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SELECTED CHAPTERS FROM THE
ABHIDHĀNOTTARA-TANTRA: THE UNION OF FEMALE
AND MALE DEITIES.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, PH.D., 1979

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SELECTED CHAPTERS FROM THE ABHIDHĀNOTTARA-TANTRA: THE
UNION OF FEMALE AND MALE DEITIES.

Martin Michael Kalff

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requirements for the degree
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ABSTRACT

SELECTED CHAPTERS FROM THE ABHIDHĀNOTTARA-TANTRA: THE UNION OF FEMALE AND MALE DEITIES.

Martin Michael Kalff

This thesis explores the topic of the union of female and male deities as reflected in a selection of eight chapters from the Buddhist Abhidhānottara-tantra. It consists of two parts, namely the critical edition of the Sanskrit original on one hand, and the translation of these chapters provided with notes and a general introduction on the other hand.

The edition of the text has been done on the basis of four Sanskrit manuscripts from Nepal and the Tibetan translation preserved in the Tibetan canon of the Buddha's word, the bKa' 'gyur. The most ancient of these manuscripts, written in the Bhujimola script, stems from the 12th century A.D. The other three, falling into the period of the 18th and 19th century, are of more recent origin. An introduction to the Sanskrit edited text contains observations on the manuscripts and explains the method of editing that has been followed.

Based on this edition an English translation has been established. It has been furnished with notes including translations of the most important textual variants, explanations of the text taken from Śūraṅga-vajra's Sanskrit commentary as preserved in the Tibetan bsTan 'gyur, and references to Western works.

Four of the selected chapters contain descriptions of the deities of the Saṃvara-cycle and the maṇḍala they have to be visualized to dwell in. In their composition these chapters reflect in abbreviated manner the ritual and meditative process that is to be followed by

the practitioner, whose aim is to transform himself into the divine reality represented by the maṇḍala deities.

Three chapters treat the characteristics of the goddess types Dākinī, Lāmā, and Yoginī. On account of these characteristics these goddesses, who manifest themselves as human women, can be recognized by the tantric practitioner. A fourth chapter discusses the secret signs by means of which they communicate with the initiated Yogin on occasion of the encounter for the purpose of engaging in a common ritual.

In the introduction that precedes the translation first the meaning of the literary classification of the text as an Anuttara-yoga-tantra of the Mother-tantra division is discussed. Then follows a systematic discussion of the external terrifying appearance of the deities, mostly represented in union with their consorts, based on the text and its commentary. One notes in that context that the chief maṇḍala deities, Saṃvara and Vārāhī, are described as trampling on the subdued Hindu gods Bhairava and Kālarātri. This leads to the discussion and analysis of an account preserved by Bu ston Rin po che (1290-1364) of how the taming of these non-Buddhist deities has taken place. From this account one learns that the Saṃvara-cycle of deities has been manifested by the Buddha Vajradhara in order to subdue the wrathful manifestations of Śiva and Śakti, Bhairava and Kālarātri. Significantly the account reports that the taming gods assume a form similar to the tamed or subdued deities.

The account suggest that not only on a mythological level but also on the historical plane the Saṃvara-cycle has arisen as a response to the gradual emergence of the Śiva-Śakti complex as a major religious force in the Indian History of Religion. The external appearance of the Saṃvara deities, their names, the concept

of the twenty-four sacred places (pīṭhas) they occupy, parallel descriptions of the Lāmās in the Śaivite Jaya-dratha-Yāmala, and connections with the Kāpālika-movement indeed point to a close relationship with the Śiva-Bhairava-Śakti cult.

The final part of the introduction illustrates with examples from the translated text and its commentary by what method Buddhism has integrated the terrible and erotic aspect belonging to this non-Buddhist cult.

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PREFACE :

This dissertation contains the edited text and translation of a selection of eight different chapters taken from the Abhidhānottarottara-tantra, 'The glorious more superior than superior exposition'.

The translation has been provided with notes containing references to the Tibetan version of a Sanskrit commentary composed by Śūrangavajra as well as material from Western sources which should aid the understanding of the rather difficult text.

In order to provide some additional background for an appreciation of this text it has been introduced by four different chapters constituting along with the translation the first part of this thesis. The second part consists of the edited Sanskrit text and textual variants provided with a special introduction discussing the manuscripts that have been employed as well as the principles of editing that have been followed.

The actual reason for studying a selection of chapters from the Abhidhānottara-tantra has been my wish to learn more about Buddhist-Tantric goddesses from primary Sanskrit sources. In response to that Prof. A. Wayman brought to my attention this so far untranslated text from the Mother- or Prajñā-tantra division of the Anuttarayoga-tantra class emphasizing practices related to goddesses. Since the whole text is exceedingly long and contains sixty-nine chapters a translation of the whole work was out of question. Thus Professor Wayman helped me to select the following eight chapters containing material relevant to my interest:

1. Chapter IX: The chapter on the method of destroying all the permanent karma.

(Sarvānasthitakarmabhedaividhānapaṭala).

2. Chapter XIV: The chapter on the Yoginīs in the sacred places etc.
(Pīṭhādiyoginīpaṭala).
3. Chapter XIX: The chapter on the yoga of the four Dākinīs.
(Caturdākinīyogapaṭala)
4. Chapter XXIV: The chapter on the promulgation concerning the family of the six Cakravartins.
(Kulaṣaṭcakraṣartisaṃpradapaṭala).
5. Chapter XXXIX: The chapter on the characteristics of Yoginīs.
(Yoginīlakṣanapaṭala)
6. Chapter XL: The chapter on the characteristics of Dākinīs.
(Dākinīlakṣanapaṭala).
7. Chapter XLI: The chapter on the characteristics of Lāmās.
(Lāmālakṣanapaṭala).
8. Chapter XLII: The chapter on the characteristics of signs and body-gestures.
(Aṅgamudralakṣanapaṭala).

The inclusion of the first two chapters has been motivated by the wish to have two chapters which reflect in some detail the succession of ritual events and contemplations carried out with regard to the deities based on the Saṃvaramaṇḍala. Chapter XXIV reflects in a more abbreviated manner the same process with regard to a different type of maṇḍala, the maṇḍala of the six Cakravartins. The shorter chapter XIX is of special interest because it contains special iconographical forms of the goddesses not encountered in the other three chapters.

The other four chapters are all connected with each other and have been selected because they relate to goddesses appearing as far as one can tell in the human

realm. While the first three chapters mainly describe the external appearance of these goddesses the last chapter describes the signs used in communicating with them.

The reading of these chapters has shown that the study of these goddesses cannot be separated from that of the male counterparts they are associated with. This is also true for the human goddesses who are described as single but have to be contacted by the (predominantly) male Yogin for the purpose of engaging in common ritual acts. This relatedness of these goddesses to the male counterpart must therefore be considered to be the actual focus of this thesis and has found its expression in the subtitle, 'The union of female and male deities'.

In the introduction I have attempted to cast some light on this topic. This has been done in four different chapters. The first chapter attempts to define the nature of the Abhidhānottara-tantra by way of explaining its position within Buddhist literature and special character as Anuttarayoga-tantra and member of the Saṃvara literature. This exposition provides the general context within which the topic of goddesses and gods has to be seen. The second chapter contains a detailed study of the external appearance and division of the deities as given in the translated chapters.

The next two chapters focus on the non-Buddhist background of the deities and on the manner of how the feminine, wrathful, and erotic element represented by them has been integrated into Buddhism by way of Tantra. This has been done by presenting the Buddhist view-point of how this integration has taken place as expressed in a remarkable myth related by Bu ston Rinpoche explaining the 'taming' and transformation of the non-Buddhist deities. In a subsequent step we have

attempted to trace the historical connection that exist between the Buddhist deities mentioned in our text and their non-Buddhist origins and counterparts. The manner of integration into the Buddhist system has been illustrated by demonstrating how our Tantra and its commentary interpreted the external appearance of the deities by way of Mahāyāna-Buddhist terminology and technical terms stemming from the method of internal yoga. The actual meaning of the union of the gods and goddesses is realized through the ritual and contemplative process of successive identification of the practitioner with these deities. For this reason we have included at the end a summary of the most important steps of this process as reflected in our text.

The aim of the introduction is to show that the practitioner who identifies himself with the gods and goddesses represented in sexual union realizes in that way on a personal level also the meaning of a collective historical process based on the union of both the more patriarchal Āryan and more matriarchal non-Āryan strands at work in Indian history of religion.

At this place I also wish to acknowledge my great debt of gratitude to Professor A. Wayman. He has not only been kind enough to go through most of my translation but has also otherwise helped me with his skillful guidance. I wish also to express my gratitude to the Tibetan Lamas who have answered specific questions concerning difficult points: first to Khyab rje Tri-chang Rinpoche, junior tutor to H.H. the Dalai Lama, then to Lati Rinpoche, Demo Lochoe Rinpoche, Geshe Jampa Lodro, and Ācārya Jamspal. I especially wish to express my thanks to my mother who has helped me with encouragement and financial help to accomplish this work. My thanks go also to all the others who have helped with checking the language, proof-reading, typing, or even filling in the diacritics.

PART I : INTRODUCTION TO THE TRANSLATED TEXT.

1. THE PLACE OF THE ABHIDHĀNOTTARA - TANTRA WITHIN BUDDHISM AND ITS LITERATURE.

The text which we have chosen to serve as a basis in order to gain new insight on the union of female and male deities in Tantric Buddhism is called the 'Śrī Abhidhānottarottara'.¹ In short it may be referred to as the 'Abhidhānottara'. The full title can be rendered in English as: 'The glorious more superior than superior exposition'. Or else, taking the sense of 'posterior' of 'uttara', it may be rendered 'The glorious, posterior to the posterior exposition'. As we shall see later on, the title has been interpreted in both ways. According to its position in the bKa' 'gyur, the Tibetan canon of works that are considered to be the Buddha's word, it is defined as an Anuttara-yoga-tantra of the Mother-tantra class. According to the divisions of the Mother-tantras it is an explanatory Saṃvara-tantra belonging to the Heruka-tantra division. These categories reveal, if more closely examined, more about the general character of our text. For this reason each category will be discussed in the following.

We shall begin with some comments on the characterisation of our text as a 'Tantra'. Since several introductions to Tantric Buddhism have already been written,

¹ This appellation is used at the end of each chapter. In the colophon at the end of the whole text the MSS. B, C, D have: iti śrī abhidhānottarottaranama mahātantra-rājāḥ (Thus is the king among the great Tantras named the Śrī Abhidhānottarottara). A omits this remark. T has: mñon par brjod pa'i rgyud bla ma bla ma gsañ ba las gsañ ba'i bde mchog gi rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po śes bya ba rdzogs (ste) (The last letters are not clear sto/sho?): 'This completes the so called great king of the very secret Cakrasaṃvara, the Abhidhānottarottara'.

there is no need to go into too much detail here.¹ We may just say a few words concerning the position of Tantras in relationship to non-Tantric Buddhism as it has been defined by the Tibetan master bTsoṅ kha pa in his sNags rim chen mo.

It is well known that the Tantras are the basic scriptures of the Vajrayāna or Mantrayāna (the 'Diamond-vehicle' or 'Mantra-vehicle'). The Mantrayāna in turn understands itself as part of the Mahāyāna, the 'Great-vehicle'. bTsoṅ kha pa states concerning this:

Wishing to attain highest enlightenment for the sake of all sentient beings and consequently training in the Bodhisattva deeds - the six perfections - are the general meaning of being a follower of the Mahāyāna in the sense of vehicle as the means by which one progresses. For it is said many times in tantras that in the Mantra Vehicle one proceeds by this path. 2

It might now also be important to know in which respect the Mantra-vehicle is different from the non-tantric aspect of Mahāyāna Buddhism, the Pāramitā-vehicle. This has been carefully discussed by bTsoṅ kha pa.³ He observes that the two, means and insight (upāya and prajñā), occur both in the Mantra-vehicle as well as in the Pāramitā-vehicle. The practice of both means and insight

1 A clear summary of the most important features of Tantra and its general placement within Indian history can be found in A. Wayman's 'Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra' (YGT pp. 51-83). A good introduction is also the book 'Tantra in Tibet' with a translation of the beginning of bTsoṅ kha pa's 'sNags rim chen mo' translated by Jeffrey Hopkins and introduced by H.H. the Fourteenth Dalai Lama. Furthermore, S.B. Dasgupta's 'An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism' may also be mentioned in this context.

2 Tantra in Tibet, p. 99f.

3 Translated in 'Tantra in Tibet' pp. 105-116. The following discussion presents only the main conclusions contained in that section.

is necessary to attain full Buddhahood in its finite aspect, the Form Body, and in its absolute aspect, the Truth Body (rūpakāya and dharmakāya). The practice of means leads to the attainment of the Form Body and insight to the attainment of the Truth Body. In the non-tantric path means is constituted by the five perfections (pāramitās) of giving, morality, forbearance, striving, and meditation. By contrast, the chief means of the tantric path is, according to bTson kha pa, the so called 'deity-yoga'. It consists in the meditation of oneself as having an aspect similar to a Buddha's Form Body. Insight, the realisation of the void-aspect of the phenomena, is the same for both paths. Thus it is on account of the (superior) means that the Mantra-path is different from the Pāramitā-path.

Engaging in the deity-yoga the practitioner anticipates the wished for effect of his practice. He sees himself already at the time of the path as the Buddha he strives to become. Thus the Tantra-vehicle is also referred to as the Effect-vehicle. The means employed on the Pāramitā-path are explained to be a meditation on the causes of the final effect. Accordingly this path is also referred to as the Cause-vehicle.¹

The two aspects of the Buddha, the Form Body and the Truth Body, cannot exist independently from each other. It is for this reason that during the contemplation means and insight have to be combined. This is explained by bTson kha pa with the following words:

At the time of the fruit, the base - a body adorned with the major and minor marks - and the mind of non-apprehension (of inherent existence) which depends on it abide at one time as an undifferentiated entity. In the same way, at the time of the path, the method (or 'means') is that the yogi's body appears to his own mind in the aspect of the

1 Tantra in Tibet, p. 106, 109f.

Tathāgata's body, and at the same time his mind becomes the wisdom ('insight') apprehending suchness - the non inherent existence of all phenomena. These two are a simultaneous composite, undifferentiable in the entity of one consciousness. This should be understood as (the meaning of) undifferentiable method and wisdom (in the Mantra Vehicle. 1

These remarks on the deity-yoga and the specific way of how the Tantric practitioner has to join means and insight should be sufficient as a general characterisation of our text as a Tantra.

Our text, moreover, belongs to the class of Anuttara-yoga-tantras. This refers to the final division of the Tantras into four groups by Bu ston Rinpoche (1290-1364 A.D.). The four groups consist of the Anuttara-yoga-tantras, Yoga-tantras, Caryā-tantras, and Kriyā-tantras.²

There are two orthodox ways of explaining this division, either in terms of the candidates or in terms of the deities. In connection with our topic, the union of male and female gods, mainly the second division is of interest.³ According to this method of explanation, the four classes of Tantras are related to four degrees of passion. These degrees of passion are symbolized by the manner of love-making characteristic of four types of gods and the humans. These gods as well as the humans belong to the so called desire-realm (kāma-dhātu). According to the Āmnāya-mañjari they enjoy sensual pleasure in the following manner:

The gods of the Nirmānarati-heaven enjoy by smiling

1 Tantra in Tibet, p. 126.

2 See 'Analysis of the Tantric section of the Kanjur correlated to Tanjur exegesis' for the most important texts belonging to these classes (BT p. 233-239). An alternative division of the Tantras by Atiśa is referred to note 1, p. 100, in FBT. Still another variant is mentioned in CT p. xxxii.

3 YGT p. 59f., Tantra in Tibet, pp. 156-164.

at each other, the gods of the Paranirmitavaśavartī-heaven enjoy by looking at each other, the gods of the Tuṣṭita-heavens enjoy by embracing each other and the gods of the Caturmahārāja-heavens and humans enjoy by sexual union.¹ These four ways of enjoyment have been used to illustrate the four classes of Tantra. Thus the Kriyā-tantra is illustrated by the gods smiling, the Caryā-tantra by the gods looking, the Yoga-tantra by the gods embracing, and the Anuttara-yoga-tantra by the gods in sexual union.²

bTson kha pa says that these methods of enjoyment refer to the (enlightened) deities of those Tantras, Vairocana, Locanā, and so on. He specifies that, since those deities never have desire, it actually refers to the practitioners, who, by means of deity-yoga, take pride in being those deities. He explains that the 'practitioner generates himself as the appropriate deity and uses in the path the joyous bliss that arises from their mutual desire, such as in their mutual looking at each other.' He also cites examples of passages from the three lower Tantras which describe the gods and goddesses in these states.³ The bliss which is generated in that way depending on desire is non-conceptual and from it profound concentration is generated. This in turn is cultivated as voidness whereupon the original desire is consumed.⁴

1 FBT p. 168, note 18, cf. also the Analytical Study of the Abhidharmakośa p. 122, according to which the Abhidharmakośa III/69 mentions five ways: by copulation, embracing, contact of hands, smiling, and looking. In Tantra in Tibet p. 158, in a quotation from Abhayākara by bTson kha pa the five modes are also referred to, but embracing and contact of hands are just considered as two alternatives.

2 YGT p. 60, Tantra in Tibet, p. 159.

3 Tantra in Tibet, p. 159, 160.

4 Tantra in Tibet, p. 161.

To sum up, given this way of dividing the four Tantras, the highest Anuttara-yoga-tantra is distinguished by the image of the sexual union of its deities.

A further special feature of the Anuttara-yoga-tantras is the division of the practices into 'Steps of Generation' (utpattikrama) and 'Steps of Completion' (niṣpannakrama).¹

The first, the Steps of Generation, focus on a complex process of generating oneself into a deity to achieve a 'mantra-body'.² Mkhas grub rje states that the contemplations of this stage are performed 'through the production of figments by ideation or constructs by the cognition' (rtog pas brtags pa 'am blos bcos śiñ bskyed pa'i go nas). In other words they are conceptual.

The Steps of Completion which follow are non-conceptual. The reason for this is that now one takes as meditative object the winds (vāyu) and drop (bindu) in the 'veins' of the body (that) is self-produced and independent of figments by ideation' (blos btags pa la ma ltos par).³ This presumes the existence of a subtle body which is said to have 72'000 'veins' (nādis) which serve as conduits for internal 'winds'. The three main ones among these are located in the position of the spine. The first, located on the right is called 'Rasanā', the second in the middle 'Avadhūtī', and the third, on the left, 'Lalanā'.⁴ The winds that move in the left and right channel cannot flow in the central channel and

1 FBT p. 157, Mkha grub rje states that in the three lower Tantras (i.e. Kriyā, Caryā, and Yoga) there are neither the aims (artha) nor the terms (vyavahāra) of the Steps of Generation (utpattikrama) and the Steps of Completion (niṣpannakrama).

2 BT p. 192.

3 FBT p. 333.

4 YGT p. 65.

the psychic centers, called 'cakras', located along this channel. The basic yogic practice consists in making the winds of the left and right 'veins' enter the central channel. In his characterisation of the Steps of Completion Mkhas grub rje refers to this and states:

Then one contemplates so as to make the wind enter, dwell and dissolve in the central channel. When those are the steps, they are called 'Steps of Completion'. 1

In connection with this, special heat can be produced within the channel. The Bodhicitta-drop, the male essence imagined to be at the top of the head, melts.

Flowing downwards it produces four types of joys in the cakras located in the head, throat, heart, and navel.² When these joys arise, it is necessary to combine this sensation with the contemplation of the void.³

In the Hevajra-tantra the four joys have been correlated with the four types of initiation belonging to the Anuttara-yoga-tantra. 'Among those', the text continues, 'the first is represented by a smile, the second by a gaze, the third in an embrace, and the fourth in union'.⁴ This illustrates the emphasis on union and the impor-

1 FBT p. 333.

2 C.C.Chang, *Esoteric Teachings*, bTson kha pa's commentary on the six yogas of Nāropa, p. 191. The four joys arising in these places are called 'joy' (ānanda), 'super-joy' (parama-ānanda), 'extraordinary-joy' (virama-ānanda) and 'together-born-joy' (sahaja-ānanda). On the following page (as an alternative?) the throat, heart, navel, and the top of the precious organ are mentioned as their place of origin. The same places are referred to FBT p. 323. Also an upgoing movement of the drop, producing the same blisses but more intense in the reversed order, is described, Chang p. 193; see also YGT pp. 150f. and ST p. 63. Concerning the drop it is said that it is accompanied by the (female) blood element, *ibid.* p. 192. For its position in the heart, neck, navel, and head at the time of deep sleep, time of dreaming, waking state, and sexual union, see BT. p. 175.

3 *Esoteric Teachings*, p. 196f., cf. FBT p. 323.

4 HT II, iii, 10f., cf. footnote 1 in Vol. 1.

tance of the transformation of desire into mystical bliss combined with the view of the voidness for this Tantra-class. The four initiations, the first related to the Steps of Generation, the other three to the Steps of Completion, lay the basis for the attainment of the Nirmāṇakaya, Sambhogakāya, Dharmakāya, and, according to the Hevajra-tantra-tradition, the Mahāsukhakāya respectively.¹

In view of the next division we shall shortly comment upon, the division of the Anuttarayoga-tantras in Mother- and Father-tantras, we should briefly refer to an additional sequence of practices that follow upon the entrance of the wind into the middle channel. The emphasis is now on the arising of three lights together with a fourth, the symbolic clear light (dpe'i 'od gsal) based on the wind entering the central channel.² Then an impure illusory body, consisting just of winds and mind only, is accomplished and purified by the clear light. After this the goal-clear light (don gyi 'od gsal)

1 HT Vol. 1, p. 95, note 1. Mkhas grub rje explains the fruit of the fourth initiation to be the state of 'coupling beyond learning' (aśaikṣayuganaddha), FBT p. 325.

2 The three lights are called 'light' (āloka), 'spread of light' (ālokābhāsa) and 'culmination of light' (ālokalabdhi). They are also known as four voids: 'void' (śūnya), 'further void' (atiśūnya), 'great void' (mahāśūnya), and 'universal void' (sarvaśūnya) (Ruegg, 'The Life of Bu ston Rinpoche', p. 101f., note 1, FBT p. 327, cf. YGT p. 194). The lights are explained to be like moonlight, sunlight, junction of day and night, and the cloudless sky. They appear after the dissolution of the four elements into each other (see BT p. 181; Ruegg, op. cit., p. 101, note 1; C.C. Chang, Esoteric Teachings, p. 201. According to the last source mentioned, p. 246, bTson kha pa refers to the four voids also as the four joys. The fourth void is the together-born joy (cf. also Ruegg, op. cit., p. 103, and Beyer, Cult of Tārā, p. 136). On the appearance of the four lights at the time of death see C.C. Chang, op. cit., p. 323f., and Beyer, op. cit., pp. 140-42.

arises which has the capacity to directly comprehend voidness. The next step brings about the fusion of the pure illusory body which has emerged from the goal-clear light with that light of the nature of mind. This represents the 'coupling in the realm of learning' and subsequently the 'coupling beyond learning' (asaikṣayuganaddha) where the Buddhastage is realized.¹

The production of the four joys as well as the ultimate union of the illusory body with the clear light is mentioned in Śūraṅgavajra's explanation of the term 'uttara-uttara' as part of the name 'Abhidhānottarottara-tantra'. He writes:

'Superior' (uttara) means the antidote for the one belonging to the world, the calming of the mind (śamatha) which is the profound concentration (samādhi) of the four joys. 'More superior than superior' (uttara-uttara) means the discerning of the real (vipaśyanā) which is the coupling of the illusory body with the clear light.²

We note in this explanation the essential fact that the tantric terminology is here related to the non-tantric concepts of śamatha and vipaśyanā, the calming of the mind, and the insight based on this state of mind cognizing the void.³ It shows that the non-tantric ve-

1 FBT p. 327, 325; BT p. 192f.

2 Śū. 154b4, p. 267-4-4: 'jig rten pa'i gñen po ṣi gnas dga' ba bzi'i tiñ ne 'dzin bla ma dan lhaḡ mthon sgyu ma 'od gsal zuñ 'jug ston pa ni bla ma'i bla ma ste.

3 The important concept of śamatha and vipaśyanā is, for example, discussed in the VIIIth chapter of the Saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra (translated by E. Lamotte in *Ré-
cueil de Travaux, Louvain Université, 2ème série, Vol. 33-35*) and also in the Śravakabhūmi of Asaṅga, analysed by A. Wayman, pp. 108ff.

A translation by A. Wayman of the chapters dealing with this topic from bTson kha pa's Lam rim chen mo has just recently been published with the title 'Calming the Mind and Discerning the Real' (Columbia University Press 1978).

hicle is the basis for understanding tantric practices. It furthermore shows that the Tantras aim at the same realizations as the so called Pāramitā-yāna. The difference are the different techniques, which in the case of the Tantras are said to yield a much faster result.¹

Mkhas grub rje has in his Fundamentals of Buddhist Tantras a discussion on the difference between the Mother and Father-tantras of the Anuttarayoga-tantra division.² As synonyms for 'Mother-tantra' he mentions 'Yoginī-tantra', 'Prajñā-tantra', and 'Dākinī-tantra'. The corresponding terms used for Father-Tantras are 'Yoga-tantra', 'Upāya-tantra', and 'Dāka-tantra'. Mkhas grub rje emphasizes that all the Anuttarayoga-tantras teach the inseparability of 'means' (upāya) and 'insight'. Thus differentiating the Father-tantra as 'Means-tantra' and the Mother-tantra as 'Insight-tantra' cannot imply that one would only teach the means and the other only insight. It must therefore be a matter of emphasis and special understanding of the terms 'means' and 'insight'. Mkhas grub rje explains the characteristics of the Mother-tantras as follows:

It is any Tantra which emphasizes the subject matter of the Knowledge of the indissolubility of Beatitude (bliss) and Void in the part of 'Insight' on the Void side, while not specially emphasizing such things as the method of accomplishing the Illusory Body in the part of 'Means' on the phenomenal side.³

1 To reach enlightenment by way of the Paramitās is said to take countless aeons. By the special method of Anuttara-yoga-tantra it can theoretically be reached within one life; see Tantra in Tibet, p. 52f., and p. 142f.

2 FBT pp. 251-267.

3 FBT p. 265.

In his introduction to his book on the Yoga of the Guhyasamāja-tantra, which different from our text is a Father-tantra, A. Wayman observes in accordance with this quotation from Mkhas grub rje:

In brief a Father Tantra emphasizes the 'Means' side of the 'means-insight' union, and so deals especially with the topics so prominent in the present work of evoking the three lights followed by the Clear Light, and of introducing the Illusory Body into the Clear Light. A Mother Tantra puts emphasis on the 'Insight' side of the 'means-insight' union, and so treats the indissoluble bliss and void. ¹

This distinction of the two Tantra types refers, as our discussion shows, to the Completion Stage. Since the chapters we have chosen mainly relate to the Steps of Generation and because these passages which relate to the Steps of Completion may not be representative for the whole of the Abhidhānottara, I feel it to be premature to try to demonstrate this distinction on the basis of our material.

As for the next definition of the Abhidhānottara-tantra referred to, its classification as Heruka-tantra, the following can be said. It refers to a sevenfold division of the Mother-tantras based on a sixfold distinction of Buddha-families. The division of six families is an extension of the well known division of five Tathāgatas, and, according to Mkhas grub rje, is characteristic of the Anuttarayoga-tantras.² Following the outline

¹ YGT p. 61. Ruegg, also basing himself on Mkhas grub rje, uses the formulation that 'The sgyu lus is moreover often considered to be the principal subject of the pha rgyud or Father Tantras and the 'od gsal that of the ma rgyud or Mother Tantras (Reference given by Ruegg: mkhas grub rje, rgyud sde spyi'i rnam b'zag 74b-75a; I have not been able to find this passage in the text edited by Lessing & Wayman); Ruegg, Bu ston, note 1, p. 101f.

² FBT p. 101.

of the bKa' 'gyur Tantras given by A. Wayman in his book 'The Buddhist Tantras' the divisions are:¹

1. A group referred to as 'sTon pa' (includes according to Wayman all Buddhas).
2. Heruka (i.e. Akṣobhya).
3. Vairocana.
4. Vajraprabhā (i.e. Ratnasambhava).
5. Padmanartesvara (i.e. Amitābha).
6. Paramāśva (i.e. Amoghasiddhi).
7. Vajradhara.

This division must refer to the chief deity dealt with in the texts belonging to this group. It does not imply, however, that all maṇḍala-systems discussed in these texts necessarily have a chief belonging to the family of the text division. For example, in the case of the maṇḍala of the six Cakravartins Vajrasattva is placed in the centre and the other deities, each ruling his own maṇḍala, are around him. Included in the surrounding maṇḍalas is also the one ruled by Akṣobhya. One might have expected it to be placed in the centre, since Akṣobhya is the chief deity of the Heruka class the maṇḍala is belonging to.²

The Heruka class in turn is divided into the Tantras related to Saṃvara, Hevajra, Buddhakapāla, Mahāmāyā, and Ārali. This division shows that it is probably wrong to consider Saṃvara as another form of Hevajra, as Bhatṭhacaryya is suggesting in his Iconography.³ Except for

1 BT p. 234f.

2 See translated text Ch. XXIV, 117a3ff. See also NSP, maṇḍala no. 25, p. 74f.

3 B. Bhattacharyya, The Indian Buddhist Iconography, p. 160. Similarly, Finot writes that Vajradāka and Saṃvara are two forms of Hevajra, see ITB p. 187, note 11. Also, the exclusive connection between the appellation 'Heruka' and 'Hevajra' made by Mallmann has to be questioned in the light of Bu ston's division, see ITB p. 182.

Arāli, all the mentioned deities who head these five divisions, have their own maṇḍala as described in the Niṣpannayogāvalī. We observe furthermore, that according to that work they are all blue/black in color. This color is the same as the one of the Tathāgata Akṣobhya.

The divisions of the Saṃvara-literature, to which our text belongs, have been reviewed by the Japanese scholar S. Tsuda. He discusses two different systems, one established by Bu ston Rinpoche, and another by bTsonkha pa.¹ Bu ston and bTsonkha pa both classify the Saṃvara-literature under two main headings: the Root-tantra (rtsa rgyud) on the one hand, and various types of Explanatory-tantras (bsad rgyud) on the other hand. Bu ston calls his categories 'Extraordinary-explanatory-tantras (thun mon ma yin pa'i bsad rgyud), 'Ordinary-explanatory-tantras' (thun mon bsad rgyud), and 'Tantras of which the genuity is disputed' (rgyud yañ dag min). The Abhidhānottara belongs to the first class. bTsonkha pa, in turn, includes the Abhidhānottara in a first class of 'Explanatory-tantras' (bsad rgyud), the second class being the one of the 'Resembling Tantras' (chamthun gyi rgyud). It does not seem from what Tsuda tells us that Bu ston and bTsonkha pa have defined these categories in any detail or given criteria for them. Thus until more about the contents of these texts is known there is not much we can say about the meaning of these divisions. Since Tsuda has given the names of the works belonging to these classes there is no need to repeat them here. Although there exist some

1 See ST, Ch. IV: 'The Saṃvarodaya-tantra in its relation to the Saṃvara literature' (pp. 27-45). He used Bu ston's rgyud sde spyi'i rnam par bzag rgyud sde rin po che'i mdses rgyan (Complete works, Ba, ed. by Lokesh Chandra), and bTsonkha pa's sPal 'khor lo sdom par, brjod pa bde mchog bsdu pa'i rgyud kyi rgya cher bsad pa "sBas pa'i don kun gsal ba" ses bya ba, No. 6157, Vol. 157, 7-4-1f.

differences with regards to the type and contents of divisions of the Explanatory-tantras, both authorities agree that the Laghusaṃvara-tantra, also referred to as Saṃvara- or Cakrasaṃvara-tantra, should be considered to be the Root-tantra of the Saṃvara-class.¹ bTson kha pa rejects the view of some unnamed authorities who seemed to have regarded the Abhidhānottara to also be a Root-tantra.² At least, one can say with reasonable certainty that here 'Root-tantra' does not mean a Tantra that has served as a basis to be commented upon by the so called 'Explanatory-tantras'. Nor do the Explanatory-tantras presuppose the Laghusaṃvara-tantra or any other Tantra as a 'Root-tantra' which they comment upon.³

The issue has been further complicated by the application of the term 'Root-tantra' to one or more legendary large original recensions of the Tantras included in the Saṃvara literature from which some (or all?) of the works of the Saṃvara literature are said to have been extracted. Tsuda seems to think that the legend may reflect a historical truth. He postulates that 'It will be our future task to reconstruct the concept of this mūla-tantra by means of a philological treatment of the extant materials'.⁴ There are, indeed, identical passages and affinities shared by some of the Saṃvara-tantras which would make it tempting to further investigate the possibility of one or more lost sources of

1 ST p. 31, p. 33. According to bTson kha pa this attribution is only provisional.

2 ST p. 39.

3 ST p. 27. This can also easily be seen from the translations included in this study.

4 ST p. 37.

this literature.¹ In terms of common systems, Tsuda notes that the Yoginīsañcāra, the Saṃputa and the Abhidhānottara are closely related by virtue of the same systems of sacred places correlated to deities, spots on the body, and body constituents. These Tantras have also been included together in the same division by bTson kha pa and Bu ston.² Naturally, based on the present knowledge of these Tantras, we must content ourselves with just stating the possibility of one or more common sources indicated by certain affinities among some of the texts.

Let us examine briefly what the concept of this type of legendary Root-tantra looks like and see what can be learned from it concerning our text:

According to Tsuda, Bu ston quotes a commentary by Vajra on the Saṃvara-mūla-tantra stating that the Root-tantra has 100'000 chapters, that the Uttara-tantra, the Khasama-tantra, has 100'000 ślokas and the Uttara-uttara-tantra, the existent Laghusaṃvara of fifty-one chapters, has 1700 ślokas. The Dākavarṇa-tantra says that the

1 An example for an identical passage can be found in Ch. XXXIX of the Abhidhānottara and Ch. IX of the Saṃvarodaya. See my English translation 162b3 and note on that passage. It has been possible to demonstrate mainly on metrical grounds that the Abhidhānottara has preserved a version closer to the 'original' or may itself have served as this original for the Saṃvarodaya. Such stray passages, of course, say very little about a common source, its extent, or whether there is just one or many.

2 See ST p. 260 and p. 45 note 1.

In note 1, p. 40, Tsuda discusses traits of the Saṃputa which make it different from the three Tantras mentioned above. This is despite the fact that bTson kha pa includes it in the same category as these texts, namely the category of 'Explanatory-tantras' as distinguished from 'Resembling-tantras' (cha mthun gyi rgyud).

Laghusaṃvara has been extracted from the Abhidhāna of 300'000 ślokas, which according to a commentary on the Herukābhyudaya first had been condensed into 100'000 ślokas. In that case, according to Bu ston, the Abhidhāna of 300'000 ślokas is the same as the Root-tantra of 100'000 chapters.¹ The Laghusaṃvara itself states that it has been extracted from the Śriherukābhidhāna of 100'000 (ślokas). The Saṃvarodaya defines itself as the Sahajodaya-kalpa extracted from the Śriherukābhidhāna-mahātantrarāja of 300'000 ślokas. The Abhidhānottara-tantra also refers to the Abhidhāna-tantra.²

Concerning the Abhidhānottara its commentator Śūraṅgavajra explains:

Abridged from 100'000 chapters, reduced from 100'000 ślokas, it does not exist in an extensive form.

and

Clarifying 80'000 (chapters) from the Tantra of 100'000 (chapters) it follows the one which follows the Abhidhāna-root-tantra (Abhi-

¹ For more details and quotations from the Tibetan texts in question see ST p. 29f., note 3 p. 29, and note 1 and 2 on p. 30.

According to Tsuda, bTson kha pa seems to maintain that the Khasama-tantra and Abhidhāna of 100'000 ślokas are not the same. Therefore, one would think, also the identification of the two Root-tantras with each other is in question, and that the Laghusaṃvara must have relied on two different sources. These conclusions are not made explicit by Tsuda, nor does he attribute anything like that to bTson kha pa. The Tibetan passage quoted by Tsuda in evidence of this opinion is not conclusive, it seems even to imply the opposite, namely that it is an erroneous opinion to think that the two are different.

² ST p.33f., and 37. The references to the Abhidhāna-root-tantra occur in the last chapter of the Laghusaṃvara and Saṃvarodaya, and in chapters three, eleven, and sixty-seven (Tibetan chapter division) of the Abhidhānottara.

dhāna-mūlatantra-uttarottaram). 1

In the second statement 'uttarottara' has to be taken in the sense of 'posterior to the posterior' or 'following the one that follows'. This agrees with the Tibetan rendering of 'abhidhānottarottaram' in the root-text by 'the posterior exposition' (mñon par brjod pa'i phyi ma).²

The commentary, moreover, gives precise details of the chapters that have been condensed into the chapters of the Abhidhānottara-tantra. For example, the 3000 chapters of the original Tantra dealing with the circumstances of the discourse (nidāna) are said to have been condensed into the 1st chapter of the Abhidhānottara. After having correlated all the 80'000 chapters of the Abhidhānottara, Śūraṅgavajra continues:

In that way the 80'000 (chapters) of the Tantra of 100'000 (chapters) have been condensed in this condensing Tantra (sdus pa'i rgyud), the Abhidhānottarottara. The Completion Stage and Collection Rites in 20'000 (chapters) have been explained by this Tantra (the Abhidhānottara) and the four Tantras, the Posterior-explanatory-tantra (phyi ma'i bsad pa'i rgyud) rDo rje mkha' 'gro (Vajraḍāka), sGyu ma chen mo (Mahāmāyā), Heruka 'byun' ba (Herukābhyudaya), and the Rig pa'i rgya mtsho. In that way the Explanatory-tantras have explained the Root-tantra of 100'000 chapters. 3

From these passages in the commentary we learn that there obviously exists a connection between 'Uttarottara', 'Condensing-tantra', and 'Explanatory-tantra', all terms which apply to the Abhidhānottara-uttara. It

1 Śū. 154a5, p.267-5-5: "le'u 'bum pa las mdor bsdus nas śloka 'bum pa las bskyuñs pa na rgyas par ma yin pa ste", and Śū. 153b3, p.267-4-3: "rgyud 'bum pa'i ston phrag brgyad bcu gsal zin nes par brjod pa rtsa ba'i rgyud bla ma'i bla ma ste".

2 cf. MS.D. fol. 2a4 and the Tib. text 97a2, p. 41-1-2.

3 See Śū. 151b2-152a4.

is 'posterior to the posterior' because it represents a second recension of a (legendary) Root-text, it condenses its extremely long contents, and, presenting it in a shorter form, makes it more accessible to understanding and thus explains it. This understanding of the term 'explanatory' differs, when it is used to differentiate these Tantras from the extant Laghusaṃvara. Also the Laghusaṃvara would have to be strictly speaking an Explanatory-tantra in its relationship to the larger Root-tantra. Likewise the term 'Root-tantra', as applied to the Laghusaṃvara, has a different, although not precisely defined, meaning from when it is used to characterize the extensive Root-text.

Our passage also shows that the Abhidhānottara is supposed to take an extraordinary position in relationship to the other Tantras mentioned by Śūraṅgavajra; those are said to contain much less material from the Root-tantra. What is surprising is that it is mentioned in the company of the Mahāmāyā, a Tantra which according to Bu ston forms by itself the Mahāmāyā division of the Heruka-tantras. According to Bu ston, it itself even has a legendary prototype, the Mahāmāyā of 18'000 verses.¹

Both Bu ston and bTson kha pa place the Vajraḍāka and the Abhidhānottara within one and the same group of Explanatory-tantras. The Herukābhyudhaya, however, has only by Bu ston been included in that group. It is as yet not possible to determine which Tantra is being referred to by the name 'Rig pa'i rgya mtsho'. Based on a passage in the Laghusaṃvara some Tibetan scholars take

1 Obermiller, Bu ston's History of Buddhism, p. 170.

this text to be the (already abbreviated) Root-tantra of 100'000 ślokaś (from which the Laghuśaṃvara itself had been extracted). Tsuda, having examined this passage, thinks that this is not necessarily implied.¹ The passage cited from Śūraṅgavajra supports his view. The question, however, may be raised why did Śūraṅgavajra not mention the Laghuśaṃvara and the Saṃvarodaya as also having condensed certain chapters from this Root-tantra? One might also have expected a mentioning of the name of the Yoginīśaṅcāra which shows along with the Saṃvarodaya similar traits as the Abhidhānottara. Moreover, why did Śūraṅgavajra mention texts which by Bu ston and bTson kha pa have been attributed not to the same but different types of division?

It is not possible to really answer these questions here. On one side it appears to have become quite questionable whether the Abhidhāna, Saṃvarodaya, and Laghuśaṃvara all point to the same Root-tantra they supposedly have been extracted from. This is at least one possible conclusion that can be drawn from the silence of Śūraṅgavajra concerning these texts. But we also do not know the reasons that have prompted him to mention the Vajradāka, etc. as having taken material from 20'000 chapters of this Root-tantra. It would be necessary to see whether any indications about this can be found within those Tantras. It is also possible that Śūraṅgavajra connected them in this way for internal reasons derived from the contents, but then these must be different from those that have lead to the divisions established by Bu ston and bTson kha pa.

The concept of a larger prototype exists also with regards to the non-Tantric texts as well as with regards to the Tantras of classes other than the Saṃvara-

1 ST p. 32f., p. 33 note 1.

class. These are all said to be stored in super-natural realms such as the realms of the Gods, Ghandharvas, and Nāgas. In the case of the Tantras they have in particular been preserved in the mythical countries Śambhala and Oḍiyāna.¹

Bu ston, moreover, establishes an amazing connection between the large, middle, and small version of the Saṃvara-tantras and the three Buddha Bodies:

...the very extensive Root-tantra has been spoken in the manner of the Dharma-kāya, the extensive one in the manner of the Sambhogakāya, and the condensed Tantra in the manner of the Nirmāṇakāya. In accordance with that, the very extensive Tantra abides in the minds of the Buddhas, the extensive Root-tantra abides continually without interruption in the manner of arising in the sphere of perception of the Bodhisattvas. The condensed Tantra, however, is a repeated teaching in the manner of the repeated exhibition of the manifestations of the Nirmāṇakāya and the repeated disappearance from sight of (the Buddhas) by way of (entering) Nirvāṇa.²

The implication is that the longest version and the intermediate version exist all the time. By contrast, the existence of the condensed version is linked up with the repeated manifestations of the Buddha in this world. Therefore, it seems that even from the perspective of the ancient Buddhist masters the longer versions may never have existed as ordinary Sanskrit manuscripts on the human plane. Speaking in Jungian terms the Root-tantra concept has been used to point to the archetypal source of these teachings. In this sense they can of course be considered as the Buddha's word even if

1 Obermiller, Bu ston's History of Buddhism, p. 170f.

2 Bu ston Rinpoche, bDe mchog spyi rnam don gsal, folio 72, 5f. It is a statement in reference to a quotation from the (Yoginī)sañcāra.

their written form among humans can only be traced into the period after the historical Buddha. Thus, introduced by the standard beginning of the texts which are considered to be the Buddha's word, 'Thus on one occasion (or 'in one instant') it was heard by me etc.', it has found its place in the Tibetan bKa' 'gyur.¹

The lineage of the Saṃvara teachings, which probably included our Tantra, starts with Saraha (ca. 750 A.D.). He is said to have directly received it from Vajrapāṇi who initially requested those teachings from Vajrasattva. Therefore, even according to Buddhist tradition, the coming into existence of a written form of these texts must be comparatively recent.² I will, however, not get into historical considerations here, and only make some

1 The MSS. have 'evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye bhāgavān sarvatathāgatavajrakrodhaḍākaḍākiniguhyahṛdaye suvijahara': 'Thus it was heard by me when the Lord was dwelling in the secret essence of all the Tathagatas, the fierce Vajras, ḍākas, and ḍākinis'.

The Tantra has according to tradition been requested by Vajrapāṇi and its exposition by Buddha Vajrasattva manifesting as Cakrasaṃvara took place on top of Mt. Meru. See Sū. 152ff., p. 267-2-5ff.; Bu ston, bDe mchog spyi rnam don gsal, fol. 63, 7ff.

2 Bu ston, bDe mchog spyi rnam don gsal, fol. 71,5. For the lineage after Saraha see CT p. xxxv. As for the date of Saraha see Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyayāna, 'L'Origine du Vajrayāna et les 84 Siddhas', p. 219f. Guenther puts, following a Tibetan source, the date of Saraha 336 years after the Buddha. He does, however, not give any reasons besides the authority of his Tibetan source for such an early date (Guenther, 'The Royal Song of Saraha', p. 4.).

The only other contact of the Saṃvara teachings with the human realm, according to Buddhist tradition, had been the 'rehearsal' of the text by Vajrapāṇi before the 500 Arhats on Mt. Meru in lCan lo (Alakā), but no ongoing succession is reported to have resulted from that (cf. Sū. 152b3f., p. 267-2-3).

observations later in connection with a discussion of the deities of this Tantra.

This concludes our exposition of the general nature of the Abhidhānottara-Tantra in relationship to its name and classification.

2. THE EXTERNAL ASPECT OF THE FEMALE AND MALE DEITIES.

2.1. The Deities of the Saṃvara- and Ṣaṭcakravarti- Maṇḍala.

The rituals described in chapters IX, XIV, and XIX are based on the Saṃvara-maṇḍala of sixty-two deities. The maṇḍala of the six Cakravartins totalling sixty-six (or seventy-two) deities is the basis of the practices indicated in chapter XXIV. We shall only briefly describe the two maṇḍalas and its deities. They both have already been described in publications in Western languages.¹

1 The two maṇḍalas are described in the Niṣpanna-yogāvalī (maṇḍala No. 12 and 25) composed by Abhayākara-gupta, who lived at the end of the 11th and beginning of the 12th century A.D. The text of this work has been edited by B. Bhattacharyya who has listed the deities of those maṇḍalas in the introduction to the edited text.

Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann has, based on the same work, given a slightly more extensive description in French of all the maṇḍalas described in that work along with some notes.

A drawing of the maṇḍala of the sixty-two deities along with a key which allows to identify the parts of the maṇḍala has been reproduced in Lessing's Yung-Ho-Kung, pp. 130-138. G. Tucci in Indo Tibetica Vol. III, part II, pp. 31-41 (cf. also p. 45) has established a complete list of the maṇḍala deities, description of their colors, amount of heads and arms, and postures (āsaṇa). This list includes also sixteen Vidyās (offering deities) and eight protectors and other deities not contained in the description of the maṇḍala in our text. Tucci has drawn the material from bTson kha pa's exposition of the Lūyī pā tradition of exegesis of the Saṃvara-cycle (rnal 'byor gyi dbaṅ phyug lū yi pa'i lugs ky) bcom ldan 'das 'khor lo sdom pa'i thabs bde chen gsal ba (no. 333 (1) op. compl. Vol. ta).

Meisezahl in his article on Vārāṇī describes the Vārāṇī-maṇḍala along with the goddesses contained in it providing also a sketch of the maṇḍala. This maṇḍala has the same structure as the Saṃvara-maṇḍala except for leaving out the male deities (Meisezahl, Vārāṇī, p. 288, and pp. 285-298 chapter 4., 'Das Maṇḍala der Vajra-

Let us first examine the maṇḍala of Saṃvara. Moving in our description from the outside towards the center, there is first a circle consisting of eight cemeteries. They are briefly described in chapter IX of the English text.¹

Cemeteries have already in the Pāli-tradition played an important role as places for the meditation, especially in connection with the contemplation on corpses in different states of decomposition. These corpses had to be considered as not different from one's own body.²

With the uprise of Tantric practices the cemeteries

vārāhī'; the description is mainly based on the Vajrayoginīsādhana of Umāpattideva, No. 41 in Meisezahl's concordance of bsTan 'gyur editions (PTT no. 2283(52)), ibidem, p. 276.

The maṇḍala of the six Cakravartins has not received that much attention so far in Western literature. In 'Dieux et démons de l'Himālaya', p. 133, there is a plate of a Thanka (from the Albright Knox Gallery, Buffalo, N.Y.) of this maṇḍala. I have been able to study this rare Thanka in its original on occasion of an exhibition in Paris 1977. My summary is based on these sources and the translated text and its commentary.

1 Ch, IX, 50a3-50b3. The note going with that passage contains a reference to a parallel passage in the Saṃvarodaya-tantra.

The topic of the eight cemeteries has exhaustively been dealt with by Meisezahl in his article on Lū yī pā's Śmaśānavidhi. Included in the article are pictorial representations of the cemeteries. Another treatment of the subject can be found in Tucci's Indo-Tibetica III, pp. 174-181, with an excerpt of the Skt. commentary 'Vajrapradīpaṭippāṇī' by Suratavajra based on a MS. from the Bihar Library in Kathmandu along with another text translated from the Tibetan, the 'dur khrod brgyad kyi bśad pa' (Aṣṭaśmaśāna bhāṣya). The topic is also dealt with in Lessing's Yung-Ho-Kung, p. 136f. (based on Tucci). A further description of these cemeteries can be found in the Tibetan Cakrasaṃvara text edited and translated by Kazi Dawa Samdup, CT p. 10f. (Tib.text)/ pp. 19.21 (Engl.).

2 The meditation on decaying corpses is described in the Dīgha-Nikāya, sutta 22 (see Warren, Buddhism in Translations, pp. 360-362).

haunted by many spirits such as the Yakṣas, Vetālas, Rākṣasas, and in particular meat-eating Dākinīs, have become the places where the Tantric practitioners, Yogins and Yoginīs, have met for their secret practices. There is no doubt that the eight cemeteries represented in the maṇḍala have been considered to exist also in the external world. In the biography of the tantric master Padmasambhava, his visit to all eight cemeteries along with a description of these cemeteries is given.¹

Then, after the cemetery circle, moving towards the center of the maṇḍala, there comes a zone of flames, thunderbolts, and lotus petals. By the flames and thunderbolts a strong protective enclosure of the inside of the maṇḍala is established. These circles surround a palace with four entrances situated on a double vajra, itself imagined to be on top of Mt. Meru.²

Inside this palace there are five concentric circles. The space between the outermost circle and the inner walls of the palace is called the 'pledge-circle' (sa-maya-cakra). Then follow the 'body-circle' (kāya-cakra), the 'speech-circle' (vāk-cakra), and the 'mind-circle' (citta-cakra). Within that are situated eight petals of a lotus in the main and intermediate directions and this is known as the 'knowledge-lotus' (jñāna-padma).

In the four gates of the maṇḍala, but still belonging to the pledge-circle, we find the four animal-headed gatekeeper deities, to wit, 'She the Crow-Faced' (Kākā-syā), 'She the Owl-Faced' (Ulūkāsyā), 'She the Dog-

1 The chapters dealing with Padmasambhava's visit to these cemeteries contained in the "U rgyan ghu ru Padma 'byuñ gnas kyis skye rabs rnam pa rgyas par bkod pa las sel brag ma bzugs so" have been edited and translated in Eva (Dargyay-)Neumaier's dissertation on Mātaraḥ and Ma-mo, pp. 45-61.

2 Cf. the note to 42a2 in Ch. IX; Meisezahl, Vārāhī, p. 243 and 267; CT p. 9.

Faced' (Śvānāsyā), and 'She the Boar-Faced' (Śūkarāsyā). They guard the gates in the East, North, West, and South, in that succession. Also in the pledge-circle, but placed in the intermediate directions, South-East, South-West, North-West, and North-East, there are the four goddesses called 'She, Yama's Cremation-ground' (Yamadāhī), 'She, Yama's Messenger' (Yamadūtī), 'She, Yama's tusk' (Yamadamṣṭrī), and 'She, Yama's Annihilation' (Yamamathanī).

In the mind-, body-, and speech-circle there are twenty-four heroes with twenty-four Yoginīs as consorts. Each circle contains eight heroes placed in the main and intermediate directions. The places they occupy in the maṇḍala correspond in the external world to twenty-four places of pilgrimage in India. These are divided into ten categories, namely four 'sacred places' (pīṭhas), four 'secondary sacred places' (upapīṭhas), two 'fields' (kṣetras), two 'secondary fields' (upakṣetras), two 'chandohas', two 'secondary chandohas' (upacchandohas), two 'meeting places' (melāpakas), two 'secondary meeting places' (upamelāpakas), two 'cemeteries' (śmaśānas), and two 'secondary cemeteries' (upaśmaśānas).¹

1 The places of pilgrimage and deities of the Saṃvara-maṇḍala are mentioned several times in the translated text. They are also associated with spots on the body as well as body constituents. The occurrences and correlations are as follows:

- A. First syllable of the name of the place - hero - Yoginī - spot on the body: Ch. IX, 43a4-44a2.
- B. Name of the place - hero - Yoginī - color of Yoginī: Ch. XIV, 81a2-81b5.
- C. Body constituents - hero : Ch. XIV, 83a1-83a4.
- D. Name of the place - Yoginī - spot on the body: Ch. XIV, 83a4-84a1.

S. Tsuda gives a summary of occurrences of such lists in other chapters of the Abhidhānottara (he mentions also the ones in our translated portion of the text except for group C.). The VIIth chapter in the Saṃvarodaya-tantra translated by Tsuda correlates names of places - spots on the body - veins related to body con-

On the four petals of the knowledge lotus we find the four Dākinīs, i.e. Dākinī, Lāmā, Khaṇḍarohā, and Rūpiṇī. In the center of that lotus, its round nave, abide Śrī Cakrasaṃvara and his consort Vārāhī.

While the general structure of the maṇḍala and position of the deities in the maṇḍala remains the same, the descriptions of the deities given in the chapters translated here differ among each other.

We have listed the main external characteristics of these deities, such as number of arms and heads, body-color, etc. in tabular form (Table A, B, and C). In order to establish that list we had also to refer to Śūraṅgavajra's commentary. In certain instances we have also filled in some information drawn from the Niṣ-pannayogāvalī. This has been specially marked because the characteristics given there are not always the same as those presupposed by our chapters. The forms, for example, of Heruka and Vārāhī, which are described by our text, differ from the one described in the Niṣ-pannayogāvalī. There we find the more common form of the four-faced Heruka with twelve hands united with

stituents. Similar lists occur also in the Yoginīsañcāra (see ST p. 260, note 4 for details).

Further references for the same lists of pīṭhas: CT p. 20f. (Tib. text)/p. 43ff. (Engl.): The first syllables of the place names are listed separately, then follow the names of the places with the heroes, Yoginīs, and spots on the body; Meisezahl, Vārāhī, pp. 292-296: This list contains the correlation of names of places, Yoginīs, spots on the body, and the bodhisattvabhūmīs.

There is also a list of places in the Hevajra-tantra; it differs, however, from the ones just mentioned. Snellgrove thinks that only nine-teen names occurring in the HT are identical with names from these other lists (HT Vol. 1, p. 70 (note 2 starting p. 69)).

The sequence of listing the heroes, Yoginīs, etc. consists in always first mentioning the deities of the four main directions (E., N., W., S.) and then the deities of the intermediate directions (S/E., S/W., N./W., N/C.), see ITB p. 51.

vārāhī having just one head and two arms. The particular forms described by our text, however, are rather exceptional and I have so far not found any description or iconographic representation of them in Western works.

The general appearance of the deities is rather terrifying. Thus Heruka is said to bare his teeth and make a grimacing face. His consort has dishevelled hair and in one passage is compared to the fire destroying the world and said to delight in blood.¹ This frightful impression is emphasized by the emblems they hold in the hand (such as the skull-cup filled with blood or the weapons such as the chopper, vajra-spear etc.). A remarkable feature of Heruka is that he holds in one of his hands the chopped off head of Brahma. The standard adornments of the god who is clad in a tigerskin are the following:

1. A crescent moon adorning the hair-knot.
2. A double vajra adorning the hair.
3. A crown of five skulls adorning each head.
4. A garland of fifty heads.
5. The so called 'six seals', which are not individually listed in our text. According to an old Tibetan sādhana text (may be going back to the 13th century) edited by Kazi Dawa Samdup they are the following:
 1. Ear-rings. 2. A necklace. 3. A girdle. 4. Bracelets.
 5. A wheel of bones adorning the hair. 6. Ashes smeared over the body and a (Brahmin's) sacred thread.²

¹ See the descriptions in Ch. IX, 42a5ff., XIV, 79b 2ff., and XIX, 102a2ff.

² None of the descriptions of Heruka in our text includes the complete list of adornments but taken together they mention all of them. Judging from other texts and the iconography all of the adornments are probably implied in each of the descriptions even if not explicitly mentioned (cf. ST Ch. XIII, 19ff., CT p. 12 ITB p. 183). Sometimes five instead of six seals are mentioned (for example ST Ch. XIII, 22). The list of the

Vārāhī in turn is always said to be nude except for wearing a girdle made of bones or, according to one passage, with jingling bells.¹ She also has a crown of skulls. According to the above mentioned text she also has the garland of fifty heads and is sealed with five of the six seals (leaving out the ashes/sacred cord).² Both deities are standing, he stepping to the right and she stepping to the left. They are in close sexual union. With their feet they trample on the subdued gods Bhairava and Kālarātri.

The other deities of the maṇḍala, among those the twenty-four heroes in union with their consorts, have the same ornaments and terrible appearance as the central deities. They differ from the central couple in

six seals is taken from Kazi's Saṃvara-text, CT p. 12. According to the introduction p. xxxvi it has been composed around 1253 A.D.

In the Sādhnamālā (sādhana no. 251, p. 464) the six seals are given differently as kaṇṭhikā (necklace), rucaka (bracelet), ratna (jewel), kuṇḍala (ear-ring), bhasma (ashes), and sūtraka (sacred thread).

D.C. Bhattacharyya besides pointing out the cited passage in the Sādhnamālā also quotes a text called the 'Dharmakośasaṃgraha' (MS No. G 8055, fol. 85A, Asiatic Society of Calcutta). This text considers the cakra (wheel), kuṇḍala (ear-ring), kaṇṭhī (necklace), rucaka (bracelet), mekhalā (girdle), and nupurā (anklet) to be the six seals (Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources, p. 77).

The referred to Saṃvara text (CT) specifies the head-ornament as a wheel of bone, takes the ashes and the sacred thread together as a sixth, counts the girdle separately as a fifth and thus combines elements from both lists. The jewel mentioned in the Sādhnamālā is mentioned previous to the six seals as making up a separate ornament.

1 Ch. XIX, 101b1.

2 CT p. 13, cf. Engl. text p. 26, note 3. Also according to SM no. 251 p. 432 she only has five seals. This is also true of the Dākinīs Ch. XIV, 81a1, 82b1, and Ch. XIX, 102a1 of the Abhidhānottara.

that they stand on hungry ghosts (pretas).¹

Each circle is related to one of the five Tathāgatas. The Niṣpannayogāvalī formulates:

The familychief (kuleśa) of the Bhāgavān (= Heruka) is Akṣobhya, of Vajravārāhī it is Vairocana, of ḍākinī, etc. it is Ratneśa, of these belonging to the mind-, speech-, and body-circle it is Akṣobhya, Amitābha, and Śāśvata (=Vairocana), of these abiding in the pledge-circle it is Amoghasiddhi. 2

This concludes our brief discussion of the deities of the Saṃvara-maṇḍala.

We shall now recall the main features of the maṇḍala of the six Cakravartins. The name derives from the fact that this maṇḍala contains six maṇḍala palaces, each ruled by one of the six Buddhas known in this context as 'Cakravartins' or 'world emperors'. No particular reason is given in the text-portion we have translated as to why the six Buddhas are here regarded as Cakravartins. Ordinarily, in Buddhist mythology, the Cakravartins are extraordinary sovereigns ruling over one or more of the four continents surrounding Mt. Meru. They are, like the Buddhas, endowed with the thirty-two marks of a great man. Their appearance in this world is restricted to the better periods of the world-cycle when the average life-span of people is no less than 80'000 years.³

This maṇḍala, like the Saṃvara-maṇḍala, is enclosed by the eight cemeteries, circle of fire, circle of va-

1 Ch. XIV, 82b5. The text says that all the maṇḍala deities are mounted on Pretas. But presumably this applies not to Heruka and Vārāhī who are described as standing on top of Kālarātrī and Bhairava.

2 NSP, Sanskrit text, p.28, line 4f.

3 For a summary of the qualities of the Cakravartins see 'Analytical Study of the Abhidharmakośa' by Dr. Sukomal Chaudhuri, p. 145f.

jras and circle of lotus-petals. Within those, also established on a double vajra, is a big maṇḍala palace enclosing six small ones. In the doors of the large palace we recognize again the four gatekeeper goddesses and in the intermediate directions, close towards the four corners, the four borderline-deities Yamadāhī, etc. One of the six maṇḍala palaces is placed in the center of the bigger one and the others are arranged around it. In each of these small square maṇḍala palaces there is a circle formed by eight lotus-petals and in the round nave of this lotus abide the six chief Buddhas seated in the cross-legged vajra-position. On the intermediate petals of the lotus in the central palace stand the four ḍākinīs, ḍākinī, etc. On the petals of the main direction of this lotus and lotuses in all other maṇḍalas abide the same twenty-four heroes in union with the twenty-four Yoginīs, whom we already know from the Saṃvara-maṇḍala. Also in this maṇḍala their abodes are related to the twenty-four places of pilgrimage in India.¹

Thus all the deities of this maṇḍala except for the six central Buddhas are the same as in the Saṃvara-maṇḍala. A special feature of these six Buddhas, the six family lords of the Anuttara-tantra-class, is that here they manifest in a fierce form called 'Ḍākas'. Ḍākas, like the ḍākinīs, originally were a form of harmful gnomes. Here the six Buddhas Akṣobhya, Vairocana, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, Amoghasiddhi, and Vajrasattva manifest under this form and accordingly are called 'Vajraḍāka', 'Buddhaḍāka', 'Ratnaḍāka', 'Padmaḍāka', 'Viśvaḍāka', and 'Jñānaḍāka'.² Vajrasattva-Jñānaḍāka

1 See Ch. XXIV, 117a3-118a4 (the list includes the names of the places, their location in the maṇḍala, the names of the heroes and Yoginīs, and their colors).

2 See Ch. XXIV, 116a2-116a4 and notes.

occupies and rules the central maṇḍala palace, Vairocana-Buddhaḍāka, the one in the East, and then follow in clockwise direction the maṇḍala palaces of the other Buddhas.¹ According to the Niṣpannayogāvalī they are with consorts called 'Vajraḍākinī', 'Buddhaḍākinī', etc. Our text, however, remains silent about their consorts. Whether or not our text really intends them to be single must remain open. Doubt is raised because in one instance the Tibetan version, in an addition, refers to Buddhaḍākinī, the consort of Buddhaḍāka.² It could well be that they have been implied but not explicitly mentioned. According to the chapter translated here, they have one face and two arms.³ Their ornaments, including the six seals, seem to be the same as those of Heruka-Cakrasaṃvara. Unusual are their seats, consisting of elephants, lions, horses and Garuḍas.⁴ The details concerning the deities of this maṇḍala are also listed in tabular form (Table D).

2.2. Division of Maṇḍala Deities according to Spheres.

Now we shall discuss an important division of the maṇḍala deities according to the three spheres, sky, above ground, and under ground. The deities concerned

1 According to NSP maṇḍala 25, cf. ITB p. 147.

2 See the note to 117b2 of the English text of Ch. XXIV. Also the Thangka depicted in 'Dieux et Démons de l'Himālaya', p. 133, shows the Dākas in union with the Dākinīs.

3 According to NSP (edited Skt. text) p. 81, there are also various other forms of Dākas with more than one face and arms (pointed out by Mallmann ITB p. 68, note 5).

4 Ch. XXIV, 116b2. Our text does not mention all the ornaments in detail (Ch. XXIV, 116b3). On the basis of NSP 25 we can assume that all the ornaments are the same as those of Heruka (cf. ITB p. 147f). The animal-seats are not represented in the Thangka mentioned in note 2.

here are the forty-eight deities belonging to the mind-, speech-, and body-circles of the Saṃvara-maṇḍala. Since these deities are the same as the ones represented on the lotus-petals within the six Cakravartin-palaces, the division applies also to them.

In chapter IX, the enumeration of the eight heroes and Yoginīs belonging to the sacred places and secondary sacred places mentioned above, is concluded with the following statement:

"There is 'She, the one moving in the sky' (Khecari) belonging to the mind-circle". The enumerations of the deities belonging to the speech- and body-circle are concluded in the same way. In place of Khecari now 'She, the one moving on the earth' (Bhūcari) and 'She, the one dwelling underground' (Pātālavāsinī) are mentioned and correlated to these circles.¹ The commentary explains the name 'Khecari' as follows:

'Khecari' refers to the tamed gods who had to be tamed and (thus) the name of the tamed Devas and Gandharvas has been given. 2

Śūraṅgavajra refers here to the myth of how the deities in the maṇḍala have subdued the various types of deities abiding in the various places of pilgrimage. Details of this account shall be discussed in our next chapter. Here it is sufficient to note that it is because the deities of the mind-circle have subdued the sky-dwelling

1 Ch. IX, 43b2, 43b4, 44a2. In the Hevajra-tantra Khecari and Bhūcari occur as individual goddesses; in our text most probably a type is intended as our discussion will show (HT I, viii, 15, cf. index in Vol. 1 for additional passages). In the Tibetan translation of our text the names are rendered as 'nam mkha' spyod pa', 'sa la spyod pa', and 'sa 'og la spyod pa'. The feminine gender is thus not expressed. The Tibetan version in HT has 'mkha' spyod ma dañ sa spyod' and expresses the feminine gender.

2 Śū. 197a5f., p. 285-5-5f.

Devas and Gandharvas that this circle is associated with Khecarī. It is uncertain as to why our text uses the feminine gender here, giving the impression that 'Khecarī' refers to just one goddess. Judging from the commentary, the term refers here to a type, including more than one deity and possibly also male deities.

The commentary, moreover, relates Bhūcarī to the Yakṣas and Rākṣasas moving over ground. Pātālavāsini in turn is related to the Nāgas and Asuras said to dwell underground.¹

Towards the end of the IXth chapter of the translated text we find the same type of division exclusively applied to the goddesses. But there the division shows some elaborations and includes also the circle of eight cemeteries. The context is the arousal of the so called 'womb-born Heruka' by the song of the goddess. The goddess exists in many forms and to explain these the classification is given. Because there are some difficult points in that classification and questions that have to be left open, the passage is quoted here in full to allow for a more detailed analysis:

There is the field- and together-born Devī and likewise the Yoginī born in the sacred places. There is the family- and mother-born Devī and likewise 'She, the one moving in the sky' who is invisible (adrśyā Khecarī). There is the low-born, the highest, and indeed the middle (as well as) the highest-multiformed one. There is 'She, the one dwelling underground' (Pātālavāsini), 'She, the one belonging to the heaven of the thirty' (Tridaśī), and 'She the one moving on the earth (Bhūcarī), (namely) Nāginī, Gandharvī, Yakṣanī, and Kinnarī in the same way. 2

1 Śū. 199b1, 199b5, p. 286-1-1/5. The following passage according to Śūraṅgavajra refers to goddesses of the cemetery who do not seem to be related to the previous divisions.

2 Ch. IX, 49b1-49b3.

From what has been said above we can immediately recognize the three types again, namely Khecarī (=Tri-daśī), Pātāla(tala)vāsinī, and Bhūcarī. From the above cited and referred to commentarial passages we also realize that Gandharvī, Nāginī, and Yakṣanī are mentioned here as the representatives of the three types of goddesses, Khecarī, etc. We might also have expected the Devī, female Asura, and Rākṣasī to be mentioned. While the root-text itself is silent about them at least the commentary does not fail to include them in his enumeration of these deities.¹

Thus there remain the expressions 'low-born', 'the highest', 'the middle', and 'multiformed'. The first three can easily be identified as alternative expressions for the gods dwelling underground, in the sky, and above ground. Śūraṅgavajra connects these terms in the same way as the categories 'underground', etc., to the body, speech, and mind. It can be assumed that in this context he refers to the three maṇḍala-circles:

The low(-born) one (belongs to) the body
(-circle), the middle (to) the speech
(-circle), the highest (to) the mind(-circle).
The one going on the ground (belongs to) the
speech (-circle), the goddess of the (realm) of
of thirty-three (to) the mind (-circle), the
one underground (to) the body(-circle). 2

Śūraṅgavajra does not comment on the term 'highest-multiformed one' (vividhottamā / Tib. sna tshogs dam pa). Here a passage of Bu ston's 'bDe mchog spyi rnam don gsal' helps. It states that the 'multiformed one' or 'various ones' are the Kinnarīs of the 'eight village boundaries and near-village boundaries' (groṅ mtha' dan ñe ba'i groṅ mtha').³ From the context it is clear that

1 Śū. 203b6ff., p. 287-4-6ff.

2 Śū. 204a7, p. 287-4-7.

3 Bu ston, 'bDe mchog spyi rnam don gsal', fol. 63,4.

the eight village boundaries are the same as the eight cemeteries. *Sūraṅgavajra*, however, describes the Kinnarī as being the goddess of the pledge (-circle). We can nevertheless assume that the Kinnarīs belong to a fourth division of deities referred to as 'highest multiformed ones'. The double association of the Kinnarīs with the eight cemeteries and the pledge-circle can be explained from Bu ston Rinpoche's account of the taming which states that the Kinnarīs of the outer cemeteries have been subdued by the deities dwelling in the pledge-circle.¹ What is unclear is the nature of the first type of classification into field- and together-born Devī, etc., and its connection with the fourfold division just discussed. One is immediately reminded of the more current division of goddesses into 'field-born', 'together-born', and 'mantra-born', a division which seems not necessarily to pertain to particular groups of goddesses, but rather to different qualities of one and the same goddess to be realized on different levels.² If such a type of division is intended in our text it might mean that all the four classes of goddesses discussed exist in the five varieties called 'field-born Devī', etc.

The commentary mentions three classes, namely the 'field-born', 'the one born from sacred places', and the 'family-born', which presumably correspond to the fivefold division. Lacking more information on these categories it is better to leave the question open of how the three systems could be correlated with each other and the following classification of deities. To facilitate the orientation with regard to the rather compli-

1 Ibidem, fol. 61, 2ff.

2 Cf. BT p. 184 and 190ff. for examples of how this terminology is applied.

cated classifications discussed here the main points have been summed up in tabular form along with the Sanskrit/Tibetan terminology (Table E,F).

2.3 Deities With Ritual Functions Not Depicted in the Maṇḍala.

In our text numerous gods and goddesses are mentioned who are not depicted in the maṇḍala. They fall into two groups. The first group consists of deities who during the Steps of Generation become associated with the five aggregates, five elements, and twelve seats of perception of the deity the practitioner has himself generated into. The second group of deities are twelve gods and goddesses who have to be placed as a protective armor on the same deity and consort of that deity respectively.

The association of particular Buddhas with the five aggregates, etc., occurs also in the Hevajra-tantra and Guhyasamāja-tradition in connection with the Steps of Generation. The identification of the various factors constituting the personality is viewed by the Hevajra-tantra as a process by which the ordinary factors of the practitioner can be purified. The view expressed by the Hevajra-tantra is that they are pure in essence (svabhāvena viśuddha) but covered by the defilement of ignorance (ajñānakleśair āvṛta). On account of the purity of the deities related to these factors the Yogin is able to realize their pure nature.¹ The implication seems to be that the essentially pure nature of those factors is - at least on a conceptual level - realized by viewing them to be of the nature of deities. They become purified of their ordinary appearance which in its impure state gives rise to the defilements of

1 HT I, ix, 2, 9, and 18.

ignorance, hatred, etc. According to bTson kha pa's commentary on the Pradīpoddhyotana (Candrakīrti's commentary on the Guhyasamāja-tantra) the contemplation of the aggregates, etc., constitutes the so called 'arcane body' (kāyaviveka).¹

According to our text the five elements, earth, water, fire, wind, and space have to be viewed to be of the nature of the following goddesses: The yellow Pātani, the (black) Māraṇī, the red Ākarṣaṇī, the green Padmanarteśvarī, and the blue Padmajālinī. All hold a chopper and skullcup. They have to be imagined in the heart, stomach (lto ba), navel, secret place, and head, in an earth-, water-, etc., maṇḍala. Substituting the colors from Tucci's table in his Indo Tibetica, the white Vairocana, yellow Vajrasūrya, red Padmanarteśvara, the green Vajrarāja, and white Vajrasattva are said to correspond to the aggregate of form, feeling, ideation, motivation, and perception. According to Tucci's source they each hold a bell in the left and the family symbols in the right, i.e., the wheel, jewel, lotus, double vajra, and vajra. From the body colors and emblems we can immediately see that 'Vajrasūrya' is another name for Ratnasambhava, 'Padmanarteśvara' for Amitābha, and 'Vajrarāja' for Amoghasiddhi. The sixth lord of the six Uttara-tantra families, the black (-blue) Heruka-Akṣobhya holding a vajra is mentioned immediately afterwards as the 'reality of all the Tathāgatas'. That can only mean that his presence is implied in the other five Tathāgatas among whom he is the first and chief. Vajrasattva takes the place which is usually attributed to Akṣobhya when the five Buddhas are related to the five aggregates.²

1 YGT p. 228, 232, 239.

2 YGT p. 229.

In the eyes, ears, nose, mouth, touch, and all seats of perception (āyatana) there are the white Delusion-Vajra, the black (-blue) Hatred-Vajra, the yellow Avarice-Vajra, the red Passion-Vajra, the green Jealousy-Vajra, and the white Sovereignty-Vajra. Again they each hold the vajra and the family symbols, wheel, vajra, jewel, lotus, double vajra, and vajra in that order. The colors and symbols mentioned by Tucci, again make it easy to see that these deities belong to the six families, Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amī-tābha, Amoghasiddhi, and Vajrasattva in that order.¹

The five Buddhas are, moreover, each known to counteract precisely that root-defilement which is contained in the corresponding names. Thus Vairocana has been particularly related to 'delusion', Akṣobhya to 'hatred', etc. So the etymologies of the deities' names and placement of deities in various sense-faculties show a close connection between particular sense organs and defilements. 'Sovereignty', less obviously a defilement than the others mentioned, by analogy might also be expected to refer to an impure quality. But this is not certain. In its list of Tathāgata-defilement correspondences the Hevajra-tantra relates Vajrasattva to 'wellfare' (saukhyā) which is also not an obvious defilement, although of course the attachment to it could easily be.²

It is not clear whether 'all seats of perceptions' means here the totality of all twelve, the mentioned inner seats of perception plus the mind and the corre-

1 The correlation between the elements, aggregates, etc. and the deities occurs Ch. IX, 44a5-44b5 (cf. Śū. 197b7ff., p. 286-1-7ff.), Ch. XIV, 81a4-81b5. See also IT III pp. 31ff. (the names are given only in Tibetan according to Lū yī pā/bTson kha pa).

2 HT II, iv, 101.

sponding outer ones, form, sound, etc., or all inner seats. Assuming that the deities purify all twelve seats it is still not certain whether Aiśvarya-vajra is just correlated with all the ones that are not covered by the five other gods. Although this is more likely it is also possible that he is related to all the twelve seats of perception. A comparison with the Hevajra-tantra and the Guhyasamāja-tantra suggests that the general intention is to purify all twelve seats. They seem both to have, however, their own difficulties to find one god or goddess to correspond to each of the twelve. The Hevajra-tantra relates explicitly six goddesses to the outer seats and only five to the inner seats. The Guhyasamāja seems to be in the reverse position of having only five goddesses to be related to the outer seats while six Bodhisattvas correspond to the inner seats.¹

Why are five elements and twelve seats of perception mentioned in addition to the five aggregates? According to the Abhidharmakośa the personality is sufficiently analysed by its division into five aggregates. The elements (the Abhidharmakośa speaks, however, only of four), as well as the ten seats of perception are included in the form aggregate. The mind-seat and corresponding external dharma-seat correspond to the remaining four aggregates.² Notwithstanding later developments of the Abhidharmakośa theory of aggregates, etc., and not going into any details, we can easily see that the three cat-

1 HT I, ix; YGT p. 225. The HT mentions the six faculties explicitly only at the beginning of the chapter as objects to be purified. The goddesses are only related to the five delusions and the corresponding senses are presumably implied. Instead of 'jealousy' 'malignity' (paiśunya) is included among the five (HT, I, ix, 17).

2 Chaudhuri, Analytical Study, pp. 37-41, 73ff.

egories used by the Tantras overlap. One gets the impression that the association of the individual categories with the various gods has not only been done with regard to the contents of the categories but also with regard to the categories themselves. According to Vasubandhu the various categories, the aggregates, eighteen spheres (dhātu - the word is used in our text for the four elements), and twelve seats of perception have been established by the Buddha in view of different types of personalities.¹ We might say that the Tantras purify the personality at least with regard to two of the types of persons for whom the systems are said to have been expounded by the Buddha.

The gods and goddesses so far described, all abiding in the 'ālīḍha-stance', resemble the other maṇḍala deities as far as their general appearance is concerned.

The next group are the gods and goddesses who are placed on twelve spots of the body to form a protective armor.² According to our lists and the commentary the six gods are the white Vajrasattva, yellow Vairocana,

1 Chaudhuri, Analytical Study, p.81f. There seem to be different ways to classify the individuals, either according to (state of) delusion, (sharpness of) faculty, or taste of the individuals. Chaudhuri thinks that these three categories indicate the three different types of individuals. It would make more sense to view these categories as three different ways of classifying the three types of individuals.

2 Ch. IX, 44b4-45a1, Ch. XIV, 84a1-84a4. Parallel versions to this placing of the armor exist in ST Ch. XIII, 34, according to Tsuda in Ch. 7 of the Yoginīśāncāra (Vol. 2, 239-2-3f.) and various chapters of the Abhidhānottara (cf. ST p. 286 note 2). The placing of the armor occurs also in CT p. 22, is quoted in IT III p. 56f. and Beyer's Cult of Tārā p. 74.

The same deities are also mentioned in the context of the so called 'hand-ritual method' (hastapūjāvidhi) and visualized on the various parts of the hand constituting a maṇḍala (Finot, Manuscripts, p. 69).

red Padmanarteśvara, the azure Heruka, yellow Vajra-sūrya, and green Paramāśva. The symbols they hold in their hands are the family signs, vajra, wheel, lotus, vajra, jewel, and (double) vajra in the right and bell in the left. The symbols again indicate that we have a variation on the six Tathāgatas. Vajrarāja is here called Paramāśva, but the green color and the double vajra ascribed to both leaves no doubt that a wrathful form of Amoghasiddhi is meant in both instances. The only surprising point is that Vairocana is described as being yellow. Tucci's list, however, also supports this point. Śūraṅgavajra gives no detailed description of these gods.

According to a short passage translated from an exposition by bTson kha pa of the Lū yī pā system of Cakrasaṃvara, Vajrasattva has three faces with three eyes and with his six hands he holds not only the vajra and bell, but also the ḍamaru-drum, a head, skullcup, and khaṭvāṅga.¹ He is united with Vārāhī. The other gods have as far as one can tell from the description only one head and four arms but are all with their consorts. The text, moreover, explicitly states that all of them, standing in the ālīḍha-stance, are adorned with the six seals, the crown of skulls, and the garland of heads. They wear a tiger skin. Thus, from an iconographical point of view they represent variations of the central Cakrasaṃvara and are in this respect not different from the other maṇḍala deities. Even if for the time being we have no matching detailed description of the armor-deities from the commentary, any other differences than such concerning the number of heads or arms should not be expected.

While, according to Tucci's text, the six armor-

1 Quoted and translated IT III p. 56f.

heroes have to be imagined on oneself as the male god, a corresponding group of six *ḍākinīs* has to be visualized on six spots of the body of the consort. Their description also agrees with the *Vārāhī* type of the maṇḍala goddesses. The first, called '*Vajravārāhī*', has three heads and six arms, the others, one head and four arms. All of them have three eyes, are nude, have dishevelled hair, wear the five seals, and have the crown of skulls as well as the garland of skulls. They are stepping to the right in the *ālīḍha*-stance and embrace their consorts, *Vajrasattva*, etc.

Following our text and the commentary, the six goddesses are *Vajravārāhī*, who is red, the yellow *Yāminī*, white *Mohaṇī*, blue *Sanḥālinī*, smoke-colored *Samtrāsanī*, and red *Candikā*. They all hold a chopper and skull.

In Tucci's list the colors of *Yāminī* and *Sanḥālinī* are reversed. *Sanḥālinī* is not given as 'smoke-colored' but 'green', *Candikā* not as 'red' but as 'pearl-colored'. The *Cakrasaṃvara* text edited by Kazi Dawa Samdup agrees with that version but has 'smoke-colored' for 'pearl-colored'. According to Tucci's text the goddesses listed are also the consorts of the six first mentioned gods. Therefore we should think that their colors agree with those of the *Tathāgata* consorts, to wit, blue-black *Māmakī*, white or yellow *Locanā*, white-grey *Pāṇḍarā*, who are in that order associated with *Akṣobhya*, *Vairocana*, and *Amitābha*. *Tārā*, when she is the consort of *Amoghasiddhi*, is green, when, however, she is the consort of *Ratnasambhava*, she is yellow.¹ Assuming that the goddesses are listed in the same order as the gods, the attribution of the colors 'yellow' to *Yāminī*

¹ See ITB sub voce '*Māmakī*', etc. for the respective colors. *Samantabhadrī* (Kun tu bzah mo), who sometimes features as a fifth consort, is not listed and thus we have no information about her usual colors.

and 'blue' to Sañcālinī is correct because they are the consorts of Vairocana and Akṣobhya respectively. Caṇḍikā who comes to be Paramāśva - Amoghasiddhi's consort - should accordingly be expected to be green, a conclusion which neither Tucci's source nor our commentary supports.

In a sense it is not surprising to find more uncertainty about the colors of the goddesses than the lords because the families are divided according to the gods and not the goddesses. Therefore it is also the gods who hold the symbols which vary according to the family division (the vajra, wheel, lotus, etc.), whereas the goddesses have as their main characteristics invariably the chopper and skullcup.

This concludes our discussion of the gods and goddesses who have particular ritual functions but who are not included in the maṇḍala.

2.4. The Human Aspect of the Maṇḍala Deities.

The next group of deities we shall concern ourselves with are three classes of goddesses called 'Yoginīs', 'ḍākinīs', and 'Lāmās'. The chapters XXXIX, XL, and XLI of the translated text deal exclusively with the characteristics of these goddesses and divide them into various families. Before entering into a discussion of these characteristics and different divisions, it is necessary to make some observations concerning the general nature of these deities in comparison to the maṇḍala deities we have discussed before.

Their descriptions differ both in manner and content from those of the maṇḍala deities. Besides descriptions of their body-colors and external appearances we find also statements about their behaviour, and in many cases the characteristic scent they are endowed with. Thus we

get the impression that the descriptions relate rather to a worldly or even human form of goddesses and not to the same Sambhogakāya-aspect as represented by the maṇḍala deities. This impression is supported by the commentary describing the characteristics of the Ḍākinīs. In this commentarial passage Śūraṅgavajra says that the characteristics explained are those of the ones born in the human realm (mi'i yul du skye ba'i mtshan űid).¹ Since the manner of description of the Lāmās and Yoginīs does not characteristically differ from the one of the Ḍākinīs we can provisionally assume that the statement applies also to them.

Especially in the case of the Lāmās, but also in the case of the Yoginīs, special gestures are explained which have to be done by the Yogin in case of meeting such a goddess.² The whole chapter XLII is devoted to body signs and gestures of Ḍākinīs. It is not certain whether they especially relate to the various forms of Ḍākinīs who constitute one of the three goddess groups or whether 'Ḍākinī' is taken there in a more general sense. Nevertheless it is quite certain that they presuppose the same situation as the signs explained in conjunction with the characteristics of the Lāmās and Yoginīs.

Vajragarbha in his commentary on the Hevajra-tantra explains the function of these signs (chomā/Tib. brda) as follows:

Practising Yogins who wander about among the pīṭha and kṣetra looking for proficient Yoginīs, should give those signs so that they may know which among the Yoginīs are in possession of the necessary tenets which accord with their own, and so that they may arouse

1 Ch. XL, note to 165b3.

2 Ch. XXXIX, 163alf., Ch. XLI, 166alf. etc.

in these a condition of mutual responsiveness. ¹

Judging from this it is quite possible that the descriptions in our chapter also refer to external characteristics of human female practitioners who by virtue of their practices are fit to be regarded as manifestations of the Yoginīs, Dākinīs, and Lāmās. In accordance with this, in the chapter on Yoginīs it is said that they enjoy left-hand practice (vāmācāra). The commentary says that the 'left-hand practice of the bliss-void' (bde ston pa ñid gyon pa'i spyod) is a mental characteristic of the Yoginīs. ²

It is still conceivable that not only exclusively humans in a narrow sense are meant here but that practising low wordly gods are also included. This may also in part account for the appellation 'goddesses' used with regard to those women. Most, if not all of the descriptions given in the text, however, can very well be applied to humans; some of them, this be granted, of rather unusual temperament.

The commentary to our text relates most of these human goddesses to particular spots within the Cakrasaṃvara maṇḍala discussed before. In this connection a passage from the Hevajra-tantra is interesting. It describes a particular maṇḍala-ritual in the process of which eight Yoginīs (referred to as vidyās) are placed in the position of the eight maṇḍala goddesses of the Hevajra-maṇḍala drawn on the ground. ³ In preparation of such rituals the practitioner is enjoined, for example, to 'take a girl of the Vajra-family, fair-

1 HT Vol. 1., p. 66, note 1 (from the Hevajrapañḍā-arthaṭīkā).

2 Ch. XXXIX, 162b2; Śū. 250a4, p. 306-2-4.

3 HT II, v, 48ff. and in particular verse 58.

featured and large-eyed and endowed with youth and beauty, who has been consecrated by oneself and is possessed of a compassionate disposition, and with her the practice should be performed'.¹ These passages presuppose that there are female practitioners, Yoginīs, belonging to different Buddha-families and that the Yogin has to find a Yoginī belonging to a prescribed Buddha-family to perform the Tantric ritual. The Hevajra-tantra also lists particular signs by which to judge to what particular family a man or woman belongs. The main indications for this are the mark of either a vajra, wheel, etc. on the lower joint of the fourth finger or the color of a person, black, white, green, and so on.²

In the literature on the Mahāsiddhas we find many accounts of how these Tantric adepts have performed rituals with special Dākinīs. One short passage from the life story of Ācārya Dīpaṃkarabhadra in Tāranātha's "bka' babs bdun ldan" may be quoted here because it also shows the importance of finding the right Yoginī belonging to a particular family:

He (Dīpaṃkarabhadra) was in need of a Caṇḍāla-girl of the color of the Utpala-flower and endowed with the characteristics of a Mudrā of the Vajra-family to assist his development of siddhi. He found her and he asked the parents for her. These, however, said: "O Brāhmaṇa-Ācārya! Are you out of your senses? We belong to the caste of the Caṇḍāla. Any relationship between you and ourselves is improper." "Since I need her as support for my siddhi also a relationship with one of low birth is possible." Then they requested as much gold and silver as the size of the body of the girl. By the force of a word (spoken) by the Ācārya a treasure appeared from the inside of the earth which he gave to them.

1 HT I, vi, 8-9.

2 HT II, xi, 1-11.

.Then the Ācārya performed the sādhanas with her during six month in a cave. On the morning of the eighth day of the light half of the month he heard in the sky the loud shout 'HŪM!' and he perceived in reality all the maṇḍalas of Śrī Heruka and his retinue. Thus he had attained the highest level of the Mahāmudrā-siddhi. 1

Although we have no explicit explanations to that effect in the commentary, it is most likely that the characteristics described in our chapters are these of extraordinary human women who embody particular qualities by reason of which they are associated with particular goddess families.

The first class of such women distinguished in our text is that of Yoginīs discussed in some detail in chapter XXXIX. We find two sets of seven descriptions, the first concluded by the statement 'These are the Yoginīs in seven sets', and the second introduced by a list of seven names said to be 'the Ḍākinīs in seven sets'.² Just previous to the list of seven names there is an other alternative set of seven names which, taking the commentary into account, refers to the same goddesses as the second list. Thus we have two major groups of Yoginīs each consisting of seven sub-families. The fact that the second group is referred to as 'Ḍākinīs' did not prevent the author of our text from including them also under 'Yoginīs'. 'Ḍākinī' is here, we may conclude, not taken in the same technical sense as in the chapter dealing exclusively with the characteristics of Ḍākinīs.

The descriptions of the first set of seven and the second group vary. The first type of Yoginīs are described in terms of body-color, the color of the gar-

1 Grünwedel, Tāranātha's Edelsteinmine, p. 98 (here translated from German into English).

2 Ch. XXXIX, 162b2, 163a4f.

ments they like to wear, their scent, and family-affiliation. The second group is described in terms of the characteristic actions they perform, in terms of certain moods and other personal traits. Four out of the seven goddesses referred to as 'Dākinīs' have a name that is explained by these characteristics.

As an example for the first type of description, the one belonging to the Tathāgata family is described as follows:

The woman, moreover, who is yellow-green, who enjoys white colored garments, with the scent of the Śirīṣa-flower (Acacia-Sirissa), she goes with the family of the Tathāgata. 1

As an example of the typical way the members of the second group are described, there is the following description of Cumbikā:

Be it regarded as good or not as good, embracing the child she kisses (Skt. cumbati) softly the tuft of its hair. She has to be known as Cumbikā, the highest Dākinī, having an abode among the foremost. 2

The second example especially shows how different this manner of description is from that of the supra-mundane gods who are just characterized in general terms as wrathful, delighting in blood etc. Here a particular almost everyday action is used to characterize this type of goddesses appearing in the human realm.

The family-names of the first set of seven Yoginīs is unusual and the types of designations are not consistent. We find on the one hand the usual family-names 'Vairocana', 'Tathāgata', and 'Vajra'. On the other hand, we find a different way of characterizing the families by way of the temperament of presumably the familylord. Thus the second Yoginī in the group is said to follow

1 Ch. XXXIX, 162a5f.

2 Ch. XXXIX, 163b3.

the one of terrible sentiment, and the third Yoginī is said to follow the one of heroic and furious sentiment. In the fourth case her own temperament is described. It is most likely also characteristic of the whole family. In the very first case we find only the general statement 'She is born in the lineage of the family'.¹

Śūraṅgavajra relates this type of designation to the current division of Lotus-, Jewel-family, etc. It is noteworthy that besides a Heruka-family he also postulates a Vārāhī-family. At the same time he associates the goddess families with the different parts of the maṇḍala.

This first group of Yoginīs is referred to by Śūraṅgavajra as 'Purification-goddesses' (dag byed kyi lha mo). He specifies that the purification of bliss-void is meant here.²

The details of the name correlations can be seen from table G., 'Purification-Yoginīs'.

As we have already mentioned above, there are two alternative sets of names given in the root-text for the second group of Yoginīs. The first seven names are 'Yāminī', 'Trāsinī', 'Kāraṇṇī', 'Anekakāmā', 'Rūpisañcala', 'Bhasurā', and 'Dākinī'. Three of the names are similar or coincide with three of the six armor goddesses mentioned above: Yāminī, Trāsinī, and Rūpisañcalā.

The Tibetan version of the names, which differs to some extent from the Sanskrit list, mentions as fourth deity, 'Phag mo' (Vārāhī). The name of this deity is also included in the list of the armor deities. The

1 Ch. XXXIX, 162alff., see note ad 162a3 for consideration of an alternative way of translating the second and third family affiliation.

2 See note ad 161b5 (Ch. XXXIX) for reference.

other names, however, are as far as I know unique among Buddhist goddesses.

In table H. we have listed both the Sanskrit and Tibetan names in the succession they occur in the text and put those Tibetan names next to the Sanskrit names which correspond. We have left a space where we find no corresponding Tibetan name.¹

The commentary uses the same names as the Tibetan version, with the following differences: In place of 'Phag mo' it puts 'Yon̄s su bsgyur ma' (=Parāvṛtā), a name taken from the second list of seven names. 'Bhāsurā' appears not in transcribed but translated form. The fact that the commentary uses a name from the second list shows that it considers both sets of names to be equivalent. The other names are 'Rūpikā', 'Cumbikā', 'Lāmā', 'Savālikā' (or 'Khaṇḍarohikā'), and 'Ehikīdevī'. 'Rūpikā', 'Lāmā', and the alternative name 'Khaṇḍarohikā' used in the passage describing the nature of Sāvalikā, remind us of the three Dākinīs, Lāmā, Khaṇḍarohā, and Rūpinī. The deities 'Lāmā', etc., included in this group of otherwise unknown deities, have presumably only an indirect relationship to the three of the four maṇḍala Dākinīs of the same name.

The commentary establishes a close connection between the two groups of names by connecting both sets, in the same order, with the consorts of Vairocana, Amogasiddhi, Amitābha, and Akṣobhya, namely Buddhalocanā,

1 The Tibetan concludes the list of seven names with "rnal 'byor ma ni rnam pa bdun": "Concerning Yoginī, this is the seven-fold division". The corresponding Skt. formulation is : "...dākinī saptasamhṛtāḥ". In order to come up with seven different names this has to be understood as "(the previous ones and) Dākinī, these seven are assembled" (Ch. XXXIX, 163a4).

Tārā, Pāṇḍaravāsini, and Māmakī. These constitute four of the families to whom the seven goddesses belong, the other three are gained by introducing three secondary families related to the first three consorts called 'Upabuddhalocanā', 'Upatārā', and 'Upapāṇḍaravāsini'.¹ At the end of our text we find a remark stating the special 'seals' or symbols of the seven families. The commentary says that they should be drawn in the houses of the goddesses (for worship). It also specifically relates them to the families.²

The commentary calls the second group 'Initiation-goddesses' (dbaṅ gi lha mo).³ An indication of this characterisation can already be found in the root-text, which does not use these classifications. The text says of the seven goddesses, Yāmini, etc. that they arise with the five amṛtas. This fits well with a statement of Mkhas grub rje, who says that one has to imagine that at the time of the initiation the goddesses Locanā, etc. hold the flask (with the amṛta-water) and confer the initiation. He does not fail to point out that in reality, however, it is the preceptor (upādhyāya) and hierophant (ācārya) who lift the flask.⁴ Śūraṅgavajra

1 See Śū. 250b8ff., p. 306-3-8ff. The commentary just lists the first seven names together with the family names without specifically stating that families are intended (Yāmini saṅs rgyas spyān / skrag byed ma ṅe ba'i spyān etc.). In the second case it puts the same names, Buddhalocanā, etc. after the glosses of each description of the deities Rūpikā, etc. In the instance of Māmakī alone the expression 'family' is added (Māmakī 'i rigs), but we can safely assume that in all seven cases the family affiliation is intended here (and not an identity of the goddesses with the seven individual goddesses Buddhalocanā, etc.).

2 See Ch. XXXIX, 164a3 and accompanying note.

3 See note ad 161b5 (Ch. XXXIX) for reference.

4 FBT p. 312f.

describes this moment as follows:

Then, having seen the five initiation circles ...filling the sphere of the sky, the goddesses Locanā, Māmakī, Samantabhadri, Pāṇḍaravāsini, and Tārā arise from the chest and one imagines that the fine and rough vajra-particles of the water from the skull-cup and vase full of the five amṛtas wash away the dirt from the top of the head down to the feet and that after that the initiation has been bestowed. ¹

We see that in this passage the initiation deities are the five Tathāgata consorts Locanā, etc. This agrees with the association of the seven goddesses with seven families named after the Tathāgata consorts (not including, however, the name 'Samantabhadri'). On the other hand we also note that the seven initiation goddesses are not mentioned. The names of our groups 'Yoginī', etc. are also not used. It is moreover hardly conceivable that the five are visualized in the manner of the descriptions of our text, i.e., as kissing a child etc. The conclusion is that, at least as far as we can judge from these passages, the goddesses are not seen in their wordly aspect during the ritual practice, but that in some way the divine form invoked in the ritual is connected with the wordly form. We have already pointed out passages which imply the assistance of actual women in the ritual. In this particular case we would have to assume that - most probably only at a historically early stage of the practice of these rituals - women took the role of the hierophant. Selected on the basis of the characteristics given, they had to be seen as Locanā, etc. at the time of the ritual. Later, as suggested by the cited passage from Mkhas grub rje, in which there is no indication that the preceptor and hierophant are women, this role has also been taken

1 Śū. 208a8, p. 286-2-8.

over by men. We must be aware, however, that these are speculations, and that we would need much more information from the texts to determine their actual truth.

The next general class discussed in our text is the one related to *Dākinī*. Chapter XL provides eight descriptions of *Dākinīs* who belong to eight different families. The text, leaving out the fourth, mentions the following family-names: 'Lotusdancer', 'Vajra', 'Heruka', 'Khaṇḍarohā', 'Heruka' (a second time), and 'Guide'. *Śūraṅgavajra* uses for some of them different names and in one case even two alternative names. Without commenting on the details which have again been listed in tabular form (Table I.) we see that the Tathāgata-consorts are used to designate the families, including Vajravārāhī who in this case takes the place of the fifth one. This fifth Tathāgata-consort is sometimes also known as 'Samantabhadrī'. The root-text does not go as far and only in two instances uses a goddess-name to characterize the family. But we can nevertheless see a tendency to get away from an exclusively 'patrilineal' family division as exemplified in the better known divisions made on the basis of the Tathāgatas alone. Our table also includes the placement in the maṇḍala, as far as given in the commentary, and the family emblems mentioned in our text.

The descriptions of the *Dākinī* family-members share the following traits with the ones of the two sets of *Yoginīs*: the particular color and (in two cases) the particular scent. In agreement with the second *Yoginī*-set, they are also defined by certain characteristic actions and personal features. A new trait is the explicit advice that in the house of each of them the special family emblem is to be worshipped. The following is an example of this type of description:

She has the appearance of yellow gold (but)
is ugly to look at with thick body-hair. On

her forehead as well as in the hand a vajra is seen. She is always among the royalty, proud and speaks the truth. She has the scent of the fragrant Mallica plant, the great one always worships the vajra in her house. Arisen in the family of Khaṇḍarohā she is the highest lordess over the Yoginīs. ¹

These Ḍākinīs, moreover, are characterized as the 'Ḍākinīs of the joy and bliss of the four absorptions' (bsam gtan b'zi dga' bde mkha' 'gro ma) in the commentary.² This is not surprising in the light of bTson kha pa's explanation cited earlier that profound contemplation (samādhi) is generated from the reliance on the goddess.³

In chapter XLI of our text five types of Lāmās are discussed. The text, however, has a characteristic name for only four of them leaving out the third. The four family-names are: 'Lāmās who are women', 'Lāmās who are the lordesses of the world', 'Śrī Herukī Lāmās', and 'Vārāhī Lāmās'. The commentary gives four alternative family-names and keeps the fifth, the 'Vārāhī-family'. The details concerning this and placement in the maṇḍala can be seen in the respective table (Table K.).

The descriptions show similar traits like those of the Yoginīs and Ḍākinīs including references to the family emblem that should be drawn in their houses on a particular day. A special feature, however, is that for each type, special gestures are mentioned which have to be shown when one encounters one of them. With regard to the Lāmās who are the lordesses of the world our text states:

Seeing such intoxicated one, one should make the lance gesture. The left leg drawn up just

1 Ch. XL, 165a4.

2 See Ch. XL, note ad 164a4 for reference.

3 Introduction, Ch. 1, p. 5.

like that one should exhibit the dancing movement. The swinging to the left is held to be (her) answering gesture. 1

The commentary relates these Lāmās especially to the power of prophecy and calls them 'Lāmās with the power to give the instructions of how to generate supranormal knowledge'. 2

This concludes our summary of the deities who represent the 'human' side of the maṇḍala deities. We may add that different from the maṇḍala goddesses, who are all fierce, the descriptions of these goddesses contain examples of both peaceful and fierce types of persons.

TABLE A : The deities in the Maṇḍala of Chapter IX. (Signs used : * means according to NSP, () means by inference).						
name	heads	color of heads	color of body	hands	emblems in hands (right)	emblems in hands (left)
Heruka	4	blue, yellow, red, green	(blue)	12	vajra hide of Gaṇeśa vajra-spear iron-hook vajra-chopper vajra-drum	bell hide of Gaṇeśa skull-cup khaṭvāṅga noose Brahma's head axe
Vārāhī	4	red, green, yellow, blue	red	4	vajra-chopper ḍamaru-drum (order not certain)	skull-cup khaṭvāṅga certain
4 Dākinīs	(1)		blue*, green*, red*, yellow*	(2)	chopper	skull-cup
24 heroes	(1)		8 blue 8 red 8 white	(2)	vajra lotus wheel	bell bell bell
24 Yoginīs	(1)		8 blue 8 red 8 white	(2)	chopper	skull-cup
4 gate-keepers	(1)		blue*, green*, red*, yellow*	(2)	chopper	skull-cup
4 border-goddesses			blue-yellow* red-yellow* red-green* green-blue*	(2)	chopper	skull-cup

TABLE B : The Deities in the Maṇḍala of Chapter XIV.						
name	heads	color of heads	color of body	hands	emblems in hands (right)	emblems in hands (left)
Heruka	6	blue, yellow, red, green, white, -	blue	12	vajra skin skull-cup chopper hook noose (order not certain)	bell skin khaṭvāṅga (Brāhma's) head mallet drum certain)
Vārāhī	-	-	-	-	-	-
4 Dākinīs	1		blue, green, red, yellow	4	skull-cup ḍamaru-drum (order not certain)	khaṭvāṅga chopper certain)
24 heroes	1		8 blue* 8 red* 8 white*	4	vajra skull-cup (order not certain)	bell khaṭvāṅga certain)
24 Yoginīs			3 white, 3 yellow, 3 green, etc. (8 white*, 8 blue*, 8 red*)	(2)	chopper	skull-cup
4 gate-keepers	1		blue/T blue red/T green green/T red yellow/T yellow	4	skull-cup ḍamaru-drum (order not certain)	khaṭvāṅga chopper certain)
4 border-goddesses	1		red, blue, smoke, white/yellow	4	skull-cup ḍamaru-drum (order not certain)	khaṭvāṅga chopper certain)

TABLE C : The Deities in the Maṇḍala of Chapter XIX.

name	heads	color of heads	color of body	hands	emblems in hands (order not certain)
Heruka	4	yellow, blue green, white	(blue)	10	vajra skull-cup noose Brahmin's skin ḍamaru-drum Brahma's head
Vārāhī	1	-	red	2	-
Dākinī	4	blue, tawny white, yellow	blue*	8	skull-cup khaṭvāṅga human skin bell head vajra-spear human skin ḍamaru-drum chopper
Lāmā	4	white, blue green, tawny	green*		
Khaṇḍarohā	4	red, blue, green, white	red*		
Rūpiṇī	4	green, red, yellow, blue	yellow*		(These emblems are the same for all four Dākinīs).
The rest of the deities is not mentioned, the contemplation is only concentrated on the ones listed here.					

TABLE D : The Deities in the Maṇḍala of Chapter XXIV.

names	heads	color of body	hands	emblems in hands (right)	emblems in hands (left)
Vajrasattva	1	white or black*	2	vajra*	vajra-bell
Buddhaḍāka	1	white*		wheel*	wheel-bell
Ratnaḍāka	1	yellow*		jewel*	jewel-bell
Padmaḍāka	1	red*		lotus*	lotus-bell
Vajraḍāka	1	blue/black*		vajra*	vajra-bell
Viśvaḍāka	1	green*		viśva-vajra	viśva-vajra-bell
4 Dākinīs	(1)	blue, yellow, red, and green	(2)	skull-cup	khaṭvāṅga ḍamaru-drum
24 heroes	(1)	4 black, 4 blue, 4 white, 4 variegated, 4 yellow, 4 red	(2)	vajra	bell
24 Yoginīs	(1)	4 ash-color, 4 yellow, 4 yellow, 4 smoke-color, 4 green, 4 white	(2)	vajra	skull-cup
4 gate-keepers	(1)	blue, green, red, yellow	(2)	hook, noose, chopper, bell	skull-cup khaṭvāṅga
4 border-goddesses		blue/yellow*, yellow/red red/green, green/blue	(2)	mirror, lute, conch, vase	skull-cup khaṭvāṅga

TABLE E : Five- and three-fold divisions according to 'birth' (based on Ch. IX, 49bl and commentary).							
English translation	field-born (-goddess)	together-born goddess	Yoginī born in sacred places	family-born (-goddess)	mother-born goddess	mantra-born	
Five-fold division as in Skt. and Tib. translation	kṣetrajā (-devī) ñiṃ skyes kyi lha mo	sahajā devī lhan cig skyes	pīṭhajā yoginī gnas skyes kyi lha mo	kulajā (devī) rigs skyes kyi lha mo	matrjā devī lha mo skyes		
Usual division according to BT p. 184	kṣetrajā	sahajā				mantrajā	

TABLE F : Four-fold division of deities according to spheres and maṇḍala-circles.				
	Mind-circle	Speech-circle	Body-circle	Eight cemeteries
Three-fold division according to Ch. IX,43b2ff. and commentary	'She, the one moving in the sky' (Khecari) Deva-Gandharva	'She, the one moving on the earth' (Bhūcarī) Yakṣa-Rakṣa	'She, the one dwelling under-ground' (Pātālavāsini) Nāga-Asura	
	'She, the invisible one moving in the sky' (adrsyā Khecari)			
Text Ch. IX,49blff. (Taking commentary into account)	'The highest' (uttamā/mchog ŋid)	'The middle' (madhyamā/ bar ma)	'The low-born' (antaṣā/tha ma skye ba)	'The highest multi- (vividhottamā/ sna tshogs dam pa)
	Tridaśī (sum bcu pa)	Bhūcarī (sa la spyod)	Pātālatala- vāsini (sa 'og spyod pa 'og na gnas)	
	Gandharvī (dri za mo)	Yakṣani (gnod sbyin ma)	Nāginī (klu mo)	Kinnarī (mi 'am ci mo)

TABLE G: Purification Yoginīs.	
Family division in Skt. text.	Family division acc. to commentary.
1. Born in the lineage of the family (kulagotrājā)	1. Lotus-family speech-circle (Amitābha)
2. Follows the one of terrible sentiment (rudrānugā)	2. Jewel-family knowledge-circle (Ratnasambhava)
3. Follows the one of heroic and furious sentiment (vīrarudrānugā)	3. Heruka-family center of maṇḍala
4. Possessed of the tranquil heroic sentiment (śāntavīramatī)	4. Vajra-family mind-circle (Akṣobhya)
5. Arises in the Vajra-family (vajrakulasambhavā)	5. Vārāhī-family center of maṇḍala
6. She goes with the family of the Tathāgata (Tathāgatakulānugā)	6. Karma-family pledge-circle (Amoghasiddhi)
7. She goes with the family of Vairocana (Vairocanakulānugā)	7. Vairocana-family body-circle (Vairocana)

TABLE II: Initiation - Yoginīs

1st set of names in the Sanskrit text	names in the Tibetan (name in commentary if different)	associated with Tathāgata-consort by commentary	2nd set of names in Sanskrit text	emblems
Yāminī	Yāminī	Buddhalocanā	Rūpikā	skull
Trāsinī	skrag byed ma	Upalocanā	Cumbikā	axe
Kāraṇaṇī				
Anekakāmā	'dod ldan ma ('od ldan ma)	Tārā	Lāmā	fang
	phag mo (yons su bsgyur ma)	Upatārā	Parāvṛtā	sword
Rūpisañcālā	'jigs gzugs ma	Pāṇḍara-vāsini	Savālikā/ Khaṇḍarohikā	axe
	kun tu spyod ma	Upapāṇḍara-vāsini	Anivartikā	vajra
Bhāsura	Basurā ('od ldan ma)	Māmakī	Ehikīdevī	spear
Dākinī				

TABLE I : Dākinīs producing the absorptions.				
Family division according to Sanskrit text	Family division according to the commentary	Place in maṇḍala according to commentary	Emblems mentioned in text	
Lotus-dancer	Lotus-dancer-family	circle of speech	lotus	
Vajra	Vajra-family	circle of mind	vajra	
Śrī Heruka	Karma-family Tārā-family	circle of pledge	(viśva-)vajra	
-	Vairocana-family	circle of body	wheel	
Vajravārāhī	Vajravārāhī-family	-	vajra	
Khaṇḍarohā	family of Pāṇḍarā	-	vajra	
Śrī Heruka	family of Nāmakī	-	skull	
Guide	family of Buddhalocanā	-	axe	

TABLE K : Lāmās with the power to give the instruction of how to generate supernormal knowledge.				
Family division according to Sanskrit text	Family division according to the commentary	Place in maṇḍala according to the commentary	Emblems mentioned in text	
women	Vajra	mind-circle	lotus	
lordesses of the world	Lotus	speech-circle	lance	
-	(Action)	pledge-circle	-	
Srī Heruki Lāmās	Tathāgata	body-circle	vajra	
Vārāhī Lāmās	Vārāhī-family	knowledge-circle	tooth	

3. THE MYTHO - HISTORICAL DIMENSION OF THE FEMALE AND MALE DEITIES.

3.1. The Myth: Taming Account by Bu ston.

Our foregoing analysis of the division of the maṇḍala deities into deities associated with three different spheres has also brought to light that this division is actually based on a classification of non-Buddhist deities said to belong to three different spheres of action. The reason that these non-Buddhist deities determine the division of the maṇḍala into different sections is because they are belonging to the respective parts of the maṇḍala. We have, moreover, given a description of the various maṇḍala deities, which on first sight do not seem to have anything in common with the moral spirit of Buddhism, a religion devoted to the ideals of compassion and insight far removed from the passion of sexual union and terror exhibited by those gods.

Bu ston Rinpoche has preserved a detailed account of how this taming process is supposed to have taken place. It is from this account that we can also find an answer for the terrible appearance of the maṇḍala deities.¹

Lati Rinpoche, in Dharamsala, first pointed out to me

1 Bu ston Rinpoche, bDe mchog spyi rnam don gsal fol. 54, 2ff. As his source he refers to Paṇḍita Bhavabhadra, sKai ldan grags pa (Bhavyakīrti), Vajra, and others. I had to leave the task to find the sources of Bu ston's account in the works of the cited masters on the side for the time being, but it would of course be important to find the oldest possible sources. Tucci refers also to a form of the legend as preserved by Klon rdol in his bsTan sruṅ dam can rgya mtsho'i miṅ gi graṅs (p. 9, fasc. p of the complete works).

the existence of such an account and I am, accordingly, indebted to him.

Geshe Jampa Ledro, originally from Sera monastery, has made me aware of the version of this account by Bu ston Rinpoche and has also patiently answered questions I had concerning the meaning of the text.

I shall first give a summary of the account along with translated excerpts and then analyse the contents.

The account sets out by describing the condition of the world prior to the taming. At that time all the twenty-four places of pilgrimage in Jambudvīpa had been taken in possession by various low types of gods. The text says: "At that time four Devas (lha) and four Gandharvas (dri za) came from the sky and took control of the eight great countries of Jambudvīpa" (54,7). Then Bu ston Rinpoche enumerates the first eight sacred places Pullīramalaya, etc. and describes their location and characteristics. He concludes the list of these places by saying that because of having been usurped by the gods coming from the sky these places have become known as 'the places of (the ones) going in the sky' (56,1).

The text proceeds in the same way and explains that the remaining two groups of eight places each have been usurped by four Rākṣasas (srin po) and Yakṣas (gnod sbyin) coming from above the ground and four Nāgas (klu) and Asuras (lha ma yin) from below the ground respectively (56,2-57,6).

After this he states that four Kinnarīs (mi 'am ci (-mo)) and four Phra men mas have taken control of the eight great cemeteries called 'gTum drag', etc. He also mentions the opinion of others who instead of naming the eight cemeteries mention the pīlavas and upapīlavas ('thuñ gcod) or groñ mtha' and secondary groñ mtha'

(57,6f.). 1

The various gods, upon having taken control of these places, performed offerings to invite the great Īśvara with the aim to subdue (with his help) the complete triple world (57,7).

Of this Maheśvara Bu ston describes four forms: the first endowed with a white body for appeasing (ñi ba'i sku), the second with a yellow body for increase (rgyas pa'i sku), the third with a red body for overpowering (dbañ gi sku), the fourth with a black body for dominating (mñon spyod kyi sku).² The fourth is Bhairava united with Kālarātri and said to abide in the middle of Jambudvīpa in a place called 'Gadha' (54,5-7).

Maheśvara, given to the pleasure of union with his consort, had no time to go personally to the deities who had invited him. In his place he manifested Liṅgas made of stone in the shape of heads and other forms in each of the twenty-four places. These became holy objects of worship (rten).

The various evil activities the gods engaged in subsequent to that are described by Bu ston in the following words:

The behaviour of these gods, moreover, consisted on account of excessive desire in embracing their consorts during the four times (of the day: morning, evening, daytime, and night). On account of excessive hatred they killed many humans and afterwards took delight in their meat and blood. On account of their excessive ignorance they were ignorant about the cause and effect of actions and the meaning of reality. Each of

1 The pīlavas and upapīlavas are counted among the different places of pilgrimage by the Hevajra-tantra (HT I, vii, 10, see also note 1, p.68, in Vol. 1).

2 The color of the four bodies correspond to the four colors associated with the rites of appeasing, etc. also engaged in by the Buddhists (cf. YGT p. 232f.).

them was also surrounded by a following of evil-doers. They engaged in the selfish pleasure of the five strands of desire ('dod yon lña). Having subdued the whole Jambudvīpa they spoke words of boastful conceit. Engaging in wrong conduct they also induced others to it. (58,1-5).

We see how these deities are styled as the actual embodiment of the three root-evils, ignorance, desire, and hatred. The description of Bu ston focuses now on events of a higher nature in a completely different sphere:

At that time the teacher, the great Vajra-holder, had by way of the five perfect awakenings become a Manifest Complete Buddha in the palace of the Dharma sphere. 1 (Having arisen) from the sphere of the expanse and knowledge of the Truth-body (abiding) in the place of the highest secret in the palace of the Akaniṣṭha (-heaven) he expounded the Dharma concerning the together-born clear light to the assembled retinue of countless Tathāgatas and Bodhisattvas.

This is the method of teaching the Dharma by means of the causal Heruka of the complete Enjoyment (-body) (sambhoga-kāya).

Then, knowing that the time had come for the taming of the retinue of the fierce Bhairava, arising in the Transformation-body (nirmāṇa-kāya) of the resultant Heruka he went to the top of Mt. Meru. (58,3-5).

Following this description of the activities of the Buddha subsequent to his (original) enlightenment (preceding the enlightenment exhibited by the Transformation-body) comes an account of how the five Tathāgatas make an offering by manifesting the Saṃvara-maṇḍala and its residents. First Akṣobhya offers the palace with a throne. Then Ratnasambhava manifests the twenty-four

1 How the Buddha reached enlightenment proceeding through the five perfect awakenings (abhisambodhis) according to the Mantra-yāna is in detail discussed by Mkhas grub rje in FBT pp. 26ff.

wrathful heroes, Khaṇḍakapālina, etc., united with their consorts. They are explained to be of the nature of twenty-four (peaceful) Mahābodhisattvas. These twenty-four are all listed in the text, but we did not think it necessary to include them here. The list begins with Samantabhadra and includes others like Mañjuśrī, Maitreya, etc. A similar list of female Bodhisattvas who are of the essence of the fierce Yoginīs is also given, it includes Tārā, Pāṇḍaravāsini, and others.¹

Amitāyus, moreover, made an offering manifesting the four Ḍākinīs and goddesses from the pledge-circle. Vairocana offered the gods who bless the aggregates, elements, and seats of perception. Amoghasiddhi offered the armor-deities. In that way all the previously discussed deities excepting the human types Yoginī, Lāmā, and Ḍākinī are offered (58,5-60,3).

After coming out of the profound contemplation called the 'Vajra of complete enjoyment' (rnam par rol pa'i rdo rje 'jes bya ba'i tin' ne 'dzin) the Vajradhara himself radiated countless maṇḍalas from his pores, with the purpose not only of subduing this world, but one hundred times a hundred thousand million sets of four continents all over the universe simultaneously. In this world he manifested himself as the Bhagavān Cakrasaṃvara with four faces and four arms. In this form he tamed the fierce Bhairava and Kālarātri. These having been pressed down by his feet attained immediately the complete enlightenment. Then he manifested the deities of the body-, speech-, and mind-circles who subdued in the same way the Devas, Gandharvas, etc.

1 Most of the names of the male Bodhisattvas can be found in the Mahāvvyutpatti, § XXII, Nos. 625ff. Only a few of the names of the female Bodhisattvas, however, are given in that work.

The description of the taming of the eight Kinnarīs shows the special trait that the deities who tame them first conceal their original form in a special way. Originally eight pairs of gods in father-mother union, referred to by the text as 'the wrathful kings of the three worlds' and 'the goddesses Gaurī etc.', manifest as eight goddesses who embody in themselves also the male side. Four of them 'borrow' the heads of the fathers and the other four assume half the body of the fathers. In their new form they are the four gatekeeper goddesses (who have animal heads as indicated by their names, 'She, the Crow-Faced', etc. and the four border goddesses 'She, Yama's Cremation-ground', etc. (whose bodies are divided into two parts of different colors). The text emphasizes that they exhibit the bodies of mothers, and thus they are not 'ardhanarīśvaras' (lords who are half female) but 'ardhanarīśvarīs' (ladies who are half female).¹

The reason for this act of concealing themselves is not given; but Geshe Jampa Lodro from Sera monastery explained to me that they did it in order to resemble the eight Kinnarī-goddesses to be tamed.

The text further notes that the four Tathāgatas' consorts (60,3-61,4) manifest as four Yoginīs (called the four Yoginīs of the heart) and tame the four consorts of Īśvara. Thus we can assume that in this process of taming all four manifestations of Īśvara are implied, even though there is only an explicit reference to the taming of Bhairava and Kālarātri.

This sums up the main points of the external process of taming as reported by Bu ston (60,3-61,4).

This account is followed by a very significant dis-

¹ One might have expected the form 'ardhanareśvarī' (ladies who are half male), but the MSS. undoubtedly read 'ardhanarīśvarī' (Ch. XXIV, 118b3; cf. accompanying note for more information on the background of this term).

cussion of the manner of the taming:

Moreover the method of taming ('dul tshul) these (gods) is the taming by way of subduing (dḥaṅ byed pa), enjoying (loṅs spyod pa), and absorbing (thim pa).

Concerning these points the subduing of the body is as follows: having changed into (deities) similar in name and external appearance (as those to be tamed) they throw the gods Īśvara, etc. down and press them down under their feet. Then they take away their consorts and enjoy them...As far as the subduing of the speech goes (there is the following method): The life mantras (srog-sṅags) 'Kara Kara' etc. of the mundane (gods) Khaṇḍakapālina, etc. are blessed into mantras by way of inserting them inbetween the (syllables) OM and HŪM HŪM PHAT (of) the essence of the body, speech, and mind of the supra-mundane (Buddhas). The subduing of the mind consists in causing it to expire (lit. faint) into the completely non-conceptual sphere.

Then there is the enjoying: it consists in the enjoying of the queens by way of (producing) the four joys. It consists in the taking away of the bone ornaments and wearing them, the taking away of their possessions and making a Gaṇacakra (-offering) from them, the taking away of the things they hold in their hands and using them as hand-emblems, the taking away of their corpse seats etc. and making a throne from them, the taking away of their dwelling place and transforming it into a palace.

Then there is the absorbing: the absorbing of their life-force consists in the perfection of the complete purification and abandoning of their obscurations. The absorbing of their mind consists in the perfection of fusing the mind with the clear light and then realising (its) emergence in the pairwise union (yuganaddha) (61,4-62,2).

With this excerpt our summary of Bu ston's highly illuminating account is complete. There are details in this account not mentioned here which would deserve a special study of their own. One is his description of the geographical location of the twenty-four places of pilgrimage. Another is the list of all the Mahābodhi-sattvas who are considered to be the actual essence of

the twenty-four heroes and Yoginīs. It would be a special task to find the non-Tantric sources for all of these names.

A question which we cannot answer right now is the question of the age of the legend and its original version. Bu ston himself refers to different opinions concerning individual points and quotes as authorities authors of bsTan 'gyur commentaries like Bhavabhadra, Bhavyakīrtī and others, and it should be possible to find older versions of the account in their works (54,2 and 54,4). But we must not forget that even the Abhidhānottara presupposes at least some prototype of the legend as can be seen from the passages we have referred to above on occasion of our discussion of the division of the maṇḍala deities according to spheres. It will be a future task to attempt to restore the oldest form of the legend. This would require a thorough checking of the various Saṃvara texts and their commentaries. For now we must be satisfied with Bu ston's version as being sufficient for our purposes here.

The account reflects in a unique way the process of integration of a new type of deity into the Buddhist system. These deities, however, undergo a radical change. This is emphasized by their being subdued and by the transformation of their mind into an enlightened state. On the other hand, and this is highly significant, some of their characteristics remain. This is expressed mainly by the step of the taming process called 'enjoying' or 'using' (loṅs spyod pa). Not only their outer symbols are being used by the Buddhist Bodhisattvas, they even assume a form similar to theirs. The principle of sexual union and element of passion inherent in those deities is not rejected. The consorts are used to aid the yogic process of producing the four joys in the four cakras or psycho-physical

centers of the practitioner. The ordinary passion has in that way on one side been abandoned but its inherent energy has been used for the purpose of yoga. The subduing of speech also implies the continued use of their mantras, made Buddhist by inserting them inbetween the syllables OM̐ and HŪM̐ HŪM̐ PHAṬ̐.

The characterisation of the gods to be tamed is schematic and biased. They are not only made to represent the three main defilements. They also are made to dominate the whole Jambudvīpa, that is the whole of the world known at that time as inhabited by the humans. Thus their taming by Cakrasaṃvara has a universal salvatory significance for the whole world dominated by them. This is emphasized by the trait that the taming process is not restricted to this world, but that from the pores of Vajradhara countless maṇḍalas emanate to carry out the taming throughout the universe.

Two realms are here contrasted, the domain of Bhairava and his followers on one side and the enlightened realm of the Buddhas on the other side. Here we find the perverted worship of Bhairava's followers, there the perfect worship as symbolized by the offerings of the Tathāgatas and the countless Buddhas and Bodhisattvas who attend the teachings. These two sides clash; they represent, so to speak, good and evil. It is impressive, however, that the conflict is not solved by a destruction of the evil side but by a transformation of the negative into the enlightened state. The account illustrates in a unique way the Tantric doctrine formulated in the Hevajra-tantra: 'That by which the world is bound, by the same its bonds are released'.¹

We can say that in general the account presents us with a typical if not to say archetypical situation re-

1 HT I, ix, 19.

moved from historical concreteness. The material for this account, however, stems from the realm of history, more precisely speaking, from the realm of history of religion. This material has been transformed and in a sense been purified from its historical particularities. Motivated by the interest of expressing a basic idea, the account does not represent the non-Buddhist gods and cults related to them as they are. It represents them as simplified types. This is as we shall see also true on the iconographical level. One example is evident immediately. We would expect the maṇḍala deities to resemble closely the subdued deities, which as we know from the taming account include different types. The gods of the maṇḍala, however, as we have shown earlier, all exhibit basically the same features. They do not reflect the variety of the tamed gods.

3.2. The Historical Background I: Connection with Non-Buddhist Deities.

Each of the tamed deities exhibits in itself a very complex historical nature, frequently combining traits of various deities which have in the process of history formed into one individual god or goddess or type of deity.

In general the deities viewed from a historical perspective fall into three distinctive groups. Two groups are already clearly indicated by the taming account itself. It is, on one side, the group of the deities of the three spheres including the Kinnarīs. These deities occur also in the same or similar grouping in non-Buddhist works and have, as we shall see, collectively been designated as 'Vyantara Devatās' (intermediary deities). The other group consists of Bhairava and Kālarātri. On the one hand the first group includes those deities which were predominant before the rise of

Bhairava and Kālarātri to full supremacy. On the other hand it also includes minor popular deities who have not risen to the same importance as the new gods Bhairava and Kālarātri.

There is, moreover, a third group less clearly indicated by Bu ston. This is the group of the Ḍākinīs and associated goddesses. They are closely related to the Kālī-type but also clearly distinguishable because of their collective nature and a strong human component. The rise of these originally secondary type of goddesses to prime importance is presumably later than the one of the Kālī-type and has found its strongest expression in the Tantra itself.

The discussion of the relationship of the tamed to the untamed forms of deities will begin with the Vyantara Devatās. After this we discuss Kālī-Bhairava, and finally the Ḍākinīs.

The first group, the Vyantara Devatās, according to our text, include the Devas, Gandharvas, Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, Nāgas, Asuras, and Kinnarīs. Each of these gods have their own individual characteristics and origins and have only later (first in smaller groups and then as a whole) been collected together as one group.

Let us first give a quick characterisation of all of them individually. The Devas are the Vedic gods with Indra as the chief.¹ The Gandharvas are gods believed to dwell in the air and the towns of their name, the Gandharva cities, are frequently used as an example for something which does not really exist. The Yakṣas are a type of spirits, frequently associated with

¹ This is evident for the Devas in our text. It follows from the fact that the collective goddess of the mind-circle, which includes the Devas, is also referred to as 'She, the one belonging to the heaven of thirty' (Ch. XIV, 49b2). The Vedic gods are traditionally regarded to count thirty-three (see Chaudhuri, p. 122).

certain trees. They later became associated predominantly with Kubera. Usually of a benevolent nature they sometimes were also classified with malignant spirits. In particular, accounts of Yakṣinīs who eat humans are known. The Rākṣasas are more often described as malignant beings, frequently associated with cemeteries. The Nāgas are snake gods whose worship has been very prevalent in ancient India. The term 'Asuras' came to denote mostly demons opposing the Vedic gods. In the beginning, that is in the Ṛg-veda, the term denoted the ancient gods like Dyaus or Varuṇa. The Kinnarīs, moreover, are beings with a human body and head of a horse. Among all of these only the iconographical form of the Yakṣas shows a remote similarity with the maṇḍala heroes. Banerjea sums up his findings based on iconographical texts as follows:

He is usually two-armed (rarely four), holding a club or mace (gadā) in one of his hands, accompanied by two nidhis (śaṅkha and padma) personified or not, is sometimes terrific in appearance, has either a man ...or a lamb for his mount, is pot-bellied and long-armed. ¹

Another remote relationship can be seen between the four animal-headed gatekeepers who had been involved in the taming of the Kinnarīs, the female counterparts of the horse-headed Kinnaras.

The original settlers of India, having been conquered by the Āryans, assumed a lower rank in Indian society. The Vyantara Devatās, as Banerjea points out, were especially worshipped by this group (From this remark we should, however, exclude the Devas, at least if

¹ Banerjea, p. 339. Concerning the whole group of Vyantara Devatās (the term has been first used by the Jainas and adopted by Banerjea as a designation for this group) see the respective chapter in Banerjea, p. 335ff. Cf. also the entries in Monier-Williams Sanskrit Dictionary and Glasenapp's 'Die Religionen Indiens'.

the Vedic gods like Indra, the Aśvins, etc. should be meant). In the post-Vedic period these deities were 'relegated to the position of inferior or secondary deities described in early Jain texts as Vyantara Devatās (intermediary gods)'. He moreover states that 'most of them became accessories and attendants of the chosen divinities of the various sectaries, or of their principal aspects, while others appeared in the role of the opponent gods'.¹

Our texts (Bu ston's account and the Tantra) seem to reflect precisely this situation as can be seen from the subordination of the various gods to Maheśvara/Heruka.

They are listed in various groupings in canonical Jaina, Buddhist, and Hindu works and thus constitute, already from an early time, a class of divinities of their own.

The grouping and systematized division of their living space into three spheres seems to be a particular trait of our texts; at least it does not occur in the lists quoted by Banerjea. It bears some similarity with a late passage in the Mahābhārata where it is said that men of a 'sāttvic' (good, light) temperament worshipped gods, those of a 'rājasic' (active, affectionate) temperament the Yakṣas and Rākṣasas, and those of 'tāmasic' (heavy, dark, ignorant) temperament the Pretas (phantoms) and Bhūtas (spirits of the dead, generally evil spirits).²

1 Banerjea, p. 335. In particular the low and possibly non-Āryan origin of the Yakṣas has been stressed by scholars. Attempts have also been made to relate the origin of goddesses like the 'seven mothers', 'sixty-four Yoginīs and Dākinīs', Durgā, etc. to the Yakṣinī-type (see Eliade, Yoga p. 345).

2 Eliade, Yoga p. 345.

Naturally the division into three spheres itself is already Vedic and goes back to the division

One might ask whether the Buddhist names of the wrathful deities who tamed the Vyantara Devatās show any similarity with non-Buddhist deities. Some of the names indicate such connections. There is for instance a list of sixty-four Bhairavas mentioned in the Rudra-Yāmala, a Hindu Tantra.¹ They are similarly to the maṇḍala heroes divided in groups of eight. A few of these Bhairavas indeed have names resembling the names of the heroes. The name 'Bhairava' itself is the name of one of the heroes who is called 'Mahābhairava' (The great terrifier). The name 'Virūpākṣa' (Having various or monstrous eyes) is both the name of a maṇḍala deity and also included in that list. It is originally a name of Śiva mentioned already in the Mahābhārata and a reference to his three eyes.² The hero name 'Vikāṭadaṁṣṭra' (Having terrifying teeth) is paralleled in the Rudra-Yāmala by the name 'Krodhadaṁṣṭra' (having wrathful teeth).³ This name goes well with the appearance of the heroes. These as well as Saṁvara himself are described as having a mouth baring the teeth. Another of the Bhairavas is called 'Kāpāla' (Skullcup), a name similar to 'Khaṇḍakapālina' _

into dyaus (sky), antarikṣa (intermediate space), and pṛthivī (earth). In the later period the division is into svarga, bhūmi, and pātāla as in our text. The classical tripartition of Buddhism, kāmādhātu (realm of desire), rūpadhātu (realm of form), and arūpadhātu (formless realm) differs: the sky-dwelling gods, for instance, are still included in the lowest kāmādhātu. (For the terms see YGT p. 68; the details of the Buddhist division are described in Chaudhuri, p. 121ff.).

1 Bhagavat Sahai, Iconography of Minor Hindu and Buddhist Deities, p. 123. The Rudra-Yāmala has been mentioned in the Brahmayāmala, a manuscript of which was copied 1052 A.D. It is with certainty considerably older than that age, possibly of similar age as our text. See Sircar, The Śākta Pīṭhas, p. 17, note 4. For the hero names in our text see, for example, Ch. IX, 43a4ff.

2 Monier Williams, Sanskrit Dictionary, sub voce Virupakṣa.

3 Sahai reads 'Kroḍa-'. Considering the meanings of kroḍa (breast, ..., hollow, cavity etc.) there is little doubt that this is an error for 'Krodha-'.

(Having a cup (made) from a piece of skull) in our text. The Khaṇḍakāpālikas, deriving their name from the same word, are a Śaivite sect.¹ Besides these names there are no others which show any closer connection with any of the names of the sixty-four Bhairavas. Among the others we may mention 'Kaṅkāla' (Skeleton). On the one hand the name of this deity points to Śiva, who has been called the 'Kaṅkāla-māla-bharin' (Wearing a necklace of bones). On the other hand, in the Brahma Puraṇas 'Kaṅkālin' occurs as the name of a Yakṣa.² This constitutes so far the only connection between the tamed Yakṣa and the taming heroes. This connection, however, is dubious because the taming Kaṅkāla belongs to the class of tamers of Gandharvas and Devas, but not Yakṣas.

We find, moreover, the name of the well known Buddhist deity Hayagrīva, a name which not only has been attributed to Viṣṇu but also to a Rākṣasa.³ We find also the names of other well known Buddhist deities in the list of the heroes, namely Amitābha, Vajrasattva, and Śrī Heruka himself.

Connections with non-Buddhist deities are also suggested by some of the names of the Yoginīs associated to the heroes. Also here we shall restrict ourselves to mention just a few examples. 'Laṅkeśvarī' (The lordess of Laṅka) probably has to be seen in connection with the cemetery-dwelling Rākṣasas whose chief abode was Laṅka (Ceylon).⁴ The Laṅkāvatāra-Sutra does even mention the Rākṣasas in one breath along with (un-

1 Monier Williams, sub voce Khaṇḍakāpālika.

2 Monier Williams, sub voce Kaṅkālin.

3 Monier Williams, sub voce Hayagrīva.

4 Monier Williams, sub voce Rākṣasas.

tamed) meat eating fierce Dākinīs. 1 The names 'Pracaṇḍā' (She who is of very fierce (heat)) and 'Caṇḍākṣī' (She who has fiercely (burning) eyes) point to the goddess Durgā who is also known as 'Caṇḍā'.² Their fiery character indicated by the names puts them into a close relationship to the goddess Kālī, who probably has found her entry into the Brahmanic religion as personification of one of the fire-tongues of the sacrificial god Agni.³ Also the names 'Śyāmādevī' (The blue Devī) and 'Mahābhairavā' (She the terrifying one) indicate connections with Kālī-Durgā, who is known as Devī (goddess) par excellence and in her form known as 'Camuṇḍā' is considered to be the consort of Bhairava.⁴ Also interesting are the names 'Surābhakṣī' and 'Saṇḍinī', 'She who delights in liquor' and 'She the vendor of liquors'. These appellations fit to the characteristics of Kālī, who, according to the Mahābhārata, is not only said to be fond of meat and animal flesh but also of wine.⁵ The name 'Saṇḍinī', moreover, designates a woman of low social status (akula).⁶ The low classes included the people of the non-Āryan and tribal origin.⁷ The 'deification' of the liquor vendor woman thus points to the intimate connection of these goddesses with the popular strata of the Indian society of those days and the

1 Suzuki, Laṅkāvatāra Sutra, p. 221.

2 Monier Williams, sub voce Caṇḍā.

3 W.C. Beane, 'Myth, Cult and Symbols in Śākta Hinduism', p. 113, 118.

4 Bhagavant Sahai, p. 199.

5 W.C. Beane, p. 122 (Mahābhārata, Ch. VI, Virāta Parvan). ST XXVI, 12 identifies the liquors (surās) with the Vajrayoginīs. Also this illustrates the connection between liquor and the goddesses.

6 Monier Williams, sub voce Śaṇḍikī (=Saṇḍinī).

7 Glasenapp, 'Die Religionen Indiens', p. 88.

rising influence their views exerted on the learned organizers of religion.

The links of the examined names with the Vyantara Devatās are very weak. They point much more to certain forms of Śiva and his Śakti. This would indicate that they are more closely related to the tamed gods of the center of the maṇḍala, Bhairava and Kālarātri who are special manifestations of Śiva-Śakti. Combining this observation with the one just made concerning the names, we can conclude that the origin of the deities of the maṇḍala circles made up of Vyantara Devatās, is, if traceable at all, completely overshadowed by the influence of the Śiva-Śakti complex.

Let us now examine the exponents of Śiva-Śakti in our text, Bhairava and Kālarātri. Bhairava is a fierce (ugra) form of Śiva, as is Kālarātri of Durgā-Kālī, Śiva's Śakti. The appellation 'Maheśvara', used here by Bu ston, occurs already in the Brāhmaṇas as a name for Rudra-Śiva.¹

The origin and development of Śiva and Durgā-Kālī is extremely complex. A common feature of both, however, is that their personality has been shaped decisively by non-Āryan and non-Vedic traits. Some of their origins seem at least in nuce to even go back to the Indus-Valley civilisation as it flourished in Mohenjo-Daro

1 See Banerjea, p. 465: Bhairava - an Ugra form of Siva; p. 496: Kālarātri - a name for Mahākālī and mentioned in the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa; p. 447: Maheśvara, Śiva, Rudra-Śiva, Mahādeva, Īśāna, denote the same god in the Sāṅkhyāyana, Kauṣītakī, and other Brāhmaṇas.

Kālarātri is according to the Devīpurāṇa Ch. XXXVIII a goddess of the Sahyādri mountains. In that passage she is mentioned along with other forms of the Devī associated with other mountains (N.N. Bhattacharyya, 'Indian Mother Goddess', p. 62 note 167).

and Harappā (2500-2000 B.C.) prior to the Āryan invasion in India.¹

Bhandarkar, for example, sees in the Līṅga-worship that has become associated with Śiva an element stemming from non-Āryan natives. As evidence for the non-Vedic origin of this cult he quotes two passages in the Ṛg-veda. In one Indra is requested not to allow the followers of the god Śiśna (phallus) to disturb the rites. In another passage he is represented as having killed the followers of this god.²

Some stone pieces looking exactly like the Śiva-līṅga have been found in Mohenjo-Daro. This suggests the early pre-Āryan origin of this cult.³

It appears that in particular the feminine element had played only a subordinate role in the Āryan religion as expressed in the early Vedas, and gained in profile and prominence due to non-Āryan cults. The goddess's fondness of wine, meat, and animal flesh, as mentioned in the Mahābhārata, has been regarded as a non-Āryan trait. The same text also refers to her as 'foremost Yakṣi of the Yakṣas'.⁴ This latter remark is significant because the Yakṣas, as we have seen, are,

1 Eliade has pointed out the possibility that some forms of the Harappan culture have been preserved by uncivilized tribes influenced at an early stage by Harappā (Yoga, p. 358).

Summaries of the stages of development of Śiva and Śakti can be found in G. Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, p. 102ff., 142ff.; in Banerjea, Development of Hindu Iconography, p. 446ff.; and Sircar, The Śākta Pīṭhas, p. 100ff. The two last mentioned authors explicitly refer to the origins in the Indus Valley culture.

2 Bhandarkar, p. 115 (Reference only to one passage given: R.V. VII, 21, 5).

3 Sircar, Śākta Pīṭhas, p. 101.

4 W.C. Beane, 'Myth, Cult and Symbols in Śākta Hinduism, p. 122 (Mahābhārata VI, Virāṭa Purāṇa).

together with the Rākṣasas, the tamed gods of the speech-circle. Thus they are also in a subordinate position to Vārāhī-Cakrasaṃvara in the center of the maṇḍala.

Durgā, moreover, is said in the Harivamśa, a supplement to the Mahābhārata, to have been worshipped by traditionally derogated tribes such as the Śavaras, Barbaras, and Pulindas.¹

A.K. Bhattacharyya, who sees in the terrific bloodthirsty aspect of Durgā a non-Āryan trait, cites examples for human sacrifices from the secular literature. In a Prākṛit Kāvya text composed in the 8th century for example, daily human sacrifices before the goddess of the Śavaras who lived in a cave of the Vindhya mountains are mentioned.²

In the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (Ch. 83) Devī is described as follows:

(She is) a goddess, black and scowling, of terrible countenance, with drawn sword and lasso, bearing a many-colored skull-topped staff (khatvāṅga), decorated with a garland of skulls, clad into a tiger's skin, grim

1 Harivamśa II, 3.6-8: the 'Ārya-stava'. This passage is quoted frequently in this context: so by A.K. Bhattacharyya in 'A non-Āryan Aspect of the Devī', article no. VII published in 'Sakti Cult and Tārā' edited by D.S. Sircar; and W.C. Beane, p. 120, 122.

Attempts have also been made to derive Durgā from Agni as a personification of his flames and to explain her malevolence from a secondary association with the Vedic goddess of Evil, Nirṛti, who is, interesting enough, also considered the mother of Rākṣasas and fond of the cremation ground (Reference and critical observations concerning this hypothesis, see W.C. Beane, p. 113ff.).

2 A.K. Bhattacharyya, op. cit. p. 58. The text referred to is the 'Gauḍavaha' composed by Vākpati. References to the bloodthirsty goddess as worshipped by the Śavaras and other related goddesses in Assam, Bengal, South India, and Orissa who required human sacrifice, can be found in N.N. Bhattacharyya, 'Indian Mother Goddess', pp. 54-56.

with emaciation, exceeding wide mouth,
lolling out her tongue terribly, having deep
sunken reddish eyes, and filling the regions
of the sky with her roars. ¹

Although her color does not agree with Vārāhī's we can easily see from this description that it is the same type of goddess. Thus we are also not surprised that according to the same Purāṇa 'Vārāhī' is, together with six other names, used to describe her manifestations (vibhūti). Her main form, however, is called 'Cāmuṇḍā' on account of her having killed the demons Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa. ² It also fits into our context that she has been regarded as the consort of Bhairava. An interesting detail is that this goddess has also been represented on a Preta-mount, a trait which she shares with the maṇḍala deities. ³

In a presumably earlier section of this Purāṇa, a hymn to the fire-god Agni, the names 'Kālī' and 'Karālī' occur for two of seven of the individual fire tongues of this god. With regard to the fire tongue Karālī the hymn says: 'By thy tongue Karālī, the cause of the great mundane dissolution, preserve us....'. ⁴ This also corresponds perfectly to the comparison of Vārāhī with

1 Bhagavant Sahai, 'Iconography of Minor Hindu and Buddhist Deities', p. 197 (quoted from the Markaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Devī-Mahātmya section: this particular section is considered to be a historically later portion of this Purāṇa, but does not exceed beyond the ninth century; see W.C. Beane, p. 119 note 416.

2 Bhaṇḍarkar, p. 143.

3 Sahai, p. 199.

4 W.C. Beane, p. 119 (cf. Mārkaṇḍeya P. Ch. 99, 52-58: This section of the Purāṇa may go back even before the 3rd century A.D.). These tongues are also referred to in the Muṇḍaka Upanishad I, 2.4 (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. I).

the fire destroying the world in our text. ¹
 Bhagavant Sahai has collected quite extensive material on various forms of Bhairava from various Hindu Tantras (dates not given) and sculptural evidence.² None of the forms correspond precisely to the Saṃvara type which had been said to be similar in form to Bhairava. But we find quite a few similar traits.

There is for instance a group of three Bhairavas distinguished by way of their temperaments given as sāttvika, rājasika, and tāmasika. Their body-colors are gold, red, and blue respectively. The following characteristics of these Bhairavas coincide with those of Cakrasaṃvara:

The elephant skin worn by the rājasika type and the skull and trident among his emblems are also characteristic for Saṃvara. The tāmasika type who is blue shares with Saṃvara the garland of skulls and two of eight hand-emblems, the bell and skull. His terrible fangs are also specially mentioned. But there is the dissimilarity that he is adorned with snakes. The sāttvika prevents unnatural death, the rājasika satisfies all desires, the tāmasika subdues enemies. The manner of relating three different types of Bhairavas of three different colors to different aims resembles Bu ston's classification of four Īśvaras according to different ends that can be obtained by their worship.

What is also significant is the fact that Bhairava is in some of the Purāṇas and Āgamas called 'Bhairava-śiraśchedaka' (The one who has cut off Brahma's head).

1 Ch. IX, 43a2.

2 Bhagavant Sahai, p. 119ff. None of the sculptures he mentions, if datable at all, stem from a period earlier than the Post-Gupta period (thus they are after 480) and most of them around 1000 A.D. and later.

This agrees with the iconographical feature of Cakra-saṃvara, who, as we have seen above, has in our text been described as holding Brahma's head in his hand. The Śrītattvanidhi describes a Brahmaśiraśchedamūrtti of Śiva, which, however, is white in complexion. But the other characteristics fit well to the Saṃvara type: It has three eyes, four arms, carries the vajra and noose in the right and Brahma's skull and spear in the left. Its head is moreover crowned with the hair twisted together (jaṭāmukuṭa) and it has earornaments. This form also wears the tigerskin.

What we are missing in the descriptions of Bhairava given by Sahai, is an explicit reference to a Bhairava-form united with Kālarātri or any other form of the Śakti. The association of this deity with a Śakti, however, seems to be without doubt. That Cāmundā is regarded as his consort has already been mentioned. Moreover the association of sixty-four Bhairavas with sixty-four Yoginīs seems to be current in Hindu Tantras.¹ Sircar states in his work on the Śākta Pīṭhas that it was particularly as Bhairava that Śiva had been worshipped along with Devī in the sacred places of pilgrimage.² Before turning to the topic of the sacred places we shall discuss the non-Buddhist and untamed aspect of the Dākinīs and related goddesses.

As an individual name of a maṇḍala goddess, 'Dākinī' is applied to the first of the group of the four goddesses who occupy the knowledge circle of the Saṃvara-maṇḍala. At the same time the name is applied collectively to all four of them. The group as we have seen comprises, besides Dākinī, also the goddesses Lāmā, Khaṇḍarohā, and Rupinī. While this group is chiefly

1 Banerjea, p. 466 (without specific reference to any particular Tantra).

2 Sircar, Śākta Pīṭhas, p. 104.

known as the group of four *Ḍākinīs* the appellation '*Ḍākinī*' has less frequently been used also for the rest of the maṇḍala goddesses including *Vārāhī* herself.¹ Even the whole class of Mother-tantras has been called *Ḍākinī-tantra*.² This shows that '*Ḍākinī*' has become an equivalent of the feminine *Prajñā* quality as such. This extensive application of the term '*Ḍākinī*' to all the goddesses may be one of the reasons that the non-Buddhist *Ḍākinī* does not feature as a particular class of deities like the *Yakṣas*, *Rākṣasas*, etc. in Bu ston's account. It is not clear from the context of this account whether the four *Yoginīs* of the heart who tame the consorts of *Īśvara* are the four *Ḍākinīs*. Assuming the case that the four *Yoginīs* are not the four *Ḍākinīs* we would have no explicit reference to the untamed state of the four *Ḍākinīs*. Should, however, the four *Yoginīs* be the four *Ḍākinīs*, then they would according to the Buddhist tradition represent tamed forms of the *Kālī*-type including *Kālarātri*. Their position, however, according to the *Purāṇas*, is usually lower than the one of *Kālī* whom they accompany in groups. According to these texts they are some subordinate type of meat

1 The consorts of the twenty-four heroes are called *Ḍākinīs*, for example Ch. XXIV, 117a5.

The eight pledge-circle goddesses are called *Ḍākinīs*, for example Ch. XXIV, 118 b3.

Vārāhī is referred to as *Ḍākinī* in Ch. XIV, 90a5.

In Ch. II, however, (not edited and translated) the consorts of the twenty-four heroes are called *Yoginīs*, the eight pledge-circle goddesses *Mātaras* (ma mo), and only the four *Ḍākinīs* referred to as the *Mahāḍākinīs*. This illustrates that these four are the *Ḍākinīs* par excellence.

2 FBT p. 251.

eating female imps. 1

The Abhidhānottara-tantra itself mentions this low type of *Ḍākinīs* (and also *Ḍākas*) in the same breath with *Yakṣas*, *Rākṣasas*, *Bhūtas*, *Pretas*, and other subordinate deities and spirits, all of them haunting the cemeteries.² We have already earlier made reference to meat-eating *Ḍākinīs* mentioned along with the *Rākṣasas* in the *Laṅkāvatāra Sutra*. From these passages we can see that the *Ḍākinīs* occur in groups and that '*Ḍākinī*' does not refer to one distinct goddess. Although mentioned along with the *Ḍākas* in the *Abhidhānottara* it is doubtful whether they are from the beginning related to a male counterpart. As acolytes of *Kālī* and also in the *Laṅkāvatāra* they are mentioned alone, and accordingly the four maṇḍala *Ḍākinīs* are also single.

The secondary position and collective character of the *Ḍākinīs* in comparison to the *Devī*-type is expressed by the fact that in the maṇḍala they occupy the second circle surrounding the center with *Vārāhī* and *Samvara*. *Ḍākinī* as an individual goddess occurs only as part of this group of four. This illustrates the originally less individualized nature of the *Ḍākinīs*. Their collective nature can still be felt in later texts such as a biography of *Paṇḍitasambhava* which besides individual names also mentions the countless host of *Ḍākinīs*.³ This

1 See Monier Williams' Dictionary sub voce *Ḍākinī*; he cites among other texts the *Bhaviṣya Purāna* (Ch.X) and the *Mārkaṇḍeya Pūrāna*. He also quotes Pāṇini who derives the word '*Ḍākinī*' from the masculine '*Ḍāka*'. This is evidence that *Ḍākinīs* have already been known at Pāṇini's time in the pre-Christian era (ca. 4th cent. B.C.).

2 Ch.IX, 51a2 and Ch. XIV 89b1.

3 Eva Neumaier(-Dargyay), Dissertation on *Mātarah* and *Ma-Mo*, p. 46 (Ch. IX of the "Urgyan Ghuru Padma 'byuṅ gnas kyis skyes rabs rnam pa rgyas par bkod pa las 'sel brag ma").

collective character made it easy later to apply the term to various individual goddesses, just in the manner as it happened in the Abhidhānottara.

Tucci has published two lists, of about seventy names each, of *Ḍākinīs* taken from a commentary to the Buddhist *Lakṣābhidhāna-tantra*.¹ Both lists include all the goddesses of the *Samvara maṇḍala* excepting *Vārāhī* and each adds about a similar amount of other *Ḍākinī* names (which differ in the two lists). Since the lists also include the consorts of the twenty-four heroes, what has been said about them and some of their names is also true for the developed concept of the *Ḍākinīs*. This developed concept includes thus also certain aspects of the *Kālī*-type as we have been able to show for at least a few of the hero-consorts. On the other side it retains the collective character of the *Ḍākinīs*. This character makes them different from those goddesses who, like *Kālī*, have gained importance as individual goddesses. Naturally there must be an inherent similarity between the *Ḍākinīs* and *Kālī*, otherwise they would not appear in her retinue. This similarity is given in the wrathful character and the fondness for meat ascribed to both.

But the *Ḍākinīs* also show other traits, besides their collective character, which make them different from the *Kālī*-type. It is very difficult, however, if not impossible, to determine whether these traits are original or whether they have developed later.

One such trait is their association with flying. The Buddhist Tantras derive the word '*Ḍākinī*' from the root '*ḍai*' which means 'to fly'.² This is reflected in the

1 Tucci, *Animadversiones Indicae*, p. 159f.

2 Tucci, op. cit. p. 157 note 3 with reference to the *Lakṣābhidhāna-tantra-tikā* fol. IV,1 and *Cakrasamvara* fol. 2,b.

Tibetan translation which is "mkha' 'gro ma", 'She, who goes in the sky'. Accordingly the *ḍākinīs* mentioned in the second of the lists quoted by Tucci are described as moving in the sky (*khecarā*). The *ḍākinīs* of the first list are less exclusively related just to flying and are not only said to move in the clouds, but also on the ground and in the water (*sthalacarajalacaravanacarā*).

The general descriptions of the *ḍākinīs* of the two lists include, both times, another remarkable quality of them: they are said to be able to change their form (*rūpaparivartinī*). This is similar to what the Tibetan pilgrim Orgyan pa (at the turn of the 16th/17th century) says of the Phra men ma of *Oḍiyāna*. He states:

Near Rayika there is the country of the Phra men ma, all women know how to turn themselves by magic art into any form they want, they like flesh and blood and have the power to deprive every creature of its vitality and strength. 1

This admittedly later text refers to a *ḍākinī*-like type of witches who have the capacity to change their forms. The same Phra men mas can, however, also fulfill an important function during the meditation process. The following statement by Orgyan pa is suggestive of that:

In these places as soon as any common realization is experienced various Phra men ma flesh-eating *ḍākinīs* come privately in front of (the experiencer) as spouse. 2

Thus it seems that under certain circumstances these Phra men ma-*ḍākinīs* can be conjured up to serve as mystic consorts for one's practices.

While some passages in the same text describe the *ḍākinīs* of *Oḍiyāna* even as religious teachers others emphasize their harmful side. In a legend, the Siddha Lavapa, angered by some attempt of *ḍākinīs* to harm him,

1 Tucci, Pilgrims p. 53.

2 Tucci, Pilgrims p. 52.

turned all of them into sheep, whereupon all women of Oḍiyāna disappeared.¹ This account clearly implies also the human nature of these Ḍākinīs who were the women inhabiting the country. Also among the descriptions of the Ḍākinīs in Padmasambhava's biography we find such resembling those of human women:

(In the cemetery) in the North-East there is the Ḍākinī 'Mig riñ ma'. She wears blue clothes and red trousers. Her lips are (like the beak) of a peacock, the eyes like those of an owl. She wears the six bone ornaments on the upper part of the body. On her forehead is a mirror. Her long hair is braided into a tuft of hair, to the center of which a vajra is bound. 2

Next to this description there are other descriptions which emphasize more her super human aspect describing a host of Ḍākinīs riding on lions (Kālī's vahana). Others are said to have many heads, they eat intestins and hearts.³ The same text also explains how Padmasambhava teaches the Dharma to them and how some of them attain high states on account of this.⁴

The witch aspect of the Ḍākinīs is also emphasized by the fact that in Orissa still in modern times the vernacular word for witch is 'dahani', which is a corruption of the Sanskrit 'Ḍākinī'.⁵ These Orissan witches are said to have the capacity to fly on trees usually at night to Kāmarūpa, one of the sacred places of pilgrimage also mentioned in our text. One of the greatest

1 Tucci, pilgrims p. 57: Ḍākinīs as teachers; p. 52f.: The Lavapa story (Different versions of this legend about Lavapa can be found in Grünwedel, 'Edelsteinmine', p. 55f. and '84 Zauberer' p. 176f.).

2 Eva Neumaier (-Dargay), p. 49 (Tibetan)/p. 50 (German) from the Padmasambhava-biography cited earlier.

3 op. cit. p. 46.

4 op. cit. p. 57.

5 S.N. Roy, 'The Witches of Orissa', p. 186.

feats they can perform is to turn a man into a sheep (the opposite of Lavapa's feat, who turned the *Ḍākinīs* into sheep!). Besides having the evil eye, also their touch is deadly. They do not need to touch the man they want to kill directly with the hands, it is sufficient to touch the hem of his garment or a long rope attached to his body or even his bedstead.¹ This description is very close to what is said about one of the *Yoginīs* in the *Abhidhānottara*:

Whom she touches with the hands, a clod of clay, the *Varaṇa* tree, the hem of her garment, the *Āru* tree, he dies. 2

The *Yoginīs* are closely related to the *Ḍākinīs* and in some instances the terms are interchangeable.

Summing up the evidence from later texts supported by the ethnological evidence from the region of Orissa we can say that besides the description of *Ḍākinīs* as wrathful goddesses, we find also statements which point to their human aspects in particular of witches. At the same time we find statements concerning the tamed and untamed aspect of these human (as well as non-human) *Ḍākinīs*. It is conceivable that these statements of later texts have their origin in a much older time than the respective texts. This is at least suggested by the fact that even in more recent times traditions exist which describe the witches in very similar terms as our text; the passage quoted concerning the *Yoginīs* clearly shows this. It is moreover an interesting fact that the *Abhidhānottara* has, besides the descriptions of the *maṇḍala-Ḍākinīs*, also descriptions of human *Ḍākinīs* both with negative and positive features. Both types, the one with positive and the one with negative features,

1 Op. cit. p. 187, 191, 193.

2 Ch. XXXIX, 164a1.

are, however, in the context of the Abhidhānottara, qualities of a tamed and goddess-like person. But, especially in the descriptions which show negative traits, such as delighting in meat, the untamed state of the person is still sizable.

The same observations are also true for the Lāmās and the Yoginīs, who both have an aspect as maṇḍala deities and as human goddesses. The Lāmās are represented in the maṇḍala by the goddess Lāmā who counts as one of the four principal Dākinīs. The Yoginīs are not represented in the maṇḍala by an individual goddess. However, the twenty-four hero consorts, as well as the other maṇḍala goddesses including Vārāhī, can be called Yoginīs.¹

Both Tucci and Bagchi have stated the possibility that the Lāmās, who also occur in non-Buddhist Tantras, could be connected to aboriginal Tibetan goddesses called 'Lha mos'. Among the group of the Lha mos one known as 'dPal ldan Lha mo' has become a Tibetan-Buddhist protector deity of chief importance. This deity is extremely terrifying in appearance, she is similar to Kālī, who in details may have influenced her later representations. She is usually represented as riding on a mule and, according to one source, accompanied by obstructing spirits, black birds, and black sheep.² If

1 In chapter II of the Abhidhānottara not translated and edited here the hero consorts are called 'Yoginīs'. Vajravārāhī is referred to as 'Yoginī' in Ch. XIV, 80a5. 'Yoginī' like 'Dākinī' can be used to designate the Mother-tantra division and are in this general sense exchangeable (FBT p. 251).

2 Tucci, *Animadversiones Indicae*, p. 156; Bagchi, *Studies in the Tantras*, part I p. 51.

Details concerning the various forms of dPal ldan Lha mo can be found in Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, II, pp. 590-594 and Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons*, pp. 22-37.

Tucci and Bagchi are right, the goddess Lāmā would represent an early non-Indian influence on the formation of the Tantras.

The Yoginīs like the Lāmās and Dākinīs also feature in the Hindu tradition. For one, they are known to accompany the goddess Durgā. According to K.S. Behra, groups of seven or eight Yoginīs regarded as Mātrkās were known from an early time on. The number later was increased to sixty-four.¹ The groups of seven parallel the seven-fold Yoginī-groups of our text. Even if the names given in our text do not correspond with the traditional Mātrkā names, an influence of the Mātrkā-concept on our text is possible. The feature that Cum-bikā embraces a child may well have been derived from the representations of Mātrkās as holding children on their laps. The first written mention of the Mātrkās, without, however, reference to names and number, seems to be the Gaṅgadhāra stone inscription of Kumāragupta I (414-455 A.D.). Stone images representing the Mātrkās as ordinary females already occur in the early Kuśāna period (1./2. cent. A.D.). The representations of the Mātrkās as divine forms seem to be somewhat later.²

The name 'Yoginī' points predominantly to female human adepts of yoga. From among the three groups of goddesses, Dākinīs, Lāmās, and Yoginīs, mentioned in the Abhidhānottara, the last mentioned ones are more on the human side as can clearly be seen from the fact that there is no individual goddess called 'Yoginī'. Also the Dākinīs and Lāmās have a strong human component. Whether it existed from the beginning is difficult to

1 K.S. Behra, 'The Evolution of Śakti Cult at Jaipur, Bhubaneswar and Puri', p. 82 (article IX in 'Śakti Cult and Tārā' edited by D.C. Sircar).

2 For this, the Mātrkā names, and the stone inscription see the chapter 'Śapta-Mātrkā' in B. Sahai's Iconography.

say. The untamed divine component is represented by the non-individualized lower type of meat-eating fierce goddess, who in the course of history has developed towards individualisation and higher status similar to the Kālī-type. The untamed human component shows witch-like traits and strong links with (black) magic and, perhaps in the case of the Dākinīs, an early association with flying.

In the case of the Dākinīs we have an early testimony of their association with the Tantras (and accordingly also to their tamed state). In a Mandasor inscription of 423 A.D. the construction of a temple for them is mentioned. This temple is described as a 'terrible abode, full of Dākinīs, of the Mothers who utter loud and tremendous shouts of joy and who stir up the very oceans with the wind rising from the Tantra'.¹ This particular temple was erected by a Vaiṣṇava. This shows that the Dākinīs, at an early time, found their way also into the non-Buddhist Tantras. These Tantras, from what we know of them, also aimed at the transformation of untamed energies such as those represented by the fierce goddesses.

3.3. The Historical Background II: The Sacred Places of Pilgrimage of Bhairava and Śakti.

In the taming account the twenty-four places play an important role as special places which have been seized by the various Vyantara Devatās. It also becomes quite clear that the control of these places implies the control of the whole world, or at least is an important step towards that goal. The taming account also points to the special feature that Mahēśvara's Liṅga is wor-

1 Sircar, 'The Śākta Pīṭhas', p. 105.

shipped in those places. Our summary discussion of both the Saṃvara- and the Ṣaṭcakra-vartī-maṇḍala has shown that the same sacred places are represented within the maṇḍala as the abodes of the twenty-four heroes and their consorts. The places represented in the maṇḍala correspond to the tamed aspect of the deities, whereas the places occupied by the followers of Maheśvara-Śiva correspond to the untamed aspect of the deities.

Our task is now to investigate whether besides our text there is independent testimony concerning such places. There is indeed no lack of reference to varying numbers of places of pilgrimage. They are predominantly referred to as 'sacred places' or 'seats' (pīṭhas) in the non-Buddhist literature.

These places have been connected with the worship of various forms of the Śakti. But, as we have already mentioned, they are frequently associated with a form of Śiva called 'Bhairava'. The probably earliest written reference to such places mentions them as places of Śakti-worship. The passage meant is the Tīrthayatra section in the Vanaparvan in the Mahābhārata. That section is reckoned to be earlier than the rise of the Gupta Dynasty in the fourth century A.D. One of the places mentioned there, the resort of the goddess Bhīma, which has a pond (kuṇḍa) associated with the Yoni of the goddess, is located in the North-West frontier region of the Punjab near Shabazgarhi in the Peshawar district.

This place had been visited by the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan Tsang in the seventh century A.D. He mentions a mountain which was supposed to look like Maheśvara's Śakti Bhīmadevī. He also does not fail to mention a temple of Maheśvara where 'ash smearing Tīrthikas (Pāśu-pata Yogins) performed much worship'. This shows that, at least at Hsüan Tsang's time, Śiva had also been connected with that type of place. He mentions moreover,

that devotees came to that place from all over India. It is of interest that this Chinese pilgrim, who frequently refers in his travel account to the followers of Śiva and Śakti belonging to the Pāśupata-school, also mentions their activity in Jālandhara and Mālava, both places included in the list of twenty-four places in the Abhidhānottara. He also comments on Oḍḍiyāna included in our list and says 'The people (of Uḍḍiyāna) were pusillanimous and deceitful; they were fond of learning but not as a study, and they made the acquisition of magical formulae their occupation'.¹ This observation contains nothing that would point to the existence of an individual sanctuary or sacred place in Oḍḍiyāna. But it nevertheless gives an outsider's impression about a general association of that country with magic, which is in conformity with later travel accounts and legends about this country.

Thus we have some early traces of the pīṭha-concept (however not referred to as 'pīṭhas', 'kṣetra', etc. in the technical sense as used in the Abhidhānottara) in the Mahābhārata and later in the travel accounts of Hsüan Tsang.

D.C. Sircar, from whose book on the Śākta Pīṭhas we have obtained this information, has also collected many lists of pīṭhas from various Hindu Tantras and Purāṇas. Except for nine names, all the names of the places of pilgrimage in the Abhidhānottara also occur in the non-Buddhist lists. There is, however, no list which would also count twenty-four places or contain the same

¹ The information about the Bhīmasthana, Hsüan Tsang's visit to it, etc. has been taken from Sircar, Śākta Pīṭhas, pp. 8-11. The quotation stems from p. 16 of the same work; the spelling 'Uḍḍiyāna' contained in it is an alternative form to the spelling 'Oḍḍiyāna' which has been adopted by us.

names.¹ The lists mention numbers of pīṭhas ranging from four to 108. In general it is the earlier works which refer to four, eight, or ten pīṭhas, and only the later ones which count fifty, fifty-one, and more. From these lists it appears that it is a special trait of the Buddhist Tantras like the Abhidhānottara and also the Hevajra to call only the first four locations in the lists 'pīṭhas', and to divide the rest of the places into different categories such as 'upapīṭhas', 'kṣetras', 'upakṣetras', etc. Most of the places which are not classified as pīṭhas in the narrow sense in the Buddhist texts are, however, mentioned in non-Buddhist texts as 'pīṭhas'.

It does not seem that the divisions of the Buddhist places imply any characteristic difference in the nature of the places as such. There is, moreover, no agreement between the Abhidhānottara and Hevajra about which places belong to what class, besides the fact that only nine-teen of the twenty-four places from the two texts can be identified with each other.²

Even the list of four pīṭhas in the narrow sense shows differences; the Abhidhānottara lists Pullīra-

1 The nine places not occurring in Sircar's index of all the names in the lists studied by him are Triśakuni, Kośala, Lampāka, Pretapūri, Gr̥hadevatā, Saurāṣṭra, Suvārṇadvīpa, Maru, and Kulatā. Sindhu in the Abhidhānottara is probably the same as Sindhusaṅgama and Nagara the same as Nagarakoṭa in Sircar's lists (Sircar, op. cit. p. 80ff: index of the places with their general geographical location).

2 See Ch. XIV, 83a4ff. for the divisions in the Abhidhānottara and HT I, vii, 13ff. for the ones in the Hevajra. Instead of the melāpaka/upamelāpaka division the HT has pīlava/upapīlava. See also note 2, p. 70 in HT Vol. 1, for Snellgrove's attempt to identify nineteen places of the two systems with each other. For this comparison he relies on Tucci's list in IT III which is the same as the one in our text (IT III pp. 31ff.).

malaya, Jālandhara, Oḍiyāna, and Arbuda. The Hevajra lists Jālandhara, Oḍiyāna, Pūrṇagiri, and Kāmarūpa. Pullīramalaya is possibly the same as Pūrṇagiri. That is at least Snellgrove's opinion.¹ Arbuda, which features as a pīṭha in the Abhidhānottara, is an upakṣetra in the Hevajra. Kāmarūpa, a pīṭha in the Hevajra, is a kṣetra in the Abhidhānottara.

D.C. Sircar quotes besides the Hevajra and the Sādhnamālā also the Kālikā Purāṇa (earlier than 1000 A.D.) as evidence for an early tradition of counting four pīṭhas.² The pīṭhas in the Kālikā Purāṇa are the same as those in the Hevajra Tantra, if one accepts that 'Oḍra' (normally = Orissa) is a mistake for 'Oḍiyāna' and 'Jālaśaila' the same as 'Jālandhara'. The Sādhnamālā shows some difference with regard to these two lists by substituting 'Śrīhaṭṭa'/'Sirīhaṭṭa' for 'Jālandhara'.

Thus there is no absolute consistency in the tradition of the four pīṭhas but it is noteworthy that at least two of them, Oḍiyāna and Pūrṇagiri/Pullīramalaya feature in all of the lists of four. The inconsistency concerning the four pīṭhas in three texts which roughly should fall into the same historical period seems at least to indicate the following: The concept of four pīṭhas does not reflect a historically earlier stage when only four specific pīṭhas were recognized or well known in India. Our evidence indicates that it is more likely that already from the beginning a larger group of pīṭhas were known and then four among them became regarded as the main ones. The emphasis was on having four places; the question which specific places should be included among the four seems to have been less im-

1 HT Vol. 1, note 2, p.70.

2 Sircar, Śākta Pīṭhas, p. 17.

portant. The predilection for the number four must be seen in connection with the four directions: the four places symbolize the extension of the sacred space into all four quarters.

The Kālikā Purāṇa contains not only the tradition of four sacred places, but has also a list of seven. The only new name occurring in the list of seven in comparison to that of four is 'Devīkoṭa', a name also used in the two Buddhist Tantras. Mentioning the same three as have already occurred in the list of four, and distinguishing three separate places in Kāmarūpa, the list is increased to seven.

Many of the non-Buddhist lists show a feature not shared by the Abhidhānottara or, for that matter, the Hevajra-tantra. They connect each of the places with a particular body part of the Devī. An example of this is the list of seven pīṭhas in the Kālikā Pūraṇa. Devīkoṭa for instance is related to the feet, Oḍiyāna to the two thighs, Kāmagiri to the female organ, etc., of the goddess. The later Purāṇas, from the earlier part of the medieval period, give the following explanation for this: Śiva, after the death of his wife Satī, narrated in a preceding episode (the destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice by Śiva), falls into a state of desperate sadness. In a maddened state, Śiva, carrying his dead wife on his shoulders, wanders all over the world. According to one version of the story, Brahma, Viṣṇu, and Śani, wishing to end this state of madness, entered the dead body by means of yoga and caused bit by bit of it to fall on the ground until all of it was gone. In the places where the different pieces had fallen the presence of the Devī inherent in the body parts, along with her consort Bhairava, became an object of worship.¹

1 Sircar, Śākta Pīṭhas, p. 5-7 (including an analysis of the historical development of the legend).

This later explanation of the origin of the pīṭhas is interesting because it stresses the connection of the pīṭhas with the Śakti, a trait which agrees with the fact that also the early reference to sacred places in the Mahābhārata mentions places of Devī worship. It might also not be by accident that the Sanskrit text of the Abhidhānottara uses the feminine gender ('Khecarī', 'Bhūcarī', 'Pātālavāsinī') when it refers to the deities of the three spheres corresponding to the three maṇḍala circles.¹ There is no direct parallel to the association of the body parts of the Devī with the individual Śākta Pīṭhas. But an indirect parallel exists because during the Steps of Generation at the time of identifying one's body with the deity each place, which is the abode of a hero and Yoginī, is identified with a particular spot on the body.² According to D.C. Sircar a similar ritual step is also known from Hindu Tantras and called 'Pīṭha-nyāsa' (placing of the pīṭhas).³

Most of the places mentioned in the Abhidhānottara are actually names of towns or countries from almost every part in India. This includes locations in the South like Kāñci and Rāmeśvara, various places in the middle of India like Oḍra, Mālava, Saurāṣṭra, and Arbuda, as well as regions in the North, Oḍiyāna (today in Pakistan), Jālandhara, Kāmarūpa. Even Suvarṇadvīpa (Sumatra) is named as one of the twenty-four places.

The actual places of pilgrimage must be imagined to

1 Ch. X, 43b2ff.

2 Ch. IX, 43a4-44a2, Ch. XIV, 83a4-84a1. The associations of specific places with specific spots, however, disagree in the Abhidhānottara and the Tantra cited by Sircar.

3 Sircar, Śākta Pīṭhas, p. 7; see also note 1. He thinks that the placement of the pīṭhas on the limbs of the body of the practitioner may be prior to the belief that the pīṭhas arose from the limbs of the goddess.

be holy sanctuaries within those countries. These sanctuaries would predominantly be those of local manifestations of the Kālī type deities.

To conclude our discussion of the twenty-four places and their background, we shall just make some comments on three of the most prominent pithas, namely Oḍiyāna, Jālandhāra, and Kāmarūpa. These show strong connections with the fierce type of goddesses.

We have already mentioned some of the descriptions of the Dākinīs and Phra men mas of Oḍiyāna. Another sign of the strong connection with the fierce goddess types is the fact that Māricī, Kurukullā, and Ūrdhva-pāda Vajravārāhī have in the Sādhana-mālā been associated with Oḍiyāna.¹ There are many legendary accounts about Oḍiyāna. One example is a story of the previous life of Atiśa's disciple Brom ston. As a young prince he is said to have searched for his queen in the land of Oḍiyāna described as the dangerous homeland of countless Dākinīs.² Even if some of the references to Oḍiyāna stem from a much later time than our Tantra, they still preserve the memory of the original non-Buddhist forms of goddesses and perhaps also witches of much older times. It is probably these beliefs in the Dākinī type of goddesses which have been responsible for the prominence of Oḍiyāna as a pīṭha, not only in the Buddhist Tantras, but also in the Hindu Tantras. Concrete information about a particular sacred and wellknown temple which might have been regarded as the actual pīṭha has as far as I know not yet been discovered.

1 Sircar, Śākta Pīṭhas, p. 16.

2 This interesting story is contained in a Tibetan work called 'Nor bu phreṅ wa' and was translated already in 1829 from the Mongolian into German by Isaac Jacob Schmidt in the appendix to his translation of Ssanang Ssetsan Chungtaidschi's History of Mongolia.

Also Jālandhara, a country in the Kangra region of the Punjab, has been described by a Tibetan pilgrim called 'rGod tshan pa' (13th century) as a place where all heroes and Dākinīs assemble as clouds.¹ The pilgrim sTag tshan ras pa mentions a temple near Nagarkot, probably referring to the actual pīṭha of Jālandhara, and states that it is the temple of Mahādurgā. He specifies, however, that it is really the abode of Vajravārāhī.² This illustrates how a later follower of the Buddhist Tantras who must have been aware of the taming account has viewed the non-Buddhist sanctuaries of the goddess as the actual abode of the Buddhist goddess Vārāhī. This temple is presumably the same as the shrine of Mahāmāyā described by Abul Fazl in his 'Ain-i-Akbarī' written at the end of the 16th century. He mentioned that it was visited by pilgrims from distant regions.³

Kāmarūpa in Western Assam up to modern times has been regarded as a special place where the witches of Orissa fly to in order to get their inspiration. Also among the tribes of the Bhils and Santals legends have survived which connect the origin of sorcery with the witch Ratna Kāma (Bhil) or the wife of Kamru (Santal).⁴

The goddess of Kamru is also mentioned by Tāranātha who relates that the Mahasiddha Kṛṣṇacāra while practising the Saṃvara-tantra was exhorted by a Dākinī to go and obtain Siddhi in the place of the goddess Kamru.⁵ These legends of naturally very different back-

1 Tucci, Pilgrims, p. 22.

2 Tucci, Pilgrims, p. 66.

3 Sircar, Śākta Pīṭhas, p. 14

4 Koppers, Probleme, p. 784.

5 HT Vol.1, p. 9, cf. 'Tāranāthae de doctrinae Buddhicae in India Propagatione', ed. A. Schieffner, p. 161.

ground probably point to the main sanctuary of the goddess Kāmākhya Devī close to the town of Gauhati in Assam.¹ Sircar thinks that the name 'Kāmarūpa' is intimately connected with this goddess. Kāmarūpa is already mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of the fourth century. There are also accounts of human sacrifice to this and other goddesses in Assam. A later Islamic work, called *Haft Iqlin*, gives an example of how the bloodthirsty character of the goddess had been combined with erotic licence. According to that work, after the voluntary victims of the goddess Ai had been destined to be sacrificed, they were allowed to have whatever woman they might want.²

Our short survey of information on three important sacred places as well as on the pīṭha concept in general, shows that there seems to be no detailed notion of a system of pīṭhas before the rise of the Tantric literature. Both the Mahābhārata and later Hsüan Tsang refer only to individual places but not to a system like the one of twenty-four places. Naturally, the fact that Hsüan Tsang does not refer to a system of holy places does not per se prove that such systems did not exist at his time. We don't have much material to determine the age of these systems. We might say that the system of the the Abhidhāna and Hevajra presuppose a fairly advanced state of the Śākta-cult associated with places which had already grown beyond just local significance. Suppose we take the testimony of the Mahābhārata to imply that originally the places were predominantly related to Śakti. In that case, our text would imply the existence of a later stage when the

¹ Koppers, *Probleme*, p. 775; Sircar, *Śākta Pīṭhas*, p. 15.

² Sircar, *op. cit.* p. 16 and note 1.

association of Bhairava with the Śakti of those places was fairly well established.

3.4. The Historical Background III: Connections with non Buddhist-Cults and Literature.

We have already seen that Hsüan Tsang while describing the resort of the goddess Bhīma also refers to the activities of a Śaiva-sect called Paśupata-Yogins, characterized by him as 'ash-smearing Tīrthikas'. Bhandarkar says that Hsüan Tsang, in fact, mentions the Paśupatas twelve times in his book - usually as worshipping at the temple of Maheśvara. In Benares Hsüan Tsang even reported to have found about ten thousand followers of Maheśvara. They were naked, the bodies were besmeared with ashes, and they wore their hair tied in knots.¹ It appears that this school had existed in an organized form already since the first half of the second century A.D.² At a later time the extreme sect of the Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas developed from the Paśupata school.³

What we hear about them from later texts is highly interesting in our context. According to Rāmānuja (born 1016 A.D.) as quoted by Bhandarkar

...the Kāpālikas maintain that a man who knows the essence of the six marks (mudrikā) and who is skillfull in their use, attains the highest bliss by concentrating his mind on the soul seated on the female organ.

The six marks are 1) a necklace 2) an ornament 3) an ear-ornament 4) a crest jewel 5)

1 Bhandarkar, p. 117.

2 Banerjea, p. 450; Bhandarkar, p. 116-117. While Bhandarkar sees in Lakulīśa the founder of this early Śaivite school, Banerjea sees in him just an organizer.

2 Banerjea, p. 452.

ashes and 6) the sacred thread. He whose body bears these marks, is free from transmigration. 1

Now, of course, it is difficult to guess from these remarks what the practices of the Kāpālikas really have been like. But what strikes us in this summary is that the same six seals are mentioned which are also the marks of the deities of the Saṃvara- and Ṣaṭcakravartimaṇḍala.² The contemplation directed on the female organ finds an external parallel in the Abhidhānottara in such passages as 'The contemplations of the heroes of the body-vajra, etc., are in the middle of the bhaga (vagina).'³ The concept of bliss arising in the context of the contemplation of the goddess is also a basic element in the Anuttarayoga-tantras as we have already seen earlier. It is moreover indicated by the variant 'Saṃvara' of the name 'Saṃvara' which, by the Paṇḍitas and Lotsavas understood as a compound of 'Saṃ' and 'vara', has been rendered in Tibetan as 'bDe mchog' (highest bliss).⁴

It must be emphasized, however, that these are only external parallels taken outside the context of the actual systems of practices implied. But it is very possible that the Kāpālikas did also practice certain Tantric rituals. This has also been suggested by Tucci who attempted to show that there exists already in the fourth century A.D. a Tantric school called 'Soma-siddhānta' which has to be identified with the Kāpālikas.

1 Bhandarkar, p. 127.

2 The enumeration of the ornaments is the same as that in the Sādhana-mālā (No. 250 and 251).

3 Ch. IX, 47b1

4 An alternative Tibetan translation takes 'Cakra-saṃvara' as a cpd. of 'Cakra' and 'Saṃvara' and thus renders the name as " 'Khor lo sdom pa " (union of the circles).

He arrives at this date based on a reference to a school called 'Na ya sin mo' in the Chinese translation of the Tattvasiddhi-śāstra by Harivarman (4th century) and Asaṅga's Madhyāntānugama-śāstra. He believes the Na ya sin mo were the Somasiddhāntas. Based on later passages he concludes that it appears that they practised rites similar to those of the Sahajīyā-school, the Buddhist branch of which is represented by the tradition of the Mahāsiddhas.¹

There are, however, other text which attribute human sacrifice to the Kāpālikas. Thus in a play called the 'Mālatīmadhava' (8th century A.D.) by Bhavabhūti the heroine of the play is carried away by a female follower of the sect to be sacrificed in the temple of the goddess Karālā-Cāmuṇḍā.² It is, moreover, said of Śaṃkāra that once he met a Kāpālika who asked him why he did not worship 'Kāpālin who is Bhairava' who is not 'pleased unless he is worshipped by the skulls red with the blood of men and with wine'.³ These passages show the association of the school with Cāmuṇḍā (the goddess described in the Markaṇḍeya Purāṇa) and her consort Bhairava, and the bloodthirsty character attributed to those gods.

If we assume with Tucci that the Kāpālikas engaged in Tantric practices similar to those of the Sahajīyā-schools one would doubt that they combined these practices with rites that actually involved human sacrifice. There is on the other hand not much reason to doubt, and we have cited evidence for this already, that these gods

1 Tucci, *Animadversiones Indicae*, p. 131. The development of the Sahajīyā-schools is described in 'Obscure Religious Cults' by S. Dasgupta, Calcutta 1969.

2 Bhandarkar, p. 128; Sircar, *Śakta Pīṭhas*, p. 10, note 1.

3 Sircar, *op. cit.*, *ibidem*.

were indeed objects of bloody worship. It is more likely that if the Kāpālikas were already in the fourth century a Tantric sect that the human sacrifices performed by other followers of Bhairava-Cāmuṇḍā were just attributed to them for sectarian reasons. On the other hand it is also not proven beyond any doubt that the Kāpālikas really were exponents of the methods of internal yoga. The later testimony might, after all, just reflect the Tantric methods as they were understood at the time in which these testimonies were written.

The Kāpālikas have traditionally been distinguished from the Paśūpatas who in some ways are credited with more moderate practices.¹ But it is not to be excluded that Hsüan Tsang when describing the ash-smearing Tīrthikas also described the Kāpālikas who are also said to follow the practice of besmearing the body with ashes from the cemeteries. This might well have had the same symbolic significance as it had for the Kānpḥaṭa Yogīs, namely the sign that the Yogin has abandoned the world.²

Besides the possible Tantric practices of the Kāpālikas, there are indications for another non-Buddhist group of Tantrics who shared the same background as the Saṃvara traditions. The practitioners meant are the followers of a non-Buddhist Tantra called the 'Jaya-dratha Yāmala'. Let us sum up the most important points of Bagchi's discussion of this text.³

1 Sircar quotes the Kūrma Purāṇa as saying that 'the Paśūpatas hate those sects which are guided by the Tantras'. Sircar, Śakta Pīṭhas, p. 10 note 1.

2 G.W. Briggs, 'Gorakhnāth and the Kānpḥaṭa Yogīs', Calcutta 1938, p.17.

3 Bagchi, Studies in the Tantras, Vol. 1, 'On some Tantric texts studied in ancient Kambuja', pp. 1-15, in particular p. 1f. and 10.

Bagchi demonstrates that the text had in all likelihood been revealed by one of four heads of the god Tum-buru. This god is probably a form of Śiva. Each of the four heads of this god spoke one of the four Tantras that had been introduced in Cambodia. The particular head which is supposed to have revealed the Jayadratha Yāmala was the head of Brahma. The fact that this form of Śiva is considered to have one of Brahma's heads appears to be connected to a later legend recounted in the Kurma Purāṇa. It is the legend of a supremacy contest between Brahma and Śiva in the course of which Śiva orders his fierce manifestation Bhairava to cut off Brahma's head. Bagchi mentions also another tradition of uncertain origin according to which Śiva is said to have put the cut-off Brahma-head on top of his other heads.

We have already seen that the Brahma-head is a hand-emblem of Cakrasaṃvara which he probably inherited from an early prototype of the Bhairava Brahmaśiraśchedaka, described in later Purāṇas. All this suggests some connection between the Saṃvara tradition and the Śiraścheda-tantra.

It is not mentioned by Bagchi in detail, but interesting for our context, that after the beheading of Brahma Bhairava had to expiate the sin of Brahminicide by wandering around as ascetic carrying Brahma's head in his hand. In this form Śiva is known as Kāpālīka ('Skull Bearer'). This represents a mythological explanation of the name of the Kāpālīka sect.¹

1 W.D. Flaherty, 'Asceticism and Eroticism in the Mythology of Śiva', p. 123. Cf. the Kūrma Purāṇa, Bombay 1926, 2. 31.22ff. Variants of this myth occur also in the Śiva Purāṇa, 3.8-9 and Vārāha Purāṇa 97,4-25 (see article 'Bhairava' by H.v. Stietencron in ZDMG, 1969, Supplementa 1, Teil 3, pp. 863-871).

It will be a future task to compare in detail the texts of the Saṃvara tradition with the Jayadratha Yāmala, the four parts of which, called ṣaṭkas, have been preserved almost completely in different MSS. contained in the Darbar Library in Nepal.¹ But thanks to another article by Bagchi 'On Foreign Elements in the Tantra', we can already now point to a parallel and even a passage which is almost identical with one of the Abhidhānottara translated here.²

The Jayadratha Yāmala distinguishes three groups of goddesses, namely Lāmās, Sākinīs, and Yoginīs. This reminds us of the similar groups of Lāmās, Dākinīs, and Yoginīs in our text. The Abhidhānottara distinguishes, as we know, two sets of seven names of Initiation-Yoginīs. The second set consists of Rūpikā, Cumbikā, Lāmā, Parāvṛtā, Savālikā, Anivartikā, and Ehikīdevī. The first part of a passage on Lāmās quoted in its Sanskrit version by Bagchi can be read to include the same names in the same succession, if we accept some emendations. Bagchi gives the passage in the following form:

Durlabhā Kāśyāpīvarge pañcāmṛtavivardhitā/
Rūpikā Cumbikā Lāmā parāvṛttātha pālikā/
anivartā ca...dvedhī janmāntara-samudbhavā/ 3

If we read 'Savālikā' for '-tha pālika' and for '..dvedhī' provisionally 'Ehikīdevī', the names agree com-

1 The MSS. are discussed in the appendix of Bagchi's *Studies in the Tantras*, pp. 109ff. (cf. also note 2, p. 7 in the same work).

2 'On Foreign Elements in the Tantra', in *Studies in the Tantras* Vol. 1, pp. 43ff. The section which is of interest here is part II, pp. 49-52.

3 Bagchi, op. cit. p. 50, quoted from the Jayadratha Yāmala, Ṣaṭka III, folio 192a (MS. No. 375, Nepal Darbar Library). Compare this with the Sanskrit of the Abhidhānottara, Ch. XXXIX, 163a3f.

pletely with those in the Abhidhānottara. These emendations could perhaps be justified even by the MS. itself, but at the moment I do not have the possibility to verify this.

Also the first line 'Difficult is she to get who belongs to the class of the Kaśyapīs and arises with the five Amṛtas' has its counterpart in the Abhidhānottara in a passage introducing the first set of seven names preceding the second set. There we read:

Whichever of the Yoginīs and Dākinīs are difficult to get (durlabhā, emended from durbhagā with the help of the Tibetan version), they arise with the five Amṛtas (pañcāmṛta-samudbhavā). 1

Instead of the Kaśyapīs we have here the Yoginīs and Dākinīs, but the formulations are strikingly similar. Only the expression 'janmāntara-samudbhavā', 'Arising from another birth', is not paralleled in our text.

Also the passages which follow the seven names in the two texts show some similarities. The Sanskrit of the sequence in the Jayadratha Yāmala, unfortunately only quoted with intermissions by Bagchi, is as follows:

Etāstu saṃgamenaiḥ parāṃ siddhiṃ dadanti ca/
vikhyāti raktamādaḥ tu bhrūbhaṅgaḥ kurute tataḥ//
saṃhṛtyārthādaya paścācca punarmarsayet//
.....ālāpenāpi cumbati
cumbikā sā'nuvijñeyā yoginī baladarpitā...
niśvāsairbhairavaistāstu Lāmānāṃ tad vinirdiśet//

This may be rendered in the following way:

On account of one's association (with them) indeed they grant the highest attainment (siddhi). She looks around in a state of being intoxicated by passion and afterwards she frowns. Having collected wealth etc. afterwards she may disregard it.
.....just while she converses she kisses, as Cumbikā she should be known, a Yoginī proud with power...
The ones belonging to the Lāmās hiss fright-

1 Ch. XXXIX, 163a5ff.

fully, this should be proclaimed.

The similar passages in the description of the seven names in the Abhidhānottara are the following:

She both looks in a passionate way and both knits her brows. Having attained a compact body afterwards she dissolves it..embracing (ālambya, cf. the 'ālāpenāpi' in Bagchi's text) the child, she kisses softly the tuft of its hair. She has to be known as Cumbikā, the highest pākinī having an abode among the foremost....She terrifies the breath (viśvāsbhairavā), of whom this is the case she is called Lāmā. 1

The first sentence in the passage of the Jayadratha Yāmala has no parallel in the description of Rūpikā etc. in the Abhidhānottara. But it agrees with the general statement on the Yoginīs made in that text, that by understanding their characteristics the practitioner may attain siddhi.²

It is very possible that a look at the original text of the Jayadratha Yāmala would reveal more similarities in the portions not cited by Bagchi. For the time being we must restrict ourselves to point out the mentioned parallels. The formulation in the two passages are however so close, even if not always identical, that a common source is beyond question. To determine whether even one of the two texts presupposes the knowledge of the other text in its present form, would require a much more in depth analysis of the texts as a whole and cannot be decided from these passages alone.

3.5. Conclusions.

Following the suggestion of Bu ston Rinpoche's

1 See Ch. XXXIX, 163a5ff.

2 Ch. XXXIX, 162a2.

account that there should be non-Buddhist counterparts to the Saṃvara deities we have indeed been able to find certain parallels. From these parallels it seems quite clear that our text falls into a period of important but gradual changes within India's History of Religion. It is the coming to the fore of many non-Āryan tribal and low-cast elements which start to influence and change the traditional religious outlook which had been determined by the Vedic literature. One observes in particular the appearance of worship directed towards new goddesses including the wrathful types. This newly emerging emphasis on feminine qualities possibly reflects the increased influence of matriarchally organized communities in which the women and accordingly the goddesses carry more weight than in the patriarchal society reflected by the Vedic religion.¹

The Buddhist deities of the Abhidhānottara show in particular an external affinity with Bhairava and his consorts. This affinity extends, however, beyond the similarity of iconographical features to the systematized concept of sacred places associated with these deities. Also the accounts on the followers of Bhairava, the Kāpālikas, and information on texts related to Bhairava point to a strong connection between the Saṃvara-literature with these two deities and associated cults.

This conclusion should theoretically provide us with some arguments for the historical dating of the Abhidhānottara-tantra and the Saṃvara-literature in general.

A precise historical dating is, however, despite this important non-Buddhist reference point, not possible on

1 Cf. N.N. Bhattacharyya, 'Indian Mother Goddess', Ch. 5, 'Mother Right', pp. 65-97 and Koppers, 'Probleme der Indischen Religionsgeschichte', pp. 776-82.

the basis of the material collected so far. One reason is that much of what we know of the Kāpālikas is conjectural and does not allow a detailed reconstruction of the history of this movement. Tucci's assumption that this school already flourished in the 4th century A.D. points out a possibility, but not a historical fact, and still leaves it quite open whether the practices ascribed to them by later authors are not a projection of what was known of them at a later time into an earlier period. The emergence of the deity Bhairava presumably goes back at least as far as the origin of the Kāpālikas but otherwise the date of his first appearance is quite in the dark and the scholars mentioned who have dealt with his iconography make no attempt to clarify it. It is also uncertain as to when he began to be regarded as the consort of the terrifying type of goddess. So far we lack a clear reference to his union with Kālarātri or any reference to a representation of this god in sexual union with a goddess as it is presupposed by our text. The references to a comparable concept of the sacred places occur in the Hindu Tantras, which are either late or also difficult to date. The parallel Jayadratha Yāmala has been regarded by Bagchi as a compilation of the 8th century A.D., but this is only based on the assumption of its introduction in Cambodia 802 A.D. and does not exclude a priori an earlier dating.

Professor A. Wayman thinks that the bulk of the Tantras most likely arose in the Gupta period. He places the Guhyasamāja-tantra tentatively into the fourth century A.D. Among other reasons he refers to the considerable time that must have elapsed between the composition of the Tantra and the development of two quite distinct commentarial traditions (the Jñānapāda and Ārya school) presupposed by the named commentators of

the eighth up to the twelfth century. 1 Assuming that Tucci is right that the Kāpālikas already existed in the fourth century, and bearing in mind that the Dākinīs are already mentioned in the fifth century on an inscription in a Tantric context, the possibility for the earliest member of the Saṃvara-literature (not necessarily the Abhidhānottara) to have existed already in the fourth or rather fifth century should not be ruled out from the outset. On the other hand we have no positive proof for the existence of the extensive pīṭha-concept at such an early date. Also Hsüan Tsang (who however in general is silent about Buddhist Tantric worship) only mentions individual places, but not in the fashion of the Tantras. S. Tsuda maintains that the Saṃvarodaya-tantra cannot be dated before the late eighth century because it borrowed several verses from the Vajrajāpakrama of the Pañca-krama of Nāgārjuna.² We have analysed only one of possibly several more passages in our Tantra in common with the closely related Saṃvarodaya. Although our conclusion has been that possibly the Saṃvarodaya had in this instance been influenced by the Abhidhānottara, we do not feel that this instance justifies saying too much about the mutual historical relationship of these texts - at least not before the other passages have been analysed.³ Even if such a late date (the same century as Saraha) should be accepted for the Saṃvarodaya it does not say too much about the arising of the earliest member of the Saṃvara-literature.

In general it is, however, conceivable that the

1 YGT p. 52f., pp. 89-102.

2 ST p. vii.

3 Ch. XXXIX note ad 162b3.

Samvara-system arose at a time when the Śaivite sects had gained much support and thus provoked a Buddhist response. This may point towards the end of the Gupta period when, according to L. Petech, the expansion of Buddhism stagnated and the non-Buddhist religions were favored. During that period we even hear of the persecution of the Buddhists by a Śaivite king in Kāśmir named 'Mihirakula'.¹ The taming of the Śaivite gods and the taking possession of the popular Śakti-resorts would prove the superiority of the Buddhist system to those who were wavering about which path to follow.

Even if at present we have not been successful to arrive at any precise date for the Samvara texts it should have become quite clear that their chronology is closely linked up with the one of the Kāpālika movement and Bhairava-centered cults. Thus a more detailed comparative study of the Samvara-literature and respective non-Buddhist texts, and a more comprehensive study of these Śaivite schools than what has been possible here, might in the future provide further clues. It will of course also be necessary to establish a relative chronology of the various revealed Samvara texts by means of philological analysis, a very extensive and difficult task indeed.

Although the observations on the historical background did not allow us to pinpoint the precise time of emergence of the Abhidhānottara, they prepare us to understand the historical dimensions of the union of the male and female deities of the Samvara maṇḍalas. We do not see them as merely representatives of an unhistorical general truth but we understand that they are related to and shaped by a concrete historical

1 Luciano Petech, 'Indien bis zur Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts', in *Propyläen Weltgeschichte*, Bd. 2, Berlin 1962, p. 470, 463.

situation. But we understand also that the union of the male and female is not only the union of two principles but also involves the meeting of opposing civilisations, the indigenous Indian civilisations and the civilisation of the invading Āryans. It has been said that the two civilisations have been shaped by two basic economic principles, the non-Āryan more by an agricultural mode of subsistence, the Āryan by a pastoral mode of subsistence. The two economic systems have, moreover, found their expression in two types of societies, a more matriarchally orientated one on one side, and a more patriarchal one on the other side.¹

These categories are, of course, rather general and represent a simplification of the complexity of the historical issues involved. But it would lead too far to discuss the problems and details concerning this here. One issue for instance is that especially the cult of the fierce goddess existed among hunting tribes like the Śavaras and Pulindas who subsisted mainly on meat and could not be brought into direct connection with the Indus valley culture.² Thus in particular the blood-thirsty aspect of the goddess may have to be explained not as related to an agricultural but to a (pre-agricultural) hunter basis. The acceptance first of the non-bloodthirsty type of goddess as Śiva's consort in the Brahmanical pantheon (whom Bhandarkar called the 'bland' goddess type) opened the way for accepting later the wrathful type of these tribes.³

If, despite the complex historical situation also

1 N.N. Bhattacharyya pp. 70-73.

2 Ibidem pp. 115-119.

3 According to Bhandarkar the ordinary or bland form of the goddess was accepted first; then came the fierce form and last the sensual form (Bhandarkar p. 144).

reflected in contrary opinions of the researchers, it be allowed to make a simplified statement we could summarize the import of the historical dimension of the union of the Saṃvara deities as follows.¹ It reflects the union of the Āryan and the non-Āryan, predominantly patriarchal and matriarchal, the religion of the dominating and learned class of the society and the religion of the low classes, outsiders, and unlearned people.

This union implies the acceptance of the feminine, terrible, and erotic into Buddhism, something definitely foreign to the ancient Buddhism. This has in the earliest phase of discovery of Tantric texts lead to the judgement that this represented a complete degeneration of Buddhism. We may recall what Rājendralāla Mitra has said concerning this point in commenting on the Guhyasamāja-tantra and practices enjoined in it:

Looking at them (the practices) philosophically the great wonder is that even a system of religion so pure and so lofty in its aspirations as Buddhism could be made to ally itself with such pestilent dogmas and practices. 2

According to Bu ston, however, the inclusion of these traits, in particular the terrible and erotic, implies the taming and transformation of these forces and by no means identification with them. The philosophical or rather psychological point of view, which differs here

1 The question of the continuity and discontinuity of the pre-Āryan Indus Valley culture is for instance controversial and attempts have been made to derive the Kālī-type purely from the Vedic background (cf. W.C. Beane, pp. 66-98, the chapters 'The Indusian "Mother Goddess"' and 'The "Dravidian" Strain' for a more detailed discussion of some of these issues with references to various opinions and literature.

2 'The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal' by Rājendralāla Mitra, Calcutta 1882, p. 261.

from the old form of Buddhism, is that these energies should not be repressed or wasted, but used. In the course of their use they are to be transformed in order to obtain enlightenment. We can assume that this has also been attempted by the (Tantric) Kāpālikas and Hindu Tantras.

Who is the object of Bu ston's (and by implication the Tantra's) criticism when he describes the Bhairava and other deities as various personifications of evil? We can not give a definite answer as to whether a tantric or a pre-tantric form of the non-Buddhist deities and cult associated with them is the object of the taming described by Bu ston.

To the extent that the tantric forms of these cults are intended, their negative characterisation can be considered as dogmatically biased and one-sided. But there is the point that primitive non-Tantric fore-forms of these cults continued to exist side by side with the Tantric practices based on them.

In so far as Bu ston is actually describing these non-Tantric forms the negative tone is certainly historically justified. It seems to be clear that such negative practices as human sacrifices did in fact occur.

In the following chapter we shall present some examples of how the Abhidhānottara, its commentary, and related texts integrate the feminine, terrible, and erotic elements. These elements, although originally foreign to Buddhism, are used as means to speed up the process of liberation.

4. THE INTEGRATION OF THE NON-BUDDHIST BACKGROUND.

4.1 Preliminary Remarks.

We have seen that the deities, the concept of their abodes, their terrifying character, and the inclusion of the feminine go, in their roots, back to a non-Buddhist origin. This is not to say that the forms of the gods and goddesses as they occur in the maṇḍalas are per se non-Buddhist. In the process of integration or taming of these deities also their external appearance has, as far as we can say, undergone certain changes and schematisations. Thus the maṇḍala deities exhibit all the same ornaments and general appearance despite their differing origins, as presupposed by the taming account and the variety of names for the deities.

The concept of the sacred places has likewise undergone certain specific Buddhist elaborations. For example, the association of three groups of eight places each with deities of three spheres is in all likelihood Buddhist. Thus it has of course become very difficult to precisely determine what is Buddhist and non-Buddhist. But notwithstanding the alteration these elements have undergone in their assimilation process they can be regarded as originally non-Buddhist in inspiration. This is also evident from the lack of reference to these deities in the earlier Buddhist scriptures and of course the absence of any deification of the Buddha in the Pāli-canon. Early Buddhism was far away from using goddesses to represent the enlightened state, as follows from the low opinion it had of the spiritual potential of women in general. We find in the collection of the Middle-length-sayings for example, that a woman cannot become a Buddha, Cakra-

vartin, Indra, Māra, or Brahmā.¹ The reluctance of the Buddha to admit nuns to the Saṃgha is well-known. And, at least judging from the number of rules they had to observe in comparison to the monks, they were treated more severely.² Some of the Mahāyāna texts also reflect the same view. We find such wishes as 'May all women be reborn as men'.³

But a change in attitude towards women can be found in Mahāyāna texts like the Vimalakīrtinirdeśa and Śrī-Mālā (probably third century A.D.), which reject the necessity of the change of sex for the attainment of a higher level.⁴ Among the Buddhist deities, gradually female Bodhisattvas like Prajñāpāramitā and Tārā appear, and of the latter it has been said in Tibetan sources that initially she had taken a vow 'to serve the aims of beings with nothing but the body of a woman' since 'those who wish to attain supreme enlightenment in a man's body are many, but those who wish to serve the aims of beings in a woman's body are few indeed'.⁵

1 Majjhima-Nikāya 115 (the passage has been referred to p. 32 in H. Glasenapp, 'Buddhistische Mysterien').

2 See Meena Talim, 'Women in Early Buddhist Literature', p. 14f. and pp. 50ff. The nuns had to observe 311 rules, the monks only 227. The author of the referred to book, however, maintains that considering the nature of the rules it can not be said that any favoritism was shown to the monks. This conclusion could still be debated, even if many of the additional rules admittedly just consist in clarification of the others, as the author has shown. The fact that these have been thought necessary for women and not for men indicates that the women were not trusted as much as men.

3 Glasenapp, op. cit. p. 33 (reference to the Śikṣa-samuccaya by Śāntideva, Skt. text ed. C. Bendall, B.B. 1, St. Petersburg, 1897-1902, p. 219).

4 'The Lion's Roar of Queen Śrī Mālā', Alex and Hideko Wayman, p. 35.

5 Beyer, Cult of Tārā, p. 65 (from the "Tshe dbaṅ kun khyab, Yi dam tshogs kyi lo rgyus", fols. 21b-23a).

These peaceful manifestations of the feminine precede, but also prepare the way for the integration of the female in its erotic-terrifying aspect. This is similar to what Bhandarkar also claimed to be true for the emergence of the non-Buddhist goddess into the literate religion. Thus the union of god and goddess belongs not only to the highest and most esoteric class of Tantras but as far as we know also to the latest.

In view of all this it might be interesting to show how these elements, originally foreign to Buddhism, have been made use of and integrated. We shall point in the following to some examples which should illustrate how this integration has taken place. In a first step we shall show how the deities and sacred places of pilgrimage have been interpreted from a Mahāyāna point of view. Subsequent to that we shall demonstrate how they have been interpreted from the point of view of internal yoga. Then we shall give, as reflected in our text, a very short summary of the steps of practice in the course of which the practitioner actualizes these meanings on a personal level through a progressive identification of himself with the deity.

4.2. The Mahāyāna Interpretation.

One method of appropriating the non-Buddhist traits of the deities is by their interpretation based on numerical or structural analogy. The free use of analogy is, as A. Wayman has shown, extremely prevalent in the Tantras and frequently connects not only two sets of facts with each other but establishes connections between whole systems of different sets. He also points out that this use has probably to do with the fact that analogy (*upamāna*) is considered a valid source of knowledge along with direct perception, inference, and

testimony by the Prasāṅgika school of Buddhist philosophy. It is in the view of this school which, according to Mkhas grub rje, should be the philosophical basis of Tantra.¹

Śūraṅgavajra, in his commentary to Ch. IX. of the Abhidhānottara, applies this analogical method to explain the terrifying appearance of Cakrasaṃvara and Vārāhī. About Saṃvara he says:

Moreover he has four faces representing the four knowledges. He has twelve hands of (the nature of) the purity of the twelve limbs of interdependent origination. By reason of his compassion and insight he abides in the ālīḍha-stance stepping towards the right, he bares the four fangs of the nature of the four immeasurables. The face is contorted on account of the non-imagining compassion (mi dmigs pa'i thugs rje). He is endowed with the garland of skulls of (the nature of) the five Buddhas. He is sealed with the seals on a hero's body which are the seals (of the nature) of the six perfections. He steps on Bhairava and Kālarātri what means to have overcome the (duality of) Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa. He wears the tiger skin of having left behind the obscurations. He embraces Vārāhī of the Dharma-nature (chos űid). 2

Concerning the hand-emblems, Śūraṅgavajra just says that they are easy to understand. In an earlier passage he explains the hand-emblems of a slightly different form of Saṃvara, also with twelve hands. There, following an explanation given in the Khasama-tantra, he says that they have arisen from the twelve perfections.³ The standard number of the perfections is

1 BT Ch.4: 'Analogical Thinking in the Buddhist Tantras', pp.30-35.

2 Śū. 198a7ff., p.285-3-7ff.

3 Śū. 181a1ff., p. 278-4-1ff. For a detailed treatment of the six and ten perfections in Mahāyāna-Buddhism see Har Dayal, 'The Bodhisattva-Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature', Ch.5, 'The Pāramitās'.

usually six or ten. By subdividing the perfection of insight into insight of hearing, insight of reflection, and insight of contemplation he arrives at the number twelve which can be correlated with the emblems held in the twelve hands. In detail the correlation is as follows: Vajra - insight of contemplation, bell - insight of hearing and insight of reflection, Brahma's skin - patience, chopper - knowledge, skull - skill-fullness in means, ḍamaru - aspiration, khatvāṅga - absorption, axe - morality, noose - energy, spear - giving, Brahma's head - power.

Even if the emblems of this form of Saṃvara differ in details from those of the Saṃvara in chapter IX (Brahma's skin instead of Gaṇeśa's hide, spear instead of trident and no iron hook), it is probable that Śūraṅgavajra's remark that the meaning of Saṃvara's hand-emblems in chapter IX are easy to understand implies a similar numerically oriented correlation.

After the remark that the hand-emblems are easy to understand Śūraṅgavajra explains the meaning of Vārāhī's appearance as follows:

The consort has four faces of (the nature of) the four knowledges (and) four hands of (the nature of) the four immeasurables. She has the three eyes of the three (doors) of complete (liberation). She has the loose hair of (the nature of) being released from the defilements. On account of having abandoned the eight worldly dharmas, she is naked. She wears the girdle (made) of pieces of (bone) symbolizing the separation from the (duality) of the one and many (gcig dan du ma bral ba). The skull-cup (held) in the left hand filled with the five Amṛtas means the overcoming of Māra who is the lord of death. The chopper (held) in the right means the overcoming of the Māra of defilements. The khatvāṅga (held) by the left means the overcoming of the Māra of aggregates...embracing with the two thighs of the uncomposed the knowledge of the means she is of the nature of great bliss.

We can see that the correlation is mostly based on a numerical connection. Occasionally we find examples of a connection that is based on a structural similarity, as in the case of the explanation of Vārāhī's nakedness as having abandoned the eight worldly dharmas. The common structure which allows for the connection here is that nakedness is the absence of garments, as the abandonment of the eight worldly dharmas (gain, loss, pleasure, displeasure, praise, degrading, pleasant speech, and unpleasant speech)¹ is the absence of worldly involvement.

A similar, more detailed interpretation of the meaning of Saṃvara and Vārāhī can be found in the fairly ancient Tibetan Saṃvara-tantra (13th century) edited by Kazi Dawa Samdup.² The form of Saṃvara presupposed by that text is the more frequent one of four faces and twelve arms embracing Vārāhī of one face and two arms. It gives, for instance, a detailed correlation of the six body-seals with the six perfections. Thus the earrings are patience, the necklace giving, the girdle energy, the bracelets morality, the wheel of bones adorning the hair absorption, the ashes and the sacred thread insight.³

1 Tibetan Tradition of Mental Development, Oral Teachings of Tibetan Lama Geshey Ngawang Dhargay, Library of Tibetan Works & Archives, 1974, p. 45f.

2 CT pp. 11-13 (Tib. text)/ pp. 22-29 (Engl. text). The material has been summed up in tabular form in Lessing's Yung Ho Kung, pp. 119-121.

3 A. Wayman quotes a different mode of correlating the perfections with the six ornaments as given by Klon rdol bla ma: 1. Giving - necklace 2. morality - bracelet 3. forbearance - ear-ring 4. striving - head-ornament 5. meditation - sacred thread 6. insight - belt (or sacred ash) BT p. 121. The same author quotes also a system of correlating five of the ornaments (leaving out the sacred thread) with the five Buddha knowledges, BT p. 120.

In comparison to Śūraṅgavajra's explanation we find certain differences which show on one side, that different traditions of interpretations existed, but also, that the correlations are not rigidly fixed. Thus the text explains the emblems in the following differing manner: The vajra and bell represent the void and compassion of the mind of enlightenment; the elephant's hide bewilderment (moha); the sound of the ḍamaru-drum the highest joy; the axe the cutting of birth and death from the root; the chopper cuts away the six faults of pride etc.; the trident represents the overcoming of the negativity of the three world realms; the khaṭvāṅga the great bliss of the mind of enlightenment; the cup full of blood the cutting away of the mental construction (vikalpa) of (the duality) of essence and absence of essence; the noose the seizing of the nature (rgyud) of the sentient beings by knowledge; the Brahma-head the abandonment of ignorance.

The sexual union of the god and the goddess signifies above all the union of means and insight, but also of appearance and void, of higher vision and calming, of great compassion and great bliss. Like Śūraṅgavajra, this text also explains Kālarātri as the extreme of Nirvāṇa, and Bhairava as the extreme of Saṃsāra. More specifically it explains that the leg pushing down Kālarātri represents the abiding, out of great compassion, within the three realms of the sentient beings. The leg pushing down Bhairava represents the insight which does not grasp (the self) neither (of) the person nor (of) the dharmas.

While Bhairava and Kālarātri represent the extreme view that Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa are two mutually exclusive realms, their counterparts Saṃvara and Vārāḥī demonstrate by their union (which is the union of means and insight) how these extremes have to be overcome. Accord-

ing to the large Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra, the Bodhisattva does not renounce Saṃsāra because in the interest of others he manifests himself through skill in means in countless world systems. Nor does he renounce Nirvāṇa, since he is established in the baseless realm of the void.¹ The meanings ascribed to Saṃvara and Vārāhī on one side, and to Bhairava and Kālarātri on the other side, repeat on the philosophical, conceptual level the similarity that exists on an iconographical level between these deities. In the same way as their external appearance is similar, the meanings attributed to both pairs of deities focuses on the common issue of Nirvāṇa and Saṃsāra.

The deities to be tamed, Bhairava and Kālarātri are, as we know, expressions of the three root defilements. Their counterparts Saṃvara and Vārāhī are of the essence of the enlightened Buddha. In that way these two pairs of deities radically differ from each other. The deities which are the expressions of the three poisons represent the wrong view that Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa are absolutely separate. But by contrast the enlightened deities Saṃvara and Vārāhī represent the correct view that Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa are essentially not different. These aforementioned two views concerning the nature of Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa are not necessarily those of Buddhists versus non-Buddhists. The difference marks predominantly the different attitudes of Mahāyāna and Hinayāna.

The difference in view expressed here helps also to explain why Hinayāna Buddhism has not been able to integrate or use these types of non-Buddhist deities in the same way as Mahāyāna Buddhism did. For Hinayāna

¹ E. Conze, 'The Large Sutra on Perfect Wisdom', p. 650f.

Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa are two opposing and mutually exclusive entities. Thus the Buddhas cannot be thought to assume a form identical with, or intimately related to Saṃsāric deities like Bhairava and Kālarātrī. Since from the perspective of Mahāyāna Buddhism Nirvāṇa and Saṃsāra are not two mutually exclusive reified spheres, there is in principle no difficulty to also admit that a Buddha may assume a Saṃsāric form. This ease of interchange from Nirvāṇa to Saṃsāra is also reflected in the Bodhisattvas, who skillfully manifest themselves for the sake of others in Saṃsāra and who assume a form according to the needs of the beings to be tamed.

Thus there is no problem to admit the possibility that an enlightened being may assume a form externally characteristic of Saṃsāra and yet, in meaning, radically different from it. The manifestation of the Buddha in the terrifying form of Saṃvara and Vārāhī is, if seen from that perspective not what it appears to be, the deification of selfish aggression and desire. Rather, it is quite the contrary, an expression of compassion.

Besides the correspondence of the symbolism attributed to the two pairs of deities the association of Vārāhī with insight (prajñā) and Saṃvara with means (upāya) also deserves our attention. The association of the insight and void with the feminine, and the means and compassion with the male is common to the different Tantras.¹ In particular the association of the feminine with insight and voidness is very strong and can be traced also in non-tantric Buddhism. This is already illustrated by the fact that Prajñāpāramitā, 'She,

1 Cf. S. Dasgupta, 'An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism', for illustration of this with quotations from, and references to various texts (p. 102ff.: 'Prajñā and Upāya as Male and Female').

the perfection of insight', is a goddess. Another remarkable example is the appearance of the goddess related in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* who teaches Śāriputra, the famous disciple of the Buddha, certain implications of insight.¹

Śāriputra is made in this text to represent the limited views of the Śravakas versus the Bodhisattvas. A flower miracle performed by the goddess on that occasion throws an interesting light on the connection between morality and insight. This may also help to understand how the Tantras have been able to integrate aspects which seemingly contradict traditional Buddhist morality. The goddess causes a shower of flowers to fall on a gathering of both Bodhisattvas and Śravakas in Vimalakīrti's house. The flowers do not stay on the bodies of the assembled Bodhisattvas, whereas Śāriputra and the other Śravakas try in vain to shake them off. Then the goddess asks Śāriputra why he tries to shake the flowers off. He explains that it is not suitable for monks to wear flowers. There is in fact a Vinaya rule which forbids the use of garlands, perfumes, and other ornaments to the monks. The goddess replies that they cannot be shaken off by the Śravakas because they are not able to see them devoid of conceptualisation (*akālpaka*) and devoid of imagination (*nirvikalpaka*). In other words, the Śravakas lack the insight into their void nature. The flowers on the other hand do not stick to the body of the Bodhisattvas because they have cut through the concepts and imaginations.²

We may say that on account of lacking perfection of insight, Śāriputra is caught in the opposition of

1 L'Enseignement de *Vimalakīrti*, E. Lamotte, Ch. VI.

2 Ibidem p. 271f.

morality and immorality similar to the opposition of Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa we have discussed above. The goddess in the account challenges Sariputra's conceptualized distinction from the point of view of insight. It implies the non-conceptual and void nature of what is moral and immoral and shows the way to true morality beyond duality. She is a forerunner of the goddesses in Tantric Buddhism, in particular the Ḍākinīs, who especially in the legendary stories of the Mahāsiddhas are frequently described as challengers of any exclusive distinction between the moral and immoral or more generally pure and impure.

Thus for example, there is the account how Vajrayoginī appeared to Abhayākaragupta, who was famous as a teacher of Vinaya morality. One day Vajrayoginī appeared in front of him in the form of a young girl of the low Caṇḍāla cast and offered him a piece of beef still dripping with blood. He refused to eat it and made the excuse that he was a Bhikṣu of a pure order. The Yoginī disappeared and it is said that he had missed the opportunity to reach attainment (siddhi).¹

Naturally such passages do not suggest the breakdown of all morality. It is even conceivable that the Yoginī would never have appeared and presented this opportunity to Abhayākaragupta had he not observed a strict discipline. It would probably be more correct to say that the goddess questions the grasping to morality, but naturally not a moral discipline as such. Likewise the terrible, bloodthirsty, and erotic character of the goddesses in the Saṃvara tradition does by no means imply a literal understanding, as we have already seen, but challenges a limited attitude fixed in an ex-

1 A. Grünwedel, 'Tāranātha's Edelsteinmine', p. 110.

clusive duality of pure and impure.

The association of the goddess with insight is also emphasized by the interpretation Śūraṅgavajra presents of the term 'Dākinī'.¹ This has been rendered into Tibetan as "mkha' 'gro ma", which would actually correspond to a Sanskrit 'Ākāśagaminī' ('She who goes in the sky'). Presumably Śūraṅgavajra interprets in his Sanskrit original the term 'Dākinī' on the basis of its equivalent 'ākaśagaminī' because the elements 'sky' and 'goer' which are basic for his interpretation cannot be gotten from a division of the word 'Dākinī' into two elements. His interpretation is as follows:

'Sky' means the 'sky' of the four absorptions (dhyāna) and the four formless realms of the praxis of calming (śamatha) and the sky of higher vision (vipaśyanā) which is the voidness of the 11th level. On account of realizing that, one 'goes' and therefore such a one is called a 'sky-goer' (mkha' 'gro) and 'She who goes in the sky'.

The definition actually covers both the Dāka and the Dākinī, which shows that the association of the insight aspect just with the feminine is not exclusive. This can already be seen from the earlier quoted association of Saṃvara with higher vision and Vārāhī with calming made in the Cakrasaṃvara-tantra. This notwithstanding, the association of just the goddess with the various implications of the void is prevailing.

In this connection we should refer also to the association of the goddesses with the thirty-seven dharma-limbs accessory to enlightenment in the Abhidhānottara.² The thirty-seven limbs are made up of a collection of lists containing necessary aspects of the

1 Śū. 153a4f., p. 267-3-4f.

2 Ch. IX, 46a2-47a3, Ch. XIV, 86a4-87a3.

training on the path to enlightenment, such as the four types of mindfulnesses, the eight-fold noble path etc. Each goddess of the maṇḍala (with the exception of Vārāhī in who's place Heruka is mentioned) corresponds to one limb. Thus, Dākinī is the fixation of mindfulness on bodies, Lāmā the fixation of mindfulness on natures etc. The contemplation based on this association is called 'contemplation of purity'. This implies that the thirty-seven limbs have to be seen from the non-grasping insight perspective as expounded in the Prajñāpāramitās. A quotation by Lamotte from the Pañcaviṃśati and Śatasāhasrikā concerning purity may illustrate this point:

The Bodhisattva does not seize (nopalabhate) any dharma in general nor any class of the bodhipākṣika (limbs accessory to enlightenment) in particular. This is by reason of their absolute purity (atyantaviśuddhitām upādāya). This purity is no-birth (anutpāda), a non-manifestation (aprādurbhāva), an absence of the seized (anupalambha), an inactivity (anabhisamkāra). 1

Thus, viewed from the point of view of purity, the thirty-seven limbs appear to be void of any own-nature, and in that sense they are related to the goddesses. Śūraṅgavajra relates the limbs not only to the thirty-seven goddesses, but also, in groups of eight, to the twenty-four heroes not mentioned in the root-text. According to him the heroines and heroes symbolize two different voidness aspects, namely the void of the mind (sems kyi ston pa űid) and the likeness to illusion (sgyu ma lta bu).² The 'likeness to illusion' which the heroes are related to, presumably means the

1 E. Lamotte, *Le traité*, Vol. III p. 1134 (Here translated into English from the French).

2 Śū. 201a4ff., p. 286-4-4ff.

similies that have been used to indicate the illusory character of that which seemingly exists. These similies are the echo, mirage, reflection of the moon in the water, etc.¹ The import or origin of this division of the void of the mind and likeness of illusion is nevertheless not quite clear to me at this point. It seems that the heroes are more on the appearance side of reality, which even if devoid of own-being, exists in as much as an illusion exists. The goddesses by contrast are more on the void side of reality.

We have seen that some of the Buddhist interpretations of the originally non-Buddhist deities and their ornaments are mainly based on a numerical analogy and others on a more structural analogy. There is at least one structural feature common to both insight and the deities related to it - both have a terrifying quality. The terrifying nature of the gods is evident from their description, the terrifying aspect pertaining to insight can be understood from the following quotation from the Large Prajñā Pāramitā Sūtra:

...the own-being of an echo, of an apparition of a magical creation, of a reflected image is non-existent, and just so the five skandhas can, because of the non-existence of their own-being, not be apprehended. And form is like an illusion, and so the other skandhas, and likewise all dharmas. If, when this is being taught, a Bodhisattva does not become cowed or stolid, has no regrets, does not tremble, is not frightened or terrified, then one should know that he will go forth to all-knowledge.. 2

The fear provoked by the exposition that there is nothing to hold on to, that the solid realism of the world we are used to is not more than a magical creation, a

1 See for example 'The Large Sutra on Perfect Wisdom', translated by Conze, p. 113.

2 Ibidem p. 113.

reflected image etc., besets especially the one who is new on the path. Concerning this the Buddha explains the following to his interlocutor Subhuti:

They will tremble, etc., if, newly set out in the vehicle, they course in perfect wisdom (or 'insight') while still unskilled in means, or if they have not got into the hands of a good spiritual friend. ¹

The text makes it very clear that the insight into the void nature of reality does not imply non-existence, a realisation which indeed would be terrifying. It does also not mean that a Bodhisattva should give up all activities such as giving, practising morality etc. (defined as skill in means), thinking perhaps that because nothing exists also these activities are of no consequence. Not non-existence, but the lack of own-being, of something permanent that could be grasped and held on to, is being taught. Seen from this perspective we might say that the terrifying aspect the deities show is not directed at utter annihilation (an intention we may ascribe to their untamed state) but only at the own-being which serves as a basis of grasping.

What is also significant is the insistence of the text on a spiritual guide. The implication of this must be that only an experienced guide can guarantee that the beginner does not fall into one or the other misunderstanding of the difficult but essential distinction of non-existence and void-nature of the dharma. In a similar way the Tantras emphasize the necessity of accepting a spiritual guide as a *sine qua non* for the prospective practitioner.²

¹ E. Conze, *op. cit.* p. 113.

² On the necessity of a Guru as guide in the Tantras see BT p. 41f., Dasgupta's Introduction to Tantric Buddhism pp. 158-62 : 'Selection of the Preceptor'.

One reason for this is, from what we have already learned, quite evident. It is the difficulty to distinguish the difference between what is to be tamed and the tamer who are similar in appearance. By misunderstanding this difference a practitioner may wrongly identify himself with the immoral nature of what actually should be tamed. Consequently he would engage in immoral behaviour which would lead him with the same speed away from enlightenment as the correct understanding would lead towards enlightenment.

Besides the deities, also their abodes, the places of pilgrimage, have been interpreted. We remember that there are altogether ten different categories of such places, namely sacred places, secondary sacred places, fields, secondary fields, chandohas, secondary chandohas, meeting places, secondary meeting places, cemeteries, and secondary cemeteries. Śūraṅgavajra in his commentary to the ninth chapter correlates the purified form of the ten groups of places with the ten Bodhisattvabhūmis, or stages a Bodhisttva has to go through before achieving full Buddhahood.¹ In the twenty-fourth chapter, which deals with the maṇḍala of the six Cakravartins, the correlation is slightly different. There the places of pilgrimage are placed in sets of four each on the lotus petals within the six small maṇḍala

1 Śū. 199a3-199b5, p. 285-5-3/286-1-5. The correlation of pīṭhas and bhūmis is also made in the root-text itself, namely in Ch. 56 (Tib. text p. 84-4-8f., Sanskrit not edited in this dissertation), as Tsuda has pointed out. The same passage occurs also in the Saṃvarodaya-tantra, Ch. IX, 22f. (Tsuda's edition) and the Laghusaṃvara, Ch. 50 (Tib. text p. 40-2-4). All three texts deviate from the usual order of succession of the bhūmis by connecting the sixth stage, abhimukhī, with chandoha and the fifth stage, sudurjayā, with the following upacchandoha (ST p. 45 note 2).

palaces contained in the big maṇḍala palace. In each case the central deity of these six maṇḍala palaces, located in the nave of the lotus, is said to abide in the center of a particular bhūmi. From this fact we can conclude that, in that particular maṇḍala, six bhūmis are each correlated to four places. This leaves out the last four bhūmis. These are related to the four ḍākinīs located on the intermediate lotus-petals in the central maṇḍala palace.¹

4.3. The Interpretation in Terms of Internal Yoga and Personal Integration through the Steps of the Practice.

So far the features stemming from a non-Buddhist background have been integrated by attributing a Mahāyāna-Buddhist interpretation to each of them. In a parallel manner they have also been interpreted in terms of the particular non-conceptual yoga practices characteristic of the Stages of Completion. Here we cannot of course, speak of an integration into Buddhism in the same way as we could in the case of correlation with the Mahāyāna tenets. This particular yoga is only characteristic of the Tantras. Some of the elements of this yoga may well go back to foreforms in the Upaniṣads, as A. Wayman has pointed out with regards to the system of four cakras corresponding to the Upaniṣadic theories of four states of consciousness.² In general, the origin of these yoga forms, which have also certain parallels in the Hindu Tantras, is difficult to

1 Ch. XXIV, 117a4, 117b1, 117b4 etc., and 118b2.

2 BT p. 175.

determine.¹

The yoga process and its psycho-physiological basis has itself, however, been correlated in detail with the concepts stemming from Mahāyāna-Buddhism. Thus for instance the cakras, psycho-physical centers along the spine, have been related to the four Buddha-bodies. The cakra in the navel has been made to correspond to the Nirmāṇa-kāya, the one in the heart to the Dharma-kāya, the one below the neck to the Sambhoga-kāya, and the one at the top of the head to a fourth called the Sahaja-kāya.² Similarly of the three main veins, Lalanā, Rasanā, and Avadhūtī the first two have been associated with the void (śūnyatā) and compassion (karuṇā), or insight and means, and the middle one with Bodhicitta.³ The Saṃvarodaya-tantra moreover, identifies them also with the three bodies of the Buddha; thus Lalanā is the Sambhoga-kāya, Rasanā the Nirmāṇa-kāya, and Avadhūtī the Dharma-kāya.⁴ The comingling of the male and female substances (sometimes only the male), the semen and blood, moving within the central channel has been termed Bodhicitta (mind of enlightenment).⁵

The vocabulary stemming from the internal yoga has

1 In particular the tantric physiology of veins, cakras, the practices focusing on the production of heat etc. have parallels in Hindu Tantras, cf. Dasgupta's 'Obscure Religious Cults', pp. 146ff.; BT p. 174f.

2 S. Dasgupta, Introduction p. 148; BT 180f.; ST Ch. XXXI, 19ff. where the cakras are called Mahāsukha-cakra, Sambhoga-cakra, and Dharma-cakra (the fourth, the Nirmāṇa-cakra, is not named in the text but described).

3 S. Dasgupta, op. cit. p. 155, cf. ST Ch. VII, 21.

4 ST Ch. VII, 22.

5 HT Vol. 1, p. 25; Dasgupta op. cit. p. 156.

now in turn been applied to the deities, whose originally pre-Buddhist form undergoes in that way a new interpretation.

Some examples taken from a passage in the commentary by Śūraṅgavajra may illustrate this.¹ There the aspects of the form of Saṃvara and Vārāhī are related to the theory of veins (nādis) in the body, the practice of stopping the ordinary current of winds in them with the aim to make these winds enter the central channel, the melting of the Bodhicitta located at the top of the head and the generation of internal heat.² Thus the four faces of Saṃvara are said to indicate the contemplation of the veins related to the four elements, earth, water, fire, and wind. The three eyes and twelve hands indicate the contemplation on the three main veins and a group of twelve veins respectively.³ The trampling on Bhairava and Kālarātri represents the blocking of the veins of the two lower orifices. The twelve hands and symbols held by them indicate the blocking of the veins related to the six senses and their objects. This pre-

1 Śū. 194blff., p. 284-l-lff.

2 Śūraṅgavajra refers to the practice of making all the winds coursing in the various veins enter the central channel in a separate passage in the following words: 'After the 21'600 breaths (dbugs) serving as the horse which moves (the mind) towards the six sense spheres have all been caused to enter into the Avadhūti, the yoga of certainty is reached' (Śū. 178b8f., p. 277-4-8f.).

3 The veins related to the four elements are probably those containing the four of the five winds, i.e. the samāna, the yellowish-green wind-wind, udāna, the red fire-wind, prāṇa, the white water-wind, and apāna, the yellow earth-wind. The fifth wind, vyāna, is not included here because it is all pervasive (See FBT p. 264 note 12; cf. also BT p. 188, 178f.; Dasgupta, Introduction, p. 157. The wind moving within twelve veins has been compared to the sun which transits the twelve astrological signs, cf. BT p. 155).

sumably implies that the mind, riding on the wind, is being prevented from going outside.¹ The baring of the fangs indicates the blocking of the vein of the two nostrils. Also, two of the cakras are indicated by the external appearance of Saṃvara. The head-cakra of 32 petals is alluded to by the tuft of the hair stated to represent the 32 veins at the top of the head. The cakra of 64 petals located in the navel is represented by the tiger-skin, said to indicate the 64 veins of the nirmāṇa-cakra.² The half-moon decorating the head indicates the Bodhicitta located at the top of the head, while the garland of skulls hanging down indicates the generation of the five knowledges by the downward flow of the Bodhicitta in the central vein.

The fierce heat (gtum mo drod) generated in the Avadhūtī, the central vein, is represented by Vajravārāhī. The association of a goddess with the internal fire also occurs in other Buddhist Tantras - in the Hevajra-tantra for instance she is known as Caṇḍālī.³ This corresponds to the association of the goddess Kālī - who is, as we have seen, closely connected with those goddesses - with the fire-tongues of Agni. The development indicated here is that from the association with the outer sacrificial fire to that of the inner fire produced by yoga.

We have not exhausted all the connections stated by Śūraṅgavajra. But the ones cited here should be suf-

1 Cf. FBT p. 173: 'The mind's steed is the vital air (vāyu), therefore, when the vital air is contained within, the mind is held with no freedom of its own.' Cf. also YGT p. 197 for the necessity of preventing the winds to be connected with external objects at the time of yoga.

2 For the numbers of petals ascribed to the cakras see BT p. 174 or Dasgupta's Introduction p. 148ff.

3 HT I, i. 31.

ficient to illustrate in principle the manner in which such correlations are carried out. They invest the appearance of the deities with a completely new meaning. It also points to the task of carrying out the taming of the non-Buddhist aspects present in these deities, not only on a conceptual level, but also by the experience of internal yoga.

Besides Saṃvara and Vārāhī, the places of pilgrimage have also been connected with this yoga. According to the Abhidhānottara, when one views the whole body as a maṇḍala, these pīṭhas are placed on twenty-four spots on the body. These places are, according to the Saṃvarodaya-tantra, the abodes of certain veins flowing through them.¹ As for the internal meaning implied in these associations, Vajragarbha, a commentator on the Hevajra-tantra states pointedly:

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. 2

The Dākinīs have also been correlated with the veins, as follows from an explanation given by bTsoṅ kha pa on the term 'Dākinījālasaṃvara' (as quoted by S. Tsuda):

Dākinī is thirty-six veins and humours flowing in them. Jāla means assemblage. The wisdom appeared from the bodhi-mind (bodhicitta) which is aroused by the wind circulating in it is saṃvara, saṃvara means the supreme pleasure. 3

This reminds us very much of the Mandasor inscription of 423 A.D. which we have mentioned earlier, where the Dākinīs are said to 'stir up the very oceans with the

1 Ch. IX, 43a4-44a2, Ch. XIV, 83a4-84a1; ST Ch. VII, 1-15.

2 HT Vol. 1, p. 69 note 2 (from the Hevajrapīṇḍārthātīkā).

3 ST p. 55.

wind rising from the Tantras'.

As we know, the internal yoga is practised in the phase of the Steps of Completion. While the specific steps of the Steps of Generation have been correlated with the six Tathāgatas, Vairocana, Vajrasattva, Akṣobhya, Amitābha, Amoghasiddhi, and Ratnasambhava, the Steps of Completion have been correlated with six Dākinīs, namely the four gatekeepers of the Saṃvara-maṇḍala and two of the goddesses positioned on the diagonals in the corners of the maṇḍala.¹

The most important factor in integrating the non-Buddhist background is that the practitioner views this process of taming (as symbolized by Saṃvara and Vārāhī trampling on Bhairava and Kālarātri) not only as an objective event but enacts it through the ritual and meditative practice of the Steps of Generation and Completion. This practice involves the identification of the practitioner with the deities in both their Mahāyāna and yoga meaning. The taming of Bhairava and Kālarātri by Saṃvara and Vārāhī becomes in that sense also the model for the taming of the practitioner's own defilements.

From what we have already observed with regards to the taming of these deities, we can conclude that the nature of this process consists not in a repression of the defilements: they are rather made use of and transformed into corresponding Buddha qualities.

There seem to be various ways of dividing up the Steps of Generation and Completion. One we have already alluded to; that is the six-fold division of each of the two steps. Let us now investigate the system used by the

1 BT p. 47f. (with more details). Cf. also Beyer, *Cult of Tārā*, p. 118 for a table listing various ways of dividing up the Steps of Generation.

Abhidhānottara. From the translated chapters the first four deal with the meditative process. Chapters XIX and XXIV present the process in a very abbreviated way and are less suitable to illustrate and study the type of divisions followed by this Tantra. The materials of chapters IX and XIV, however, are more detailed and give a fairly clear description, especially of the first part of the Steps of Generation. The practices of the Steps of Completion are only explicitly dealt with in one example (in chapter XIV).

The division of the Steps of Generation followed by the Abhidhānottara in these chapters is into service (sevā/bsñen pa), near-service (upasevā/ñe bsñen), evocation (sādhana/sgrub pa), and great evocation (mahā-sādhana/sgrub pa chen po). The divisions are not always indicated in the root-text. But with the help of the commentary it has been possible to establish them in all cases.

This division reminds us of the fourfold division used in the Guhyasamāja-tantra. There its members are called service, near-evocation, evocation, and great evocation. They have been discussed by A. Wayman in his book on the yoga of the Guhyasamāja-tantra and, on the basis of bTson kha pa, been related to the four yogas, yoga, anuyoga, atiyoga, and mahāyoga.¹ It may be sufficient to point out here that there are both parallels as well as differences in contents. There is, however, no point to attempt to demonstrate this in detail now.

There are, moreover, also differences in contents of

1 YGT p. 156-163; see also p. 34 and pp. 41ff. (reference to the four steps in Ch. 12 of the Guhyasamāja-tantra and the Pradīpoddhyotana commentary by Candrakīrti on it) as well as p. 184, 199, 223, 244 (reference to the four stages in the commentary by Wayman on the forty nidāna verses).

the individual steps as described in the two chapters of the Abhidhānottara itself. In the following we shall give a summary of the contents of the four steps, emphasizing the common elements. This should, along with a table that relates the divisions and contents to the line-division of the cited text, provide a basic orientation in order to help the reading of these and also the other two chapters structured according to these divisions.

The first member, service, includes the establishment of the maṇḍala and oneself as the central deity within that maṇḍala in close embrace with Vārāhī. In this connection the text describes the external appearance of the deities.

The second member, near service, deals with the other deities of the maṇḍala. In chapter IX the deities are already at that stage placed on twenty-four spots on the body (-maṇḍala) identified with the twenty-four places of pilgrimage. This is an element which follows in chapter IX at the time of evocation.

The member of evocation involves in both chapters the identification process of the various body-constituents, the elements, aggregates, seats of perception, body, speech, and mind with the corresponding deities whose form we have discussed earlier.

The last of the four members, the great evocation, is the most complex one of all four. In its beginning, we find the so called 'putting on of a protective armor' consisting of twice six (pairs of) armor deities to be visualized on special spots on the body of Saṃvara and Vārāhī. Subsequent to that (in chapter XIV, however, mentioned both before and after the putting on of the armor) follows the invitation of the knowledge beings (jñāna sattvas) and their union with oneself as the deity (who is the symbolic being, samaya sattva). The

deity the practitioner has himself imagined to be, the symbolic being, becomes thus united with the objective Buddha-aspect invited from outside, the knowledge being.¹ This union is followed by a (self-initiation) carried out by goddesses. After that both chapters refer to mantra recitation and the contemplation of the purity of the thirty-seven limbs accessory to enlightenment. These limbs are related to goddesses. At the end they describe (two different forms) of food-offerings (bali).

In addition to these common elements, both chapters add special practices. Thus there is for instance in chapter IX a very abbreviated allusion to two sets of meditations termed the method of the womb- and egg-born Heruka respectively. After the completion of the great evocation, the XIVth chapter has a short description of a completion-stage practice involving causing the winds to enter the central channel. Chapter IX concludes with a reference to the yoga after-concentration, and chapter XIV with a short allusion to the yoga at the time of death.

Śūraṅgavajra mentions in his commentary preliminary practices that precede the generation of the maṇḍala and deity. These include the contemplation of the four immeasurables (loving-kindness, compassion, sympathetic joy, and equanimity), and the contemplation of the void from which proceeds the creation of the maṇḍala and deities. These preliminaries containing these two elements, precede, according to Śūraṅgavajra, not only the meditative sequence in this chapter, but also that in chapter XIX and XXIV. Similar types of preliminaries

1 For details concerning the terms 'samaya-' and 'jñāna sattva' see FBT p. 162 note 17. See also Tucci's interpretation of the terms in 'Geheimnis des Maṇḍala, Theorie und Praxis', p. 93f.

are also found in other texts, such as the Saṃvarodaya-tantra, Hevajra-tantra, and Caṇḍamaharoṣana.¹ These preliminaries emphasize the basic intentions of the meditative process. Thus, the meditation will proceed in the same way as has been emphasized by the Mahāyāna interpretation of the deities and their abodes. This intention can be summed up as the union of compassion and insight as it is symbolized by the union of Saṃvara and Vārāhī. Subsequently this union is realized as one's own personal quality by the progressive identification with these deities during the Steps of Generation and by the internal yoga of the Steps of Completion.

The method of this Tantra is to employ the forces of wrathful, erotic, and also feminine deities to speed up the process of enlightenment. At the time of the arising of this Tantra these forces were coming to the fore as a major cultural and religious force stemming from the popular level of society. By making use of these deities the fascination and terror they provoked was turned into energies directed towards the realisation of the aims of Mahāyāna Buddhism. This has been possible on the basis of the premise that the delusions which bind us to Saṃsāra should, as we have said earlier, not be repressed, but used to free us from Saṃsāra. The principle employed has been very clearly formulated by Āryadeva in his Cittaviśuddhiprakaraṇa:

1 See Ch. IX note ad 42a2. An explicit example of the form of these preliminaries, which have only been enumerated by Śūraṅgavajra, can be found in Ch. XIII, 2-13a in the Saṃvarodaya-tantra. An even more detailed version with some variations can be studied CT pp. 2-11 (Engl. text pp. 6-21). Cf. also CMT Ch. IV, 9-28 and HT I,iii, 1f. (cf. Snellgrove's note 1, Vol. 1, p. 56) and Meisezahl, Vārāhī, p. 242f./p. 252. All the preliminaries referred to emphasize the Mahāyāna-Bodhi-sattva motivation as the basis of the Tantric practice.

By a methodical meditation on the supreme qualities of the gods a Yogin revels through his passionate mind and is again liberated through the fulfilment of the passions. As a man affected with poison again gets rid of it through poison, as water in the ear is removed with the help of water poured in the ear, as a thorn is removed with the help of another thorn, in exactly the same manner the great sages get themselves relieved of all the passions with the help of the passions. ¹

It must be considered as a sign of great strength of Buddhism, rather than a sign of decadence, that it has been able to apply that principle in a creative and transformative way to a new historical situation.

Running the risk of being accused of unfounded generalisation, I dare to say that Western culture and religion, stemming predominantly from a patriarchal background is, at least in one respect, confronted with a challenge very similar to the one faced by Buddhism. It is the question of how to integrate the contents of feminine and erotic symbolism of union into a culture dominated by male values and a religion conceiving its highest ideal in predominantly male symbolism. Given the overall condition of our present historical situation, conditions which are different from those of India in the first 1000 years of the post-Christian era, we can expect the implications of this challenge to be very dissimilar from those they have been for Buddhism.

¹ S.Dasgupta, Introduction, p. 168.

TABLE L :The ritual structure of chapter IX. and XIV.

Steps	Line division in Ch. IX. and XIV.	Summary of contents, remarks.	References to commentary.
I.Steps of Generation		(In chapter IX. no explicit reference to Steps of Completion).	
1. Service	42a2-43a3 79a3-80b3	(Ch. IX., term 'service' only re- ferred to in commentary).	p.285-4-7
	79a4 (?)	Five preliminaries (In root text only limb no. 5 'void' referred to). Generation of Meru from four elements.	p.285-3-1f. p.292-2-8ff.
	79a4-79b1	Generation of double vajra and maṇḍala palace on top.	
	42a2-a4 79b1-b3	Abbreviated reference to the gene- ration of Heruka from the five abhisambodhis (cf. note to text).	p.285-3-4ff. p.291-4-1f.
	42a4-43a3 79b3-80b3	Description of Heruka and Vārāhi.	
2. Near-Service	43a4-44a5 80b4-82b5	(Ch. IX., term 'near-service' only referred to in commentary).	p.286-1-7 p.292-5-6
	80b4-81a2	Contemplation and description of pākinīs in the knowledge circle.	

	43a4-44a2 81a2-81b5 44a3-44a4 81b5-82a2 82a3-82b5	24 syllables, 24 gods/goddesses placed on spots on body. 24 gods/goddesses correlated to countries in maṇḍala circles. 8 goddesses placed on hands of Heruka. 8 goddesses located in samaya-circle. Description of heroes, their consort, and 8 goddesses.	
3. Evocation	44a5-44b3 82b5-84a5 83a1-83a4 83a4-84a1 44a5-44b3 84a1-84a5	(Ch. IX., term 'evocation' only referred to in commentary). 24 gods identified with body constituents. 24 goddesses (commentary: and gods)/24 countries placed on spots on body. (commentary: placement of the 8 goddesses in 8 orifices). Elements/aggregates/seats of perception/body, speech, and mind identified with deities.	p.286-2-2 p.292-5-6 p.292-5-7 p.292-5-7
4. Great-Evocation	44b4-51a4 84b1-89b2	(Ch. IX., term 'great evocation' neither given in root text nor in commentary, Ch. XIV term only mentioned in commentary).	p.293-1-1

84b1 44b4-45a1 84b2-84b4 45a1-45a3 84b4-85a1 45a4-45b1 85a1-85b1 45b1-45b3 85b2-86a1	Attraction of knowledge beings. Placement of two armors. 'Gesture of the burning vajra', attraction and binding of the knowledge beings. Initiation Enjoyment of nectar (commentary: bdud rtsi mnan ba). Creation of protective ornaments from mantras. (Referred to as 'knowledge recita- tion of radiating and gathering' in commentary, cf.86a2). (In place of this:) The method of the drop of the fierce vajra (or) the purity of the 37 limbs of en- lightenment as goddesses. Mantra recitation Prāṇāyāma meditation (involves samādhi of four joys - a stage of completion practice ?).	p.286-3-5 p.293-3-4 p.293-3-5 p.293-3-7 p.286-4-3
86a2-a3 86a4-87a3 87a3-88b5 45b4		

	45b5-46a1 46a2-47a3 47a4-49b4 49b4-51a3 89a1-89b2 51a4	Mantra recitation. The purity of 37 limbs of enlightenment as goddesses. Methods of the womb- and egg-born Heruka. Food offering. Yoga after-concentration.	p.287-2-5/-5-2
	II.Steps of Completion	(Term 'Steps of Completion' only used in commentary).	p.293-4-5
	89b2-90a3 90b1-90b3	Yoga based on making the winds enter the central vein/channel. Practice at the time of death.	

PART I : TRANSLATION.

IX. The chapter on the method of destroying all the permanent karma.

42a2 Then I shall explain something different,
 namely the rite of the single hero.

 The mantrin should contemplate the wind and the
 fire in the center. In their middle is on top a
42a3 double lotus and on that a sun disk. On top of
 that is a skullcup completely filled with the am-
 brosia of the five knowledges. In the middle of
 that are the vowels (āli) and the consonants
 (kāli) twofold in the regular and reversed order.

42a4 Having done the blessing with the syllable HŪM,
 he contemplates himself by the yoga of Vajrasattva
 as Heruka, arisen from impassionate ecstasy.²

1 According to Śūraṅgavajra's commentary this contem-
plation is done in the middle of the maṇḍala palace.
Previous to that the process of meditation had already
involved five preliminary steps called the 'immeasur-
ables' (tshad med pa), 'blessing' (byin gyis brlab pa),
'protection' (sruṅ wa), 'tshogs gsogs pa' (gathering of
the assembly), 'voidness' (stoṅ pa ṅid). Then Mt. Meru
is established on the four elements ('byuṅ ba bṛi ri
rab). On its top on a crossed vajra one places the
maṇḍala palace (sna tshogs rdo rje gṣal yas khaṅ) (Sū.
198alf., p. 285-3-lf.). In another place these steps
are summed up as the seven yogas (Sū. 223b6, p.295-4-6).

2 The Tibetan version adds: 'of the nature of com-
passion abiding in a state of passion'.

The generation of the 'egg-born' Heruka is indicated
here only in abbreviated manner. From the commentary we
learn that the generation consists of five steps called
the 'five complete awakenings' (pañca-abhisambodhi/T
mñon byaṅ lña). According to the tantric tradition the
'five complete awakenings' are the last stages one has
to go through before becoming a Manifest Complete Buddha
(FBT pp. 29-35, p. 37). The generation of the deity
thus repeats on a fictive level the same process the
Buddha is said to have gone through.

The 'five complete awakenings' are related in turn to

He has four faces, twelve arms, and stands in the *ālīdha*-stance (with the right leg stepping to the right). The mouth is baring the teeth, the face with three eyes is grimacing.¹ He is in the posture of stepping on top of Bhairava and Kālārātri. He wears a tigerskin and trembles with the sentiment of compassion.

With the two arms which embrace Vajravārāhī he holds the terrible five-pronged vajra and vajra-bell. With the other two hands he holds as a garment the hide of Gaṇeśa. In the third right hand (he holds) the vajra-spear (vajra-śūla) and in the fourth the iron hook (aṅkuśa), in the fifth

the five knowledges of the five Tathāgatas and correspond in the following order to the elements indicated in the root-text:

1. The (Sanskrit) vowels 'āli' transform into a moon-disc = mirror-like knowledge (*ādarśana-jñāna*).
2. The (Sanskrit) consonants 'kāli' transform into a sun-disk = equality knowledge (*samatā-jñāna*).
3. The syllable 'HŪṂ' (placed on top of sun and moon) is here likened to an egg with the syllable 'PAṂ' inside (=bird) = discriminative knowledge (*pratyavekṣana-jñāna*).
4. Light emanates from and is reabsorbed into the 'HŪṂ' = knowledge of the procedure of duty (*kr̥tyānuṣṭhāna-jñāna*).
5. Transformation of 'HŪṂ' into Heruka who is thus likened to one born from an egg = knowledge of the dharma-realm (*dharma-dhātu-jñāna*) (*Śū. 198a4-a7, p. 285-3-4/7; 213blf., p. 291-4-1f.*).

The connection between the five abhisambodhis and the steps in generating the deity are discussed also in BT p. 211 and Beyer's *Cult of Tārā*, p. 111f. The same ritual step can also be studied in the *Cakrasaṃvara*-text translated by Kazi Dawa Samdup (CT pp. 16ff. (Engl.)/p. 8f. (Tib. text)). The forty consonants and thirty-two vowels are correlated with the Buddha's marks, see YGT p. 357.

1 The Tibetan version adds: 'He is endowed with a garland of skulls and the body is sealed with the six seals (*mudrā*) of a hero'.

the vajra-chopper (vajra-karttikā), and in the sixth the vajra-drum (vajra-ḍamaru). In the third left hand (he holds) the skull-cup (kapāla) completely filled with marrow and in the manner of
 43b3 the sacred thread¹ the vajra-khatvāṅga above with a five-pronged (vajra), hung with a terrible vajra-bell, hung with a variegated cloth, in the middle
 42b4 marked with a double vajra, below with a one-pronged vajra.² In the fourth (hand he holds) the vajra-noose (pāśa), in the fifth the Brahma-head, in the sixth the axe (paraśu).

The faces are blue, yellow, red, and green;

1 The expression is in Skt. 'yajñopavitayogena' (emended from yajñopavitaṃ yogena) (T rnal 'byor gyi mchod phyir thogs pa). The same expression occurs in the Niṣpannayogāvalī where the goddesses of the Nairātma-maṇḍala are described as 'yajñopavitayogena sakhat-vāṅgāḥ' (NSP p. 17). Mallmann, in reference to this, comments on the manner in which the sacred cord is worn: '(il) est porté sur l'épaule gauche en travers de la poitrine et passe sous l'aiselle droite, comme l'étole des sous-diacres' (ITB p. 120 note 5). It seems that in fact the khatvāṅga is leaning against the left shoulder and held back with the third arm and not as the Tibetan version suggests an additional emblem 'the sacred thread of yoga'. The Tibetan version results from probably not accurately translating the original instrumental 'yogena' with the genitive "rnal 'byor gyi". Moreover, since the deity already holds the skull-cup in the third hand it makes sense that the khatvāṅga is leaning against the shoulder and not held in that hand. (A clear drawing of this manner of holding the khatvāṅga is Fig. 159 of Vajravārāhī in Bhattacharyya's Indian Buddhist Iconography).

2 The khatvāṅga of Śrī Cakrasaṃvara is usually depicted in addition to the mentioned symbols also with three heads in different states of decomposition underneath the top vajra and above a vase (cf. plate XIV in ITB, plate 155 in 'Dieux et Démones de l'Himālaya, plate 73 in 'Lamaistic Art', Lessing Yung-Ho-Kung Fig. 20, etc.).

42b5 ferocious, laughing, impassionate-heroic, and expressing disgust with the tongue darting out.

In front of him is the lordess Vajravārāhī begotten from the vowels and consonants (āli-kāli).¹ She is of red color, has four faces, four arms, 43a1 and three eyes. She has dishevelled hair, is naked, and just wears a girdle (made from) adorned pieces (of bones).²

In the left embracing hand (she holds) a skull-cup (kapāla) filled with the mind of enlightenment (bodhicitta) and the blood of the evil Māras. In the right hand pointing the finger threateningly 43a2 is the vajra-chopper (vajra-karttikā). In the other two hands is the ḍamaru-drum and khaṭvāṅga.

She is like the fire at the end of the aeon and delights in dripping blood.³ She winds her two legs evenly around (the lord). She is of the 43a3 nature of the great blissfull compassion. Her faces are red, green, yellow, and blue, terrible, horrendous, and fear-inspiring.

(Just as one draws the colors) of the lord, in that way one should draw her endowed with the pure

1 The Tibetan specifies: 'abiding in the manner of embracing'.

2 Tsuda quotes the Yoginīsañcāra Ch. 6 (Vol. 2, 238-5-8) showing that the girdle is decorated with pieces of skull-bones: thod dum bryān pa'i sku regs can (ST p. 284 note 2). An excellent set of photographs with clarifying drawings of this type of girdles, actually a kind of apron consisting of different pieces of bone, with deities and symbols carved in it, can be found in Grünwedel's 'Geschichten der vierundachtzig Zauberer' (Fig. 4a-c and 7a,b; pp. 206ff). Other photographs of this ornament: Fig. 163 in 'Lamaist Art' and Fig. 330 in 'Dieux et Démones de l'Himalaya'.

3 The Tibetan version has 'blood is dripping (from her mouth, (indeed) she delights in blood'.

colors of the faces and colors of the arms.

- 43a4 His ultimate yoga is of the nature of depositing (the syllables) in the sequence of the sacred places (pīṭhas), etc.¹

PUM: Khaṇḍakapālina and Pracandā are on the head.

JĀM: Mahākaṅkāla and Caṇḍāksī are on the crest of the head.

- 43a5 OM : Kaṅkāla and Prabhāvatī are on the right ear.

AM : Vikaṭadaṃṣṭriṇa and Mahānāsā are on (the uppermost part of) the spine.²

These are the sacred places (pīṭhas).

GOM: Surāvairiṇa and Vīramatī are on the left ear.

- 43b1 RĀM: Between the two eyebrows are Amitābha and Kharvarī.

DEM: In the two eyes are Vajraprabha and Laṅkeśvari.

MĀM: On the roots of the arms³ are Vajradeha and

1. The Tibetan reads: 'On this (deity) the highest yogin places in succession the inner sacred places etc.'.

In the section following now the first syllables of the names of the 24 countries constitute the seed-syllables (i.e. PUM from Pullīramalaya) which are placed on 24 spots on the body.

2 Skt. prṣṭhavanśa (em. to prṣṭhavaṃśa) 'the backbone' / T spyi bo'i rgyab tu 'back of the head'. Cf. 83a5: Skt. mastakaprṣṭhe 'back of the head' / T spyi bo'i rgyab tu; ST VII,4: Skt. prṣṭhavaṃśa / T mgo rgyab 'back of the head' (cf. note 1, p. 261); Śū. ltag pa 'neck' (also CT p. 20); Meisezahl, Vārāṇsī: mgo bo rgyab or ltag pa. The different forms used here are not contradictory but indicate that the upper part of the spine is meant which reaches up to the back of the head resting on the neck.

3 Skt. bāhumūlayoḥ / T dpuñ tsar; Śū. phrag pa gñis su: on the two shoulders'; 83b1 Skt. skandhadvaye (on the two shoulders) / T phrag pa gñis su; ST VII,7: Skt. skandhadvaya / T dpuñ pa (cf. note 3, p. 261: Yoginī-saṅcāra Ch. 13 dpuñ mgo 'shoulder blade'); Meisezahl,

Drumacchāyā.

These are the secondary sacred places (upa-
43b2 pīṭhas). There is 'She, the one moving in the
sky' (Khecarī) belonging to the mind-circle.

KĀM: In the armpits are Aṅkurika and Airāvati.

OM : On the two breasts are to be placed Vajraja-
ṭila and Mahābhairavā.

These are the fields (kṣetras).

43b3 TRIM: In the middle of the navel are Mahāvīra and
Vāyuvegā.

KOM: On the nose are Vajrahūmkāra and Surābhakṣī.

These are the secondary fields (upakṣetras).

KAM: In the mouth are Subhadra and Śyāmādevī.

43b4 LAM: In the throat are Vajrabhadra and Subhadrā.

These are the chandohas.¹

KĀM: In the heart are Mahābhairava and Hayakarṇā.

Vārāhī p. 294 dpun pa gñis / phrag pa / dpun mgo gyas
dañ gyon 'right and left shoulder blade', CT p. 20 :
phrag pa gñis. From these references follows that the
expression 'root of the arms' is used interchangeably
with 'two shoulders'.

1 There is no ready translation for the term 'chan-
doha'. Snellgrove quotes a commentary by Dharmakīrti
stating 'Because one desires and yearns, it is called
chando'. Also Snellgrove leaves the term untranslated
(HT Vol. 1, p. 68f. note 1).

Biswanath Banerjee translates 'chandoha' as 'fried-
volles Begehren' (peaceful yearning) but does not ex-
plain how he arrives at this meaning (Dissertation,
Ludwig Maximilian's Universität München, 1959: 'Ueber
das Lokadhātu Paṭala, 1. Kapitel des Laghu-Kālacakra-
Tantra Rāja', p. 48.

HIM: At the root of the penis¹ are Virūpākṣa and Khagānanā.

These are the secondary chandohas (upacchandoha). There is 'She, moving on the earth' belonging to the speech-circle (Bhūcarī).

43b5 PREM: On the penis (liṅga)² are Mahābala and Cakravegā.

GRIM: In the anus are to be placed Ratnavajra and Khaṇḍarohā.

These are the meeting places' (melāpaka).

SAUM: On both thighs are Hayagrīva and Saundinī.

44a1 SUM: On the shanks are Ākāśagarbha and Cakravarminī.

These are the secondary meeting places (upamelāpakas).

NAM: On the little toes³ are Śrī Heruka and Su-

1 Skt. medhṛa (variants medra, maṭṭra, maḍhṛa) 'penis' / T bśaṅ sgo 'gate of excrement'. The Tibetan version doubles the spot no. 18. For 18 the Skt. has guda 'anus', the Tibetan translates it with gzaṅ and in the parallel passage 83b4 with bśaṅ ba'i lam (anus).

Sū. has rgyu zabs 'lower bowels' (=anus); the parallel passage 83b3 medhṛa / 'doms; Meisezahl p. 295, 'doms and acc.to Lū yī pā 'bras bu gñis 'the two testicles'; CT p. 20 'doms pa; IT III p. 40 'pupille' (testicles), Tib. not given. The version of the Yoginīsañcāra cited by Tsuda has "mtshan rtsa" (the root of the penis) (ST p. 262 note 2). This helps to distinguish this spot from the next given as 'liṅga'.

2 Skt. liṅga is uniformly rendered in Tibetan by mtshan ma 'sexual organ'. Meisezahl in his article on Vārāhī (p. 295) translates, probably to mark the difference from no. 16, as 'regio pubis' what is hardly justified.

3 Skt. aṅguḷiṣu: on the finger or toes (= T sor mo rnam la); Sū. (=83a5) rkaṅ pa'i sor mo kun la: 'on all the toes of the foot'; ST VII,14: pādaṅgulau (on the toe(s) of the foot / rkaṅ pa'i sor mo; cf. Meisezahl who quotes Lū yī pā (no reference) as commenting 'ser (sic) mo bcu drug 'the sixteen fingers (and toes), op. cit. p. 296, likewise CT p. 21 sor mo bcu drug and Tucci IT III p. 41 'sedici ditta'. See also next note.

vīrā.

SIM: On the upper side of the feet are Padmanar-
teśvara and Mahābalā.

These are the cemeteries (śmaśānas).

44a2 MAM: On the big toes¹ are Vairocana and Cakravar-
tinī.

KUM: On the two knees are Vajrasattva and Mahā-
vīryā.

These are the secondary cemeteries (upaśma-
śāna). There is 'She, the one dwelling under-
ground' (Pātālavāsinī) belonging to the body-
circle.

44a3 Dākinī is on the (hand holding) the vajra, Lāmā
on (the hand holding) the bell, Khaṇḍarohā and
Rūpiṇī on the fist(s) (holding an) elephant hide.

'She the Raven-Faced' (Kākāsyā) is on (the hand
holding) the vajra-spear (vajraśūla), 'She the
Owl-Faced' (Ulūkāsyā) is on (the hand holding)

1 Skt. aṅguṣṭha(yoḥ) (em. from aṅguṣṭha / aṅgeṣu) 'on
the two thumbs' or 'two big toes' (= T mthe boṇ gñis),
84b5 aṅguṣṭhayoḥ / T mthe ba (=boṇ?) dag la 'on the
thumbs' (could also include the two big toes). Sū.:
rkaṇ pa'i mthe bo gñis la (on the two big toes of the
foot); ST VIII,15 aṅguṣṭhayoḥ/mthe boṇ (no ending).
Meisezahl p. 296, mthe bo dag, quotes Lū yī pā: mthe boṇ
bži : 'four thumbs', i.e. 'thumbs and big toes', likewise
CT p. 21 mthe boṇ bži and Tucci IT III p.41 'quattro
pollici' (four thumbs). It seems that with regard to
the spots of no. 21 and 23 we find two varying tradi-
tions:

1. The spot no. 21 is on the toes of the feet not in-
cluding the big toes. No. 23 is on the big toes of the
feet.

2. The spot no. 21 is on the toes of feet and fingers
and no. 23 on the thumbs/big toes of both feet and fin-
gers.

It seems that the Skt. readings at our disposition
support version 1. This is born out by the fact that in
no. 21 the dual is put and that ST ad 21 specifies
'pādāṅgulau'.

the hook, 'She the Dog-Faced' (Śvānāsyā) is on
44a4 (the hand holding) the vajra-chopper, 'She the
Boar-Faced' (Śūkarāsyā) is on the (hands holding
the) ḍamaru-drum.

'She, Yama's Cremation-ground' (Yamadāhī)¹ is on
(the hand holding) the skull-cup and khaṭvāṅga,
'She, Yama's Messenger' (Yamadūtī) is (on the hand
holding) the noose, 'She, Yama's Tusk' (Yama-
daṁṣṭrī) is (on the hand holding) Brahma's head,
'She, Yama's Annihilation' (Yamamathanī) is (on
the hand) holding the axe.²

1 The Skt. text has here and in the other chapters
'Yamaḍaḍhī', the Tibetan reads throughout 'gsin rje sreg
ma' what corresponds to 'Yamadāhī'. This reading occurs
in the Saṃvarodāya-tantra, but the corresponding Tibetan
is 'gsin rje brtan ma' what suggests 'Yamadṛḍhī' (Yama's
firmness?). (ST XIII, 31, cf. note 4 p.285). I have ad-
opted the clearer form 'Yamadāhī' which can easily be
translated. By this the originality of this name versus
the other is not implied.

2 The formulation of the places where Dākinī etc.
have to be imagined is not completely transparent in the
Skt. and Tibetan. Skt. just has the loc. of the twelve
hand implements of Heruka but is not consistent in its
use and sometimes puts the implements also in the nom.
case. The Tibetan uses the construction with 'ni':
mkha' 'gro ma ni rdo rje 'as regards Dākinī there is the
vajra' etc. The commentary clearly states that in this
passage the place of the twelve goddesses is indicated.
('As regards the twelve goddesses) the place is ex-
plained in the (root-) tantra (gnas ni rgyud na gsal
lo)' (Sū. 199b6, p.286-1-6). This agrees with the
previous context of listing the places of the maṇḍala-
deities on the body. The Cakrasaṃvara text edited by
Kazi states that the twelve goddesses have to be im-
agined as syllables (or actually proceeding from these)
on the twelve hands of Heruka visualized in the heart
(CT p. 19).

Given this information it is quite safe to assume
that also our text implies that the twelve Dākinīs
should be visualized on the twelve hands of Heruka.

The implements are in all likelihood mentioned to in-
dicate on which hand which deity has to be imagined.
The formulation 'on the vajra etc.' probably means the
hand holding the vajra etc.

44a5 The Bodhicitta-vessel(s) are on the four faces.¹

The earth element is Pātanī, the water element is Māraṇī, the fire element is Ākarṣaṇī, the wind element is Padmanartes'vari, the space
44b1 element is Padmajālinī.²

Vairocana is in the form aggregate (rūpa-skandha)³, Vajrasūrya is in the feeling aggregate (vedanāskandha), Padmanartes'vara is in the ideation aggregate (saṃjñāskandha), Vajrarāja is

1 The commentary specifies 'on the Ūṇakośa between the eyebrows' (Sū. 199b7, p. 286-1-7). The Bodhicitta-vessels are on the intermediate lotus petals of eight petals forming the second of the five concentric circles (cf. Lessing, Yung-Ho-Kung, p. 130).

2 The goddesses Pātanī etc. arise from the syllables LAṂ, MAṂ, PAṂ, HAṂ, KHAṂ in the heart, stomach (lto ba), navel, secret place, and head, in the circle (maṇḍala) of the element related to them (Sū. 199b7f., p. 286-1-7f.). For the association of four of the 15 maṇḍala goddesses with four elements according to the Hevajra-cycle see HT I, ix, 16; and according to the Guhyasamāja-tantra see BT p. 188 (association of Locanā etc. to the cakras of the navel, heart, neck, and head) and YGT p. 232ff.

3 The Tibetan interprets here and in the following lists (association of deities with the aggregates, twelve seats of perception (āyatanas), and body, speech and mind) the Skt. loc. with the particle 'ni'. For rūpaskandhe etc. the Tibetan has "gzugs kyi phuṅ po ni rnam par snaṅ mdzad": 'As regards the aggregate of form, (there is) Vairocana' or simply 'the aggregate of form is Vairocana'. Above, where the Skt. uses the nom. case with the elements, the Tibetan translates in the same manner using the particle 'ni'. The Tibetan translation of the locative is probably based on an extension of the rule that 'synonyms explaining the meaning of some words are put in the locative' (Speier § 140, rem.2). Since the Skt. is consistent in its use of the loc. in the case of relating the skandhas to the Buddhas and not use of the loc. in the case of the elements (cf. Ch. XIV, 84alff., but also the Hevajratantra HT I, ix, 8ff.) I decided to mark this difference and translate the locative literally.

in the motivation aggregate (saṃskāraskandha),
 Vajrasattva is in the perception aggregate (vi-
 44b2 jñānaskandha). Śrī Heruka is the reality of all
 the Tathāgatas.

Delusion-Vajra (Mohavajra) is in the two eyes,
 Hatred-Vajra (Dveṣavajra) is in the two ears, Av-
 44b3 arice-Vajra (Īrṣyāvajra) is in the nose, Passion-
 Vajra (Rāgavajra) is in the mouth, in the sense of
 touch is Jealousy-Vajra (Mātsaryavajra), Sover-
 eignty-Vajra (Aiśvaryavajra) is in all the seats
 of perception (āyatana), Akṣobhya is in the mind,
 Amitābha is in the speech, Vairocana is in the
 body.

44b4 OM HAḤ Vajrasattva is in the heart,
 NAMAḤ HIḤ Vairocana is on the head,
 SVĀHĀ HŪM Padmanarteśvara is on the crest of the
 head,
 VAUṢAṬ HE Heruka is on the two shoulders,
 44b5 HŪM HŪM HOḤ Vajrasūrya is in the two eyes,
 PHAṬ HAṬ Paramāśva is the weapon on all the limbs.
 OM VAṬ Vajravārāhī is on the navel,
 HĀM YOM Yāminī is in the heart,
 HRĪM MOM Mohanī is in the mouth,
 45a1 HREM HRĪM Sañcālinī is on the crest of the head,
 HŪM HŪM Sañtrāsanī is on top of the head,
 PHAṬ PHAṬ Caṇḍikā is the weapon on all the limbs.

Having made the foremost knot indeed (with) the
 45a2 middle finger, the vajra of the thumb set firm,
 (the mudrā, i.e. hand gesture) should be placed
 at the level of the middle of the forehead (and
 then) he should cause it to turn in the manner of
 revolving and turning it.¹ Then, pressing his foot

¹ By this gesture the knowledge beings are invited
 (Sū. 200a5, p. 286-2-5). This ritual section corre-
 sponds to the one in the Cakrasaṃvara-text CT p. 49. The

down, looking upward, he roars the sound 'HET' upward. Having attracted the heroes and Yoginīs from the world-realms in the ten directions (he recites): 'JAḤ HŪḤ BAḤ HOḤ'. By the yoga of the iron hook, etc., drawing near, making enter, binding, he should completely unite (with them).

45a4 He sees the expanse of the sky completely full of the heroes and Yoginīs. Then she gives rise to the rightful initiation (enacting) the dramatic gesture of initiation with the skull-cup full of the five ambrosias.

(She recites): 'Just as the Tathāgatas have been born they have been bathed, just like that I shall bathe (you) with pure divine water: OM
45b1 SARVATATHĀGATABHIṢEKASAMAYAŚRIYE SVĀHĀ ĀḤ HŪḤ
(OM the glorious time of the initiation by all

knowledge being (jñāna sattva) is either 'a human Bodhisattva, or a celestial Bodhisattva or Buddha' in distinction to the symbolic being (samaya sattva) 'the Yogin who has identified himself with a deity he has evoked or imagined' (FBT p. 162 note 17).

The gesture is referred to again in the parallel section Ch. XIV 84, b5, but also 50b4 and Ch. XIV 89a2.

Further references: Śū. 200a6f.; Meisezahl, Vārāhī, p. 253 (Skt. Vārāhī-Sādhana by Advayavajra); Beyer, Cult of Tārā, p. 101f. (with representation of accompanying gestures); see also CT p. 22f.

the Tathāgatas SVĀHĀ ĀḤ HŪM).¹

He should imagine a wind and fire disk (maṇḍala) and upon it a skull-cup arisen from the letter 'A' filled with the five ambrosias. (It is) empowered by the (three syllables) 'HŪM' (etc.) (placed) on top of (a moon) of sixteen digits.² Arisen from the three syllables one should contemplate three circles (cakras) to be radiated forth.

'OM SAMAYASÚDDHĀḤ SARVADHARMĀḤ SAMAYA-

1 Śūraṅgavajra relates the different parts of this mantra to three initiations (Śū. 200b2-4, p. 286-3-2/4):
1. 'The "OM SARVATATHĀGATE ABHIṢEKATA HŪM" is the mantra of the water initiation (chu'i dbaṅ bskur ba'i sñags) ...'

2. 'The "SAMAYA HŪM"...is the bestowing of the initiation of realizing the illusory (body) (sgyu mar rtogs pa'i dbaṅ bskur)....'

3. 'The "ŚRIYE HŪM" is the insight knowledge mantra (śes rab ye śes kyi sñags)....'

1. The water initiation is the first of five or six flask initiations (FBT pp.313-317), probably all of them are meant here constituting the first of four initiations.

2. This is referring to the secret initiation of which is said that by its effect 'in the time of the path.. he accomplishes the illusory body (sgyu ma'i lus)' (FBT pp. 317ff., p. 321).

3. This is the third, the insight-knowledge initiation (FBT pp. 321-25).

The fourth which in method is regarded to be just the same as the third is not specifically referred to here (Cf. FBT p. 325).

2 'The moon of sixteen digits' is a moon-disk arisen from the sixteen digits. On its top is the HŪM, underneath an OM, and in its middle an AḤ (Śū. 200b7, p. 286-3-7). The Tibetan has: 'on the sixteen digits of the moon the blessing by the HŪM, OM, and AḤ occurs'. For the whole of this purification ritual cf. BT p. 115ff., CT p. 62f. (Engl) / p. 28 (Tib.) (with a detailed description of the process similar to the description by Śūraṅgavajra not quoted here).

‘SUDDHO‘HAM.’ (OM just as all dharmas are pure by coming together I am pure by coming together.)¹
He should activate the thought abiding in the state of concentration on the one taste of all the dharmas.

45b3 By means of the prayoga of the knowledge-ambrosias he should drink the vajra-water: ‘OM VAJRAMṚTODAKA HŪṢ THATHA TRĀṢ ĀḤ KHAM HŪṢ PHAT SVĀHĀ’ (OM the vajra-ambrosia water THATHA etc.).

By means of the prayoga of the knowledge-mantra
45b4 one should cause the supreme circle (cakra) to radiate.² Afterwards, having made the recitation using a rosary (made) of shells and having done the prāṇāyāma meditation, instantaneously he blazes.³

45b5 ‘OM ŚRĪ VAJRA HE HE RU RU KA HŪṢ HŪṢ PHAT ḌĀKINĪJĀLASAMVARAM SVĀHĀ OM HRĪḤ HA HA HŪṢ HŪṢ PHAT’. This is the heart and the near heart.
‘OM VAJRAVAIROCANĪYE HŪṢ HŪṢ PHAT SVĀHĀ - OM

1 The term ‘samaya’ can besides ‘coming together’ also mean ‘symbol’, ‘pledge’, or ‘time’. Here the expression ‘samayasuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ’ has been interpreted as an equivalent to the concept of the ‘mixed dharmas’ (miśradharmas) as opposed to the ‘unmixed dharmas’ (amiśradharmas) referred to in the Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra (VIII, sect. 13). There the two expressions signify the absolute end of thusness and the relative phenomenal end respectively; cf. A. Wayman, *Calming the Mind*, p. 46.

2 The Skt. MSS. read ‘knowledge-ambrosia’ (jñānāmṛta). The reading ‘knowledge-mantra’ has been suggested by the Tibetan variant ‘ye śes bzlas pa’. The commentary supports the Tibetan reading. It explains that the radiation and the gathering back of the knowledge-muttering has to be contemplated (Su. 20la2f., p. 286-4-2f.; cf.: ye śes kyi bzlas pa spro bsdu ba bsgom pa dan). This presumably refers to a recitation of the mantra accompanied by the visualisation of the mantra-letters as radiating and gathering back light.

The reading ‘knowledge-mantra’ fits the context better than ‘knowledge-ambrosia’. Because of the similarity of the words ‘amṛta’ and ‘mantra’ it can easily be imagined that ‘mantra’ got corrupted into the variant ‘amṛta’.

3 Śūraṅgavajra comments: ‘As regards the expression

- 46a1 SARVABUDDHADĀKINIYE HŪM HŪM PHAṬ SVĀHĀ'.¹ This is the heart and the near heart of the goddess. In that way he should perform the contemplation accompanied by recitation as long as he does not
- 46a2 get tired. If he is tired he should contemplate purity. He should dwell in the thirty-seven dharma-limbs accessory to enlightenment:²
- The fixation of mindfulness on bodies is Dākinī.
- 46a3 The fixation of mindfulness on feelings is Lāmā. The fixation of mindfulness on natures is Khaṇḍa-rohā.
- The fixation of mindfulness on thoughts is Rūpiṇī.³
- (This is) the purity of the knowledge-lotus.
- 46a4 The base of magical power in longing is Pracandā. The base of magical power in striving is Caṇḍākṣī. The base of magical power in analysis is Prabhā-

"one's own prāṇāyāma", it means that after stopping the exhalation and inhalation one kindles the warmth of the internal heat (gtum mo) and then after contemplating the samādhi of the four joys one should do the recitation' (Śū. 201a3f., p. 286-4-3f.).

1 Compare the different forms of the mantra in relationship to mantras of other forms of Vārāhī in Ch. XIV (87a5) and XIX (102a5). The Heruka-mantra only differs in 102a5.

2 The sequence of the different groups of limbs enumerated here differs from the standard way in that the four 'right destructions' (Skt. samyakprahāṇa, Pāli sammappa-dhāna 'right exertion') Nos. 34-37 are mentioned as the last group instead as the second (cf. Lamotte, Le Traité Vol. III pp. 112ff., Mahāvyutpatti Paragraph 38 and 39, Nos. 952ff. and 957ff.). The sequence here seems to be determined by the fact that the four goddesses associated with them are in the outmost circle and that the list starts from the inner (2nd circle).

3 The two members 3 and 4 of the four smṛtyupasthānas are reversed from their position in the traditional lists where they would be No. 4 and 3 respectively (Lamotte, Le Traité p. 1121, Mahāvyutpatti Nos. 952ff.). Dākinī etc. are given in their usual order according to their position in the East, North, West, and South on the petals of the 'jñānapadma' forming the second from the inside of the five concentric circles of the maṇḍala (ITB p. 50, Lessing, Yung-Ho-Kung, drawing p. 132).

vatī.

The base of magical power in thought is Mahānāsā.¹

46a5 The faculty of faith is Vīramatī.

The faculty of striving is Kharvarī.

The faculty of mindfulness is Laṅkeśvarī.

The faculty of samādhi is Drumacchāyā.

(This is) the purity of the mind-circle.

46b1 The faculty of insight is Airāvatī.

The power of faith is Mahābhairavā.

The power of striving is Vāyuvegā.

The power of mindfulness is Surābhakṣī.

The power of samādhi is Śyāmādevī.

The power of insight is Subhadrā.

46b2 The samādhi limb of enlightenment is Hayakarnā.

The striving limb of enlightenment is Khagānanā.

(This is) the purity of the speech-cakra.

The joy limb of enlightenment is Cakravegā.

The cathartic limb of enlightenment is Khaṇḍarohā.

46b3 The analysis of the doctrine limb of enlightenment is Saundhī.

The mindfulness limb of enlightenment is Cakra-varminī.

The equanimity limb of enlightenment is Suvīrā.²

Right view is Mahābalā.

46b4 Right conception is Cakravartinī.

Right speech is Mahāvīryā.

1 The last two members occur in the reverse order from the trad. lists. See Lamotte, op. cit. p. 1124f. The list in the Mahāvyutpatti also follows a special order by having No. 6 and 7 reversed.

2 The sequence of the seven sambodhyaṅga differs considerably from the usual order, according to which No. 19 would be No. 24, No. 20 No. 21, No. 21 No. 22, No. 22 No. 23; Nos. 23, 20, and 25 would in that order follow at the end (Lamotte, Le traité p. 1128f., Mahāvyutpatti Nos. 988ff.).

(This is) the purity of the body-circle.

Right bodily action is Kākāsyā.

46b5 Right livelihood is Ulūkāsyā.

Right effort is Śvānāsyā.

Right mindfulness is Śūkarāsyā.

These are the four doors to liberation.¹

Right samādhi is Śrī Heruka.

47a1 'I am consisting of the intrinsic nature of the knowledge of the ultimately pure dharma-sphere.'²

1 This reference to the 'four doors of liberation' which do not belong to the list of the thirty-seven limbs was probably included because the four just mentioned Yoginīs, Kākāsyā etc. are the four gatekeepers of the maṇḍala. The Mahāvvyutpatti has only a reference to the three gates of liberation, 'void', 'signless', 'wishless' (Nos. 1541-44). In our case probably the same 'four liberations' as mentioned in CT as being symbolized by the four faces of Heruka are meant. According to the editor Kazi Dawa Samdup they are the four voids. The four voids are : 'being void of being' (bhāvo bhāvena śūnyah), 'non-being void of non-being' (abhāvo 'bhāvena śūnyah), 'own-being void of own-being' (svabhāvaḥ svabhāvena śūnyah), 'other-being void of other-being' (prabhāvaḥ prabhāvena śūnyah). The list of four voids quoted here is based on the Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā and slightly more detailed than the one quoted by Kazi (CT p. 22 note 1; Lamotte, Le traité VI. IV, p. 2035f.).

2 This mantra-like statement does not occur in the parallel text 87a1. The Tibetan reads 'vajra-knowledge' (ye śes kyi rdo rje), the commentary relates the statement to Vajravārāhī as follows: 'the dharma-sphere arises as the consort Vajravārāhī' (Sū. 202a2, p.287-1-2). Is in this context the before mentioned Heruka (= practitioner) the 'I' of the intrinsic nature of the knowledge which based on samādhi perceives the dharma-dhātu = Vajravārāhī? This conclusion is quite possible because elsewhere Heruka is referred to as 'Heruka, the knowledge of the dharma-sphere' (Sū. 215a5, p. 292-3-5). At any rate, the reference to Vārāhī here is significant because otherwise she would not be mentioned in this list as the only goddess out of the thirty-seven. The statement seems to indicate that she is implicitly included in Heruka, who is the only male deity mentioned here (cf. A. Wayman, BT p. 9, who assumes that she is included by way of her mystic union with Heruka).

The generation of the virtuous natures so far not arisen is Yamadāhī.

- 47a2 The guarding of the virtuous natures that have arisen is Yamadūṭī.

The elimination of the sinful natures that have arisen is Yamadamṣṭrī.

- 47a3 The non-production of the sinful natures so far not arisen is Yamamathanī.¹

This is the purification of the pledge-circle.

- 47a4 If in this manner one does the contemplation in a distinguished way then surely the practitioner is successful. He who possesses the essence of yoga for the benefit of all has the highest pledge of sameness.

He should contemplate the different cakras as possessed of the five methods in the manner of distinguishing each separately. By a division into separateness one should contemplate the

¹ The order of the limbs of the 'four destructions' diverts from the usual order where No. 37 in the text would be No. 34, No. 36 No. 35, No.35 No. 37, and No. 34 No. 36.

'womb-born one',¹ who has the five highest circles,

1 According to the Abhidharmakośa there are four types of birth, i.e., birth from the womb, oviparous birth, birth from moisture, and apparitional birth (Chaudhuri, Analytical Study of the Abhidharmakośa, p. 48). These types of birth are also enumerated ST Ch.II, 2ff.

Besides the 'womb-born' our text also refers further on to the 'egg-born' (cf. 48a3, 48b1, 49a5).

In a personal communication (letter from Feb. 14, 1979) Prof. A. Wayman has expressed his opinion that the distinction 'womb-born' and 'egg-born' is the same as the distinction of two types of knowledge beings into a) the being born from perfections (pāramitā) and b) the being born from knowledge. In the Tantrārthāvatāra-vyākhyāna (Toh. 2502) the two are distinguished as follows: 'The being born from the perfections is the one disposed to seek in ever higher steps by way of the stages (bhūmi)..and perfections (pāramitā)..The being born from knowledge is the corporeal manifestation of the Lord and retinue arisen from the higher comprehension (adhigama) of the pure Mind of Enlightenment.' (FBT p. 162 note 17).

Professor Wayman now suggests that the 'being born from the perfections' is the 'womb-born' and the 'being born from knowledge' the 'egg-born'. He furthermore observes in the same letter that 'it is the distinction between the Buddha or Buddhas on the absolute plane, called the 'egg-born' (after the Indian theory and legend of the 'golden egg' (Hiraṇyagarbha), or the Lord in the golden egg, who then creates the world; as contrasted with men who are 'womb-born' and who seek by yoga to identify themselves with the Lord by stages of yoga'.

In illustration of the term 'egg-born' we may moreover recall the already quoted passage in the commentary ad 42a4 where the process of generating Heruka has been described in analogy to the birth of a bird from an egg (p. 153f. note 2). In Beyer's Cult of Tārā (pp. 122-125, cf. p. 113f.) we find a detailed description of how the steps of generating oneself as the deity are symbolically related to the birth from the womb. Judging from a passage in Mkhas grub rje there have been methods of generation in accordance with all four types of birth: 'And furthermore they assert that because the steps of production purify the four modes of birth, which are 'birth from an egg' and so on, there are four different ways of generating deities.' (FBT p. 331).

47a5 (each) with a lord in accordance with the Yoginī.
She is divided by the division into separateness.¹

Like Heruka-Vajra just so Devī is (considered)
to be in the middle. He is in the company of a
Yoginī in conformity with the yoga of Buddhaḍākinī.

The contemplations of the heroes of the body-

1 This passage which according to Śūraṅgavajra deals with the radiation of 'the womb-born one' is an example of the extremely dense and concealing style of tantric root texts and as such difficult to translate. The commentary helps in as much as it makes clear that the following (up to 47b3 end) discusses the same in more detail (Sū. 202b1, p.287-2-1). Thus the division of the maṇḍala of the 'womb-born Heruka' consisting of the five circles, i.e. knowledge-, mind-, speech-, body-, and pledge-circle, is by way of the Knowledge-, Vajra-, Lotus-, Buddha-, and Pledge-Ḍākinīs associated with these circles in this succession mentioned below (cf. Tucci IT III, p. 66, for a probably connected group of ten Ḍākinīs called Dam tshig gi mkha' 'gro, sKu yi mkha' 'gro, etc.).

Moreover, the commentary seems to indicate that the method implied is that, at the time of radiating (light) from the maṇḍala, the deities in the five circles become lords of newly manifesting complete maṇḍalas. These in turn radiate and produce further maṇḍalas arising from the different circles, which again reproduce themselves ad infinitum: '(The maṇḍala) radiates(light) according to the separate division of the incomparable five 'womb-born' circles into the directions East etc. At that time one makes a separate division of the individual deities and after this (the circles) turn into maṇḍalas with each deity made into a Lord. Then one makes Lords by the division of the manifested circles. When these circles have also radiated they turn into a limitless number of maṇḍalas' (śar la sogs pa'i phyogs bcur bla na med pa'i mnal skyes 'khor lo lha so sor dbye bas spro ba'i tshe / lha so so'i dbye bas phye nas lha re re gtso byas pa'i dkyil 'khor du 'gyur la / des sprul pa'i 'khor lo so so dbye bas gtso bor byas nas yaṅ 'khor lo spros pa thug med kyi 'khor lor 'gyur ro / (Sū. 202a5 - a7, p. 287-1-5ff.).

- 47b1 vajra etc. are in the middle of the bhaga.¹ Thus on account of the yoga of the three circles in that way gradually the meditation (is performed). One should contemplate (the lord) endowed with five (circles) in the bhaga in conformity with the yoga of the Dākinī in the middle.
- 47b2 By the yoga of Padmaḍākinī, by the subdivision of Vajraḍākinī, one should do the meditation of the highest Heruka in the middle of the bhaga with three circles surrounding. One should contemplate him in the pledge-circles in the maṇḍala of
- 47b3 Pledge-Dākinī (Samayaḍākinī) by means of the yoga of Knowledge-Dākinī in the middle of the variegated lotus. One should contemplate (him) in the bhaga of precisely that with four cakras surrounding.²
- 47b4 As we contemplate the sole hero Heruka accompanied by Vārāhī we also contemplate (his) color, face, hand-ornaments, and the double lotus. One

1 In the middle of the 'bhaga' (vagina) means here that they should be imagined as possessed of the (maṇḍala-) palace of the nature of the dharma-sphere ("chos kyi dbyiṅs zāl yas khañ dañ bcas pa" (Śū. 202b2, p. 287 -2-2). That is, the heroes previously part of the body-circle of the first maṇḍala, each, in conformity with the yoga of Buddha-Dākinī associated with that circle, arise in the middle of a palace in an emanated maṇḍala.

2 The variation of numbers of surrounding circles given here and above, 47b2, is in conformity with the respective position of the deity within the five maṇḍala-circles. The knowledge-circle (in actuality the second of the five concentric circles) is surrounded by the circles of the mind, speech, and body plus the pledge-circle, the space between the wall and the fifth circle. The mind-circle related to Vajraḍākinī accordingly is surrounded by three circles. The import of the text here seems to be that one visualizes the deities belonging to the different circles as having become centers of new complete maṇḍalas still contained within the original maṇḍala.

imagines the highest Heruka to be in its bhaga.¹
 Possessed of the division he is of the nature of
 47b5 five and he is endowed with the skulls. In the
 manner of the steps of the Yoginīs he should be
 thought of. In the middle of the bhaga he should
 be visualized. He should be contemplated to be
 invisible in the center of the circle, in the
 center of the bhaga.

One should contemplate the secret meditation in
 48a1 the circle of the heroes in the heart, one's own
 (consort) in the manner of a Yoginī with the ges-
 ture of embracing. In the manner of the retinue,
 in the manner of the Yoginī in the cakras, they
 48a2 are resplendent with four arms. Two hands are
 embracing, the others (hold) various implements.

Such is the hero contemplation of them in the
 bhaga as invisible. The yoga hidden from the
 world of convention is the highest contemplation
 of the hero in an invisible manner.²

1 'Its bhaga': That is the bhaga-palace of the lotus
 (Sū. 202b5, p. 287-2-5).

2 Also this meditation process, 47b4ff., is given in
 an extremely abbreviated form. It refers to the 'egg-
 born' Heruka (Sū. 202b5, p. 287-2-5). To take the
 essence from the somewhat stiffly formulated commentary,
 Heruka seems to be contemplated along with five other
 egg-born Herukas belonging to the (circles) of the
 body, speech, mind, and positive activity (sku gsun
 thugs yon tan 'phrin las kyi sgon skyes kyi Heruka lñas,
 Sū. 202b6, p. 287-2-6) and both in his heart as well as
 the hearts of these five heroes one contemplates five
 hidden egg-born Yoginīs (sgon skyes kyi rnal 'byor ma
 lña dpa'o sñin kar sbas pa bsgom pa dag / dpa'o lñas
 kyañ ran gi snin kar rnal 'byor ma lña sbas pa bsgoms te
 / ibidem). In the same way also the twelve Yoginīs from
 the retinue are hidden in the heart of the hero ('khor
 gyi rñal 'byor ma bcu gñis kyañ...dpa'o sñin kar sbas
 nas..Sū. 202b7, p. 287-2-7). Contrary to the reading of
 the root-text there is no reference to the lord medi-
 tated upon as invisible, the invisibility and secrecy
 is in relationship to the inner goddesses.

- 48a3 On account of the yoga of the steps of the
 'egg-born one' one should contemplate by a series
 of meditations. One should contemplate on the
 collection of the five by contemplation of the
 highest egg-born one. Having variegated by
 variety (bhedena bheditvā) of the cakras, in that
 48a4 manner is the successive yoga. Based on a dis-
 tinction according to one's wish there is the me-
 ditation according to liking. By the way of
 variegating the lord, by the way of variegating
 the family are the successive contemplations. By
 the way of variegating the variety of divinity it
 48a5 is the successive contemplations of the lord.
 Having variegated by variety of name one should
 apply the sound of the ḍāka. Or else by varie-
 gation of the three bodies (kāya) he is the one
 who makes the lord. By the variegation of the
 lords, etc., he will make the variegation of the
 cakras. (Or else the division is done) by way
 48b1 of the family variegation of all, according to the
 variegation of hero and Yoginī.¹

 The meditation of the womb-born one should be
 accomplished with the yoga of the song. The egg-

1 The commentary, besides paraphrasing the above pas-
 sage does not add much information to this list of
 variations of meditations on the egg-born one. As a
 whole these meditations on the egg-born are referred to
 as the yoga of the 'infinite egg-born one' (sgoñ skyes
 kyi thug med ni rnal 'byor, Śū. 202b8, p.287-2-8).

born one is devoid of song and dissipated sounds.¹

48b2 The self-originating lord is the ultimate variety of a yoga of a Yogin.

Some Yogins desire, some Yogins don't desire.

48b3 (He is) free from the sounds of song, placed on the level free of appearances. The series not manifested, passing away, subtle, free from subject and object, free from the sound of the song it is the supreme enjoyable state.

They (the Yogins) have enjoyed all the sensory
48b4 objects in the manner of having a heart of compassion for benefitting, the endeavour for the sake of all sentient beings, the finest forbearance and striving. The Yogin does not revile the song that pleases and benefits the Dākinī:

1 In connection with the reference in our text to the 'yoga of the song' and the statement that the 'egg-born one is devoid of song and dissipated sounds' Prof. A. Wayman has drawn my attention to four kinds of yoga mentioned in bTson kha pa's sNags rim chen mo (402a-b). The fourth of these yogas, the 'yoga of getting up' involves the exhortation of the Yogin by the song of the goddess at the time of getting up (BT p. 114, cf. 122-126; the four yogas are also described CT p. 1 (Tib. text). Our text refers to this 49a5: 'The song awakens from sleep'.

Prof. Wayman has moreover raised the interesting possibility to translate 'śabdāśabdavivarjitaṃ' as 'free from song and up-to-song' (dividing the Skt. compound into śabda-āśabda). In that case the expression 'up-to-song' would refer to the first three of the four yogas (yoga of eating, yoga of washing, and yoga of lying down): in relationship to the fourth one, 'yoga of song' they are the members 'up-to-song'. According to that interpretation the 'egg-born' is free of the four yogas.

The Tibetan translation "sgra dan sgra ṅams paṅs pa'o", however, suggests 'devoid of song and dissipated sounds' (dividing the Skt. compound into śabda-aśabda). In that case the statement would refer to the non-dual character of the 'egg-born' (see 49a5).

- 48b5 'HOḤ O Lord who has found (bliss) in the three worlds!
 A LA LA LA HOḤ!
 In a compassionate state of mind swiftly liberate, indeed avert (the suffering)!
 Garland of bliss! Assembly of the victorious ones!
 A LA LA LA HOḤ!
- 49a1 Liberate O Tathāgata (from) the painful saṃsāra!
 O Lord, you are the essence in all the blisses, the amorous pleasure of the union with the desired one, and the essence in the three worlds.
 A LA LA LA HOḤ!
- 49a2 Completely free through pleasure (from pleasure).¹
 Padmayoginī² should sound with this yoga of the song. She should arouse by a network of lotuses,

1 The Tibetan differs to some extent from the Apabhramśa version of this song as can be seen from this translation based on it:

HOḤ O Lord who has found bliss in the three worlds!

A LA LA HO!

Assembly of the victorious ones of (the nature of) the garland of the great bliss! Sport the vajra in the lotus!

A LA LA HO!

Liberate O Tathāgata from (saṃsāra) without laughter!

O Lord, you are the essence of all the blisses. On account of passion producing great pleasure you are the essence of what is gathered in the three worlds.

A LA LA HO!

Liberating by pleasing liberate me from pleasure!

The translation of the last words in the Skt.: 'mahā-chajinānimahāṇ' is uncertain, we have substituted the Tibetan meaning in the translation. The theme of the exhortation of the lord from the void by his consorts by way of a song occurs in HT II,v,20-30; CMT 4.55-64 (songs in Apabhramśa); YGT p. 300; Beyer, Cult, p. 113.

2 The Tibetan reads: 'The Yogin of the lotus', but the commentary explains that the song is sounded by the four goddesses dwelling in the lotus (of the knowledge-circle) (Sū. 203bl, p. 287-4-1 and 196a8ff., p. 284-4-8ff.).

49a3 by means of the bliss of the vajrasamyoga. By that the lord (is) exhorted from the blissful abode of great bliss. (She) should offer libation to the arising of all the Buddhas (and thus all the Buddhas will be born).¹

49a4 When there are no parts, no song and no part of the egg-born one, there one sees no form, not bliss, not the state of no joy, (one sees) the field of creative imagination and song (kalpanā-gītagocara), pure, non-dual, and without parts, free from the (opposition of) natures (dharma) and
49a5 no-natures (adharma). It is not adhered to by sin. The egg-born one is free from all duality, endowed with the highest state.²

The song awakens from sleep, (that is why) the fool should not be reviled by the learned ones.³

49b1 He is awakened by the meditation of bodhyaṅga for

1 Reconstructed after the Tibetan; Skt.: 'to every Victorious one in that way' or "'to every Victorious one' it is said" (sakalajinam iti) appears to be incomplete.

2 In contrast to the womb-born one who's function is directed to make the incomprehensible resultant Heruka realizable for the beings (Cf. Śū.: "bras bu'i Heruka ma rtogs pa'i phyir sems can gyi don du mñal skyes kyi He ru ka'o", 203b5, p.287-3-5) the qualities of the 'egg-born' Heruka described in 49a5 are beyond duality. The commentary interprets the whole passage from 49a4 on as referring to the egg-born. Does therefore also the statement 'there is no part of the egg-born one' applied to the egg-born emphasize his non-dual (and void) nature? Difficult is also in that context 'the field... of song' since the egg-born has been said to be without song (the Tibetan version significantly omits 'song' which according to the metre can not be omitted in the Sanskrit).

3 The Tibetan seems to yield just the opposite meaning: 'The learned one should not be reviled by the fool'. Prof. Wayman, however, has pointed out to me that 'rmons pas mkhas pa mi smad do' could also be understood as 'It should not be reviled by the "learned" through foolishness'.

the benefit and goals of the sentient beings.¹

There is the field- and together-born Devī and likewise the Yoginī born in the sacred places. There is the family- and the mother-born Devī and likewise 'She, the one moving in the sky' who is invisible (adrśyā Khecarī). There is the low-born, the highest, and indeed the middle (as well
49b2 as) the highest multiformed one. There is 'She, the one dwelling underground' (Pātālatalavāsinī), 'She, the one belonging to the heaven of the thirty' (Tridaśī), and 'She, the one moving on the earth' (Bhūcarī), (namely) Nāginī, Gandharvī, Yakṣanī, and Kinnarī in the same way.

There is also Apsarī who has obtained accom-
49b3 plishment before and the other one who has the Sugata's aspiration (and) who is pleasing to the three jewels, all these are in the outer maṇḍala.

With oblations of worship, with magical mani-
49b4 festations of dance and song, with divine juices from among various tastes she should worship the lord of the Dākinīs.²

Mounting on top of the wind maṇḍala one should contemplate the body-circle (cakra). Instantaneously one should contemplate the speech on the water-maṇḍala. He should contemplate mounting on
49b5 the fire-maṇḍala the bliss producing mind-circle. He should contemplate mounting on 'Great Indra'

1 The Tibetan has: 'for what is not understood and will be understood'.

2 This completes the explanation on the womb-born (49a5 end ff.). Now follows the explanation of the maṇḍala with a food offering (rten gyi dkyil 'khor gtor ma ḍaṅ bcas pa) (Sū. 204a2, p. 287-5-4). For other versions of the food-offering (bali) see: Ch. XIV, 89alff. (version without maṇḍala ; the Cakarasamvaravidhi (Skt. text edited and translated by Finot, Manuscripts, p. 57f. /71ff.); CT pp. 61ff. (Engl.)/ pp. 28ff. (Tib.).

the highest maṇḍala. He should contemplate there the knowledge-maṇḍala, that is the successive contemplation.¹

50a1 In the middle of the bhaga-maṇḍala² then one should contemplate the double lotus, in the middle of the sun disk he should contemplate the sole hero. Around the three cakras one should place vajras and garlands of wheels and lotuses.

50a2 According to the prescribed rule one surrounds the pledge-circle with a circle of viśvavajras. On account of likewise surrounding the outer maṇḍala there is the five-fold application.³

1 From the context 'Great Indra' must be an equivalent of 'earth'.

The description of the process reminds of the generation of the maṇḍala on top of the four elements and Mt. Meru in the Cakrasaṃvara text edited by Kazi. The description here differs in that it does not mention Mt. Meru which according to that text is placed after the generation of the elements on top of the square earth-maṇḍala. Also the placement of circles on the elemental maṇḍalas is not paralleled in that text (CT p.8).

2 The 'bhaga-maṇḍala' is glossed by Śūraṅgavajra as the 'maṇḍala palace of the dharma-sphere' (Śū. 204a4, p. 287-5-4).

3 The representation of the maṇḍala in Lessing's Yung-Ho-Kung (l. 132) shows clearly how the circles of mind, speech, and body are each surrounded by its own circle, the first one, by one made of vajras, the second, by one made of lotuses, and the third, by one made of wheels. The emblems used thus accord with the Tathāgatas ruling over the mind-, speech-, and body-circles. The pledge-circle, that is the space between the wall of the palace and the body-circle, is filled with groups of four dots each representing the double vajra of Amoghasiddhi (that the dots represent double vajras can be seen from another image which might not be accessible to everyone, the 'October' Thangka in the 'Thangka-Kalender 1978 mit Erläuterungen von Tchōgyam Trungpa Rinpoche' (Irisiana Verlag D-6395 Wehrheim 2). This outmost circle is surrounded by the wall of the palace consisting of various parts as the fifth surrounding element.

The Tibetan text now reads 'Likewise five kinds of

50a3 The terrible outside cemetery has the most excellent various colors.¹ It is pleasing with the best of trees of various sorts and (terrible) with dogs, jackals, the horrible ones,² crows, owls, wolves,³ beasts of prey called 'śibika',⁴ and hawks, vul-

Pretas surround the outer maṇḍala'. Did this variant originate just from a reading mistake of 'pretah' for 'yatah'? Or are these Pretas the human figures represented in Lessing's maṇḍala scetch in the Paṭika- ('dod snam-) section of the maṇḍala palace? (Lessing op. cit. p. 133/134 No. 11; cf. the scetch of a maṇḍala enclosure p. 87 in Ch. George, 'The Caṇḍamaharoṣana Tantra'; part B = Paṭika). In Ch. XIV of our text again a the maṇḍala surrounding Preta-garland is mentioned. It is therefore not to be excluded that the Tibetan variant is the original one, only 'five kinds' of Pretas is of still uncertain meaning.

1 For further descriptions of the (eight) graveyard(s) see ST XVII, 36-45 and in particular verses 42-45 which correspond to the passage given here (in notes 1-3, p.292, Tsuda gives moreover references to additional texts in Tibetan).

The passage from the ST mentioned above has also been translated by Meisezahl into German in his 'Śmaśānavidhi des Lū yī', pp. 20-23 with notes. Furthermore, Meisezahl presents also a new edition and translation of Lū yī pā's Śmaśānavidhi based on the text first edited by Finot (Finot, Manuscripts p. 49ff.).

2 The "horrible ones" mentioned here are according to Śūraṅgavajra a type of vampires (Tib. ro laṅs / Skt. vetālas) (Sū. 204, p. 287-5-6).

3 Both the Tibetan and the commentary (Su. 204a6, p. 287-5-6) read here for Skt. 'vṛkair' (only MS. C, the others read 'nṛkair'(?)) (with 'wolves') 'chu skyar' (crane). Besides the meaning 'wolf' also the meanings 'owl', 'crow' are possible for Skt. vṛka but not 'crane'.

4 The Skt. is 'śibikācillikāḥ'; the Tibetan just transcribes 'sibika' (without cillikāḥ), the commentary (204a6, p. 287-5-6) has 'ce spyañ mo'i gdon can' (having the face of a female jackal). Acc. to Monier Williams 'śibi' is 'a beast of prey' and 'cilli' a 'bird of prey'. 'Śibikā' could therefore, taking the commentary into account, be a female jackal, but it is not certain. The term 'cilli' occurs in the cemetery description in ST XVII, 42 as cpd. 'cillicillikā' translated in the Tibetan by "'ol pa dañ ni 'ol pa mo" (hawk and she-hawk).

50a4 tures, with skeletons, (bodies) pierced by spears,
 hanged (bodies), (bodies) half burnt,¹ with skulls,
 legs, headless trunks, hands, heads, with snakes
 of various pleasing sorts, the 'cow-nosed' snakes,
 50a5 and lizards,² with lions, and pigs, tigers, and
 goats, and also sheep, elephants, horses, donkeys,
 50b1 cows, and camels as the highest symbols.³ (They
 are endowed) with lotuses, various supreme symbols,

1 The Tibetan differs here: 'Likewise there is the cremation-ground (bsreg pa'i sa) (with) skeletons, impaled ones, with burnt black-brown bodies hanging down, moreover with half burnt and half not burnt bodies'. The commentary basically agrees with the Tibetan version with the exception of interpreting Tib. 'bsreg pa'i sa' as (sa bzī) 'four grounds' and (ro bsreg pa) 'a burnt body' (located on the first ground) (Sū. 204a7, p. 287-5-7).

The translation of the slightly corrupted Skt. is based on a careful comparison of the almost identical passages in the Saṃvarodaya-tantra and the Smaśānavidhi by Lū yī pā (ST XVII, 43b; Meisezahl, Smaśānavidhi, p. 40, śloka 26a).

2 The Skt. gonāsa(r) duṇḍu(bhais) (em. from duṇḍuvis) is rendered in Tibetan by "lce (=ce) spyān sgra ni sgrogs pa dañ" (=comm.) 'jackals who howl'. (This understanding was probably arrived at by way of 'gonāśa' (= gonāśana, 'cattle-destroyer' = wolf) understood as jackal and 'duṇḍu' (drum) as indicating its howls. A parallel passage in the Saṃvarodaya (ST XVII, 43a) has 'sarpagomukhaduṇḍubhādibhīṣ' : 'with snakes, "cow-faced" ones (crocodiles?), lizards, etc.'. Our passage can be understood in a similar way since 'gonāśa' could easily be 'gonāsa' considering the frequent interchange of s and ś in our MSS: 'gonasa', 'the cownosed', is according to the dictionary a kind of snake. If we read duṇḍu-(bhais) for duṇḍu(bhis) we get 'lizards' instead of 'drums'. It is more likely that this was the original version which could easily be misunderstood because of the probably rare expression 'cow-nosed'. Cf. also Meisezahl, Smaśānavidhi p.22, śloka 45a and notes to it.

3 The Tibetan version has 'the highest various blisses' which might be based on a misreading of 'saṃvarottamaih' for 'samayottamaih'. It also reads 'dogs' (Skt. śva) for 'horses' (Skt. aśva).

various foods, and the best liquors to be drunk.¹
 The heroes are in the manner of divine union. The
 different supreme Yoginī(s) hold in the hand the
 50b2 skull-cup (kapāla) and magic staff (khaṭvāṅga), the
 chopper (karttikā) and the highest ḍamaru-drum.

With the various divine music instruments, with
 the highest taste of the enjoyment of food, with
 the various kisses and embraces, with the highest
 of the highest nectars to be sucked, of that kind
 50b3 is the cemetery with Yakṣas, Vetālas, and Rākṣa-
 sas; giving just there the offering one should
 honour the form of Heruka. Given the ḍamaru-drum
 and vajra-bell sound and gestures are to be made.
 50b4 Clothed just in air joined by the Mudrā he
 shouts 'HŪM PHAṬ'. By the yoga of the ālīḍha-
 posture (stepping to the right) he exhibits (the
 gesture of) the blazing mudrā.²

1 The Tibetan leaves 'with lotuses, various supreme symbols' out. The Skt. equivalent 'padmair nānāvidhisamayottamaiḥ' does indeed not fit from a metrical point of view because by itself it is only the second part of a half-vers which cannot be combined with the already complete verses before and after. It is probable that also in the Skt. a portion is missing. But also in the continuation the Skt. and Tibetan differ, the Skt. has actually again 'lotus' now in place of Tibetan 'food' and a difficult reading 'tacottamaiḥ/tavottamaiḥ' (cpd. with 'tava': 'strength'?) for Tibetan "btuñ ba'i mchog": 'the highest (liquors) to be drunk'. It seems to be better to follow the Tibetan here because the second mentioning of 'lotus' in the Sanskrit version is redundant.

The ceremony indicated here and below is referred to in the commentary as performing the 'Gaṇacakra' (tshogs pa'i 'khor byed/tshogs 'khor 'dzin) also mentioned HT II, vii, 6-13 (Sū. 204b1f., p. 288-1-f.).

2 The commentary glosses: 'he binds the PHEM PHEM-mudrā (with) the hand' (Sū. 204b4, p. 288-1-4). It seems to be the same gesture as above 45a2 and Ch. XIV, 84b5 and 89alf. It is, in the same context, also referred to in the Tibetan text of the Vajravārāṇīsādhana of Advaya-vajra (=PTT rgyd 'grel, pha, ff. 305a1-306b8 edited by Meisezahl, Vārāṇī, p. 258).

Concerning the pledge with which he has filled¹
 50b5 his mouth he should recite in complete manner:
 'OM̐ ĀḤ ARALI HOḤ JAḤ HŪḤ BAḤ HOḤ you are the vi-
 sible pledge of Vajraḍākinī.'

In this way it should be (recited) three, four,
 51a1 or five times in the regular order and the inver-
 ted order filling it into those with the skull-
 cups.

With the vajra-hands (having formed) an opening
 on top he should recite the mantra: 'OM̐ KHA KHA
 KHĀHI KHĀHI may all Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, Bhūtas,
 51a2 Pretas, Piśācas, intoxicating spirits, demons of
 forgetfulness (Apasmaras), Dākas, Dākinis, etc.,
 accept that food offering, kindly protect my
 pledge (samaya), and grant me all accomplishments
 51a3 (siddhi). Eat, drink, smell whatever you wish and
 don't pass by. May, because of my summoning of
 all, arise the female helpers for the purification
 in the way of true bliss. HŪḤ HŪḤ PHAṬ SVĀHĀ.'²
 51a4 In this set forth manner at the four junctures

1 The commentary explains 'having filled the mouth with the five ambrosias' (SŪ. 204b4, p.288-1-4). According to the Vārāḥīsādhana referred to in the preceding note it is a 'pledge-pill' which is inserted into the mouth (dam tshig gi ril ba) (cf. 45b3).

2 Meisezahl points out that this mantra and also the above mantra occur in the Saṃkṣiptavajravārāḥīsādhana and Saptākṣarasādhana of the Sāadhanamālā (nos. 226 and 251). The second mantra, called 'Sarvabhautikabali-mantra' occurs also in the Raktayamārisādhana (no. 270). Both are also part of the Tibetan version of the Vārāḥīsādhana composed by Advayavajra and edited by Meisezahl (Meisezahl, Vārāḥī, p. 257f.).

Meisezahl ibidem p. 258 note 6, translates 'Sarvākāratayā' as 'auf jede Weise', probably deriving the meaning from 'ākāra' (form, shape). The translation given here is derived from the meaning of 'ākṛ' (to call near (a deity)) / cf. 'ākāraṇa n.' (summoning, calling).

(of the day) one should make them give the flesh¹ for the purpose of the great service (araṃkṛti) which is the solitary abiding in bliss. In the manner of the yoga after-concentration he shall indeed enjoy everything.

Thus is the IXth chapter named 'The method of destroying all the permanent karma' in the Śrī Abhidhānottarottara.

1 The meaning of 'flesh' is not illuminated here. It might be a reference to the ritual eating of the five kinds of flesh also mentioned in chapter 6 of the Guhyasamāja - tantra: 'He should accomplish the great flesh as flesh for food. He should accomplish the mysterious body, speech and mind that are in all siddhis. He should eat as food the sublime flesh of elephant, horse and dog and not partake of other food. (Wayman's translation, YGT p. 28, cf. p. 32 and p. 290 f.). A similar slightly more detailed reference to the eating of various meats can also be found in Ch. 18, 102a3 and 102a4. Cf. also Ch. 13, 88a5.

XIV. The chapter on the Yoginīs in the sacred places etc.

79a3 Now I shall tell something secret, the highest sacred places (pīṭha) and meeting grounds (melāpaka).¹

79a4 By way of the own being of all things may the single essence of mixtures arise.

When there is present the sameness of non-dual intelligence then he contemplates a four corner palace containing the circles of three colors. In the middle of that maṇḍala he imagines the highest
79a5 circle with twenty-four spokes.² There in the middle is a great lotus, which is a variegated brilliant double lotus with eight petals and a nave and adorned with filaments.

79b1 (The palace) is with four doors decorated with eight pillars and arches, furnished with garlands and half-garlands of pearls, fully provided with

1 There is no obvious reason in the text for just mentioning the sacred places (pīṭhas) located in the cardinal directions of the mind circle and meeting places (melāpakas) located in the East and North of the body circle as topic for this chapter.

2 Foregoing to the generation of the maṇḍala come the preliminary steps, the contemplation of the four immeasurables, etc., including the contemplation of the void which is alluded to here in the text prior to the description of the maṇḍala (Sū. 215a8-b1). The circles of three colors are the white, red, and blue circles of the body, speech, and mind of the Cakrasaṃvara maṇḍala of sixty-two deities (NSP-maṇḍala No. 12, colors according to CT p. 13f.). They are located inside the maṇḍala palace and the places of the twenty-four heroes and Yoginīs in them is like three times eight spokes (the Tibetan has 'the twenty-four highest wheels') of the three circles (cf. Lessing, Yung Ho Kung p. 130-132).

all the characteristics.¹

(One should contemplate) in the middle of the
 79b2 sun disc the great blissful Vajrasattva, and
 (from) the melted vowels and consonants (āli-kāli)
 the five knowledges. And through the transforma-
 tion one should contemplate the illustrious vajra
 as Heruka who is like the great annihilation at
 79b3 the end of time, destroying all those difficult to
 tame.² He treads on Bhairava and Kālarātri having
 them under the soles of his feet. He is with a
 mouth baring gruesome teeth, with three eyes, in-
 spiring terrible dread, having a supreme body with
 79b4 blue flames abiding in the supreme blue appear-
 ance-body.³ (He) is crowned with a string of
 skulls blessed by the five Buddhas, crowned with

1 The Tibetan formulation differs in details adding that the (palace) is 'square' and not specially mentioning the eight posts supporting the arches but instead mentioning four arches (with two posts each). A more detailed description of the Cakrasaṃvara maṇḍala palace can be found in the Cakrasaṃvara text edited by Kazi Dawa Samdup, CT p. 9 (Tib.)/p. 18 (Engl.). A discussion of the individual parts of the maṇḍala palace in general can be found in Wayman's 'The Buddhist Tantras', pp. 83 ff., 'Explanation of the parts of the palace'.

2 The description of Heruka and Vārāhī that begins here and goes up to 80b1 has been edited on the basis of a MS. from the Asiatic Society in Calcutta (which has not been used for our edition) by Dipak Chandra Bhatta-charyya in 'Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources' p. 23 f. (cf. variants to this chapter). The English text following the Sanskrit gives only a very rough translation and is very incomplete.

3 There is no explanation concerning the body with flames in the commentary which according to the Skt. version seems to be located within the visible blue body of the Heruka. The Tibetan, leaving out some words, formulates somewhat differently: 'He is blue and also manifests a blazing body (sno zin 'bar ba'i sku yan sprul).

- the double vajra and adorned with the half moon.
- 79b5 He has six faces which are heroic, abhorring, passionate, mirthful, furious, and frequently licking with the tongue. He is sealed with the six seals (mudrā) and the body is decorated with many adornments. He is fully endowed with Vārāhī making close contact with her two knees. He is standing
- 80a1 in the ālīḍha-stance (the right leg advanced), she in the pratyālīḍha-stance (the left leg advanced). He emits loudly the terrible sounds 'HĀ HĀ SA HŪM
- 80a2 HĪ HĪ', the sounds 'HŪM HŪM SA HAM' and 'AT-TATTA'. He has a blue, yellow, also a red, green, and likewise a white face, and above a very fierce face. He is enjoying the heavenly abode.¹ He is
- 80a3 furnished with vajra and bell, he presses the breasts of the goddess, he is holding a horrendous skin-garment with blood and dripping impurity,² the skull-cup, magic staff (khaṭvāṅga), chopper, hook, noose, head, the fierce mallet, and likewise the
- 80a4 ḍamaru-drum.³ He is beautifully adorned on the forehead in the manner of a spear (śakti) constituting a blazing seal (mudrā).

Abiding with the same hand- and (body-) color, naked, with loose hair, of such quality one should

1 The Tibetan has 'He is enjoying poisonous food'.

2 The Tibetan formulates a little different: 'wearing as garment the horrendous skin he drinks the moist dripping blood'.

3 The Tibetan has for Skt. 'raudraṃ muṅgaraḍamarukaṃ' (the fierce mallet and ḍamaru-drum) "gdug pa gtum zin caṅ te'u" (the wild and ferocious (sounding) ḍamaru-drum); 'muṅgara' is acc. to Edgerton = 'mudgara' (mallet, frequently occurring as hand-symbol, cf. Mallmann, ITB p. 18). Judging from the implements this form of Heruka has twelve arms.

contemplate her having a girdle ornamented with
 80a5 pieces (of bone). Of such sort is the contempla-
 tion of Vārāhī free from any doubt concerning the
 Yoginī.¹ She is endowed with insight and method,
 she is possessed of the true bliss of the delight
 in compassion. Having arisen for the sake of
 80b1 benefitting all sentient beings on account of a
 mind tender with pity, enjoying the enjoyment of
 the sky she is anxious with the sentiment of the
 great compassion. She is chiefly concerned with
 the work for the benefit of the sentient beings by
 purifying the six realms of existence. Having
 80b2 arisen from the knowledge of voidness she is with-
 out conceptualisation and without abode, without
 intrinsic nature, supreme and subtle.²

Without the sound of the drop (bindu), having
 seen the pledge (samaya) of sameness, they are the
 ones having the best inner and outer. In the
 80b3 heart one sees in the center of a moon-disk the
 knowledge-pledge (jñāna-samaya) with its color and
 emblems. Then, in its heart, one contemplates the
 vajra (marked) with the seed (-syllable) on a moon

1 The Tibetan has here 'yoga' (rnal 'byor) instead of 'Yoginī'.

2 In the commentary this description of Vārāhī is interpreted to refer to Heruka in the form with six faces and the generation of a second form of Heruka with four faces; for details see SŪ. 215b7ff, p.292-3-7 ff. The root text, however, uses feminine sg. endings throughout. The only exception is 'satvārthakṛtatat-parāḥ' which can be understood as fem. or msc. pl. The concord with the other endings in the passage, however, requires an emendation into fem. sg. ('-ā'). Thus the interpretation by the commentary which does not relate the passage to the goddess but the god appears to be questionable.

(-disk).¹

In that way one should do the imagination in the manner of the yoga of service.

- 80b4 One should make the placement of *Ḍākinī* (etc.) on the lotus in due succession:² In the East is the placing of *Ḍākinī*, in the North that of *Lāmā*,
 80b5 in the West is *Khaṇḍarohā*, and in the South likewise *Rūpiṇī*. Blue, green, red, and yellow, in that way are their four forms. They have three eyes and grimacing faces, they are furious, with loose hair, and clothed just in air. They are
 81a1 complete with all the adornments and 'sealed' in the manner of the five seals (*mudrā*). They hold the skull-cup (*kapāla*) and the magic staff (*khaṭ-*

1 I have had the opportunity to discuss the passage with the Venerable Trichang Rinpoche, the junior tutor of H.H. the Dalai Lama. He commented that the drop (bindu) refers to the drop-shaped Anunāsika sign of a letter *HŪM* inscribed on a vajra placed on a moon disk. It has to be imagined as not sounding. The 'pledge of sameness' refers to the five parts of the syllable joined together. 'Outer' refers to the external body of Heruka and 'inner' to the letter *HŪM* representing the essence of the mind.

The commentary is suggesting that this combination of the moon, vajra, and syllable itself is placed in the heart of the knowledge being located in the heart of a four faced Heruka whose generation is only mentioned in the commentary (see previous note). To agree with this explanation 'knowledge-pledge' must refer to the knowledge being (*jñānasattva*) (see *SŪ.* 216a4f., p. 292-4-4f.).

As place for the 'knowledge-pledge' the Sanskrit MSS. have 'vajra-disk' (*vajra-maṇḍala*) instead of 'moon-disk' (Skt. *candra-maṇḍala*) given in the Tibetan version followed here.

2 'The lotus' means the four petals in the cardinal directions of the eight petals forming the second of five concentric circles from the inside of the *Samvaramaṇḍala* called the 'knowledge-lotus' (cf. Ch. IX, 46a3) or 'circle of great bliss' (*Mahāsukhacakra* / bde ba chen po'i 'khor lo, CT p. 13).

vāṅga) rests against their left shoulder. They have the ḍamaru-drum and the chopper. The (necklace of) head(s) (represents) the highest pledge of the Dākinīs.

81a2 The skull-cups (placed) in the vases are filled with the 'Mind of Enlightenment' (bodhicitta).¹

One should do the placing in the circles (cakras) in the manner of her who has formerly obtained accomplishment (purvasiddhā) following the steps of personal blessing, etc.²

In the succession East to North in Pullīra-
81a3 malaya there is Khaṇḍakapālina and Pracandā. She is sky-white.

In Jālandhara is Mahākaṅkāla and Candākṣī. She is yellow.

In Oḍiyāna is Kaṅkāla and Prabhāvatī. She is green.

In Arbuda is Vikatadamṣṭriṇa and Mahānāsā. She is
81a4 sky-white.

1 The skulls in vases are placed on the petals in the intermediate direction of the knowledge-lotus. According to the Niṣpannayogāvalī (edited text p.26) the skull-cup placed in the South/East is filled with bodhicitta, the one in the South/West with blood, the one in the North/West with the five amṛtas, and the one in the North/East with the five lamps (ITB p. 50). The skulls on vases can be seen very well in the drawing of the Saṃvara-maṇḍala p. 132, in Lessing, Yung-Ho-Kung.

2 The term 'personal blessing' (svādhiṣṭhāna) is not explained in the commentary. According to the terminology used in the Guhyasamāja and Nāgārjuna's Pañca Krama it designates the third step of the Stages of Completion (saṃpannakrama) (YGT p. 171). In our context, however, it is unlikely to have this implication; judging from the general context it refers to an element in the process of generation discussed here and in the following. But in the absence of additional textual information it is difficult to say which precisely.

- In Godāvarī is Surāvairiṇa and Vīramatī. She is yellow.
- In Rāmeśvara is Amitābha and Kharvarī. She is green.
- 81a5 In Devīkoṭa is Vajraprabha and Laṅkeśvarī. She is sky-white.
- In Mālava is Vajradeha and Drumacchāyā. She is yellow.
- In Kāmarūpa is Ankurika and Airāvati. She is green.
- In Oḍra is Vajrajaṭila and Mahābhairavā. She is sky-white.
- 81b1 In Triśakuni is Mahāvīra and Vāyuvegā. She is yellow.
- In Kośalā is Vajrahūmkara and Surābhakṣī. She is green.
- In Kaliṅga is Subhadra and Śyāmādevī. She is sky-white.
- 81b2 In Lampāka is Vajrabhadra and Subhadrā. She is yellow.
- In Kāñci is Mahābhairava and Hayakarnā. She is green.
- In Himālaya is Virūpākṣa and Khagānanā. She is sky-white.
- 81b3 In Pretapurī is Mahābala and Cakravegā. She is yellow.
- In Gṛhadevatā is Ratnavajra and Khaṇḍarohā. She is green.
- In Saurāṣṭra is Hayagrīva and Saundinī. She is sky-white.
- 81b4 In Suvarṇadvīpa is Ākāśagarbha and Cakravarminī. She is yellow.
- In Nagara is Śrī Heruka and Suvīrā. She is green.
- In Sindhu is Padmanartesvara and Mahābala. She is sky-white.

81b5 In Maru is Vairocana and Cakravartinī. She is yellow.

In Kulatā is Vajrasattva and Mahāvīryā. She is green.

Or else, as one prefers, one may make the color by division of body, speech, and mind.¹

82a1 And likewise in the doors proceeding from the left in the East are 'She the Crow-faced' (Kākāsyā), in the North 'She the Owl-Faced' (Ulūkāsyā), in the West 'She the Dog-Faced' (Śvānāsyā), and in the South, 'She the Boar-Faced' (Śūkarāsyā). They are blue, red, green, and yellow.²

82a2 In the Southeastern quarter is 'She, Yama's Cremation-ground' (Yamadāhī) who is red, in the Southwestern quarter is 'She, Yama's Messenger' (Yamadūtī) who is blue, in the Northwestern quarter is 'She, Yama's Tusk' (Yamadaṁṣṭrī) who is smoke-colored, and in the Northeastern quarter is 'She, Yama's Death' (Yamamathanī) who is white-yellow.³

1 The colors green, etc., judging from the endings, are only the colors of the goddesses. The colors according to NSP-maṇḍala No. 12 are white, black, and red, for the goddesses of the circles of the mind, speech, and body respectively. The colors of the heroes are reversed, that is black, red, and white. The second method of imagining the colors according to the three circles is probably this one (ITB p. 51).

2 The sequence in the Tibetan differs: blue, green, red, and yellow. This agrees with the colors given in that order to Kākāsyā etc. of the NSP-12-maṇḍala (ITB p. 51, but 'black' for 'blue').

3 The colors indicated here are unusual. In the NSP 12 (Tucci's list in IT III 2, p. 33 etc.) they are two-colored. They are placed on the diagonals or dividing lines of the intermediate directions dividing the pledge 'circle' into four quarters of different colors. In accordance with their bodies being half in one section

82a3 The heroes Khaṇḍakapāla, etc., united with Pra-
 caṇḍā, etc., have one face and four arms, they
 stand in the ālīḍha-stance (the right leg advan-
 ced). They are furnished with a garland of skulls
 and clothed in a tiger skin. They have the
 82a4 five seals (mudrā) and are tightly embraced by the
 legs of the goddess(es). These are naked, just
 adorned with a garland of heads, have three eyes,
 and the forehead adorned with a vajra-garland.
 They are proficient in the praxis (yoga) of the
 82a5 non-dual embrace with vajra and bell, they press
 the breasts of the goddess. (The heroes) hold
 with their hands the skull-cup, magic staff, and
 ḍamaru-drum, or else according to the difference
 of the three families they hold the root symbols,
 vajra, wheel, and lotus. They are wearing just
 82b1 air as garments. The goddesses have the hair
 loose and are fierce.¹

'She, the Crow-Faced', etc., among the god-
 desses have loose hair and are clothed just in
 air. They are in the ālīḍha-stance (the right
 leg advanced), have three eyes and grimacing fa-
 82b2 ces. They have a head-ornament of a garland of
 skulls, they are adorned with a garland of heads.
 They have the five seals, all of them are art-
 ful in love and passion, they are united with

of one color and another section of another color, they
 are, if we follow the same succession as in the text,
 black (blue) / yellow, yellow / red, red / green, and
 green / black (positioned in the SE, SW, NW, NE) (ITB p.
 51).

1 The implements of the two-armed Yoginīs are the
 chopper and skull-bowl (Śū. 216b2, p. 292-5-2).

self-appearing 'means'.¹ They are squint-eyed
 82b3 and dwarfish², they have pending bellies and
 bodies with thick thighs and knees. They have
 grimacing faces and are very fearful. They
 (abide) on a sun (-disc) and lotus and are intent
 on accomplishing (their aim). If any practitioner
 82b4 wishes he may contemplate them by that stipulated
 method (but) as having impassionate faces. They
 hold the skull-cup and magic staff, the ḍamaru-
 drum, the chopper, and also the heads.³

82b5 One should imagine all of them who are in the
 maṇḍala as mounted on hungry ghosts (pretas).

(Having contemplated) the near-service (upa-
 sevā) relating to the maṇḍala of the troupe of
 Ḍākinīs by way of yoga one should commence the
 evocation (sādhana) by way of the yoga-placement
 on the limbs of the hero:

83a1 The nails and teeth are Khaṇḍakapālina.⁴ The hair

1 The commentary glosses: 'The goddesses the "Crow-Faced", etc. embrace the "self-appearing" hero (rañ snañ pa'i dpa'o dan 'khyud pa, Śū. 216b4). The implications of the passage and commentary are not completely clear since the 'crow-faced goddess' etc. are usually not represented with an external hero.

2 The Tibetan has 'in that way joined with the immovable one' (mi gyo ba dan de b'zin sbyor).

3 The twelve goddesses, the eight in the pledge-circle and the four Ḍākinīs on the knowledge-lotus have all one face and four arms. 'Heads' is glossed as 'necklace of heads' (Śū. 216b5, p. 292-5-5).

3 In this following list that relates the heroes (not the Yoginīs) to body constituents the Skt. is not consequent in the application of the case form. 5-times the constituents are given in the loc. case (plus one in a variant reading), 6-times stem in cpd. with the name of the deity, 12-times nom. case. These distinctions have not been expressed in our English translation. Similar to the Tibetan version which always uses nom. plus 'ni', the nom. case has been used.

The list should be compared with the Saṃvarodaya-

of the head and body-hair are Mahākaṅkāla. The skin and filth are Kaṅkāla. The flesh is Vikāṭa-damṣṭriṇa. The muscle is Surāvairiṇa. The bones are Amitābha. The kidney is Vajraprabha.¹ The heart is Vajradeha. The two eyes are Aṅkurika. The bile is Vajrajaṭila. The lungs are Mahāvīra. The intestines are Vajrahūmkāra. The coiled intestines² are Subhadra. The stomach is Vajrabhadra. The faeces is Mahābhairava.³ The parting of the hair is Virupākṣa. The phlegm is Mahābala. The pus is Ratnavajra. The blood is Hayagrīva. The sweat is Akāśagarbha. The fat is Heruka. The tear is Padmanartesvara. The snot is

tantra Ch. VII,1-15. In that chapter we find a list of veins (nādi) characterized by way of each being related to one of the twenty-four spots on the body and one of the body constituents. The veins are 'in' the twenty-four spots, and according to Tsuda's translation, if related to a solid part like the heart, etc., 'flow through' it (Skt.:cpd. with vahīnī/ Tib. 'bab), and if related to a liquid constituent, 'convey' it (same Skt. and Tib. formulation) (ST p. 260ff.).

1 The Sanskrit has 'bukke' (in the heart) probably corrupt for 'vrikka' (kidney) as suggested by the Tibetan 'mkhal ma'. Also the ST VII,7 has 'bukka' which has been translated in Tibetan by 'mchin pa' (liver).

2 Skt. has 'guṇavartī' (a cpd. of guṇa: garland and vartī: track) which translates in the Tibetan as gñe ma (C. Das, Tibetan Dictionary: 'coiled intestine', the twisted part of the colon or great gut; 'gñe ma' in turn according to the MV is Skt. 'antraguṇa' (intestinal track). ST VII has 'guda vartī' / Tib. 'gñe ma', Tsuda translates 'rectum' (cf. gudavartman: 'anus').

3 Tibetan has "lgañ pa" (urinary bladder). The corresponding 'vid' (fragment/pieces) in ST VII,11) is translated in Tibetan by "bśaṅ ba" (faeces).

- Vairocana. The mucus is Vajrasattva.¹
 In Pullīramalaya on the head is Pracandā.
 83a5 In Jālandhara on the crest of the head is Caṇḍākṣi.
 In Oḍiyāna on the right ear is Prabhāvatī.
 In Arbuda on the back of the head² is Mahānāsā.
 (These are the) sacred places (pīṭha).
 In Godavarī on the left ear is Vīramatī.
 83b1 In Rāmeśvara between the two eyebrows is Kharvarī.
 In Devikoṭa in the two eyes is Laṅkeśvarī.
 In Mālava on the two shoulders³ is Drumacchāyā.
 (These are the) secondary sacred places (upa-pīṭha).
 83b2 In Kāmarūpa in the two armpits is Airāvati.
 In Oḍra on the two breasts is Mahābhairavā.
 (These are) the fields (kṣetra).
 In Triśakuni in the navel is Vāyuvegā.
 In Kośalā on the tip of the nose is Surābhakṣī.
 (These are) the secondary fields (upakṣetra).
 83b3 In Kaliṅga in the mouth is Śyāmādevī.
 In Lampāka in the throat is Subhadrā.
 (These are the) chandohas.
 In Kāñci in the heart is Hayakarṇa.
 In Himālaya at the root of the penis⁴ is Khagānanā.

1 We may note that most of the body-constituents listed here already occur in the Pāli-Canon in almost the same order (Dīgha Nikāya, Sutta 22, Warren p. 359). In the Pāli-Canon the analysis of the body into these various parts serves the purpose to demonstrate its loathsomeness. Here in the Tantric context even the impure can be related to particular Buddha personifications.

2 Compare 43a5 in Ch. IX and note 2 p. 157: there the text has 'on the spine'.

3 Compare 43b1 in Ch. IX and note 3 p. 157: there the formulation is 'root of the arms', the meaning is the same.

4 See note 1 p. 159 Ch. IX.

(These are) the secondary chandohas (upacchan-doha).

83b4 In Pretapurī on the penis (liṅga) is Cakravegā.

In Gṛhadevatā in the anus is Khaṇḍarohā.

(These are the) meeting places (melāpaka).

In Saurasṭra on both thighs is Saundinī.

83b5 In Suvarṇadvīpa on both shanks is Cakravarmiṇī.

(These are the) secondary meeting places.

In Nagara on the (little) toe(s)¹ is Suvīrā.

In Sindhu on the upper side of the feet is Mahā-balā.

(These are the) cemeteries.

In Maru on the two thumbs is Cakravartinī.

84a1 In Kulatā on the knee(s) is Mahāvīryā.

(These are the) secondary cemeteries.

The earth element is Pātani, the water element is Māraṇī, the fire element is Ākarṣaṇī, the wind element is Padmanarteśvarī, the space element is Padmajālinī.

Vairocana is in the form aggregate. Vajrasūrya is in the feeling aggregate. Padmanarteśvara is in the ideation aggregate. Vajrarāja is in the motivation aggregate. Vajrasattva is in the perception aggregate. Śrī Heruka is the reality of all the Tathāgatas.

In the two eyes is Delusion-Vajra (Mohavajra). In the two ears is Hatred-Vajra (Dveṣavajra), in the nose is Avarice-Vajra (Īrṣyavajra), in the mouth is Passion-Vajra (Rāgavajra), in the touch is Jealousy-Vajra (Mātsaryavajra), in all the seats of perception is Sovereignty-Vajra (Aiśvaryavajra). In the mind is Vajra-Akṣobhya, in the speech is Vajra-Amitābha, in the body

1 See p. 159 note 3.

is Vajra-Vairocana.

84a5 In that way is the yoga of evocation (sādhana-yoga). The wise should by means of the yoga of the hook of one's own heart attract the knowledge-circle.

In that way one should accomplish the placing
84b1 (of the armor) and in due order the initiation (abhiṣeka).¹

Having made enter, having bound, on account of the union (yoga), by means of passion indeed having caused delight, (and) on account of their own nature having become of one taste, there one places the two armors.

84b2 OM HAḤ Vajrasattva is in the heart.

NAMAḤ HIḤ Vairocana is on the head.

SVĀHĀ HŪM Padmanarteśvara is on the crest of the head.

VAUṢAṬ HE Heruka is on the two shoulders.

HŪM HŪM HOḤ Vajrasūrya is in the two eyes.

84b3 PHAṬ HAṬ Paramāśva is the weapon on all the limbs.

OM VAṬ Vajravārāṇī is on the navel.

HĀM YOM Yāminī is in the heart.

HRĪM MOM Mohinī is in the mouth.

HREM HRĪM Sañcālinī is on the crest of the head.

84b4 HŪM HŪM Saṃtrāsanī is on the top of the head.

1 The attraction of the knowledge-circle, putting on of the armor, and initiation, these three parts briefly summed up here, follow 84b1-85b1 in a more detailed manner. What surprises here is that different from the parallel passage 44b4 already before the 'putting on of the armor' the union with the knowledge being occurs once and is again enacted after the putting on of the armor previous to the initiation as in the parallel passage 45a3. Cf. the commentary 217a3f., p. 293-1-3: 'After the absorption into the same essence of the knowledge being into the symbolic being the two armors are placed'.

PHAT PHAT Caṇḍikā is the weapon on all the limbs.

Having made the foremost knot indeed (with) the middle finger, the vajra of the thumb set firm,
 84b5 this (mudrā) should be placed on the level of the middle of the forehead (and then) he should cause it to turn in the manner of revolving and turning it. Pressing his foot down, looking upward, he
 85a1 roars the sound 'HET' upward. He should attract the heroes and Yoginīs from the world realms in the ten directions. By the application of 'JAḤ HŪM BAḤ HOḤ' having attracted, having made enter, having bound, he completely controls.

(He) sees the expanse of the sky completely full with heroes and Yoginīs. Then, holding the
 85a2 ambrosia-flask with the hands, she will consecrate with the knowledge water. On account of the offering of song and dance she shall bestow the initiation while (reciting) the mantra: 'OM SARVATATHĀGA-
 85a3 TĀBHIṢEKASAMAYAŚRIYE Ā HŪM PHAT SVĀHĀ.'¹ (OM the glorious time of the initiation by all the Tathāgatas Ā HŪM PHAT SVĀHĀ.). One should exhort by the song. Now the great Dākinīs have become satisfied, enraptured, and completely joyful in
 85a4 their minds. They indeed bestow the initiation: 'Great bliss through the enjoyment of the initiation! Great bliss through the assembly of the Dākinīs! (It is) the great joy of the one who is intoxicated. (It is) the great bliss of the as-

1 The mantra given here differs from the one in the parallel passage 45b1 with regard to the concluding syllables. In general the descriptions of the gesture and initiation given there are almost identical with the exception of some details of formulation. The same ritual sequence is mirrored with some additional descriptions in CT p. 22,5-23,8.

85a5 sembly of the Dākinīs. (It is) the great bliss,
the great bliss of muttering PAM and HŪM, the
great bliss of the assembly of the Dākinīs.¹ (It
is) the illuminating great bliss, the great bliss
(of) the assembly of the Dākinīs.

A LA LA LA HOH!

(It is) the very highest great bliss, the great
85b1 bliss (of) the assembly of the Dākinīs.

A LA LA LA HOH!'²

May (she) be satisfied on account of the great
bliss! She is abiding in the one taste of the
knowledge-pledge (jñāna-samaya). The knowledge of
85b2 one taste should be contemplated and likewise the
wheel of one taste.

(One should contemplate oneself) as Vajrasattva
endowed with the diadem of the five knowledges.

1 The passage: '(it is) the great bliss, the great
bliss of muttering PAM and HŪM' is not given in the
Tibetan text.

2 This song, centering on the idea of bliss to be
gained from yogic practices, like the song in Ch. IX, 48b
5ff., is written in Apabhraṃśa.

It is according to the commentary in particular re-
lated to the third initiation, the insight-knowledge
initiation. At the time of its recitation, through the
power of the great Dākinīs (mkha' 'gro ma chen mo rnam),
the experience of the four types of bliss is produced
(Sū. 217, 7f., p. 293-1-7).

The first parts of the song represent the void nature
of the five first perfections, thus for example 'great
bliss through the enjoyment of initiation' the void of
the perfection of giving, 'great bliss through the as-
sembly of Dākinīs' the void of morality, and so on. The
exclamation 'A LA LA LA HOH' indicates the enjoyment of
the four blisses or joys (Sū. 217a8-218b2, p. 293-1-8/
-2-2). Thus the song represents both the void and the
bliss which have to be experienced in conjunction on
this level (cf. Mkhas grub rje's explanation on the in-
trinsic nature of the insight-knowledge initiation, FBT
p.321).

By way of the root mantra etc. and the six heroes
 one is adorned with the Brahmin's cord etc. By
 85b3 way of Vārāhī's mantra one is adorned with a
 necklace on the neck. On account of the heart
 mantra of the god¹ one is adorned with the gar-
 land of fifty (heads). On account of the seven-
 syllable mantra there are the rings serving as
 ear-ornaments. Proceeding from the pākinī of
 85b4 the nature of all the Buddhas there are the top-
 most (hands) holding the (elephant's) hide. On
 account of the mantra called 'Six Yoginīs' one is
 endowed with the girdle serving as ornament. On
 account of the armor-hero in six divisions one is
 endowed with the body ornament(s) consisting of
 the seals. One is endowed with the mantra drink-
 85b5 ing vessel proceeding from the Yoginī(s) of all
 the circles. On account of the mantra 'Vairocanī
 etc.' one is endowed with the diadem made
 from skulls. One is endowed with a layer on the
 body formed by the twenty-four heroes.²

1 Tibetan: 'of the goddess'.

2 The practice indicated in this passage of creating the divine adornments from the deities of the Samvara-cycle is referred to in the commentary as the 'knowledge recitation of radiation and gathering back' (spro bsdu ye śes kyi bzlas pa). The commentary, when discussing the individual mantras and ornaments, does indeed refer to 'radiating' and 'gathering back'. In each instance it states that the ornaments are radiated from the respective mantras and in some instances explicitly states that afterwards they are gathered back into the mantras what probably applies to all of them. It is counted as part of the yoga of the great evocation (sgrub pa chen po rnal 'byor). This yoga, according to this commentarial passage, also comprises the 'tasting of the nectar', 'offering', 'praises', and 'presentation of the food offering' (bali/gtor ma) (Sū. 218a6, p. 293-3-6). An almost identical description of the ritual step at hand, the radiating of ornaments from the mantras, can be found in the 'Shrīcakrasambhara-Tan-

tra' (CT p. 27 (Tib.)/ p. 59f. (Engl.)).

With the help of the commentary (Sū. 217b4-218a2, p. 293-2-4/-3-2) the correlation of the mantras and adornments can be stated more completely as follows:

(The underlined terms are in the root-text, in brackets are inferential conclusions not explicitly stated in the commentary and references to CT p.27).

1. (Heruka's) root-mantra:
'kara kara etc.' (kara kara
la sogs pa'i rtsa ba'i shags)
(The root-text in addition
refers to the 'six heroes'
(the six armor heroes?) not
mentioned in this place by
Sūraṅgavajra. The remark of
the root-text, however,
agrees with CT which mentions
both the root mantra as well
as the mantras of the six
armor heroes).
 2. Mantra of Vārāhī of
eight padas (rkaṅ pa brgyad)
(CT: Mother's root-mantra).
 3. Heart-mantra of the god
(= Heruka) of 22 letters
(see 87a4).
 4. Seven-letter (near-heart)
mantra (of Heruka) (see 87a4).
 5. Near-heart-mantra of
mother (see 87a5) (CT:
'heart').
 6. Mantra of six armor
Yoginīs; six armor heroes
(the heroes presumably do
not constitute a separate
limb, they are already in-
cluded in No. 1.).
 7. Mantras from Yoginī's
from all circles (see 87blff.)
(CT : 'thirty-seven hero-
ines').
 8. Mother's heart-mantra
- The six seals consisting
of the Brahmin's cord
etc.
- Necklace.
- Garland of 50 heads.
- Ear-ornaments.
- (Emblems in five right
arms): the top right
hand holding the hide,
damaru-drum, chopper,
axe, trident.
- Girdle, tiger skin;
seals (the commentary
does not mention the
seals here but states:
'the six armor deities
are radiated from the
six armor-hero-mantras').
- (Emblems of five left
arms): hand holding the
hide, skull, khatvāṅga,
noose, Brahma's head.
(CT: 'hand emblems plus
four skulls in interme-
diate direction').
- Head-crown with five

86a1 In this way having thought of oneself as being protected by the application of the mantras one should always observe the conduct of a Brahmin. Having thought in that way of oneself as endowed with the mantra in the eight-fold division the self in a state of yoga is separated from all opposites.¹

86a2 One should contemplate by the yoga of radiating and gathering (and) commence the knowledge-recitation.

On the basis of the yoga of great evocation (mahāsādhana-yoga) one perceives the triple (...) ² sphere in the manner of the drop of the fierce

see 87a5) (CT: 'near heart') skulls, viśva-vajra,
cakra of bones with
eight spokes, and moon
disc on top of head.

The only difficulty arising from this list is that the necklace, ear-ornaments, and girdle are already included among the six seals produced from mantra No. 1 and thus redoubled.

Concerning the six armor heroes mentioned in the text after limb No. 6, the mantra of the six armor Yoginīs, it is unlikely that they constitute a separate limb in the only eight-fold mantra division referred to in the root-text 86a1. The corresponding ornaments, the seals as well as the six heroes themselves, have already been mentioned under No. 1. We might speculate that the six heroes were included here again in analogy to the six armor Yoginīs just preceding. The commentary is indeed silent about the seals mentioned as proceeding from the heroes in the root-text. It just states what is presumably true for all the deities here, namely that they are generated from the corresponding mantras. CT even goes a step further and mentions them only once under No. 1.

1 The Tibetan reads 'free from all fears'. The commentary seems to follow this textual variant stating that they are the fears consisting of the eight fears, eight sufferings and untimely death (Sū. 218a4, p.293-3-4).

2 The meaning of 'traiśā' without equivalent in T is not clear and has been left untranslated here.

86a3 vajra. Then one should diffuse the drop (located) in the opening of the tip of the vajra nose into the sphere of the space. In the manner of the subtle fierce vajra the wise one perceives all that which is moving and motionless and (then) diffuses the fierce cloud (located) in the hole at the end of the body-hairs.¹

1 The practice briefly summed up here can be done in place of the contemplation of the ornaments radiating and absorbing back into the mantras mentioned before (Śū. 219a5, p. 293-3-5). The present passage, describing actually two different manners of radiation, is not very transparent and the understanding made more difficult by the Tibetan translation which does not harmonize completely with the Skt. original. The following are the main points of difference:

A. The Tibetan reads 'should emanate' for 'perceives' and translates the instrumental rendered here as 'in the manner of the drop of the fierce vajra' by means of the particle 'las' (from): 'From the fierce vajra-drop (he) emanates into the three spheres' (rdo rje khro bo thig le las kham s gsum du ni spro bar bya).

B. The Tibetan reads: 'In the opening of the tip of the vajra nose, from the drop of the space, the radiating should be done' (rdo rje sna yi rtse mo 'bar spro bya nam mkha'i thig le las). In the Sanskrit, by contrast, the drop is the object of radiating and the loc. 'into the sphere of the space' (Speier § 134: 'Locative of the spot whither'; cf. the commentary: "nam kha'i kham su") the place whereto the radiating is done.

C. The locative 'in the hole etc.' is translated in Tibetan by 'from' (nas): 'from the hole etc.' (ba spu'i khuñ bu'i bar dag nas).

The commentary is in case A and B closer to the Sanskrit version. Concerning the contents, in short, we learn from it that the world and the beings (presumably visualized as deities, so Demo Lochoe Rinpoche in Dharmasala), viewed as a bindu in the hole of the vajra nose (=genital), are emanated into the sky (Śū. 218a6, p. 293-3-6). In case C the commentary supports the Tibetan interpretation: All existing things, moving and not moving, are emanated from the hole of the body-hair as subtle deities free from their (ordinary appearance) of being womb-born (phra mo'i lhar mñal skyas spans nas) constituting a fierce subtle cloud (khro bo phra mo'i sprin) (Su. 218a6f.).

- 86a4 By the thirty-seven steps (one should engage in) the yoga of contemplation on purity.¹
 The fixation of mindfulness on the body is *ḍākinī*.
 The fixation of mindfulness on feelings is *Lāmā*.
- 86a5 The fixation of mindfulness on natures is *Khaṇḍa-rohā*.
 The fixation of mindfulness on thoughts is *Rūpinī*.
 The base of magical power in longing is *Pracaṇḍā*.
 The base of magical power in striving is *Caṇḍāksī*.
- 86b1 The base of magical power in analysis is *Prabhā-vatī*.
 The base of magical power in thought is *Mahānāsā*.
 The faculty of faith is *Vīramatī*.
 The faculty of striving is *Kharvarī*.
 The faculty of mindfulness is *Laṅkeśvarī*.
 The faculty of *saṃādhi* is *Drumacchāyā*.
- 86b2 The faculty of insight is *Airāvatī*.
 The power of faith is *Mahābhairavā*.
 The power of striving is *Vāyuvegā*.
 The power of mindfulness is *Surābhakṣī*.
 The power of *saṃādhi* is *Śyāmādevī*.
- 86b3 The power of insight is *Subhadrā*.
 The *saṃādhi* limb of enlightenment is *Hayakarṇā*.
 The striving limb of enlightenment is *Khagānanā*.
 The joy-limb of enlightenment is *Cakravegā*.
- 86b4 The cathartic limb of enlightenment is *Khaṇḍarohā*.
 The analysis of the doctrine limb of enlightenment

1 The contemplation on purity is, according to *Śūraṅ-gavajra*, done as before (*Śū.* 218a7f., p. 293-3-7f.); see Ch. IX, 46a2 and note. The list is basically the same, the division according to the maṇḍala circles has been left out with the exception of the pledge-circle referred to at the end. Moreover, the interpolation 'these are the four doors to liberation' and 'I am consisting of the intrinsic nature of the knowledge of the ultimately pure dharma-sphere' (46b5/47a1) have been left away.

is Saundhinī.

The mindfulness limb of enlightenment is Cakra-varminī.

The equanimity limb of enlightenment is Suvīrā.

86b5 Right view is Mahābalā.

Right conception is Cakravartinī.

Right speech is Mahāvīryā.

Right bodily action is Kākāsyā.

Right livelihood is Ulūkāsyā.

87a1 Right effort is Śvānāsyā.

Right mindfulness is Śūkarāsyā.

Right samādhi is Śrī Heruka.

87a2 The generation of the virtuous natures so far not arisen is Yamadāhī.

The guarding of the virtuous natures that have arisen is Yamadūṭī.

The elimination of the sinful natures that have arisen is Yamadaṣṭrī.

87a3 The non-production of the sinful natures so far not arisen is Yamamathanī.

This is the contemplation of purity concerning the pledge-circle. Then, in mental equipoise one

87a4 should do the muttering related to the pledge-circle:¹

'OM ŚRĪ VAJRA HE HE RU RU KA HŪM HŪM PHAT DĀKINĪ-JĀLASAMVARAM SVĀHĀ. OM HRĪḤ HA HA HŪM HŪM PHAT.'

This is the heart and near heart.

87a5 'OM VAJRAVAIROCANĪ HŪM HŪM PHAT SVĀHĀ. OM SARVA-BUDDHADĀKINĪ VAJRAVARṆANĪ HŪM HŪM PHAT SVĀHĀ.'

This is the heart and near heart of the god-

1 The exclusive relation of the muttering just with the pledge-circle is not evident since the mantras of the deities of all the circles of the maṇḍala follow. Presumably 'pledge-circle' slipped in by error in analogy to the preceding 'purity concerning the pledge-circle'.

dess.¹

OM DĀKINĪ HŪM HŪM PHAT SVĀHĀ.

87b1 OM LĀME HŪM HŪM PHAT SVĀHĀ.

OM KHAṆḌAROHE HŪM HŪM PHAT SVĀHĀ.

OM RŪPINĪ HŪM HŪM PHAT SVĀHĀ.

OM KHAṆḌAKAPĀLINA KARA KARA HŪM HŪM PHAT SVĀHĀ.

1 In distinction to the 'near-heart mantra' in Ch. IX, 46a1, which relates to a four-faced form of Vārāhī, in this mantra the name 'Vajravarnānī' has been added. The name 'Vajravarnānī' occurs in the Sādhnamālā-evocation No. 232, 234, 236 (ITB p.429; cf. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, IBI p. 247). In that evocation the goddess Vajravarnānī features as a companion of Vajravārāhī and is located on her left while a third goddess, Vajravairocanī, has to be visualized on Vārāhī's right. Thus, Vajrayoginī's mantra as listed in the Sādhnamālā, contains not only the name 'sarvabuddhaḍākinī', an appellation of Vārāhī, but also the names 'Vajravarnānī' and 'Vajravairocanī'. It runs as follows: 'OM OM OM SARVABUDDHAḌĀKINĪYE VAJRAVARṆANĪYE VAJRAVAIROCANĪYE HŪM HŪM HŪM PHAT PHAT SVĀHĀ' (as quoted by B. Bhattacharyya, p. 160 in 'An introduction to Buddhist Esoterism').

In our text the name 'Vajravairocanī' occurs as part of the heart-mantra, both in this chapter as well as chapter IX. The other two names 'Sarvabuddhaḍākinī' and 'Vajravarnānī' belong to the near-heart-mantra. In a third version of the mantra occurring in Ch. XIX, 102a5, Vajravairocanī's name shows up in the near-heart-mantra. The names of Sarvabuddhaḍākinī and Vajravarnānī, however, are neither part of the heart-mantra nor the near-heart-mantra. We can assume that the different forms of the Vārāhī mantras found in our text accord with the fact that different forms of the goddess are invoked by these mantras.

Comparing the Vārāhī mantra in the Sādhnamālā with the ones in our text it appears that the mantra in the Sādhnamālā represents an earlier stage. This is because there the names in the mantra correspond to the goddesses invoked. In our text the names used in the mantra are all applied to one single goddess, to Vārāhī. The names originally applied to other goddesses of a more secondary nature have been absorbed by the more important goddess and serve to differentiate the variety of her forms.

Surprising is that the variety of Heruka's forms in Ch. IX and XIV is not expressed in a corresponding variety of mantras as in Vārāhī's case. Only the mantra of Heruka in Ch. XIX differs from the others.

87b2 OM PRACAṆḌE HŪM HŪM PHAṬ SVĀHĀ...etc.,etc.¹

88b4 Thus, in that manner one should do the recitation according to one's inclination (counting)
88b5 with thumb and index finger using a rosary (made of) shells. By way of the prayoga of the four junctions (of the day) one closely attends to the recitation and contemplation. By way of the yoga of the pledge (samayayoga) he should enjoy the

1 The rest of the mantras of the twenty-four heroes and Yoginīs follow the same pattern as the first two of their mantras given here. It may be looked up in the Sanskrit portion of the edited text if needed.

The mantras are made up of the opening OM, the name of the deity invoked, and the concluding HŪM HŪM PHAṬ SVĀHĀ. The mantras of the male deities are distinguished from those of the goddesses by an additional element inserted after the name of the deity. This additional element is in many of the instances a short verbal exhortation which is repeated twice. The ones which can readily be understood are the following: Kara kara: effect! effect!, kuru kuru: accomplish! accomplish!, bandha bandha: bind! bind!, traśaya traśaya: frighten! frighten!, kṣobhaya kṣobhaya: shake up! shake up!, daha daha: burn! burn!, paca paca: roast! roast!

In two cases even some longer insertions occur: 'Bhakṣa bhakṣa vasarudhirāntramālāvalambino': 'devour, devour the marrow, blood, and string of intestins that are hanging down!' (cf. Finot, Manuscripts, p. 53: there the MS. reads 'vama' (vomit) instead of 'vasa' (from vasā) in the same mantra). 'Gr̥hṇa gr̥hṇa sapta pātālagatabhujāṅga(m) sarpaṃ va tarjaye tarjaye': 'Seize, seize the snake-demon gone to the seven regions under the earth or else threaten, threaten the serpent!' (A similar passage occurs in the rain-ritual mantra HT I, ii, 20).

The other expressions used like 'kili kili', 'siri siri' or 'haṃ haṃ', 'hri hri' in the mantras of the heroes may also have had a verbal origin, but their literal meaning can not be made out anymore.

The verbal meanings which can be determined betray the non-Buddhist origin of these mantras in coercive magic. This goes well with Bu ston's remark that the mantras have been rendered Buddhist by the application of the syllables 'om hūm hūm phaṭ (and svāhā)' (cf. Introduction p. 73).

pledge (samaya) and conclude the recitation.¹

- 89a1 One should offer the food-offering (bali)
according to the prescribed manner and likewise
(contemplate) the bliss in the maṇḍala. Naked,
the tuft of hair made loose, the true ascetic
should indeed offer the food-offering. Standing
in the ālīḍha-stance (the right leg advanced),
making the handgesture, he is equipoised. Having
89a2 made the foremost knot indeed (with) the middle
finger, the thumb of vajra set firm, (this) mudrā
should be placed on the level of the middle of the
forehead (and) then he should cause it to turn in
the manner of turning and revolving it. He should
89a3 recite the following: 'OM ARALI HOḤ JAḤ HŪM BAḤ
HOḤ you are the visible pledge of Vajraḍākinī HOḤ.'
In this way it should be recited three, four, or
five times.

- Having gotten into a state of nakedness with
89a4 loose hair by prayoga he is in elevated places.²

1 The ritual section referred to here is not clearly described in the following or in the commentary. Śūraṅ-gavajra just says: 'After the conclusion of the recitation one should enjoy the pledge of the five amṛtas by way of the yoga of the pledge in the four skulls. Afterwards follows the giving of the food-offering' (Śū. 218b1, p. 293-4-1). Comparing with the parallel section in Ch. IX we can conceive of the possibility that the 'pledge of the five amṛtas' mentioned here is tasted in conjunction with the recitation of the mantra 'OM ARALI HOḤ JAḤ HŪM BAḤ HOḤ etc.' mentioned below (cf. Ch. IX, 50b5 and Ch. XIX, 102b2f. and note). Prof. A. Wayman gives a short summary of a form of the rite of enjoying ambrosia (BT p. 116f.) but there are not enough indications so far to identify it with the form hinted at here. A form similar to the one mentioned by Wayman, but with more details, is mentioned in the 'Shrīchakrasambhara Tantra' edited by Kazi. There it is closely connected to the bali-offering and serves to purify the offered food-cake (CT p.28f.).

2 Acc. to the commentary on a high mat or cushion (stan mthon po) (Śū. 218b3, p.293-4-3).

Abiding with the body (turned) to the South, the food-offering (bali) has to be given in the first half of the night.¹ Having done the mantra-consecration according to the three realities (OM AH HŪM) in just that way following the set authority

89a5 he should join the two vajra-palms so that there is an opening on top and recite the subsequent mantra: 'OM KHA KHA KHĀHI KHĀHI: may all Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, Bhūtas, Pretas, Piśācas, intoxicating spirits, demons of forgetfulness, Ḍākas, and Ḍākinīs, accept that food offering, kindly protect my pledge (samaya), and grant me all accomplishments (siddhi). Eat, drink, smell whatever you wish and don't pass by. May, because of my summoning of all, arise the female helpers for the

89b1 purification in the way of true bliss. HŪM HŪM PHAṬ SVĀHĀ.'²

All the heroes and Yoginīs having made a dance of entering the great bliss abide in the manner of body, speech, and mind of the Bhagavān.³ Having

1 In accordance with the purpose of the ritual the food-offering (bali) in the form of a cake has different colors: 'For peace a white offering cake is designed, for increase a yellow one, for subduing a red one, and for fierce action a black one (Sū. 213b3f., p. 293-4-3f.).

2 This section on food-offering is the last part of the Steps of Generation (utpatti-krama/bskyed rim) discussed here, the following section according to the commentary deals with practices from the Steps of Completion (saṃpanna-krama or niṣpanna-krama/rdzogs rim) (Sū. 218b5, p. 293-4-5).

3 According to the esoteric speech of the Tantras 'body, speech, and mind of the Bhagavān' have to be understood as the three cakras ('wheels') in the body located in the region of the heart, throat, and forehead. Together with a cakra in the region of the navel they make up a group of four cakras. By yogic practices four types of bliss are produced in these centers (cf. Introduction p. 7). The commentary formulates: 'Be-

89b3 made Āli Kāli equal, then one should cause the joining into a line. The burning half line indeed flows down producing (the four joys). It flows in the form of bright juice (śukra) into the form of an ambrosia drop.¹ By the yoga of the
 89b4 'stirring churning stick' the splendour of knowledge has been impelled with the help of the wind of action (karma) in the circle of the navel. Smoke rises up, lights blaze. Around the Sugatas situated in the pledge-cakra (samayacakra) and those situated in the enjoyment-cakra (sambhoga-
 89b5 cakra) of the burnt Tathāgatas one carries out the

cause the great bliss has moved downwards (in the body) all the heroes and Yoginīs abide in the transformation-cakra, the body, speech, and mind, the steps of the tantric four cakras' (Śū. 218b5f., p.293-4-5f.).

1 This is an abbreviated description of the process repeated with more details and a different terminology in the passage that follows 89b4-90a2 (At least that seems to be the position of the commentary which introduces the second part with 'Of this (follows) the more extensive explanation' (de'i rgyas par bžad pa ni, Śū. 219a1, p. 293-5-1). Following the commentary (218b6ff., p. 293-4-6ff.) the main phases of the process can be summed up as follows:

1. The winds flowing in the left and right veins (Āli-kāli, Lalanā and Rasanā) are pressed down and united in the navel where the veins meet with the central vein called 'Avadhūtī'.
2. Through a rubbing motion, compared to the friction produced by a churning rope, of the right and left wind heat is produced in the cakras above and a letter HĀM located at the top of the head burnt.
3. The Bodhicitta-drop (presumably produced from the melting HĀM) moves downwards generating the four joys in the four cakras.

An extensive discussion of the same process is available in an English translation of bTson kha pa's commentary on the six yogas of Nāropa, in particular pp. 173-178 and pp. 190-192 (in Chang, Esoteric Teachings); cf. also pp. 204-207 in Evans-Wentz/Kazi Dawa Samdup, 'Tibetan Yoga'.

method of the three circambulations.¹ From the opening of the Ūṛṇakośa by means of the door which is the secret opening (the heat) goes up. One receives the knowledge-ambrosia from the Tathāgatas abiding in the spheres of the world in ten directions. By way of the crest aperture, the golden door called 'Jālandhara' it enters

1 The Tibetan differs from the Skt.: 'By this (fire) the Tathāgatas of the pledge-cakra have been burnt. After that it went to the enjoyment-cakra of all the Tathāgatas. By that method three times the circambulation has been performed.' (Dam tshig 'khor lo des de b'zin g'segs pa thams cad dag bsreg nas/ de b'zin g'segs pa thams cad kyi loṅs spyod kyi 'khor lor soṅ ste/ thabs des lan gsum du bskor ba byas nas). The commentary is consistent with the Tibetan translation, the Skt. which might be corrupt can not be made to agree completely.

The 'Tathāgatas' are explained to be the eight and six veins (rtsa ba) of the pledge- and enjoyment-cakra (=eight 'petals' of the dharma-cakra of the heart and sixteen(!) petals of the sambhoga-cakra in the throat described in ST XXXI, 24f.) (Śū. 219a3, p. 293-5-3). The 'circambulation' refers to a particular method of exhalation and inhalation with regard to the Bodhicitta-substance in the heart (sñiṅ ka'i byañ chub sems la dbugs 'byuṅ rñub gyi skor ba). It is not explained any further, there is no indication as to whether it is also done with regard to the sambhoga-cakra as the Skt. suggests (see Śū. 219a4). 'Smoke and blazing lights' (= fire-flies) are two of five signs (the mirage, smoke, fire-flies, changeable lamp, clear light like a cloudless sky) arising when the prāṇa (wind) enters the middle channel (cf. YGT p. 275f.; Śaḍ-āṅga-yoga p. 97; Chang, Esoteric Teachings' p. 190). In the 'Epitome of the abridged Six Doctrines' by Pad ma dkar po, the following explanation is found: 'Entering the median nerve of the navel center from the region of the perineum, the vital force moveth through the middle of the four psychic-nerve centres (cakras), and, becoming the fire-force of the wisdom of the psychic-heat, permeateth to all the seminal-nerve channels, and thus untieth the nerve-centres. In virtue of this untying, the Five Supernormal Signs appear' (Wentz/Samdub, Yoga p. 198).

Demo Lochoe Rinpoche, to whom I am indebted for a general understanding of this difficult passage, related the 'burning' of the nerves of the cakras arranged like petals also to the 'opening' or 'untying' of these centers.

(the downward path). Gone to the upper limit of the teeth, there it (proceeds) by way of the opening and comes to rest in the enjoyment-cakra. She generates the joy of the burnt Tathāgatas, afterwards it becomes firm in the navel center.¹ At that very place it goes out into the entrance (of the middle channel). Because of her (that is, the middle channel) the one which is just the 100'000 (th) part of the tip of a hair is not seen.² In that way he will abide in uninterrupted bliss.

By the yoga of being oneself the highest deity (svādhidaivatayoga) one should imagine everything to be one.³ He should also think that which can not be thought. Even if there is a thought (it

1 The second part of the process described here includes the upward movement of the heat up to the top of the head. The Tathāgatas are again explained to be the thirty-two veins (of a fifth cakra) at the top of the head. After the burning of these veins the ambrosia is said to melt (Sū. 219a5, p. 293-5-5).

The substance, of which afterwards the downward passage is described, probably is the śukra, the melted Bodhicitta-substance referred to above 89b3.

The opening above the throat-cakra most probably is the same as the 'hole of the uvula' (ghaṇṭikārāndhra) mentioned ST XXXI, 24. The burnt Tathāgatas referred to are the veins of the heart-cakra (Sū. 219a6) which after having been burnt produce a blissful sensation.

2 The Tibetan leaves the sentence 'At that place etc.' out and formulates differently: 'One does not see that which enters and becomes just as big as the tip of a hair split into a 100'000 parts.' (des skra'i rtse mo 'bum du gsags pa'i cha tsam yañ 'byun ba dan 'jug pa ma mthon ste).

The commentary says: 'entering into the Avadhūtī it is not seen because it is as subtle as just the measure of the tip of a hair split into 100'000' (Sū. 219a7, p. 293-5-7). It is not clear what it is that enters the central channel at this point. In general it is the aim to cause the winds of the left and right channels to enter the central channel. But the earlier reference to smoke and lights implies that the winds have already entered (see note 1, p. 213).

3 The Tibetan has 'in that way' ('di ltar) instead of 'one'.

should) not (be conceived of) in the manner of
 90a4 inquiring into it. He should indeed also think
 that which is thinkable, from that he will find
 the (thought) which remembers.¹

The magic staff (khaṭvāṅga) is the embodiment
 of the godhead, the sound of the ḍamaru-drum is
 insight. The Bhagavān who is the hero is called
 90a5 day, ḍākinī night. The sixth, the mind trans-
 formed, is the transformation of Śrī Heruka.² The
 transformation of the pure nature (dharma) is
 explained to be the form of Vārāhī. The word
 'Śrī' means the non-dual knowledge (jñāna), 'He'
 90b1 means the abandoning of the causes etc., 'ru'
 means 'the manifestation gone', 'ka' means 'not
 abiding anywhere'.³

The Yogin rests in his mind - the nirvāṇa is
 90b2 shown. At the time of death of the Yogins there
 are the heroes and Yoginīs, Śrī Heruka etc.
 (They) have various flowers in their hands and
 are furnished with flags and banners. After the

1 This sentence is rendered differently in the Ti-
 betan: 'On account of the non-existent contemplation in
 the mind one has completely abandoned the real and not-
 real. On account of the mind there is that mind which
 has thought. Whatever is found that should be seized
 (bsam du med pa'i bsgom pa yis / dños dan dños min rnam
 spañs yin / sems kyis bsams pa'i sems de ni rñed pa gañ
 gzun bar bya/).

The whole passage refers to various methods of the
 contemplation on the void, dealt with in some detail in
 the commentary (Sū. 219a8-219b4, p. 293-5-8/ p. 293-1-4).

2 This passage is not given in the Tibetan nor dealt
 with in the commentary.

3 The same explanation of the name 'Heruka' is also
 given in HT I, vii, 27 (and CT p.2) with the only differ-
 ence that 'HE' is explained to be 'the void of causes,
 etc.' (hetvādisūnyatā / rgyu soggs ston pa ñid).

offering of various songs accompanied with the
 various and many sounds (of musical instruments)
 90b3 there is the discursive thinking (vikalpa) called
 'death' and one is guided to the level of 'going
 in the sky'.

Thus is the XIVth chapter 'The Yoginīs of the
 sacred places etc.' in the Śrī Abhidhānottara.

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XIX. The chapter on the yoga of the four Dākinīs.

100b5 Then I shall impart that which has no superior,
101a1 the union of equality (samasa-āyoga), that is the
union of equality with all the Buddhas, the su-
preme vow of the Dākinīs.¹

In an instant he sees the engagement as Vajra-
sattva, likewise he should emanate. Produced from
101a2 both the vowels and consonants he (contemplates)
himself in the form of Heruka, having a yellow,
blue, green, and above a white (head) of mild
appearance.² Each is adorned with a crown of
skulls, has three eyes, compassionate and ter-
101a3 rible. He is adorned with (his consort) Vārāhī

1 Śūraṅgavajra comments: 'Having condensed the five circles (of the maṇḍala) it is spoken of as the vow of the yoga of the knowledge circle. Vārāhī of all forms (phag mo kun gzugs) is shown to be the highest pledge of Dākinī, the union of equality with all the Buddhas, the deities of the five circles' (Sū. 223b4f., p. 295-4-4f.). The knowledge-circle is made up by the eight petals of a lotus. On the petals located in the cardinal directions abide the four goddesses Dākinī, Lāmā, Khaṇḍarohā, and Rūpinī. In the center of this lotus is Vārāhī and Heruka. The practice in this chapter focuses on this circle with Vārāhī as the chief deity. It exhibits in condensed form the qualities of the complete maṇḍala of five circles (maṇḍala No. 12 in the NSP, cf. ITB pp. 50 ff. and Lessing Yung-Ho-Kung p. 130).

2 The process of generating the deity is given just in an abbreviated form here. As in chapters IX and XIV first the seven yogas inclusive the five preliminaries (sñon 'gro lña dan ldan pa'i rnal 'byor bdun) have to be completed. Śūraṅgavajra (Sū. 223b6, p.295-4-6) continues: 'In the fraction of one moment of generation by transformation (rdzus skyes) the maṇḍala (of the nature of) the supporting (base) and supported (residents) is radiated forth in an instant. In the middle of the lotus (produced) from the five steps of the 'five perfect awakenings' (see Ch. IX note to 42a3f.) is Heruka with four faces and ten (or eight) arms (see note ad 101 b2). The face in the center is blue, the one on the right yellow, the one on the left green, and the one on top white.'

and in the ālīdhā-stance (the right leg advanced and the left retracted) steps on the head (of) Bhairava and Kālarātri. He is fierce, tames the untamables, and removes all obstacles. Tied
 101a4 to the twisted locks of hair is a half-moon and placed on top a double vajra. The best of body is sealed with six seals as the supreme vow. He is
 101a5 wearing a tiger-skin and is adorned with a garland of heads.

Vajravārāhī¹ is red, naked, has her head-hair unbound, using her two legs she tightly embraces
 101b1 the (lord's) face, ornament, and body. She has a crown with a string of skulls. (Her) lips and (his) lips are pressed together. She wears a girdle with bells making a jingling sound. She is frenzied with the joy of the family.

(He) is furnished with vajra and bell.
 Vārāhī's breasts are adorned.² He holds a skull-
 101b2 bowl and khaṭvāṅga. He, the highest one, holds the noose and hook. Having raised up a Brahmin's skin he holds it up as an upper-garment. (He holds) a ḍamaru-drum producing a rattling sound intensified by being the sound of Dharma.³

1 Vajravārāhī mentioned here has one face and two arms (Sū. 224a1, p. 295-5-1).

2 The Tibetan understands the passage somewhat differently: 'With the (hands) holding vajra and bell he seizes the breasts of Vārāhī' (rdo rje drill bu mñam ldan pas phag mo yi ni sku tsa (= Skt. kuca) 'dzin). This description is basically the same as the one in Ch. XIV, 80 a3 (Skt. devīkucanipīḍitam / lha mo dag gi nu ma 'tshir) and suggests 'pīḍitam' (pressing) instead of 'maṇḍitām' (adorned). From the iconographic representations it is clear that the two arms of Heruka are crossed behind the back of Vārāhī pressing her in that way against his body.

3 As an additional emblem Śūraṅgavajra specifically points out Brahma's head not included here (Sū. 224a1,

101b3 On the left and on the right side one should
 contemplate the four Dākinīs: On the right Dākinī
 and Lāmā, on the left Khaṇḍarohā and Rūpiṇī.¹
 (The faces of Dākinī) are blue, tawny, white, and
 yellow, (each) with three eyes and fierce ex-
 101b4 pression. (The faces of Lāmā) are white, blue,
 green, and tawny, (each) blazing strongly. Then
 one contemplates these who are on the right as
 granting all the attainments (siddhi). On the
 101b5 left one should contemplate in the same way
 (Khaṇḍarohā) with a red, blue, green, and above a
 white face, then in the same way (Rūpiṇī) with a
 green, red, yellow, and a blue blissful (face).
 They stand in the āliḍhā-stance, these highest
 102a1 ones clothed just in air. With dishevelled hair,
 the mouth gaping, adorned with a garland of heads
 they trample on the four Māras.² They are adorned

p. 295-5-1). By inclusion of this symbol there would be altogether ten, each held by one of ten hands of Heruka. Not counting Brahma's head and assuming that the khaṭvāṅga is leaning against the shoulder held back by the arm with the hand holding the skull-cup there would be altogether eight arms.

1 This position to the right and left of the central couple does not necessarily imply that the Dākinīs are not in their usual place on the four lotus-petals (cf. 80b4f.). East being in front (or at the bottom), Lāmā positioned on the northern petal is on the right. Khaṇḍarohā in the West is accordingly on the left. Dākinī and Rūpiṇī, normally positioned on a single line on the front and back petals, are here possibly moved a bit to the right and left, so that both can be seen from the front.

2 The four Māras are Mrtyu-māra ('Death'-Māra), Skandha-māra ('Personality-aggregate'-Māra), Kleśa-māra ('Defilement'-Māra) and Devaputra-māra ('Son-of-the-god'-Māra). The translation of their names is according to Wayman who quotes an interesting passage relating the defeat of the four Māras to particular steps from among the Steps of Generation (YGT p. 224). For more information on the four Māras see 'Studies in Yama and Māra' by A. Wayman, in particular pp. 112ff.

with the five seals, hold the skull-bowl, khaṭ-
vāṅga, and the vajra-spear (vajraśūla) in their
102a2 hands. Above as garment they hold a human skin,
they have the bell and ḍamaru-drum, a head and
chopper,¹ they wear a girdle that produces a
rattling sound and with the foot-ornaments they
make the sound 'rula'. On top of a universal lotus
102a3 they stand in the middle of a sun disc, each
abiding on a single seat.

In the heart (one should contemplate) the
knowledge-pledge (-being) with color and emblems.²

With Akṣobhya's mark on the head one should in-
deed contemplate the Heruka-Vajrasattva.

102a4 By way of the complete contemplation having
created the single taste with the knowledge
(-being) furnished with the major and minor
characteristic marks (of a Buddha), one recites
the vow of the Dākinīs:³

1 The Dākinīs have eight hands, with two they hold
up a human hanging down behind the back serving to cover
the upper part of the body. The khaṭvāṅga has to be
imagined to be held back by the left arm with the
skull-cup. Cf. Sū. 224alf., p. 295-5-1f.: Sūraṅgavajra
mentions the ḍamaru twice, once in place of the kapāla,
probably by mistake.

2 The 'knowledge-pledge' (jñāna-samaya) in the heart
of the deity has been already mentioned in Ch. XIV, 80b3
(see note 1, p. 101). It presumably also here refers
to the knowledge being.

3 The commentary (Sū. 224a3ff., p. 295-5-3ff.) in-
forms us that the recitation takes place 'after the
completion of the highest victorious maṇḍala' (dkyil
'khor rgyal mchog) and after the steps of 'putting on
the armor, invitation of the knowledge beings with the
major and minor characteristic marks, offering and
praises to them, and initiation'. The steps 'putting
on of the armor' etc. mentioned here correspond to the
succession of events of the first part of the ritual
step called 'mahāsādhana' in Ch. XIV, 84b2-85b2 corre-

102a5 'OM AH ŚRĪ Vajraherukaṃ ḍākinījālasaṃvaram HŪM HŪM
PHAT SVĀHĀ. OM HRĪḤ HA HA HŪM HŪM PHAT.'

This is the heart and near heart.

'OM AH Vajravārāhī BAṂ Ḍākinījālasaṃvarī HŪM HŪM
102b1 PHAT SVĀHĀ. OM Vajravairocanī HŪM PHAT.'

This is the Heruka-Vārāhī heart and near
heart.¹

'OM Vajradākinī HŪM HŪM PHAT. OM Vajralāme HŪM
102b2 HŪM PHAT. OM Vajrakhaṇḍarohe HŪM HŪM PHAT. OM
Vajrarūpiṇī HŪM HŪM PHAT.' In that sequence one
should do the steps of recitation and contempla-
tion.

sponding to 44b4-45b1 in Ch. IX. The recitation itself is by the commentary referred to with the words 'one should perform the radiating and gathering of the knowledge recitation and the recitation by speech' (ye śes kyi bzlas pa'i spro bsdu dañ ṅag bzlas pa). The contemplation of 'radiating and gathering' is likewise referred to in Ch. XIV, 86a2. There it relates to the preceding practice discussed in 85b2-85b5 and probably also the alternative contemplation in place of this practice which follows 86a2f. (cf. Table L).

The term 'highest victorious maṇḍala' occurs again in the commentary 224b8, p. 296-1-8. There it appears to be connected with the phases previous to the mahāsādhana: 'By way of the first yoga of the five steps of the 'perfect awakenings' one generates the vessel and contents of the highest victorious maṇḍala, then there is the putting on of the armor, the abiding of the knowledge beings (etc.)....of the highest victory of the rite'. From the quotation it can be seen that it is followed by the 'highest victory of the rite' which covers steps of the mahāsādhana. This employment of the samādhi-names 'victorious maṇḍala' and 'victory of the rite' surprises, since in the Guhyasamāja tradition they are both related to the steps of the mahāsādhana (cf. YGT p. 160ff.).

1 Note that the heart mantra of Heruka differs from the form given in Ch. IX and XIV, whereas the near heart mantra is the same. The Vārāhī heart and near heart mantra differ in all three chapters but include common elements discussed in note 1 p. 208. One might have expected the mantras of Heruka also to differ in all three cases since three different forms have been described.

In the sequence of the four junctures by the 102b3 stipulated pledges and vows, in the manner of eating the five lamps one should always contemplate in the cemetery.¹ On account of the prayoga of seven nights the attainment (siddhi) can certainly not be stopped.² The yogin dwells invisibly³ and in various forms ecstatically. He makes 102b4 as his food what is edible and likewise his drink

1 The Tibetan says: 'by the non-dual pledges and vows'. The four junctures are morning, noon, sunset, and midnight, BT p. 118. *Sūraṅgavajra* states: 'On account of abiding in the vow of the pledge of the tasting of the amṛta one should perform the recitation always in the cemetery eating the five lamp-meats' (Śū. 224a5, p. 295-5-5). Although the remark does not allow any precise conclusion as to the nature of the practice intended here, it is helpful because it allows a possible correlation or even identification of this step with the one also only briefly hinted at 88b5 in Ch. XIV. Also there the commentary refers to the 'tasting of the pledge of the amṛta' (see note ad 88b5). The position of this step within the Steps of Generation also agrees with Ch. XIV which mentions it after the list of mantras to be recited. There it comes just before and may be in connection with the food-offering (bali) not explicitly mentioned in this chapter.

The five lamps are also related to 'meat' in Candrakīrti's *Pradīpodyotana*-commentary on the *Guhyasamāja* where five lamps are more specifically related to 'great flesh' (=human flesh) (YGT p. 290). In the *Guhyasamāja*-tantra Ch. 12 the pledges of the various meats, human meat, cow meat, elephant's meat, dog and horse meat are mentioned and each pledge related to a particular attainment (siddhi). The context, however, seems to be different from ours (see YGT p. 32).

2 The Tibetan formulates: the attainment (siddhi) of invisibility certainly is realized (mi snañ dños grub nes par 'grub). This refers to the fourth of eight mundane siddhis that can be obtained by the practice of the Stages of Generation (see FBT p. 221 and note 13).

3 The Tibetan differs: 'causing to see he also goes everywhere' (mthoñ bar byed par yañ kun 'gro). This might be an allusion to the second and third siddhi, the eye-ointment which enables to see all Devas and Nāgas, and the ointment enabling one to be swift of food. (see FBT p. 221, note 13).

what is drinkable. The great Yogin highly intoxicated by dance dwells just covered by the garment consisting of space. He will lose his obscuration.¹ He should eat the various meats that serve the function of food and menstrual blood along with faeces and urine. Engaged in the inner yoga he should always wander as a hidden person.² By the yoga of after-stability he sees with the knowledge-eye.

Thus is the XIXth chapter 'The yoga of the four Dākinīs' in the Śrī Abhidhānottara.

1 The sequence and formulation is slightly different in the Tibetan: 'Dressed in space on account of dance the obscurations (have become) non-existent. Intoxicated he abides like the intoxicated (ones). He engages fully in the great yoga'.

2 For 'concealed' the Tibetan says 'impassionate' (žen pas).

Blood, faeces, and urine are three of the five amṛtas in their unpurified form which also includes semen and human flesh (BT p. 116, YGT p. 290f.).

The 'inner yoga', moreover, is glossed as the 'yoga of the pairwise union of the illusory (body) and the clear light of the inner self' (nañ gi bdag ni rgyu ma dañ 'od gsal dañ zuñ 'jug gi sbyar ba, Śū. 224a6, p. 296-1-6).

XXIV. The chapter on the promulgation concerning the
family of the six Cakravartins.

115b3 Then furthermore I shall expound the sequence of the *Dāka*-family.

The families are explained to be of many sorts.¹

In brief there are the three and the five, and

115b4 six-fold families well known (and) possessing the highest praxis of the yogas. All in the retinue of the *Dākinī* (and) the three-fold realm without

115b5 remainder have arisen from the families and are (in turn) the chief source of all living beings.²

Moreover, the mother-family³ (all) merry and

1 The Tibetan reads 'mother-families'. The six families of the Anuttara-yogatantra-system are the ones belonging to Vairocana, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, Amogāsiddhi, Akṣobhya, and Vajradhara. Leaving out Vajradhara there are five families (corresponding to the Yoga-tantra families Tathāgata, Ratna, Padma, Karma, and Vajra in that order (FBT p. 101). The five Buddhas can be consumed into three, Akṣobhya, Amitābha, and Vairocana, Amogāsiddhi being absorbed into Vairocana, Ratnasambhava into Amitābha (Snellgrove on the authority of the *Suvisuddhasamputa* by Ṭaṅkadāsa, see HT Vol. 1, p. 61 note 2). A. Wayman, based on Mkhas grub rje's commentary on the Hevajra-tantra called Brtag 'grel (Lhasa Collected Works, Vol. Ja, folio 104a-3ff.), comments: 'The deities are grouped into five families because they are the purity of the five elements of the body, and the purity of the five personality aggregates (skandha). They are also reduced to three families because the practitioner's stream of elements (saṃtāna) have the three-fold grouping of body, speech, and mind, which the tantric path aims to coordinate with the Buddha's three mysteries of Body, Speech, and Mind.' (BT, p. 46).

2 The Tibetan has for 'the chief source of all living beings' 'with all their bodies arising separately'. The meaning of the passage is not quite certain.

3 Refers according to the commentary to the mothers of the family, that is the consorts of the Tathāgatas, Buddhalocanā, etc. (Su. 232b1, p. 299-1-1). The group includes besides Locanā also Māmaki, Pāṇḍarā, and Tārā; the fifth is variously known as Vajravārāṇī or Vajra-

delighted arose born from pleasure and cheerfulness of mind.

116a1 The very compassionate Lord, the master of the blissful family, taught and showed the seed (-syllables) which are the secret essence of reality: 'HŪṂ BHRŪṂ ĀṂ JĪṂ KHAṂ BAṂ.'¹

Then as the great mantra was spoken, all the
116a2 Buddha-sons shaken with delight fell into faint; then they recalled the Jñānavajra, to wit, Akṣobhya, Śāśvata, and likewise Vajrasūrya, Amitābha,
116a3 Amoghasiddhi, and Vajrasattva, the great bliss.²

These Buddha-bodies are known as Vajradāka (etc.) The first is known as Vajradāka, the second as Buddhadāka-born, the third as Ratnadāka,
116a4 the fourth as Padmadāka, the fifth as Viśvadāka,

dhātvīśvarī (BT p. 189; see also note 84 for references about differences in associating the consorts with the Tathāgatas).

1 From NSP p. 31 it is clear that these are the seed-syllables of Jñānadāka (Vajrasattva) etc. mentioned below. Instead of BAṂ the text there has OM and instead of JĪṂ it reads HRĪṂ.

2 The six Buddhas generated from the 'knowledge of the vajra-void' (Sū. 232b3f., 299-2-3) are the same as the six-family lords of the Anuttarayoga-tantra mentioned in note 1 p. 224. 'Śāśvata' is a name for Vairocana and 'Vajrasūrya' for Ratnasambhava (ITB p. 392, 320).

It seems that the Bodhisattvas, who may be identical with the goddesses mentioned, namely the retinue of Dākinīs and the mothers, evoke (text: 'recall') the Buddhas with the help of the mantra taught by the Bhagavān. The commentary stresses, however, that foregoing, as in the previous chapters, the five yogas plus the origination of the maṇḍala palace (on the basis of the four elements and Mt. Meru and the vajra) have to be imagined. Then the six syllables of the mantra are placed in different spots within the maṇḍala palace, presumably the places where the Buddhas will arise (Sū. 232b2f., p. 299-2-2f.).

The maṇḍala referred to is, as it will become clear in the following, the maṇḍala of the six Cakravartins (No. 25 of the Niṣpannayogāvali), see introduction p. 30 f.

and the sixth is just Vajrasattva.¹ These five should be known as Heruka and likewise Vajravīra.
 116a5 Enjoying the food of the sky (he) enjoys the food of the moon. In (his) magical manifestation enjoying the sky (he) delights in the enjoyment of the lotus. In (his) magical manifestation of various delights (he) is the highest of the manifold highest class. Stainless like the sky and pure like cool snow (he) has the best of (all) pure colors like the light of the lustre of the moon.²

(They) have three all-pervading pure eyes and
 11b2 abide on the double lotus seat. Abiding in the center of the moon and sun (they) are well seated in the cross-legged vajra-position. All wear on the hair with twisted locks a crown and likewise
 11b3 garlands of skulls. They are sealed with the six seals. All are seated on their (own) seats, elephants, lions, horses, peacocks, and Garuḍas.³
 11b4 Then they are all to be meditated above with Preta

1 In the NSP, Skt. text p. 79, Vajrasattva is called Jñānaḍāka.

2 The characterization and description presumably just refers to Vajrasattva who according to the Niṣpannayogāvali is white or black (NSP No. 25, Skt. text p. 79, line 7, just after quoting a passage from the Abhidhānottara, but not from this chapter). In the Thangka representing the maṇḍala of the six Cakravartins from the A. Knox Gallery (see note 1 p.23f.) the central Vajrasattva is white.

3 According to NSP, p. 79ff., Vajraḍāka is on top of an elephant (cf. ITB p. 190), Jñānaḍāka (Vajrasattva) on a lion (cf. ITB p. 201), Budhaḍāka also on a lion (cf. ITB p. 131), Ratnaḍāka on a horse (cf. ITB p. 317), Padmaḍāka on a peacock (cf. ITB p. 284), Viśvaḍāka on a Garuḍa (cf. ITB p.453). The passages from ITB cited in brackets contain summarized descriptions of the deities with references to other forms and images.

seats and conferring siddhi. The hands holding the vajra (etc.) touch the earth. The vajra-bell is placed in (the lap). (Their) face (expression 116b5 is terrifying. The wheel-bell and in the same way the jewel-bell is placed in (the lap). According to this sequence the lotus-bell and indeed also the viśvavajra-bell is found to be placed in the (lap).¹ All are the very highest vajras of the families.

117a1 One should draw the (six) lotus-circles (padma-maṇḍala) endowed with four doors.² They should be surrounded by a circle of vajras, wheels, jewels, lotuses, viśvavajras, and the middle one again with a circle of vajras. The outside maṇḍala has

1 NSP, Skt. text p. 79f., states that the vajra-bell (bell with a vajra-handle) is held by Jñānaḍāka, the wheel-bell by Buddhaḍāka, the jewel-bell by Ratnaḍāka, the lotus-bell by Padmaḍāka, the vajra-bell by Vajraḍāka, and viśvavajra-bell by Viśvaḍāka. Besides, each of them also holds an emblem corresponding to the various types of bells, the first a vajra, the second a wheel, etc. These emblems indicate their families. We might call to attention that their consorts are not mentioned here, later in the text, or the commentary (for the only exception in a variant see note ad 117b2). Also the way their hand-position is described, one on the lap, the other showing the earth-touching gesture, indicates that unlike the ones in the Niṣpannayogāvali they seem to be without their consorts.

2 The Tibetan says 'six maṇḍalas' instead of 'lotus-maṇḍalas'. From the Thanka of the Knox Gallery of the six Cakravartin maṇḍala (see note 1 p.23f.) it follows that there are six maṇḍala palaces with four doors each. Inside each palace there is a circle made up by the eight petals of a lotus. It is this circle which, according to this representation, is surrounded by another very fine circle marked with vajras. According to the description which follows in our text, however, not all of the circles are surrounded by vajras; in accordance with the family-emblem of the Ḍāka in the nave of the lotus one is surrounded by wheels, one by jewels, one by lotuses, another one by viśvavajras, and two by vajras (cf. Śū. 232b7f., p.299-2-7f.).

117a2 to be drawn with a dwelling abode pleasing to the mind.

Afterwards one should arrange the six families, then in succession the sacred places etc.¹

In the middle maṇḍala one should place Vajrasattva possessed of great bliss. Just there in
117a3 the gate facing East in Pullīramalaya is Khaṇḍa-
kapālina and Pracandā. In the North in Jālan-
dhara is Mahākaṅkāla and Caṇḍāksī. In the West in
117a4 Oḍiyana is Kaṅkāla and Prabhāvatī. In the South
in Arbuda is Vikāṭadamṣṭriṇa and Mahānāsā. Vajra-
sattva is in the middle of the Pramuditābhūmi.
The heroes are black, the Dākinī(s) have the
117a5 color of ashes and the bright sky, the heroes
have the vajra and bell, the Dākinī(s) with the
skull-cup point the vajra threateningly.

In the middle of the Vimalābhūmi in the middle
of Vairocana's circle there is the Lord Buddha-
117b1 dāka possessed of great bliss. Beginning with the
Eastern gate, there is in Godāvari Surāvairiṇa and
Vīramatī. In the North in Rāmeśvara is Amitābha
and Kharvarī. In the West in Devikoṭa is Vajra-
117b2 prabha and Laṅkeśvarī. In the South in Mālava is
Vajradeha and Drumacchāyā. The body of the heroes

1 'Sacred places (pīṭha) etc.' means the four pīṭhas, four upapīṭhas, four kṣētras and upakṣētras, four chandohas and upacchandohas, four melāpakas and upamelāpakas, four śmaśānas and upaśmaśānas associated with the heroes and Yoginīs (cf. note 1 p.26). In the following the places will be arranged on the petals facing the four gates inside the six smaller maṇḍala palaces ruled by the six Dāka-Herukas abiding in the nave of the lotus. The maṇḍalas will be dealt with in the succession of starting with Vajrasattva-Jñānadāka's maṇḍala palace below in the East. The remaining palaces are then dealt with successively moving from the East towards the South in clockwise direction.

is white, The Dākinī(s) are yellow.¹

In the middle of the Prabhākarībhūmi is Ratna-
117b3 dāka. Beginning with the Eastern gate there is in
Kāmarūpa Aṅkurika and Airāvatī. In the North in
Odra is Vajrajaṭila and Mahābhairavā. In the West
in Triśakūni is Mahāvīra and Vayūvegā. In the
117b4 South in Kośalā is Vajrahūmkāra and Surābhakṣī.

The heroes are yellow, the Dākinī(s) green.

In the middle of the Arcismatībhūmi is Padma-
117b5 dāka. In the Eastern gate in Kaliṅga is Subhadra
and Śyāmādevī. In the North in Lampāka is Vajra-

1 The Tibetan version adds here: 'In the middle of the Vimalabhūmi is Buddhaḍākinī.' Buddhaḍākinī is according to the NSP the consort of Buddhaḍāka (NSP, Skt. p.79). This reference to Buddhaḍākinī is the only indication that the central lords should be imagined with the consorts. There is no way telling for sure as to whether this Tibetan variant represents a later addition influenced by other systems like the one preserved in the NSP or whether it represents a genuine gloss or even original reading which expresses a fact just not explicitly stated but silently assumed by the rest of the text and commentary.

Remarks on the hand-symbols of the heroes and Dākinīs of this and the following circles are missing. According to the NSP, p. 79f. (Skt. text), they are for all heroes the same as those of the central Dāka, the wheel and wheel-bell etc. From the original Thangka in possession of the Knox Gallery (see note 1 p. 23f.) it appears, as far as it can be made out, that the heroes always hold the vajra and bell (inclusive the maṇḍala-lords). In this connection we may recall the passage in Ch. XIV which mentions the possibilities of imagining the heroes either with the root-symbols of the family or not as alternatives (see 82a5). The same applies to the Dākinīs, Caṇḍāksī etc. who according to NSP p. 80 (Skt.) exhibit the threatening gesture along with the respective family symbols. On the Thangka they all point with the right hand holding a skull-cup up into the sky while with the left arm they embrace the hero. The lord in the center of the maṇḍala has, according to the NSP and the mentioned Thangka, the same color as the heroes. His consort, however, differs in color from the Dākinīs accompanying the heroes.

bhadra and Subhadrā. In the West in Kāñci is Mahābhairava and Hayakarṇā. In the South in Hi-
 118a1 mālaya is Vīrupakṣa and Khagānanā. The heroes are red, the Dākinīs white.

In the middle of the Sudurjayābhūmi is Vajra-
 dāka. Beginning with the Eastern gate there is in
 118a2 Pretapūri Mahābala and Cakravegā. In the North
 in Gr̥hadevatā is Ratnavajra and Khaṇḍarohā. In
 the West in Saurāṣṭra in Hayagrīva and Saṇḍinī.
 In the South in Suvarṇadvīpa is Ākāśagarbha and
 118a3 Cakravartinī. The heroes are black, The Dākinī(s)
 yellow.

In the middle of the Abhimūkhībhūmi is Viśva-
 dāka. In the East in Nagara is Śrī Heruka and Su-
 118a4 vīrā. In the North in Sindhu is Padmanarteśvara
 and Mahābalā. In the West in Maru is Vairocana
 and Cakravartinī. In the South in Kulatā is
 Vajrasattva and Mahāvīryā. The heroes are of
 118a5 variegated color, the Dākinīs are of smoke-grey
 color.

Then one should surround the maṇḍalas on the
 outside with a Preta-garland. Outside of that is
 the viśvavajra.

1 The Niṣpannayogāvalī has 'green' (NSP p. 80 (Skt.)) what corresponds to a gold-green shade of body-color of the heroes in the cited Ṣaṭcakravartin-Thanka.

2 I am not certain what is meant by the Preta-circle here. It has already been mentioned in Ch. IX in a variant reading of the Tibetan texts, see note 3, p. 180. Like in the Saṃvara-maṇḍala of sixty-two deities referred to in that note also on the above cited Ṣaṭcakravartin-Thanka the Paṭika section of the palace-enclosure has representations of fairly emaciated human figures resembling Pretas.

3 This viśvavajra must refer to the crossed thunder-bolt on which the maṇḍala is established.

In the intermediate directions one should draw
 118b1 the *Ḍākinī(s)*: *Ḍākinī* and also *Lāmā*, *Khaṇḍarohā*,
 and *Rūpiṇī*.¹ One should draw four skulls (in the
 intermediate directions). In the intermediate di-
 rections² in the middle maṇḍala are *Ḍākinī*, the
 118b2 *Dūraṅgamabhūmi*; *Lāmā*, the *Acalābhūmi*; *Khaṇḍarohā*,
 the *Sadhumatī* (bhūmi); *Rūpiṇī*, the *Dharmameghā*
 (bhūmi). They are dark blue, yellow, red, and the
 fourth green in color.

118b3 There are the (four) 'She the Crow-Faced'
 (*Kākāsyā*) etc. *Ḍākinīs* ravishing to the mind.

There are likewise the (four) 'Yama's Crema-
 tion-ground' (*Yamadāhī*) etc. *Ḍākinīs*, the half-
 woman mistresses (*ardhanīśvarī*).³

1 The four *Ḍākinīs* are placed on the intermediate petals of the lotus in the central maṇḍala palace.

2 The Tibetan adds 'mtshams' (borderline). In all six maṇḍalas four skulls are placed on the diagonal division lines in the corners outside the lotus-petal circles. The intermediate petals of the five maṇḍalas grouped around the central maṇḍala, moreover, also bear each a skull-cup on top of a (lotus-?) flower (acc. to the cited Thangka of the *Ṣaṭcakravartins*). The commentary only refers to skulls on vases in the middle maṇḍala (*Śū.* 233a5, p. 299-3-5).

3 For the names of all eight deities see Ch. IX, 44a3f. The 'Crow-Faced', etc. *Ḍākinīs* are in the gate of the surrounding maṇḍala palace and the 'Yama Cremation-ground', etc. *Ḍākinīs* in the corners on the diagonals of that maṇḍala dividing the space into four triangles of blue, yellow, red, and green color (starting in the East below and proceeding in clock-wise direction, according to the Thangka cited above. Positioned on these lines each half of the body of the goddesses 'Yama's Cremation-ground', etc. has the same color as the triangle it is covering. This might explain that they are called 'half-woman' here, that is women with half the body of one color and the other half of another color.

A passage in Bu ston's 'bDe mchog spyi rnam don gsal' furthermore implies that all the eight goddesses comprise also the masculine side, the animal-faced *Ḍākinīs* by virtue of their heads and the Yama-goddesses by vir-

All the heroes stand stepping to the right and 118b4 are adorned with the five seals. As garment they have a tiger-skin and are adorned with a garland of heads.

Naked and with unbound hair is the beautiful one belonging to the family of the Dākinī.

They all abide above the Pretas. (In that way) 118b5 one should contemplate the highest maṇḍala. The Cakravartins etc. are indeed the maṇḍala with the highest vow.¹

(They) hold kapāla and khaṭvāṅga (in the left) and likewise the ḍamaru in the right. In that way 119a1 Dākinī, Rūpiṇī (etc.) are adorned with hand-emblems.

The 'Crow-Faced', etc. Dākinīs are sealed with the hook etc.² In the left (they hold) the khaṭvāṅga and drinking vessel, in the right hook,

tue of half of their body. (Bu ston, folio 61,2f.: 'sgo ma (em. from 'ba') b'zīs yab rñams gdon brñan gyi tshul du sbas / mtshams ma b'zīs yab rñams phyed gzugs kyi tshul sbas nas mo mo'i skur bstan pas mi 'am ci mo brgyad btul lo.' 'As the four gate-keepers, concealed by the method of 'borrowing' the faces of the fathers, and as the four goddesses of the intermediate directions, concealed by the method of (taking) half the body of the fathers, they (the before mentioned gods and goddesses) tamed the Kinnarīs by way of having exhibited the bodies of mothers' (the context is the account of the taming of Śiva's followers in the pīṭhas, etc., see p. 72)

1 The Tibetan reads: 'The lotus-dwelling Cakra(vartin) is the highest vow of the maṇḍala'. The import of the passage which interrupts the description of the various Dākinīs is not clear and not commented upon by Śūraṅga-vajra.

2 The Tibetan reads: 'marked with the hook, noose, etc.'.

119a2 noose, chain, and bell.¹

The 'Yama's Cremation-ground', etc. Dākinīs are with mirror and lute, (the symbols of) smell and taste in the right, the skull-cup and khaṭvāṅga (in the left), granting all the magic attainments.² Wearing the crown-adornment of their own family they stand on top of a skull-cup.

The circles should be contemplated each separately filled with the retinues.

119a4 By way of the (yoga of) Yoginī (etc.) among the yogas having seen the knowledge being in the heart and afterwards by means of the contemplation having made the knowledge-circle of one taste one should by the (method of) prāṇāyāma radiate the mind, knowledge, speech, and body.³ Having

1 The Tibetan version reads 'bell' for Skt. 'āveśana' (entrance) or 'āveśata' (?) for which I have no explanation. Also NSP p. 80 (Skt.) reads 'bell'. The names of the guardians in the doors of several maṇḍalas are derived from these emblems, thus we find in the gates of Vajrasattva's maṇḍala Vajrāṅkuśī, Vajrapāśī, Vajrasphoṭā, and Vajraghaṇṭā (ITB p. 44 on NSP-maṇḍala No. 3). We find that the fourth sometimes is called Vajrāveśā what corresponds to the 'āveśana' in the Skt. version of our text.

The colors of these goddesses are given as blue, green, red, and yellow (NSP (Skt.) p. 80). Taking this, their emblems and heads into account, we note that in the Śaṭcakra-vartin-maṇḍala they are arranged, beginning in the East, not in the usual counterclockwise direction, but clockwise.

2 The symbols of smell and taste are the conch-shell with perfumes and a vessel. The four symbols relate them to the four goddesses of sense-offerings, i.e., Rūpāvajrā, Śabdavajrā, Gandhavajrā, and Rasavajrā, who are, as Mallmann points out, arranged in the same way in the intermediate directions of NSP maṇḍala No. 1 and 2 (ITB p. 464).

3 The Tibetan shows some differences in formulation and expressions in that passage: 'One sees the knowledge being in the heart. Having seen by way of the application of all the yogas that knowledge-circle, by con-

119a5 uttered 'OM̐ ĀḤ VAM̐ HŪM̐' in that order through radiation and gathering back, through the prāṇāyāma method having opened (the cakras?), one should radiate.¹ In the sequence of stipulated praxis

templatation it is absorbed. Then by way of the body, speech, mind, and knowledge one radiates according to the succession after the bestowing of the initiation'. (ye śes sems dpa' thugs kar blta / rnal 'byor kun gyi sbyor ba yis / ye śes 'khor lo de mthon nas / bsgom pas thim pas byas nas su / sku gsuñ thugs kyi ye śes kyis / dbaṅ bskur nas ni rīm par spro/). The most striking difference is 'by way of application' for 'by way of the Yoginī' and 'bestowing of the initiation' for 'by (the method of) prāṇāyāma'.

Be it that one follows the Skt. version or the Tibetan version, by comparison with Ch. IX, 44b-45b5 and Ch. XIV, 84b1-85b1 we see that the abbreviated description refers to the first elements of the mahāsādhana: the union of the 'samaya-form' of the deities with the 'jñāna-form' (only Ch. XIV), putting on of the armor (not mentioned here), again union with the knowledge beings and initiation (mentioned in the Tibetan version), in Ch. IX followed by the 'tasting of nectar' and the 'prāṇāyāma' also mentioned here.

The reference in the Skt. to the '(yoga of) Yoginī' might intend the initiation bestowed by the goddess (cf. 45a4, 85a3). 'Among the yogas' probably is a summary reference to the different steps of yoga involved in this ritual phase. Śūraṅgavajra includes the above mentioned practices 'invitation and union with the knowledge beings, putting on of armor, etc.' in the section 'highest victory of the rite' whereas the previous discussion of the location of the deities in the maṇḍala is referred to as 'highest victorious maṇḍala' (cf. note 3 p. 220f.) (Sū. 233b6ff., p. 299-3-3ff.).

1 The Tibetan differs again: 'By these steps one should enact the steps of the prāṇāyāma (and) having done the radiating in equality the initiation has been given.' ('di dag ji lta'i rim pa yis/ srog daṅ rtsod pa rim par bya/ mlam par spro (acc. to sNar than) dbaṅ bskur byin.). The connection between prāṇāyāma and initiation which according to Ch. IX occurs before the prāṇāyāma is not quite evident. Also the Skt. version is nothing but a very brief reference to a particular inhalation-exhalation meditation connected with the 'radiating and gathering back'. The 'sphūṭikṛtya' of the Skt. text might refer to the 'opening' of the cakras, since the prāṇāyāma probably also here like in Ch. IX, 45b4 refers to the production of the four blisses.

one should practice recitation and meditation.

119b1 Then one (should) by way of muttering (recite) the
mantra of the pledge in due order: 'OM ŚRĪ MAHĀ-
SUKHA VAJRASATTVA DĀKINĪJĀLASAMVARAM HŪM ĀḤ HŪM
PHAT SVĀHĀ.....OM KHAM HŪM PHAT...etc.'. ¹

One should recite the mantras of the retinue
and of all the others who are in the true state in
that manner. One should recite those (mantras) of
the Dākas and Dākinīs accompanying the Cakravar-
120a5 tins. By the yoga of the great pledge the pledge
is the highest pledge; through the yoga of the
(non-) dual embrace one should recite the mantra
(and) attain success easily. The six Cakravartins
are successful in six months and certainly not
otherwise. ² The wise man should contemplate in
120b1 certainty either Vajrasattva, Śāśvata, Vajrasūrya,
Padmanartesvara, the King, Paramāśva, or Heruka in
the course of yogas by sequence of the sacred
120b2 places (pīṭha) etc. He should obtain (the in-

1 Here follows in similar position in relationship to
to the whole chapter as in the previous chapters the
mantra section beginning with the six mantras of the six
Dāka-Herukas, Vajrasattva, Buddhaḍāka etc. followed by
sixty short mantras of the forty-eight heroes and Dā-
kinīs and the twelve goddesses Dākinī, Lāmā, ..Kākāsyā
etc. The short mantras consist of the first syllable of
the deity preceded by om and concluded by hūm phat as
the first example of Khaṇḍakapālina listed here shows.
The rest of these mantras can be studied from the Skt.
text.

2 The Tibetan says: 'one may accomplish the six
Cakravartins in six months' which is easier to under-
stand.

3 In this enumeration of the maṇḍala lords in com-
parison with the list 116a2f. the appellations 'Padma-
nartesvara', 'King' (rāja), 'Paramāśva' and 'Heruka' are
new. 'Padmanartesvara' occurs in NSP 24 as a name for
Padmaḍāka, the Dāka-form of Amitābha (ITB p.284). 'King'
(rājā) might be an abbreviation for 'Vajrarājā' in Ch.
IX associated with the 'motivation-aggregate' (saṃskāra

struction) by the lineage of the Guru by the promulgation of the Yoginīs and by way of all the sacred places in due order. Otherwise the man-
 120b3 trin wanders (in saṃsāra) and does not see the promulgation.

Thus is the XXIVth chapter 'The promulgation concerning the family of the six Cakravartins' in the Śrī Abhidhānottarottara.

skandha) and thus would correspond to 'Amogasiddhi' (44 b2 and note). Also 'Paramāśva' is a possible name for Amogasiddhi (ITB p. 454 and note 7) and thus 'King-Paramāśva' might be a double name. (The Tibetan version, however, does not agree with this conclusion, because it separates the two appellations with 'and' (dañ)). Thus only Akṣobhya among the Tathāgatas has not been mentioned so far; from this we can conclude that 'Heruka' must refer to him.

XXXIX. The chapter on the characteristics of Yoginīs.

161b5 Moreover I shall expound another, namely the characteristic of the Yoginīs.¹

162a1 By merely understanding this the practitioner may attain siddhi.

1. The woman white like a lotus root, with elongated eyes (in the shape of) lotus leaves, enjoying white garments, with the scent of fresh

162a2 sandalwood, she delights in the assembly of the Sugatas and indeed she is known as born in the lineage of the family.

2. The woman like refined gold enjoying red and yellow garments, with the scent of the flower of the Campaka tree and Jasmine (*Michelia Campaka* and

162a3 *Jasminum Grandiflorum*), follows the one of terrible sentiment.²

1 These Yoginīs fall into two groups of seven. In the commentary (Śū. 250b5f., p. 306-3-5f., 251a8, p. 306-4-6f.) the goddesses of the two groups are referred to as the goddess(es) of purification and initiation respectively (dag byed dañ dbaṅ gi lha mo). The purification refers to the purification of the contemplation of the bliss-void (ibidem). In general there is very little information both in the root-text and commentary on their actual ritual function, the emphasis is on their characteristics divided into (body-)color, external appearance and behaviour (kha dog dañ dbyibs dañ spyod lam, 249a4f.) and division into different families (kula).

2 'Follows the one of terrible sentiment' (Skt. ru-drānugā / Tib. bzad po'i rjes 'gror 'gyur) could also be understood as 'She is of terrible sentiment'. The same is true for the next goddess who 'follows the one of heroic and furious sentiment' (Skt. vīrarudrānugā). In analogy to 'She goes with (lit. follows after) the family of the Tathāgata' and 'She always goes with the family of Vairocana' (Skt. tathāgatakulānugā / Vairocanakulānugā) the first way of translating was chosen. This also corresponds to the pattern established by the descriptions No. 1, 5, 6, and 7 to have a statement con-

3. She who is blue like the blossom of the blue lotus (*Nymphaea Stellata* and *Cyanea*), enjoys blue garments, and has the scent of the blossom of the blue lotus (*Nymphaea Caerulea*), she follows the one of heroic and furious sentiment.
- 162a4 4. The woman colored like a white lotus petal (*Puṇḍarīka*) with the scent of the lotus root is thus always possessed of the tranquil heroic sentiments.
- 162a5 5. The woman red-yellow, beautiful in a red cloak, with the scent of Jasmine (*Jasminum Zambac*) and the blue lotus (*Nymphaea Caerulea*), she certainly arises in the Vajra-family.
- 162b1 6. The woman, moreover, who is yellow-green, who enjoys white colored garments, with the scent of the Śirīṣa-flower (*Acacia-Sirissa*) she goes with the family of the Tathāgata.
7. The woman of reddish color who wears white colored garments, with the scent of camphor, she always goes with the family of Vairocana.
- 162b2 Those seven mentioned by me are indeed the families of the Yoginīs.¹
- She constantly delights in left-hand practice.

cerning the association of the goddess with a specific family (*kula*) the one followed here would probably be the family-lord. This would agree with the designation of the third of six families given in a note by the translators of Mkhas grub rje's 'Fundamentals of Buddhist Tantra': 'Śrī Heruka drag po'i rjes su 'gro ba' (going with Śrī Heruka of fierce sentiment) (FBT p. 100 note 2). The statement in No. 4 'possessed of tranquil heroic sentiments' (Skt. *śāntavīramatī*, without *anugā*) does not seem to fit this pattern, but one can assume that perhaps she is controlled by the same sentiments as the family lord she goes with.

1 For a correlation of these families with the families of the mandala deities, see Table G.

She has her own specific hand gesture (mudrā) and color. The letters of the family-charms (kula-162b3 vidyās) have their own colors.¹ They 'bind' their own (handgesture), they pronounce the word (vāc) arising from their own family. The woman who goes on the left is always on the left side of the Yogins.² He calls in a loud voice - she looks from

1 The Tibetan translation has 'By way of her specific color there are six families. The charms (vidyā) of the family and also the colors are six'. (rañ gi mdog gis rigs drug/ rigs kyi rigs pa'i yi ge yañ kha dog drug tu 'byuñ ba yin). The Sanskrit has no reference to six families here which agrees with the fact that seven families have been mentioned. The commentary does not gloss the first instance but in the second instance also reads 'six' (Śū. 250a5, p. 306-2-5).

2 The passage starting with 'the woman who goes on the left' up to 'his own family' and then continuing below with 'he always draws' up to 'they surely have their pledges' is almost identical with a corresponding passage in Ch. IX in the Saṃvarodaya-tantra edited and translated by Tsuda (ST IX,7-IX,10). Tsuda further points out that a similar passage also occurs in Ch. XVI of the same Tantra and Ch. XXVI of the Herukābhyudaya (PTT Vol. 3, 31-2-7f. and PTT Vol.2, 288-5-8f.).

Comparing the versions in Sanskrit (Tsuda's edition and our text) we note at first that the Saṃvarodaya leaves out one verse and two pādas (in English 'He is explained to have the pledge etc.' up to and including 'soil'). Further we note that just where the passage is missing the metre is disturbed, instead of the required 16 syllables for the śloka we have all of a sudden 24 and no apparent metrical form: 'kula kriyāṃ / na tyajati japati svakulavidyāṃ vidyā(m) ('vidyā' added by Tsuda on the basis of the Tibetan text) saṃlikhyate sadā/ (IX,9a): '(He) does not abandon the rites of the family, (he) always writes the charm.' The passage in our text where the Saṃvarodaya breaks off is as follows: 'kulakriyāṃ na tyajati svaśāstroktāṃ na muñcati / japati svakulāṃ vidyāṃ samayī sa vidhīyate//. The 16-syllable śloka is complete (vipulā / pathyā).

The two half-verses which follow are left out in the text of the Saṃvarodaya-tantra. Furthermore, we observe that also 'svaśāstroktāṃ na muñcati' is missing in the Saṃvarodaya but this alone does not account for the metrical disorder.

Perhaps if we look at the spot in our text where the

the left. The one who speaks ecstatically of women he is explained as having the pledge.

Whichever of the women he solicits he causes her to appear by the means of the seed-syllables of

Samvaroday continues again we will see the solution. Our text has: 'vāmāṅguṣṭam nikhanyāt tu bhūmi samlikhyate sadā /. The metre is a faultless pathyā. As we can see from this continuation the metre is disturbed in the Samvarodaya because the omission starts in the middle of one verse and ends somewhere in another verse. By inserting a second 'vidyā' not given in the Skt. MS., but occurring in the Tibetan version, Tsuda is able to make sense of the corrupted passage ('he always writes the charm') but, as we might add, not as intended in the first uncorrupted version, what he or the Tibetan translator could not know on the basis of their MSS.

The situation at the end of the two passages in common is less evident. The metre in the Samvarodaya is irregular in that it has 17 syllables. This, however, is not unusual and the metre can still be considered to be correct if we accept the rule stated by Edgerton that two short syllables can be regarded as a long one (F. Edgerton, Meter, Phonology, and Orthography in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, JAOS Vol. 66/67, 1946-47, p. 199, rule 10). Also the Abhidhānottara shows no metrical irregularity at the end, except for not finishing the sentence at the end of the half-verse after which a list of names follows.

(The Samvarodaya has:

sadbhāvaṃ yānti yoginyaḥ samayinyaḥ khalu durlabhāḥ/(IX, 10).

The Abhidhānottara has:

sadbhāvaṃ yānti yoginya(h) samayinyaśca ya(h) khalu/
durlabhā yoginīnāṃ ca dākinīnāṃ tathaiva ca/
pañcāmṛta samudbhavā...)

We might nevertheless on account of the omission in ST and disturbance of the metre in the beginning conclude that the Abhidhānottara has preserved the more original version. Probably the two texts have taken the passage from a third text and included it into their own structure. But until we have studied other common passages and also analysed the contents of the texts in detail there is very little to go by to say anything about the nature and extent of such common hypothetical sources. Naturally it is also conceivable that the Samvarodaya has at least in this instance been influenced by the Abhidhānottara.

162b5 the family. (He) does not abandon the rites of the family, (he) does not let go what is said in the manual of his own (lineage). When (he) recites the incantation (vidyā) of his own family he is explained to have the pledge. Whenever he makes a salutation it is done from the left side.

163a1 Should he converse with (one of) the women, she would certainly be inclined to him. Should (he) implant the left big toe in the soil, (she) always draws. Should (he) scratch the head (and)

163a2 with his hand (make a sign) while looking through the corner of the eyes, she is in the sense field of that performer the reminder of his own consort (vidyā). Having the finger placed on the cheek,

163a3 chin, or on the nose, he observes the recitation mantra as a mantra (to be recited) simultaneously with looking out of the corner of the eyes.

When the Yoginīs go in accordance with the truth they surely have their pledges. Whichever of the Yoginīs and Dākinīs are difficult to get, 163a4 they arise with the five amṛtas, (namely) Yāminī, Trāsinī, Kāraṇaṇī, Anekakāmā, Rūpisañcālā, Bhāsurā, Dākinī, the seven are assembled.¹ The individual 163a5 characteristic is explained here; Rūpikā, Cumbikā, Lāmā, Parāvṛtā, Savālikā, Anivartikā, Ehikīdevī, these are the Dākinīs in seven sets:

1. She both looks in a passionate way and both 163b1 knits her brows. Having attained a compact body afterwards she dissolves it. She mutters vehemently, wails, or for no reason she gets angry. 163b2 She, Ehikā Devī, is known as the one who has al-

1 For a discussion of the seven names 'Yāminī' etc. and their connection with the following group see introduction p. 50ff.

ways a smiling face.

2. She, the splendour of the assembly of the Sugatas, is known to be of the Vajra-family. She has to be known as Rūpikā who is calm and there is the non-dual worship by the hero.¹

163b3 3. Be it regarded as good or not as good, embracing the child she kisses (cumbati) softly the tuft of its hair. She has to be known as Cumbikā, the highest Dākinī having an abode among the foremost.

4. She looks from the corner of the eyes, with a frowning face she threatens with her finger, moreover she terrifies the breath, of whom this is the case she is called Lāmā.

5. When there are a boar, bear, wild cats, the breed of jackals, or Śiva's snakes² she frightens all of them, therefore she is known as Parāvṛttā

1 No. 1 and 2 form the description of Rūpikā in the Tibetan and commentary whereby the Tibetan leaves the end of the description of Ehikā-devī and beginning of the description of Rūpikā ('She mutters vehemently etc.' up to and including 'Vajra-family') out. Furthermore, the comment 'She is calm', which does not fit the rest of the description, is omitted in T. The commentary seems to presuppose at least the existence of the passage 'she mutters vehemently' up to 'who has always a smiling face' glossing it as 'first having been enraged afterwards she smiles' (Śū. 251a1, p. 306-4-1). Based on the structure of the sentence 'first' - 'later' one could also be tempted to see in it an interpretation of the obscure "(acc. to T 'first') having attained a compact body afterwards she dissolves it", but this is not certain. Otherwise the commentary does support the omission in T, specially because the last part of No. 7 "(She) is well known as not to be invoked" is taken as a statement concerning the seventh goddess from the Māmakī-family which according to the sequence would correspond to Ehikā-devī.

2 For a discussion of this expression see the introduction to the Sanskrit edition p. 281f.

('She who has turned back').

6. Rejoicing she conquers, having gone she does not return again (na nivartate), impassionate she

164a1 conquers boldly, she is known as Khaṇḍarohikā.

7. She has a sorrowful mind and whom she touches with the hands, a clod of clay, the Varāṇa tree (Crataeva Roxburghini), the hem of her garment, the Āru tree (Lagerstroemia Regina), he dies. She

164a2 is known as Anivartyā ('She who is not to be turned back') and well-known as not to be invoked.

While worshipping the hero should mark (the hand-seals of) the families of the Dākinīs. The
164a3 skull, the axe, the fang, the sword, vajra, and spear, these indeed are the fearful hand-seal(s) (mudrā) of the family as proclaimed.²

Thus is the XXIXth chapter 'The characteristics of Yoginīs' in the Śrī Abhidhānottarottara.

1 The Tibetan reads 'laughs' in both cases instead of 'conquers'. The Tibetan word 'rgod pa' reflects Sanskrit 'hasate' instead of 'sahate'. Although it is obvious that a scribal error is involved here, there is no certainty as to which version is the original; 'hasate' may as easily have been corrupted into 'sahate' as the other way around.

2 The Sanskrit omits 'vajra, and spear'. How these emblems have been correlated with the goddesses by Śūraṅgavajra can be seen in Table H.

XL. The chapter on the characteristics of Dākinīs.

164a3 Now I shall indeed explain another, the charac-
 /a4 teristic of the Dākinīs whereby one might rightly
 know the Dākinīs staying in the pledge (samaya).¹
 1. She is a red-yellow woman who emits the scent
 164a5 of the lotus flower. By herself she has a calm
 look and following behind she has an impassionate
 look. Those among women whose fingernails (are red)
 and likewise have eyes red with passion (in whose)
 house is drawn a lotus, they have indeed their
 164b1 origin in the Lotus-dancer family.²

1 The Tibetan differs here from the Skt. in as much as it seems to be the practitioner who abides in the pledge and not the Dākinīs: 'On account of the right knowledge he abides in the pledge of the Dākinī'. (gañ zig yañ dag ses pa yis / mkha' 'gro'i dam tshig la gnas pa). The two versions must not be contradictory because in all likelihood both the practitioner and the Dākinī are abiding in the pledge. The commentary which can be understood to support the Sanskrit reading contains an important statement concerning these Dākinīs which I would like to quote here in full: 'When the Yogin understands the characteristics of the Dākinī of the joy and bliss (prīti-sukham) belonging to the four absorptions (dhyāna), the Dākinī of the calming state (śamatha) abiding in the pledge of the vow of concentration (samādhi), produces the 'joy and bliss' of the first, the 'extensive inner bliss' of the second, and the 'mental bliss' of the third absorption' (bsam gtan b'zi dga' bde mkha' 'gro ma'i mtshan ñid rnal 'byor pa gañ zig ses na / zig gnas kyi mkha' 'gro ma b'sam gtan gyi sdom pa'i dam tshig la gnas pa b'sam gtan dan po'i dga' bde dan / gñis pa ni nañ, rab tu bde ba dan / gsum pa ni yid bde ba bskyed do / (Sū. 251a8/b1, p. 306-4-8f.). No statement about the fourth absorption is made here on which bliss is abandoned (cf. MV No. 1477), the emphasis seems to be on the blissful states. Also on another occasion she is called 'goddess producing the absorption' (bsam gtan bskyed pa'i lha mo, Sū. 252a3f., p. 307-1-2f.).

2 Within the maṇḍala this family is established in the circle of speech (Sū. 251b2, p. 306-1-2). In accordance with this, the symbol is the lotus associated with Amitābha.

2. She between (whose) brows is situated a trident and (whose) body is blue and white is (regarded as) belonging to the Vajra-family.¹ One should always
164b2 worship the vajra drawn in her house.

3. Produced in the family of Śrī Heruka she has to be known as Vajradākinī. There appears on her forehead a trident and also a pike. The eyes are
164b3 red, the (face and body) are red-yellow,² and the feet and hands are also red. She is always enjoying goats and cocks. One always worships the vajra-sign in her house. Produced in the family of Śrī Heruka³ without doubt they are dākinīs.
164b4

4. The cakra on her front appears indeed also on her hand. She is dark like a cloud. She always
164b5 wears a cloth around her forehead. Endowed with great fortune she also is an extremely virtuous woman. One always worships the wheel drawn in her house.⁴

1 This goddess of the Vajra-family belongs to the mind-circle (Śū. 251b3, p. 306-5-3). In accordance with this, Akṣobhya's vajra is mentioned.

2 Skt. gaurā acc. to MW 'white, yellowish, reddish', Tib. dmar ser 'red-yellow', Śū. 251b5, p. 306-5-5, just ser ba 'yellow'.

3 As goddess of the action-family she is placed in the pledge-circle (Śū. 251b4, p. 306-6-4). The statement in the text 'produced in the family of "Śrī Heruka"' must be considered as general statement true for all the particular goddesses, cf. 165b3. The vajra mentioned probably refers to Amoghasiddhi's double vajra. According to the fact that Tārā is Amoghasiddhi's consort, she is also said to belong to the Tārā-family (Śū. 251b5, p. 306-5-6).

4 This description belongs to a goddess of Vairocana's family placed in the body-circle (Śū. 251b6f., p. 306-5-6f.). The wheel is Vairocana's emblem.

- 165a1 5. Arisen in the family of Vajravārāhī (she is a)
 ḍākinī proud of power.¹ She is black like lamp-
 black and has prominent teeth. Always of a
 humble family she is endowed with courage. Always
 165a2 delighting in ablutions she is restrained in her
 speech. One always worships in a virtuous manner
 the vajra drawn in (her) house. She is arisen in
 the family of Vajravārāhī in the manner of 15'000.²
- 165a3 6. She has the appearance of yellow gold, (but) is
 ugly to look at with thick body-hair. On her
 forehead as well as in the hand a vajra is seen.
 She is always among the royalty, proud, and speaks
 165a4 the truth. She has the scent of the fragrant
 Mallicca plant (Jasminum Zambac), the great one
 always worships the vajra in her house. Arisen in
 the family of Khaṇḍarohā³ she is the highest lor-
 dess over the Yoginīs.
- 165a5 7. She always delights in meat, is emaciated, and
 of a color like lampblack ointment. On her fore-
 head is the shape of a pike (śūla). She enjoys
 cruel actions, always goes to the graveyard, is
 165b1 fearless and without frolic. On her front is a
 pike (śūla). One worships a skull drawn in her
 house. She, a ḍākinī, is arisen in the family of

1 'Proud of power' is the mental characteristic of this ḍākinī and refers to the pride based on the power of samādhi (Śū. 251b7, p. 306-5-7).

2 The commentary repeats the statement that she belongs to Vajravārāhī's family; instead of a location in the maṇḍala the location is given as the 'golden mountain'. Moreover, instead of 15'000 the commentary has 12'000 (Śū. 251b8, p. 306-5-7).

3 According to the commentary this is the family of Pāṇḍarā who is Amitābha's consort (Śū., p. 307-1-1). No placement is given.

the deity Śrī Heruka.¹

165b2 8. A woman of the color of a cloud she has uneven
teeth. She always engages in cruel actions, her
left tooth is broken. One always worships an axe
drawn in her house. Arisen in the family of the
165b3 guide² she is a Dākinī there is no doubt.

(One should consider) the one belonging to this
troup of Dākinīs to have arisen from the good
qualities of Heruka. The characteristic has in-
deed been stated for the sake of the practitioner.³

165b4 Thus is the XLth chapter 'The characteristics
of Dākinī' in the Śrī Abhidhānottarottara.

1 According to the commentary this is the family of
Māmakī who is Akṣobhya's consort. No placement is given
(Śū. 252a2, p. 307-1-2).

2 According to the commentary this is the family of
Buddhalocanā who is Vairocana's consort.

3 The eight different types of Dākinīs are in the
commentary said to have arisen from Heruka's samādhi and
undefiled vows. Moreover, the characteristics discussed
are said to be the characteristics of the ones to be
born in the human realm (mi'i yul du skye ba'i mtshan
ñid) (Śū. 252a2f., p. 307-1-2).

XLI. The chapter on the characteristics of Lāmās.

165b4 Further on I shall explain the characteristic of the Lāmās along with the complete collection of limbs.¹

1. Indeed the practitioner sees in her a round

1 Bagchi gives a summary of this chapter based on MS. No. 10759 from the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Our translation does not always agree with his interpretations (see Bagchi, Studies I, p. 59). A practice concerning the groups of goddesses called 'Lāmās' (Lāmā-varga) is described also in an ancient Hindu-Tantra, the Jayadratha Yāmala, according to Bagchi composed in the 8th century A.D. It is, moreover, referred to in the Śaivitic Sammoha-tantra which has already been introduced in Cambodia in the 9th century A.D. (Bagchi, Studies I, p. 49f., and p. 1f.).

The commentary (Śū. 252a7, p. 307-1-7) states that the descriptions of the goddess who exists in the division of the five families, is given in terms of body-color, external shape, and behaviour (spyod lam). We may also note that the commentary refers in this context to the goddess not as 'Lāmā' but as 'Tārā'. With regard to the general nature of this goddess the commentary says that she keeps the authoritative instruction concerning the generation of supranormal knowledge (mñon śes bskyed pa bkas gnañ ba nod pa'i lha mo, Śū. 252a5). Another reference to this quality connected with the goddess can be found in the commentary: 'one does the offering after having drawn a tusk in the house (of the goddess) on the 12th day and at that time the one possessing the sign of the knowledge having descended in the body makes a prophecy (luñ ston) concerning everything both in the past and also in the future' (tshes bcu gñis la khyim du mche ba bris nas mchod la / ye śes lus la babs pa'i rtags dañ ldan pa de'i tshe 'das pa dañ ma 'oñs pa thams cad luñ ston to/ (Śū. 253alf., p. 307-3-1f.). The passage indicates that on a special day the worship of the goddess prompts her to make clairvoyant statements about the past and future. The 'one possessing the sign of the knowledge having descended in the body' is presumably the goddess who later on is referred to as 'Dākinī of the knowledge that has moved down' (ye śes babs pa'i mkha' 'gro ma, Śū. 253a2, p. 307-3-2).

face.¹ She has always a bearded face and long
 hairy brows. She is beautifully dressed, is pure
 166a1 and gentle, unshakable she speaks the truth. She
 enjoys the true law, she has to be always known as
 the sister of the hero. Should the lotus gesture
 be shown or again the turtle gesture, (the showing
 166a2 of) the hide (or) the drinking vessels is held to
 be the answering gesture. On the tenth lunar day
 the lotus has been drawn in the house. Of the
 Lāmās who are (human) women this is the charac-
 teristic.²

166a3 2. They have drooping underlips and long eyes of a
 red-yellow color, they are most excellent, aus-
 picious and fortunate, yellow like the Campaka-
 166a4 flower, neither too tall nor too short, terrible,
 delighting in variegated garments, with three lines
 lying on the forehead toward the parting of the
 hair above. She laughs, rejoices, she stays on the
 166a5 path while boldly advancing. She always rejoices in
 tales of telling of death in wars.

Seeing such intoxicated one, one should make
 the lance (śūla) gesture. The left leg drawn up
 just like that one should exhibit the dancing
 166b1 movement. The swinging to the left is held to be
 (her) answering gesture.³ Her lunar day is stipu-

1 S.C. Das sub voce 'gdon' cites an unnamed source
 stating that 'a round face indicates possession of
 religious nature'.

2 This refers to the first of five families given,
 namely to the Lāmās belonging to the Vajra-family
 to be positioned in the eight-fold mind-circle (cf. Śū.
 252b1, p. 307-2-1).

3 In addition she exhibits the dancing movement with
 the right leg drawn up and makes the same gesture with
 her right which the Yogin has done with his left (cf. Śū.
 252b2f., p. 307-2-2).

- lated to be the eight and fourteenth. For her worship always a lance is drawn in the house.
- 166b2 This is the characteristic of the Lāmās who are the lordesses of the world.¹
3. On the formation of her cheeks one always sees a little hole. She is always red and yellow
- 166b3 having red-yellow eyes. Her hair is curled and tied around her head is a silken ribbon. Situated on her forehead one indeed also sees a single line. Likewise she has a long neck, she always
- 166b4 delights in red garments. She laughs and sings and with no apparent reason she gets enraged. She has a vacillating mind and she particularly will delight in quarrels.
- 166b5 Seeing her thus intoxicated he should exhibit the spear (śakti) gesture.² As the second gesture (she) should with great zeal show the bell gesture. The swinging to the left is held to be the answering gesture.

1 This refers now to the second family, the Lāmās of the lotus-family staying in the eight-fold speech-circle (cf. Śū. 252b3f., p. 307-2-3).

2 Besides showing the śakti-gesture with the threatening finger he, like in the previous case, exhibits the dancing movement with the left leg drawn up. Then the Yoginī does not only show the bell-gesture but also makes the dancing gesture of drawing up the left leg (while swinging to the left) (Śū. 252b4f., p. 307-2-4f.).

This concludes the remarks concerning the third family, the members of which are placed in the eight places of the goddesses, 'She the Crow-Faced', etc. in the maṇḍala (Śū. 252b5, p. 307-2-5). The name of the family is not given here, but, based on the complete list of all families given 252a6, p. 307-1-6, there is no doubt that it is the Action-family (this also agrees with the placement in the pledge-circle ruled by Amoghasiddhi of the Action-family (acc. to the Yoga-tantra division) cf. Mallmann p. 51; Mkhas grub rje (FBT) p. 102f.). A specific time for her worship is also not given in the commentary.

167a1 4. She is short and has thick thighs, she always
takes pleasure in yellow garments. She always
wears a cloth around the shoulders.

Seeing such maddened woman one should exhibit
167a2 the gesture of the vajra. As the second the ges-
ture of the conch-shell should be shown (by her)
with zeal. The swinging to the left is held to be
the answering gesture. The fourteenth is her
fixed time. In the house the vajra is drawn.¹

167a3 Of the Śrī Heruki Lāmās this is the character-
istic.²

5. She is hairy on all her limbs, she has black-
yellow eyes, she is terrible, disfigured, dread-
167a4 ful, has a large mouth and large teeth. Having
drooping lower lips, she has sunken eyes and a
broken nose. Having the skill of the Gandharvas
and the skill of acting she is cloud-colored and
fascinating.

167a5 If one sees such maddened one, one should exhi-
bit the gesture of the snake. As the second the
pike (śakti) gesture should indeed be shown (by
her) with zeal. The swinging to the left is held
to be (her) answering gesture.³ Her fixed time
167b1 is the eleventh, a tooth is drawn in her house. Of

1 Again in this case she answers also by exhibiting
the dance gesture of drawing up the right leg (Śū. 252b6,
p. 307-2-6). Presumably the Yogin did just the same
dancing gesture with the left leg drawn up just before.

2 These Lāmās belong to the Tathāgata family, also
referred to as 'Body-family' (sku'i rigs), and on ac-
count of that are placed in the body-circle (Śū. 252a6-
/b7, p. 307-1-6/2-7).

3 As to be expected also in this case the dancing
gesture of drawing up the right leg is part of her
answer (Śū. 252b8, p. 307-2-8).

the Vārāhī-Lāmās this is the characteristic.¹

Thus is the XL1st chapter 'The characteristics 162b2 of Lāmās' in the Śrī Abhidhānottarottara.

1 This is the fifth and last family and also in the commentary (Śū. 252a5/b8, p. 307-1-8/2-8) is referred to as 'Vārāhī-family' or 'family of Vārāhī's good qualities' (phag mo'i yon tan gyi rigs). As for the time of worship the commentary has the 12th instead of the 11th (Śū. 254a1, p. 307-1-1).

XLII. The chapter on the characteristics of signs and body-gestures.

167b2 Then I shall moreover comment on the signs (chomma)¹ of the Dākinīs by which the brother and sister² are truly recognized.

- 167b3 1. Should she show the left hand the meaning is 'I salute you respectfully'.
2. Should she show the ring finger the answering salutation is meant.³

1 According to Tsuda this and also the following two chapters correspond to Ch. 20 - 22 of the Laghusaṃvara-tantra (Tsuda p. 269 note 2). In Ch. IX of the Saṃvarodaya we find also a list of signs closely corresponding to the ones discussed in the Hevajra-tantra I, vii. The signs given here are different from those in the Saṃvarodaya and Hevajra-tantra.

2 The 'brothers' are the twenty-five heroes and the 'sisters' the thirty-seven Yoginīs of the Cakrasaṃvara-maṇḍala (Sū. 253a3, p. 307-3-3).

3 The commentary takes the two signs as related to each other as initial and answering sign belonging to the Yoginī Pracandā and hero Khaṇḍakapālina respectively (Sū. 253a4f., p. 307-3-4f.). In the same way the remaining signs are by the commentary understood to relate to the other gods and goddesses from the list of the twenty-four heroes and their consorts, presumably also in pairs of initial and answering signs. This is difficult to reconcile with the Skt. which uses throughout the feminine gender of the relative pronoun (yā) as subject. Thus the whole Skt. list, with the exception of Nos. 13-15, where instead of an interpretation of the signs answering signs are described, consists of signs done by the Yoginī. By analogy of the treatment of the same subject in the Saṃvarodaya and Hevajra-tantra and also the examples in the chapter concerning Lāmā, for each sign also a corresponding answering sign should be expected. Hence it is possible that in this list the corresponding signs to be done by the hero-Yogin are simply not given. The list contains twenty-three limbs and according to the Tibetan version twenty-four. Accepting the Tibetan version this would account for the signs of the twenty-four goddesses (cf. following note).

- 167b4 3. Should she strike her stomach it means 'We are hungry'.
 4. Should she show her forehead it means 'I came from the sky'.
- 167b5 5. Should she put the finger into the mouth it means 'I have finished eating'.
 6. Should she wag the tongue it means 'I am eating'.
 7. Should she touch the knee it means 'I am tired'.
- 168a1 8. Should she touch the tip of the finger it means 'I am rested'.
 9. Should she make the sound 'kita kita' with the teeth it means 'I eat meat'.
- 168a2 10. Should she show the right hand it means 'Do like that'.
 11. Should she contract her brows in a frown it means 'I am bound'.¹
 12. Should she show the Garuḍa (-gesture) it means 'I am liberated'.
- 168a3 13. Should she show the fist one should show the spear to her.
 14. Should she show the hair and should one note her grimacing (face) one should show the khaṭvāṅga to her.
- 168a4 15. Should she shake her limbs one should show the large tooth.
 16. Should she designate the hand with the hand it means 'One should eat the offering food'.²

1 This sign is only mentioned in the Tibetan version. It has the opposite meaning from the following sign with which it thus constitutes a pair. It is very possible that the Tibetan has here preserved an original reading. Because of adding this limb, the original numbering of the limbs in the Skt. had to be changed by one in each case in the following.

2 The mentioning of eating of offering food along with the signs relating to eating (No. 3,5, and 6) may

- 168a5 17. Should she show the right hand it means 'Do like that'.
 18. She touches the ear. It means 'One should stay'.
 19. She touches the fingernails with the fingernails. It means 'Death is certain'.
 168b1 20. She draws on the ground, it means 'Today I enter the maṇḍala'.
 21. She touches the chin, it means 'My son should be protected'.
 168b2 22. She draws with the left toe on the ground, it means 'My family elder protects'.
 168b3 23. She winks the eyes, it means 'Do like that'.
 24. Should she cause to touch the joints, it means 'Blissful lying together'.

Whatever (signs) there are of the female mes-

be a reference to a form of feasting in the Gaṇamaṇḍala in the company of the Yoginīs as described in the Hevajra-tantra II,vi,7-13 and the parallel condensed description of the (secret) initiation in the same text II,v,58-68. The feasting is said to take place in a lonely place like a cemetery or mountain-cave etc. Then, in a maṇḍala eight Yoginīs are placed around Heruka in the center. Subsequent to this the text (Snellgrove's translation) says 'one should eat the food with eagerness, the sacramental herbs and the special flesh. Having eaten and eaten again, one should worship the mother goddesses there (mātaraḥ)...one should honor them to a high degree and gain siddhi in their sompany'. The parallel text in II,v,58-68 also refers to the placement of the Yoginīs in the maṇḍala and besides the drinking of wine and eating of meat and herbs also explicitly refers to the ritual union (of the Guru) with the Yoginīs. After this first part the Guru causes also the pupil to enter the maṇḍala where he gives him the initiation. Sign No. 20 meaning 'Today I enter the maṇḍala' and sign No. 24. concerning the blissful ritual union could also easily be related to this description.

sengers (by means of them) all of them can be assembled.

168b4 Thus is the XLIInd chapter 'The characteristics of signs and body-gestures' in the Śrī Abhi-dhānottarottara.

PART II: INTRODUCTION TO THE SANSKRIT EDITION.

1. The Sanskrit Text and the Tibetan Translation.

1.1. The Sanskrit manuscripts employed.

For the edition of the eight selected chapters from the Sanskrit text of the Abhidhānottara-tantra we have used four different Nepalese Manuscripts (MS.). Two MSS. on microfilm have been obtained from the 'Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions' in New York. The institute has designed the two manuscripts as 'MB I-100' and 'MB I-26'.¹ For the purpose of this edition, from now on, they will just be referred to as MS. A and MS. B in that order.

Thanks to the help of Professor Wayman I have furthermore been able to obtain an additional microfilm of two other manuscripts in the possession of the University of Tokyo. In the catalogue of the Tokyo University Library they are listed as MS. No.10 and MS. No.12.² Here they will be referred to as MS. C and D respectively.

The sequence A to D of the designation given to these MSS. corresponds to the chronological order in so far as that order can be established at all.

MS. A is, according to the characterisation provided by the institute along with the copy of the text, written on palm-leaves. A characteristic feature of palm-leaf MSS., a hole in the middle of the page through

1 See 'Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts, A Title List of The Microfilm collection of the Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions' (IASW) New York 1975 (Only MS. MB I-26 is listed).

2 See 'A Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tokyo University Library compiled by Seiren Matsunami', Suzuki Research Foundation, Tokyo 1965.

which a string can be drawn to hold the leaves together, is clearly visible on the microfilm copies.¹

According to the (Newārī) pagination there should be a total of 194 leaves. There are, however, only a total of 154 leaves on microfilm. The other 43 pages are missing.² The omissions concern individual leaves or groups of leaves throughout the whole text. Thus the portions of this MS. used for our edition are also incomplete. The precise extent and place of occurrence of these lacunae are indicated in the sections listing the textual variants.

The six lines per page are, according to the information provided along with the microfilm copy of the MS., written in the Bhujimola script. A comparison of the script of the MS. with the tables of the Bhujimola script in Rājāvaṃśī Śaṅkaramāna's *Prācīna Lipi Varṇamālā*³ shows indeed that this observation is correct.

An important feature of this script is the 'Nepalese hook' in place of the horizontal top stroke of the Newārī and Nāgārī letters. It can be traced in Nepalese MSS. ranging from the 12th up to the 15th century.⁴

The actual form of the hook attached to the upper end of the vertical stroke of the letters opening to the left found in the MS. is considerably smaller and flatter than the one of the *Lipi Varṇamālā*. At times the opening is so narrow that the touching two lines melt into one. They are similar, indeed, to the form of the hooks of the letters represented in table VI, co-

1 See Bühler, *Indische Paleographie*, p. 89.

2 I am assuming that all the existing pages have been photocopied.

3 Rājāvaṃśī, *Varṇamālā*, pp. 25-29.

4 Bühler, *Indische Paleographie*, p. 59.

lums XI and XII, in the volume accompanying Bühler's Indische Paleographie. The MSS. from which these letters have been taken are from 1179 and 1286 A.D. respectively. The shape of the body of the letters in those tables is very close to the one in the Varṇamālā. Not intending to give a detailed discussion of all the differences between our script and the one in the Varṇamālā, I may point out a few basic differences concerning the letters kha, gha, da, and ya. Kha in our script resembles the Nāgārī ligature sya with the exception that the ya-like part is open at the top, is rounder, and almost reaches the end of the vertical stroke. The left part of the kha, resembling the left part of the square of the letter sa, becomes almost indistinguishable from the sa in ligature with ya, because it is also connected with the ya-like part by a fine horizontal line, closer to the top, however, than the stroke in sya: . It also differs from the kha in Bühler's table VI, column XI and XII, but resembles very much an older form listed in column VII (a MS. from 946 A.D.) except for the opening at the top. The opening might be a trace of the even more ancient form depicted in column I (400-500 A.D.). A variant of the form of our kha (without the connecting horizontal stroke and closed at the top) can be found in the Śrāvakabhūmi MS. analysed by Prof. Wayman.¹

The gha in turn could roughly be described to be similar to the ligature of modern ppa: . It represents a later development of a W-shaped original gha (, Bühler table VI, I-V) and corresponds to the form given in the same table, column XV (MS. from the 11th century). It is similar to the gha of the 12th cent. Śrāvakabhūmi-MS. mentioned above. This letter has no

¹ Wayman, Analysis of the Śrāvakabhūmi MS., p.6.

'hook'. Also, the letter da in the MS. differs from that in the Varṇamālā. There the da except for the hook is similar to the modern Nāgārī having a straight, vertical, little stroke above the round part. The da in our MS omits this vertical stroke and directly continues with the hook. This makes it almost the same in appearance as the da in column XI of Bühler's table VI and the da in the Śravakabhūmi-MS. mentioned above: .

The last difference we may point out here is the letter ya, which in our MS. resembles the Nāgārī or Newārī type (cf. Ch. George, Caṇḍamahāroṣana-tantra, table p. 92), but not with a continuous straight stroke on top but a stroke which normally is fat at both ends and thin in the middle (it sometimes appears like one continuous line) and looks like a wave (but different from the wave indicating e/o which begins already before the body of the letter): य (या yo). The yo corresponds closely to the one of table XI (and not the one of table XII) in Bühler's work on paleography.

There are of course further (minor) differences both with regards to consonants and vowels as well as ligatures, but for a general characterisation of the type of script the table in the Varṇamālā and additional remarks given here should be sufficient.

According to the colophon on page 194b, line 5f., the MS. has been copied by a scribe called Paramānanda in the Nepālī Saṃvat 258 (= 1138 A.D.)

The observation that the Nepālī 'hook' type of the script is limited to the period of the 12th up to the 15th century does not contradict this dating. The similarity of the letters with the type exhibited in the 12th century Śravakabhūmi MS. and the MSS. from the 12th and 13th century of Bühler's table, also speak for the genuinity of this date. We may add that the type of

our script differs considerably from the 'hook' type of MS A (placed at ca. 1380, also Bhujimola) tabulated in Christopher George's *Caṇḍamahāroṣana Tantra*.¹

The script of the other three MSS., B, C, and D is in all cases Newārī. MS B may be the oldest MS. if the conjecture made by the IASW-Institute is correct that the MS. has been copied in the Nepāli Saṃvat 863 (= 1763).² It has been written on Nepāli-paper. Moreover, none of the 92 leaves of 9 lines each, are missing. MS. C is dated in the colophon Nepāli Saṃvat 997 (= 1877). This MS. is written in a Newārī form almost identical with the one of MS. B. None of the 208 leaves of 6 lines each are missing.³ Also MS. D, which is not dated, is written in a Newārī form hardly distinguishable from the one of B and C. and therefore, tentatively should be placed in the same time period as these MSS. None of 245 leaves of 5 lines each are missing.⁴

1.2. The Tibetan edition employed.

For our edition the Sanskrit versions have been carefully compared with the Tibetan version as recorded in the Tibetan bKa' 'gyur. In particular the Peking edi-

1 CMT p. 90ff.

2 IASW: The Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions. The institute provides, along with the microfilm, a description of the MS. In that description the date is given as N.S. 863. The only possible basis for this statement would be the combination of the letter 'do' followed by the numeral '3800' given after the end of the colophon. For the time being I am not able to verify or reject this interpretation.

3 The Tokyo-University catalogue does not mention the type of paper, which is presumably Nepāli-paper. According to that catalogue chapter XXXIX is reported to be missing, which is incorrect.

4 Also in this case the Tokyo-catalogue does not mention the type of paper.

tion, photomechanically reprinted by the Japanese¹ (which I have compared word by word with the original blockprint of the sNar than edition kept in the Tibetan library in Dharamsala, India)² has been used. The two versions are, for the purpose of this edition, simply referred to as T. In cases where it is necessary to point out differences between the two editions the designations T 1 and T 2 have been used. The Tibetan translation has been carried out in traditional manner by a team consisting of an Indian scholar and Tibetan translator. They are given in the post-colophon of the Tibetan translation as the Mahāpaṇḍita Dīpaṅkāra Śrī-jñāna and the Lotsāwa Rinchen bzañ po. The colophon furthermore states that this translation was revised and refined by the Mahāpaṇḍita Jñāna Srī and Lotsāwa Khuñ po chos kyi brtson 'grus and after that again checked by the Paṇḍita Ānanda and by Lo Chuñ.³ Dīpaṅkāra Śrījñāna (Atiśa) arrived in Tibet in the year 1042 and the Blue Annals also record his meeting with Rinchen bzañ po who accepted him as a teacher.⁴ The fact that they cooperated in the translation of this Tantra is not specially recorded in the Blue Annals but it has also no information to the contrary. Thus we can assume that the Tibetan translation is based on an MS. which is certainly older than 1042 A.D. and thus more ancient

1 PTT-Peking Tibetan Tripitaka, This is the Tibetan Tripitaka, Peking edition. Reprinted under the Supervision of the Otani University, Kyoto. Tibetan Tripitaka Research Institute, Tokyo-Kyoto, 1956, bKa' 'gyur rgyud Kha 96b3-227b2 (p. 40-5-3ff.).

2 sNar than, bKa' 'gyur, rGyud Kha 53a7ff. Blockprint kept in the Library of Tibetan Works & Archives at the Headquarters of H.H. The Dalai Lama, Dharamsala.

3 T 1 227b5-7, p. 93-2-5/7.

4 Blue Annals I, p. 247 and 249.

than MS.A. The team work used for establishing the Tibetan translation guaranteed a very faithful translation of the Sanskrit original.

Along with the Tibetan translation we have also consulted the Tibetan translation of a Sanskrit commentary preserved in the Tibetan bsTan 'gyur. Its Sanskrit name is 'Mūlatantra-hṛdaya-saṃgrahābhīdhanottara-tantramūla-mūlavṛtti' (T rtsa ba'i rgyud kyi sñiñ po 'dus pa ñes par brjod pa'i rgyud bla ma rtsa ba'i 'grel pa). Its author is given as Śūraṅgavajra and the translator as Phags pa śes rab.¹ References to the commentary in this dissertation use the abbreviation Śū. This commentary has not been used so much for the editing of the text in the narrow sense because it does not quote the commented root-text in detail but only selected phrases or words. It has been more of an indirect help by providing an interpretation of the text, which because of its terse and allusive style has not always been easy to follow in its meaning.

1.3 Affinity among the MSS. used.

Here the attempt has been made to graphically represent the relative affinities between the various MSS. The Tibetan versions have been included. Due to characteristic omissions and differences, which can also be traced through the translation, the position of the Tibetan text in relationship to the Skt. MSS can be precisely determined.

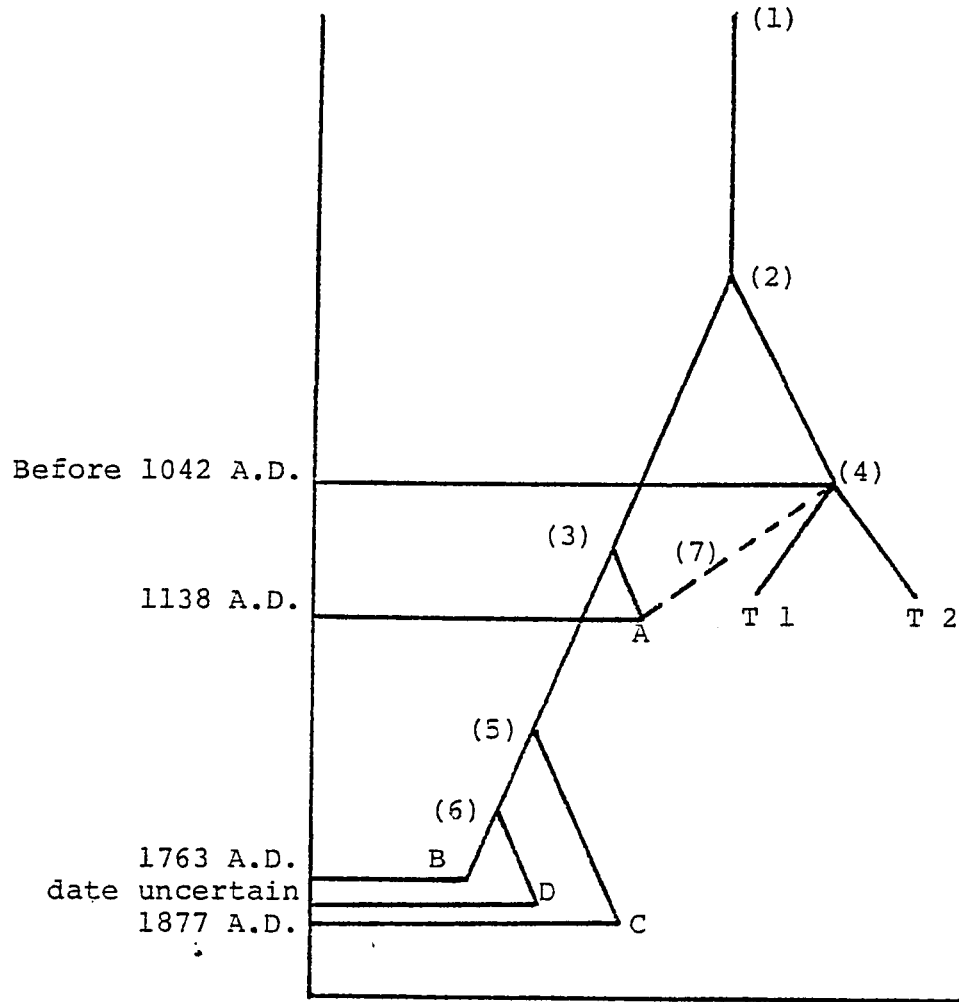
1 The Tibetan Tripitaka, Peking Edition, reprinted under the Supervision of the Otani University Kyoto. Tibetan Tripitak Research Institute, 1958, Vol 49, bsTan 'gyur rgyud 'grel IV, 116 nya, No. 2130. 151a6-286a6 ult. (p. 266-4-6ff.) (cf. sNar than, bsTan 'gyur rgyud 'grel ña, 131b4ff.).

This comparison of the MSS. has been facilitated by the fact that characteristic passages or lists of names occur in the same sequence two or more times in different chapters. These doublets allow one to determine the correct reading in those cases where a portion of a passage has been omitted by more than one MS. and those same MSS. have that passage in one or more doublets. Similarly, if a wrong name has been put by one or more MSS. the right reading can easily be determined by checking the doublets.

In order to establish a graphic representation of the affinity groups, a small group of examples have been selected which concern differences of whole words or omissions shared by more than one of the MSS.

Most of the differences, however, concern either just individual MSS. or else minor differences such as the use or omission of Visargas, Anusvāra, etc. which can hardly be used as indications for affinity groups, because in such cases the scribe might depend rather on his own grammatical understanding than on the MS. he is copying. In the light of the limited amount of suitable examples and in the light of the fact that we are dealing with only eight of a total of sixty-nine chapters, the graphic representation which follows now has to be viewed as provisional.

(Turn to next page for graph).



(1) represents the original (which cannot be completely reestablished).

(2) represents the supposed original in as much it can be established on the basis of ABCDT.

This original has the following readings:

1. aṅguṣṭhayoḥ 2. jñānāmṛta 3. khedo na jāyate
4. jñānapadmaviśuddhi 5. hayakarnā 6. vīryasaṃbo-
dhyāṅga etc. 7. sūravairiṇa etc. 8. śaḍgati
9. vajrabhadraḥ 10. airāvati 11. akuśala 12. vi-
malabhūmimadhye 13. mantra No. 16, 20 14. mantra
No. 26-38 15. cakra 16. krūra 17. śaṅkha.

(3) represents a supposed form of the text which differs from (2) and has served as the basis for the

MSS. ABCD but not for T. The following omissions, errors, and probable errors found in ABCD, but not in T, suggest the possibility of such a text:

- 5. Ch. 9, variant 240: khagānanā (wrong).
- 6. 9,241: omitted (wrong).
- 9. 14,190: vajraprabhāḥ (wrong).
- 10. 14,368: vīramatī (wrong).
- 13. 24,204: mantra No. 16 and 20 (wrong).

- (4) represents the supposed Skt. basis of the Tibetan translation which differs from both (2) and (3).

Only four examples are mentioned:

- 3. 9,218 omitted (probably wrong).
- 4. 9,224 omitted (wrong, cf. also 9,320).
- 12. 24,80 omitted (wrong, cf. also 23,90).
- 2. 9,205 jñānamantra (wrong?).

(In case of forms in T which can be proven to be correct by the existence of doublets, it seems reasonable to assume that these forms also occur in the Skt. basis. By contrast, mistakes in T need not always occur in the Skt. basis. Some of these mistakes may well have occurred in the process of translation.)

- (5) represents the supposed basis of BCD not shared by A and T. The changes must have occurred in the course of transmission from (3) to (5). The following mistakes, shared by the three MSS., illustrate this:

- 8. 14,62: ṣaṭtriṃśati (wrong?).
- 11. 14,394/397: kuśala (wrong).
- 15. 40,18: vajra (wrong?).
- 16. 40,67: kula (wrong?).
- 17. 41,74: khadga (wrong?).

In this group we find several variants which are not necessarily but only probably wrong. If, however, they were to be taken as being correct,

they would indicate the existence of an alternative genuine tradition. This tradition would be different from the one going through (2) and (3).

- (6) Here two points are mentioned which indicate a closer relationship between B and D:
1. 9,102: aṅgeṣu.
 14. Both omit in a long succession of short mantras the same group of mantras. Thus it is probable that BD have both copied a text with this omission already occurring: 24,204: mantras 26(27)-38 omitted.
- (7) There are two instances which indicate that A has possibly also been influenced by mistakes from the line of tradition that has become the basis of T:
3. 9,218: omitted.
 12. 24,80: omitted and inserted again, but in a different place than T, which also inserts the omitted part but in another place, cf. 23,91.

We may conclude that T has followed a source relatively independent from our Skt. MSS. This heightens the possibility that even in cases when T alone has a reading against the joint evidence of the Skt. MSS. it may have preserved a better variant.

The independence of the source of T is also demonstrated by a different chapter-division from the Skt. MSS. Also the other affinity groups AC and BD are reflected by this chapter division.

(Turn to the next page for a synopsis of the numeration of the chapters translated).

	B	D	A	C	T 1	T 2
Ch.	9	9	-	6	9	9
Ch.	13	13	11	11	14	14
Ch.	18	18	16	16	19	19
Ch.	23	23	(21) ¹	21	24	24
Ch.	38	38	-	36	39	39
Ch.	(39) ²	(39) ²	37	37	40	40
Ch.	40	40	38	38	41	41
Ch.	41	41	-	39	42	42
Ch.	68	68	68(!)	66	69	69

- 1) MS.A has 25, which is a mistake as can be seen from the immediately preceding and following chapters.
- 2) The MSS. read here mistakenly *unatrimśatitamah* (29!) instead of *ūnecatvarimśattamah* (39).

The difference in the numeration of the chapters arises because the MSS. B and D designate both the *Yoginī-pīṭhasiddhikramanimittanirdeśanāma* and the *Kośapṛastāva-pīṭhasampradāya* chapter as chapter 12. This can easily be ruled out as an error. The MSS. A and C, beginning with chapter 4, start the chapter numeration again with 1. Thus chapter 4 is 1, 5 is 2 etc. In order to determine which system of the two, the Tibetan or the one followed by A and C is more original, an analysis of the contents of the first chapters would be necessary to find out whether there are internal reasons that support a doubling of the numeration of the first three chapters. It is also possible that one of the sets of three chapters represents a later addition. But for the time being we have adopted the Tibetan system of numerating the chapters.

2. The manner of editing the Sanskrit text.

The aim of this edition of the Sanskrit text is to establish a reasonably sound basis for an English translation. This means that the Sanskrit source should be freed from the most manifest errors of transmission that have corrupted certain passages of the individual manuscripts.

Moreover, Sanskrit textual material has been prepared, which, along with all the variants of the four Skt. MSS. used, should also be a modest contribution of additional research material for philologists interested in the history of the development of the Sanskrit language as reflected in the Buddhist Tantras.¹

The scope of this edition is more limited than the one of Christopher S. George for instance, who has used sixteen different MSS. to establish his text.² Although it is of course the aim of this edition to come as close as possible to the supposed original version, no attempt has been made to obtain and use all existing Skt.

1 Other editions of primary Sanskrit Buddhist Tantric texts are: An edition of the Hevajra-tantra by D.L. Snellgrove, who has used three Nepalese MSS. from the 19th century (HT Vol. 2, p.vii); a selection of chapters from the Saṃvarodaya-tantra edited by S. Tsuda, who has used 8 different MSS. (the oldest dated 1595 A.D., see ST p. 1); and chapters I-VIII of the Caṇḍamaharoṣanā-tantra edited by Ch. S. George, who has used 16(!) different MSS. (the oldest placed 1380 A.D., CT p. 9ff.). The first chapter of the Laghu-Kālacakra-tantra-rāja has been edited by Biswanath Banerjee on the basis of three MSS. (about which no particulars are given, the footnotes seem to be missing in the photomechanic reproduction of this thesis). All these editions, needless to say, take the Tibetan translation into consideration.

2 See note 1.

MSS. of this Tantra.¹ Besides the more obvious reason, which is the time involved in collating the various MSS., another reason is that the gain in terms of the understanding of the text as a whole by examining more of the MSS. can be expected to be very limited. This impression has been gained on the basis of the comparatively few variants found that really affect the meaning of a passage. Even the Tibetan version, presumably following an independent line of transmission from our Skt. MSS., does not change this impression. This does not mean that the examination of additional MSS. could not prove useful in further refining the present edition, especially on a linguistic level. The variety of MSS. used, however, including an old palm-leaf MS. and the Tibetan version, should be sufficient guarantee for a reasonably sound edition purged of the more obvious errors which occurred through the transmission. Furthermore, less evidently wrong variants are recorded for further consideration by future researchers of this text.

The text has been composed in classical Sanskrit. However, it shows a certain number of anomalies for which examples will be given below. In that respect it is similar to the closely related *Samvarodaya-tantra* which has been partially edited by S. Tsuda.² Two short

1 The MS. 10759 mentioned as No. 58 in 'A descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection. Under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, by Mahamahopādhyāya Hara Prasad Shāstri, Vol. 1 Buddhist Manuscripts, Calcutta 1917', for instance, has not been used. According to its description it is a recent Nepalese copy of a MS. dated N.S. 418 (= A.D. 1298). Five additional MSS. belonging to different institutes are referred to in Matsunami's catalogue (full title above p. 257 note 2).

2 Tsuda is may be going too far in attributing the anomalies just to the metre. In our text, which has quite a few prose passages on account of lists and enu-

passages are in a Prākṛit-Apabhraṃśa dialect.¹

The decision to include or reject a given reading by an editor of a Sanskrit text concerns three different major aspects: orthography, linguistics, and differences in terms of whole words or sentences. The principles that have guided this edition shall be discussed with regards to those three aspects.

A) Orthography:

The most common variations that relate simply to matters of orthography, have been normalized without in each case listing the textual variants. This concerns the following points:

1. When the MSS. double the consonants after 'r' we read a single consonant (e.g. sarvva etc.).²
2. When the MSS. read 't' we read 'tt'. This occurs chiefly in the word 'sattva' which is consistently spelt 'satva' in the MSS.
3. When the MSS. use the anusvāra sign within the word instead of ṇ, ñ, n, m these nasals have been written

merations, we find the same type of anomalies also outside the metre. A detailed study of anomalous forms in metrically indifferent position, however, of the Saṃvarodaya-tantra would be necessary to clarify this point (cf. ST p. 13).

1 This concerns the songs in 48b5-49a2 and 85a4-85b1. The following signs point to Apabhraṃśa among the various Prākṛits: nom./acc. a-stem: -u; gen. sg. a-stem: -aha; loc. pl. : aḥi (Pischel § 363). Also 'duda' for 'duta' points into this direction (Pischel § 192, the rule, however, that t between vowels becomes d instead of being dropped is not consistently applied, cf. pa i for pati, sura a for surata). The passages show traits of Sanskritisation: thus 48b5 'sukha' for 'suha' (variants suhya? suṣa); the ending -aṃ in -suhaṃ.

2 This does not concern proper names of deities and places. Here the MSS. have been more consistent in their doubling or not doubling the letters. Thus we have noted the doubling in these cases.

(e.g. skam̐dha, khatvāṃga etc.). At the word-end the variants ṃ before vowels for m have been recorded. This is because Edgerton sees in that spelling a possible device to regulate the metre.¹ In the case of final m before ca, for which the MSS. have both ṃ or ñ, we have adopted ñ. When the MSS. in the reverse case use the nasal m/n for standard anusvāra we read anusvāra (e.g. mansa for maṃsa or final m before consonants).

4. The MSS. do not clearly distinguish jra/ja, moreover they don't make any difference between v/b at all. In these cases the etymologically correct form has been used.
5. In cases where the avagraha sign has not been used it has been added.²
6. The rules concerning the doubling of the cha (into ccha) have been applied also when the texts read only single cha.
7. In quoting Sanskrit which has been transcribed in the Tibetan versions the words are spelt with the roman equivalents to the Sanskrit letters or letter-combinations (e.g. Tib. dza for ja, tsa for ca spelt ja, ca, etc.).

The MSS. themselves are very inconsistent if not

1 Cf. F. Edgerton, *Meter, Phonology and Orthography in Buddhist Hybrid Skt.* p. 202, no. 51, in *JAOS* Vol. 66/67 1946.

2 The normalisations No. 1, 2, 4, and 5 are basically the same as the ones formulated by Christopher George in *CMT* p. 16. Point 3 corresponds to the principles laid down by A. Wayman for the edition of the *Srāvakaḥṃṃi MS.* (Analysis p. 55).

The normalisations have only been carried out with regard to the edited text itself. Any word cited under the heading 'variants' appears in its original spelling. An exception is point No. 5 in the case of quotations of word-groups.

haphazard in the orthography discussed under No. 1-3 and 5f. The same MS. might use two alternative options even in the same sentence or in the same word as it occurs again in a doublet-passage. One exception is the doubling of consonants after 'r'. This is applied more consistently in MS. C and to some extent in MS. A and rarely in MS. B and D. In all other instances variants have been recorded and emendations can be inferred from the list of variants.

From among the graphic options characteristic for the Newārī MSS. mentioned by J. Brough in his 'Language of the Buddhist Sanskrit Texts', the following also occur in our MSS.: a) an interchange between ś and s, l and r, b) ṣ is occasionally interchanged with kha, c) ya is sometimes interchanged with ye or rarely e. The latter two changes occur in MS. C.¹ These interchanges are probably more readily attributable to the scribes who have copied the MSS than to the original form of the text. Thus, in these cases we have also adopted the 'standard' readings followed by the dictionaries. We don't however claim that these are necessarily the original spellings.

We have taken particular care in rectifying the spellings of names of places and deities and not limited ourselves just to the testimony of the text and double occurrences of the name in question and the spelling given in the dictionary (if occurring at all). We have also cited, usually on occasion of the first occurrence, evidence from other texts such as ST, HT, Finot Manuscripts, NSP etc. and made references to spellings occurring in Tibetan texts referred to by Western scholars (Tucci, Meisezahl). In general it must be ob-

¹ J. Brough, 'The Language of the Buddhist Sanskrit Texts', p. 354.

served that spelling preserved in the Tibetan carry less weight, although there are instances of correct readings where the Skt. MSS. are wrong.

Here is an example of the type of inconsistencies that can be encountered in this connection. For the place name 'Oḍra', 81a5, (MS. A has a lacuna), B! reads omḍre, CD odre, and T omṭre; 83b2 A reads odra, B oḍre, C odre, D! omḍre, T otre; 117b3 A reads odra, BCD oḍre, T 1 omḍre, T 2 odra. In ST VII,8 we find auḍre (variants audre, udra, oḍe, uḍre, auḍḍe). The correct reading is most likely 'Oḍra' mentioned also in the Kālikā Pūrāṇa (cf. Sircar, The Śākta Pīṭhas p. 12 and MW sub voce. The place is known to be the same as modern Orissa).

In rare instances we have not followed a reading given jointly by all the MSS., this has been the case with the place name 'Godāvarī', which by the MSS. consistently has been spelt with cerebral d (Goḍāvarī). We have preferred the reading 'Godāvarī' occurring in ST VII, 6, which agrees with MW and Sircar (quoting the Kubjikā-tantra and other works) against the reading 'Goḍāvarī' attested to in HT I,vii,14. The Tibetan version consistently reads 'Godavari' and, although faulty in other respects (short a/ short i) supports non-cerebral d.

B) Linguistics.

Here we shall discuss briefly our attitude with regard to what appear to be linguistic anomalies or aberrations from standard Sanskrit in our MSS. and shall indicate to what extent they have been emended or not.

Should irregular forms be automatically emended according to the standards of classical Sanskrit? Or, should they be retained as expressions of a form of language that should be judged by its own standards? After the appearance of Edgerton's Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit grammar, the issue has received renewed attention.

The question of emendation or retention of a particular form is closely linked up with the question to what extent deviations can be attributed to scribal errors or corrections of the MS. by the scribes in the light of what they believe is correct Sanskrit. The general inconsistency of the MSS. and the occurrence of non-standard forms against the metre warn us against relying too much just on the evidence of the MSS. Even if all four MSS. agree on a certain point, this gives us no proof that they have necessarily preserved the correct original form. For instance all MSS. spell 49a4 the word *niṣkale* with 's'. Just a few words later where the word occurs again all MSS. spell it with 'ṣ'. On the other hand this example shows that in some instances the MSS. may precisely retain even minor orthographic details presumably already having occurred in a prototype. But nothing guarantees that this prototype is a faithful copy of the original. On the other hand, one may also question whether the assumption that the supposed original has always been consistent, is a valid criterion for reconstructing an original version. We must at least be aware that consistency in emending certain forms (or not emending them) has a certain tinge of artificiality. One should not presume that the virtue of carefully treating all cases in the same way guarantees closeness to the original. That very original might have had conflicting traits itself.

Being aware that no principles of editing can assure the reconstruction of a lost original in all details, but only the most probable form of that original, we have abided rather consistently by the following rules:

1. Non-standard forms have always been preserved if re-

quired by the metre.¹

2. Non-standard forms arising from the loss of a visarga or anusvāra or (final) supra-scribed 'r' have been emended even in cases when all MSS. omit the mentioned letters. The reason for this is that the loss of these letters can easily arise in the course of copying a MS., as can be seen from the very frequent cases when not all the MSS. agree on putting or not putting visarga or anusvāra.²

The situation is admittedly somewhat less evident in the case of supra-scribed 'r'. We feel, nevertheless, that supra-script 'r' should be included in the same category as visarga and anusvāra. It is frequently not written very clearly and its absence can thus be explained as oversight by the scribe (I myself have tried my best to be careful to make sure whether 'r' is really not written or just not clearly written). The only problem that arises in this connection is the fact that occasionally the MSS. jointly do not observe the change of visarga into 'r' required by Saṃdhi. Therefore, if neither letter has been written, we can not be completely sure whether originally 'r' or 'ṛ' has been written. Despite this we have always added 'r' if required by Saṃdhi. This is justified by the fact that this Saṃdhi-rule is more often observed by the MSS. than not.

It is possible that the consistent application of the principle outlined here does not in all cases necessarily bring the text closer to the original

1 This obvious principle has also been clearly formulated by Tsuda, ST p. 13.

2 J. Brough has also come to the conclusion that Nepalese MSS. 'are decidedly poor witnesses for anusvāra and visarga', op. cit. p. 360.

version. It is conceivable that once certain exceptions had been granted for the metre that such forms have occasionally also been used in metrically indifferent positions within the verse and in prose. But besides the contradictory testimony of the MSS. we have no sound criteria to determine such cases.¹

When all the available MSS. omit visarga, anusvāra, or supra-script 'r' the missing letter has been added in this edition by brackets to avoid the multiplications of notes on variants.

3. Non-standard forms supported by all MSS. have in general not been emended², especially not if they are attested for by examples collected in Edgerton's grammar. Excepted from this principle are forms that are against the metre. Moreover, in a few individual instances we have taken the freedom to ignore this rule.

In cases of contradictory testimony by the MSS. usually the 'correct form' has been chosen. A particular tendency of any MS. in comparison to the others to have more often a 'correct' form than others has not been noted.

We may add here examples of anomalous forms that have been accepted in illustration of the application of the

1 Some examples cited by Edgerton as witnesses for 'Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit' concern precisely such cases. Cf. for instance § 8.38: msc. pl. -ā, 8.107: instr. pl. -ai?, 8.31: -a for -am (practically limited to verses) etc. In the light of the questionable reliability of the MSS. such cases should be regarded with caution. But they are by no means impossible.

2 In formulating this rule we heed the warning that 'emendations other than addition of anusvāra and visarga must be made with the utmost caution' formulated by A. Wayman in view of editing the Śrāvaka-bhūmi MS. (Analysis p. 49).

above principles.

1) Verbforms:

- 47b1 : dhyāyet (variants nyāyet, nyāyat) for dhyāyāt.
 47b3 : dhyāyet for dhyāyāt.
 50a4 : olambyatā (variant te 'lambyatā) for avambyatā, BHS § 3.76: o common for ava.
 50a4 : dagdhatāḥ for dagdhāḥ (m.c., creates an additional necessary syllable and iambic conclusion of even pāda).
 116a1: bhāṣata for abhāṣata, BHS § 32.2.
 120a5: susiddhayet for susedhayāt.
 120a5: siddhyanti for sidhyanti.
 168a4: vidhūnate for vidhūnute, BHS p. 217 sub voce dhu/dhū.

2) Samdhi:

- Vowel-Samdhi: 45a2/84b5,,118a3: final -e not into -a before ā-.
 42b2, 117b1 etc. : initial a- after -e not elided.
 101a1: ṛtitākāratam ex ṛtiti ākāratam for ṛtityākāratam, cf. BHS § 4.26.
 Hiatus caused by not observing Samdhi (frequent) (BHS § 4.51ff.):
 42a5 (m.c.), 84b1, 166a1 (m.c.): -a a-.
 166a4 (m.c.): -a ū-.
 46a4-46a5/86a5f. (4 x i. cpd.): -a ṛ-.
 43b2/81a5/117b3 (i. cpd.) : -a ai-.
 83b5: -u a-.
 79b1: in cpd. m.c.: -a a-.
 86a1 (m.c.), 101a3 (m.c.): -a ā-.
 Final visarga: 43b2, 44a2, 44b5 etc.: -oḥ before soft letters.
 83a1, 86a2 etc.: final -aḥ not changed into o before soft consonants.
 83a1, a2 etc.: final -aḥ not changed

into o before initial a- and -a not
elided.

Samdhi-consonants: 45a3, 84a5: -m- (BHS § 4.59).
49a4, 50a1: -r- (BHS § 4.61).
cf. 45a4 nayo-r-abhisekodayah ex.
nayah abhi- over nayo abhi to nayo-r-
abhi-.

3) Declension:

-a stem: 49a5, 51a1 : msc. nom. sg. -a (m.c.) (BHS §
8.22).
90a5, 117a2, 162a1 : msc. acc. sg./nt. nom.
acc. -a (m.c.) (BHS § 8.31).
102a3: msc. acc. sg. -o (BHS § 8.36).
168a1: msc. acc. pl. -ā (BHS § 8.92)
45b5, 81a2, 115b3 (m.c.): nt. nom. pl. -ā(h)
(BHS § 8.100).

Difficult to explain is the form -ayoh used in place of
msc. acc. sg. for metrical reasons in 49a4, 116a4, 120b1.

-ā stem: 44a3: fem. loc. sg. -ā (BHS § 9.68).
-i/ī stem: 89a5: msc. instr. sg. -yā (BHS § 10.124).
120a5: msc. nom. pl. -i (for -ayah, m.c.) (BHS
§ 10.189).
44a4: fem. loc. sg. -ī (variants -i) (BHS §
10.65/68).
163a1, 168b1: fem. loc. sg. -i (BHS § 10.65
/68).
118b3: fem. nom. pl. -īs (for -yah) (BHS §
10.167).
118a1, 163b4: fem. nom. pl. -yā (BHS § 10.
164).
120a4: fem. gen. pl. -īm (m.c.) (BHS § 10.
207).

4. Compounds:

Visarga i. cpd.: 50a4 (m.c.), 101a3 (m.c.) (BHS § 23.
5).

Special stem i. cpd.: 50a5 -gāvoṣṭra- for
-gavoṣṭra- (According to MW:
stem of go i. cpd. is gav/
gava, here syllable length-
ened m.c.).

Reversed order i. cpd.: 42a5 ākrantāsanamastakam for
mastakākrantāsanam ('in the
position of stepping down on
the head').

Dvandva cpd. in nom. sg.: 43alff./81a2ff. (list with
pairs of deities).

5) Concord:

50a3f.: In a list among parallel instrumental cases
3 nom. pl. cases (Śibikācillikās/ -dagdhatāḥ
/śiraḥkarotajānīni (-jānubhiḥ would create
an unmetrical short 7th syllable in odd
pāda).

120b1: second half of list of names in the nom. sg.
whereas first half in the acc. sg. All should be
acc. ruled by the verb bhāvayet.

6) Constructions with mā:

89b1 : mā used with the pres. indic., BHSG § 42.2

C) Differences in terms of whole words or sentences.

Although the Tibetan translation may in certain instances help to ascertain the meaning of a particular passage and thus also lead to the understanding of a particular anomalous form, the translation is of course useless in deciding whether to keep or to emend such a form. Moreover, being a translation which not in all cases uses the same grammatical means as the Sanskrit to express a certain idea, the testimony of the Tibetan in linguistic matters is quite limited. But in terms of differences that concern differences of words, omissions, and additions as well as the sentence structure, the

Tibetan is a primary witness to be considered like another MS. The early date of translation underlines this value. According to this we have included Tibetan readings in our list of variants. This does not mean that we have recorded each difference or seeming difference of form or construction occurring in Tibetan. We have restricted ourselves in general to those cases which reveal decisive differences in meaning that cannot be attributed to a freedom of translation that still lies within the general meaning of the Skt. passage. Nevertheless, occasionally interesting or clarifying nuances of formulations of the Tibetan translation have been included. We must furthermore be aware of the fact that even additions of certain words do not necessarily go back to the original Sanskrit that has served as a basis for the Tibetan translation, but may have been added for clarifying the sense inherent in the Skt. passage or to fill the metre. Such instances are useful for our general understanding of the passage but should not be regarded as true variant readings. For example, when 42b5 the Tibetan reads for the verb 'to be', which is implicitly understood in the Sanskrit text, 'abides embracing' ('khyud nas ^zugs te), this more likely should be attributed to the translation than to a difference in original. Also when the Tibetan reads 81a2 'sñon grub pa'i rnal 'byor ma' (pūrvasiddhayoginī) for 'pūrvasiddhā' (variant siddhā) the "rnal 'byor ma" (yoginī) has probably been added for clarification. Such cases, however, have been recorded, and everyone can judge the individual cases for himself.

There are also less obvious cases of readings which seem to presuppose a Sanskrit version different from ours. An example for that is the expression 'śivāhayā' (163b4). It has been understood by us as cpd. of 'śiva' and 'ahayaḥ' meaning 'Śiva's snakes' (for the ending

-yā(h) for -yaḥ cf. BHS § 10.164). The Tibetan, however, has 'stag dag' (tigers). This surprising difference can be explained if we assume that the Tibetan originally had 'rta dag' (horses). That would mean that 'śivāhayā' has been originally understood as 'śivā hayā' (jackal and horses, 'śivā' being a euphemistic name for 'jackal' and 'hayā' meaning 'horses' - for nom. msc. pl. -ā for -āḥ see BHS § 8.78). The Tibetan presumably has left 'śivā' untranslated because it is already included in the previous member of the list of animals, namely in 'śrgalajā' (She, the jackal-born, translated in the Tibetan as lce spyañ rigs). 'Horses' (rta dag) was later changed into 'tigers' (stag dag) because 'horses' implying a peaceful animal did not fit into the context. For the same contextual reason, 'Śiva's snakes' has been preferred over 'horses'. Moreover Śiva is usually associated with snakes and one of his epithets is 'ahibhṛt' (Monier Williams, sub voce 'ahi'). Conceivably the Tibetan translators were not aware of this connection when they translated this passage.

This should illustrate that we should be cautious before deciding that the Tibetan has really preserved an alternative reading going back into the Sanskrit. Nevertheless the Tibetan has certainly preserved a certain number of genuine variant readings. We have already mentioned on occasion of discussing the 'affinity groups' that, based on the evidence of names which can be shown to be correct from doublets, it can very well have preserved correct readings over and against the Skt.

In general, however, we have been conservative in adopting Tibetan readings into our text, especially in the few cases when not only an individual word was concerned but a sentence or sentence structure. The reason for this is that the Skt. reconstruction of such

passages involving metre is not easy nor certain as far as details are concerned. In other words, the fact that such a Tibetan reading would only occur as variant and has not been included in a reconstructed Sanskrit form in the text, does not necessarily mean that it should be rejected.

All the major variants have been translated in the footnotes to the English text and likely original versions been characterized as such.

In general omissions or additions of individual words can be quite decisively determined in case of a metrical passage. In other instances we had to rely on contextual reasons. The variants of the Skt. MSS. rarely concern more than differences of forms or single words. Omissions of longer passages have sometimes occurred in lists and have resulted from scribal error (cf. for instance variant 97, Ch. XIV).

PART II: EDITION OF THE SANSKRIT TEXT.

IX. SARVĀNASTHITAKARMABHEDAVIDHĀNA-PĀṬALA.

- 42a2 [athānya(t) sampravakṣyāmi ekavīraavidhānakam¹//
nābhau vicintayet mantrī anilānalamadhyataḥ²//
- 42a3 tasyopari viśvapadmaṃ sūryamaṇḍalopari
pañcajñānāmṛtaparipūrṇakapālām³//
tanmadhya⁴ ālikālidviguṇīkṛtvānūlomavilomataḥ⁵//
- 42a4 hūṃkāradhiṣṭhitavān⁶ vajrasattvayogena surata-
sukhabhūtaśrīherukam⁷ ātmanam bhāvayet//
caturmukham⁸ dvadaśabhujaṃ⁹ ālīḍhapadam¹⁰ sthi-
tam¹¹//
- 42a5 daṃṣṭrākarālavadanam¹² trinetram vikṛtānanam¹³//
bhairavakālarātryās¹⁴ ca ākrāntāsanamastakam¹⁵//
vyāghracarmanivasanam karuṇārasavibhramam//
- 42b1 vajravārāhyāliṅgitabhujadvayena pañcaśūkam¹⁷
kalālavajra(m) vajraghaṇṭa(m)¹⁸ aparabhujadva-
yena¹⁹ gaṇapaticarmāmbaṛadharam²⁰// trītiya-
- 42b2 dakṣiṇakare²¹ vajraśūlaṃ caturthe²² aṅkuśam//
pañcame²³ vajrakarttikā(m)²⁴// śaṣṭhe²⁵ vajraḍa-
marukam// vāme trītiyabhujē²⁶ kapālam²⁷ arjapari-
- 42b3 pūrnam²⁸ vajñopavītayogena²⁹ vajrakhaṭvāṅga(m)
ūrdhapañcaśūkam³⁰ kalālavajraghaṇṭāvalambitam³¹
vicitrapaṭākālambitam// madhye³² viśvavajrāṅki-
- 42b4 tam// adhastād ekaśūkam vajram// caturthe vajra-
pāśam// pañcame brahmaśiraḥ³³// śaṣṭhe paraśum³⁴//
nīlapītasitaraktaharitananam³⁵
- 42b5 raudrahāśyaśrṅgāravīrabībhatsalelīhānanam³⁶//
tasyāgrato ālikālyo(h) sthitā³⁷ bhagavatī vajra-
- 43a1 vārāhī³⁸ raktavarṇā³⁹ caturvaktrā⁴⁰ caturbhujā
trinetra muktakeśī// nagnā khaṇḍamaṇḍitame-
khalā⁴¹// vāmabhujāliṅganakapālāṃ⁴² ca//

*Portions in brackets indicate lacunae or illegible passages in MS. A.

- 43a2 duṣṭamārādyasṛgbodhicittaparipūrṇam⁴³ dakṣiṇe
 tarjanīvajrakarttikā// aparabhujadvaye⁴⁴ damaru-
 {khaṭvāṅgam⁴⁵ kalpāgni}sannibhām⁴⁶ sravantīrudhira-
 43a3 priyām⁴⁷// jaṅghadvayasamāceṣṭamahāsukhakarūṇāt-
 mikām⁴⁸// raktaharitaṭṭanīlām karālabhīmabhiṣa-
 nāvadanām⁴⁹ bhagavatas⁵⁰ tathā vaktravarṇāsuddhā-
 43a4 (m)⁵¹ bhujavarṇatā(m) lekhyāt⁵²// asyaiva pīṭh-
 ādikramavinyasyāt{mayogam⁵³ uttāmam⁵⁴//
 pum⁵⁵// khaṇḍakapālinapracandā⁵⁶ śīrasi⁵⁷//
 jāṃ⁵⁸// mahākāṅkālacandāksī śikhāyām⁵⁹//
 43a5 om⁶⁰// kaṅkālaprabhāvatī⁶¹ dakṣiṇakarṇe//
 am⁶²// vikaṭadamṣṭriṇamahānāsā⁶³ prsthavamśe⁶⁴//
 pīṭha(m)//
 gom⁶⁵// surāvairiṇavi{ramatī⁶⁶ vāmakarṇe⁶⁷//
 43b1 rām⁶⁸// bhrūvo(r) madhye⁶⁹ amitābhakharvarī⁷⁰//
 dem⁷¹// cakṣubhyām vajraprabhalaṅkeśvarī⁷²//
 mām⁷³// bāhumūlayor⁷⁴ vajra{dehadrumacchāyā//
 upapīṭha(m)//
 43b2 cittacakrasya khecarī⁷⁵//
 kām⁷⁶// kakṣayor⁷⁷ aṅkurika-airāvati//
 om// stanayugale⁷⁸ vajrajaṭilamahābhairavā⁷⁹//
 {kṣetra(m)//
 43b3 triṃ// nābhimadhye⁸⁰ mahāvīravāyuvegā⁸¹//
 koṃ// nāṣikāyām⁸² vajrahūmkārasurābhakṣī//
 upakṣetram⁸³//
 kaṃ// mukhe subhadraśyāmādevī⁸⁴//
 43b4 {lam⁸⁵ kaṇṭhe vajrabhadrasubhadrā//
 chandoha(h)//
 kām// hr̥daye⁸⁶ mahābhairavahayakarṇā//
 hiṃ⁸⁷// meḍhre⁸⁸ virūpākṣakhagānanā//
 upacchandohaḥ⁸⁹//
 vākca{krasya bhūcarī⁹⁰//
 43b5 prem⁹¹// liṅge mahā{palacakravegā//
 grim⁹²// gude ratnavajrakhaṇḍarohā//

- melāpakah⁹³ //
 saum⁹⁴ // ūrudvaye⁹⁵ hayagrīvasauṇḍinī //
 44a1 [sum // jaṅghāyām⁹⁶ akāśa}garbhacakra{varminī⁹⁷ //
 upamelāpaka(h) //
 nam // aṅguliṣu⁹⁸ śrīherukasuvīrā //
 sim // pādaprṣṭhayoh⁹⁹ padma{nartes'varamahā-
 balā¹⁰⁰ //
 śmaśānah¹⁰¹ //
 44a2 maṃ // aṅguṣṭhayor¹⁰² vairocanacakravartinī¹⁰³ //
 kuṃ // jānudvayoh¹⁰⁴ vajrasattvamahāvīryā //
 upaśmaśānah¹⁰⁵ //
 44a3 kāyacakrasya {pātālavāsinī¹⁰⁶ //
 ḍākinī vajre lāmā ghaṇṭā¹⁰⁷ khaṇḍarohārūpiṇī¹⁰⁸
 gajacarmamuṣṭyā(m)¹⁰⁹ //
 kākāsyā vajrasūle¹¹⁰ // ulūkāsyā aṅkuṣe¹¹¹ //
 44a4 śvānāsyā vajrakarttī¹¹² // śūkarāsyā¹¹³ ḍamaru-
 ke¹¹⁴ //
 yamadādhī¹¹⁵ kapālakhaṭvāṅge¹¹⁶ //
 yamadūtī paśe // yamadaṃṣṭrī brahmaśirasi¹¹⁷ //
 yamamathanī paraśau¹¹⁸ //
 44a5 [bodhicittabhāṇḍaṃ¹¹⁹ caturvaktre¹²⁰ //
 prṥthivīdhātu(h) }pātānī āpadhātu(r)¹²¹ māraṇī¹²²
 tejodhātur ākarṣaṇī vāyudhātu(h) padmanartes'-
 varī¹²³ ākāśadhātuḥ padmajālinī¹²⁴ //
 rūpaskandhe vairocanah¹²⁵ // vedanāskandhe vajra-
 sūryah¹²⁶ // saṃjñāskandhe¹²⁷ padmanartes'varah¹²⁸ //
 44b2 saṃskāraskandhe¹²⁹ vajrarājah // vijñānaskandhe¹³⁰
 vajrasattvah¹³¹ // sarvatathāgatatatvaṃ¹³² śrī-
 herukavajrah¹³³ // cakṣuṣo(r)¹³⁴ mohavajrah¹³⁵ //
 śrotrayo(r)¹³⁶ dveṣavajrah¹³⁷ // ghrāṇayo(r)
 īrṣyāvajrah¹³⁸ // vaktre rāgavajrah¹³⁹ //
 sparśe mātṣaryavajrah¹⁴⁰ // sarvāyataneṣvaiśvarya-
 vajrah¹⁴¹ // citte akṣobhyah // vākye amitābhah¹⁴² //
 kāye vairocanah¹⁴³ //
 44b4 om hah¹⁴⁴ hrdaye¹⁴⁵ vajrasattvah¹⁴⁶ //

- namaḥ hiḥ¹⁴⁷ śire¹⁴⁸ vairocanaḥ¹⁴⁹ //
 svāhā hūṃ śikhāyām¹⁵⁰ padmanartesvaraḥ^{150b} //
 vausaṭ¹⁵¹ he skandhadvaye herukaḥ¹⁵² //
 44b5 hūṃ hūṃ hoḥ¹⁵³ cakṣuṣoḥ¹⁵⁴ vajrasūryaḥ //
 phaṭ¹⁵⁵ haṃ sarvāṅgeṣu¹⁵⁶ paramāśvāstraḥ¹⁵⁷ //
 oṃ vaṃ nābhau vajravārāḥi //
 hāṃ yom¹⁵⁸ hr̥di yāminī¹⁵⁹ //
 45a1 hrīm¹⁶⁰ moṃ vaktre mohani¹⁶¹ //
 hrem hrīm¹⁶² śirasi¹⁶³ sañcālinī¹⁶⁴ //
 hūṃ hūṃ śikhāyām¹⁶⁵ samtrāsani //
 phaṭ phaṭ sarvāṅgeṣvāstra(h) caṇḍikā¹⁶⁶ //
 kṛtvāgragranthyām¹⁶⁷ khalu¹⁶⁸ madhyasūci(m)¹⁶⁹
 45a2 aṅguṣṭhavajro dr̥ḍha(h)¹⁷⁰ samprayojya(h) samsthā-
 pya¹⁷¹ tā(m) madhyalalāṭadeśe¹⁷² āvartivivar-
 tena¹⁷³ bhrāmāyet¹⁷⁴ tataḥ ākrāntapādōrdhva-
 dr̥ṣṭim¹⁷⁵ tu-m-ūrdhaṃ¹⁷⁶ hetkāranāditāḥ¹⁷⁷ //
 daśadiglokadhātusthā vīrayoginyākarṣitaḥ //
 jaḥ hūṃ baṃ hoḥ // vajrāṅkuśādiyogena ākr̥ṣya pra-
 45a4 veśya¹⁷⁸ baddhvā ca samnāyet¹⁷⁹ // vīrayoginī-
 bhir¹⁸⁰ gaganatalaṃ¹⁸¹ paripūrṇaṃ dr̥ṣtvā pañcāmṛ-
 taparipūrṇakapālābhiṣekābhīṣayena¹⁸² tayā nayo-r-
 abhiṣekodayaḥ¹⁸³ //
 45a5 yathā hi jātāmātreṇa snāpitāḥ¹⁸⁴ sarvatathāga-
 tās¹⁸⁵ tathāhaṃ snāpayiṣyāmi śuddhena¹⁸⁶ tu div-
 yena¹⁸⁷ vāriṇā // oṃ sarvatathāgatābhiṣekasamaya-
 45b1 śriye¹⁸⁸ svāhā āḥ hūṃ¹⁸⁹ // vāyavāgnīmaṇḍalopari
 kapālam ākārotpannaṃ jñānāmṛtaparipūrṇaṃ¹⁹⁰ ṣoḍa-
 śakalā¹⁹¹ - hūṃkārādhiṣṭhitāṃ¹⁹² tryākṣarā-
 45b2 bhūtaṃ¹⁹³ saṃspharyaṇ¹⁹⁴ cakratrayaṃ bhāvāyet //
 oṃ samayaśuddhāḥ¹⁹⁵ sarvadharmāḥ¹⁹⁶ samayaśuddho
 'haṃ // sarvadharmāikarasasamatāsthītacetanāṃ¹⁹⁷
 45b3 kuryāt // jñānāmṛtaprayogena¹⁹⁸ pibed vajrāmṛto-
 dakaṃ oṃ¹⁹⁹ vajrāmṛtodaka²⁰⁰ hūṃ ṭha ṭha trāṃ²⁰¹
 āḥ²⁰² khaṃ²⁰³ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā²⁰⁴ //

- 45b4 jñānamantraprayogena²⁰⁵ spharec²⁰⁶ cakrāgram²⁰⁷
uttamām//
paścāt jāpaṃ tataḥ kṛtvā mahāśaṅkhavalayena²⁰⁸ tu//
prāṇāyāmaṃ supattitvā²⁰⁹ dhyātvā jvalati tatkṣa-
nāt//
- 45b5 om śrīvajra he he ru ru ka²¹⁰ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ²¹¹ dā-
kinījālasaṃvaram²¹² svāhā// om hrīḥ ha ha hūṃ hūṃ
phaṭ// hrdayopahrdayaḥ//
om vajravairocanīye²¹³ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā//
- 46a1 om sarvabuddhaḍākinīye hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā//
devyā hrdayopahrdayaḥ²¹⁴ // evaṃ japabhāvana(m)²¹⁵
kuryāt// yāvat khedo²¹⁶ na²¹⁷ jāyate khede²¹⁸
- 46a2 sati²¹⁹ viśuddhiṃ²²⁰ bhāvayet saptatṛiṃsadbodhi-
pakṣeṣu²²¹ dharmeṣu vihareṭ²²² //
kāyānusmṛtyupasthānaṃ²²³ dākinī//
- 46a3 vedanānusmṛtyupasthānaṃ lāmā//
dharmānusmṛtyupasthānaṃ khaṇḍarohā//
cittānusmṛtyupasthānaṃ rūpiṇī//
jñānapadmaviśuddhiḥ²²⁴ //
- 46a4 chanda-rddhipādaḥ pracandā²²⁵ //
vīrya-rddhipādaḥ²²⁶ caṇḍākṣī//
mīmāṃsa-rddhipādaḥ²²⁷ prabhāvatī²²⁸ //
citta-rddhipādo²²⁹ mahānāsā²³⁰ //
- 46a5 śraddhendriyaṃ vīramatī//
vīryendriyaṃ²³¹ kharvarī//
smṛtīndriyaṃ²³² laṅkeśvarī//
samādhīndriyaṃ drumaśchāyā²³³ //
cittacakrasya viśuddhiḥ²³⁴ //
- 46b1 prajñendriyaṃ airāvatī//
śraddhābalaṃ²³⁵ mahābhairavā²³⁶ //
vīryabalaṃ vāyuvegā//
smṛtibalaṃ surābhakṣī//
- 46b2 samādhībalaṃ śyāmādevī²³⁷ //
prajñābalaṃ subhadra²³⁸ //

- samādhisaṃbodhyaṅgaṃ²³⁹ hayakarnā²⁴⁰ //
 vīryasaṃbodhyaṅgaṃ khagānanā²⁴¹ //
 vākcaṅkasya viśuddhiḥ²⁴² //
 prītisaṃbodhyaṅgaṃ²⁴³ cakravegā //
 praśrabdhisambodhyaṅgaṃ²⁴⁴ khaṇḍarohā²⁴⁵ //
 46b3 dharmapracayaṣaṃbodhyaṅgaṃ²⁴⁶ saundinī²⁴⁷ //
 smṛtisaṃbodhyaṅgaṃ²⁴⁸ cakravartinī²⁴⁹ //
 upekṣāsaṃbodhyaṅgaṃ²⁵⁰ suvīrā //
 samyagdr̥ṣṭi(r)²⁵¹ mahābalā²⁵² //
 46b4 samyaksaṃkalpa(ś) cakravartinī^{252b} //
 samyagvāg²⁵³ mahāvīryā //
 kāyacakraviśuddhiḥ²⁵⁴ //
 samyakkarmānta(h) kākāsyā //
 46b5 samyagājīva²⁵⁵ ulūkāsyā //
 samyagvyāyāma(h)²⁵⁶ śvānāsyā //
 samyaksmṛti(h) śūkarāsyā²⁵⁷ //
 catvāro vimokṣamukhāḥ²⁵⁸ //
 samyaksamādhi(h)²⁵⁹ śrīherukaḥ²⁶⁰ //
 47a1 suviśuddhadharmadhātujñānasvabhāvātma²⁶¹ 'ham
 iti²⁶² //
 anutpannānāṃ²⁶³ kuśalānāṃ dharmānāṃ²⁶⁴ utpāda-
 nāṃ²⁶⁵ yamadāḥī //
 47a2 utpannānāṃ kuśalānāṃ dharmānāṃ saṃrakṣaṇaṃ²⁶⁷
 yamadūṭī //
 utpannānāṃ akuśalānāṃ²⁶⁸ dharmānāṃ prahāṇaṃ yama-
 daṃṣṭrī //
 47a3 anutpannānāṃ akuśalānāṃ²⁶⁹ dharmānāṃ²⁷⁰ anutpad-
 aṇaṃ yamamathanī ceti²⁷¹ //
 samayacakraviśuddhiḥ //
 iti bhāvyā²⁷² ca viśeṣaṃ²⁷³ dhruvaṃ siddhyati
 sādhaḥ //
 47a4 sarvārthahitayogātmā samatvasamayottamaḥ²⁷⁴ //
 pr̥thakcakraṇ²⁷⁵ pañcavidhān pr̥thagbheda²⁷⁶
 bhāvayet //
 jarāyujāṃ pr̥thagbhedaṃ²⁷⁷ pañcacakram anuttaraṃ //

- 47a5 yoginyādhīpatiṃ²⁷⁸ dhyāyāt prthagbhedenā²⁷⁹
 bheditā//
 yathā herukavajraṃ²⁸⁰ ca tathā devīṃ²⁸¹ tu madhya-
 taḥ//
 buddhaḍḍākinīyogena²⁸² yoginyā²⁸³ parivāritāḥ//
 47b1 kāyavajrādivīrāṇāṃ bhagamadhye²⁸⁴ vibhāvanāḥ²⁸⁵ //
 evaṃ tricakrayogena yathā dhyānam²⁸⁶ anukra-
 māt²⁸⁷ //
 bhage pañcātmakam²⁸⁸ dhyāyet²⁸⁹ madhye²⁹⁰ ḍākinī-
 yogataḥ²⁹¹ //
 47b2 padmaḍḍākinīyogena²⁹² vajraḍḍākinībheḍataḥ²⁹³ //
 bhāvayed bhagamadhye²⁹⁴ tricakre herukotta-
 maṃ²⁹⁵ //
 47b3 samayacakreṣu²⁹⁶ taṃ dhyāyet samayaḍḍākinimaṇ-
 ḍale²⁹⁷ //
 jñānaḍḍākinīyogena²⁹⁸ viśvapadmādimadhyataḥ²⁹⁹ //
 tasyaiva bhagamadhye³⁰⁰ tu catuścakre³⁰¹ vi-
 bhāvayet//
 47b4 ekavīraṃ³⁰² tu vārāhyā yathā varṇam³⁰³ tu heru-
 kaṃ³⁰⁴ //
 vaktraṃ bhujāyudham³⁰⁵ tadvad³⁰⁶ viśvapadmam³⁰⁷
 vibhāvayet//
 tasyaiva bhagamadhye³⁰⁸ tu bhāvayet herukottamaṃ//
 47b5 pañcātmakam bhedayutam karoṭaiḥ³⁰⁹ sahasam-
 yaṃ³¹⁰ //
 yoginyāḥ³¹¹ tu kramair³¹² dhyāyāt bhagamadhye³¹³
 vibhāvayet//
 adṛśyaṃ³¹⁴ cakramadhye³¹⁵ tu bhagamadhye³¹⁶ vi-
 bhāvayet//
 48a1 vīracakre³¹⁷ tato dhyāna(m) alīṅgaṇamudrayā//
 svakāsvakāṃ³¹⁸ tu yoginyā hr̥di guhyam vibhāvayet//
 parśadā cakrayoginyā caturbhujavirājitaḥ³¹⁹ //
 48a2 ālīṅgaṇakarau³²⁰ dvau tu anye³²¹ ca vividhāyu-
 dham³²² //
 teṣāṃ vai bhagamadhye³²³ tu adṛśyam³²⁴ vīra-

- bhāvanā//
 saṃvṛtyo³²⁵ guptayogaś³²⁶ ca adṛśyaṃ³²⁷ vīra-
 bhāvanottamaṃ³²⁸ //
- 48a3 aṇḍajakramayogena bhāvayed vibhāvanāt³²⁹ //
 pañcamelāpake dhyāyād³³⁰ aṇḍajottamabhāvanāt³³¹ //
 cakrabhedena bheditvā yathā yogavibhāvanam³³²
- 48a4 yathāśayaviśeṣeṇa yathārucikabhavana³³³ //
 adhipatyādibhedena kulabhedena vibhāvanāḥ³³⁴ //
- 48a5 devatābhedabhedena³³⁵ adhipatyavibhāvanā³³⁶ //
 nāmabhedena³³⁷ bheditvā ḍākaśabda(m)³³⁸ prayoja-
 yet//
 athavā trikāyabhedena³³⁹ adhipatyam karoty-
 asau³⁴⁰ //
 adhipatyādibhedena cakrabhedam kariṣyati//
- 48b1 kulabhedena³⁴¹ sarveṣāṃ vīrayoginībhedataḥ³⁴² //
 jarāyujā(m) gītayogena³⁴³ bhāvanā(m) parikalpa-
 yet³⁴⁴ //
 aṇḍajam gītarahitam³⁴⁵ śabdāśabdavivarjitam//
- 48b2 svayambhūbhagavān³⁴⁶ yogīyogabhedottamottamaḥ³⁴⁷ //
 yoginaḥ kecid icchanti kecin³⁴⁸ necchanti yogi-
 naḥ//
- 48b3 gītaśabdādirahitam nirābhāsapāde³⁴⁹ sthitam//
 avyaktakramavyayam³⁵⁰ sūkṣmam³⁵¹ grahyāgrāhaka-
 varjitam//
 gītaśabdādirahitam³⁵² sambhogyam paramam³⁵³
 padam³⁵⁴ //
- 48b4 sakalān³⁵⁵ kāmagaṇān³⁵⁶ bhuktā³⁵⁷ hitāya karu-
 nātmakam//
 sarvasatvārtham udyogam³⁵⁸ kṣāntivīryottamotta-
 mam³⁵⁹ //
 gītam³⁶⁰ na³⁶¹ dūṣayati yogi ḍākinyās toṣaṇam
 hitam//
- 48b5 hoḥ paī pāvibha³⁶² tribhuvanasārjja³⁶³ //
 a la la la hoḥ³⁶⁴ //
 karuṇāmane³⁶⁵ arumuñcahi varjja³⁶⁶ //
 hāramahāsukha³⁶⁷ jinasambhoru³⁶⁸ //

- a la la la hoḥ³⁶⁹ //
- 49a1 pramuñca tathāgata dūdasamdisāru³⁷⁰ //
- paī³⁷¹ sahasarvahi³⁷² sāru //
- kāmtāsura-asamāgamu³⁷³ tribhuvanasāru³⁷⁴ //
- a la la la hoḥ³⁷⁵
- 49a2 sura ādhisumuñca³⁷⁶ mahāchajināhimahāḥ³⁷⁷ //
- anena gītayogena³⁷⁸ gādayet³⁷⁹ padmayoginī³⁸⁰ //
- utthapayet padmajālena³⁸¹ vajrasaṃyogasukhena tu //
- 49a3 anena coditā nāthā³⁸² mahāsukhasukhālayāt³⁸³ //
- utthitaṃ sarvabuddhānāṃ³⁸⁴ utsrjet sakalajinam
iti³⁸⁵ //
- 49a4 niṣkale³⁸⁶ gītarahite³⁸⁷ aṇḍajakalavarjite //
- na rūpaṃ paśyate³⁸⁸ tatra na sukhaṃ na-r-aharṣa-
yoh³⁸⁹ //
- nirdvandaniṣkalam³⁹⁰ suddham³⁹¹ kalpanāgītago-
caram³⁹² //
- 49a5 dharmādharmavinirmuktaṃ³⁹³ pāpopāyān³⁹⁴ na lip-
yate //
- sarvadvandvavinimukto³⁹⁵ aṇḍajo³⁹⁶ {bhāvanotta-
maḥ³⁹⁷ //
- suptaprabodhanaṃ gītaṃ na duṣyo³⁹⁸ mūrkhā³⁹⁹ paṇ-
ḍitaiḥ⁴⁰⁰ //
- 49b1 satvārthahita(m)⁴⁰¹ bodhyaṅgādhyānena budhyati //
- kṣetrajā sahajā devī pīthajā yoginī⁴⁰² tathā //
- kulajā matrjā devī adṛśyā khecarī tathā //
- 49b2 antajā uttamā caiva⁴⁰³ madhyamā vivīdhottamā //
- bhūcarī tridaśī caiva pātālatalavāsini //
- yakṣaṇī nāginī caiva gandharvī kinnarī tathā //
- 49b3 apsari⁴⁰⁴ pūrvasiddhā ca yā⁴⁰⁵ canyā saugatāśayā //
- ratnatrayābhiprasannātmā sarvās tā bāhyamaṇḍale //
- pujopahārair⁴⁰⁶ vivīdhair nṛtyagītavikurva-
naiḥ⁴⁰⁷ //
- 49b4 nānārasāt savair⁴⁰⁸ divyaiḥ pūjayed ḍākinīprabhum //
- vāyavyamaṇḍalārūḍhaṃ kāyacakraṃ vibhāvayet //
- varuṇamaṇḍalārūḍhaṃ⁴⁰⁹ vākcaakraṃ⁴¹⁰ bhāvayet

- kṣanāt⁴¹¹//
- 49b5 tejomaṇḍalam āruḍhaṃ cittacakraṃ sukhāvahaṃ//
mahendramaṇḍalāruḍhaṃ samayamaṇḍalam uttamaṃ//
jñānamaṇḍalam⁴¹² tatraiva bhāvayed vibhāvanā//
- 50a1 bhagamaṇḍalamadhye tu viśvapadmaṃ vibhāvayet//
sūryamaṇḍalamadhye tu-r-ekavīraṃ vibhāvayet//
cakrapadmāvalīvajrau tricakraṃ pariveṣṭayet//
- 50a2 viśvavajravalyāveṣṭya samayacakraṃ⁴¹³ yathāvi-
dhi⁴¹⁴//
bāhyamaṇḍalam āveṣṭya yataḥ⁴¹⁵ pañcavidhis⁴¹⁶
tathā//
- 50a3 bāhye⁴¹⁷ śmaśānaṃ ghoram viśvavarṇottamottamaṃ//
taruvarair⁴¹⁸ vividhai rama(m) śvasṛgālais⁴¹⁹
ca bhīṣanaiḥ//
kākolūkavṛkair⁴²⁰ gr̥dhraiḥ⁴²¹ śibikācillikās⁴²²
tathā//
- 50a4 kaṅkālaśūlabhinnaiś⁴²³ ca olambyatārdhadagdha-
tāḥ⁴²⁴//
śiraḥkarotajānūni⁴²⁵ kabandhahastamundakaiḥ⁴²⁶//
- 50a5 sarpair⁴²⁷ nānāvidhiramyai(r) gonāśai(r)⁴²⁸ duṇ-
ḍubhaiś⁴²⁹ tathā//
simhasūkaravyāghraiś⁴³⁰ ca chāgalair edakais⁴³¹
tathā//
hastyaśvakharagāvoṣṭravividhai(h)⁴³² samayotta-
maiḥ⁴³³//
- 50b1 padmair nānāvidhisamayottamaiḥ⁴³⁴//
padmair⁴³⁵ nānāvidhaiś⁴³⁶ caiva surāpānai(h) pi-
bottamaiḥ⁴³⁷//
vīrā melāpakaṃ⁴³⁸ divyaṃ yoginī vividhottamā//
- 50b2 kapālakhatvāṅgakarā karttikā ḍamarukottamā//
vādyair⁴³⁹ nānāvidhidivyair⁴⁴⁰ bhojyabhakṣyara-
sottamaiḥ⁴⁴¹//
vividhaiś cumbanālingaiś⁴⁴² coṣyalehyottamotta-
maiḥ⁴⁴³//
- 50b3 evaṃvidhaṃ śmaśānaṃ⁴⁴⁴ tu yakṣavetālarākṣa-

- saiḥ⁴⁴⁵//
 baḷim⁴⁴⁶ tatraiva dātavyaṃ herukarūpam uddha-
 ret⁴⁴⁷//
- 50b4 ḍamaruvajraghaṇṭā ca vāḍyanṛtyaṃ prakurvanam//
 digvāsā mudrayā yukto hūṃ phaṭ kilakilāyate⁴⁴⁸//
 ālīḍhapadayogena jvālāṃ mudrāṃ tu bhāvayet⁴⁴⁹//
- 50b5 mukham āpūrya samaye sarvaṃ⁴⁵⁰ evaṃ anusmaret//
 om̐ āḥ⁴⁵¹ aralihoḥ⁴⁵² jaḥ hūṃ baṃ hoḥ//
 vajraḍākinyah⁴⁵³ samayaḥ⁴⁵⁴ tvaṃ drśya⁴⁵⁵ hoḥ⁴⁵⁶//
 evaṃ tricatuḥpañcavārān smārayet//
- 51a1 anulomavilomena kapālair⁴⁵⁷ dāya yeṣu ca//
 vajrañjalyā ūrdhavikaca(h)⁴⁵⁸ mantra(m) paṭhet//
 om̐ kha kha khāhi khāhi sarvayaḥsarākṣasabhūta-
 pretapiśācconmādāpasmāraḍākāḍākinyādaya⁴⁵⁹ imaṃ
 baḷim⁴⁶⁰ gr̥hṇantu⁴⁶¹ mama⁴⁶² samaya(m) rakṣantu
 mama siddhiṃ dadantu⁴⁶³ yathaiva yatheṣṭaṃ⁴⁶⁴
- 51a3 bhuñjatha⁴⁶⁵ pibatha⁴⁶⁶ jighratha⁴⁶⁷ mātikrama-
 tha⁴⁶⁸ mama sarvākāratayā satsukhaṃ⁴⁶⁹ viśuddha-
 ye⁴⁷⁰ sahāyakā⁴⁷¹ bhavantu hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ⁴⁷² svāhā//
- 51a4 evaṃ vidhividhānena catuḥsaṃdhyāṃ⁴⁷³ pradāpayet//
 mās mahāraṃ kṛtyartham⁴⁷⁴ ekāntaṃ⁴⁷⁵ sukhasaṃsthi-
 taṃ⁴⁷⁶//
- asamāhitayogena sarvaṃ eva tu bhakṣayet//
- 51a5 iti śrīabhidhānottare⁴⁷⁷ sarva anasthitakarmabhe-
 davidhāno nāma navamaḥ⁴⁷⁸ paṭalaḥ⁴⁷⁹//

Chapter IX: Variant Readings.

Concordance:

- MS.A Folio 34 is missing, the available text begins 35a
 (= MS. D 43a1 'mabhujaṅgana etc.'. Judging from
 the preceding chapters this chapter in MS. A must
 be Ch. VI. Folios 40 and 41 with the end of the
 chapter are also missing (beginning of lacuna: =
 MS. D 49a5 'bhāvanottamaḥ etc.').
- MS.B 547a2 - 550b1 (Ch. IX).
- MS. C 36b6 - 45a2 (Ch. VI).
- MS. D 42a2 - 51a5 (Ch. IX).
- T 1 119b5 - 124b8, p. 50-1-5/52-1-8 (Ch. IX).
- T 2 84a4 - 92a1 (Ch. IX).
- Śū. 197b8 - 204b5, p. 285-2-8/288-1-5 (Ch. IX).

Variants:

1. C -vīla-.
2. C anīlā-.
3. T adds de'i steṅ du (tasyopari).
4. BD tanmadhye; C tatmadhya.
5. B -viloma.
6. BD hūṁkāradhi-. T omits kāra.
7. C surasukhā-; B omits sukhabhūta;
 T thugs rje'i bdag ṅid Heruka chags pas rnam par
 'khor ba (T 2 bar) bsgom mo: "thugs rje'i" and
 "chags pas rnam par 'khor ba/bar" added.
8. C caturmukha; D caturmukham.
9. BD dvādaśabhujaṁ.
10. B -pada.
11. BD saṁsthitam; C sasthitam. "saṁ" is against the
 metre.
12. C kaḷālā; D daṣṭrā-.

13. T adds dpa' bo'i phyag rgya drug gis sku lus phyag rgyas btab pa.
14. C -rātryā; T 'jigs byed chen po (mahābhairava).
15. BD cakrāntā- (C better m.c.); T mgo dan nu ma mnan pa: "nu ma" added.
16. C -vibhramāṃ.
17. C -pañcasuk T rtse dgu pa.
18. B omits vajra; BCD -gaṇṭā; T omits kalāla.
19. C -dvaye.
20. BD -dharāḥ; C carmābaradharāḥ.
21. C tṛtīye.
22. CD acarthe.
23. BD pañcama.
24. C vajrakarttikāḥ.
25. BD ṣaṣṭa.
26. C tṛtīye; D tṛtiya.
27. C kapālaṃmarja- ; BD kapālaṃ.
28. D -pūrṇa.
29. BC yajñopavītaṃ; D yajñopravītaṃ.
30. BCD urddha-; T tse mo lña pa'i rdo rje (pañcasukavajraṃ).
31. B karāla-; T omits kalāla.
32. C madhya.
33. C -śīra.
34. T adds bsnams pa.
35. B haritānaṃ; C sīta-.
36. B dhīra for vīra; T has 'jigs su ruṅ (raudra), sgeg pa (śringāra), dgod pa (hāsyā), 'gyid bag can (~ bībhatsa), equivalents for vīra and lelīhānana are missing.
37. T ālikāli las byuṅ ba.
38. T adds 'khyud nas zugs te.
39. BCD -varṇās.
40. C caturvaktrāḥ śca- !
41. C ṣaṇḍamanditameṣalā.

42. C kapāram ca.
43. AC -pūrṇā; D -pūrṇām.
44. A apabhujē-; C -dvaya.
45. A leaf ripped: 'khaṭvāṅgaṃ kalpāgni' missing.
46. A 'sannibhām' not legible; B kalpāsannibhām;
C -saṃnibhām.
47. A śravantī-; B śravaṃtī-; C śravanti-; D śravaṃ-
trī-. T źal khrag 'zag ciñ-: 'źal khrag' added.
48. BD jaṃghādvaye-.
49. lacuna in A due to destruction of leaf; C
kalāla-.
50. AC bhagavato; BD bhagavatos.
51. A -sudhā; T omits śuddhā.
52. B lekhyāne; C lalekhyānekṣate; D lekhyānekṣate.
53. A pīnavikrama-, lacuna due to destruction of leaf;
C -viṃnyasyā, T for pīṭha nañ gi gnas: 'nañ gi'
added.
54. A -mām; BCD uttamām; T for yogaṃ uttamām rnal
'byor pa mchog gis.
55. T just PU, the anusvāra in this case and the
following 23 seed-syllables is not put in the
Tibetan versions.
56. C Pracāṇḍā.
57. AC sirasi.
58. T JA (J transcribed dza).
59. AC sikhāyām.
60. T U; T 2 O.
61. A lacuna due to destruction of leaf; BD kaṃkāra-
prabhāmatī; C kaṃkālaprabhāmatī; T - 'od ldan ma
(-prabhāvatī = doublet 80b3).
62. ABCD āṃ; T A; em. aṃ because this seed-syllable is
formed from the 1st syllable of the country name
Arbuda.
63. AC vikṛtadamṣṭriṇa; BD vikṛtadamṣṭriṇaḥ; em. acc.
to 82b4, 116b4, and NSP 25.

64. ABCD pr̥sthavanso.
65. T 1 omits gom; T 2 go.
66. A suravairiṇa-; BCD surāvairiṇaḥ-; A lacuna due to destruction of part of folio; D -vīramati.
67. C vāmaṇḍe.
68. T 1 ra, T 2 rā.
69. C -madhya.
70. C amitābar.
71. A daṃ.
72. A effaced, not readable.
73. T ma.
74. A -mūlayo; BCD -mūlayoḥ.
75. A lacuna due to destruction of part of folio; T nam mkha' spyod pa (khecara) for khecarī.
76. T 1 ka; T 2 kā.
77. ABCD kakṣayoh (cf. 14.83b2).
78. A stanayugalā; BCD stanayugare.
79. BCD -bhairavī.
80. C madhya.
81. ABD mahābala-; C mahābala vāyuvyagā; T stobs po che-; em. according to 81b1, 117b3.
82. lacuna in A due to destruction of part of the leaf.
83. A upakṣetraḥ; BCD upakṣetra.
84. ABCD syāmādevī; T sño bsañs lha mo (= śyāmādevī).
85. lacuna in A due to destruction of part of the leaf; T 2 lā.
86. C hr̥daya.
87. AD hr̥im; B hr̥īm; C tr̥īm; T tri; em. because the seed-syllable is made from the first syllable of the name Himālaya; cf. Śū. 176b1, p. 276-5-1: hi.
88. A medre; BD madhre; T bśaṇ sgo.
89. BC -chandoha; D -chaṃdoha.
90. lacuna in A because part of leaf destroyed; T sa la spyod pa (bhūcara) for bhūcarī.

91. T 2 phre.
92. ABCD gum̐ (sic, not gr̐m̐); em. gr̐m̐, the seed-syllable here derives from the first syllable of the name gr̐hadevatā.
93. BCD melāpaka.
94. T 1 so.
95. CD urudvaye.
96. lacuna A, part of leaf destroyed, C jaghāyām.
97. A too faint, not legible. BCD cakravartminī;
T 'khor lo'i go cha ma: cakravarminī.
98. A aṅgulīṣu.
99. A padāpīṭhayoh.
100. lacuna in A, part of leaf destroyed; BCD
-nartteśvara-.
101. A smasānaḥ (MS., however, not very legible here);
C śmaśāna.
102. AC aṅguṣṭha; BD aṅgeṣu; T mthe boṅ ḡnis la
(= aṅguṣṭhayoh).
103. BD cakravarttini (also AC -rtt- here).
104. A jānau.
105. A upasmasānaḥ; C upaśmaśāna.
106. lacuna in A, part of leaf destroyed; T sa 'og
la gnas pa (pātālavāsī).
107. parallel to vajre and the other loc., may be
an emendation into loc. should be considered.
But see BHSG § 9.68 for examples of -ā as loc.
108. C Khaṇḍalohā-.
109. ABCD muṣṭya. Cf. BHSG § 10.124 for (only) one other
example of -yā as loc. T glaṅ po de'i lpags pa
'dzin pa'i khu tsur: 'dzin pa added.
110. C vajraśula.
111. A aṅkuśa.
112. BCD vajrakartti. Acc. to Edgerton it is possible
to understand -i/-ī as loc. sg. of -i/-ī stem
(BHSG § 10.65/68), an em. is not necessary.

113. C śūkalāsyā.
114. ABCD ḍamarukaṃ.
115. C yamadātī; T gśin rje sreg ma (yamadāhī).
Cf. NSP 12, Skt. text p. 27, note 12 yama-
dāti/di and NSP 25, p. 81, note 7, the vari-
ant yamadādi.
116. AD -khatvāṅga; BC -khatvāṅgaṃ; T adds in this
case and also in the next three cases of hand
symbols the feminine suffix -ma: khatvaṅga ma,
zags pa ma etc.
117. AC -sirasi.
118. BC paraśuḥ; D paraśu.
119. A letters in this passage very effaced;
BD -bhāṇḍe.
120. ABC caturvaktrom; T źal bźi'i ŋo bo: ŋo bo added.
121. C āpdhātu.
122. C mārini.
123. A omits padma; all MSS. double t after r in this
case.
124. ABD -jvālinī; C -jvālanī; T -dra ba can (-jālinī)
cf. 84a2 MS A jā- and Finot, manuscripts p. 54f.
padmajālinī.
125. BCD vairocana.
126. C -sūryya.
127. C sajñana-.
128. C -nartteśvara, all MSS. double t after r in this
case.
129. C saskāraskandhe; D vijñānaskandhe.
130. C omits vajrarājaḥ // vijñānaskandhe.
131. C vajrasatva.
132. ABCD -tathāgatvaṃ; em. acc. to T de bźin gśegs pa
thams cad kyi de kho na ŋid and 84a3.
133. C -vajra.
134. A cakṣuṣyo.
135. D moho-.

136. D śrotayo.
137. C -vajra.
138. C -vajra.
139. C -vajra.
140. C -vajra.
141. C sarvātane- -vajra.
142. C amitābha; T tshe dpag med (amitāyuh).
143. C vairocana.
144. A omits haḥ; T ha, cf. ST XIII,35: the variants ha, haḥ, hūm, and hom; Finot, hastapūjāvidhi p. 55 haḥ.
145. C hr̥daya.
146. C vajrasatva.
147. A nama hiḥ; T nama hi, T 2 namaḥ hi, cf. ST XIII, 35 nama hi/namaḥ hi; Finot, hastapūjāvidhi p. 55 namaḥ hi; SM No. 251, p. 462, namaḥ hiḥ.
148. A sire.
149. C vairocana.
150. A sikhāyām; siṣāyām.
- 150.b all MSS. double the 't' after 'r' in this name.
151. A voṣaṭa; BCD voṣaṭ; T bauṣaṭa; cf. ST XIII,35 vaṣaṭ; Finot, hastapujavidhi p. 55 vaṣaṭ; SM No. 251, p. 462 vaṣaṭ, also Monier Williams lists this ancient offering formula as vaṣaṭ.
152. C heruka.
153. T ho.
154. A cakṣu.
155. AT phaṭ only once; BCD phaṭ twice; cf. ST XIII,35 phaṭ haṃ/phaṭ phaṭ haṃ; Finot, hastapūjāvidhi, p. 55 also phaṭ 1 x; SM No. 251 p. 462 phaṭ 1 x.
156. ABCD -āṅge, cf. 84a3 -ṣu.
157. B -a antraḥ.

158. C yām.
159. ABD yoginī; T yāmini; cf. 84b3 also yāminī, so ST XIII,38, Finot, hastapūjāvidhi, p. 55.
160. T hrīm.
161. A mohinī; cf. 84b3 mohinī; ST XIII,38 mohanī; Finot, hastapūjāvidhi, p. 55 mohanī.
162. A hre hrīm; C hram hrīm; BD hrīm hrīm; T hrim hrim; T 2 hrem hrim; 84b3 hrem hrīm; ST XIII, 38, Finot, hastapūjāvidhi, p. 55, both suggest hrem hrīm. Cf. SM No. 251, p. 493 hram hrīm.
163. A sirasi.
164. BCD sañcālanī; cf. 84b4 sañcāriṇī; ST XIII,38 sañcālinī (two variants -riṇī), so Finot, hastapūjāvidhi p. 55.
165. A sikhāyām.
166. AC caṇḍikāsārvamgeṣ (A s) vastraḥ.
167. ABCD kṛtvā agra-.
168. AC -granthya khalu; B -granthyam akha; D -granthyam ekhalu.
169. D madhye; T 'dzub mo mdud byas guṇ mo ṇes par sbyar (could also be spyad)// : 'agra' omitted, 'dzub mo (aṅguli) and sbyar (=yojya?) added.
170. T 1 mthe boṇ rdo rje 'dzub mor rab tu sbyar: 'dzub mor for dṛdhaḥ, T 2 for 'dzub mor brtan por (= dṛdhaḥ).
171. C sastha-.
172. C lalāta.
173. A avarttavivarttena.
174. A bhrāmāye.
175. AC dṛṣṭim; BD dṛṣṭin.
176. ABCD urdhā.
177. A -nādataḥ; C -nādata; T phem for het, cf. SM 226 p. 441, same passage but with phem.
178. C pravyasya.
179. ABD sannayet; C cannayet.

180. A -yogibhi.
 181. C gagaṇa-.
 182. C -ābhinayana.
 183. C tayoganayor-.
 184. BCD snāpitā.
 185. A -tathāgataḥ, BCD -tathāgatas.
 186. A śuddha; BCD śuddhen; T dag pa yis (śuddhena);
 cf. SM 218 p. 429 in the same mantra śuddham .
 187. A omits tu.
 188. C -samayaśriya; D samaśriye.
 189. A svāhā; C svāhāḥ hūṃ; T just hūṃ hūṃ (T 2 hūṃ
 hūṃ); cf. SM 218, 251, p. 429, p. 463, in the
 same mantra just hūṃ.
 190. C pañcajñāna-; T ye śes lña bdud rtsis etc.
 191. A soḍaṣaḥ.
 192. A hūṃ kāraṃ oṃ karādhi; T yi ge hūṃ dan aḥ oṃ
 gyis-.
 193. BD tryākṣarībhūtaṃ; C trekarībhutaṃ.
 194. BCD saṃspharya.
 195. BCD -śuddhā; T śuddhaḥ.
 196. BD -dharmā; T 1 dharma; T 2 dharmah.
 197. A -dharmekarasa-; C -cetanā.
 198. C prayoge; T ye śes lña (pañca jñāna).
 199. A omits oṃ.
 200. A -odakaṃ.
 201. T traṃ.
 202. T a.
 203. T kha.
 204. T for phaṭ svāhā just oṃ.
 205. ABCD jñānamṛta-, T ye ses bzlas pa'i sbyor ba yis
 (jñānajāpayogena or jñānamantrayogena).
 206. C sphere.
 207. ABD cakrāghraṃ.
 208. A -saṅkha-; C -saṃṣa-.
 209. D supratitvā.

210. A T 2 kaṃ.
211. T adds om after phaṭ.
212. A -samvara, C -saṃvalaṃ.
213. C -vairocanaīya.
214. C -hr̥daya.
215. BD japed bhāvanayā.
216. C ṣedo.
217. B na omitted.
218. AT omit na jāyate khede; C -ṣede.
219. C śati.
220. C śuddhim.
221. A -pākṣeṣu.
222. T chos sum bcu rtsa bdun te gañ ze na: 'ze na' for vihareṭ.
223. C here and in the next three cases -smṛti upa- without saṃdhi.
224. T omits jñānapadmaviśuddhiḥ, see no. 230!
- C -viśudhiḥ.
225. AC pracandāḥ.
226. A -pāda.
227. BC mimāsa.
228. D prabhāvatī.
229. A -pāda; BD pādau.
230. C - nāsāḥ; after this T adds ye śes kyi pad ma rnam par spyoṅ ba'o (jñānapadmaviśuddhiḥ, cf. no. 224).
231. B viryaṃdriyaṃ.
232. A smṛtendriyaṃ.
233. B drumachāyaḥ.
234. C viśudhi.
235. C śraddhābaram.
236. BD -bhairavaṃ.
237. ABCD syāmādevī. cf. variant no. 84.
238. C śubhadrā.
239. B aṅga-.

240. ABCD khagānanā; em. acc. to T rta rna (hayakarnā)
cf. 86b3.
241. ABCD omit the vīryasambodhyaṅga and identification
with Khagānanā; T 2 has the correct form of
this passage: brtson 'grus yañ dag byañ chub
gyi yan lag ni kva gdon ma'o (cf. 86b3);
T 1 is the same as T 2 but has chañ 'tshon
ma'o (saundinī). This resulted from omitting
the name Khagānanā and the whole portion of
the text up to the occurrence of the name
saundinī 46b3.
242. A vākcakravīśuddhiḥ; C vākcakravisuddhi.
243. C pratisambodhyaṅga; BD -aṅga.
244. A -aṅga.
245. A cakravegā.
246. A prasarabdavicaya-; CD dharmappravicaye-;
ABD -aṅga.
247. C cakravarmminī.
248. AD -aṅga.
249. BD cakravartminī; C omits smṛtisambodhyaṅgaṃ
cakravarmminī.
250. AD -aṅga.
251. ABCD samyakdr̥ṣṭi.
252. ABD mahābalaḥ.
- 252.b. ABCD cakravarttinī.
253. ABCD samykvāk.
254. C -viśuddhi.
255. BD samyagājīva (sic); C samyajīva.
256. BCD samyavyāyāma.
257. C sūkarāśya.
258. BCD -mukhā.
259. C samyaksamrāgau? corrupt for -samādhau.
260. A herukavajraḥ; śrīherukavajraḥ.
261. ABCD śuviśuddha-; T dag pa'i chos kyi dbyiṅs kyi
ye śes kyi rdo rje'i rañ gi ño bo ni....:

- rdo rje (vajra) added.
262. AD -ātmakoḥamṁ iti; C -ātmako 'ham // iti//.
263. A anutpannānā-
264. AC omit dharmānām.
265. ABD utpādam.
266. T gśin rje sreg ma (yamadāhī).
267. BCD samlakṣanam. (T yan dag par sruṇ ba = samrakṣanam).
268. B akulānām.
269. A akuśalānā.
270. D dharmānām.
271. C cetī.
272. C bhāve.
273. T ma lus par (akhilam).
274. BD samatatva-; C samatatve-; D -samottamaḥ.
275. AC cakrām; BD cakram.
276. ABCD prthakbhedenā.
277. ABCD prthak-.
278. ABD -pati; T rnal 'byor ma sogs gtsor bsgom:
for 'adhi' '-ādi' (la sogs pa).
279. ABCD prthak-.
280. A vajra.
281. BCD devī; T lha mo'i dbus su (devyā madhyataḥ).
282. BCD -dākinī- (-i metrically better).
283. B yogīnyā.
284. C -madhya.
285. C -bhāvanā.
285. C dhyānam.
287. C anukramā.
288. C pañca atmakam.
289. AC nyāyat; D nyāyet (corrected in MS. from dhyāyet); T bsgom (dhyāyāt).
290. C madhya.
291. A -dākinī-.
292. BD -dākinī-; C padmadākinībhedenaḥ (sic).

293. A padmaḍākinī-; BD ḍākinī; C omits vajraḍākinī-bhedataḥ.
294. B madhye tu; C madhya tu.
295. ABCD -ottamāṃ.
296. A -cakresu.
297. BCD -ḍākinī-; B -maṇḍala.
298. BCD -ḍākinī-.
299. A viśvapadmādhīpatyatas; BD viśvakarmādhīpatyataḥ; C viśvapadmādhīpatyataḥ; T (for the whole line) ye śes mkha' 'gro ma'i dkyil 'khor sna tshogs padma la sogs dbus ye śes 'khor lo'i sbyor ba dag//: dkyil 'khor (maṇḍala) for yogena; padma la sogs dbus suggests 'padmādimadhyataḥ', ye śes 'khor lo'i sbyor ba dag added.
300. C -madhya.
301. ABD catuścakra; C catucakra; T 'khor lo lña pa dag la (pañcacakreṣu).
302. ABCD ekavīrā.
303. AC varṇam; B varṇan.
304. AC herukaḥ; BD kerukaḥ.
305. BCD bhujayudhas.
306. AC tadvat.
307. AC viśvapadma.
308. C -madhya; T pad ma'i dbus dag tu: pad ma for bhaga.
309. A karotais (or -es, letters not very legible);
C karotai.
310. A omits saha.
311. ABD yoginya; C yoginyā; T rnal 'byor ma yi: yoginyāḥ.
312. ABC kramai.
313. C -madhya.
314. ABD adṛsyam; C adṛsya.
315. C -madhya; T 'khor lo'i bdag po (cakrapatiṃ).

316. C -madhya.
 317. C -cakra.
 318. ABCD -svakām.
 319. C virājitā.
 320. ABCd -varau cf. T 'khyud pa'i phyag suggests
 -karau for -varau; C -aligaṇa-.
 321. C anya.
 322. T adds 'dzin (dharanti).
 323. C -madhya.
 324. C -adṛsyam.
 325. ABCD savṛtyo.
 326. BDC -yogañca.
 327. C adṛsyam.
 328. A -ottama.
 329. C vibhāvanā.
 330. AC dhyāyāt.
 331. D aṇḍajotu abhāvanāt.
 332. C vibhāvanām.
 333. T de ltar- (tathā).
 334. C vibhāvanā.
 335. T for devatā lha mo (devī).
 336. BD adhipatyādhībhāvanā; T bdag po yañ ni rnam
 par bsgom (adhipatibhāvanā), 'patya' seems to
 be an alternative stem to 'pati' used here by
 the MSS., cf. the acc. 'adhipatyam' below.
 337. B -bhedena bhedena.
 338. T mkha' 'gro ma'i sgra (dākinīśabda).
 339. BD trikālabhedena.
 340. B omits adhipatyam karotyasan, in D it is inser-
 ted as a correction in the text.
 341. C kulabhena.
 342. BCD -yoginī-.
 343. C gītayoga.
 344. BCD parīkalpayet; A not very legible, but seems to
 be pari-.

345. A gītarahita; BC śītarahitaṃ; D śītaḥaritaṃ.
 346. BCD -bhāgavāṃ.
 347. A omits yogī; T rnal 'byor bde ba mchog dam pa
 (yoga sukhottamottama or yogaśamvarottama).
 348. A keci.
 349. T translates dños po med pa'i go phaṅ
 (avastupade).
 350. BD avyaktakramavyaya; T translates mi zad dños po
 med.
 351. BCD śūkṣmaṃ.
 352. T glu sgra la sogs bcas pa yi: gītaśabdādisahi-
 taṃ.
 353. D parama.
 354. T repeats again from gītaśabdarahitaṃ down to
 saṃbhogyāṃ paramaṃ padaṃ again with the vari-
 ant given under 352 but reverting the order:
 instead of glu sgra la sogs bcas pa yi / go
 phaṅ mchog gi loṅs spyod ni (gītaśabdādisahi-
 taṃ saṃbhogyāṃ paramaṃ padaṃ): go phaṅ mchog
 gi loṅs spyod ni / glu sgra la sogs bcas pa'i/)
 355. D sakalāṃ.
 356. D gunā.
 357. T bdag gis bza' (mayā bhuktā).
 358. C udyotaṃ.
 359. T 2 for ksānti brtsod pa (vivāda).
 360. B gīta; C gītan.
 361. AD ta; B ke; D ke in MS corrected into tam na.
 T mi (na).
 362. A prāviḍa.
 363. AC sorjja.
 364. T a la la ho.
 365. A omits runā.
 366. this line seems to be omitted in T.
 367. A -suhya; C -suṣa.
 368. T adds pad ma la ni rdo rje rol after -saṃbhoru.

369. BD -ho; T a la la ho.
370. A dūdasam̐dihyasāru; C dūda sam̐didbhasaru;
T bral ba'i bṛād las.
371. A prai.
372. A savva (prob. for sarvva).
373. D kāmka in MS. corrected into kaṃtā; BD sanāgamu.
374. AC tribhuvāṇa-.
375. TT a la la ho.
376. AC add pramuñca.
377. A -ca ajina-; C mahocha ajinā-; = T bdag ni 'dod
las rab grol mdzad?; then T adds ali las ni
byuñ ba yis.
378. C yoge ca.
379. A gadāyat; B nādayan; C gādayan; D nādayet: in
MS. corrected into gādayet.
380. T for this line glu'i rgyal po 'di blañs pas /
pad ma yi ni rnal 'byor pas / : adds rgyal po
and rnal 'byor pas suggests -yoginā.
381. C utthāpadma-.
382. ABCD nātha; (T mgoñ po rnams: nathāḥ).
383. BCD -sukhārayāt.
384. ABCD -buddhānāṃm.
385. T for sakalajinaṃ iti: rgyal ba ma lus skye bar
'gyur: "skye bar 'gyur" replaces the 'iti'.
386. A niskale; BCD niskare.
387. C gītaharite. T for the whole passage 'niskale
gītarahite' : glu dan̐ bcas pa'i dños po med.
The dños po med (the usu l Skt. equivalents
are avastuka or abhāva) translates the 'niska-
re' but not the 'rahite'; below T also trans-
lates 'niṣkalaṃ' with 'dños po med'.
388. C pasyate.
389. AC na ca harṣayoḥ; D correction in MS. from
'-r-aharṣayoḥ' into 'ca harṣayoḥ'; T sdug
bsñal med reflects 'na-r-aharṣayoḥ'. The

ending -yoḥ is difficult to explain in this context which requires an acc. sg., probably the form was used just to fill up the metre of 16-syllables.

390. ABC nirdvanda-; D nirdvaṇḍa-; the fact that all MSS. spell niṣkalaṃ here with ṣ, whereas above, see variant 386, they all spell it with s, deserves mention here. If it is not just coincidence the MSS. preserve here a minor fluctuation in spelling of a common original. This is surprizing in the light of the conflicting variants of these MSS in far more important matters.
391. T omits śuddhaṃ.
392. A kalpanātīgocaraṃ, C kalpanatitagocalaṃ; T brtag pa'i spyod yul rnam par brtag: no equivalent for 'gīta', 'rnam par brtag' (vikalpate) added.
393. ABD -vinimuktaṃ.
394. ABD pāpopāyon; C pāpāpāyon; T sdig pa ñes pas (pāpadoṣeṇa).
395. AB -dvanda-; CD -dvamda-, ABCD -ni- mukto.
396. ABD aṇḍajaṃ; C aṃjjanaṃ. In MS A the rest of the chapter and the following folios are missing.
397. BD bhāvayottamaḥ; C bhāvatottamaḥ.
398. C nadukho.
399. C mūrṣa. All MSS drop visarga m.c.
400. T rmoṅs pas mkhas pa mi smad do (na duṣyaḥ paṇḍito murkhaiḥ).
401. BCD satvārthaneta; T ma rtogs pa dañ rtogs bya'i phyīr.
402. BCD yoginīs.
403. CD va.
404. T for apsarī lha mo thams caḍ.
405. BCD ye.

406. T for pūjā glu (gīta).
407. T rtag tu (nityaṃ) for nr̥tya.
408. T for savair bde ba yis (sukhena or samvareṇa).
409. BCD -ārudhaḥ; T adds mkhas pas (paṇḍitena), omits maṇḍala.
410. C vakcakraṃ.
411. T omits kṣanāt.
412. B -maṇḍala.
413. BCD samayacakraṃ.
414. CD yathāvidhiḥ.
415. T yi dags (pretah).
416. D vidhi.
417. CD bāhya.
418. BC varai-.
419. BCD svasrgāraiś.
420. BD nr̥kai, C vr̥kai, T chu skyar (balākaḥ).
421. C gr̥dhai.
422. BD sibikācillikās, T omits cillikā and transcribes si bi ka, adds bsreg pa'i sa yañ de b'zin te/.
423. C kaṅkāla sulabhinnāñ.
424. BD olambyatārdhadagdhataḥ; C te 'lambyatārdhadagdhataḥ; T for the whole line: keñ rus gsal siñ skyon ba dañ rag rog bsregs pa rnam par 'phyañ de b'zin phyed tshig phyed ma tshig / : śūlabhinnaiś omitted (in the Tibetan versions of the Samvarodaya-tantra and Śmaśānavidhi translated by "mdun̄ gis phug", see the text in Meisezahl, Śmaśānavidhi p. 22 and p. 40), olambyatā is rendered by "gsal siñ skyon ba" (cf. in the Skt. of the Śmaśānavidhi "olamba" - emended into 'ullambaiḥ' by Meisezahl - also rendered by T by "gsal siñ skyon ba" ibidem p. 40); "rag rog bsreg pa rnam par phyañ de b'zin" is added; "ardhadagdhataiḥ" is translated by

"phyed tshig" and "phyed ma tshig" is also added.

425. C sira-; BD sirah-; (BCD -jānūni not em. into -jānubhiḥ for metrical reasons).
426. BD kabandhehastathā; C kabandhehatathā.
427. C sarpai.
428. C gonacai.
429. BCD dūṃḍuvis.
430. BD -simhaśūkara-; C simghasukara-.
431. CD edakais.
432. BCD hasti- (vs. metre!); C -aśvaṣara-; T for aśva khyi (śva); BCD -gāro- (T glaṅ po).
433. C -ottamai; T bde ba'i mchog (samvarottamaiḥ).
434. T omits padmair nānāvidhisamayottamaiḥ.
435. C padmai; T for padmair : bza' ba.
436. BCD -vidhiś.
437. BCD -ais tav/cottamaiḥ; em. acc. to T chaṅ btuṅ ba'i mchog (surāpanaiḥ pibottamaiḥ).
438. C merāpakam.
439. C vādyai; T 1 rṇa bdag; T 2 rṇa dag.
440. B nāvidhi-; C -vidhīrdivya.
441. C bhojyabhaksa-; D rasauttamah.
442. BD -āliṅgai; T transcribes cumbha ālika.
443. BCD -lehyaittamo-.
444. BD śmaśānam.
445. BCD vetāḍa-; T ro laṅs (vetāla); C -rākṣasai.
446. BC balin.
447. T bsgom. (bhāvayati).
448. C kilikitāyate.
449. T phyag rgya bcins nas su suggests mudrām tu bhadyāt.
450. T gsaṅ sṇags (guhyamantram).
451. T 2 ā.
452. D alalihoḥ; T āraliho; cf. 89a3.
453. BD -dākinya; T -dākinī.

454. C samaye; T samaya.
455. T trisya.
456. T ho.
457. C kalair.
458. BCD vajrāṅgulyā - em. according to T rdo rje thal mo gyen du phye nas (vajrāṅjalim ūrddhavikacaṃ kṛtvā - Skt. acc. to a passage from the Sā-dhanamālā (No. 251) quoted in Meisezahl, Vārāṇsī, p. 258).
459. C -cotmādā-; T -bhuta-; T 1 -udmanda-, T2 -unmāda-; T 1 omits -ḍāka-; T 1 -ḍākinānyadaye.
460. BCD bali; em. acc. to T balim.
461. BCD gr̥hna 2 x; T grihnaṃdu cf. 89 bl gr̥hṇanta (2x) in the same mantra.
462. T omits mama.
463. BD dadatu, T 1 prayattshantu (prayacchantu); T 2 me prayattshantu (cf. 89bl and SM 251, p. 495, in same mantra also prayacchantu).
464. BD -yathaiṣṭaṃ; C yathaivaṃ tathaivaṃ; T 1 yathevaṃ yatheṣṭaṃ; T 2 yathaivaṃ yatheṣṭaṃ.
465. BCD bhujatha; T 1 bhundzatha; T 2 bhuñdzatha (dza = ja).
466. T 1 pīpathā; T 2 bibatha.
467. T 1 omits jighratha.
468. C mātrikamatha (sic); T 1 matikramathā.
469. T 1 sarva karasad sukha; T 2 sarvakāratayā sad-sukha.
470. T 1 viśuddhaya.
471. C sahāyakāṃ; T 1 sahāyikam; T 2 sahayikam.
472. T 1 phaṭ only 1x.
473. B -sandhyaṃ, C catusaṃdhyam.
474. BD mahārakṛtyartham; C mahārakṛtye 'rtham.
475. B ekāntu; CD ekāstu.
476. C sukhasasthitam.
477. D -ottale.

478. C ṣaṣtha.
479. T ñes par brjod pa'i rgyud bla ma'i bla ma las
 gñis su med pa'i 'khor lo'i rim par phye ba
 bstan pa ste le'u dgu pa'o.

XIV. PĪTHĀDIYOGINĪ-PĀṬALA.

- 79a3 [athāto rahasyam vakṣye pīthamelāpakottamam//
 94a4 sarvabhāvasvabhāvena miśrīsamarasam¹ bhavet//
 advaidhīsamatā cakram trivarnam² sahitam³ puram//
 79a5 caturasram maṇḍalamadhye tu caturviṃśāracakram
 uttamam//
 tatra madhye⁴ mahāpadmam viśvapātram suśobhanam//
 dalāṣṭakarnikāyuktam keśarair upaśobhitam//
 79b1 caturdvāra⁶-aṣṭastambhastoraṇais⁷ samalamkṛtam//
 hārārdhahārāracitam sarvalakṣaṇasamyutam//
 sūryamaṇḍalamadhye⁸ tu vajrasattvam mahāsukham⁹//
 79b2 ālikālidravībhūtam pañcajñānam vibhāvayet//
 tatparāvṛtya sadvajram¹⁰ herukam tam¹¹ vibhāvayet//
 79b3 mahāpralayakālāgram¹² sarvadurdāntapāṭanam¹³//
 bhairavam¹⁴ kālarātriṃ ca pādākrāntatalīkṛtam¹⁵//
 daṃṣṭrākarālavadanam trinetram¹⁶ bhayabhīṣanam¹⁷//
 79b4 nīlāgravapurdehastham¹⁸ nīlajvālāgradehakam¹⁹//
 kapālamālāmukuṭam²⁰ pañcabuddhair adhiṣṭhitam//
 viśvavajramukuṭam²¹ ardhaacandropaśobhitam²²//
 79b5 ṣaḍvaktram²³ vīrabībhatsam²⁴ sṛṅgārahasitam²⁵
 raudram lalitānanam²⁶//
 ṣaṇmudrāmudritam deham²⁷ nānābharāṇamaṇḍitam²⁸//
 vārāhyānusamāpannam²⁹ jānūdvayasuveṣṭitam³⁰//
 80a1 ālīḍhapadasamsthānam³¹ pratyālīḍhapade³² sthi-
 tā(m)//
 hā-hā-kāra-sa-hūm-kāra-hī-hī-kāra(m)³³ bhayāna-
 kam³⁴//
 80a2 hūm-hūm-kāra-sa-ham-kāra-aṭṭaṭṭa-kāram³⁵ samuñ-
 cet³⁶//
 nīlapīṭam³⁷ tathā raktam haritam³⁸ sitam eva ca³⁹//
 ūrdhvaktram⁴⁰ mahāraudram gaganāsitaabhoginam⁴¹//
 80a3 vajraghaṇṭāsamāpannam devīkucanipīditam⁴²//
 rudracarmāmaradharam⁴³ sārḍharaktasravadrajam⁴⁴//
 kapālakhatvāṅgadharam sūlam karttikam⁴⁵ ankusa-

- pāśam⁴⁶ muṇḍadharam raudram muṅgarāḍamarukam⁴⁷
tathā//
- 80a4 śaktim⁴⁸ tu jvālamudrām⁴⁹ tu lalāṭe-r-upaśobhi-
tam⁵⁰//
- tadvarṇabhujasasthānā(m)⁵¹ muktakesā(m) tu nagni-
kāma⁵²//
- 80a5 īdrśim⁵³ bhāvayen⁵⁴ mudrām khaṇḍamaṇḍitamekhalām//
vārāhyā īdrśibhāvya⁵⁵ yoginībhrāntivarjitā⁵⁶//
prajñopāyasamāpannā⁵⁷ karuṇārāgasatsukhā⁵⁸//
- 80b1 satvārthahetusambhūtā⁵⁹ karuṇārdreṇa⁶⁰ cetasā//
gaganābhogasambhogā mahākaruṇārasotsukhā⁶¹//
śaḍgatibhavasamśodhya⁶² satvārthakṛtatatparā⁶³//
- 80b2 śūnyatājñānasambhūtā⁶⁴ nirvikalpānirālayā⁶⁵//
niḥsvabhāvā⁶⁶ parā sūkṣmā⁶⁷ bindunādavivarjitāḥ⁶⁸//
samatāsamayaṃ dr̥ṣtvā sabāhyābhyantarottamāḥ//
- 80b3 hr̥daye⁶⁹ jñānasamayaṃ candramaṇḍalamadhyataḥ⁷⁰//
tadvarṇabhujāyudham⁷¹ dr̥ṣtvā candravajram tu bī-
jakam//
- tasyaiva hr̥daye⁷² dhyātvā sevāyogam⁷³ prakalpayet//
- 80b4 padmanyāsam⁷⁴ prakurvīta dākinyās⁷⁵ tu yathā-
kramam//
- purve⁷⁶ dākinīnyāsam⁷⁷ uttare lāmakā⁷⁸ tathā//
- 80b5 paścime khaṇḍarohā⁷⁹ ca dakṣiṇe rūpiṇī tathā//
nīlā ca haritā raktā pītā caiva caturvidhā//
trinetravikṛtā raudrā muktakesā digambarāḥ⁸⁰//
- 81a1 sarvālāṅkārasampūrṇāḥ⁸¹ pañcamudrām⁸² tu mudritāḥ//
kapālakhaṭvāṅgadharā vāmaskandhasamāśritāḥ//
ḍamarukarttikā muṇḍam dākinīsamayottamam//
- 81a2 bodhicittodakaiḥ pūrṇāḥ⁸³ kapālāḥ⁸⁴ kalaśopari⁸⁵//
cakranyāsam⁸⁶ kurvīta⁸⁷ pūrvasiddhām⁸⁸ svādhi-
sthānādyanukramāt// pūrvottare krame pullīrama-
laye⁸⁹ khaṇḍakapālināḥ⁹⁰ praçaṇḍā gaganagaurā//
- 81a3 jālandhare⁹¹ mahākāṅkālacāṇḍākṣī pītā//
odiyāne⁹² kaṅkālaprabhāvatī⁹³ haritā//
- 81a4 arbude vikaṭadamṣṭriṇamahānāsā⁹⁴ gaganagaurā⁹⁵//

- godāvaryā⁹⁶ surāvairiṇavīramatī⁹⁷ pītā//
 rāmeśvare⁹⁸ amitābhakharvarī haritā//
 devīkoṭe⁹⁹ vajraprabhalaṅkeśvarī¹⁰⁰ gagana-
 81a5 gaurā¹⁰¹//
 mālave¹⁰² vajradehadrumacchāyā pītā//
 kāmārūpe¹⁰³ āṅkurika-airāvātī¹⁰⁴ haritā//
 oḍre¹⁰⁵ vajrajaṭīlamahābhairavā¹⁰⁶ gaganagaurā¹⁰⁷//
 81b1 triśakunau¹⁰⁸ mahāvīravāyuvagā¹⁰⁹ pītā//
 kośalāyā^{109b} vajrahūmkārasurābhakṣī haritā//
 kaliṅge¹¹⁰ subhadraśyāmādevī¹¹¹ gaganagaurā¹¹²//
 81b2 lampāke¹¹³ vajrabhadrasubhadrā¹¹⁴ pītā//
 kāñcike¹¹⁵ mahābhairavahayakarnā¹¹⁶ haritā¹¹⁷//
 himālaye¹¹⁸ virūpākṣakhagānanā gaganagaurā¹¹⁹//
 81b3 pretapuryā¹²⁰ mahābalacakravegā¹²¹ {pītā¹²²//
 gr̥hadevatāyā¹²³ ratnavajrakhaṇḍarohā¹²⁴ haritā//
 saurāstre¹²⁵ hayagrīvasauṇḍinī¹²⁶ gaganagaurā¹²⁷//
 81b4 suvarṇadvīpe¹²⁸ ākāśagarbhacakravarmī¹²⁹ pītā//
 nagare¹³⁰ śrīherukasuvīrā¹³¹ haritā//
 sindhau¹³² padmanarteśvaramahābalā¹³³ gaganagaurā//
 81b5 marau¹³⁴ vairocana cakravartinī pītā//
 kulatāyā¹³⁵ vajrasattvamahāvīryā haritā//
 athavā kāyavākcittabhedena varṇaṁ kuryād yathā
 82a1 rucau// dvāreṣu ca¹³⁶ yathā¹³⁷ krameṇa vāmataḥ//
 pūrve kākāsyā uttare ulūkāsyā// paścime śvā-
 nāsyā¹³⁸ dakṣiṇe sūkarāsyā nīlaraktaharita pītā¹³⁹//
 82a2 agneyāṁ yamadādhī¹⁴⁰ raktā// nairṛtyāṁ yamadūtī
 nīlā// vāyavyāṁ yamadamṣṭrī dhūmradhūsarā¹⁴¹//
 aiśānyāṁ yamamathanī sitagaurā//
 82a3 khaṇḍakapālādayo¹⁴² vīrāḥ¹⁴³ pracandānyādisahitā//
 ekavaktrās¹⁴⁴ caturbhujāḥ¹⁴⁵ // ālīḍhapadasthāḥ//
 kapālamālinyo vyāghracarmanivasanāḥ pañcamudrā-
 82a4 dharā devyā pādasuveṣṭhitāḥ¹⁴⁶ // nagnā muṇḍamālā-
 vibhūṣitā¹⁴⁷ // trinetrā vajramālā¹⁴⁸ lalaṭe
 vibhūṣitā¹⁴⁹ vajraghaṇṭālīṅganādvaye¹⁵⁰ yogasamā-
 pannā devīkucanipīḍitāḥ// kapālakhaṭvāṅgaḍamaru-

- karāḥ¹⁵¹// athavā trikulabhedaḥ¹⁵²//
 vajracakram¹⁵³ padmaḥ ca mūlacihnadharaḥ¹⁵⁴//
 82b1 digambaradhara¹⁵⁵ devī¹⁵⁶ muktakeśī tu raudriṇī//
 kākāsyādi tu devīnām muktakeśādigambarāḥ//
 ālīḍhapadasthā(h) trinetra vikṛtānanāḥ¹⁵⁷//
 82b2 kapālamālāmukutā¹⁵⁸ muṇḍasragdāmaṇḍitāḥ¹⁵⁹//
 pañcamudrādharaḥ¹⁶⁰ sarvāḥ kāmāgā(h) tu
 82b3 vidvalāḥ¹⁶¹// svābhōpāyasamāhitāḥ¹⁶² kekarāḥ
 kharvarās tathā¹⁶³// lambōdarāḥ pīnorujānudehāḥ¹⁶⁴
 karālavaktrāvikṛtā(h) sughorā(h) sūryābjapṛsthō-
 82b4 pari sādyaḥvāsthītāḥ¹⁶⁵//keśām-cid¹⁶⁶ icched vada-
 nānurāganāḥ¹⁶⁷// yathāśayam¹⁶⁸ bhāvayet tena
 yogī//
 kapālakhaṭvāṅgadharā¹⁶⁹ damarukarttikamuṇḍa-
 kā(h)¹⁷⁰//
 82b5 maṇḍale yān tu¹⁷¹ sarveśām pretāruḍhām vicintayet//
 upasevām tu yogena dākṣiṇīgaṇamaṇḍalam¹⁷²//
 virāṅgayoganyāsenā¹⁷³ yogena sādhanā ca samāra-
 83a1 bhet¹⁷⁴// nakhadantayoḥ khaṇḍakapālināḥ//
 keśāromayor¹⁷⁵ mahākāṅkālah// tvaṇmalakāṅkālah¹⁷⁶
 māṃsavikaṭadamaṣṭriṇāḥ¹⁷⁷// snāyusurāvairiṇāḥ¹⁷⁸
 asthāmitābhāḥ¹⁷⁹ vrkke¹⁸⁰ vajraprabhāḥ¹⁸¹//
 83a2 hrdayam¹⁸² vajradehāḥ¹⁸³ akṣiṇyaṅkurikāḥ¹⁸⁴//
 pittam vajrajaṭilāḥ¹⁸⁵// phuphusam¹⁸⁶ mahāvīraḥ//
 antram¹⁸⁷ vajrahūṅkārah¹⁸⁸ guṇavartyām¹⁸⁹ su-
 83a3 bhadraḥ// udare vajrabhadraḥ¹⁹⁰ purīṣa(m)¹⁹¹ mahā-
 bhairavaḥ¹⁹² sīmantam¹⁹³ virūpākṣaḥ// śleṣmā¹⁹⁴
 mahābalaḥ// pūyam¹⁹⁵ ratnavajraḥ// lohitaḥ haya-
 83a4 grīvaḥ// prasvedam ākāśagarbhaḥ¹⁹⁶ // medo¹⁹⁷ he-
 rukāḥ// aśru¹⁹⁸ padmanarteśvaraḥ¹⁹⁹ // khetam vai-
 rocanaḥ²⁰⁰ // siṃhānakam²⁰¹ vajrasattvaḥ//
 pullīramalaye²⁰² śīrasi²⁰³ pracandā//
 83a5 jālandharaśikhāyām²⁰⁴ caṇḍāksī//
 oḍiyānadakṣiṇe²⁰⁵ karṇe prabhāvatī//
 arbude²⁰⁶ mastakapṛṣṭhe²⁰⁷ mahānāsā// pīṭha(m)//

- godāvarīvāmakarṇe^{207b} vīramatī//
- 83b1 rāmeśvarabhṛmadhye²⁰⁸ kharvarī//
 devīkoṭe²⁰⁹ cakṣuṣo(r)²¹⁰ laṅkeśvarī//
 mālavaskandhadvaye²¹¹ drumacchāyā²¹²// upapīṭhaṃ//
- 83b2 kāmārūpakakṣayor²¹³ airāvati//
 odre²¹⁴ stanayugale mahābhairavā// kṣetram²¹⁵//
 trīśakuninābhau²¹⁶ vāyuvegā//
 kośalānāsikāgre surābhakṣī// upakṣetram²¹⁷//
- 83b3 kalinge²¹⁸ mukhe śyāmādevī²¹⁹//
 lampākakanṭhe²²⁰ subhadrā²²¹// chandoha²²²//
 kāñcīhr̥daye²²³ hayakarnā//
 himālaye²²⁴ medhṛe²²⁵ khagānanā// upacchan-
 doha(h)²²⁶//
- 83b4 pretapurīlinge²²⁷ cakravegā//
 gr̥hadevatāyām²²⁸ gude²²⁹ khaṇḍarohā// melāpa-
 kah²³⁰//
 saurāṣṭre ūrudvaye saundinī//
- 83b5 suvarṇadvīpe²³¹ jaṅghādvayoś²³² cakravartinī²³³//
 upamelāpakah²³⁴//
 nagare²³⁵ aṅgulisuvīrā²³⁶//
 sindhupādapr̥ṣṭhe²³⁷ mahābalā// śmaśānaḥ²³⁸//
 maru-angusṭhayaś²³⁹ cakravartinī²⁴⁰//
- 84a1 kulatājānau²⁴¹ mahāvīryā// upaśmaśānaḥ²⁴²//
 pr̥thivīdhātu(h) pātani // ābdhātu(r)²⁴³ mārāṇī//
 tejodhātur ākarṣaṇī²⁴⁴// vāyudhātu(h) padmanarte-
 śvarī²⁴⁵// ākāśadhātu(h) padmajālinī²⁴⁶// rūpa-
 skandhe vairocanaḥ// vedanāskandhe vajra-
 sūryaḥ²⁴⁷// saṃjñāskandhe²⁴⁸ padmanarteśvaraḥ²⁴⁹//
- 84a3 saṃskāraskandhe²⁵⁰ vajrarājah // vijñānaskandhe²⁵¹
 vajrasattvaḥ// sarvatathāgatatatvaṃ²⁵² śrīheruka-
 vajrah²⁵³// cakṣuṣo(r) mohavajrah²⁵⁴// śrotra-
 yor²⁵⁵ dveṣavajrah// ghr̥ṇayor²⁵⁶ īrṣyāvajrah²⁵⁷//
 vaktre rāgavajrah// sparśe²⁵⁸ mātṣaryavajrah//
 sarvāyataneṣvaiśvaryavajrah²⁵⁹// citte akṣobhya-
 vajrah// vāgamitābhavajrah²⁶⁰// kāye²⁶¹ vairocana-

- 84a5 vajrah²⁶² // evaṃ sādhanayogaḥ²⁶³ // svahr̥dyāṅkuśa-
yogena jñānacakraṃ²⁶⁴ tu-m-ākaraṣayed²⁶⁵ budhaḥ²⁶⁶ //
- 84b1 nyāsaṃ²⁶⁷ evaṃ prakurvīta²⁶⁸ abhiṣekaṃ anukramāt //
praveśya²⁶⁹ baddhvā²⁷⁰ tu saṃtoṣya anurāgeṇa yoga-
taḥ // kavacadvayaṃ tato nyastvā ekaraśasvabhāva-
taḥ²⁷¹ //
- 84b2 om haḥ hr̥daye vajrasattvaḥ //
namaḥ²¹² hiḥ²¹³ śīraśi²¹⁴ vairocanaḥ //
svāhā hūṃ śikhāyāṃ²⁷⁵ padmanartesvaraḥ²⁷⁶ //
vausaṭ²⁷⁷ he skandhadvaye herukaḥ //
hūṃ hūṃ hoḥ cakṣuṣor²⁷⁸ vajrasūryaḥ //
- 84b3 phat²⁷⁹ haṃ sarvāṅgeṣvāstraḥ paramāśvaḥ //
om vaṃ nābhau vajravārāḥī²⁸⁰ //
haṃ²⁸¹ yom hr̥di yāminī //
hrīm̐ mom̐ mohinīvaktre //
hrem̐ hrīm̐²⁸² śīraśi²⁸³ sañcālinī²⁸⁴ //
- 84b4 hūṃ hūṃ śikhāyāṃ²⁸⁵ saṃtrāsanī²⁸⁶ //
phaṭ phaṭ caṇḍikā²⁸⁷ sarvāṅgeṣvāstraḥ //
kṛtvāgragranthyāṃ²⁸⁸ khalu madhyasūcīm̐²⁸⁹ anguṣ-
ṭhavajro dr̥dha(h) saṃprajoyya(h) //
- 84b5 saṃsthāpya tāṃ madhye²⁹⁰ lalāṭadeśe āvartitāvar-
tinā²⁹¹ bhrāmāyet²⁹² // ākrāntapādorddhadr̥ṣṭīm̐²⁹³
tu-m-ūrdhaṃ²⁹⁴ het-kāraṇādataḥ²⁹⁵ // daśadigloka-
85a1 dhātusthān²⁹⁶ yoginīvirā²⁹⁷ karaṣayet // jaḥ²⁹⁸
hūṃ baṃ hoḥ prayogenaṅkṛṣya praveśya baddhvā²⁹⁹
vaśīkṛtya³⁰⁰ ca //
- vīrayoginībhir gaganatalaṃ³⁰¹ paripūrṇaṃ dr̥ṣṭvā
85a2 jñānāmbunāmṛtakalaśagr̥hītā³⁰² hastābhis siñcet³⁰³ //
geyanṛtyopahāreṇa abhiṣekaṃ tu dāsyati // anena
85a3 mantreṇa // om sarvatathāgatābhiṣekasamayaśrīye³⁰⁴
ā hūṃ phaṭ svāhā³⁰⁵ //
- iti gītakayā codayet // atha mahāḍḍākinyas³⁰⁶
tuṣṭā³⁰⁷ udagrā³⁰⁸ ātmanas³⁰⁹ kāḥ pramuditā abhū-
85a4 van // abhiṣiñcanti sma³¹⁰ //
- abhiseūramahamahāsuha ḍāñijālamahāsuha³¹² //

- samaddaü mahāsuradā³¹³ mahāsuhaḍḍāñijālu³¹⁴ //
 85a5 mahāsuhaṃ paṃ³¹⁵ hūṃ jaü³¹⁶ mahāsu³¹⁷ ḍāñi-
 jālu³¹⁸ mahāsu³¹⁹ // ujjīcaiü mahāsu³²⁰ ḍāñijālu
 85b1 mahāsu³²¹ // a la la la hoḥ³²² mahāsu³²³ paramaḍḍāñi-
 jālu mahāsu³²⁴ // a la la la hoḥ³²⁵ // mahāsu³²⁶ hena
 toṣayet // jñānasamayaikarasatāsthita³²⁷ //
 85b2 jñānaikarasatā³²⁸ bhāvya cakraikarasatā³²⁹ tathā //
 vajrasattvaṃ tu mukuṭapañcajñānasamanvitaṃ³³⁰ //
 mulamantrādiṣaḍvīraṃ³³¹ brahmasūtrādikalpitaṃ //
 85b3 vajravārāhyā yanmantraṃ kaṇthe kaṇṭhikamaṇḍitaṃ //
 hrdayamantreṇa³³² devasya³³³ mālāsātarddhabhūṣi-
 taṃ³³⁴ //
 saptākṣaramantreṇa kuṇḍalaṃ kaṇṇasobhanaṃ³³⁵ //
 85b4 sarvabuddhasya ḍākinyaś carmāmbaṛadharāparāḥ //
 ṣaḍyoginyeti mantreṇa³³⁶ mekhalākṛtabhūṣanaṃ //
 ṣaḍbhiḥ³³⁷ kavacavīreṇa³³⁸ mudreyaṃ gātraśo-
 bhanam³³⁹ //
 85b5 sarvacakrasayoginyo mantrapā(n) akaroṭakaṃ³⁴⁰ //
 vairocanītimantreṇa³⁴¹ kapālakṛtaseṣaraṃ³⁴² //
 caturviṃśativīrais³⁴³ tu śarīre³⁴⁴ dhātukalpitaṃ //
 86a1 evaṃ vicintya ātmānaṃ³⁴⁵ ākṣepamantrarakṣitaṃ //
 brahmacaryaṃ sadā³⁴⁶ bhūñjet³⁴⁷ mantraṃ vai
 aṣṭapadānviṭaṃ³⁴⁸ //
 iti saṃcintya³⁴⁹ yogātmā sarvadvandvavivarji-
 taḥ³⁵⁰ //
 86a2 bhāvayet spharaṇasambharayogena³⁵¹ japam³⁵² samara-
 bhet³⁵³ //
 mahāsādhanaṃyogataḥ bindukrodhavajreṇa³⁵⁴ drṣṭvā³⁵⁵
 traisā³⁵⁶ tridhātukaṃ //
 86a3 vajranāsāgravivare sphared³⁵⁷ bindu(m) khadhātuke //
 śukṣmakrodhavajreṇa³⁵⁸ paśyate sacarācaram³⁵⁹ //
 romāgravivare krodhameghānāṃ³⁶⁰ ca³⁶¹ sphared
 budhaḥ³⁶² //
 86a4 viśuddhibhāvanāyogaṃ³⁶³ saptatṛiṃṣatkrameṇa³⁶⁴ tu //
 kāyānusmṛtyupasthānaṃ³⁶⁵ ḍākinī //

- vedanānūsmṛtyupasthānaṃ³⁶⁰ lāmā//
- 86a5 dharmānūsmṛtyupasthānaṃ khaṇḍarohā³⁶¹//
 cittānūsmṛtyupasthānaṃ rūpinī//
 chanda-rddhipādaḥ pracandā//
 vīrya-rddhipādaḥ caṇḍākṣī//
- 86b1 mimāṃsa-rddhipādaḥ³⁶² prabhāvatī³⁶³//
 citta-rddhipāda mahānāsā//
 śraddhendriyaṃ³⁶⁴ vīramatī//
 viryendriyaṃ³⁶⁵ kharvarī//
 smṛtīndriyaṃ laṅkeśvari³⁶⁶//
 samādhīndriyaṃ drumacchāya//
- 86b2 prajñendriyaṃ³⁶⁷ airāvati³⁶⁸//
 śraddhābalaṃ mahābhairavā³⁶⁹//
 vīryabalaṃ vāyuvegā//
 smṛtibalaṃ³⁷⁰ surābhakṣī³⁷¹//
 samādhibalaṃ syāmādevī//
- 86b3 prajñābalaṃ subhadrā//
 samādhisaṃbodhyaṅgaṃ³⁷² hayakarnā//
 vīryasaṃbodhyaṅgaṃ³⁷³ khagānanā//
 prītisaṃbodhyaṅgaṃ³⁷⁴ cakravegā//
- 86b4 prasrabdhisaṃbodhyaṅga(m)³⁷⁵ khaṇḍarohā//
 dharmapravicayasāṃbodhyaṅga(m)³⁷⁶ saundinī//
 smṛtisaṃbodhyaṅga(m)³⁷⁷ cakravartinī³⁷⁸//
 upekṣāsaṃbodhyaṅga(m)³⁷⁹ suvīrā//
- 86b5 samyagdrṣṭi(r)³⁸⁰ mahābalā³⁸¹//
 samyaksamkalpa(ś)³⁸² cakravartinī³⁸³//
 samyagvāg³⁸⁴ mahāvīryā//
 samyakkarmānta(h)³⁸⁵ kākāsyā//
 samyagājīva³⁸⁶ ulūkāsyā//
- 87a1 samyagvyāyāmaḥ³⁸⁷ svānāsyā³⁸⁸//
 samyaksmṛti śūkarāsyā³⁸⁹//
 samyaksamādhau bhagavān śrīherukavajrah³⁹⁰//
- 87a2 anutpannānāṃ kuśalānāṃ dharmānāṃ³⁹¹ utpādanāṃ
 yamadādhī³⁹²//
 utpannānāṃ kuśalānāṃ dharmānāṃ samrakṣaṇaṃ yama-

- dūtī//
 utpannānām³⁹³ akuśalānām³⁹⁴ dharmānām³⁹⁵ prahāṇam
 yamadamṣṭrī//
- 87a3 anutapannānām³⁹⁶ akuśalānām³⁹⁷ dharmānām³⁹⁸
 anutpādanam yamamathanī ceti³⁹⁹//
 samayacakrasya viśuddhibhāvanā⁴⁰⁰//
- 87a4 tataḥ samayacakrajapam kuryāt samāhitam//
 om⁴⁰¹ śrī⁴⁰² vajra⁴⁰³ he he ru ru ka⁴⁰⁴ hūm hūm
 phaṭ ḍākinījālasamvaram⁴⁰⁵ svāhā⁴⁰⁶// om hrīḥ ha
 ha hūm hūm phaṭ// hrdayopahrdayam//
- 87a5 om vajravairocanī⁴⁰⁷ hūm hūm⁴⁰⁸ phaṭ svāhā// om
 sarvabuddhaḍākinīvajravarnānī⁴⁰⁹ hūm hūm phaṭ
 svāhā// devyā hrdayopahrdayam//
- 87b1 om ḍākinī hūm hūm phaṭ svāhā// om lāme hūm hūm
 phaṭ svāhā// om khaṇḍarohe hūm hūm phaṭ svāhā// om
 rūpiṇī⁴¹⁰ hūm hūm phaṭ svāhā//
 om khaṇḍakapālina⁴¹¹ kara kara hūm hūm phaṭ svāhā//
- 87b2 om pracāṇḍe hūm hūm phaṭ svāhā⁴¹²//
 om mahākaṅkāla kuru kuru hūm hūm phaṭ svāhā⁴¹³//
 om caṇḍākṣīye⁴¹⁴ hūm hūm phaṭ svāhā⁴¹⁵//
 om kaṅkāla⁴¹⁶ bandha bandha hūm hūm phaṭ svāhā⁴¹⁷//
- 87b3 om prabhāvatī⁴¹⁸ hūm hūm phaṭ⁴¹⁹//
 om vikaṭadamṣṭriṇa⁴²⁰ trāsaya trāsaya⁴²¹ hūm hūm
 phaṭ//
 om mahānāse⁴²² hūm hūm phaṭ//
 om surāvairiṇa kṣobhaya kṣobhaya⁴²³ hūm hūm phaṭ//
- 87b4 om vīramatī⁴²⁴ hūm hūm phaṭ//
 om amitābha⁴²⁵ hrem hrem⁴²⁶ hūm hūm phaṭ//
 om kharvarī⁴²⁷ hūm hūm phaṭ//
 om vajraprabha⁴²⁸ hrah hrah⁴²⁹ hūm hūm phaṭ//
 om laṅkeśvarī⁴³⁰ hūm hūm phaṭ//
- 87b5 om vajradeha phem phem⁴³¹ hūm hūm phaṭ//
 om drumacchāya⁴³² hūm hūm phaṭ//
 om ankurika⁴³³ phaṭ phaṭ hūm hūm phaṭ//
 om airāvatī⁴³⁴ hūm hūm phaṭ//

- 88a1 oṃ vajrajaṭila⁴³⁵ daha daha hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ//
 oṃ mahābhairave⁴³⁶ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ//
 oṃ mahāvīra paca paca hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ//
 oṃ vāyuvege⁴³⁷ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ//
- 88a2 oṃ vajra-hūṃ-kāra⁴³⁸ bhakṣa bhakṣa vasarudhi-
 rāntramālāvalambino⁴³⁹ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ//
 oṃ surābhakṣī⁴⁴⁰ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ//
 oṃ subhadra⁴⁴¹ gr̥hṇa gr̥hṇa⁴⁴² saptapātālagata-
 88a3 bhujaṅgaṃ⁴⁴³ sarpaṃ⁴⁴⁴ vā tarjaya tarjaya⁴⁴⁵ hūṃ
 hūṃ phaṭ//
 oṃ śyāmādevī⁴⁴⁶ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ//
 oṃ vajrabhadra⁴⁴⁷ ākadya ākadya⁴⁴⁸ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ//
 oṃ subhadre hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ//
 oṃ mahābhairava⁴⁴⁹ hrī hrī⁴⁵⁰ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ//
- 88a4 oṃ hayakarṇe hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ//
 oṃ virūpākṣe⁴⁵¹ jñom jñom hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ//
 oṃ khagānane⁴⁵² hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ//
 oṃ mahābala kṣmām kṣmām⁴⁵³ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ//
- 88a5 oṃ cakravege hūṃ hūṃ⁴⁵⁴ phaṭ//
 oṃ ratnavajra hām hām⁴⁵⁵ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ//
 oṃ khaṇḍarohe hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ//
 oṃ hayagrīve⁴⁵⁶ hīm hīm⁴⁵⁷ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ//
 oṃ saundinī⁴⁵⁸ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ//
- 88b1 oṃ ākāśagarbha⁴⁵⁹ hūṃ hūṃ⁴⁶⁰ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ//
 oṃ cakravarminī⁴⁶¹ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ⁴⁶²//
 oṃ heruka kili kili hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ//
 oṃ suvīre⁴⁶³ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ//
 oṃ padmanartesvara⁴⁶⁴ siri siri⁴⁶⁵ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ//
- 88b2 oṃ mahābale hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ//
 oṃ vairocana⁴⁶⁶ hili hili hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ//
 oṃ cakravartinī⁴⁶⁷ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ//
 oṃ vajrasattva dhiri dhiri⁴⁶⁸ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ⁴⁶⁹//
 oṃ mahāvīrya⁴⁷⁰ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ//
- 88b3 oṃ kākāsyē⁴⁷¹ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ// oṃ ulūkāsyē⁴⁷² hūṃ
 hūṃ phaṭ// oṃ śvānāsyē⁴⁷³ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ// oṃ sū-

- karāsyē⁴⁷⁴ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ// oṃ yamadādhī⁴⁷⁵ hūṃ hūṃ
 88b4 phaṭ// oṃ yamadūti⁴⁷⁶ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ// oṃ yama-
 damṣtri⁴⁷⁷ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ// oṃ yamamathanī⁴⁷⁸ hūṃ
 hūṃ phaṭ//
 iti yathākramena mahāśaṅkhākṣasūtreṇa⁴⁷⁹ vāmahas-
 88b5 tena anāmāṅguṣṭhena japam⁴⁸⁰ kuryāt yatheccchataḥ//
 catuḥsandhyā⁴⁸¹ prayogena⁴⁸² jāpabhāvanatat-
 param⁴⁸³ //
 samayaṃ samayaযোগena bhakṣayeḥ japa(m) sambha-
 ret⁴⁸⁴ //
 89a1 balim dayād⁴⁸⁵ vidhānena maṇḍale ca yathā sukham//
 nagno muktaśikho bhutvā balim dadyātu sadvratī⁴⁸⁶ //
 ālīḍhapadasamsthāno⁴⁸⁷ mudrām baddhvā⁴⁸⁸ samā-
 hitaḥ//
 89a2 kṛtvāgragranthyām⁴⁸⁹ khalu madhyasūcīm⁴⁹⁰ aṅguṣ-
 ṭhavajro dr̥ḍhaḥ⁴⁹¹ samprayojya(h) //
 samsthāpya tām⁴⁹² madhyalalāṭadeśe āvartivar-
 tena⁴⁹³ ca bhrāmayet⁴⁹⁴ // idam paṭhet//
 89a3 oṃ a⁴⁹⁵ ra li⁴⁹⁶ hoḥ jaḥ⁴⁹⁷ hūṃ baṃ hoḥ⁴⁹⁸ //
 vajradākinyah samayas tvam dr̥śya hoḥ//
 evaṃ⁵⁰⁰ tricatuḥpañcavārān uccārayet⁵⁰¹ //
 89a4 nagnamuktaśikho⁵⁰² bhūtvoccasthāneṣu⁵⁰³ prayoga-
 taḥ⁵⁰⁴ //
 dakṣiṇām⁵⁰⁵ mūrtim⁵⁰⁶ āsthāya balim dadyān⁵⁰⁷
 niśārdhake⁵⁰⁸ //
 tritat(t)venābhimantrya yathākarmānusārataḥ⁵⁰⁹ //
 89a5 vajrāñjalyā⁵¹⁰ tūrddhavikaco⁵¹¹ idam mantraṃ⁵¹²
 paṭhet//
 oṃ kha kha khāhi khāhi sarvayakṣarākṣasabhūta-
 pretapiśāconmādāpasmāraḍāḍākinyādaya⁵¹³ imaṃ⁵¹⁴
 89b1 balim⁵¹⁵ gr̥hṇantu⁵¹⁶ mama⁵¹⁷ samayaṃ⁵¹⁸ rakṣantu
 sarvasiddhiṃ⁵¹⁹ me⁵²⁰ prayacchantu yathaiva
 yatheṣṭam⁵²¹ bhuñjatha⁵²² pibatha⁵²³ jighratha⁵²⁴
 mātīkramatha⁵²⁵ mama sarvākāratayā⁵²⁶ satsukham⁵²⁷
 89b2 viśuddhaye⁵²⁸ sahāyakā⁵²⁹ bhavantu hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ

- svāhā//
sarvavīrayoginyo⁵³⁰ mahāsukhāveśanartanam⁵³¹
kṛtvā bhagavataḥ⁵³² kāyavākcittena viharanti//
89b3 ālikālisamā⁵³³ kṛtvā rekhā⁵³⁴ tatra niyojayet//
jvalitārdharekhā tvadhaḥ⁵³⁵ śravati kāriṇī⁵³⁶ //
śravate⁵³⁷ śukrarūpeṇa amṛtabindusvarūpiṇam//
89b4 manthamanthānayogena⁵³⁸ jñānaraśmir⁵³⁹ iha kar-
maṇā⁵⁴⁰ // mārutena prerito nābhimaṇḍale//
dhūmayati jvalati⁵⁴¹ dīptibhiḥ samayacakre gatān
89b5 sugatān⁵⁴³ dagdhatathāgatānām⁵⁴⁴ sambhogacakre⁵⁴⁵
gatān upāyam tripradakṣiṇīkṛtya⁵⁴⁶ ūrnakośa-
gate⁵⁴⁷ ma(r)modghāṭanadvāreṇa⁵⁴⁸ niśṛtya daśa-
90a1 diglokadhātusthitānām⁵⁴⁹ tathāgatānām jñānā-
mṛtam⁵⁵⁰ grhītvā śikhārandhragatena⁵⁵¹ kanaka-
dvāreṇa⁵⁵² jālandharasamjñakena⁵⁵³ praviśya danta-
sīmottaragata(m)⁵⁵⁴ randhrene//
90a2 sambhogacakre viśramya⁵⁵⁵ dagdhānām⁵⁵⁶ tathāga-
tānām⁵⁵⁷ ānandam janayantī nābhimaṇḍale sthīrī-
bhavati⁵⁵⁸ // atrāpi niḥkramati⁵⁵⁹ praviśa(m)⁵⁶⁰ //
90a3 na drśyate vārāgraśatasahasrabhāgaḥ⁵⁶¹ tayā
anantaram⁵⁶² yathā sukha(m) vihareṭ//
svādhidaivatayogena⁵⁶³ sarvam⁵⁶⁴ ekam⁵⁶⁵ pra-
kalpayet//
90a4 acintyam cintayet sāpi cintā⁵⁶⁶ caiva na} lakṣi-
tam//
cintayet⁵⁶⁷ so'pi cintyam⁵⁶⁸ vā tataḥ prāpsyati
dhāriṇī(m)⁵⁶⁹ //
khatvāṅgam⁵⁷⁰ devatāmūrtiḥ prajñā damarukādhva-
niḥ⁵⁷¹ //
90a5 dinam⁵⁷² tu bhagavān viro dākinī⁵⁷³ rātrir⁵⁷⁴
ucyate//
śrīherukasya nirmāṇam⁵⁷⁵ śaṣṭhamam⁵⁷⁶ citta-
nirmitam⁵⁷⁷ //
śuddhadharmasya nirmāṇam⁵⁷⁸ vārāhīrūpa(m) darśi-
tam//

- 90b1 {śrīkāraṃ⁵⁷⁹ advaya-jñānaṃ⁵⁸⁰ he⁵⁸¹ iti hetvādivar-
jitaṃ⁵⁸² //
ru kārāpagataṃ vyūhaṃ ka iti nakvacitsthitam⁵⁸³ //
cittaṃ viśrāmyate yogī nirvāṇam eva⁵⁸⁴ darsitaṃ //
- 90b2 cyutikāle⁵⁸⁵ tu yogīnāṃ śrīherukādi⁵⁸⁶ vīra-
yoginī⁵⁸⁷ //
nānāpuṣpakaravyagrā nānādhvajapatākinah //
nānābhūryanirghoṣair⁵⁸⁸ nānāgītopahārataḥ //
- 90b3 mṛtyunāma-vikalpo 'yam⁵⁸⁹ nīyate khecarīpadam⁵⁹⁰ //
iti śrī abhidhānottarottare pīṭhādiyoginīcatur-
daśaḥ paṭalah⁵⁹¹ //

Chapter XIV. Variant Readings.

Concordance:

MS.A The beginning is missing: folio 64a, front page, ends before the end of the preceding chapter; folio 64b1, back page, corresponds to MS.D 80a4 and begins 'drām tu lalāṭe etc.'. Moreover, leaf 67 of MS.A is missing. This causes a lacuna extending from 81b3-82b5 in MS.D, beginning with 'pītā etc.' and ending with 'dāk'.

Leaves 69b and 70a are blurred and illegible. The lacuna thus caused extends from 84b3-85b5 beginning with 'phaṭ etc.' and ending with 'yoginyo man'. This is chapter XI in MS A.

MS.B 561a3-566a2 (Ch. XIII).

MS.C 69a1-78b6 (Ch. XI).

MS.D 79a3-90b3 (Ch. XIII).

T 1 140a3-146a8, p. 58-2-3/p. 60-4-8 (Ch. XIV).

T 2 92a1-124a5 (Ch. XIV).

Śū. 213a5-215a6, p. 291-3-5/p. 292-2-6 (Ch. XIV).

Variants Nos. 11 - 60 take also into consideration the short passage cited by D.C. Bhattacharyya in his iconographical study (TBIS p. 22f.). The passage has been extracted by this author from MS. No. G. 10759 under care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and includes the passage 43B - 44A of that MS. beginning with 'herukaṃ etc.' (= MS D 79b2) and ending with 'cetasā' (= MS. D 80b1).

Variants:

1. D -samaraṃ.
2. T omits varṇaṃ.
3. C saṃhitāṃ.

4. C madhya.
5. T -padma.
6. C catudvāra; T adds gru b'zi pa la.
7. C -toraṇai; T omits aṣṭastambha and has rta babs
b'zis (caturtoraṇais).
8. C -madhya.
9. C -sukha.
10. B sadvajra; T omits sad.
11. (TBIS) tu.
12. C (TBIS) -kalogram.
13. BC sarvabuddhānatapātanam; D -dudrāṃta-; (TBIS)
-durdāṃta pātanam = T gdul dka' thams cad.
14. BD (TBIS) bhairava.
15. (TBIS) talaikṛtam.
16. (TBIS) trinetra.
17. B -bhīṣana.
18. C (TBIS) -nilogravapudehastham.
19. C -dehajaṃ; (TBIS) nilojālogradehajaṃ; T for this
half-verse: sño zin 'bar ba'i sku yaṅ sprul.
20. BD -mukuṭām; C -makuṭām; (TBIS) makuṭam.
21. BD -mukuṭām; C -makuṭām; (TBIS) makuṭam.
22. C -śobhitām.
23. BCD yaduktam; T źal drug (śadvaktram); (TBIS) yad-
uktam śatvaktram.
24. (TBIS) vīram-.
25. C śṛṃgārā-.
26. D lalihānanam; T 'jigs pa'i sku lus can; (TBIS)
lelihānanam.
27. C cēha.
28. C bharamaṇḍitam.
29. BCD -samāpannā; (TBIS) samāpannam.
30. BCD -suvesthitam; (TBIS) suveṣṭitam.
31. C sasthānam.
32. (TBIS) pada.
33. C second kāra spelt kārā; T ha ha mdzad ciṅ phat

- phaṭ can hi hi mdzad ciñ 'jigs pa can.
34. BCD bhayānakā; (TBIS) -bhayānaka.
35. BD saha- for sahaṃ; CD omit third kārāṃ; (TBIS) hūṃ hūṃ kārasaphaṭkāra aṭṭākāraṃ; T hūṃ hūṃ mdzad ciñ phaṭ phaṭ can aṭaṭa yi sgra chen (smra).
36. BD samuccet; C samuccayet; (TBIS) samuccaret.
37. C -pīta.
38. D hasitam.
39. C cah!
40. (TBIS) urddharaktaṃ.
41. T zas su gdug pa loṅs spyod ciñ.
42. BD -pīditaṃ.
43. BD -carmāvara.
44. BD sāddha- (double dha suggests rddha as in C (TBIS); BCD śravād-; (TBIS) sravod; T drag po'i lpaḡs pa'i gos bnabs śin / khrag rlon 'dzag pa rab gsol te /.
45. BD (TBIS) karttikā (with hiatus).
46. (TBIS) pāśā.
47. BD -ḍamarukan; C muṅgalaṃḍamaruṃ (sic). T gdug pa gtum zin cañ te'u dañ for raudraṃ etc., 'gtum' (caṇḍa?) does not agree with 'muṅgara'; (TBIS) mujaraṃ ḍamaruṃ (mujara from muj/muñj?).
48. C śaktin; (TBIS) śakti.
49. BCD (TBIS) jāla-; C mudrān; MS. A begins here with -drāṃ etc.; T 'bar ba'i phyag rgya can (jvāla-mudraṃ).
50. A sobhitam.
51. B (TBIS) -samsthānā.
52. A (TBIS) -nagnikā.
53. C idrśī; (TBIS) Īdrśī.
54. A bhāvayet.
55. A bhāvyo; (TBIS) -bhāvā.
56. (TBIS) -bhāṃti-,

57. AC prajñopāyā-.
58. BD -rāgatsamukhā; (TBIS) -satsukhī.
59. (TBIS) sarvārtha-.
60. ABD (TBIS) karuṇādreṇa ; C -karunadreṇa; T sñiñ rje
chen pos brlan pa yi / (mahākaruṇārdreṇa).
61. AB -rasotsukā; C -rasotsukhā.
62. A -saṃsodhyā; B satrimśatibhavasamśodhyā; CD saṭ-
trimśatibhavasamśodhyā; T 'gro drug srid pa
(= A).
63. ABCD -parāh.
64. A sunyatā-.
65. A -nilayā.
66. A niśvabhāvā; BD niḥsvabhāvo; C niḥśvabhāvā.
67. ACD śukṣmā; C parī śukṣmā.
68. BD bindunāravira-; B -vivarjitā.
69. CD hr̥daya.
70. ABCD vajramaṇḍala-; C -madhyata; T zla ba'i dkyil
dkyil 'khor (candramaṇḍala-).
71. C -āyudha.
72. C hr̥dayam.
73. A sevāyoga.
74. BD -vyāsaṃ; T dgod (nyāsaṃ).
75. BD dākinyām tu.
76. BD buddha, C purva.
77. To read '-vinyāsaṃ' would restore the 16 syl-
lable śloka.
78. D rāmakā; T1 lama; T2 lāma.
79. B khaṇḍarokhaṇḍarohā.
80. CD digambarā.
81. BCD -pūrṇā.
82. ABCD -mudrām.
83. BD pūrṇā; C sapūrṇā.
84. AC kapālā; DB kapāla.
85. AC kalasopari; DB kalaśodarī; T bum pa'i steñ du
gźag: 'gźag' added (for clarification).

86. C cakram.
87. A prakurvīta; C kurvita.
88. BCD siddhām; T sñon du grub pa'i rnal 'byor ma (pūrvasiddhayoginī).
89. BD pullīramalaya; C pullīramaraya; T 1 buliramaya na; T 2 pulliramalaya na.
90. A -kapālina, C -kapālinam.
91. B jāladhāra; C jāramdhare; D jālamdhara; T 1 jāladhara na; T 2 jālandhara na..
92. ABCD oḍiyānake; T 1 uḍiyana: T2 uḍyana: cf. ST VII,3 odiyāna; HT I,vii /M(eisezahl,Vārāhī) p. 293 oḍḍiyāna.
93. A -prabhāmatī.
94. C vikaṭadamṣṭrinam.
95. C gagaṇa-.
96. ABCD goḍāvaryām; T godavari na; cf. ST VII,3, IT p. 39, MW, Sircar, M p. 293: godavarī; HT I,vii goḍāvarī.
97. A omits surāvairiṇa etc. and picks up again 81b1 with subhadraśyāmādevī etc. Obviously the scribe slipped down from surāvairiṇa- to subhadra-.
98. BCD rāmeśvarī; T 1 ramiśvari na; T 2 rameśvara na; cf. 117b1; ST VII,6; IT p. 39; M p. 293: ram-eśvara.
99. BD devīkoṭṭe; T 1 devikoṭa na; T 2 devīkoṭa na; cf. ST VII,7; Ht I,vii; IT p. 39; M p. 293: devīkoṭa.
100. B -lakeśvarī.
101. C gagaṇa-.
102. T 1 malave na; T2 mālarta (?) na.
103. T kāmārūba na; T 2 kāmārūpa na; (ST VII,8: kāmāru).
104. BD aṅkulika - airāvatā; C aṅkurikaṃ airāvatī.
105. B omḍre; CD odre; T omṭre; ST VII,8 audre/

- audre/ udra/ oḍe/ udre/ auḍḍe/ oḍḍe; M p. 294
oḍra; IT p. 40 oṭe, MW, Sircar: oḍra.
106. C vajrajatilam mahābhairavām.
107. C gagana.
108. C trimsakunau; T 1 trisakune na; cf. ST VII,9
trisakuni; M p. 294 trisaṅku/trisakuni.
109. C mahāvīram-; T 'jigs byed chen po- (mahābhaira-
va-).
- 109b. T kosala na.
110. BCD karinge; T 1 kaliṅkena; T 2 kaliṅgana, cf.
117b5; cf. ST VII, 10 kaliṅga; IT p. 40;
M p. 295, MW: kaliṅga.
111. ABCD -syāmādevī; T sñō bsāṅs lha mo (śyāmādevī).
112. C gagagarā.
113. C lampāke; T 1 lambake na; T 2 labāka na; cf. ST
VII,10 lampāka.
114. AD vajraprabha-; T rdo rje bzañ- (vajrabhadra-);
vajraprabha has already been mentioned 81a4!;
C omits subhadrā.
115. C kācika; T 1 kanci na; T 2 kāci na.
116. C mahābhairavam-.
117. A haritāḥ; C harīta.
118. T himalaya na.
119. A gaganāgaurā; C gagaṇagaurā.
120. T bretaburi na.
121. C mahābalaṃ-.
122. lacuna in A due to missing leaf, continuation
of A only 82b5 as marked.
123. T 1 grihadevanata na.
124. D -khaṇḍaroha.
125. T sauraṣṭe na.
126. C hayagrīvam.
127. C gagaṇa-.
128. T 1 suvarṇadvīpe na; T 2 suvarṇadvīpa na.
129. B cakravartmiṇī; C cakravartmiṇā; D cakravat-

- miñī; T 'khor lo'i go cha ma (cakravarmiñī).
130. T 1 nāgare na; cf. ST VII,14 nagara/ nagala; IT p. 41 nāgara; M p. 296 pātaliputra/ nagara/ nāgara.
131. T omits śrī (dpal).
132. BCD siṃdhau; T 1 sindhu na; T 2 sin dhu na. ST VII,14; IT p. 41; M p. 296: sindhu.
133. BCD -nartteśvara-.
134. BCD merau; T maruta na; cf. 44a2 maṃ. Cf. ST VII,6 maru/ meru; IT p. 41 maru; M p. 296 maru/ marudeśa.
135. T kuluta na; cf. ST VII,15; HT I,vii kulatā; IT p. 41 kulūṭa; M. p. kulūta/ kulutā.
136. CB ca omitted.
137. B cathā.
138. C svānāsyā.
139. C nīra-; T sño ba dañ ljañ khu dañ dmar ba dañ ser po: ljañ khu (harita) and dmar ba (rakta) are reversed in order from the Skt.
140. BCD yamaḍaḍhī; T gśin rje sreg ma (yamadānī).
141. T adds 'am char sprin gyi mdog lta bu.
142. B -dayā; D dayā/ o?
143. BD vīrā.
144. BD -vaktrā.
145. C -bhujā.
146. C -suvyasthitāḥ.
147. C -vibhūṣitāḥ.
148. T thod pa'i phreñ bas (kapālamālā).
149. BCD vibhūṣitāḥ.
150. BD liṃganadvaye; T gñis su med pa'i sbyar ba - suggests liṃgana - advaye.
151. C -khaṭvāga-.
152. T omits bhedataḥ.
153. BC -cakra-.
154. C adds sarvāḥ.

155. BD dharāḥ.
 156. BCD devyā.
 157. C vikṛtanānā.
 158. C -makutā.
 159. C -maṇḍitā.
 160. C -dharā.
 161. C vidvarāḥ.
 162. C -sahitāḥ.
 163. T instead of kekarāḥ kharvarās tathā: mi gyo ba
 dan de b'zin sbyor/.
 164. C pinorujā tu; D pinorujāru-; T lag pa 'phyan-.
 165. BCD sādvyāsthitaḥ; T bsgrub par rab gnas pas
 (sādhyaavasthitaḥ).
 166. C kekhām cid.
 167. BD hrdayānurāganāḥ; T supports C: -rjes su chags
 pas 'al nid.
 168. C yathāsayam.
 169. C omits dharā.
 170. B ḍamaruṃ karttika-.
 171. C yaṃ tu.
 172. MS.A continues after lacuna caused by missing
 leaf.
 173. BD nyāśena; C vīrāganyāsa.
 174. T lhag pa'i sñoms par 'jug.
 175. A kesaro-.
 176. ABD tvakmala-; C omits tvaṇmalakaṅkālah.
 177. A māsa-.
 178. C omits snāyusurāvairinaḥ.
 179. C asthamitābhah.
 180. A bukked; C buke; T mkhal ma (vrkka); cf. ST
 VII,7 bukka/ T mchin pa.
 181. ABCD vajrabhadraḥ; T rdo rje 'od (vajraprabhaḥ)
 cf. 81a4, 83a3 variant 190.
 182. BD hrdaya; C hrdaye.
 183. C vajradeha.

184. BCD aṅkulikaḥ (cf. T myu gu can: aṅkurika).
185. BD just -vajra.
186. A puphusaṃ; BD phuṭasaṃ; T glo ba (phuphusaḥ).
187. C aṃtaṃ.
188. C vajrahūmkāpālinah.
189. A guṇavatīsyāṃ; BCD guṇavarttisyaṃ; T gñe ma (antraguṇa); cf. ST VII,10 gudavartih/ T gñe ma.
190. ABCD vajraprabhaḥ; T rdo rje bzaṇ po (vajrabhadraḥ), cf. variant 181.
191. A purisaṃ; BD puriṣa; C omits puriṣa. T 1 lgañ ba; T 2 sgañ ba (audariyakam); cf. ST VII,11 vid/ T bñañ ba.
192. C omits mahābhairavaḥ-.
193. BD śīmāntaṃ; C simantaṃ.
194. A ślesma.
195. D pūya.
196. AC ākāsa-; BD ākā-,
197. A medaṃ.
198. A asruṃ.
199. ABCD -nartteśvaraḥ.
200. C vairocana.
201. C siṃhāsanakam; BD sihānakam.
202. T 1 puliramalaya ste; T 2 pulliramalaya ste.
203. C sirasi.
204. A jalamdhara-; BD jālamdhara; C jāramdhara-; T 1 jaladhara ste; T 2 jalandhara ste;
A -sikhāyām; C -siṣāyām.
205. C -dakṣina; T 1 uḍiyana ste; T 2 -uḍyana ste.
206. A arbuda; C arbuda.
207. C maṣṭaka-; (T spyi bo'i rgyab tu); cf. ST VII,5 prsthavaṃśe / T mgo rgyab.
- 207b. ABCD goḍavari-; T godavari.
208. C -madhya; T 1 -ramiśvari; T 2 -rameśvara.
209. A devikoṭa; B devikotte; T 1 devikoṭi ste.

210. A cakṣuso; C cakṣukho.
 211. C mālā-; T malava ste-.
 212. ABCD drumacchāyāh.
 213. ABD kāmārū; T 2 kāmārūpa-; AC kakṣayo.
 214. A odra; B odre; C odre; D omḍre; T otre.
 215. A kṣetraḥ.
 216. A trisakuni-.
 217. ABC -kṣetraḥ; C -kṣetra.
 218. C kaliṅga; T kaliṅka ste-.
 219. ABCD syāmādevī; T bsāṅs lha mo (śyāmādevī).
 220. ABD lampaka-; C kapālaka-; T lampaka ste.
 221. ABD subhadrāh.
 222. D 'chamdoha; T 1 'dus pa can (melāpaka).
 223. T 1 kanci-, T 2 kāñci-.
 224. A himālaya; T himalaya ste-.
 225. C medre.
 226. T 1 ñe ba'i 'dus pa can (upamelāpaka).
 227. A pretapuri-; T pretaburi.
 228. BCD gr̥hadevatā; T grihadevata ste-.
 229. BD guḍre; C guḍre.
 230. C melāpaka.
 231. A suvarṇadvīpa, T 1 suvarṇādvibe ste.
 232. A jaṅghāyoś.
 233. AB cakravartminī; C cakravarminī; D cakravatminī;
 T 'khor lo'i go cha ma (cakravarminī).
 234. B -melakaḥ; C in MS. melākape corrected into
 melāpake.
 235. A nakha; T 1 nāgara ste; T 2 nāgare ste.
 236. A aṅgulī; C aṅgulika.
 237. BCD simḍhu-; T 1 sindu.
 238. A smaśānah; C śmaśāna.
 239. BCD meru; T 2 maru; T maro.
 240. A catravartminī.
 241. C kulutā-; T 1 gulata; T 2 kulutā.
 242. A smaśānah; C upaśmaśāna.

243. ABCD āpdhātu.
244. A ākarṣani; BD ājakaṣṣanī; in MS. C ājakaṣṣanī corrected into āgakaṣṣanī.
245. A omits padma; all MSS. consistently: -nartte-svarī.
246. BD padmajvālinī; C padmajāraṇī; T pad ma'i dra ba (padmajālinī).
247. C -sūrya.
248. C samjñāna-.
249. all MSS. follow the doubling of the 't' after 'r' in this name.
250. A samskāra-; C saskāra-.
251. A vijñāskandhe.
252. A -tathāgatatva; BC -tathāgatatve; D -tathāgatatvaṃ.
253. A śrīherukaḥ, vajraḥ omitted.
254. B mohovajraḥ.
255. A śrotrayor effaced, illegible; C śrotayor.
256. B prīṇayor (sic).
257. B īsyā-; C irṣya-.
258. D spaśe.
259. A not completely legible: sarvāya (tane?) śveś-varya-; B sarvāyatenaiśvaśvarya-; D sarvāyatanaiśveśvarya-.
260. A -amitābha, vajraḥ omitted.
261. C kāya.
262. C -kajraḥ.
263. C yoga.
264. A cakram; BD cakraṃ; T ye śes 'khor lo (jñānacakra).
265. A cakram arṣayed: tu and samdhiconsonant 'm' omitted; C tu karṣayet.
266. T omits budhaḥ.
267. AC nyāśam; BD vyāśam; T sprul ciñ kod nas ni: "sprul ciñ" added, "kod nas ni" suggests

- nyāsam.
268. C prakurvitaḥ.
269. C pravesye.
270. AB badhvām; C badhvān; D badhvā; T 1 bcañ bar bya;
T 2 bciñ bar bya.
271. ABD ekālālī-; C ekaloli; T gcig gyur (ekībhūta);
lālī/loli corrupt for rasa?
272. BCDT nama.
273. T hi.
274. AC sirasi; BD sirasī.
275. A sikhāyām; C śikhākhāyām (doubling due to
transition to new page).
276. C nartteśvara. All MSS. double 't' after 'r' in
this name.
277. A voṣaṭa; BCD voṣaṭ; T bauṣaṭa. Read vauṣat
as in 44b4.
278. ABCD cakṣubhyām (dual instr., dat., abl., but not
loc.; from cakṣu): em. cakṣuṣoḥ.
279. the next two leaves in A are not legible
(photo very unsharp or MS. itself blurred?),
picks up again 85b5. BCD phaṭ twice, T only
once, cf. 44b5.
280. BCD vajrāvārāhyā.
281. T haṃ.
282. T hriṃ hriṃ.
283. C sirasi.
284. BCD saṃcāriṇī. T skyod byed ma (sañcālinī) cf.
45a1.
285. C śikhām.
286. BCD saṃtrāsanī.
287. T caṇḍika.
288. C kṛtvāgraṃ granthyā; T 'dzub mo mdud byas:
'agra' omitted, "'dzub mo"(aṅguli) added.
289. C the scribe puts the // sign after -i and
writes the 'm' as if it were the first letter

of the following word. T guñ mo ñes par sbyar:
'sbyar' (yojya) added.

- 290. C madhya.
- 291. BCD āvartina.
- 292. T kun sbyar bar bya (samprayojya).
- 293. C -dr̥ṣṭin.
- 294. BCD ūrddhriṃ.
- 295. B hen/ het?; CD he; T 1 phem; T 2 phe.
- 296. BCD dhātuḥ sthā.
- 297. BCD yoginyā vīrā.
- 298. C ja.
- 299. BCD badhvā.
- 300. BD vasīkr̥tya; C vasikr̥tya.
- 301. C -taram; T 1 dkyil 'khor; (T 2 mkha'dkyil).
- 302. BD -hīta; C gr̥hīta.
- 303. B hastābhi siñcet; C hastabhir abhisiñcayet,
D hastabhi siñcet; T lag pas de la dbaṅ bskur
bya: de la (taṃ) added.
- 304. C -abhikeka-; T -tathāgata abhiṣekta-; B -sa-
maye-; CD -samaśriye; T samayaśriye cf. also
45a1.
- 305. T just hūṃ hūṃ for ā hūṃ phaṭ svāhā.
- 306. C -dākiyos.
- 307. BD tustā.
- 308. BCD udagrāḥ.
- 309. D āttamas.
- 310. C smaḥ.
- 311. D omits maha (has just -ra).
- 312. C dāñi-.
- 313. C -suradā.
- 314. C -jāla.
- 315. C pa.
- 316. C japu.
- 317. C -sura; D adds dāsūhu.
- 318. C dāñijāla.

319. C -suha; T omits this line mahāsuhaṃ up to mahāsuhi.
320. T a la la ho.
321. T a la la ho.
322. BCD -aikalaśatā-; T ye śes dgyes nas ni / dam tshig dam thsig can la bźugs/ : "dgyes nas" and "dam tshig can" added.
323. BCD jñānaikalaśatā.
324. CD cakraikalasatā.
325. BD mukutaṃ; C makutaṃ.
326. T dpa'o gaṃ (yadvīraṃ) for ṣadvīraṃ.
327. D hrdaye-.
328. T lha mo'i (devyāḥ).
329. BCD mālāvaiśatārdha-.
330. BD -śobhana; C -sobhanaṃ.
331. T gsaṃ śnags kyis (guhyamantreṇa).
332. C ṣadbhī.
333. T omits vīreṇa.
334. BCD -śobhanā.
335. A is readable again, continues 'tra etc.'; AC -pāṇa-; B -pāśaṃ; D -pāśa; T śnags kyī btuṃ ba'i thod pa (mantrapānakaroṭakaṃ).
336. A trimatraṃ; D -trimantreṇa.
337. A sekhaṃ.
338. A catuvimśati-.
339. A sarīre.
340. A -ātmānaṃ.
341. T brtag (mistake for rtag du?).
342. A bhujet.
343. ABD vaiṣṭa-; A -padānvitān.
344. A sacintya.
345. A dvanda-; T 'jigs pa thams cad rnam spaṃs te/: 'jigs pa (bhairava) instead of dvandva.
- ABCD -varjitāḥ.
346. A -saṃhāra-; T spro dan bsdu pa'i ye śes bsgom: ye śes added, yogena omitted.

347. BD omit jñāna; T ye śes bzlas pa (jñānajāpaṃ).
348. T sñoms 'jug ye śes bzlas pa bya (samāpatti-jñānaṃ jāpayet).
349. B bindukrodhacakraṇa; C bindakrodhacakraṇa;
D bindakrodhacakraṇa; T rdo rje khro bo thig le las.
350. T khams gsum du ni spro bar bya: spro bar bya (sparayet) for dr̥ṣṭvā.
351. T omits an equivalent of the obscure traisā which has been left untranslated in our English translation.
352. C sphere.
353. T omits krodha.
354. A -meghāṃ; C khrodha-.
355. A omits ca.
356. C budha.
357. BD viśuddha-.
358. AC -kramena.
359. A vānusmṛty- (sic).
360. B vedanāsmṛty-.
361. C śaṇḍarohā.
362. A -pāda.
363. A -prabhāmati.
364. C sraddhendriyaṃ.
365. BCD viryandriyaṃ.
366. B raṅkerī; CD rankesvarī.
367. C prajñendrīyaṃ.
368. ABCD vīramatī; T sa sruṇ ma (airāvatī).
369. C mahābhairavī.
370. C smṛtī-.
371. CD -bhakṣi.
372. C -sabodhy-; D -aṅga.
373. C -sabodhy-; BD -aṅga.
374. ABD -aṅga.
375. A prasrabdi- (? , can not be made out for cer-

- tain); C praśrabdhi-; D -aṅga.
376. AD pravīcaye-; C -sabodhy-; D -aṅga.
377. D -aṅga.
378. ABC -vartmaṇī; D -vatmaṇī; T 'khor lo go cha ma (cakravartmaṇī).
379. D -aṅga.
380. A omits samyagdr̥ṣṭir; BD samyakdr̥ṣṭi; C samyagdr̥ṣṭim.
381. A omits mahābalā.
382. C -saṃkalpaṃ.
383. ABCD cakravarttinaṇī.
384. A samyakvāg/k ?; BCD samyagvāk.
385. C -karmāntaṃ.
386. BD samyagājīva-; C -ajīvaṃ.
387. ABCD samyak-.
388. ABCD svānāsyā.
389. ABD sūkarāsyā; C śūkalāsyā.
390. T omits vajraḥ.
391. ABCD dharmāṇāṃ.
392. ABCD yamaḍādhī; T gśin rje sreg ma (yamadāhī).
393. ACD -anutpannānāṃ; B anutpannānāṃṃ.
394. BCD kuśālānāṃ; T mi dge ba'i chos (akuśālānāṃ etc.)
395. BD omit dharmānāṃ.
396. A anutpannānā.
397. BCD kuśālānāṃ; T mi dge ba'i chos.
398. A omits dharmānāṃ; C dharmānāṃ; D dharmānāṃṃ.
399. C omits ceti.
400. CD viśuddhiḥ bhāvanā.
401. C omits om.
402. A omits śrī.
403. AC omit vajra.
404. T kaṃ.
405. T 1 samvara; T 2 śamvara.
406. T hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā.
407. T -vairocanaīye.

408. T 2 huṃ hūṃ (again in the following mantras, not specifically noted anymore).
409. T -varṇāniye.
410. T rūpini.
411. C -kapālīna; T 1 -kapālani; T 2 -kapālīni.
412. T omits svāhā.
413. AT omit svāhā.
414. T candekṣa.
415. AT omit svāhā.
416. T kaṅkala.
417. ATB from now on omit svāhā at the end of the mantras.
418. T 2 prabhāvatiye.
419. C continues to put svāhā behind this and all the remaining mantras.
420. C -daṣṭrīṇa; T -daṣṭina.
421. AT trāsaya trāsaya.
422. T 1 mahānasye.
423. C kṣobhaye kṣobhaye.
424. T 1 -mati.
425. T amitabha.
426. AT 1 hrauṃ hrauṃ; T 2 hrom hrom.
427. T kharvari.
428. T 2 -prabhā.
429. BD hra hra; C hram hram.
430. T laṅkeśvare.
431. A hem hem.
432. C C drumacchāya; T drumacchaye.
433. BCD aṅkulika; T 1 akurika; (T2 aṅkurika).
434. T 1 vīramati; T 2 airavati.
435. C -jaṭile; T 1 vajrajaṭi.
436. B mala-; BD -bhairavī; C -bhairava; T 2 bhairavaye; (T 1 -bhairave).
437. T 1 vayu-.
438. T 1 kara kara.

439. A -āntamālāvalambine; B -āntamālāvalambibe;
CD -āntamālāvalambine; T 1 -rudira anantra-
mālāvalambini; T 2 -rudhira anantramālāvalam-
bini.
440. T 1 surabhakṣi; T 2 surabhakṣye.
441. T subhadre.
442. all MSS. gr̥hna gr̥hna.
443. ABCDT 2 -bhujaṅga; T 1 -bhujaṅgam; T 2 omits gata.
444. T 1 sarvyam; T 2 sarvam.
445. ACD tarjaye tarjaye.
446. ABCD syāmādevi; (T śyāmādevī).
447. A subhadra; BD vajraprabha.
448. A ākaḍḍha? (2x); T 1 akadha (2x); T 2 ākaḍḍhya
(2x).
449. BC mahābhairave.
450. A hrīm hrīm.
451. ABCD virūpākṣe; T 1 virupakṣi.
452. T 1 khaganane.
453. C kṣmom kṣmom; T 2 kṣmam.
454. C hūm lx omitted.
455. T haṃ haṃ.
456. D hayagrīve; T 1 -griva.
457. C hiṃ hiṃ; T hrām hrām.
458. C saudinī; T 1 śoṇḍinī; T 2 śaṇḍini.
459. A ākāsa-; T -garbha.
460. ABDT omit hūm hūm.
461. B cakravartmiṇīye; C cakravartmiṇī; D cakra-
vatmiṇī; (T cakravarminī).
462. A omits Cakravarminī's mantra.
463. T 2 suvīrī.
464. all MSS. -nartt-; C -eśvarī; T 1 -eśvā(T2 a)ri.
465. BCD siri siri.
466. T 2 vaicana.
467. all MSS. -rtt-; T 2 cakravadhiniye.
468. CT dhili dhili.

469. A omits Vajrasattva's mantra.
 470. D T 1 mahāvirye.
 471. A kāsye.
 472. A luvāsyē; T 1 ulukasye.
 473. A svānāsyē.
 474. A sūkarāsyē; C sūkalāsyē; T 1 sukarasye.
 475. BCD yamaḍādhī; T 1 -ḍaḍdhī; T 2 ḍādhīye.
 476. T 1 -duti.
 477. T 1 -daṣṭi; T 2 -daṣṭriye.
 478. T 1 -mathāni; T 2 -mathanīye.
 479. A -saṅkhākṣa; BD saṅkhākṣa-; C -saṅkhākṣa;
 T dud chen- (mahāśaṅkhākṣa-).
 480. B na japam; T gsaṅ sṅags (guhyamantram).
 481. AC catusadhyā; B -sadyā.
 482. T rnal 'byor pas (yoginā).
 483. A jātabhāvanatatparaḥ.
 484. A saṃhārayet; C saharet.
 485. A dadyāt; C dadyā.
 486. AC savratī.
 487. AB -saṃsthāna; C -sasthāna.
 488. ABCD badhvā.
 489. ABCD -granthā; D krtā-.
 490. AC -sūciṃ; BD -sūcī.
 491. AB ḍṛdha.
 492. BD saṃsthāpyate; AC sasthā-.
 493. A āvarta-; B āverti-.
 494. A bhāvayet.
 495. T 2 ā.
 496. BCD oṃ aralli; T 2 oṃ āralli.
 497. T ja.
 498. T ho.
 499. T -ḍākīnī-.
 500. A evan.
 501. A tricatuṣvārānuccāraṣet; C -vārāṃnucārayet.
 502. A nagno-; C nagnau.

503. ABCD bhutvā ucca- (hiatus against metre); A - stha-
ne.
504. A prayoginaḥ.
505. C dakṣinā.
506. T lho phyogs kha bltas (dakṣiṇāmukhena).
507. C dadyā.
508. AC nisarddhake.
509. AC -sārata.
510. A vajrāvalyā.
511. A ūrddhavigacā; B -vikacā; C -urddha-.
512. AB mantra; T gsañ sñags (guhyamantram).
513. A -pisācon-; B -otmādā-; T 1 -rakṣasa-biśacacen-
manda abasmaradākinādāya; T 2 -unmāda abasma-
radākadākinyādaya.
514. BCD idaṃ; (T imaṃ).
515. C bali.
516. T 1 grihnatu.
517. T 1 mama omitted here and inserted after rakṣantu;
T 2 omits mama.
518. C samaya.
519. A omits sarva but in its place adds mama (cf.
variant 517, T 1); CD -siddhi.
520. A omits me.
521. A yathaivaṃ yathaiṣṭaṃ; B yathaiva yathaiṣṭa;
CD yathaiva yathaiṣṭaṃ; T 1 yathevaṃ yatheṣṭaṃ;
T 2 yathevaṃ yathaṣṭaṃ; cf. 51a2 in Ch. IX.
522. T 1 bhunjathā.
523. AD omit pibhata; T 1 pibathā.
524. C jighraṃtha; T omits jighratha.
525. T 1 matikramathā.
526. T 1 -tāya; T 2 -tāratayā.
527. T 1 sadsukhaṃ.
528. T 1 viśuddhaya.
529. T 2 sahayika.
530. BD add oṃ before sarva etc.; C -yoginyā.

531. C -vesanaṃ (omits rtanaṃ).
532. C bhagavantāḥ.
533. C -samā; T 1 ali kali; T 2 āli kali.
534. C rekhā; T repha.
535. C jvālitā rekhā twarddhaḥ; T steñ du 'bar ba'i repha ni/ : steñ du (ūrdhvaṃ) added, rekha transcribed as repha.
536. A omits sravatikāri at bottom of page, begins new leaf with -ñī etc.
537. A sravate.
538. manthamanthāna in A effaced, not readable.
539. AC -rasmir; B raśmi.
540. C karmmanā.
541. A jvalati (end of line) jvalati (beginning of line); D jvāratī.
542. dīptibhiḥ up to dagdha in A very faint and not readable.
543. C sugataṃ.
544. C dagdhatanām; T dam tshig 'khor lo des de b'zin g'segs pa thams cad dag bsregs nas/ de b'zin g'segs pa thams cad kyi loṅs spyod kyi 'khor lor soñ ste / : gatān omitted, for sugatān de b'zin g'segs pa thams cad (sarvatathāgatān); for tathāgatānām de b'zin g'segs pa thams cad kyi (sarvatathāgatānām).
545. AB -cakra.
546. A triḥ-.
547. B ūrṇā-; C urnā-; D ūrṇām-; B -gatena; C -gate-nar.
548. A marmodghaṭana etc. up to and including daśa-diglo very faint; not readable; C modghaṭana.
549. B dadigloka.
550. AC jñānāmṛtām; T ye śes lña'i bdud rtsi (pañca-jñānāmṛtaṃ).
551. AC sikhā-.

552. A kanakadvāreṇajālan not very legible; B ka-
kadvāreṇa.
553. C jāraṃdharasajñākena.
554. T ottare omitted.
555. B viśāmya; D viśamā.
556. A dagdhānā.
557. AC tathāgatānāṃ; T de b'zin gśegs pa thams cad
kyi (sarva etc.).
558. BD maṇḍala.
559. A ti atrāpi niḥkra not legible.
560. A omits pravīśa; T omits atrāpi niḥkramat pra-
vīśa.
561. A -sata-; T skra'i rtse mo 'bum du gśegs
(T 2 bśags) pa'i cha: gśegs/bśags (probably
for gśags) added.
562. A anuttarāṃ; BD anakaraṃ. T instead of anan-
taram: byuñ ba dañ 'jug pa (des skra'i rtse
mo 'bum du gśegs/bśags pa'i cha tsam yañ
'byuñ ba dañ 'jug pa ma mthoñ ste).
563. C svādhidevata-.
564. A from sarvaṃ up to and including caiva na
effaced, not legible.
565. T for ekaṃ 'di ltar (evaṃ).
566. B cintāṃ; C ciṃtāṃ.
567. C cintayaṃt.
568. A so 'pyacintyaṃ.
569. T for this half verse:bsam du med pa'i bsgom pa
yis/ (dños dañ dños min rnam spañs yin/ sems
kyis bsams pa'i sems de ni)/ rñed pa gañ yin
gzun bar bya. The portion in brackets is
added in comparison with the Skt. versions.
570. A khatvāṅgaṃ devatāmurtiḥ effaced, illegible;
D khatvāṅga.
571. C -dhvani.
572. A dinam tu.

573. A viro for vajrī; T dpa'o rnal 'byor ma (viro yoginī).
574. C rātrīr.
575. C nimānaṃ.
576. A ṣasthanaṃ; C ṣasthamam.
577. T omits this half-verse.
578. B nirmāṇa.
579. A after darśitaṃ ca. four letters effaced, illegible, afterwards the text continues with 'vikalpo yaṃ' omitting the portion inbetween.
580. B advayaṃ; C advayo.
581. C hekāra.
582. BD -varjitā.
583. C nakovisthitaṃ.
584. B nirvāṇnaiva; C nirvāṇa naiva.
585. C kāre.
586. T omits śrī; T 2 omits ādi.
587. T 1 rnal 'byor; T 2 sems dpa' rnal 'byor.
588. T sna tshogs rol mo sgra sgrogs śin: rol mo (vādyā) for bhūri.
589. C mr̥tyumārga-.
590. C khecalīpadaṃ.
591. A pīthāditayoginī ekādaśamaḥ paṭalaḥ; B -trayo-daśaḥ; C ekādaśaḥ paṭalaḥ; D trayodaśamaḥ; T gñis su med par sbyor ba'i gnas kyi le'u bcu bží pa'o.

XIX. CATURDĀKINĪYOGA-PĀṬALA.

- 100b5 athāparam pravakṣyāmi¹ samāsāyogasamvaram²
 /a1 sarvabuddhasamāyoga(m) dākinīsamvarottamam//
 r̥titākāratām paśyed vajrasattvam yathā³
 spharet⁴//
- 101a2 ālikālyo(h) sthitam caivātmānam herukākṛtiṃ//
 pītanīlāṃ ca harim⁵ ūrdhhasāntam⁶ śuklābham
 kapālamukūtotkatam⁷//
- 101a3 trinetram⁸ karuṇāghoram⁹ vārāḥīsamalamkṛtam¹⁰//
 bhairavaḥkālarātriṃ¹¹ ca ālīḍhākrāntamastakam¹²//
 durdāntadamakam¹³ krūram sarvavighnāvināyakam¹⁴//
- 101a4 ardhendu(m) jaṭābaddham¹⁵ viśvavajrādīkrāntakam//
 mudrāṣaṭkena dehāgram¹⁶ mudritam samvarottamam//
- 101a5 vyāghracarmanivasanam muṇḍamālāvibhūṣitam//
 raktāntavajravārāhyā¹⁷ nagnā muktaśikhā¹⁸ tathā//
 tadvaktrāyudhadehāgram¹⁹ jānūdvayasuveṣṭitām²⁰//
- 101b1 kapālamālāmukūṭam²¹ adharādharanipīḍitām//
 mekhalāghurghurāravā(m)²² suratā(m) kulanandanām//
 vajraghaṇṭāsamāpannam²³ vārāḥī(m) kucamaṇḍitām²⁴//
- 101b2 kapālakhaṭvāṅgadharām²⁵ pāśāṅkuśadharām²⁶ param//
 brāhmaṇakṛttim²⁷ uddhṛtya carma ūrdhhapatōtkṛ-
 tam²⁴//
 ḍamaruṃ kaṇakaṇāsābḍam dharmadhvaniprapūritam//
- 101b3 vāmadakṣiṇapārsve ca caturdākinī(r)²⁹ bhāvayet//
 dakṣiṇe dākinī lāmā uttare khaṇḍarohā³⁰ tu rū-
 piṇī//
 nīlāruṇā sitā³¹ pītā trinetrā vikṛtaraudriṇī//
- 101b4 sitanīlā ca haritā raktāruṇa mahodjvalā//
 dakṣiṇe bhāvayet tāmsca³² sarvasiddhipradāyakam³³//
- 101b5 vāme tu raktanīlaharitā sitā³⁴ ūrdhānanā tathā//
 haritā raktapītā ca³⁵ ūrdhhanīlamukham³⁶ tathā//
 ālīḍhapadasamsthānā digambaradharā parā//
- 102a1 muktakeśā karālāśyamūṇḍamālāvibhūṣitā³⁷//
 caturmārasamākrāntā pañcamudrāvibhūṣitā//

- kapālakhaṭvāṅgadharā vajrasūlakarādhārā³⁸ //
- 102a2 naracarmapaṭordhaṇ³⁹ ca ghaṇṭāḍamarukā⁴⁰ tathā//
 muṇḍakārttikādhārā⁴¹ parā mekhalāghurghurāravā⁴²
 nūpurai rurulāyate⁴³ //
- 102a3 viśvapadmoparisūryamaṇḍalamadhyasthām⁴⁴
 ekāsanāsusamsthītām⁴⁵ //
 hr̥daye⁴⁶ jñānasamayam tadvarṇabhujāyudham⁴⁷ //
 mukute⁴⁸ akṣobhyapadam vajrasattvam tu heruko
 bhāvayet//
- 102a4 sarvabhāvena⁴⁹ lakṣaṇair vyañjanais⁵⁰ saha⁵¹ //
 jñānasamarasīkṛtya⁵² japet⁵³ dākinīsaṃvaram//
 om āḥ⁵⁴ śrīvajraherukam⁵⁵ dākinījālasaṃvaram⁵⁶
- 102a5 hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā//
 om hrīṇ⁵⁷ ha ha hūṃ hūṃ⁵⁸ phaṭ// hr̥dayopahr̥da-
 yah⁵⁹ // om āḥ⁶⁰ vajravārāhye hi vaṃ⁶¹ dākinī-
 jālasaṃvarī⁶² hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā//
- 102b1 om vajravairocanī⁶³ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ⁶⁴ // heruka-
 vārāhyāhr̥dayopahr̥dayah⁶⁵ //
 om vajradākinī hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ//
 om vajralāme hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ//
- 102b2 om vajrakhaṇḍarohe hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ//
 om vajrarūpiṇī⁶⁶ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ//
 yathākrameṇa jāpabhāvanām⁶⁷ kuryāt//
 catuḥsandhyā tu⁶⁸ krameṇa samayasamvarānuṣṭānena⁶⁹
- 102b3 pañcapradīpānāreṇa//
 śmaśāne bhāvayet satatam⁷⁰ saptarātriprayogena⁷¹
 siddhir avyāhatā dhruvam⁷² //
 adṛśyam⁷³ vihareḍ⁷⁴ yogī nānārūpī mahāsukham⁷⁵ //
- 102b4 bhakṣābhojyaṇ⁷⁴ ca kurute peyāpeyam tathaiva ca//
 digvāsamā⁷⁷ nr̥tya⁷⁸ paronmatto veṣṭitah⁷⁹ //
- 102b5 vicared saumahāyogī naṣṭachāyo bhaviṣyati//
 mahārudhīram utsr̥ṣṭaviṇmutreṇa⁸⁰ ca saṃyutam//
 bhakṣyayed⁸¹ āhārakṛtyarthamāṃsāni⁸² vividhāni ca//
- 103a1 adhyātmayogayuktena saṃvr̥to⁸³ vihareḍ sadā//

asamānitayogena paśyate jñānacaṣṣā//
 103a2 iti śrīabhidhānottarottare⁸⁴ caturdākinīyoga-
 . paṭala ūnavimśa⁸⁵//

Chapter XIX: Variant Readings.

Concordance:

- MS.A 82a1-83b2 (Ch.XVI).
 B 569a9-570a5 (Ch.XVIII).
 C 87a5-88b3 (Ch.XVI).
 D 100b5-103a1 (Ch.XVIII).
 T 1 151b8-153a1, p. 62-5-8/ p. 63-3-1 (Ch XIX).
 T 2 132b4-135a7 (Ch.XIX).
 Śū. 223b3-225a3, p. 295-4-3/p. 296-2-3 (Ch.XIX).

Variants:

1. A vakṣye; C pravakṣāmi.
2. AD samāsām-; D -samvara.
3. T rdo rje sems dpa' bsgoms nas spro: bsgoms
nas added in place of yathā.
4. BC spharan; D spharana.
5. AC haritaṃ.
6. A -sāntaṃ; C saṃta.
7. AC -makūṭo-; C -otkaṭaṃ.
8. A trinetṛā.
9. A -ghorā.
10. C -samaraṃkṛtaṃ.
11. BD -kālarātrīṃ; C -kālaḥrātriñ.
12. CD mānasamastakaṃ.
13. BD -damaka.
14. A -vināyakā; BD sarve-.
15. T 1 for jatā dal pa (T 2 correct: ral pa).
16. C dehogram; T omits agraṃ/ugraṃ.
17. A raktaṃ tu; C rakṣāṃta.
18. A -sikhā.
19. A -deho (graṃ omitted); C dehogram.
20. A suceṣṭitā.
21. AC makutā.

22. A ghughurannā; BCD ghughurāraṇa or ghughyurāraṇa. Following the first possible reading one can assume that the double gh is a trace of a preceding 'r'. The resulting ghurghura is listed in Monier Williams' Dictionary. T gyer ka yi ni ska (T l sku) rags can: gyer ka yi for the onomatopoetic ghurghura.
23. A -samāpannām.
24. B -kukucamaṇḍitām; T sku tsa 'dzin: 'dzin for maṇḍitām.
25. A -khaṭvādhārā; BD -dharā; C -dhara.
26. C omits pāsāṅkusādharaṇ.
27. ABCD kṛtiṇ.
28. T mgo bo'i steñ du phyag gis 'dzin: mgo bo and phyag gis added, carma and paṭa omitted.
29. C catuḍākinī.
30. A khaṇḍaro tu.
31. AC sitārunā.
32. BCD taśca.
33. A -pradāyikām.
34. all MSS. sita (with hiatus).
35. A omits ca.
36. A sukhaṇ; D śukhan.
37. T omits āsya.
38. C -sūrakarādhārā.
39. T nāra'i lpags pa gos su mnabs: urdhaṇ omitted, mnabs added.
40. ABCD ḍamārukās.
41. A muṇḍakarttikarā.
42. A -ghughurāravā; BCD ghughyurāravā/ghughghurāravā ? (for the possible reading ghurghghurāravā cf. variant 22; C meṣalā-.
43. BD rulāyato; C rulārulāyato; T rulu rulu'i sgra.
44. ABCD -sthām.
45. A omits su; C -susasthitām.

46. C hṛdaya.
 47. BD -bhujāyudhā; C -āyudha.
 48. C makute.
 49. A -bhāvana; BD -bhāvanna.
 50. AC vyañcanai (sic).
 51. A sahā.
 52. AC jñānaṃ.
 53. C jape.
 54. T 1 a.
 55. C -heruka; T 1 śrīvajra he he ru ru kaṃ; T 2 same as T 1 but without śrī.
 56. T 1 -saṃvara; T 2 -śaṃvaram.
 57. ABC hrīm, but cf. 45b5/87a4; (T also hrīḥ).
 58. ACD hūṃ only lx. Cf. 45b5/87a4; (T also hūṃ hūṃ).
 59. ACT omit hṛdayopahṛdayaḥ.
 60. T 1 a.
 61. BD vajravārāhī vaṃ; T 1 vajravārāhi hyevaṃ; T 2 vajravārāhiye hyevaṃ.
 62. A dākināṃ jālasamvarī; B -samvari; T samvaram.
 63. T vajravairocanīye.
 64. B hūṃ only once.
 65. AC -hṛdayam; T for heruka:dpal khra 'thuṃ.
 66. C -rūpiṇī; T 1 -rupini.
 67. BD jāpabhāvaṃ; C jāpabhāvanā.
 68. A -sandhyānukramaṇa; C catusaṃdhyā tu.
 69. C anusthānena; T for anuṣṭhānena gñis su med par.
 70. A sada.
 71. A saptarātra-; B saptarātrī-.
 72. T for siddhir avyāhatā dhruvaṃ: mi snaṃ dños grub ñes par grub.
 73. C adṛsyam.
 74. T mthon bar byed par kun 'gro for adṛśyaṃ.
 75. A -sukha.
 76. AD bhaksābhakṣyañ; D adds mahārūpī pāṭha before bhakṣā-.

77. D digvāsasam.
78. BCD āsr̥tya; T phyogs kyi gos can gar gyis ni/ :
'gar gyis' supports ānr̥tya as in MS A.
79. BCD parotmantrātmaveṣṭitaḥ; T myos śiñ myos pa lta
bur gnas/ supports paronmatto of MS A.
80. A utsr̥ṣṭa etc. up to bhakṣayed effaced; not legible.
81. C bhakṣaye.
82. C -kr̥tyarthaṃ masāni; T rtse gcig pa'i bza ba.
83. T samv̥rto rendered by zen pas.
84. T omits śrī.
85. AC dākinīyogasamvaravidhi paṭala ṣaḍaśamaḥ/ C
-ṣaḍaśama; BD -patalo 'ṣṭadaśamaḥ; T -le'u
bcu dgu pa'o.

XXIV. KULAṢAṬCAKRAVARTISAMPRADA-PĀṬALA.

- 115b3 {athānya(t) sampravakṣyāmi¹ kulāḍākavidhikramāṃ²//
kulā³ bahuvidhā⁴ proktā⁵ samkṣepena⁶ tripañcadhā//
- 115b4 ṣaṭkulāni prasiddhāni yogayogottarāni⁷ ca//
dākinyāḥ parṣadi⁸ sarvāḥ⁹ tridhātukam aśeṣataḥ¹⁰//
- 115b5 kulodayasamudbhūtāḥ¹¹ sarvaprānyagrasambhavāḥ¹²//
atha kulamātaram¹³ hr̥ṣṭāḥ pramuditāḥ prītisau-
manasyajāto 'bhūvan¹⁴//
- 116a1 deśayatu bhagavān mahāsuratasukhakulatādhīpatir¹⁵
idaṃ¹⁶ tatvaguhyaḥrdayaṃ bījāni bhāṣata¹⁷//
hūṃ bhrūṃ āṃ¹⁸ jīm¹⁹ kham vaṃ²⁰//
atha bhāṣite mahāmantrē²¹ sarvabuddhasutau²² rasā//
- 116a2 kampitā mūrchan apede jñānavajram anusmaran//
akṣobhyaśāśvataḥ²³ caiva vajrasūryaṃ²⁴ tathaiva
ca//
- 116a3 amitābham amoghasiddhiṃ ca vajrasattvaṃ mahā-
sukhaṃ//
ete te²⁵ buddhavapuṣā vajraḍāketi kīrtitā//
vajraḍāketi prathamam dvitīyam²⁶ buddhaḍākajam²⁷//
- 116a4 tritīyam²⁸ ratnaḍākam tu caturtham padmaḍākayoh²⁹//
pañcamam³⁰ viśvaḍākam³¹ tu ṣaṣṭham vai vajra-
sattvayoh//
pañcaite³² herukājñeyā vajravijrās³³ tathaiva ca//
- 116a5 gaganābhogasambhogam śāśisambhogabhoginam³⁴//
khasamam³⁵ bhoganirmāṇam padmasambhogabhoginam³⁶//
- 116b1 viśvasambhoganirmāṇam viśvavarṇottamottamam^{36b}//
khasamam nirmalam śuddham³⁷ tuṣāram iva śītalam³⁸//
varṇam varṇottamam śuddham candrakāntisamapra-
bham//
- 116b2 trinetra³⁹ viśvaśubhagā viśvapadmāsanasthitāḥ⁴⁰//
candrasūryamadhyasthā vajraparyāṅkasusthitāḥ⁴¹//
jaṭamukuṭināḥ⁴² sarve kapālamālinās⁴³ tathā//
- 116b3 ṣaṇmudrāmudritāḥ⁴⁴//
sarvesvāsanoparisamsthitāḥ⁴⁵//

- gajasimhās' ca turagair⁴⁶ mayūrair garudāni ca//
 116b4 athopari pretāsanāḥ sarve dhyātavyāḥ⁴⁷ siddhi-
 pradā vajrahastā ca bhūsparsā//
 kaṭigarbhā vajraghaṇṭā⁴⁸ tu karālavaḍanam tathā//
 116b5 vajraghaṇṭā⁴⁹ sagarbhā⁵⁰ tu ratnaghaṇṭā tathaiva
 ca//
 padmaghaṇṭā kramaṇaiva⁵¹ ghaṇṭā vai viśvavajra-
 jā⁵²//
 sagarbhā⁵³ bhavate⁵⁴ sarve kulavajrottamottamāḥ⁵⁵//
 117a1 padmaṇḍala⁵⁶ saṃlikhyet⁵⁷ caturdvārasamanvi-
 tam⁵⁸//
 vajracakrāvalīdeyaṃ ratnapadmāvalī tathā//
 viśvavajrāvalī⁵⁹ caiva vajrāvalī⁶⁰ tu madhyamaṃ//
 117a2 bāhyamaṇḍalam ālikhya⁶¹ kuṭāgāraṃ⁶² manoramaṃ//
 ṣaṭkulaṃ vinyaset⁶³ tatra pīṭhādikrama vinyaset⁶⁴//
 madhyamaṇḍalake nyastvā⁶⁵ vajrasattvaṃ mahāsukhaṃ//
 117a3 tatraiva pūrvato dvāre pulīramalaye⁶⁶ khaṇḍa-
 kapālināḥ⁶⁷ pracandā⁶⁸//
 uttare jālandhare⁶⁹ mahākaṅkālacandāksī//
 117a4 paścime oḍiyānake⁷⁰ kaṅkālaprabhāvatī⁷¹//
 dakṣiṇe arbude vikaṭadamaṣṭriṇamahānāsā⁷²//
 pramuditāyāṃ⁷³ bhūmau⁷⁴ madhye⁷⁵ vajrasattva⁷⁶
 117a5 vīrāḥ⁷⁷ kṛṣṇā dākinī bhasmaśubhravarnā⁷⁸ vīrā
 vajraghaṇṭā⁷⁹ dākinīyā kapālavajratarjanī//
 117b1 vimalābhūmimadhye⁸⁰ vairocanaśakramadhye bhagavān
 buddhaḍāko⁸¹ mahāsukhaṃ⁸²//
 pūrvadvārāḍau godāvāryāṃ⁸³ surāvairiṇavīramatī⁸⁴//
 uttare rāmeśvare⁸⁵ amitābhakharvarī//
 117b2 paścime devīkoṭe⁸⁶ vajraprabhalaṅkeśvarī//
 dakṣiṇe mālave⁸⁷ vajradehadrumacchāyāḥ⁸⁸ vīrāḥ⁸⁹
 sitadehā dākinī pītā⁹⁰//
 prabhākarībhūmau⁹¹ madhye⁹² ratnaḍākaḥ//
 117b3 pūrvadvārāḍau kāmārūpe⁹³ aṅkurika airāvati⁹⁴//
 uttare oḍre⁹⁵ vajrajaṭilamahābhairavā⁹⁶//
 paścime trisākunau⁹⁷ mahāvīravāyuvegā⁹⁸//

- 117b4 dakṣine kośalāyāṃ⁹⁹ vajrahūṃkārasurābhakṣī//
 vīrā(h) pīthā^{99b} dākinī haritā//
 arcīṣmatyāṃ¹⁰⁰ bhūmimadhye¹⁰¹ padmadākāṃ//
- 117b5 pūrvadvāre kalinge¹⁰² subhadrāsyāmādevī¹⁰³//
 uttare lampāke¹⁰⁴ vajrabhadrāsuhadrā¹⁰⁵//
 paścime kāñci¹⁰⁶ mahābhairavahayakarnā//
- 118a1 dakṣine himālaye¹⁰⁷ vīrūpākṣakhagānanā//
 vīrā raktā dākinī sitā¹⁰⁸//
 sudurjayābhūmimadhye¹⁰⁹ vajradākāḥ//
 pūrvadvārāda¹¹⁰ pretapuryāṃ mahābalacakravegā//
- 118a2 uttare gr̥hadevatāyāṃ¹¹¹ ratnavajrakhaṇḍarohā¹¹²//
 paścime saurāṣṭre¹¹³ hayagrīvasaundinī¹¹⁴//
- 118a3 dakṣine suvarṇadvīpe¹¹⁵ ākāśagarbhacakravart-
 minī¹¹⁶//
 vīrāḥ kṛṣṇā¹¹⁷ dākinī pītā¹¹⁸//
 abhimukhyāyāṃ¹¹⁹ bhūmimadhye¹²⁰ viśvadākāḥ¹²¹//
 pūrvadvāre nagare¹²² śrīherukasuvīrāḥ¹²³//
- 118a4 uttare sindhau¹²⁴ padmanartesvaramahābalā¹²⁵//
 paścime marau¹²⁶ vairocanaacakravartinī¹²⁷//
 dakṣine kulatāyāṃ¹²⁸ vajrasattvamahāvīryā//
- 118a5 vīrā viśvavarṇā dākinī dhūmradhūsarāvarṇā¹²⁹//
 maṇḍalāni tato bāhye¹³⁰ pretāvalyā¹³¹ suveṣṭayet//
 tad bāhye¹³² viśvavajraṃ tu koṇe dākinīm¹³³
 ālikhet¹³⁴//
- 118b1 dākinī ca¹³⁵ tathā lāmā¹³⁶ khaṇḍarohā tu rū-
 piṇī¹³⁷//
 kapālacatur ālikhyet¹³⁸ madhye¹³⁹ maṇḍalakōṇake//
- 118b2 dākinī¹⁴⁰ dūraṅgamābhūmir acalābhūmi(r) lāmākā¹⁴¹//
 khaṇḍarohā ca sādhumatī¹⁴² rūpiṇī¹⁴³ dharma-
 meghah¹⁴⁴//
 nīlā pītā ca raktā haritavarṇā caturthikā//
- 118b3 kākāsyādi tu dākinī^{144b} viśvavarṇā manoramā¹⁴⁵//
 yamadādhyadīdākinī¹⁴⁶ 'rdhanārīśvarī¹⁴⁷
 tathā¹⁴⁸//
- 118b4 sarve¹⁴⁹ vīrā ālīdhapadasthā¹⁵⁰ pañcamudrāvi-

- bhūṣitāḥ//
 vyāghracarmanivasanāḥ muṇḍamālāvibhūṣitāḥ//
 digambarā¹⁵¹ muktakesī¹⁵² ḍākinyā(h) kulasūndarī//
 118b5 pretoparisthitā sarve bhāvayet maṇḍalottamām¹⁵²//
 cakravartyādayo¹⁵³ nāma maṇḍalam saṃvarottamām//
 kapālakhaṭvāṅgadharā¹⁵⁴ ḍamaruṃ¹⁵⁵ ḍakṣine tathā//
 119a1 evam ḍākīnirūpīṇyo¹⁵⁶ bhujāyudhavibhūṣitā(h)//
 kākāsyādi tu ḍākinyām¹⁵⁷ aṅkuśādyādicihnita¹⁵⁸//
 119a2 vāme khaṭvāṅgapātraṃ¹⁵⁹ ḍakṣine aṅkuśaḥ¹⁶⁰ pāśa-
 sphotāveśata(h)¹⁶¹ tathā//
 yamaḍāḍhyādi¹⁶² tu ḍākinyām¹⁶³ darpanam vīnā
 gandho rasā¹⁶⁴ ḍakṣine¹⁶⁵ kapālakhaṭvāṅga(m)
 sarvasiddhipradāyakam//
 119a3 svakulaśobhanamukutaḥ¹⁶⁶ kapāloparisaṃsthitāḥ¹⁶⁷//
 prṭhacakraṇi bhāvyaṇte parivāraparivṛtāni//
 119a4 jñānasattva(m)¹⁶⁸ hr̥di dr̥ṣṭvā yogesu yoginyā¹⁶⁸//
 jñānacakraṃ tataḥ¹⁶⁹ prabhāvenā samarasīkṛtaṃ//
 cittajñānavākkāyam¹⁷⁰ prāṇāyāmena¹⁷¹ saṃspha-
 ret¹⁷²//
 119a5 om āḥ vaṃ hūṃ iti yathākrameṇa spharaṇasaṃ-
 bhareṇa¹⁷³ krameṇa¹⁷⁴ prāṇāyāmeṇa¹⁷⁵ sphutī-
 kṛtya¹⁷⁶ spharet¹⁷⁷//
 yathākrameṇa yogena¹⁷⁸ saṃketena¹⁷⁹ japabhāva-
 nām kuryāt//
 119b1 tataḥ samayajāpeṇa yathā mantraṃ anukramāt//
 om¹⁸⁰ śrīmahāsukhavajrasattva¹⁸¹ ḍākinī-
 jālasaṃvaram¹⁸² hūṃ āḥ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā¹⁸³//
 119b2 om śrībuddhaḍāka¹⁸⁴ a la la la bhrum¹⁸⁵ āḥ¹⁸⁶
 ḍākinījālasaṃvaram¹⁸⁷ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā//
 om śrīratnaḍāka¹⁸⁸ trāṃ¹⁸⁹ āṃ¹⁹⁰ āḥ¹⁹¹ ḍākinī-
 jālasaṃvaram¹⁹² hūṃ phaṭ svāhā//
 119b3 om śrīpadmaḍāka¹⁹³ hrīḥ¹⁹⁴ āḥ¹⁹⁵ hūṃ ḍākinījāla-
 saṃvaram¹⁹⁶ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā¹⁹⁷//
 om śrīvajraḍāka āḥ¹⁹⁸ hūṃ phaṭ¹⁹⁹ ḍākinījāla-
 saṃvaram²⁰⁰ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā//

- 119b4 om śrīviśvaḍāka hoḥ²⁰¹ khaṃ hūṃ²⁰² ḍākinījāla-
 samvaram²⁰³ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā//
 om khaṃ hūṃ phaṭ²⁰⁴// om praṃ hūṃ phaṭ// om maṃ
 hūṃ phaṭ// om caṃ hūṃ phaṭ// om kaṃ hūṃ phaṭ// om
 praṃ hūṃ phaṭ// om viṃ hūṃ phaṭ// om maṃ hūṃ phaṭ//
- 119b5 om suṃ hūṃ phaṭ// om viṃ hūṃ phaṭ// om aṃ hūṃ
 phaṭ// om khaṃ hūṃ phaṭ// om vaṃ hūṃ phaṭ// om laṃ
 hūṃ phaṭ// om vaṃ hūṃ phaṭ// om druṃ hūṃ phaṭ// om
- 120a1 aṃ hūṃ phaṭ// om aiṃ hūṃ phaṭ// om vaṃ hūṃ phaṭ//
 om maṃ hūṃ phaṭ// om maṃ hūṃ phaṭ// om vaṃ hūṃ
 phaṭ// om vaṃ hūṃ phaṭ// om suṃ hūṃ phaṭ// om suṃ
 hūṃ phaṭ// om śyāṃ hūṃ phaṭ// om vaṃ hūṃ phaṭ//
 om suṃ hūṃ phaṭ// om maṃ hūṃ phaṭ// om haṃ hūṃ
 phaṭ// om viṃ hūṃ phaṭ// om khaṃ hūṃ phaṭ// om
 maṃ hūṃ phaṭ// om caṃ hūṃ phaṭ// om raṃ hūṃ phaṭ//
 om khaṃ hūṃ phaṭ// om haṃ hūṃ phaṭ// om saṃ hūṃ
- 120a2 phaṭ// om āṃ hūṃ phaṭ// om caṃ hūṃ phaṭ// om heṃ
 hūṃ phaṭ// om suṃ hūṃ phaṭ// om paṃ hūṃ phaṭ//
 om maṃ hūṃ phaṭ// om vaiṃ hūṃ phaṭ// om caṃ hūṃ
 phaṭ// om vaṃ hūṃ phaṭ// om maṃ hūṃ phaṭ// om dāṃ
- 120a3 hūṃ phaṭ// om lāṃ hūṃ phaṭ// om khaṃ hūṃ phaṭ//
 om rūṃ hūṃ phaṭ// om kāṃ hūṃ phaṭ// om uṃ hūṃ
 phaṭ// om śvāṃ hūṃ phaṭ// om sūṃ hūṃ phaṭ// om
- 120a4 yaṃ hūṃ phaṭ// om yaṃ hūṃ phaṭ// om yaṃ hūṃ phaṭ//
 om yaṃ hūṃ phaṭ//
 parṣadmantrādi²⁰⁵ sarveṣāṃ japet bhāvasatām
 tathā²⁰⁶//
- ṣaṭcakravartisahitām²⁰⁷ japet tām ḍākaḍākinīm²⁰⁸//
- 120a5 mahāsamayayogena²⁰⁹ samayaṃ samayottamam²¹⁰//
 dvamḍālīṅganayogena²¹¹ japet mantram²¹² susid-
 dhayet²¹³//
- ṣaṭcakravarti siddhyanti²¹⁴ ṣaṇmāsair²¹⁵ nānyathā
 dhruvam²¹⁶//
- 120b1 athavā vajrasattvaṃ tu śāsvatam vajrasūryayoḥ²¹⁷
 padmanarteśvaro rājā paramāśvaḥheruko 'thavā//

- pīṭhakrameṇa yogeṣu bhāvayen²¹⁸ niścaye²¹⁹ sati//
- 120b2 anenakramayogena guruparveṇa labhyate²²⁰//
- yoginīsaṃpradāyena pīṭhasarvān²²¹ anukramāt//
- 120b3 anyathā bhramate mantrī saṃpradāyaṃ²²² na paśyati//
- iti śrīabhidhānottarottare²²³ kuḷaṣaṭcakraṇvarti-
- saṃpradayaṇaṭalaḥ²²⁴ caturvimsaṭatitamah²²⁵//

Chapter XXIV: Variant Readings.

Concordance:

- MS.A Folios 91 and 92 including the beginning of the chapter are missing. The text begins on leaf 93a1 with the words '-rās tathaiva ca etc.' (= MS. D 116a4). End of chapter: 96b5. The chapter number given in the MS., Ch. XXV, is, judging from the following chapter numerations, a mistake for XXI.
- MS.B 575a1-576b8 (Ch.XXIII).
- MS.C 99a1-103a5 (Ch.XXI).
- MS.D 115b3-120b3 (Ch.XXIII).
- T 1 159a6-161b9, p. 65-5-6/p.66-5-9 (Ch.XXIV).
- T 2 143b4-147b4 (Ch.XXIV).
- Śū. 232a5-233b6, p. 299-1-5/p.299-4-6 (Ch.XXIV).

Variants:

1. BC -kṣāmi.
2. C -dāka-.
3. T ma'i rigs (mātrkulā).
4. T sna tshogs (vividhā).
5. C omits proktā.
6. C sakṣepena; B sakṣepena.
7. C -yogottarani.
8. C paṣadi; T 'khor la sogs (parṣadādi).
9. B sarvām.
10. C asyaṣataḥ.
11. C kulodasamud-.
12. C sarvapānyaṃgrasambhavā; T sku kun so sor 'byuñ ba ste.
13. C mātara; T adds thams cad.
14. T dga' zin dgyes 'la yid 'on ba yid las skye zin 'byuñ ba yin: yid las is added.

15. C -sukhā-.
16. D ida.
17. C bhāṣa.
18. T 2 aṃ.
19. T 1 trāṃ; T 2 triṃ.
20. T 1 kām bām.
21. C mahātantre.
22. BCD buddhā-.
23. C -śasvatam; T rtag pa'i rigs (śasvatakulam).
24. BCD vajrasūryas.
25. C omits te; T 'di ltar (evam).
26. C dvitiya.
27. T saṅs rgyas mkha' 'gro: jam omitted.
28. C trtīya.
29. C padākayoh.
30. C pañcama.
31. C visva-.
32. C pañcete.
33. A text begins here with 'rās etc.'.
34. A -bhogiṇam.
35. C ṣamasam.
36. A -bhoginām; T 2 padma zas kyi(s) loṅs spyod
sprul pa ste: sprul pa ste added.
- 36b. BCD -ottamām.
37. C śuddha.
38. C sītālam.
39. T spyān gsum skal ba (trinetraabhāgā).
40. C -sthitā.
41. A paryāṅkā-; C -susthitā.
42. A -makuṭina; B -mukutina; CD -mukutinam.
43. ABCD -mālinas.
44. A padma-; AC -mudritā; BC -muditāh.
45. C svānoparisasthitāḥ.
46. B turamgair.
47. A dhātavyā.

48. A -ghaṇṭaṃ; BD -ghaṇṭān; C -ghaṇṭām.
 49. C cakraghaṇṭā; T 'khor lo dril bu.
 50. B sarbhan; CD sagarbhan; T 'gyiñ dañ bcas (sa-
 garvā).
 51. C -kramaṇaiva.
 52. C -viśvavajrakā; T sna tshogs rdo rje ñid.
 53. T sñems par (sagarvitam).
 54. A sabhavataḥ.
 55. A -ottamaḥ; BD -vajratamottamāḥ.
 56. T dkyil 'khor drug (ṣaḍmaṇḍala).
 57. A samlikhyat; BCD samlikhya.
 58. C catudvāra-.
 59. C -vali.
 60. ABD vajrāvalīm; C vajrāvali; T understands the
 'avalī' in all the cases in a verbal sense:
 bskor ba ste; de bzin bskor, bskor ba ste,
 bskor bar bya. In the instances where deyam
 is not put it has probably to be understood.
 61. C ālikhe.
 62. C kutāṃgāra.
 63. C vinyasyat.
 64. A so nyaset.
 65. C nyastā.
 66. ABD -malaya; T 1 puliramaya na; T 2 pullirama na.
 67. C khaṇḍakapālinī.
 68. BCD pracandah.
 69. C jāraṃdhare; T 1 jāladhara na.
 70. T 1 udyina na; T 2 udyana na.
 71. AC prabhāmatī.
 72. A daṣṭrina-; C daṣṭrinam.
 73. C pramuditāyā.
 74. T for bhumau: dañ po.
 75. C madhya.
 76. BCD vajrasatva; T omits vajrasattvaḥ;
 77. BCD virā.

78. C bhusma-.
79. A vajravajraghaṇṭā; C -ghaṇṭām.
80. AT omit vimalābhūmimadhye; C -madhya.
81. ABCD -ḍākam.
82. BD mahābalaṃ; C -sukha; (T bde ba chen po).
83. AD goḍāvaryām; B goḍavaryām; C goḍāvaryyā; T go-davari na.
84. C viramatī.
85. T 1 ramiśvari na.
86. T 1 devikoṭa na.
87. T 1 malave na.
88. AD -chāyāh; C -dehaṃ drumacchāyā.
89. AC vīrā.
90. AC pītāḥ; T adds dri ma med pa'i sa ni dbus ste saṅs rgyas mkha' 'gro ma (vimalāyām bhumau madhye buddhaḍakini, cf. note 80, 91).
91. A vimalāyām bhumau.
92. C madhya.
93. T 1 kāmārupe na.
94. C aṅkulika airāvatī.
95. A odre; T 1 omdre na; T 2 odra na.
96. BD vajrajaṭika-.
97. T triśākune na.
98. C vāyavyagā.
99. T 1 kosale na; T 2 kosala na.
- 99b. ABCD pītāḥ.
100. A arciṣmatyā; D aciṣmatyām.
101. A bhūmadhye; C -madhya.
102. D kalige.
103. ABCD -syāmādevī; (T sṅo bsaṅs lha mo:śyāmādevī).
104. T 1 lampaka na; T 2 lampāka na.
105. BCD vajraprabha-; (cf. T rdo rje bzaṅ:-vajrabha-dra-).
106. D kāci; T kamci na.
107. T himalaya na.

108. BC sitā.
 109. A bhūmadhye; C -madhya.
 110. D -dvau.
 111. T 1 grihadeva na; T 2 grihadevata na.
 112. C -vajraṃ.
 113. T 1 sauraṣṭa; T 2 sauruṣṭa.
 114. C saudinī.
 115. T suvarnadvipa na.
 116. BD -cakravatminī; D -cakravatminī; C -ākāsa-.
 117. BC kṛṣṇa.
 118. A pītāḥ.
 119. C -mukhyāṃ yām.
 120. A bhūmadhye; C -madhya.
 121. C viśvaḍāka.
 122. T 1 nāgare na
 123. C -vīrā; T omits śrī.
 124. C sidhau.
 125. ABCD -nartteśvara-; C -mahābalāṃ.
 126. BCD merau; T maruta na.
 127. ACD -varttinī; B -pattinī.
 128. T 1 kuluta na; T 2 kulutā na.
 129. C -varṇā.
 130. C bāhya.
 131. C preto-.
 132. A tataḥ bāhye; C tata bāhya.
 133. A ḍākini.
 134. C āliṣet.
 135. C tu.
 136. C rāmā.
 137. C rūpinī.
 138. AD ālikhye; C ālikhyat.
 139. C madhya.
 140. C dākinya.
 141. BCD lāmāyāṃ.
 142. AC add bhūmi.

143. A rūpinye; C rūpinī.
 144. ABCD -meghayāḥ(?).
 144b. AC dākinyā.
 145. C manoramā.
 146. BCD yamaḍāḍhyādi; T gśin rje sreg sogs- (yama-
 dāhyādi-); ABCD -dākinyā.
 147. BD -īśvarīt (tathā).
 148. T omits tathā but adds źal: phyed ni bud med
 dbaṅ phyug źal/.
 149. AC sarva.
 150. C -sthām.
 151. A digambaradharā.
 152. C maṇḍarottamām.
 153. A cakravarttādaya; BD cakravartyādayan; C cakra-
 varttyādaya; T padma la gnas 'khor lo for
 cakravartyādayo.
 154. C -khaṭvāgadharā.
 155. A ḍamaru.
 156. ABCD -rūpīnyā; T mkha' 'gro ma yi gzugs (dākinī-
 rūpaṃ).
 157. C dākinyā.
 158. A aṅkusyāḍicihnītām; BD -cihnītān; C akuśā-; T
 lcags kyu źags pa la sogs pa (aṅkuśapāsādi).
 159. C kaṭvāga; T omits pātraṃ.
 160. T omits aṅkuśa, adds ji srid (yāvat).
 161. A -sphoṭāveśanat; BD -sphoṭāveśata; C -sphoṭā-
 vesanaṃ; T -lcags sgrog daṅ dril bu (cf. NSP
 25, p. 30, ankuśapāsāspḥoṭaghaṇṭābhṛtsavya-
 bhujāṇ, of same deities).
 162. BCD yamaḍāḍhyādi; T gśin rje sreg (ma) - (yama-
 dāhī-).
 163. AC devīnām.
 164. C -raśo.
 165. T adds gyon la (vāme).
 166. A -śodbhamimakuṭāḥ; B -śodbhamamukuṭāḥ; C -śod-

- bhamasakuṭāḥ; D -śodbhamamakūṭāḥ; T dbu rgyan
can.
167. C sasthitā.
168. T rnal 'byor kun gyi sbyor ba yis (sarvayoga-
yogena).
169. T mthon nas (dṛṣṭvā) for tataḥ.
170. A -kāyām; C vākāyām.
171. C prāṇāyāmyana ; T has instead dbaṅ bskur nas ni.
172. A -sphāret; C saspharet; T rim par spro.
173. A -saṃhareṇa; BC -saṃbharana; T omits spharaṇa-
saṃbhareṇa.
174. B omits krameṇa; D krame.
175. C prāṇāyāmyana; T srog dan rtsod pa (T 2
correctly - rtsol ba).
176. A tya not legible; C sphaṭīkṛtye.
177. T dbaṅ bskur sbyin for spharet.
178. A yoga.
179. C saṃkaṭeṇa; T dogs pa med par (asaṅkayā).
180. T 2 adds before the mantra the syllables hūṃ
brūṃ om hrīṃ khaṃ baṃ/ om a baṃ hūṃ.
181. T 2 mahāasukhaṃ-.
182. ABD -samvara; T 2 śamvara; C samvaram.
183. T 1 (after samvara) a hūṃ phaṭ svāhā; T 2 just
hūṃ phaṭ svāhā.
184. BD omit śrī; C omits the preceding om, -buddhā-
ḍāka.
185. T omits bhrum.
186. T 1 a; T 2 aḥ hūṃ.
187. ABDT -samvara; C samvaram.
188. BD omit śrī; T 2 -ḍaki.
189. T 1 traṃ.
190. C omits āṃ; T 1 ā; T 2 aṃ.
191. A aḥ om; T 1 ā; T 2 a.
192. ABDT -samvara; C -samvaram.
193. BD omit śrī; T 2 -ḍaki.

194. T 1 hri hri; T 2 hrī hrī.
 195. T a.
 196. ABDT -samvara; C -samvaram.
 197. B omits svāhā.
 198. T 2 aḥ.
 199. BD omit śrīvajradaka āḥ hūṃ phaṭ; T 1 adds hūṃ after phaṭ.
 200. ABDT -samvara; C -samvaram.
 201. T ho.
 202. A āḥ hūṃ; T 1 dam; T 2 ā hūṃ.
 203. ABDT -samvara; C -samvaram.
 204. For the variants concerning the following short mantras of the 48 heroes and Yoginīs as well as the twelve Ḍākinīs see the special table attached at the end of the list of variants to this chapter.
- Despite omissions and divergent readings it was possible to establish a correct version after discovering that the mantras consist of a frame (om hūṃ phaṭ) enclosing the first syllable of the name of one of the deities inserted in each case after the om.
205. AC parṣat-; BD parṣaṇ-; B -matrā; T omits mantra.
 206. T bsgom la gnas nas bzlas pa bya: bsgom la gnas nas stands for bhāvasatām, tathā is not translated.
 207. C saṭ-.
 208. BCD omit ḍāka; C just ḍakinī; (T mkha' 'gro mkha' 'gro ma).
 209. B -samayalogena.
 210. T 1 tshig gis dam tshig mchog gyur pa/; T 2 dam tshig dam tshig mchog gyur pa/. Both versions add "gyur pa", T 1 puts the first 'samaya' into the instr. case.
 211. BCD -āliṅgaṇa-; T gñis med 'khyud pa'i sbyor ba

212. T yis: gñis med (advam̐dva) for dvam̐da.
 213. A gsañ śnags (guhyamantram̐).
 214. B siddhya.
 215. C sanmasair.
 216. B kramam̐ (sic).
 217. C -sūryyayo.
 218. C bhāvayet.
 219. C niścaya.
 220. B omits 'bhyate // yoginī' etc. up to and in-
 cluding 'kula' (l20b3).
 221. T brgyud pa'i gnas kyi rim pa dan /: instead of
 sarvān brgyud pa'i.
 222. C sapradayan.
 223. AT omit iti śrī; C -abhidhānottarottarā.
 224. BD -saṃpradāpatalam; C -sapradāyā-.
 225. A pañcaviṃśatimaḥ (sic); C ekaviṃśatitamaḥ; BD
 trayoviṃśatitamaḥ; T le'u...ñi śu rtsa bñi
 pa'o.

Variant 204: The sixty deity mantras: This table lists differences concerning the syllables enclosed by the frame om...hūm phaṭ or omission of individual mantras. Column M gives the reconstructed correct syllables. 'x' means that the MS. has the same as the model, '-' indicates omission of the mantra, '2x' indicates that the mantra has been repeated twice.

Mantra No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
M	khaṃ	praṃ	maṃ	caṃ	kaṃ	praṃ	viṃ	maṃ	suṃ	viṃ	aṃ	khaṃ	vaṃ	laṃ	vaṃ
MS. A	x	x	x	x	x	aṃ	vīṃ	x	x	x	x	x	pūṃ	x	-
MS. B	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	viṃ	x	x	x	x	2x
MS. C	x	x	x	x	x	am	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
MS. D	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
T 1	x	paṃ	x	x	x	x	vaṃ	x	x	vyi	x	x	phaṃ	x	x
T 2	x	x	kaṃ	kaṃ ¹	maṃ	x	vaṃ	x	x	vi	āṃ	x	x	x	x

1 In mantra No. 4, T 2, two syllables are enclosed by the frame.

Mantra No.	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
M	draṃ	aṃ	aiṃ	vaṃ	maṃ	maṃ	vāṃ	vaṃ	suṃ	suṃ	śyaṃ	vaṃ	suṃ	maṃ	haṃ
MS. A	hraṃ	x	x	-	saṃ	x	vīṃ	x	x	saṃ	śyaṃ	x	x	x	x
MS. B	hraṃ	x	x	x	saṃ	x	vīṃ	x	x	saṃ	-	-	-	-	-
MS. C	hraṃ	x	x	x	saṃ	x	vīṃ	x	x	saṃ	śyaṃ	x	x	x	x
MS. D	hraṃ	x	x	x	saṃ	x	vīṃ	x	x	saṃ	śyaṃ	-	-	-	-
T 1	x	āṃ	ai	x	x	x	vaṃ	caṃ	x	x	śyaṃ	x	x	x	x
T 2	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	x	x	-	śvaṃ	x	x	-	-

Continuation variant 204:

Mantra No.	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45
M	viṃ	kham	maṃ	caṃ	raṃ	kham	ham	saṃ	āṃ	caṃ	heṃ	suṃ	paṃ	maṃ	vaṃ
MS. A	vīṃ	x	x	x	x	hūṃ?	x	x	x	- ¹	x	x	x	vaṃ	maṃ
MS. B	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	x	ham	x	x	-	vaṃ
MS. C	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	he	x	x	yaṃ	vaṃ
MS. D	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	x	ham	x	x	yaṃ	vaṃ
T 1	vaṃ	x	x	x	x	x	ha	so	aṃ	x	x	x	x	x	vai
T 2	vaṃ	x	x	x	x	x	hūṃ	x	aṃ	x	x	x	x	x	x

1 In this case the frame has been written, but the syllable been left out.

Mantra No.	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60
M	caṃ	vaṃ	maṃ	dāṃ	lāṃ	kham	rūṃ	kāṃ	uṃ	śvām	śūṃ	yaṃ	yaṃ	yaṃ	yaṃ
MS. A	x	2x	x	daṃ	x	x	x	x	x	śvaṃ	śūṃ	x	x	x	x
MS. B	x	x	x	trāṃ	x	x	x	x	ūṃ	śvaṃ	śūṃ	x	x	x	x
MS. C	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	śvaṃ	śūṃ	x	x	x	x
MS. D	x	x	x	trāṃ	x	x	x	x	x	x	śūṃ	x	x	x	x
T 1	x	bham	x	tāṃ	lāṃ	x	x	kāṃ	um	śvaṃ	x	x	x	x	x
T 2	x	x	x	x	lāṃ	x	x	kāṃ	x	śam	sum	x	x	x	x

XXXIX. YOGINĪLAKṢANA-PĀṬALA.

- 161b5 athānya(t) sampravakṣyāmi yoginīnām tu lakṣanam//
 162a1 yena vijñāta(m) mātrena sādhakāḥ¹ siddhim āpnu-
 yāt//
 mr̥ṇālagaurā yā nārī padmapatrāyatalocanā//
 sitavastrapriyā² nityam navacandanagandhinī//
 162a2 saugatagoṣṭhīratā³ caiva sā jñeyā⁴ kulagotrājā//
 yā nārī⁵ taptahemābhā raktapītāambarapriyā//
 162a3 jātīcampakagandhā⁶ ca sā ca rudrānugā bhavet//
 yā ca⁷ indīvaraśyāmā⁸ nīlavastrāambarapriyā⁹//
 nilotpālābhagandhā ca vīrarudrānugā hi sā//
 162a4 yā nārī puṇḍarīkadalacchavimr̥ṇālagandhā¹⁰ ca//
 satataṃ śāntavīramatī¹¹ tathā//
 raktagaurā¹² ca yā nārī raktavarṇasurūpiṇī//
 162a5 mallikotpalagandhā tu sā ca vajrakulasambhavā¹³//
 pītaśyāmā^{13b} ca yā nārī śukravarnāambarapriyā¹⁴//
 162b1 śīrīṣapūṣpagandhā¹⁵ ca sā tathāgatakulānugā//
 āraktavarṇā tu yā nārī sītavarṇāambaradhārīṇī¹⁶//
 karpūragandhā¹⁷ sātataṃ vairocanakulānugā¹⁸//
 162b2 saptaitāni¹⁹ mayuktāni yoginīnām kulāni tu//
 vāmācāragatā nityam hr̥ṣyate²⁰ svamudrāvarṇasaṃ-
 kulā²¹//
 kulavidyākṣarāṇi²² ca svavarṇāṇi²³ bhavanti hi//
 162b3 badhnāti hi svakām²⁴ vācam²⁵ vakṣyanti²⁶ sva-
 gotrajām//
 vāmena²⁷ yāti²⁸ yā nārī yoginām²⁹ vāmatas sadā³⁰//
 162b4 vācā mahat prabhāṣī³¹ ca vāmadr̥ṣyāvalokinī³²//
 strīṇām hr̥ṣṭaprabhāṣī ca samayī sa³³ vidhīyate³⁴//
 yā(m)³⁵ strīṇām prārthitaṃ kuryāt kulabījaiḥ pra-
 bhāvyate³⁶//
 162b5 kulakriyām³⁷ na tyajati³⁸ svaśāstroktam³⁹ na
 muñcati⁴⁰//
 japati⁴¹ svakulām⁴² vidyām samayī⁴³ sa⁴⁴ vidhī-
 yate⁴⁵//

- namaskāraṃ ca yo⁴⁶ baddhvā⁴⁷ vamaṅgapranataḥ⁴⁸
sadā//
- 163a1 strīnāṃ⁴⁹ sambhāṣaṇaṃ kuryāt sā bhavet⁵⁰ tasyā-
yattā⁵¹ khalu//
vamaṅguṣṭhaṃ⁵² nikhanyāt tu⁵³ bhūmi samlikhyate⁵⁴
sadā//
- 163a2 śirakaṇḍūyaṇaṃ⁵⁵ kuryāt⁵⁶ tiryagdr̥ṣṭvā⁵⁷ ca⁵⁸
pāṇinā⁵⁹ svavidyāsmaraṇaṃ tasya sādhakasya viṣaye
hi sā⁶⁰//
gaṇḍe⁶¹ vā cibuke vāpi⁶² nāsikāyāṃ kṛtāṅgulih⁶³//
- 163a3 tiryagdr̥ṣṭisakṛtmantraṃ⁶⁴ japam⁶⁵ mantraṃ⁶⁶
nirīkṣayet//
sadbhāvaṃ⁶⁷ yānti⁶⁸ yoginyaḥ⁶⁹ samayinyas ca yā(h)
khalu⁷⁰//
durlabhā⁷¹ yoginīnāṃ ca⁷² dākinīnāṃ tathaiva ca//
- 163a4 pañcāmṛtasamudbhavā yāminī trāsini⁷³ kāraṇāṇi⁷⁴
anekakāmarūpisañcālā⁷⁵ bhāsurā dākinī sapta sam-
hṛtāḥ⁷⁶// svalakṣaṇam ihocyate//
- 163a5 rūpikā⁷⁷ cumbikā lāmā parāvṛtā savālikā⁷⁸//
anivartikā⁷⁹ ehikīdevī dakinyaḥ saptadhāsmṛtāḥ//
- 163b1 aviraktaṃ nirīkṣed⁸⁰ yā bhrūbhaṅgaṃ⁸¹ karoti⁸² ca//
rūpasamharatā⁸³ prāptā⁸⁴ paścān⁸⁵ nyāsaṃ⁸⁶ karoti
ca//
sahati jalpate rudatyakasmād⁸⁷ vā prakupyate⁸⁸//
- 163b2 ehikā sā smṛtā devī prahasitavadanā⁸⁹ nityaṃ⁹⁰
saugatagoṣṭīprabhāsinī⁹¹ sā ca vajrakulā smṛtā⁹²//
rūpikā śāntā⁹³ tu⁹⁴ vijñeyā⁹⁵ vīrādvayasevitā⁹⁶//
- 163b3 iṣṭaṃ vā yadi vāniṣṭaṃ⁹⁷ śīśum ālambya śikhe cum-
bati//
cumbikā sā tu vijñeyā dākinī ādyavāsani⁹⁸//
- 163b4 tiryagdr̥ṣṭibhr̥kuṭīvaktrā bhruvakṣepais⁹⁹ tarjayan-
tīhānyathā¹⁰⁰//
viśvāsabhairavā¹⁰¹ yasyā uktam¹⁰² lāmā(m) vinir-
diśet//
vārāha ṛkṣo¹⁰³ mārjālāḥ¹⁰⁴ śṛgālājā¹⁰⁵ śivā-

- hayā¹⁰⁶//
 163b5 sarvān taṇ¹⁰⁷ trāsayet tataḥ parāvṛttā hi sā
 smṛtāḥ¹⁰⁸//
 prahr̥ṣtā saḥate¹⁰⁹ yā tu gatā bhūyo na nivar-
 tate//
 164a1 anuraktā saḥate¹¹⁰ spaṣṭam¹¹¹ sā matā khanda-
 rohikā//
 manodvignā karenātha¹¹² loṣṭeṇa varaṇeṇa¹¹³ vā
 paṭānte vārukāṣṭeṇa vā¹¹⁴ tayā spr̥ṣto na jīvati//
 164a2 anivartyā¹¹⁵ vijānīyād¹¹⁶ asadhyā¹¹⁷ sā hi kīr-
 titā¹¹⁸//
 ḍākinīnām kulānīha virah sādhanam¹¹⁹ tu lakṣayet//
 kapāla(m) paraśú(r) daṁṣṭrā¹²⁰//
 164a3 khadga(h) santrāsanī¹²¹ caiva kulamudrā pra-
 kirtitā//
 iti śrīabhidhānottarottare yoginīlakṣanapaṭala
 ūnatrimśaṭamah¹²²//

Chapter XXXIX: Variant Readings.

Concordance:

MS. A	Folios 129-132 including Ch. XXXVI (cf. MS. C) are missing.
MS. B	592a2-593a1 (Ch. XXXVIII).
MS. C	137b1-139b1 (Ch. XXXVI).
MS. D	161b5-185b1 (Ch. XXXVIII).
T 1	183b6-185a1, p. 75-4-6/ p. 76-2-1 (Ch. XXXIX).
T 2	180a4-182a1 (Ch. XXXIX).
Śū.	249b4-251a8, p. 306-1-4/ p. 306-4-8 (Ch. XXXIX).

Variants:

1. C sādḥaka.
2. B sitacandrapriyā; C -priyo.
3. C -gostiratā.
4. BCD jñeyo.
5. C ṇārī (sic).
6. C jāti-; T jāti-.
7. T thams cad (sarvā).
8. D indrīvarasyāmā; B inīvarasyāmā.
9. C nīlavastrābalapriyā; T dri dañ gos ni sño la dga': dri added.
10. C puṇḍalikadalachavimṇāra-.
11. B matis; D -mati.
12. BD -gauro.
13. C -kusambhavā.
- 13b.BCD -syāmā.
14. C śuklavarṇḍāsbara-.
15. B nilotpālābhagagandhā; C sirīṣa-.
16. C -varṇābara-.
17. BD kapūra-.
18. BD -kulonugā.
19. T 1 de ltar 'bad 'dus has bśad pa / : 'bad 'dus for saptaitāni; (T 2 like Skt. de ltar bdun po etc.)

20. BCD hyete(?), cf. T gyon pa'i kun spyod la rtag
dga': dga' suggests hr̥syate.
21. T omits mudrā, for saṃkula it has rigs drug
(ṣaṭkulā).
22. D -ākṣayāni.
23. D suvarṇāni; T kha dog drug (saḍvarṇāni).
24. C svakā; T ran gi phyag rgya (svamudrām).
25. B vāca.
26. C vakyanti.
27. vāmena etc. up to and including na tyajati
equals the passage in Ch. IX of the ST verses
7f. and 9a. Differences in the text of the
ST are included in the list of variants, nos.
28-37.
28. BD yāmti.
29. BCD yoginām; (ST) dākinī (variant: dākinyā).
30. C vāmata; (ST) vāmataḥ.
31. T instead of vacā mahat prabhāṣī: lag pa gyon gis
mtshon pa dan (= ST: vāma hasta prabhāṣī, but
the Tibetan translation of ST has 'skad ni chen
pos rab tu smra' = our Skt. text!).
32. BD vama-; (ST) vāmaṃ dṛṣtvāvalokinī.
33. BCD sā; (ST) sa (variants: so, sā).
34. CD vidhiyate.
35. (ST) omits yā(m).
36. T rab tu smra (prabhāṣate); (ST) prabhāṣate.
37. C -kṛyām.
38. BD tyajeti; C tejanti.
39. C svasāstroktam.
40. B mucati.
41. BD japeti.
42. C svakulā.
43. B samayīm; D samayām.
44. BCD sā.
45. C vidhīyete.

46. BD yā.
47. CD bandhā; B badhvā; T 'chiñ ba (baddhvā?).
48. C pranata.
49. BC strīnā; T lha mo rnams dan̄.
50. C bhāve.
51. C -yathā.
52. BD -aṃguṣṭe; C aguṣṭe; T mthe boñ gyon pas (aṃ-guṣṭena).
53. BD nikhanyātu; C nirṣanyā; T omits nikhanyāt tu.
54. C saṃlikheta; T rkañ pas ri mo 'dri byed ciñ: rkañ pas added.
55. śirakaṇḍūyaṇaṃ etc. up to and including ca yā khalu equals the passage in Ch. IX of the ST verses 9b, 10. Differences in the text of the ST are included in the list of variants, nos. 55-70.
- C sirakaṇṭhayaṇaṃ; (ST) śiraḥ-, (variant śira-), (variant -kaṇḍūyaṇaṃ).
56. C kuryā.
57. BCD tiryagdr̥ṣṭvā; (ST) has svaśīro instead of tiryagdr̥ṣṭvā.
58. (ST) vāma for ca (or actually for '-vā ca' which is graphically similar).
59. C pāninā.
60. C hī sām; (ST) hitaḥ (variant hitā).
61. C gaṇḍai.
62. C nāpi.
63. C -āṅgulī.
64. (ST) tiryagdr̥ṣṭiḥ sadākāle.
65. (ST) has no equivalent for japaṃ.
66. C vidyām; T rigs (prob. intended rig = vidyā); (ST) svavidyāñ ca.
67. B saṃbhāvaṃ; D satbhāvaṃ.
68. C yāmti.
69. BCD yoginya; ((ST) yoginyaḥ).

70. (ST) samayinyah khalu durlabhāḥ.
71. BCD durbhagā; T rñed dka' (durlabhā); cf. durlabhāḥ in (ST) note 70.
72. C yoginīnān tu.
73. C trasanī.
74. B kānani; C kātani; D kārananī.
75. B anekakama-.
76. C sahr̥ta. The complete passage with the names in T runs as follows: yamini dañ skrag byed ma/ 'dod ldan phag mo 'jigs gzug ma/ kun tu spyod pa basura rnal 'byor ma ni rnam par bdun/ mdor bsdus (rañ mtshan bsad pa yin)/. Phag mo (vā-rāhī) does not occur in the Skt., for dākinī T has rnal 'byor ma (yoginī).
77. C rūpikām, this MS. writes all the following names in this list with anusvāra.
78. C sagalikām.
79. C anivṛtikām.
80. C nirikṣad; D nirīkṣad.
81. BC bhrūbhaṅgām.
82. T gar byed cin added (smin ma 'deggs par gar byed cin/).
83. B rūpasamharato; C rūpaṃ samhatā; D rūpasaharato;
T sñon bñin gzugs ni sduḍ byed la/ : sñon bñin added.
84. BCD prāpta.
85. BD paścan; C pañcāt.
86. BD nyāsa.
87. BCD rudati akasmād.
88. BD vācyā kupyate for vā prakupyate (graphically similar); T omits this line.
89. C prahasitaṃ-.
90. D nitya.
91. C sogata-.
92. BD smṛtāḥ; T omits this line.

93. BCD śānta.
94. C omits tu.
95. C vijñayā.
96. C syavitam.
97. B vā nityam.
98. BCD adyanāsanī; T mchog kyañ de ñid yin.
99. CD bhruvotkṣepais.
100. BD tarjayantī na anyathā; C tarjayamti na anyathā.
101. B viśvāsaubhairavā; D viśvāsaubhairavo; C visvāsabhairavo; T 'jigs par byed: viśvāsa not specifically translated.
102. BCD nāntu corrupt for uktaṃ? (T just gañ yin pa for yasyā uktaṃ).
103. BCD vārāho ṛkṣa.
104. C marjārāḥ.
105. B śṛgājā.
106. C sivāhayā, T stag dag (vyāghrāḥ).
107. B sarvaṃm traṃ; C sarvās tan; D sarvāṃm tra-trāṃm; T thams cad der (sarvān atra/ tatra).
108. BD smṛtāḥ.
109. T 1 rgod pa, T 2 dgod pa (hasate).
110. T dgod pa (hasate).
111. BCD spaṣṭa; T gsal bar (dgod pa): spaṣṭam.
112. BCD karenātha, also in the following words 'n' not cerabralized by the MSS. : loṣṭena, varaṇena, vārukāṣṭena.
113. T omits varaṇena.
114. BC omit vā.
115. C anivattyā.
116. D vijanīrya.
117. B asādhyā; CD asādhyā.
118. D kīrtitāḥ.
119. BD vīre sādina; C dākinīnām kulaniha vire sādina kulaniha vīra sādina (sic). Cf. T mkha' 'gro

- ma'i rigs phyag rgya dpa'bos bsñen ciñ mtshan
 ma blta (phyag rgya: mudrā) added.
120. BC damṣtrām.
121. C satrāsanī; T adds rdo rje dan ni duñ ñid dan.
122. B -paṭalo aṣṭatrimśatitamah; C paṭalah ṣat-
 trimśa; paṭalo aṣṭatrimśatamah. T le'u bcu
 rtsa dgu pa'o.

XL. DĀKINĪLAKṢANA-PĀṬALA.

- 164a3 {athāparam¹ pravakṣyāmi² dākininām tu lakṣanam//
/a4 yena samyagvijānīyāt dākinyah³ samaye sthitāh⁴//
raktagaurā tu yā nārī padmagandham⁵ vimuñcati//
- 164a5 saumyadrṣṭi pratyekaṃ⁶ saraktadarsānāntayā//
nakhā⁷ hi yasyā nāryāyāh samrakte⁸ nayane tathā//
- 164b1 gr̥he ca likhitam padmam padmanarte kulodbhavā⁹//
brūmadhyagataṃ trisūlam śyāmāpāṇḍarasarīraṃ¹⁰ ca//
satatam vajrakulavibhāvitam//
- 164b2 vajraṃ ca gr̥he ta yāsyā likhitam arcayet sadā//
srīherukasya kulodbhūtā jñeyā¹¹ sā vajradākinī¹²//
yasyā sūlā(m) lalāte¹³ saktis¹⁴ capi hi dr̥syate¹⁵//
- 164b3 raktākṣo gaurā ca raktā pādakarā tathā//
chāgale kurkūṭe vāpi ramantī bhāvate¹⁶ sadā//
cihna(m) tasyā gr̥he vajram^{16b} arcate satatam ta-
thā//
- 164b4 śrīherukakulodbhūtā dākinyo nātra saṃśayaḥ¹⁷//
yasyā cakram¹⁸ lalāte¹⁹ tu kare 'pi hi dr̥syate//
śyāmā²⁰ jīmūtasadr̥śā²¹ nityam lalāte²² paṭṭadhā-
rinī²³//
- 164b5 mahāsaubhāgyasampannā²⁴ sādhvī²⁵ paratarā²⁶ ca²⁷
yā//
likhitā²⁸ ca gr̥hacakram yasyā vai pūjyate sadā//
- 165a1 vajravārāhīkulodbhūtā²⁹ dākinī baladarpitā³⁰
yā ca kṛṣṇāñjanaśyāmā³¹ dasanonnatā ca yā³²//
kulā³³ ca satatam vāmā satvāyuktā³⁴ ca yā bhavet//
- 165a2 nityam³⁵ snānam³⁶ ratā³⁷ yā ca vacayā³⁸ na³⁹
bahubhasinī⁴⁰//
vajram⁴¹ gr̥he⁴² pūjyate satatam likhitam⁴³
śubham⁴⁴//
vajravārāhyā(h) kulodbhūtā sahasrāṇḍaśapañca-
kam⁴⁵//
- 165a3 gaurī kanakasankāśā⁴⁶ tathārūpīksī⁴⁷ yā ca lo-

- masā//
 yasyā lalāṭe vajraṃ kare vāpi hi⁴⁸ dr̥śyate//
 rājyārūḍhā tu nityaṃ garvitā⁴⁹ satyavādinī//
- 165a4 mallikāmodagandhinī//
 yasyā gr̥he ca vajraṃ hi satataṃ puḥjyate ma-
 haṇ⁵¹//
 khaṇḍarohākulodbhūtā mahāyogis̥varī⁵² parā//
- 165a5 māṃsapriyā⁵³ ca yā nityaṃ kṛśā^{53b} kṛṣṇāñjanaprabhā
 śūlākāraṃ⁵⁴ lalāṭe⁵⁵ tu krurakarmaratā⁵⁶ ca yā//
 śmaśānaṃ⁵⁷ jāti nityaṃ hi nirbhayā nirghaṇā⁵⁸ ca
 yā//
- 165b1 yasyā lalāṭe śūlaṃ⁵⁹ kapālaṇ⁶⁰ ca likhitaṃ
 pūḥjyate gr̥he//
 śrīherukadevasya ḍākinī sā kulodbhavā//
- 165b2 jīmūtavarnā⁶² yā nārī daśanair⁶³ viṣanaiḥ⁶⁴
 sthitāḥ⁶⁵//
 satataṃ⁶⁶ krūrakarmā⁶⁷ vāmadam̐strotkaṭā⁶⁸ yā
 likhitaṃ⁶⁹ paraśu yasyā gr̥he nityaṇ⁷⁰ ca pūḥjyate//
- 165b3 vināyakasya kulodbhūta⁷¹ ḍākinī sā na saṃśayaḥ//
 etad⁷² ḍākinīgaṇasya herukasya guṇodbhavāṃ⁷³//
 sādhakānāṃ hitārthāya lakṣaṇaṃ samudāhṛtaṃ⁷⁴//
- 165b4 iti śrīabhidhānottarottare⁷⁵ ḍākinīlakṣanapaṭala(h)
 catvāriṃśattamaḥ⁷⁶//

Chapter XL: Variant Readings.

Concordance:

- MS. A beginning missing, text begins on leaf 133a
 (= MS. D 164b2 '-kinī etc.'). Chapter ends:
 133b6 (Ch. XXXVII).
 MS. B 593a1-593b3 (Ch. XXXIX).
 MS. C 139b1-140b5 (Ch. XXXVII).
 MS. D 164a3-165b4 (Ch. XXXIX).
 T 1 185a1-185b6, p. 76-2-1/ p. 76-3-6 (Ch.XL).
 T 2 182a1-183a5 (Ch. XL).
 Śū. 251a8-252a3, p. 306-4-8/ p. 307-1-3 (Ch.XL).

Variants:

1. C athāta.
2. C sampravakṣāmi.
3. T mkha' 'gro'i (dākinyāḥ).
4. BC samaye sthitā; D samayasthitāḥ.
5. BCD -gandhe.
6. B pratyaiḥ; C pratyaiḥ; T rañ b'zin.
7. T sen mo dmar (tāmranakhā).
8. C sarakte.
9. C -nartakulodbhavā.
10. BCD syāmā ā-; B -pāṇḍalaśarirañ; C -paṇḍarāsarīrañ;
 D -pāṇḍalaśarira.
11. BD jñayā.
12. text of A is available from 'kinī //' etc. on.
13. AC lalāṭena; B lalāṭana; T dṛal bar: lalāṭe.
14. T mduñ thuñ dag: thuñ added.
15. C drsyate.
16. A ramate bhāvite; BD ramate bhāvita; C marate
 bhāvite; T dgar 'gyur zin.
- 16b. ABCD vajraṃ.
17. C saṃsaye.
18. BCD vajra; (T 'khor lo).

19. B lalāṭa.
20. ABCD syāmā.
21. AC jīmutra.
22. B lalāṭa.
23. A pahya-; C -dhāriṇīm.
24. C sapannā.
25. C sārthi, T 2 brtog pa (T 1 bden pa).
26. ABCD paratarās.
27. A cā.
28. C likhita.
29. C -vārāhikulodbhūtvā.
30. B ṭarppitā.
31. A -syāmitra; BCD -syāmā.
32. BC sā.
33. A krurā; T omits kulā.
34. A satvayutā.
35. C nitya.
36. A snāṇnam.
37. A rata.
38. B vacasā.
39. A na ca.
40. ABC bhāṣiṇīm.
41. BD vajra.
42. AC gr̥ha.
43. C liṣitaṃ.
44. A subhaṃ.
45. A -dasa-.
46. ACD -saṃkāśā; B kanasaṃkāśā.
47. A -rūṅṣī; C -rūpikṣī; T mig mi gyon suggests arūpikṣī.
48. A omits hi.
49. ABD garbhitā; C garbhimā; T sñems zin (garvitā).
50. T adds 'dri zin (likhitvā).
51. A mahan.
52. T omits mahā.

53. C saṃsa-.
- 53b. ABCD kṛṣā; cf. T skem pa: kṛśa.
54. A -kāra-.
55. A lalāṭā; BD lalāṭan; C lalāṭa.
56. C kula-.
57. A smasānaṃ.
58. C nirghanā; D nirghaṇā.
59. A sūlaṃ; T thig le.
60. BD kapāla.
61. A lita (sic).
62. A jimurtta-.
63. A dasanair; B daśanaiḥ.
64. A visamaiḥ; C viṣamaiḥ; B omits viṣanaiḥ.
65. C sthitā.
66. A satata.
67. BCD kula-; T gdug- (krūra).
68. BCD -kaṭa.
69. C liṣitaṃ.
70. A nitya.
71. A vināyakajalod (?) bhūtā.
72. ABCD etat.
73. B heruka guṇodbhavāṃ.
74. B -hṛtaḥ; C hṛta.
75. AT omit iti śrī; A just abhidhānottare.
76. A -paṭalaḥ saptatṛiṃśatamaḥ; BD unatṛiṃśatita-
maḥ (wrong for ūnecatvāriṃśattamaḥ; C paṭalaḥ
saptatṛiśattamaḥ; T le'u ste b'zi bcu pa'o.

XLI. LĀMĀLAKṢANA-PĀṬALA.

- 165b4 atah¹ param pravakṣyāmi² lāmānām³ tu lakṣaṇam⁴
 165b5 samyagāṅgācayaṇ ca//
 sādhaḥ⁵ mukhaṁ yasyām⁶ tu dr̥ṣyate parimaṇḍalam//
 vaktre smaśruṇi⁹ nityam¹⁰ bhrūvo(r)¹¹ dīrgasya
 romasā//
- 166a1 suvastrā¹² sucisūmyā ca akṣobhyā¹³ satyavādinī//
 saddharmaratā¹⁴ nityam vīrabhagin(ī)¹⁵ tu sā
 jñeyā¹⁶//
 padmamudrā pradātavyā kūrmaṁ mudrātha vā punaḥ¹⁷//
- 166a2 ajinaṁ¹⁸ kaṁḍalum¹⁹ caiva pratimudrā vidhī-
 yate²⁰//
 daśami²¹ parvaṇī tasyāḥ padmaṇ ca likhitam²²
 gr̥he//
 striyānām tu lāmānām²³ etad bhavati lakṣaṇam//
- 166a3 lambauṣṭhī²⁴ ca viśālākṣī²⁵ raktapiṅgala-locanā//
 ādyā subhagā dhanyā gaurī campakasannibhā²⁶//
- 166a4 dīrghādīrghakarālā ca vicitravasanapriyā//
 tiśro²⁷ rekhā²⁸ lalāṭe ca²⁹ ūrdhasīmāntam³⁰
 āśritā³¹//
 hasate ramate caiva mārgam ākramya³² tiṣṭhati//
- 166a5 saṁgrāme mṛtakārāṇ³³ ca kathām³⁴ suramate³⁵ sadā//
 īdr̥śīm³⁶ pramadām dr̥ṣtvā sūlamudrā(m)³⁷ pradā-
 payet//
 ākuñcitam³⁸ vāmapādam nr̥tyaṇ³⁹ caiva pradarsā-
 yet⁴⁰//
- 166b1 parivartanaṇ ca vāmeṇa pratimudrā vidhīyate//
 caturdaśī⁴¹ cāṣṭhamī ca parva⁴² tasyā vidhīyate//
 pūjāṇ ca satatam tasyā sūlam⁴³ vā likhitam⁴⁴
 gr̥he//
- 166b2 lokeśvarīṇām⁴⁵ tu lāmānām⁴⁶ etad bhavati⁴⁷ lakṣa-
 ṇam//
 nityam⁴⁸ hi kūpako yasyā dr̥ṣyate⁴⁹ gaṇḍasaṁsthi-
 tau⁵⁰//

- 166b3 raktagaurā tathā nityaṃ raktapiṅgalalocanā⁵¹//
 kuñcitās⁵² ca tathā keśā(h) paṭṭabaddhaṃ śire⁵³
 tathā//
 lalāṭe⁵⁴ drśyate caiva ekarekhā⁵⁵ pratiṣṭhitā⁵⁶
 166b4 dīrghagrīva⁵⁷ tathā cordhā⁵⁸ raktavastrapriyā⁵⁹
 sadā//
 hasate⁶⁰ gāyate⁶¹ caiva akasmāc ca prakupyate//
 calacittā viśeṣeṇa⁶² kalaheṣu ca rañkṣyate⁶³//
 166b5 īdrśīm⁶⁴ pramadām⁶⁵ drṣṭvā saktimudrāṃ pradāpa-
 yet⁶⁶//
 ghaṇṭāmudrā pradātavyā dvitīyā caiva yatnataḥ//
 parivartanaṃ⁶⁷ tu vameṇa pratimudrā vidhīyate⁶⁸//
 167a1 hrasvā caiva sthūlajaṅghā ca pītavastrapriyā
 nityaṃ skandhavastrāḷambinī⁷⁰//
 īdrśīm⁷¹ pramadām⁷² drṣṭvā cakramudrāṃ⁷³ pradā-
 payet//
 167a2 śaṅkhamudrā⁷⁴ pradātavyā dvitīyā caiva yatnataḥ//
 parivartanaṃ caiva⁷⁵ vāmeṇa pratimudrā⁷⁶ vidhī-
 yate⁷⁷//
 caturdaśī⁷⁸ parvaṇī⁷⁹ tasyā vajraṃ⁸⁰ ca likhitam⁸¹
 grhe//
 167a3 śrīherukīnām⁸² ca lāmanām⁸³ etad⁸⁴ bhavati lakṣa-
 nam⁸⁵//
 romasā⁸⁶ sarvagātreṣu⁸⁷ kṛṣṇapiṅgalalocanā//
 karālavikṛtā ghorā sthūlāsyā⁸⁸ sthūlavaktrajā⁸⁹//
 167a4 lambosṭhī kṛṣṇavarṇā ca koṭarāksī bhagnanāsikā//
 nṛtyagandharvakusālā⁹⁰ meghavarṇā manoharā//
 167a5 īdrśīm⁹¹ pramadām⁹² drṣṭvā⁹³ nāgamudrāṃ⁹⁴ pradā-
 payet//
 śaktimudrā⁹⁵ pradātavyā⁹⁶ dvitīyāpi⁹⁷ hi yatnataḥ//
 parvartanaṃ ca⁹⁸ vāmeṇa pratimudrā vidhīyate⁹⁹
 167b1 ekādaśī¹⁰⁰ parvaṇī¹⁰¹ tasyā¹⁰² daṁṣṭrā¹⁰³ ca li-
 khitā grhe//
 vārāhīnām¹⁰⁴ tu lāmanām etad bhavati lakṣanam//

iti śrīabhidhānottarottare¹⁰⁵ lāmālakṣaṇapaṭala¹⁰⁶
 167b2 ekacatvāriṃśatamaḥ¹⁰⁷//

Chapter XLI: Variant Readings.

Concordance:

- MS. A 134a1-135a5 (Ch. XXXVIII).
 MS. B 593b3-594a6 (Ch. XL).
 MS. C 140b5-142a5 (Ch. XXXVIII).
 MS. D 165b4-167b2 (Ch. XL).
 T 1 185b6-186b4 (Ch. XLI).
 T 2 183a5-184b2 (Ch. XLI).
 Śū. 252a3-253a2, p. 307-1-3/ p. 307-3-2.

Variants:

1. C ata.
2. C pravakṣāmi.
3. AC lāmānā.
4. T mtśhan űid kyi ni khyad par (lakṣanaviśeśam).
5. T sgrub pa po yis...śes bya ba (sādhakena jñeyam).
6. B yasyā.
7. C drṣyate.
8. A -maṇḍala.
9. C śruni (sma omitted).
10. A nitya.
11. A bhruve.
12. BD suvaktrā; (T gos bzan: suvastrā).
13. A akṣobhyāh.
14. BCD saddharmañ ca.
15. AB -yam; CD -yas.
16. D jñayā.
17. AC yataḥ.
18. C ajitaṃ.
19. T bum pa lce blugs (corrupt for bum pa spyi blugs?).
20. C vidhiyate.
21. A dasami.

22. C liṣitaṃ.
23. BCD lāmānāṃ.
24. A lamboṣṭhī; C lamboṣṭhi.
25. AC visālākṣī.
26. AC sānnibhāḥ.
27. A triso; BCD trisro.
28. BD lekhā; C leṣā.
29. A vā.
30. A simāta.
31. A āsitā; C āsritā.
32. C ākrasya; T gnod ciñ.
33. A nṛtānāṃ.
34. ABC kathā.
35. A suramatā.
36. CD idrśīm.
37. ABCD sūla-.
38. B ākumcitāṃ; CD akucitāṃ.
39. T bdaḡ ñid (ātmanam).
40. CD pradarsāyat.
41. A caturddhasī; C -dasī.
42. BD parvan.
43. A sūlam; BD sūlaṃ; C sūla; T rtse gsum (trisūla).
44. C liṣitaṃ.
45. C lokeśvarī.
46. ABCD lāmānāṃ.
47. D bhati.
48. A nitya.
49. C drsyate.
50. C -sasthitau.
51. A hata-; T ljañ ser (haritapiṅgala).
52. C kuñcitā.
53. A paṭṭabaṭṭambaddham; AC sire; T mgo dañ dpral
bar (śire ca lalāṭe).
54. T omits lalāṭe.
55. C -lekhā.

56. BCD -ṣṭhitāḥ.
 57. C dīrghaghrīrvā.
 58. T omits cordhā.
 59. B raktavāsapriyā; D -vamtra-.
 60. C sahate.
 61. A gāte.
 62. B viṣeṣana; C viṣyeṣena.
 63. A rakṣate; BD vakṣyate; C raṅkṣyate (raṅkṣyate);
 T dga' ba ste (raṅkṣyate/vāṅkṣate).
 64. C idrṣīm.
 65. A pradamadām; C pramadā.
 66. CD pradāpayate.
 67. C parivarttena.
 68. C vidhiyate.
 69. A omits pīta.
 70. C -āvalambini; T 1 corrupt: phrag ma dag na gos
 kyaṅ 'chaṅ (T 2 correct: phrag dag na kyaṅ
 'phyāṅ).
 71. ABD Tdrśī; C idrśī.
 72. T bud med.
 73. BCD -mudrā; T rdo rje phyag rgya (vajramudrām).
 74. A saṅkhamudrām; BCD khadgamudrām; C khadgamudrā;
 T ḍuṅ gi phyag rgya (śaṅkha-).
 75. A ca vā.
 76. ABD -mudrām.
 77. C vidhiyate.
 78. A caturddhasī; C catudarśī.
 79. AC parvanī.
 80. C vajra.
 81. C liṣitaṃ.
 82. T śri heruka (transcribed).
 83. ABCD lāmanāmm.
 84. BC atad.
 85. C kṣaṇaṃ.

86. ABCD lomayā; T spu (romasā).
 87. B sarvasāstreṣu.
 88. T sbom zin (sthūlā); (the 'sthūlāsyā' is translated as 'bzin (T l bzi) phel che).
 89. A vaktragāḥ; BCD -jāḥ.
 90. T rtag tu glu ni mkhas pa dañ: for nr̥tya rtag tu (nityaṃ) and for gandharva glu (gīta).
 91. A idṛśīṃcidṛśī.
 92. C pramdā.
 93. C dṛṣṭa.
 94. C -mudrā.
 95. A saktimudrā.
 96. A dātavyā.
 97. C dvitīyāpi.
 98. CD paripūrṇavarttanañ ca.
 99. C vidhiyate.
 100. A ekadasī.
 101. A parvāṇī; C parvani.
 102. ABCD tāsyaṃ.
 103. B daṣṭrā.
 104. ABCD vārāhī (cf. 166a2, 166b2, 167a3: the same grammatical pattern should be followed here).
 105. AT omit iti śrī.
 106. AC -lakṣaṇaṃ paṭalo; B -paṭalās; D -paṭalas.
 107. A aṣṭatṛiṃśatmaḥ; BD catvāriṃśatamaḥ; C aṣṭa-triśatitamaḥ; T le'u ste bzi bcu gcig pa'o.

XLII. ĀṄGAMUDRĀLAKṢAṆA-PĀṬALA.

- 167b2 athāparam pravakṣyāmi ḍakinīnām tu cchomakam¹//
 yena vijñāyate² samyag bhrātā³ ca bhaginī tathā//
- 167b3 1. vāmahastam⁴ darśayed⁵ yā tu⁶ abhivādayāmītyuk-
 tam⁷ bhavati//
 2. anāmikam darśayed⁸ yā tu pratyabhivādanam
 ityuktam bhavati//
- 167b4 3. udaram tāḍayed yā¹⁰ tu bubhuṁṣitā vayam ityuk-
 tam bhavati//
 4. lalātam darśayed¹¹ yā tu ākāsād āgatam iti//
- 167b5 5. mukha¹² aṅgulim prakṣiped¹³ yā tu bhuktam¹⁴
 ityuktam¹⁶ bhavati//
 6. jihvā(m) lalāpayed¹⁵ yā tu bhuñjamītyuktam¹⁶
 bhavati//
 7. jānum¹⁷ sprṣed¹⁸ yā tu śrāntāsmītyuktam¹⁹
 bhavati//
- 168a1 8. aṅgulyagre²⁰ sprṣate²¹ yā tu viśrāntāsmītyuk-
 tam²² bhavati//
 9. dantān kitakīṭāyate²³ yā²⁴ tu maṁsa(m) bhakṣa-
 yāmītyutktam²⁵ bhavati//
- 168a2 10. dakṣiṇahastam darśayed²⁶ yā tu-r-evam kuruṣve-
 tyuktam²⁷ bhavati²⁸//
 11. garuḍam²⁹ darśayed yā tu mukto 'smītyuktam³⁰
 bhavati//
- 168a3 12. muṣṭim³¹ pradarsāyed³² yā tu paṭisam³³
 tasyāḥ³⁴ pradarsāyed//
 13. keśān³⁵ darśayed yā tu vikṛtaṁ³⁶ ca nirīkṣa-
 yet³⁶//
 khatvāṅgam tasyāḥ pradarsāyet//
- 168a4 14. aṅgam vidhūnate yā tu vivṛddhadamṣtrān³⁷ pra-
 darsāyet//
 15. haste hasta(m) vādayed yā tu bali(r) bhok-
 tavya-m-ityuktam bhavati//
- 168a5 16. dakṣiṇahastam darśayed³⁸ yā tu evam³⁹ kuru-

- śvetyuktaṃ⁴⁰ bhavati⁴¹//
 17. karnaṃ⁴² ca sprśate⁴³ yā tu vasitavyam⁴⁴
 ityuktaṃ bhavati//
 18. nakhair⁴⁵ nakhaṃ sprśate⁴⁶ yā tu mṛtyo(r)⁴⁷
 niyata-m-ityuktaṃ bhavati⁴⁸//
 168b1 19. bhūmi saṃlikhate yā tu adya maṇḍalaṃ praviśyā-
 mītyuktaṃ⁴⁹ bhavati//
 20. cibukaṃ⁵⁰ sprśate⁵¹ yā tu putro⁵² me rakṣi-
 tavya-m-ityuktaṃ bhavati//
 168b2 21. vāmāṅguṣṭheṇa⁵³ bhūmi⁵⁴ vilikhyate⁵⁵ yā tu
 gurujano⁵⁶ me rakṣatītyuktaṃ bhavati//
 168b3 22. akṣiṇī⁵⁷ mīlate yā tu evaṃ kuruṣvetyuktaṃ
 bhavati//
 23. parvāṇi lekhyed yā tu sukhasamanam ityuktaṃ
 bhavati//
 168b4 yāni kānicid⁵⁸ dūtīnaṃ⁵⁹ tāṃ sarvāṃ samāharet//
 iti śrīabhidhānottarottare⁶⁰ chomāṅgamudrālakṣaṇa-
 paṭalo⁶¹ dvācatvāriṃśatitamah⁶²//

Chapter XLII: Variant Readings.

Concordance:

- MS. A 135a5-135b6. Folio 136 with end of chapter is missing (= MS. D 168a5ff. 'ti // bhūmi' etc. ff.) (Ch. XXXVIII).
- MS. B 594a6-594b6 (Ch. XLI).
- MS. C 142a5-143b1 (Ch. XXXVIII)
- MS. D 167b2-168b4 (Ch. XLI).
- T 1 186b4-187a4, p. 76-5-4/ p. 77-1-4 (Ch. XLII).
- T 2 184b2-185a6 (Ch. XLII).
- Śū. 253a2-a6, p. 301-3-2/ 301-3-6 (Ch. XLII).

Variants:

1. ABD (c)chommakam; C (c)chomaka.
2. C vijñāyata.
3. A bhātrā.
4. C -haste.
5. AC darsāyet.
6. C omits tu.
7. BD -vādayamī-; C -vādayāmi-.
8. C darsāyad.
9. D yām.
10. D yām.
11. C darsāyad.
12. A omits mukha; CD mukhe.
13. B pradarsāyed; D prakṣidarsāyed.
14. ABD bhuktim.
15. BD lalāṭayed.
16. BCD -ityuktaṃ.
17. AC jānu.
18. A spr̥set; C spr̥śet.
19. A sratosmī; B śrantesmi; C śrotosmi; D śronte.
20. A -āgre; BD -āgra.

21. A spr̥sate; BD spr̥sete.
22. A visrantosmi; BD visr̥āsmī; C visratosmī.
23. A kit̥ikiṭāyate; B kit̥akit̥oyate; C kitakit̥āyate;
(T 'cha' byed pa).
24. A yā mā.
25. ABD -bhaksayāmi-; C bhakṣayayāmi.
26. C darśayet.
27. BD kuruṣvaity-.
28. T adds: gañ zig khrog gñer ston pa ni/ bcins so
zés ni smra ba yi//.
29. BD garuda.
30. B muktosmity-; C muktomity-; D muktosmity-.
31. C muṣṭīm.
32. C pradarśayad.
33. B kaṭṭisan; C paṭṭīsam; D paṭṭisan.
34. A tasyā.
35. A keśāṇi; C keśā-.
36. C nirikṣayet.
37. AB viddhi-; C vidhi-; D vidviddhi-; A -damṣṭrā;
T just mche ba (damṣṭrān).
38. A darśad.
39. A eva.
40. D kuṣvety-.
41. B omits this line.
42. A omits ca; B tu.
43. A spr̥sate.
44. BCD vasatavyam.
45. A nakhai.
46. A spr̥sate.
47. BD nr̥tyo.
48. A rest of chapter missing.
49. C praviśyātītyuktaṃ.
50. BCD cibukām; T nu ma (stana).
51. BC spr̥sata.
52. B putrā.

53. B -āṅguṣṭhakhakhena; C vāmāgvaṣena; D vāmāṅguṣṭhagvakhena.
54. C bhumim.
55. C viliṣete.
56. T for guru: baru (wrong transcription?).
57. C akṣaṇī.
58. C kānicit.
59. BD dūtītānām.
60. T omits śrī.
61. BD omit chomā; BCD -paṭala.
62. C ekonnacatvarimśatamah; BD ekācatvārimśatitamah; T b'zi bcu rtsa gñis pa'o.

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Press, New York and London 1974.

Book-Abbreviations used:

BHSG/D	Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar/ Dictionary by F. Edgerton.
BT	The Buddhist Tantras by A Wayman.
CMT	Caṇḍamahāroṣana-Tantra ed./transl. by C.George.
CT	Shrīchakrasambhāra Tantra, edited and trans- lated by Kazi Dawa Samdup (if not otherwise specified the reference is to the Tibetan text).
FBT	Fundamentals of Buddhist Tantras by Mkhas grub rje, translated & edited by Lessing- Wayman.
HT	Hevajra-Tantra, Vol. 1 and 2. The volumes are only indicated separately if there is a re- ference to Snellgrove's introduction in Vol. 1. Translated and edited by Snellgrove.
IT III	Indo Tibetica, Vol. III, Parte II by G. Tucci.
ITB	Introduction à l'Iconographie du Tāntrisme Bouddhique by M. Th. de Mallmann.
M	Meisezahl, Die Göttin Vārāhī (alternative abbreviation: Meisezahl, Vārāhī).
MW	Monier Williams Dictionary.
NSP	Niṣpannayogāvali by Abhayākaragupta. Edited by B. Bhattacharyya.
SM	Sādhanaṁālā Vol. II, edited by B. Bhatta- charyya.
ST	Samvarodaya-tantra, selected chapters trans- lated by S. Tsuda.
YGT	Yoga of the Guhyasamāja-tantra by A. Wayman.