvapraṇidhānāvedhavaśāt śūnyatāsamādher vyutthāya svacittam evopary upari yaṃraṃvaṃlaṃpariṇatadhanustrikoṇavartulacaturasrākāranīlaraktaśvetapītavarṇacalatpatākāṅkakoṭidvayajvālāṅkaghaṭāṅk a<triśūkavajrāṅka>*mg2*koṇacatuṣṭayam. vāyuvahnivaruṇakṣitimaṇḍalasvabhāvaṃ vicintya tadupari sumkārasamudbhavaṃ caturasram aṣṭaśṛṅgaṃ pūrvadakṣiṇapaścimottarapārśveṣu rūpyavaiḍūryasphaṭikasuvarṇamayaṃ sumeruṃ dhyātvā • aṣṭaśṛṅgaṃ pūrva*] em. *aṣṭaśṛṅgo pūrvo* K. Cf. SUT ch. 13, vv. 9–12; HĀ (f. 3v); and sādhanas showing various elaborations to the process, e.g., the red fire element may have the syllable *ra-* inscribed in each corner, e.g., SM110 (p. 226): *tato raṃkāreṇāgneyaṃ trikoṇaṃ raktakoṇeṣu rephāṅkam* (cf. SM95, SM97); the elements may have the seed-syllable and the emblem upon them (as in Kumāracandra's commentary on the KYT *paṭala* 17 (p. 124); *Vārāhyabhyudayatantra* vv. 35–40; etc.

320 Changes to the Abhidharmic model can be observed as early as the yogatantra corpus in the Vairocana sādhana of the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana* (p. 160), which includes the substrate of emptiness (in the form of the emptiness meditations) and the fire element. It also describes the water element as "the great ocean" *(mahodadhiḥ),* and generates the maṇḍala of gold above that from the syllable *kaṃ.* The changes in the yoginītantras accord with the cosmic systems described in Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava tantric traditions and may evince their influence (Sanderson, *op.cit.*). Isaacson (1998: personal communication) notes that other models were also in use, for example, the Buddhist tantric Catuṣpīṭha tradition uses quite different syllables: *yuṃ kṣuṃ suṃ huṃ.*

Both cosmological systems are also beautifully illustrated in line drawings by

Beer (1999: plate 61 with pp. 108–9), and in computer-generated illustrations in Brauen's exposition of the cosmos (1994: 50–54 and 1997: 19–20, figs. 5 and 8). I do not attempt to reproduce the cylindrical shape of the elements here in fig. 25, as the dimensions are not even possible to reproduce with computer drawings. For example, although the height of the elements is given in the *Abhidharmakośa,* the circumference of the wind element is said to be "immeasurable," and space is infinite; Mount Meru also dives beneath the gold/earth to a given depth, and Brauen *(ibid.)* shows how the mountain is formed differently in the different systems. There are also numerous heavens above Meru within the *kāmadhātu,* the *rūpadhātu* (culminating in the Akaniṣṭha heaven), and the *ārūpyadhātu.*

321 Sādhanas 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 *Vajravārāhī Sādhana,* in which the emtpiness meditations lead on directly to the circle of protection, and in which the cosmos—whether the cremation grounds as in v. 16a or the traditional cosmos as in v. 35—is visualized inside the circle of protection. Examples of texts that place the visualization of the cosmos immediately after the emptiness meditations (and therefore before the circle of protection has been generated) include *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* (p. 160); SUT ch. 13, vv. 8–9; HĀ (f. 3r); GSS5 (Sed p. 129[4], K17v3); GSS3 (K12r5); and GSS12 (K71r1). The difference is more apparent than real, since in these cases, the circle of protection presumably encompasses the visualized cosmos, or as it says in GSS3, it is visualized "on top" (GSS3 K12r6: *tadupari*), perhaps "superimposed"? The *dharmodayā* and temple palace are then visualized within the circle of protection, on top of Mount Meru.

322 E.g., GSS3, GSS12, cf. SUT 13.13: *caturasraṃ catūratnamayam aṣṭaśṛṅgopaśobhitaṃ vicintya.*

323 E.g., STTS ch. 6 (p. 56): *sumerugirimūrdhni vajramaṇiratnakūṭāgāre samājam āgamya....*

324 E.g., STTS ch. 6 (p. 63): *caturasraṃ caturdvāraṃ catustoraṇaśobhitaṃ...; Sarvadurgatipariśodhana* (p. 160), *Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī* (Tribe 1994: 244); cf. GSS16 (K76v2), ADUT (ch. 14, p. 316), and similar descriptions in many other sources, e.g., HT1.10.20; KYT (p. 140); SM54; SM95; SM97; SM110; SM123; etc. See also Sanderson (1994, n. 48) and Wayman (1990: 82–89) for sources for the temple palace. In tantric visualizations, the various aspects of the temple palace also become the subject of purifying equations. The connection with the yogatantra corpus may explain the common *viśuddhi* of the temple palace with the body of Vairocana, e.g., GSS5 (Sed p. 130[16], K19r1–2): *-savidyāvairocanātmakaṃ kūṭāgāraṃ... <bhāvayet>; Hevajrasekaprakriyā* (*vairocanaśuddhyā kūṭāgāraṃ...);* SM110 (p. 227): *pariśuddhabuddhakṣetraṃ saṃkṣeparūpaṃ mahāmokṣapuraṃ vairocanasvabhāvaṃ nānāratnamayaṃ kūṭāgāram...,* etc. Studies have shown that the traditional Indian temple, based on the intricately conceived *vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala,* is equated with both the cosmos and the

body (Snodgrass 1985: 104–17). For a brief resumé of work on this topic, see Brauen (1997: 73–74).

325 Earlier sādhanas describe the generation of the temple palace upon a lotus (e.g., SM123 p. 255), but later texts add the detail that upon the pericarp is an altar-like foundation composed of a double vajra, e.g., SUT (ch. 13, v. 13); HĀ (f. 3v); *Bhramaharanāma Hevajrasādhana* (ed. Isaacson 1997); SM97 (p. 136); SM110 (p. 227); NYĀ (p. 12); cf. K. Gyatso (1997: 86, 93). This is illustrated artistically in the sculpted Sumeru Temple in Chengde (Jehol, China), in Brauen (1997: 74 fig. 50).

326 The manner in which the elevation of the temple is depicted within the two-dimensional maṇḍala is discussed by Brauen and illustrated with a helpful series of explanatory models (1997 fig. 47 and plates 15–21).

327 Another "transitional" GSS sādhana is the *Trayodaśātmikavajraḍākinīsādhana* (GSS16), which fuses the tradition of the temple palace with the setting of the eight cremation grounds; it is the only GSS sādhana to locate the self-generation within the eight cremation grounds and also to endow the goddess with a palace *(vimānam)* within those cremation grounds. The setting of the temple palace within the cremation grounds is familiar from other tantric systems, and is that represented in all artistic representations of maṇḍalas within the cremation grounds. Cf. commentary on HT1.3.16 *(śmaśāne kṛiḍate nātho)* in YRM (p. 115): *vajraprākārāsv antare ghorāṣṭaśmaśānāni tanmadhye kūṭāgārodare viharati nātho hevajraḥ.*

328 Cf. YRM (on HT1.8.3). Its color differs in other Vajrayoginī sādhanas, in which it may be visualized as red and may rest upon a red sun disk generated from a red syllable *raṃ*. E.g., GSS35 (K118v3): *rakta-ekāraparinataṃ lohitavarṇaṃ śarirasvarūpam ūrdhvadharmodayaṃ;* GSS10 (K47v2): *tatra dharmodayāṃ dhyātvā raktādyakṣarasaṃbhavāṃ;* GSS24 (K90r2): *raktahriṃkārasaṃbhūtāṃ dharmodayāṃ.*

329 The compound *dharmodayā* is a feminine *bahuvrīhi* whose gender is derived from the now absent referent, "womb" or "source" *(yoniḥ)*, i.e., "that [womb] which is the origin of *dharmas*" *(dharmodayayoniḥ > dharmodayā)* (Sanderson 1998: personal communication). However, it also appears as a masculine noun, functioning as a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound, *dharmodayaḥ.*

330 The triangular fire pit in the *Gopyahomavidhi* (GSS8) is referred to as "vagina shaped" (K44r1): *bhagākāre vaśyakuṇḍe....* As for the letter *e*, see GSS5 (Sed p. 130[15], K19r1): *dharmodayāṃ ekārāṃ upariviśālāṃ adhaḥsūkṣmāṃ vicintya.* For its correlation with the female sex organ, see GSS1–2 (K28ov1–2): *dharmodayeti vikhyātaṃ yoṣitāṃ bhagam ity api;* also cited *Vasantatilakā* ch. 9, v. 2, p. 71. A corrupt passage in the SUT ch. 2, v. 25ab: *dharmodayayonidvārāṇām abhimukhaṃ bhavati niścitam* is translated by Tsuda: "It is certain that it (the seed) faces the aperture of the *yoni*, that is, 'the origin of dharmas.'" Sanderson (1999: personal communication) suggests that the sense is of rebirth: "It is certain that [the being to be reborn] approaches the exit from *(dvāra-)* the vagina that is the source of existents *(dharmodayayoniḥ)*." Similar instances are

cited in the *Bauddhatantrakośa* (p. 20) e.g., *Vimalaprabhā* (p. 39): *e rahasye khadhātau vā bhage dharmodaye 'mbuje.*

331 Sanderson (1999: personal communication) points out that the *dharmodayā* is already present in the root text of the Caryātantra, the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhitantra*, as depicted in the 122-deity maṇḍala based on the scripture in the Ngor maṇḍalas of Tibet (1989; plate 20, also in color at the end). Here it has its scriptural form, downward pointing, with the vajra at its center. This tantra was translated into Chinese (T 848) in 725 C.E.; on the Far Eastern version, see Stein (1974–75: 481–88)

332 GST 1.1, HT1.1.1: *evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye bhagavān sarvathatāgatakāyavākcittahṛdayavajrayoṣidbhageṣu vijahāra.*

333 For the *dharmodayā* as Sukhāvatī, see HT2.2.38ab: *vihare 'haṃ sukhāvatyāṃ; sadvajrayoṣito bhage;* HT2.2.41a: *yoṣidbhage sukhāvatyām;* HT2.4.30c–31b: *strikakkolasukhāvatyāṃ evaṃkārasvarūpake / sukhasya rakṣaṇād eva sukhāvatīti śabditam.* The YRM (p. 139) states unambiguously: *amitābhasya tathāgatasya buddhakṣetraṃ sukhāvatīty ucyate. iha tu nairātmyādināṃ bhagāni sukhāvatīsaṃkṣepāṇi, niruttarasukhasya rakṣaṇāt.* Hence the *dharmodayā* is frequently described in terms of "self-perceived (*svasaṃvedyam*, known-in-itself) great bliss" (HT1.8.46b: *svasaṃvedyaṃ mahat sukham*) and as wisdom and means, viz. buddhahood, HT1.8.49ab: *dharmodayodbhavaṃ jñānaṃ khasamaṃ sopāyanvitaṃ.* On Sukhāvatī as a "generalized religious goal," see Schopen 1977.

334 GSS42 (K125v5): *evaṃkārasamāsine sahajānandarūpiṇi | prajñājñāne ca dehasthe namas te vajrayogini | 1 • prajñājñāne ca dehasthe*] em.; *prajñājñānadehastho* K; *prajñājñāne ca dehāgre* C. Cf. GSS17 (K82r5–6): *ekāramadhye vaṃkāraṃ;* and the related sādhana GSS45 (K139v2): *prathamaṃ tāvad evaṃkāramadhye...;* and citations in *Bauddhatantrakośa* (p. 20). Note that in the Hevajra tradition, *evaṃ* designates innate bliss *(sahajānandaḥ)*, the summation of four types of sexual activity that are equated with four tantric initiations. For example, HT2.3.2–4b: "The union *(saṃvaram)* of all the buddhas is grounded in the sound *evaṃ*. Correctly produced through [the four] consecration[s], *evaṃ* is great bliss....the syllable *e*, which is divine, is adorned with *vaṃ* in the center." *saṃvaraṃ sarvabuddhānām evaṃ-kāre pratiṣṭhitaṃ* [cf. SUT ch. 3, v. 17] | *abhiṣekāj jñāyate samyag evaṃ-kāraṃ mahat sukhaṃ | 2...e-kārākṛti yad divyaṃ madhye vaṃkārabhūṣitaṃ.* Ratnarakṣita's *Pañjikā* on the SUT also explains *evaṃ* with reference to the fourth *abhiṣeka* (Tsuda 1974: 246 n. 2); Kāṇha's commentary upon the HT (YRM pp. 103–4) identifies *e* as vagina *(bhagaḥ)*, and *vaṃ* as penis *(kuliśaḥ)*. In one Tibetan exegetical tradition, mKhas grub rje (pp. 333–36) describes three types of *evaṃ* stating that the inseparability of bliss *(vaṃ)* and void *(e)* is the principal subject matter of the highest tantras.

335 Introduction to Adhikāra IV, *Nāmamantrārthāvalokini* by Vilāsavajra (Tribe 1994): *saṃvaragrahaṇapūrvakaṃ bodhicittam utpādya pañcākārābhisaṃbodhiṃ bhāvayed anena krameṇa.* See Tribe 1997: 122.

336 See Kāṇha commenting on HT1.8.4b–8b in YRM (p. 115): *yogaśarīraṃ punar atra pañcākārābhisaṃbodhiḥ;* and Vajragarbha's *Hevajrapañjikā* ed. Sanderson

1994, n. 57 (ff. 47v–48r): *ādarśasamatājñānapratyavekṣaṇakaṃ kramāt / teṣām aikyam anuṣṭhānaṃ bimbaniṣpattihetuḥ / dharmadhātur idaṃ proktaṃ pañcamaṃ jñānam uttamam / pañcākārābhisaṃbuddhaṃ hevajraṃ dvibhujaṃ bhāvayet.*

337 The *vajracatuṣka* comprise: (1) awareness of emptiness *(śūnyatābodhiḥ),* (2) producing the seed-syllable *(bījasaṃgrahaḥ),* (3) concentrating the seed *(bījaniṣpattiḥ),* 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. 131[3], K1915): *tasya nābhau aṣṭalokadharmatām upalakṣayed viśuddhyā raktapaṃkārajāṣṭadalakamalakarṇikāyām avidyāndhakāravidhamanaviśuddhyā sūryamaṇḍale dviguṇāliparipatādarśajñānasvabhāvacandraḍaḍhadhayalopetadviguṇakāliparipatasamatājñānasvabhāvasūryayor melāpakamahāsukhaṃ saṃputamadhye raktavaṃkārajavajramuṣṭyantargatabhānustha<vaṃ?>bījaṃ pratyavekṣaṇāsvabhāvaṃ tannirmitaraśminā spharitvā daśadikṣu bhagavatyākāreṇa sattvārthaṃ kṛtvā punas tatraiva saṃharaṇaṃ kṛtyānuṣṭhāna<m>. etat sarva<ṃ> pariṇāmeṇātmānaṃ bhagavatīṃ vajravārāhiṃ suviśuddhajñānasvabhāvāṃ ... bhāvayet.* • *upalakṣayed*] N; *upaleyad* K.

339 Note that in contrast to the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana* (which directs the yogin to visualize the red lotus inside the *dharmodayā*), the *Abhisamayamañjarī* prescribes the visualization of the red lotus within the temple palace. The temple palace itself has already been generated within the *dharmodayā.*

340 See HT1.8.4cff (v. 6): *sthitāliś candrarūpeṇa kālirūpeṇa bhāskaraḥ;* cf. *Saṃputodbhavatantra* 3.3.5ff. In the GSS, see GSS12 (K7113): *tanmadhye paṃkāraparipataṃ viśvapadmam. tasyopari hūṃkāraparipataṃ viśvavajram. tadvaraṭake*

ālikāliyogam...; GSS7 (K4014): *tadantar ālikāliḥ syād madhye vaṃkārabhūṣitam;* GSS16 (K7715–6): *madhye...ālipariṇāmena candramaṇḍalam. kālipariṇāmena sūryamaṇḍalam. hāṃvaṃpariṇāmena mukulitavajram;* GSS33 (K1071–2): *ātmānam adhimucyāśu kuryāt sahajasādhanam | vajropamasamādhinā kālyālisampuṭaṃ kuru.* Other sādhana texts contain lengthy descriptions of the process; e.g., SM67 (p. 139), the sādhana of Cakrasaṃvara translated by Beyer (1978: 112), and Sanderson (1994, n. 57) cites Tathāgatarakṣita's *Yoginīsaṃcāranibandha,* where only the moon disk appears (NAK ms. No. 5–22/vi *Saṃcāratantrapañjikā* 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): *dvātriṃsallakṣaṇāśītyanuvyañjanātmakaṃ prabhuṃ ...*; cf. SM95 (p. 190), etc.

341 For the revolving vowels and consonants, see the sādhana of Cakrasaṃvara (Dawa Samdup 1919: 88) and ADUT 6.3 cited Sanderson *op.cit.* (NVMP Reel no. E 695/3): *tanmadhye ālikālidviguṇīkṛtvānulomaviloma<ṃ> hūṃkārotthitaṃ vā vajrasattvayogena suratasukhodbhūtaśriherukātmānaṃ bhāvayet.* • *hūṃkārotthitaṃ*] conj. Sanderson; *hūṃrādhitam* 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 ennumeration 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 yoginīs that emanate and retract [into that seed through the agency of rays] *(parārthasukham).* Sanderson *(ibid.)* notes that Ratnākaraśānti's account is unusual in that the moon disk is followed directly by the sun disk and that the seed syllable is placed upon that. In contrast, Kāṇha uses the sequence described here, which becomes standard in the yoginītantra sādhanas, e.g., commenting on HT1.8.4cd–5ab YRM (p. 124): *dvayor iti prajñopāyasvabhāvayoś candrasūryayoḥ, tanmadhye mahāsukhasvabhāvaṃ bījam uktam* • *svabhāvayoś*] em. Sanderson; *svabhāvaṃ ca* Snellgrove.

344 For descriptions of the seed/emblem, see GSS3 (K12v2–3): *tadvaraṭake ālikālipariṇatacandrasūryasampuṭamadhye raktavajrāntargataṃ raktavaṃkāraṃ prakṛtiprabhāsvaraṃ paśyet;* GSS12 (K7113): *tanmadhye paṃkāraparipariṇataṃ viśvapadmam. tasyopari hūṃkāraparipariṇataṃ viśvavajram. tadvaraṭake ālikāliyogam. tanmadhye vaṃkāraṃ tatparipariṇatā bhagavatī vajravārāhī raktavarṇā;* GSS38 (K122v1–2): *sitahrīḥkārajapañcaśūkavajreṇa nispannāṃ vajravārāhīṃ* • *hrīḥ*] Kpc; *(hūṃ)hrīḥ* K(del).

345 Cf. SM6 (p. 26): *tato niścarad anekaraśmiśatasahasraṃ dhyātvā tena sarvasattvānām aśeṣānādikālasaṃcitaṃ rāgādikleśasamūhaṃ sattvānāṃ viśodhyante;* SM66 (p. 133): *punaś ca guhyaṃ paramaṃ pavitraṃ / bījākṣaraṃ prakṣaradaniśujālam / bandhūkapuṣpadyutasannikāśaṃ / vācāṃ prapañcaprasaraikahetuṃ...;*

SM67 (p. 140): *tato bījākṣarān niḥsṛtya raśmibhir pañcagatikasattvān āmantrayet....āmantritaṣaḍgatikasattvān bījākṣare praveśya....* The "expansion and contraction" of rays is a common term, e.g., SM56 (pp. 116, 118): *spharaṇasaṃharaṇākārena;* SM58 (p. 122): *sphuraṇasaṃharaṇaṃ ca dhyāyāt.*

346 SUT (ed. Tsuda 1974), *Utpattinirdeśapaṭala* (ch. 2, vv. 12c.–20): *sāmagrīṃ na labhate tāvat saptāham antarābhave tiṣṭhati / 12bc / kathaṃcit karmasūtreṇa ṣaḍgatiṣ ca prajāyate / 13 / mātṛpitrādisaṃyogā ikṣayed bhavajanminaḥ / atinirbharam ānandaṃ mukhamārge praveṣyate / 14 / aśvārohaṇavaj jñānaṃ vāyuvāhanarūḍhavat / śighrataraṃ samāgatya muhūrtakṣaṇamātrakam / 15 / dvāsaptatisahasrañ ca nāḍīḥ saṃcodya tatkṣaṇam / paramānanda saṃprāptam ālikāli dravikṛtam / 16 / śukraśoṇitayor madhye bindurūpeṇa tiṣṭhati / prathamaṃ kalalākāram arbudañ ca dvitiyakam | 17 / tṛtiye peśito jātañ caturthaṃ ghanam eva ca / vāyunā preryamāṇañ ca māṃsākāravad bhavet / 18 / pañcamāsagataṃ bījaṃ pañcasphoṭaḥ prajāyate / keśaromanakhācihnaṃ saptamāsena jāyate / 19 / indriyāṇi ca rūpāṇi vyajyante cāṣṭamāsataḥ / saṃpūrṇaṃ navamāsena cetanā 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 *Bhramaharanāma Hevajrasādhana* (Isaacson 1997: 5): *tasyānandina āsyena dvihoḥkāravidarbhitam / 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 *Yoginīsaṃcāranibandha:* "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. 411):...*nairmāṇikam iti jagadarthaṃ prati spharaṇasaṃharaṇātmakaṃ devatādeham nirmāṇakāyasvabhāvaṃ jñātveti śeṣaḥ...ata eva dharmasaṃbhogadvāreṇa kūṭāgārasthitadevatābhiḥ 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" (*Āmnāyamañjarī* cited Beyer 1978: 126). On the conventionality of the *saṃbhoga* form generated in the meditation, Abhayākaragupta's commentary to the *Buddhakapālatantra*

states, "But in this [system] the Emanation-Body is taught with the form of Heruka etc. constructed thus and thus out of consideration for [the needs of] those to be trained, by means of the Dharmakāya. But the Emanation-Body, the 'constructed-Buddha' that is taught in the Pāramitānaya, is [taught] here too, and it is similar because it is constructed. Even if it is the case that the Enjoyment-Body is constructed from the Dharmakāya, in the Pāramitānaya [the Enjoyment-Body] is ordinary/conventional simply *(eva)* because it enjoys the Dharma" (cited Sanderson *op. cit.*). *Abhayapaddhati* (f. 6r2): *iha tv asau dharmakāyavaśena vineyānurodhato herukādirūpeṇa tathātathānirmitena nirmāṇakāya ucyate. yas tu nirmitabuddho nirmāṇakāyaḥ pāramitānaye kathyate so 'trāpi tadvad eva nirmitatvāc ca. saty api dharmakāyanirmitatve saṃbhogakāyasya pāramitānaye pṛthaktvaṃ dharmasambhogād eva.* • *nirmitatvāc*] em. Sanderson; *nirmitavāc* ms. Cf. YRM (on HT1.1.5): *nirmāṇakāyaḥ samayasattvaśabdenābhidhiyate.*

349 The reflexive pronoun is usually supplied, e.g., GSS34 (K112v3): *mahādeviṃ ātmānam adhimuñcayet.*

350 SM25 (p. 62): *etadanantaraṃ pratibhāsamātrakaṃ svakāyam avalokya.*

351 Cakrasaṃvara is described, for example, in SUT ch. 13, vv. 22c–24, and NYĀ, *Saṃvaramaṇḍala* p. 26.

352 Nāropa's connection with Vajravārāhī/Vajrayoginī is described in his Tibetan life story (Guenther 1963: 24). Rhie and Thurman (1991: 261) refer to three Vajraḍākinī forms, which are said to have been revealed to Indrabhūti, Maitripā, and Nāropa. These three masters are all associated with separate lineages in the Tibetan tantric tradition, according to an anlaysis of nine Śaṃvara schools by Tibetan commentator Ngag dbang rigs 'dzin rnam rgyal rdo rje, namely the three main lineages of Luyīpāda, Ghaṇṭapāda, and Kṛṣṇa/Kānhapa, plus the lesser-known methods of Prabhūtacandra, Kambala, Nāgārjuna, Indrabhūti, Maitripāda, and Trinetra (L. Chandra in Dawa-Samdup 1919: 9).

A sādhana of this form of Vajravārāhī is found in the *Rin 'byung brgya rtsa,* in which she is called "Nāro's Ḍākinī" *(Nā ro mkha' spyod)* (Willson and Brauen 2000: 258). She is depicted twice in the Mongolian icons following this text (IWS/T 77, LC 587 and IWS/T 87, LC 597). The Tibetan sādhana *(ibid.)* differs from our Sanskrit description in the following ways: Nāro-Ḍākinī holds in her right hand either a "knife marked with a vajra, or a *ḍamaru* dangling from a vajra." Her skull staff may be held either "in her left armpit" (as IWS/T 87, LC 597), or "on the shoulder" (as IWS/T 77, LC 587). Her black hair is adorned with "five sorts of *nāga*-tree flowers," and her garland is of dried skulls; she wears only five signs of observance. The mantra given is: *oṃ oṃ oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākiniye, vajravārṇṇaniye, vajravairocaniye, hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā* (*ibid.*: 213).

353 Sanderson (1998: personal communication) suggests that this may refer to the brilliant red of the stigmas of the saffron crocus before they have been removed from the flower and dried.

354 E.g., GSS16 (K80r4): *raktapadmacandrāsanasthāṃ;* GSS20 (K84r5): *vikasita-*

śuklavarṇapadmaṃ bhāvayet. tatropari atiraktavarṇaṃ sūryamaṇḍalaṃ bhāvayet; GSS2 (K1I4): *vāme padmabhājanaṃ sitavarṇam asṛkpūrṇaṃ, etc.*

355 The Śaiva symbolism of the three eyes is as follows: "Spontaneously, I realize [my] three eyes as the three circles [in the earthly sphere of the cakra], whose form is the three luminaries: the sun, the moon and fire" (translation by Khanna 1986 of the *Subhagodayavāsanā* by Śivānanda, v. 11): *somasūryakṛśānvātma tejas tritayarūpam | netratrayaṃ bhāvayāmi vṛttatātritayam añjasā.*

356 E.g., GSS5 (Sed p. 131[15], K19v6): *mithyādṛṣṭiprahāṇād vikṛtaikānanāṃ caturmāravināśanād daṃṣṭrotkaṭabhīṣaṇāṃ;* GSS17 (K82v2): *daṃṣṭrākarālavadanāṃ;* the goddess is also described as only "slightly fanged" GSS16 (K80r5): *īṣaddaṃṣṭrākarālinīṃ;* GSS4 (K13v3): *daṃṣṭrākarālavadanāṃ trinetrāṃ vikṛtānanāṃ;* GSS45 (K139v4): *caladvartulatrinetrāṃ bhrūbhaṅgabhṛkuṭinī<ṃ>; see* GSS17 (K82v2): *raktavartulacalatpracaṇḍanayanāṃ...atibhīmarūpāṃ;* GSS19 (K83v4): *ugrā<ṃ>...caladvartularaktatrinetrāṃ;* although also with a lustful or compassionate expression, GSS7 (K40r5): *trinetrā ca madanotkaṭā;* GSS5 (Sed p. 131[16], K19v6): *kāyavākcittaviśuddhakṛpāraktanetratrayāṃ.* For Saṃvara, see SUT ch. 13, v. 21a: *vikṛtānanaṃ;* NYĀ p. 26: *-daṃṣṭravaktro,* etc.

357 Buddhist tantric sources follow Śaiva conventions, which specify a stage-left and stage-right procedure for describing a deity, thus: "In this description, when we say 'left' [from the point of view of the deity] we mean 'right' [from the point of view of the observer] and 'right' means 'left' [in the same way]." *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* (6.19cd–28): *vāmaṃ dakṣiṇam evātra dakṣiṇaṃ cottaraṃ smṛtam.* ed. Törzsök 1999.

358 See p. 72. This distinction seems to have been blurred by the traditions transmitted into Tibet (and subsequently by secondary sources). In the Textual Note to the corruption in verse 20, it is noted that, according to the Tibetan translation, the goddess holds a "chopper shaped like a leaf." The Tibetan sādhana of Nāro-Ḍākinī (Willson and Brauen 2000: 258) notes that she holds in her right hand either a "knife marked with a vajra, or a ḍamaru dangling from a vajra."

359 GSS5 (Sed p. 131[9–12], K19v2): *vajravārāhīṃ...samarasībhūtapañcajñānaviśuddhyāruṇavajradharāṃ;* SM218 (p. 428):...*aruṇapañcasūcikavajraṃ dhyātvā.* In contrast, Lūyīpāda prescribes a vajra with a single point (GSS2 K1I4): *dakṣiṇe ekaśūkavajram.* In sādhanas of the tantric goddess Mārīcī, both types of vajra are prescribed, illustrating that they are classed as different attributes, e.g., SM138 *(vajram);* SM143 *(ekasūcivajram);* SM134 (both vajra and *sūcī*); SM140 (both *viśvavajram* and *ekasūcivajram*). Snodgrass (1985: 175 fig. 106) shows examples of vajras with one, two, three, four, five, and nine prongs, and discusses the vajra as a multivalent symbol, (*ibid.:* 174). Beer (1999: 232–43, with plates 108–12) illustrates iconographical differences and discusses their symbolism. References to the threatening gesture abound, e.g., SUT ch. 13 (v. 24a): *dakṣiṇe tarjanīvajraṃ.* In the GSS, see; GSS3 (K12v): *vajravārāhīṃ...dvibhujāṃ dakṣiṇena vajratarjanikākarāṃ • karāṃ*] em., *karaṃ* K; GSS5 (K19v2): *bhagavatīṃ vajravārāhīṃ...satyadvayaviśuddhyā bhujadvayāṃ dakṣiṇena*

prasṛtordhvatarjanikayā duṣṭatarjanikayā duṣṭatarjanapareṇa samarasībhūta-pañcajñānaviśuddhyāruṇavajradharāṃ. • *bhujadvayāṃ*] codd. (understand *bāhuvrīhi*); GSS6 (K39v6): *vajrollālanatarjanyā<ṃ>*; SM218 (p. 428): *vila-sattripatākojjvalasavyakarapallavasthitapūrvokta[=aruṇapañcasūcikavajra]vajreṇa ajñānapuruṣasya bhayānuvidhāyinīṃ.*

360 E.g., GSS35 (K11911): *vāmakarakalitordhvanabhastalavilasatkapālaviniviṣṭadṛṣṭiṃ.*

361 NYĀ (p. 26.9): *vajravārāhī tu...āliṅganakaradhṛtakapālagalitarajodhārayā prabhuṃ pāyayantī prasṛtordhvabhujatarjanaikavajreṇa duṣṭān saṃtarjayantī....* 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 Vikramaśila (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 *māra*s (namely, Kleśamāra, Skandhamāra, Mṛtyumāra, and Devaputramāra), see GSS12 (K7115): *vāmabhuje ca kapālaṃ duṣṭamārā-dyasṛkpūrṇadharā;* SUT ch. 13, v. 24c: *duṣṭamārādyasṛgdharā;* SM218 (p. 428): *caturmārāsṛgāpūrṇapadmabhājanam.* SM236 (p. 457): *vāme kapālaṃ devāsura-rudhirapūritam.* HT1.8.20cd: *raktaṃ ca caturmārāṇāṃ pīyate siddhihetave.* The reference to the blood in GSS5 (Sed p. 131, K19v5) is in the note below. While skull bowls generally hold blood or the nectars, another maṇḍala described by Abhayākaragupta (NYĀ p. 15 *Saptadaśātmakahevajramaṇḍala*) ascribes each attendant goddess a skull bowl containing animate creatures ranging from a turtle swimming in the blood *(sakūrmaraktapūrṇakapāla)* to a monk *(saśuklakapālasthabhikṣu).* 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 *kāpālika Picumata* (ch. 4). Various types of skull bowl are depicted by Beer (1999: 265, plate 119).

363 GSS5 (Sed p. 131[12], K19v4): *vajravārāhīṃ...vāmenādha-ekaśūkordhvakṛṣṇapañca-śūkasitadaṇḍānugataśuṣkasārdraśiroviśvavajrakanakakalaśamūlavinirgataraṇatsū-kṣmaghaṇṭikānvitaviśvapatākāvirājitopāyasvabhāvabāhudaṇḍāsaktakhaṭvāṅga<ṃ> mahāsukhamahākaruṇārasasamayāsṛkpūrṇakapālaṃ ca bibhratīm* • °*sārdra*] SM218 (p. 428).; *sārdraṃ* K • *kanaka*] Kpc 2, Kac om. Translation based on Sanderson 1994 n. 64.

364 Cf. Khara Khoto Vajravārāhī (*Sacred Art of Tibet* plate 93), sixteenth- to seventeenth-century tangka of Padmasambhava from western Tibet (*ibid.:* plate 49), brass of "Naro Dākinī" (*ibid.:* plate 114), and the tangka of Padmasambhava (*ibid.:* plate 48). For a version of the *khaṭvāṅga* with just two skulls

(rather than three), see the six attendant goddesses to the Khara Khoto Vajravārāhī (*ibid.:* plate 93). A staff with only one human head is held by Raktayāmāri (*ibid.:* plate 107). Beer (1999: 253–58, with plates 115–16) discusses and illustrates the variations.

365 ŚP 459.7–460.1 (translated by Sanderson 1994: n. 64): "Next the skull staff. [There are two kinds.] The first is as follows. Its upper end is adorned with a *samayavajra.* Below that it is decorated with three dry heads [i.e., skulls: *śuṣkamuṇḍatraya*]. It has a *viśvavajra* at its middle, and part of [i.e., half] a single-pronged vajra at its base. [The other kind] has two heads at the top of its staff, one dessicated and the other fresh. Above them is a *samayavajra.* In its center is a vase adorned with mango leaves and the like. Above its mouth is a *viśvavajra* with five streamers attached to it. In both kinds the staff is thick[er] at the top and narrow[er] at the bottom. It is adorned with tiny bells and the like. The heads etc. are to be depicted in whatever manner is beautiful."

366 E.g., YSCT ch. 15, v. 7 (p. 134): *khaṭvāṅgaṃ devatāmūrtiḥ prajñā ḍamarukalpitam / khaṇḍakapālādayaḥ sarve śarīradhātukalpitam.* Cf. K. Gyatso 1999: 126.

367 E.g., GSS2 (K1114–5): *ālikālimuṇḍamālāmudritāṃ;* and GSS5 (Sed p. 132[4], K2012–3): *ālikālipañcāśadakṣarasvabhāvāṃ grathitasārdranaraśiromālinīṃ.* For the dripping garland on Heruka forms, see SUT ch. 13, v. 21d: *śatārdhanaraśiravibhūṣitam;* YRM on HT2.5.9a (p. 152): *muṇḍeti sārdramuṇḍamālā,* the Mahāmaya sādhanas (SM240, SM242, SM244), etc. For the same on the lone Vajravārāhī goddess, see GSS12 (K7115): *śatārdhanaraśiromālāpralambitā;* GSS3≈GSS31 (K1205): *sārdramuṇḍamālālaṃkṛtagātrām.* On twelve-armed Mārīcī, the dried skulls of the chaplet are distinguished from the dripping heads of the garland, SM139 (p. 185): *śuṣkapañcamuṇḍamālāmaulikāṃ vigalanmuṇḍamālāpralambitakandharāṃ.*

368 E.g., NYĀ (p. 26): *nīraktatvena śuṣkanaraśiromālinī* (see *Sacred Art of Tibet* plates 68, 69, 70). This is not a rule since Nairātmā, consort to Hevajra, also wears the bloody garland of heads (NYĀ p. 20). Alternatively, the lone goddess is commonly depicted wearing only a garland of skulls (e.g., *Sacred Art of Tibet* plate 114).

369 For the former, see the Mahākāla Brahmaṇarūpa 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 (K4212): *nūpurair mekhalābhiś ca keyūrair vajralāñchitaiḥ;* SM245 (p. 475): *narāsthikuṇḍalinaṃ.*

371 E.g., *Cakrasaṃvarapañjikā* (f. 6v): *avayave kṛtaṃ liṅgaṃ sā mudrā.* Cf. the *Caryāvratadānavidhi* cited by Sanderson (1994 n. 69), and mentioned n. 381.

372 GSS5 (Sed p. 131[18], K2011, N11v, D1312): *cakrikuṇḍalakaṇṭhīrucakakhaṇḍāṅkamekhalākhyapañcamudrādharāṃ. – kaṇṭhikārucakakuṇḍalāni śiromaṇivibhūṣitām | yajñopavītaṃ bhasmeti mudrāṣaṭkaṃ prakīrtitam – iti. maṇḍalanāyikātvena ṣaṇmudritām ity eke.* • *kaṇṭhī*] K; *kaṇṭhi* N, D • *khaṇḍāṅka*] K, N, Dpc; *kha(dvāṅga)* D(mg) • *mekhalākhya*] em.; *mekhalākhyāḥ* codd. • *kaṇṭhikā*→

vibhūṣitām] codd.; Understand *"kaṇṭhikārucakakuṇḍalaśiromaṇivibhūṣitām"* (the text is corrupt and unmetrical; but the sense is clear). • *yajñopavītam*] D; *yajñopāvītinaṃ* K, N • *°ṣaṭkaṃ*] K, N; *ṣaḍkaṃ* D • *ṣaṇmudritām*] corr.; *ṣaḍmudritām* K, N; *ṣaṇmudrītām* 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 *Cakrasaṃvaratantrapañjikā* (f. 18v): *pañca mudrā<ḥ> rucakaśiromaṇikuṇḍalakaṇṭhikāyajñopavītāḥ;* Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara in NYĀ (p. 54): *pañcabuddharatnakirīṭī;* and Vajrasattva/Mañjuvajra in NYĀ (p. 2); and SM250, which equates the six mudrās with the six perfections (p. 489): *kaṇṭhikā rucakaṃ ratna<ṃ> kuṇḍalaṃ bhasma sūtraka / ṣaḍ vai pāramitā etā mudrārūpeṇa yojitāḥ.*

374 This is described in the *Caryāvratadānavidhi* from the *Kriyāsamuccaya* (cited Sanderson 1994: n. 69), in which the ornaments are said to symbolize Akṣobhya (chaplet), Amitābha (earrings), Ratnasaṃbhava (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 kuṇḍalātmakaḥ | ratneśaḥ kaṇṭhamālāyāṃ haste vairocanaḥ smṛtaḥ | mekhalāyāṃ sthito 'moghaḥ;* HT1.8.17: *cakrī kuṇḍala kaṇṭhī ca haste rūcaka mekhalā / pañcabuddhaviśuddhyā ca pañcaite śuddhamudrakāḥ;* HT1.4.14cd; HT2.6.4cd; HT2.9.12c. Also, sādhana of Dvibhuja Heruka SM245 (p. 475): *śirasy akṣobhyātmakanaraśiroghaṭitacakrīdharaṃ karṇe amitābhātmakanarāsthikuṇḍalinaṃ kaṇṭhe ratnasambhavātmakakaṇṭhikāyuktaṃ haste vairocanātmakarucakadharaṃ kaṭyām amoghasiddhyātmakamekhalāyuktaṃ.*

375 ADUT ch. 14 (p. 322): *evaṃ vicintya ātmānam ākṣepamantrarakṣitaṃ brahmacaryaṃ sadā bhuñjet.* This is tabulated by Kalff (1979: 203).

376 See Saṃvara described in the NYĀ, "Having a wreath of five skulls above his forehead, a 'counterclockwise' headdress *(mukuṭaḥ)* of black matted locks surmounted by a double vajra and half-moon." (p. 26): *lalāṭordhvapañcakapālamālī vāmāvarttitārdhacandraviśvavajrākrāntakṛṣṇajaṭāmukuṭaḥ.* Vajrasattva/Vajradhara in the *Śrīsamputatantroktavajrasattvamaṇḍala* has black twisted locks *(jaṭājūṭa)* beneath a double vajra with a jewel in it *(viviṣṭa),* and above his forehead is the headdress *(mukuṭa)* of the five buddhas and a half-moon, which are wound round counterclockwise, perhaps forming a kind of turban (*ibid.*: p. 8): *kṛṣṇajaṭājūṭo niviṣṭamaṇiviśvakuliśād adho vāmavalayitārdhasudhāṃśupañcabuddhamukuṭalalāṭopari pañcakaroṭakacakrīkuṇḍalakaṇṭhirucakamekhalābhasmavibhūṣitas...*; Navātmakaheruka (*ibid.*: p. 20): *lalāṭopari niḥstabdhitapañcamuṇḍamaṇḍitaḥ pañcabuddhamukuṭī;* SUT ch. 13, v. 20: *kapālamālālaṃkṛtaśekharam ardhacandravibhūṣitam / viśvavajrāṅkitaṃ mūrdhni kulādhipatimastakam.*

377 Cf. GSS5 (Sed p. 132[9], K20r6): *vajrāvalīdvayamadhyīkṛtapañcatathāgatātmakakapālamālābaddhatriśikhāṃ, viśvānugrāhakatvena viśvavajrākrāntamaulīṃ;* GSS6 (K39r6): *kapālamālāmukuṭāṃ;* GSS7 (K40v2): *lalāṭe vajramālāsyāḥ /*

kapālamālāmukuṭyaḥ pañcamudrāvibhūṣitāḥ; GSS16 (K77v3): *pañcabuddhamukuṭinīṃ.* E.g., GSS35 (K118v6–119r): *vairocanamukuṭini.*

378 For Vajravārāhī's loose hair, see GSS6 (K39r6: *keśavicchūritā*), commonly expressed *muktakuntalakalāpā-*. This is a classical motif, and many *kāvya* poets describe the longing the absent husband feels for the moment when he may untie the bands (e.g., Kṣemendra *Kalāvilāsa* ch. 7.3: *muktakeśakakalāpāḥ*).

379 The tied-up locks form a "crown" *(mukuṭaḥ/m),* which Monier-Williams (1899) states may be crescent shaped at the top, pointed *(kiriṭam, śikhā),* or three-pointed *(mauliḥ, triśūlajaṭā);* e.g., ten-armed Māricī in SM132 (p. 274): *nānāratnaviracitatriśikhālaṃkṛtajaṭāmukuṭīṃ.* The hair clasp, perhaps originally a piece of bone, appears in sādhana visualizations in various ways, including a double vajra, a half-crescent moon (famously, the attribute of Śiva), and a head jewel, e.g., GSS4 (K13v2–3): *muktakeśā<ṃ>...viśvavajradharāṃ mūrdhni vajrakapālamālāśobhitāṃ;* GSS7 (K40r6): *viśvavajrāṅkacandrāṅkā kapālamukuṭotkaṭā;* HT2.5.9c: *viśvavajradharaṃ mūrdhni.* An elaborate clasp contained within an open lotus is illustrated in *Sacred Art of Tibet* plate 102.

380 E.g., *Muktāvalī* on HT1.6.11d (f. 17r): *hasta iti prakoṣṭhagata<ṃ> rucakam.*

381 GSS37 (K121v4): *hārārdhahārakiṅkiṇījālakhaṇḍamaṇḍitamekhalāmālādiṣaṇmudropetāṃ.* • *kiṅkiṇī*] em.; *kiṅkiṇiṃ* K; cf. GSS5 (Sed p. 132[20], K20v6): *mekhalāsarāvaghughurādivibhūṣitā;* cf. SUT ch. 13, v. 22d. Exegetical works distinguish different types of girdle, depending upon the number of loops they contain. See the *Caryāvratadānavidhi* in the *Kriyāsamuccaya* (cited Sanderson 1994: n. 69), which describes the male's girdle of eight loops, the female's of sixteen, and the special *rasanā* girdle.

382 Sexual intercourse is prohibited at the time of menstruation (Manu 4.40–42), but the goddess in her aroused state is also described as "streaming," e.g., GSS3–GSS31 (K12v5–6): *sravadrudhiraṃ;* GSS5 (Sed p. 132[8], K20r5): *rajoyogāt sravantīṃ;* GSS12 (K71r6): *kalpāgnivan mahātejā sravanti rudhirapriyā;* GSS16 (K80r6): *sravantī<ṃ> rudhirapriyām;* SUT ch. 13 (v. 23d): *sravanti rudhirapriyā.* For the goddess menstruating while in embrace with Cakrasaṃvara, see NYĀ (p. 26): *rajaḥsvalā.* In contrast, Tsuda (1974: 284 n. 3) notes that the ADUT suggests "dribbling blood from the mouth, and fond of blood" ch. 7: *khrag la dgyes shing zhal nas 'dzag* (vol. 2, 48-5-7) and ch. 9: *zhal khrag 'dzag cing khrag la dga' ba* (vol. 2, 50-2-7). A graphic tangka in the Rossi collection shows the goddess as she "straddles a sea of blood fed from distant mountain streams and into which flows her own menses. The sea of blood is agitated, carrying corpses and a skeleton, and is about to inundate even the mountain tops. Carried by golden rays emerging from her vulva are spiders, scorpions, other insects and birds, as if to suggest that she is the source of all of creation." (From: http://www.asianart.com/rossi/gallery3/4.html: Dakini (sic). Tibet. 18th century.)

383 Reference to the "sentiment of passion" *(śṛṅgārarasaḥ)* is commonplace in descriptions of yoginītantra deities, cf. Hālāhala-Lokeśvara in SM27 (p. 65): *śṛṅgārarasasundara,* and tantric forms of Mañjuśrī, e.g., SM59, SM60 (p. 124): *mahāśṛṅgāramūrti,* SM61, SM62, SM63 (p. 128): *mahārāgaśṛṅgārarasojjvalaṃ.*

Heruka forms are often ascribed all the *rasa*s, e.g., ADUT ch. 9 where Heruka's faces have different sentiments according to their color (p. 284): *raudrahāsyaśṛṅgāravīrabhībhatsalelihānanaṃ,* and Hevajra in *Bhramaharanāma Hevajrasādhana* (p. 7): *śṛṅgāravīrabībhatsaraudrahāsyabhayānakaiḥ karuṇādbhutaśāntaiś ca navanāṭyarasair yutam.*

384 See GSS5 (Sed p. 131[10], K19v2–3): *mahārāgaviśuddhyā dāḍimīkusumasaṃkāśāṃ;* GSS10 (K47r3): *nijalāvaṇyabhūṣitām;* GSS23 (K88v1): *sārdrasusnigdharūpāṃ...īṣaddhasantīṃ romāñcakañcukitāṃ;* GSS16 describes her retinue in a similar fashion (K78r3): *digvāsā muktakeśā<ḥ> pīnastanoruyugalā divyarūpā manoramā<ḥ> kiñcidvikṛtānanā<ḥ> kaṭākṣekṣaṇacañcalā<ḥ>;* cf. NYĀ (p. 26): *rajaḥsvalā romāñcakañcukitā;* HT2.5.7cd *mahārāgānurāgeṇa sahajānandasvarūpataḥ | ...ratidvandvasamāpannaṃ nairātmyā saha saṃyutaṃ.* For the goddess in union, see SM251, e.g., (p. 492): *paramānandavihvalā bhāvyā,* etc.

385 GSS5 (Sed p. 132[5], K20r3): *śūnyatālīḍhajagacchūcakatvena vāmapādam ākuñcya dakṣiṇapañcavitastiprasāraṇād ālīḍheṇā • chūcakatvena*] Kpc; *chūkaratvenā* Kac • *pādaṃ*] em.; *pāden* K. The standard measurement of a *vitasti* is twelve finger breadths (*aṅgula*s), thus "five *vitasti*s" is sixty *aṅgula*s; see *Abhayapaddhati* (f. 10v4): *pañcavitastīti ṣaṣṭhyaṅgulam* (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 ityarthaḥ,* or Raghuvaṃśa ch. 3.52.

386 For Cakrasaṃvara's pose, see NYĀ (p. 26): *bhānusthabhairavakālarātryāv ālīḍhacaraṇābhyām ākrāntaḥ.* The place of Bhairava and the Bhairava tantras within Śaivism is discussed on pp. 37–38. Sanderson (1998: personal communication) points out that the Buddhist iconography does not represent Bhairava as a supreme deity, for example, with five faces and with ten or eighteen arms (e.g., Svacchandabhairava in the *Svacchandatantra* 2.88c–94b; Bhairava in *Netratantra* 10.1–6b). The Buddhists' Bhairava is closer in scale to those of the cycle of eight Bhairavas *Śivadīpaśrāddha* (ff. 42r–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): *bhairavaṃ caturbhujam adhohṛdayordhvamukhaṃ bhaṭārikā<ṃ> nirīkṣayantaṃ sthitaṃ kartrikapāladhṛtaprathamabhujadvayaṃ vyāghracarmaparidhānam. aparabhujābhyāṃ ḍamarutriśūladharaṃ trinetraṃ vikarālāsyaṃ nīla<ṃ> piṅgalakeśaṃ sitakapālamuṇḍamaṇḍitam. • kartrikapāladhṛta*] em.; *kartrikapālaṃ dhṛtaṃ* K • *°āsyaṃ*] em.; *āsyāṃ* K.

388 GSS2 (K11r2): *carcikā<ṃ> raktā<ṃ>.* 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* Saṃvara (Pal 1975: plate 64a, b), which vividly depicts a writhing Bhairava and an emaciated Kālarātri/Cāmuṇḍā holding a trident, a vajra chopper, a skull bowl, and another implement (? damaged).

389 GSS35 prescribes the visualization of Brahmā, Indra, Viṣṇu, and Śiva, symbolizing the four Māras (K118v6): *āliḍhacaraṇākrāntacatuḥkleśaviśuddhabrahmendrahariharāṃ*. Cf. HT2.5.8c *caturmārasamākrāntaṃ;* and SM3 (pp. 19–20). For the equation of Maheśvara/Rudra with Māra, see Davidson (1991: 216) and Mayer (1996: 122, 1998). Sometimes, however, Vajravārāhī subdues only a single, unnamed corpse representing ignorance (e.g., plates 1 and 3 and Khara Khoto Vajravārāhi 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, Nārāyaṇa (= Viṣṇu), Sanatkumāra (= Skandha), Brahmā, and Indra, and the deities of intermediate space, space, earth, and hell, all of whom receive new names. The lesser evils (*duṣṭakrodhas*, ḍākinīs, illnesses, hells, and calamities) are converted or thrown into the sea, while for humans, the maṇḍala of victory over the three worlds *(trilokavijayamaṇḍala)* is laid out.

393 Davidson's highly useful article (1991), traces the myth from the eighth-century yogatantra sources, through into fifteenth-century Tibetan materials. He amusingly translates a portion of the STTS and describes the similar account in the eighth-century *Trailokyavijayamahākalparāja* and *Vajraśekharamahāyogatantra.* He then shows how the myth takes a more violent turn in the *Candraguhyamaṇitilakamahātantrarāja* and in the *Guhyagarbhatattvaviniścaya* (= *Guhyagarbhatantra/*Guhyakośatantra*). Another eighth-century text that shares the theme of subjugation is the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālasaṃvara* (discussed by Sanderson 1995). Its pantheon is similar to that in the **Guhyagarbha/Guhyakośa,* and it also represents Heruka subduing the Brahmanical gods and taking their wives as his consorts.

394 Sanskrit originals dealing with the Cakrasaṃvara-based myth are scant. Stein (Annuaire 1973: 468) has noted the existence in the Tibetan canon of translations of (unspecified) Sanskrit commentaries by Indrabhūti, Vajra, and Nāropa, but as yet no study has been made of this material (these are listed with references by Mayer 1996: 118 n. 12). Davidson (1991: n. 14) notes that Nāropa's version of the myth is not cited by other Tibetan exegetes, so that, in Tibet at least, its influence was "less than complete." Versions of the subjugation myth also appear in indigenous Tibetan texts. The Tibetan scholar Bu ston (1292–1361)

deals with it in some length in his commentary to the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* (Kalff 1979: 67ff), admittedly relying on Sanskrit authors, including Bhavabhaṭṭa. A version of the myth *(How Heruka Was Born)* was also written by the late twelfth-century scholar Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1167–1216), a summary of which is given by Davidson (1991: 204). Davidson (ibid.: 209ff.) also discusses two indigenous Tibetan texts that are concerned with the myth from the Lam 'bras tradition.

395 A wry lampoon upon the Buddhist approach—and perhaps an admission of its success—appears in a thirteenth-century Śaiva text, the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* of Jayadratha. Sanderson (1994, 1995) describes how, in this account of the Purāṇic myth, Jayadratha attributes a new ploy to the gods in their battle against the demons. As usual, the demons have attained near-invincibility because of their devotion to Śiva, and so the teacher of the gods, Bṛhaspati, cleverly sets about undermining their adherence to Śaivism, the very source of their power (v. 13.74c–83): "I shall propagate the following system and call it Bauddha [Buddhist]—truthfully enough, since it will be no more than the invention of my intellect *[buddhi]*. In it the famous Buddha will be represented as master over the [Hindu] gods. In his visualizations even our great cause deities, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Īśvara, Sadāśiva, and Bhairava, will be portrayed as his parasol bearers, and the Buddhist idols will be shown standing on the heads of Gaṇapati and other high Śaiva deities. When the demons get to know of these falsely conceived icons, they will undoubtedly fall into the delusion of believing that these deities really are superior to Śiva." Bṛhaspati does not stop here but devises the cunning scheme of culling mantras from Śaiva tantras, and even lifting passages out of Śaiva scriptures with which to "propagate a system of [Buddhist] tantric ritual." He would also attack the demons on the metaphysical front: "My liberation will be a 'voidness' calculated to undermine their faith in their Śaiva rituals...and I shall deny the existence of the Supreme Lord by arguing that there is no self." In this way Bṛhaspati plots the demons' destruction through their conversion to Buddhism. Perhaps an even more direct acknowledgement of the success of the Buddhist methods appears elsewhere in the same text, when the Śaivas respond in kind with the terrible form of Kāli "Destroyer of the Buddhas" *(Sugatasaṃhāriṇi)*, whose ornaments are created from the dismembered parts of Buddhist deities (cited Sanderson 1994 n. 72 from *Jayadrathayāmala, ṣaṭka* 2 21.9–14).

396 The scriptural source for Umāpatideva may be the SUT, which concludes the generation of Saṃvara's thirteenfold maṇḍala in ch. 13 with "two armorings" (referring to Cakrasaṃvara and Vajravārāhi in union) and the subsequent infusion of the knowledge circle, (v. 34): *tataḥ kavacadvayaṃ jñātvā jñānacakram vibhāvayet.* Another scriptural source is the YSCT, which describes the double armoring *(kavacadvaya)* in ch. 7 (as cited in textual note to §6), and the *"cakrākarṣaṇam"* in ch. 8. This is the method that informs Lūyīpāda's HĀ (f. 11v): *tataḥ kavacadvayaṃ kṛtvā jñānacakraṃ vibhāvayet. samayacakre praveśya*), and thus also the *Abhisamayamañjari* GSS5, which oddly preserves the "two"

armorings (Sed p. 134[1], K21v5): *tataḥ kavacadvayaṃ kṛtvā jñānacakravibhāvanam iti lūyipādoktaṃ*. Cf. also ADUT ch. 9 (p. 287).

For this alternative sequence (infusion with knowledge → armoring → consecration), see elsewhere in the ADUT (ch. 14, p. 321: *svahṛdy aṅkuśayogena jñānacakraṃ tu-m-ākarṣayed 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., *Hevajrasekaprakriyā;* SM26 (p. 65: *cakṣurādyadhiṣṭhānaṃ kāyavākcittādhiṣṭhānaṃ kṛtvā abhiṣekaṃ prārthayet*), etc.

397 *"nābhau hṛdi tathā vaktre śiraḥśikhe'stram eva ca."* This appears (with the same eccentric syntax) in the YSCT (A41r.6), HĀ (f. 12r), ADUT ch. 9 (p. 287) and ch. 14 (p. 326); cf. GSS4 (K13v4), SM226 (p. 441): *śiraḥ śikhāstram eva ca;* etc.

Published sources from the dGe lugs tradition describe how the syllables (which stand upright on moon disks) are visualized "between the skin and the flesh" (Dhargyey 1992: 20) or "flat against your body and lie just under the skin but without going into the flesh" (Tharchin 1997: 192–93), or simply, "at the level of" our navel, etc. (K. Gyatso 1999: 144–45). It is the variously colored light rays emitted by the syllables and fanning out through the body (though described in these sources in slightly different ways) that actually create the armor. These Tibetan sources agree that "mouth" is here equivalent to the throat area, in one case (Dhargyey *op. cit.*) acknowledging the discrepancy of the oral tradition: "Now, at the throat (although the text says 'mouth')...." They also agree that the final armoring in/on "all the limbs" refers to the "eight great joints," i.e., shoulders, wrists, hips, and ankles. However, oral instructions in other Tibetan traditions vary considerably in this matter (Sobisch 2001: personal communication).

398 The marginal insertion claims that the five armor goddesses also hold a bell in their left hands; this seems to be an error. GSS5 (Sed p. 134[1], K21v5): *tataḥ kavacadvayaṃ kṛtvā jñānacakravibhāvanam iti lūyipādoktaṃ. kavacaṃ kuryāt. bhrūṃhūṃkhaṃāṃhāṃhaṃkārair āyatanāni saṃśodhya vārāhīyāminimohanisaṃcālinisaṃtrāsinīcaṇḍikānāṃ ṣaṇṇāṃ devināṃ mantraiḥ svasvadevatāvan nairātmyena kavacayet. oṃ vaṃ nābhau. hāṃ yoṃ hṛdi. hrīṃ moṃ vaktre. hreṃ hriṃ mūrdhi. huṃ huṃ śikhāyām. phaṭ phaṭ sarvāṅgeṣv astre. athavā mantradevatayor abhedāt † tattan † manasi niṣpannās teṣu teṣu sthāneṣu <tat>taddevatā eva bhāvyāḥ. tatra vārāhī<ṃ> raktanīlaharitamukhī<ṃ>, vāme kapālakhaṭvāṅgapāśa<dharāṃ> dakṣiṇe aṅkuśabrahmamuṇḍakartribibhrāṇāṃ <draṣṭavyā?>. yāmanīmohanisaṃcālinisaṃtrāsinīcaṇḍikā nīlasitapītaharitadhūmradhūsaravarṇāś caturbhujāḥ sakapālakhaṭvāṅgāś ca vāme ḍamarukartrikā dadhānāḥ, sarvāś ca muktakeśyo nagnās trinetrā ālīḍhāsanasthā draṣṭavyāḥ.*

• *lūyipādoktaṃ kavacaṃ*] em.; *lūyipādoktaḥ kavacaṃ* K; *lūyipādoktarakṣākavacaṃ* Sed p. 134 • *hāṃhaṃ*] em.; *hāṃhāṃ* K • *harita*] em.; *haritā* K • *aṅkuśabrahma=ca vāme*] K(mg). • *bibhrāṇāṃ draṣṭavyā*] conj.; *bibhrāṇāṃ* K •

dhūsara] em.; *dhūśara* K • *sakapālakhaṭvāṅgāś*] *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 ekarasasvabhāvataḥ.* The male syllables are given in the *Vajravārāhīsādhana* 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 yoṃ* (Yāminī) and *hūṃ hūṃ* (Saṃtrāsinī). Both the Tibetan sādhana 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. 134^{1-2}, K21v6) cited above; GSS3 (K13r3): *tataḥ bhrūṃhūṃkhaṃāḥhāhaṃkārair āyatanāni śodhayet. ṣaḍdevatiśuddhair mantrapadair bhagavatīṃ kavacayet;* GSS16 (K80v3): *tata āyatanaṃ viśodhayet. oṃhūṃkhaṃāṃhāṃhaṃ. cakṣuḥśrotraghrāṇajihvākāyamanā<ṃsi> ṣaḍdevatīmantreṇa kavacayet. kāyavākcittapatheṣu oṃ āḥ hūṃ iti sthāpayet* • *tata*] corr.; *tato* K • *ṣaḍdevatī*] corr.; *ṣaṭdevatī* K; SM251 (p. 462): *jñānasattvahṛdbījaṃ dhyātvā loṃ māṃ pāṃ tāṃ khaṃ ityebhiḥ pañca dhātūn adhitiṣṭhet, oṃāḥhrīḥhoḥhuṃhrīḥkāraiḥ skandharūpādikān api, bhrūṃhuṃkhaṃāḥhāṃhaṃkārair āyatanāni śodhayet. tataḥ ṣaḍdevatātmakamantrakavacair ātmānaṃ kavacayet.* • *hāṃhaṃkārair*] em.; *hāṃhaṃākārair* SMed.; cf. SM250, and variants as listed by Sanderson 1994 n. 87 from other texts.

402 Alakakalaśa on the *Yoginīsaṃcāratantraṭīkā* (NAK ms. 3–683 NGMPP Reel no. A1279/2 f. 13v), reference provided by Dr. Isaacson (1998: personal communication). Cf. SUT ch. 13, v. 2cd: *pañcaskandhādyahaṃkāraṃ dvibhujaherukayogavān.*

403 For example, in the chapters of the *Saṃvarodayatantra,* 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 *āyatana*s (ch. 4); yogic correlations with sun and moon (chs. 5–6); purification of the veins (ch. 7); and activity concerning the sites (chs. 8–9). The armoring is also presented as part of the *viśuddhi* of the complete maṇḍala in the ADUT (chs. 9, 14).

404 This is particularly evident in the sādhanas of Vajrāsana (SM3–SM5), in which the visualization of the syllables is embellished with emblems and colors that exactly match those of the maṇḍala circles. SM3 (pp. 20–21, discussed and translated by Sanderson 1994 n. 95) may be summarized as follows:

Endnote table iii. *Armoring in Sādhanamālā no. 3.*

Purification	*Syllable*	*Site*	*Emblem*	*Color*
body	oṃ	head/forehead	wheel	white
speech	āḥ	throat	lotus	red
mind	hūṃ	heart	vajra	black

405 *Tantrārthāvatāra* by Buddhaguhya translated from Tibetan (Toh 2501, 7b ff.) by Lessing and Wayman (1978: pp. 234–35, n. 30). Here (and in another lengthy note on this topic, *ibid.*: p. 162, n. 17) the authors translate *samayasattva* as "symbolic being," which expresses the "conventionality" (*samayaḥ* = convention) of the form. I prefer to translate it "pledge being" (*samayaḥ* = pledge), the form created by the "pledge-holding" initiate *(samayin)*. The samaya is the sādhaka's pledge of postinitiatory observences.

406 This set dates from at least the yogatantras, e.g., *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* (19b; 21b) and STTS ch. 6, cited Snellgrove (1987: 216). For the four syllables in yoginitantra texts, see GSS3–GSS31 (K13r2): *tad anu bhagavatihṛdbījanirgataraśmi<bhi>r jaḥkāreṇa jñānacakram ānīya hūṃkāreṇa samayacakre jale jalam iva praveśya vaṃkāreṇa bandhanaṃ hoḥkāreṇa toṣaṇaṃ kuryāt • tad anu*] em., *tadagra* K • *samayacakre*] conj.; *svasamayacakre* K; GSS5 (Sed p. 134[12], K22r4): *tato hṛnmadhyavartiraktāṣṭadalapadmasthitabhānumaṇḍalopari raktavajravarataṭakāntargataravisthavaṃbījaraśmibhir daśadigvartisarvaviravireśvaripariṇāmarūpaṃ jñānacakraṃ jaḥkāreṇākṛṣya tannirgatavināḍiṣoḍaśadevībhir arghādipuraḥsaraṃ pūjayitvā pheṃkāranāditapāṭhapūrvakaṃ jvālāmudrāṃ baddhvā lalāṭe vāmāvartena bhrāmayet. hūṃkāreṇa samayacakre jale jalam iva praveśya vaṃkāreṇa bandhayitvā hoḥkāreṇa saṃtoṣya oṃ yogaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmā yogaśuddho 'ham iti paṭhet. • hṛnmadhya*] corr.; *hṛtamadhya* K • *ravisthavaṃbījaraśmibhir*] em.; *ravistha biṃbijaraśmir* K • *ṣoḍaśadevībhir*] corr. *ṣoḍaśo devībhir* K • *jvālāmudrāṃ*] em.; *jālāmudrāṃ* K. Cf. *Hevajrasekaprakriyā* (p. 8): *jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ yathākramaṃ gaurīcaurivettālighasmaribhī rajomaṇḍale ākarṣaṇaṃ praveśanaṃ bandhanaṃ toṣaṇaṃ cakṣurādyadhiṣṭhānaṃ kuryāt;* etc. mKhas grub rje (pp. 235–49) discusses the four syllables as the "four seals" and describes the different ways of fusing them according to whether the maṇḍala is generated in front or as a self-generated object (pp. 291–95).

407 The similarity between summoning deities for the *bali* ritual and the summoning of the knowledge being(s) is attested in texts such as the YSCT ch. 7 on armoring (A4r8, B5v3) and ch. 10 on *bali* ritual (A5r2, B6v); HĀ (f. 12r); likewise in the ADUT, e.g., ch. 14 (p. 321), prior to the infusion of knowledge and again (p. 326) for the *bali*. Sometimes the context is ambiguous, as in GSS4, which includes the scriptural verse after the armoring (as if to summon the knowledge deities), but then ends with mantras and the *bali* mantra, indicating the final *balividhi*.

408 For a fairly elaborate worship section at this point, see the Vajrāsana sādhanas, e.g., SM3 (p. 21), which includes offerings, nectar tasting, and *stuti*s; SM4 (p. 23): *tato hṛdbīja<raśmi>samākṛṣṭajñānasattvam arghyapādyādinānāvidhapūjāsantarpaṇastutipraṇāmapūrvakaṃ samayasattvena sahaikīkṛtya);* also the Khasarpaṇa sādhanas, e.g., SM15 (p. 45) in which *jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ* is placed inside a *vandanāmantra;* SM24 prescribes *bāhya* and *guhya* offerings with praise verses and the four syllables with mudrās (p. 60): *bhavantaṃ jñānasattvātmakam arcayet.*

409 For deities in union, gratifying *(toṣaṇam)* may consist of the rays issuing from their lovemaking *(anurāgaṇam);* e.g., ADUT ch. 9 (p. 321): *praveśya baddhvā tu saṃtoṣya anurāgeṇa yogataḥ.* The lovemaking is described more fully elsewhere, and structurally may occur at different points, as in SM251 (p. 493) where it follows the consecration. Cf. SM239 (p. 462); SM248; *Cakrasaṃvarasādhana* in Beyer 1973: 114.

410 This tradition seems to be based in the yogatantra scriptures, e.g., the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* 19b; 21b: *jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ pravartayet. yathāsthāneṣu ākṛṣya praveśya baddhvā vaśikuryāt;* and in generating the Vajradhātu maṇḍala in the STTS ch. 1, vv. 7–8: *jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ.../ tato buddhādayaḥ sarvamahāsattvaḥ samagrataḥ / ākṛṣṭā supraviṣṭāś ca badhvā yāmyanti tadvaśam,* a passage translated by Snellgrove (1987: 216; see also 223). The tradition also appears widely in the yoginītantra strata, e.g in Ratnākaraśānti's *Bhramaharanāma Hevajrasādhana* (p. 10): *jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ ity ebhir yathākramam ākarṣaṇapraveśanabandhanavaśīkaraṇāni kṛtvā samayajñānamaṇḍalayor ekalolībhāvaṃ vibhāvya;* SM110 (p. 230): *oṃ vajrāṅkuśī ākarṣaya jaḥ, oṃ vajrapāśī praveśaya hūṃ, oṃ vajrasphoṭa bandhaya vaṃ, oṃ vajrāveśe vaśikuru hoḥ;* SM226 (p. 441): *jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ vajrāṅkuśādiyogena ākṛṣya praveśya baddhvā vaśan nayet. vaśan*] em.; *vasan* ed. The same "yoga of the vajra hook" is described in the ADUT (ch. 9, p. 287; cf. ch. 14, p. 321). See Snellgrove (1987: 235–40) on "The Power of Coercion."

411 Mañjuśrī-related texts may have been influential to the formation of the notion of a *jñānasattva* because of Mañjuśrī's association with wisdom. Thus, Vilāsavajra's root text refers to the deity Mañjuśrījñānasattva; the text describes itself as the "*Nāmasaṃgīti* of the Knowledge Being Mañjuśrī, who is the knowledge body *(jñānakāya)* of all the Tathāgatas" (Tribe 1997: 115, with n. 31). Although Vilāsavajra shows no acquaintance with a mature *sattva* theory, he was familiar with the term *jñānasattva* (e.g., ch. 4, v. 27; Tribe 1994), and elements of the later theory are also present in his sādhana (Tribe 1997: 116–17).

The appearance of the *samayasattva* and *jñānasattva* in yogatantra texts is worth further study. mKhas grub rje (p. 235) gives little idea of the use of these terms in the yogatantra scriptures, citing only the explanatory tantras, the *Paramādya* and *Vajraśekhara,* rather than the root yogatantra, the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha.* Mention of the *samayasattva* appears in the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* (19b) where it is described in terms that are associated in our texts with the *jñānasattva,* namely, the drawing down of deities into the heart maṇḍala with rays, a process that, however, is said to complete the *samayamaṇḍala.*

The Mañjuśrī sādhanas of the *Sādhanamālā* 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 *Vādirāḍ-Mañjuśrī-sādhana* SM51 (p. 107), which describes itself as following the kriyātantra, the seed-syllable is placed on the heart of the self-generated deity; in the *Vāḍirāḍ-Mañjuśrīsādhana* SM54 (p. 111) accredited to the *Mañjuśrīkalpa*, the self-visualized god is said to have a knowledge body *(jñānadeham)* as a result of a five-colored seed-syllable *muṃ* (an early equivalent of the five awakenings). In the SM56 *Arapacana-Mañjuśrīsādhana* (pp. 117–18) there is still no series of awakenings, but Mañjuśrī arises having "the knowledge essence of all tathāgatas" *(sarvatathāgatajñānasvarūpa)* and with the ego of the pledge being *(samayasattvāhaṃkāravān)*. Then *aṃ* in the heart gives rise to the generation of Arapacana at the heart, with a syllable at his heart also, surrounded by deities with syllables of his mantra at their hearts; rays emitted from the whirling cakra in the heart then destroy ignorance. A similar practice in SM58 (p. 122) specifically mentions the *jñānasattva* (p. 122): *tato nāyakahṛdbijavinirgatāṃśv-ākṛṣṭajñānasattvena sahaikatāṃ ca cakraṃ ca śīghraṃ bhramet.* The *Vajrāṅga-Mañjuśrīsādhana* SM59 (showing more higher tantric influences) again incorporates the *jñānasattva* within a yogic practice (p. 122): *bījebhyaḥ sphārayed raśmīn ucchvāsenātha raśmibhiḥ | niḥśvāsaughair jñānasattvaṃ bijeṣv ākṛṣya saṃharet | viśramya jñānasattvādyabijakasphārasaṃhṛtī | śvāsasya sthiradhiḥ kuryāt nirga-māgamayoḥ kramāt.* In the following sādhanas, the wisdom being is unified with the self-generated Mañjuśrī just as in the Vajrayoginī sādhanas, SM60 (p. 124): *tataḥ jñānasattvenaikīkṛtya oṃ mañjughoṣa hrīḥ jaḥ iti mantraṃ japet;* SM65 (p. 132): *samayasattvābhinnasvarūpaṃ jñānasattvam ānayantīṃ vibhāvayet.*

The letter *A* is widely regarded as the "source" or "essence." In the yogatantras, as Mañjuśrī is born from *A*, the syllable is hailed as *dharmadhātu, mahākṣara*, the "vajra womb of the buddhas," etc. (Tribe 1994 citing *Āryamañjuśrī-nāmasaṃgīti* and its subcommentaries; see Tribe 1997: 123). Cf. the string of qualifications awarded the syallable in the *Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī*, ch. 4 (ed. Tribe 1994; commentary below v. 27): *taddhṛdaye candramaṇḍalaṃ vibhāvya tadupari prajñāpāramitāsvabhāvaṃ sarvajñājñānodayakāraṇaṃ sarvaśrāvakapratyekabuddhānām utpattibhūtaṃ sarvamahābhodhisattvānāṃ puṇyajñānasaṃbhārabhūtaṃ paramārthākṣaraṃ sarvākṣarāṇāṃ kāraṇabhūtaṃ akāram vinyaset.* In yogottara exegesis, the letter *A* appears at the heart of the buddhas in the illustrious company of *oṃ* and *āḥ (Pañcakrama* 1.42: *akāroddeśa-kaṃ jñānaṃ buddhasya hṛdayaṃ bhavet)* and is awarded the etymology from *anutpannatvāt (Pañcakramaṭippaṇi:* ms. F, f. 8a.1, *ibid.:* p. 95*): *akāroddeśakaṃ jñānam ityādy anutpannatvāt sarvadharmāṇām.* Cf. GSS26 (K93r2), HT1.2.1, and HT2.4.41ff.

412 In Candrakīrti's PU, the *samādhisattva* is again an aniconic, mantric entity (ch. 10, p. 92; ch. 11, pp. 98–99, 115). See also GST12 vv. 46–47 (in Wayman 1977: 32). Dr. Isaacson (unpublished 1996b) cites many Samāja exegetes on this subject.

413 Dr. Isaacson *(ibid.)* also notes that the supposedly early *Hevajraprakāśa* by Rāhulagupta has traces of both the twofold division of the 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 *Abhisamayamañjarī,* the deities of the consecration appear at exactly the same moment that the yogin draws down the knowledge circle (Sed p. 134[16], GSS5 K22v1): *jñānacakrākarṣaṇasamakālam eva.* There may be some overlap here with the earlier system, in which the generation of Heruka and his consort (HT1.3) is followed directly by their consecration (HT1.4, *devatābhiṣekapaṭalaḥ)* without a prior summoning of the knowledge deity.

415 HT1.4: *devatābhiṣekapaṭalaṃ.* Cf. Mahāyāna-style sādhanas, such as the *Siṃhanāda-Lokeśvara sādhanas,* e.g., SM25 (p. 63): *tathāgatān sphāryābhiṣiñced ātmānaṃ maulāv amitābhamudranaṃ cintayet.* The attendance of women singing and dancing at a bathing ceremony is, of course, a classical Indian motif, e.g., in the *Kumārasambhava* (ch. 7.10cd), where women bathe Umā with water poured out from golden pots to the accompaniment of musical instruments.

416 E.g., Advayavajra's *Saptākṣarasādhana* SM251 (p. 493). The goddesses also appear as agents in some other Cakrasaṃvara texts, e.g., SM250 (p. 489): *ṣaṭcakravarticakrasthadevīvṛndakarasthitaiḥ | pañcāmṛtadravāpūrṇaiḥ kapālair abhiṣecayet;* ADUT ch. 14 (p. 321): *jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ prayenākṛṣya praveśya baddhvā vaśīkṛtya ca. vīrayoginībhir gaganatalaṃ paripūrṇaṃ dṛṣṭvā jñānāmbunāmṛtakalaśagṛhitahastābhiḥ siñcet.* Cf. ch. 9 (p. 287); also SM36 (pp. 81–82): *nānānirmāṇadhāriṇyo vajrayoginyo 'bhiṣekaṃ prayacchanti;* and SM67 (p. 140), in which the consecration of Siddhaikavīra comprises his bathing by *pūjādevīs* emanated for that purpose, to the accompaniment of dancing and singing.

417 *Abhisamayamañjarī* (Sed p. 134[16], GSS5 K22v1 continued from n. 406): *jñānacakrākarṣaṇasamakālam evākṛṣṭābhir vajravilāsinībhir jñānamayāmṛtapūrṇakapāladamarudhāriṇibhi<r> hṛdbījanirgataviṇādevīpūjitābhi<r> – yathā hi jātamātreṇa snāpitāḥ sarvatathāgatās / tathāhaṃ snāpayiṣyāmi śuddhaṃ divyena vāriṇeti – paṭhantībhir iṣadāvarjitavāmakarakapālanipatitajñānāmṛtadhārābhir abhiṣicyamānaṃ mahāsukham ātmānaṃ vicintya śeṣāmbuniṣpannān tathāgatān śirasi vibhāvya – oṃ sarvatathāgatābhiṣekasamayaśriye hūṃ – ity adhitiṣṭhet. tatra bhagavatyāḥ kuleśaḥ śirasi vairocanaḥ. ḍākinyādīnāṃ ratnasaṃbhavaḥ. cittavākkāyagatānāṃ yathāsaṃkhyam akṣobhyāmitābhaśāśvatāḥ. samayacakrasthānām amoghasiddhiḥ.* • *jñānamayāmṛta*] corr. (or *jñānāmṛta*); *jñānaramṛta* Kac; *jñāna(maya)mṛta* K(mg2) • *śuddhaṃ divyena*] K (see Textual Note to v. 27i) • *kapālanipatita*] corr.; *kapālanipatata* K • *kuleśaḥ*] em.; *kuleśāḥ* K • *āmitābha*] em.; *āmitābhā* K.

418 Textual descriptions of the consecration tend to have a distinctive structure.

The consecration is described within a prose passage in the passive continuous, with the consecration "being given by" the yoginīs/deities who are described with a string of qualifying *bahuvrīhi* compounds in the instrumental as holding the consecration vessel and pouring out its contents and uttering a verse. See the parallel account in the *Abhisamayamañjarī* cited in n. 417. Cf. SM218 (p. 429).

419 The use of this mantra referring to "all tathāgatas" in Umāpatideva's text is somewhat incongruous, as he deals with the consecration of the solo deity, Vajravārāhī, presided over by Vairocana. It makes more sense when it appears in the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (cited n. 417) in which the water of consecration is understood to produce all five tathāgatas as the seal; these are then allocated as presiding buddhas to the goddesses in different parts of the maṇḍala.

420 On the purificatory function of the consecrations, Dr. Isaacson (1996b) notes that in the VĀ, Abhayākaragupta states that the five consecrations (*vidyābhiṣekas*) plus the "Garland Consecration as the sixth" counteract ignorance (VĀ B f. 73r): *ete mālodakādayaḥ ṣaḍ abhiṣekā avidyāvipakṣayogyatāpādanād vidyābhiṣeka ucyate;* see also YRM on HT1.4 (p. 115): *abhiṣeko jñānāmbubhiḥ savāsanasarvāvaraṇakṣālanārtham.* Elsewhere the consecration liquid is imagined transforming into the buddhas of hate, slander, envy, craving, ignorance (and the dharmadhātu for the sixth), which thereby purify those negativities, e.g., SM251 (p. 493), mKhas grub rje (p. 221, with Wayman's notes). Professor Sanderson (1994 n. 96) provides a full discussion of these correspondences.

421 Published overviews of the topic in English include Kvaerne 1975, Lessing and Wayman 1978, Snellgrove 1987: 231–77 (also 1959 vol. 1: 95, n. 1), and Bentor (1996: 240–61) on the rites of initiation, both lower and higher, within tantric rites of consecrating images, etc.

The fivefold series of lower consecrations is also termed the vase consecration *(kalaśābhiṣekaḥ)* after the vessel bestowing the empowerment, or the knowledge consecration *(vidyābhiṣekaḥ),* either because of its association with wisdom *(vidyā)* or after the female agents of consecration, *vidyā*s, in our texts (mKhas grub rje, chapter 9, comments on both interpretations). The five consecrations of this set generally comprise: the water consecration *(udakābhiṣekaḥ),* the head jewel consecration *(mukuṭābhiṣekaḥ),* the vajra consecration *(vajrābhiṣekaḥ),* the bell consecration *(ghaṇṭābhiṣekaḥ),* and the name consecration *(nāmābhiṣekaḥ).* 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 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 *(ācāryābhiṣekaḥ)* within them (for example Abhayākaragupta, who gives an account of the various systems in his VĀ [ms. "B" f. 81v]; Kuladatta, as implied in his *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* Cambridge [f. 106v]; Kumāracandra in his *Ratnāvalīpañjikā* to the KYT [Sed p.

100]; the unknown author of the *Hevajrasekaprakriyā;* and Advayavajra in his *Advayavajrasaṃgraha* [pp. 36–38; also cited by Snellgrove 1987: 229]). The vase consecration and teacher consecration together are sometimes referred to simply as the teacher consecration *(ācāryābhiṣekaḥ),* or as the irreversible consecration *(avaivarytābhiṣekaḥ)* 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 *(kalaśa°),* secret *(guhya°),* wisdom *(prajñā°),* and "fourth" *(caturtha°)* (which was purely verbal in nature, Isaacson *op. cit.*). Similarly in the Hevajra tradition (HT2.3.10), the main consecrations are listed as teacher, secret, wisdom, and "fourth." Dharmakīrti explains the first of these (the vase or teacher consecration) as follows (Snellgrove's translation HT vol. 1 1959: 95, n. 1):

"The first is called Jar consecration *(kalaśābhiṣeka)* or the Master's consecration *(ācāryābhiṣeka).* It is called a baptism because impurity is washed away, that is to say that the impurity of the body is washed away. It is called the consecration (or baptism) of the jar, because it is characterised by (the use of) a jar, and the consecration of the Master because it is far removed from evil and wickedness. It is also called the consecration of knowledge *[vidyābhiṣeka]* because it overthrows ignorance and arouses an awareness of the five spheres of knowledge *(pañcavidyājñāna)."*

422 E.g., SM251 (p. 493): *abhiṣekam anunāthayet bhagavantaḥ sarvatathāgatā abhiṣekaṃ dadantu me iti;* cf. HT1.4, *Hevajrasekaprakriyā,* etc. The consecration verse supplied by Umāpatideva (v. 27i) would normally provide the "reply" to the request.

423 Direct references to the *utpattikrama* in the GSS are found in GSS6 (K3915): *utpattikramayogenātmabhāvaṃ vibhāvayet* and GSS23 (K8711): *lokeśvareṇa bhagavatoddiṣṭa utpattikramasādhana<ḥ>.* The six *aṅga*s are treated in some depth in the final commentarial-style work of the GSS, the *Ḍākinīguhyasamayasādhana* GSS46 (K143v ff.). They are: (1) withdrawal [of the senses] *(pratyāhāraḥ),* (2) *dhyāna*-meditation, (3) breath-control *(prāṇāyāmaḥ),* (4) concentration of the mind (joined with retention of the breath) *(dhāraṇā),* (5) recollection *(anusmṛtiḥ),* and (6) *samādhi*-meditation. Apart from their early exposition in the *Ṣaḍaṅgayoga-nāma* (Peking Tibetan Tripiṭaka vol. 85), they are widely expounded in Sanskrit and Tibetan texts, e.g., in yogottara works such as the PU commentary to the *Guhyasamājatantra* (PU p. 116ff. on GST ch. 12, vv. 60–64), in which Candrakīrti cites and comments on the six yogas as given in the *"Uttaratantra"* portion GST ch. 18, v. 137 and vv. 140–54 (also edited and translated by Wayman 1977: 38–50). Kālacakra texts dealing with the system include Nāropa's *Sekoddeśaṭīka* from the *Sekoddeśa* portion of the *Kālacakratantra* (see Orofino 1994), the main commentary on the root *tantra,* the *Vimalaprabhāṭīkā* by Puṇḍarīka, and the *Guṇābharaṇī nāma Ṣaḍaṅgayogaṭippaṇī* by Raviśrījñāna (Sferra 2000). Note also the work of Cicuzza and Sferra (1997) and Cicuzza (2001).

424 For the inherence of innate buddhahood in all livings see HT2.2.44 *(tasmāt sahajaṃ jagat sarvaṃ)* with Ratnākaraśānti's gloss: *sahajena buddhatvena yogāt sahajaṃ jagat sarvaṃ*, cited by Isaacson (2001: 471 n. 96). For a full discussion of the origin and development of the term *sahaja*, including its various translations, see Davidson 2002.

425 For example, Kāṇha comments on the passage in the HT1.8.1–14 with HT1.8.24b–25 *(...utpannam kathayāmy ahaṃ)*, as follows (YRM p. 125): *idānim utpattikramaṃ nirdiśya dvitīyam utpannakramaṃ prastotum āha krametyādi. kramaḥ prakāraḥ. kasya kramaḥ? samādheḥ. candracihnabījādipariṇāmena devatākāraniṣpattir utpattiḥ. sā yasmin samādhāv asti sa utpattikramaḥ. utpannaṃ svābhāvikaṃ eva rūpam. tad eva tattvarūpeṇādhimucyate bhāvyate yasmin yoge sa utpannakramaḥ.* • *prastotum*] em.; *prastotam* Snellgrove; • *utpannaṃ svābhāvikaṃ*] em.; *utpannasvabhāvikam* Snellgrove. • *yoge sa*] em.; *yoge* Snellgrove.

The SUT (ch. 3, v. 3) refers to the Stage of completion *(utpannakramabhāvanā)* as the "aspect of instantaneousness" *(jhaṭitākāraṃ)*. However, many sādhanas seemingly of "generation" type also refer to *"jhaṭiti,"* e.g., see GSS1–GSS2 (K280r2): *jhaṭiti tato nābhimaṇḍale...devīṃ bhāvayet yogavit sadā;* also GSS1 (K280r6–v1): *jhaṭitākārayogātmā yogī sidhyati nānyathā;* GSS5 (Sed p. 133[19], K21v5): *tā devyā bhagavatiniṣpattisamakālam eva jhaṭiti niṣpannā draṣṭavyāḥ;* GSS22 (K86r3); GSS16 (K80v2); GSS35 (K119v3); cf. HĀ (f. 111.5–6). For its mention in the ADUT, see Tsuda's citations (1974: 244).

426 GST 18.84 (Samājottara 84) edited by Isaacson: *kramadvayam upāśritya vajriṇāṃ dharmadeśanā / kramaṃ autpattikaṃ caiva kramam autpannakaṃ tathā.* (Cf. HT1.8.24b–25.) Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* 24.8: *dve satye samupāśritya buddhānāṃ dharmadeśanā / lokasaṃvṛtisatyaṃ ca satyaṃ 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 *saṃbhogacakra* 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 kalāpañcadaśātmakaḥ;* 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 saṃbhogacakraṃ nirmāṇacakraṃ. hṛtkaṇṭhayoniṣu yathākramam;* or of cakras

at the sex organ, heart, throat, and head (HT2.4.51ff.): *dharmasaṃbhoganirmāṇaṃ mahāsukhaṃ tathaiva ca / yonihṛtkaṇṭhamasteṣu trayaḥ kāyā vyavasthitāḥ;* cf. *Bhramaharanāma Hevajrasādhana* (p. 8): *kaṇṭhahṛdbhagamasteṣu catuścakraṃ yathākramam / saṃbhogadharmanirmāṇamahāsukham 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. 135[18], K23r6, N14r3): *yady etāvati mahati maṇḍalacakre cittaṃ cirataraṃ sthirīkartum asamarthas tadā nābhikamalastharavisomasamputāntargatavaṃbījamṛṇālatantvākāraraśmirekhāyāṃ cittasthirīkaraṇadvāreṇa prāṇāpānayor nāḍīdvayavāhaparihārān madhyamāpraveśe jvalitayā cāṇḍālyā drāvitasya śiraḥśaśinaś cakravyāptikrameṇānandādibhedāt sahajodaye sakalavikalpasaṃhārāt sakṛd vā maṇḍalacakrasyānupalambhaḥ krameṇa vā śūnyatāntarbhāvaḥ.* • *asamarthas*] corr.; *asamarthaḥ* K.

429 I am paraphrasing GSS5 cont. (Sed p. 136[4], K23v3, N14r5): *tatrāyaṃ kramaḥ. jagat śmaśāneṣu, śmaśānāni bāhyacakre, bāhyacakraṃ kāyacakre, kāyacakraṃ vākcakre, vākcakraṃ cittacakre, cittacakraṃ diggataḍākinyādiṣu, ḍākinyādiś ca mahāsukhacakragatā bhagavatīmukhe, bhagavatyāsanāmbhojaṃ bhānau, bhānuṃ bhairave, bhairavaṃ kālarātryāṃ, kālarātri<ṃ> khaṭvāṅge, khaṭvāṅgaṃ bhagavatyāṃ, bhagavatīṃ nābhikamale, nābhikamalaṃ ravisomasaṃpute, <ravisoma>-saṃputaṃ vakāre, vakāram ardhacandre, ardhacandraṃ bindau, binduṃ nāde 'ntarbhāvya…[paśyet].*

• *cittacakram*] em.; *cittacakrasya* K, N • *diggataḍākinyādiṣu*] N; *diggāta-ḍākinyadiṣu* K • *ḍākinyādiś*] N, *(vidiggatā****diṣu)ḍākinyādiś* K(mg2)

430 GSS5 cont. (Sed p. 136[10], K23v6, N14v1): *nādaṃ tam api vālāgraśatasahasrabhāgarūpaṃ paśyet, adhimātras tu tam api nopalabhate. jñānacakrasvabhāvatayāpi bhagavatyāḥ prabhāsvare praveśaḥ. evaṃ bhūyo bhūyaḥ praviśed uttiṣṭhet <ca>. tad uktaṃ—śvāsavāto yathādarśe layaṃ gacchati sarvataḥ | bhūtakoṭiṃ tathā yogī praviśec ca muhur muhuḥ | punaḥ punaḥ praveśavyutthānaiś ca satyadvayābhinnaniṣpannayuganaddhasamādhiṃ yogī sākṣātkarotīti.*

• *nādam*] em.; *(nāda)* K(mg2) • *nopalabhate*] em. Isaacson; *nopalabhyate* K • *svabhāvatayāpi*] em.; *svabhāvayātāpi* K

431 GSS5 (Sed p. 136[16], K24r2, N14v3): *khede sati nābhisarojasthavaṃbīje cittaṃ niveśya vakṣyamāṇahṛdayopahṛdayamantrayor yathābhilāṣam anyatarasyoccāraṇasamayam eva tadbījanādān nirgamavāyunā pañca cakrāṇi saṃsphārya jagadarthaṃ kārayitvā vāyoḥ praveśasamaye mālāsūtrākarṣaṇanyāyena mantreṇa saha tasminn eva praveśayet. vakṣyamāṇapratyekadevīmantrajāpārthināṃ tu pratyekadevatāmantroccāraṇasamāptau pratyekaspharaṇasaṃharaṇaṃ pūrvavat kartavyam. athavā tad eva <bījaṃ> pūrvavad uttiṣṭhantīm avadhūtīvartmanā mukhān niḥsṛtya padme svasthānaṃ gatvā tathaiva bhramantīm akṣaramālāṃ bhāvayan hṛdayopahṛdayor anyataraṃ vakṣyamāṇamālāmantraṃ vā japet.*

athavā tad eva <bījaṃ> parivēṣṭya sthitā<ṃ> pradīpamālām iva mantramālām ālokayan adrutam avilambitam asatsaṃkalpavarjitam iti.
• *mālāsūtrā*] em.; *mālāsṛtā* K, N • *jāpārthināṃ*] 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 outbreath 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 *(avadhūtī)* 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 *(avadhūtī)* [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 mantraṃ japet. hṛdayasthasūryasthāruṇākārāt śvāsanirgamena tatsvarūpāṇy akṣarāṇi nirgatāni, śvāsapraveśe svaguhyena praveśyāvadhūtyām akāre līnāni. karmabhedato 'kṣaravarṇabhedaḥ. tadanu khede prabhāsvare viśet. tatra nābhimadhye 'vadhūtīsuṣire śukranakṣatravad ujjvalam akāraṃ, dīpaval lohitaṃ binduṃ vā bhāvayet. evaṃ ciratarābhyāsād udīyate jñānaṃ...*(K119v3) *sarvadharmānupalambhaṃ saṃbhāvayet.*
• *hṛdayastha*] em.; *hṛdaya(sthā)* K(del) • *gamena*] em.; *gameṇe* K • *praveśyā*] em.; *praviśyā* K • *suṣire*] corr.; *śuṣire* K. Cf. K. Gyatso 1999: 169–71; Tharchin 1997: 230–33.

432 In the GSS, the ten-syllabled heart mantra is given for the red, two-armed, warrior-stance Vajravārāhī (GSS4, GSS5, GSS11) and for *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 *huṃ/hūṃ* varies. While this may be a matter of orthography, the two syllables are distinct, and Umāpatideva himself comments upon this in a mantra that combines both (see §34). The long syllable *(hūṃ)* is the seed-syllable of the tathāgata Akṣobhya and thence of the various Herukas of which he is the family lord. In most Vajravārāhī mantras in the GSS, the syllable is short *(huṃ)*. Another common variant is the form of the name element. Following the brahmanical model, the dative form *(-īye)* is the norm, as the extraction of the mantra *(mantroddhāraḥ)* described in GSS1–GSS2 confirms. However, our manuscripts also transcribe the name element as a vocative *(-i)* and, probably through a corruption of the vocative, as a nominative *(-ī)*. Edgerton (1953: vol. 1, 10.86ff. p. 74) presents *-īye* as the "oblique

singular feminine" form that has evolved from the Middle Indic forms, primarily Pali *-iyā* and Prakrit *-ia*. (Details are given in Wackernagel's *Altindische Grammatik* band 3 §83–96.) Edgerton records that *-īye* may indicate the instrumental (10.91), ablative (10.93), genitive (10.94), and locative (10.95) of *-i* and *-i* stems, but, significantly, cites *-īye* only as the dative of *-i* stems. However, he states that *-īye* is extremely common in some manuscripts (10.90) and seems to suggest that *-īye* is interchangeable with *-īyai* (10.131). Mantric syntax is generally fluid. For example, many mantras may include the salutation *namaḥ* but without supplying a dative inflexion, as in Vajravārāhī'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[5], K22r2): *athavā mantradevatayor abhedāt...*; cf. Kumāracandra on KYT p. 117. The same understanding of the mantra is found in other nondual tantric traditions, as in the Śaiva Trika tradition noted by Khanna (1986: 225) from the *Gandharvatantra* (11, 54b): *svaṃ mantratanur bhūtvā devīṃ mantramayīṃ yajet.*

434 For the proper manner of reciting a mantra, see GSS5 (Sed p. 150[6], K35r3): *drutādidoṣarahita<ṃ> mantraṃ japet;* HT2.5 v. 43ab: *āyutajāpaspaṣṭena dīrghanādena cāruṇā;* KYT ch. 12 v. 7: *na drutaṃ na vilambitaṃ na ca hrasvaṃ na dīrghakaṃ / na kiñcic chrūyate mantraṃ japamāno narottamaḥ;* SM1 (p. 10): *tataḥ...jāpam abhyasan yathābhilaṣitaṃ mantraṃ na drutaṃ na vilambitam asatsaṃkalpavarjitaṃ mantrākṣaragatacittaṃ tāvaj japet yāvan na khedo bhavati;* SM29 (p. 72): *antarjalpam atispaṣṭaṃ na drutaṃ na vilambitam / yathāsukhaṃ japaṃ kṛtvā...*; SM172 (p. 349): *...na mātrāhīnaṃ...*; etc. mKhas grub rje gives many details regarding recitation, e.g., (pp. 189–90) "While muttering, one should be neither hurried nor slow / Neither too loud nor too low / Neither speaking nor distracted / Nor disregarding the upper and lower vowel signs, the *anusvāra*, or the *visarga*" (citing *Subāhuparipṛcchātantra*, Toh 805). In one Avalokiteśvara-based *dhāraṇī* (SM41), the mantra is to be recited with 108 beans in the mouth (p. 87): *somagrahe sūryagrahe vā pañcagavyena prakṣālya aṣṭottaraśatamāṣān mukhe prakṣipya tāvaj japet yāvan na mukto bhavati.* Cf. Tharchin 1997: 222.

435 For the promise of siddhi in six months, see GSS23 (appendix), also GSS10 v. 140 (K52v6): *yathāśvāsalābho bhaven māse ṣaṭmāse vāñchitaṃ phalam / ṛddhisiddhir bhaved abde vaśyākṛṣṭipunaḥsarā • ākṛṣṭipunaḥsarā*] conj.; *ākṛṣṭiḥ punaḥsarāḥ* codd.; SM71 (p. 143): *mañjuvajrāhaṃkāreṇotthāya tathaiva vihared iti. ṣaṇmāsena vāgīśvaratām āsādayati);* SM7 (p. 30); SM28 (p. 70); SM80 (p. 156), etc. The nature of such guarantees is pan-tantric, e.g., *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 12.10cd–11ab: *kavitvaṃ māsamātreṇa sālaṅkāramanoharam...ṣaḍbhir māsaiḥ svayaṃ kartā śāstrāṇāṃ jāyate tu saḥ* (edition supplied by Judit Törzsök at a seminar at All Souls College, Oxford, 1996).

436 For an account of the principal siddhis and their attainment according to oblation rituals in the different Buddhist tantric systems, see Abhayākaragupta's *Homavidhi* (VĀ ŚP ff. 116r–118r). On the eight siddhis, see e.g., SM172 (p. 350), SM221 (p. 434), *Vasantatilakā* (p. 74), etc.; and on other siddhis, SM71,

GSS2 K11r6–11v1, GSS5 (Sed (p. 138[11], K25v1), SM218 (p. 431), etc. For the removal of *ānantaryakarma* with the hundred-syllabled mantra recited 108 times, see SM1 (p. 2): *tataḥ sarvakarmāvaraṇakṣayārthaṃ sarvatathāgatahṛdayaṃ śatākṣaraṃ tenaiva vidhinā aṣṭasahasraṃ japet. saddharmadūṣaṇānantaryādikaṃ karmāvaraṇaṃ prahīyate,* but with a rider that the sādhaka must believe himself able to do so (pp. 12–13): *yathokte nāhaṃ śakta iti nāvasāditavyam;* cf. SM8 (p. 30): *pañcānantaryakāriṇo 'pi koṭijāpena 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 sādhana. This is also expressed as "dwelling according to his pleasure," e.g., GSS2 (K11v6): *baliṃ dattvā saṃhared iti yathāsukhaṃ vihartavyaṃ sarvārthaṃ siddhyati;* GSS3 (K13r5): *trisaṃdhyaṃ balipūrvakaṃ bhagavatīṃ bhāvayet. viharan bhagavatīrūpeṇa sarvadā viharet;* GSS5 (Sed p. 145[8], K30v5): *sarvaṃ kṛtvā yathāsukhaṃ vihared iti;* (K35r4): *pūjādikaṃ kṛtvā yathāsukhaṃ viharet.;* GSS38 (K12311): *tanmūrtyā viharet saṃdhyāntare 'py evam);* etc. Cf. SM218 (p. 430): *saṃdhyāntare 'pi bhaṭiti devyākāram abhimukhīkṛtya...*

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 *Mahāmāyāsādhana* by Ratnākaraśānti (SM238 p. 464). Cf. SM218 (p. 430).

439 On the midnight juncture, see GSS5 (Sed p. 145[10], K30v5): *ardharātrasaṃdhyāyāṃ madhyāhnasaṃdhyāvat sarvaṃ kṛtvā...prabhāsvaram āmukhīkṛtya nidrāyāś 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); *pūrvarātra* (from dusk to midnight); *apararātra* (latter half of the night, the last watch); *jāgarikā* (waking time). mKhas grub rje (p. 193) writes: "The times of the watches are as follows: The morning interval is from the moment when half of the sun disk emerges until it casts a man-sized shadow. Noon is the eighth or ninth *chu tshod* (approx. 45 minutes, a quarter of a watch). The afternoon interval is from the moment when there remains a man-sized shadow until half of the sun disk is submerged. The initial interval of night is from the moment when half of the sun disk is submerged through half the night. The period from this halfway point to dawn when half the sun disk has emerged is called the second interval of night. Midnight onward is the time for terrible rites, such [siddhis] as invisibility, and the cremation ground rites; while in other periods one performs the appeasing rites, etc...."

440 The structure of the *Abhisamayamañjarī* is quite the reverse, as the self-generation of the full thirty-seven-fold maṇḍala occurs "all at once" *(jhaṭiti)* in its complete form, at the very same moment that the central goddess is visualized in her complete form (GSS5 Sed p. 133[18], K21v5): *sarvāś ca tā devyo bhagavatīniṣpattisamakālam eva jhaṭiti niṣpannā draṣṭavyāḥ.* The prescriptions for the fivefold

and thirteenfold phases of the maṇḍala are given below as shorter alternatives to the full maṇḍala.

441 E.g., NYĀ (p. 26): *tataḥ prācyādidikṣu vāmāvartena vahnyādividikṣu dakṣiṇāvartena nyāsaḥ • vahnyādi*] conj. *cakṣvādi* ed. Bhattacharyya.

442 For the contents of the skull bowls, see GSS3 (K13r1): *vidigdaleṣu catvāri bodhicittādipūrṇāni kapālāni vicintayet;* GSS7 with ornamental stands (K40v5): *āgneyādicatuḥkoṇe bodhicittādibhājanam / kalaśopari vinyastaṃ śaṃkhakundendusannibham;* GSS5 (Sed p. 132[20], K20v6): *āgneyādividigdaleṣu dakṣiṇāvartena bodhicittena rajasā pañcāmṛtaiḥ pañcapradīpaiḥ siddharasavadamṛtībhutaiḥ pūrṇāni catvāri padmabhājanāni bhāvyāni;* cf. NYĀ *Samvara Maṇḍala* (p. 26): *vidigdaleṣu bodhicittena rajasā pañcāmṛtaiḥ pañcapradīpaiś ca siddharasavadamṛtibhūtaiḥ pūrṇāny abjabhājanāni, catvāry api pañcāmṛtapūrṇāni vā.*

443 For the eightfold mantra associated with praise, see GSS35 (K120r1):...*baliṃ dadyāt. aṣṭapadamantreṇa stutvā praṇidhānaṃ vidhāya puṇyaṃ pariṇāmayet...* (K120r6): *aṣṭapadamantreṇa sarvatra stutiḥ;* GSS5 (Sed p. 146[1], K31v5): *tad anu hṛdayādyaṣṭapadamantrastutipūrvakaṃ yathāvartitastutibhiḥ saṃstutya yathāśakti pāpadeśanādikaṃ dhyānamantrajāpapraṇidhānādikaṃ 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 nāmasaṃyuktaṃ huṃhuṃphaṭkārasaṃyutam • huṃhuṃ*] em. *hūṃhūṃ* 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 *oṃ* and *hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ.*

445 In GSS texts, the iconography of the fivefold maṇḍala is pretty stable; in GSS3 (K12v6) Vajravārāhī appears in the reverse warrior stance; and GSS5 describes a fivefold maṇḍala "from Oḍḍiyāna," with Vajravārāhī in *ūrdhvapāda* pose, as does GSS12 in greater length (ch. 2). The fivefold maṇḍala appears again in a Śabara-school *Vajrayoginisādhana* (GSS19), which is the only fivefold maṇḍala not to have Vajravārāhī as its presiding goddess but Vajrayoginī. In this practice, the four retinue goddesses are installed in position with a flower-offering mantra. The iconography of the goddesses in Cakrasaṃvara texts is either that of our texts (e.g., NYĀ, *Samvaramaṇḍala* p. 26) or slightly different (e.g., SUT ch. 13, vv. 25–28a). The latter supplies a close parallel to Umāpatideva's verses, except that the goddesses are only two-armed and hold a skull bowl and chopper plus staff.

446 As shown above, Sanderson (1994i: 95) has demonstrated that much of this material has its roots in esoteric Śaivism, for example, a class of yoginī called "Lāmās" is also mentioned in the *Laghuśaṃvaratantra* ch. 19 (ch. 29 of the Śaiva *Siddhayogeśvarimata*). For classes of female consort, see SUT ch. 9 *Chomāpiṭhasaṃketabhūminirdeśapaṭala;* ch. 31 *Caturyoginīnirdeśacatuścakrakramabodhicittasaṃkramaṇapaṭala;* ADUT ch. 39 *Yoginilakṣaṇapaṭala* (pp. 376ff.); ch. 40 *Ḍākinīlakṣaṇapaṭala* (pp. 385ff.), ch. 41 *Lāmālakṣaṇapaṭala* (pp. 390ff.), ch. 42 *Aṅgamudrālakṣaṇapaṭala* (pp. 397ff.). Other yoginitantra

sources that deal with this subject include the HT and its commentaries, e.g., HT1.6.8–9 *("vajrakanyā")*, HT1.7 (with Snellgrove's quotations from its commentaries, p. 66); HT2.2.1–2, HT2.5.4–5, etc.

447 The *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* (chs. 2 and 3) contains several references to the four goddesses, but with Ḍākinī and Lāmā always as a class of females, e.g., 3.15: *ḍākinyo yogamātarāḥ, ḍākinyo lāmayaś caiva khaṇḍarohā tu rūpiṇī* (draft edition by Professor Sanderson based on Oriental Institute, MS University, Baroda, Acc. no. 13290: "Herukavidhānataṃtra," ff. 2v–3r). Cf. ADUT ch. 40 (p. 385): [Ḍākinī] *vajravārāhikulodbhūtā;* ch. 41 (p. 391): *vārāhīnāṃ tu lāmānām etad bhavati lakṣaṇam.* For Śūraṅgamavajra's commentary, see Kalff 1979: 252, n. 1.

448 Umāpatideva draws closely on the SUT (ch. 13) and cites verses from the YSCT (see Textual Note to v. 41), although he does not follow the structure of these sources, in which the outer goddesses are to be installed last (i.e., after the site goddesses of the fourth meditation stage).

449 A similar description in GSS5 (Sed p. 134, K21v3) also omits the colors, but these are confirmed by SUT ch. 13, vv. 29–33 and HĀ (f. 8r4). The iconographical schema generally echoes that of the SUT in which, however, the goddesses hold a chopper rather than a ḍamaru (as did the petal goddesses in that source). The similarity between the gate goddesses and the petal goddesses is mentioned in GSS11 v. 41, and in related texts such as the YSCT (see Textual Notes).

450 A classical image of Yama appears in the third book *(Vanaparvan)* of the *Mahābhārata*, in the *Sāvitryupākhyāna*, where Yama is described as handsome but dark, with red eyes, terrifying and holding a noose, wearing a yellow garment and with bound-up hair. With his noose he forcibly extracts the "thumb-sized person" from the dying body. Yama is taken over in Buddhist sources as the god of death, but other forms also appear, such as Yamāntaka, "stopper of death," with a new iconography. The latter's main forms are Raktayamāri, Kṛṣṇayamāri, and Vajrabhairava Yamāntaka (*Sacred Art of Tibet* pp. 283–89, with plates).

451 This set of gate goddesses is similar to that of the Heruka-Hevajra maṇḍala, in which Siṃhāsyā replaces Kākāsyā, e.g., Hevajra and Nairātmā maṇḍalas NYĀ (pp. 14 and 16).

452 For other references to the outer goddesses in the *"samayacakra,"* see GSS5 (Sed p. 135[7], K22v5): *samayacakrasthānām amoghasiddhiḥ;* NYĀ (p. 28); ADUT ch. 9 (pp. 289–90): *samayacakraviśuddhiḥ,* and Śūraṅgamavajra's commentary to the ADUT (see ch. 14, Kalff 1979: 217 n.1). (Note that Kalff's translation p. 180 needs revision.) For the association of the petal goddesses and the "knowledge" level of the maṇḍala, see ADUT ch. 9 (p. 288): *jñānapadmaviśuddhiḥ;* also ch. 9 (p. 290): *jñānaḍākinīyogena viśvapadmādimadhyataḥ.* Here, the site goddesses of the *cittacakra* are also called *vajraḍākinīs* (as they are surrounded by ring of vajras) and the *vākcakra* site goddesses *padmaḍākinīs* (as they are surrounded by a ring of lotuses). The Tibetan tradition attested by K. Gyatso (1997: 44) describes the lotus petals as the level of "great bliss," and the outermost cakra as the "pledge" *(samayacakra).*

453 "Circle of great bliss" may be a reference to the blissful conception of the goddess in the sequence of awakenings within the *dharmodayā*, a synonym for vagina or womb. A "body of great bliss" *(mahāsukhakāya)* is also applied to a fourth buddha body, whose transcendent status may be reflected by the centrality of the *mahāsukhacakra* in the maṇḍala. The yogic system of body cakras also designates the head cakra as the *mahāsukhacakra*, but the fact that the terms coincide is probably incidental, as none of the other levels of the maṇḍala are related, as such, to the body cakras. The terms pledge circle *(samayacakram)* and knowledge circle *(jñānacakram)*, as we have seen, applied initially during the self-generation of the goddess and her maṇḍala. The further testimony of the higher tantric commentaries would be of interest.

454 Similar paragraphs describing the three cakras appear twice in GSS5 (Sed p. 133^2 K21r1 and Sed p. 142^2 K28r4). The first instance (GSS5 K21r1: *tadbahir...*) comes after the description of the fivefold maṇḍala and describes the next level of the complete maṇḍala, namely, the site goddesses on the three cakras that "have the nature of" *(svabhāveṣu)* the sites. Here, there is no mention of the site goddesses as generic groups within the cosmos, as in GSS11 (*khecarīṇāṃ saṃgrahaḥ* etc.). The next instance (GSS5 K28r4) is in the context of the body maṇḍala (cf. §30). Here, the site goddesses are identified with a site and a body point; these are then associated with the ten places (as GSS11 v. 43ff.). The reference to the goddesses as a generic group is made at this point. This assigns them to the level of the cosmos in which they "move" and accords with the cosmological location of their particular cakra. In the ADUT, as in GSS5 (K28r4), this detail is reserved for the descriptions of the body maṇḍala. Thus, the ADUT (ch. 9 pp. 285–86) correlates the god/goddesses with the sites and body points, allocates them to the ten places, and finishes with the collective designation of the goddesses of the cakra (pp. 285–86): *cittacakrasya khecarī...; vākcakrasya bhūcarī...; kāyacakrasya pātālavāsinī....* It is notable that this text refers to a single female goddess instead of to a "group," despite the fact that the text has just described a collection of eight site gods and site goddesses (male and female) in union on the cakra. The same phraseology is found in GSS5, which adds a possible explanation, i.e., that "with this [goddess]" (i.e., through her as a type) "there is the collection of those [male and female deities]" (Sed p. 142^6, K28r6): *...cittacakrasya khecarī. anayā svargagatānāṃ saṃgrahaḥ. ...vākcakre bhūcarī. anayā martyānāṃ saṃgrahaḥ...kāyacakre pātālavāsinī. anayā pātālagatānāṃ saṃgrahaḥ.* • *cittacakrasya*] K; possibly emend: *cittacakre* • *bhūcarī*] conj.; *khecarī* K.

In GSS11, Umāpatideva (§17–§19) speaks rather more lucidly when he describes "the collection of those [goddesses] who dwell...." Kalff (1979: 33 n.1) notes that in the HT1.8.15, there is a reference to the single, feminine goddesses Khecarī and Bhūcarī.

455 Sanderson (1995) has pointed to the Śaiva provenance of these goddesses, particularly their many correspondences with the twenty-four yoginīs listed in the

Yoginīsaṃcāraprakaraṇa, the third *ṣaṭka* of the Jayadrathayāmala. This is also discussed by Kalff (1979: 81ff.).

456 Redacting from his souce texts, Umāpatideva gives goddesses on the three cakras a generic status as "the congregation of goddesses" (see n. 454 above). At §21, however, he is no longer redacting, and the outer-goddesses are simply "to be visualized" *(bhāvyāḥ)* within the eight cremation grounds.

457 The process of Umāpatideva's redaction from the HĀ is evident here. Lūyīpāda follows his description of the outer goddesses with a remark applying to the full maṇḍala, namely, that vajra garlands are worn by all heroes and yoginīs of the maṇḍala, (f. 8v2): *sarveṣāṃ vīrayoginīnāṃ lalāṭe vajramālā.* Umāpatideva has therefore borrowed the closing line of Lūyīpāda's iconographical prescriptions to mark the end of this section of his text. Possibly incorporating a marginal note, the Tibetan text (p. 40.1) seems to have added that the goddesses are adorned by "five skulls residing in the center of (two? *dag*) *vajramālā*s" (the Tibetan syntax is not smooth).

458 First, the *Abhisamayamañjarī* states that all the deities of the maṇḍala may be visualized as two-armed, except (it seems) Ḍākinī, etc., who are said to be four-armed. The two-armed outer goddeses, Kākāsyā, etc., hold only a skull bowl in their left hands (with the staff tucked into the crook of their arms) and a ḍamaru in their right; everything else is as described before. Another alternative to the visualization is that the central form of Vajravārāhī may be visualized as either yellow or blue. In this case, the four goddesses on the petals (Ḍākinī, etc.) are all yellow, and presumably two-armed, as they are said to hold in their right hands a *ḍamaru.* The yoginīs of the three circles change their color and their attributes also. Those of the mind circle are now white, and (apart from the bowl and staff on their left sides) they hold a vajra threateningly in their right hands; those of the speech circle are black and hold a lotus; those of the body circle are red and hold a wheel. The outer goddesses, Kākāsyā, etc., hold a chopper threateningly in their right hands, and Yamadāḍhī, etc., a *ḍamaru* (with bowl and staff to the left). All twelve deites (of the petals and the gates) are in the dancing *ardhaparyaṅka* pose, and their iconography is otherwise as before. GSS5 (Sed p. 139[17], K26r5): *tatraiva maṇḍalabhedānantaraṃ vajrāvalyām asmadgurubhir upadarśitaṃ. likhyate nāyikādayaḥ sarvā dvibhujāḥ, ḍākinyādayaś caturbhujāś catasraḥ, kākāsyādayaś ca vāmena kapālaṃ bāhvāsaktakhaṭvāṅgaṃ ca bibhrāṇāḥ savyena ḍamarukam aparaṃ sarvaṃ pūrvavat. athavā bhagavatī pītavarṇā nīlā vā. ḍākinyādayaś catasras tu pītāḥ savyena ḍamarubhṛtaḥ. cittacakrasya yoginyaḥ sitāḥ savajratarjanīkasavyakarā, vākcakrasya kṛṣṇāḥ sapadmatarjanī<ka>savyahastāḥ, kāyacakrasya raktāḥ savyena tarjanīkacakrabhṛtaḥ, kākāsyādayaḥ savyena satarjanīkakartridharāḥ sarvā devyā vāmahastena kapāladhāriṇaḥ, yamadāḍyādayaḥ savyena ḍamaruṃ vāmena tarjanīkamuṇḍaṃ bibhratyaḥ, ḍākinyādīnāṃ kākāsyādīnāṃ ca vāmabāhau khaṭvāṅgam. etāś ca dvādaśā <ā>rdhaparyaṅkeṇa nṛtyantyaḥ. aparaṃ sarvaṃ pūrvavat.* • *kākāsyādīnāṃ*] Kpc(mg2); Kac omit.

459 E.g., Cakrasaṃvara maṇḍala in NYĀ (p. 28): *kuleśas tu bhagavato 'kṣobhyo*

vajravārāhyā vairocano ḍākinyādināṃ ratneśaḥ. cittavākkāyagatānām akṣobhyā-mitābhaśāśvatāḥ samayacakrasthānām amoghasiddhiḥ.

460 The rather haphazard nature of the correspondences of the buddhas with the levels of the maṇḍala is highlighted by a survey of the maṇḍalas in the NYĀ. For example, in the Akṣobhya maṇḍala, Akṣobhya at the center is presided over by Vajrasattva (*ibid.*: 5, summarized p. 35), while in the Vajrasattva maṇḍala, the leader Vajrasattva is presided over by Akṣobhya (from the *Saṃputatantra ibid.*: 8, summarized p. 37). The correlations are usually with five buddha families, but sometimes with the six, although on occasion they are "not reliable enough to be dependable" (see B. Bhattacharyya's comment, *ibid.*: 40).

461 A fourfold division of worlds is not new; it appears, for instance, in the STTS ch. 6 (p. 59), which describes the conversion of the brahmanical overlord Nārāyaṇa and his retinue. Here Viṣṇu's retinue comprises the gods of intermediate space, of space, of the earth and the underworld, and their female counterparts *(antarīkṣacarī-; khecarī-; bhucarī-; pātālavāsinī-).*

462 Sircar (1948: 8–11) notes that the earliest written evidence of the *pīṭhas* is probably the reference to them as places of *śakti* worship in the *Mahābhārata (Tīrthayātrā, Vanaparvan)* at a site actually associated with Bhīmadevī. See Sanderson (1994i: 94–95) for references to the Śaiva ritual texts influential here, such as the *Yoginīlakṣaṇa*, ch. 16 of *Tantrasadbhāva.*

463 Sanderson (personal communication) points to the systems of twenty-four *pīṭhas* in the *Kubjikāmata* (22.23–36) and in *Tantrāloka* 29.53–72b (especially *Tantrāloka* 29.71c–72b): *hṛt kuṇḍalī bhruvor madhyam etad eva kramāt trayam // śmaśānāni drumāḥ* (*drumāḥ* em.: *kramāt* ed.) *kṣetrabhavaṃ sadyoginīgaṇam.* He states *(ibid.)* that an earlier version in the Trika is seen in the *Niśisaṃcāra, paṭala* 4 and the *Tantrasadbhāva, paṭala* 19 *(kṣetropakṣetrārcanam).* The developing cosmological model of the cremation grounds in the Buddhist tradition may have its roots in the Śaiva model of the sites, which are each said to include a goddess, a cremation ground, a tree, and a Bhairava who is the *kṣetrapāla* (Mayer 1996: 119, citing Sanderson, personal communication).

464 The geographic location of the sites has been discussed by some secondary authors, e.g., Sircar (1948), Kalff (1979: 98–107) drawing on Sircar and others, and Boord (1994: 27–32) summarizing ancient and modern sources (including the accounts of Chinese pilgrims from Hazra 1983).

465 There is a twelvefold system of places in the Hevajra tradition, which leads to a twelvefold enumeration of the *bodhisattvabhūmis* (HT1.7.11, see Snellgrove's note p. 69). The Hevajra system describes the same list, but follows (or replaces) *melāpaka* and *upamelāpaka* with two other kinds of "place" called *pīlava* and *upapīlava* (HT1.7.10, HT1.7.13, HT1.7.17). Kalff (1979: 101) notes that there is no agreement between the Hevajra and Cakrasaṃvara systems as to which sites belong to which category, and, moreover, only nineteen of the sites coincide and can be identified with each other. Snellgrove (1959: 70) attempts to reconcile the two lists.

466 For references in Cakrasaṃvara literature to the division of sites into places, see

SUT ch. 9, vv. 13–19; Tsuda (p. 271) also cites their appearance in the *Saṃpuṭatantra* (*kalpa* 5, *prakaraṇa* 1), the *Ḍākārṇava* (*paṭala* 15, giving a "very unusual" account of the sites in comparison), ADUT (chs. 5, 9, 14, and 56), and the *Yoginisaṃcāra* (chs. 5 and 13). Davidson (1991) also gives detailed references for their appearance in the ADUT. The places are correlated with the *bhūmis* in the context of the body maṇḍala (SUT ch. 9, v. 22ff.).

The translation or definition of the terms for the types of place is problematic. Dharmakīrti's commentary on the HT (the *Netravibhaṅga*) glosses the "secondary" or "auxiliary" type of place *(upa-)* as "nearby to that [place]" *(tatsaṃniveśaṃ)*, cited in Snellgrove (1959: 68–69 n. 1). Snellgrove also discusses the difficulties this presented to Tibetan translators, who either rendered "absurd" translations (which exegetes then attempted to explain, see *Blue Annals* pp. 980, 983) or who resorted to transliteration (e.g., of the terms *"chandoha"* and *"pīlava"*). Indian exegetes had also struggled with the terms. Snellgrove mentions Dharmakīrti's etymologies that attempt to explain the terms, for example *chandoha:* "because one desires and yearns, it is called *chando.*" Kalff (1979: 158) also broaches this topic, noting: "There is no ready translation for the term *chandoha.*"

467 Tsuda's translation of SUT ch. 9, v. 12: *madyamāṃsapriyā nityaṃ lajjābhayanāśani ca yā / ḍākinikulasaṃbhūtāḥ sahajā iti kathyate / deśe deśe 'bhijāyante yoginiḥ sevayet sadā;* cf. also SUT ch. 8, v. 25. Sanderson (1994i: 99–100, n. 20) cites a passage from the *Tantrasadbhāva* (*Yoginilakṣaṇa* 16, v. 63), the text from which the list of sites has been redacted in the *Laghuśaṃvara*, which includes the comment: *eṣu deśeṣu yāḥ kanyā<ḥ> striyo vā klinnayonayaḥ / sarvās tāḥ kāmarūpiṇyo manovegānuvṛttayaḥ.*

468 These remarks appear in the context of an internalized contemplation of the places and sites. See SUT ch. 4 (v. 29cd): *pīṭhakṣetre tu saṃkete yoginīyogimelakaṃ*, 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" *(kṣetrajā)*, and "one born in a site" *(pīṭhajā)*. These listings also include those of sky, earth, underworld, as in our texts (here described as *gandharvari, yakṣani, nāganī*, respectively). Kalff notes that such groupings are inconsistent and their origin as yet undetermined (1979 pp. 292 and 34).

469 In this context mKhas grub rje (pp. 253–54) describes the *utpattikrama*, the *niṣpannakrama*, and the **anucāraviśuddhi* as three types of tantras. The implicit hierarchy here is corroborated by a (Tibetan) school cited by him (p. 257) that correlates different types of *viśuddhi* with divisions of the tantric corpus: the purification of the (gross) psychophysical organism (*skandhas, dhātus, āyatanas*) with the "father tantras" (yogottaratantra texts), the (yogic) purification of the veins with the "mother tantras" (yoganiruttara/yoginītantras), and the purification of both with the "nondual tantras" *(Kālacakratantra, Nāmasaṃgīti)*. Our yoginītantra texts are not, in fact, recognizable under this classification, as they include both types of *viśuddhi*, gross and yogic.

470 YSCT ch. 13 (A6v. 6; B1or.1): *lakṣābhidhānatantrasya uddhṛtaṃ tena saṃvaraṃ / khasama<ta>nt<r>e piṇḍasāraṃ tvayā khyātaṃ, abhidhāne 'bhyudaye sthitaṃ /* "He has extracted the *[Laghu]saṃvara* from the *Lakṣābhidhāna;* you have proclaimed the essential core in the *Khasama[tantra];* it is found in the *[Heruka-] Abhidhāna* [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 Pañcarātra and the Buddhist Yoginītantras" 2001b), he shows that the yogic wandering through the *pīṭha*s, 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 *Niśisaṃcāra (ibid.)* 15.80c–97b and commentary.

471 For a comparison of the inner and outer methods, see GSS5 (Sed p. 141[14], K28r1): *<pra>muditā-vimalā-prabhākarī-arciṣmatī-abhimukhī-sudurjayā-dūraṅgamā-acalā-sādhumatī-dharmameghākhyā-daśabhūmiviśuddhyā krameṇa pīṭhopapīṭhā-dirūpaṃ kāyamaṇḍalam adhyātmayoginā bhāvayitavyam. tad uktam – caturviṃśati bhedena pīṭhādy atra vyavasthitam | atas tadbhramaṇenaiva khedaḥ kāryo na tāttvikaiḥ | kṣīyante dhātavas teṣāṃ bhramaṇād bāhyayoginām | ato bāhyaṃ nirākṛtya sthātavyaṃ yogininaye | iti.* Cf. Vajragarbha (*Hevajrapiṇḍārthaṭīkā* cited Snellgrove 1959: 69 n. 2): "externally these are places in the world without, where dwell those goddesses who run after flesh and blood and so keep to the towns, but internally these places exist in the body in the form of veins and there is no need to look elsewhere for them." Also Saraha's *Dohākośa* (*ibid.*: 70): "I have visited in my wanderings *kṣetra* and *pīṭha* and *upapīṭha,* for I have not seen another place of pilgrimage blissful like my own body."

472 In GSS5 (Sed p. 143[3], K29r2), these correlations appear somewhat as an afterthought, appearing at the very end of the body maṇḍala (i.e., after the text parallel to our §31): *vaktravāmadakṣiṇanāsāpuṭaṃ gudadvāreṣu krameṇa kākāsyādayo dvārapālyaḥ. savyāpasavyaśrotrasavy-āpasavyanetreṣu yamadāḍhyādayaḥ. hṛllalāṭakaṇṭhanābhikamalakarṇikāyāsu ḍākinyādayaś catasraḥ.* • *yamadāḍhyādayaḥ*] em.; *yamadāḍhyāt* K.

473 For the site goddesses "as" the veins, see *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5 Sed p. 142[19], K28v6): *teṣu pīṭhādiṣu tattatsthānagatā nāḍyas tattaddevatārūpeṇa pariṇamayya vyavasthitā bhāvyāḥ;* also Tsuda (1974: 55) citing Tsong kha pa: "*Ḍākinī* 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. 20ff.) and chapter 13 (vv. 41–42). Tsuda (1974: 260 n. 4) notes that these correlations are found "repeatedly" in tantric literature, and that they "furnish important internal evidence as to the relations between tantras of the Saṃvara literature."

475 This retranslates the passage from Tsuda's edition, expanding on the terse Sanskrit verses (SUT ch. 7 v. 3ff.): *nāḍisthānaṃ ca piṭhaṃ ca caturviṃśat-pramāṇataḥ / teṣāṃ madhye trayo nāḍya āśrayanti ca sarvagāḥ / 3 / pulliramalaye śirasi nakhadantavahā sthitā / jālaṃdharaśikhāsthāne keśaromasamāvahā / 4 / oḍḍiyāne dakṣiṇe karṇe nāḍī tvanmalavāhinī* / etc.

476 Kalff (1979: 197 n. 1) refers here to Dīgha Nikāya, sutta 22, vol. 2, Pali Text Society, London, 1903.

477 In the "self-consecration" *(svādhiṣṭhāna-)* method sādhana of Dhyāyīpāda (GSS34), the traditional Cakrasaṃvara contemplation of the maṇḍala-as-cosmos is replaced with a series of correlations for the eight cremation grounds in each direction of space. Here, each of the eight cremation grounds, and each of its eight features, is equated with a subtle aspect of the practitioner's psychophysical and yogic body, as shown in table iv below.

478 GSS5 (Sed p. 143[5], K2913): *iti sampūrṇaṃ kāyamaṇḍalaṃ muhurmuhu<r> dṛḍham adhimoktavyam.*

479 For parallels, see footnotes to the Translation, § 33.

480 GSS14 (K73r4): *dharmatā khalu lokānām īdṛśī tīvrakarmaṇaḥ / puṣpamātram ihaiva syāt paraloke phalaṃ mahat* / 17. • *paraloke*] em.; *paraloka* K.

481 GSS14 (K73v3): *yena yena vidhānena yatra yatra yathā yathā / adhimuktena cittena yat puṇyaṃ pariṇāmyate* / 24. / *tena tenāpi rūpeṇa tatra tatra tathā tathā / utpadyate tathā <phalaṃ?> kumbhakāraghaṭādivat* / 25.

482 GSS14 cont. (K73v5): *yad yad bhāvyate bhūyo bhūyaś ca pariṇāmyate / tat pratiphalaty eva darpaṇe sadasad yathā* / 26 / *...cittād eva na cānyasmāc chreyo-heyadvayāśrayaḥ / cittam eva hi saṃsāro nirvāṇaṃ cittam eva ca* / 28 • v. 26 *bhāvyate*] corr. (hypo.); *bhyavyate* K • *chreyoheya*] conj.; *chrethaya* K. Cf. GSS1 (K16r.1): *yena yena hi bhāvena manaḥ saṃyujyate nṛṇām / tena tanmayatāṃ yāti viśvarūpo maṇir yathā* • *yujyate*] em.; *pūjyate* K; "With whatever state *(bhāva-)* the mind of man is connected, it is to that [state] he goes, like the jewel in which everything [is contained]." This verse is widely attested, e.g., YSCT (ch. 11), and is clearly related to a similar verse cited in Śaiva sources, e.g., by Jayadratha in his *Viveka* on *Tantrāloka* 1.115, and by Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha in his commentary to the *Mṛgendratantra Kriyāpāda*, where he attributes it to the *Sarvasrotaḥsaṃgrahasāra*. (I thank Dr. Isaacson for these references.)

483 GSS14 (K73v2): *aṣṭottaraśatāhutyā satyadvayasamā<śra>yāt / cakravartitvabuddhatva<ṃ> phalam āhur muniśvarāḥ* / 22 • *muniśvarāḥ*] corr.; *maniśvarāḥ* K. Cf. YSCT ch. 16, vv. 8, 10.

484 To summarize some of the differences: (i) Śāśvatavajra's ritual texts are all marked by autograph verses of benediction and dedication, and/or colophons. The parallel passages in GSS5 and GSS11 describe the separate rites in a continuous body of text. (ii) There is some additional material in the GSS texts at

Endnote table iv. *Yogic body maṇḍala**

8 cremation grounds	⇔ apertures of the body	mouth, right nostril, anus, left nostril, right and left earholes, right and left pupils
8 protectors	⇔ sense consciousnesses	tongue, nose, body, mind, ear, defiled-mind, store, and eye consciousness
8 serpents	⇔ named winds	Aṣṭakoṭi, †Karkoṭaka†, Koṭa, †Koṭibha†, Kola, Kolava, Kolagandha, Kolibha
8 trees	⇔ named veins (*ṇāḍīs*)	Ugrā, Ghorā, Agnivadanā, Tejani, Khaṅgadhāraṇī, Cakrī, Sūcīmukhā, Kubjī
8 clouds	⇔ sense spheres *(-dhātuṃ)*	taste, olfactory, touch, "ideas" *(dharmadhātuṃ)*, sound, cognition *(vijñāna°)*, consciousness *(jñāna°)*, form

*The practice requires a knowledge of the Cakraṃsavara/Vajravārāhi body maṇḍala, as the eight apertures of the body are referred to cryptically by the name of the site in those systems. For example, the first cremation ground, Caṇḍogra, is correlated with the mouth, for which the text explains: "Caṇḍogra is in the entrance to Kaliṅga" (GSS34, K113r): *tatra śmaśānāni kaliṅgadvāre caṇḍogram*.... Kaliṅga, we find, is the site for the mouth in the Cakrasaṃvara/Vajravārāhi body maṇḍala. The cremation-ground body maṇḍala therefore draws on the traditional language of the body maṇḍala, but moves beyond it to a type of yogic practice based on exclusively on *kāpālika* cosmology.

The *Śmaśānālaṃkāratantra* (reported by Meisezahl 1980: 21–2) also mentions "secret" or "interior" cremation grounds *("guhyaśmaśānāni)* and describes a similar subtle body maṇḍala. This relates the five features of the cremation grounds to five groups of *nāḍīs* on the body: 8 *ṇāḍīs* at the tip of the nose (= 8 cremation grounds); 8 *nāḍīs* at the navel (= trees); 8 *nāḍīs* at the chest? *snying kar rca brgyad* (= *dikpālas*); 8 *nāḍīs* at the throat (= nāgas); 8 *nāḍīs* at the head *spyi bor rca brgyad* (= clouds). The eight cremation grounds are also equated with the eight types of consciousness in the *Viśeṣadyota* by Tathāgatavajra in the Peking Tengyur (Otani 2224, described in Meisezahl 1980: 7). Elsewhere they are also correlated with the eight doors of liberation (*ibid.*: 9).

§51 and §52 (in both GSS11 and GSS5). GSS5 also contains prescriptions for rites during the day and at midday and midnight junctures. (iii) The **Vidhisaṃgraha* includes the *Śmaśānavidhi* by Lūyīpāda, raising the possibility that cremation ground material appeared in a shared source, and that Umāpatideva drew upon this while reworking the material into his own verses, and drawing upon other sources such as the SUT; GSS5 omits any account of the crema-

tion grounds. (iv) The position and designation of the *Amṛtāsvādana* differs in the three texts. (v) For the *hastapūjā*, all three texts share a reference to the YSCT, stating that fuller prescriptions for the rite appear in that tantra. In Śāśvatavajra's text this appears in a colophon verse. Śāśvatavajra's *hastapūjā* text also appears by itself in the *Sādhanamālā* (SM253 pp. 498–500). (vi) The second, alternative, external worship in GSS11 (at §49) implies the (optional?) inclusion of the *hastapūjā* within the rite, an option that is explicit in Śāśvatavajra's text *(yadvā...)* because of his use of colophon verses to mark the separate rites in the series.

485 See Kane (1941) *History of Dharmaśāstra* (ch. 20, p. 741ff.) on the *"vaiśvadeva"* (including *baliharaṇa/bhūtayajñā*), and (ch. 18, p. 696ff.) on the *"pañcayajña."* For the latter, Kane states that the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* (11. 5.6.1.) contains the *locus classicus* for the *mahāyajñas* (*Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* 2.10), where they are defined as *devayajña* (offering to fire), *pitṛyajña (śrāddha)*, *bhūtayajña* (*bali* offering), *manuṣyayajña* (food to brahmins), and *brahmayajña* (study of the Vedas). The Gṛhyasūtras and Śrautasūtras refer to the *mahāyajñas* in the same terms, although sources differ as to the order in which the five are presented. Similarities between the brahmanical rite and the *bali* taught here include the prescriptions to perform the ritual at specified junctures of the day, the prior cooking of the food offerings, the lowly type of recipient (see Manu III vv. 87–93, Yājñavalkya I.103, and sources cited by Kane *ibid.*: 745–46, e.g., *Mahābhārata*, Vanaparvan II.59), and their propitiatory and even liberationist function, e.g., Manu II.28: *svādhyāyena vratair homais traividyenejyayā sutaiḥ / mahāyajñaiś ca yajñaiś ca brāhmīyaṃ kriyate tanuḥ.*

486 For example, in the Śaiva *Svacchandatantra* 3.206–210, *bali* is described as the concluding rite of the first day of initiation *[adhivāsadinam]* and is offered to all *bhūtas* (celestial, terrestial, and aerial), to the *kṣetrapālas*, *patitas*, and *śvapacas*. It is similar in the (unpublished) *Niśisaṃcāra*, in which esoteric *balis* of the five nectars and wine are offered by Mahāvratin sādhakas. The offerings are presented by sādhakas when they enter a power site, in order to gratify (and so placate) its guardian *(kṣetrapāla/sthānapāla)*, and are accompanied by wild laughter and the rattling of the *ḍamaru* drum, with a *balimantra (oṃ hrīṃ hūṃ he haḥ phaṭ 2...)*. This ritual has been taken over through the redaction of *Niśisaṃcāra* into Buddhist tantras such as the *Catuḥpīṭhatantra* (*Parapīṭha, paṭala* 3) and the *Vajraḍākatantra* 18.16. In Śaiva rites, the *bali* offerings may be to animals, *bhūtas*, the *mātṛs*, and yoginīs etc., e.g., *Netratantra* 19.112c: *tṛptyarthaṃ bhūtasaṃghasya mantrī rakṣārtham udyataḥ* (and its commentary): *saṅgho mātṛyoginyādigaṇaḥ*. The making of *bali* offerings to principal maṇḍala deities seems to be an innovation in Buddhist sources. I thank Professor Sanderson (1998: personal communication) for these references.

487 Of the twenty-six GSS texts that teach a *bali* ritual, most do indeed describe it at the end, or following the self-generation, e.g., GSS4, GSS5, GSS15, GSS18, GSS21 etc.

488 As in the *Vajravārāhī Sādhana*, the tasting of nectar appears in the *Abhisamaya-*

mañjarī following the self-generation, but in contrast to Umāpatideva's text, it appears in full at this stage. When he later describes the *balividhi*, Śākyarakṣita's text refers simply to the purification of the offering "as above," without naming it specifically as the *amṛtāsvādanam*, and without describing it again (GSS5 Sed p. 143[7], K29r3): *tato baliṃ dadyāt. bhojyādikaṃ puratah saṃsthāpya prāguktakrameṇa viśodhya.* Umāpatideva's text is therefore closer to Śāśvatavajra's *Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi* (pp. 56–58), in which the *amṛtāsvādana* also appears as an integrated part of the *balividhi*. Curiously, although the *Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi* describes the same process as that given the GSS texts, it never actually names the rite as the *"amṛtāsvādana."*

489 In the *Saptākṣarasādhana* (SM251), for example, the self-generation of the copulating deities is followed by worship: first with the traditional offerings of the sixteen goddesses (p. 493), and then with the *amṛtāsvādana* (p. 494). Similarly in GSS4, the tasting of nectar is a distinct means of worshiping the deity (K13v4): *pūjāstutyamṛtāsvādaṃ kṛtvā.* In SM219 the tasting of nectar is the preliminary to a rite of subjugation (p. 432: *vaśyavidhiḥ*).

490 E.g., GSS35 (K119v6): *yathālābhato hastapūjayā saṃpūjya amṛtam āsvādya gaṇabhojanaṃ ca vidhāya baliṃ dadyāt.* GSS16 (K8r6):*...mantraṃ japet. yāvad udvego na bhavati tāvad amṛtam āsvādayet. evaṃ balibhājanam ālokya vuṃ āṃ jrīṃ khaṃ hūṃ dravībhūtaṃ cintayed iti. ātmano jihvāgre candramaṇḍalopari nīlavajraṃ yavaphalamātraṃ raśmispharantaṃ vibhāvyam. tayā raśmyāvabhāsena nālikārupeṇātmānaṃ pāyayet dvādaśadevibhiḥ. evaṃ prīṇayet. pītvā mahāsukham anuvartet<a>. praṇidhānaṃ kuryāt. dvitīya<ṃ> balibhājana<ṃ> vistīrṇaṃ vicintayet. tatra bhaktakulattha-iṇḍariparpaṭi-*vaḍivata(?)*-matsyamāṃsapūpavyañjanamadyasīdhusurāphal † ophali † nānārasasaṃtoṣaṇaṃ kṛtvā puṣpadhūpadīpagandhamālyavilepananaivedyaṃ ca sthānaśmaśānavṛkṣanadī † parvatasthitālayeṣu † tebhyo dāpayet – oṃ vajrārali hoḥ jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ vajraḍākinyaḥ samayas tvaṃ dṛśya hoḥ – puṣpān avakirṇayet. – oṃ kha kha khāhi khāhi... – tataḥ praṇidhānaṃ ca.*

ālokya] corr.; *ālokṣa* K • *candramaṇḍalo*] corr.; *candramaṇḍalalo* K • *raśmispharantaṃ vibhāvyaṃ*] em.; *raśmipharantaṃ vibhāvyaḥ* K • *raśmyāvabhāsena*] corr.; *raśmyāvabhāśeṇa* K • *vaḍivata*(?)] perhaps for "*vaḍabānala*" (digestive powder)? • *naivedyaṃ*] corr.; *naivaidyaṃ* K • *parvatasthitālayeṣu*] conj.?; *parvatāsthitālayete* K. (Mss. N and D share the same corruptions, and introduce new ones.)

In other accounts, the "tasting of nectar" appears to be the ritual method "whereby" the *bali* is offered (e.g., GSS31 K104v2): *tad anu niṣpāditabalim amṛtāsvādavidhinānena mantreṇa dadyāt.*

491 The text has *"muṇḍa-,"* which could refer to a severed head, a dried-up head, or a complete skull. However the seed syllable *kaṃ* (see note to Translation) suggests "head" *(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 Tibet* plate 158 (pp. 380–81). However, skulls would perhaps seem more appropriate in that their color and shape mirrors the white sphere of the water element that normally follows the elements of wind and fire. Two separate plates

in Tanaka (1997) illustrate the two possibilities: three heads are depicted in the rNying ma tangka of Nyi ma 'od zer (no. 34: 92–93), and three skulls in a tangka of six-armed Hayagrīva (no. 57: 137).

492 This is the method attested in the dGe lugs tradition vividly described by K. Gyatso (1999: 61) "From the state of emptiness a blue letter YAṂ appears. This is the seed of the wind element.... The YAṂ transforms into a gigantic wind maṇḍala. This is blue, semi-circular in shape, and lies flat with its curved edge furthest from us. At both corners there is a fluttering white banner. The movement of the banners activates the wind maṇḍala causing the wind to blow. Above the wind maṇḍala there appears a red letter RAṂ.... This letter transforms into a triangular fire maṇḍala that is flat and red. It has one corner pointing toward us, directly above the straight edge of the wind maṇḍala, and the other two corners above the semi-circular edge of the wind maṇḍala. This red triangle, which is slightly smaller than the wind maṇḍala, is the core of the fire maṇḍala. As this core is fanned by the wind, red-hot flames blaze and cover the whole wind maṇḍala. Above the fire maṇḍala there appear three AḤ letters of different colors. The letter AḤ above the eastern point, the point closest to us, is white; the letter above the northern point, to our right, is red; and the letter above the southern point, to our left, is blue. These letters transform into three large human heads in the same colors as the letters from which they developed. A large white letter AḤ...appears above the center of the three heads. This transforms into a vast skullcup, white outside and red inside, which rests on top of the heads."

493 In the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*, the nectars are listed cryptically as: "honey, blood, and *karpūra*, with *rakta*, and sandalwood." (1.10cd, 11cd): ...*madhu raktaṃ sakarpūraṃ raktacandanayojitam*. Bhavabhaṭṭa decodes the list in his commentary on the root text: "When practising meditation, before it begins, he should eat a pellet of *go-ku-da-ha-na* [the flesh of a cow *(go-)*, a dog *(kukkuraḥ)*, a horse *(damyaḥ)*, an elephant *(hastī)*, and a man *(naraḥ)*] and the five nectars; for this removes any obstacles [that might have impeded his practice]. In [the passage] beginning with the word 'honey' *(madhu)* the [revealer of the text] teaches another form of direct worship that consists in the practice of [these] five nectars. 'Honey' means semen, because of the latter's resemblance to it; for it is agreed that [semen] destroys the three defects when included. The term 'blood' [that follows] is meant literally. *'Karpūra'* is flesh, that [whose existence is] established through the addition and elision of sounds, [the term *karpūram* being used here not in its literal sense, namely 'camphor,' but etymologically as] that which causes joy (*kar-* from *kam* 'joy') to fill (*pūra-* from the causative of √*pṛ* 'to be full') the body. *"Rakta"*†...† [means "urine"]. 'Sandalwood' means Vairocana [i.e., feces] because [defecation like sandalwood] is a source of delight]." *Cakrasaṃvaravivṛti* (f. 18r–v): *bhāvanāñ ca kurvvāṇo gokudahanānāṃ pañcāmṛtasya ca vaṭikāṃ bhāvanārambhe bhakṣayet. tena hi nirvvighnatā.... aparāṃ pañcāmṛtasevārūpāṃ sākṣātpūjām āha madhv ityādi. madhusādharmyāt madhu śukraṃ, saṃyoge tridoṣaghnatvena saṅketitatvāt. raktaṃ prasiddham. kaṃ*

*sukhaṃ śarīre pūrayatīti karppūraṃ varṇṇāgamavināśābhyāṃ siddha(i)ṃ. ta*c ca* māṅsaṃ. † 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): *padmabhājanaṃ, tanmadhye vuṃ āṃ jiṃ khaṃ huṃ etatpariṇāmena pañcāmṛtapañcapradīpaṃ svabījāṅkitaṃ.* See HT1.2.2 for the five syllables of the buddhas (with Snellgrove's comments 1959: 50 n.2).

Tibetan sources, following a Cakrasaṃvara sādhana, describe a much more complex visualization in which ten syllables (of the buddhas and their consorts) are seen to transform the substances and animal corpses, each of which has been assigned to a particular direction. This is summarized from Beer (1999: 327–30, with plate 141) and K. Gyatso (1999: 62) in the following table:

Endnote table v. *Seed-syllables for nectars and lights*

	GSS11 v. 62ff.	GSS5 K23r1	GSS16 K8r6		(Tibetan) *Cakrasaṃvara Sādhana*	
	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
Ratnasaṃbhava	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
Māmakī	māṃ	māṃ		SW	blue *māṃ*	⇒ red/blue corpse of dog
Pāṇḍaravāsinī	pāṃ	pāṃ		NW	red *pāṃ*	⇒ white corpse of elephant
Tārā	tāṃ	tāṃ		NE	green *tāṃ*	⇒ green corpse of horse
(Vajravārāhī)				Mid	red *vaṃ*	⇒ *red human corpse*

495 *Vajrāvalī* (ŚP f. 120v): *hahohrīḥkārair yathākramaṃ hṛtaprākṛtagandhavarṇavīryaṃ.* 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 *hrīḥ!* [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. 135[13], K23r3): *tadbāṣpasparśāt...; Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi* (p. 57): *pāradavarṇahūṃbhāvādhomukhāmṛtamayaśuklakhatvāṅge vilīne.*

Sobisch (2001: personal communication) notes that in the Tibetan Cakra-

saṃvara tradition, both the staff and the syllable *hūṃ* are produced from the steam of the boiling liquid. He provides and translates the text of the commentary by bsTan 'dzin padma'i rgyal mtshan, as follows: "The *huṃ* syllable which is the form that manifests from the steam of that [boiling nectar] points head-down. Even though the syllable *huṃ* is not directly mentioned in the text [of the ritual of evoking the deity], one must visualize it, because the *sDom 'byung* teaches: 'Above that a white *khaṭvāṅga* staff arises from the mercury-colored *huṃ*.' The *huṃ* melts and a white *khaṭvāṅga* that is the nature of absolute *bodhicitta* of the Heruka's mental stream of consciousness [arises], the peak pointing down. A stream of *bodhicitta* nectar drips [down]. The staff, too, having melted [starting] with the braid(?) below, becomes inseparable with the nectar inside the scull cup by... *ldem gyi lhung ba* (?). Visualize that thereby the ocean of nectar has turned white, is cool to the touch, and has become the own-nature of *bodhicitta*." (p. 690): *de'i rlangs pa las grub pa'i rnam pa hum yig mgo mthur bstan, hum yig tshig gis ma zin kyang sdom byung du, de'i steng ngul chu'i mdog can gyi hum las byung ba'i kha twang ga dkar po gsungs pas dmigs dgos, de zhu ba dang he ru ka'i thugs rgyud don dam byang chub sems kyi ngo bo kha twang ga dkar po rtse mo thur lta, byang chub sems kyi bdud rtsi'i rgyun 'dzag pa, de nyid kyang 'og gi slas(?) pas zhu nas thod pa'i nang du ldem gyi lhung bas bdud rtsi dang dbyer med du 'dres pas, bdud rtsi'i rgya mtsho kha dog dkar po, reg bya bsil ba, byang chub sems kyi rang bzhin du gyur par dmigs.*

497 GSS5 (Sed p. 135[11], K23r2): *tadupari tryakṣaram uparyupari dṛṣṭvā tadraśmibhis trailokyodaravartisarvāmṛtena sārdham aśeṣatathāgatahṛdayavarti jñānāmṛtam ākṛṣya tatraivāntarbhāvya kramaśa<s> tryakṣareṇāpi vilīnai<ḥ>*. Cf. SM251 (p. 494): *tataḥ oṃ-āḥ-hūṃ-ity uccarya sarvadevatānām amṛtam ākṛṣya tatraiva praveśayet, anenaivādhiṣṭhāya...* • *hūṃ*] conj. Sanderson; *huṃ* SMed. See also VĀ (ŚP f. 120v–121r) and the graphic descriptions in K. Gyatso (1999: 63).

498 I am grateful to Professor Sanderson for explaining this passage (p. 57): *tadupari ālikāliparipiṇatān oṃ-āḥ-huṃkārān anukrameṇoparyuparisthitān tebhyaḥ sphuritaraśminā daśadigvarttivīravīreśvarīṇāṃ jñānāmṛtapradīpaṃ saṃkramaṇanayāyena tricakrākāram ākṛṣya jagadarthaṃ kārayitvā samāpattipūrvakaṃ dravībhūya yathāyathaṃ teṣu praviṣṭaṃ † sakalasāgarādisthaṃ ca † tata oṃkārādikaṃ kramavilīnam avalokya tryakṣareṇa yāvadiccham adhitiṣṭhet.* • *hūṃbhavā*] em.; *huṃbhāvā* Finot.

499 Sanderson (1998: personal communication) explains *saṃkramaṇanayāya* as the yogin's method of extracting the essences of a victim, of transferring them to himself, and from himself into a skull bowl for offering to the maṇḍala deities. This imaginary process of transferral is usually accomplished along a "circuit of energy" that runs from the sādhaka 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 K8r16 (n. 490); also GSS5 (Sed p. 135[15], K23r5 cont.): *punas*

tryakṣareṇādhiṣṭhāyātmano māṇḍaleyadevināṃ ca jihvāyāṃ śuklahūṃkārajayavaphalapramāṇaṃ śuklavajraṃ dhyātvā tadraśminalikayā prāśanaṃ kuryāt. tato vakṣyamāṇāṣṭapadārcanamantraiḥ stuyāt. • *nalikayā*] em.; *nalikayābhiḥ* K.

501 For other references to the *bali* ritual in GSS texts, see GSS31 (K104r–v); SM251 (p. 495); GSS5 (Sed p. 143[7], K29r–v=*Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi* p. 57); GSS35 (K119r); GSS36 (K121r).

502 E.g., YSCT (8th *paṭala* A4r, B5v): *ākrāntapādordhvadṛṣṭiṃ (>s) tu;* with commentary *Yoginīsaṃcāranibandha*/"*Saṃcāratantrapañjikā*" cited by Sanderson 1994: *ūrdhvadṛṣṭiṃ tv iti vāmavalitordhvadṛṣṭyā.*

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 *pheṭ* see YSCT (8th *paṭala* A4r, B5v), VĀ (f. 123r.); and for *pheṃ* see GSS4, GSS36, SM251. The syllable is not always given, e.g., *Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi* (p. 57), ADUT (ch. 14, p. 326).

504 The term used in our sources is "*jālāmudrā,*" e.g., GSS31 (K104r–v): *vajrāñjalim ūrdhvavikacāṃ kṛtvā tad anu jālāmudrāṃ vidhāya, āvartyāvartyena virayoginīr ākṛṣya...* • *virayoginīr*] em.; *virayoginīnāṃ* K; *Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi* (p. 57): *tato jālāmudrātanmantrābhyām ānītaṃ sarvākāraniṣpannaṃ maṇḍalaṃ purato avasthāpya...;* GSS5 (Sed p. 143[7], K29r–v): *tato baliṃ dadyāt. bhojyādikaṃ purataḥ saṃsthāpya prāguktakrameṇa viśodhya jālāmudrātanmantrābhyām ānītaṃ sarvākāraniṣpannaṃ maṇḍalacakraṃ purato 'vasthāpya...;* GSS36 (K121r): *tato lalāṭe jālāmudrāṃ vāmāvartena bhrāmayet pheṃkāranādam uccārayet kūrmapatanapādordhvadṛṣṭyā, anena yoginyākarṣaṇam....* This is a something of a hybrid between **jvālāmudrā* (the flame mudrā), and **jālamudrā* (the "net gesture"). Both are appropriate images for the mudrā, which could either be said to resemble a flame or to function like a net for "drawing in" the deities—a process sometimes accomplished with a "net of rays," *raśmijāla.* The former *(jvālāmudrā)* is rare in our texts, and appears only once in the GSS, in GSS35 (K119r): *tad anu jvālāmudrāṃ baddhvā phetkāraśabdena viravīreśvarīparivṛtaṃ jñānacakraṃ puro dṛṣṭvā....* This is the version transmitted into Tibetan, however. It is elsewhere described as the "vajra-offering gesture, open at the top," e.g., SM251, GSS31 (K104v1): *vajrāñjalim ūrdhvavikacāṃ kṛtvā,* and as a "vajra hook," ADUT ch. 9, SM226 (p. 441): *vajrāṅkuśyādiyogena ākṛṣya.*

505 The full verse reads: *kṛtvāgragranthyā khalu madhyasūcī<ṃ> / aṅguṣṭhavajrau dṛḍha saṃprayojya* (or: *saṃprapīḍya*) */ saṃsthāpya tāṃ madhyalalāṭadeśe / āvartivartena bhrāmayet.* It is cited, with variants, at YSCT (8th *paṭala* A4r, B5v) with gloss in *Yoginīsaṃcāranibandha* (f. 3v4, cited Sanderson 1994); ADUT (ch. 9 p. 287); ADUT (ch. 14, p. 326); HĀ (f12v); cf. GSS4 (K13v–14r). Sanderson (1999: personal communication) explains that the verse, translated freely, may be understood in two ways: (1) "He should make the shape of a pyramid between [his hands] by joining the tips [(of the index fingers?) of both hands] and firmly pressing together the [tips of the] two vajra-thumbs." (2) "Make straight the two middle fingers while joining their tips and firmly join/press together the [tips of the] two vajra-thumbs." The second does not

accord with the method used in the Tibetan tradition today (shown in fig. 35 above); however, Sanderson proposes it is the prefered interpretation, as it is similar to the blossoming lotus mudrā *(vikasitakamalamudrā)* described in SM24 p. 60 below (see n. 516).

506 GSS5 (Sed p. 143[8], K29r4≈*Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi* p. 57): *maṇḍalacakraṃ purato 'vasthāpyārghādikapuraḥsaraṃ saṃpūjyālikāliparipiṇatacandrasūryasvabhāvakaradvayāntargatahūṃkāraṃ dṛṣṭvā – oṃ anyonyānugatāḥ sarvadharmāḥ atyantānupraviṣṭāḥ sarvadharmā hūṃ – ity uccāraṇapūrvakaṃ candrasūryārūḍhahūṃkāraparipiṇāmena vajrāñjalikṛtakaratale tad amṛtabhāṇḍam avasthāpya dhyātvā vā, abhimatasiddhyartham iti paṭhet. – devyaḥ pramāṇaṃ samayaḥ pramāṇaṃ...*etc.

507 The Cakrasaṃvara-related *balividhi*s describe a rite in which "actual" foods are also involved, laid out prior to the ceremony in front of the mantrin (*Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi* p. 56): *prathamato...mantrī bhakṣyabhojādikaṃ puratah saṃsthāpya.* Cf. the rite according to the *Saṃvaratantra* in the *Vajrāvali,* in which the yogin points with his right hand to the bowl of nectar in his left (ŚP f. 123v): *pādyādidānapūrvakaṃ pūrvavat trimaṇḍalaviśuddhyā vāmakaratale candrasthitahūṃjaviśvavajranābhāv amṛtabhāṇḍam āropya dhyātvā vā vajramuṣṭikṛtasavyakaraprasṛtatarjanyā tad darśayan.*

508 In the *Sāṃvarikasarvabhautikabalividhi* (VĀ ŚP f. 123r), the VĀ provides a rather different version of the *balividhi* according to the Saṃvara system. This is more clearly related to the rite according to the Samāja system, *Sāmājikasarvabhautikabalividhi* (VĀ ŚP f. 121r.1), said to be according to the method of the *Piṇḍikrama* (Nāgārjuna) and the *Caturaṅga* (Buddhajñānapāda), and also to the Hevajra-based rite, *Haivajrikasarvabhautikabalividhi* (VĀ ŚP f. 124 v. 6).

509 *Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi* (p. 58)≈GSS5 (Sed p. 144[11], K30r2): *tadamṛtabhakṣaṇād dikpālādayo mahāsukhasamarpitavigrahā bhāvyāḥ;* GSS16 (K81v1): *evaṃ prīṇayet. pītvā mahāsukham anuvarteta* (understand: causative).

510 GSS31 (K104r1) prescribes a *bali* ritual to be performed in secrecy at midnight, in which the yogin is to assume the warrior stance of the deity and stand naked with loose hair on a hilltop facing south (cf. ADUT ch. 14, p. 326). Note also the *bali* ritual in HT2.4, which mentions protection *(sattvānāṃ prāṇarakṣāya vighnād vināyakād api)* and then lists the types of siddhi that will ensue from the worship of "all beings" through utterance of the *bali* mantras and *apabhraṃśa* verses (HT2.4.89c–95d): *vaśyābhicāraripusainyanāśanam uccāṭanamāraṇākarṣaṇaṃ ca śāntisukhaṃ pauṣṭikaṃ bhavet ca.*

511 The term is unexplained by Tsuda, but Sanderson (1999: personal communication) translates "teacher's assistant." According to the rites of the *Kriyāsamuccaya,* the *karmavajrin* is a ritual specialist, much like the *karmācārya* in Newar ritual practice, whose task is to ensure the correct performance of the rites (Gellner 1992: 273, with n.25).

512 VĀ (ŚP f. 122ff.): *anyārtham api balipradāne mantre yathāsaṃbhavaṃ me mameti vā yathāvasthitam eva paṭhanīyaṃ. sa cātmatvenādhimoktavyaḥ. asyopakāre mamaivopakāro bhavatīty āśayato hitakāryasiddhir bhavati. anantare ca tadartham vijñāpayed....* This Samāja *bali* ritual is more complex than the rite out-

lined in our texts. The *bali* offerings are made to the ten *krodhas* and/or fifteen protectors (the eight protectors plus seven brahmanical gods in between), in an external rite that is to take place away from the meditation hut. In this rite, the recipients are represented by clay balls *(mṛtpiṇḍī)* surmounted by appropriately colored banners arranged on the ground in their respective directions. Beyond those, the mantrin should offer saucers of milk to the eight nāgas who are either represented by clay balls or by circular cow pats *(gomayakṛtamaṇḍala-),* and outside that, he is to strew *bali* of boiled rice and five streams of the "pure" nectars—ghee, honey, water, wine, and milk—while circumambulating. Sanderson (1997: personal communication) notes that this is very similar to the standard Śaiva *bali,* also called "external" *(bāhya-).*

513 The form of the mantra is: *oṃ vajra-*[name of *krodha*] *vajra imaṃ baliṃ gṛhṇa amukasya śāntiṃ rakṣāṃ ca kuru hūṃ phaṭ.* The names of the ten *krodhas* to be inserted into the mantras are: (1) Vajrahūṃkāra, (2) Vajradaṇḍa, (3) Vajrānalārka, (4) Vajrakuṇḍali, (5) Vajrayakṣa, (6) Vajrakāla, (7) Vajramahābala, (8) Vajrabhīṣaṇa, (9) Vajroṣṇīṣacakravarti, and (10) Vajrapātāla. They are understood to occupy a circle of protection with ten "spokes" radiating from the central point of the meditation hut *(sakrodhadaśārarakṣācakra-).* For the protective function of the ten *krodhas*, see also the "rite of expelling obstacles" (*vighnanivāraṇavidhi* VĀ, ŚP f. 252.3).

514 E.g., GSS18 (K83r5): *dadyāt niśāyāṃ baliṃ sarvamārapraśamanam;* GSS15 (K74v2): *samayī sthānātmayogarakṣāyai sarvavighnopaśamanamantram udīrayet. oṃ hrīḥ gha 2 ghātaya 2 sarvaduṣṭān hūṃ phaṭ svāhā.* Cf. *Vajrāvalī* ŚP (f. 120r7): *atroktavidhiṣu kāryāntareṣu cādāv ante ca vighnopaśāntaye baliṃ dadyāt.*

515 VĀ (ŚP f. 126r4): *etac cotpattikrame balividhitrayam. utpannakrame tu prajñopāyānuccalitena cetasā samanvāhāramātrānītebhyaḥ prajñopāyarupebhya eva sveṣṭamaṇḍaleśādidevatāsahitendrādibhyo jñānarasāvyatiriktasya baler upaḍhaukanaṃ balividhiḥ.*

516 On the *"kamalāvartamudrā"* (GSS11, Finot p. 58) also *"kamalāvartanamudrā"* (GSS5 Sed p. 144[16], K30r5/ Sed p. 148[1], K33r4), Durjayacandra's commentary on the *Catuḥpīṭhatantra* states (f. 44r4–5): *mārutapreraṇāt prabuddhapadmasyeva prasṛtāṅguler agrapāṇiyugasya nartanaṃ kamalāvartaḥ.* (I am grateful to Dr. Isaacson for this reference.) The "blossoming-lotus mudrā" in SM24 may be related (p. 60): *kiñcit ucchritaṃ saṃputāñjaliṃ kṛtvā madhyame sūcīkuryāt śeṣāś cāṅgulyaḥ kiṃcit saṃkocya sammukham asaṃśliṣṭā dhārayet, anguṣṭhau tarjanīdvayasamīpe sthāpayed iti vikasitakamalamudreyam.* There is also a dance movement of the hands called *kamalavartanikā* (Bose 1970: 151–52). In GSS7, a twelve-armed Vajravārāhī is visualized revolving the vajra and bell in her fingers with the *kamalāvartamudrā* (K40r6): *vajraghaṇṭākaravyagrā kamalāvartavartinī,* and the four-armed *ekavīrā* mothers also (each at the center of their individual cakras, K41r3): *tadvad ghaṇṭādharāḥ sarvāḥ kamalāvartavartinyaḥ.* For the bell as feminine consort, see *Jñānasiddhi* 15.24: *prajñā ghaṇṭābhidhīyate* (cited *Bauddhatantrakośa* p. 35).

It is perhaps this gesture that is depicted in the bronze of Mahāsiddha

Ghaṇṭāpā and consort as Cakrasaṃvara and Vajravārāhī, which depicts the male adept waving the vajra and bell gracefully aloft while his diminutive consort drinks from her skull bowl in his lap (sixteenth- to seventeenth-century Tibetan bronzes in the Victoria and Albert Museum illustrated in *Sacred Art of Tibet* plate 40, and Rawson 1973 plate 105). In a Tibeto-Chinese brass of Guhyasamāja Akṣobhyavajra in embrace with Sparśavajrā, it is the consort who holds a vajra and bell stretched aloft and to the side, perhaps with a revolving motion (fifteenth or sixteenth century in the Asian Art Museum of San Fransisco, *Sacred Art of Tibet* plate 101, p. 277; the attributes are missing in the brass but can be inferred from the text of GSS6).

517 The final gesture may comprise one snap of finger and thumb (GSS11 K67v, GSS5 Sed p. 144^{17}, K30r5 and Sed p. 146^{11}, K32r1), three snaps (GSS11 K69v), or the fourth finger *(anāmikā)* touching the ground (GSS11 K68v, Sed p. 148^{2}, GSS5 K33r5).

518 Other texts specify a *dharmodayā* (i.e., a triangle) inside a triangle (e.g., GSS35), or a square containing a triangle (e.g., GSS25). The parallel account (*bāhyapūjāvidhi*=GSS5) prescribes a square maṇḍala in the first *bāhyapūjā*, with the syllables of the sites (*pu, jā,* etc.) probably drawn onto it, representing the ten places. In the alternative *bāhyapūjā*, the parallel texts enjoin a double *dharmodayā* with a circle inside it (Finot 1934: 55): *trikoṇacakradvayam ālikhya tanmadhye ca vartulamaṇḍalam.*

519 E.g., GSS5 (Sed p. 125^{8}, K14v4): *pañcavaṭikādiprayogapariśodhitavaktro yogī;* GSS3=GSS16 (K11v7/K76r3): *samayaguḍikāṃ mukhe prakṣipya.* Referring to the root tantra *(Cakrasaṃvaratantra* 1.10cd, 11cd: *samayān pālayen nityaṃ...)* Bhavabhaṭṭa also explains how *"samaya"* denotes the five nectars (cited Sanderson *ibid.*): "he should preserve the pledges" means "eating the pledges, relishing the five nectars in the circle of the assembly with the drinking of *soma*," *Cakrasaṃvaravivṛti* (f. 18r–v): *samayapālanaṃ samayabhakṣaṇaṃ pañcāmṛtabhakṣaṇaṃ gaṇacakre somapānavat pañcāmṛtāsvādaḥ.* Jayabhadra, another commentator on the root tantra observes: "The word *samaya* has two meanings: (1) that which is to be observed [i.e., a post-initiatory rule] and (2) that which is to be eaten." *Cakrasaṃvarapañjikā: samayo dvividhaḥ rakṣaṇīyo bhakṣaṇīyaś ca* (cited Sanderson *ibid.*, f. 5r).

520 GSS35 (K120v1): *kuṃkumagorocanāsindūreṇānyatamena vā;* GSS2 (K11v2): *rajasvalākanyāprathamasvayambhūkusumena;* GSS2 (K11v3): *asṛkhiṅgulamiśraṃ kṛtvā likhitvā ca.*

521 GSS2 (K11v3): *cauryakeśalekhanyā.* Cf. *cauryakeśakṛtāṃ mukuṭāṃ* (HT1.6.15). Snellgrove notes that the intended meaning of *cauryakeśa* is *cauḍakeśa* "piled up hair," but Sanderson (1998: personal communication) points out that the meaning is rather a "crown" made from the hair of a thief *(caurya* for *caura);* and that this is confirmed by the Tibetan *rkun ma'i (caura) skra las (-keśa-) cod pan (mukuṭī-).* Kāṇha glosses **caurakeśaḥ* (em: *cauryakeśaḥ* Snellgrove) with the word, *udbaddhakeśaḥ,* but this does not mean the hair "piled up" (Snellgrove's *"cauḍa"*), but "[a criminal] who has been hanged." Sanderson notes

several other citations in support of *udbaddha-* with this sense, e.g., Vajragarbha's commentary cited HT vol. I: 65, n. 1; KYT 7.10: *udbaddhasya keśena;* KYT-*vyākhyā* (p. 68): *vṛkṣāvalambitam udbaddham;* and Śaiva sources, e.g., *Picumata* 3.32d–93: *tato nimbaṃ samālikhet / saptaḍālaṃ mahābhīmaṃ citibhiḥ prajvalantibhiḥ | ekaikasmiṃ likhet ḍāle nagnam udbaddhakaṃ 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, Yoginīsaṃcāra* (8.71d–72b): *diśair vṛkṣān samālikhet | udbaddhanarapracchannān.*

522 These texts were introduced to me by Professor Sanderson (1999: personal communication). They are the *Cakrasaṃvarapūjāvidhi* (NGMPP D35/25) and *Hevajrasaṃkṣiptatrisamādhipūjā* (Takaoka DH 372). Sanderson *(ibid.)* outlines the stages of the rite as follows: the *ādiyoga* section, followed by the *maṇḍalādiyoga* (similar sequences of preparatory meditations and self-generations, but for the full maṇḍala), the *sūkṣmayoga* (completion-stage practices), *japa* with a rosary, *balividhi,* and concluding rites.

523 Sanderson *(ibid.)* lists the contents of the *ādiyoga* as follows: (1) *śūnyatābhāvanā,* (2) *karaśodhanam,* (3) *ghaṇṭāvādanam,* (4) *śaṅkhādhiṣṭhānam,* (5) *balyadhiṣṭhānam,* (6) *maṇḍalādhiṣṭhānam,* (7) *mantrapātraśodhanam* (skull vessel), (8) installation of twenty-four syllables of *pīṭhas* etc., (9) *aṅganyāsaḥ* (*oṃ ha hi svāhā,* etc.), (10) purification of body, speech, and mind, (11) installation of deities in *skhandas, āyatanas,* and *dhātus,* (12) generation-in-front of maṇḍala (Heruka with eight yoginīs), (13) protection, expulsion of obstacles, (14) bringing of knowledge deities, (15) offering of a flower to each deity on the maṇḍala with their mantras, the five offerings, praise, etc., ringing of bell, (16) eight-part mantra, (17) hand worship, (18) one hundred-syllabled mantra, (19) *anuttarapūjā.*

524 The Textual Notes cite GSS5, which is almost identical to Śāśvatavajra's *Hastapūjāvidhi* (Finot pp. 54–55) and SM253 (pp. 498–500). Śāśvatavajra's *Hastapūjāvidhi* contains a colophon following the *hastapūjā* (and its stated source in the *[Yoginī]-Saṃcāratantra*). It continues with the alternative *bāhyapūjā* text *(yadvā...)* and supplies a second colophon verse at the end of that, which also describes the rite as a *hastapūjā* (cited in Textual Notes). This *hastapūjā* text is also published in Meizezahl (1985: 29ff), although with some errors (e.g., he omits the buddha Akṣobhya in his translation, thus mistakenly reducing the buddhas to five).

Reference to the rite in the *Yoginīsaṃcāratantra* scripture is scant, with only the passing remark that if the yogin is poor then he may obtain what he needs (food, drink, clothes, etc.) by means of the hand worship (A7r4; B11v2): *yogidaridram arthī syāt hastapūjena sepsitaṃ (=saṭipsitam) prāpya...,* and a further praise of the *hastapūjā* in the fourteenth *paṭala.* The consistent acknowledgment of a source in which the rite is not fully explained suggests either that our ritual texts relied on a different recension of the tantra, or upon a shared (Cakrasaṃvara-based) source other than the YSCT, which also makes this claim.

525 *Kriyāsamuccaya*'s *Gaṇacakravidhi* (cited Gellner 1992: 297, f. 411): *prajñāhīnaṃ yac cakraṃ tac cakraṃ maṇḍamelakam.* Gellner *(ibid.)* records that for Newar Buddhists today, a *gaṇacakra* is a sacramental meal after a tantric ritual.

For alcoholic substances, see *Cakrasaṃvaravivṛti* (f. 181–v cited above n. 519). The *Kriyāsamuccaya* mentions foods, e.g., (f. 411): *tad uktagaṇacakravidhinā maṇḍalāgāre khānapānādibhiś...* and sexual yogic practice, including the types of consort spelled out in its *Niśācakram,* (f. 409): *yoginīyogatantreṣu yaduktaṃ gaṇamelakaṃ. ...vajraṃ padme pratiṣṭhāpya bodhicittaṃ na cotsṛjet. ...evaṃvidhe niśācakre varjana<ṃ> naiva kasyacit. jananī<ṃ> bhaginī<ṃ> caiva duhitaṃ bhāgineyakāṃ. māmakasya tathā bhāryāṃ svasṛkāṃ ˉ tathā punaḥ / pitubhaginī mātuś ca aṣṭau prajñā<ḥ> susiddhidā<ḥ>. etāsāṃ pūjanaṃ karya<ṃ> bolakakkolayogataḥ.*

526 The parallel texts also mention the goddesses who traditionally empower the psychophysical organism. As yoginītantra reflexes of the mothers, these goddesses are also consorts to the five buddhas. Śāśvatavajra's *Hastapūjāvidhi* opens with the yogin's conviction that on his hand are the elements with the nature of the goddesses (SM253, p. 498): *svavāmakarasthān pṛthivyaptejovāyvākāśadhātūn pātanīmāraṇī-ākarṣaṇīnarteśvarīpadmajālinīsvabhāvān adhimucya....* As the buddhas are then placed immediately on the hand, there is an implicit pairing of the deities in union. Śākyarakṣita (GSS5) moves this prescription to a later point in the rite (between the text equivalent to GSS11 §46 and §47) that renders it less significant. Umāpatideva's omission of this line may be to accommodate his single-sex maṇḍala; he is unable to remove the male buddhas from the *hastapūjā,* but he can remove any trace of their union.

527 GSS5 (Sed p. 146[15], K3213) (cited Textual Notes) describes them as "their nails' face" *(-tannakhamukheṣu).* In the Tibetan text of the sādhana, the sixth buddha is placed only on "the thumb's face" (see apparatus: **aṅguṣthamukha*). Sobisch (2001: personal communication), however, confirms that other Tibetan sources also place the syllables on all the nails collectively, in line with oral instructions. E.g., bsTan 'dzin padma'i rgyal mtshan's commentary reads: on the (lit.:) "combined nails" (p. 801: *sen mo bsdus pa*).

528 The same inversion of the three syllables is prescribed below in the alternative external worship at §50. For the traditional correlation see GSS5 (Sed p. 134[11], K2213): *tad anu lalāṭakaṇṭhahṛdayeṣu oṃ-āḥ-hūṃ-ityakṣarāṇi śuklaraktanīlāni niveśayet,* and for example, the Khasarpaṇa-Lokeśvara sādhanas, e.g., SM13 (p. 37): *tataḥ śirasi oṃkāraṃ, kaṇṭhe āḥkāraṃ, hṛdi huṃkāram,* and for other prescriptions, SM70 (p. 142): *[añjaliṃ] hṛdi ūrṇāyāṃ kaṇṭhe mūrdhni nyaset;* SM95 (p. 191): *kāyavākcitteṣu oṃ-āḥ-hūṃkāraparipatāḥ khecarī-bhūcarī-nairātmāś cintanīyāḥ; Hevajrasekaprakriyā* (p. 17): *adhiṣṭhāya mahāmudrāṃ buddhais traidhātukasaṃsthitaiḥ, śirohṛtpādadeśeṣu oṃ hūṃ āḥ iti tryakṣaraiḥ.*

529 This is also suggested by Śāśvatavajra's parallel text (Finot p. 57: *"yadvā..."*), as it is included as part of the text of the *Hastapūjāvidhi.* This portion opens with a benediction and closes with a dedication of merit, both of which refer to the *hastapūjā.*

530 In contrast, the parallel texts (cited in Textual Notes) state that it is for the *gaṇacakra* to preside *(gaṇacakrādhiṣṭhānārthaṃ cādhyeṣya)*, presumably because they deal with the generation of the complete maṇḍala in the first instance, and not optionally, as in Umāpatideva's version of the rite.

531 GSS14 (K72v3–6): *kuṇḍaṃ ca kārayet karmabhedadharmaprabhedataḥ | caturasraṃ vartulaṃ tryasraṃ rephāṅkitamadhyagam | 5. | svahṛdbījāṃśu<ṃ> samutsṛjya jñānāgniṃ jainam uttamam | pradīpakalikākāraṃ karṣayed diptivattaram | 6. | kuṇḍamadhye nyased agni<ṃ> bhāva<ye>c ca caturbhujam | varadākṣasūtrakamaṇḍalūlkādaṇḍadhāriṇa<m> | 7. | sphuradrūpaṃ kumārākāraṃ raktavarṇaṃ prabhāsvaram | kapilacchagalārūḍha<ṃ> piṅga<la>-jvālayāvṛtam | 8. | hṛdaye tasya saṃviṣṭāṃ bhāvayen nijadevatām | argham dadyāt sācamanaṃ praṇāmādipuraskṛtam | 9.*

• v. 5cd unmetric.; possibly emend 5d *rephāṅkitaṃ ca madhyagam* • (v. 6) *pradīpakali<kā>kāraṃ*] conj.; *pradīpakalikāraṃ* K (lit: a great luster "with the form of a streak of a lamp") • (v. 7) *sūtrakamaṇḍalū*] unmetric. • (v. 8) 8a and 8c unmetric.; cf. SM36 where Avalokiteśvara has a similar form. • (v. 9) *saṃviṣṭāṃ*] conj.; *saṃviṣṭa* K.

532 *Saṃputodbhavatantra* 6.3.17d cited below: *prajñāgni-;* GSS5, cited Textual Notes: *śūnyatākaruṇādvayatraidhātukacakrākārajñānavahni-.*

533 I am grateful to Professor Sanderson and Dr. Isaacson respectively for pointing out these two passages: *Saṃputodbhavatantra* (SpU) *Vasantatilakā* section 6.3.18–22b (text supplied by Sanderson; see also *Vasantatilakā* (VT) 8.20c–24 pp. 66–7): *abhyantaraiḥ śukrādyais tu bāhyai rūpādibhis tathā / havibhiḥ kriyate homaḥ prajñāgnau tu mahojjvale / 18 / ṣaḍāyatanadhātūnāṃ skandhādināṃ viśeṣataḥ / devatārūpiṇāṃ teṣāṃ ḍākininām tathaiva ca / 19 / yogapūjā samākhyātā tena te pūjitā yataḥ / śiraḥkapālam etat tu havirbhājanam ucyate / 20 / sruvaṃ tu rasanā khyātā hṛccakraṃ (hṛccakraṃ* SpU; *hṛccandro* VT 8.23d) *lalanātmikā / pātrīti ca samuddiṣṭaṃ (ca samuddiṣṭaṃ* ed; *mukham uddiṣṭaṃ* VT 8.24a) *kuṇḍaṃ ca nābhimaṇḍalam / 21 / karmamārutanirdhūto vahnis trikaṭisaṃsthitaḥ (vahnis trikaṭisaṃsthitaḥ*] conj. Isaacson; *vahnistrikaṭisaṃsthitaḥ* SpU; *brahmāgnis trikaṭe (trikaṭe > guhye* VT-*ṭīkā) sthitaḥ* VT 8.24) */* 22ab.

534 E.g., *Vasantatilakāṭīkā ibid.* (p. 67): *candrājya,* "moon-butter."

535 Cf. VT ch. 8.3 (p. 61): *sthitaḥ pādatale vāyur vairambho dhanurākṛtiḥ / sthitas trikaṭideśe tu trikoṇe jvalanas tathā.*

536 GSS5 cited Textual Notes: *skandhādindhanadahana-.*

537 For the *pātrī* held in the left hand, see *Kriyāsamuccaya* ŚP f. 387.3 (cited Sanderson 1999: personal communication). The two ladles are referred to in the commentary to the *Vasantatilakā* 8.20c–24 p. 67, in which Lalanā is identified with the *sruk* and Rasanā with the *sruvaḥ.* According to the root text, the *pātrī* is the mouth (VT 8.24a).

538 In the related *Abhisamayamañjarī,* the *bali* seems to be offered into the "fire of knowledge" (blazing at the yogin-deity's navel) and is described as the "supreme oblation" *(niruttarahomaḥ)* because it burns the "fuel" of the skandhas.

539 The compound *girigahvara-* is taken as a *tatpuruṣa*, meaning "mountain cave," but it could also be understood as a *dvandva*, "mountain and cave," despite the fact that it does not decline in the dual (*girigahvarayoḥ* or *girigahvarādyoḥ*). Both cave and mountain are mentioned independently in other texts, and are traditionally associated with meditative practice (Śaiva texts frequently prescribe a "mountain top" *parvatāgre*, also *giriśṛṅge*). The compound could also mean "mountain thicket" (or "mountain and thicket"), because *gahvaram* also means a thicket (adjectively, it refers to something deep or impenetrable). However, I prefer to understand "cave," because this site is suggested by the parallel compound *giriguhā*, e.g., SM24 (p. 61): *vijanavanaśmaśānagiriguhāsīna-*; SM24 (p. 54): *vijanagiriguhāyāṃ sthāne śucau vā kva cit.* Sanderson (1994: n. 8) notes that elsewhere *gahvara* means a "thicket." In the list of sites for *siddhisādhana* in the SUT (ch. 11.2–3, f. 21r.3: *girigahvarakuñjeṣu mahodadhitaṭeṣu vā*), *gahvara* is more closely defined in a following verse as a place "full of trees" (5ab: *gahvare vṛkṣasaṃkīrṇe maṇḍalaṃ vartayet sadā*), despite the semantic overlap with *kuñjaḥ* ("a place over run with plants or overgrown with creepers," Monier-Williams 1899). Bhavabhaṭṭa seems to recognize the problem with this interpretation, and glosses *gahvara* here as crevice or ravine, literally, "a space between two walls of the [mountain]" (*Cakrasaṃvaravivṛti* f. 27r.2: *giriḥ parvataḥ. gahvaraśabdena tadbhittidvayāntaram*) (Sanderson *op. cit.*). It may be that there is some semantic overlap between "crevice" and "thicket" here, since ravines in mountains are often thickly wooded. Other sources follow the interpretation in the SUT itself, e.g., (16.15ab f. 31 r.2), and the Tibetan translation of SM251, which takes *girigahvara* (in *girigahvarādi-*) as a *dvandva* compound meaning "mountain and dense copse" (*ri bo dang tshang tshing*) (cited Sanderson *op. cit.*). Comparing *Umāpatideva's* verse 2 with the passage from the SUT (ch. 11.2–3), it is notable that the list of sites is almost identical, except that GSS11 omits *kuñjaḥ*. This might suggest the emendation *<kuñje> śmaśāne girigahvare ca*. However, the conjecture *ghore* is adopted here on the basis of the Tibetan text as shown. The Tibetan translates *girigahvare* "on the peak of a mountain" (p. 32.4: *ri bo'i rtse nyid na*), and *°saṃnidhau* as "on the banks/ shore" (p. 32.4: *'gram dag*).

540 Lengthier sentiments of this kind in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (e.g., ch. 3, v. 9: *daridrāṇāṃ ca sattvānāṃ nidhiḥ syām akṣayaḥ...*) are glossed in Prajñākaramati's commentary—apparently on the scriptural authority of the *Āryavajradhvajasūtra*—as the "dedication" (*pariṇāmanā*) of "roots of goodness" (p. 39): *sa tāni kuśalamūlāni pariṇāmayan evaṃ pariṇāmayati.* A more common expression of the pariṇāmanā in the context of the sevenfold worship is found in many *Sādhanamālā* sādhanas, e.g., SM24, "I dedicate all that merit that has arisen here to the sake of complete enlightenment" (p. 57): *puṇyaṃ prabhūtaṃ yad ihāpi sarvaṃ saṃbodhaye tat pariṇāmayāmi.* In v. 7b, the "King of Righteousness" refers to the Buddha. Cf. SM51 (p. 106): *...anumode jagatpuṇyaṃ buddhabodhau dadhe manaḥ / utpādayāmi varabodhicittaṃ nimantrayāmi ahaṃ sarvasattvān / iṣṭāṃ cariṣye varabodhicārikāṃ buddho bhaveyaṃ jagato hitāya.*;

Buddhacarita (1.75b): *lokasya saṃbudhya ca dharmarājaḥ kariṣyate bandhanamokṣam eṣaḥ*. According to the prose list (§1), the resolve to become a buddha in v. 7b relates to the "arising of the will to enlightenment" *(bodhicittotpādaḥ)*.

541 The simile derives, famously, from one of the earliest Buddhist texts, the *Mettāsutta* (*Sutta Nipāta*, 1.8 v. 7): "Just as a mother would protect with her life her own son, her only son, so one should cultivate an unbounded mind toward all beings." (Norman 1985: 24). For this sentiment in sādhana literature, see SM98 (pp. 202–3): *tatra keyaṃ maitrī sarvasattveṣv ekaputraprematā-;* SM56 (p. 115), etc.

542 The expression *spharaṇayogena*/*sphuraṇayogena* is common in meditative generation for the process of emanating rays, mantras, or deites, e.g., SM56 (pp. 116-18): *spharaṇasaṃharaṇākāreṇa;* SM58 (p. 122): *sphuraṇasaṃharaṇaṃ ca dhyāyāt*, etc.

543 The Sanskrit supplies a rather forced object for the causative *snāpayiṣyāmi*, "I will bathe [you who are] purified *(śuddhaṃ)*...." The use of the singular first person suggests that the verse may have originated in a rather different context, perhaps the bestowal of consecration by the guru upon a pupil. However, the reading with *śuddhaṃ* in the *d-pāda* of the verse is well attested. It appears in Lūyīpāda's HĀ (f. 14r.4), and in all the GSS mss., such as the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5 K22v3) and in SM26 (p. 65); SM180 (p. 364); SM218 (p. 429: *śuddhaṃ tu*). Isaacson (1996: personal communication) notes an early text that has the same reading, namely, Rāhulagupta's *Hevajraprakāśa*, which probably dates from the late tenth century, since the author was supposedly a teacher of Atiśa (palmleaf ms. IASWR MBB 1–34 f. 23r). In the ADUT ch. 9 (Kalff 1979 p. 303) reports three mss. reading *śuddhen*, but perhaps these mss. are veering toward the reading attested by the Tibetan translation of his text, *śuddhena*.

544 The eight yoginīs described by Umāpatideva are possibly eight goddesses from the Vajravārāhī retinue. In the Hevajra tradition, Ratnākaraśānti (*Muktāvalī* f. 21v4) describes the yoginīs as the eight yoginīs Gaurī, etc. *(gauryādibhiḥ)*, i.e., the eight goddesses who surround the central couple. Only four goddesses (Ḍākinī, etc.) surround the central deity in the Vajravārāhī maṇḍala, however.

545 Sanderson (1998: personal communication) suggests that the visualization of the syllable *vaṃ* is intended as an alternative (as is the case at §9), despite the lack of clarity in the verse. The *nāda* is frequently visualized as a subtle ray of light rising from the dot *(binduḥ)* of the nasal ending *(anusvāraḥ)* of the syllable, e.g., SM79 (p. 153): *nādo raśmirekhā*.

546 The following verses (36–37) seem to be scriptural, although I have not traced their source. Umāpatideva cites them as the starting point in each meditation stage to illustrate the composition of the maṇḍala at its different phases. They do not appear in our recension of the YSCT (nor derivative *HĀ*), which is curious, as other *pādas* earlier do (vv. 38–40, §11).

547 The eight-part mantra appears in abbreviated form within the longer *mūlamantra* given in §32. Significant variants in the parallel texts GSS5 (K24v3) and *Vajravārāhisādhana* (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 *huṃ hūṃ phaṭ.* This is also true of the auxiliary-heart mantra (§12), of the mantras of the four petal goddesses, Ḍākinī, etc. (§12), of the outer goddesses, Kākāsyā, etc. (§15), and of the *mūlamantra* (§32), which similarly read *huṃ hūṃ.*

549 The "eight directions of Meru" (§17 and §18 *meror aṣṭadikṣu...*) refer to the cardinal and intermediate points of the compass. Meru is conceived as the central point. The parallel text in GSS5 (K2111 and K2813) omits this cosmological reference to the eight compass points surrounding Meru. It is also absent in §19, which has a slightly different opening sentence describing the body circle, perhaps because the reference to Meru has dropped out accidentally.

550 Sanderson (1994i: 95) shows that the inclusion of "Gṛhadevatā" as a site is an anomaly, the roots of which lie in the Buddhist redaction of these lists from the Śaiva *Tantrasadbhāva (Adhikāra* 19; *Yoginīlakṣaṇa).* In the source texts, each site is equated with groups of deities. In these pairings, Saurāṣṭra is correlated with the set of household deities *(grhadevatā).* Sanderson concludes: "Evidently, while intending to extract only the place names from a list pairing names and deities, the redactor's mind has drifted without his being aware of it from the name-list to that of the deity-list and back again."

551 The correct Sanskrit for the site is *Kulūtā* (sometimes *Kulūtam, Kulūtaḥ*); in the vernacular, *Kulu.* The Cakrasaṃvara corpus seems to have been responsible for a preservation of the erroneous form, *Kulutā,* even in redactions outside scripture (Sanderson 1997: personal communication).

552 Following this prescription the Tibetan text continues, "Alternatively, meditate on them as being to the east etc. of the palace" (p. 39.7: *yang na gzhal yas khang gi shar la sogs pa rnams su bsgom par bya'o*).

553 The translation "factors that favor enlightenment" *(bodhipākṣikadharmas/bodhipakṣadharma)* has been suggested by Sanderson (1997: personal communication). The set is listed in *Abhidharmakośa/bhāṣya* ch. 6, v. 67ab and explained there (v. 67b–c) as favorable *(anuloma)* to enlightenment *(bodhiḥ).* Gethin (2001), in his comprehensive analysis of the *bodhipakkiyā dhammā,* translates, "Dhammas that Contribute to Awakening." Having discussed the variations in the forms of the term in Pali and Sanskrit, with commentarial definitions of the set, he concludes (*ibid.:* 284–302): "we should not be misled by English translations such as 'helping,' 'aiding,' 'favorable to,' 'conducive to' and so on, into thinking that the relationship between *bodhi-pakkhiyā dhammā* and *bodhi* is one of rather vaguely and generally assisting in the bringing about of awakening. On the contrary, they appear to be thought of as rather closely and definitely related to bodhi." Other scholars suggest "adjutants of bodhi," including Pruden (1991, n. 422, p. 1080), who also lists the appearance of the set in Pali and Sanskrit Buddhist sources. Gethin's book is the fullest and most recent analysis of the seven sets of doctrinal formulas that make up the thirty-seven factors. He deals first with each of the seven sets individually (chs. 1–6), and then turns to their appearance as a collective set in the Pali Nikāyas and Abhidhamma, with some reference also to Sanskrit Abhidharmic sources (chs. 7–10).

Umāpatideva's glosses on the *bodhipākṣikadharmas* are the fullest example of Abhidharmic exegesis in the GSS collection. His work reveals the influence of Abhidharmic mainstays, such as the *Abhidharmakośa* and *bhāṣya* (ch. 6) and the *Arthaviniścayasūtra* (chs. 13–19), and has a strongly traditional basis, as when he cites Pāṇinī (§23) to explain the *smṛtyupasthānas*, thus taking after Yaśomitra (*Vyākhyā* p. 104). However, we will see that it also has many unpredictable moments when the formulas are not listed in standard order. This may be unique to Umāpatideva. Other tantric texts, such as the *Saṃputatantra* ch. 1 (Skorupski 1994: 224–31), also cite traditional glosses, but use the correct sequences; similarly the *Vasantatilākāṭīkā* (ch. 7, p. 51), although this text shows some overlap with Umāpatideva's lists (e.g., *anusmṛtyupasthānas* ch. 7, v. 2, p. 52, *ṛddhipādas* p. 53, etc.). For the *bodhipākṣikadharmas* themselves, Umāpatideva changes the traditional sequence, in which the four right exertions (*samyakprahāṇas*) are second. See endnote table vi:

Endnote table vi. *Thirty-seven bodhipākṣikadharmas*

ADK/B / Asū/N	GSS$_{11}$
smṛtyupasthānas	*smṛtyupasthānas* (§23)
samyakprahāṇas	*ṛddhipādas* (§24)
ṛddhipādas	*indriyas* (§25)
indriyas	*balas* (§26)
balas	*bodhyaṅgas* (§27)
bodhyaṅgas	*āryāṣṭāṅgo margaḥ* (§28)
āryāṣṭāṅgamarga	*samyakprahāṇas* (§29)

554 The translation of *anusmṛtyupasthānas* (*smṛtyupasthānas*) as "bringers of awareness" is because of Umāpatideva's own explanation of the term below. It is translated elsewhere as "Fields of Mindfulness" (Samtani 1971) or "Foundations of Mindfulness" (Pruden 1991). Gethin gives a full analysis of the *satipaṭṭhānas*, mostly from Pali sources, which he terms "The Establishing of Mindfulness" (2001: 29–68). The sequence in Umāpatideva's text differs from the norm, but follows the identical text of the YSCT ch. 3, v. 2, as follows in endnote table vii:

Endnote table vii. *anusmṛtyupasthānas*

ADK/B ch. 6, 14abff.; Asū/N ch. 13	GSS$_{11}$
kāya°	*kāya°*
vedanā°	*vedanā°*
citta°	*dharma°*
dharma°	*citta°*

555 For the *smṛtyupasthānas* as an antidote to the four *viparyāsas*, see ADK/B v. 15cd., with *Vyākhyā* (p. 906); also Asū/N (p. 208).

556 See ADK/B with *Vyākhyā* (following 6.15b, p. 904), where Yaśomitra cites the same Pāṇinian sūtra; cf. Asū/N p. 211, n. 4. I am grateful to Professor Sanderson for his help in emending and translating this passage.

557 ADK/B (ch. 6 v. 14cdff.) discusses the characteristics of body, etc. See Asū/N ch. 13 (pp. 212, 210): *atha kāya iti ko 'rthaḥ? saṃghātārthaḥ.*

558 The translation of *ṛddhipādas* is usually given as "elements (or bases) of supernatural power," e.g., by Edgerton (1953); Gethin (2001: 81–100), in his full discussion of the set from Pali canonical and commentarial sources, translates *iddhipādas* as "Bases of Success." Umāpatideva himself defines them later in this work as the "means of mind concentration," following the traditional association of the set with *samādhi* (*ibid.*: 92, with n. 46).

The *ṛddhipādas* traditionally come third in the list of *bodhipākṣikadharmas*, following the *prahāṇas*. Umāpatideva's sequence for the *ṛddhipādas* also varies from any of the Abhidharmic sources but may represent the usual tantric account, since this is the list supplied in the *Bauddhatantrakośa* from a number of sources. However, the sequence and number vary even in earlier texts, and Sanskrit and Pali sources list between four and six. References are supplied by Pruden (1991: 1081 n. 434), Samtani (1971: 219 n. 1), and Edgerton (1953). The ADK/B does not, in fact, set out the complete list (ADK/B ch. 6, vv. 66 and 69ff.), which leaves it to Yaśomitra to clarify (*Vyākhyā* p. 1015, cf. p. 1019 for the questionable inclusion of *samādhi* in the list). The Asū/N supplies more detail (ch. 15).

Endnote table viii. *ṛddhipādas*

Sanskrit sources (Edgerton)	ADK-Vyākhyā Asū/N	Pali sources	GSS11
chandas°	*chandas°*	*chanda°*	*chandas°*
citta°	*virya°*	*virya°*	*virya°*
virya°	*citta°*	*citta°*	*mīmāṃsā°*
mimāṃsā°	*mimāṃsā°*	*mimāṃsā°*	*citta°*
samādhi°			
prahāṇa°			

559 For wisdom as a result of hearing, reflection, and meditation *(śrutacintābhāvanāmayiprajñā)*, see ADK/B ch. 1, v. 2b; ADK/B ch. 6, v. 15, and Asū/N ch. 13, p. 211. In these Abhidharmic texts, this threefold set is given within the exposition of *dharmasmṛtyupasthāna*. Umāpatideva deviates from the norm in placing them here within his exposition of the *ṛddhipādas*.

560 Asū/N also explains *ṛddhiḥ* with *samṛddhiḥ* meaning "wealth of all qualities

such as supernatural knowledges" (p. 219): *sarvasyābhijñādikasya guṇasya samṛddhiḥ ṛddhiḥ;* cf. Samtani *ibid.:* n.2, *Madhyāntavibhāgabhāṣya and Vibhaṅgaaṭṭhakathā.*

561 The traditional gloss is *pāda* > *pratiṣṭhā* (ADK/B p. 1019; Asū/N p. 218: *tasyā ṛddheḥ pratiṣṭhānena pādāḥ ṛddhipādāḥ*). Here, the author specifies that *pāda* means a subsidiary *(aṅgam),* namely, that without which the principal (in this case, *bodhiḥ*) cannot be accomplished.

562 *ṛti* (when the vowel *ṛ* follows) *akaḥ* (there is no substitution in the place of the simple vowels a, i, u, ṛ, ḷ). I am grateful to Dr. James Benson for his help with this sentence.

563 As Gethin (2001: 105) points out, the complete list of *indriya*s, "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 Nikāyas" (*ibid.:* 138–40). I follow Professor Sanderson's suggestions for the translation of this paragraph.

564 Some of these glosses appear in Asū/N, although not all relating to the *indriya*s. For *śraddhendriya,* the Asū/N also glosses *śraddhā, "cetasaḥ prasādaḥ"* (ch. 16, p. 223; also given ADK/B ch. 2, v. 25ff.) and supplies the same connections with *samyagdṛṣṭi* and *karmavipāka* (Asū/Asū/N ch. 16, pp. 31/224). For *vīryendriya,* Umāpatideva gives the gloss supplied in Asū/N (ch. 16, p. 223) but under *vīrya-ṛddhipāda* (§24). For *smṛtendriya,* Umāpatideva supplies a similar gloss to that in the Asū/N ch. 16 (p. 223): *smṛtir ālambanāpramoṣaḥ,* which would indeed be repeating what he has said above (§23), although this does not prevent him from repeating it in the next paragraph. For *samādhindriya,* Umāpatideva's gloss on *samādhi* is identical with the Asū/N (p. 223): *samādhiś cittasyaikāgratā.* For *prajñendriya,* he differs from the traditional gloss on *prajñā* in this context (ADK/B ch. 6, v. 68ff., p. 1017): *smṛtyupasthānāni dharmapravicayasambodhyaṅgaṃ samyagdṛṣṭiś ca prajñaiva;* Asū/N (p. 223): *prajñā dharmapravicayaḥ.* But his reference to mental states to be abandoned or developed seems to draw on the description of *chanda-ṛddhipāda* given in the Asū/N, which defines these mental states exactly (Asū/N pp. 220–21).

565 In this sequence, Umāpatideva draws on traditional Abhidharmic exegesis, e.g., AKD/B ch. 6, vv. 68–69 (p. 1020): *indriyāṇāṃ kiṃkṛto 'nukramaḥ? śraddadhāno hi phalārthaṃ vīryam ārabhate, ārabdhavīryasya smṛtir upatiṣṭhate...;* cf. the identical analysis in the Asū/N (p. 224). Umāpatideva's text, however, is closer to the Asū itself (ch. 16, p. 32; cf. *Saṃputatantra* ch. 1, p. 227). Like the sūtra, Umāpatideva omits *śraddhā* from the sequence, having dealt with it first (and in the same manner). He then echoes the relative-clause construction of the sūtra in dealing with the remaining *indriya*s. His exposition amounts to a short, derivative summary of the contents of the Asū, with some changes; for example, he glosses the verb *samudānayati* with *upaḍhaukayati* and changes the phrasing *na vipraṇāśayati* to *abhimukhikaroti.* (Asū ch. 16, p. 32):*...idam ucyate śraddhendriyam. tatra katamad vīryendriyam? yān dharmān śraddhen-*

driyeṇa śraddhayati tān dharmān vīrendriyeṇa samudānayati. idam ucyate vīryendriyam. tatra katamat smṛtīndriyam? yān dharmān vīryendriyeṇa samudānayati tān dharmān smṛtīndriyeṇa na vipraṇāśayati. idam ucyate smṛtīndriyam. tatra katamat samādhīndriyam? yān dharmān smṛtīndriyeṇa na vipraṇāśayati tān dharmān samādhīndriyeṇa ekāgrīkaroti. idam ucyate samādhīndriyam. tatra katamat prajñendriyam? yān dharmān samādhīndriyeṇa ekāgrīkaroti tān dharmān prajñendriyeṇa pratividhyate. sa teṣu dharmeṣu pratyavekṣaṇajātīyo bhavati. idam ucyate prajñendriyam.

566 Cf. ADK/B ch. 6, vv. 68–70 (p. 1020): *kasmād indriyāṇy eva balāny uktāni? mṛdvadhimātrabhedād avamardanīyānavamardanīyatvāt;* there is also a long exposition of this in the *Vyākhyā*. Asū/N follows suit, in brief (p. 226): *tāny eva śraddhādīni pañcendriyāṇi balavanti balāny ucyate.* Cf. ADKB ch. 6, v. 70ff. (p. 1022): *samādhisanniśrayeṇa lokottaradharmādhipatibhūtāni śraddhādīnīndriyāṇi. tāny eva ca nirjitavipakṣasamudācārāṇi balāni.* Pali sources list many *balas*, including ten *balas* 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 Umāpatideva's list of *saṃbodhyaṅgas* differs from the norm in placing *samādhi* first instead of *smṛti*, and in juggling the order of the other *aṅgas* (see endnote table ix). This same sequence is attested in the *Vasantatilakāṭīkā*, which provides similar glosses to some *aṅgas* (pp. 55–56). In his discussion of this set, Gethin (2001: 146–89) translates the *bojjhaṅgas* as "the Factors of Awakening."

Endnote table ix. *saṃbodhyaṅgas*

ADK/B / Asū/AsūN (ch. 18)	GSS11
smṛti°	*samādhi*°
dharmapravicaya°	*vīrya*°
vīrya°	*prīti*°
prīti°	*praśrabdhi*°
praśrabdhi°	*dharmapravicaya*
samādhi°	*smṛti*°
upekṣā°	*upekṣā*°

Umāpatideva's glosses do not relate directly to passages in the ADK/B or Asū/N ch. 18 (see Samtani 1971: p. 228 n. 3 for references to other sources). On the *saṃbodhyaṅgas* as part of the *bodhipakṣadharmas* see ADK/B ch. 6, vv. 67–69, and as a prelude to the *aṣṭāṅgamarga*, ADK/B ch. 6, v. 70ff.; ch. 6, vv. 71–73. For the role of *prīti* and *prasrabdhi* in *dhyāna*, see ADK/B ch. 8, v. 9b ff. and Asū ch. 8 *(catvāri dhyānāni);* for *prasrabdhi* (also *prīti* and *upekṣā*) relating to the ten good gctions, see ADKB ch. 2, v. 25ff.; on the cultivation of the *saṃbodhyaṅgas* see ADK/B ch. 7, v. 11ff.

568 Vasubandhu notes that the four noble truths are called such because they are

the "truths of the noble ones (*āryas*)" (ADK/B ch. 6, commentary to v. 2c, p. 874: *āryasatyāniti sūtre ucyante. ko 'syārthaḥ? aryāṇām etāni satyāni tasmād āryasatyāni sūtre evoktam.*) Gethin (2001: 205–7) offers reflections on the significance of the term "noble" in Pali sources within his wider analysis of this sequence (*ibid.*: 190–226).

The aim of the eightfold path is couched here in Yogācāra terms as the antidote to *jñeyāvaraṇa* (the obstructive belief that things really exist as other than consciousness, i.e., belief in an object) and to *kleśāvaraṇa* (the obstructive belief in real individuality *satkāyadṛṣṭiḥ*, i.e., belief in a subject). The Asū/N describes it in more traditional terms as the antidote to wrong views, etc.(ch. 19, p. 231): *mithyādṛṣṭipratipakṣeṇa yāvan mithyāsamādhipratipakṣeṇa samyagdṛṣṭyādīnāṃ mārgāṅgānāṃ yathākramaṃ vyavasthā....*

The sequence of the eightfold path in relation to the *saṃbodhyaṅgas* is discussed in the ADK/B ch. 6, v. 67b ff. The wider context of the discussion is of the relative position on the path *(mārgaḥ)* of each of the *bodhipakṣadharmas* (ADK/B ch. 6; cf. *Vasantatilakaṭikā* ch. 7, p. 51). It is to this discussion that Umāpatideva refers here (ADK ch. 6, v. 1ab: *kleśaprahāṇam ākhyātaṃ satyadarśanabhāvanāt...*). Ābhidharmikas ennumerated five stages of the path *(saṃbhāramārga, prayoga°, darśana°, bhāvanā°, aśaikṣa°)*, in the course of which all defilements (*kleśas*) would be removed. In this analysis, the eightfold path is said to belong to the path of seeing *(darśanamārgaḥ)*, that is, the path of removing *(prahāṇamārgaḥ)* the *kleśas* of belief in a self *(dṛṣṭiḥ)*. The type and number of *kleśas* are reckoned according to how "strong" they are, and how "weak" the practitioner is. The most subtle *kleśas* are destroyed only once the *darśanamārga* has been traversed (according to some, this happens in a flash), and the stage of "meditation" is reached. The *bhāvanāmārga* comprises the path of removing more subtle defilements *(rāgaḥ, dveṣaḥ)* (cf. *Vasantatilakaṭikā* ch. 7, p. 56: *kleśāvaraṇapratipakṣe darśanamārgam uktvā jñeyāvaraṇapratipakṣaṃ bhāvanāmārgam āha*). The subtlest *kleśas* are removed with the very highest meditation, called *Vajropamasamādhi*, and this opens the way to the final path of "no more training" *(aśaikṣa)*, which is characterized by the "knowledge of the destruction of the defilements" *(kṣayajñānam)* and "knowledge that they will never arise again" *(anutpādajñānam)*. In GSS11, Umāpatideva ascribes the eightfold path to both paths, the *darśanamārga* and *bhāvanāmarga*. In the *Vasantatilakāṭikā* it belongs only to the latter (ch. 7, p. 56: *tatra bhāvanāmarge jñeyāvaraṇa<ṃ> niḥsvabhāvam iti yā dhīḥ sā samyagdṛṣṭiḥ...*). The varying distribution of the *bodhipākṣikadharmas* over the five paths is discussed by Gethin (2001: 338–42).

569 The change to the normal sequence of *bodhipākṣikadharmas* (in which the *samyakprahāṇas* appear second) has been discussed above. It may, possibly, be accounted for by the designation of the set *samyak*, since the prefix *samyak* in the case of the eightfold path gives it an inclusive and hence higher position in the sequence of *bodhipākṣikadharmas* (see especially *Vyākhyā* on ADK/B ch. 6, v. 68, p. 1017). However, the traditional glosses on the first *prahāṇas* (ADK/B

69a, *Vyākhyā* p. 1015, Asū/N ch. 14) justify their original position in the sequence, in that they are causally related to the *ṛddhipādas* (for example, the abandoning of unskillful states gives rise to *chandas*, the first of the *ṛddhipādas*; *prahāṇa* is also defined as *vīrya*).

The meaning of *samyakprahāṇa* is "right abandonment," and this term *(°prahāṇam)* is usual in Sanskrit sources. However, the Pali term for this fourfold formula was "right effort," *samma-(p)padhāna* (e.g., *Dighanikāya* II.120, *Majjhimanikāya* II.11, III.296; further references in PED). There is another similar set of four *padhānas* in Pali literature, namely, restraint [of the senses] *(saṃvaraḥ)*, abandonment [of sinful thoughts] *(pahānam)*, cultivation [of skillful states] *(bhāvanā)*, and guarding [skillful states] *(anurakkhaṇā)* (*Dighanikāya* III.225, *Aṅguttaranikāya* II.16, etc.). "Effort" *(padhānam, pradhānam)* seems to be the older term, and indeed this is what the older Chinese translations tend to translate. However, the linguistic similarity of the Pali *(padhānam)* with the Sanskrit *(prahāṇa)*, and the inclusion of the stage "abandonment" in both fourfold formulas, seem to have given rise to the later usage. Thus, later Chinese translations render *prahāṇa*, and it is this reading that also went into Tibetan translations (see Pruden's translation of *Abhidharmakośa* 1991, n. 423, p. 1080 to *Abhidharmakośa*). For a fuller analysis of the terminology behind the "right endeavors," see Gethin (2001: 69–72) and following (72–80) for his discussion of the set. A different list of four efforts *(samyak-pradhāna)* is also found in Sanskrit literature, namely: effort *(prayatnaḥ)*, endurance *(utsahaḥ)*, valor *(vīryam)*, and resolve *(vyavasāyaḥ)*.

The sequence in which the stages appear in the texts varies, and although Umāpatideva's coincide with none of the Abhidharmic sources mentioned here, it is a sequence found in the YSCT ch. 2, v. 8, as shown here in endnote table x.

Endnote table x. *Four prahāṇas*

ADK ch. 6, v. 69a; *Vyākhyā* (p. 1015 on ADK 6.66) Asū (ch. 14, variation in 1 & 2; Samtani *ibid.* 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)	(i)
(iv) protection of skillful	(iv)	(ii)

570 The scriptural citation opens the description of the body maṇḍala. The notes below show some variant readings from the Cakrasaṃvara/Vajrayoginī traditions, and comment upon some problems in the texts of the Cakrasaṃvara

body maṇḍala. Umāpatideva's opening description of the body maṇḍala echoes the phrasing in prose and verse descriptions elsewhere. It starts with a citation from the GST 16.1ab and has similarities with the several accounts of the body maṇḍala (or aspects of its correlations) in the YSCT. For example, YSCT ch. 5 (B3r2: *vīrādvayam 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.): puṃkārādi-samāyogā?* (B damaged; A: *pu-kāra-*)*...deśe deśe vyavasthitāḥ. pu iti pulliramalaye khaṇḍakapālinapracaṇḍāḥ...pīṭhaṃ...cittacakrasya khecarī.* The YSCT thirteenth *paṭala* describes the body maṇḍala again (A6v. 2, B9v. 1): *atha paraṃ pravakṣyāmi...vīrayoginīm advayaṃ—śrīherukamahāyogiṣṭhānam akṣara-bhūmyakaṃ;* cf. GSS11 v. 42. This time it includes the body points with the structure: "In the site on the body point...the places" *(pulliramalaye śirasi... pīṭhaṃ);* 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 piṭhādikrama<ṃ> vinyasyātmayogaṃ uttamaṃ. puṃ khaṇḍakapālinapracaṇḍā śirasi;* ADUT ch. 14 (p. 319); also Lūyīpāda's HĀ (f. 10r1 ff.), which is the basis of the body maṇḍala in GSS5 (Sed p. 142[1], K2813): *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-. pulliramalayaśirasi pracaṇḍā ...pīṭhaṃ;* cf. GSS7 (K4311).

571 K. Gyatso (1997: 41) gives "hair-line."

572 Some texts attest the "back of the head," e.g., *mastakapṛṣṭhe* (YSCT ch. 13, GSS5 Sed p. 142[3], K2814–5, ADUT ch. 14 p. 319). Others specify the "backbone," *pṛṣṭhavaṃśe* (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 *vṛkke* (kidney?), as suggested by the Tibetan translations (ADUT: *mkhal ma,* "kidney;" and SUT: *mchin pa,* "liver"). The HĀ (f14v6) is unclear, but may read *vṛkke.*

574 A variant in other texts reads "armpits," *bāhumūlayoḥ* (YSCT ch. 13, ADUT ch. 9, p. 285).

575 My ms. B of the YSCT (B f. 3r4) is corrupt at this point (and ms. A is damaged). The aspect of the body is usually "eyes" for the hero Aṅkurika. However, YSCT (B f. 3r4) gives *kakṣayor,* repeating the body point occupied by the goddess. This is followed by a short passage of dittography; the mansucript later omits the correlations between numbers 14 ("belly") and 22 ("Padmanarteśvara").

576 Other texts also read "mouth," e.g., *mukhasthāne* (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., *gudavartiḥ* in SUT ch. 7, v. 10b; *guṇavarti* in ADUT) and their Tibetan translations, arguing that the intended meaning is "coiled gut." Other readings include *guṇavatti* (GSS7); *gudavartti* (HĀ f. 151.1–2 and SUT); *gulavati* (YSCT B f. 31.4).

577 The body maṇḍala practice in the Cakrasaṃvara tradition gives this body point as "penis" *(meḍhre)* with the corrupt form *medram* (YSCT ms. B); *medre* (HĀ, GSS5, GSS11); *meḍhrasthāne* (SUT ch. 7, v. 11a); *meḍhre* (ADUT ch. 9). Cf. ADUT ch. 14 (with variants in different mss.: *medre, maḍhre, maṭṭre,* Tib.: *bshang sgo*). Kalff (*op.cit.*: 159) reads *meḍhre* "penis" but notes that the Tibetan reads "gate of excrement" i.e., anus (although "anus" is already given in the Sanskrit list for the eighteenth goddess Khaṇḍarohā in Gṛhadevatā). One Tibetan tradition (K. Gyatso 1997: 41) gives "the two testicles" and for the next site, the "tip of the sex organ." An alternative reading, *mede,* apparently for *medasi* (*medas*="marrow/fat"), is found in GSS7, but this seems likely to be another corruption of *meḍhre.* The body point "penis" poses a problem for the Vajrayoginī tradition in that the body maṇḍala is supposedly conducted by the yogin who has self-generated himself as the goddess Vajravārāhī. If the body maṇḍala is taken to apply to the body of the (male) meditator and not to that of the yogin-as-goddess, then the emendation *meḍhre* is justified. This is substantiated by the Tibetan, which reads "genitals" *(mdoms).*

578 Other texts read *Pretādhivāsinī* (YSCT ch. 13 and SUT ch. 7, v. 12a).

579 Our tradition (GSS texts, YSCT ch. 13, HĀ) reads *aṅguli,* meaning either "fingers" or "toes," although the Tibetan translates as "on the fingers" (p. 42.4: *sor mo rnams*). Kalff (*op. cit.*: 159–60) notes that there are two traditions here (as also for the twenty-third goddess, see *aṅguṣṭha* below). One tradition specifies "toes" (e.g., SUT ch. 7, v. 14: *pādaṅgulau;* also the ADUT commentary by Śūraṅgavajra: *rkang pa'i sor mo kun la,* "on all the toe(s) of the foot"). The other tradition is to understand both toes and fingers simultaneously. Thus, Lūyīpāda states, "the sixteen fingers (and toes) (*ser* [sic] *mo bcu drug,* no reference, Meisezahl 1967: 296); *Cakrasaṃvarasādhana* (Dawa-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 *nyāsa* takes place on two body parts at once (hands and feet), which is the same method as that employed for other body parts, such as the two shoulders, two thighs, two shanks, two knees, etc. In addition, the *nyāsa* of sites/deities in the *kāyamaṇḍala* takes place on the body of the yogin who is seated in meditation; the toes and fingers are therefore proximate to each other and can easily count as one site. This is not the case if the yogin-deity visualizes himself in the warrior stance as Vajravārāhī for the *kāyamaṇḍala.*

580 *sādhumat* (fem.: *sādhumatī*) is literally "having good," but this is usually translated as if from *sādhumati* "having a good mind/heart," e.g., Dayal (1932: 290). This is the standard translation of the Tibetan "good intelligence/excellent knowledge" *(legs pa'i blo gros).*

581 Our tradition gives *aṅguṣṭhayoḥ,* also in the Tibetan translation (p. 42.5: *mthe*

bo dag) (e.g., GSS texts, HĀ, ADUT, also its Tibetan translation, and SUT ch. 7, v. 15). This is ambiguous since it may mean "on the two thumbs" or "on the two big toes." Kalff (*op. cit.:* 160, n.1) again notes that two traditions exist. He states that Śūraṅgavajra's comment on the ADUT specifies the two big toes *(rkang pa'i mthe bo gnyis la).* The *Cakrasaṃvarasādhana* (Dawa-Samdup *op. cit.:* 21) and Lūyīpāda (Meisezahl *op. cit.:* 296) specify both thumbs and big toes (Tib.: *mthe bong b'zi*), as does Tucci (*op. cit.:* 41). Once again, I prefer the latter, in line with the earlier arguments (v. 52a).

582 Vajravārāhī's root mantra in GSS11 has two parts. The first part comprises an abbreviated form of the eight-part mantra (see §12), in which the eight parts (indicated here by editorial hyphens) are run together by the omission of the mantra syllables enclosing the vocatives. The second part of the root mantra is a lengthy mantra beginning *prottuṅge,* introduced in the Tibetan by **tadyathā* (p. 43.2). This also appears in GSS5 (Sed p. 137[15], K24v6), directly following the full form of the eight-part mantra (GSS5 Sed p. 137[6], K24v3), and the second part alone *(prottuṅge...)* appears in the *Vajravārāhīsādhana* (Finot 1934: 60–61≈GSS3). In the *Vajravārāhīsādhana* (Finot *op. cit.*) this is also called the *mūlamantra,* but in GSS5 it is termed the "garland mantra" (GSS5 Sed p. 137[15], K24v6: *atha ca mālāmantro bhavati*). Variants appearing in the text of GSS5 are reported in the apparatus, with some variants from Finot (except where they seem to be the result of an illegible *akṣara* or the result of the editor's misreading from his mss.). Notable variants from the Tibetan text (p. 43.1) are also shown. This root mantra (with a few variants) is the bulk of SM221 (pp. 434–35).

583 The Śaiva flavor of this epithet is unmistakable since Paramasiddhayogeśvarī is the name of a Śaiva goddess from the nondual Trika tradition.

584 The term "vajra words" *(kuliśapadāḥ, vajrapadāḥ)* refers to elements of mantras that cannot be understood as straightforward Sanskrit (cf. GS 9.17a). It refers here to those parts extracted from the mantras of the male deities in the Cakrasaṃvara maṇḍala, e.g., *kara kara.* Another version of the mantra, consisting solely of the vajra words, appears in the *bali* ritual described below (§37). It also appears in this form in the **Mantrapāṭha* (Finot *op.cit.:* 53–54) and *Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi* (*ibid.:* p. 57); also in the mantras of the twenty-four gods of the sites in the Cakrasaṃvara maṇḍala, as in the HĀ (f. 131) and ADUT (ch. 14, pp. 324–25). A comprehensive edition of the male site gods' mantras is not provided here, but significant variants to the text of GSS11 are shown in the apparatus from these sources.

585 I am grateful to Professor Sanderson for clarifying the edition and translation of this passage. This may be the mantra recited during ritual performances, as Śākyarakṣita states that it is a general mantra, applicable to all types of ritual (GSS5 Sed p. 139[2], K25v4: *sarvakarmiko 'yaṃ mantraḥ*).

586 There seem to be two traditions for the generation of the heads. The Sanskrit prescribes the syllable *kaṃ* (presumably based on the meaning *kam,* "head") and the Tibetan, the syllable *āḥ.* See apparatus to Sanskrit text, and Textual Notes.

587 Translated by Professor Sanderson.

588 The Tibetan text adds that "from the transformation *(yongs su gyur pa)* of the vowels and consonants [comes] the moon..." (p. 45.3: *ā li kā li yongs su gyur pa las zla ba...*).

589 The verse is also recited by the practitioner during the hand worship [§46]. In the SUT ch. 8, vv. 22cd–26, this *indravajrā* verse follows the offering of food stuffs to the emanated maṇḍala (vv. 22cd–24), and it is the gods and goddesses of the sites who are saluted specifically (v. 25).

590 The same mantras are prescribed in the parallel texts, GSS5 (Sed pp. 143^{18}–44^{13}, K29v3–30r3) and *Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi* (p. 58). The latter also indicates the recipients of each mantra offering (shown here in square brackets).

591 "Sipping" *(ācamanam)* is usually the ritual cleansing by sipping water and touching it to parts of the body (e.g., *Kriyāsamuccaya* ŚP f. 414.3: *pādyācamanādikaṃ dattvā;* f. 415.2: *ācamanaṃ tato datvā sugandhair śodhayet* (*śodhayet* conj.; *sukṣayet* ŚP) *karaṃ*). Here the context may suggest the sipping of nectar.

592 This *mālinī* verse appears in SUT ch. 8, v. 28 and is used in the context of *bali* offering in GSS5 (Sed p. 144^{3}, 29v1) and *Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi* (p. 58). It is absent in the account of the *bali* mantras in YSCT (A5r) and HĀ (f. 14r–v).

593 Parallels with almost identical text appear elsewhere in the GSS, e.g., in GSS11 (§45, §48, §49); GSS5 (Sed p. 144^{14}, K30r4): *cchomāhastena saṃcchomya nyūnādhikavidhipūraṇārthaṃ śatākṣaramantraṃ ghaṇṭāvādanapūrvakaṃ paṭhet.* = *Cakrasaṃvrabalividhi* (p. 58; a line has dropped out of the mantra in Finot's edition); cf. VĀ, *Sāṃvarikaḥ sārvabhautikabalividhi* (ŚP f. 124r) and *Maṇḍalopasaṃhārādividhi* (ŚP ff. 118r–119v); and the hundred-syllabled mantra as shorthand for the fuller rite, sometimes with substitution of the earlier Vajrasattva for Heruka, e.g., SM29 (p. 74), SM71 (p. 145), SM218 (p. 430), SM247 (p. 480), etc.

594 Umāpatideva's text repeats this form of the dismissal mantra (§45, §50). However, it appears as *oṃ vajra muḥ* in GSS5 (Sed p. 144^{17}, K30r6; Sed p. 146^{11}, K32r1; Sed p. 148^{2}, K33r5) and the *Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi* (Finot *op. cit.:* 58), and in the *Maṇḍalopasaṃhārādividhi* in the VĀ (ŚPf.118v) as *oṃ āḥ hūṃ vajra muḥ*. The final mantra syllable *muḥ* is associated with dismissal (e.g., Khasarpaṇa-Lokeśvara SM24 p. 57: *oṃ āḥ huṃ muḥ*). It appears in (or in association with) a much-cited scriptural verse for dismissing deities, e.g., GSS16 (K82r1): *tataḥ. oṃ āḥ hūṃ mur iti mantreṇa pāniyaculukāṃ gṛhitvā maṇḍalaṃ siñcayet. – oṃ kṛto vaḥ sarvasattvārtha<ḥ> siddhir dattā yathānugā | gacchadhvaṃ buddhaviṣayaṃ punarāgamanāya ca.* • *dattā*] em.; *datvā* K. The ms. reading *(datvā)* seems to be influenced by the parallel in SUT ch. 23, v. 52a–d: *oṃ kṛto vaḥ sarvasattvārthaḥ siddhiṃ dattvā yathānugām / gacchadhvaṃ buddhaviṣayaṃ viharadhvaṃ yathāsukham.* For the emendation to *dattā*, and for other variants in the *d-pāda*, cf. SM29 *(oṃ kṛto vaḥ...siddhir dattā yathānugā...punarāgamanāya ca)*, and for the final element *muḥ*, see SM67 (p. 138), SM211 (p. 417), and SM247 (p. 480): *kṛto vaḥ...siddhir dattā yathānugā ...punarāgamanāya muḥ.*

595 The parallel text of the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (GSS5 Sed p. 145^{15}, K31r2) is cited in full in the Textual Notes and is indicated in the apparatus along with the closely related text of the *Bāhyapūjāvidhi* of Śāśvatavajra (Finot *op. cit.:* 52–53).

Śāśvatavajra encloses his work with a benediction and dedication of merit, both of which mention the *Bāhyapūjāvidhi* by name. Other pūjā texts mentioned are from GSS2 (K111r1), GSS20 (K84v5)≈GSS25 (K92r2), and GSS35 (K119v3).

596 The text of GSS11 contains one injunction "to place the left hand (on)" *vāmahastaṃ dattvā* following the locative *śucipradeśe.* The parallel texts (GSS5≈*Bāhyapūjāvidhi*) cited in the Textual Notes contain two similar injunctions *(hastaṃ dattvā).* The construction is familar from other texts, e.g., *Hevajrasekaprakriyā (śirasi hastaṃ dattva),* Kumāracandra's *pañjikā* on *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra* (p. 110).

597 The meaning of *vidarbhaṇam* is explained by Padoux (1977: 345) as the utterance of the mantra a single time after the name. Umāpatideva repeats the same sequence of offerings in the alternative *bāhyapūjā* below (§49) but without the injuction to insert the names. The parallel texts (cited in the Textual Notes) differ at this point because they deal with offerings to the entire maṇḍala. Umāpatideva intends this last offering to be to the outermost inhabitants of the maṇḍala, in the manner of the final *bali* mantra. The same method is adopted for the outermost deities, the ten *krodhas*, in the Saṃvara *bali* ritual in the VĀ (n. 513), their names likewise inserted before the mantras.

598 The parallel texts include this instruction *(vakṣyamāṇa-);* see Textual Notes.

599 The parallel text in GSS5 is cited in the Textual Notes, with some variants from the very close text of Śāśvatavajra's *Hastapūjāvidhi* (Finot *op. cit.:* 54–55) reported where of interest. (Text dealing with the Cakrasaṃvara version of the rite and some of Finot's emendations are not shown.) These two texts are also related (a little more distantly) to SM253 (pp. 498–500), which also contains Śāśvatavajra's *Hastapūjāvidhi,* and which Finot uses to supply the missing portion of his ms.

600 The Tibetan text states that the syllables are placed on the five digits, with the sixth syllable on "the thumb's face" (see the apparatus to the Sanskrit edition).

601 The rite is mentioned only briefly in this tantra (see n. 524).

602 Sanderson (1998: personal communication) notes that *maṇḍalakam* is the term in both Buddhist and Śaiva texts for this kind of simple outline traced during the course of most external rituals.

603 I am grateful to Professor Sanderson for explaining the corrupt Sanskrit text, with reference to the *Saṃpuṭodbhavatantra* 6.3.18–22b.

604 The SUT ch. 17, v. 42c has *Prapūraṇa,* which Umāpatideva seems to have altered for metrical reasons to *Prapurāṇa,* although the sense is not as good.

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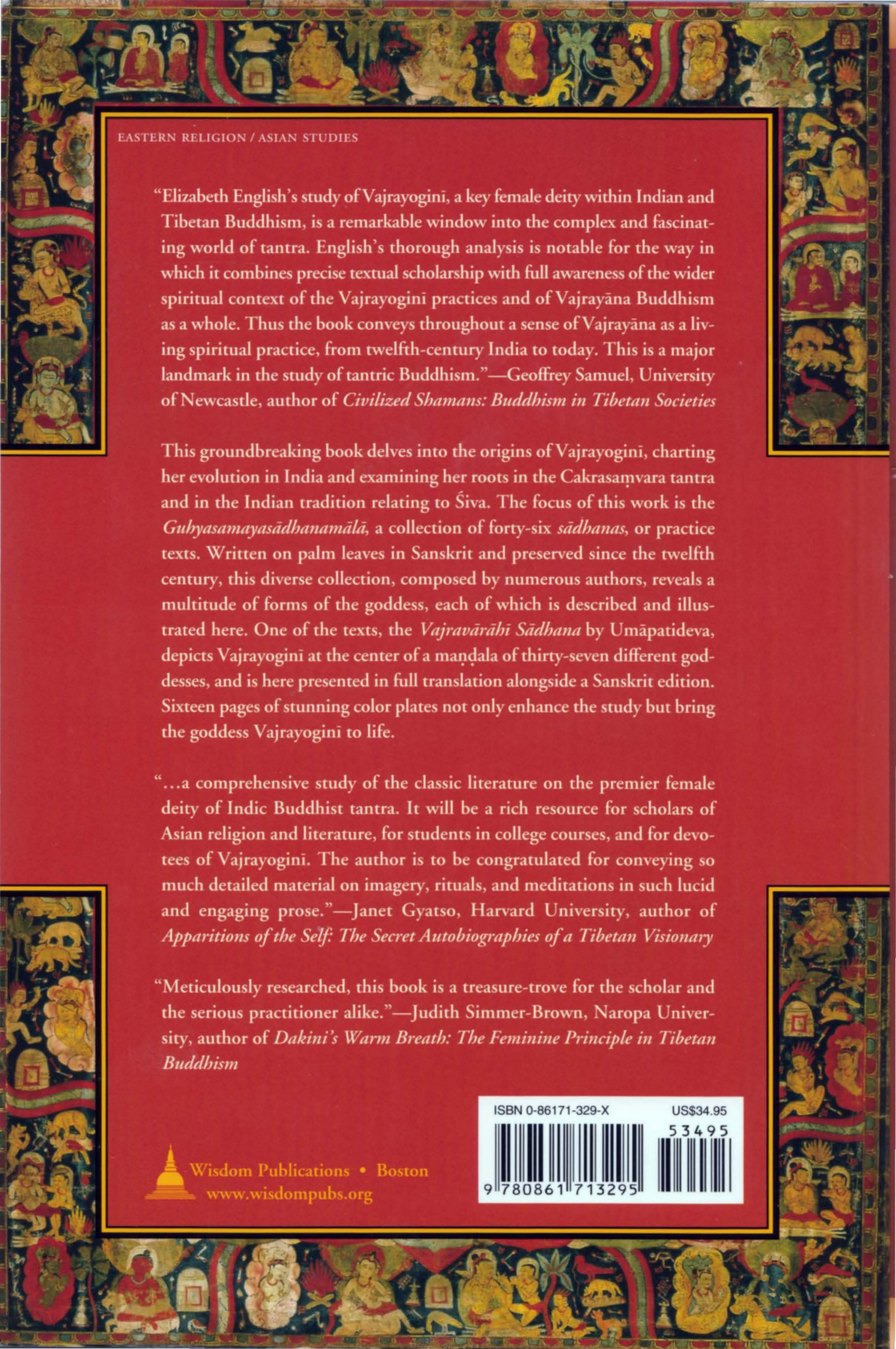
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