The Buddhist Sanskrit Tantras:
“The Samādhi 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 Kaśmīrī Buddhists. He was not looking particularly for translations of tantras, nor did he provide dates for authors and translators who either were not either Kaśmīrī 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), and gZon-nu-dpal’s Blue Annals (1478), 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 hgyur and Lalou’s index. 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 Tāranātha’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. Naudou brought some order to this wealth of information by grounding the material in data from copperplate inscriptions, Kalhaṇa’s largely reliable Rājataraṅgiṇī, 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 Punyākaragupta 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. 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.
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 Śaktisamgamatantra. 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 Caṇḍamahāroṣana 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 Baudhā 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 Tantram* 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. Another such text is the *Ḍākinījāla-samvara-rahasyaṃ* by Anaṅgayogī, also a short Yoga Tantra of only eleven pages in the Sarnath edition. 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 *sādhanas*.

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, 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.


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. 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. 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, and the texts of the Tathāgata-, Padma-, Vajra-, and Maṇi-kulas, and some miscellaneous texts. These Japanese authors class both the Mañjuśrī-mālakalpa and the Siddhaikavīra-mahātantra in the Tathāgatakula Kriyā Tantra group. Among the Padmakula Kriyātantras they class the Kāraṇḍavyūha nāma Mahāyānasūtraratnarāja. Among the Vajrakula Kriyātantras they include the Bhūtaḍāmara-mahātantra-rāja. Among the Padmakula Kriyātantras they class the Kāraṇḍavyūha nāma Mahāyānasūtraratnarāja. Among the Vajrakula Kriyātantras they include the Bhūtaḍāmara-mahātantra-rāja. The Caryātantra group includes only the Vairocana-abhisambodhi. The Yoga-tantra group consists of twenty-eight texts, including the Tattvasaṃgraha, the Nāma-saṃgīti, and the Sarvadurgatipariśodhana-tantra. They divide the Anuttarayogatantra class into five groups. Group 1, the Upāya-/Mahāyoga-tantra, includes the Guhyasamāja and Pañcakrama in the Akṣobhya-kula and the Māyājāla and Kṛṣṇa-Yamāri in the Vairocana-kula. Group 2, the Prajñā-/Yoginī-tantra, includes in the Heruka-kula, the Cakrasaṃvara, the Abhidhānottara, the Vajraḍāka and the Śrīcaturvīṃśatīṭhatantra in the general group. In the Vajradhara-kula something called the Khasamā nāma Tantra commentary, with a few texts, including a Śrīcaturvīṃśatīṭhatantra in the general group. In the Yu ganaddha-/Prajñā-Upāya-Advaya-Tantra class we find the Tattvasaṃgraha, the Vajrāmṛtatantra. The Padmanartesvara-kula includes only the Śrībhagavatyārya-tārāyā Kuru-kullā-kalpa. The Paramāśva-kula includes the Mahākāla-tantra. There is in the Vajradhara-kula something called the Khasamā nāma Tantra commentary, with a few texts, including a Śrīcaturvīṃśatīṭhatantra in the general group. In the Yu ganaddha-/Prajñā-Upāya-Advaya-Tantra class we find the Tattvasaṃgraha, the Vajrāmṛtatantra. The Padmanartesvara-kula includes only the Śrībhagavatyārya-tārāyā Kuru-kullā-kalpa. The Paramāśva-kula includes the Mahākāla-tantra. There is in the Vajradhara-kula something called the Khasamā nāma Tantra commentary, with a few texts, including a Śrīcaturvīṃśatīṭhatantra in the general group. In the Yu ganaddha-/Prajñā-Upāya-Advaya-Tantra class we find the Tattvasaṃgraha, the Vajrāmṛtatantra.
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 Saṃvara, Hevajra, Buddhakapāla, Mahāmāya, and Ārali; 3) Vairocana’s family, the Catuspītha 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-ekajata, 5) The Karma-kula (with no texts in the Tibetan canon), and 6) Vajradhara’s clan, with the Candra-guhya-tilaka.

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 Vajrāvali 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 Vajrāvali 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 Vajrāvali 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.” 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. Abhayākara-gupta 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 sādhana from the Sādhanamālā into Tibetan, and he is often listed in the colophons of the Tibetan translations simply as Abhaya. He served as abbot of the Buddhist university Vikramaśīla (in Bodhgaya) during the reign of the Pāla king Ramapāla (1084–1130 C.E.), and also served for a while as abbot of Mahābodhi Monastery and Nālandā.


I have examined a number of the texts cited by Abhayākara-gupta 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 Abhayākara-gupta’s many works is the Kālacakrāvatāra, dated 1125 C.E. Another is a commentary on the Buddhakapālatantra. This text cites as authorities, in addition to the Rājavajrāvali, the Vajraśekharatantra, the Yoginītantra, the Hevajra, the Śrīsampuṭatantra, and the Siddhaikāvīratantra. Abhayākara-gupta apparently also wrote a commentary on the Sampuṭodbhavatantra, since he mentions on leaf 2A of the Buddhakapālatantraṭīkā that he has discussed a particular nidānavāyka in detail in the Śrīsampuṭatīkā. Although there is no proof for this, it seems a reasonable possibility that the Dāka (Vajrādāka-tantra) and the Dākini (Ḍākini-vajra-ṭāṇjara) texts mentioned by Abhayākara-gupta as his sources for the Vajrāvali may be the texts, or derivative evolutions of the texts, referred to by Dharmakirti
as the ḍākinī-tantras. We should also note here that Abhayaṅkaragupta’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.  

While we do not yet have a full Sanskrit edition of the *Vajrāvalī nāma Maṇḍalaupayikā*, 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. Baring by the glorious vajra the elements, with the world, in the majestic great maṇḍala, may this *Vajrāvalī* assemble here the unimpeded 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.

We know from the inclusion of the texts cited as sources in Abhayaṅkaragupta’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 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.”

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 scholar-
ship (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 tan-
tras 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 simultane-
ous 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 dis-
covery 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 ele-
venth 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), (Sarbara), Luīpa, Dārikāpa, (Vajra-ghanṭāpa), Kūrmapā, Jālandharapā, (Kamha(pā) Caryapā), Guhyapā (Vijayapa), Tilopa, Naropa.” The name Sarbara has an interesting resonance with Dharmakīrti’s remark that even the Śabarās were making up their own mantras in the early seventh century, though this resonance tells us nothing about Sarbara’s date. According to the *Sa-skya Bka’-bum*, Luīpa was a scribe to the emperor Dharmapāla (769–809 C.E.). The same source places Bhusukupa, Ghanṭapa, and Gorakṣapa in Devapāla’s reign (809–849). Naropa is placed during the reign of Mahāpāla (974–1026), along with Śāntipa. 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).” Their stories were recorded by Abhayadatta Śrī, who may possibly be the same person as Abhyākaragupta.

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, Canḍamahāroṣana, Saṃvarodaya*, and *Sampaṭikātantrarāja*: “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 mahāsattvas76 accompany the Buddha Bhagavān, who enters a samādhi, then speaks. In the Hevajra Vajragarbha responds after the Bhagavān speaks, without a smile. In the Saṃvarodaya 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 Sampuṭikātantra 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 Vajapāṇi does in the Saṃvarodaya. 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/chemical 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 Sampuṭikā 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 Guhyasamājā is rather subdued. In chapter 4, on the maṇḍala of the secret body, speech, and thought (guhyā-kāya-vāk-citta-maṇḍala-paṭala), Vajradhara explains the delightful thought maṇḍala of all the tathāgatas. The wise man 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, and then make love to her in the middle of the maṇḍala. 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. 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 Kālacakratantra 5.91 we find the names Dākinī and Viśvamātā added to the standard set of four deities Locanā, Māmakī, Pāṇḍarā, and Tārā (or Tārīṇī). 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 Cāṇḍali. In another list at Hevajra II.iv.65 we have “all those goddesses, led by Nairātmyā, with Locanā, Māmakī, Pāṇḍarā and Tārā, Bhṛkuṭī, Cunḍā, Parṇaṣavari, Ahomukhā and the rest, as numerous as the atoms in Mount Meru. . .,” again with no mention of Viśvamātā or Dākinī.

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 Ṭākinī 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. 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. 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.

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 Kumārakalāśa 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.
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-pitaka-avatamsakā 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.”)\(^5^9\) (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.\(^6^0\)

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.

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 anuttarayoga that defines the class of the most advanced Buddhist Sanskrit
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 aksa-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-paṭalavisaraḥ) 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-bhaṅgini-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” (dvitiya-sādhana-upayika-maṇḍala-praveśa-anuvidhiḥ catuḥ-kumārya-paṭala-visaraḥ). 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-ōsadhi-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 Mañjitśrīmālakalpa, 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.” 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-ṭīkā. (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 cycle— 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 Cakra 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. Bhairava is the fierce form of Šiva, 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-paḥjam-dpal-gyi rtsa-bahi rayud) (Tohoku 543, 245 folios), said to have been translated by Kumārakalaśa and Śākya blo-gros.
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.” This text was first published in 1931 by Bhattacharyya as Guhyasamājatantra or Tathāgatagāthayāka, vol. 53 of Gaekwad’s Oriental Series from Baroda. 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. The principal Sanskrit commentary, the Pradīpodyotana by Candrakīrti, has since been published by the Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute in Patna. 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. 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. 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 Śāstrī’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.” The Cambridge manuscripts are Add. 901, 1365, and 1617 in Bendall’s catalogue. Unnoticed by either Bhattacharyya or Fremantle, or by Wayman, is a catalogue listing by Śāstrī of a manuscript (ms. 10765, no. 18), apparently entitled Tathāgatagāthayāka, “a very large work of the Vaipulya class, hitherto unknown.” This is a fragmentary paper manuscript in seventeenth-century Newari script that originally totaled eleven chapters. Śāstrī 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” (śūralayavālakṣyaparīvartto-nāma navamah), 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. 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. (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 dākas or dākinīs or yoginis—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, itivṛtta, jātaka, vaipulya, adbhuta, dharma-padeśa, or logical examples (drṣṭānta), or pūrvayoga, or avadāna, or ākhyāyika, or what should be explained (ādeśayeyaṃ), or what should be taught (prajñāpayeyaṃ), or what should be put aside (prasthāpayeyaṃ), or what should be shared (vibhajeyaṃ), or what should be revealed (vivṛnuyeyaṃ), or what should be promulgated (uttānīkuryyāṃ), or what should be illuminated (samprakāśayeyaṃ).
In listing the assemblies (parṣat) gathered together with the Tathāgata, there is a bhikṣuparṣad, a bhikṣuni, upāsaka, and upāsikā-parṣad, and a parṣad of devas, nāgas, yakṣas, gandharvas, asuras, garuḍas, kinnaras, and mahoragas (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.  

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

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-guhyasamāja-maṇḍala-vidhi (Tohoku 1810, 15 folios) is ascribed to the eighth- or ninth-century Nāgabodhi (Kluṭi byan-chub), whose writings are referred to by the Kaśmīri Śaivite disciple of Vasugupta, Bhaṭṭa Kallāṭa, himself dated to the mid-ninth century during Avantivarman’s reign in Kaśmīr (855–883 C.E.) by Kalhaṇa. This is a reliable bit of dating that places the Guhyasamāja system no later than the ninth century. The Śrī-guhyasamāja- texts are: 1) -tantra-nidāna-guru-upadeśana-vyākhyaṇa (Tohoku 1910, eight folios) by Sgeg-paṭi rdo-rje, 2) -tantra-pañjika (Tohoku 1847, 163 folios) by Jina-? (Rgyal-bas byin), translated by Śāntibhadra (Shi-ba
translated by Sraddhākaravarman and Rin-chen bzaṅ-po,\textsuperscript{103} 21) – alaṃkāra (Tohoku 1848, 152 folios) by Vimalagupta (Dri-med sbas pa) or Candraprabhā (Zla-bahi bod), and Rin-chen rdo-rje myu-gu, translated by Sunyāyaśrimitra and Dar-ma grags.\textsuperscript{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 paṇḍitābhyaḥ (by Ratnarakṣitā, the only commentary preserved in Tibetan) and the Saṃvarodayatantrasya ṣatipaṭalavyābhya. Kṣāntiśrī’s Sādhanā, commenting principally on the thirteenth chapter) apparently exists only in Chinese.\textsuperscript{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.).\textsuperscript{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 Saṃvarodaya 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 Saṃvarodaya is as unreliable as that (i.e. the Tibetan translation) of Hevajra.107

Tsuda translates the title Saṃvarodaya as “Arising of the Supreme Pleasure.”108 After a long discussion of what he considers an erroneous classification as a bṣad rgyud, or explanatory tantra, and the assertion that the Saṃvarodaya 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 Laghusaṃvara, the Saṃvarodaya and the Abhidhānottottara which, apart from the Yoginīsañcāra, can also be taken as a mūla-tantra.”109 Tsuda notes that the bsTan ḥgyur commentaries on the Saṃvar or Cakrasaṃvara are really commentaries on the Laghusaṃvaratantra.110 We also have an edition from the Tibetan with an English translation of the first seven chapters of the Laghusaṃvara, entitled Śrīchakrasambhara Tantra by its editor Kazi Dawa-Samdup.111

There is a considerable body of literature from this tradition in Tibetan translation. The earliest work we have on the Cakrasaṃvara is the Śrī-Cakrasaṃvara-tantra-raja-saṃvara-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-Cakrasaṃvara-sādhana-sa ratios-sāla-nāma-ṭīkā (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 Krṣṇa-pāda (Nag-po), translated in the fourteenth century by Dharmaśrībhadra116 and Rig-pa gshon-nu;117 2) Śrī-cakra-sambara-udaya-nāma-manḍala-vidhi (Tohoku 1538, 33 folios) by Dbu-pa blo-ldan, translator unknown;118 3) Śrī-Cakrasaṃvara-(-)-garbha-tattva-siddhi (Tohoku 1456, one folio) by the Mahāsiddha Jalandhara, translator unknown;119 4) Tattva-garbha-samgraha (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-phug;121 6) -trayodaśa-ātmaka-abhiśeka-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;\textsuperscript{123} 8) -pañca-krama (Tohoku 1433, three folios) by the Mahāsiddha Vajragaṇṭha (Rdo-rje dril-bu), translated by Kṛṣṇa-pa (perhaps the guardian of the southern door of Nālandā when Naropa arrived);\textsuperscript{124} 9) -pañca-krama-vṛtti (Tohoku 1435, six folios) by Vajragaṇṭha (Rdo-rje dril-bu pa), translated by Sumatikīrti and Mar-pa Chos-kyi-dban-phyug;\textsuperscript{126} 10) -pañjikā (Tohoku 1403, 105 folios) by Bhavabhadra, translated by Mi mnyam rdo-rje and Rin-chen grags;\textsuperscript{127} 

11) -pañjikā-sāra-manojñā (Tohoku 1405, 40 folios) by the tenth-century Bhavyakīrti (Skal-ldan grags-pa), translated in the early eleventh century by Dharmāśrībhadra and Rin-chen bzan-pa;\textsuperscript{129} 12) -bahiṣ-pūjā-vidhi (Tohoku 1466, one folio) by the eleventh-century disciple of Naropa, Prajñārakṣita, translated in the late eleventh to early twelfth centuries by Sumatikīrti and Blo-ldan śes-rab;\textsuperscript{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;\textsuperscript{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 Abhayākaragupta’s collaborator Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba;\textsuperscript{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;\textsuperscript{136} and (Tohoku 1477, 36 folios) by Vijayabhadra (this appears to be the same person sometimes called Bhadrapada or Vijayapada, a pupil of the eleventh-century contemporary of Naropa, Kṛṣṇa-pada,\textsuperscript{136} called here in the canon Rgyal-ba bzaṅ-po), translated by Hjam-dpal and Ba-ri;\textsuperscript{137} 17) -maṇḍala-vidhi-tattva-avatāra (Tohoku 1430, 16 folios) by the twelfth-century Darika-pa, translated by Kumāravajra and Nyi-ma rdo-je;\textsuperscript{139} 18) -maṇḍala-vidhi-ratnapradīpoddyota (Tohoku 1444, 22 folios) by Lwa-ba-pa, translated in the eleventh century by Sumatikīrti and Mar-pa chos-kyi-dban-phyug;\textsuperscript{140} 19) -maṇḍala-stotra (Tohoku 1530, three folios) by Śūrakalaśa (= mid-twelfth-century Tilakakalaśa or Ālaṅkārakalaśa (?)) and Bsod-nams bzaṅ-po;\textsuperscript{142} 20) -mūla-tantra-pañjikā, (Tohoku 1406, 28 folios) by Laṅka Vijayabhadra (this appears to be the same person sometimes called Bhadrapāda or Vijayapāda, a pupil of the late eleventh-century contemporary of Naropa, Kṛṣṇa-pāda,\textsuperscript{144} called here in the canon Rgyal-ba bzaṅ-po), translator unknown;\textsuperscript{144} 21) -balividhi (Tohoku 1467, two folios) by the eleventh-century Prajñārakṣita, translated by Sumatikīrti and
Blo-ldan ses-rab;145 22) -seka-kriyā-krama (Tohoku 1470, 10 folios) by Nityavajra (Rtag-pahi rdo-rje), translated by Dharmaśrībhadra and Bu-ston;146 23) -seka-prakriya-upadeśa (Tohoku 1431, three folios) by the Mahāsiddha Vajraghaṇṭita (Rdo-rje dril-bu), translated by Kṛṣṇa-pa and Chos-kyi šes-rab;147 24) -sahaja-tattva-āloka (Tohoku 1504, one folio) by Dpa-gmed rdo-rje, translated by Dīpanṛkarakṣita;148 25, 26, and 27), -sādhana (Tohoku 1432, two folios) by Vajraghaṇṭa (Rdo-rje dril-bu-pa), translated by Prajñābhadra and Blo-gros grags;149 (Tohoku 1445, four folios), author and translators unknown, (Tohoku 1491, two folios) by Mar-me-mdsam ye-šes, translated by Atiśa (Mar-me-mdsad ye-šes) and Rin-chen bznan-po;150 28) -sādhana-tattva-saṃgraha (Tohoku 1429, six folios) by the twelfth-century Dārika-pa, translated by Kumāravajra and Advayavajra (Nyis-ma rdo-rje),151 -sādhana-trimśikā-pada-paddhati (Tohoku 1488, two folios) by Sprin-gyi bshon-pa-hi ḡla, translated by Dharmaśrīlabhadra;152 30) -sādhana-ratna-pradīpa (Tohoku 1484, five folios) by Maitri-pa, translated by Vajrapāṇi and Ba-reg thugs-pa-dgaḥ;153 31) -sādhana-sarva-śāla-nāma-ṭīkā (Tohoku 1407, 87 folios) by the ninth-century king Deva-pāla (Lhas sbas), translator unknown;154 32) -sādhana-amṛta-kṣara (Tohoku 1462, 13 folios) by King Vimalacandra (Mi-thib zla-ba), translator unknown;155 33) -supratiṣṭhā (Tohoku 1487, five folios) by the eleventh-century Advayavajra (Nyis-med rdo-rje), translated by Vajrapāṇi and Rma-ban chos-ḥbar;156 34, 35, and 36) –stotra (Tohoku 1440, one folio) by Indrabhūti, translator unknown;157 38) -hasta-pūjā-vidhi (1468, one folio) by Prajñāraksita, translated by Sumatikirti and Blo-ldan šes-rab;159 39) -homa-vidhi (1447, six folios) by Kṛṣṇa-pāda (Nag-po), translated by Dharmaśrībhadra and Rig-pa gshon-nu;160 40) -advaita-dhyāna-upadeśa-yoga-caṇḍālī (Tohoku 1508, one folio) by Dge-baḥ mgon-po, translated by the Nepali Vajīśvara and Mar-pa Chos-kyi ḡbaṅ-phug;161 38) –stotra-sarva-artha-siddhi-vaśuddhi-cūḍāmani (Tohoku 1423, four folios) by the twelfth-century Dārika, translated by the Kaśmīri Dharmavajra and Rgya Brtson ḡgrus sen-ge;162 41) -ekā-vīra-sādhana (Tohoku 1536, four folios) by Manikaśri, translated by Sumatikirti and Prajñākirti;163 42) -upadeśa (Tohoku 1485, four folios) by Gnyis-med rdo-rje, translated by Varendraruci and Rma-ban
chos-hjar.\textsuperscript{167} The \textit{Saṃvarodayābhisamayopāyikā}\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Cakrasaṃvara} by Jayabhadra. 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 dākinī grant peace.”\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{170}

Glossing the use of the term \textit{cakrasambaram} in the root tantra, Jayabhadra tells us it refers to the tantras of Śrīheruka, Vajravārāhi, etc.\textsuperscript{171}

The catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal lists two Sanskrit manuscripts of the \textit{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 \textit{Heruka Tantra}. Shāstri’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).\textsuperscript{172} The standard opening is found: \textit{evaṃ mayā śrutam, ekasmin samaye bhaṅgavīn sarva-tathāgata-kāya-vāk-citta-vajra-yogini-bhageṣu vijahāra |}, the same line that opens the \textit{Guhyasamājatantra}\textsuperscript{173} and the \textit{Hevajratantra},\textsuperscript{174} though not the \textit{Kālacakratantra}. In addition, the \textit{Cakrasaṃvara}, \textit{Guhyasamāja}, and \textit{Hevajra} all begin in prose, while the \textit{Kālacakratantra} is in verse (though Puṇḍarika’s commentary is in prose). Of the three earlier tantras, the \textit{Cakrasaṃvara} is the longest, in thirty-three chapters. The \textit{Guhyasamāja} is complete in seventeen or eighteen chapters, and the \textit{Hevajra} is rather shorter, in two chapters of ten and eleven fairly short sections each.

Since the Sanskrit of the remaining chapters of the \textit{Cakrasaṃvara} or \textit{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:
Oṃ homage to the glorious Vajrasambara. Thus was it heard by me. At one time the lord dwelt in the vaginas of the lightning yoginiš 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 yoginiš [were present]; seeing Vajrapāni in [their] midst, [the lord] smiled. Vajrapāni, arising from his seat, putting his upper garment on one shoulder, placing the manḍola 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? You must explain to me, Prabho, about the cchoma that is the sign of the community, 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 aksa [beads], the practice, and your description of the recitation? What is your manḍala, [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 manḍala, 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 yogatrantras? What is the extent of your sitra 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 yoginīs? 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.  

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. 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.” 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. How long the *Hevajratantra* preexisted this date in oral tradition is hard to say.

The formal title of the text is the Śrī-hevajra-ḍākiṇī-jāla-samvara-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. 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 \textit{Yogaratnamālā} or \textit{Hevajrapaṇḍiṣṭikā} manuscript in transitional Gupta characters, though it is incomplete.\(^{193}\) More recently, G. W. Farrow and I. Menon have retranslated both the \textit{Hevajra-tantra} and the \textit{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 \textit{Yogaramamālā} glosses are given with each verse. Unfortunately I was not able to locate any manuscript extracts of the unpublished \textit{Hevajra} commentaries in the catalogues I consulted.

The \textit{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 \textit{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) \textit{Hevajra-krama-kuru-kulle-sādhana} (Tohoku 3568, one folio) translated by Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan; 2) \textit{Hevajra-tantra-paṇḍiṣṭikā-padmin} (Tohoku 1181, 47 folios) by Mtsho-skyes, translated by Kjītigarbha and Khu-ston dnos-grub; 3) \textit{Hevajra-tantra-rāja} (Tohoku 417, 12 folios) translator unknown; 4, 5, and 6) \textit{Hevajra-vibhujā-sādhana} (Tohoku 1235, one folio) by Vajralala, translator unknown; (Tohoku 1271, two folios) by Tārāśrī, translated by Sumatikīrti and Mar-pa Chos dbaṅ; (Tohoku 1276, two folios) translated by Sumatiśrībhadrā and Śākya ḍod-zer; 7) \textit{Hevajra-nāma-mahā-tantra-rāja-dvi-kalpa-māyā-paṇḍiṣṭika-smṛti-nipāda} (Tohoku 1187, 48 folios) by Kṛṣṇa-pāda (Nag-po-ba), translated by Dpal-dlam zla-ba and Ḥgos Ihas-btsas; 8) \textit{Hevajra-nāma-sādhana} (Tohoku 1243, 13 folios) by Avadhūti-pa Gñis med rdo-rje, translator unknown; 9) \textit{Hevajra-piṇḍārtha-ṭīkā} (Tohoku 1180, 125 folios) by Vajra-garbha (Rdo-rje snin-po), translated by Dānakīrti, Seṅ-dkar Śākya ḍod Maitri, and Ḥgos ḍbro dge-slon; 10) \textit{Hevajra-bali-vidhi} (Tohoku 1288, one folio) translator unknown; 11 and 12) \textit{Hevajra-maṇḍala-karma-krama-vidhi} (Tohoku 1219, 12 folios) by Padmaśri, translated by Śākya brtson-ḥgrus; (Tohoku 1263, 13 folios) by Mtsho-skyes rdo-rje, translated by Gya-yadha-ra and Ṣākya ye-šes; 13) \textit{Hevajra-maṇḍala-vidhi} (Tohoku 1221, two folios) by Mtsho-skyes rdo-rje, translator
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 Dīpankaraśrījñāna and Dge-bahi glo-gros, revised by Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba; 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; 3) the *Ekavīra-sādhana* (Tohoku 1464, one folio) by Ḍombi Heruka, translated by Atiśa (Dīpankara) in the second
half of the eleventh century and Tshul-khrims rgyal-pa; 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; 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) in the eleventh century; and 6) the *Ekavīra-ākhyā-ṛśi-caṇḍa-mahāroṣaṇa-tantra-rāja* (Tohoku 431, 39 folios), translated by the Kaśmīri Ratnaśrī-(bhadra) and the early fourteenth-century Tibetan Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan.

There are also several sādhana to the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa*: 7) (Tohoku 3062, two folios) by Prabhākarakirti, translated by Sbyin-pa tshul-khrims; 8) (Tohoku 3063, one folio) by Jetari (or Jetari Vijaya, Dgra-las rnam-par-rgyal-ba), who was at the northern gate of Nālanda when Naropa arrived there in the late tenth century, translated by Puṇyaśrī and Glog-skya gshon-nu ḥbar; 9) (Tohoku 3262, one folio) translated by Da, Abhayākaragupta, and Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan; 10) (Tohoku 3263, one folio) translated by Abhayākaragupta and Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan; 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; 15) a *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa-sādhana sakalpa* (Tohoku 3478) by bod-zer ḥbyuṅ-gnas grags-pa; and 16) the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa-abhisamaya* (Tohoku 1782, five folios).

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. George gives us the colophons of the twenty-five chapters: 1) introduction 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*), 10) praise of women (*strīpraśaṃsa*), 11) the universal form (*viśvarūpa*), 12) prescriptions of all mantras (*sarva-mantra-kalpa*), 13) conduct (*caryā*), 14) the meaning of *acala* (*acalānvaya*), 15) purification (*viśuddhi*), 16) dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*), 17) increasing the semen, etc. (*śukrādivṛddhi*), 18) cures for diseases and aging (*vyādhivṛddhatvahāni*), 19) the arrest of the semen, etc. (*śukrastambhādi*), 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. As George points out, Śāstri gives excerpts from several chapters not included in George’s dissertation. 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.

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; 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, she is recognizable as the perfection of [good] disposition, she is to be known [as such] also from forbearance [even when] scratched by fingernails. 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, she becomes the perfection of the six; 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 enlightenment 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.\textsuperscript{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 (sāṃhitās), black is aggregate (samskāra), 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.\textsuperscript{231}

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

Now the Lady (Bhagavati) spoke: “Is it possible, or not possible, Oh lord, to achieve the place of Candamahāroṣana 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 Māyādevi, leaving behind the eighty-four thousand, and also the harem, going to the banks of the Nirānjanā, 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 Māyādevi. 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 śūnka, etc., 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.”

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 paryānka-[āsana] of sentient beings, 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, 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 vajī yogī—then the yogī certainly attains siddhi. Or [the yogī] should bring into being the white [goddess] produced from the dhi-kāra sound, the yellow mistress of the lightning realm, embraced by the. . . , [or one should visualize] the goddess produced by the knowledge of the hrīṃ-kāra, 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 traṃ-kāra, embraced by Amogha[siddhi], with the prior form, Oh
woman. Firmly established with a handsome form, abiding in the paryanka 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 yogi 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.”

“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-paryaṅka positions. In the eastern door one should place the passion-vajrā, similar to what causes an enemy (?); 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 pratyālīḍha pose, . . . One should place four bells in the corner[s], yellow colored. By just this meditation, accompanied by the eight yoqinis, [one becomes] the husband of living women, the supreme master of the three worlds. “Now I will describe to you the meditation on Caṇḍaroṇa. One should imagine the deity Caṇḍaroṇa 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. And these, holding knives and skulls, are standing in the ālīḍha position. To the west of the venerable one stands the goddess Parṇaśāvalī 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 Caṇḍarōṣa, 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.”

Śāstri refers us to a one thousand-śloka commentary on this tantra the Caṇḍa-mahāroṣaṇa-tantra-paṇjikā, or Padmavatī, dating from Nepali Saṃvat 417 (1297 C.E.), in his Durbar Library catalogue. 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. Śāstri provides extracts from the opening and closing sections:

_Śruti._ Homage to Caṇḍamahāroṣana. 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 . . . [?].

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 _sāngītī_. It is indispensable that it be said, according to the Bhagavān’s statement. And so, having said “evam mayā śrutaṃ” you may ask for my statement. It is to be sung, etc., when existing in this way. _Verses:_ “In witness to the faithful the teacher fulfilled 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 linga; 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 (vajramaṇi).” 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 samgīti, 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 yogini is the [sexual] joining together with the yogini. 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 samgīti. 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 dharms” etc; these dharms 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 (tathāgatah). “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 Padmavati 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-colophon gives the date:

This was written for the vajra feet of the great bliss of the great pandits. This writing was completed on Tuesday, on the tenth day of the dark half of Phalguna (February–March), (Nepali) Saṃvat 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 Ṛkṣita-vajraṃaṇḍana

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-sūtra-laghu-sambhara (Tohoku 368, 33 folios) translated by Padmākara and Rin-chen bzang-po, revised by Prajñākirti, Mar pa Chos-kyi grags-pa; and the Hevajra-vibhuja-sādhana (Tohoku 1271, two folios) by Tārāśrī, translated by Sumatikirti and Mar-pa Chos dgen-po.251

There are a total of thirteen texts that appear to be associated with this tradition included in the Tibetan canon: 1) Ṛkṣita-guhya-jvalatantra-rāja (Tohoku 408, two folios), translated by Gayadhara and Śākya ye-śes; 2) Ṛkṣita-tanu-gīti (Tohoku 2451, two folios), no author or translator listed; 3) Ṛkṣita-vajra-guhya-gīti (Tohoku 2446, three folios), authored by Ṛkṣita (Mkhaṅ-ḥgro-ma), possibly the same as Jñāna-ḍākinī (Ye-śes Mkaḥ-hgro-ma), Naropa’s Prajñā Karmakāri (better known as Niguma)252 translated by Ston-pa sen-ge rgyal po;
Hartzell: The Buddhist Sanskrit Tantras

4) Ōkini-vajra-jała-tantra-rāja-tattva-pauṣṭika-paṇḍjīkā (Tohoku 1196, 40 folios), with Mahāmati (Mahādeva-kulamati, Lhaḥi rigs-kyi blo-gros chen po) listed as the authors, and Gayadhara and Ḥgos Lhas btsas the translators. Naudou suggests that Mahāmati 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) Ōkini-vajra-paṇjara-paṇca-dāka-sādhana (Tohoku 1321, five folios), with Muni-candra or Śākya-candra (Mi-thub zla-ba) as author, and Lilavajra (author of the Kālacakra-kṣaṇa-sajaha-sādhana, and Se-rtsa Bsdod-nams rgyal-mtshan as translators; Naudou does not have dating information on these individuals; 6) Ōkini-vajra-paṇjara-mahā-tantra-rāja-kalpa-nāma (Tohoku 419, 35 folios), translated by Gayadhara and Śākya ye-śes; 7) Ōkini-varja-paṇjara-mahā-tantra-rāja-kalpa-nāma-mukha-bandha254 with Kṛṣṇa-pāda (Nag-po) as the author and Gayadhara and Śākya ye-śes as translators; whether Kāla refers to Kālacakra-pada is not clear, though this identification does not seem unreasonable, and would date this commentary to the eleventh century; 8) Ōkini-vajra-paṇjara-mahā-tantra-rāja-prathama-paṭala-mukha-bandha-nāma-pañjikā. (Tohoku 1194, six folios), written by the mysterious Indrabhuti, who also wrote a Hevajra work entitled Smṛti-saṃdarśanāloka,255 translators Nyi-ma shas-pa, and Śākya brston-ḥgrus; 9) Ōkini-vajra-paṇjara-saṃharaṇa-maṇḍala-anusaraṇa-sādhana (Tohoku 1322, seven folios), written by Devavrata (? Lhahi brtul-shugs), translated by Mar pa Chos-kyi blo-gros; 10) Ōkini-saṃvara-tantra-rāja (Tohoku 406, two folios), translated by Gayadhara and Śākya ye-śes; 11) Ōkini-saṃvara-tantra-rāja (Tohoku 378, 11 folios), translated by Gayadhara and Śākya ye-śes; 12) Ōkini-agni-jihvā-jvāla (Tohoku 842, 30 folios), translator unknown; and 13) Ōkini-upadeśa-śrotā-parampara-piṭāchedanāvāvāda (Tohoku 2286, five folios), written by Nirmāṇa-yogi (? Sprul-pahi rnal-ḥbyor-pa), translator unknown.256

The Ōkārṇava 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 Ōkini-guhya-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 Ōkārṇava-mahā-yogini-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 Ōkārṇava.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 nāyakī who arises from Vajra-vārāhī and the true nature of the meditations with the yantra, cakra, and mandala; 3) the rules for the clarification of the principles of action and the inviting characteristics arising from pakin; 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 KHāṇḍarohā. (khāṇḍa-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 Saṃvara, Six Cakravartin, and Vajravarāhī maṇḍalas. She appears in several sādhana s given by Abhayākaragupta); 6) the intrinsic nature of the characteristics of Rūpiṇi, 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; 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 Yamadūti; 13) the fraud of death, etc., in the application and descent of Yamadaṃśtri; 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 Yamamathani; 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 Prabhāvatī; 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 Kharvari; 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 Laṅkeśvarī; 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 Airāvatī; 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 subjuga- tion 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 samādhi 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.

The fifth chapter of the Ḍākārnava 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 bijamantras. This is the first instance I have seen where the bijamantras 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 Kālacrātātantra and Vimalaprabhā. We also find in the fifth chapter of the Ḍākārnavatantra 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:

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. In the heart cakra, similarly, are the eight dūtikās going everywhere. 1) Prayāga, 2) Devakoṭā, and 3) Ujjāyinī, 4) Mahālakṣī, 5) Jvalamukhī, 6) Siddasimbhalī, 7) Māhīla, 8) Kaumāri Paurikī. In this way all the illusion-making good local goddesses 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, 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 carrying 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) Bhihbacchi, 4) Nandi, 5) Titā, 6) Vināyikā, 7) Camuṇḍī, 8) Ghorarūpā, 9) Umādevī, 10) Sarasvati, 11) Bhadrakālī, 12) Mahākālī, 13) Sthūlakālī, 14) Parājītā, 15) Jayā, 16) Vijayā, 17) Ajītā, 18) Jayantī, and 19) Ghoradaṃśtri, 20) Indrī, 21) Cauṣṭā, 22) Cauṭspāthi, 23) Grāmavāsinī, 24) Raudrākī, 25) Kāmbojī, 26) Dāmbī, 27) Cauṭdālī, 28) Mātaṅgī, 29) Brāhmaṇī, 30) Śrīdibhī, and 31) Māhārddhikī, 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.

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-dāmara 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 skoṅ 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) -sādhanā (Tohoku 3303, three folios)
translated by Da, Abhayākaragupta, and Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan; and 6) -Śādhanavidhi (Tohoku 3642, two folios) written by hJig-rtsen-gsün-gyi rdo-rje.  

Ms. 4801, no. 68 of the Calcutta catalogue, is the 1215 C.E. Caturābharaṇa 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-skya Bka'-bum to Devapāla’s reign (809–849). This would place the Buddhist Bhūtaḍāmaratext lineage in at least the ninth century, since the Caturābharaṇa appears to be a text from the tradition of the Bhūtaḍāmaratantra. It opens with the salutation “Namaḥ Śrī-bhūta-ḍāmarāya.” Bhūtaṃ means simply a being; ḍāmara means terrible, terrifying, dreadful, etc.; hence, the “Terrifying Being Tantra.” Caturābharaṇa is “four ornaments.” Bhattacharyya mentions the Bhūtaḍāmara as a text later than the Guhyasamāja, and Abhayākaragupta gives several sādhana to the deity. I translate here the first few lines of a four-page extract given by Śāstrī (unfortunately, the Sanskrit appears to be a sort of dialect or Prākrit, or is simply corrupt in many places, so it is difficult to unravel):

Homage to Śrībhūtaḍāmaratana. Honoring the guru, the great yoga, the son in the heart of the yogini, I and the yoga of sleeping having been explained through 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 ||.  

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

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 bzaṅ-po, revised by Jñānaśrī, Khyuṃ-po Chos-kyi brston-hgrus, and then again by Ānanda and Lo chuṅ;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 skyons bzaṅ-po.288 There’s also a Mūlatantra-samgraha-hṛdaya-abhidhānottara-tantra-mūla-vṛtti by Śūraṃganavajra, translated into Tibetan in the early twelfth century by Jñānaśrī and 'Phags-pa șes-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., Manjuśrī’s vajra), the anointing the three cakras291 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 dākinīs, of the hero-yoginīs, and the dākinīs; 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 dākinīs; 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 dāka lightning; 27) the great secret, effecting the vowel dākas; 28) the instruction on the reason for the siddhi from the dākas 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 36) characteristics of the yoginis; 37) characteristics of the ḍākinīs; 38) characteristics of lamā; 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 yogini 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]; 48) the meditation on what arises from the subsidiary heart sādhana; 49) the meditation 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; 55) meditation on the heart of the goddess, the mantra-armor of the heart; 56) 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; 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 postcolophon at the end of the text, the saṃvara is also referred to as the ḍāka-ḍākinī-jāla-saṃvara.

6.4. The Vajraḍākatra

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-nāma-paṇḍjakā (Tohoku 1417) written by Nor-bzamt, translated by Śrīgayadhara and Jo Zla-bahi ḍod-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 ḳhos Lhas-btsas; 5) -Niṣkāya-dharma (Tohoku 1527) written by Telo-pa (Tilopa), translator unknown; and 6) -Stotra-daṇḍaka (Tohoku 1442) written by Chos-khyi grags pa, translated by Manikaśrījñāna and Dpal-gyi mtha’-can.

Another four texts begin Vajra-dākini:- 1) Vajra-dākini-nispanna-krama (Tohoku 2379) written by Bhina-pa, translator unknown; 2 and 3) Vajra-dākini-giti (Tohoku 2441) translated by Sha-ma lo-tsā-ba, and (Tohoku 2442) written by Dbyiṅs-kyi gtso-mo, translated by Sha-ma lo-tsa-ba; and 4) Vajra-dākini-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-nāgākarṣaṇa); 18) definition of melāpaka (Melāpaka-nirṇaya); 34) the barbarian consecration (Mleccha-vajrābhiṣeka); 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 (Vyāḍa-sādhana-adhyāmatā-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 Sampuṭikā Mahātantrarājaḥ

Another eleventh-century Buddhist tantra is the Sampuṭikā Mahā-tantrarājaḥ, ms. 3828, no. 62 in Śastri’s Calcutta catalogue. Apparently the same text, the Sampuṭatantra, was cited by Abhayākaragupta. There is only one text of this tradition in the Tibetan canon, the Sampuṭa-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 Śastri gives the name as Sampuṭikā or Sampuṭodbhava-kalpa-rājaḥ. Sampuṭa properly is a cavity or covered box or bowl. Amarakośa 2.6.139a gives as a synonym samudgaka302—a box or casket, such as for keeping jewels. Vaman Shivram Apte quotes Bhṛtrhari 2.67, Mālatīmādhava 1.54, Kāvyādarśa 2.288, and Rūtusamhāra 1.21 for the poetic usage of sampuṭa as the fertile cavity of the ocean oyster that produces the pearl.303 The definition given in the opening lines of our Sampuṭodbhavakalparāja is that “The Sampuṭa has the nature of wisdom and means—what arises
from that is the sampuṭa-samādhi.” The fourth-chapter colophon of the tantra is Samputodbhava-vajra-dākinī-saṃketa-kalpa-rajás. Saṃketa in erotic contexts means an assignation or appointment made with a lover, or a lovers’ meeting/trysting place. So it would appear that the name Samputodbhavakalparājaḥ 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-rājaḥ) 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 Sampuṭikā 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 sampuṭa 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 bodhisatva, 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 sampuṭa? 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]-samājā, 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, Hiranyakagabha, the listeners, or isolated
buddhas. The Sampuṭa has the nature of wisdom and means—what arises from that is the Dampuṭa-samādhi. Udbhava is arising, characterized as having the intrinsic nature of stationary or mobile beings produced in that way; the characteristic is like this.\textsuperscript{307}

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, Chosma;\textsuperscript{309} 4b) the consort with the mark of the Kaṭapuṭānī;\textsuperscript{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”).\textsuperscript{311}

6.6. The Kṛṣṇyamāritantra

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 Bṣod-nams rgyal-mtshan.\textsuperscript{314} Many other texts from the Kṛṣṇa-yamāri-tantra tradition are also in the Tibetan canon: 1) Kṛṣṇa-yamāri; 2) -tantra-paṇḍikā. (Tohoku 1922, 25
folios) by Padapāni, translated by Parameśvara and Roṅ-zom chos-kyi bzaṅ-po;\textsuperscript{315} 3) -tamra-rāja-trikalpa (Tohoku 469, three folios), translator unknown;\textsuperscript{316} 4) -tantra-rāja-preksaṇa-patha-pradīpa-nāma-tīkā. (Tohoku 1920, 85 folios) by Kṛṣṇa-chen po, translated by Prajñāśrīrijñānakirti; 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9) -nāma-sādhana (Tohoku 1929, three folios) by Nying-mo byed-pahi gragas pa, translated by Ḥygo Lhas-btsas, (Tohoku 1960, six folios)\textsuperscript{317} by Kun-tu bzaṅ-po, translated by Don-yod rdo-rje, (Tohoku 1946, one folio) by Nag-po, translated by Prajñāśrīmitra,\textsuperscript{318} (Tohoku 1924, 15 folios) by Dpal-ḥdsin, translated by Dānakīrti and Tshul-khrims rgyal-pa,\textsuperscript{319} (Tohoku 1968, two folios) by Kirti, translator unknown;\textsuperscript{320} 10) -maṇḍala-stuti (Tohoku 1968, two folios) by Kirti, translator unknown;\textsuperscript{321} 11) -mahā-tantra-rāja-paṇḍikā-ratna-pradīpa (Tohoku 1919, 48 folios) by Ratnākaraśānti-pa, translated by Vinayacandra and Chos-kyi śes-rab;\textsuperscript{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 Prajñāśrīrijñānakirti;\textsuperscript{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-Ṭaṇḍala-vidhi; 30) -sādhana sa-cakrāraṭha-vistara-vyākhyā (Tohoku 1931); and 31) -abhisamaya-krama.

The alternative name of the text is the Kṛṣṇa-yamāri-[rakṣā]-tantra.\textsuperscript{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 Śāstrī’s Asiatic Society of Bengal catalogue. The first chapter on consecration (abhiṣeka-patāla) 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 Piṣūna-vajra-yamāri (Slander) and Irśyā-vajra-yamāri (Envy), Dveṣa-vajra-yamāri (Hostility) and Mudgara-yamāri (Hammer) and Daṇḍa-yamāri (Stick) and Paḍma-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
The text gives more mantras of the various vajra entities, 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-yamārī is hymns to the deities (mahāmaṇḍalapaṭala); 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 rājikā328 and salt, with black salt and with nimbaka, the three spices,329 and the arśāna (?) 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 canḍa,330 or with the juice of the citraka331 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 huṃ 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-yamārī 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 kr, to Iśāna ta, to Agni a, to Nairṛtya na, to Vāyu na, to Caṇḍra hum, to Arka (the Sun) hum, to Brahman phat, to Vasudhāra phat, 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 hūhā.335
Chapter 7 is on the means for attracting the śaktis of the different yamāris.\textsuperscript{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 with three faces, six arms, like a blossomed lotus.\textsuperscript{338}

Chapters 8 and 9 are on the rules for the homa and on the female terrifier (Bhimā) of the yamāris.\textsuperscript{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 Yamārī 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 arisal 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 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 all the Buddhas, of the protectors, for
the specifications of proper practices, and for the perfections of the earth.”

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.

Chapter 15 is the practice of the Vajra-anaṅga, i.e., the thunderbolt-Kāma or the lightning-bolt god of love. 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). 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 sitkāra mantra. Meditating on she who is longed for, who is agitated, who is piercing (?), eager for ardent passion, who has fallen at one’s feet, enveloped in a red garment. And one should recite the mantra for her, “oṃkāra, not separated from heaven.” Then having given the svāhā at the end, one should utter the sitkāra 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.

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 guhyakas, 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].

6.7. The Catuspīṭha[nibandha]tantra

A famous Buddhist tantra is the Catuspīṭhatantra, 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 Catuspīṭhanibandhaḥ. The colophon providing the date reads:

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

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, 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 Śrīcatuṭḥ-pīṭha-mahā-yoginī-tantra-rāja (Tohoku 428, 50 folios) translated by Gayadhara and Ḥgos Khug-pa Lhas-btsas; Śrīcatuṭḥ-pīṭha-ākhyā-tantra-rāja-mantrāṃśā-nāma (Tohoku 429, 29 folios) translated by Gayadhara and Śākya ye-šes; and the Śrī-catuṭḥ-pīṭha-vikhyāta-tantra-rāja-nāma (Tohoku 430, 44 folios) translated by Smṛtijñānakīrti and revised by Bu-ston. There are four Śrī-catuṭḥ-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; 2) -smṛti-nibhanda-nāma-ṭīkā (Tohoku 1607, 127 folios) by Bhavabhadra, translated by Gayadhara and Ḥgos; 3) -yoga-tantra-sādhana (Tohoku 1610, nine folios) attributed to Āryadeva, translated by Kamalagupta and Rin-chen bzaṅ-po; and 4) -sādhana (Tohoku 1616, five folios) written by Bhavabhadra, translated by Gayadhara and Ḥgos Lhas-btsas. As Śāstrī notes, the Catuspīṭhatantra 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.” 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 Aksobhya, 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.”

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 (ḍṛṣṭi-pattra-rūpakā-laktakāṅgam?), reciting eight-times individually [the mantra] beginning with Om and ending with svāhā, hum, hrum, sum, kṣum, yum, hum, strām, 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 (ātmānam 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, Ghori in the north,360 Vetāli in the west,361 and Caṇḍāli in the south.362 In the northeast [she is] Siṃhinī363 in the southeast Vṛāghrī.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 phat.” 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, “Om 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-bhādra (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 Catuspîṭhatantra. 367

Manuscript III.360.A in Śāstrī’s Durbar Library catalogue is another commentary on the Catuspîṭhatantra entitled Catuspîṭhśloka, 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 Mañjûghoṣa, 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” 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 citta padam (?) 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 vitasti—such is the ālīḍha.
For the pratyālīḍha 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 sampuṭa, 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 samsāra. “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 Kakṣapuṭa, i.e. this is the Kakṣapuṭa 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 Kakṣapuṭa.

A manuscript of the Catuspīṭhatantra is listed in Bendall’s Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge. 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 guhyapīṭha. In the Asiatic Society of Bengal catalogue Śāstrī cites a twelfth-century manuscript of what appears to be a ritual
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 sīḍḍhi, the entire pair with Viṣṇu (?). With an unwearied mind engaged in purified external and internal practice, intent upon all the dharmas-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 dharmas. . . .”

*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 Trailokyavijayatrantra

There are ten works of the Trailoky system in the Tohoku catalogue, three Trailokyava-Śaṃkara-lokeśvara-sādhana: 1) (Tohoku 3169, one folio), translated by in the early twelfth century 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 Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan in the mid-fourteenth century; and 3) (Tohoku 3428, one folio) translated by the fourteenth-century Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan; a Trailokyava-Śaṃkara-ārya-bhugma-sādhana (Tohoku 3436, two folios) by Śunyatā-samādhī-vajrapāda (possibly from the ninth century), translated in the fourteenth century by Gragas-pa rgyal-mtshan, and five Trailokyavijaya texts, 1) –Nāma-vṛtti (Tohoku 2509, 69 folios) by śa, probably the same as Mudi-taśrī, who dates to the early twelfth century, 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 bzaṅ-po (958–1055). Ānandagarbha was responsible for the Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha-sūtra commentary called the Tattva-saṃgraha-abhisamaya-nāma-tantra-vyākhyā Tattvālokakārī nāma, a commentary on the Māyājāla-mahātantrarāja, and edited a version of a long commentary (Pañjikā) on the Guhyasamājatrantra; he also wrote two commentaries on the Paramāditrantra, the Vajra-dhātu-mahā-maṇḍalā-upayikā called Sarva-vajra-udaya, the Vajra-sattva-sādhana-upayikā, and the Vajra-sattva-udaya-nāma-sādhana-upayikā, and a commentary on the Sarvadurgatipariśodhana entitled the Sarvadurgatipariśodhana-tejorājasya tathāgatasya ārhatasya sanyak-saṃbuddhasya nāma kalpa-ṭīkā. Unfortunately Naudou has no specific information on his dates; we know however that Rin chen bzaṅ-po lived from the mid-tenth to mid-eleventh centuries, 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 bzaṅ-po or Rma dge blo, revised by Sha-lu-pa Yešes rgya-mtsho; and 4 and 5) two -sādhana (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;\textsuperscript{383} and 6) Trailokya-saṃkara-avatokiteśvara-sādhana (Tohoku 3371, one folio) by Saraha, translated by Don-yod rdo-rje and Ba-ri.\textsuperscript{384}

7.2. The Maṇju-vajra-manḍalaṭippanī

There are four Maṇju-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 Śridatta (Dpal sbyin), translated by Vibhūticandra (of the thirteenth century),\textsuperscript{385} revised by Blo-gros seṅ-ge; 2) -Sādhana (3476) translated by Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (late thirteenth, early fourteenth century—a near contemporary of Bu-ston);\textsuperscript{386} 3) Siddha-eka-vīra-sādhana (Tohoku 3322, one folio) translated by Ba-ri Dharmakīrti (Ba-ri Chos-kyi grags pa); and 4) -Udaya-manḍala-vidhi-sattva-hitāvaha (Tohoku 2590, 49 folios), translator unknown.\textsuperscript{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 ḍod-zer, the Tibetan translator who worked with Bhadrabodhi (Naropa’s student) to accomplish the first Tibetan translation of the Kālacakratantra in 1027 C.E.;\textsuperscript{388} 2) Vajrāmṛta-tantra-ṭīkā (Tohoku 1650, 38 folios) by the Kaśmīri Guṇākārāśrībhadra (c. 1075–1125 C.E.)\textsuperscript{389} (Guṇabhadra, Yon-tan bzañ-po), translated by Smṛtijñāna; 3) Vajrāmṛta-paṇḍjakā (Tohoku 1649, 15 folios)\textsuperscript{390} written by the thirteenth-century\textsuperscript{391} Kaśmīri Vimalāśrībhadra (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 Chiṅs Yon-tan ḍbar, revised by Śīla-guhya-vajra and Glog skya šes-rab brtsegs.\textsuperscript{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 Abhayākara gupta and Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan; and 2) the Āmnāyatana (Tohoku 3200, one folio) translated by Abhayākara gupta.
7.5. The Buddhakapāla-sambara-hevajra

There are six Buddhakapāla texts in the Tohoku Catalogue: 1) Buddhakapāla-tantra-tattva-cadrikā-pañjikā (Tohoku 1653, 16 folios) by Padmavajra (perhaps the same as Padmākara and Padmāsabhava, 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-pañjikā-jñānavatī (Tohoku 1652, 46 folios) by Saraha (perhaps a contemporary of Padmasambhava, perhaps even a bit earlier), translated by Gayadhara and Jo Zla-baḥi ḍod-zer; 3) -Nāma-yoginī-tantra-rāja (Tohoku 424, 24 folios) translated by Śrīgayadhara and Jo Zla-baḥi ḍod-zer; 4) –Maṇḍala-vidhi-krama-pradyotana (Tohoku 1657, 13 folios) by Saraha, translated by Gayadhara and Jo Zla-baḥi ḍod-zer; 5) -Mahā-tantra-rāja-ṭīkā-ubhaya-paddhati (Tohoku 1654, 59 folios) by Abhayākaragupta, translated by Din-ri Chos-grags (?), revised by Blo-gros brtan-pa; and 6), the Buddhakapāla-sādhana (Tohoku 1655, four folios) by Saraha, translated by Gayadhara and Jo Zla-baḥi ḍod-zer.

7.6. The Yoginī-sañcara-tantra

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

7.7. The Padmasupratiṣṭhitatantra

There is no text called the Padmasupratiṣṭhitatantra in the Tohoku Catalogue. There are five called the Padmanarteśvarasādhana (Tohoku 3160, 3161, 3335, 3423, 3424) and one called the Padmājolodhavasādhana, as well as a Padmanarteśvarī-guhyārtha-dharavyūha (Tohoku 1667), and a Padmanukūtatatma (Tohoku 701, seven folios) translated by Dharma-śrīmitra and Chos-kyi bzaṅ-po.

7.8. The Vajraśekharatantra

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.
7.9. The Subāhu-pariprcchā
There are five Subāhuparipṛcchā- texts in the Tohoku Catalogue: 1 and 2), Subāhuparipṛcchā (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 Subāhuparipṛccha-nāma-tantra-piṇḍa-artha (Tohoku 2671, 16 folios) written by Saṅs-ryas gsaṅ-ba, translator unknown; 4) the Subāhuparipṛccha-nāma-tantra-piṇḍa-artha-vṛtti (Tohoku 2673, 16 folios) translator unknown; and 5) the Subāhuparipṛcchā-sūtra-udbhava-praṇidhāna (Tohoku 4381, one folio), translator unknown.997

7.10. The Ānanadagarbha
There is one text of this tradition in the Tibetan canon, the Ārya-Ānanda-garbha-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.
In examining the Vaipulya sutra classifications of the Āryamañjuśrīmūlakaṃ Mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtra, and the Tathāgataguhyaka-vaipulya-sūtra, along with Chandra’s notice of the Vaipulya sutra classifications of early tantras in the Chinese canon, we have good indications that the tantric tenets, practices, and texts absorbed into the Buddhist canon were apparently integrated into the Vaipulya-class literature before texts self-identified as tantras were officially made part of the canon. With canonical acceptance, and subsequent systematization, classification, and commentarial literature, we find that there was a substantial number of different tantras and commentaries circulating in India for several hundred years before Buddhism was driven out of India and the Buddhists took their material for refuge into Nepal and Tibet.

Fortunately, a considerable amount of very early Sanskrit material survives in the Nepali and Bengali libraries, where it must have been preserved by particularly wily librarians who managed to secure the heretical Buddhist tantric manuscripts among the larger corpus of venerable Sanskrit works. For future research projects, this essay has provided a substantial introduction to the surviving Sanskrit Buddhist tantric literature, which should prove valuable in the longer-term project of clarifying the history of the tantric traditions.

APPENDIX
CHAPTER COLOPHONS OF THE ĀRYAMAÑJUŚRĪMŪLAKALPA

The full title is the Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatāṃsakā Mahāyāna-vaipulya-sutrā Āryamañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpaḥ, “Bodhisattva Basket Ornament, the Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra, the Glorious Mañjuśrī’s Basic Manual.” The fifty-five chapter colophons essentially provide a table of contents for the text, giving a skeleton idea of the material to be found within.

Chapter 1: Mahāyāna-mantra-caryā-nirdeśya-mahākalpāt mañjuśrī-kumāra-bhūta-bodhisattva-vikurvaṇa-paṭala-visarāt mūla-kalpāt prathamaḥ sannipāta-parivartaḥ (pp. 1–25). From the great Manual teaching the usage of the Mahāyāna mantras, the revelation that is the chapter on the transformation of the bodhisattva who became the son of Mañjuśrī, that is the Basic Manual, the first chapter on Sannipāta (the Encounter).

Chapter 2: Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatāṃsakān mahā-kalpa-rajendrān mañjuśrī-kumāra-bhūta-vikurvanāt bodhisattva-paṭala-visarād dvitiyāḥ
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-paṭala-visara[ṇ]mañjuśrī-kumāra-bhūta-mūla-kalpā 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.


(A2) Chapter 5: Bodhiattva-piṭaka-avataṃsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sutrād ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpā pañcama-paṭala-visaraḥ | Dvitīyaḥ paṭa-vidhāna-visaraḥ samāptah // (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: Bodhiattva-piṭaka-avataṃsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sutrād mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpā sāṣṭhā paṭala-visaraḥ | Tṛṭīyāḥ kanyasa-paṭa-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: Bodhiattva-piṭakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sutrād ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūlakalpāt saptamaḥ paṭala-visarāt caturthaḥ paṭa-vidhāna-paṭala-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-avataṃsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sutrād āṣṭama uttama-sādhana-upayika-karma-paṭalā-visarāt prathamaḥ 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-avataṃsakād Mahāyāna-vaipulya-sutrād āryamañjuśrī-mūlakalpān navama-paṭalā-visarād, dvitiyāḥ, uttama-sādhana-upayika-karma-paṭalā-visarāḥ 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-avataṃsakād mahāyāna-vaipulya-sutrād āryamañjuśrīya-mūlakalpād daśamaḥ uttama-paṭa-vidhāna-paṭalā-visaraḥ 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-avataṃsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sutrād ārya-mañjuśrī-mūlakalpād ekādaśama-paṭala-visarāḥ caturīḥaḥ sādhana-upāyika-karma-sthāna-japa-ṇiyama-homa-dhyāna-saucācāra-sarva-karma-vidhi-sādhanā-paṭalā-visarāḥ 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-avataṃsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sutrād ārya-mañjuśrī-mūlakalpād madhyama-piṭa-vidhāna-visarād dvādāsamaḥ, akṣa-sūtra-vidhi-paṭala-visarāḥ 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-pitaka-avataṃsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād āryamañjuśrī-mūla-kalpāt trayodaśama-paṭa-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-pitaka-avataṃsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt āryamañjuśrī-mūlakalpāt caturdaśamaḥ cakra-vartti-paṭala-vidhāna-manḍala-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 manḍala, 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-pitaka-avataṃsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt trayodaśaḥ sarva-karma-kriyārthaḥ paṭala-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): Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūlakalpān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt caturdaśamati gātha-paṭala-nirdeśa-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti (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): Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-pitkāvataṃsakāt mahāyāna-vaipulyasūtrāt pancadaśamaḥ karma-svakalpa-śratyaya-paṭala-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.

graaha-nakṣatra-lakṣaṇa-kṣetra-jyotiya-jñāna-parivarta-paṭala-visarah\(h\) (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-avatamsakaṁ mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtraṁ ārya-maṅjuśriya-mūlakalpāt saptadaśamaṁ paṭala-visarāt triṭīya jyotiṣa-jñāna-paṭala-visarāḥ parisamāptā iti \(\text{pp. 181–194}\). 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-avatamsakaṁ mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtraṁ ārya-maṅjuśriya-mūlakalpāc caturtho nimitta-jñāna-mahotpāda-paṭala-parivartaḥ parisamāptā iti \(\text{pp. 195–217}\). 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-avatamsakaṁ mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtraṁ ārya-maṅjuśrī-mūlakalpaṁ ek[a]naviṁśati-paṭala-visarāt pañcamaṁ graha-utpāda-niyama-nimitta-mantra-kriyā-nideśa-parivarta-paṭala-visarāḥ parisamāptā iti \(\text{pp. 218–228}\). 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-sutrād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakād ārya-maṅjuśrī-mūlakalpād vimśatimaṁ sarva-bhūta-ruta-jñāna-nimitta-śakuna-nirdeśa-parivarta-paṭala-visarāḥ parisamāptam iti \(\text{pp. 229–252}\). 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-avatamsakād ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpād ekaviṃśatitamah sabda-jīnā-gaṇanānāma-nirdeśa-parivarta-pañjaraḥ parismāpta iti // (pp. 253–263). The long chapter that is the section on the instruction called calculations and the knowledge of sounds.


Chapter 27 (25): Ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād pañcaviṃśatitamah ekākṣara-muṇḍa-mantra ārya-mañjuśrī-ḥṛdaya-kalpa-pañjaraḥ parismāpta 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-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt ṣaḍviṃśatimah karma-vidhi-pañjaraḥ parismāpta iti || [Chapter divided into six sections with sub-colophons: a) pañca-vidhiḥ samāptam; b1) pañca-vidhānasya-artikarmmah; b2) dvitiyāḥ pañca-vidhānah samāptam; c) tṛtiyāṃ vidhiḥsam; d) caturthaṃ vidhiḥsam; e) pañcamah pañca-vidhiḥsam; f) saṣṭho vidhiḥsam (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; b) 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 31 (29): Ārya-maṇjuśriya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avataṃsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt ekona-triṃśatimah āviṣṭa-ceṣṭa-vidhi-parivarta-paṭa-visarah parisamāptam 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-maṇjuśriya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avataṃsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt triṃśatimah ṣaṇa-paṭala-visarah parisamāptah iti || (pp. 335–338). The long chapter on the time restrictions for the rules.


Chapter 34 (32): Ārya-maṇjuśriya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avataṃsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt dvātrimśatimah, muḍrā-codana-vidhi-maṇjuśrī-paripṛccha-nirdeśa-parivartaḥ paṭa-visarah parisamāptah || (pp. 350–354). The long chapter that is the section on the instruction about the request to Maṇjuśrī and the rules about the invitation to the consort (or the rules about the general muḍrā injunctions).
Chapter 35 (33): Ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avataṃsakād[n] mahāyāna-vaiṣhāya-sūṭrāḥ tṛayaḥ trūṃśatīmāḥ mudrā-vidhi-paṭala-visaṛaḥ parisamāptam iti || (pp. 355–381). The long chapter on the rules about the consort (or about the mudrā).

Chapter 36 (34): Ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avataṃsakā[ṇ] mahāyāna-vaiṣhāya-sūṭrā[ṛ] catuḥ-trīṃśatīmāḥ dviṭīya-mudrā-vidhi-paṭala-visaṛaḥ parisamāptam iti /// (pp. 382–383). (Then there’s another section to the chapter, with the editor’s remark: Etad-granthānte ‘nti-masya paṭala-visarasasya tripanāsaṇamasya samāptyanantaram mahāmudrā-paṭala-visaro nāma kaścid aparāś catuṃstrīṃśatīmāḥ paṭala-visaro likhita upalabhyaте / sa gatasya catuṃstrīṃśatīmāsyaiva prakārebheda bhavitum arhati ity atah kāraṇād ihaiva yojjate /.) Then after more of the chapter, the colophon, bodhisattva-piṭaka-avataṃsakāt ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūlākalpāt catuṃstrīṃśatīmāḥ mahāmudrā-paṭala-visaṛaḥ parisamāptam 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.


The first complete long chapter on meditation, among the principles of the practice for all activity and all objectives as the means to the ultimate practice.

Section D2: Chapter 40 (38): Iti bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād ārya-maṇjuśrīya-mūla-kalpād aṣṭatrimśatimaḥ mahā-kalpa-rāja-paṭala-visarād dvitiya-sarva-loka-tattva-artha-tāra-krīḍāvidhi-sādhana-upayika-sarva-karma-dhyāna-paṭala-nirdeśaḥ parivartah samāptah | (pp. 441–459). The second section of the chapter on the instruction about meditation on all activity as the means for playing with the stars for the purpose of all the principles of the universe.


Chapter 42 (40): Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sutrāt ārya-maṇjuśrīya-mūla-kalpāt catvariṃśatimaḥ mahākalpa-rāja-visarāt sarva-karma-sādhana-upayikah parisamāpta iti | (pp. 470–474). The method for the practice with all activity.


Chapter 45 (43): Ārya-maṇjuśrīya-mūla-kalpāt bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt Sarva-tathāgata-acintya-dharma-dhātu-mudrā-mudritā tricatvārisatimāḥ sva-caturtho mudrā-paṭala-visarāḥ // (pp. 491–511). The thirty-third that is itself the fourth chapter on the mudrā, sealed by the consort of the inconceivable dharma-realm of all the Tathāgatas.

Chapter 47 (45): Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avataṃsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād ārya-mañ-juśriya-mūla-kalpāt pañca-catvārimśatimah paṭala-visarāḥ prathamāḥ catuḥ-bhaginī- maṇḍalam anupraveśa-samaya-guhyatama-paṭala-visarāḥ pari-samāptāḥ iti | (pp. 514–527). The chapter of the maṇḍala of the four bhaginīs: the first complete long chapter for the one who will enter the most secret communion—the maṇḍala of the four actual tantric consorts.

Chapter 48 (46): Ārya-mañjuśriya-mūla-kalpāt bodhisattva-piṭaka-avataṃsakāt mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt śaṭcatvārimśatimah paṭala-visarād dvitiya-sādhana-upayika-maṇḍala-praveśa-anuvicāriḥ catuḥ-kumārya-paṭala-visarāḥ pari-samāptam iti | (pp. 528–541). The chapter about the four kumāris and the rules for entering their maṇḍala: the complete long chapter on the four young women, [and] the subrule about entering the maṇḍala as the method of practice.

Chapter 49 (47): Ārya-mañjuśriya-mūla-kalpāt bodhisattva-piṭaka-avataṃsakāt mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt saṭa-catvārimśatimah paṭala-visarāt tṛtiyaḥ catuḥ-kumārya-upayika-sarva-sādhana-japa-niyama-mudrā-ośadhi-tantra-mantra-sarva-karma-paṭala-visarāḥ parisamāptam iti || (pp. 542–543). The complete long 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.

Chapter 50 (48): Ārya-mañjuśriya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avataṃsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāḥ aṣṭa-catvārimśatimah Yamantaka-krodhrāja-parivara-paṭala-prameṣa-mahā-mudrā-niyama-paṭala-visarāḥ parisamāptam iti || (pp. 542–551). The long chapter on the restrictions about the divine power of the mantra that is the spectrum of the fierce king Yamāntaka.

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

Chapter 52 (50): *Ārya-mañjuśriya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṣaka-avatāṃsa*akān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt pañcāṣatimaḥ Yamāntaka-koṛ-
dharāja-sarva-vidhi-niyamaḥ trīyāḥ 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-piṣaka-avatāṃs*akān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt paṭala-visarat eka-paṅcāsā-rāja-
vāyākaraṇa-parivartaḥ parisamāpta iti | (pp. 579–656). The section on the prophecy of the kings.

Chapter 54 (50): *Ārya-mañjuśriya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṣaka-avatāṃsa*kāt mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt pañcāṣatimaḥ anuśaṃsā-vigarrha-
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-
paṅcāṣattamo) Hema-sādhana-paṭalaḥ visaraḥ parisaraḥ parisamāptaḥ ||
Parisamāptaś ca yathā-labdham Ārya-mañjuśriyasya kalpam iti || Svasti śrī-rāja-maṅgalakāvasthitena mārgaśīrṣaśuklā . . . padānakṣatraṃ simhasthe ā’pi gurau mañjuśrīkalpaṃ 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 Mārgaśīrṣa (November-December), when Jupiter is in Leo, in (either) the 25th *nakṣatra* (*Pūrvabhadrapada* 320; or the 26th *nakṣatra*, *Uttarabhadrapada* 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 colophonic 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’-šes dpal-’byor’s Dpag bsam ljon-bzang, written in 1748
(Jean Naudou, Buddhists of Kashmīr [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
srong-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 Kashmīr, pp. 15–16.


7. See Naudou, Buddhists of Kashmīr, pp. 10–11.

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

9. Samdhong Rinpoche and Dwivedi Vrajavallabha, Dākinījālasamvararahaśyam,
Rare Buddhist Text Series 8 (Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan

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

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 Kālacakra Tantra: 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.


27. Two hundred and two texts (Tsukamoto, et al., *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*, vol. IV, pp. 251–332).

28. Kālacakra-anuśāri-gaṇita, Bhagavatātaḥ Śrī-Kālacakrasya pūjāvidhī, the Śrīmal-lokeśvara-nirmāṇa-Puṇḍarīka-viracita-Vimalaprabhā-uddhyota-Śrī-Kālacakra-bhagavat-sāhana-vidhī, Kālacakaraṣya pūjāvidhi, the Kālacakra-dhāraṇī, the Kālacakra nāma guhya-hṛdaya nāma dhāraṇī, Kālacakra-nivardhana, Kālacakra-mantra-dhāraṇī, Kālacakra-vīvarddhana-dhāraṇī, Kālacakrasya mālātāntra, Raviśrījñāna’s Amṛta-kaṇikā-(karṇikā) nāma Śrī-Nāmasamjīti-tippanī, and Vībhūticandra’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, sādhanas from the Sādhanamālā, etc.


37. Śhāstri *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, vol. 1, p. 164.


39. The *Vajrāvalī nāma Maṇḍalopāyikā* was the subject of a Ph.D. dissertation by a fellow Columbia University graduate student, the late Lobsang Chogyen.
Hartzell: The Buddhist Sanskrit Tantras

(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.


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.


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


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, Guhyasamāja tantrapradīpodyotana-ṭīkā-ṣaṭkotīvyākhyā, 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 Candrakirti’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.


55. From Mahāmahopadhyāya T. Ganapatī Śāstri’s Preface to The Āryamañjuśrī-mūlakalpa, 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 Manjuśrī as is available.’ It can be inferred from this that the manuscript from which the present manuscript was copied is itself an incomplete one.”


57. Śāstri, The Āryamañjuśrī-rūmālakalpa, p. 2.

58. K. P. Jayaswal, An Imperial History of India in a Sanskrit Text, with the Sanskrit text revised by Ven. Rahul Sankritayana (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 (bhārāśīva), 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-Buddhist ideas of Tibet [Roma: La Libreria Dello State, 1949], vol. 1, p. 216).


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 bhagavantah sarvatathāgataḥ punaḥ samājām āganyā. . . ) (Bhattacharyya, Guhyasamāja Tantra, p. 17).

67. Bhattacharyya, Guhyasamāja Tantra.


70. Bhattacharyya, Guhyasamāja Tantra, p. xxxi.


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


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


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.

80. Taittirīyopanināṣad from the Taittirīyasamhitā of the Krṣṇayajurveda, Aitareya Upaniṣad from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, and Aitareyāraṇyaka on the Rgveda, Kauśitakī-brāhmaṇopanināṣad, 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.


93. Naudou, Buddhists of Kashmir, p. 87.


111. Dawa-Samdup, *Short Chakrasambhara Tantra*.
114. See Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmir*, p. 80, n. 3.
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.
138. This is an estimate, based on Naudou’s chart (*Buddhists of Kashmir*, p. 272) that places Darika as living during Harṣa’s reign.
154. See Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmir*, p. 80, n. 3.


169. Kṛtir iyaṃ simhalāvasya śrīlānakājanmabhū abhūt tasya Jayabahāphyah khyātah. Kṣāntiṃ kurvantu vīraḍākiṇyaḥ

170. Namo Śrīherukāya | sarvabhāvasvabhāvāgraṃ sarvvabhāvabhāvāhām | sarvabhāvanirābhāvābhāvābhāvābhāvāhām | taṃ praṇamya mahāvīram khasamārthaṃ khanirmmalam |


172. Śāstri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, p. iii.


175. Literally, “what are the channels in extent, and how is that body-mass?” (ke te nāḍī pramāṇasya śarīrapiṇḍaṃ tat katham). I have emended the text from śanirapiṇḍaṃ tat katham, since śanir, i.e., Saturn, would make little sense here, and piṇḍa 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. Om namaḥ śrīvajrasambarāya | Evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye
bhagavān sarvva-tathāgata-kāya-vāk-citta-vajrayoginībhageṣu vijahāra | Āryyā- 

nanda-prabhṛti-viṭarāga-pramukhair āryyāvalokiteśvarādir aśītikoṭiyoginī ca 

madhye vajrapāṇiṃ vyavalokya smitam akārṣīt | Vajrapāṇi

[\(r\)] utthāya āśanād ekāmsam uttarāsaṅgāṃ kṛtvā daksīnajānunmaṇḍalam prthivyāṃ pratiṣṭhāpyā 

kṛtkarapuṭo bhutvā bhagavantam adhyesayāmāsa | śrotum icchāmi ṝṣyaṃ bhagavān 

upattiyoīgolakṣaṇaṃ | Utpānnaṃ ca katham deva sarvākārākasambaram || katham 

vāyu āpāśca prthivyākāśaṃ eva ca | pañcākāraṃ katham deva ṣaḍvidhaṇ ca tataḥ 

prabho || katham trikiyam adhiṣṭhānāṃ bāhyāṃ vābhvantare sthitih | katham te 

devatārāpaṃ kathayasva devati prabho | candrasūryyaḥ katham deva patha pañcā 

katham bhavet | katham te śaṅcasvabhāvan tu nādāraṃ katham tataḥ || ke te nādi 

pramāṇasya śaṅcaṇipinda tat katham | samayasanketacamasya kathayasva mama 

prabho || ke te pīṭhasamążaṃ bāhyādyātmikam eva ca | katham bhūmyādi- 

lābhasya katham nimittadarśanam | katham te dvādaśa-karmaṇa mantrajāpaṃ 

katham bhavet | aksaṃālā katham yuktī ke te jāpasya laksanaṃ | ke te maṇḍalam 

āvartam devatākāra-yogataḥ | Siddhimantraṃ katham deva kaumārī-tarpanaṃ 

katham || ke divasena karttavyaṃ alivali katham prabho | pañcātṛatiṃ katham deva 

pañcāṅkuṣaṃ ca tad bhavet || kathayasva maṇḍalālekhyaṃ sūtrapātaṃ katham 

bhavet | katham te bhūmi śaṅcākāraṃ rāksācakramaṃ katham bhavet || ācārya kena 

karttavyaṃ katham śiṣyasya samgrahaṃ | ke te bhiṣekam pramāṇaṃ ca caturbhujaṃ 

katham bhavet || katham bāhyāṃ niyamāṃ mṛtyuvācaṇanam eva ca | ke te 

caturāyānāṃ caturvāpaṃ kathayaṃ bhavet | yuge yuge katham śiddhi caryācāri 

katham bhavet | ke te yogitantrasya yogatāntraṃ katham bhavet || katham 

śūraṭaṃ pramāṇaṃ ke te pāramāt tathā | pratiṣṭhāhayāgyasya siddhimantraṃ 

katham bhavet || rasāyanaṃ katham deva maṇḍapānaṃ katham bhavet | 

mantrayudayāṃ katham deva maṇḍroṣṭhāra katham bhavet || nigrahaṇaṃ katham de 

va anugrahaṇaṃ katham bhavet || tattvāṇaṃ katham bhavantāḥ sarvāṇaṃ katham || 

katham śaṅcākṛtavāpaṃ katham tathātākṛtavāpaṃ | devavāpaṃ katham nāma 

yojinīlakṣanam valiḥ || sarva-dharmma-paṇijnānaṃ bhāvaṇāṃ 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 

(samyaksaṃbuddhatva)” (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 


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, saññīṇā, etc.), and so on, all reenvisioned or reconceived in macro-microcosmic relations (Tsuda, The Samvarodaya Tantra, pp. 247–251).

182. Candrasūryakramopadeśapāṭala, “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).


184. Nāḍicakraṃapīṭhapāṭala, “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; devikōta, 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. Samayasanketavidhiṇipāṭalah. Again, we have the term sanketa, 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)” (svargṛheṣu guptaṁgaṇe vijaneṣu manorame | giri-gahvara-kuñjeṣu mahadādhiṭaṭe vā // || śmaśāne mātṛgṛhe ca nāḍīsaṃgamadhyataḥ | vartayed maṇḍalam samyag anuttaraphalam icchatī // 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 venerations are mentioned. The elaborate salutation to the goddesses is given; dancing, singing, mantras, postures, drumming and musical instruments are employed; then the viṇa, 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” (sukhasampattisampampana ārogyah śubhacetasāh / kāma-moksādi-
samprāptaḥ siddhir bhavati sampādāḥ // 37 //) (Tsuda, The Samvarodaya Tantra, pp.
269, 102). The compound kāma-moksādi-samprāptaḥ should be translated “he
who has attained passionate love, liberation, etc.” or “he who has attained
liberation, etc., through passionate love.”


187. Iti śrīsambharodayatanrasya adhyeṣaṇapaṭalaḥ prathamaḥ / iti utpattinir-
desa-paṭalaḥ dvitiyaḥ / iti utpannakaṁ nirdeśa-paṭalaḥ tṛtiyaḥ / iti catur-bhūta-
paṅcākāra-ṣaḍviṣaya-śaṅketa-bhūmi-nirdeśa-paṭalaḥ / iti kāma-moksādi-samprāptaḥ
syaḥ / iti catur-yuganirdeśa-paṭala ekādaśamaḥ ||

(Shāstri, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, pp. 63–66). The closing
section of the text reads: Aho saukhyaṃ aho saukhyaṃ aho bhuñja kathaṃ
kathaṃ Aho sahaja-māhātymaṃ sarva-dharmma-svabhāvatā // drṣṭye ca jagaj-
jalendutadvataḥ śṛṇvate ca pratidhvaniksaṃvṛttaḥ // paṣyate ca maṇḍra-saṅketa-bhūmi-
nirdeśa-paṭalaḥ / iti catur-yuganirdeśa-krama-bodhicitta-saṅkramana-paṭalaḥ ekā-
trimśataḥ ||

"śrī-herukāvidhāna-tantrasya pīṭha-svādhyāya-lekhanāt | siddhim rddhiḥ ca

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 Kashmir, p. 232, for mention of the collaboration of these two on the translation of the Madhyamaka-avatāra-kārikā.
216. George translates this as “trance.”
217. Śāstrī explains that this chapter “gives reasons why Caṇḍa Mahāroṣṇa 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.
223. Sarvo ‘haṃ sarvavyāpi ca sarvakṛt sarvanāśakah / sarva-rūpadhāro buddhah, haritā karttā prabhuh śukhi || yena yenaiva rūpena sattvā yānti vineyatāṅ | tena
tenaiva rûpêna sthito ‘haṃ lokahe tave || kvacit buddhaḥ kvacit siddhaḥ kvaccid-dharmo ‘tha saîkhakaḥ || kvacit pretaḥ kvacit tîryyak kvacîn nâraka-rûpaka ||

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-aśkara 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: tatparaṃ, kâyavâkcittaṃ samyrtam gadhasaukhyaṭaḥ.

226. Again, nakhaṣkatam 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 t; what the “six” refers to is not clear.

229. Sambodhi.


232. Šâstrī 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. Apte, *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, quotes Vasiṣṭha's definition of *vīrāsana* as being the same as *paryaṅka*: placing one foot firmly on the other thigh, likewise the thigh on the other 

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

236. Apta, *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, quotes Vasiṣṭha’s definition of virāsana as being the same as paryaṅka: placing one foot firmly on the other thigh, likewise the thigh on the other [foot], this is called the virāsana (ekam pādam athaikasmin vinyasorau tu samsthitaṃ | itarasamiṃs tathā evoraṃ vīrāsanam udāhṛtam || paryaṅka-granthi-bandha. . .).
237. Śatru-kṛtāḥ saṃsthitaḥ || khadga-pāśa-dharaḥ śrīmān āliṅgyabhinayaḥ kṛtī |
vātha kanyāṃ gṛhya prabhāvayet || anena sidhyate yogī, mudrāyā naiva saṃśayaḥ ||
athavā pratimāṃ kṛtvā sādhayet sutrādi-saṃskṛtām || saha-caṇḍa-saṃśaya-vaham ||
ekāgraṃānasahā || (Shāstrī, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, pp. 137–138).

238. Athāṭāḥ sampravakṣyāmi ekavīrantu mandalam || caturasram caturdvāram, catur-
varaṇa-manditam || pitavarnām tu karttavyam madhya-padmam catur-
dalam || tasya cāgnaṃ dalam śvetam naṛṛtye raktā-sannibham || vāyavye pitavarna
nu tatrācalan prakalpayet || sūrya-stham athavā śvetam pitam vā raktam eva vā
|| śyāmaṃ vā pañcabhūr buddhā ekaraṃ pariṃcintayet || r[ī]jocanām agniko ca
caṇḍāsoka-vidhāvīniṃ || vāyavyaśaṃkṛṣṭaṃ || vāyavye karttavyam ||
kanyāṃ gṛhya prabhāvayet || anena sidhyate yogī, mudrāyā naiva saṃśayaḥ ||
athavā pratimāṃ kṛtvā sādhayet sutrādi-saṃskṛtām || saha-caṇḍa-saṃśaya-vaham ||
ekāgraṃānasahā || (Shāstrī, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, pp. 137–138).

239. Koilāsurasaṃjñākam.

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
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 sampravakṣyāmi caṇḍaroṣaṇ[a]-bhāvanāḥ || viśva-padma-dale devaṃ
kalpayec caṇḍaroṣaṇam || vāmavedam bhaved agnau raktavarnan tu naṛṛtye ||
pīyamb[a][h] kāmadevam tu śyāmaṃ māhilla-rāmakaṃ || vāyavye kṛṣṇa-varṇam
nu koilāsurasaṃjñākam || k[ā][r]tti-karpa[r]a-kara caite saṃsthita-liḍhopādataḥ ||
havataḥ pāciṃe devi sthitā vai paraśavāli || asṛ[ā]sṛ[ā] śyāyayogeṇa daṅgha-
mats[y]ādiṣṭāyā || . . . pitayā praṇāyā yuktaṃ vāme ca śvet-padmavṛti || nilam
vai caṇḍaroṣaṇa tu raktayā raktayāthāvā || . . . tāvad vibhāvaved gāḍham yuvā
praspitaṭam vajra || gatantu prasphutṣa yogī mahāmāntreṇa sidhyati || (Shāstrī, A
Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, pp. 139–140).
Hartzell: The Buddhist Sanskrit Tantras


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

244. Aparṣad = aorist of √pr.

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


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).

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 *Saptatathāgatastotra*; the correct listing is Tohoku 1195, five folios.

255. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmir*, p. 188.


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 *gdag*, or wisdom (*Ḍākārṇavaḥ*, p. 6).


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 Saṃvara, Six Carkavartin, and Vajravārāhī maṇḍalas. (*Introduction à l’Iconographie du Tantrisme Bouddhique*, p. 218). She appears in several *sādhanas* 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 *Ḍākārṇavatantra*, kākāsyā is apparently a name of one of the breaths. See Abhayākaragupta’s description of the Saṃvara 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-sūkarnāsyāḥ ḍākinyādivat paramesānugatāḥ) (Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *Nispannayoqāvāviti of Mahāpaṇḍita Abhayākaragupta* [Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1972], p. 27).
164

Pacific World


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 pilava, upapilava, 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” (dhanuṣahpilava-puspa-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 dātikā, 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 sadavāhinī to sadāvāhinī—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 sakti or kundalinī moving through the body.

279. “Athavā sarvva-nāḍīṣu mantra-nyāsam iha akiṣaraṁ: Ma, ka, o, ka, sau, ma, vaṁ, dra, ka, mā, ma, va, kā, dā, ḍha, bha, rā, mā, ti, da, ne, sa, raṁ, ḍhi, vaṁ, khā, ha, su, sin, dā, ka, sin, hi, vu, ku, ja, pa, ja, va, o, lam | jā, a, kā, kau, kaṁ, ja, trī, ca. la, pu, ma, kā, bha, gr, 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, māṁ, a, snā, pū, am, sva, vi, mā, pi, śle | and so for the throat. Kr, ka, bhī, na, ti, 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).


290. I’ve omitted the *ityabhidhānottare paṭalaḥ prathamaḥ*, 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 Lakṣmi 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 Lakṣmi T.” There is a very short *sādhaṇa* to Pratyaṅgirā in Abhayākaragupta’s *Sādhanamālā*, 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 *huṃ*, Akṣobhya is in her diadem, she possesses all the decorations, and is endowed with the physical appearance of an adolescent. *Mahāpratyaṅgirā* krṣṇā, śaḍbhujakamukhā, khaḍgāṅkuśa-varada-daksinahastā, rakta-padma-triśūla-hṛdaya-stha-sapāśa-tarjani-yukta-vāma-hastā, humbijā, aksobhya-mukutā, sarvālaṅkāravatī, rūpa-yauvana-sampannā | iti mahāpratyaṅgirāsādhanam || (Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *Sādhanamālā* [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 *sādhanas* are devoted in Abhayākaragupta’s *Sādhanamālā* (Bhattacharyya, *Sādhanamālā*, vol. 2, pp. 569–579). Raniero Gnoli refers to Ucchuṣma as a mythical Śaivite master (*Luce Delle Sacre Scritture [Tantrālokaah] di Abhinavagupta* [Torino: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1980, second ed.], p. 936); Uccuṣmā is cited by Abhinavagupta...
at Tantraloka 28.391a as the first in a list of ten ancient Śaivite gurus: Ucčusma-Śavaracandu-Mataṅga-Ghora-Antaka-Ugra-Halahalakāh | Krodhi Huluhulur ete daśa guruvaḥ sivamayāḥ 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 Scrittura, 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 Français 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 maṇḍalas (De Mallmann, Introduction à l’Iconographie du Tantrisme Bouddhique, pp. 107–109); 3) a form of Śiva as Halāhalarudra (Gnoli, Luce Delle Sacre Scrittura, p. 109–110); 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 (Vidyātattvāpi paṃciḥ bhuvanāni maniṣināḥ | tatra hālāhalah, pūrvo, rudrah, krodhas, tathā aparāḥ || (Shastri Kaul and Pandit Madhusudhan, eds., Śrī Malinīvijayottara Tantram [Delhi: Butala & Company, 1984, reprint], p. 30; Gnoli, Luce Delle Sacre Scrittura, p. 804). The name Halāhala may very likely have been a local deity from the town of Hālā, listed by Abhinavagupta at Tantraloka 15.90b–91 as one of the eight upakṣetras, mapped internally to the eight lotus petals at the top of the heart cakra (upakṣetraṣṭakaṃ prāhur hṛtpadmāgradalāṣṭakam || Virajā, Erudikā, Hālā, Elāpāḥ, Kṣīrikā, [Rāja]Pūrī | Māyā [Pūrī], Marudeśāśca bāhyābhyantrarañapatāḥ || (Dwivedi and Rastogi, The Tantraloka of Abhinavagupta, p. 2483; Gnoli, Luce Delle Sacre Scrittura, p. 447). In the Arcāvidhi of the Mādhavakulatantra Hālā is visualized in the navel (Tantraloka 28.61a, Dwivedi & Rastogi, The Tantraloka of Abhinavagupta, p. 3332; Gnoli, Luce Delle Sacre Scrittura, 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 maṇḍalas (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.”


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


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


303. “[When the moon is] in Arcturus, [the water], going into the cavity of the ocean-oyster, produces a pearl” (svātyāṃ sāgara-ṣakti-samputa-gaṭaṇī [payah] san māuktikam ājāyate).

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 (नामसैनिकतम् क्रतसैिनिकतम् वादयते मयु वेनुम्); *Gītāgovinda* 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” (सा सवैया इकादा कांतम् उपानेश्यती); and the *Amarakośa* [2.6.10a; see Amarasiṃha, *Amarakośa*, with the Commentary of Maheśvara, p. 133]: “Desiring her beloved, a woman keeping an appointment with a lover will go to a tryst” (कान्तरथिनी तु या याति संकेतम् सा अभिसारिकाः).

306 I.e., Viṣṇu, Śiva, or Brahma.

307. I.e., sexually produced beings.

308. Tatra khalu bhagavān aśīti-koṭi-yoginīśvara-madhye Vajragarbham avalokya smitakārṣṭaṁ sāsanaṁ kṛtasaṅkṣetraṁ 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” (सा सवैया इकादा कांतम् उपानेश्यती); and the *Amarakośa* [2.6.10a; see Amarasiṃha, *Amarakośa*, with the Commentary of Maheśvara, p. 133]: “Desiring her beloved, a woman keeping an appointment with a lover will go to a tryst” (कान्तरथिनी तु या याति संकेतम् सा अभिसारिकाः).

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


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 *Yājñavalkyaśāstra* 1.152 and *Manusmṛti* 4.132 (“And one should not go near blood, feces, urine, spittle, or unguents, etc.” नाक्रमेत् रक्तविन्यस्यन् मृदा सर्वव्यम् बहवत् रहस्येत् अत्र किमुच्यते समुपूवद्धवस्य सतरस्य प्रक्षणेच चरेस्य “ /* * /}); perhaps not the best example for the meaning.

313. 4c) Cihna-mudrā; 5a) Melāpakasthānaḥ; 5b) Skandha-dhāty-āyatana-vidhi; 5c) Caryāliaṅganaḥ; 6b) Deśa-nyāsa[h]; 7i) Atha karmma-vidhiḥ vakṣye yena sādyantāḥ sādhakāḥ; 7ii) Atha rasāyanavidhiḥ vakṣye sarvavista-samuccayam; 7iii) Udvartana-vidhi; 7a) Sarvva-jñānodayo nāmāyurvedvah saptamasya prathamam prakaraṇam; 7b) Homa-vidhi; 7c) Sarvva-karma-prasara-


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 (Shā stri, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, p. 147).


326. Śāstrī does not give these.

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

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

329. Black pepper, long pepper, and ginger.


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

332. Mala-mukhe (?).

333. Śmaśāna-karpaṭe cakra-dvayaṃ likhed bratī | rājikā-lavanenāpi viṣenā nimbakena ca || trikaṭuṃkā ṣaṭutailāṅga śmaśānāṛṣāṇaṃ eva ca | dhustūraka-patrānirvyāsaiṣ ca ṣaṭvaiḥ tathaiva ca || tarpīṇi-raktam ādāya ciktrākṣya rasena vā || uṣarasvari mṛṅkika ṣṛṇhā caṇḍā-haṇḍikājanam || lubhaṣṭi-padmān lekhanā caturddāśayām likhed bratī || madhyāne śrēṣṭhī cāḷita-duṣṭāṃ bandha-hetunā || nāmabuddhi-vighāṭasya humkāreva vidarbhyet || daksinābhāmukho yogī ātmānāṃ yama-ghātataṃ || krodha-rāpaṃ māhācaṇḍaṃ khaṇḍa-muṇḍa-vibhāṣitaṃ || mahaśa-sthāṃ lalaj-jīhvaṃ vrhad-udaraṃ bhayānakaṃ || kaṭārośṛddha-jāta-keśaṃ
vakra-śmaśru-bhrvaṃ tathā // daksiṇena mahāvajraṃ khaḍgaṃ caiva dvitiyakām //
trīye kartti-ḥastam ca idānīṃ vāmato likhet // cakraṃ caiva mahāpadmam capalām
caiva vāṃtakah // mula-mukhe mahābhṛṅgam daksiṇe candra-suprabham //
vāmaṃ raktu-nibham proktāṃ vajrāharaṇa-bhūṣaṃ //
roma-kāpa-mahāvivārā sporanat sva-kulādhīpam //
pratyāṭīṭha-pada-samsthāṃ sūryya-mañḍala uddhataḥ //
vikṛta-dvārakaraśaṃ kalpa-jvalāṇi-sannibham //
evam ātmāṃ sannahya sādhyaṃ vai purato nyaset //
etc. (Shāstrī, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, pp. 147–148).

334. Cakrādnupūrva-likkhanaṃ and Cakraśalokano.

335. Atha mantram prakṣaye āmi sarvva-bhūtaṃ bali-kriyāṃ //
uccīrte mahāmante sarvva-bhūta-prakamanam //
indrāya hṛih, yamāya stīrḥ, varuṇāya vi, kuverāya kṛ,
iśābhāya ta, agnye a, nairte na, vāvaye na, candrāya ām, arkaṃ hūṃ, brahmaṇe phat,
vahudhāryai phat, vamacitrīne svā sarvva-bhūtebhyaḥ ḍaḥ //
hā hā hīm hīṃ hām hēm hēṃ hīṃ hēṃ ā vāmā //
hīṃ hīṃ hīṃ hīṃ hīṃ hīṃ //
pratyāṭīṭhāṃ tryaśrāḥ vin-mutra-toya-mīśrāt //
devaṃ prānaye yogi rāhākāraṃ punah smaret //
(Shāstrī, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, p. 148).

336. Ākaraṇādi-prayoga-paṭalāḥ saptamaḥ.

337. Śauri is a name for Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa, Vasudeva, Balarāma, and for Saturn

338. Trīmukhāṃ saḍbhujāṃ śuṅkāṃ cakraḥastāṃ saṣad-prabhāṃ //
carccikāṃ bhāvayet prajaño rakṣākṛṣṭi-prayogataḥ //
trīmukhāṃ saḍbhujāṃ ghoṇāṃ vajra-ḥastāṃ //
sunīlāṃ / vārāhāṃ bhāvayet prajaño madyākrśti-prayogataḥ //
trīmukhāṃ saḍbhujāṃ raktāṃ sarasvaṭīṃ bhāvayed vṛta //
padma-hasta-dharāṃ saumyāṃ prajñā-barddhana-hetave //
prajñā-prajñāṃ kharvāṃ marakatopala-sannibham //
saurīṃ bhāvayet prajaño subhākrśti-prayogataḥ //
(Shāstrī, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, pp. 148–149).


340. Brāhmaṇasya tu māṃsena citi-bhasmena tan-mrdā //
yamāri-pratimāṃ kuryāt //
pratidinaṃ balīṃ dasyāt pañca-māṁsāṃtren tu //
pratīyant prārthayad yogi māma śatrum nikṛntayaa //
ity-ukta[arṇ] sapta-rātreṇa pratīyoe mriyate ripūḥ //
(Shāstrī, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, p. 149).

341. Vetāḍa(vetāla)[-]sādhanausmṛti-bhāvanā-ṣaṭtamaḥ; caryyā-samaya-
sāḍhana-paṭalā ekādaśaṃ //
sarvopāyikā-viśeṣako nāma dvādaśaṃ paṭalāḥ; siddhi-
irnayya-paṭalās trayodaśaṃ //
maṇju-vajra-sāḍhāno nāma caturdaśapaṭalāḥ //
(Shāstrī, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, p. 149).

342. Atredaṃ sūtra-pāṭhena parama-samayaṃ //
akāro mukhaṃ sarvva-dharmanān ādyanupannatvāt //
śiṃṣaṃ vai locanaṃ dvīyāt śṛi-yamānaka-rūpavān //
śiṃṣaṃ sūtra-varāgrāgraṃ pāṭyeyt susamāhitā //
tatraṃ mahā-mañḍala-prāveśa-
samayaḥ | maṇḍala-dvi-guṇito dīrgha-dvāra-viṃśatikaṃ | pañca-gavya-samāliptaṃ
sūtraṃ buddhaiḥ prakalpitam || tatredaṃ mahā-vajra-prārthana-samayaḥ | aho
duddha-mahācāryyo aho dharma-ghanah prabhuh | dehi me samayaṃ tatvaṃ
bodhicittan ca dehi me || tatredan mahā-bhū-parigraha-samayaḥ | vajra-
prthivīvāhanan ca | tvam devi sāksi-bhūtāsi sarvva-buddhān tāyinām | caryānaya-
viśeṣeṣu bhūmi-pāramitāsu ca || (Shastrī, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, p. 149).

343. Prāṇātipātinā ye ca matsya-māṃsādibhakṣakāḥ || madirā-kāminī-saktā nāstika-
vrata-dhāriṇī || anabhiṣiktā narā ye ca uddha[ta]-vyasana-kārinyaḥ || grāma-jāla-
ratā ye ca yamāri-tantra-parayānāḥ || Siddhyante nāsti sandehāḥ kṛṣṇasya vacanam
yathā || atha te maithreyā-pramukhāḥ sarvva-bodhisattvā || vajra-nirukti-padam
śrutā tāsāṃ sthīta abhūvāna || (Shastrī, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, p. 150). Note the grammatical construction ye . . . te . . .

344. -Vajrānāgā-sādhanam panḍadaśamapātalō.

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. Vedhamānāṃ, perhaps a metrical shortening of vedhayamānāṃ, feminine
accusative singular of the derivative of the causative of the verb vṛyadh.

348. Athāto rahasyam yakṣye samāsān na tu vistarāt | yena vijñāta-mātreṇa
apsaraikārṣaṇan bhavet || dvi-bhujam eka-vaktraṃ tu iṣ[ua]-kārmmuka-pāṇiṃ | pīta-dehaṃ
dharmāpam vajrāṅgaṃ vibhāvayet || pūrvaṇa [ca] ratim dhīyaṃv daksine
madana-sundarim | paścime kāma-devim tu uttare madanotsukāṃ || sarvāṃ
dhūmādevim kārmukāṃ bhāvayēr śaram | pītaṃ raktaṃ tathā śyāmāṃ śukla-
raktaṃ ca bhāvayēr || koe caiva nyasen nityam aniruddham usāpātim | vasantam
makaṇa-kuṭuṅcā dvāri bhāge prakathyate || kandarpa-darpakaṃ coktam smarām
bāṇyudhaṃ tathā || sarvesāṃ devatānāṃ tu yamaghamāṃ mūrdhān bhāvayēr
|| strīṇāṃ khaga-mukhāṅta-stāṃ vajrāṅgaṃ vibhāvayēr || sītkāra-mantra-
sambhātaṃ vispuruṣantaṃ samantataḥ || vānchitāṃ vīhvalāṃ dhīyaṃvē vadhānāṃ
madosukāṃ | pādayoḥ patāre caiva rakta-vastra-parvērtām | mantraṃ caiva
jape tatra omkāra svarahedātām | śvāhā me vaśibhavatu bhāvayēr saptavāraṃkan
|| vānchitāṃ labhate yogyā kṛṣṇasya vacanam yathā || (Shastrī, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, p. 150).

349. -Heruka-sādhana-paṭalāḥ śoḍaśaḥ; -bodhicittta-nigadana-paṭalāḥ saptadaśaḥ;
-kathā-paṭala saptadaśaṃ. Colophon: Idam avocat guhyakādhīpatir vajra-kula-
prapetā naṇakāraśasaya sampannato[ḥ] mahātamra-rajaḥ[ḥ] avyāna-vinirgataḥ
saṇāda-lakṣād uddhātā samāptaḥ | kathā-paṭalo aṣṭādaśaṃ (Shastrī, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, p. 151).

350. Catuspītha-sādhana-saṃkṣepeḥ samāpteti | saṃvat 165 śrāvana śukla-dasa-


357. Catuspīṭhosyavidhinā śīyābhyarthanayā mayā | sukhaṃ sādhanaṃ saṃkṣiptam udārārccanam ucyate (Grunendahl, A Concordance of H. P. Śāstri’s Catalogue, p. 485).

358. Iti prakarāṇe ātmapīṭthe iti vāy[v]ādiśu-tattvasya sva-śarīram eva pītham āśanam ādāhāra ity uktakramena vāyvādi-tattvam prakṛtyate, prastāyate, anena vēti; ātma-pīṭham ātma pitham eva iti ātmapīṭhe catuspīṭha-nibandhe prathamah paṭalāḥ / idānīṃ kāla-jīnā-tad-vacanādi paṭalām āha | bhagavan śrītum śrītum ichchāmi jīnā-tattvam viṣaya[ṃ], haranādikāṃ; vayaṃ cihnam idam āṅga | iti mṛtyu-cihnam | katham tattvam samāśritam iti | mantra-tattvam | śṛṇu vajra-mahārāja-aṅga-cihnasya darśitam | nirmāṇa-dāndikārya rājasa iti rāja | vajra aṅgaśatrā mahārāja yasyāśīnu vajra-mahārāja sāmśṛṇyate | aṅgaṃ cihnam darśitavyam | anantarāṃ śṛṇu mṛtyu-kālam iva sthitam iti | mṛtyu-kālanitataṃ 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 Ekallavīraṇaśāstra-mahāroṣaṇa where Bhagavati is also described as the paryaṅka-āsana of sentient beings (sattva-paryaṅka).

360. Ghorī is also in the north in the Yogāmbara maṇḍala described in Abhayākaragupta’s Nispannayogāvalī, 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 Nispannayogāvalī: Jñānadākinī, Yogāmbara, Hevajra, and Nairātmya (De Mallmann, Introduction à l’Iconographie du Tantrisme Bouddhique, p. 445).

362. Caṇḍālī is also in the south of the Jñānadākinī and Yogāmbara maṇḍalas as described by Abhayākaragupta in his Nispannayogāvalī, though she’s in the southwest in his Hevajra and Nairātmya maṇḍalas (De Mallmann, Introduction à
363. De Mallmann describes Śimhini in the Jñānadākinī-maṇḍala from Abhayākaragupta’s Nispannayogāvali, 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 Jñānadākinī maṇḍala in Abhayākaragupta’s Nispannayogāvali 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. Ulūkī is also in the northwest in the maṇḍalas of Jñānadākinī 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 yāsāṃ ca.

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 aṅgulaṃ.
371. A hemispheric bowl, and the name for a type of sexual union.
pādaṃ pratiṣṭhitam anyonya-jānubhyāṃ vāmā-pārśva-pīḍanaṃ muṇḍa-tāḍanaṃ |
vaṭra-sattva-bāhu-pāse prajñā-pāramitā-kaṇṭha-dṛḍham āliṅgya devyā-jaṅghaṃ |
putra anyanyāṃ |

374. Namo ratnatrayāya | vidyuj-jihvāṃ mahābhūtāṃ sarvāsā-paripūrakāṃ | tān namaṃkṛtya vakṣya 'haṃ sādhanopdikāmbarāṃ || bhagavatīyā svedāmbujāḥ kalpokta-vidhinā pravṛtti-mandalaṃ-ādi-vidyā-śaktiṣaṣṭā labhāya |

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.


381. Naudou, Buddhists of Kashmir, pp. 149–150.

382. See Naudou, Buddhists of Kashmir, p. 190.


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.


395. Ui, et al., A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons, p. 120.
