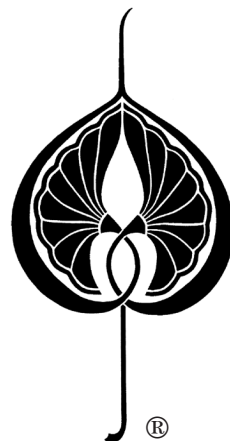


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The Buddhist Sanskrit Tantras: “The *Samādhī* of the Plowed Row”

James F. Hartzell

Center for Mind/Brain Sciences (CIMEC)

University of Trento, Italy

ABSTRACT

This paper presents a discussion of the Buddhist Sanskrit tantras that existed prior to or contemporaneous with the systematic translation of this material into Tibetan. I have searched through the Tohoku University Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist canon for the names of authors and translators of the major Buddhist tantric works. With authors, and occasionally with translators, I have where appropriate converted the Tibetan names back to their Sanskrit originals. I then matched these names with the information Jean Naudou has uncovered, giving approximate, and sometimes specific, dates for the various authors and translators. With this information in hand, I matched the data to the translations I have made (for the first time) of extracts from Buddhist tantras surviving in H. P. Śāstrī's catalogues of Sanskrit manuscripts in the Durbar Library of Nepal, and in the Asiatic Society of Bengal's library in Calcutta, with some supplemental material from the manuscript collections in England at Oxford, Cambridge, and the India Office Library. The result of this research technique is a preliminary picture of the “currency” of various Buddhist Sanskrit tantras in the eighth to eleventh centuries in India as this material gained popularity, was absorbed into the Buddhist canon, commented upon, and translated into Tibetan. I completed this work in 1996, and have not had the opportunity or means to update it since.

PREFACE

Mahāmopadhyāya Hara Prasad Śāstrī followed in the footsteps of Rajendralal Mitra in compiling the *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*. Much

of the material in these early volumes by Mitra and Śāstrī was collected from private libraries, and I understand from (the late) Prof. David Pingree that the bulk of these manuscripts may now be lost or destroyed. Śāstrī, however, completed two multi-volume catalogues, one of which is in the holdings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and one in the Durbar Library in Nepal, that contain a wealth of information on both Hindu and Buddhist tantra, and the manuscripts in these latter two catalogues have been preserved and are available to scholars today. In most instances Śāstrī included with the catalogue listing the opening verses and the colophons, sometimes with headings of major sections, some extracts from the texts, and sometimes notes on the historicity of the authors. Cecil Bendall's *Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge* also adds some information, as does the India Office Library catalogue by Ernst Windish and Julius Eggeling.

The vast majority of catalogues of Sanskrit manuscripts from Indian universities and research institutions are not “descriptive” in the same way as Śāstrī's catalogues, despite their titles designating them as such.¹ I did not have the opportunity to translate all of the tantric manuscript extracts in the two *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts* sets of volumes (there are hundreds of manuscripts recorded, and Mitra's classifications are often inaccurate), nor did I have the opportunity to look through all the material in the catalogues of Sanskrit tantra manuscripts held in Paris, Tokyo, and some of the other European libraries. So this essay is not intended to present complete coverage of the Buddhist Sanskrit tantric material, but what is presented here should give a good idea of the range of material in these texts, and some idea of when the texts appear to have been incorporated into the Buddhist canon in India and when the principal commentaries and *sādhanas* on these texts were originally written. Supplementing the information from the manuscript material is a fairly thorough coverage of the published translations of Buddhist Sanskrit tantras (as of 1996).

The dating information derived from the Tohoku listings of authors and Naudou's work is necessarily incomplete. Naudou's research was based on his searches through the colophons of Tibetan translations of texts by Kaśmīri Buddhists. He was not looking particularly for translations of tantras, nor did he provide dates for authors and translators who either were not either Kaśmīri or not related to Kaśmīr by virtue of having studied in Kaśmīr, or who had worked with Kaśmīris or those educated there.² Naudou's *Buddhists of Kaśmīr* is, however, the

only work I found that provides a systematic account of the dates of Buddhist tantric commentarial writers and their work with Tibetan translators, though other authors such as Giuseppe Tucci provide additional or confirmative information. Since I relied heavily on Naudou's work for dating information and the identification of various authors, and because I found his approach to be fairly consistent, reasonable, and, I think, relatively reliable, we should take a brief look at his methodology.

Naudou read through the Tibetan canonical histories of Buddhism by Tārānātha (1608 C.E.), Bu-ston (1322), Sum-pa mkhan-po (1748),³ and gZon-nu-dpal's *Blue Annals* (1478),⁴ and compared this information with "indications supplied by colophons of Tibetan translations about authors of ancient texts and their translators" in Cordier's catalogue of the Beijing edition of the *bsTan ḥgyur* and Lalou's index.⁵ Naudou developed a healthy skepticism about the reliability of some of the history of events in India by these Tibetan writers, who composed their histories several centuries later. He notes Tārānātha's own acknowledgement of being unable to write about "the appearance of the Law in Kaśmīr" due to the lack of "detailed sources" for Kaśmīri Buddhists.⁶ Naudou brought some order to this wealth of information by grounding the material in data from copperplate inscriptions, Kalhaṇa's largely reliable *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, the *Annals of Ladakh*, records of the Chinese pilgrims, chronologies of the Pāla kings and other dynasties, the records of the Mahāsiddhas, and other sources such as Al Biruni's records and archaeological records, the *Sādhanamālā*, and so on. He then worked through the confusing variety of names used for the various translators and authors in the Tibetan colophons, where the same person may sometimes be referred to by three or four different names, either with his family name, an initiation name, a shortened version of his name, a title such as Mahāpaṇḍita of Kaśmīr, etc. In many instances the surname and the initiation names are used interchangeably, as with Tailikapāda (Tilopa) for Prajñāgupta, Nādapāda (Naropa) for Yaśobhadra, and Puṇyākaragupta or Mahāvajrāsana for Puṇyaśrī. On the other hand, multiple instances of the same name, such as Nāgārjuna, can also conceal instances of a number of different people (Naudou suggests four in the case of the name Nāgārjuna), just as multiple instances of Francis in the Roman Catholic canon refer to at least three different saints.⁷ In several cases Naudou concedes defeat, saying that it is impossible to tell much about when or where a particular individual worked. On the whole I found his dating conclusions quite reasonable.

INTRODUCTION

Contemporary late twentieth-century Buddhist scholarship tended to rely on the Tibetan classification schemes and interpretations of Buddhist tantras. These classification schemes were developed over many centuries—and much debated among Tibetan tantric writers—based on the voluminous corpus of Tibetan Tantric texts directly and carefully translated from the Sanskrit originals. The sheer volume of the translated literature, and the enormity of the Tibetan commentarial literature, combined with a contemporary Tibetan Tantric tradition being actively passed on by Tibetan monks and scholars, has tended to diminish (though by no means eliminate) interest by many Indologists in studying the original Sanskrit versions of the Buddhist tantras to determine the interrelations of these texts prior to the development of the Tibetan Tantric tradition (the difficulty of mastering Sanskrit has no doubt contributed to this trend). Furthermore, the impressive command of the material on the part of Tibetan Tantric adherents and advocates can sometimes give the impression that Tibetan historiography, classifications, and interpretations have a dogmatic status, even for scholars.

Adding to the impressive bulk of the abundance of such classificatory material has been the oft-repeated argument that as part of a “living” tradition, the Tibetan Buddhists are uniquely qualified to inform about the truth of the tradition, something that cannot be gotten at by “outsiders.” This may all be true, yet it obscures the fact that a fair number of Sanskrit Buddhist tantras survive in manuscript form in India and in various European libraries, that the material these texts contain is perhaps insufficiently familiar to many Indologists, and that the Buddhist Tantric tradition grew up in the context of a developing Śaivite Tantric tradition. It appears that the surviving Sanskrit tantric texts offer some helpful adumbrations that can broaden the perspectives gained by scholarship based on the Tibetan Tantric tradition. This is only natural, since by going back to the original Sanskrit sources we can only gain in our understanding of tantra.

Since the catalogues containing manuscript extracts of Buddhist Sanskrit tantras are not that easily available (or at least were not in 1996), I’ve included transliterations of all the translated portions in the endnotes. Most of the actual *manuscripts* of these Buddhist tantras are themselves ancient, with several dating from the eleventh to twelfth centuries (identifiable by colophon dates and script styles), and others

from the thirteenth century. These early dates for the manuscripts (i.e., the fact that they may be “originals”) suggest that the material in the texts was very likely not unduly corrupted by ignorant copyists who may have misread the originals.

Furthermore, given that the manuscripts are so old, it is also very likely that later generations of redactors of these texts did not have the chance to modify the contents, consciously or unconsciously, to suit the mores of their time and culture. We know this is a real problem with more recent work on tantras. It is not uncommon to find that published editions of tantric texts in India either deliberately or “accidentally” omit the most racy or contentious portions of the text. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya frankly admitted doing so in his edition of the *Śaktisaṃgamatantra*. I also found that the one published Sanskrit edition of the *Pradīpodyotana* commentary on the *Guhyasamāja* “accidentally” omits the page that would explain a sexual yoga practice mentioned in the root text, and have found oddly coincidental missing portions of the text in the published edition of the *Śrīmālinīvijayottaratantra*, typically in the middle of discussion of sexual yoga rites.

Similarly we find that in the “living” Nepali Tantric tradition, most of the sexual and transgressive practices referred to in the older texts have been reinterpreted in strictly symbolic fashion, or have been left out altogether in more modern recensions of the text. A good example of this trend can be seen in the public *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa* worship in Nepal. The original Sanskrit tantra contains in chapter 6 a detailed and explicit section on sexual yoga practices that reads quite like a passage out of a *Kāma Śāstra* text, complete with a variety of names and descriptions of *ratibandhas* or styles of sexual coitus. It is not at all clear, though, that such sexual yogas are still practiced in Nepal.

So it may be the case that from the relatively quiescent state of the Sanskrit Buddhist tantras—many of the texts have in fact simply lain in libraries for centuries—we may be able to gain a sharper picture of the character of Buddhist tantric practice *in India, in the Sanskrit culture*, at the close of the first millennium, prior to the onslaught of the Persian invasions and the wholesale destruction of the Buddhist universities in northern India. We have the chance, as it were, to see the texts shorn of any later interpretive schemas or explanations that might tend to soften or diminish what may have been perceived as objectionable aspects of the tradition. There are some limits: for the translations from the catalogue extracts, I did not examine copies of the actual manuscripts, decipher the scripts (nor did I train on scripts), nor did I have

a chance to go through the actual texts to gain a more comprehensive picture. What I worked from here—except for the supplemental material from extant English translations of Buddhist Sanskrit tantras—are tables of contents, opening folios, closing folios and colophons, and occasional long extracts from certain portions of the texts that the cataloguers found interesting. As mentioned above, given the scope of this material, I did not have the opportunity to fully survey all catalogue listings of Buddhist tantric Sanskrit manuscripts.

1. ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF SANSKRIT BUDDHIST TANTRAS

A few of the Buddhist Sanskrit tantras have been translated into English (considerably more since 1997), though most remain in their original Sanskrit or in Tibetan translation from the early centuries of the second millennium C.E. The Central University of Tibetan Studies (formerly the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies) in Sarnath, India, under the directorship of Prof. Geshe Ngawang Samten (formerly Prof. Samdhong Rinpoche), has in recent years published Sanskrit editions of Buddhist tantric texts as part of its series of the Durlabha Bauddha Granthamālā, i.e., Rare Buddhist Texts Series of the Rare Buddhist Texts Research Project. Among these texts are the three volumes of the *Kālacakratantra* and *Vimalaprabhā* (vols. 11, 12, and 13 of this series, under Bibloteca Indo-Tibetica Series XI). I will discuss the *Kālacakratantra* and *Vimalaprabhā* in another publication).

Other texts in these series that are as yet untranslated are the *Jñānodaya Tantra* of the Yoga Tantra class, a text apparently not translated into Tibetan but that survives in Sanskrit; this is a very short text of only fourteen pages in the Sarnath edition.⁸ Another such text is the *Ḍākinijāla-saṃvara-rahasyaṃ* by Anaṅgayogī, also a short Yoga Tantra of only eleven pages in the Sarnath edition.⁹ A slightly longer text is the *Mahāmāya Tantra* restored to Sanskrit from the Tibetan translation with Ratnākara Śānti's *Guṇavatī* commentary (Rare Buddhist Texts Series, vol. 10). This is still a fairly short text of seventy-three verses, covering fifty-five relatively smallish pages in the Sarnath edition, including the commentary and the *sādhana*s.¹⁰

David Snellgrove provided the first English translation of a Buddhist tantra, the *Hevajra Tantra*, in 1959 (though he worked principally from the Tibetan in comparison with the Sanskrit). This was followed in 1971 by an unpublished Ph.D. dissertation on the *Guhyasamāja Tantra* by

Francesca Fremantle, who also provided the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts with an English translation. In 1974 Christopher George's edition and translation of the first eight chapters of the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra* was published, the same year that Shinichi Tsuda published his edition and translation of selected chapters of the *Sambarodaya Tantra*. In 1976 William Stablein completed his dissertation on the *Mahākāla Tantra* at Columbia University with a Sanskrit edition and English translation of eight of the fifty chapters of this text,¹¹ followed in 1977 by Alex Wayman's study of the *Guhyasamājatantra*; this included, however, only translations of what he referred to as the forty *Nidāna-kārikās* and a portion of the *Pradīpodyotana*. Tadeusz Skorupski provided complete Sanskrit and Tibetan editions of the *Sarvadurgati-pariśodhana Tantra* with an English translation in 1983.

Two recent doctoral dissertations on chapter 1 and chapter 2 of the *Kālacakatantra* and *Vimalaprabhā* have been done by John Newman (1986) and Vesna Wallace (1995),¹² respectively, and Vesna A. Wallace has since published two complete translations of the second and fourth chapters of the *Kālacakatantra* and *Vimalaprabhā* as part of the Tanjur Translation Initiative, Treasury of Buddhist Science series (*The Kālacakatantra: The Chapter on the Individual Together with the Vimalaprabhā* [New York: American Institute of Buddhist Studies, Columbia University, co-published with Columbia University's Center for Buddhist Studies and Tibet House US, 2004]; and *The Kālacakra Tantra: The Chapter on Sādanā Together with the Vimalaprabhā Commentary* [New York: American Institute of Buddhist Studies, Columbia University, New York Columbia University Center for Buddhist Studies and Tibet House US, 2010]). David B. Gray also completed a translation of the *Cakrasamvara Tantra* in the same series in 2007 (*The Cakrasamvara Tantra (The Discourse of Śrī Heruka) (Śrīherukābdhidhāna): A Study and Annotated Translation* [New York: American Institute of Buddhist Studies, Columbia University, New York Columbia University Center for Buddhist Studies and Tibet House US, 2007]).

2. CANONICAL CLASSIFICATIONS OF BUDDHIST TANTRAS

A large body of Buddhist Sanskrit tantras was translated into Tibetan around the turn of the first millennium C.E. The basic classification system of these Buddhist tantras as maintained in the Tibetan tradition is into the Kriya, Caryā, Yoga, and Anuttarayoga Tantras, and their

division into “father” and “mother” tantra groups.¹³ We find in the text of the *Kālacakra Tantra* that the first and third of these were also referred to as the Loka-Tantra (Kriyā-Tantra) and Lokottara-Tantra (Yoga-Tantra); the *Kālacakra* is said to transcend both of these and is called the *Tantrottara* or *Tantra-rāja*.¹⁴ Among the Anuttarayoga texts are the *Guhyasamāja*, *Cakrasaṃvara*, *Hevajra*, and *Kālacakra*—these four are perhaps the most well known of the group.

Tsukamoto, et al., in the volume on “The Buddhist Tantra” in *Descriptive Bibliography of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*, give a very helpful layout of how the Buddhist tantric texts fall into this classificatory system. The Kriyā class includes the *dhāraṇī* collections,¹⁵ and the texts of the Tathāgata-,¹⁶ Padma-,¹⁷ Vajra-,¹⁸ and Maṇi-kulas,¹⁹ and some miscellaneous texts.²⁰ These Japanese authors class both the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* and the *Siddhaikavīra-mahātantra* in the Tathāgatakula Kriyā Tantra group.²¹ Among the Padmakula Kriyātantras they class the *Kāraṇḍavyūha nāma Mahāyānasūtraratnarāja*.²² Among the Vajrakula Kriyātantras they include the *Bhūṭaḍāmara-mahātantra-rāja*.²³ The Caryātantra group includes only the *Vairocaṇa-abhisambodhi*.²⁴ The Yoga-tantra group consists of twenty-eight texts, including the *Tattvasaṃgraha*, the *Nāma-saṃgīti*, and the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana-tantra*.²⁵ They divide the Anuttarayogatantra class into five groups. Group 1, the *Upāya/Mahāyogatantra*, includes the *Guhyasamāja* and *Pañcakrama* in the *Akṣobhya-kula* and the *Māyājāla* and *Kṛṣṇa-Yamāri* in the *Vairocana-kula*.²⁶ Group 2, the *Prajñā/Yoginī-tantra*, includes in the *Heruka-kula*, the *Cakrasaṃvara*, the *Abhidhānottara*, the *Vajradāka* and the *Ḍākārṇava*, the *Saṃvarodaya*, the *Saṃpuṭodbhava*, the *Hevajra*, the *Buddhakaṇḍa*, and the *Mahāmāyā*. The *Vairocana-kula* of this group includes the *Catuṣpīṭha* and the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa*. The *Vajra-sūrya-kula* consists of the *Vajrāmṛtatantra*. The *Padmanarteśvara-kula* includes only the *Śrībhagavatyārya-tārāyāḥ Kurukullā-kalpa*. The *Paramāśva-kula* includes the *Mahākāla-tantra*. There is in the *Vajradhara-kula* something called the *Khasamā nāma Tantra* commentary, with a few other texts, including a *Śrīcaturviṃśatipīṭhatantra* in the general group.²⁷ In the *Yuganaddha-/Prajñā-Upāya-Advaya-Tantra* class we find the *Kālacakratantra*, including the *Vimalaprabhā*, the four *Sekoddeśa* texts, the *Ṣaḍaṅgayoga-tippaṇī* *Guṇabharaṇī* by Raviśrī-jñānapāda, Puṇḍarīka’s *Paramārthasevā nāma Ṣaḍdarśana-avagrācīrā-tat[ṭ]va-avalokana-sevā*, Abhayākaragupta’s *Kālacakra-avatāra*, and several other texts.²⁸

Another often-cited Buddhist tantric classification system is that of the “Neither Father nor Mother Tantras,” the “Mother Tantras,”

and the “Father Tantras.” The Neither Father nor Mother Tantras (not admitted by Tsong-kha pa), include the *Nāmasaṃgīti* and the *Kālacakra*. The Mother Tantras are divided into six *kulas* (groups, clans, or families): 1) Śākyamuni’s group, the *Sarva-buddha-saṃyoga*; 2) Heruka-Akṣobhya’s clan, the *Samvara*, *Hevajra*, *Buddhakaṭāla*, *Mahāmāya*, and *Ārali*; 3) Vairocana’s family, the *Catuṣpīṭha* and *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa*; 4) Ratnasambhava’s group, the *Vajrāmṛta*, *Padmanarteśvara*, *Lokanātha*, and *Tārā-Kurukullā*; 5) Paramāśva-Amoghasiddhi’s group, the *Namas Tāre Ekaviṃśati*, *Vajrakīlaya*, and *Mahākāla*; and 6) Vajradhara’s group, the *Yathālabdhakhasama*. The Father Tantras are divided into six *kulas*: 1) Akṣobhya’s *Guhyasamāja* and *Vajrapāṇi*, 2) Vairocana’s (*Kṛṣṇa*)-*Yamāri*, 3) The *Ratna-kula* (with no texts in the Tibetan canon), 4) The *Padma-kula* of the *Bhagavad-ekajaṭa*, 5) The *Karma-kula* (with no texts in the Tibetan canon), and 6) Vajradhara’s clan, with the *Candra-guhyā-tilaka*.²⁹

3. DATING THE SANSKRIT TEXTS OF THE BUDDHIST TANTRAS

Dating the Buddhist tantras is difficult, particularly since many of them may have been circulating in popular tantric cults prior to being accepted into the Buddhist canon. I have already described above how I used a combination of the Tibetan canonical citations of authors and translators in combination with Naudou’s and other scholars’ historical research on the dates of the transmitters of the Buddhist canon into Tibet to attempt to establish dates for the commentaries and translations of the Sanskrit Buddhist tantric material. We also have other helpful information, including Abhayākaragupta’s citations, and we can begin to discuss some relative dating based on the texts themselves.

3.1. Abhayākaragupta’s *Vajrāvalī* as a Dating Marker

The earliest canonical “digest” of Buddhist Sanskrit tantras that appears to have survived (it may be the earliest that was written) is the *Vajrāvalī nāma maṇḍalopāyikā* (“Method of the Maṇḍalas known as the Row [or Chain] of Vajras”) by Abhayākaragupta, late eleventh to early twelfth centuries. As Chandra summarizes, “The *Vajrāvalī* is a practical guide to all the preliminary rites preceding initiation into the maṇḍala from the very laying of the foundations of a monastery where the maṇḍala is to be drawn.”³⁰ In this sense it is not as comprehensive a text as Abhinavagupta’s, since the *Tantrāloka* covers all aspects

of the Śaivite tantric theories and practices. Abhayākaragupta was “a prolific writer on Tantric dogmatics, liturgy and the maṇḍalas,” and twenty-four of his works have been translated in the Tibetan canon. He teamed up with Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan to translate the bulk of the *sādhanas* from the *Sādhanamālā* into Tibetan, and he is often listed in the colophons of the Tibetan translations simply as Abhaya.³¹ He served as abbot of the Buddhist university Vikramaśīla (in Bodhgaya) during the reign of the Pāla king Ramapāla (1084–1130 C.E.),³² and also served for a while as abbot of Mahābodhi Monastery and Nālandā.³³

In a long extract Śāstrī provides from the *Vajrāvalī*,³⁴ Abhayākaragupta gives us the sources for his work: 1) *Nāgabuddhipāda*, 2) *Niṣpannayogāvalī* (Abhayākaragupta’s own work), 3) *Samputatantra*, 4) *Ānandagarbha*, 5) *Ḍākinīvajrapañjara*, 6) *Vimalaprabhā*, 7) *Vajraḍākatantra*, 8) *Mañju-vajra-maṇḍalaṭippaṇī*, 9) *Tantrasaṃgraha*, 10) *Bhūtaḍāmara*, 11) *Kālacakra*, 12) *Trailokyavijayatantra*, 13) *Abhidhānottaratantra*, 14) *Vajrāmṛttatantra*, 15) *Āmnāyamañjarī*—Abhayākaragupta himself helped translate the *Āmnāyatantra* into Tibetan; 16) *Buddhakaṭāla-sambarahavajra*, 17) *Yoginī-saṅcāra-tantra*, 18) *Śrī-[guhya]-samāja*, and 19) *Padmasupratīṣṭhita tantra*. The authorities cited by Abhayākaragupta also include the following texts: 20) *Sārdhatrīśatikā*, 25) *Vajrasekharatantra*, 26) *Subāhu-paripṛcchā*, 28) *Siddhaikavīratatantra*, 29) *Hevajra*, and 30) *Sarṃvarodayābhisamayopāyikā*.

I have examined a number of the texts cited by Abhayākaragupta in the following discussion of surviving Buddhist Sanskrit tantras. Not all of the texts he cites survive in Tibetan translation. While we might attribute this to selectivity on the part of the Tibetan translators, it is equally possible that the texts Abhayākara used were destroyed before they could be translated. One of Abhayākaragupta’s many works is the *Kālacakrāvātāra*, dated 1125 C.E.³⁵ Another is a commentary on the *Buddhakaṭālatantra*. This text cites as authorities, in addition to the *Rājavajrāvalī*, the *Vajrasekharatantra*, the *Yoginītantra*, the *Hevajra*, the *Śrīsamputatantra*, and the *Siddhaikavīratatantra*.³⁶ Abhayākaragupta apparently also wrote a commentary on the *Samputodbhavantra*, since he mentions on leaf 2A of the *Buddhakaṭālatantraṭīkā* that he has discussed a particular *nidānavākya* in detail in the *Śrīsamputaṭīkā*.³⁷ Although there is no proof for this, it seems a reasonable possibility that the *Ḍāka* (*Vajraḍāka-tantra*) and the *Ḍākinī* (*Ḍākinī-vajra-pañjara*) texts mentioned by Abhayākaragupta as his sources for the *Vajrāvalī* may be the texts, or derivative evolutions of the texts, referred to by Dharmakīrti

as the *ḍākinī*-tantras. We should also note here that Abhayākaragupta's text *Vajrāvalī* ("The Vajra Lineage") was preceded by a Śaivite text entitled *Śrīmad-Vīrāvalī-kula* ("The Clan of the Hero Lineage") cited by Abhinavagupta in *Tantrālokaḥ* 6.74a.³⁸

While we do not yet have a full Sanskrit edition of the *Vajrāvalī nāma Maṇḍalaupayikā*,³⁹ we have several extracts from the manuscript in Shāstrī's RASB Catalogue. The text opens as follows:

Homage to Śrī Vajrasattva. I praise the glorious lord of the clan, the feet of the most memorable enemy of the *māras* and death; the fierce one runs after [the *māras*] in [all] the directions; may the *vajra*-women sing of the mountain of happiness. Bearing by the glorious *vajra* the elements, with the world, in the majestic great *maṇḍala*, may this *Vajrāvalī* assemble here the unimpedable with the greatness of fearlessness. May this [*Vajrāvalī*] that maintains the *vajra* outside of the home be held in the heart by the *vajra* lineages; it upholds the light in the form of the glorious *vajra* holder, banishing the final darkness.⁴⁰

We know from the inclusion of the texts cited as sources in Abhayākaragupta's early twelfth-century work that they all predated Abhaya, but this does not tell us a great deal about their earlier history. In order to clarify some of this earlier history I have attempted, with mixed results, to determine when the major Anuttarayoga Tantras were translated into Tibetan, and when the major commentaries on these texts were written. While the resultant tentative dates I give here do not resolve the issue of the dates of origin of these texts, they do at least give some indication of when the texts *were* in fact in the canon, and when interest in them had increased to the point that they were deemed worthy of commentaries.

Although we can only speculate, we should not necessarily presume that the date of a commentary indicates that the text was in the canon for any particular amount of time prior to the time the commentary was composed, as with the commonplace Indological assumption of a century or more. Given that many of these texts were apparently either accepted into the canon from the more popular tradition, or may have been canonical rewrites of popular circulating texts, it is not unreasonable to suppose that commentaries may have been written at the same time that the texts were taken into the canon. After all, given the potentially explosive nature of the contents of some of these texts in terms of their sexual content and promotion of sensual indulgence and magical practices, one might deduce that commentaries, which

would help explain and contextualize such practices, were absolutely necessary before the texts could be “canonized.”⁴¹

I have attempted in the following discussions of the Buddhist Sanskrit tantric texts to put them in more or less chronological order according to dates derived from the appearance of the first commentaries on these texts. As mentioned above, this dating information is incomplete since Naudou’s dates are incomplete. I have found so far no other source that provides dates for these early translations, though I suspect there may be more information on dating in the Tibetan scholarship (both by Tibetans and Western scholars) of which I may not be aware. Texts cannot be dated solely based on the time of their commentaries, since commentaries often appear many centuries after the original text is written (although, as mentioned above, this may not be the case for all the Buddhist tantric commentaries). However, I do not intend to suggest here that we can reliably date the original tantras based on the dates of their translations or commentaries. Rather, since it appears that most of the surviving Buddhist tantric commentaries were written within a relatively short period of time, from the eighth to eleventh centuries. This tends to support indications that there was a general trend of incorporating these tantras into the Buddhist canon from the eighth century onward, and the simultaneous writing of commentaries on the original tantric texts by Buddhist scholar-practitioners.

I would like to note here that I have no particular ideological or partisan axe to grind as to when the Buddhist tantras did or did not originally appear; I am simply working within modern methodologies from what appears to be reliable historical evidence, based on what I have found so far in my research and the work of other scholars. The dates I have found are certainly subject to revision pending the discovery of further evidence. From what I have found so far, the earliest datable surviving commentaries on any of the Buddhist tantras appear to be the few texts attributed to Padmasambhava—a difficult figure to pin down historically, though probably from the eighth century—and to Indrabhūti, another historically elusive character who appears to have lived in the eighth or ninth centuries. The majority of the other commentarial material on and translations of Buddhist tantric texts surviving in the Tibetan canon appears to date from the ninth to eleventh centuries.

3.2. The Tantric Siddhas

Several of the famed tantric *siddhas* or adepts are credited in the Tibetan catalogues with authorship or translations of Buddhist tantric texts. Sāṅkrtyāyana gives us a genealogy of the *siddhas* from Saraha to Naropa, taken from the *Sa-skya Bka'-bum*: “Saraha, (Nāgārjuna), (Sabarapa), Luīpa, Dārikāpa, (Vajra-ghaṅṭāpa), Kūrmapā, Jālandharapā, (Kaṃha(pā) Caryapā), Guhyapā (Vijayapa), Tilopa, Naropa.”⁴² The name Śabarapa has an interesting resonance with Dharmakīrti’s remark that even the Śabararas were making up their own mantras in the early seventh century, though this resonance tells us nothing about Śabarapa’s date. According to the *Sa-skya Bka'-bum*, Luīpa was a scribe to the emperor Dharmapāla (769–809 C.E.).⁴³ The same source places Bhusukupa, Ghaṅṭapa, and Gorakṣapa in Devapāla’s reign (809–849). Naropa is placed during the reign of Mahāpāla (974–1026), along with Śāntipa.⁴⁴ Keith Dowman, who has translated the tales of the Mahāsiddhas, considers that with the exception of Indrabhūti they all lived in India “within the Pāla and Sena period (AD 750–1200).”⁴⁵ Their stories were recorded by Abhayadatta Śrī, who may possibly be the same person as Abhyākaragupta.⁴⁶

3.3. Some Notes on the Relative Dating of Buddhist Tantras

Over the long haul I think it will become possible to establish a relative dating of most of the tantras—Śaivite, Buddhist, and others—by comparing the treatment of the different subjects we tend to find in tantric texts, writing styles, sets of deities, details of the practices, etc. The general principle for relative dating could be that as texts become progressively more complex and contain progressively more detail, we might assume that they are later, though this is by no means a necessarily reliable assumption. While my own research is a long way from having definitive information on relative dates of the texts, I offer a few pointers worth mentioning that I think may lead us in the direction of relative dating.

We find the same opening line with only slight variations in the *Guhyasamāja*, *Hevajra*, *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa*, *Samvarodaya*, and *Samputīkātantrarāja*: “Thus I have heard: at one time the Bhagavān resided in the vulvas of the women who are the *vajras* of the body, speech and mind of all the Tathāgatas” (*evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye bhagavān*

sarvva-tathāgata-kāya-vāk-citta-vajra-yonī-bhāgeṣu vijahāra). However, this is not the opening line in any of the other tantras discussed in this essay (the *Abhidhānottara* is unclear). All of these texts open with a prose passage as well, while the *Kālacakratantra* opens and is written only in verse. In the *Guhyasamāja* many bodhisattva *mahāsattvas*⁴⁷ accompany the Buddha Bhagavān, who enters a *samādhi*, then speaks. In the *Hevajra* Vajragarbha responds after the Bhagavān speaks, without a smile. In the *Samvarodaya* a few bodhisattvas are named, the Bhagavān smiles on seeing Vajrapāṇi among them, and Vajrapāṇi then rises, puts his garment over his right shoulder, kneels on his right knee, bows, and asks for instruction. In the *Samputikātantra* the Bhagavān smiles upon seeing Vajragarbha among the host of 80,000, then Vajragarbha rises, puts his garment over his right shoulder, kneels on his right knee, bows, and asks for instruction, exactly as Vajrapāṇi does in the *Samvarodaya*. This same opening pattern appears in chapter 22 of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*.

While I am uncertain what to make of these differences and similarities for now, there certainly appears to be a textual typology that suggests the possibility of historical, geographical, or cultic genres of tantras that may or may not match up with the canonical classification schemas. The notion comes to mind that there was a certain style of beginning a tantra that may have been particular either to a certain time, or to a certain geography or group of traditions. What is noteworthy is that there are such styles, the styles are consistent in a small group of texts, and the styles apparently changed over time, over distance, or among groups.

There appears to have been a developmental trend in the amount of alchemical information in the tantras. As we will see below, the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* has a not overly long chapter on making gold. The *Guhyasamājatamra* has only a very short section on medicinal/alchemical material—indeed the material corresponds more nearly to *Atharvaveda*-style mantras for healing and magical purposes. We find *Āyurveda* and *Rasāyana* mentioned in section 7 of the *Samputikā Tantra*. In the *Kālacakra* the *Āyurveda* and *Rasāyana* material is very detailed and extensive.

A similar developmental trend might be noticed in the description of sexual rites, though as with the alchemical material this could as well be explained as a difference in local or regional emphasis, rather than as a marker of temporal evolution. The description of the sexual

rites in the *Guhyasamāja* is rather subdued. In chapter 4, on the *maṇḍala* of the secret body, speech, and thought (*guhya-kāya-vāk-citta-maṇḍala-ṭāḥala*), Vajradhara explains the delightful thought *maṇḍala* of all the *tathāgatas*.⁴⁸ The wise man⁴⁹ is to lay this out with a thread. After he has clearly understood the ultimate mind *maṇḍala*, he should carefully make worship with offerings of his body, speech, and thought, then coming together with a sixteen-year-old young lady, whose beauty is truly radiant, he should adorn her with perfumes and flowers,⁵⁰ and then make love to her in the middle of the *maṇḍala*.⁵¹ Though meditative aspects are added, consecrating her as Māmakī Prajñā, offering feces, urine, semen, and blood to the deities, etc., no further description of the sexual rite is given.⁵² The sexual yoga rites are much more explicitly detailed in the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa* and the *Kālacakra*.

Another topic worth exploring for relative dating and geographic identification is the mention of particular deities in the tantras. As Pingree has remarked with regard to the Indian astronomical tradition, Indian thinkers have a predilection for keeping whatever they can from the past and integrating new material with earlier systems. This preference for continuity of ideas, symbols, and names in the Sanskrit tradition may help us determine relative, if not absolute, dates in the evolution of the Tantric tradition. In *Kālacakratāntra* 5.91 we find the names Ḍākinī and Viśvamātā added to the standard set of four deities Locanā, Māmakī, Pāṇḍarā, and Tārā (or Tāriṇī). We do not find the first two of these six goddesses in the *Guhyasamājatantra*. In the *Kālacakra* there is a tendency to map buddhas and goddesses into earth, air, fire, water, space, and the void, whereas at *Guhyasamāja* 17.51 we have a mapping of Locanā to earth, Māmakī to water, Pāṇḍarā to fire, and Tārā to air, with Vajradhara mapped to space, and no deity mapped to the void. In the *Hevajra* I.i.31 these four are joined only by Cāṇḍalī.⁵³ In another list at *Hevajra* II.iv.65 we have “all those goddesses, led by Nairātmyā, with Locanā, Māmakī, Pāṇḍarā and Tārā, Bhṛkuṭī, Cuṇḍā, Parṇaśavarī, Ahomukhā and the rest, as numerous as the atoms in Mount Meru. . . ,”⁵⁴ again with no mention of Viśvamātā or Ḍākinī.

It is difficult to derive too much about the relationship of the texts to each other at this stage. I merely wish to point out that by beginning to compare the contents, style, and level of detail on different subjects in the various tantras, we eventually should be able to determine either relative dating, or the relative interests of the different cults in particular subjects.

4. THE TWO “EARLIEST” BUDDHIST TANTRAS

There is a general consensus among scholars of the Buddhist tantras that the two earliest texts of the tradition are the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (AMMK) and the *Guhyasamājatantra* (GST). However, as alluded to above, there were *Ḍākinī* and *Bhaginī* tantras circulating in Dharmakīrti’s time that shared much of their contents with Hindu tantras of the same period. So it may be that the AMMK and GST are simply the oldest surviving Buddhist written texts that we have.

4.1. *The Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*

Scholars generally designate the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (AMMK) as the first or earliest Buddhist tantra. Both Bhattacharyya and Wayman considered that the AMMK preceded the *Guhyasamāja*, though their dating methods are not reliable. The AMMK was edited from a single incomplete manuscript by Mahāmahopadhyāya T. Gaṇapati Śāstri in the Trivandram Sanskrit Series, in an edition that has been repeatedly criticized by subsequent scholars who have attempted to use his edition.⁵⁵ He worked from a three hundred to four hundred-year-old manuscript that was collected in 1909 from the Manalikkara Mathom near Padmanabhapuram. The main problem with the text is the ungrammatical Sanskrit, and this was one of the texts studied by Franklin Edgerton in preparing his work on Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit.⁵⁶ Gaṇapati Śāstrī prepared his readers with the following remark:

As the non-observance of the rules of Vyākaraṇa [grammar] in regard to the gender, number and case, found throughout this work is becoming its sacred character, and as no second manuscript has been obtained, the text in this edition is adopted exactly as it is found in the original manuscript.⁵⁷

It is difficult to get a sense of the date of *Manjuśrīmūlakalpa*, a rather long text that has not been translated from the Sanskrit, without reading it. The only published translation of any portion of the text I have found is K. P. Jayaswal’s edition and translation of the fifty-third chapter. Dr. Jayaswal re-edited Gaṇapati’s Sanskrit with the aid of the Tibetan translation done by Kumāralāśa and Śākya-blo-gros in 1060 C.E. The chapter is an imperial history of India beginning in 78 C.E. and ending at the beginning of the Pāla dynasties. Accordingly, Jayaswal assigns the text the reasonable date of c. 770–800 C.E.⁵⁸ Although one

could assert that this chapter is a later addition and push back the date of the written text, I consider that without having a full translation of the text to compare with the other tantras, providing definitive evidence of citations from it in reliably dated earlier literature, or using other historically testable methods, we should tentatively settle on a late eighth-century date for this text, pending further research.

The full name of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, as found in every chapter colophon of the Sanskrit edition, is *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamaṣakā Mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrā Ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpā* (“Ornament of the Bodhisattva Basket, the Mahāyāna Vaipulya [Extensive] Sūtra, the Basic Mantra Manual of the Glorious Mañjuśrī.”)⁵⁹ (I have given an English translation of the colophons to the fifty-five chapters as well as the complete Sanskrit in the Appendix at the end of the essay.) So we see that—provided our Sanskrit text has not been consistently altered—the original Sanskrit of the work was considered a Vaipulya sūtra, not a tantra, but by the time it was translated into Tibetan it had come to be classed as a tantra. In fact the term *tantra* is only in one chapter colophon (chapter 38), as part of a list of ritual practices.⁶⁰ The first chapter opens with:

Homage to all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. Thus have I heard. At one time, at the top of the Pure Abode located in the vault of heaven, the Bhagavān relaxed in the scope of the meeting-sphere wherein were distributed an incomprehensible, miraculous, wonderful [number] of Bodhisattvas.⁶¹

The first two chapters lay out the attendant deities, bodhisattvas, etc., in the *maṇḍala*, a very long list reminiscent of the beginning of many Mahāyāna sūtras, and unlike most of the texts calling themselves tantras. The chapters are composed in both verse and prose; the prose sections typically begin the chapters (some are exclusively prose). It is evident from the first seven chapters of the text that there is copious description of maṇḍalic ritual procedures: 1) *Sannipāta* (the assembly), 2) [giving] instruction on the rules about the *maṇḍala* (*maṇḍala-vidhinirdeśa*), 3) procedures with the *maṇḍala* (*maṇḍala-vidhāna*), 4) ritual procedures (*vidhāna*), 5) ritual procedures (*vidhāna*), 6) ritual procedures for the younger brother (*kanyasa-paṭa-vidhānaḥ*), 7) (no name). Chapters 8–10 introduce the highest practice, method, and action and the highest ritual procedure (*uttama-sādhana-upayika-karma* and *uttama-paṭa-vidhāna*), suggesting an early version of the notion of *anut-tarayoga* that defines the class of the most advanced Buddhist Sanskrit

tantras. Chapter 11 suggests an elaborate ritual process with its title: “the fourth long chapter on all the actions, rules, and procedures, i.e., the practice, method, action, position, mantra-recitation, disciplinary rules, offering, meditation, ethical behavior” (*sādhana-upayika-karma-sthāna-japa-niyama-homa-dhyāna-śaucācāra-sarva-karma-vidhi-sādhana*). Chapters 12–16 include further ritual rules including those for *akṣa-sūtras*, i.e., the “rosary” beads used for mantra recitation, and a chapter on songs.

Chapters 17–19, 21, and 24 are on the rules for using astronomy in the ritual; chapter 18 discusses the causes of suffering; and chapters 22–23 are on learning to understand the sounds of animals. Chapters 25–33 introduce the rites for making, painting, and using the ritual image of the Single Indestructible Cakravartin Mañjuśrī, with restrictions about the time and place of practice. Chapters 34–37 introduce the rules about the *mudrā*; it is not clear without translating the chapters whether this refers to hand postures or consorts, although chapter 38 refers to “all the rules of action for the consort, for the *maṇḍalas*, and for the tantra (*mudrā-maṇḍala-tantra-sarva-karma-vidhi*).” Chapters 39–40 give the rules for meditation in the context of the ultimate practice (*uttama-sādhana*). Garuḍa makes an appearance in chapter 41, and this and chapter 42 are devoted to all the ritual actions and practices.

Chapters 43–46 introduce us to the sexual yoga practices and deal with “the *Mahāmudrā* as the means to the ultimate practice with all activity” (*sarva-karma-uttama-sādhana-upayikaḥ mahā-mudrā-paṭala-visaraha*) and related *Mahāmudrā* practices. Chapter 47 is “The first complete long chapter for the one who will enter the most secret communion—the *maṇḍala* of the four actual tantric consorts” (*bhaginīs*, i.e., real women; literally, “women possessing vulvas”) (*catur-bhaginā-maṇḍalam anupraveśa-samaya-guhyatama*); the use of the term *samaya-guhyatama*, “the most secret communion” or “the most secret tantric session (or group or society),” suggests a similarity with the title of the *Anuttarayogatantra*, the *Guhyasamāja*, particularly since *samāja* and *samaya* appear to be Sanskrit and Prakrit versions of the same word. Chapter 48 is “The complete long chapter on the four young women, [and] the subrule about entering the *maṇḍala* as the method of practice” (*dvitīya-sādhana-upayika-maṇḍala-praveśa-anuvidhiś catuḥ-kumārya-paṭala-visaraha*). Chapter 49 is entitled “The chapter on all the activities with the consorts, the herbs, the tantras, and the mantras, and the restrictions about recitation, and all the means that constitute the

method with the four young women” (*catuḥ-kumārya-upayika-sarva-sādhana-japa-niyama-mudrā-oṣadhi-tantra-mantra-sarvā-karma*).

Chapters 50–52 describe rites for conjuring up the fierce deity Yamāntaka; chapter 53 is the imperial history chapter discussed above; chapter 54 is on praise and blame; and chapter 55 is an alchemical chapter on the preparation of gold. From chapters 43–49 we have to conclude that we do indeed have a tantric text in the *Mañjitsrīmūlakalpa*, though I cannot say much more here without actually reading the chapters in question, and as is seen from the pagination noted in the Appendix, these chapters total a significant amount of Sanskrit and translating them will take some time. As with chapter 55 of this text, we also find alchemical practices in the fifth chapter of the *Kālacakratantra*.

There are eighty-nine texts in the Tibetan canon whose titles begin with “Mañjuśrī.”⁶² Among these are the *Mañjuśrī-guhya-tantra-maṇḍala-vidhi* (2667), “The Maṇḍala rite for Mañjuśrī’s Secret Tantra”; the *Mañjuśrī-guhya-tantra-sādhana-sarva-karma-nidhi-nāma-ṭikā*. (2666), “The Commentary called The Treasury of All the Actions in the Secret Tantric Practice of Mañjuśrī”; and the forty-one texts of the *Mañjuśrī-nāmasaṃgīti* cycle⁶³—including, interestingly enough, a text called the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti-ṭikā-vimalaprabhā* (1398), “The Stainless Light Commentary on the Song of the Names of Mañjuśrī”; the latter part of this title is the same used by Puṇḍarīka for his commentary on the *Kālacakratantra*, in which the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-Nāmasaṃgīti* is repeatedly quoted in the fifth chapter. There are also the *Mañjuśrī-karma-catuś-cakra-guhya* (838), “The Secret of the Four Cakras of the Mañjuśrī Cycle”; and the *Mañjuśrī-kumāra-bhūta-aṣṭaka-uttara-śataka-nāma-dhāraṇī-mantra-sahita* (639, 879), “The Collection of Mantras Constituting the *Dhāraṇī* called the One Hundred and Eight Names of Mañjuśrī Kumārabhūta.”

One curiosity is the text entitled the *Mañjuśrī-vajra-bhairava-nāma-stuti*, “The Hymn to the Vajra-Bhairava Version of Mañjuśrī” (Tohoku 2012, one folio), said to have been written by Las-kyi rgyal-po.⁶⁴ Bhairava is the fierce form of Śiva, who is also absorbed into the Buddhist tantric tradition (we do not have clear information on when or where or from what tradition the figure of Bhairava first appeared). The original text is listed simply as the *Ārya-mañjuśrī-tantra* (*ḥphags-pa hjam-dpal-gyi rtsa-bahi rgyud*) (Tohoku 543, 245 folios), said to have been translated by Kumārakalaśa and Śākya blo-gros.⁶⁵

4.2. The Guhyasamājatantra

The earliest extant Buddhist tantra that calls itself a tantra is, by common consent, the *Guhyasamāja*, “The Tantra of the Secret Conclave” or “The Tantra of the Esoteric Communion.”⁶⁶ This text was first published in 1931 by Bhattacharyya as *Guhyasamājatantra or Tathāgataguhyaka*, vol. 53 of Gaekwad’s Oriental Series from Baroda.⁶⁷ Francesca Fremantle later produced a new edition of the Sanskrit, collated with the Tibetan, and an English translation of the first seventeen chapters, *A Critical Study of the Guhyasamāja Tantra*, as her Ph.D. thesis for the University of London.⁶⁸ The principal Sanskrit commentary, the *Pradīpodyotana* by Candrakīrti, has since been published by the Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute in Patna.⁶⁹ According to a list given by Śāstri in Bengali, and converted to the English alphabet by Bhattacharyya, there are no less than sixteen Sanskrit commentaries surviving in Tibetan translation, plus some thirty other lost Sanskrit commentaries.⁷⁰ In their introduction to the critical edition of Nāgārjuna’s *Pañcakrama*, Katsumi Mimaki and Toru Tomabechi also refer to a new critical edition of the *Guhyasamāja* edited by Yukei Matsunaga.⁷¹ I have not yet been able to examine this work.

Fremantle’s Sanskrit edition is based on Bhattacharyya’s and on manuscripts from the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and Cambridge University. Bhattacharyya’s edition was based on manuscripts from the Cambridge University library, the Baroda Oriental Institute, the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The latter is ms. 8070, no. 64, in Śāstri’s catalogue, where he writes that the original portion of the manuscript, up to folio 46, “was written in beautiful Newari of the 11th century.”⁷² The Cambridge manuscripts are Add. 901, 1365, and 1617 in Bendall’s catalogue.⁷³

Unnoticed by either Bhattacharyya or Fremantle,⁷⁴ or by Wayman,⁷⁵ is a catalogue listing by Śāstri of a manuscript (ms. 10765, no. 18), apparently entitled *Tathāgataguhyaka*, “a very large work of the Vaipulya class, hitherto unknown.”⁷⁶ This is a fragmentary paper manuscript in seventeenth-century Newari script that originally totaled eleven chapters. Śāstri gives the surviving colophons from the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters, and these suggest some prefiguring of later tantric doctrines, particularly the reference in chapter 9 to the “turning of the circle of heros” (*śūralaya-parivartto-nāma navamaḥ*), a term that seems to prefigure the

vīra-cakra term that comes to be used to refer to the group sexual rites in tantric yoga; 3) the third chapter on the secret of the Tathāgata's body; 4) the fourth chapter on the secret of speech; 5) the fifth chapter on the secret of thinking; 6) the sixth chapter teaching about the transformation of the Tathāgata; 7) the seventh chapter on prophecy; 9) the ninth chapter called the circle of heroes; 10) the tenth chapter on Ajātaśatru; 11) thus the eleventh chapter, the section teaching about the transformation of the Tathāgata's secret is completed.⁷⁷ A post-colophon dates the work to the *siddhaya kājula* solar day, the tenth lunar day in the bright half of Caitra (April–May), in the year Saṃvat 224. Śāstrī adds that “it is impossible to explain the early date.”

There are two Saṃvat eras: the Indian Saṃvat that begins in 57 C.E. would place this text at 281 C.E.⁷⁸ (an unlikely dating), while the Nepali Saṃvat that begins 880 C.E. would place this manuscript at 1104 C.E., a more reasonable date for the manuscript. Although it is impossible to say how old the manuscript might be without examining its contents in detail, the contents do give the impression that the text is a transitional Mahāyāna sūtra—proto-tantra. Its self-classification as a Vaipulya sūtra is in keeping with the same self-classification of the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*. Śāstrī gives a two-page excerpt from the fourth chapter, where Vajrapāṇi-Guhyakādhipati and Bodhisattva Śāntimati converse, and Vajrapāṇi explains the characteristics of the Tathāgata's, speech, including sixty forms of vocalized speech (loving, pure, delighting the mind, etc.). The text most likely predates any tantras, for a couple of reasons: there is no mention of tantras in lists of the types of texts in which the Tathāgata's speech is displayed, or of *ḍākas* or *ḍākinīs* or *yoginīs*—characteristic deific beings in Buddhist tantric texts—in a list of beings.

And in addition, Śāntimati, the Tathāgata's speech displays all the elements in the ten directions, and delights the abode of all beings, yet the same is not the case for the Tathāgata himself; I am this sūtra, or song (*geya*), or prophecy (*vyākaraṇam*), or *gāthā*, *udāna*, *itivr̥tta*, *jātaka*, *vaipulya*, *adbhuta*, *dharmopadeśa*, or logical examples (*dr̥ṣṭānta*), or *pūrvayoga*, or *avadāna*, or *ākhyāyika*, or what should be explained (*ādeśayeyam*), or what should be taught (*prajñāpayeyam*), or what should be put aside (*prasthāpayeyam*), or what should be shared (*vibhajeyam*), or what should be revealed (*vivṛnuyeyam*), or what should be promulgated (*uttānikuryyām*), or what should be illuminated (*samprakāśayeyam*).

In listing the assemblies (*parṣat*) gathered together with the Tathāgata, there is a *bhikṣuparṣad*, a *bhikṣuṇi*, *upāsaka*, and *upāsikā-parṣad*, and a *parṣad* of *devas*, *nāgas*, *yakṣas*, *gandharvas*, *asuras*, *garuḍas*, *kinnaras*, and *mahoraḡas* (great serpents).

Śāstrī concludes:

Hence a conjecture is hazarded here that this Vaipulya work is the original Tathāgata Guhyaka and that the first book of Guhya Samāja and sometimes the second also are called Tathāgata Guhyaka only by an analogy.⁷⁹

It may well be that the tradition of the *Guhyasamājatantra* grew out this earlier Vaipulya tradition of the *Tathāgataguhyaka*, just as many of the *Upaniṣads* derive their names from earlier schools of *Brāhmaṇas*, *Āraṇyakas*, and Vedic *saṃhitās*.⁸⁰ A thorough study of this manuscript might shed some light on the historical origins of the *Guhyasamājatantra*.⁸¹

Should Śāstrī's suggestion prove to be correct, this would tend to support Lokesh Candra's conclusions from his analysis of the Chinese tantric texts that the Vaipulya-class texts were the direct predecessors to the named Buddhist tantras, a proposition supported (as mentioned above) by the colophon evidence of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, which refers to itself as a "Mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtra." While those who hope to demonstrate that the Buddhist tantras came first, predating the Hindu tantras, might cite the Vaipulya evidence as "proof," such an argument is too facile. I think it instead demonstrates what one would reasonably expect: that as tantric doctrines developed in India and were systematized by the different schools, it would have been natural for exponents of the different schools to fit the material into the preexisting structure of their own canonical traditions.

There are twenty-one *Guhyasamāja* texts in Tibetan translation in the Tohoku Catalogue. One of these, a *Śrī-guhya-samāja-maṇḍala-vidhi* (Tohoku 1810, 15 folios) is ascribed to the eighth- or ninth-century⁸² Nāgabodhi (Kluḡi byan-chub), whose writings are referred to by the Kaśmīri Śaivite disciple of Vasugupta, Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa, himself dated to the mid-ninth century during Avantivarman's reign in Kaśmīr (855–883 C.E.) by Kalhaṇa.⁸³ This is a reliable bit of dating that places the *Guhyasamāja* system no later than the ninth century. The *Śrī-guhya-samāja*-texts are: 1) *-tantra-nidāna-guru-upadeśana-vyākhyāna* (Tohoku 1910, eight folios) by Sgeg-paḡi rdo-rje,⁸⁴ 2) *-tantra-pañjika* (Tohoku 1847, 163 folios) by Jina-? (Rgyal-bas byin), translated by Śāntibhadra (Shi-ba

bza'i-po) and Śes-rab ye-śes,⁸⁵ 3) -*tantra-rāja-tīkā-candra-prabhā* (Tohoku 1852, 119 folios) by Prajñākara/sambhava-varma/gupta (Rab-tu dgah-baḥ hbyuñ-gnas go-cha), translator unknown,⁸⁶ 4) -*tantra-vivaraṇa* (Tohoku 1845, 83 folios) by Thagana, translated by Śraddhākaravarma and Dharmasrībhadrā and Rin-chen bzan-po, 5) -*tantrasya tantra-tīkā*. (Tohoku 1784, 324 folios) by Klu-sgrub, translated by Mantrakāla and Gshon-nu bum-pa,⁸⁷ 5) *Śrīguhyasamāja-pañjikā* (Tohoku 1917, 80 folios) by the pre-mid-tenth-century Ānandagarbha (Kun-dgal? Sñiñ-po), translated by Vijayaśrīdhara and Rin-chen bzañ-po and revised by Śraddhākaravarman,⁸⁸ 6) -*mañjuśrī-sādhana* (Tohoku 1880, ten folios) by Vijñānavajra (Rnam-par snan-mdsad rdo-ije), translated by Puṇyaśrī and Gyuñ-druñ ḥod,⁸⁹ 7) -*maṇḍala-deva-kāya-stotra* (Tohoku 1828, three folios) by Mi-gnas rdo-rje, translated by Śraddhākaravarma and Rin-chen bzañ-po,⁹⁰ 8) -*maṇḍala-viṃśati-vidhi* (Tohoku 1810, 14 folios) by Kluhi byang-chub,⁹¹ 9, 10, 11) -*maṇḍala-vidhi* (Tohoku 1798, 20 folios) by Nāgārjuna (Klu-sgrub), translated in the eleventh century by Subhāṣita and Rin-chen bzan-po,⁹² (Tohoku 1810, 15 folios) by⁹³ Nāgabodhi (Kluhi byañ-chub) (eighth or ninth century), whose writings are referred to by the Kaśmīri Śaivite disciple of Vasugupta, Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa, himself dated to the mid-ninth-century during Avantivarman's reign in Kaśmīr (855–883 C.E.) by Kalhaṇa⁹⁴—translated by Tilakakalaśa and Phatshab Nyi-ma grags,⁹⁵ (Tohoku 1865, 18 folios) by Atīśa (Mar-me-mdsad bzañ-po), translated in the eleventh century by Padmākaravarma and Rin-chen bzan-po,⁹⁶ 12) -*maṇḍala-vidhi-tīkā* (Tchoku 1871, 71 folios) by Vitapāda, translated by Kalamaguhyā and Ye-śes rgyal-mtshan,⁹⁷ 13) -*maṇḍala-sādhana-tīkā* (Tohoku 1873, 40 folios) by Vitapāda, translated by Kamalaguhyā and Ye-śes rgyal-mtshan,⁹⁸ 14) -*mahā-yoga-tantra-bali-vidhi* (Tohoku 1824, two folios) by Śāntadeva, translated by Śāntadeva and Ḥgos lo-tsa-ba,⁹⁹ 15) -*mahā-yoga-tantra-utpāda-krama-sādhana-sūtra-melāpaka* (Tohoku 1797, four folios) by Nāgārjuna (Klu-sgrub), translated in the eleventh century by Dharmasrībhadrā and Rin-chen bzañ-po,¹⁰⁰ 16) -*lokeśvara-sādhana* (Tohoku 1892, two folios) by Atīśa (Mar-me-mdsad ye-śes), translated by Atīśa (Mar-me-mdsad ye-śes) and Rin-chen bzañ-po, 17) -*sahaja-sādhana* (Tohoku 1613), 18) -*sādhana-siddhi-saṃbhava-vidhi* (Tohoku 1874, 68 folios) by Vitapāda, translated by Kamalaguhyā and Ye-śes rgyal-mtshan,¹⁰¹ 19) -*stotra* (Tohoku 1894, one folio) by Atīśa (Mar-me-mdsad ye-śes), translated by Atīśa (Mar-me-mdsad ye-śes) and Rin-chen bzañ-po,¹⁰² 20) -*abhisamayā-nāma-sādhana* (Tohoku 1881, 16 folios) by Piṅḍdapa (Bsod-snyoms-pa),

translated by Sraddhākaravarman and Rin-chen bzañ-po,¹⁰³ 21) – *alamkāra* (Tohoku 1848, 152 folios) by Vimalagupta (Dri-med sba pa) or Candraprabhā (Zla-baḥi bod), and Rin-chen rdo-rje myu-gu, translated by Sunyāyaśrīmitra and Dar-ma grags.¹⁰⁴

5. UNPUBLISHED SECTIONS OF PUBLISHED TANTRAS

I have found by searching through the catalogues of Sanskrit tantric manuscripts that there are extant in Sanskrit considerable portions of some of the major *Anuttarayogatantras* in addition to what has already been published on these texts. This material includes Sanskrit commentaries and, for two of the three texts in this section, several chapters that have not yet been either published or translated. I have therefore translated the extracts from these chapters, which give us a much fuller idea of the material in the texts.

5.1. *The Cakrasaṃvara Tantra*

Shinichi Tsuda translated nineteen of the thirty-three chapters of the *Cakrasaṃvara* or *Saṃvarodayatantra* (also known as the *Heruka Tantra*) in his Ph.D. thesis published in 1974. He worked from eight Sanskrit manuscripts, five from the University of Tokyo, one each from Paris and London, and one from the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, and included the Sanskrit for his nineteen chapters with the Tibetan (he translated chapters 2–10, 13, 17–19, 21, 23, 26, 28, 31, and 33). According to Tsuda, there are two extant Sanskrit commentaries, the *Saṃvarodayatantrasya pañjikāvyākhyā* (by Ratnarakṣitā, the only commentary preserved in Tibetan) and the *Saṃvarodayatantrasya ūnaviṃśatipaṭalavyākhyā*. Kṣāntiśrī's *Sāadhanā*, (commenting principally on the thirteenth chapter) apparently exists only in Chinese.¹⁰⁵ Tsuda makes several explicit claims about the text. First is the “supposition that the author of the *Saṃvarodaya-tantra* did intend to write correct Sanskrit” yet “gave priority to the meter.” This is based on the grammatically correct readings in the oldest manuscript he used, from 1595 C.E. (Tokyo University, ms. A.).¹⁰⁶ In contrast to Snellgrove's primary reliance on the Tibetan text and commentaries to ascertain the sense of the Sanskrit, Tsuda argued that

the Sanskrit manuscripts are the chief authority, and that the Tibetan version and the commentaries are to be treated as of a subsidiary nature with the understanding that they should actually be more

reliable. In the case of the *Samvarodaya* we have obtained the impression that the Tibetan translation and the commentaries are not in themselves sufficient to provide us with a satisfactory version of the whole work. . . . The Tibetan translation of the *Samvarodaya* is as unreliable as that (i.e. the Tibetan translation) of *Hevajra*.¹⁰⁷

Tsuda translates the title *Samvarodaya* as “Arising of the Supreme Pleasure.”¹⁰⁸ After a long discussion of what he considers an erroneous classification as a *bśad rgyud*, or explanatory tantra, and the assertion that the *Samvarodaya* could equally well be considered a *mūla-tantra*, Tsuda concludes “we must be content with the bare fact that some mutual relation exists between the *Laghusamvara*, the *Samvarodaya* and the *Abhidhānottara* which, apart from the *Yoginīsañcāra*, can also be taken as a *mūla-tantra*.”¹⁰⁹ Tsuda notes that the *bsTan hgyur* commentaries on the *Samvara* or *Cakrasamvara* are really commentaries on the *Laghusamvaratantra*.¹¹⁰ We also have an edition from the Tibetan with an English translation of the first seven chapters of the *Laghusamvara*, entitled *Śrīchakrasambhara Tantra* by its editor Kazi Dawa-Samdub.¹¹¹

There is a considerable body of literature from this tradition in Tibetan translation. The earliest work we have on the *Cakrasamvara* is the *Śrī-Cakrasamvara-tantra-rāja-samvara-samuccaya-nāma-vṛtti* (Tohoku 1413, 118 folios) by Indrabhūti, who dates perhaps to the early eighth century,¹¹² translator unknown;¹¹³ this would appear to be among the oldest extant Buddhist tantric texts. We also have another long commentary on the text, the *Śrī-Cakrasamvara-sādhana-sarva-śūla-nāma-ṭikā* (Tohoku 1407, 87 folios) apparently by the ninth-century¹¹⁴ king Devapāla (? Lhas sbas), translator unknown;¹¹⁵ and several works by the Mahāsiddhas, Naropa, and his collaborators. The other literature in Tibetan translation includes: 1) *Śrī-cakra-sambara-homa-vidhi* (Tohoku 1537, five folios) by Kṛṣṇa-pāda (Nag-po), translated in the fourteenth century by Dharmasrībhadrā¹¹⁶ and Rig-pa gshon-nu;¹¹⁷ 2) *Śrī-cakra-sambara-udaya-nāma-maṇḍala-vidhi* (Tohoku 1538, 33 folios) by Dbu-pa blo-ldan, translator unknown;¹¹⁸ 3) *Śrī-Cakrasamvara-(?)-garbha-tattva-siddhi* (Tohoku 1456, one folio) by the Mahāsiddha Jalandhara, translator unknown;¹¹⁹ 4) *Tattva-garbha-saṃgraha* (Tohoku 1505, one folio) by Kusali-pa, translated by Ngag-gi-dbang-phyug and Mar-pa Chos-kyi-dbañ-phug;¹²⁰ 5) *-tattva-upadeśa* (Tohoku 1507, one folio) by Kusali-pa, translated by Bhadrabodhi and Mar-pa Chos-kyi-dbañ-phyug;¹²¹ 6) *-trayodaśa-ātmaka-abhiṣeka-vidhi* (Tohoku 1486, 10 folios) by the eleventh-century Advayavajra (Gnyis-med rdo-rje), translated by Jñānavajra and Shan shun;¹²² 7) *-nāma-śatāṣṭaka-stotra* (Tohoku 1425, one folio),

author and translator unknown;¹²³ 8) *-pañca-krama* (Tohoku 1433, three folios) by the Mahāsiddha Vajraganṭha (Rdo-rje dril-bu), translated by Kṛṣṇa-pa (perhaps the guardian of the southern door of Nālandā when Naropa arrived)¹²⁴ and Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba;¹²⁵ 9) *-pañca-krama-vṛtti* (Tohoku 1435, six folios) by Vajraghaṅṭa (Rdo-rje dril-bu pa), translated by Sumatikīrti and Mar-pa Chos-kyi-dban-phyug;¹²⁶ 10) *-pañjikā* (Tohoku 1403, 105 folios) by Bhavabhadra, translated by Mi mnyam rdo-rje and Rin-chen grags;¹²⁷ 11) *-pañjikā-sāra-manojñā* (Tohoku 1405, 40 folios) by (the tenth-century?) Bhavyakīrti (Skal-ldan grags-pa),¹²⁸ translated in the early eleventh century by Dharmasrībhadrā and Rin-chen bzan-pa;¹²⁹ 12) *-baḥiṣ-pūjā-vidhi* (Tohoku 1466, one folio) by the eleventh-century disciple of Naropa, Prajñārakṣita,¹³⁰ translated in the late eleventh to early twelfth centuries by Sumatikīrti¹³¹ and Blo-ldan śes-rab;¹³² 13) *-maṇḍala-deva-gaṇa-stotra* (Tohoku 1531, one folio) by the latter tenth-century Kaśmīri Ratnavajra (Rin-chen rdo-rje), translated in the eleventh century by Mahājñāna and Mar pa Chos-kyi dban-phyug;¹³³ 14) *-maṇḍala-maṅgala-gāthā* (Tohoku 1479, one folio) by the latter tenth-century Kaśmīri Ratnavajra (Rin-chen rdo-rje), translated in the early twelfth century by Tārākalaśu and Abhayākara Gupta's collaborator Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba;¹³⁴ 15 and 16) *-maṇḍala-vidhi* (Tohoku 1469, 13 folios) by the eleventh-century disciple of Nāropā Prajñārakṣita, translated in the late eleventh to early twelfth centuries by Sumatikīrti and Blo-ldan śes-rab;¹³⁵ and (Tohoku 1477, 36 folios) by Vijayabhadra (this appears to be the same person sometimes called Bhadrāpada or Vijayapada, a pupil of the eleventh-century contemporary of Naropa, Kṛṣṇa-pada,¹³⁶ called here in the canon Rgyal-ba bzañ-po), translated by Hjam-dpal and Ba-ri;¹³⁷ 17) *-maṇḍala-vidhi-tattva-avatāra* (Tohoku 1430, 16 folios) by the twelfth-century Darika-pa,¹³⁸ translated by Kumāravajra and Nyi-ma rdo-je;¹³⁹ 18) *-maṇḍala-vidhi-ratna-pradīpoddyota* (Tohoku 1444, 22 folios) by Lwa-ba-pa, translated in the eleventh century by Sumatikīrti and Mar-pa chos-kyi-dban-phyug;¹⁴⁰ 19) *-maṇḍala-stotra* (Tohoku 1530, three folios) by Śūrakalaśa (= mid-twelfth-century Tilakakalaśa or Ālaṅkāraśa (?))¹⁴¹ and Bsod-nams bzañ-po;¹⁴² 20) *-mūla-tantra-pañjikā*, (Tohoku 1406, 28 folios) by Laṅka Vijayabhadra (this appears to be the same person sometimes called Bhadrāpada or Vijayapāda, a pupil of the late eleventh-century contemporary of Naropa, Kṛṣṇa-pāda,¹⁴³ called here in the canon Rgyal-ba bzañ-po), translator unknown;¹⁴⁴ 21) *-balividhi* (Tohoku 1467, two folios) by the eleventh-century Prajñārakṣita, translated by Sumatikīrti and

Blo-ldan ses-rab;¹⁴⁵ 22) *-ṣeka-kriyā-krama* (Tohoku 1470, 10 folios) by Nityavajra (? Rtag-pahi rdo-rje), translated by Dharmasrībhadrā and Bu-ston;¹⁴⁶ 23) *-ṣeka-prakriya-upadeśa* (Tohoku 1431, three folios) by the Mahāsiddha Vajraghaṅṭita (Rdo-rje dril-bu), translated by Kṛṣṇa-pa and Chos-kyi śes-rab;¹⁴⁷ 24) *-sahaja-tattva-āloka* (Tohoku 1504, one folio) by Dpag-med rdo-rje, translated by Dīpaṅkararakṣita;¹⁴⁸ 25, 26, and 27), *-sādhana* (Tohoku 1432, two folios) by Vajraghaṅṭa (Rdo-rje dril-bu-pa), translated by Prajñābhadrā and Blo-gros grags;¹⁴⁹ (Tohoku 1445, four folios), author and translators unknown, (Tohoku 1491, two folios) by Mar-me-mdsad ye-śes, translated by Atiśa (Mar-me-mdsad ye-śes) and Rin-chen bzañ-po;¹⁵⁰ 28) *-sādhana-tattva-saṃgraha* (Tohoku 1429, six folios) by the twelfth-century Dārika-pa, translated by Kumāraravajra and Advayavajra (Nyis-ma rdo-rje);¹⁵¹ 29) *-sādhana-triṃśikā-pada-paddhati* (Tohoku 1488, two folios) by Sprin-gyi bshon-paḥi hla, translated by Dharmapālabhadra;¹⁵² 30) *-sādhana-ratna-pradīpa* (Tohoku 1484, five folios) by Maitri-pa, translated by Vajrapāṇi and Ba-reg thos-pa-dgaḥ;¹⁵³ 31) *-sādhana-sarva-śāla-nāma-ṭikā* (Tohoku 1407, 87 folios) by the ninth-century¹⁵⁴ king Deva-pāla (? Lhas sbas), translator unknown;¹⁵⁵ 32) *-sādhana-amṛta-kṣara* (Tohoku 1462, 13 folios) by King Vimalacandra (Mi-thib zla-ba), translator unknown;¹⁵⁶ 33) *-supraṭiṣṭhā* (Tohoku 1487, five folios) by the eleventh-century Advayavajra (Gnyis-med rdo-rje), translated by Vajrapāṇi and Rma-ban chos-ḥbar;¹⁵⁷ 34, 35, and 36) *-stotra* (Tohoku 1440, one folio) by Indrabhūti, translator unknown,¹⁵⁸ (Tohoku 1520, one folio) by Maitri/Advayavajra (eleventh century),¹⁵⁹ (Tohoku 1532, 2 folios) by the latter tenth-century Kaśmīri Ratnavajra (Rin-chen rdo-rje), translated by Mahājñāna and Mar-pa Chos-kyi dban-phyug;¹⁶⁰ 37) *-stotra-sarva-artha-siddhi-viśuddhi-cūḍāmani* (Tohoku 1423, four folios) by the twelfth-century Dārika, translated by the Kaśmīri Dharmavajra and Rgya Brtson ḥgrus sen-ge;¹⁶¹ 38) *-hasta-pūjā-vidhi* (1468, one folio) by Prajñārakṣita, translated by Sumatikīrti and Blo-ldan śes-rab;¹⁶² 39) *-homa-vidhi* (1447, six folios) by Kṛṣṇa-pāda (Nag-po), translated by Dharmabhadra and Rig-pa gshon-nu;¹⁶³ 40) *-advaita-dhyāna-upadeśa-yoga-caṇḍālī* (Tohoku 1508, one folio) by Dge-baḥ mgon-po, translated by the Nepali Vagīśvara and Mar-pa Chos-kyi dban-phyug;¹⁶⁴ 41) *-abhisamaya* (Tohoku 1498, seven folios) by Abhayākaragupta, translated by Abhayākara and Śes-rab-dpal;¹⁶⁵ 41) *-eka-vīra-sādhana* (Tohoku 1536, four folios) by Mañikaśrī, translated by Sumatikīrti and Prajñākīrti;¹⁶⁶ and 43) *-upadeśa* (Tohoku 1485, four folios) by Gnyis-med rdo-rje, translated by Varendraruci and Rma-ban

chos-ḥjar.¹⁶⁷ The *Samvarodayābhisamayopāyikā*¹⁶⁸ is among the texts cited by Abhayākaragupta.

Manuscript HI.365 A in Shāstrā's Durbar Library Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts is a short, 700-*śloka* commentary in twenty-six folios on the *Cakrasaṃvara* by Jayabhadraḥ. Though of uncertain date, the manuscript is in transitional Gupta characters. Śāstrī writes that "the commentator Jayabhadra seems to have been an immigrant from Ceylon, though the verse in which he is described is very obscure, and many of the letters have almost been effaced." This information is based on part of the colophon: "this work was produced by a Sinhalese born in Śrītaṅka, known by the name Jayabhadra. May the heroic *ḍākinīs* grant peace."¹⁶⁹ The text opens with:

Salutation to Heruka, the pinnacle of the intrinsic existence of all beings, who removes the fear of all beings, who appears as all beings, engendering all beings. Homage to him the Mahāvīram, who has infinite capacity, spotless like the sky.¹⁷⁰

Glossing the use of the term *cakrasambaram* in the root tantra, Jayabhadra tells us it refers to the tantras of Śrīheruka, Vajravārāhi, etc.¹⁷¹

The catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal lists two Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Heruka Tantra (Sambarodaya)*, nos. 59 (in 82 folios, fresh and complete) and 60 (only nine folios, in fourteenth-century Newari script). The text in 1,600 *ślokās* purports to be an extract of the 300,000-verse *Heruka Tantra*. Shāstrī's placing of the text at no. 59 indicates that he considered it a relatively early tantra (he notes in the preface that he attempted a chronological ordering of the manuscripts in the catalogue).¹⁷² The standard opening is found: *evaṃ mayā śrutam, ekasmin samaye bhagavān sarva-tathāgata-kāya-vāk-citta-vajra-yoginī-bhageṣu vijahāra |*, the same line that opens the *Guhyasamājatantra*¹⁷³ and the *Hevajratantra*,¹⁷⁴ though not the *Kālacakratantra*. In addition, the *Cakrasaṃvara*, *Guhyasamāja*, and *Hevajra* all begin in prose, while the *Kālacakratantra* is in verse (though Puṇḍarīka's commentary is in prose). Of the three earlier tantras, the *Cakrasaṃvara* is the longest, in thirty-three chapters. The *Guhyasamāja* is complete in seventeen or eighteen chapters, and the *Hevajra* is rather shorter, in two chapters of ten and eleven fairly short sections each.

Since the Sanskrit of the remaining chapters of the *Cakrasaṃvara* or *Sambarodaya* have not been published, the following is a translation of the opening lines from Shāstrī's catalogue, and the table of contents from all the chapter colophons:

Om homage to the glorious Vajrasambara. Thus was it heard by me. At one time the lord dwelt in the vaginas of the lightning *yoginīs* of the body, speech, and thought of all the Tathāgatas. Together with preeminent passionless ones, beginning with Āryya Ānanda, Avalokiteśvara, etc. and the 800,000 *yoginīs* [were present]; seeing Vajrapāṇi in [their] midst, [the lord] smiled. Vajrapāṇi, arising from his seat, putting his upper garment on one shoulder, placing the *maṇḍala* of his right knee on the ground, joining his hands together in homage, addressed the lord: “I would like to hear, O Lord, a description of *Utpattiyoga*; and how, O Lord, is the one Saṃbara of universal form arisen? How is there wind and water, earth, space, and [fire]? How is there the five forms, O Deva, and then the sixfold, Prabho? How are the three bodies established externally, and established internally? You must explain how your goddess has the form of a god, Prabho. How is there the sun and the moon, Deva, and how is there the five paths? And what is the intrinsic nature of your body, and what is the form of the channels? What is the extent of the channels, and what [is the extent] of the physical body?¹⁷⁵ You must explain to me, Prabho, about the *cchoma* that is the sign of the community,¹⁷⁶ what are the internal and external signs of your pilgrimage sites, how [does one] attain the stages, etc., and what is the explanation of the cause? What are your twelve actions, and how is mantra recitation [performed]? What is the string of *akṣa* [beads], the practice, and your description of the recitation? What is your *maṇḍala*, [its] turning, and the form of the divinities? What is the *siddhi*-mantra, and how does one satisfy the young lady? How is your divine service performed, and what are the vowels and consonants? What are the five nectars, Deva, and the five goads? You must explain how to draw the *maṇḍala*, and the measuring line. How is your ground purified, and what is the protection *cakra*? With what [sort of] teacher is this done, and how does the student recognize him? What is your consecration, its extent, and the fourth? What is the rule about time, and [how] does one cheat death? What is your mark of the four ages, and what are the four continents? What is *siddhi* in each age, and what are the teachers and the practices? What are your *yoginītantras* and *yogatantras*? What is the extent of your sūtra literature and the perfection [of wisdom literature]? What is the *siddhi*-mantra of the foundational *homa* sacrifice? What is the [alchemical] elixir, Deva, and what is the alcoholic drink? What is the arisal of the mantras, Deva, and what is the extraction of the mantras? What is the punishment, Deva, and what is the reward?

What are the principles, Lord, and what is voidness, and compassion? What is the intrinsic nature of the void, and what is the intrinsic

nature of reality? What is the form of the deity, the name, and the line [on the body] characteristic of the *yoginī*? You must explain, Prabho, the knowledge of all the properties of the states of being.¹⁷⁷

TABLE OF CONTENTS:¹⁷⁸

(I have boldfaced the chapter titles not included in Tsuda's edition.)

- Chapter 1. Requesting instruction on the Śrīsambarodayatantra.**
 Chapter 2. Instruction about the origin.¹⁷⁹
 Chapter 3. Instruction on the sequence of completion.¹⁸⁰
 Chapter 4. Purification of the deities of the four elements, the five forms, and the six [sense] realms.¹⁸¹
 Chapter 5. Instruction on the course of the moon and the sun.¹⁸²
 Chapter 6. Instruction on the five paths.¹⁸³
 Chapter 7. The means [using] the sequence of the array of channels.¹⁸⁴
 Chapter 8. Rules for the meeting place of the *samaya*.¹⁸⁵
 Chapter 9. Explanation of the secret signs and the places appointed for meeting [such as] *pīṭha* [and so on].¹⁸⁶
 Chapter 10. The chapter called the advance and arising of karma.
Chapter 11. The instruction about mantra recitation.
Chapter 12. The instruction about the mantra recitation rosary.
 Chapter 13. The arising of Śrī Heruka.
Chapter 14. The rule for the worship of the lightning yoginī.
Chapter 15: The instruction about the characteristics of the drinking vessel (pātralakṣaṇa).
Chapter 16. The instruction on the practice with the five nectars.
 Chapter 17. The instruction describing the rules for laying out the *maṇḍala*.
 Chapter 18. The initiation.
 Chapter 19: The yoga of departure showing the constructed nature of death.
Chapter 20. The instruction about the four ages.
 Chapter 21. The instruction on the vows of practice.
Chapter 22. The rule for the residence of the deities.
 Chapter 23. The instruction about *homa*.
Chapter 24. The instruction on the use of herbs for the advancement of karma.
Chapter 25. The rule about elixirs.
 Chapter 26. The instruction about alcoholic beverages.
Chapter 27. The rule about the extraction of mantras.
 Chapter 28. The rule about *homa*.

Chapter 29. The instruction about the principles.

Chapter 30. The instruction about the characteristics of the multicolored, etc., forms.

Chapter 31. The advancement of the *bodhicitta* and the sequence of instruction about the four *yoginīs*.

Chapter 32. The instruction about offering the oblation.

Chapter 33. The section on innate arising extracted from the 300,000 [verses] In the royal tantra called Śrīheruka perfecting the recitation of the secret of all the *yoginīs*.¹⁸⁷

5.2. The Hevajratantra

The first Buddhist Sanskrit tantra translated into English was the *Hevajratantra* by David Snellgrove, formerly of the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies. His complete translation of a Buddhist tantra and commentary (the *Yogaratnamālā* by Kaṇha) in many ways established a paradigm for work in Buddhist tantra by his reliance on the Tibetan translations of the text and Indian commentaries as his “chief guides” to elucidate the surviving Sanskrit text.¹⁸⁸ As he puts it more explicitly, “A Tibetan translation of a text and a commentary, let alone five commentaries or more, is of far more value for understanding a work than the Sanskrit manuscript alone. It is on these translations that I have largely relied.”¹⁸⁹ Snellgrove deduces that the *Hevajratantra* existed “in its present form towards the end of the eighth century,” based largely on Tāranātha's statement that Kaṇha was a contemporary of Devapāla, an early ninth-century king.¹⁹⁰ How long the *Hevajratantra* preexisted this date in oral tradition is hard to say.

The formal title of the text is the *Śrī-hevajra-dākiṇī-jāla-saṃvara-mahātantrarāja*. Snellgrove used a good Sanskrit manuscript of the *Yogaratnamālā* in the Cambridge University library. The earliest commentary in Sanskrit appears to have been the *Hevajrapañjikā* by Śrī Kamalanāth, whom Snellgrove identifies with Kampala, the originator of the *Hevajratantra* along with Saroruha. A complete Sanskrit version in twenty-three folios survived in the private Library of Field Marshal Kaisher Shamshser in Kathmandu, though Snellgrove did not have time to translate it, and as far as I am aware no one else has since done so (I do not know whether this commentary still exists). Another Sanskrit commentary by Vairocana survives in Kathmandu's Bir Library.¹⁹¹ Göttingen's library has a manuscript of the *Hevajrasādhanopāyikā* of

Ratnākaraśānti, collected from Phyag dpe lha khang in Sa skya Tibet in a 1936 expedition.¹⁹² In Shāstri's catalogue of the Durbar library we also find a *Yogaratnamālā* or *Hevajrapañjikā* manuscript in transitional Gupta characters, though it is incomplete.¹⁹³ More recently, G. W. Farrow and I. Menon have retranslated both the *Hevajratantra* and the *Yogaratnamālā*, providing an edited version based on four Sanskrit manuscripts of the former, and two of the latter, in careful consultation with Snellgrove's edition.¹⁹⁴ This text is in some respects an improvement over Snellgrove's, as the *Yogaramamālā* glosses are given with each verse. Unfortunately I was not able to locate any manuscript extracts of the unpublished *Hevajra* commentaries in the catalogues I consulted.

The *Hevajra* has a substantial literature, with twenty-six works preserved in the Tibetan canon. The text was translated into Chinese in the eleventh century by Fa-hu, though this is a much later date than when the text seems to have first been incorporated into the Buddhist canon in India, and the text is generally considered to be among the earliest *Anuttarayogatantras*. One of the surviving commentaries was written by Jalandha ri-pa, one of the Mahāsiddhas (see no. 23 below). The Tibetan translations include: 1) *Hevajra-krama-kuru-kulle-sādhana* (Tohoku 3568, one folio) translated by Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan; 2) *Hevajra-tantra-pañjikā-padmin* (Tohoku 1181, 47 folios) by Mtsho-skyes, translated by Kjitigarbha and Khu-ston dnos-grub; 3) *Hevajra-tantra-rājā* (Tohoku 417, 12 folios) translator unknown; 4, 5, and 6) *Hevajra-vibhuja-sādhana* (Tohoku 1235, one folio) by Vajralala, translator unknown; (Tohoku 1271, two folios) by Tārāśrī, translated by Sumatikīrti and Mar-pa Chos dbañ; (Tohoku 1276, two folios) translated by Sumatiśrībhadra and Śākya ḥod-zer; 7) *Hevajra-nāma-mahā-tantra-rāja-dvi-kalpa-māyā-pañjika-smṛti-nipāda* (Tohoku 1187, 48 folios) by Kṛṣṇa-pāda (Nag-po-ba), translated by Dpal-dlam zla-ba and Ḥgos Ihas-btsas; 8) *Hevajra-nāma-sādhana* (Tohoku 1243, 13 folios) by Avadhūti-pa Gñis med rdo-rje, translator unknown; 9) *Hevajra-piṇḍārtha-ṭikā* (Tohoku 1180, 125 folios) by Vajra-garbha (Rdo-rje snin-po), translated by Dānaśīla, Señ-dkar Śākya ḥod Maitri, and Nas-hbro dge-slon; 10) *Hevajra-bali-vidhi* (Tohoku 1288, one folio) translator unknown; 11 and 12) *Hevajra-maṇḍala-karma-krama-vidhi* (Tohoku 1219, 12 folios) by Padmavajra, translated by Śākya brtson-ḥgrus; (Tohoku 1263, 13 folios) by Mtsho-skyes rdo-rje, translated by Gayadhara and Śākya ye-śes; 13) *Hevajra-maṇḍala-vidhi* (Tohoku 1221, two folios) by Mtsho-skyes rdo-rje, translator

unknown; 14) *Hevajra-ṣoḍaśa-bhuja-sādhana* (1297, two folios) by Kṛṣṇa; 15, 16, and 17) *Hevajra-sādhana* (Tohoku 1264, eight folios) by Yan-lag med-paḥi rdo-rje, translated by Kun-tu bzañ-po and Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba, (Tohoku 1301, six folios) by Hjam-dpai ye-śes, translated by Mañjuśrījñāna and Roñ-zon Dharmabhadra, and (Tohoku 3292, two folios) translated by Dā, Abhay[ākaragupta], and Tshul-khrims-rgyal-mtshan; 18) *Hevajra-sādhana-tatta-udyotakara* (Tohoku 1253, 10 folios) by Kṛṣṇa-pāda (Nag-po), translated by Kṛṣṇa-pāda (Nag-po) and Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba;¹⁹⁵ 19) *Hevajra-sādhana-pañjikā* (Tohoku 1233, 19 folios) by the Kaśmīri Dñul-gyi bum pa, translated by Nags-kyi rin-chen and Gshon-nu dpal; 20) *Hevajra-sādhana-vajra-pradīpa-nāma-tippaṇī-śuddha* (Tohoku 1237, 23 folios) by Jalandha ri-pa, translated by Nyi-ma rgyal-mtshan; 21) *Hevajra-hasta-vyavagrāha-krama* (Tohoku 1294, 19 folios) by Se-rtsa Bsod nams rgyal-mtshan (?), translated by Gsod-nams rgyal-mtshan; 22) *Hevajra-homa-vidhi* (Tohoku 1556, one folio) by Sans-rgyas byin, translated by Bharendraruci and Blo-ldan śes-rab; 23) *Hevajra-abhiṣeka-niścaya* (Tohoku 1272, three folios) by Dgra-las-rgyal-ba, translated by Śrīgayadhara and Jo Zla-baḥi ḥod-zer; 24) *Hevajrakasmṛti* (Tohoku 1236, two folios) by Garbha ri-pa, translated by Prajnendraruci and Śākya ye-śes; 25) *Hevajra-udbhava-kuru-kulle-pañca-mahopadeśa* (Tohoku 1316, one folio) by Shi-ba-ḥtsho, translated by Dānaśīla; and 26) *Hevajra-udbhava-kuru-kulle-sādhana* (1315, one folio) by Lhan-skyes sgegs-pa, translator unknown.¹⁹⁶

5.3. The *Ekallavīra-Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra*

The second Buddhist Sanskrit tantra translated into English was the *Ekallavīra-Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra*, the first eight (of twenty-five) chapters of which were critically edited and translated by Christopher S. George in 1974. Among the texts surviving in Tibetan translation is a one-folio *Ekavīrasādhana* attributed to Padmasambhava (see no. 4 below), that would give us a seventh- or eighth-century date for the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa* tradition. There appear to be several related texts from this tradition in the Tibetan canon. 1) The *Siddha-ekavīra-mahā-tantra-rāja* (Tohoku 544, 12 folios) translated by Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna and Dge-baḥi glo-gros, revised by Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba;¹⁹⁷ 2) the *Ekavīra-yoginī-sādhana* (Tohoku 1710, one folio), author and translator unknown; the *Ekavīra-śrī-heruka-ṣoḍaśa-bhuja-sādhana* (Tohoku 1283, one folio), translator unknown;¹⁹⁸ 3) the *Ekavīra-sādhana* (Tohoku 1464, one folio) by Ḍombi Heruka, translated by Atīśa (Dīpaṅkara) in the second

half of the eleventh century¹⁹⁹ and Tshul-khrims rgyal-pa;²⁰⁰ and 4) by the same name (Tohoku 1473, one folio) by Padma bhyaṅs (i.e., Padmasambhava)—so this would argue for an early date to the text—translator unknown;²⁰¹ 5) the *Ekavīra-heruka-sādhana* (1472, one folio) by Naropa (whom Peter Zieme and Gyorgy Kara date to 1016–110), with his teacher Tilopa (988–1069)²⁰² in the eleventh century;²⁰³ and 6) the *Ekavīra-ākhyā-śrī-caṇḍa-mahāroṣaṇa-tantra-rāja* (Tohoku 431, 39 folios), translated by the Kaśmīri Ratnaśrī-(bhadra) and the early fourteenth-century²⁰⁴ Tibetan Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan.²⁰⁵

There are also several *sādhana*s to the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa*: 7) (Tohoku 3062, two folios) by Prabhākarakīrti, translated by Sbyin-pa tshul-khrims;²⁰⁶ 8) (Tohoku 3063, one folio) by Jetari (or Jetari Vijaya, Dgralas rnam-par-rgyal-ba), who was at the northern gate of Nālanda when Naropa arrived there in the late tenth century,²⁰⁷ translated by Puṅyaśrī and Glog-skya gshon-nu ḥbar;²⁰⁸ 9) (Tohoku 3262, one folio) translated by Da, Abhayākaragupta, and Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan;²⁰⁹ 10) (Tohoku 3263, one folio) translated by Abhayākaragupta and Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan;²¹⁰ 11) (Tohoku 3358, one folio) translated by Don-yod rdo-rje and Ba-ri Dharmakīrti; 12) (Tohoku 3479, one folio), 13) (Tohoku 3480, one folio), and 14) (Tohoku 3481, one folio) all translated by the fourteenth-century Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan;²¹¹ 15) a *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa-sādhana sakalpa* (Tohoku 3478) by bod-zer ḥbyuṅgnas grags-pa;²¹² and 16) the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa-abhisamaya* (Tohoku 1782, five folios).²¹³

The first Sanskrit manuscript of this text collected by a Western scholar was apparently Brian Hodgson's copy, excerpted in Arthur Keith's volume of the India Office Catalogue.²¹⁴ George gives us the colophons of the twenty-five chapters: 1) introduction²¹⁵ to the tantra (*tantrāvatāraṇapaṭala*), 2) *maṇḍala*, 3) consecration (*abhiṣeka*), 4) the deity (*devatā*), 5) mantra, 6) the yoga of completion (*niṣpannayoga*), 7) refreshing the body (*dehaprīṇana*), 8) his own form (*svarūpa*), 9) meditation (*dhyāna*)²¹⁶ 10) praise of women (*stripraśamsa*), 11) the universal form (*viśvarūpa*), 12) prescriptions of all mantras (*sarva-mantra-kalpa*), 13) conduct (*caryā*), 14) the meaning of *acala* (*acalānvaya*),²¹⁷ 15) purification (*viśuddhi*) 16) dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*), 17) increasing the semen, etc. (*śukrādivṛddhi*),²¹⁸ 18) cures for diseases and aging (*vyādhivṛddhatvahāni*),²¹⁹ 19) the arrest of the semen, etc. (*śukrastambhādi*),²²⁰ 20) recitation of various mantras and devices (*nānābhi-bheda-nigadita-yantra-mantra*), 21) magical feats (*kutūhala*),

22) breath control (*vāyuyoga*), 23) the signs of death (*mṛtyulakṣaṇa*), 24) the nature of the body (*dehasvarūpa*), and 25) *sādhana* of the goddess (*devī-sādhana*).

One of the manuscripts George based his translation on is no. 84 (ms. 9089) in the ASB catalogue.²²¹ As George points out, Śāstri gives excerpts from several chapters not included in George's dissertation.²²² These excerpts begin with a short one from the eleventh chapter ("Universal Form"):

I am everything, all pervading, and all-doing, all destroying; I maintain all forms, as Buddha, the remover, the maker, the lord, the happy one. In whatever form beings become disciples, I abide in those forms for the sake of the world—wherever there is a *Buddha*, wherever there is a *siddha*, wherever there is *dharma* or a *saṅgha*, wherever there is a *preta*, or an animal, or a hell-being.²²³

This is followed by an extract from the thirteenth chapter ("Conduct"):

With the joining together of wisdom and means one should give [to the consort] the fingernail, and the three syllables;²²⁴ the kissing and the embrace, and also all of one's semen. She will become the perfection of generosity, without a doubt. With that as the highest, the body, speech, and thought enveloped through intense pleasure,²²⁵ she is recognizable as the perfection of [good] disposition, she is to be known [as such] also from forbearance [even when] scratched by fingernails.²²⁶ And even squeezing the three-syllabled, she is endowed with the perfection of patience. Concentrated, and reverently, one should engage in sexual union for a long time. She should be known as the perfection of the hero, her mind engaged in that pleasure; she is considered the perfection of meditation on the form of the universally beneficent; she is renowned as the meditation on the female form, the perfection of wisdom; she is filled with just the one *yoga* of great sex,²²⁷ she becomes the perfection of the six;²²⁸ she is said to be the perfection of the five, merit, knowledge, and wisdom. [He], completely engaged in the *yoga* of great sex, enveloped in the requisites of the *yoga*, is perfected in just a moment, endowed with merit and knowledge. Just as what's produced from the creeper is endowed with flowers and fruit, complete enlightenment²²⁹ is also equipped with the pair of requirements in one moment. He becomes the master of the thirty realms, there is no doubt. And the stage[s] are to be known as delighted, stainless and likewise flaming, radiating, very difficult to conquer, forefront, traveling far, unmoving, highly thought of,

and the cloud of *dharma*, likewise the light called universal, unique, possessed of knowledge, are known as the thirteen.²³⁰

A short extract from the fifteenth chapter (“Purification”) reads:

The male form is existence; the female form is non-existence. Blue is consciousness (*vijñāna*), white is form, yellow is perception, red is name (*saṃhitās*), black is aggregate (*saṃskāra*), or blue is space, white is water, yellow is earth, red is fire, black is wind—just as [this is the case] for the *bhagavāns*, so it is for the *bhagavatīs*. Or, dark blue is knowledge of the truly purified *dharma* constituent; white is the mirror-knowledge; yellow is the knowledge of equanimity; red is the knowledge of direct perception; black is the knowledge of performance of duty. There is only one teacher of the Victors, established in five forms; and there is one perfection of wisdom, established in five forms.²³¹

Śāstri gives a slightly longer extract from the tenth chapter (“Praise of Women”):

Now the Lady (*Bhagavatī*) spoke: “Is it possible, Oh lord, to achieve the place of *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa* without a woman?” The Lord answered: “It is not possible, Oh Goddess.” The Lady said: “Is it impossible without the experience of pleasure?” The Lord spoke: “The ultimate *bodhi* cannot be obtained only with the experience of pleasure; it is attained by the experience of a specific type of pleasure, and not otherwise. . . .

“For the sake of destroying the wickedness of the world, the wise son of *Māyādevī*, leaving behind the eighty-four thousand, and also the harem, going to the banks of the *Nirañjanā*, illuminated the *Buddhas* and *Siddhas*, he escaped from *Māra*, having repudiated him since that is not ultimate reality, since the *Buddha* was a master in the harem, provided with guardians, friendly, since he attained pleasure through the joining together of the *vajra* and the lotus; enlightenment is attained through pleasure, [and] pleasure is not [attained] without women. And the separation that is undertaken is in order to remove the wickedness of the world. However the world-[dwellers] become students of the *Buddha*, for that [purpose] the Victor [takes on] the form of the son of *Māyādevī*. Whatever censures of women have been made in all the *sūtras* and *abhidharma* [literature], [those] should be considered as various moral precepts according to language for one’s own protection; and one should teach about *nirvāṇa* through the destruction of the five aggregates.”

Now the *Bhagavatī* *Prajñāpāramitā* spoke: “Who, Oh *Bhagavān*, is the son of *Māyādevī*, and who is *Gopā*?”

Bhagavān responded: “I am the son of *Māyādevī*, and have achieved the state of *Caṇḍaroṣaṇa*. You are *Bhagavatī*, *Gopā*, i.e., *Prajñāpāramitā*. As many as are all the women, they are considered to have that (i.e., your) form; all the men likewise are well known to have my form. And this world consists of wisdom and means, having arrived at the state of both. . . .”

Then the *Bhagavatī* spoke: “Why, Oh *Bhagavān*, do the Śrāvakas censure women?”

The *Bhagavān* responded: “All of those dwelling in the realm of desire who are known as Śrāvakas etc., they do not know the path to liberation [even though] they see women everywhere. When proximity is difficult to attain for the *śūṅkumā*, etc.,²³² then the state of great value does not attain value for the remote one. By reason of beginningless ignorance, these people lack faith; [they] do not put their thoughts on reality, since this is protected by me.”²³³

The last extract is from the final chapter, *Devī-sādhana*:

Now the *Bhagavatī* spoke: “I desire to hear about the *apara* arisen from the perfection of wisdom; you must be gracious to me, Oh lord, [and explain it] briefly, not overly in detail.”

Then the *Bhagavān* spoke: “Now then I will explain to you what arises from the perfection of wisdom. The beautiful sixteen-year-old goddess, the *paryāṅka*-[*āsana*] of sentient beings,²³⁴ dark-blue colored, illustrious, [is] embraced by *Akṣobhya*. Seeing her raised up on a red lotus, on the right, with dark blue limbs, a thousand fold,²³⁵ with full, prominent breasts, large eyed, speaking kindly, [like] the very treatise on erotic love situated there above the moon-[seat] on the lotus, the *yogī*, delighted, should meditatively cause that goddess to come into existence who abides in the unshakable *samādhi* of orgasm, who is produced from the knowledge of *hūṃkāra* and is the universal *vajrī yoginī*—then the *yogī* certainly attains *siddhi*. Or [the *yogī*] should bring into being the white [goddess] produced from the *dhīkāra* sound, the yellow mistress of the lightning realm, embraced by the. . . , [or one should visualize] the goddess produced by the knowledge of the *hrīṃkāra*, embraced by *Amitābha*, the *vajra* sealed by red, the red mother, the mistress of the clan; [or] one should meditate on the black-colored *Tārā* mother, produced from the knowledge of the *traṃkāra*, embraced by *Amogha*[*siddhī*], with the prior form, Oh

woman. Firmly established with a handsome form, abiding in the *paryāṅka* of sentient beings, holding a chopper and a noose, glorious, having embraced [her, sexually], with dramatic gesture, the creator, having embraced a young lady of his own clan, [he] should meditate. In this [manner] the *yogī* becomes perfected by the consort, there is no doubt. Otherwise, having created an image, he should perfect [the image] that is created according to the *sūtras* etc. Staying in *samādhi* together with *Caṇḍa*, he should recite [the mantras] with a one-pointed mind.”²³⁶ “Now I will explain to you the Single-Hero *maṇḍala*. It is four-cornered (i.e., square), with four doors, adorned with four pillars. A yellow-colored great lotus of four petals is to be made; a white petal in its southeast; a red petal in its southwest; a yellow petal in its northwest, and a black one in its northeast corner. In the middle of that one should create a dark blue *Acala*. One should meditatively imagine [him as] a single form with the five *Buddhas*, white, yellow, red, or black, on a solar seat. In the southeast corner [one should visualize] *Locanā*, arranging *caṇḍa* and *aśoka* [blossoms?] with her left and right hands, radiant like the light of the autumn moon. In the southwest [corner] [one should visualize] the goddess *Pāṇḍarā*, the highest, holding a bow and arrows. In the northwest corner [one should visualize] the red *Māmakī*, yellow-like, . . . with a flame in her hand; in the northeast corner [one should visualize] the black *Tārā*, with the boon-giving gesture in her right hand, and holding a blue lotus in her left. These are all the mistresses of *Caṇḍa*, seated in half-*paryāṅka* positions. In the eastern door one should place the passion-*vajrā*, similar to what causes an enemy (?),²³⁷ in the southern door the red hatred *vajra*, holding a chopper and arrows; dark blue, with hands holding a knife and in the threatening gesture, enveloped by *Yama*; in the western door, [one should visualize] the *Māra-vajrā*, steady, making a colorful *vajra*, situated in the west, clothed in peacock feathers, black-like. In the north, the confusion *vajrā*, holding the *tanyśoka* (?), yellow-colored, residing in the north, one should place [her] on the solar seat. . . . They are all in the *pratyāliḍha* pose, . . . One should place four bells in the corner[s], yellow colored. By just this meditation, accompanied by the eight *yoginīs*, [one becomes] the husband of living women, the supreme master of the three worlds.²³⁸ “Now I will describe to you the meditation on *Caṇḍaroṣaṇa*. One should imagine the deity *Caṇḍaroṣaṇa* on the petals of the universal lotus. *Vāmadeva* is in the southeast, colored red; in the southwest is *Kāmadeva* with yellow garments, delighting women; in the northwest is the dark-blue colored *Asura* named *Koila*.²³⁹ And these, holding knives and skulls, are standing in the *āliḍha* position. To the west of the venerable one stands the goddess *Parṇasāvālī*²⁴⁰ by meditation and yoga on

her, with the worship by burnt fish etc., . . . joined with the yellow wisdom, and with the white lotus [woman] on the left, and the blue *Caṇḍaroṣa*, with the red [goddess] or the red [goddess], . . . one should visualize [that] intensely until it becomes manifest, since the *yogī*, becoming manifest, is perfected by the great *mantra*.²⁴¹

Śāstri refers us to a one thousand-śloka commentary on this tantra the *Caṇḍa-mahāroṣaṇa-tantra-pañjikā*, or *Padmavatī*, dating from Nepali Saṃvat 417 (1297 C.E.), in his Durbar Library catalogue.²⁴² Like the original tantra the commentary is divided into twenty-five chapters. This commentary was used by George in his translation, referred to in his notes as *Comm*. Śāstrī provides extracts from the opening and closing sections:

Oṃ homage to *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa*. Since this world of moving and stationary creatures is sunk into the belly of confusion and darkness, the manifest [world] is illumined by the rays of the divisions of wisdom and means . . . the male . . . [?]²⁴³ his own entire learning, [his own] entire *samādhi* [?], may he stand in this world, with manifest light, to effect my pleasure. “*Evaṃ mayā*,” etc., i.e., the author of the *saṃgīti*. This is the statement of the primary cause (*nidāna-vākya*), since it is [stated] at the beginning of the *Sūtra* or *Tantra* by the author of the *saṃgīti*. It is indispensable that it be said, according to the *Bhagavān*’s statement. And so, having said “*evaṃ mayā śrutam*” you may ask for my statement. It is to be sung, etc., when existing in this way. [Verse:] “In witness to the faithful the teacher fulfilled²⁴⁴ the first section; and the place and time are indicated, in demonstration of one’s own authority”; so it is established. In that sense, “*evam*” [means] I will express it in that way. *Mayā* means by this there is refutation of [anything] contradictory that was heard, and of what was heard through tradition. And it demonstrates that what was heard is not untrue since it is not dependent on this individual. “Heard” means it was acquired through the knowledge of listening. “At one time” means “at one time.” And something else was heard at another time. This is the meaning. And in this way it demonstrates that at the beginning of this *Tantra* much was heard that was intelligible to this individual. “*Bhagavān*,” i.e., sovereignty over the vulvas (*bhagās*), etc. And likewise [Verse:] “The good fortune [*bhagāḥ*] of the six—of power, of all charity, of glory, of women, of the body, and of effort—thus [says] śruti.” They know these in this one, or through the experience of the addictions of passion etc. “*Vajrasattva*” refers to the being that is the indivisible *vajra*, causing the accomplishment of purposeful action. Or else, like a *vajra*, and this *vajra* is like a living being. “All,” i.e., all those *Tathāgatās*, through their body, speech, thought, and knowledge, [there is] the

reality of the body, the infinite heart—because of the desirability of that [the *Tathāgatās* are mentioned]. That itself is “the *bhaga* (vulva) of the mistress of the lightning realm (*vajra-dhātu-*); *vajra* is *liṅga*; the realm [is the realm] of that; that is the *bodhicitta* characterized as being [both] concealed and revealed, etc.; Wisdom (*prajñā*) is the mistress of that realm,²⁴⁵ because she is served by the *vajra-dhātu*. That one sported in the vagina of the beautiful woman. He sported by joining together the *vajra* and the lotus, i.e. he remained in union with the cavity; this is the meaning. And [as] this sexual sport is intensely protected from ordinary people, why then does the *Bhagavān Vajrasattva* [partake of it]? And for that reason it is said: “In the land of *Vajrasattva* on top of Mount Sumeru, he took his pleasure in the uppermost apartment at the tip of the vajra-jewel (*vajramāṇi*).” Thereby the place and time of the instructor is indicated. He describes the assembled group by “and with many” etc. The *Vajrayogīs*, the white unmoving ones, the *Vajrayoginīs*, the non-confusion *Vajrīs* etc. The qualities of those [male] and of those female] are gathered together, as they are of one form—[with many means] with those. “Namely,” i.e. representing, “the white unmoving,” i.e., the *Bhagavān*, the *Bhagavatī*, by knowing the incarnate form; likewise, the “yellow unmoving,” the *Bhagavatī*, by knowledge of the incarnate smell; “with the red unmoving,” the *Bhagavatī*, with knowledge of the incarnate taste; “with the black unmoving,” the *Bhagavatī* with the knowledge of the incarnate touch; and with the delusion *vajrī*, i.e., with the *Bhagavatī* with knowledge of the of the incarnate form of the *Bhagavān*; and with the slander *vajrī*, i.e., with the knowledge of the incarnate smell of the *Bhagavān*; and with the passion *vajrī*, i.e., with the knowledge of the incarnate taste of the *Bhagavān*, and with the jealousy *vajrī*, i.e., with the knowledge of the incarnate touch of the *Bhagavān*. The *Bhagavān* himself is incarnate sound, knowledge, and form of the *Bhagavatī*, and the *Bhagavatī* is the incarnate sound, knowledge, and form of the *Bhagavān*. So there is no distinction from this anywhere. “*Evaṃ pramukhair*,” i.e., so with these sorts, i.e., with the eye, the nose, the tongue, the body, the ear, form, sensation, name, aggregates, consciousness, earth, water, fire, space, etc., i.e., with these, this is the meaning. In this way, when the sporting is of that sort, these are the assembly of goddesses. It is said that there are others like that in the *bodhicitta*. If someone objects that since it is intensely protected, how come it has been heard by you? “Then,” etc., this is the meaning. When by that sexual sport the pleasure of the four blisses has been experienced, immediately after that great compassion becomes visible in all men. In this way, having reached the *samādhi* of the plowed row, he “proclaimed,” i.e., he said this that will be said. Then [that]

was heard by me—this is the meaning. It was heard by me abiding in fact in the body of the *Bhagavān* and the *Bhagavatī*, on account of me, *Vajrapāṇi*, the author of the *saṃgīti*, having the form of [their] ear; this is the sense. What did he say was existent non-existent? Being is the *vikalpa* of bliss and supreme joy. In non-existence there is the *vikalpa* of bliss of cessation. What is released is free of both of these. The four blisses: the bliss resulting from the combination of the *vajra* and the lotus, by the [sexual] position of having mounted the *yantra*, with embracing, kissing, stroking the breasts, scratching with the finger nails, etc., characterized by mutual passionate love, with wisdom and means as in the *sūtra*. Thereby a certain amount of pleasure arises.²⁴⁶

The ending extract reads as follows:

The pair with the *yoginī* is the [sexual] joining together with the *yoginī*. Delight arises then. The cause of the state of manifestation is the cause of *siddhi*. As previously stated, the perfection of the *mahāmudrā* (great consort) was previously explained. Thus the chapter on the *sādhana* of the deity, the explanation of the twenty-fifth chapter. “This,” etc., is the statement by the author of the *saṃgīti*. This is that characteristic of what is stated—the *Bhagavān* spoke the entire *Tantra*, i.e., related it. “*Abhyanandan*” means being delighted. “*Samāptam*” means completed. “These *dharma*s” etc; these *dharma*s are seven, known as consciousness, name, form, the six bases, touch, sensation, birth, old age, and death. These arise from five causes, ignorance, aggregates, thirst, grasping, and existence. “*Hetuḥ*” is a cause; just as it is (*yathā*) because of relating them, so it has arrived (*tathāgataḥ*). “*Avadat*” means he said. What is the stopping of cause and effect is cessation, *nirvāṇa*, hence the disposition in order to taste it, for this one, i.e. the great religious mendicant (the Buddha). The wise one, the valiant one, the ascetic, the tremendously powerful one, the hero, and the agent of the miracle, is designated the great one. Because the sins are redeemed, he is a mendicant. Or because of alleviation of the addictions and minor addictions. This commentary, the *Padmavatī* by name, containing the essence of the secret of the glorious *Tantra*, was made the most manifest by me, according to the command of [my] *guru*. Infinitely extensive merit was attained thereby. May the world in the *Kali* [*yuga*] quickly become of one flavor through the coming together of wisdom and means, Oh *Caṇḍācala*.²⁴⁷

The post-coloophon gives the date:

This was written for the *vajra* feet of the great bliss of the great pan-dits. This writing was completed on Tuesday, on the tenth day of the dark half of *Phalguna* (February–March), (*Nepali*) *Samvat* 417, in the

kingdom of the glorious king *Anantamalla*; may it bring good fortune to all people.²⁴⁸

Luciano Petech tells us that *Anantamalla* reigned c. 1274 to 1310, and citing this manuscript of the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa-tantra-pañjikā*, specifies the date as March 19, 1297.²⁴⁹

6. EXTRACTS FROM EXTANT UNPUBLISHED SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS OF BUDDHIST TANTRAS

By searching through the Sanskrit manuscript catalogues for Buddhist tantras and matching this information with the Tibetan canonical listings of Tibetan translations of Sanskrit tantras, I have managed to locate a fair number of the Buddhist tantras still surviving in Sanskrit that have not been edited, published, or translated into English. It may be that some of these texts have been published in Japanese, Russian, or any of a number of other languages I do not read; as far as I know none of this material has been published in German, French, or Italian, though there may be published material of which I am unaware as I have not made a complete search through all of the academic journals in these languages.

6.1. *The Ḍākinīvajrapañjara*

The involvement of Indrabhuti in writing one of the commentaries to this tantra suggests that it was one of the earliest texts brought into the canon (see no. 8 below). Indrabhuti is a difficult figure to locate historically, though he was apparently a relatively early Tantric teacher, perhaps from the beginning of the eighth century.²⁵⁰ Two of the texts of this tradition were translated by Indrabhuti and Mar pa; see also the *Tantra-rāja-śrī-laghu-sambara* (Tohoku 368, 33 folios) translated by Padmākara and Rin-chen bzan-po, revised by Prajñākīrti, Mar pa Chos-kyi grags-pa; and the *Hevajra-vibhuja-sādhana* (Tohoku 1271, two folios) by Tārāśrī, translated by Sumatikīrti and Mar-pa Chos dbaṅ.²⁵¹ There are a total of thirteen texts that appear to be associated with this tradition included in the Tibetan canon: 1) *Ḍākinī-guhya-jvala-tantra-rāja* (Tohoku 408, two folios), translated by Gayadhara and Śākya ye-śes; 2) *Ḍākinī-tanu-gīti* (Tohoku 2451, two folios), no author or translator listed; 3) *Ḍākinī-vajra-guhya-gīti* (Tohoku 2446, three folios), authored by Ḍākinī (Mkhaḥ-ḥgro-ma), possibly the same as Jñāna-ḍākinī (Ye-śes Mkhaḥ-ḥgro-ma), Naropa's Prajñā Karmakāri (better known as Niguma)²⁵² translated by Ston-pa sen-ge rgyal po;

4) *Ḍākinī-vajra-jāla-tantra-rāja-tattva-pauṣṭika-pañjikā* (Tohoku 1196, 40 folios), with Mahāmāti (Mahādeva-kulamāti, Lhaḥi rigs-kyi blo-gros chen po) listed as the authors, and Gayadhara and Ḥgos Lhas btsas the translators. Naudou suggests that Mahāmāti may have been the same as Bodhibhadra, a student of Naropa and a contemporary of Mar-pa,²⁵³ which would place this commentary in the late eleventh century; 5) *Ḍākinī-vajra-pañjara-pañca-dāka-sādhana* (Tohoku 1321, five folios), with Muni-candra or Śākya-candra (Mi-thub zla-ba) as author, and Līlavajra (author of the *Kālacakra-kṣaṇa-sajaha-sādhana*, and Se-rtsa Bsod-nams rgyal-mthsan as translators; Naudou does not have dating information on these individuals; 6) *Ḍākinī-vajra-pañjara-mahā-tantra-rāja-kalpa-nāma* (Tohoku 419, 35 folios), translated by Gayadhara and Śākya ye-śes; 7) *Ḍākinī-varja-pañjara-mahā-tantra-rāja-kalpa-nāma-mukha-bandha*²⁵⁴ with Kṛṣṇa-pāda (Nag-po) as the author and Gayadhara and Śākya ye-śes as translators; whether Kāla refers to Kālacakrapada is not clear, though this identification does not seem unreasonable, and would date this commentary to the eleventh century; 8) *Ḍākinī-vajra-pañjara-mahā-tantra-rāja-prathama-ṣaṭṭala-mukha-bandha-nāma-pañjikā*. (Tohoku 1194, six folios), written by the mysterious Indrabhūti, who also wrote a Hevajra work entitled *Smṛti-saṃdarśanāloka*,²⁵⁵ translators Nyi-ma shas-pa, and Śākya brston-ḥgrus; 9) *Ḍākinī-vajra-pañjara-saṃharaṇa-maṇḍala-anusaraṇa-sādhana* (Tohoku 1322, seven folios), written by Devavrata (? Lhahi brtul-shugs), translated by Mar pa Choskyi blo-gros; 10) *Ḍākinī-saṃvara-tantra-rāja* (Tohoku 406, two folios), translated by Gayadhara and Śākya ye-śes; 11) *Ḍākinī-sarva-citta-advaya-acintya-jñāna-vajra-varāhy-abhibhava-tantra-rāja* (Tohoku 378, 11 folios), translated by Gayadhara and Śākya ye-śes; 12) *Ḍākinī-agni-jihvā-jvāla*. (Tohoku 842, 30 folios), translator unknown; and 13) *Ḍākinī-upadeśa-śrota-parampara-piḍācchedanāvavāda* (Tohoku 2286, five folios), written by Nirmāṇa-yogi (? Sprul-pahi rnal-ḥbyor-pa), translator unknown.²⁵⁶

The *Ḍākārṇava* is a Buddhist tantra in fifty-one chapters noted in Shāstrī's Nepal Catalogue,²⁵⁷ which appears to be related, though perhaps not exactly the same as the *Ḍākinī-guhyā-jvāla-tantra-rāja*. Shāstrī dates the Nepali manuscript to about 1130 C.E., and likewise for the copy in his Calcutta catalogue,²⁵⁸ where he gives the extract we will examine. The full title appears to be *Ḍākārṇava-mahā-yoginī-tantra-rāja*. The only published work on this lineage I have found is Nagendra Chaudhuri's 1935 version of his Ph.D. thesis giving an edition of the *Apabhraṃśa* verses contained in the *Ḍākārṇava*.²⁵⁹ Shāstrī gives us the colophons of the chapters and the text of the entire fifth chapter.

The chapter titles are as follows: 1) The descent of the ocean of wisdom; 2) the *nāyākī* who arises from Vajra-vārāhī and the true nature of the meditations with the *yantra*, *cakra*, and *maṇḍala*; 3) the rules for the clarification of the principles of action and the inviting characteristics arising from *pakin*;²⁶⁰ 4) the mantra application, the true nature of the six *cakras* and paths etc., and the arrangement of *nirvāṇa*, etc., characterized by the arising of Lāmā; 5) The four *cakras*, the arrangement of the channels, the instruction about the name, and the rules for mantra application, etc., arising from the characteristics of Khaṇḍarohā. (*khaṇḍa-rohā* literally means “she whose rise or sprout is cleft,” likely a euphemism for a woman who has lost her virginity. According to Marie-Thérèse De Mallmann, this is the name of two goddesses from the *Hevajra* cycle, found in the *Samvara*, *Six Cakravartin*, and *Vajravarāhī maṇḍalas*.²⁶¹ She appears in several *sādhanas* given by Abhayākaragupta);²⁶² 6) the intrinsic nature of the characteristics of Rūpiṇī, the true nature of the channels and *cakras*, the arrangement of the places, and the characteristics of the tantra; 7) the characteristics of the origin of the Crow-face, etc., *prāṇa*; 263 8) the characteristics of the *prāṇa*, etc., [whose] origin is in the determination and arrangement [according to] Owl-face; 9) the rules on the state of happiness, etc., characterizing Dog-face; 10) the descending, etc., of the *maṇḍala* having its origin in Hog-face; 11) the description of the origin of the arrangement of She Who Burns Death; 12) the concise instruction on the *cakra* meditation on the fraud of death [according] to the description, etc., of the origin of Yamadūtī; 13) the fraud of death, etc., in the application and descent of Yamadaṁśtrī; 14) the real nature of the arrangement of the buddhas and the description of the rules about the fraud of time and death in the origin of Yamamathanī; 15) explaining the tradition determined by the true *samādhi* of the lord; 16) rules for the extraction of the root mantra; 17) the rule about the lightning-being Varāhī characterized by the arising of the armor; 18) the rules for the protection by the armor of Vairocana, etc.; 19) specification of the protection-mantra of the lord who dances in the lotus, etc.; 20) the rules for the protection armor of Heruka, etc.; 21) the rule for the armor-protection of Lightning-sun, etc.; 22) the rule for the armor-protection of the ultimate breath etc.; 23) the rule for the worship of the *Bali-cakra*; 24) The rules about the *maṇḍala*, the *homa*, and the worship of the teacher; 25) the characteristic of the purification of the abode of the Tathāgata that is the purification of Bhagavān, etc;

26) the chapter on the subject matter called the characteristics and rules of the lovers' trysts and pleasure-taking with the consorts by the heroes of the *yoginīs* in the *yantras* and *maṇḍalas* of Pracaṇḍa, etc.; 27) the rules about the intrinsic nature of the lord of the consorts characterized by Pracaṇḍākṣī; 28) the rules about the consort characterized as Prabhāvātī; 29) the rules and regulations for the *homa* characterized by Mahānāsā; 30) the description of the rules on the intrinsic nature of the heroes and their consorts and the mothers and their male counterparts; 31) the chapter called the knowledge that is the intrinsic nature of the description of the *homa* of the phoneme of Kharvarī; 32) the chapter on the knowledge of the rule called the intrinsic nature of the *maṇḍala* and *cakra* characterized by the lover's tryst with the consort Lankeśvarī; 33) the rules and regulations for the lovers' tryst with the consort whose intrinsic characteristic is the shade of the tree; 34) the rules and explanation of the characteristics of the body consort Airāvātī; 35) the description relating the characteristics of the internal consort of Mahābhairava; 36) the description of the colors of the consorts and the rule about the application of the speed of the winds; 37) the rules and characteristics of the intrinsic nature of the use and *homā* of Surābhakṣī; 38) the description of the rules for the subjugation *homa*, *yantra*, and lightning *maṇḍala* of the nondual black goddess Lightning She-boar; 39) the rule for the riverbank serpent action, and the instruction about the *yantra* of the name whose nature is union with the nondual Subhadrā of the root *mantra* of the lord; 40) the description of the rules for action, and the killing, from the armoring root *mantra* through union with the nondual hero Horse-ears; 41) the heart *mantra* called all-action and the rules characterizing the intrinsic nature of the intoxicating action in the nondual *yantra* and *cakra* of the feminine hero with the sky-goer's face; 42) the rules called the intrinsic nature of the characteristics of the nondual yoga of the hero of the paralyzing action of Cakravegā; 43) the *yantras* and *cakras* for the application meditation on Khaṇḍarohā, and the rules and characteristics for the armor mantras of the six *yoginīs* of the expulsion activity; 44) the intrinsic nature of the *yantras* and *cakras* and the rules and descriptions of the [action causing] divisiveness for use with the ladies who run taverns; 45) the *yantra* and *cakras* in the form of a *rākṣasa* joined with a nondual hero and the *maṇḍalas*, *cakras*, and meditations characterizing the rule for application of the activity of silencing and the armoring of the *cakras*; 46) The emanation of the action of the paralyzing

mantra and the meditation on the *yantras* and *cakras* characterizing the rules for the application of the pacification activity of Suvīrā; 47) the description of the rules for the use of the meditation on the *yantra* of the action bodhisattva and [for the use of] the mantra for pegging down the great protection by union with She Who is Extremely Strong; 48) all the actions of the instructions, rules, and description of the root mantra of the path and meditation on the various *sādhana*, actions, mantra, and *cakra* for the use, etc., of She Who is Dwelling in the Cakra; 49) the rule about the characteristic of the use of Mahāvīryā, the secret elixir, etc., the action for worldly prosperity, and the root mantra of glorious correct *samādhī* of Heruka; 50) the entire secret explaining all the tantras and having the nature of the fifty principles; and 51) praise, worship, etc., and the nondual service of the community.²⁶⁴

The fifth chapter of the *Ḍākārṇava* is interesting for the information it provides on the use of external cities and regions of the time as mapped to the *cakras* of the subtle body, and for the use of abbreviations of these names in the form of *bījamantras*. This is the first instance I have seen where the *bījamantras* mapped to the subtle body can definitively be said to have semantic content; such use is distinct from the alphabetical permutations we find in the fifth chapter of the *Kālacakratantra* and *Vimalaprabhā*. We also find in the fifth chapter of the *Ḍākārṇavatantra* some indications of the geographical sensibilities of the day, with general names of peripheral regions to the subcontinent combined with many specific names of cities:

I will explain the internal cities out of a desire for the benefit of sentient beings. Situated at the feet of Khaṇḍārohā is Vajraḍākaḥ, himself the lord. In the lotuses of the four *cakras* there are one hundred and twenty channels. Their proper names will be explained, for sharing in the principles. [In the navel *cakra*:] 1)²⁶⁵ Madhyadeśī, 2) Kaliṅgi, 3) Oḍḍa, 4) Karṇātakīsarī, 5) Saurāṣṭrī 6) Malayī, 7) Vaṅgī, 8) Dravaḍī, and 9) Kali[ṅga]ki, 10) Mālavī and 11) Mahārāṭhṭhī²⁶⁶ 12) Varandī, 13) Kāmarūpiṇī, 14) Ḍohalī, 15) Thavideśī, and 16) Bhartāḍī, 17) Rāḍha, 18) Magadhī, 19) Tirabhutti (satti), 20) Daddaraṇḍī, 21) Nepālī²⁶⁷ 22) Saravāsānī, 23) Rāḍhī, 24) Ḍhikkārī, 25) Vaṅgālī²⁶⁸ 26) Khaḍī, and 27) Harikelakī, 28) Suvarṇadvīpī, 29) Siṃhalī²⁶⁹ 30) Ḍāmaḍī, and 31) Kattarakī, 32) Sindhu, 33) Himālayī, 34) Buḍī, 35) Kurutī, 36) Jaḍarī, 37) Parhī, 38) Jajjavatī, 39) Varuṇā, and 40) Oriyāṇa and 41) Lampākakī, 42) Jālandharī, 43) Arbbūdī, and 44) Kaśmīrī, 45) Kośalī, 46) Kañchī, 47) Jayantī, 48) Triśakkī, 49) Caśī 50) Laharī, 51) Purarohikā, 52) Mumbanī²⁷⁰ 53) Kāambojakī²⁷¹ and 54) Bhaṭṭalakī, 55) Gṛhadevatī, 56) Pretapūrī, 57) Valabhī (Vabhabhīcā) and 58) Pelavī,²⁷² and 59)

Upapelavī, 60) Smaśānanī, 61) Upaśaśānanī, 62) Mahodadhitaṭī, 63) Khasī, and 64) Mlecchī are the goddess in all the places, the sixty-four in sequence—the *yoginīs* should be recognized as the clan-channels in the navel *cakras*.²⁷³ In the heart *cakra*, similarly, are the eight *dūtikās*²⁷⁴ going everywhere. 1)²⁷⁵ Prayāga, 2) Devakoṭā, and 3) Ujjāyini, 4) Mahālakṣī, 5) Jvalamukhī, 6) Siddasimbhalī, 7) Māhila, 8) Kaumarī Paurikī. In this way all the illusion-making good local goddesses²⁷⁶ are in the heart place. And in the throat *cakra* the goddess who is the best female leader is described with sixteen great portions, and sixteen elements: 1) blood,²⁷⁷ 2) semen, 3) marrow, 4) sweat, 5) fat, 6) skin, 7) flesh, and 8) bone, 9) sinews, 10) pus, 11) the end (death?), 12) self-generated, 13) feces, 14) urine, 15) bile, 16) phlegm. May she who is constantly carrying²⁷⁸ move with the secret, etc., places.

In the head *cakra*, Oh Great goddess, there are thirty-two channels, providing success everywhere in the steps of the *homa* [offering], produced by the intellect. 1) Kṛṣṇā, 2) Karālī, 3) Bhībhacchī, 4) Nandī, 5) Tītā, 6) Vināyikā, 7) Camuṇḍī, 8) Ghorarūpā, 9) Umādevī, 10) Sarasvatī, 11) Bhadrakālī, 12) Mahākālī, 13) Sthūlakālī, 14) Parājitā, 15) Jayā, 16) Vijayā, 17) Ajitā, 18) Jayantī, and 19) Ghoradaṃṣṭrī, 20) Indrī, 21) Caṇḍī, 22) Catuṣpathī, 23) Grāmavāsini, 24) Raudrākī, 25) Kāambojī, 26) Ḍāmbī, 27) Caṇḍālī, 28) Mātaṅgī, 29) Brāhmatī, 30) Sūdrīkā, 31) Rājapurī, and 32) Maharddhikī, filled with divine intoxication. So in this way there are [the goddesses] attending upon *Khaṇḍarohā* in the channels and *cakras*.

A bit further along in the chapter the *mantranyāsa* with phonemes is described, using the first syllable of the above-mentioned locales, etc.²⁷⁹

6.2. The *Bhūtaḍāmara*

As discussed in section 5.4.3 above, the *Bhūtaḍāmara* cult was apparently shared by Buddhist and Śaivite tantric traditions, since both traditions have texts by this name, with the extant Śaivite text being considerably longer. We have seven texts of the *Bhūta-ḍāmara* tradition that were translated into Tibetan: 1) *Bhūta-ḍāmara* itself (Tohoku 747, 25 folios) translated by Budhhakaravarma and Chos-kyi śes-rab; 2) *Bhūta-ḍāmara-maṇḍala-vidhi* (Tohoku 2677, 12 folios) written by Blo-bzans skoñ and translated by Non-mi pandit and Rin-chen dpal; 3 and 4) *-saṃkṣipta-sādhana* (Tohoku 3302, one folio) translated by Da, Abhayākaragupta, and Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan, and (Tohoku 3641, one folio) translator unknown; 5) *-sādhana* (Tohoku 3303, three folios)

translated by Da, Abhayākaragupta, and Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan; and 6) *-Sādhana-vidhi* (Tohoku 3642, two folios) written by ḥJig-rten-gsuñ-gyi rdo-rje.²⁸⁰

Ms. 4801, no. 68 of the Calcutta catalogue, is the 1215 C.E. *Caturābharāṇa* by a Bhusukapāda, apparently a different writer than Śāntideva, and quite possibly the same fellow as the tantric *siddha* Bhusukapa who is dated by the *Sa-skyā Bka 'bum* to Devapāla's reign (809–849).²⁸¹ This would place the Buddhist Bhūtaḍāmara lineage in at least the ninth century, since the *Caturābharāṇa* appears to be a text from the tradition of the *Bhūtaḍāmaratantra*. It opens with the salutation “*Namaḥ Śrī-bhūta-ḍāmarāya*.” *Bhūtam* means simply a being; *ḍāmara* means terrible, terrifying, dreadful, etc.; hence, the “Terrifying Being Tantra.” *Caturābharāṇa* is “four ornaments.” Bhattacharyya mentions the *Bhūtaḍāmara* as a text later than the *Guhyasamāja*,²⁸² and Abhayākaragupta gives several *sādhana*s to the deity.²⁸³ I translate here the first few lines of a four-page extract given by Śāstri (unfortunately, the Sanskrit appears to be a sort of dialect or Prākṛit, or is simply corrupt in many places, so it is difficult to unravel):

Homage to Śrībhūtaḍāmara. Honoring the guru, the great yoga, the son in the heart of the *yoginī*, I and the yoga of sleeping having been explained by the yogi Bhusukapāda, || Now, if the body is not perfected through an alteration of the principles, one should do [that], causing your ignorance to go [away], one should not desire to know that; || One should experience sleeping in a solitary place, likewise approaching the consort, | piercing old age and death, the determination of the sun and moon. || Time, seasons, the moment, knowledge, silence, the entry of the winds; | the binding of the six *cakras*, removing from every place; || All of this I will explain, and the texts with their purpose and stages ||.²⁸⁴

The text continues with a description of various mediations using the subtle body channels, *cakras*, etc., with an admixture of Hindu and Buddhist terms—using *maṇipūra* (the Hindu name) for the navel *cakra*, for instance; references to *sūryyābharāṇamaithuna*, etc. As Śāstri remarks, “the present work by Bhuḍuku contains much that is degenerate and mystic.”²⁸⁵

6.3. The Abhidhānottaratantra

There are two texts from this tradition beginning *Abhidhāna-* in the Tohoku Catalogue: 1) the *Abhidhānottara-tantra* (Tohoku 369, 123 folios)

translated in the latter tenth century by Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna (i.e., Atīśa) and Rin-chen bzañ-po, revised by Jñānaśrī, Khyuṅ-po Chos-kyi brston-ḥgrus, and then again by Ānanda and Lo chui;²⁸⁶ and 2) the *Abhidhāna-śāstra-viśva-locana-[ity-aparābhidhāna-muktāvalī]* (Tohoku 4453, 93 folios) by Śrīdharasena (Dpal-bdsin sde), translated in the late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries²⁸⁷ by Chos skyoṅs bzañ-po.²⁸⁸ There's also a *Mūlatantra-saṃgraha-hṛdaya-abhidhānottara-tantra-mūla-vṛtti* by Śūraṃganavajra, translated into Tibetan in the early twelfth century by Jñānaśrī and 'Phags-pa śes-rab.²⁸⁹

The *Abhidhānottara*, ms. 10759, no. 58, is a text in sixty-nine chapters, the manuscript of which dates from Nepali Saṃvat 418 (= 1298 C.E.). Śāstrī provides the colophons to most chapters; the system is slightly odd, since the numbers begin 1, 2, 3, then begin again at 1, 2, 3, 4. . . .²⁹⁰ 1) The secret of the purification of the *avatāraṇa* community; 2) the request; 3) the ultimate reality of the heart principle; 1) the rule for the body-*saṃvara*; 2) the net-*saṃvara* of the lotus of truly great sexual bliss; 3) protecting the guru of the *saṃvara*; 4) the *Saṃvara*; 5) the pilgrimage seat-[bodily]-joints sequence; 6) the procedure for the parts of the sequence of everything that is not in order; 7) the rule about the “lovely lightning” (i.e., Mañjuśrī's *vajra*), the anointing the three *cakras*²⁹¹ 8) (missing); 9) explanation for the reason for the sequence of *siddhis* from the *Yoginī-pīṭhas*; 10) the tradition of the *pīṭhas* that refer to the sheaths; 11) the *yoginīs* of the *pīṭhas* etc.; 12) the arising of the meditations on the Śrīheruka *ḍākinīs*, of the hero-*yoginīs*, and the *ḍākinīs*; 13) the meditation on the primary activity yoga; 14) instruction about the meditation on the intermediate sense; 15) instruction about the meditation on the sharp sense; 16) the rule on *saṃvara* of the yoga of the four *ḍākinīs*; 17) the discipline of the *Yoga-saṃvara*; 18) *pratyaṅgirā* (?);²⁹² 19) the meditation called the omnipotent capacity of the nectar of immortality; 20) the descent of the principle of the secret community of *yoginīs*; 21) the tradition of dwelling in the clan's six *cakras*; 22) the sequence of the body, speech, and thought *pīṭhas*; 23) the women arising from the Buddha's skull to establish the community; 24) the arising of the lightning being; 25) effecting the lovely lightning; 26) effecting the *ḍāka* lightning; 27) the great secret, effecting the vowel *ḍākas*; 28) the instruction on the reason for the *siddhi* from the *ḍākas* of expansion; 29) the great royal *maṇḍala* when there is the arising of the community's *saṃvara*; 30) the arising of the quality of what's abandoned; 31) rain and market rules; 32) effecting the

universal form; 33) the ultimate glorious secret community; 34) meditation on what arises from the union of the two protective mantras; 35) *cchoṣmā*²⁹³ 36) characteristics of the *yoginīs*; 37) characteristics of the *ḍākinīs*; 38) characteristics of *lamā*,²⁹⁴ 39) (missing); 40) characteristics of the subsidiary consort; 41) the *ḍākinī* subsidiary consort; 42) characteristic of the *ḍākinī* Cchoṣmā; 43) the preeminent water of the happiness of beings; 44) the adept at expanding the activity of the *ḍākinī* and the hero, and the nondual heart of the *yoginī* and the hero; 45) the rules for the picture-image, its foundation, and preliminary consecration; 46) rules for the *maṇḍala*; 47) the [quarter-]junction of the day for the *Gāyatrī* [mantra];²⁹⁵ 48) the meditation on what arises from the subsidiary heart *sādhana*; 49) the mediation on what arises from the heart plus the thirty-two; 50) rule about the *maṇḍala*; 51) meditation on the city of the Dharma realm; 52) meditation on the secret; 53) the *sādhana* on what arises from the secret syllable; 54) the extraction by chalk of the root mantra;²⁹⁶ 55) meditation on the heart of the armor [mantra]; 56) meditation on the heart of the goddess, the mantra-armor of the heart; 57) establishment and anointing of the red, four-faced [deity], the four fierce [deities] of the *maṇḍala*, and the extraction with chalk of what arises from the *Vajra-hūṃkāra*; 58) the yoga of the groups [of phonemes]; 59) (missing); 60) the secret of knowledge; 61) the secret of the encapsulation of the four goddesses; 62) unlocking the encapsulation of the lord of the fierce deities, Vajrabhairava; 63) the *sādhana* of the seven[-times]-born *paśu*,²⁹⁷ 64) the *svādhiṣṭhāna* [*cakra*], the meditation on the higher arising of one's own dharma; 65) worship of the state of the self; 66) instruction in the multiple stated principles from the great royal tantra on the extraordinarily secret *saṃvara*. In the post-colophon at the end of the text, the *saṃvara* is also referred to as the *ḍāka-ḍākinī-jāla-saṃvara*.²⁹⁸

6.4. The Vajraḍākatantra

The Tibetan canon contains six texts beginning *Vajra-ḍāka*-. One of these texts, the *Vajra-ḍāka-niṣkāya-dharma* (Tohoku 1527) is attributed to Tilopa, Naropa's teacher, so this would date the text to no later than the late tenth century. The other texts of this tantra translated into Tibetan are the *Vajra-ḍāka*- 1) *-Guhya-tantra-rāja* (Tohoku 399) translated by Gayadhara and Śākya ye-śes; 2) *Tantra-tattva-susthira-nāmapañjikā* (Tohoku 1417) written by Nor-bzañs, translated by Śrīgayadhara and Jo Zla-bahi ḥod-zer; 3) *-Nāma-uttara-tantra* (Tohoku 371) translated

by Mchog-gi dbaṅ-phyug and Śākya brston-bgras; 4) *-Nāma-mahā-tantra-rāja* (Tohoku 370) translated by Gayadhara and ḥgos Lhas-btsas; 5) *-Niṣkāya-dharma* (Tohoku 1527) written by Telo-pa (Tilopa), translator unknown; and 6) *-Stotra-daṇḍaka* (Tohoku 1442) written by Chos-kyi grags pa, translated by Manikaśrījñāna and Dpal-gyi mthaḥ-can.

Another four texts begin *Vajra-ḍākinī-*: 1) *Vajra-ḍākinī-niṣpanna-krama* (Tohoku 2379) written by Bhina-pa, translator unknown; 2 and 3) *Vajra-ḍākinī-giti* (Tohoku 2441) translated by Sha-ma lo-tṣā-ba, and (Tohoku 2442) written by Dbyiṅs-kyi gtso-mo, translated by Sha-ma lo-tṣa-ba; and 4) *Vajra-ḍākinī-yogini-sādhana* (Tohoku 1942) written by Mar-me-mdsad ye-śes, translated by Prajñāśrījñānakīrti.²⁹⁹

The *Vajraḍākatantra* surviving in Sanskrit is a text of fifty-one chapters, in a manuscript composed in fourteenth-century Newari script. Among the chapter titles of note are: 3) attracting all the serpents (*Sarva-nāgākaraṣaṇa*); 18) definition of *melāpaka* (*Melāpaka-nirṇaya*); 34) the barbarian consecration (*Mleccha-vajrābhīṣeka*); 36) the barbarian channels, community, and *saṃvara* (*Mleccha-nāḍya-samaya-sambara*); 37) knowledge of all the weapons and *mudrās* of the barbarians (*Mleccha-sarvāyudha-mudra-jñāna*); 44) the rules for the internalized *homa* and the *sādhana* of the ghosts (*Vetāḍa-sādhana-adhyātma-homa-vidhi*); 47) the rules for the section on the classes of alchemical substances (*Rasāyana-dravya-varga-adhikāra-vidhi*); and another chapter on alchemy (49), whose title is partly effaced.³⁰⁰

6.5. The *Samputīkā Mahātantrarājāḥ*

Another eleventh-century Buddhist tantra is the *Samputīkā Mahātantrarājāḥ*, ms. 3828, no. 62 in Śāstrī's Calcutta catalogue. Apparently the same text, the *Samputatantra*, was cited by Abhayākaragupta. There is only one text of this tradition in the Tibetan canon, the *Samputa-nāma-mahā-tantra*, translated by Gayadhara and Śākya ye-śes, revised by Bu-ston (Bu-ston's interest in the text is certainly noteworthy).³⁰¹ Śāstrī gives the name as *Samputīkā* or *Samputodbhava-kalpa-rājāḥ*. *Samputa* properly is a cavity or covered box or bowl. *Amarakośa* 2.6.139a gives as a synonym *samudgaka*³⁰²—a box or casket, such as for keeping jewels. Vaman Shivram Apte quotes *Bharṭṛhari* 2.67, *Mālatīmādhava* 1.54, *Kāvyaḍarśa* 2.288, and *Ṛtusamhāra* 1.21 for the poetic usage of *saṃputa* as the fertile cavity of the ocean oyster that produces the pearl.³⁰³ The definition given in the opening lines of our *Samputodbhavakalparāja* is that “The *Samputa* has the nature of wisdom and means—what arises

from that is the *samputa-samādhī*.³⁰⁴ The fourth-chapter colophon of the tantra is *Samputodbhava-vajra-dākinī-saṃketa-kalpa-rajās*. *Saṃketa* in erotic contexts means an assignation or appointment made with a lover, or a lovers' meeting/trysting place.³⁰⁵ So it would appear that the name *Samputodbhavakalparājah* means "The royal treatise on what arises from the fertile cavity (i.e., the womb)." The use of the term *kalpa* in the name (there is a second incomplete manuscript of the text, ms. 4854, no. 63, entitled *Śrī-samputodbhava-sarvva-tantra-nidāna-mahā-kalpa-rājah*) lends support to my contention that the use of the terms tantra and *kalpa* derive from early textual typologies in the medical and Vedic traditions.

The colophon dates the *Samputikā* to the twelfth day of Bhādrapāda (August–September), Nepali Saṃvat 145 (= 1025 C.E.). As with the *Guhyasamāja*, the *Hevajra*, and the *Cakrasaṃvara*, the text opens with *evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye bhagavān sarvva-tathāgata-kāya-vāk-citta-vajra-yoṣid-bhāgeṣu vijahāra* |. The text continues:

There, indeed, the Lord, seeing Vajragarbha ("Lightning-embryo") in the midst of 80,000 masters of yoga, smiled. Immediately after he smiled, Vajragarbha got up from his *āsana*, and placing his upper garment on one shoulder, placing the *maṇḍala* of his right knee on the ground, folding his hands in homage, spoke this to the Lord:

"I desire to hear, Oh master of knowledge, the secret characteristic arising from the *samputa* that is the primary basis of all the tantras."

(Bhagavān answers:) "Ho Vajragarbha, very good, very good, Oh very loving one, very good, very good, Oh great *bodhisattva*, very good, very good [you all] are the best mine of good qualities, since you ask about that secret that is the complete in all the tantras."

Then those great bodhisattvas, led by Vajragarbha, their eyes blossoming in delight, asked here about their own concerns, bowing in homage again and again: "Why is it said, 'all the tantras?' How is that the primary cause? Why is it called 'a secret'? How does it arise from the *samputa*? What is the explanation for the name, and why is it a tantra?"

The Bhagavān responded: "[Because] they are all, and they are tantras, [hence] 'all the tantras,' and by the term *sarvatantra* [is meant] the [*Guhya*]-*samāja*, etc.; [it is] considered to be the principal cause of them—this is the meaning. It is secret because it is not within the purview of Hari, Hara, Hiranyagarbha,³⁰⁶ the listeners, or isolated

buddhas. The *Samputa* has the nature of wisdom and means—what arises from that is the *samputa-samādhi*. *Udbhava* is arising, characterized as having the intrinsic nature of stationary or mobile beings produced in that way;³⁰⁷ the characteristic is like this.”³⁰⁸

The chapter titles are as follows: 1a) The reality of the meditation on the name, the nameable, the arising of *bodhicitta*, etc.; 1b) the five senses, the five powers, the description of the seven limbs of enlightenment, ending with the eightfold path, etc., the descent of the *bodhicitta*; 2a) the consecration of the *bodhicitta*; 2b) the meditation on the purpose of wisdom and means; 2c) (unnamed); 3a) the arising of Heruka; 3b and 3c (unnamed); 4a) indestructible speech, *Cchoṣmā*;³⁰⁹ 4b) the consort with the mark of the *Kaṭapuṭānī*;³¹⁰ 4c) the sign and the consort (?); 5a) the place of meeting; 5b) the purification of the aggregates, elements, and bases of consciousness; 5c) embracing according to the practice (?); 6a) (unnamed); 6b) the ritual application of the places; and 6c) (unnamed). The sixth chapter as a whole is named *Vasanta-tilaka* (“The Ornament of Spring”).³¹¹ 7.i) (apparently the first line of the section:) Now I will explain the rules of action whereby the adepts achieve success; 7.ii) now I will explain the rules of alchemy, the collection of all the elixirs; 7.iii) the rules for the application of unguents;³¹² 7a) the Āyurvedic [section] called the arising of omniscience; 7b) the rules for the *homa*; 7c) the arising from the *cakra* [that provides for] the free scope of all activity. So the seventh chapter called is what arises from the meditation on all action is complete; 8a) the bell principle; 8b) the meditation on the mantra recitation; 8c) curing the ignorance of the heretics. The name of the eighth chapter is the complete arising of all activity; 9a) the arising of all the Tathāgatas; 9b) the *bali* offering; 9c) the discussion of the cloth book. The ninth chapter is called the reality of the four ritual actions; 10a) the teacher’s great *sādhana*; and 10b) the transformation of the illusion by the Buddha.³¹³

6.6. The *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra*

The *Kṛṣṇa-yamāri-tantra* dates from no later than the early eleventh century; we have a commentary on the text, the *Kṛṣṇayamāri-tantra-pañjikā-ratnāvali* (Tohoku 1921, 54 folios) by the early eleventh-century Mahāsiddha Maitri-pa or Avadhūti-pa and Kumāra-candra (Gshon-nu zla-ba), translated by Śilavajra and Bsod-nams rgyal-mtshan.³¹⁴ Many other texts from the *Kṛṣṇa-yamāri-tantra* tradition are also in the Tibetan canon: 1) *Kṛṣṇa-yamāri*; 2) *-tantra-pañjikā*. (Tohoku 1922, 25

folios) by Padapāni, translated by Parameśvara and Roñ-zom chos-kyi bzañ-po;³¹⁵ 3) *-tamra-rāja-trikaḷpa* (Tohoku 469, three folios), translator unknown;³¹⁶ 4) *-tantra-rāja-prekṣaṇa-patha-pradīpa-nāma-ṭikā*. (Tohoku 1920, 85 folios) by Kṛṣṇa-chen po, translated by Prajñāśrījñānakīrti; 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9) *-nāma-sādhana* (Tohoku 1929, three folios) by Nying-mo byed-pahi gragas pa, translated by hygo Lhas-btsas, (Tohoku 1960, six folios)³¹⁷ by Kun-tu bzañ-po, translated by Don-yod rdo-rje, (Tohoku 1946, one folio) by Nag-po, translated by Prajñāśrimitra,³¹⁸ (Tohoku 1924, 15 folios) by Dpal-ḥdsin, translated by Dānakīrti and Tshul-khrims rgyal-pa,³¹⁹ (Tohoku 1968, two folios) by Kīrti, translator unknown;³²⁰ 10) *-maṇḍala-stuti* (Tohoku 1968, two folios) by Kīrti, translator unknown;³²¹ 11) *-mahā-tantra-rāja-pañjikā-ratna-pradīpa* (Tohoku 1919, 48 folios) by Ratnākaraśānti-pa, translated by Vinayacandra and Chos-kyi śes-rab;³²² 12) *-mukhu-ṣaṭ-cakra-sādhana* (Tohoku 2015, two folios) by Devākaracandra, translated by Devākaracandra and Śes-rab bla-ma; 13) *-rakta-yamāri-pūjā-vidhi* (Tohoku 2028); 14) *-śānti-homa-vidhi* (Tohoku 1956, one folio) by Nag-po, translated by Prajñāśrījñānakīrti;³²³ 15) *-sādhana-protphulla-kumudā*; 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28) *-sādhana*. (Tohoku 1923, 1930, 1932, 1936, 1947, 3282, 3283, 3284, 3326, 3327, 3628, 3629, 3630); 29) *-sādhana-maṇḍala-vidhi*; 30) *-sādhana sa-cakrārtha-vistara-vyākhyā* (Tohoku 1931); and 31) *-abhisamaya-krama*.

The alternative name of the text is the *Kṛṣṇa-yamāri-[rakṣā]-tantra*.³²⁴ The name appears to be mean “the tantra of [protection by] the *yāmari* (enemy of death) [named] Kṛṣṇa,” rather than “the black *yamāri*,” since several of the chapters end with the phrase “the yogi (will attain the stated goal, etc.), according to the statement of Kṛṣṇa (*kṛṣṇasya vacanaṃ yathā*). A manuscript from Nepali Saṃvat 500 (= 1380 C.E.) is cited in Śāstri’s Asiatic Society of Bengal catalogue. The first chapter on consecration (*abhiṣeka-paṭala*) opens as follows:

Thus it was heard by me; at one time the *Bhagavān* was taking his pleasure in the vaginas of all the *vajra*-women of the body, speech, and mind of all the *Tathāgatas*. And then the *Bhagavān* welcomed the king of all the *Tathāgatas*, *Vajrapāṇi*, *Vajrasattva*, along with the groups of the *Mahāyamāris*, beginning with *Moha-vajra-yamāri* (Confusion) and *Piśuna-vajra-yamāri* (Slander) and *Īrṣyā-vajra-yamāri* (Envy), *Dveṣa-vajra-yamāri* (Hostility) and *Mudgara-yamāri* (Hammer) and *Daṇḍa-yamāri* (Stick) and *Padma-yamāri*, and *Khadga-yamāri*, and *Vajra-carccikā*, and *Vajra-vārāhī*, and *Vajra-sarasvatī*, and *Vajra-śaurī*, and *Alokā*. Then the *Bhagavān* [said] “Oh *Khavajra*,” to [the one] receiving the instruction. Then [there is] a second statement. He entered the

womb of his own body, speech, and thought, the *samādhi* called the thunderbolt that destroys *Māra*. “One should destroy *Māra* by using the moon-*vajra*; for quelling the *māras*, and for removing hatred everywhere, for protection, one should create the *vajra* abounding in the five rays; and likewise [one should create] with the *vajra* the earth and the wind, the enclosure, and the cage.” Then the *Bhagavān*, entering into the *samādhi* called the generator of all the *Tathāgatas* and the destruction of all the *Māras*, spoke to everyone. He entered the lightning-womb of his own body, speech, and mind, the seed of *vajra*, *yama*, the *āryas*, etc.: “In the middle of *ya* is *kṣe sa me da ya cca ni rā jā sa ho ru ṇa yo ni ra*; the first destroyer of *yama* is in *ra*; in *kṣe Moha* [-*vajra-yamāri*] is said to be; in *ma* is the *akṣa* [seed] *Piśuna*, and in the phoneme *sa* is Passion, and in *da* is Envy; [these] are the five known as the destroyers of *Yama*. In *ya* is the Hammer, in *ca* is the Stick-leader; in *ni* is *Padmapāṇi*, and in *rā* is *Khāḍgavān* also; in *jā*, *Carcikā* is said to be, and *Vārāhī* is in *sa*. *Sarasvatī* is also in the phoneme *ho*, and *Śaunikā* is considered to be in *la*. The womb of *na* is in the square; [these] are considered the four instruments; one should consider that the terrifying universal thunderbolt resides in the middle of the sky-lightning bolt. One should [meditatively] create pitiless time residing in the middle of *Yamāntaka* (the destroyer of death), and *Mohavajra* in the eastern door, and *Piśuna* in the southern, and *Rāgavajra* in the western, and *Īrsya* in the northern door. In the four tridents in the lightning bolts of the corners, one should visualize *Carccikā*, etc. In the four tridents of the lightning bolts of the doors, one should visualize the Hammer, etc. In the four corners of the universal lightning bolts, [one should meditatively create] the heads of the kings.” Then the *Bhagavān*, entering into the *samādhi* called the *Yamāri-vajra* of the king of all the *tathāgatas*, declared the great *mantra* of the clan of hostility. “*Oṃ hūṃ strīḥ*, the disfigured face *huṃ huṃ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā*.” Then the *Bhagavān*, the king of all the *tathāgatas*, declared the *Moha-vajra-mantra*: “*Oṃ Jina jika*.” Then the *Bhagavān* declared the *Piśuna-vajra-mantra*: “*Oṃ ratnadhṛk*.” Then the *Bhagavān*, king of all the *tathāgatas*, declared the *Rāga-vajra-mantra*, “*Oṃ āṛālika*.”³²⁵

The text gives more mantras of the various *vajra* entities,³²⁶ then some *dhyānas*: *Yamāri* is three-faced, six-armed, fierce, like a sapphire [in color]; intensifying the lightning bolt in the hand, the wise one should generate *Yamāri* into existence. *Mohavajra* is three-faced, six-armed, peaceful, like a very clear mirror; contemplating a *cakra* in the hand one should generate *Mohavajra*. *Piśunavajra* is three-faced, six-armed, nourishing, like burnt gold [in color]; intensifying a gem in the hand, one should generate *Piśuna-vajra*. *Rāgavajra* is three-faced,

six-armed, controllable, like a ruby in appearance; intensifying a lotus in the hand, one should generate Rāgavajra. Īrṣyavajra is three-faced, six-armed, universal, like a budding lotus.³²⁷

Chapter 2 of the *Kṛṣṇa-yamāri* is hymns to the deities (*mahāmaṇḍala-ṣaṭāla*); chapter 3 is on *karma-yoga*. Śāstrī gives an extract from the fourth chapter:

The holder of the vow should draw a pair of *cakras* on the cremation shroud. With *rājikā*³²⁸ and salt, with black salt and with *nimbaka*, the three spices,³²⁹ and the *arsāna* (?) from the cremation ground. And having made the index finger red with the resins from the thorn-apple leaves, and also with the seeds of *caṇḍa*,³³⁰ or with the juice of the *citraka*³³¹ taking some clay from the salt flats, the vow-holder should draw, on the fourteenth lunar day, ornamentation on the *Caṇḍāla*'s earthen pot using a 'starving lotus' drawing instrument. At midnight, with fierce thought because of the relationship with evil people, one should bind together the name of the obstacles to sentient beings with the *hum* syllable. Facing south, the *yogī* should draw himself as the destroyer of death. *Mahācaṇḍa* in his fierce form, adorned with skull fragments, sitting on a buffalo, with a lolling tongue, a big belly, terrifying, with tawny erect twisted locks, likewise [tawny] curly facial hair and eyebrows; and [he should draw] in the right [hand] the great *vajra*, and also a chopper [in] the second [hand]; in the third hand a knife, and now, the left: on the left a *cakra*, and a great lotus, and a skull; at the front of the root,³³² [he should draw] the great bee, on the right, very brilliant [like] the moon; the left, said to be blood-red like, adorned with diamond ornaments. [He] should make the holes of the pores of the skin irradiate the king of his own clan, standing in the *pratyālīḍha* position, standing up on top of a solar disk, his face with terrible deformed fangs, appearing like the blazing fire [at the end] of the age. Furnishing oneself in this way [*evam ātmānaṃ sannahya*], one should apply what's to be prepared in front. . . .³³³

Chapters 5 and 6 of the *Kṛṣṇa-yamāri* are "drawing the symmetrical circle" and "looking at the *cakra*."³³⁴ The sixth chapter begins:

Now I will explain the *mantra* for performance of the ritual offering for all beings. When the great *mantra* is articulated [it causes] trembling in all beings: to *Indra hrīḥ*, to *Yama strīḥ*, to *Varuṇa vi*, to *Kubera kṛ*, to *Isāna ta*, to *Agni a*, to *Nairṛtya na*, to *Vāyu na*, to *Candra hum*, to *Arka* (the Sun) *hum*, to *Brahman phaṭ*, to *Vasudhāra phaṭ*, to *Vemacitrin* (the variegated loom) *svā*, to all beings *hā*; *hā*, *hā hīṃ hīṃ hum hum he he svāhā*. Having made the triangle [surrounded by] a circle, the *yogī* should satisfy the deities with mixtures of feces, urine, and water, and one should meditatively remember *hāhā*.³³⁵

Chapter 7 is on the means for attracting the śaktis of the different *yamāris*:³³⁶

The wise one, through use of the protection attraction, should meditatively create *Carccikā*, with three faces, six arms, white, a *cakra* in her hand, moon-like. The wise one, through use of the liquor attraction, should meditatively create *Varāhī*, with three faces, six arms, a hog's snout, with a *vajra* in her hand, very blue. The vow taker should visualize *Sarasvatī* with three faces, six arms, red, holding a lotus in her hand, and beautiful, for the purpose of increasing wisdom. Through the use of the white attraction the wise one should visualize *Saurī*³³⁷ with three faces, six arms, like a blossomed lotus.³³⁸

Chapters 8 and 9 are on the rules for the *homa* and on the female terrifier (Bhimā) of the *yamāris*.³³⁹ Part of the ninth chapter reads:

With the flesh of a *brāhmaṇa*, with the ashes of the funeral pyre and with the soil [under] that, one should create an image of *Yamāri* with two arms and one face, with a great *vajra* in the right hand, and a man's head on the left, colored white, really terrifying, one should mow down the evil ones with that [image]. One should offer the *bali* every day with the five types of flesh and the five nectars; the *yogī* should continually request of that [image]: "you must cut down my enemy." This having been requested for seven nights, the enemy will die at dawn.³⁴⁰

Chapter 10 is the practice, recollection, and meditation of the *vetālas* (goblins). Chapter 11 is on practice according to the community. Chapter 12 is on the characteristics of common practices (among the various communities). Chapter 13 is the determination of *siddhi*. Chapter 14 is the practice of *Mañju-vajra*.³⁴¹ Chapter 14 begins as follows:

"Here is this supreme ceremonial practice according to the reading of the *sūtra*; a is primary, because of the lack of initial arising of all the *dharmas*; in the form of the glorious destroyer of dearth, meditating on the student, the eye, the well-concentrated one should get rid of [even] the best of the best of the best of the knowledge *sūtras*. Then this is the esoteric custom of entering into the great *maṇḍala*." The string prepared by the wise ones is smeared with the five cow products, is long [enough] for twenty doors, and is twice [the dimensions] of the *maṇḍala*. Then this is the given practice for solicitation of the great *vajra*: "Aho the Buddha the great teacher, Aho the lord who is a host of properties is in my body; the community, the reality, and the *bodhicitta* are in my body." Then this is the custom for taking hold of the great earth, the invocation of the *vajra*-earth. "You Oh goddess, are the witness of the all the *Buddhas*, of the protectors, for

the specifications of proper practices, and for the perfections of the earth.”³⁴²

Śāstrī gives another short section of chapter 14:

And those (*ye*) who intensely control their breaths, eat fish, meat, etc., delight in liquor and beautiful women, who hold to the atheists’ vows, the men who are not consecrated, and who cause all sorts of mischief, who delight in the districts of villages, become perfected; there’s no doubt, according to the statement of *Kṛṣṇa*; now all these (*te*) *bodhisattvas*, beginning with *Maitreya*, having heard the etymology of the word *vajra* became, and remained satisfied.³⁴³

Chapter 15 is the practice of the *Vajra-anaṅga*, i.e., the thunderbolt-Kāma or the lightning-bolt god of love.³⁴⁴ It begins:

And now I will explain the secret in summary, and not in detail. By knowing just this, one can attract the *Apsaras*. One should meditatively create the lightning-*kāma*, very attractive, with a yellow body, two arms, one face, with a bow and arrows in hand. One should meditate *Rati* (*Kṛṣṇa*’s wife) in the east, and in the south *Madanasundarī* (intoxicatingly beautiful), in the west *Kāmadevī*, and in the north *Madanotsukā* (She who is eager for sexual love). One should visualize the bow and arrow for all the goddesses of love; one should meditatively create them as yellow, red, black white and red. And in the corner one should always apply *Aniruddha* (*Kṛṣṇa*’s son), husband of *Uṣā* (the dawn).³⁴⁵ In the door[s] and in the quarter[s] it is said there is Spring and Crocodile-bannered (*Kāma*); and it is said there is *Kandarpa* and *Darpaka* (two names of *Kāma*), and likewise *Bāṇāyudha* (armed with arrows = *Kāma*) is remembered. One should visualize in the head the Death Destroyer of all the gods; one should meditatively create lightning-*Kāma* situated at the tip of the mouth of women, [like] a bird, vibrating everywhere, produced from the *sītkāra mantra*.³⁴⁶ Meditating on she who is longed for, who is agitated, who is piercing (?),³⁴⁷ eager for ardent passion, who has fallen at one’s feet, enveloped in a red garment. And one should recite the *mantra* for her, “*omkāra*, not separated from heaven.” Then having given the *svāhā* at the end, one should utter the *sītkāra mantra*. “May this woman become subject to my will.” One should meditatively visualize [her] for seven days. The *yogī* will obtain the [woman] who is longed for, according to the statement of *Kṛṣṇa*.³⁴⁸

Chapter 16 is the *sādhana* of Heruka, chapter 17 is the recitation about *bodhicitta*, also called the *kathāpaṭala*, as is chapter 18. The closing colophon reads:

The king of the *guhnyakas*, the leader of the lightning bolt-clan, endowed with the sap of the *nakaṭakā* (?), spoke this great royal tantra; it came out of *Oḍḍiyāna*, and is a complete extract from a one hundred and twenty-five thousand [verse text].³⁴⁹

6.7. The *Catuṣpīṭha[nibandha]*tantra

A famous Buddhist tantra is the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra*, and we have several eleventh-century manuscripts of commentaries on this text, as well as a twelfth-century manuscript of the tantra. In his Nepal Durbar Library catalogue Śāstrī gives an extract from a *sādhana* text of this tantra entitled *Catuṣpīṭhanibandhaḥ*. The colophon providing the date reads:

The abbreviated *sādhana* of the *Catuṣpīṭha* is completed. It was written by Śākyabhikṣukumāra-candra while residing in the Śrīpadmacakramahāvihāra, commissioned by Śrīguṇakāmadeva, in the kingdom of Śrībhāskaradeva, on Friday, on the tenth day of the bright half of Śrāvāṇa (July–August), *Saṃvat* 165, for the attainment of the ultimate fruit [by] mothers, fathers, gurus, teachers, dear friends, and all beings. The clan-son in the real.³⁵⁰

Nepal Samvat 165 = 1045 C.E. Petech dates Bhāskaradeva to 1043–1050, specifying this text’s date as July 26th, 1045, and dates Guṇakāmadeva to 942–1008,³⁵¹ so it would appear that the text was begun during the earlier king’s reign and took some forty years to complete. There are several texts from this tradition in the Tibetan catalogue. We find the *Śrīcatuḥ-pīṭha-mahā-yoginī-tantra-rāja* (Tohoku 428, 50 folios) translated by Gayadhara and ḥos Khug-pa Lhas-btsas; *Śrīcatuḥ-pīṭhā-ākhyā-tantra-rāja-mantrāṃśa-nāma* (Tohoku 429, 29 folios) translated by Gayadhara and Śākya ye-śes; and the *Śrī-catuh-pīṭha-vikhyāta-tantra-rāja-nāma* (Tohoku 430, 44 folios) translated by Smṛtijñānakīrti and revised by Bu-ston.³⁵² There are four *Śrī-catuh-pīṭha* commentaries in the Tibetan canon: 1) *-tantra-rāja-maṇḍala-vidhi-sāra-samuccaya* (Tohoku 1613, 25 folios) attributed to Āryadeva and translated by Gayadhara and Ḥgos-khugs-pa lhas-btsas;³⁵³ 2) *-smṛti-nibandha-nāma-tīkā* (Tohoku 1607, 127 folios) by Bhavabhadra, translated by Gayadhara and Ḥgos;³⁵⁴ 3) *-yoga-tantra-sādhana* (Tohoku 1610, nine folios) attributed to Āryadeva, translated by Kamalagupta and Rin-chen bzañ-po;³⁵⁵ and 4) *-sādhana* (Tohoku 1616, five folios) written by Bhavabhadra, translated by Gayadhara and Ḥgos Lhas-btsas.³⁵⁶ As Śāstrī notes, the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* is also mentioned in the second verse of the *Yogāmbara*

Sādhana Tantra: “This sincere propitiation, the brief good *sādhana* is stated by me on account of the request of the students, according to the rules [set out] in the *Catuṣpīṭha*.”³⁵⁷ The extract (somewhat difficult to follow without the original text) reads:

So in the *Ātmapīṭha* section, the *ātma* of the wind, etc., principles is itself one’s own body, the *pīṭha*, the *āsana*, the basis; by this set of statements the wind, etc., principle is expressed, or is referred to. *Ātmapīṭha* [indicates that] the *ātma* is the *pīṭha*. Thus the first chapter in the *Ātmapīṭha* in the *Catuṣpīṭhanibandha*. Now he relates the chapter on the knowledge of time, and the illusion of that, etc. “Oh Bhagavān, I want to hear about the principle of knowledge, [its] domain [?], its removal etc.; we are this mark, the body (*aṅga*); hence the mark of death. How is the principle assembled? The principle of the *mantra*?” [Bhagavān answers]: “Listen to the teaching about the mark of the *vajra* great king, and the body. By the actions of emanation, etc., royally, thus the king. The *vajra* is the protector of *Akṣobhya*, the great king, so this is known as the *Vajra*-great king. The body is to be understood as the mark. You must listen next to the [state of] remaining (*sthitam*) that is like the time of death; it is known as what has penetrated the time of death—this is the sense. He stated the mark, the breaths, etc.”³⁵⁸

Śāstrī gives another extract from leaf 8A of the manuscript:

One should utter that, having created the previously described *maṇḍala-cakra* according to the rules and regulations for worship. One should offer worship with the collected *mudrās* and *mantras* as stated, “*Oṃ* you must make the great offering, *huṃ svāhā*.” Stretching out both hands, wiggling the middle fingers, at the time of the sacrifice into the fire, with the consort who is intoxicated by the offering at the time of the sacrifice, there is examination of the fire. If it indicates a bad omen, then “*vajra* you must become visible *huṃ svāhā*.” In the place where there is a bad omen, then one should offer ghee there one hundred and eight times, with quieting water from the *dravya*. Having offered the consecration [water] in the three, as before, the offering to the root-deity [*mūla-devatā-homaḥ*] is to be offered, according to the previously mentioned method. Having drawn [the deity] in with the breath, one should establish in one’s own body; releasing [it], it should become visible—this is the rule of the offering (*homa-vidhi*). [According to] the rules for the sacrifice, . . . [following (?)] the extended procedure, having performed the preparation (?) with various garments, one should create a square *maṇḍala* with white sandal, from the pitcher with the white powder. Having smeared the middle

vessel, filling it with shaving water and sandal, decorating it with blossoms, etc., offering a lac-reddened body in the form of eye-leaves (*dr̥ṣṭi-pattra-rūpakā-laktakāṅgam?*), reciting eight-times individually [the *mantra*] beginning with *Oṃ* and ending with *svāhā*, *huṃ*, *hruṃ*, *suṃ*, *kṣuṃ*, *yuṃ*, *huṃ*, *strāṃ*, *stryām*, *kṣrām*, one should set up the eight pitchers in their appropriate places. And placing the large vessel in the middle, performing the entire *ātma-yoga* as previously stated, honoring the *ātman* (*ātmānaṃ pūjayitvā*), then one should begin that externally, “in the likeness of a lotus, *svāhā*,” cupping the hands in the shape of a lotus. Then one should see the lotus of the middle vessel, the *maṇḍala* with the moon, provided with a white parasol. Then one should meditate with the *hūṃkāra* there on the knowledge-woman, superintended by the *vajra-hūṃkāra*. One should meditate on she who is steadfast in the *sattva-paryaṅka*,³⁵⁹ her two arms colored white, and on the *vajra* and stick on the left and right arms. That one is *Vajrī* in the east, *Ghorī* in the north,³⁶⁰ *Vetālī* in the west,³⁶¹ and *Caṇḍālī* in the south.³⁶² In the northeast [she is] *Siṃhīnī*³⁶³ in the southeast *Vyāghrī*.³⁶⁴ In the northwest [she is] *Ulūkī*.³⁶⁵ She is to be meditated upon as the previously stated ornament of wise men. And one should make the *mudrās* and *maṇḍalas* of these.³⁶⁶ “Make that stay at the right time, *hūṃ phaṭ*.” Performing the *vajra-bandha*, extending the two index fingers, making the *cakra* and the knot, one should show [them?] to the community. One should worship as before, “*Oṃ hūṃ svāhā*.” Making two *vajra-fists*, one should place the left one on the heart, and the right one on the head; hence the *mantra* of the *mūla-bh[a]dra* (root-“dear”). And the *root-mantra*, having given also the water as desired, combined with *durva* sprouts, together with jasmine, etc., flowers; uttering that one *mantra*, performing the accompanying meditation, one should strike the *vajra* in the diadem of the goddess. One should offer the *ayutāpūrvam* (“ten-thousand unprecedented”?) substance. There will be whatever *siddhi* that is desired, long life, health, and growth. And at the end of the *homa* one should give the offering in the manner that was described. In the entire ritual, the *śukla* procedure is *sattvic* (?). One should make the eastern face peaceful. One should make the water that removes all misfortune, etc., and the state of peacefulness with a mind that has pacified the threatening one hundred bead garland. And the water, beginning “prosperity, *kṣa*, you must make the northern face the one that provides prosperity by honoring all that is yellow, [and] you must invite all wealth.” With a mind delighted by the permanence in the central channel of the hundred-bead garland and the one hundred eight-bead garland, one should make prosperity. By honoring all that is red in the *vajra* (subduing ritual), “you must bring the western face to me, you must

draw it from the directions,” etc. and the water. Placing the twenty-syllable garland in the fourth finger, one should perform the pacification [rite] with a protective mind. And in the incantation, with the *ka* service, “you must kill the southern face, you must expel it,” etc., and the water. With a rosary of sixty beads, with the continued presence of a young lady, with a mind filled with anger, one should conjure. [Thus] the subject matter of the offering, the *homa*, and the sacrifice is briefly written about according to the tradition of the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra*.³⁶⁷

Manuscript III.360.A in Śāstrī’s Durbar Library catalogue is another commentary on the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* entitled *Catuṣpīṭhśloka*, dated N.S. 132 = 1012 CE.³⁶⁸ Śāstrī provides a short extract:

Homage to all the beautiful women. Honoring the five forms—the shining line of the new moon holding the sun, providing an image of the *Buddha*, Maitreya, and the beautiful young woman on his head, and Mañjughoṣa, the form of the stick arising from the lotus, the beautiful form of the diadem, the Vajra-possessor, the dreadful sound, the form of *vijñāna* and *jñāna*, destroying the fear of the world, this commentary is written because of the entreaty for the protection of the body. From the statement beginning “in this way the language” up to “they praised,” the rules for declension and gender, the compounds, etc., and the heavy and light syllables, caesuras, and meters etc. are to be employed as appropriate according to [their usage in] Āryadeśa. By what begins “in this way, knowing all the languages,” four meanings are indicated: the indicator and the manner of indication, the meaning to be indicated, [and] the place. Of these, the indicator is “knowing all.” “In this way” is the manner of indication. “Knowledge” is the meaning to be indicated. “The pure abode” is the place. When there is meaning in that sense, it is . . . the meaning “of the *Buddhas*.” Wherever there is “southern,” that itself is the meaning. “The covering with the *yoginīs* net”: the *yoginīs* are the perfection of wisdom, etc.; the net is the assemblage, as was previously stated. “In the *samapada*”³⁶⁹ etc.: the foot is on the opposite big toe and toe, the feet are even in the nature of an embrace. And by contracting one of those feet, standing up vertically, or the *cittapadam* (?). One should make both hands, an external toe-ring, [and] the pair of knees like that. With the two forearms, the swan-wings position. Placing the right foot in the *maṇḍala* and the left foot on the ground, one sprinkles the water with the gesture of transcending the three worlds; hence the three steps (of *Viṣṇu-trivikramapadam*). One should step over the left foot with the right foot. Bending the left leg, one should stretch it out to the extent of five *vitastis*³⁷⁰—such is the *ālīḍha*.

For the *pratyāliḍha* here, bending the right leg, one should stretch out the left leg to the same extent.

One foot is raised up. One should not move it around. Hence, [keep it] in one place. Reclining in pleasure with a woman inspired by an amorous look, when moving the foot back and forth by various means, if at first one touches the parts of one's body with [her] foot that's moving back and forth, [then] squeezing [the foot] all over, and by means of pressing it onto the opposite thigh, because of that resting place, one should rest on what has been produced through prior effort; and so for both, i.e. for both feet of the *yoginī*. Or until the half-setting up, [i.e.,] making the sacrificial post. And he said; from one the knee is dulled from the three (?) that are applied to the knee. The pair of feet belonging to the seated man are placed on the opposite knees, paining the left side, and beating on the shaved head. Embracing the neck of *Prajñāpāramitā*, firmly in the noose-like arm of *Vajrasattva*, and placing that all around the goddess' lower leg, then joining together as the *samputa*,³⁷¹ it is said that there is liberation from the variety of *prāṇa* [flowing] through the woman's throat. So it was explained by Āryyadeva. "The sexual embracing of the pair," i.e., whence there is the commingling of wisdom and means; by activity subsequent to transmigration with regard to the constituent [common] to all sentient beings—this is the meaning. Having liberated the covering of the net of *yoginīs*, there is no further essence to *saṃsāra*. "And it is to be employed for liberation," i.e., one should do circumambulation. "And that particularly," i.e., because of using the word "particular," there is an abridgment in [one] word of what is stated in twelve-thousand [verses] in the *Kakṣaputa*, i.e. this is the *Kakṣaputa* in that sense. (Verse: —largely unintelligible) Bearing fire together (?) with the king, a beautiful woman with beautiful hands, | she who is the thunderbolt of the ocean of Indra, causing confusion among those terrified of hell and among the ascetics with matted hair you must make the four-fourfold-five mixture for the body | You are a young woman suitable to desire, pleasure with fangs (?) || Hence it is to be written down at the end of the *Kakṣaputa*.³⁷²

A manuscript of the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* is listed in Bendall's *Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge*.³⁷³ Written on palm leaf, from the twelfth century, it is divided into four *prakaraṇas*, the first (unnamed), the *ātmapīṭha*, the *parapīṭha*, the *yogapīṭha*, and the *guhyaṣpīṭha*. In the Asiatic Society of Bengal catalogue Śāstrī cites a twelfth-century manuscript of what appears to be a rituai

manual based on this text under the title *Catuṣpīṭhanibandhaḥ*, and gives the Sanskrit (with some ellipses) of the first leaf:

Homage to the three jewels. Paying homage to the truly terrifying lightning tongue, completely filling the entire mouth, I will explain [the goddess] whose garment is conducive to *sādhana*. The *mantra*-possessor who has attained the consecration, the proper learning, and has entered into the *maṇḍala* is to begin the procedure of *mantra*-recitation according to the rule described in the *Kalpa*, for the goddesses' ocean of perspiration. At first, to that extent, with the *mantra*-possessor's great effort . . . [in?] magical power, prognostication, etc. . . . for she who protects . . . | . . . not possessing an *ātman*, with the riches of a king, etc., with the mind determined upon the discipline of either achieving or requesting *siddhi*, the entire pair with *Viṣṇu* (?). With an unwearied mind engaged in purified external and internal practice, intent upon all the *dharma*-statements in the perfection of wisdom etc., on the mountains, in the gardens and parks, in the cremation grounds, the lotus-lakes, the rivers and on the river banks, in the monastic retreats, dwellings, and caves, etc., or in places pleasing to the mind, smearing oneself with mud or cow dung, etc., one should prepare the . . . ground. There is this sequence of procedures [to be followed]: at night, at the time of the end of the third [portion of the night], having arisen from sleeping, one should restore the non-existence at the end of everything to all the *Buddhas* and *bodhisattvas* situated at the end of the *dharmadhātu* in the space element that has three paths. Then one should pay homage to the self with the twelve-syllable *mantra* with the thumb-seal, [and] one should provide protection in the five places. Then one should go to the external place; at night one should face south; during the day, one should face north. Then, purified, one should perform the ablutions of the five limbs. Then, having provided the three water-offerings to the goddess, one should go to the temple. Having meditated on *bhagavatī* as non-existent in front of one of the polished images of the goddess in the disk that is sprinkled with flowers and properly anointed, wearing a red garment, supplied with all the sacrificial implements, facing to the west, etc., or facing north, one should honor all the living *Buddhas*, *bodhisattvas*, *pratyekabuddhas*, *āryaśrāvakas*, etc. residing in all the worldly realms. Then, having honored the *Bhagavatī*, having offered an *añjali* with one's head, one should say: "may the three jewels protect me; I confess all my sins; I delight in the merit of the world; I place my mind in the enlightenment of the *Buddhas*." Having made offering in that way, one should utter the purified *mantra*: "homage to the seven days, to all the *Buddhas*, *Om*, to all the purified *dharms*. . . ." ³⁷⁴

7. TEXTS CITED BY ABHAYĀKARAGUPTA NOT YET LOCATED IN SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS

There are a number of texts cited by Abhayākaragupta that survive in Tibetan translation, which I have not yet located in the Sanskrit manuscript catalogues. The originals of these texts may be lost, or they may simply be located elsewhere than where I was able to search.

7.1. The Trailokyavijayatantra

There are ten works of the *Trailokya* system in the Tohoku catalogue, three *Trailokyava-Śaṃkara-lokeśvara-sādhanas*: 1) (Tohoku 3169, one folio), translated by in the early twelfth century³⁷⁵ by Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan, 2) (Tohoku 3427, one folio) by Saraha, who may or may not be identical with Padmasambhava, and in any case must date to the eighth century, translated by Grag-s-pa rgyal-mtshan in the mid-fourteenth century;³⁷⁶ and 3) (Tohoku 3428, one folio)³⁷⁷ translated by the fourteenth-century Grag-s-pa rgyal-mtshan; a *Trailokyava-śaṃkara-ārya-bhugma-sādhana* (Tohoku 3436, two folios) by Śunyatā-samādhi-vajrapāda (possibly from the ninth century),³⁷⁸ translated in the fourteenth century by Gragas-pa rgyal-mtshan, and five *Trailokyavijaya* texts, 1) *-Nāma-vṛtti* (Tohoku 2509, 69 folios) by ṣa, probably the same as Muditaśrī, who dates to the early twelfth century,³⁷⁹ translator unknown; 2) *-Maṇḍala-vidhy-ārya-tattva-saṃgraha-tantra-uddhṛta* (Tohoku 2519, 43 folios) by the Kaśmīri Ānanda-garbha (Kun-dgal? snin-po), translated by Rin chen bzañ-po (958–1055).³⁸⁰ Ānandagarbha was responsible for the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha-sūtra* commentary called the *Tattva-saṃgraha-abhisamaya-nāma-tantra-vyākhyā Tattvālokarī nāma*, a commentary on the *Māyājāla-mahātantrarāja*, and edited a version of a long commentary (*Pañjikā*) on the *Guhyasamājantra*; he also wrote two commentaries on the *Paramāditantra*, the *Vajra-dhātu-mahā-maṇḍala-upayikā* called *Sarva-vajra-udaya*, the *Vajra-sattva-sādhanopāyikā*, and the *Vajra-sattva-udaya-nāma-sādhanā-upayikā*, and a commentary on the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana* entitled the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana-tejorājasya tathāgatasya ārhataḥ samyak-saṃbuddhasya nāma kalpa-ṭikā*. Unfortunately Naudou has no specific information on his dates;³⁸¹ we know however that Rin chen bzañ-po lived from the mid-tenth to mid-eleventh centuries,³⁸² so Ānandagarbha's works, and all the tantras he commented on, must predate the mid-tenth century; 3) *-Mahā-kalpa-rāja* (Tohoku 482, 48 folios) translated by Rin-chen bzañ-po or Rma dge blo, revised by Sha-lu-pa Yeśes rgya-mtsho; 4 and 5) two *-sādhanas* (Tohoku

3278, one folio) translated by Avhaya and Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan, and (Tohoku 3624, one folio) translated in the fourteenth century by Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan,³⁸³ and 6) *Trailokya-saṃkara-avalokiteśvara-sādhana* (Tohoku 3371, one folio) by Saraha, translated by Don-yod rdo-rje and Ba-ri.³⁸⁴

7.2. *The Mañju-vajra-maṇḍalaṭippaṇī*

There are four *Mañju-vajra* texts in the Tohoku catalogue, and though we don't have a translation of this particular text, or a date for one author, the late date of these translations suggest that this was a later, and perhaps less significant, development in the Buddhist tantric group: 1) *-Pūja-vidhi* (Tohoku 1902, one folio) written by Śrīdatta (Dpal sbyin), translated by Vibhūticandra (of the thirteenth century),³⁸⁵ revised by Blo-gros señ-ge; 2) *-Sādhana* (3476) translated by Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (late thirteenth, early fourteenth century—a near contemporary of Bu-ston);³⁸⁶ 3) *Siddha-eka-vīra-sādhana* (Tohoku 3322, one folio) translated by Ba-ri Dharmakīrti (Ba-ri Chos-kyi grags pa); and 4) *-Udaya-maṇḍala-vidhi-sarva-sattva-hitāvaha* (Tohoku 2590, 49 folios), translator unknown.³⁸⁷

7.3. *The Vajrāmṛtatantra*

There are four texts in the Tohoku catalogue from this tradition: 1) *Vajrāmṛta-tantra* (Tohoku 435, 11 folios) translated by Gyi Jo Zlabahi ḥod-zer, the Tibetan translator who worked with Bhadrabodhi (Naropa's student) to accomplish the first Tibetan translation of the *Kālacakrat Tantra* in 1027 C.E.;³⁸⁸ 2) *Vajrāmṛta-tantra-ṭīkā* (Tohoku 1650, 38 folios) by the Kaśmīri Guṇākaraśrībhadrā (c. 1075–1125 C.E.)³⁸⁹ (Guṇābhadrā, Yon-tan bzañ-po), translated by Smṛtijñāna; 3) *Vajrāmṛta-pañjikā* (Tohoku 1649, 15 folios)³⁹⁰ written by the thirteenth-century³⁹¹ Kaśmīri Vimalaśrībhadrā (Dri-med bzañ-po), translator unknown, revised by Rin-chen grub; and 4) *Vajrāmṛta-mahā-tantra-rāja-ṭīkā* (Tohoku 1651, 51 folios) by Bhago, translated by Tārapāla and Chiñs Yon-tan ḥbar, revised by Śīla-guhya-vajra and Glog skya śes-rab brtsegs.³⁹²

7.4. *The Āmnāyamañjarī*

There are two texts that appear to be related to the *Āmnāyamañjarī* in the Tohoku Catalogue: 1) the *Āmnāya-viśeṣa* (Tohoku 3175, one folio) translated by Abhayākaragupta and Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan; and 2) the *Āmnāyatāntra* (Tohoku 3200, one folio) translated by Abhayākaragupta

and Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan.³⁹³ Abhayākaragupta himself helped translate the *Āmnāyatantra* into Tibetan.

7.5. The *Buddhakaṭāla-sambara-hevajra*

There are six *Buddhakaṭāla* texts in the Tohoku Catalogue: 1) *Buddhakaṭāla-tantra-tattva-cadrikā-ṭāṅjikā* (Tohoku 1653, 16 folios) by Padmavajra (perhaps the same as Padmākara and Padmasambhava, listed in Tohoku as Padma rdo-rje), translated by Din-ri Chos-grags (?) who postdates Abhayākaragupta, and revised by Blo-gros brtan-pa; 2) *-Tantra-ṭāṅjikā-jñānavatī* (Tohoku 1652, 46 folios) by Saraha (perhaps a contemporary of Padmasambhava, perhaps even a bit earlier), translated by Gayadhara and Jo Zla-baḥi ḥod-zer; 3) *-Nāma-yoginī-tantra-rāja* (Tohoku 424, 24 folios) translated by Śrīgayadhara and Jo Zla-baḥi ḥod zer; 4) *-Maṇḍala-vidhi-krama-pradyotana* (Tohoku 1657, 13 folios) by Saraha, translated by Gayadhara and Jo Zla-baḥi ḥod-zer; 5) *-Mahā-tantra-rāja-ṭikā-ubhaya-paddhati* (Tohoku 1654, 59 folios) by Abhayākaragupta, translated by Diñ-ri Chos-grags (?), revised by Blo-grso brtan-pa; and 6), the *Buddhakaṭāla-sādhana* (Tohoku 1655, four folios) by Saraha, translated by Gayadhara and Jo Zla-baḥi ḥod-zer.

7.6. The *Yoginī-saṅcāra-tantra*

There are two texts from this tradition in the Tohoku catalogue: 1) *Yoginīsaṅcārya* (Tohoku 375, ten folios) translated by Ḥgos lhas-btsas, and 2) *Yoginī-saṅcārya-nibandha* (Tohoku 1422, 19 folios) by Tathāgatarakṣita, translated by Tathāgatarakṣita and Rin-chen grags.³⁹⁴

7.7. The *Padmasupratīṣṭhitatantra*

There is no text called the *Padmasupratīṣṭhitatantra* in the Tohoku Catalogue. There are five called the *Padmanarteśvarasādhana* (Tohoku 3160, 3161, 3335, 3423, 3424) and one called the *Padmajālodbhavasādhana*, as well as a *Padmanarteśvarī-guhyārtha-dharavyūha* (Tohoku 1667), and a *Padmamukūṭatamra* (Tohoku 701, seven folios) translated by Dharmāśrīmitra and Chos-kyi bzañ-po.³⁹⁵

7.8. The *Vajraśekhara-tantra*

This text is listed in Tohoku Catalogue as the *Vajra-śekhara-mahā-guhyā-yoga-tantra* (Tohoku 480, 132 folios), translated by Karmavajra and Gshun-nu tshul-khrims.³⁹⁶

7.9. The *Subāhupariṣcchā*

There are five *Subāhupariṣcchā*- texts in the Tohoku Catalogue: 1 and 2), *Subāhupariṣcchā* (Tohoku 79; this is an erroneous listing—Tohoku 79 is the *Ārya-acintya-buddha-viṣaya-nirdeśa-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra*) and (Tohoku 805, 22 folios), translator unknown; 3) the *Subāhupariṣcchā-nāma-tantra-piṇḍa-artha* (Tohoku 2671, 16 folios) written by Saṅs-ryas gsañ-ba, translator unknown; 4) the *Subāhupariṣcchā-nāma-tantra-piṇḍa-artha-vṛtti* (Tohoku 2673, 16 folios) translator unknown; and 5) the *Subāhupariṣcchā-sūtra-udbhava-praṇidhāna* (Tohoku 4381, one folio), translator unknown.³⁹⁷

7.10. The *Ānanaḍaḡarbha*

There is one text of this tradition in the Tibetan canon, the *Ārya-Ānanaḡarbha-avakrānti-nirdeśa* (Tohoku 57, 11 folios, in the *Dkon-bnsegs* section of the canon). No Sanskrit or Tibetan author or translator's name is listed (I cannot read the Japanese note in the catalogue).

8. CONCLUSION

As we look back through the telescope of time into the history of the Buddhist tantric tradition, we can see very clearly through the second millennium C.E., thanks to the systematic preservation of and commentaries on the canonical Buddhist tantras by the Tibetans. This clear view takes us back to the time of Abhayākaragupta in the late eleventh to early twelfth centuries, and the traceable citations of Buddhist tantric texts in his works, particularly the *Vajrāvalī* and also the *Sādhanamālā*. With careful and diligent tracing, and thanks largely to the work of Naudou, with some help from Tucci, Chandra, and others, we can trace the probable time periods of many of the authors of the original commentaries on the Sanskrit tantras who lived in India (and, it seems, mostly northern India) during the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Things become murkier when we push back further in time, as we are faced with the names of some of the Mahāsiddhas who wrote commentaries and who are largely of uncertain date, though by general consensus most lived in the eighth to eleventh centuries. There are very few commentaries by Indrabhuti and Padmasambhava that may possibly predate the eighth century by several decades. At that point the trail peters out, and we do not have any reliable dates for earlier Buddhist tantric texts.

maṇḍala-vidhi-nirdeśa-parivartaḥ samāpta iti (pp. 25–52). From the Ornament of the Bodhisattva “Basket,” the great sovereign manual, with abundant chapters on the Bodhisattva who transformed himself into the son of Mañjuśrī, the second chapter is completed, [giving] instruction on the rules about the *maṇḍala*.

Chapter 3: *Iti bodhisattva-ṣaṭṭha-vidhāna-parivartaḥ* [n] *mañjuśrī-kumāra-bhūta-mūla-kalpāt tṛtīyo maṇḍala-vidhāna-parivartaḥ* (pp. 53–54). Hence from the basic manual about [the bodhisattva] who became Mañjuśrī’s son, the revelation that is the chapter about the bodhisattva, the third chapter on the ritual procedures with the *maṇḍala*.

Section A: (A1) Chapter 4: *Bodhisattva-ṣaṭṭha-vidhāna-parivartaḥ mahāyāna-sūtrān mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpāt caturthaḥ | Prathama-ṣaṭṭha-vidhāna-visaraḥ parisamāptaḥ* || (pp. 55–67). The fourth [chapter] from the Ornament of the Bodhisattva “Basket,” the Mahāyāna sūtra, the basic manual of Mañjuśrī. Hence the first chapter of the revelations on the ritual procedures.

(A2) Chapter 5: *Bodhisattva-ṣaṭṭha-vidhāna-parivartaḥ mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpāt pañcama-ṣaṭṭha-vidhāna-visaraḥ | Dvītīyaḥ ṣaṭṭha-vidhāna-visaraḥ samāptaḥ* || (pp. 68–70). The fifth revelatory chapter from the Ornament of the Bodhisattva “Basket,” the Mahāyāna sūtra that is the basic manual of the glorious Mañjuśrī, the second revelatory chapter on ritual procedure is completed.

(A3) Chapter 6: *Bodhisattva-ṣaṭṭha-vidhāna-parivartaḥ mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpāt ṣaṭṭha-vidhāna-visaraḥ | Tṛtīyaḥ kanyasa-ṣaṭṭha-vidhānaḥ parisamāpta iti* || (pp. 71–72). The sixth revelatory chapter from Mañjuśrī’s basic manual that is the Mahāyāna Vaipulya sūtra, the ornament of the Bodhisattva “Basket.” Thus the third chapter on the ritual procedures for the younger brother.

(A4) Chapter 7: *Bodhisattva-ṣaṭṭha-vidhāna-parivartaḥ mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūlakalpāt saptaṁ ṣaṭṭha-vidhāna-visaraḥ | Saptamaḥ ṣaṭṭha-vidhāna-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* || (pp. 73–77). The seventh revelatory chapter from the glorious Mañjuśrī’s basic manual, the Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra, the [ornament of] the Bodhisattva Basket.

Section B: (B1) Chapter 8: *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sutrād aṣṭama uttama-sādhana-upayika-karma-ṣaṭṭala-visarāt prathamah samāpta iti* || (pp. 78–80). The eighth revelatory chapter, being the first on the highest practice, method, and action, from the Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra, the Ornament of the Bodhisattva Basket, is completed.

(B2) Chapter 9: *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakād Mahāyāna-vaipulya-sutrād āryamañjuśrī-mūlakalpān navama-ṣaṭṭala-visarād, dvitīyah, uttama-sādhana-upayika-karma-ṣaṭṭala-visarahḥ parisamāpta iti* || (pp. 81–84). From the Bodhisattva Basket Ornament, the Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra, the Glorious Mañjuśrī's basic manual, the ninth revelatory chapter, being the second one on the highest practice, method, and action, is completed.

(B3) Chapter 10: *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakād mahāyāna-vaipulya-sutrād āryamañjuśrīya-mūlakalpād daśamah uttama-ṣaṭṭala-visarahḥ parisamāptaḥ* || (pp. 85–92). From the Bodhisattva Basket Ornament, the Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra, the Glorious Mañjuśrī's basic manual, the tenth revelatory chapter being the chapter on the highest ritual procedure.

(B4) Chapter 11: *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sutrād ārya-mañjuśrī-mūlakalpād ekādaśama-ṣaṭṭala-visarāc caturthaḥ sādhanā-upāyika-karma-sthāna-japa-niyama-homa-dhyāna-śaucācāra-sarva-karma-vidhi-sādhana-ṣaṭṭala-visarahḥ samāpta iti* | (pp. 91–117). From the Bodhisattva Basket Ornament, the Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra, the Glorious Mañjuśrī's basic manual, from the eleventh revelatory chapter, the fourth long chapter on all the actions, rules, and procedures, i.e., the practice, method, action, position, *mantra*-recitation, disciplinary rules, offering, meditation, ethical behavior, is completed.

Chapter 12: *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sutrād ārya-mañjuśrī-mūlakalpād madhyama-piṭa-vidhāna-visarād dvādaśamah, akṣa-sūtra-vidhi-ṣaṭṭala-visarahḥ parisamāpta iti* || (pp. 92–122). From the Bodhisattva Basket Ornament, the Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra, the Glorious Mañjuśrī's basic manual, the twelfth revelatory chapter on the rules about the rosary beads, from the long chapter about the intermediate ritual procedures.

Chapter 13: *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād āryamañjuśrī-mūla-kalpāt trayodaśama-ṣaṭa-visaraḥ parisamāptam iti* || (pp. 123–128). From the Bodhisattva Basket Ornament, the Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra, the Glorious Mañjuśrī's basic manual, the thirteenth long chapter is completed.

Chapter 14: *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād āryamañjuśrī-mūlakalpāt caturdaśamaḥ cakravartti-ṣaṭala-vidhāna-maṇḍala-sādhana-upayika-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* || (pp. 129–144). From the Bodhisattva Basket Ornament, the Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra, the Glorious Mañjuśrī's basic manual, the fourteenth chapter on the world sovereign and the revelation on the ritual procedures, the *maṇḍala*, the practice, and the method, is completed.

From Chapter 15 onward, the text renumbers the chapters: Chapter 15 is 13, Chapter 16 is 14, and so on. The renumbered chapter numbers appear in parentheses following the chapter numbers.

Chapter 15 (13): *Āryamañjuśrīya-mūlakalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād trayodaśamaḥ sarva-karma-kriyārthaḥ ṣaṭala-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* || (pp. 145–165). From the Bodhisattva Basket Ornament, the Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra, the Glorious Mañjuśrī's basic manual, the thirteenth revelatory chapter on the objective of all the actions and ritual performances, is completed.

Chapter 16 (14): *Āryamañjuśrī-mūlakalpān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād caturdaśamati gātha-ṣaṭala-nirdeśa-visaraḥ parisamāptam iii | i* (pp. 146–168). From the Glorious Mañjuśrī's basic manual, the Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra, the fourteenth long chapter [giving] instruction on the *gāthās* (songs), is completed.

Section C: (C1) Chapter 17 (15): *Āryamañjuśrī-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭakāvatamsakāt mahāyāna-vaipulyasūtrād pañcadaśamaḥ karma-sva-kalpa-pratyaya-ṣaṭala-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* || (pp. 169–172), From the Glorious Mañjuśrī's basic manual, the Bodhisattva Basket Ornament, the Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra, the fifteenth revelatory chapter on faith in the ritual practices of one's own manual.

(C2) Chapter 18 (16): *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād āryamañjuśrīya-mūlakalpāt ṣoḍaśa-ṣaṭala-visarād dviṭīyo*

graha-nakṣatra-lakṣaṇa-kṣetra-jyotiya-jñāna-parivarta-ṣaḍaḥ-ṣaḍaḥ (pp. 173–180). From the Bodhisattva Basket Ornament, the Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra, the Glorious Mañjuśrī’s basic manual, from the sixteenth revelatory chapter, the second revelatory chapter mastering astronomical knowledge about the location and characteristics of the planets and the *nakṣatras*.

(C3) Chapter 19 (17): *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avataṃsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūlakalpāt saptadaśamaḥ ṣaḍaḥ-ṣaḍaḥ* *trītyo jyotiṣa-jñāna-ṣaḍaḥ-ṣaḍaḥ parisamāpta iti* | (pp. 181–194). From the Bodhisattva Basket Ornament, the Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra, the Glorious Mañjuśrī’s basic manual, the seventeenth revelatory chapter, being the third revelatory chapter on astronomical knowledge, is completed.

(C4) Chapter 20 (18): *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avataṃsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūlakalpāc caturtho nimitta-jñāna-mahotpāda-ṣaḍaḥ-ṣaḍaḥ parisamāpta iti* | (pp. 195–217). From the Bodhisattva Basket Ornament, the Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra, the Glorious Mañjuśrī’s basic manual, the fourth chapter on mastering the great [dependent] origination knowledge about the causes [of suffering], is completed.

(C5) Chapter 21 (19): *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avataṃsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād ārya-mañjuśrī-mūlakalpād ek[onaviṃśati]-ṣaḍaḥ-ṣaḍaḥ* *graha-utpāda-niyama-nimitta-mantra-kriyā-nideśa-parivarta-ṣaḍaḥ-ṣaḍaḥ parisamāpta iti* || (pp. 218–228). From the Bodhisattva Basket Ornament, the Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra, the Glorious Mañjuśrī’s basic manual, from the nineteenth revelatory chapter, the fifth revelatory chapter on mastering the instructions about the planets, origination, discipline, causes, mantras, and ritual activity, is completed.

Chapter 22 (20): *Mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avataṃsakād āryamañjuśrī-mūlakalpād viṃśatimaḥ sarva-bhūta-ruta-jñāna-nimitta-śakuna-nirdeśa-parivarta-ṣaḍaḥ-ṣaḍaḥ parisamāptam iti* || (pp. 229–252). Thus from the Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra, the Bodhisattva Basket Ornament, the Glorious Mañjuśrī’s basic manual, the twentieth long chapter that is the section of instructions about omens and about the causes [behind] the knowledge of the cries of all living creatures (i.e., learning how to understand the “speech” of animals).

Chapter 23 (21): *Mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatama-sakād ārya-mañjuśriya-mūla-kalpāt ekaviṃśatitamaḥ śabda-jñāna-gaṇanā-nāma-nirdeśa-parivarta-ṭaḥ-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* || (pp. 253–263). The long chapter that is the section on the instruction called calculations and the knowledge of sounds.

Chapter 24 (22): *Ārya-mañjuśriya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatama-sakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād dvaviṃśatitama[h] nimitta-jñāna-jyotiṣa-ṭaḥ-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* || (pp. 264–283). The long chapter on astronomy and the knowledge of causes.

Chapter 25 (23): *Ārya-mañjuśriya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatama-sakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād trayaviṃśatitamaḥ ekākṣara-cakra-varty-udbhava-ṭaḥ-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* || (pp. 284–288). The long chapter on the arising of the One Syllable (or One Indestructible) Cakravartin.

Chapter 26 (24): *Ārya-mañjuśriya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatama-sakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād caturviṃśatitamaḥ ekākṣara-cakra-varti-karma-vidhi-ṭaḥ-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* || (pp. 289–300). The long chapter of instruction about activity, rite, and ritual image of the Single Syllable (or One Indestructible) Cakravartin.

Chapter 27 (25): *Ārya-mañjuśriya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatama-sakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād pañcaviṃśatitamaḥ ekākṣara-mūla-mantra ārya-mañjuśrī-hṛdaya-kalpa-ṭaḥ-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* || (pp. 301–310). The long chapter about the procedure of [making] the painting [and the mantra-]kalpa that is the heart of Mañjuśrī, the root-mantra of the Single Syllable (or One Indestructible Cakravartin).

Chapter 28 (26): *Ārya-mañjuśriya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatama-sakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād ṣaḍviṃśatitamaḥ karma-vidhāna-ārya-mañjuśriya-parivartta-ṭaḥ-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* ||. [Chapter divided into six sections with sub-colophons]: a) *ṭaḥ-vidhānaḥ samāptam*; b1) *ṭaḥ-vidhānasya-artarikarmaḥ*; b2) *dvitīyaḥ ṭaḥ-vidhānaḥ samāptam*; c) *trītiyaḥ vidhānam*; d) *caturthaḥ vidhānam*; e) *pañcamaḥ ṭaḥ-vidhānam*; f) *ṣaṣṭho vidhānaḥ* (pp. 311–321). The long chapter that is the Āryamañjuśrī version of the ritual procedure and activities: a) the complete procedure [for making the image]; b1) the difficult part of

the procedure [for making the image; b2) the complete second procedure for making the image; c) the third procedure; d) the fourth procedure; e) the fifth procedure; f) the sixth procedure.

Chapter 29 (27): *Ārya-mañjuśriya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt saptaviṃśatimaḥ mañjuśrī-ṣaṣṭha-vidhāna-parivarta-karma-vidhiḥ saptamaka-pāṭala-visaraḥ parisamāptam iti ||*. One subsection, *ayaṃ prathamāḥ kalpaḥ |* (pp. 322–324). The rules of performance in the section on the procedure for making the image of Mañjuśrī.

Chapter 30 (28): *Ārya-mañjuśriya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād aṣṭaviṃśatimaḥ kṣetra-kāla-vidhi-niyama-pāṭala-visaraḥ parisamāptam iti ||* (pp. 324–328). The long chapter on the restrictions of the rules as to time and place.

Chapter 31 (29): *Ārya-mañjuśriya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakā[n] mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt ekona-triṃśatimaḥ āviṣṭa-ceṣṭa-vidhi-parivarta-ṣaṣṭha-visaraḥ parisamāptaḥ iti ||* (pp. 329–334). The chapter on the image with the section on the rules for the one whose body has been entered [by the deity].

Chapter 32 (30): *Ārya-mañjuśriya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt triṃśatimaḥ vidhi-niyama-kāla-pāṭala-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti ||* (pp. 335–338). The long chapter on the time restrictions for the rules.

Chapter 33 (31): *Ārya-mañjuśriya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakā[n] mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt ekatriṃśatimaḥ kama-kriyā-vidhi-nimitta-jñāna-nirdeśa-pāṭala-visaraḥ parisamāptaḥ ||* (pp. 339–349). The long chapter of the instructions about knowledge and the reasons for the rules about ritual action and procedure.

Chapter 34 (32): *Ārya-mañjuśriya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt dvātriṃśatimaḥ, mudrā-codana-vidhi-mañjuśrī-paripṛccha-nirdeśa-parivartaḥ pāṭala-visaraḥ parisamāptaḥ ||* (pp. 350–354). The long chapter that is the section on the instruction about the request to Mañjuśrī and the rules about the invitation to the consort (or the rules about the general *mudrā* injunctions).

Chapter 35 (33): *Ārya-mañjuśriya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakā[n] mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt trayāḥ triṃśatimaḥ mudrā-vidhi-ṣaṭṣa-visaraḥ parisamāptam iti* || (pp. 355–381). The long chapter on the rules about the consort (or about the *mudrā*).

Chapter 36 (34): *Ārya-mañjuśriya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakā[n] mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt catuḥ-triṃśatimaḥ dvitīya-mudrā-vidhi-ṣaṭṣa-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* || (pp. 382–383). (Then there's another section to the chapter, with the editor's remark: *Etad-granthānte 'ntimasya ṣaṭṣa-visarasya tripanāśanamasya samāptyanantaram mahāmudrā-ṣaṭṣa-visaro nāma kaścid aparas catumstriṃśatamaḥ ṣaṭṣa-visaro likhita upalabhyate / sa gatasya catumstriṃśatamasyaiva prakārebhedo bhavitum arhati ity ataḥ kāraṇād ihaiva yojyate /*.) Then after more of the chapter, the colophon, *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakāt ārya-mañjuśriya-mūlakalpāt catumstriṃśatimaḥ mahāmudrā-ṣaṭṣa-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* | (pp. 384–411). The second long chapter on the rules about the consort or *mudra*. (Editor's remark: Immediately following the end of the just-preceding thirty-fifth chapter, in this text, there is found another long chapter called the Long Chapter on the *Mahāmudrā*. It should be considered a separate section from the preceding thirty-fourth chapter. For that reason it is appended here to this one.) Second colophon: The complete long chapter on the *Mahāmudrā*.

Chapter 37 (35): *Ārya-mañjuśriya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakāt[n] mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt pañcatriṃśatimaḥ mantra-mudrā-niyama-karma-vidhi-ṣaṭṣa-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* || (pp. 412–428). The complete long chapter on the rules of action, and the restrictions for the mantras and the consort (or the *mudrā*).

Chapter 38 (36): *Ārya-mañjuśriya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakāt[n] mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt ṣaṭtriṃśatimaḥ mudrā-maṇḍala-tantra-sarva-karma-vidhi-ṣaṭṣa-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* | (pp. 429–433). The complete long chapter on the all the rules of action for the consort, for the *maṇḍalas*, and for the Tantra.

Section D1: Chapter 39 (37): *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt ārya-mañjuśriya-mūla-kalpāt saptatriṃśatimaḥ mahā-kalparāja-ṣaṭṣa-visarād uttama-sādhanaḥ sarva-karma-artha-sādhana-tattveṣu prathamāḥ dhyāna-ṣaṭṣa-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* | (pp. 434–440).

552–558) (*abhicāraka* = conjuring). The second long chapter for conjuring up the fierce king Yamāntaka.

Chapter 52 (50): *Ārya-mañjuśriya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt pañcāsatimaḥ Yamāntaka-krodharājā-sarva-vidhi-niyamaḥ tṛtīyaḥ paṭala-visaraḥ pari-samāpta iti* || (pp. 559–578). The third complete long chapter on the restrictions to all the rules about the fierce king Yamāntaka.

Chapter 53 (51): *Ārya-mañjuśriya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt paṭala-visarāt eka-pañcāsa-rāja-vyākaraṇa-parivartaḥ parisamāpta iti* | (pp. 579–656). The section on the prophecy of the kings.

Chapter 54 (50): *Ārya-mañjuśriya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakāt mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt pañcāsatimaḥ anuśamsā-vigarhaṇa-prabhāva-paṭala-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* | (pp. 657–667) (praise and blame-arising). The complete long chapter on the occurrence of praise and blame.

Chapter 55 (53): *Mahā-kalpa-rājāt ārya-mañjuśriya-mūla-kalpāt (pañca-pañcāśattamo) Hema-sādhana-paṭalaḥ visaraḥ parisaraḥ parisamāptaḥ || Parisamāptaś ca yathā-labdham Ārya-mañjuśriyasya kalpam iti || Svasti śrī-rāja-maṅgalakāvasthitena mārgaśirṣasūklā . . . padānakṣatre śiṃhasthe 'pi gurau mañjuśrikalpaṃ samāptam iti | Śrīmūla-ghoṣa-vihāra-adhipatinā Śrībo . . . madhyadeśād vinirgatena paṇḍita-ravi-candreṇa likhitam iti* | (pp. 668–722). The complete long chapter on the preparation of gold. Final colophon: “The bright half of Mārgaśirṣa (November-December), when Jupiter is in Leo, in (either) the 25th *nakṣatra* (*Pūrvabhādrapada* 320; or the 26th *nakṣatra*, *Uttarabhādrapadā* 333:20), on Tuesday, the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* was finished. It was written down by the Pandit Ravi Candra who came from Madhyadeśa, and who was the head of the Mūlaghoṣa vihāra.”

NOTES

1. I've found that most of the Indian University and Research Institute catalogues simply list the names of the texts, sometimes the number of leaves, and sometimes the dates. Most contain no extracts, or even colophons.
2. More research needs to be done on the rest of the colophon information in

the Tibetan translations of Sanskrit tantric works, especially correlating all the information in these colophons with Naudou's work. The same comprehensive study remains to be done of colophon information in the Chinese translations of the texts from Sanskrit that called themselves tantras. These two tasks must be completed before more definitive data on what texts were written when, where, and by whom will be possible.

3. Sum-pa mkhan-po ye'-śes dpal-'byor's *Dpag bsam ljon-bzang*, written in 1748 (Jean Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmir* [Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan, 1980], p. 15).

4. The *Bod-kyi yul-du chos-dang chos-smra-ba Ji-ltar byung-ba'i rim-pa, Deb-ther sngon-po*, "The Blue Annals, the Stages of the Appearance of the Doctrine and Preachers in the Land of Tibet," written between 1476 and 1478 (George Roerich, *The Blue Annals, Parts 1 and 2* [Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1976, reprint], p. i).

5. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmir*, pp. 15–16.

6. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmir*, p. 20.

7. See Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmir*, pp. 10–11.

8. Samdhong Rinpoche and Dwivedi Vrajavallabha, *Jñānodaya Tantra*, Rare Buddhist Text Series 2 (Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1988).

9. Samdhong Rinpoche and Dwivedi Vrajavallabha, *Dākinījālasaṃvararahasyam*, Rare Buddhist Text Series 8 (Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1990).

10. Samdhong Rinpoche and Dwivedi Vrajavallabha, *Mahāmāyatantram*, Rare Buddhist Text Series 10 (Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1992).

11. William Stablein mentions that there are eighty-two commentarial texts to this tradition (*The Mahākālatantra: A Theory of Ritual Blessing and Tantric Medicine*, Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1976, p. 9).

12 John R. Newman, *The Outer Wheel of Time: Vajrayana Buddhist Chronology in the Kālacakra Tantra* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI, 1987); and Vesna Acimovic Wallace, *The Inner Kālacakratāntra: A Buddhist Tantric View of the Individual* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1995). Wallace's work was subsequently published in the Treasury of Buddhist Sciences series, Tengyur Translation Initiative, by the American Institute of Buddhist Studies, copublished with the Columbia Center for Buddhist Studies and Tibet House, USA.

13. It is not really necessary—nor would it be reasonable given the focus of this essay—to engage here in an extended discussion of Tibetan classification schemes. Nor is it necessary to repeat the lists of Buddhist Sanskrit tantric works that were translated in Tibetan. Lists of such works can be readily found

in several sources; see, for example: Hakuji Ui, Munetada Suzuki, Yensho Kanakura, and Tokan Tada, eds., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon (Bkab-hgyur and Bstan-bgyur)* (Sendai, Japan: Tohoku Imperial University and Saito Gratitude Foundation, 1934); the Index of Works cited in Ferdinand D. Lessing and Alex Wayman's translation, *Mkhas Grub Rje's Fundamentals of Buddhist Tantras* (The Hague: Mouton, 1968); the Bibliography of Tibetan commentaries and translations from Sanskrit in Glenn H. Mullin's *The Practice of Kālacakra* (Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 1991), etc.

14. Commentary on KCT 5.243: *Tantrottaram vai sakalam avikalam tantrarājam loka-tantrāt kriyātantrāt lokottarād yogatantrāt tābhyām uttaram lokottaram | śrīmat-tantra-ādibuddham paramajinapater jñāna-kāyasya sahajasya abhidhānam vācakam ||* (Samdhong Rinpoche, chief ed., Vrajavallabh Dwivedi and S. S. Bahulkar, eds., *Vimalaprābhāṭikā of Kalkin Śrī Pundarīka on Śrī Laghukālacakratantrarāja* by Śrī Manjuśrīyaśas [Sarnath and Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1994], vol. 3, pp. 151.1–3).

15. *Dhāraṇī-saṃgraha*, twenty-three *Pañcarakṣā* texts, and the seven *Saptavāra* texts.

16. One hundred and five texts (Keisho Tsukamoto, Yukei Matsunaga, and Hirofumi Isoda, eds., *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature* [Kyoto: Heirakuji-Shoten, 1989], vol. IV: *The Buddhist Tantra*, pp. 68–119).

17. Forty-nine texts (Tsukamoto, et al., *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*, vol. IV, pp. 120–146).

18. Six texts (Tsukamoto, et al., *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*, vol. IV, pp. 146–149).

19. Two texts (Tsukamoto, et al., *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*, vol. IV, pp. 149–150).

20. One hundred and seventy-one texts, mostly *dhāraṇīs* (Tsukamoto, et al., *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*, vol. IV, pp. 150–175).

21. Tsukamoto, et al., *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*, vol. IV, pp. 75–79.

22. Tsukamoto, et al., *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*, vol. IV, p. 142.

23. Tsukamoto, et al., *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*, vol. IV, p. 146.

24. Tsukamoto, et al., *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*, vol. IV, pp. 179–186.

25. Tsukamoto, et al., *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*, vol. IV, pp. 187–226.

26. Forty-two texts (Tsukamoto, et al., *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*, vol. IV, pp. 227–250).
27. Two hundred and two texts (Tsukamoto, et al., *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*, vol. IV, pp. 251–332).
28. *Kālacakra-anusāri-gaṇita*, *Bhagavataḥ Śrī-Kālacakrasya pūjāvidhi*, the *Śrīmal-lokeśvara-nirmāṇa-Puṇḍarīka-viracita-Vimalaprabhā-uddhṛta-Śrī-Kālacakra-bhagavat-sāhana-vidhi*, *Kālackarasya pūjāvidhi*, the *Kālacakra-dhāraṇī*, the *Kālacakra nāma guhya-hṛdaya nāma dhāraṇī*, *Kālacakra-nivardhana*, *Kālacakra-mantra-dhāraṇī*, *Kālacakra-vivardhana-dhāraṇī*, *Kālacakrasya mālāntara*, Raviśrījñāna's *Amṛta-kaṇikā* (*karṇikā*) *nāma Śrī-Nāmasaṃgīti-ṭippanī*, and Vibhūticandra's *Amṛta-kaṇika-udyota*. See Tsukamoto, et al., *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*, vol. IV, pp. 333–343. Further sections of Tsukamoto's catalogue include a large number of related *Anuttarayoga* works, *sādhana*s from the *Sādhanamālā*, etc.
29. Complete list from Lokesh Chandra's Preface to the reprint edition of the *Shrīcakrasambhāra Tantra*, originally published in 1919 by Kazi Dawa-Samdub, *Short Chakrasambhara Tantra, Tantrik Texts*, vol. VII (New Delhi, Atidya Prakashan, 1987).
30. Chandra, *Vajrāvalī* (New Delhi: Mrs. Sharada Rani, 1977), p. 2.
31. See Tohoku nos. 3144–3304 (Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon*, pp. 481–502).
32. Chandra, *Vajrāvalī*, p. 1.
33. Sukumar Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India. Their History and Their Contribution to Indian Culture* (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1962), p. 346, 346, n. 2. Abhayākaragupta's works are nos. 1499, 1500, 1654, 2484, 2491, 3140, 3142, 2366, and 3743 in the *Tohoku Imperial University Catalogue*.
34. Mahāmahopadhyāya Haraprasād Shāstrī, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection, under the care of The Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1917), vol. 1, *Buddhist Manuscripts*, pp. 154–155.
35. Shāstrī, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, vol. 1, pp. 161–162.
36. Shāstrī, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, vol. 1, p. 164.
37. Shāstrī *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, vol. 1, p. 164.
38. See R. C. Dwivedi and Navijan Rastogi, eds., *The Tantrāloka of Abhinavagupta with the Commentary of Jayaratha* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1987), vol. III, Sanskrit Text: Chapters 4–7, p. 1152.
39. The *Vajrāvalī nāma Maṇḍalopāyikā* was the subject of a Ph.D. dissertation by a fellow Columbia University graduate student, the late Lobsang Chogyen

(Pema), who was editing the Sanskrit manuscript of the text. I thank him for first alerting me to the importance of Abhayākargupta's work through several conversations we had on the subject of the development of Tantric literature.

40. *Namaḥ Śrīvajrasattvāya | bande śrīkū[u]li[i]śeśvaram smaratare mārābhavāreḥ padam, krodho dhāvati dikṣu maṅgalagiro gāyantu vajrāṅganāḥ | Śrīmad-vajrabhṛto mahimni jagadā dhātu[ū]n mahāmaṅdale, niṣpratyūham iha abhayasya mahasā vajrāvalī milatu | Asta-varhi-vajra-bhṛteva vajra-paramparābhis dhriyatām ḥṛdīyaṃ, yaj-jyotir antas-timiram nirasya śrī-vajra-bhṛn-mūrti-matī bibharti ||* (Shāstrī, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, vol. 1, pp. 153–154).

41. Christian Wedermeyer has suggested to me another possibility, that some of the commentaries were in fact written before the verse texts were written, with the latter serving as mnemonical summaries of the longer “commentaries.” My own readings in Buddhist and Śaivite Tantric material, however, does not support this possibility (though it may have occurred with texts I have not yet read), especially given the predilection of the commentaries for parsing and glossing the phrases of the verses in standard Sanskrit commentarial format.

42. Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana, “Recherches Bouddhiques: II. L’Origine du Vajrayāna et Les 84 Siddhas,” *Journal Asiatique* (Oct.–Dec. 1934): 218.

43. Sāṅkṛtyāyana, “Recherches Bouddhiques: II. L’Origine du Vajrayāna et Les 84 Siddhas,” pp. 219–220.

44. See Sāṅkṛtyāyana’s list from the *Sa-skyā Bka’-bum* (“Recherches Bouddhiques: II. L’Origine du Vajrayāna et Les 84 Siddhas,” pp. 220–225).

45. Keith Dowman, *Masters of Mahamudra: Songs and Histories of the Eighty-Four Buddhist Siddhas* (Albany, NY: State University of New York [SUNY] Press, 1985), p. 389.

46. Dowman, *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 384–385.

47. Equal (in number) to the ultimate atomic particles in all the Sumerus of all the buddha fields (*sarva-buddha-kṣetra-sumreu-paramāṇu-rajah-samair*). Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *Guhyasamāja Tantra* (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1931), pp. 1, 1.6; cf. Francesca Fremantle, *A Critical Study of the Guhyasamāja Tantra* (London: University of London Library, 1971), p. 27.

48. *Atha vajradharah . . . bhāṣate maṅḍalam ramyaṃ . . . sarvatathāgataṃ cittam maṅḍalam. . .* (Bhattacharyya, *Guhyasamāja Tantra*, p. 17; cf. Fremantle, *A Critical Study of the Guhyasamāja Tantra*, p. 39).

49. Candrakīrtiḥ glosses *Prājñāḥ as aduṣṭakarmācāryaḥ*, i.e., a teacher who is free of evil actions. Chintaharan Chakravarti, *Guhyasamājantrapradīpodyotanāṭikā-ṣaṭkotīvyākhyā* (Patna: Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute, 1984), p. 42, 1.9.

50. *Sūtreṇa sūtrayet prājñāḥ*. . . (Bhattacharyya, *Guhyasamāja Tantra*, p. 17; cf. Fremantle, *A Critical Study of the Guhyasamāja Tantra*, p. 39). Fremantle emends Bhattacharyya's text from *gandha-puṣpākulāṃ kṛtvā* to *gandha-puṣpākālī-kṛtvā*.
51. *Parisphuṭaṃ tu vijñāya maṇḍalaṃ cittam uttamam | pūjāṃ kurvīta yatnena kāya-vāk-citta-pūjanaiḥ || ṣoḍaḍhābdikāṃ saṃprāpya yoṣitaṃ kāntisuprabhām | gandha-puṣpākulāṃ kṛtvā madhye tu kāmayet ||* (Bhattacharyya, *Guhyasamāja Tantra*, pp. 18–19; cf. Fremantle, *A Critical Study of the Guhyasamāja Tantra*, pp. 39–40).
52. In Chakravarti's edition, the gloss on this section is missing (accidentally?). The text of Chakravarti's edition is based on "the photograph copy of the manuscript of the famous Rahul Collection of the Bihar Research Society." (Chakravarti, *Guhyasamājantrapradīpodyotana-ṭikā-ṣaṭkotivākhyā*, General Editor's note). On page 42, n. 1, where the gloss to this section of chapter 4 should be found, there is this note: "Folio 29a seems to have escaped the camera, while 29b has been photographed twice." Instead we have Candrakīrti's gloss up through the installation of the *maṇḍala*, then it skips to a gloss on *guṇamekhalā* from the line about consecrating the young lady as *prajñā*.
53. David L. Snellgrove, *The Hevajra Tantra: A Critical Study* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), Part 1, Introduction and Translation, pp. 49–50.
54. Snellgrove, *The Hevajra Tantra*, p. 106.
55. From Mahāmahopadhyāya T. Ganapati Śāstri's Preface to *The Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa, Part I (Chapters 1–22)*, (Trivandrum: Superintendent, Government Press, 1920), vol. 1: "Among the collection of manuscripts acquired in 1909 from the Manalikkara Mathom near Padmanabhapuram. . . . It is a pretty large palm-leaf manuscript containing about 13,000 granthas. . . . The leaves have the appearance of being from 300 to 400 years old. . . : the copyist of the manuscript is one Pandita Ravichandra the head of the Mūlaghoṣa-vihāra who went out from Madhyadeśa. . . . The copyist also tells us at the end of the manuscript, '*parisamāptaṃ ca yathā-labdham āryamañjuśrīyasya kalpam*', which means, 'here ends the Kalpa of Ārya Mañjuśrī as is available.' It can be inferred from this that the manuscript from which the present manuscript was copied is itself an incomplete one."
56. See Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1970), vol. 1: Grammar, p. xxvi.
57. Śāstrī, *The Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, p. 2.
58. K. P. Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India in a Sanskrit Text, with the Sanskrit text revised by Ven. Rahula Sankrityayana* (Patna: Eastern Book House, 1988), p. 3: "The author brings his history down from two different points to the beginning of the Pāla Period. Once he starts with Śakas, pauses with the Guptas, and comes down right to Gopālaka after finishing the Gupta line. Then, again, he starts with the Nāga dynasty (Bhāraśiva), deals with Samudra

[Gupta] and his brother in Gauda, and with Śaśāṅka whose name for some reason he conceals but whose history he makes unmistakable, and then comes down to the Gopālas, ‘the *dāsajīvins* (śūdras). He does not know the later and the great Pāla kings (whom he would not have left unnamed had he known them) and their patronage of Mahāyāna. I would therefore regard the work as one of *circa* 770 A.D. (the death of Gopāla), or roughly 800 A.D.”

59. The order of these three compounds sometimes varies in the colophons of individual chapters.

60. Giuseppe Tucci has remarked that in the MMK “the Buddha descends to the level of witch-doctor, revealing *vidyā* by which any miracle, and even any crime, can be performed” (*Tibetan Painted Scrolls. An artistic and symbolic illustration of 172 Tibetan paintings preceded by a survey of the historical, artistic literary and religious development of Tibetan culture with an article of P. Pelliot on a Mongol Edict, the translation of historical documents and an appendix on pre-Buddhistic ideas of Tibet* [Roma: La Libreria Dello State, 1949], vol. 1, p. 216).

61. *Namaḥ Sarva-buddha-bodhisattvebhyaḥ | evaṃ mayā śrutam | ekasmin samaye bhagavān śuddhāvāso pari gagana-tala-pratiṣṭite 'cintya-āścarya-adbhuta-pravibhakta-bodhisattva-sannipāta-maṇḍala-mude viharati sma |* (Śāstrī, *The Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, p. 1, lines 1–3).

62. Hakuju Ui, Munetada Suzuki, Yensho Kanakura, and Tokan Tada, eds., *A Catalogue-Index of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons (Bkab-bgyur and Bstan-bgyurt)* (Sendai: Tohoku Imperial University and Saito Gratitude Foundation, 1934), pp. 71–72.

63. Ui, et al., *A Catalogue-Index of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, pp. 71–72. These are as follows (Tohoku numbers; I give only the portion of the title that follows after *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*): -*Guhyavad-vidhi-vṛtti-jñāna-dīpa* (2584), -*Cakra-krama* (2597), -*Cakṣur-vidhi* (2573), -*Ṭikā* (2534), -*Ṭikā-vimala-prabhā* (1398), -*Ṭikā-sara-abhisamaya* (2098), -*Nāma-mahāṭikā* (2090), -*Nāma-homa-krama* (2581), - *Pañjikā-saṃgraha* (2541), -*Maṇḍala-vidhi[s]* (2545, 2546, 2595, 2620), -*Mahā-bodhi-śarīra-vidhi* (2568), -*Māra-mantra-māra-cakra* (2574), -*Vidhi-maṇḍala* (2547), -*Vidhi-sūtra-piṇḍita* (2512), -*Vidhi-sūtra-piṇḍita* (2592), -*Vṛtti* (2535), -*Vṛtti* (2536), -*Vṛtti-nāma-artha-prakāśa-karaya* (2537), -*Vyākhyāna* (1397), -*Sarva-pāpa-viśodhana-maṇḍala-vidhi[s]* (2575, 2576), -*Sarva-maṇḍala-stotra* (2621), -*sādhana[s]* (2108, 2579, 2600, 2619), -*Sādhana-guhya-pradīpa* (2596), -*Homa-vidhi-saṃgraha* (2569), -*Anuśaṃsa-vṛtti* (1399), -*Abhisamaya* (1400), -*Amṛta-bindu-pradīpa-loka-vṛtti* (1396), -*Artha-āloka-kara* (2093). -*Upadeśa-vṛtti* (2539), *Mañjuśrī-nāma-sādhana* (2544), *Mañjuśrī-nāma-aṣṭaka* (642).

64. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 316.

65. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 96.

66. The latter is the translation favored by Prof. Robert Thurman (personal

communication). The notion of a conclave, a closed meeting such as that of the cardinals who select the pope in the Roman Catholic tradition—a meeting that itself shares some aspects of a communion—may also be appropriate. At the beginning of the fourth chapter, for instance, the text reads: “Now all the blessed *Tathāgatas* again gathered together. . .” and addressed the *Bhagavān* (*atha bhagavantaḥ sarvatathāgataḥ punaḥ samājam āgamyā. . .*) (Bhattacharyya, *Guhyasamāja Tantra*, p. 17).

67. Bhattacharyya, *Guhyasamāja Tantra*.

68. Fremantle, *A Critical Study of the Guhyasamāja Tantra*. Fremantle’s version of the Sanskrit differs in many places from Bhattacharyya’s *Guhyasamāja Tantra*.

69. Chakravarti, *Guhyasamājantrapradīpodyotana-ṭikā-ṣaṭkotivyākhyā*.

70. Bhattacharyya, *Guhyasamāja Tantra*, pp. xxx–xxxii.

71. Katsumi Mimaki and Toru Tomabechi, *Pancakrama. Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts Critically Edited with Verse Index and Facsimile Edition of the Sanskrit Manuscripts* (Tokyo: The Center for East Asian Cultural Studies for UNESCO, 1994).

72. Shāstri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection*, p. 72.

73. Cecil Bendall, *Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge* (1883), reprinted in Albrecht Wezler, ed., *Publications of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project 2, In Cooperation with the National Archives, Kathmandu, Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Supplementband 33* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1992), pp. 15ff.

74. See Bhattacharyya, *Guhyasamāja Tantra*, pp. iii–xxxviii; Fremantle, *A Critical Study of the Guhyasamāja Tantra*, pp. 13–15.

75. Alex Wayman, *Yoga of the Guhyasamājantra. The Arcane Lore of Forty Verses: A Buddhist Tantra Commentary* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1991, reprint).

76. Shāstri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection*, p. 17.

77. 3) *Mahāvaiṣṭyā tathāgata-kāya-guhyā-parivarttas tṛtīyāḥ*; 4) *Vāg-guhyā-parivartto-nāmas caturthaḥ*; 5) *Citta-guhyā-parivarttaḥ pañcamaḥ*; 6) *Tathāgata-vikurvvaṇa-sandarśana-parivarttaḥ*; 7) *Vyākaraṇa-parivartto-nāma saptamaḥ*; 9) *Śūra-valaya-parivartto-nāma navamaḥ*; 10) *Ajātaśatru-parivartto-nāma daśamaḥ*; 11) *Iti tathāgata-guhyāka-vikurvvan sandarśana-parivartta ekādaśa-paṭala[h] samāpta[h]*.

78. It is unlikely that the physical manuscript itself dates from this time, since that would mean it had survived intact for some seventeen centuries.

79. Shāstri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection*, pp. 17–21.

80. *Taittirīyopaniṣad* from the *Taittirīyasamhitā* of the *Kṛṣṇayajurveda*, *Aitareya Upaniṣad* from the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, and *Aitareyāranyaka* on the *Ṛgveda*, *Kauṣītakī-brāhmaṇopaniṣad*, etc.
81. The text is quoted in Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (Shāstri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection*, p. 21).
82. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmir*, p. 87.
83. See *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 6.77. M. A. Stein, *Kalhana's Rājatarāṅgiṇī. A Chronicle of the Kings of Kāśmīr* (Mirpur: Verinag Publishers, 1991, reprint), vol. 1, p. 195.
84. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 301.
85. Twice revised; Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 291.
86. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 292.
87. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 281.
88. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 302.
89. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 296.
90. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 288.
91. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 286.
92. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 284.
93. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmir*, p. 87.
94. See *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 6.77. Stein, *Kalhana's Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, vol. 1, p. 195.
95. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 286.
96. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 294.
97. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 295.
98. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 295.
99. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 288.
100. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 284.
101. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 296.
102. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 298.
103. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 297.
104. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 291.
105. Shin'ichi Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya Tantra: Selected Chapters* (Tokyo: The Hokuseido Press, 1974), pp. 6, 10.
106. Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya Tantra*, pp. 1–2, 13.

107. Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya Tantra*, p. 9.
108. Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya Tantra*, p. 27.
109. Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya Tantra*, p. 45.
110. Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya Tantra*, p. 27.
111. Dawa-Samdub, *Short Chakrasambhara Tantra*.
112. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmir*, p. 79, n. 1, after Tucci.
113. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 236.
114. See Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmir*, p. 80, n. 3.
115. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 225.
116. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmir*, p. 248.
117. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 245.
118. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 245.
119. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 233.
120. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 240.
121. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 240.
122. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 237.
123. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 228.
124. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmir*, pp. 159–160, n. 9.
125. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 230.
126. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 230.
127. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 225.
128. Naudou distinguishes this author of texts on the *Cakrasaṃvara* cycle from his Kaśmīri predecessor Bhavyarāja, though he offers no further information on his dates or collaborators (*Buddhists of Kashmir*, p. 229, n. 68). He must, however, have preceded the eleventh century, given the translation date.
129. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 225.
130. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmir*, p. 157.
131. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmir*, p. 212.
132. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 234. For an account of this translator's work see Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmir*, pp. 211–216.
133. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 244.
134. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 236.

135. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 235.
136. See Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, p. 187, n. 100.
137. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 236.
138. This is an estimate, based on Naudou's chart (*Buddhists of Kashmīr*, p. 272) that places Darika as living during Harṣa's reign.
139. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 229.
140. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 231.
141. For an account of the latter see Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, pp. 240–241.
142. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 244.
143. See Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, p. 187, n. 100.
144. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 225.
145. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 235.
146. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 235.
147. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 229.
148. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 240.
149. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 230.
150. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 238.
151. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 229.
152. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 238.
153. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 237.
154. See Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, p. 80, n. 3.
155. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 225.
156. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 234.
157. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, pp. 237–238.
158. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 231.
159. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 242.
160. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 244.
161. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 229.
162. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 235.
163. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 232.
164. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, pp. 240–241.
165. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 239.

166. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 245.
167. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 237.
168. There are only two “*Samvara*” texts in the Tohoku Catalogue: 1) *Samvara-viṃśaka-vṛtti* (Tohoku 4082) written by Śāntirakṣita and translated by Vidyārkarasiṃha, classed as a *Sems-tsam* text; and 2) *Samvara-vyākhyā* (Tohoku 1460) by Nag-po-pa, translated by Ḥol-ston chos-ḥbyun (Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, pp. 618, 234). There are four “*Sambara*” texts: 1) *Sambara-kalita* (Tohoku 1463) by Byañ-chub rdo-rje, translated by Bhadraśrībodhi and Dde-baḥi blo-gros; 2) *Sambara-khasamantantra-rāja* (Tohoku 415) translated by the Kaśmīri Jñānavajra; 3) *Sambaracakra-āli-kāli-mahāyoga-bhāvanā* (Tohoku 2406) by Sagara, translator unknown; and 4) *Sambara-maṇḍala-vidhi* (Tohoku 1511) by De-bshin-gśeḡs paḥi rdo-rje, translated by Vibhūticandra (Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, pp. 234, 74–75, 371, 2–U).
169. *Kṛtir iyam siṃhalāvasya śrīlaṅkājanmabhūr abhūt tasya Jayabadrākhyāḥ khyātaḥ. Kṣāntiṃ kurvvantu vīraḍākīnyaḥ |*
170. *Namo Śrīherukāya | sarvabhāvasvabhāvāgraṃ sarvvabhāvabhayāvaham | sarvvabhāvanirābhāsam sarvvabhāvavibhāvinam || taṃ praṇāmya mahāvīram khasamārthaṃ khanirmmalam |*
171. *Cakrasambaram iti tena yad vācyam Śrīherukatantra-vajravārāhy-āditantranrūpam abhidheyam |* (Rheinhold Grünendahl, *A Concordance of H. P. Śāstri's Catalogue of the Durbar Library and Microfilms of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project: Hara Prasad Sastri. A Catalogue of Palm Leaf and Selected Paper Mss. Belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal* [Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GMBH, 1989], vol. 2, pp. 48–50).
172. Shāstri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, p. iii.
173. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *Śaktisangama Tantra. Critically edited with a preface, in four volumes* (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1932), vol. 1, *Kālikhaṇḍa*, p. 1.
174. Snellgrove, *The Hevajra Tantra, Part 2, Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts*, p. 2.
175. Literally, “what are the channels in extent, and how is that body-mass?” (*ke te nāḍī pramāṇasya śarīrapīṇḍa[m] tat katham*). I have emended the text from *śanirapīṇḍa tat katham*, since *śanir*, i.e., Saturn, would make little sense here, and *pīṇḍa* lacks an *anusvāra*.
176. *Samaya-saṃketa-cchomasya*. One might think *cchoma* is a version of *soma*, yet the title of chapter 9 includes the term as *cchoma*. This appears to be a term like *chandoha* that is peculiar to Tantric literature, and perhaps represents a reabsorption of a Prakrit term into Sanskrit; I have not yet determined what the original Sanskrit of *cchoma* must be.
177. *Oṃ namaḥ śrīvajrasambarāya | Evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye*

bhagavān sarvva-tathāgata-kāya-vāk-citta-vajrayoginībhageṣu vijahāra | Āryyā-
nanda-prabhṛti-vītarāga-pramukhair āryyāvalokiteśvarādir aśitikoṭiyoginī ca
madhye vajrapāṇiṃ vyavalokya smitam akārṣit | Vajrapāṇi[r] utthāya āśanād
ekāṃsam uttarāsaṅgaṃ kṛtvā dakṣiṇajānumaṅdalaṃ pṛthivyāṃ pratiṣṭhāpya
kṛtakarapuṭo bhutvā bhagavantam adhyeṣayāmāsa | śrotum icchāmi bhagavān
utpattiyogalakṣaṇaṃ | Utpannaṃ ca kathaṃ deva sarvvākāraikasam̐baram̐ || kathaṃ
vāyu āpāśca pṛthivyākāśam̐ eva ca | pañcākāraṃ kathaṃ deva ṣaḍvidhañ ca tataḥ
prabho || kathaṃ trikāyam̐ adhiṣṭhānaṃ bāhyaṃ vābhyantare sthitiḥ | kathaṃ te
devatārūpaṃ kathayasva devatī prabho | candrasūryyaḥ kathaṃ deva patha pañca
kathaṃ bhavet | kathaṃ te śarīrasvabhāvan tu nāḍīrūpaṃ kathaṃ tataḥ || ke te nāḍī
pramāṇasya śarīrapīṇḍa tat kathaṃ | samāyasaṅketacchomasya kathayasva mama
prabho || ke te piṭhādīsaṅketam̐ bāhyādhyātmakam̐ eva ca | kathaṃ bhūmyādi-
lābhasya kathaṃ nimittadarśanam̐ | kathaṃ te dvādaśa-karmma mantrajāpaṃ
kathaṃ bhavet | akṣamālā kathaṃ yukti ke te jāpasya lakṣaṇaṃ | ke te maṅdalaṃ
āvarttam̐ devatākāra-yogataḥ | siddhimantram̐ kathaṃ deva kaumārī-tarpanam̐
kathaṃ || ke divasena karttavyaṃ alivali kathaṃ prabho | pañcāmṛtādi kathaṃ deva
pañcāṅkuśam̐ ca tad bhavet || kathayasva maṅdalālekhyam̐ sūtrapātam̐ kathaṃ
bhavet | kathaṃ te bhūmi saṃśodhyaṃ rakṣācakram̐ kathaṃ bhavet || ācāryya kena
karttavyaṃ kathaṃ śiṣyasya saṃgrahaṃ | ke te 'bhiṣekaṃ pramāṇāñ ca caturthañca
kathaṃ bhavet || kathaṃ kālasya nīyamaṃ mṛtyuvañcanam̐ eva ca | ke te
caturyugāṅkasya caturdvīpaṃ kathaṃ bhavet | yuge yuge kathaṃ siddhi caryyācāri
kathaṃ bhavet | ke te yoginītantrasya yogatantram̐ kathaṃ bhavet || kathaṃ
sūtrāntaḥ pramāṇasya ke te pāramitā tathā | pratiṣṭhāhomayāgasya siddhimantram̐
kathaṃ bhavet || rasāyanaṃ kathaṃ deva madyapānaṃ kathaṃ bhavet |
mantrodayam̐ kathaṃ deva mantroddhāra kathaṃ bhavet || nigrahañca kathaṃ deva
anugrahañca kathaṃ bhavet | tattvāñca kathaṃ bhagavan sūnyatā karuṇā kathaṃ ||
kathaṃ sūnyasvabhāvatvaṃ kathaṃ tathatāsvarūpakaṃ | devarūpaṃ kathaṃ nāma
yoginīlakṣaṇaṃ valīm̐ || sarva-dharmma-parijñānaṃ bhāvānaṃ kathaya prabho ||
(Shāstri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, pp. 64–65).

178. For the chapters translated by Tsuda I have added the title as he gives it.

179. *Utpattinirdeśapaṭala*, “Explanation of the process of origination” (Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya Tantra*, pp. 73, 239). Mapping of the birth process into a meditation: “recognizing [the process of] birth to be the process of origination (*utpattikrama*), a man should attain the state of the completely enlightened (*samyaksambuddhatva*)” (Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya Tantra*, p. 243).

180. *Utpannakramanirdeśapaṭala*, “Explanation of the process of completion” (Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya Tantra*, pp. 77, 243). The chapter really describes the state of completion, only briefly mentioning aspects of the process (*The Samvarodaya Tantra*, pp. 243–247).

181. *Catur-bhūta-pañcākāra-ṣaḍviśaya-devatā-viśuddha-paṭala*, “Purity of deities as the four elements, the five aspects and the six objects of the senses” (Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya Tantra*, pp. 79, 247). A standard enumeration of

the components of the body (elements, senses, etc.), the constituents of consciousness in the Buddhist system (*rūpa*, *vedanā*, *saṃjñā*, etc.), and so on, all reenvisioned or reconceived in macro-microcosmic relations (Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya Tantra*, pp. 247–251).

182. *Candrasūryakramopadeśapaṭala*, “Explanation of the course of the moon and the sun” (Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya Tantra*, pp. 83, 251). A detailed discussion of the flow of *prāṇa* through the channels according to specific times, and the consequences of these movements for one’s life (Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya Tantra*, pp. 251–258).

183. *Pathapañcanirdeśapaṭala*, “Explanation of the five ways” (Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya Tantra*, pp. 92, 258). A short chapter on the relationship of the *dhātus* to the *maṇḍalas* of the *pañcamahābhūtas*, and the paths from these *maṇḍalas* to the various *nāḍīs* (Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya Tantra*, pp. 258–260).

184. *Nāḍīcakrakramopāyapaṭala*, “The means of the process of the circle of veins” (Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya Tantra*, pp. 93, 260). The chapter provides a mapping of the major channels and their *pīṭha* names in the body, e.g., *oḍiyāna*, the right ear; *devikoṭa*, the eyes through the liver; *mālava*, the shoulders through the heart; etc. (Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya Tantra*, p. 261). We find the same material in the *Kālacakra*, and Tsuda reports that a similar mapping of “twenty-four countries, twenty-four parts of the body, twenty-four humors or intestines, twenty-four gods such as *Kharaṇḍakapāla* and so on and twenty-four goddesses such as *Pracaṇḍā*, and so on are repeatedly enumerated” in the *Abhidhānottara* (*The Samvarodaya Tantra*, p. 260, n. 4).

185. *Samayaśaṅketavidhipaṭalaḥ*. Again, we have the term *śaṅketa*, used for assignations of lovers, or lovers’ meeting places. The text says: “In his own house or in a secret place, in deserted places or in pleasant places, in mountain, cave, or thicket, on the shore of the ocean (2), in a graveyard, in a shrine of the mother-goddess or in the middle of the confluence of rivers, a man who wishes the highest result should cause the *maṇḍala* to turn correctly. The great, faithful donor should invite *yoginī* and *yogin*, the teacher (*ācārya*), (goddesses) born from the *kṣetra*, *mantra* and *pīṭha*, and all the deities (4)” (*svargrheṣu guptasthāne vijaneṣu manorame | giri-gahvara-kuñjeṣu mahodadhitateṣu vā || 2 || śmaśāne mātrgrhe ca nāḍīsaṅgamamadhyataḥ | vartayed maṇḍalaṃ samyag anuttaraphalam icchati || 3 ||*) (Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya Tantra*, pp. 264, 96). The chapter goes on to describe who is fit to fulfill the role of *ācārya*—someone virtuous, not someone observing lifelong chastity (*naiṣṭhika*), a farmer, a merchant who sells the teaching, etc.; proper treatment of the attendees is mentioned, distribution of food and liquor, prayers, and veneration are mentioned. The elaborate salutation to the goddesses is given; dancing, singing, mantras, postures, drumming and musical instruments are employed; then the *vīra*, or hero, i.e., the gentleman who is ready for the rite of sexual union, joins together with a *yoginī*. “He will be possessed of the perfection of

pleasure, free from disease, righteous in mind, and will attain the liberation from love-passion (*kāma*). There will be fulfilment (*siddhi*) for him who has completion” (*sukhasampattisampanna ārogyaḥ śubhacetasāḥ | kāma-mokṣādi-saṃprāptaḥ siddhir bhavati sampadaḥ || 37 ||*) (Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya Tantra*, pp. 269, 102). The compound *kāma-mokṣādi-saṃprāptaḥ* should be translated “he who has attained passionate love, liberation, etc.” or “he who has attained liberation, etc., through passionate love.”

186. *Chomā-pīṭha-saṅketa-bhūmi-nirdeśa-pāṭala*.

187. *Iti śrīsambharodayatantrasya adhyeṣaṇapaṭalāḥ prathamāḥ | iti utpattinirdeśapaṭalo dvitīyaḥ | iti utpannakramanirdeśapaṭalāḥ tṛtīyaḥ | iti catur-bhūta-pañcākāra-ṣaḍviṣaya-devatā-viśuddhi-paṭalaś-caturthaḥ | iti candra-sūryya-kramopadeśa-paṭalāḥ pañcamaḥ | iti patha-pañcakanirdeśaḥ-ṣaṣṭhamaḥ | iti nāḍī-cakra-kramopāya-paṭalāḥ saptamaḥ | iti samaya-saṅketa-vidhiḥ, paṭalāḥ aṣṭamaḥ || iti cchoma-pīṭha-saṅketa-bhūmi-nirdeśa-paṭalāḥ navamaḥ | iti karmma-prasarodayo nāma paṭalo daśamaḥ | iti mantra-jāpa-nirdeśa-paṭala ekādaśamaḥ || iti mantra-jāpākṣamālā-nirdeśa-paṭalāḥ dvādaśaḥ | iti śriherukodaya-nirdeśa-paṭalas trayodaśamaḥ | iti vajra-yoginī-pūjā-vidhi-nirdeśa-paṭalaś caturdaśaḥ | iti pātralakṣaṇa-nirdeśa-paṭalāḥ pañcadaśaḥ | iti pañcāmṛta-sādhana-nirdeśa-paṭalāḥ ṣaṣṭhadaśaḥ | iti maṇḍala-sūtrapātana-vidhi-lakṣaṇo-nirdeśi-paṭalāḥ saptadaśaḥ | iti abhiṣeka-paṭala aṣṭadaśaḥ | iti mṛtyu-nirmittadarśana utkrāntiyoga-paṭala ekonaviṃśatiḥ | iti catur-yuganirdeśa-paṭala ekaviṃśatiḥ | iti devatā-pratiṣṭhitā-vidhi-paṭalo dvāviṃśatiḥ | iti homa-nirdeśa-paṭalas trayoviṃśatiḥ | iti karmma-prasarausadhi-prayoga-nirdeśa-paṭalaś caturviṃśatitamaḥ | iti rasāyana-vidhiḥ paṭalāḥ pañcaviṃśatiḥ | iti vāruṇī-nirdeśa-paṭalāḥ ṣaḍviṃśatitamaḥ | iti mantroddhāraṇa-vidhi-paṭalāḥ saptaviṃśatiḥ | iti homavidhiḥ paṭalāḥ iti tattva-nirdeśa-paṭala ekonaviṃśatitamaḥ | iti citrādi-rūpa-lakṣaṇa-nirdeśa-paṭalas triṃśatiḥ | iti catur-yoginī-nirdeśa-krama-bodhicitta-saṃkramana-paṭalāḥ eka-triṃśatiḥ | iti valyupahāra-nirdeśa-paṭalo dvātriṃśatiḥ | iti śriherukābhīdhāna tantrarāje trilakṣoddhṛtasahajodayakalpe śrīmahāsambharodaya-tantrarāje sarvvayoginī-rahasya vipaṭhisiddhe trayo-triṃśatitamaḥ paṭalāḥ samāptaḥ || (Shāstri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, pp. 63–66). The closing section of the text reads: *Aho saukhyaṃ aho saukhyaṃ aho bhūṅja kathaṃ kathaṃ Aho sahaja-māhātmyaṃ sarva-dharmma-svabhāvatā || dr̥ṣyate ca jagaj-jalendutadvataḥ śṛṅvate ca pratidhvanaikasamvṛtaḥ | paśyate ca maru-marīci-saṅcitāḥ khādyapānagaganopamodyatā || yadā jighrate na bhakta sugandhavat trasate ca svataḥ śaśī sūryya yathā | saṃsthitāñśca giri-meru-tatsamaḥ ālambana-svapṛākṣa-mālikāṃ tathā || māyendra-jāla-vyavahāra-mātragatāḥ evaṃ yathā sahaja-saukhyodayaṃ tathā | bhāva-svabhāva-rahitā vicintyarayā nityoditam sugata-mārga-varaṃ namo 'stu || sarvva-pūjaṃ parityajya guru-pūjāṃ samāramet | tena tuṣṭena tal labhyate sarvajña-jñānam uttamaḥ || kiṃ tena na kṛtaṃ puṇyaṃ kiṃvā nopāsitaṃ tapaḥ | anuttara-kṛta-ācāryya-vajra-sattva-prapūjanāt || bhayaṃ pāpahaṛaṇ caiva . . . sāttvikāḥ | samayācāra-rakṣa-cakra-samayaṃ tasya pradarśayet || śrī-herukābhīdhāna-tantrasya pīṭha-svādhyāya-lekhanāt | siddhim ṛddhiṃ ca**

saubhāgyaṃ bodhisattvatva[m] prāpnuyāt || śrī-sambarodaya-tantrasya bhāvite cintite yadā | mahābhāga mahāsaukhyam dāridrya-duḥkha[m] naśyati || sarva-vīra-samājoga-ḍākinī-jāla-sambaram | nānādhimuktikā sattvāśvāryyā nānā-vivodhitaḥ || nānā-naya-vineyān tam upāyena tu darśitāḥ | gambhīra-dharmma-nirdeśe nānā-adhimuktikā yadi || pratikṣapā na kartavyā acintyā sarvadharmmatāḥ | śūnyatā-karuṇā-abhinnaṃ acintyo buddha-nāṭakaṃ || śrī-heruka-samāyogaṃ ḍākinī-vṛndam āśritaṃ | sattvāvatāra-muktin tu tatra sarvvatra ratā iva || sarva-ḍākinī-samāyogā śrī-heruka-pade sthitā | (Shāstri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, pp. 66-67).

188. Snellgrove, *The Hevajra Tantra*, Part 2, p. vii.
189. Snellgrove, *The Hevajra Tantra*, Part 2, p. viii.
190. Snellgrove, *The Hevajra Tantra*, Part 1, p. 14.
191. Snellgrove, *The Hevajra Tantra*, Part 2, pp. vii–viii.
192. Gerhard Ehlers, *Indische Handschriften. Teil 12. Die Sammlung der Niedersächsische Staats- Und Universitätsbibliothek Gottingen* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1995), p. 220.
193. Grünendahl, *A Concordance of H. P. Śāstri's Catalogue*, p. 522.
194. G. W. Farrow and I. Menon, *The Concealed Essence of the Hevajra Tantra, with the Commentary Yogaratnamālā* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Private Limited, 1992). Since the *Yogaratnamālā* manuscripts they consulted are not substantially different than Snellgrove's edition, they do not provide the Sanskrit of the *Yogaratnamālā*.
195. See Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, p. 232, for mention of the collaboration of these two on the translation of the *Madhyamaka-avatāra-kārikā*.
196. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, pp. 538, 193, 75, 201, 206, 207, 194, 202, 193, 208, 205, 199, 205, 210, 501, 201, 209, 247, 207, 201, 212, 212.
197. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 96.
198. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, pp. 207–208.
199. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, p. 123.
200. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 234.
201. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 236.
202. Peter Zieme and Gyorgy Kara, *Ein Uigurisches Totenbuch. Naropa's Lehre in uigurischer Übersetzung von vier tibetischen Traktaten nach der Sammelhandschrift aus Dunhuang*, British Museum Or. 8212 (109) (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1979), p. 26.
203. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, pp. 129, 152–154; Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 235.

204. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, pp. 256–257.
205. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 77.
206. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 469.
207. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, pp. 159–160, n. 20.
208. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 469.
209. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 497.
210. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 497.
211. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 526.
212. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 526.
213. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 281.
214. See Arthur Keith, *Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office. Volume 2, Brahmanical and Jaina Manuscripts, with a Supplement, Buddhist Manuscripts*, by F. W. Thomas (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935), pp. 1398–1399, #7732.
215. Christopher S. George, *The Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra, Chapters I–VIII. A critical edition and English translation* (New Haven, CT: American Oriental Society, 1974), pp. 2–3. I have used George’s translations except where noted; each colophon ends with *-paṭala*.
216. George translates this as “trance.”
217. Śāstrī explains that this chapter “gives reasons why *Caṇḍa Mahāroṣaṇa* is called *Acala*, *Ekallavīra* [the solitary hero] and *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa*” (*A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, p. 135); see below.
218. George translates “Increasing the white, etc.,” though he notes, “i.e., how to increase sexual potency, etc.” (*The Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra, Chapters I–VIII*, p. 3, n. 11).
219. George translates “Cures for the Ills of Old Age.” Given the information we have on the scope of alchemical medicine, though, I suggest—without having read the chapter—that both regular disease and the infirmities of old age are probably the subject matter of this section.
220. Again, George keeps “white” as the translation for *śukra*, though he clearly knows what it refers to, as is evident from the translated chapters he provides. The “arrest” is the yoga of stopping the ejaculation of semen during sexual intercourse.
221. Shāstrī, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, pp. 131–140.
222. George, *The Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra, Chapters I–VIII*, p. 8.
223. *Sarvo ’haṃ sarvavyāpī ca sarvakṛt sarvanāśakaḥ | sarva-rūpadharo buddhaḥ, haritā karttā prabhuh śukhī || yena yenaiva rūpeṇa sattvā yānti vineyatām | tena*

tenaiva rūpeṇa sthito 'haṃ lokahetave || kvacit buddhaḥ kvacit siddhaḥ kvaccid-dharmo 'tha saṅkhakaḥ | kvacit pretaḥ kvacit tiryak kvacin nāraka-rūpaka ||

224. According to Vaman Shivram Apte (*The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Revised and Enlarged Edition* [Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1985]), who is certainly no authority on Buddhist tantra, *try-akṣara* is a term for *Oṃ*, since it is considered to have three syllables: *a, u, m*. Without the rest of the chapter it is impossible to tell; given the term's usage below, some esoteric physical meaning appears to be intended.

225. These are neuter case, though, so they probably should be taken adverbially: *tatparam, kāyavākcittam samvṛtam gaḍhasaukhyataḥ*.

226. Again, *nakhakṣatam* is neuter case.

227. *Rata* is the pleasure of, or simply sexual union. *Su-rata* therefore indicates what we would call in colloquial English great sex, or good sex.

228. A *daṇḍa* is missing after the †; what the “six” refers to is not clear.

229. *Sambodhi*.

230. See *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 64, 65 for the same list of the thirteen realms, in a slightly different order (K. Kasawara, F. Max Muller, and H. Wenzel, *The Dharma-Saṃgraha. An Ancient Collection of Buddhist Technical Terms* [Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1885], p. 14). The Sanskrit of this extract is: *Prajñopāya[-] samāyogena nakhaṃ dadyāt tu tryakṣaram | cumanāliṅganañ caiva sarva-sva-śukram eva ca || dāna-pāramitā pūrṇā bhavaty eva na saṃśayaḥ | tatparam kāyavāc-cittam samvṛtam gaḍha-saukhyataḥ || śīla-pāramitā-jñeyā jñeyā sahanāc ca nakha-kṣatam | tryakṣaram pīḍanañ ca rataṃ kuryyāt samāhitaḥ | vīrya-pāramitā jñeyā tat-sukhe citta-yojanā || sarvato-bhadra-rūpeṇa dhyāna-pāramitā matā | strī-rūpa-bhāvanā, prajñā-pāramitā prakīrtitā || surataka-yoga-mātreṇa pūrṇā ṣaṭ-pāramitā bhavet | pañca-pāramitā puṇya-jñāna-prajñeti kathyate || suratayoga-samāyukto yoga-sambhārasamvṛtaḥ yoga-sambhāra-samvṛtaḥ | siddhyate kṣāna-mātreṇa puṇya-jñāna-samanvitaḥ || yathā latā-samudbhūtaḥ phala-puṣpaṃ samanvitaḥ || eka-kṣānāñ ca sambodhiḥ sambhāra-dvaya-sambhṛtā || sa trayodaśa-bhūmiśo bhavatyeva na saṃśayaḥ | bhūmis tu muditā jñeyā vimalārccīsmatis tathā || prabhākari sudurjjayābhimukhī dūraṅgamācalā | [sā]dhumatī dharmma-meghā samant[ā]khya-prabhā tathā || nirupamā jñātavatītyeva trayodaśaṅjñā ||*

231. *Puruṣarūpaṃ bhāvaḥ strī-rūpaṃ abhāvaḥ | nilo vijñānaṃ, śveto rūpaṃ, pīto vedanā raktaḥ samjñā, śyāmaḥ saṃskāraḥ-athavā nilam ākāśaṃ, śvetā-jalaṃ, pītā pṛthivī, raktā, vahni, śyāmo vātaḥ-yathā, bhagavatāṃ, tathā bhavatīnām-athavā nilaḥ, śuviśuddha-dharmma-dhātu-jñānaṃ, śveta ādarśa-jñānaṃ, pīta samatā-jñānaṃ, rakta pratyavekṣānā-jñānaṃ, śyāma krtyānuṣṭhāna-jñānaṃ | eka eva jinaḥśāstā pañcarūpeṇa saṃsthit[ah] | prajñāpāramitā caikā pañcarūpeṇa saṃsthitā || (Śāstrī, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, pp. 185–186).*

232. Śāstrī inserts a question mark for this work, which I have retained; I have

been unable to determine what it might mean, or of what it may be a variant reading.

233. *Atha bhagatī āha | kiṃ bhagavan strī-vyatirekeṇāpi śakyate sādhayitum caṇḍa-mahāroṣaṇapadaṃ utsāho na śakyate | bhagavān āha na śakyate devi | bhagavatī āha kiṃ bhagavan sukhānudayāt na śakyate? bhagavān āha | na sukhodayamātreṇa labhyate bodhir uttamā | sukha-viśeṣodayādeva prāpyate sā ca nānyathā || . . . loka-kaukṛtya-nāśārthaṃ māyādevīsutaḥ sudhīḥ | caturaśīti sahasrāṇi tyaktvā cāntaḥpuram punaḥ || gatvā nirañjanatīraṃ buddha-siddhi-prakāśakaḥ, | yāto mārānnirākṛtya na caivam paramārthataḥ || yasmād antaḥpure buddhaḥ siddho gopānvitaḥ sukhi | vajra-padma-samāyogāt sa sukhaṃ labhate yataḥ || sukkena prāpyate bodhiḥ sukhaṃ na strī-viyogataḥ | viyogaḥ kriyate yas tu loka-kaukṛtya-hānaye || yena yenaiva te lokā yānti buddha vineyatām | tena tenaiva rūpeṇa māyādevīsuto jinaḥ | sarvva-sūtrābhidarmmeṇa kṛtvā nindāstu yoṣitām| nānā śikṣā-padaṃ bhāvetastu svagopanabhāṣayā || nirvāṇam darśayec cāpi pañca-skandha-vināśataḥ || atha bhagavatī prajñāpāramitā āha | kā bhagavan māyādevīsutaḥ kā ca gopā? bhagavān āha | māyādevīsutaś cāham caṇḍaroṣaṇatām gataḥ | tvam eva bhagavatī gopā prajñāpāramitātmikāḥ || yāvantas tu strīyaḥ sarvās-tad-rūpeṇaiva tā mataḥ | madrūpeṇa pumāmsastu sarvva eva prakīrtitā || dvayor bhāgavataṃ caitat prajñopāyātmakaṃ jagat | . . . Atha bhagatī āha, kathaṃ bhagavan śrāvakādayo hi strīyo dūṣayanti | bhagavān āha | kāmadhātu-sthitāḥ sarve khyātā ye śrāvakādayaḥ | mokṣamārgam na jānanti strīyaḥ paśyanti savvadā || sannidhānam bhaved yatra durllabhaṃ śuṅkumādīkam | na tatrārgham samāpnoti durasthasya mahārghatā || anādyā-jñāna-yogena śraddhā-hīnās tvamī janāḥ | cittam na kurvate tattve mayāpy etat pragopitam ||.*

234. Apte, *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, quotes Vasiṣṭha's definition of *vīrāsana* as being the same as *paryāṅka*: placing one foot firmly on the other thigh, likewise the thigh on the other [foot], this is called the *vīrāsanaṃ* (*ekam pādamaṃ athaikasmin vinyasorau tu saṃsthitam | itarasamiṃs tathā evoram vīrāsanaṃ udāhṛtam || paryāṅka-granthi-bandha . . .*).

235. Again, the text is a bit suspect here, reading *nīlāyāvā sahasrake*. I've emended it to *nīlāvayavām saharaskām*.

236. *Atha bhagavatī āha | aparaṃ śrotum icchāmi prajñāpāramitodayam | sattva-parya[n]kinī devī ṣoḍaśabda-vapuṣmatī | nilavarṇā mahābhāgā, akṣobhyena ca mudritā | rakta-padmodyatām savye nila[vayavām] sahasrak[ām] | sthitam vai kāmāśāstraṃ tu padma-candropariṣṭhitam | pīnonnatakucā[m] dṛṣṭvā viśālākṣ[īm] priyaṃvadām || saha-jacala-samādhiṣṭhā[m] devīm etām tu bhāvayet | hūṃkāra-jñāna-saṃbhūtām, viśva-vajrīn tu yoginīm || bhāvayet harṣito yogī, dhruvaṃ siddhim avāpnuyāt | athavā bhāvayet chvetām, vāṇādhi-kāra-saṃbhavām || mudritām śm . . . tenaiva pītām vajradhātveśvarīm | raktena mudrita[m] vajrā[m] raktāmbā[m] [kuru]-kullikā[m] || amitābha-mudritām devīm hrīṃ-kāra-jñāna-saṃbhavām | tārāmbā śyāma-varṇāṇī ca trāṃ-kāra-jñāna-saṃbhavām || amogha-mudritām dhyāyet purva-rūpeṇa mānav[ī] | sattva-paryāṅka-saṃsthas tu saumyarūpeṇa*

saṁsthitaḥ || khadga-pāśa-dharaḥ śrīmān āliṅgyabhinayaḥ kṛtī | svakulīm vātha kanyāṃ grhya prabhāvayet || anena sidhyate yogī, mudrāyā naiva saṁśayaḥ | athavā pratimāṃ kṛtvā sādhayet sutrādi-saṁskṛtāṃ || saha-caṇḍa-samādhi-stho japed ekāgramānasaḥ | (Shāstrī, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, pp. 137–138).

237. Śatru-kṛtā[m] samā[m].

238. Athātaḥ saṁpravakṣyāmi ekavīrantu maṇḍalam | caturasraṃ caturdvāraṃ, catur-toraṇa-maṇḍitam || pītavarṇaṃ tu karttavyaṃ madhya-padmaṃ catur-dalam | tasya cāgnau dalam śvetaṃ narṛtye rakta-sannibham | vāyavye pītavarṇan tu tatrācalaṃ prakalpayet | sūryya-stham athavā śvetaṃ pītam vā raktam eva vā || śyāmaṃ vā pañcabhir buddhai ekarūpaṃ vicintayet | r[ī]locanām agnikope ca caṇḍāśoka-vidhāyiniṃ || vāmadakṣiṇa-karābhyāṃ ca śarac-candra-kara-prabhāṃ | narṛtye p[ā]ṇḍarā[m] devīṃ dhanur-vāṇ-dharāṃ parāṃ || raktā[m] vāyavyakoṇe tu māmakī[m] pītasannibhā[m] | . . . śikhāhastā[m], śyām[ā]m aiśānakoṇake | tāriṇīṃ varadāṃ s[avye], vāme nilotpala-dhāriṇīṃ || etā caṇḍ[e]śanā[h] sarvvā a[r]ddha-paryyaṅka-saṁsthitā | rāgavajrā[m] nyaset pūrve dvāre śatru-kṛtā[m] samā[m] || khadga-ś[ā]rya-dharā[m] raktāṃ dveṣa-vajr[ā]m tu dakṣiṇe | kartti-ta[r]jjanī-kara[m] nilā[m] yamena kṛta-veṣṭitā[m] || paścime māravajrān-tu varya-vajra-karācalāṃ | mayūra-piccha-vastrāṃs-tu varuṇa-sthāṃ śyāma-sannibhāṃ || uttare mohavajrān-tu tanya-śoka-dhāriṇī[m] | pītavarṇā[m] kuvera-sthā[m] nyaset sūryyāsan[e] . . . || pratyāliḍha-padāḥ sarvvā . . . mūrddhajaḥ | catvāro hi ghaṇṭa[h] koṇe karttavyaḥ pītasannibhāḥ || asya bhāvan[ā] mātreṇa-yoginy-aṣṭa-samanvitam | trailokyeṣu sthita-strīṇāṃ sa bharttā paramēśvaraḥ || (Shāstrī, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, pp. 138–139).

239. Koilāsurasamjñākam.

240. Marie-Thérèse De Mallmann lists her as Parṇaśabarī or Parṇaśavarī, both a Hindu and Buddhist tantric deity (*Introduction à l'Iconographie du Tantrisme Bouddhique, dessins de Muriel Thiriet* [Paris: Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique, 1975; Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1986 reprint], pp. 300; and *Les Enseignements Iconographiques de L'Agni Purana* [Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1963], p. 163), the “wild mountain woman (śabarī) covered with leaves (pañja).”

241. Athānyat saṁpravakṣyāmi caṇḍaroṣaṇ[a]-bhāvanāṃ | viśva-padma-dale devaṃ kalpayec caṇḍaroṣaṇam || vāmadevam bhaved agnau raktavarṇan tu narṛtye | pīyambai[h] kāmadevam tu śyāmāṃ māhilla-rāmakam || vāyavye kṛṣṇa-varṇam tu koilāsurasamjñākam | ka[r]tti-karpa[r]a-karā caite saṁsthitāliḍhapādataḥ || bhavataḥ paścime devī sthitā vai parṇaśāvalī | asyā [e]va dhyānayogena dagdhamats[ya]dīpūjayā || . . . pītayā prajñayā yuktam vāme ca śveta-padmayā | nilam vai caṇḍaroṣam tu raktayā raktayāthavā || . . . tāvad vibhāvayed gāḍham yavat prasphuṭatāṃ vrajet | gatantu prasphuṭo yogī mahāmantreṇa sidhyati || (Shāstrī, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, pp. 139–140).

242. 111.402.B, pp. 92–94 of the 1915 catalogue; Grünendahl, *A Concordance of H. P. Śāstri's Catalogue*, pp. 570–572.

243. This missing portion of the text here makes it difficult to translate this sentence.

244. *Aparṣad* = aorist of \sqrt{pr} .

245. “The mistress of that realm” is interpolated here from George’s translation of this gloss of *vajradhārviśvarībhāge* (*The Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra*, p. 44, n. 3); part of the Sanskrit is missing from Śāstri’s extract.

246. *Oṃ namaś candramahārṣaṇāya | magnaṃ yena jagac carācaram idaṃ mohān-dhakārodare | prajñopāya-vibhāga-bhāskarakaraiḥ vyaktaṃ samuddīritam || . . . mādhi-sāṅgaṃ puruṣaḥ śravaṇa-saṃgaṃ svayaṃ | so 'yaṃ matsukha-sādhanāya jagati vyakta-prabhas tiṣṭhatu || evaṃ mayā ityādi saṃgītikāraḥ | nidāna-vākyam etat yasmāt saṃgītikāreṇa sūtra-tantrāḍau | avāśyaṃ vaktavyam | bhagato vacanāt | tathā ca | evaṃ mayā śrutam iti kṛtvā bhikṣava mama vacanam | saṃgītavyam ityādi evaṃ sati || śraddhāvātāṃ pravṛtṭyaṅgaṃ śāstāparṣac ca sākṣiṇi | deśa-kālau ca nirddiṣṭhau sva-prāmānya-prasiddhaye || iti pratipāditam bhavati | tatra | evam iti yathā saṃgāsyāmi | mayetyanena viparīta-śruta-paramparāśrutayor nirāsaḥ | etena ātmanāsambandhāt śrutam aviparītam ca pratipādayati | śrutam iti śrotra-jñānena adhigatam iti | anekasmin samaye iti | ekasmin kāle | anyasmin kāle anyad api śrutam ity arthaḥ | etena ātmano bāhuśrutyaṃ etat tantrasya āḍau lambhyaṅ ca pratipādayati | bhagavān iti bhagā aiśvaryyādayaḥ | tathā ca | aiśvaryasya samagrasya dānasya yaśasaḥ striyaḥ | kāsyāpi prayatnasya ṣaṅgaṃ bhagaḥ iti śrutiḥ || tāni vidyante asya iti | rāgādi-kleśa-bhañjanād vā | vajrasattva iti | vajraṃ abhedyam sattvaṃ artha-kriyā-kāritvam asya iti | athavā vajra iva vajra sa cāsau sattva-prāñiveti | sarvvyādī sarvaṅ ca te tathāgatāś ca teṣāṃ kāya vāk-citta-jñānāt śarīratattvam tasya hṛdayam atyantam abhilaṣaṇīyatvāt | tad eva vajradhātviśvarībhagaṃ vajro liṅgaṃ, tasya dhātuḥ, sāmvr̥ta-vivṛtatvādi-lakṣaṇam, bodhicittam tat . . . vyāprajñā vajradhātunā āsevitatvāt tasyāḥ | tat varāṅge bhage vijahāreti | vihr̥tavān vajra-padma-saṃyogena sampuṭa-yogena sthitavān ity arthaḥ | ayaṅ ca viharān prākṛta-janasya atyanta guptaḥ bhavati kiṃ punaḥ bhagavato vajrasattvasya | tataś ca ārthād uktaṃ bhavati | sumeru-girim ūrdhva-vajra-sattva-bhūmau vajra-maṇi-śikhara-kūṭāgare viharati smeti | etena śāstākālo deśaś coktaḥ | parṣada-lokam āha anekaiś cetyādi | vajra-yoginaḥ | śvetācalādayaḥ | vajra-yoginyo mohavajryādayaḥ | teṣāṃ tāsāṃ ca guṇāḥ samūhāḥ | eka-rūpās taiḥ | bahu-vacanatva-eka-vacanasyaṅ pañca-tathāgatavāt | tad-yatheti | upadarśane | śvetācaleti bhagavān bhagavatī deha-gata-rūpa-jñānena evaṃ pītācaleneti bhagavatī deha-gata-gandha-jñānena | rakṣācaleneti bhagavatī deha-gata-rasa-jñāneneti | śitimācaleneti bhagavatī deha-gata-sparśa-jñāne | moha-vajryā ceti | bhagavtyā bhagavad-deha-gata-rūpa-jñānena | piśuna-vajryā ceti bhagavad-deha-gata-gandha-jñāneneti | rāga-vajryā ceti bhagavad-deha-gata-rasa-jñāneneti | rāga-vajryā ceti bhagavad-deha-gata-sparśa-jñānena | svayan tu bhagavān bhagavatī-deha-śabda-jñāna-rupaḥ | bhagavatī tu bhagavad-deha-gata-śabda-jñāna-rūpā | ato naitat prabhedaḥ kutaḥ || evaṃ pramukhaiṛ iti |*

evaṃ prakāraiḥ | cakṣuṣā ghrāṇena rasanayā kāyena śrotreṇa rūpeṇa vedanayā saṃjñayā saṃskāreṇa vijñānenaprthivyā jalena tejasaḥ ākāśena ityādibhir ityarthāḥ | etenaivaṃvidhe vihāre parśad-devyo 'nye tādrśyo bodhicitte tu kathitaṃ bhavati | atiguptatvāt nanu tadā tvayā kathaṃ śrutam iti cet | athetyāti ayam arthaḥ | tena vihāreṇa yadā catur-ānanda-sukham anubhūya tad-anantaraṃ sarva-puruṣeṣu mahākaruṇām āmukhī-kṛtyāt | evaṃ kṛṣṭhāvalī-samādhim samāpadya idaṃ vakṣyamāṇam udajahāra udāhṛtavān | tadā śrutā mayā ityarthāḥ | saṃgīta-kārasya mama vajrapāṇaḥ śrotrendriya-rūpatvāt bhagavad-bhagavati-deha eva sthityā mayā śrutam iti bhāvaḥ | kim udāhṛtavān bhāvābhāvetyādi | bhāvaḥ ānanda-paramānanda-vikalpaḥ | abhāve viramānanda-vikalpaḥ | tābhyāṃ vinirmuktaḥ tyaktaḥ | catvāra ānandaḥ | sūtra-prajñopāyābhyām anyonyānurāga-lakṣaṇam aliṅgana-cumbana-stana-marddana-nakha-dānādinā yantrārūḍha-bandhena vajrapadma-saṃyogaṃ yāvad ānandaḥ etena kiñcit sukham utpadyate | (Grünendahl, A Concordance of H. P. Śāstri's Catalogue, pp. 570–571).

247. Yoginīdvandvaḥ yoginī-saṃyogaḥ | tatra nanditam utpannam | prasphuṭatā-karaṇam eva siddheḥ kāraṇam iti | pūrvva-vyākhyātam eva | mahāmudrā-siddhis tu pūrvvaṃ vyākhyātaiveti devatā-sādhanaṃ paṭalaḥ | iti pañcaviṃśati-paṭalavyākhyā | idaṃ ityādi saṃgīti-kāra-vacanam | idaṃ ukta-lakṣaṇaṃ sakalaṃ tantram bhagavān avocat kathitavān | abhyanandan anumodivantaḥ iti | samāptam iti niṣpannam | ye dharmā ityādi | ye dharmāḥ sapta | vijñāna-nāma-rūpa-ṣaḍ-āyatana-sparśa-vedanā-jāti-jarā-maraṇākhyā | te hetubhyaḥ pañcabhyaḥ avidyā-saṃskāra-tṛṣṇopādāna-bhavākhyebhyaḥ bhavanti | hetuḥ kāraṇaṃ teṣāṃ yathā gadanāt tathāgataḥ | avadat uktavān | kāryya-kāraṇayor yo nirodhaḥ, upasamaḥ nirvāṇaḥ evaṃ svādītam śīlam asya iti mahāśramaṇaḥ iti | vidvān śūras tapasvī ca mahotsāhas ca vīryavān | adbhutasya ca karttā hi mahān ityabhidhīyate || samitapātpatvāt sa śramaṇaḥ | kleśopakleśa-samanāt veti | kṛtyā vyaktatarāṃ mayā punar imāṃ pañjīm guror ājñayā | śrī-tantra-rahasya-sāra-racitāṃ yat tena lokāḥ kalau | prajñopāya-samāgameka-rasikaś caṇḍācalo [']stu drutam || (Grünendahl, A Concordance of H. P. Śāstri's Catalogue, pp. 571–572).

248. Kṛtir iyaṃ mahā-paṇḍita-mahā-sukha-vajra-pādānām iti | samvat 417 phālguna-kṛṣṇa-daśamīyāṃ maṅgala-vāsare likhanaṃ samāptam idaṃ iti rājye śrīmat anantamalladeves[e]ti śubham astu sarvajana[n] |.

249. Luciano Petech, *Mediaeval History of Nepal* (c. 750–1480) (Roma: Istituto Italiano Per Il Medio Ed Estremo Oriente, 1958), pp. 95–98.

250. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmir*, p. 79, n. 1, citing Tucci.

251. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 206.

252. See Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmir*, pp. 183–184. Naudou provides a list of fifteen of her works preserved in the *Bstan-'gyur*, though he does not mention this one (p. 184, n. 90).

253. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmir*, pp. 186–187; 187, n. 100.

254. Ui, et al., *A Catalogue-Index of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, lists Tohoku 1165 as the number, though this is a misprint; Tohoku 1165 is *Saptatathāgatatotra*; the correct listing is Tohoku 1195, five folios.
255. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmir*, p. 188.
256. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, pp. 74, 377, 377, 195–196, 212–213, 75, 195, 195, 213, 73, 70, 141, and 356 respectively.
257. Grünendahl, *A Concordance of H. P. Śāstri's Catalogue*, pp. 643–644.
258. Shāstri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, pp. 89–100.
259. His examining board consisted of F. W. Thomas (Oxford), Sylvain Lévi, and Louis de la Vallée Poussin (Nagenrda Chaudhuri, *Ḍākārṇavaḥ. Studies in the Apabhramsa Texts of the Dakarnava* [Calcutta: Metropolitan Printing and Publishing House, 1935], p. 1). Although Chaudhuri dates the text to the thirteenth century, his reasoning seems a bit more speculative. For instance, he explains the derivation of *ḍāka* as a version of the Tibetan *gdaḡ*, or wisdom (*Ḍākārṇavaḥ*, p. 6).
260. In a *sādhana* to Vajravārāhī written by Advayavajra (*Mahā-pañḍita-avadhūta-śrīmad-advayavajra*) given by Abhayākaragupta, Ḍākinī, Lāmā, Khaṇḍarohā, and Rūpiṇī are on the eastern, northern, western, and southern petals, dark blue, black, red, and white respectively. (*Tathā pūrvādi-caturdaleśu yathā-kramaṃ vāmāvarttena ḍākinī-lāmā-khaṇḍarohī-rūpiṇīḥ kṛṣṇa-śyāma-rakta-gaurāḥ. . . .* Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra* [Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1941], vol. 2, *Tārākhaṇḍa*, pp. 425, 1.1 1–12).
261. De Mallmann, *Introduction à l'Iconographie du Tantrisme Bouddhique*, p. 218.
262. Khaṇḍa-rohā literally means “she of broken ascent” or “she whose rise is cleft.” It appears to be a poetic designation for a woman who is no longer a virgin (the “rise” being her vulva). According to De Mallmann, this is the name of two goddesses from the *Hevajra* cycle, found in the *Samvara*, *Six Carkavartin*, and *Vajravārāhī maṇḍalas*. (*Introduction à l'Iconographie du Tantrisme Bouddhique*, p. 218). She appears in several *sādhana*s given by Abhayākaragupta.
263. De Mallmann notes that “Crow Face” (*Kākāsyā*) is a ferocious goddess, black or blue, with a crow’s head, belonging to both the *Heruka/Hevajra* and the *Kālacakra* cycle. She is always located to the east or southeast (*Introduction à l'Iconographie du Tantrisme Bouddhique*, pp. 204–205). Here in the *Ḍākārṇavatāntra*, *kākāsyā* is apparently a name of one of the breaths. See Abhayākaragupta’s description of the *Samvara maṇḍala* where Crow Face, Owl Face, Dog Face, and Hog Face, like the *ḍākinī*, etc., are accompanied by Śiva in each of the four doors (*dvāreśu kākāsyolukāsyā-śvānāsyā-śūkarnāsyāḥ ḍākinyādivat paramesānugatāḥ*) (Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *Niṣpannayogāvalī of Mahāpañḍita Abhayākaragupta* [Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1972], p. 27).

264. (Mahānāsa-lakṣaṇa-cchoma-vidhi-niyama): 1) Jñānārṇavāvatārah; 2) Vajra-vārāhy-utpatti-nāyakī ca yantra-cakra-maṇḍala-bhāvanādi-svabhāva; 3) Ḍākiṇī-utpatti-lakṣaṇa-sukha-saīcāra-karmma-tattva-vyavasthā-vidhiḥ; 4) Lāmotpatti-lakṣaṇa-mantra-nyāsa-ṣaṭ-cakra-varṭmādi-svabhāva-nirvāṇādi-vyavasthā; 5) Khaṇḍarohā-lakṣaṇotpatti-catuś-cakra-nāḍī-vyavasthā-nāmoddeśa-mantra-nyāsādi-vidhi; 6) Rūpiṇī-lakṣaṇa-svabhāva-nāḍī-cakra-svabhāva-sthānā-vyavasthā-tantra-lakṣaṇa-vidhi, 7) Kākāśyādi-prāṇotpatti-lakṣaṇa-vidhi; 8) Ulākāśyā-nirṇaya-sambidhānotpattiḥ prāṇādi-lakṣaṇa; 9) Śvānāśyā-lakṣaṇa-sukhādy-avasthā-vidhi; 10) Sūkarāśyotpatti-maṇḍalavatāraṇādi; 11) Yamadāḍī-vyavasthotpattiḥ lakṣaṇa; 12) Yamadūty-utpatti-lakṣaṇādi-mṛtyu-vancana-cakra-bhāvanopadeśa-saṃkṣepataḥ; 13) Yamadaṃśtrī-prayogāvatara-mṛtyu-vañcanādi; 14) Yamamathany-avatārotpattiḥ kāla-mṛtyu-vañcanādi-vidhi-lakṣaṇa-buddhāvasthā-svabhāva; 15) Bhagavān samyak-samādhi-vyavasthita-[n]-āmnāya-sūcaka; 16) Mūla-mantroddhāra-vidhi; 17) Kavacotpatti-lakṣaṇa-vajra-sattva-vārāhyā vidhi; 18) Vairocanādi-kavaca-rakṣā-vidhi; 19) Padma-nartteśvarādi-rakṣā-kavaca-mantra-nirṇaya; 20) Herukādika-rakṣā-kavaca-vidhi; 21) Vajra-sūryyādi-kavaca-rakṣā-vidhi; 22) Paramāsv-ādi-kavaca-rakṣā-vidhi; 23) Vali-cakra-pujā-vidhi; 24) Maṇḍala-homa-ācāryya-pujā-vidhi; 25) Bhagavān-ityādi-viśuddha-tathāgata-pratiṣṭhā-viśuddha-lakṣaṇa; 26) Pracaṇḍādi-yantra-maṇḍala-yogiṇī-vīrāṇāṃ mudrāṇāṃ saṃkṣepa-viharaṇa-lakṣaṇa-vidhi-nāma-gocara-pāṭalaḥ; 27) Pracaṇḍākṣī-lakṣaṇa-mudrādhīpati-svabhāva-vidhi; 28) Prabhāvatī-lakṣaṇa-mudrā-vidhi; 29) Mahānāsa-lakṣaṇa-cchoma-vidhi-niyama; 30) Mudrā-pratimudrā-vīra-matī-svabhāva-vidhi-lakṣaṇaṃ 31) Kharbarī-akṣara-cchomā-lakṣaṇa-svabhāvaḥ jñāna-nāma-pāṭalaḥ; 32) Lañkeśvarī-mudrā-saṅketa-lakṣaṇa-maṇḍala-cakra-svabhāva-nāma-vidhi-jñāna-pāṭalaḥ; 33) Druma-cchāyā-svalakṣaṇa-mudrā-saṅketa-vidhi-niyama; 34) Airāvati-kāya-mudrā-lakṣaṇa-vidhi-yukti; 35) Mahābhairavāntar-mudrā-kathana-lakṣaṇa-vidhi; 36) Vāyu-vegāyā[h] prayoga-vidhi-mudrā-varṇaka-lakṣaṇa-vidhi; 37) Surābhakṣī-prayoga-cchomā-svabhāva-lakṣaṇa-vidhi; 38) Vajravārāhyādvayaśyāma-devyā vaśya-homa-yantra-vajra-maṇḍala-vidhi-lakṣaṇa; 39) Bhagavān mūla-mantrasya subhadrādvaya-yogātmā[h]v]aya-yantrodeśa-kāla-nāga-karma-vidhi-lakṣaṇa; 40) Haya-karṇa-vīrādvaya-yogataḥ kavacasī-mūlamantrasya karma-vidhi-lakṣaṇa-māraṇāca; 41) Khaḡānandyā vīrāyā advaya-yantra-cakra unmatī-karaṇa-svabhāva-lakṣaṇa-vidhi-hṛdaya-mantra-sarbbā-karma-nāma; 42) Cakravegā-karmma-stambhana-vīrādvaya-yoga-lakṣaṇa-svabhāva-nāma-vidhi; 43) Khaṇḍarohā prayoga-bhāvana-yantra-cakram uccāṭana-karmaṣaḍ-yogiṇī-mantra-kavaceṣu vidhi-lakṣaṇa; 44) Saunḍinī-prayogeṣu vidveṣaṇa-lakṣaṇa-vidhi-yantra-cakra-svabhāva; 45) Cakra-varmmani-mūlikaraṇa-prayoga-vidhi-lakṣaṇa-maṇḍalacakra-bhāvanā-vīrādvaya-yoga-rākṣasākāra-yantra-cakram; 46) Suvīrāyā śāntika-karmma-prayoga-vidhi-lakṣaṇa-yantra-cakra-bhāvanā-stambhamantrasya karmma-prasaram; 47) Mahāvalāyā yogena mahārakṣā-kilānamantrasya karmma-bodhisatt[v]asya yantra-bhāvanopāya-vidhi-lakṣaṇa; 48) Cakra-varṭtiṇī-prayogādi-nānā-sādhana-karmma-yantra-cakra-bhāvanā-margamūla-mantrodeśa-vidhi-lakṣaṇa-sarvva-karmmakam; 49) Mahāvīrāyā prayoga-lakṣaṇa-guhyā-rasāyanādi-puṣṭika-karmma-śrī-samyak-samādhi-heruka-mūla-

mantrasya vidhir; 50) *Pañcaviṃśati-tattvātmāsarvva-tantrāṇām artha-sūcakam sarvva-rahasyam,* 51) *Stutiḥ pūjādi-samaya-sevādvaya* (Shāstri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, pp. 89–91).

265. The numbers are in the Sanskrit, above each name.

266. Probably Mahārāṣṭra.

267. Here, as with 29 and 44 below (Ceylon and Kaśmīr), Nepal is referred to as a region, not with specific cities, suggesting that the text does not originate from any of these regions.

268. I.e., Bengal.

269. Ceylon, or Śrī Laṅka.

270. As Shāstri points out, this is most likely Bombay, perhaps the earliest known usage of the name (*A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, p. 94).

271. Probably Cambodia.

272. This is a variant reading for the term *pīlava*, *upapīlava*, terms for pilgrimage sites. *Pelava* means “delicate, fine, soft, tender,” according to Apte, *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, who cites the word from *Kumārasambhava* 4.29, etc.: “from a bow made of tender leaves and flowers” (*dhanuṣaḥpīlava-puṣpa-patrinah*).

273. I.e., the sixty-four locations are mapped to sixty-four channels emanating from the navel *cakra* throughout the body, in the form of *yoginīs*.

274. An alternate spelling for *dūtikā*, a confidante or woman who acts as a go-between for lovers.

275. Again, the numbers are in the Sanskrit.

276. *Māyākāra-sukṣetriṇī*.

277. Each of these names are in the feminine, as names of goddesses: *raktā*, *śukrā*, etc.

278. I’ve emended *sadavāhini* to *sadāvāhini*—an honorific here for breath as a goddess, constantly carrying life through the body. The role of the goddess here is does not significantly differ from the idea of śakti or *kuṇḍalini* moving through the body.

279. “*Athavā sarvva-nāḍīṣu mantra-nyāsam iha akṣaraiḥ: Ma, ka, o, ka, sau, ma, vaṃ, dra, ka, mā, ma, va, kā, dā, dha, bha, rā, mā, ti, da, ne, sa, raṃ, dhi, vaṃ, khā, ha, su, siṃ, dā, ka, siṃ, hi, vu, ku, ja, pa, ja, va, o, laṃ | jā, a, kā, kau, kaṃ, ja, tri, ca, la, pu, mu, kā, bha, gṛ, pre, va, pai, u, śma, u, ma, kha, mie |*—these are the navel. *Pre, de, u, ma, jvā, si, mā, kau*—so in the heart. *Ra, su, ma, sve, me, ca, māṃ, a, snā, pū, aṃ, sva, vi, mū, pi, śle |* and so for the throat. *Kṛ, ka, bhī, na, tī, vi, cā, gho, u, sa, bha, ma, sthū, a, ja, vi, a, ja, gho, i, ca, ca, grā, rau, kā, do, ca, mā, brā, sū, rā, [ma]*, so for the head *cakra*” (Shāstri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, pp. 89–100).

280. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, pp. 127, 411–412, 502, 548, 502, 548.
281. Rahula Sāṅkrtyāyana, “Recherches Bouddhiques: III. L’Origine du Varjayaṅgana et Les 84 Siddhas,” *Journal Asiatique* (Octobre-Décembre 1934): 219–220.
282. Bhattacharyya, *Śaktisāṅgama Tantra*, p. x.
283. *Sādhana*s 264–267 (Bhattacharyya, *Śaktisāṅgama Tantra*, vol. 2, pp. 512–528).
284. Shāstri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, pp. 87–88.
285. Shāstri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, p. 87.
286. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 68.
287. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, p. 248.
288. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, pp. 684–685.
289. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, p. 225.
290. I’ve omitted the *ityabhidhānottare paṭalaḥ prathamah*, etc., for each chapter title.
291. Though it’s impossible to tell without the complete text, it appears that the titles for chapters 7 and 8 were inadvertently combined into the double title for chapter 7.
292. Hukam Chand Patyal, in a Brief Communication, “Aṅgiras in the Lakṣmī Tantra,” *Indo-Iranian Journal*, vol. 36, no. 3, (July 1993): 239–240, concludes that “we have to give the meaning ‘name of the founder of a *gotra*’ to the word *aṅgiras* in the case of Lakṣmī T.” There is a very short *sādhana* to Pratyāṅgirā in Abhayākaragupta’s *Sāadhanamālā*, no. 202: She is black or dark blue, has six arms and one face; her three right hands hold a chopper, a goad, and one is in the boon-giving *mudrā*; the left hands hold a red lotus, a trident situated in the heart (?), and one has a noose on the index finger; her seed syllable is *hum*, Akṣobhya is in her diadem, she possesses all the decorations, and is endowed with the physical appearance of an adolescent. *Mahāpratyāṅgirā kṛṣṇā, śaḍbhujāikamukhā, khaḍgāṅkuśa-varada-dakṣiṇahastā, rakta-padma-triśūla-hṛdaya-stha-sapāśa-tarjjanī-yukta-vāma-hastā, humbījā, akṣobhya-mukutā, sarvālaṅkāravatī, rūpa-yauvana-sampannā | iti mahāpratyāṅgirāsāadhanam ||* (Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *Sāadhanamālā* [Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1968, reprint], vol. 2, p. 402).
293. This must be a local variation of Ucchuṣma (literally, “dried out”), perhaps the consort of Ucchuṣmajambhala to whom five *sādhana*s are devoted in Abhayākaragupta’s *Sāadhanamālā* (Bhattacharyya, *Sāadhanamālā*, vol. 2, pp. 569–579). Raniero Gnoli refers to Ucchuṣma as a mythical Śaivite master (*Luce Delle Sacre Scritture [Tantrālokaḥ] di Abhinavagupta* [Torino: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1980, second ed.], p. 936); Uccuṣmā is cited by Abhinavagupta

at *Tantrāloka* 28.391a as the first in a list of ten ancient Śaivite gurus: *Ucchuṣma-Śavara-Canḍagu-Mataṅga-Ghora-Antaka-Ugra-Halahalakāḥ | Krodhī Huluhulur ete daśa guruvāḥ śivamayāḥ pūrve || 391 ||* (R. C. Dwivedi and Navijan Rastogi, eds., *The Tantraloka of Abhinavagupta with the Commentary of Jayaratha. Volume III, Sanskrit Text: Chapters 4–7* [Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1987], p. 3272; Gnoli, *Luce Delle Sacre Scritture*, p. 674). Of the other gurus in this list, Mataṅga gives his name to the *Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama*, the twenty-sixth of the twenty-eight āgamas of the Śaiva Siddhānta tradition (N. R. Bhatt, *Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama [Vidyāpāda]* [Pondicherry: Institut Françias d'Indologie, 1977], p. vii); Halahalaka is a version of Hālāhala; this is the name of (not in any order of priority): 1) the poison Śiva drinks at the mythical churning of the cosmic ocean; 2) several versions of Avalokiteśvara in Buddhist tantric *maṅḍalas* (De Mallmann, *Introduction à l'Iconographie du Tantrisme Bouddhique*, pp. 107–109); 3) a form of Śiva as Halāhalarudra (Gnoli, *Luce Delle Sacre Scritture*, p. 295; Dwivedi and Rastogi, *The Tantraloka of Abhinavagupta*, p. 1632); 4) the name of one of five realms in the *Vidyā* principle at *Malinīvijayottaratantra* 5.30 (*Vidyātattve 'pi pañcāhur bhuvanāni manīṣiṇaḥ | tatra hālāhalaḥ, pūrvo, rudraḥ, krodhas, tathā aparāḥ ||* (Shastri Kaul and Pandit Madhusudhan, eds., *Śrī Mālīnīvijayottara Tantram* [Delhi: Butala & Company, 1984, reprint], p. 30; Gnoli, *Luce Delle Sacre Scritture*, p. 804). The name Hālāhala may very likely have been a local deity from the town of Hālā, listed by Abhinavagupta at *Tantrāloka* 15.90b–91 as one of the eight *upakṣetras*, mapped internally to the eight lotus petals at the top of the heart *cakra* (*upakṣetrāṣṭakam prāhur hr̥tpadmāgradalāṣṭakam || Virajā, Eruḍikā, Hālā, Elāpūḥ, Kṣīrikā, [Rāja]Purī | Māyā[purī], Marudeśāśca bāhyābhyantara-rūpataḥ ||* (Dwivedi and Rastogi, *The Tantraloka of Abhinavagupta*, p. 2483; Gnoli, *Luce Delle Sacre Scritture*, p. 447). In the *Arcāvidhi* of the *Mādhavakulatantra* Hālā is visualized in the navel (*Tantrāloka* 28.61a, Dwivedi & Rastogi, *The Tantraloka of Abhinavagupta*, p. 3332; Gnoli, *Luce Delle Sacre Scritture*, p. 687).

294. De Mallmann translates *Lāmā* as *jouisseuse*, the feminine sensualist, and gives it as the name of a goddess attached to the *Hevajra* cycle, found in various *maṅḍalas* (*Introduction à l'Iconographie du Tantrisme Bouddhique*, p. 230).

295. The *Gāyatrī* is the brahmanical mantra recited at the morning and evening *sandhyās*, two of the four junctions of the day (the other two being noon and midnight, the latter a Tantric addition). The mantra is: *Tat savitur vareṇyaṃ, bhargo devasya dhīmahi; dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayāt*: “that best portion of the sun [that] you gave as the radiance of the shining one, may it impel our intelligence.”

296. See *Mṛgendrāgamatantra, Kriyāpāda* 7.45 (Brunner-Lachaux, *Mṛgendrāgama. Section des Rites et Section du Comportement. Avec la Vṛtti de Bhaṭṭanarāyānkaṅṭha, traduction, introduction et notes* [Pondicherry: Institut Français d'Indologie, 1985], p. 167).

297. The use of the term *paśu* is straight from the Śaiva tradition.

298. 1) Avātaraṇa-samaya-śuddha-rahasya-ṣaṭalāḥ; 2) Prārthana; 3) Hṛdaya-tattva-paramārtha; 1) Kāya-saṃvara-vidhi; 2) Mahā-surata-padma-jāla-saṃbara; 3) Saṃbara-guru-pāli; 4) Saṃbara; 5) Pīṭha-parvva-krama; 6) Sarva-anavasthita-Krama-bheda-vidhāna; 7) Mañju-vajra-vidhi-ṣaṭalāḥ-tricakrollipta-saptamaḥ; 8), 9) Yoginī-pīṭha-siddhi-krama-nimitta-nirdeśa; 10) Koṣa-prastāva-pīṭha-sampradāya; 11) Pīṭhādi-yoginī; 12) Śrī-heruka-ḍākinīya-vīra-yoginī-ḍakṣinīya-bhāvanopatti; 13) Ādi-karmika-yoga-bhāvanā; 14) Madhyendriya-bhāvanopadeśa; 15) Tīkṣṇendriya-bhāvanopadeśa; 16) Catur-ḍākinī-yoga-saṃbara-vidhi; 17) Yoga-saṃbara-vinaya; 18) (?); 19) Amṛta-sañjīvanīya sarva-karma-karī nāma bhāvanā-ṣaṭalāḥ; 20) Yoginī-guhya-samaya-tattvāvatāraṇa; 21) Kula-ṣaṭ-cakra-varṭti-sampradāya; 22) Kāyavākcittapīṭhānukrama; 23) Samayothhāpana-buddha-kapālotpatti-striyo; 24) Vajra-sattvotpatti; 25) Mañju-vajra-sādhana; 26) Ḍāka-vajra-sādhana; 27) Mahā-rahasyam āliḍākasya sādhanā; 28) Prasara-ḍāka-siddhi-nimitta-nirdeśa; 29) Samaya-saṃbarodbhave mahā-maṇḍala-rājā; 30) Dhūta-guṇotpatti; 31) Varṣāṇa-vidhi; 32) Viśva-rūpa-vidhi; 33) Śrī-guhya-samayottama; 34) Kavaca-dvaya-yogotpatti-bhavana; 35) Cchoṣmāṣaṭalāḥ; 36) Yoginī-lakṣaṇa; 31) Ḍākinī-lakṣaṇa; 38) Lāmālakṣaṇa; 39) 40) Aṅga-mudrā-lakṣaṇa; 41) Ḍākinī-aṅga-mudrā; 42) Ḍākinī-cchoṣma-lakṣaṇa; 43) Bhūta-saukhyāmbu-parata[r]a; 44) Ḍākinī-vīra-karma-prasara-sādhaka-yoginī-vīra-hṛdayādvaya; 45) Puṭa-pratimā-pratiṣṭhā-adhivāsana; 46) Maṇḍala-vidhi; 47) Gāyatryā sandhyā; 48) Upahṛdaya-sādhanoṭpatti-bhāvanā; 49) Dvātriṃśatty-uttara-hṛdayotpatti-bhāvanā; 50) Maṇḍala-vidhi; 51) Dharmadhātu-pura-bhāvanā; 52) Guhya-bhāvanā; 53) Guhyākṣarotpatti-sādhana; 54) Mūla-mantra-khaṭikoddhāra; 55) Kavaca-hṛdaya-bhāvanā; 56) Hṛdaya-mantra-kavaco devyā hṛdaya-bhāvanā; 57) Raktā-catur-mukha-adhiṣṭhāna-lipi-maṇḍala-catuh-krodha-vajra-humkārotpatti-khaṭikoddhāra; 58) Varga-yoga; 59) [text missing]; 60) Jñāna-guhya; 61) Caturdevyāḥ sampuṭaguhyā; 62) Vajra-bhairava-krodhādhipat-sampuṭodghāṭa; 63) Sapta-janma-paśu-sādhana; 64) Svādhiṣṭhānaṃ svadharmottarotpatti; 65) Ātma-bhāva-pujā; 65) Saṃbara-guhyātiguhyā-rahasya-mahā-tantra-rājan an[e]koti-tattvopadeśa-bhāvanā (Shāstri, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, pp. 60–63).

299. Ui, et al., A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons, pp. 72, 227, 69, 68, 243, 231, 367–368, 376, 306.

300. Shāstri, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, pp. 100-110, ms. 3825, no. 72.

301. Ui, et al., A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons, p. 70.

302. Amarasimha, Amarakośa, with the Commentary of Maheśvara [Bombay: Government Central Book Depot, 1882] p. 165.

303. “[When the moon is] in Arcturus, [the water], going into the cavity of the ocean-oyster, produces a pearl” (svātyāṃ sāgara-śukti-sampuṭa-gataṃ [payāḥ] san mauktikaṃ jāyate).

304. See below.

305. See Apte, *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, who cites Kṛṣṇa playing the flute sweetly to call his lover(s) to a meeting (*nāmasaṅketam kṛtasanketaṃ vādayate mṛdu veṇum* !); *Gītagovinda* 5; for the meaning of a “meeting place for lovers” he cites *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* 11.8.23: “The wanton woman will on occasion bring her beloved to a meeting place” (*sa svairṇyā ekadā kāntam upaneśyati*); and the *Amarakośa* [2.6.10a; see Amarasimha, *Amarakośa, with the Commentary of Maheśvara*, p. 133]: “Desiring her beloved, a woman keeping an appointment with a lover will go to a tryst” (*kāntārthinī tu yā yāti saṅketam sā abhisārikā*).

306 I.e., Viṣṇu, Śiva, or Brahma.

307. I.e., sexually produced beings.

308. *Tatra khalu bhagavān aśīti-koṭi-yoginīśvara-madhya Vajragarbham avalokya smitam akārśīt | samanantarasmite 'smin vajragarbha utthāya āsanād ekāṃśam uttarāsaṅgam kṛtvā dakṣiṇam jānu-maṅḍalam pṛthivyāṃ pratiṣṭhāpya kṛtāñjalipuṭo bhagavantam etad avocat | śrotum icchāmi jñānendra sarvva-tantra-nidānam rahasyam sampuṭodbhava-lakṣaṇam | aho vajragarbha sādhu sādhu mahākṛpa sādhu sādhu mahābodhisattva sādhu sādhu guṇākarāḥ yad rahasyam sarvva-tantreṣu tatsarvvaṃ pṛcchatec chreyā | atha te vajragarbha-pramukhāḥ mahābodhisattvāḥ praharṣotphulla-locanāḥ pṛcchantīha sva-sandehān praṇīpatya muhurmuḥ sarvva-tantram kim ucyate nidānam katham bhavet rahasyety atra kim ucyate sampuṭodbhavaḥ katham nāma-lakṣaṇam tatra katham bhavet | bhagavān āha |* (Shāstri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, pp. 69–70).

309. See *Abhidhānottara*, chapter 35, above.

310. Apte, *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, cites *kaṭapūṭana* as “a kind of departed spirits” from *Manusmṛti* 12.71 and *Mālatīmādhava* 5.11.

311. *Vasantatilakā* is also the name of a meter with fourteen syllables per *pāda*. (See Apte, *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Appendix A, on Sanskrit prosody.) Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Revised and Enlarged Edition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960) cites the *Vasantatilakatantra* as a Buddhist work.

312. Both Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, and Apte, *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, give rubbing or cleaning the body with perfumes or fragrant unguents, or the use of these to relieve pain, citing *Yajñavalkyasmṛti* 1.152 and *Manusmṛti* 4.132 (“And one should not go near blood, feces, urine, spittle, or unguents, etc.” *nākramed rakta-viṇ-mutra-sthīvanodvartanādi ca*), perhaps not the best example for the meaning.

313. 4c) *Cihna-mudrā*; 5a) *Melāpakasthānam*; 5b) *Skandha-dhātva-āyatana-viśuddhi*, 5c) *Caryāliṅganam*; 6b) *Deśa-nyāsa[h]*; 7i) *Atha karmma-vidhiṃ vakṣye yena sidhyanti sādhakāḥ*; 7ii) *Atha rasāyanavidhiṃ vakṣye sarvva-stira-samuccayam*; 7iii) *Udvartana-vidhi*; 7a) *Sarvva-jñānodayo nāmāyurvedyaḥ saptamasya prathamam prakaraṇam*; 7b) *Homa-vidhi*; 7c) *Sarvva-karma-prasara-*

cakrodaya; iti śrīsamputodbhave mahātantre sarvva-karma-dhyāna-udayo nāma kalparājah saptamaḥ samāptaḥ |; 8a) Ghaṇṭā-tattva; 8b) Mantra-jāpa-bhāvanā; 8c) Tirthika-ajñāna-apanayanaṃ, Samputodbhava-sarvva-kriyā-samudaya-kalpa-rājo 'ṣṭamaḥ; 9a) Sarva-tathāgatopattir; 9b) Baly-upahāra; 9c) Paṭa-pustaka-nirṇaya. Iti samputodbhavaś catus-kriyā-tattva-rāja navamaḥ kalpaḥ 10a) Ācāryya-mahā-sādhana; 10b) Buddha-māyā-vikurvitaṃ (Shāstri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, pp. 69–71).

314. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 303.

315. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 303.

316. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 83.

317. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 308.

318. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 306.

319. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 303.

320. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 309.

321. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 309.

322. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 302.

323. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 308.

324. Yamāri is an alternate form of Yamāntaka; Yama-ari, or enemy of Yama; the name is used for both Śiva, and (according to Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*) for Viṣṇu in the *Pañcarātra*. De Mallmann describes black, red, and yellow forms of Yamāri, with black being the most common (*Introduction à l'Iconographie du Tantrisme Bouddhique*, pp. 465–469). Here our text indicates a considerably larger number and variety of Yamāris than those noticed by De Mallmann. The rakṣā appears in the name of the tantra in the colophon to the first chapter (Shāstri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, p. 147).

325. Both Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, and Apte, *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, say āṛālika, “a cook.” *Evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye bhagavān sarvva-tathāgata-kāya-vāk-citta-sarvva-vajra-yoṣit-bhageṣu vijahāra | moha-vajra-yamāriṇā c[a] piśuna-vajra-yamāriṇā ca irśya-vajra-yamāriṇā c[a] dveṣa-vajra-yamāriṇā c[a] mudgara-yamāriṇā ca daṇḍa-yamāriṇā ca padma-yamāriṇā ca khaḍga-yamāriṇā ca | vajra-carcikā ca | vajra-vārāhī ca vajra-sarasvatī ca vajra-śaurī cākolā-evaṃ pramukhaiḥ mahā-yamāri-saṅghaiḥ atha khalu bhagavān varja-pāṇiṃ vajra-sattvaṃ sarvva-tathāgatādhipatiṃ āmantrayām āsa | atha khalu bhagavān kha-vajrety ādeśa-haraṃ dvitīyo 'tha śabdaḥ | sarvva-māra-nikṛntana-vajraṃ nāma samādhiṃ sva-kāya-vāk-citta-vajra-yoniṃ cārayām āsa | candra-vajra-prayogena bhāvayed yama-ghātakaṃ | māraṇāṃ śamanārthāya dviṣopanude sarvvataḥ || rakṣārthaṃ bhāvayed vajraṃ pañca-raśmi-samākulam | vajreṇa bhūmi-vātaṃ ca prakāraṃ pañjaraṃ tathā || atha khalu bhagavān sarvva-tathāgata-janaka-sarvva-māra-vidhvamsana-vajraṃ nāma samādhiṃ samāpadyedaṃ sarvvaṃ āha |*

vajra-yamāryyādi-vījaṃ svakāya-vāk-citta-vajra-yonin cārayāṃ āsa | yamadhye kṣe sa me da ya cca ni rā jā sa ho ru pa yo ni ra | rephasyādi-yamaghnaḥ syāt kṣekāre moha ucyate || makāre piśunam evākṣaṃ sakāre rāgam eva ca | dakāre 'pi ca irṣyā syād yama-ghnāḥ pañ ca kirtitāḥ || yakāra mudgara khyātaḥ cakāre daṇḍa-nāyakaḥ | nikāre padma-pāñiś ca rākāre khaḍgavān api || jākāre carccikā praktā vārāhī ca sakārake | sarasvatī ca hokāre lakāre śaunikā smṛtāḥ || ṇa-yonir catuḥkoṇe catvāra[-]kārakā matāḥ | kha-vajra-madhye gataṃ cintet viśva-vajraṃ bhayānakam || yamāntakasya madhya-sthaṃ bhāvayet kala-dāruṇam | pūr[v]a-dvāre moha-vajraṃ tu dakṣiṇe piśunam eva ca || paścime rāga-vajraṃ tu irṣākhyam uttare tathā | koṇa-vajra-catuh-śūle carccikādyā vibhāvayet || dvāra-vajra-catuh-koṇe mudgarādyā vibhāvayet || viśva-vajra-catuh-koṇe catvāro nṛk[p]a-mastakāḥ || atha khalu bhagavān sarvva-tathāgatādhipati yamāri-vajraṃ nāma samādhiṃ samāpadyedaṃ mahā-dveṣa-kula-mantram udājahāra | oṃ hrīṃ strīḥ vikṛtānana huṃ huṃ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā | atha khalu bhagavān sarvva-tathāgatādhipatir moha-vajra-mantram udājahāra | oṃ jina jika || atha khalu bhagavān sarvva-tathāgatādhipatiḥ piśuna-vajra-mantram udājahāra oṃ ratna-dhṛk | atha khalu bhagavān sarvva-tathāgatādhipatiḥ rāga-vajra-mantram udājahāra oṃ ārālika || (Shāstrī, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, pp. 145–146).

326. Śāstrī does not give these.

327. The Sanskrit reads *malakatotpala*. This appears to be a metrical abbreviation of *kuḍmalaka-utpala*, a blossoming or budding lotus. See *Rājanighaṇṭu Karavīrādīr daśamo vargaḥ* 248, where *kuḍmalaka* is given as a variety/characteristic of lotus (Narahari, *Rājanighaṇṭusahito Dhanvantariyanighaṇṭuḥ*, *Ānandāśrama-samskr̥tagranthāvaliḥ*, vol. 33, 1986, p. 165).

328. *Brassica nigra* (L.) W.D.J. Koch.

329. Black pepper, long pepper, and ginger.

330. *Rumex vesicarius*; see Vaidya Bhagwan Dash, *Alchemy and Metallic Medicines in Āyurveda* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1986), pp. 314–315; Narahari, *Rājanighaṇṭusahito Dhanvantariyanighaṇṭuḥ*, p. 250.

331. *Plumbago zeylanica* Linn (Dash, *Alchemy and Metallic Medicines in Āyurveda*, p. 21).

332. *Mala-mukhe* (?).

333. Śmaśāna-karpaṭe cakra-dvayaṃ likhed vratī | rājikā-lavanenāpi viṣeṇa nimbakena ca || trikaṭukaṃ kaṭutailāṅca śmaśānārśānam eva ca | dhustūraka-patraniryāsaiś caṇḍa-vījais tathaiva ca | tarjjani-raktam ādāya ciktrakasya rasena vā | uśarasya mṛttikā grhya caṇḍāla-haṇḍikañjanam || bubhuḥṣita-padma-lekhanyā caturddāśyāṃ likhed vratī | madhyāhne krūra-cittena duṣṭānāṃ bandha-hetunā | nāmaṃ sattva-vidhātasya huṃkāreva vidarbhayet || dakṣiṇābhīmukho yogī ātmānam yama-ghātakam | krodha-rūpaṃ mahācaṇḍam khaṇḍa-muṇḍa-vibhāṣitam || mahiṣa-sthaṃ lalaj-jihvaṃ vṛhad-udaram bhayānakam | kaḍārorddhva-jūṭa-keśam

vakra-śmaśru-bhruvaṃ tathā || dakṣiṇena mahāvajraṃ khaḍgaṃ caiva dvitīyakam |
trītye kartti-hastaṃ ca idānīm vāmato likhet || cakraṃ caiva mahāpadmaṃ kapālañ
caiva vāmataḥ | mūla-mukhe mahābhṛṅgaṃ dakṣiṇe candra-suprabhaṃ || vāmaṃ
rakta-nibhaṃ proktaṃ vajrābharaṇa-bhūṣitaṃ | roma-kūpa-mahāvivarā sphorayet
sva-kulādhipaṃ || pratyāliḍha-pada-saṃsthaṃ sūryya-maṇḍala uddhataḥ || vikṛta-
daṃṣṭrākarālāsyaṃ kalpa-jvālāgni-sannibhaṃ || evaṃ ātmānaṃ sannahya sādhyam
vai purato nyaset | etc. (Shāstrī, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts,
pp. 147–148).

334. Cakrādnupūrvva-likhanaṃ and Cakrāvalokano.

335. Atha mantraṃ pravakṣyāmi sarvva-bhūtā bali-kriyāṃ | uccārite mahāmantra
sarvva-bhūta-prakampanam || indrāya hrīḥ, yamāya strīḥ, varuṇāya vi, kuverāya kṛ,
iśābāya ta, agnaye a, nairṭye na, vāyavye na, candrāya hūm, arkāya huṃ, brahmaṇe
phaṭ, vasudhārāyai phaṭ, vemacitrīne svā sarvva-bhūtebhyaḥ hā | hā hā hīṃ hlīm
hūm hūm he he svāhā | kṛtvā maṇḍalikāṃ tryasrāḥ viṅ-mutra-toya-miśritaiḥ |
devatāḥ prīṇayed yogī hāhākāraṃ punaḥ smaret || (Shāstrī, A Descriptive Catalogue
of Sanskrit Manuscripts, p. 148).

336. Ākarṣaṇādi-prayoga-ṭaḥ saptamaḥ.

337. Śauri is a name for Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa, Vasudeva, Balarāma, and for Saturn
(Apte, The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary).

338. Trimukhāṃ ṣaḍbhujāṃ śuklāṃ cakrahastāṃ śaśī-prabhāṃ | carccikāṃ bhāvayet
prājño rakṣākṛṣṭi-prayogataḥ || trimukhāṃ ṣaḍbhujāṃ ghoṇāṃ vajra-hastā[m]
sunilakā[m] | vārāhi[m] bhāvayet prājño madyākṛṣṭi-prayogataḥ || trimukhāṃ
ṣaḍbhujāṃ raktāṃ sarasvatīṃ bhāvayed vratī | padma-hasta-dharāṃ saumyāṃ
prajñā-baraddhana-hetave || trimukhāṃ ṣaḍbhujāṃ kharvāṃ marakatotpala-
sannibhaṃ | śauriṃ bhāvayet prājño śubhrākṛṣṭi-prayogataḥ || (Shāstrī, A Descriptive
Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, pp. 148–149).

339. Homa-vidhi-ṭaḥ ṣṭamaḥ; -yamāri-bhīmā nāma navama-ṭaḥ.

340. Brāhmaṇasya tu māmsena citi-bhasmena tan-mṛdā | yamāri-pratimāṃ kuryyāt
dvi-bhujam eka-vaktriṇam || dakṣiṇena mahā-vajra[m] savye nṛ-śiras tathā | śukla-
varṇam mahā-bhīmāṃ tena duṣṭān nikṛntayet || pratidinaṃ baliṃ dadyāt pañca-
māmsāmṛtena tu | nityaṃ yat prārthayed yogī mama śatruṃ nikṛntaya || ity-ukt[arṃ]
sapta-rātreṇa pratyūṣe mrīyate ripuḥ | (Shāstrī, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit
Manuscripts, p. 149).

341. Vetāḍa(vetāla)[-]sādhanaṃ nūsmṛti-bhāvanāṭaḥ daśamaḥ; caryyā-samaya-
sādhana-ṭaḥ ekādaśamaḥ; sarvvopāyika-viśeṣako nāma dvādaśaḥ ṭaḥ; siddhi-
nirṇaya-ṭaḥ trayodaśamaḥ; -mañju-vajra-sādhano nāma caturdaśapaṭalaḥ
(Shāstrī, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, p. 149).

342. Atredaṃ sūtra-pāṭhena parama-samayaṃ | akāro mukhaṃ sarvva-dharmānān
ādyanutpannatvāt || śiṣyaṃ vai locanaṃ dhyātvā śrī-yamātnaka-rūpavān | jñāna-
sūtra-varāgrāgraṃ pātayet susamāhitaḥ || tatredaṃ mahā-maṇḍala-praveśa-

samayaḥ | maṇḍala-dvi-guṇito dīrgha-dvāra-viṃśatikam | pañca-gavya-samāliptaṃ sūtram buddhaiḥ prakalpitaṃ || tatredaṃ mahā-vajra-prārthana-samayaḥ | aho buddha-mahācārya aho dharmā-gaṇaḥ prabhūḥ | dehi me samayaṃ tattvaṃ bodhicittaṃ ca dehi me || tatredaṃ mahā-bhū-parigraha-samayaḥ | vajra-prṭhivyāvāhanam | tvaṃ devi sāksi-bhūtāsi sarvva-buddhān tāyināṃ | caryānaya-viśeṣeṣu bhūmi-pāramitāsu ca || (Shāstrī, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, p. 149).

343. *Prāṇātipātina ye ca matsya-māmsādibhakṣakāḥ || madirā-kāminī-saktā nāstika-vrata-dhāriṇaḥ || anabhiśiktā narā ye ca uddha[ta]-vyasana-kāriṇaḥ | grāma-jālaratā ye ca yamāri-tantra-parayānāḥ || siddhyante nāsti sandehaḥ kṛṣṇasya vacanaṃ yathā || atha te maitreya-pramukhāḥ sarvva-bodhisattvā | vajra-nirukti-padaṃ śrutyā tuṣṇīm sthitā abhūvana ||* (Shāstrī, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, p. 150). Note the grammatical construction *ye . . . te . . .*

344. -*Vajrānaṅga-sādhanaṃ pañcadaśapaṭalaḥ.*

345. See Apte's entry in *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary* for Aniruddha for his personal history.

346. *Sītkāra* or *śītkāra* is an outbreathing noise made in expression of sudden pleasure or pain, particularly during sexual activity.

347. *Vedhamānām*, perhaps a metrical shortening of *vedhayamānām*, feminine accusative singular of the derivative of the causative of the verb *vyadh*.

348. *Athāto rahasyaṃ yakṣye samāsān na tu vistarāt | yena vijñāta-mātreṇa apsarākarṣaṇan bhavet || dvi-bhujam eka-vaktraṃ tu iṣ[u]-kārmuka-pāṇinam | pīta-dehaṃ mahārūpaṃ vajrāṅgaṃ vibhāvayet || pūrveṇa [ca] ratim dhyāyet dakṣiṇe madana-sundariṃ | paścime kāma-deviṃ tu uttare madanotsukāṃ || sarvāsām kāmadevinām karmukaṃ bhāvayet śaram | pītāṃ raktāṃ tathā śyāmāṃ śukla-raktāṃ ca bhāvayet || koṇe caiva nyasen nityam aniruddham uṣāpatim | vasantaṃ makara-ketuṅca dvāri bhāge prakathyate || kandarpa-darpakaṃ coktaṃ smaraṃ bāṇāyudhaṃ tathā | sarvveṣāṃ devatānāṃ tu yamaḥnaṃ mūrddhni bhāvayet || strīṇāṃ khaga-mukhānta-sthaṃ vajrāṅgaṃ vibhāvayet | sītkāra-mantra-sambhūtaṃ viṣphurantaṃ samantataḥ || vāñchitāṃ vihvalāṃ dhyātvā vedhamānām madotsukāṃ | pādayoḥ patitāṃ caiva rakta-vastra-parāvṛtāṃ | mantraṃ caiva japet tatra oṃkāra svarabheditaṃ | svāhā me vaśibhavatu bhāvayet saptavāraṃ | vāñchitā[m] labhate yogi kṛṣṇasya vacanaṃ yathā ||* (Shāstrī, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, p. 150).

349. -*Heruka-sādhana-paṭalaḥ ṣoḍaśaḥ; -bodhicitta-nigadana-paṭalaḥ saptadaśaḥ; -kathā-paṭala saptadaśama.* Colophon: *Idam avocat guhyakādhipatir vajra-kulaprapetā nakaṭakārasasya sampannato[;] mahātama-rāja[h] oḍiyāna-vinirgataḥ sapāda-lakṣād uddhṛtaḥ samāptaḥ | kathā-paṭalo aṣṭādaśamaḥ* (Shāstrī, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, p. 151).

350. *Catuṣpīṭha-sādhana-samkṣepaḥ samāpteti | samvat 165 śrāvāna śukla-daśa-*

myāṃ śukra dine rājye Śrībhāṣkaradevasya śrī-guṇa-kāma-deva-kāritaḥ śrīpadma-cakra-mahāvihāre sthita[m] śākya-bhikṣu-kumāra-candrena likhitam iti | *mātā-pitā-guopādhyāya-kalyāṇa-mitra-sarvva-sattvam anuttara-jñāna-phala-prāptaya iti | śrīgāṇulāṅge kulaputraḥ* | Śāstri adds that *gāṇulāṅga* “is a Newari word, meaning ‘real’” (Grünendahl, *A Concordance of H. P. Śāstri’s Catalogue*, pp. 485–486).

351. Petech, *Mediaeval History of Nepa* (c. 750–1480), pp. 40–41, 33–35.

352. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 77.

353. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, pp. 255–256.

354. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 255.

355. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 255.

356. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 256.

357. *Catuṣpīṭhosyavidhinā śiṣyābhyarthanayā mayā | sukhaṃ sādhanam saṃkṣiptam udārārcanam ucyate* (Grünendahl, *A Concordance of H. P. Śāstri’s Catalogue*, p. 485).

358. *Iti prakaraṇe ātmapīṭhe iti vāy[v]ādiṣu-tattvasya sva-śarīram eva pīṭham āsanam ādhāra ity uktakrameṇa vāyvādi-tattvaṃ prakṛtyate, prastūyate, anena veti; ātma-pīṭham ātma pīṭham eva iti ātmapīṭhe catuṣpīṭha-nibandhe prathamah paṭalaḥ | Idānīm kāla-jñāna-tad-vacanādi paṭalam āha | bhagavan śrotum icchāmi jñāna-tattvaṃ viśaya[m], haraṇādikam; vāyam cihnam idam aṅga | iti mṛtyu-cihnam | katham tattvaṃ samāśritam iti | mantra-tattvam | śṛṇu vajra-mahārāja-aṅga-cihnasya darśitam | nirmāṇādi-karyyai rājata iti rāja | vajra akṣobhyatrā mahārāja yasyāsau vajra-mahārāja saṃbodhyate | aṅgaṃ cihnam darśitavyam | anantaram śṛṇu mṛtyu-kālam iva sthitam iti | mṛtyu-kālanitamaṃ jñāyata iti bhāvah | cihnam āha śvāsā ityādi |* (Grünendahl, *A Concordance of H. P. Śāstri’s Catalogue*, p. 485).

359. See above, in the extract from the final chapter of the *Ekallavīraçaṇḍa-mahāroṣaṇa* where Bhagavatī is also described as the *paryāṅka-āsana* of sentient beings (*sattva-paryāṅka*).

360. Ghorī is also in the north in the *Yogāmbara maṇḍala* described in Abhayākaragupta’s *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, with a fierce demeanor, yellow-colored, three-eyed, with disheveled hair, and two hands (De Mallmann, *Introduction à l’Iconographie du Tantrisme Bouddhique*, p. 176).

361. Vetālī is also in the west in the following *maṇḍalas* described by Abhayākaragupta in his *Niṣpannayogāvalī*: *Jñānaḍākinī*, *Yogāmbara*, *Hevajra*, and *Nairātmya* (De Mallmann, *Introduction à l’Iconographie du Tantrisme Bouddhique*, p. 445).

362. Caṇḍālī is also in the south of the *Jñānaḍākinī* and *Yogāmbara maṇḍalas* as described by Abhayākaragupta in his *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, though she’s in the southwest in his *Hevajra* and *Nairātmya maṇḍalas* (De Mallmann, *Introduction à*

l'Iconographie du Tantrisme Bouddhique, p. 136).

363. De Mallmann describes Siṃhinī in the *Jñānaḍākinīmaṇḍala* from Abhayākaragupta's *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, vertically bicolored with an eastern white half, and a northern yellow half. She has one lion face, two hands, dressed in red, and crowned with five skulls (*Introduction à l'Iconographie du Tantrisme Bouddhique*, pp. 347–348).

364. In the *Jñānaḍākinī maṇḍala* in Abhayākaragupta's *Niṣpannayogāvalī* Vyāghrī is also in the southeast, with a single tiger's head, vertically bicolored with a white southern half and a blue eastern half (De Mallmann, *Introduction à l'Iconographie du Tantrisme Bouddhique*, p. 457).

365. Ulūki is also in the northwest in the *maṇḍalas* of *Jñānaḍākinī* and *Yogāmbara* as described by Abhayākaragupta (De Mallmann, *Introduction à l'Iconographie du Tantrisme Bouddhique*, p. 384).

366. The text reads *yeṣāñ ca*, though we might expect *yāsām ca*.

367. *Visarjayet tad-anupūrvokta-bali-vidhāna-vidhi-maṇḍala-cakrañ ca kṛtvā samasta-yathokta-mudrā-mantraiḥ baliṃ dadyāt, oṃ kuru kuru mahābaliṃ huṃ svāheti | hasta-dvayaṃ prasāryya madhyaṅguṣṭhayaṃ cālayitvā-homa-kāla-valimatta-mudrā-hutāsāna-homa-belāyāṃ vahni-parikṣaṇam | yadi durnimittam sūcayati tadā jvara cakṣa hūṃ svāheti | yatra pradeśe durnimittam tatra aṣṭhottara-śatam [g]hṛtiṃ homayet dravyād aprasāmodakena triṣvabhyaṅguṣṭhayaṃ pūrvakena homayitvā mūla-devatā-homaḥ kāryyaḥ purokta-kramenaiva | śvāsena ākṛṣya svadehe sthāpayitvā visarjya samutiṣṭhed iti homavidhiḥ | yāga-vidhāna . . . te vidhāna-vitātam nānā-vastra-praluṅṅhitam kṛtvā sita-sindhena caturasram maṇḍalakaṃ kuryyāt | sita-dravyena kalasāt | madhya-bhāṇḍaṅca vilipyā kṣaurodaka-sugandhena pūrayitvā palla-vādinā maṇḍayitvā dṛṣṭi-patra-rūpa-kālakatakāṅgam datvā hūṃ hrūṃ suṃ kṣuṃ yuṃ huṃ strāṃ sṛyāṃ kṣrāṃ iti praṇavādi-svāhāntena pratyekam aṣṭhottara-bāram japtvā yathāsthāne aṣṭhakalāsān sthāpayet | madhye ca brhat bhāṇḍam sthāpayitvā pūrvokta-krameṇa ātma-yoga-samastam nivarṛtya ātmānam pūjayitvā tato vāhye samārabheta tam kamalābhe svāheti padmākāreṇa karapuṭam vikāśayet | tena madhya-bhāṇḍa-padmaṃ paśyeta | sacandra-maṇḍalam | śveta-chattrā-saṃpannam | tatra hūṃkāreṇa vajra-hūṃkāradhiṣṭhitam tena jñāna-bhāviṇiṃ bhāvayet | dvi-bhuja-dhavalā-varṇam sattva-paryyaṅkeṇa pratiṣṭhām vajram daṇḍaṅca vāma-dakṣiṇayor bhāvayet | tat purvato vajrī uttare ghorī, paścime vetālī; dakṣiṇe caṇḍālī | īśānyām siṃhinī āgneyyām vyāghrī | vāyavyām ulūki, pūrvokta-vijñānabharaṇā dhyātavyā | yeṣāñca mudrā-maṇḍala-mayaṃ kāryyaḥ | tam samaye tiṣṭha huṃ phaṭ | vajra-bandham kṛtvā tarjjanī-dvayaṃ prasāryya cakrañ ca granthiṃ kṛtvā samayaṃ darśayet | pūrvavavat pūjayet oṃ hūṃ svāhā vajramuṣṭhi-dvayaṃ kṛtvā vāmaṃ hṛdaye dakṣiṇam mūrdhataḥ sthāpayet iti mālabh[ā]drā-mantraḥ | mūla-mantras tu yathābhilāṣitam codakam dattvā durvāṅkurasamyogitam kundādi-kusumāni sakṛt tadekam mantram uccāryya bhāvanāyuktam kṛtvā devyā-kirīṭi[m] vajram āhanet | ayutāpūrvvam dravyam homayet | yathā-*

manīṣita-siddhir-āyur-ārogya-barddhanañ ca bhavati | homānte ca yathoktānusāreṇa
 baliṃ dadyāt | sarvatra kriyāyām sātṭvikaṃ śukla-vidhānaṃ | pūrvvānaṃ sāntiṃ
 kuru | sarvvāpadam apanayetyādi codakaṃ vataikākṣa-mālā-tarjjanī-śāntaman[as]
 ā sāntiṃ kuryyāt | pauṣṭhika kṣa samasta-pītopacāreṇa uttarānaṃ puṣṭhiṃ
 kuru sarvva-sampadam āvāhaya ityādi codakaṃ | śataikākṣamālā-aṣṭhottara-
 śatākṣamālā[ā]ḥ madhyamā-sthitayā pramudita-manāḥ puṣṭhiṃ kuryyāt | vaśye
 sakala-raktopacāreṇa paścimāmanaṃ mama ānaya diśāṃ ākarṣa cetyādi codakaṃ |
 viṃśaty-akṣara-mālām anāmikāyāṃ sthāpayitvā saṃrakṣaman[as]ā sāntiṃ kuryyāt |
 abhicāre ca samastam eva kopacāreṇa yāmyānaṃ mārāya uccāṭaya ityādi codakaṃ
 | ṣaṣṭhī-saṃkhātākṣa-mālayā kanyāyā sthitayā krodhāviṣṭhaman[as]ā abhicārayed
 iti | saṃkṣepataḥ bali-homa-yāga-viśayaḥ | śrī-catuṣpīṭha-tantrāmnāyena likhita iti
 || (Grünendahl, A Concordance of H. P. Śāstri's Catalogue, p. 486).

368. Grünendahl, A Concordance of H. P. Śāstri's Catalogue, pp. 490–491.

369. Both Apte, *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, and Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, give for sama-pada “a particular posture in sexual union” or “an attitude in shooting,” both where the feet are even.

370. Sixty aṅgulas.

371. A hemispheric bowl, and the name for a type of sexual union.

372. Namaḥ sarvvabhāvinibhyaḥ || vibhrāṇaṃ buddha-vimbaṃ divasa-kara-
 dharolāsi-bāleṇdu-lekhaṃ maitreyaṃ cāru-rūpaṃ śirasi vara-tanuṃ mañju-ghoṣaṃ
 ca gātrau | padmothaṃ daṇḍa-rūpaṃ kuṭīlita-vapuṣaṃ vajriṇaṃ bhṛnmna(?)-nādaṃ
 vijñāna-jñāna-rūpaṃ nihata-bhava-bhayaṃ pañca-mūrttiṃ praṇamya || pañjikā
 likhyate seyam prārthanāt sena-varmmanah | evaṃ bhāṣitety ārambhya yāvad
 abhyavandann iti vacanāt vibhakti-liṅga-vacanaṃ samāsādayaḥ guru-laghu-yati-
 cchandanaḍayaś cāryyādeśa-vaśāt yathā-yogaṃ yojaniyā | evaṃ bhāṣita-sarvva-jñam
 ityādinā nirddiṣṭāḥ catvāro 'rthāḥ deśaka-deśanā-prakāraḥ deśyarthah sthānam iti
 | tatra sarvvajña iti deśakaḥ | evam iti deśanā-prakāraḥ | jñānam iti deśyarthah |
 śuddhāvāsakam ity etat sthānam tatra yadārthah duṣi . . . miti buddhānām ityārthah
 | dakṣṇām iti kvacit tatrāpi sa eva arthah | yoginī-jāla-sambaram iti | yoginyaḥ
 prajñāpāramitādyāḥ jālaṃ samūhaḥ sat prāg eva uktaṃ | samapada ityādi padaṃ
 parāṅguṣṭhāṅgulyāṃ saṃśleṣātma-samapadaṃ tasya caika-pāda-saṅkocenātiryyak-
 sthāpanaṃ vā cittapadaṃ | hasta-dvayam eva vāhya-canaṅgūlyakam | taj-
 vajjānudvayam kuryyāt | bāhustābhyāṃ haṃsa-pakṣākṛtiḥ | maṇḍala-pada-
 dakṣiṇa-pādaṃ bhūmau saṃsthāpya vāma-pada trailokya-laṅghanākāreṇa salilam
 utkṣepaḥ iti tri-vikrama-padaṃ | dakṣiṇa-careṇa vāma-caraṇam ākramet | vāma-
 jaṅgaṃ saṅkocya pañca-vitasti āyāma prāsārayet āliḍha syāt | pratyāliḍho atra
 dakṣiṇam ākuñcya vāmaṃ tathaiva prāsārayed iti | Eka-caraṇam utkṣipyate | naiva
 paribhramet | ityekaḥ sthānaḥ | lalitākṣa-pāditayā sukha-niśadya vividha-prakāreṇa
 pādasya vikṣepe pāda-vikṣepeṇa ātma-bhedam vimṛśyādaḥ cet sarvva saṅkucya
 viparitoru-vinyāsa-prayogāc cāpi tat-kṣayāt śrama-pūrvvam utpanna-nāśayeti
 ubhayor api | yoginī-pāda-dvaya | yāvad arddha-sthāpanaṃ vā yūpas-kāraḥ | āha
 ca | ekata kuṅṭhita-nyastas-[tri]ni-kaṅṭhita-jānukarm | āsīna-puruṣopetam yugma-

pādaṃ pratiṣṭhitam anyonya-jānubhyāṃ vāmā-pārsva-pīḍanaṃ muṇḍa-tāḍanaṃ | vajra-sattva-bāhu-pāśe prajñā-pāramitā-kaṅṭha-dr̥ḍham āliṅgya devyā-jaṅghaṃ tu parivinyāsyā tat sampuṭaḥ saṃyamī-kṛtaṃ uktaṃ ca yogṣit-kaṅṭha-vikalpa-prāṇāt mokṣaḥ ity utkam āryya-devena iti | dvandvāliṅganam iti prajñopāya-sammilanam kutah ityāha sakala-sattva-dhātoḥ saṃsārottara-kāryyeṇa ity arthaḥ | yoginī-jāla-sambaram muktva nāsty anyah saṃsāre sāra iti | pādānāt dvādaśa-sahasrikokta-kakṣapuṭe pādasya saṃhāraḥ tatredaṃ kakṣapuṭam | nṛpa-sa[h]a-śikhī-dhārī hasta-śobhā-sukanyā | jaṭa-naraka-vibhītā-mohanīndrābja-vajrā | kuru catur-catuṣka-pañca-dehāya miśraṃ | yuvatī-va[ś]a-yogya tvañ ca tuṣṭhim sadaṃ[ś]rai || (Grünendahl, A Concordance of H. P. Śāstri's Catalogue, pp. 490–491).

373. Add. 1704 (Bendall, *Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge*, pp. 197–198).

374. *Namo ratnatrayāya | vidyuj-jihvāṃ mahābhīmāṃ sarvāsā-paripūrakāṃ | tān namaskṛtya vakṣye 'haṃ sādhanopdikāmarāṃ || bhagavatyā svedāmbujāyāḥ kalpokta-vidhinā praviṣṭa-maṇḍalābhiṣeka-vidyā-labdhasya mantriṇa japa-vidhim ārabhyet || prathamam tāvat mantriṇo kalpa . . . ya-pratipālanam ṛddhi-pratīhāryyādi . . . mahotsāhinā || . . . m-anātmavān rājādi-sampadā anyatane siddhi-niṣpādanādhyeṣanā-yukte suniścic-cetasā sarvvaṃ dvandvaṃ sah[v(?)]iṣṇunā || akhinna-mānasena vāhyādhyātmika-śaucācāre samanvitena prajñāpāramitādi-saddhṛmma-vāca-nodyatena parvvatārāmodyāna-śmāsāna-padmasara-nadī-pulina-vihārālaya-guhā-diṣv athavā mano'nukūle sthāne mṛd-gomayādir-upalepanam || . . . ya-bhūmi[m] kalpayet || tatrāyaṃ vidhikramo, niśā ṛtīyāvasāna-kāla-samaye śayanād utthāya trayādhvikākāśa dhātu-niṣṭha-dharmma-dhātu-paryyavasāna-vyavasthitebhyaḥ bodhisattvebhyaḥ sarvvāntam abhāvaṃ viniryātayet | praṇameta tato dvādaśākṣara-mantrēṇa aṅguṣṭha-mūdrayā ātmānaṃ pañcasu sthāneṣu rakṣā[m] vidadyāt | tena bahir bhūmyādikam gacchet rātrau dakṣiṇādbhimukho divā cottarābhimukho bhavet | tataḥ kṛlāśacas tu snāna-pañcāṅga-prakṣālanam vā kuryyāt, tato devyā udakāñjali-trayaṃ nivedya, deva-grhaṃ yāyāt, samyak-lita-kusumābhikīrṇ[e] maṇḍalake devyāḥ paṭa-pratimasyānyatamasyāgrataḥ abhāvena bhagavati[m] dhyātvā raktāmbara-dharo sarvvopakaraṇopetaḥ praticyādi-mukho-daṇmukho vā sarvva-loka dhātyāsthita-sarvva-buddha-bodhisattva-pratyeka-buddhāryya-śrāvakādīn bhāvato namet || tato bhagavatiṃ natvā añjaliṃ śirasi nidhāyevaṃ vadet, ratna-trayaṃ me śaraṇaṃ sarvva-pāpaṃ pratideśayāhaṃ anumode jagat-punyaṃ buddha-bodhau dadhe manaḥ | tathaivānaliṃ kṛtvā viśuddhi-mantram udīrayet | saptavāraṃ namaḥ samasta-buddhānāṃ oṃ sarvva-viśuddhi-dharmma || (Shāstrī, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, pp. 142–143).*

375. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, p. 232.

376. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, pp. 256–257.

377. Tohoku 3428 is mistakenly listed twice in the Tohoku Catalogue Index (Ui, et al., *A Catalogue-Index of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 65).

378. The only Vajrapāda referred to by Naudou (*Buddhists of Kashmir*, p. 95, n. 38) is Acintya or Vajrapāda, another name for Mīna-pā or Matsyendranātha, who was likely the same individual as Lui-pā. This would place Vajrapāda, if these identifications are accurate, in the ninth century.
379. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmir*, p. 212.
380. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, vol. 1, p. 88.
381. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmir*, pp. 149–150.
382. See Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmir*, p. 190.
383. For Tohoku listings of authors and translators, Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, pp. 484–485, 519, 520, 511.
384. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 511.
385. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmir*, p. 249.
386. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmir*, pp. 256–257.
387. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, pp. 299, 526, 504, 398.
388. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmir*, pp. 184–185.
389. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmir*, pp. 213–214, n. 38.
390. Incorrectly listed as no. 1949 in the Index to the Tohoku Catalogue. Tohoku 1949 is the *Daṇḍadhṛg-vidāra-yamāri-sādhana-nāma* (Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 307); the correct listing is Tohoku 1649.
391. See Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmir*, pp. 253–256.
392. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, pp. 260–261.
393. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, pp. 485, 489.
394. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, pp. 69, 228.
395. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 120.
396. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 85.
397. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, pp. 134, 411, 674.