

IN THE SAME SERIES
DANS LA MEME COLLECTION

The Brabmayāmalatantra or Picumata. Volume II. The Religious Observances and Sexual Rituals of the Tantric Practitioner: Chapters 3, 21, and 45. A Critical Edition and Annotated Translation by Csaba Kiss, IFP/EFEO/Asien-Afrika-Institut, Universität Hamburg, 373 p. (CI n° 130/ Early Tantra Series n° 3)

Early Tantric Vaiṣṇavism: Three Newly Discovered Works of the Pañcarātra. The Śvāyambhuvarāpañcarātra, Devāmṛtapañcarātra and Aṣṭādaśavidhāna. Critically edited from their 11th- and 12th-century Nepalese palm-leaf manuscripts with an Introduction and Notes by Diwakar Acharya, IFP/EFEO/Asien-Afrika-Institut, Universität Hamburg, lxxxvi, 229 p. (CI n° 129/ Early Tantra Series n° 2)

The Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā. The Earliest Surviving Saiva Tantra. Volume 1. A Critical Edition & Annotated Translation of the Mūlasūtra, Uttarāsūtra & Nayāsūtra. Edited by Dominic Goodall in collaboration with Alexis Sanderson & Harunaga Isaacson with contributions of Nirajan Kafle, Diwakar Acharya & others, IFP/EFEO/Asien-Afrika-Institut, Universität Hamburg, 662 p. (CI n° 128/ Early Tantra Series n° 1)

Saiva Rites of Expiation, A First Edition and Translation of Trilocanaśiva's Twelfth-Century Prāyaścittasamuccaya (with a transcription of a manuscript transmitting Hṛdayaśiva's Prāyaścittasamuccaya). Critically edited & translated by R. Sathyaranayanan with an introduction by Dominic Goodall, IFP/EFEO, 2015, 651 p. (CI n° 127)

Contribution to the History of the Wheeled Vehicle in India. Jean Deloche, IFP/EFEO, 2014, xiii, 145 p. (CI n° 126)

The Archaeology of Bhakti I: Mathurā and Maturai, Back and Forth. Edited by Emmanuel Francis & Charlotte Schmid, IFP/EFEO, 2014, xiii, 366 p. (CI n° 125)

To order, contact:
Pour commander, s'adresser à :

Institut Français de Pondichéry
(attn. Library and Publication Division)
P. B. 33, 11, St. Louis Street,
Pondicherry-605001, INDIA
Ph: +91-413-2231660. Fax: +91-413-2231605
E-mail: library@ifpindia.org
Web: www.ifpindia.org

École française d'Extrême-Orient
P.O. Box 151, 16 & 19, Dumas Street,
Pondicherry – 605001, INDIA
Ph: +91-413-2334539. Fax +91-413-2330886
E-mail: shanti@efeo-pondicherry.org
Web: www.efeo.fr

TANTRIC STUDIES
FRUITS OF A FRANCO-GERMAN PROJECT ON EARLY TANTRA

The principal works that have emerged from our stimulating project on 'Early Tantra' are critical editions and translations of previously unpublished primary material, which have begun to appear in this new series. This volume complements those publications by gathering together some of the fruits, direct and indirect, of the wide-ranging discussions that took place during the project's workshops. By way of introduction, the volume opens with an attempt by the editors to draw together our findings about the "shared ritual syntax" of some of the earliest known works of the tantric traditions, with a particular emphasis on the Buddhist *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa* and the Śaiva *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*. Seven further contributions, by Dominic Goodall, Peter Bisschop, Judit Törzsök, Diwakar Acharya, Anna A. Ślączka, Libbie Mills and Péter-Dániel Szántó, throw light on a wide range of topics : the Śaiva *tattvas* and their evolution, *yoginī*-temples, alphabet-deities, an early treatise of snake-related magic, iconographic prescriptions in early *pratiṣṭhātantras*, the implications of the use of the *bhūtasāṅkhya* system, and a fragment of a Buddhist tantric *sādhana*.

ISBN 9788184702118

9 788184 702118

ISBN (IFP): 978-81-8470-211-8

Les éditions critiques et traductions de sources primaires jusqu'ici inédites qui constituent les principaux résultats de notre stimulant projet « Early Tantra » sur le tantrisme ancien ont commencé à paraître dans la présente collection. Ce volume vient les compléter en rassemblant les fruits, directs et indirects, des intenses discussions qui animèrent les ateliers du projet. En introduction est proposée une synthèse de nos découvertes concernant la « syntaxe rituelle commune » des plus anciens ouvrages connus des traditions tantriques, en particulier le Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa, du côté bouddhique, et la Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā, du côté du shivaïsme. Sept autres contributions, par Dominic Goodall, Peter Bisschop, Judit Törzsök, Diwakar Acharya, Anna A. Ślączka, Libbie Mills et Péter-Dániel Szántó, apportent des lumières sur des sujets variés : les tattvas shivaïtes et leur évolution, les temples aux yoginīs, les divinités-alphabets, un traité ancien de magie liée aux serpents, les enseignements iconographiques des pratiques de bhūtasāṅkhya, les implications de l'emploi du système de la bhūtasāṅkhya et un fragment de sādhana tantrique bouddhique.

ISBN 9782855392202

9 782855 392202

ISBN (EFEO): 978-2-85539-220-2

Collection Indologie - 131
Early Tantra Series - 4

TANTRIC STUDIES
FRUITS OF A FRANCO-GERMAN PROJECT ON EARLY TANTRA



Collection Indologie - 131
Early Tantra Series - 4

TANTRIC STUDIES

FRUITS OF A FRANCO-GERMAN PROJECT ON EARLY TANTRA



edited by

Dominic GOODALL & Harunaga ISAACSON

Harunaga Isaacson studied in Groningen (MA 1990) and was awarded a PhD in Sanskrit by the University of Leiden in 1995. After holding positions for research and teaching at the Universities of Oxford, Hamburg and Pennsylvania, he was appointed Professor of Classical Indology in the Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Asien-Afrika-Institut, Hamburg, in 2006. His main research areas are: tantric traditions in pre-13th-century South Asia, especially *Vajrayāna* Buddhism; classical Sanskrit poetry; classical Indian philosophy; and *Purāṇic* literature.

Harunaga Isaacson a étudié à Groningue (MA 1990) et a soutenu sa thèse de doctorat à l'université de Leyde en 1995. Après avoir mené des recherches et enseigné dans les universités d'Oxford, de Hambourg et de Pennsylvanie, il occupe depuis 2006 la chaire d'indologie classique au département des études indiennes et tibétaines de l'Asien-Afrika-Institut, à Hambourg. Ses centres d'intérêt incluent les traditions tantriques en Asie du Sud avant 1200, notamment le bouddhisme vajrayāna, la poésie sanskrite, la philosophie indienne classique et les Purāṇa.

After studies in Oxford and in Hamburg, Dominic Goodall passed several years working in Pondicherry, where he was head of the Pondicherry Centre of the École française d'Extrême-Orient from 2002 to 2011. He has published critical editions of Śaiva works and of classical Sanskrit poetry (most recently, with Csaba Dezső, the eighth-century *Kuṭṭānīmata* of Dāmodara Gupta). After four years in Paris, where he gave lectures on Cambodian and Indian Sanskrit literature at the École pratique des hautes études (religious science section), he is now back in Pondicherry.

Après avoir étudié à Oxford et à Hambourg, Dominic Goodall a travaillé pendant plusieurs années à Pondichéry, où il fut responsable du Centre de l'EFEO de 2002 à 2011. Il a publié plusieurs éditions critiques d'ouvrages śivaïtes et poétiques en sanskrit, dont le plus récent, en collaboration avec Csaba Dezső, est l'édition et la traduction anglaise du *Kuṭṭānīmata* de Dāmodara Gupta, un roman sanskrit en vers du VIII^e siècle. Après quatre ans à Paris, où il a animé à l'EPHE (V^e section) des séminaires de littérature sanskrite d'Inde et du Cambodge, il est maintenant de retour à Pondichéry.

TANTRIC STUDIES
FRUITS OF A FRANCO-GERMAN COLLABORATION
ON EARLY TANTRA

L’Institut Français de Pondichéry (IFP), UMIFRE 21 CNRS-MAEE, est un établissement à autonomie financière sous la double tutelle du Ministère français des Affaires Etrangères et Européennes (MAEE) et du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS). Il est partie intégrante du réseau des 27 centres de recherche de ce Ministère. Avec le Centre de Sciences Humaines (CSH) à New Delhi, il forme l’USR 3330 du CNRS « Savoires et Mondes Indiens ». Il remplit des missions de recherche, d’expertise et de formation en Sciences Humaines et Sociales et en Ecologie dans le Sud et le Sud-est asiatique. Il s’intéresse particulièrement aux savoirs et patrimoines culturels indiens (langue et littérature sanskrite, histoire des religions, études tamoules...), aux dynamiques sociales contemporaines, et aux écosystèmes naturels de l’Inde du Sud.

The French Institute of Pondicherry (IFP), UMIFRE 21 CNRS-MAEE, is a financially autonomous institution under the joint supervision of the French Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs (MAEE) and the French National Centre of Scientific Research (CNRS). It is a part of the network of 27 research centres under this Ministry. It also forms part of the research unit 3330 “Savoirs et Mondes Indiens” of the CNRS, along with the Centre de Sciences Humaines (CSH) in New Delhi. It fulfils its missions of research, expertise and training in Human and Social Sciences and Ecology in South and South-East Asia. It works particularly in the fields of Indian cultural knowledge and heritage (Sanskrit language and literature, history of religions, Tamil studies...), contemporary social dynamics and the natural ecosystems of South India.

French Institute of Pondicherry, 11, St. Louis Street, P.B. 33, Pondicherry—605001, India
Tel: (413) 2231609, Email: ifpcom@ifpindia.org Website: <http://www.ifpindia.org>



L’École française d’Extrême-Orient (EFEO), fondée en 1900 à Hanoï, est un établissement relevant du ministère français de l’Enseignement supérieur et de la Recherche dont la mission scientifique est l’étude des civilisations classiques de l’Asie. Son champ de recherches s’étend de l’Inde à la Chine et au Japon et, englobant l’ensemble du Sud-Est asiatique, comprend la plupart des sociétés qui furent indianisées ou sinisées au cours de l’histoire. Autour de ses dix-sept centres et antennes, installés dans douze pays d’Asie, se sont constitués des réseaux de chercheurs locaux et internationaux sur lesquels l’École a pu s’appuyer pour construire son essor. L’EFEO aborde l’Asie par des recherches pluridisciplinaires et comparatistes, associant l’archéologie, l’histoire, l’anthropologie, la philologie, et les sciences religieuses. À Pondichéry, les projets de l’EFEO portent essentiellement sur l’« indologie » classique : sanskrit, tamoul ancien, histoire de l’art et des religions.

The mission of The French School of Asian Studies (EFEO), founded in 1900 in Hanoi and today under the aegis of the French Ministry of Higher Education and Research, is to study the classical civilizations of Asia. Stretching from India, in the West, across the whole of South-East Asia to China and Japan, the EFEO’s research areas cover most of the societies which have been ‘Indianised’ or ‘Sinicised’ over the course of history. A network of international scholars working at the EFEO’s seventeen centres and branch offices, which are spread across twelve Asian countries, has been essential in the development of the School’s research programme. Interdisciplinary projects bring together leading scholars in the fields of anthropology, archaeology, history, philology, and religious studies. In Pondicherry, the projects of the EFEO focus mainly on classical Indology: Sanskrit, Old Tamil, History, and History of art and of religions.

École française d’Extrême-Orient,
22, avenue du Président Wilson,
75116 Paris, France.
Tel: (33) 1 53 70 18 60
Website: <http://www.efeo.fr/>

Pondicherry Centre of the EFEO
16 & 19, Dumas Street,
Pondicherry—605 001, India.
Tel: (91) (413) 2334539/2332504
Email: administration@efeo-pondicherry.org

THE EARLY TANTRA SERIES

Tantric scriptures form the basis of almost all the various theistic schools of theology and ritual in post-Vedic India, as well as of a major strand of Buddhism (Vajrayāna). Among these schools, those centred on the Hindu deities Śiva and Viṣṇu spread well beyond the Indian subcontinent to Kambuja (Cambodia/Laos/Thailand), Champa (Vietnam) and Indonesia, while Buddhist tantra quickly became pan-Asian.

With this mini-series, launched within the ‘Collection Indologie’, we are releasing some of the fruits of a Franco-German project funded from 2008 to 2011 by the Agence Nationale pour la Recherche and the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. The series takes its name from the project’s title: ‘Early Tantra: Discovering the interrelationships and common ritual syntax of the Śaiva, Buddhist, Vaiṣṇava and Saura traditions’. Our aim was to study the interrelationships between the tantric traditions on the basis of fundamental source-material, which we would edit and publish for the first time. For this we made use of some of the exceptionally rich manuscript resources gathered in the twentieth century and studied by German and French research institutes at opposite poles of the sub-continent.

In recent centuries, the Tamil-speaking South is the only area where a vast corpus of Sanskrit texts of what was long the dominant school of tantric Śaivism continued being copied and so transmitted to the present day. So when, in 1956, Jean Filliozat secured a foothold in Pondicherry for French indological research, he created an ideal institutional base for the study of a forgotten chapter in the religious history of Asia. Gradually, the largest specialised manuscript collection of texts relating to the Śaiva Siddhānta was amassed, recognised in 2005 by UNESCO as a “Memory of the World” collection: The Śaiva Manuscripts of Pondicherry.

At the other end of the subcontinent, the cool climate of Nepal has preserved ancient manuscripts of texts of virtually every branch of Indian learning. Much of the early history of tantra is thus preserved in the vast archive of Nepalese manuscripts microfilmed over more than three decades by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP), then partly catalogued by the Nepalese German Manuscript Cataloguing Project (NGMCP), run from Hamburg and from the NGMCP’s base in Kathmandu, the Nepal Research Centre (NRC). One Nepalese treasure, also included, in 2013, in UNESCO’s register, formed the corner-stone of our project: the ninth-century manuscript of the Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā.

The Early Tantra Series is not a closed collection: as well as the editions and translations promised as part of the ‘Early Tantra’ project, studies of numerous related works were inspired or further advanced during the project’s workshops.

COLLECTION INDOLOGIE 131
EARLY TANTRA SERIES 4

TANTRIC STUDIES

FRUITS OF A FRANCO-GERMAN COLLABORATION
ON EARLY TANTRA

edited by

DOMINIC GOODALL & HARUNAGA ISAACSON

INSTITUT FRANÇAIS DE PONDICHÉRY
ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'EXTRÊME-ORIENT
ASIEN-AFRIKA-INSTITUT, UNIVERSITÄT HAMBURG

Comité Éditorial / Advisory Board

Diwakar ACHARYA (Kyoto University),
Nalini BALBIR (Université de Paris III et École pratique des hautes études),
Peter BISSCHOP (Leiden University),
R. CHAMPAKALAKSHMI (Jawaharlal Nehru University, retired),
Alexander DUBIANSKI (Moscow State University),
Arlo GRIFFITHS (École française d'Extrême-Orient),
François GROS (École pratique des hautes études, retired),
Pascale HAAG (École des hautes études en sciences sociales),
Oskar von HINÜBER (University of Freiburg im Breisgau),
Jan E. M. Houben (École pratique des hautes études),
Padma KAIMAL (Colgate University),
Kei KATAOKA (Kyushu University),
Vempati KUTUMBA SASTRY (Banaras Hindu University),
R. NAGASWAMY (Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology, retired),
Leslie ORR (Concordia University),
Aloka PARASHER-SEN (University of Hyderabad),
Pierre PICHARD (École française d'Extrême-Orient),
Herman TIEKEN (Leiden University).

Comité de Lecture / Évaluation

Les membres du comité éditorial font appel à des spécialistes de leur choix.
The members of the advisory board call on experts of their choice.

© Institut Français de Pondichéry, 2016 (ISBN 978-81-8470-211-8)
© École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2016 (ISBN 978-2-85539-220-2)
© Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Asien-Afrika-Institut,
Universität Hamburg

Typeset by Peter PASEDACH in L^AT_EX.

Cover photo by Andrey KLEBANOV: detail of cover-board for a Nepalese
manuscript of the *Śivadharma* held in the National Archives, Kath-
mandu, NGMPP B 7/3 ([Nepal] samvat 290 [= 1170 AD]).

Printed at the Sri Aurobindo Ashram Press, Pondicherry.

Contents

Preface / Préface VII

Dominic Goodall and Harunaga Isaacson

Abbreviations XIX

List of Figures XXI

Notes on Contributors / À propos des contributeurs XXIII

- 1 On the Shared ‘Ritual Syntax’ of the Early Tantric Traditions 1
Dominic Goodall and Harunaga Isaacson
 - 2 How the Tattvas of Tantric Śaivism Came to Be 36: The Evidence of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* 77
Dominic Goodall
 - 3 A 12th-Century Vārāṇasīmāhātmya and Its Account of a Hypethral Yoginī-Temple 113
Peter Bisschop
 - 4 The Emergence of the Alphabet Goddess Mātrikā in Early Śaiva Tantras 135
Judit Törzsök
 - 5 Three Fragmentary Folios of a 9th-Century Manuscript of an Early Bhūtatantra Taught by Mahāmaheśvara 157
Diwakar Acharya
 - 6 The Two Iconographic Chapters from the *Devyāmata* and the Art of Bengal 181
Anna A. Ślączka
 - 7 *Bhūtasamkhyās* as a Dating Tool for *Pratiṣṭhā* Literature 247
Libbie Mills
 - 8 Minor Vajrayāna Texts I: A Fragment from Abhayākaragupta’s Śrīsamvarābhisaṃayopāyikā 261
Péter-Dániel Szántó
- Index 297
Illustrations

ARTICLE 8

Minor Vajrayāna Texts I: A Fragment from Abhayākaragupta's Śrīsamvarābhīśamayopāyikā

Péter-Dániel Szántó

1 A Rich 'prakīrtipattra'

N[epalese] A[rchives] K[athmandu] 1–1607/vi[ṣaya] *tāntrikapaddhati* 4 (= N[epal] G[erman] M[anuscript] P[reservation] P[roject] A 49/18) is a collection of eighty palm-leaf folios of various sizes from a range of works. To my knowledge, this is one of the richest collections of fragments held at the NAK. Identifying and describing all the fragments held in this collection would be a study unto itself and one which I am not able to undertake at present. However, to draw scholarly attention to this highly valuable bundle I shall present a short list of works I have been able to identify therein with a reasonable degree of certainty, or at least where the subject matter has been established. It should be stressed that this list is by no means exhaustive and that it concentrates on Buddhist works. The locations of texts are given according to frame number. Folio numbers are added where known.

- *Mahāśāhasrapramardinī*: 1 folio (16^b & 17^t).¹
- *Catuṣpīthatantra*: 2 folios (20^b & 21^t = fol. 45 • 19^b & 20^t = fol. 46); 1 folio from a different ms. (62^b & 63^t = fol. 30).²
- *Hevajratantra*: 2 folios (74^b & 73 = fol. ? end of II.v. with the beginning of II.vi. • 75^t & 74^b = fol. ? end of II.xii. with closing colophon).³
- *Abhiṣekanirukti* of Sujayaśrīgupta: 2 folios (75^b & 76^t • 77^t & 76^b = fol. 7?).⁴

1 Cf. Iwamoto 1937. Our fragment is from the beginning, 1–2.

2 For a description, see Szántó 2012, vol. 1, 85, 87.

3 Numeration refers to Snellgrove 1959.

4 Cf. Onians 2001. The text given here (pp. 349–368) is Prof. Harunaga Isaacson's draft edition). Since then an improved draft has become available

- *Rahasyadīpikā* of Vanaratna: 1 folio (79^t & 78^b). A commentary on Kṛṣṇācārya's *Vasantatilakā*.⁵
- *Dohākoṣaṭīkā* of Advayavajra: 1 folio (83 & 82^b). This is a fragment from Advaya's commentary on Saraha's *Dohākoṣa*, although it differs significantly when compared to the printed text.⁶
- a *sādhana* of *Cakrasamvara*: 1 folio (8^t & 7^b = fol. 1). This fragment contains some very elegant obeisance verses in the *sragdhara* metre. It does not seem to have been translated into Tibetan.
- a *sādhana* of *Vajrayoginī*: 2 folios (69^b & 70^t = fol. 9 • 64^b & 65^t = fol. 10) which shows some similarities in phrasing with the *Āmnāyamanjari* of Abhayākaragupta. This text must have been part of a composite manuscript, for it is followed by:
- another *sādhana* of *Vajrayoginī*: two lines on folio 10 of the previous item. This work was probably written in the tradition of Indrabhūti. The obeisance verses are very similar to 'Guhyasamayasādhanamālā' (henceforth GSS) 1 & 2.⁷
- another *sādhana* of *Vajrayoginī*: 1 folio (82^t & 81^b = fol. 9). Other folios from this work (7, 8, 10, 11, 16) may be found under NAK 1-1697 2/27/vi. *bauddhatantra* 26 = NGMPP B 31/8 titled "Dākinīsādhana".⁸
- a text in verse on the practice of *Candālī*: 2 folios (50^t = fol. 1^v • 48^b & 49^t = fol. 2).
- rites associated with *Candamahāroṣaṇa*: 1 folio (80^t & 79^b). The text is very corrupt, but the folio bears the date 401 NS = 1281 CE, during the reign of "Anamtamīla" (sic for Anantamalla).

from the website of the Centre for Tantric Studies (<https://www.tantric-studies.uni-hamburg.de/en/research/e-texts/buddhist-e-texts/abhinir.txt>).

⁵ Cf. Rinpoche and Dwivedi 1990, 7–8.

⁶ Bagchi 1938, 85–86.

⁷ I am using the only manuscript available to me: Bodleian Library Ms. Sansk. c. 16 (R). This valuable collection has been described and studied in English 2002.

⁸ It should be noted however, that despite the same format, the same hand, and similar numeration, folios 3 & 4 from NGMPP B 31/8 are not the same text as this unidentified *sādhana*, but constitute a fragment from the *Yogā-nusāriṇī Vajrayoginiṭīkā (Rnal 'byor gyi rjes su 'brang ba zhes bya ba'i rdo rje rnal 'byor ma'i 'grel pa, Tōh. 1565), a *sādhana* by Dārikāpāda. Another ms. of Dārikāpāda's work is NAK 3-366/vi. *bauddhatantra* 24 = NGMPP B 30/32.

- a healing rite in the tradition of the *Guhyasamāja* by Divākara-candra: 1 side of a folio (81^t) with the colophon: *samāpto 'yam śrī-guhyasamājatantroddhṛto 'śesarogādyupaśamano yāgavidhīḥ/ kṛ-tir iyam pañditācāryaśrīdivākaracandra syeti*⁹
- a writing exercise followed by a *Tathāgatoṣṇīṣa* text: 1 side of a folio (80^b). The text is preceded by a colophon mentioning the reign of Ānandadeva (reigned 1147–1167 CE), making it the oldest datable fragment in the bundle.
- *Nāgarasarvasva*: 2 folios (14^b & 15^t = fol. 2 • 6^t & 5^b = fol. 3). This is perhaps the earliest known specimen of Padmaśrī's (ca. 1100–1300 CE) *kāmaśāstra*.¹⁰

Besides some more Buddhist material, there are plenty of fragments from other Tantric traditions and beyond. Thus there are some folios of a recension of the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, some Kubjikā-related material, fragments from a grammatical work, a folio from the *Rgveda*, a *paurāṇika* text with praise of the goddess Śītalā, ‘shopping lists’ of ritual items, etc.

The folios we are concerned with here constitute a fragment from the hitherto unidentified:

- *Śrīsamvarābhīsamaṇīyikā* of Abhayākaragupta: 4 folios (11^b & 12^t = fol. 2 • 12^b & 13^t = fol. 5 • 10^b & 11^t = fol. 6 • 24^t & 23^b = fol. 7).

2 The Title of the Text

The title given in the Derge canon (Tōh. 1498) is *Dpal 'khor lo sdom pa'i mngon par rtogs pa* both at the beginning (219^r) and in the colophon (226^v). This title would correspond to *Śrīcakrasamvara-bhīsamaṇīya, and would seem to be a plausible original designation were we not in the fortunate position to have Abhayākaragupta's own references to this work. He refers to it in the *Niṣpannayoga-valī* (p. 37)¹¹: *aparadevatāmantrā asmābhiḥ śrīsamvarābhīsamaṇīyikā-*

⁹ I now see with some embarrassment that this is the missing last folio from a fragmentary work I have published recently (Szántó 2015). The text here completes the last verse thus: -*dbhūtam jagat tenāstu nīrujam iti*.

¹⁰ Shastri 1994 (*non vidi*).

¹¹ I am referring to Lee 2008. (henceforth NIYOĀ)

yām uktāḥ/; thrice in the *Vajrāvalī*¹²: *aparamāṇdaleyānāṁ mantrāḥ samvarābhisaṁaye smābhīḥ sāmnāyāṁ likhitāḥ*¹³ & *ṣaṭtrimśan mantrā mūlamantrau cāsmābhīḥ śrīsamvarābhisaṁayopāyikāyāṁ saṁvarṇitau/* & *vistareṇa tu bhagavataḥ sāmnāyabhavanākramo smābhīḥ samvarābhisaṁayopāyikāyāṁ prakaṭita iti;* and twice in his chief work, the *Āmnāyamañjari* (173^v)¹⁴: *bdag gis byas pa'i dpal bde mchog gi mn̄gon par rtogs par bshad pa'i rim pas* & (242^v): [...] *bsgom pa'i rim pa gsal zhing rdzogs pa man ngag dang bcas pa ni bdag gis byas pa'i dpal bde mchog gi mn̄gon par rtogs pa'i cho gar rtogs par bya [...].* There can be little doubt then that the original title of the work was *Śrīsamvarābhisaṁaya* which may be referred to without the honorific *śrī-*, where *upāyikā* (*upayikā* is a spelling variant) simply denotes the genre of the work, and with allowance for the ever-varying spelling of *Śamvara/Samvara*.

This might seem a pedantic point to make. However, it is not generally realised that the Sanskrit titles given in the Tibetan Canons are very often either back-translations from the extant Tibetan titles, or simple re-namings.¹⁵ Furthermore, as the above example shows, we can never be certain that the authorship colophons (in the form *X Y+Instr. mdzad pa*) are original in the sense that they are authorial. They could either be added by the Tibetan translators or a copyist of the Sanskrit manuscript/s (in the form *X// krtir iyam Y in Gen. Sg. //+pādānām//*).

3 Sources and Influence

The ‘*abhisaṁaya*’ element in the title refers to the fact that Abhayākaragupta based his work—at least in spirit (see below)—on Lüyipāda’s highly influential work, the *Cakrasamvarābhisaṁaya* (henceforth CAA).¹⁶ This text has been edited twice.¹⁷

¹² I am referring to Mori 2009, vol. 1, 135 & vol. 2, 458, 504 respectively. Note that boldface is used for emphasis here.

¹³ This passage was kindly pointed out to me by Prof. Harunaga Isaacson in ms. NAK 5-84 = NGMPP B 31/14 before Mori’s edition became available.

¹⁴ I am referring to Tōh. 1198. I have overlooked this first reference which was kindly pointed out to me by Prof. Harunaga Isaacson. Both references are identified by Tomabechi and Kano 2008, 23 n. 9.

¹⁵ A recent article discusses a few examples: Almogi 2008.

¹⁶ This is spelt out in the dedicatory verse at the end (226^v): *Lū yi pa zhabs rim par brgyud pa Sdom pa 'byung ba'i ...*

¹⁷ First by Sakurai 1998. A recent edition can be found in *Dhūḥ* 55 (2008): 143–159. The Sarnāth editors were apparently unaware of Sakurai’s edition.

According to the colophon appended to the Tibetan translation of the CAA (Tōh. 1427), Lūyī¹⁸ was a native of Bengal and most likely wrote in the 10th century. The first translators were Rin chen bzang po and Śraddhākaravarman, which may point to the fact that the CAA was known and transmitted in Kashmir as well. This translation was revised by 'Gos Lhas btsas in the presence of one Navakoṭipāda according to 'an Eastern manuscript'. Further revisions were worked into the present canonical text by Dānaśīla of Jagaddala monastery after collating it with 'a commentary' (unfortunately Dānaśīla does not inform us which one). The presence of 'Eastern' manuscripts and Easterners in the transmission seem to point to Bengal yet again as the stronghold of Samvara-worship.¹⁹

As for the dating, the 10th century is suggested by a body of circumstantial evidence. The earliest hard evidence known thus far for the dating of this author is the reputedly oldest ms. of the CAA used by Sakurai (NAK 5-205 = NGMPP B 31/21), which—according to that editor—dates from NS 180 = 1060 CE. Unfortunately, this is a mistake. The digit that Sakurai read as '1' is in fact a rather deceptive '4', making the ms. three hundred years younger.²⁰ Even if this statement were debatable, the palaeographical features, most notably the 'hook-topped' script, should have acted as a giveaway. Because of the invalidity of this date, we must look elsewhere for evidence. Dārikāpāda mentions Lui/Lūyī as his master in his *caryā* song,²¹ and this author must predate 1054 CE as he is mentioned as an authority in the *māṇḍalopāyikā* titled *Samvarodayā* of Bhūvācārya (Tokyo University Library ms. 450) dating from that year. *Atīśa in his **Abhisamayavibhaṅga* (Tōh. 1490) refers to Lūyī as the author of a **Sat-kulaherukasādhana*. Still earlier is Vīravajra, who wrote a commentary (Tōh. 1512) on the CAA, although not mentioning Lūyī by name in

I give here the most current title of the work, although it could also be *Herukābhismaya* (the colophon to the 'oldest' ms. available to Sakurai has *iti Cakrasamvaraḥ* [sic!] śrī²²*Herukābhismayaḥ samāptah*), *Samvarābhismaya* (in the authorial verse which is missing in some mss.), or simply *Abhisamaya*.

¹⁸ It is usually this form that we find attested in Sanskrit mss. Tibetan sources usually contain the form Lū yi, very occasionally Lū yī. In his *Apabhrāmaśa* songs Lūyī seems to be referring to himself and is referred to as Lui (cf. Tibetan Lu'i). Other forms which can be dismissed as Tibetan corruptions include Lū'i, Lu hi, Klu'i, Klu yi, etc. As in the case of many *mahāsiddhas* this name is quite puzzling.

¹⁹ Cf. Sanderson 2009, 165 passim.

²⁰ Or two hundred and ninety-nine years younger to be absolutely precise. The ms. has two colophons, the previous one dates from a year earlier (NS 479).

²¹ Cf. Kværne 1977, 208.

the work. Vīravajra was met by 'Brog mi Shā kya ye shes during his travels in Bengal ca. 1010–1020 CE.²²

Regardless of its influence and authority it is not in the CAA that we find most textual parallels with Abhayākaragupta's text, but in perhaps the most important commentary to that text, the *Cakrasam-varābhisaṃyatikā* (henceforth CAATĪ) of Prajñārakṣita. This text has also been published.²³

Prajñārakṣita's identity and dates are far from established. One of the difficulties is that works attributed to him in some Sanskrit manuscripts and Tibetan translations are attributed to one Śāśvatava-jra in other manuscripts and translations. It may not be impossible that the latter was the initiation name of the same person.²⁴ There is some, if inconclusive, evidence to the effect that Prajñārakṣita was a direct disciple of Lūyī. In his **Cakrasamvaraṇḍalavidhi* (Tōh. 1469) he refers to Lūyī as **sadguru* (*bla ma dam pa* on 56^v4) and **mahācārya* (*slob dpon chen po* on 62^v6). Tibetan sources seem to place him in the first half of the 11th century, that is roughly one generation after Lūyī's proposed date. Thus, Prajñārakṣita is mentioned in the *Blue Annals* as a disciple of Nāropāda and teacher of Mar pa Chos kyi blo gros,²⁵ a statement corroborated elsewhere, e.g. in a lineage given by Bu ston in his *Gsan yig*.²⁶

In spite of the CAATĪ and Abhayākaragupta's text running parallel almost verbatim for most of the time, our author seems to have introduced a number of differences in the iconographical details, but even more importantly, in the sequence dictated for the ritual visualisation. Grasping the significance of these innovations would require a separate study, which would involve the examination of dozens of related texts and citations of parallel passages *ad libitum*. Here I shall limit myself to having identified the CAATĪ as Abhayākaragupta's main source of

²² According to Davidson 2005, 166.

²³ Part I in Sakurai 2005a; and part II in Sakurai 2005b. The Sanskrit does not survive in its entirety. Another fragment of this work, mentioned but apparently not used by Sakurai, and containing some extra text, may be found in NAK 5-20 = NGMPP A 47/17, where frames 26–31 are folios 2 & 4–7 of a manuscript of this commentary. There are three more folios in Kaiser Library 139 = NGMPP C 14/16. This bundle also contains fragments of the CAA in the same format and script (East Indian) proving that at least in one early instance the CAA and the CAATĪ were transmitted together.

²⁴ Cf. Sakurai 2004.

²⁵ Roerich 1949, 384.

²⁶ Chandra (1971, 84) states that Prajñārakṣita was a disciple of Nāropa and the *paramaguru* of Rwa Rdo rje grags.

inspiration and at least one text on which his text left an indelible mark.

The *Šrīsamvarābhismayopāyikā* served as one of the models for Śākyarakṣita's famous *Abhisamayamañjarī* (henceforth AMA), a *sādhana* of Vajrayoginī.²⁷ This is unsurprising, since we know from his own testimony that Śākyarakṣita was Abhayākaragupta's disciple.²⁸ The present fragment can offer many improvements to the printed text and should be used as a source for a new edition of the AMA. In the parallels cited in the following footnotes, I have already ventured to offer some improvements to the printed text based upon the GSS, the CAATI, and the *Šrīsamvarābhismayopāyikā*. However, for the sake of brevity the critical apparatus is *not* included in the cited passages.

Although the *Šrīsamvarābhismayopāyikā* seems to be one of Abhayākaragupta's earlier works, and in spite of the fact that only a fragment has surfaced, the work is not unworthy of editing. Anything that the venerable preceptor wrote was likely to have carried weight both during the last golden age of Vajrayāna in the late Pāla era, and beyond, in Nepal and Tibet.

4 Text of the Fragment with Synopses of Missing Portions

I do not propose to present a comprehensive commentary to the *sādhana* but perhaps it is not out of place to mention what we can gather from the Tibetan text where the Sanskrit is not available. Fortunately, the Tibetan translation (henceforth *T_{Sde}*), prepared by Ratnarakṣita, the famous Bengali exile of the Kathmandu Valley, and Zhang grub pa [dpal bzang po], is of a very high quality.

²⁷ Edited in *Dhūḥ* 13 (1992): 123–154, and re-edited in a separate volume one year later (Rinpoche and Dwivedi 1993) with an attribution to Śubhākara-gupta (my page and line numbers refer to the 1993 edition). In what is perhaps the best ms. of this work, unused by the Sarnāth editors, GSS ff. 14^r–39^r it is attributed to Śākyarakṣita, which is more plausible (cf. English, *op. cit.*, p. 357). It is noticeable in this title ('A bouquet of *abhisamayas*' [perhaps understand: collected and adapted for the worship of Vajrayoginī?]) that Śākyarakṣita uses 'abhisamaya' as the name of a genre. This is clearly reflected in the work when he says (AMA p. 8, ll. 14–16): *sarvajanasamgrahaṇaiḥ punar atra śūnyatābhāvanānantaram rakṣāpañjarādikam, bahuśu cābhismayēśv iyam evānupūrvī dṛśyata iti.* (Boldface is used for emphasis here.)

²⁸ In the AMA (p. 15) he states: ... *Vajrāvalyām asmadgurubhir upadarśitam* ...

4.1 Synopsis of *fol. 1.

After the obeisance verse and statement of purpose, the text launches into the requirements of the *sādhana*. First of all (*dang po kho nar*), the *yogi*^a ought to go to the top of a mountain (*ri'i rtse mo la*), sit facing south (*kha lhor bltas te*), and offer *bali* (*gtor ma btang nas*). Then he should untie his topknot (*skra grol*), sit comfortably (*rol 'dug* [sic!]), and consume the *samaya*-[substance]s (*dam tshig bsten*). Wishing for all beings to obtain the status of Samvara (*Sdom pa'i go 'phang*), he should actualise (*mngon du byas*) the meaning of the four syllables [śrī-he-ru-ka] (*yi ge bzhi'i don*).^b

He should then instantaneously (*cig car du*) turn everything into emptiness and in that emptiness (*stong pa'i ngang las*), after having abandoned his common ego (*tha mal pa'i nga rgyal spangs*), he should adopt the self-awareness of a two-armed Samvara (*Sdom pa phyag gnyis pa*) embracing his consort (*shes rab ma dang bcas pa*).^c

He should then visualise a radiant alphabet (*ā li kā li*) bracketed by OM and PHAT rotating counterclockwise (*g.yon skor du dkris*).^d Then

-
- a The subject is either not specified or missing from the Tibetan translation. I have adopted *yogi* here, since it is thus that Prajñārakṣita and Śākyarakṣita refer to the practitioner (Lüyī has *yogeśvaraṇa*). Equally plausible, although perhaps not always interchangeable, would be *mantri* or *sādhaka*.
 - b This passage closely follows Prajñārakṣita's preliminaries (CAATI p. 87, ll. 2–6): *prathamataram śmaśānaparvatādāv uccasthāne śavopaviṣṭo muktakesī daksiṇābhīmukho yogī mukhaprakṣiptapañcāmr̥tavatikah/ ŚRĪ-HE-RU-KA ity akṣaracatuṣṭayasyārtham āmukhayan* (corr., āmukayan SAKURAI)—ŚRĪkāram *advayaṇ jñānam* (corr., advaya jñānam SAKURAI) HE *iti hetusūnyam* RU *iti apagatavyūhaṇ KA iti na kvacit sthitam// iti//*. It is noteworthy that Abhayākaragupta leaves out the cremation ground as a possible—indeed the most favoured—place for practice, as well as the requirement to sit on a corpse. This is reintroduced, however, in the AMA (p. 1, ll. 10–11, GSS 14^v5): ... *kvacic chmaśānaparvatādideśe sukhāsanopaviṣṭah sākṣāc chavopaviṣṭo vā* ... None of the above injunctions are present in the CAA. Prajñārakṣita is fully aware of the innovations and justifies them as stemming from the teachings of his *guru* (cf. CAATI p. 87, ll. 13–14).
 - c This is quite different from what Prajñārakṣita has. There (CAATI p. 87, ll. 7–8) it is stated that the practitioner should utter thrice the mantra ŚRĪHERUKO'HAM and then visualise himself as a two-armed Samvara (no consort is mentioned). The AMA omits this visualisation altogether at this stage.
 - d This has close parallels in both the CAATI (p. 87, ll. 8–10): *tadanantarām OM-kārādi-HŪM-HŪM-PHAT-kārāntām ālikālipaṅktītī pañcaraśmikām trir uccārya pariveṣṭya* (em., pariveṣṭyā SAKURAI) *sthitam/*; and the AMA (p. 1, ll. 11–14, GSS 14^v5–15^v1) ... OM A Ā I Ī U Ü R Ā L Ī E AI O AU AM AH KA KHA GA GHA Ā CA CHA JA JHA Ā TA THA DA DHA NA TA THA DA DHA NA PA PHA BA BHA MA YA RA LA VA ŠA SA SA HA KSA HŪM HŪM PHAT ity ālikālipaṅktisphuratañcaraśmikām trir uccārya pariveṣṭya sthitām ...

he should mentally send forth (*spros*) the deities of the three wheels (*'khor lo gsum*) to crush the host of obstacle-demons (*bgegs kyi tshogs*).^a The *yogī* should then develop the firm mental conviction (*lhag par mos pa byas*) that each constituent of his person is identical with a deity: *rūpaskandha* and so forth are *Vairocana* and so forth.^b

Then the quartet of [*rakṣā*]mantras is recited.^c These are to be visualised in large-bodied letters (*gzugs shin tu che ba*) pervading the universe from the abode of Brahmā (*Tshangs pa'i gnas* [sic!]) to the underworld (*sa 'og*) as black, dark green, white, and yellow, in the east, north, west, and south respectively. From these a quadrangular fence of *vajras* (*rdo rje'i ra ba*) emerges. The four sides are of the same colour as their corresponding *mantras*.^d At the same time (*de dang mynyam du*), with this procedure the *yogī* should visualise a crossed *vajra* (*sna tshogs rdo rje*) emerging from and marked by the syllable HŪṂ. This should then be homologised with the earth below down to the underworld.^e It is here that the text of our fragment picks up.

- a Cf. CAATĪ (p. 87, l. 10): *spharattricakre devatāvṛndān mardita*(conj., aṅghi-ta° SAKURAI) *vighnavṛndān bhāvayitvā ...*; AMA (p. 1, ll. 14–15, GSS 15^r1): *sphurattricakra devatāvṛndān marditavighnavṛndān bhāvayet*.
- b The complete list is given in CAA (p. 3, ll. 3–9), on which see CAATĪ (p. 88–89, section [2]); several options are mentioned in the AMA (p. 1–2, GSS 15^r–15^v).
- c The four are given in the Tibetan text as: OM SUMBHA NISUMBHA HŪṂ HŪṂ PHAT; OM GRHNA GRHNA HŪṂ HŪṂ PHAT; OM GRHNĀPAYA 2 HŪṂ HŪṂ PHAT; OM ĀNAYA HO BHAGAVĀN VIDYĀRĀJA HŪṂ HŪṂ PHAT. The root-text of the cult, the *Herukābhidhāna*, apparently encodes the mantras in the following way: OM SUMBHA NISUMBHA HUM PHAT; OM GRIHNĀPAYA 2 HUM PHAT; OM GRIHNĀPAYA 2 HUM PHAT; OM ĀNAYA HO BHAGABĀM VAJRA HUM PHAT. However, it should be noted that the decoding of these mantras is extremely problematic and quite different interpretations exist both in indigenous and contemporary literature. The form *bhagabām* betrays the Eastern (Magadha/Bengal) origin of the text. Abhayākaragupta's *vidyārāja* (and also *vajrarāja*) are well attested as variants of *vajra*. The mantras were most likely adopted from the *Sarvatathāgatataattvasaṃgraha* (1,328,656 and 1,531,1275).
- d Cf. CAATĪ (p. 89, ll. 22–26) with *pratikas* from the CAA in bold italics: ... OM SUMBHA NISUMBHA *ityādi caturo mantrān uccārayan/ kṛṣṇaharitarakta-pīṭavarpān* (corr., °varṇām SAKURAI) *brahmāṇḍarasātalavyāpijjvalanmahākā-yān pūrvottarapaścimadakṣināsu dīkṣu krameṇa niveśayet//* SUMBHA dimantraraśmibhis *tadvartāṇś caturaḥ prākārān ...*; AMA (p. 5, ll. 12–14, GSS 18^r1–2): ... *kṛṣṇaharitarakta-pīṭavarpān brahmāṇḍarasātalavyāpijjvalanmahā-kā-yān pūrvottarapaścimadakṣināsu dīkṣu krameṇa SUMBHA dimantraraśmibhir yāvadicchāvistārān caturo vajraprākārān OM VAJRAPRĀKĀRA HŪṂ VAM HŪṂ ity uccārya niveśayet/*
- e Cf. CAATĪ (p. 89, ll. 26–28): *tatsamakālam eva HŪṂkārajatadadhīṣṭhitavi-śvavajreṇa viśvavajramayīm bhūmīm ā rasātalaparyantām/*; AMA (p. 5, ll.

4.2 Edition of fol. 2.

... [2^r] -śvavajramayīm bhūmim ā rasātalaparyantām¹ tadvajrakiraṇaiḥ pañcasūkavajrākāram² upari³ śarajālam tasyādho⁴ vajrapañjaram tada-
adho vajravitānam ca⁵ cintayet⁶^a

tataḥ SUMBHĀ^[2]dimantracatuṣṭayaniṣpannāś catasraḥ Kākāsyā-
didevīś tadubhayobhayaṁantra⁷raśmisambhūtāś catasro⁸ Yamadā-
ḍhyādidevīr aṣṭau dvibhujaikavaktrā dakṣiṇena vajramudgaram^[3] vāmenātmarūpanābhyaḍhaṅkīlam bibhratīḥ spharitvā⁹ daśadiggata-
vighnavṛndam āniya dīrghanādoccāritahŪMniṣpanneṣv aṣṭadikṣv¹⁰
aṣṭasu prākārasamīpakūpeṣu^[4] praveṣya OM GHA 2 GHĀTAYA 2
SARVADUṢTAPRADUṢTĀN¹¹ HŪM 2 PHĀT KĪLAYA 2¹² SARVAPĀPĀN¹³
HŪM 2 PHĀT HŪM 3 VAJRAKĪLA¹⁴ VAJRADHARO ĀJÑĀPAYATI SARVAVI-
GHNĀNĀM¹⁵ KĀYAVĀ^[5]KCITTAM¹⁶ KĪLAYA HŪM PHĀT ity uccāraṇena¹⁷
kīlayantīḥ¹⁸ OM VAJRAMUDGARA VAJRAKĪLĀKOṬAYA¹⁹ HŪM PHĀT ity
uccāraṇenākoṭayantīḥ²⁰ kīlanākoṭanābhyaṅm vighna^[6]vṛndam mahā-
sukhena tathataikarasam²¹ saṃcintya śeṣavighnān utsārya²² prākāre²³

14–16, GSS 18^r 2–4): tatsamakālam eva HŪMkārajata dadhiṣṭhitaviśvavajrena
OM MEDINI VAJRIBHAVA VAJRABANDHA HŪM iti paṭhitvā viśvavajramayīm
bhūmim ā rasātalaparyantām adhitiṣṭhet/

a Cf. CAATI (p. 89, l. 28–p. 90, l. 1): tadvajraraśmibhiḥ pañcasūcikāvajrākā-
ram upari śarajālam/ tasyādho vajrapañjaram vajravitānam ca yathāsthānam
vicintayet; AMA (p. 5, l. 17–p. 6, l. 1, GSS 18^r 4–5): tato vajraraśmibhiḥ OM
VAJRAŚARAJĀLA TRĀM ŚAM TRĀM ity abhidhāya pañcasūkavajrākāram atini-
bidam upari śarajālam/ tasyādho vajrapañjaram HŪM PĀM HŪM ity uccārya
vajrapañjaram/ OM VAJRAVITĀNA HŪM KHAM HŪM ity uccārya yathāsthānam
vajravitānam/ OM VAJRAJĀLĀNALĀRKA HŪM HŪM HŪM ity uktvā vajrajvālām
ca cintayet/

1 °paryantām] COD., bar du'o|| T_{Sde} = *°paryantam| 2 pañcasūkavajrākāram] COD., rdo rje lṅga pa'i ra ba T_{Sde} = *pañcasūkavajrākāram 3 upari] COD., de'i phiyir T_{Sde} = *tadbahiḥ 4 tasyādho] COD., 'og tu T_{Sde} = *adho 5 vajrapañ-
jaram tada-
dho vajravitānam ca] COD., rdo rje bla res bryyan pa'i gur T_{Sde} 6 cintayet] COD.^{p.c.}, cintayati COD.^{a.c.}, bsam par bya'o T_{Sde} 7 °mantra^o] COD., omitted in T_{Sde} 8 catasro] COD., omitted in T_{Sde} 9 vāmenātmarūpanābhya-
dhaṅkīlam bibhratīḥ spharitvā] COD., g.yon phur bu ste| de yang lte ba yan chad rang dang 'dra ba bsnams pas rang dang 'dra ba du ma sprul nas T_{Sde} (eyeskip?) 10 aṣṭadikṣv] COD., omitted in T_{Sde} 11 sarvaduṣtapraduṣtān] COD., sarba duṣṭān pra duṣṭān T_{Sde} 12 kīlāya 2] COD., om kī la ya kī la ya T_{Sde} 13 sarvapāpān] COD., sarba pā pam T_{Sde} 14 vajrakīla] COD., badzra kī la ya T_{Sde} 15 sar-
vavighnānām] COD., sarba bighnām T_{Sde} 16 kāyavākcittam] COD., kā ya wāk tsitta badzra T_{Sde} 17 uccāraṇena] COD., sngags 'dis mgo la T_{Sde} 18 kīlāyan-
tīḥ] corr., kīlam yantīḥ COD. 19 vajrakīlākoṭaya] COD., badzra kī la ā ko ṭa ya T_{Sde} 20 uccāraṇenākoṭayantīḥ] COD., de nas ... brdung pa'i sngags kyis brdung bar bya ba'o|| T_{Sde} 21 mahāsukhena tathataikarasam] COD., bde ba chen po dang ro gcig par gyur par T_{Sde} 22 utsārya] COD., bskrad T_{Sde} = *uccāṭya 23 prākāre] COD., de'i 'od ra ba la T_{Sde} = (?)

līyamānāsu tāsu tato nirgacchato vajrapadmacakravalayaprākārāṁś¹
cintayet| jagac ca sarvathā ni^[7]rvighnam adhimuñcet|^a

tato² hṛdi AMjacandrasthanīla³HŪMmayūkhair vakṣyamāṇamaṇḍa-
lacakram ānīya purato⁴ HŪMnirmita⁵śoḍāśadevībhiḥ pūjayed|^b

- a Cf. CAATI (p. 90, ll. 2–14): *tataḥ SUMBHĀdimantracatuṣṭayaniṣpannāḥ Kākā-*
syādicatasro devyah/ tadaivo(conj., tad evo° SAKURAI) *bhayabhyamantrara-*
śmisambhūtā Yamadādhyādi(corr., Yamadādhyādi° SAKURAI) *catasro devyah/*
etā aṣṭau dvibhujaikavaktrāḥ/ nābher adhaḥ śūlākārā dakṣiṇe vajramudgarā-
dharā vāma ātmarūpikilakahastāḥ spharaṇayogena gatvā daśadiggatavighna-
vṛndam ānīya dīrghanādoccārītaHŪMkāraniṣpannāṣṭadiṣṭaprākārasamīpa-
kūpeṣu praveṣya kīlanamantrocāraṇapūrvakam vīghnavṛndam kīlayantyāḥ/
ākoṭana(corr., ākoṭana° SAKURAI) *mantrocāraṇapūrvakam ākoṭayantyāḥ/ kī-*
lanākotanābhyaṁ vīghnavṛndam mahāsukhena tathataikarūpaṁ vicintayet//
punah śeṣavīgnān uccātya/ prākāre līyamānāsu tāsu toye toyasphālanabi-
ndunirgamanyāyena sīmābandhārtham vartulān vajrapadmacakraprākārān vi-
cintayet/ tad eva vajraprākārādikam niḥsandhyekakhaṇḍībhūtam sarvathā nir-
vīgnām ca jagad adhimuñcet//; AMA (p. 6, ll. 1–15, GSS 18^r6–19^r1): *tada-*
nu SUMBHĀdimantracatuṣṭayaniṣpannāḥ Kākāsyādicatasro devīs tadaivobha-
yobhayamantrāśmisambhūtā Yamadādhyādicatasro devīs cintayet/ etā dvi-
bhujaikavaktrā nābher adhaḥ śūlākārā dakṣiṇe vajramudgaradhāriṇyo vāma
ātmarūpikilakahastāḥ spharaṇayogena gatvā daśadiggatavīghnavṛndam ānīya
dīrghanādoccārītaHŪMkāraniṣpanneṣu vajraprākārabāḥyeṣu samīpe digvidiga-
ṣṭakūpeṣu praveṣya OM GHA GHA GHĀTAYA 2 SARVADUṢTĀN PHĀṭ KĪLAYA
2 SARVAPĀPĀN PHĀṭ HŪM HŪM HŪM VAJRAKĪLA VAJRADHARO ĀJÑĀPAYA-
TI SARVAVIGHNĀNĀM KĀYAVĀKCITTAVAJRAM KĪLAYA 2 HŪM PHĀṭ iti kīla-
namantrocāraṇapūrvakam kīlayantīḥ/ OM VAJRAMUDGARA VAJRAKĪLĀKOTA-
YA HŪM PHĀṭ ity ākoṭanamantrocāraṇapūrvakam ākoṭayantīḥ/ ākoṭanakī-
lanābhyaṁ vīghnavṛndam mahāsukhena tathataikarūpaṁ kurvantīr bhāvayet/
punah śeṣavīgnān utsārya prākāreṣu līyamānāsu tāsu toye toyasphālanabi-
ndunirgamanyāyena sīmābandhārtham vartulān vajrapadmacakraprākārāṁś
cintayet/ tad evaṁ vajraprākārādivīgnotsāraṇaviśuddhyā niḥsandhyekakha-
ṇḍībhūtam nirvīgnām ca jagad adhimuñcya ...

- b Cf. CAATI (p. 90, ll. 21–27): *tata iti rakṣābhāvanānāntaram/ svahṛdaya*
iti rakṣāpañjaramadhyasthitasyātmano hṛdaye/ Akāreṇety anusvārayuktena/
taduparīti/ candropari/ HŪMkāreṇa Vajradhararūpeṇa/ Vajradharasya ca-
ndramandalitvām yuktam eva// nānāraśmivispharantam iti spharatpañca-
raśmikam/ njavarṇas tu HŪMkārasya pāradasadrśāḥ/ madhye nīlatuvena bāhye
sukratuvena// sampūjyeti/ Viṇādīśodāśadevībhiḥ/; AMA (p. 3, ll. 12–15, GSS
16^r5–16^v1): *tataḥ svahṛdantahsuṣire RAMkārabiṣjanirjātaravimāṇḍalasthara-*
ktavāMkāraṁ dṛṣṭvā tatkiraṇair antaḥkalmaṣam apasārya pratirovavivaravi-
nirgatair vakṣyamāṇabhagavatīmaṇḍalacakram gurubuddhabodhisattvāṁś cā-

¹ vajrapadmacakravalayaprākārāṁś] COD., rdo rje dang padma 'khor lo'i khor yug T_{Sde} ² tato] COD., de ltar T_{Sde} ³ °nīla°] COD.^{p.c.}, °nīlama° COD.^{a.c.} ⁴ ānīya purato] COD., mdun gyi nam mkha' la spyan drangs la phyag rgyas ārgha la sogs pa dbul zhing T_{Sde} = *habhasi purata ānīya| mudreṇārghādikam datvā ⁵ °nirmita°] corr., °nirmata° COD.

tatra PuṣpāDhūpāDīpāGa[2^v]ndhāḥ{|} śvetadhūmradiṣikhābhāraktavarnāḥ pradhānabhuje¹ puṣpa²dhūpakaṭacchu³dīpayaṣṭi⁴gandhaśāṅkhāḥ| itarabhujatrayeṣu ḍamarukapālakhaṭvāṅgāni^a|

VīṇāVamśāMṛdaṅgāMurajā{|} nī^[2]lapītaraktaharitāḥ svavavādyavādanaparapradhānabhujeadvayā aparadvayor⁵ vajravajraghanṭau⁶|^b

Hāsyā raktā hāsyābhinayakaradvayā⁷| Lāsyā nīlā vajravajraghanṭā⁸dhārisagarva⁹lā^[3]syābhinaya¹⁰bhujadvayā| Gītā pītā kamṣikādhāridvibhujā¹¹| Nṛtyā haritā kamalāvarttābhinaya¹²dvibhujā| āsāṁ pradhānasavyetarakarayoh¹³ kapāla¹⁴khaṭvāṅ^[4]ge|^c

krṣyāniya nabhasi purato vibhāvyā vanditvā bijaraśmivisphārita Vīṇādiśo daśadevibhir arcayet/

- a Cf. CAATī (p. 91, ll. 6–9): *PuṣpāDhūpāDīpāGandhāḥ śvetadhūmradiṣikhābhāraktavarnāś caturbhujā ekamukhāḥ/ āsāṁ pradhānaikabhuje puṣpadhūpakaṭacchu* (corr., °kāṭacchuka° SAKURAI) *dīpayaṣṭigandhaśāṅkhāḥ* (corr., °śāṅkhān SAKURAI) | *itarabhujatrayeṣu ḍamarukapālakhaṭvāṅgāni*;; AMA (p. 4, ll. 2–4, GSS 16^v 4–5): *PuṣpāDhūpāDīpāGandhāḥ śvetadhūmradiṣikhābhāraktavarnāḥ caturbhujākavaktrāḥ/ āsāṁ pradhānaikabhuje puṣpadhūpakaṭacchudīpayaṣṭigandhaśāṅkhāḥ/ itarabhujatrayeṣu ḍamarukapālakhaṭvāṅgāni*
- b Cf. CAATī (p. 90, l. 27–p. 91, l. 2): *tatra VīṇāVamśāMṛdaṅgāMurajāḥ/ ekavaktrāś caturbhujāḥ/ nīlapītaraktaharitāḥ/ svavavādyavādana* (corr., °vādaya° SAKURAI) *tatparapradhānabhujeadvayāḥ/ vajravajraghanṭādhārāparabhujeadvayāḥ*;; AMA (p. 3, ll. 15–16, GSS 16^v 1–2): *tatra VīṇāVamśāMṛdaṅgāMurajā ekavaktrāś caturbhujā nīlapītaraktaharitāḥ svavavādyavādanatataprapradhānabhujeadvayā vajravajraghanṭādhārāparabhujeadvayāḥ/*
- c Cf. CAATī (p. 91, ll. 2–6): *HāsyāLāsyāGītāNṛtyāḥ/ ekamukhāś caturbhujāḥ/ arunaniłapītaraharitāḥ/ Hāsyā hāsyābhinayakaradvayā/ Lāsyā vajravajraghanṭādhārisagarvalāsyābhinaya pradhānabhujeadvayā/ Gītā kāmṣikādhāribhujadvayā/ Nṛtyā kamalābhinaya pradhānabhujeadvayā/ āsāṁ anyadakṣiṇetarabhujadvayoh kapālakhaṭvāṅge* (corr., kapālakhaṭvāṅgau SAKURAI) ;; AMA (p. 3, l. 17–p. 4, l. 2, GSS 16^v 2–4): *HāsyāLāsyāGītāNṛtyāḥ/ ekamukhāś caturbhujā arunaniłapītaraharitāḥ/ Hāsyā hāsyābhinaya pradhānabhujeadvayā/ Lāsyā vajravajraghanṭādhārisagarvalāsyābhinaya pradhānabhujeadvayā/ Gītā kāmṣikādhāripradhānabhujeadvayā/ Nṛtyā kamalābhinaya pradhānabhujeadvayā/ āsāṁ anyadakṣiṇetarabhujayoh kapālakhaṭvāṅge/* It is to be noted that compared to the

¹ pradhānabhuje] COD., phyag g.yas kyi dang po na T_{Sde} = *pradhānaikabhuje (?) ² puspa^o] COD., me tog gi gzhong pa T_{Sde} = *puṣpakaraṇḍa/[ka] ³ °dhūpakaṭacchu^o] COD., spos khang T_{Sde} ⁴ °dīpayaṣṭi^o] COD., mar me T_{Sde} = *dīpa ⁵ aparadvayor] em., dvayor COD., gzhān gnyis kyis T_{Sde} ⁷ °karadvayā] COD., dang po gnyis kyis T_{Sde} = *°pradhānakaradvayā° ⁸ vajravajraghanṭā^o] COD., rdo rje dril bu T_{Sde} = *°vajravajraghanṭā° ⁹ °sagarva^o] corr., °sagarbha° COD., dkur = °sagarbha° ¹⁰ °lāsyābhinaya^o] COD., omitted in T_{Sde} ¹¹ kamṣikādhāridvibhujā] COD., 'khar ba'i sil khrol rdeb pa T_{Sde} ¹² kamalāvarttābhinaya^o] COD., pad kor mdzad pa T_{Sde} ¹³ pradhānasavyetarakarayoh] COD., phyag gzhān rnam kyi T_{Sde} ¹⁴ kapāla^o] COD.^{p.c.}, kapālakṣa^o COD.^{a.c.}

ĀdarśāRasāSparsā¹Dharmāḥ{||} śvetaraktaḥarita dhavalāḥ² pra-
dhānabhuje³ darpaṇarasapātraviśvavastra ḍharmodayāḥ| itaratrayeru
ḍamarukapālakhaṭvāṅgā^[5]ni⁴|^a
ṣoḍāśāpi caturbhujai kavaktrāḥ|^b

tadanv aṣṭapadamantraiḥ stutvā pāpadeśanādyanantaram⁵|^c OM
SVABHĀVĀSUDDHĀḥ SARVADHARMĀḥ SVABHĀVĀSUDDHO 'HAM⁶ ity
asyārtham āmukha^[6]yamṣ traidhātukam śūnyasvarūpam nirūpayamś⁷
cittam⁸ tryakṣararūpam OM-Āḥ-HŪM-Ū-HA⁹-śiro'rdhendubindūn kra-
meṇa¹⁰ nāde 'ntarbhāvyā| OM ŚŪNYATĀJÑĀNAVAJRASVABHĀVĀTMAKO

CAATĪ and the AMA Abhayākaragupta not only breaks up the compounds in this series (which does not change the meaning at all) but also reverses the requisites in the arms of the goddesses. For the time being I am unable to offer an explanation for this.

- a Cf. CAATĪ (p. 91, ll. 9–12): *ĀdarśāRasāSparsāDharmāḥ/ śvetaraktaḥarita dhavalāś caturbhujai kāmukhaḥ/ pradhāna ikaḥ bhujena darpaṇa rasapātra viśvavastra ḍharmodaya dharāḥ/ itarabhuja trayeru ḍamarukapālakhaṭvāṅgāni//;* AMA (p. 4, l. 4–6, GSS 16^v5–17^r1): *ĀdarśāRasāSparsāDharmāḥ śvetaraktaḥarita dhavalāś caturbhujai kāmukhaḥ/ pradhāna ikaḥ bhujena darpaṇa rasapātra viśvavastra ḍharmodaya dharāḥ/ itarabhuja trayeru ḍamarukapālakhaṭvāṅgāni//*
- b Notice that Abhayākaragupta modifies the order of the worship-goddesses. Both the CAATĪ and the AMA transmit the series beginning with Viñā, Hāsyā, Puṣpā and Ādarśā respectively, whereas the present work has a series beginning with Puṣpā, Viñā, Hāsyā, and Ādarśā respectively. I am unable to give an explanation for this peculiarity.
- c Cf. CAATĪ (p. 91, ll. 13–15): *aṣṭapadamantraiḥ stutvā/ tataḥ sarva sattvā bhyu- ddharaṇāyātmānam tebhyo niryātya/ pāpadeśanādyartham «ratnatrayam me śaraṇam» ityādigāthām tridhā pathed iti punya sambhāra uktāḥ//;* AMA (p. 4, ll. 7–14, GSS 17^r1–5): *tadanu vaksyamāṇāṣṭapadamantrair abhistutya pāpadeśanā punyānumodanā nirvāṇakāma jinacira sthity artha dhyeṣāṇā dharmacakra pravr̄ttiyartha buddhaya canā svapuṇyapariṇāmanā ceti [sic!] sapta vidhānu- ttarapūjām kṛtvā ratnatrayaśaraṇa gama na jinamārgāśrayaṇāt mabhāvan iryā- tanā bodhicittotpāda puraḥ saram sarva sattvānām eka putravat tatha ika rasamahāsukha samyojanāvāñchātmikām maitrīm duḥkhoddharaṇa kāmanākārām karuṇām utpannu kuśalamūlabhogaiśvaryādiṣ aviyoge cchāsva bhāvām mudi- tām sarvatra pratighānunayarahit adharma tāyām svara sa vā hitayā pravṛtti la- kṣaṇām upekṣām ca bhāvayitvopārjita punya samṝbhāro ...*

1 °Sparsā°] corr., °rSparsā° Cod. 2 ĀdarśāRasāSparsāDharmāḥ śvetaraktaḥarita dhavalāḥ] Cod., Gzugs ma dkar| Ro ma dmar| Reg ma ljang| Chos ma dkar mo ste| T_{Sde} = *Ādarśā śvetā| Rasā raktā| Sparsā haritā| Dharmā dhavalā| 3 pradhānabhuje] Cod., phyag g.yas dang po T_{Sde} = *pradhānadakṣiṇabhuje 4 °khaṭvāṅgāni] corr., °khaṭvām gāni [sic!] Cod.^{p.c.}, °khaṭvām ni Cod.^{a.c.} 5 pā- padeśanādyanantaram] Cod., sdig pa bshags pa la sog pa bya| T_{Sde} 6 'ham] corr., ham Cod. 7 nirūpayamś] corr., nirūpamś [sic!] Cod. 8 cittam] Cod., rang gi sems nyid T_{Sde} = *svacittam 9 ū-ha°] Cod., de la u ha T_{Sde} 10 °bindūn krameṇa] corr., °bindūnakrameṇa Cod.

'HAM¹ ity arthapra^[7]tītyāntar jalpan² nādamātravikalpam api tyajet^[a]

prāk³praṇidhānādhipatyān nādarūpeṇa⁴ svacittam⁵ nabhasy ava-
sthāpya svasvabījādhishṭhitāYAMjasapatāka⁶dhanvābhānilā⁷vāyuRAM-
[end of 2^v] ... ^b

a Cf. CAAṬī (p. 92, ll. 5–11): ... OM SVABHĀVETYĀdimantram uccārayan traidhā-
tukam śūnyam paśyet// prapnidhānavasāt tac cittam (corr., taccittam SAKU-
RAI) uparyupari sthitam sitaraktakṛṣṇa-OM-ĀH-HŪM-kārarūpaṁ cintayet// ta-
ta OM-kārāt kāyacakradevatāḥ (corr., °devatā° SAKURAI) saṃspārya jagada-
rthaṇ kṛtvā samāpattiपūrvakam dravīkṛtya tasminn eva praveśayet// tathā ĀH-
kārād vākcakradevatāḥ (corr., °devatā° SAKURAI)// HŪMkārāc cittacakradeva-
tāḥ (corr., °devatā° SAKURAI)// tata OM-kāram ĀH-kāre/ ĀH-kāram HŪM-kāre/
Ū-kāram HA-kāre/ HA-kāram śirasī/ śiro 'rdhacandre/ ardhadandram bindau/
bindum nāda antarbhāvyā vālāgraśatasahasrabhāgaprāmāṇam avasthāpya/ ...
& CAAṬī (p. 92, ll. 13–16): om śūnyatājñānavajretyādimantram uccārya
nādamātram vikalpaṇ parityajet//; AMA (p. 4, l. 14–p. 5, l. 4, GSS 17^r 5–
17^v 3): ... jñānasamṛbhārābhivṛddhaye OM SVABHĀVAŚUDDHĀḥ SARVADHARMAḥ
SVABHĀVAŚUDDHO 'HAM ity arthābhimukhikaranapūrvakam pathet// atra sva-
bhāvasuddhāḥ sarvadharmaḥ iti grahyavisuddhiḥ/ svabhāvaśuddho 'ham iti grā-
hakaviśuddhiḥ/ «māyām vidhāya māyāvī yadā samharate punah/ na kirṇcid
vidyate tatra dharmāṇām sā hi dharmate»ti pravacanāt/ traidehātukam āni-
tamaṇḍalacakram ca pratibhāsamātrasvabhāvam prabhāsvara eva praveśya/
ātmāṇam ca ravau/ tam VAMkāre/ tam ardhadandre/ tam bindau, tam nāde/
tadvikalpam api OM ŚŪNYATĀJÑĀNAVAJRAŚVABHĀVĀTMĀKO 'HAM ity arthā-
nugamenoccārya tyajet/ śūnyatājñānam evābhedyatvād vajram tasya svabhā-
vas tadātmako 'ham ity arthaḥ/

b Cf. CAA (p. 4, ll. 17–22): tato viśuddhyādhārādheyamāṇḍalam bhairambhā-
disamṛsthitam vicintya/ YAM-kārapariṇatam vāyumaṇḍalam dhvajāṇkitam
dhanvābhām (corr., dhanvābhām SAKURAI) nīlavarnam/ tasyopari RAM-kā-
rapariṇatam āneyamāṇḍalam raktavarṇam trikoṇam jvālāṇkitam/ tasyopari
VAM-kārapariṇatam apmaṇḍalam vartulaṇ śvetavarṇam ghaṭāṇkitam/ tasyo-
pari LAM-kārapariṇatam pārthivamāṇḍalam caturasram pīṭavarnam catusru
koṇeṣu triśūkavajrāṇkitam/; CAAṬī (p. 92, ll. 16–19): tata iti śūnyatātāḥ//
vibudhyeti/ nādarūpeṇa svacittam nabhasy avasthāpya/ ādhārādheyarūpam
cakram bhairambhādisamṛsthitam/ vāyumaṇḍalādyuparigatam cintayet//
ayam uddesāḥ// asya nirdeśo yanṄkāretyādi sugamam//; AMA (p. 5, ll. 5–8,
GSS 17^v 3–4): tataḥ pūrvapraṇidhānāvedhavaśāt śūnyatāsamādher vyutthāya
svacittam evoparyupari YAM-RAM-VAM-LAMparīṇatadhanustrikoṇavartula-
caturasrākāranilaraktaśvetapīṭavarnacalatpatākāṇkakotidvayajvālāṇkaghaṭā-
ṇkatriśūkavajrāṇkakōṇacatuṣṭayam vāyuvahnivaruṇakṣitimaṇḍalasvabhāvam
vicintya ...

1 'ham] corr., ham COD. **2** °pratītyāntar jalpan] COD.^{a.c.}, °pratītyā 'ntar jalpan
COD.^{p.c.} **3** prāk^o] corr., prāka^o COD., de nas sngon gyi T_{Sde} = *tataḥ prāk^o **4**
°rūpeṇa] corr., °rūpena COD. **5** svacittam^o] em., svacitta^o COD. **6** °sapatāka^o]
conj., °sa((pa))+āka^o COD., ba dan gnyis dang ldan pa T_{Sde} **7** °nīla^o] COD.^{p.c.},
°nī^o COD.^{a.c.}

4.3 Synopsis of *fol. 3–4.

The text proceeds with injunctions to visualise the disks of fire, water, and earth with their specific shapes, colours, ornaments, and seed-syllables. Thus the disk of wind arises and is presided over (*byin gyis brlabs pa*) by the syllable YAM; it is in the shape of a bow (i.e. a semicircle), dark-blue in colour, and adorned with two [fluttering] streamers [on the two corners]. The disk of fire arises and is presided over by RAM; it is triangular in shape, red in colour, and is adorned by seven flames. The disk of water arises and is presided over by VAM; it is in the shape of a pot, white in colour and is adorned by a pot. The disk of earth arises and is presided over by LAM; it is in the shape of a square, yellow in colour, and is adorned by half-vajras [at the corners].^a

On top of the disks the *yogī* should visualise mount Sumeru fashioned from various jewels (*rin po che sna tshogs*) emerging from the syllable SUM; on top of that a multi-coloured lotus (*sna tshogs padma*) from the syllable PAM; in the chalyx (*ze'u 'bru [!]*) of that lotus a crossed vajra (*sna tshogs rdo rje*) from the syllable HŪM; on the middle of that vajra the string of vowels and consonants (*ā li kā li*) turning around twice to the left and right respectively (*g.yon dang cig shos kyi nyis 'gyur gyis 'khor ba*); and finally, arising from the alphabet, a moon-disk.^b

From the moon-disk and another HŪM [...],^c white on the outside and dark-blue on the inside, the palace (*gzhal yas khang*) for the five

^a For the parallels see note b on previous page.

^b Cf. CAA (p. 4, ll. 22–25): *tasyopari SUM-kārapariṇataṁ sumeruparvatam caturasram catūratnamayam* (corr., caturratnamayam SAKURAI) *aṣṭa-śrīgopaśobhitam/ tasyopari HŪM-kāranirjātam viśvavajram/ tasyopari PAM-kārapariṇataṁ viśvapadmam aṣṭadalaṁ karṇikākeśarānvitam// tanmadhye ālikāliyogam//*; CAATI (p. 92, l. 20–p. 93, l. 2): *tasyopari hūṃkāranirjātam viśvavajram ity asyāyam arthaḥ// Sumerūpari PAM-kārajavīśvapadma-karṇikoparīty arthaḥ// viśvapadmam aṣṭadalaṁ karṇikākeśarānvitam ity asya padmasya diganukrameṇa varṇā ucyanṭe// «pūrvādidigvāsidalāru-nābhām vāyavagnidigvāsidalaṁ ca pītām/ pretādhipeśānadiśo ca dūrvāśyāmā-bdakṛṣṇaṁ khalu viśvapadmam//» ity asyāyam arthaḥ// pūrvādidiggatam raktaṁ vāyavyām āgneyām ca pītām/ nairṛtyām śyāmam aiśānyām kṛṣṇam// ālikāliyogam iti vāmadakṣināvartasthitālikālimālāparināmāt (em., °parinātāt SAKURAI) tadimbavat tadākṛti candramaṇḍalaṁ cintayed iti vartate// iti yogāḥ//*; AMA (p. 5, ll. 8–9, GSS 17^v5): ... *tadupari SUM-kārasamudbhavam caturasram aṣṭaśrīgam pūrvadakṣiṇapaścimottarapārśveṣu rūpyavaidūrya-sphaṭikasuvaramayam sumerum dhyātvā* ... Śākyarakṣita proceeds with building the defences starting with the four *rakṣāmantras* at this stage. For his explanation, see AMA p. 8, ll. 13–16, GSS 20^v2–3.

^c The visual manipulations for this particular syllable described here are not entirely clear to me.

deity-circuits (*'khor lo lnga'i lha*)^a emerges. It is surrounded by eight cremation grounds (*dur khrod*).^b

The visualisation of the main deity-pair follows. The Lord (*bcom ldan das*, i.e. Heruka, Samvara, or Śamvara) stands with legs in the archer position (*g.yas bskum pa'i zhabs kyis*) atop a multi-coloured lotus (*sna tshogs padma*) and a sun-disk, trampling on Bhairava ('*Jigs byed*) and Kālarātri (*Dus mtshan*). His body is black. His faces, beginning with the one looking eastwards and continuing [counterclockwise] towards the north, are black, green, red, and yellow respectively. All faces have three wide-open, bloodshot eyes. His lower garment (*sham thabs*) is the hide of a tiger. He has twelve arms: with the two lowest holding a *vajra* and a bell he embraces his consort, Vajravārāhī (*Rdo rje phag mo*). With the two upper he stretches behind his back a white elephant-hide (*glang po'i pags pa*) dripping with blood. In the remaining arms on the right he holds starting from the top a rattle-drum (*da ma ru*), a hatchet (*dgra sta*), a chopping knife (*gri gug*), and a trident (*rtse gsum pa*). With the ones on the left he holds a skull-staff marked by a *vajra* (*rdo rjes mtshan pa'i kha twām ga*), a skull-bowl filled with blood (*khrag gis gang ba'i thod pa*), a *vajra*-noose (*rdo rje'i zhags pa*), and the head of Brahmā (*Tshangs pa'i ngo bo*). He sports a garland (*do shal*) of fifty [freshly severed] human heads and wears the six bone ornaments (*phyag rgya drug*): a chaplet (*'khor lo*), earrings (*rna rgyan*), a necklace (*mgul rgyan*), bracelets (*lag gdub*), a girdle (*rked rgyan*), and is smeared with ash (*thal ba*). He wears a sacred thread (*tshangs skud*) made out of human sinew (*mi'i rgyus*). His forehead is adorned with [a tiara made of] five skulls. Above that, on his topknot (*ral pa'i thor cog*) there is a jewel (*nor bu*), a digit of the moon (*zla ba tshes pa*) slightly tilted to the left, and a crossed *vajra*. His mouth is distorted by his showing his fangs. He is endowed with the nine 'emotions' (*nyams*)

-
- a In the later terminology of this system the five are: *bāhyacakra*, *kāyacakra*, *vākcakra*, *cittacakra*, and *mahāsukhacakra* (e.g. AMA p. 12, ll. 4–5). Only the second, third, and fourth are attested in the CAA, and only the first to fourth are attested in the CAATI.
 - b Cf. CAA (p. 4, l. 26–p. 5, l. 2): *tanmadhye HŪṂkāram Vajrasattvasvarūpakam nānāraśminiścarantam vicintayet// tatpariṇataṁ śrīHerukavajrām ravi-*
madhyastham maṇḍalacakrānvitam niśpannaśmaśānāśṭakamaṇḍitam// atha
śmaśānāni prakathyate ...; CAATI (p. 93, ll. 3–8): tanmadhya iti can-
dramadhye/ hūṇkāram iti pūrvasthāpitānādāt krameṇa niśpannam/ Vajra-
sattvasvarūpakam iti hetuVajradhararūpam// nānāraśminiścarantam iti
spharaṇe pañcavariṇikaramimukhanirgatapañcacakra devatābhīr jagat tan-
mayikṛtya samharaṇena ca daśadigvartisiddhavirayoginyādyaprajñopāya-
samāyogapūrvakam dravīkṛtya nāde praveṣya/ cintayed iti/

of ‘dance’ (*gar*)^a: love (*sgeg pa*), heroism (*dpa' ba*), disgust (*mi sdug pa*), ferociousness (*drag po*), comedy (*bzhad pa*), terror (*'jigs pa*), compassion (*snying rje*), wonder (*rmad du byung ba*), and tranquility (*zhi ba*).^b

Vajravārāhī embraces the Lord.^c Her body is red, she has one face with three eyes. Her hair is dishevelled. She is naked (lit. sky-clad, *nam mkha'i gos can*), save a girdle made from fragments of skulls (*thod pa'i dum bu*). With her left arm she embraces Heruka's neck, while offering him a stream of blood issuing from a skull-bowl [in her hand]. With her right she sports a *vajra* while stretching out her index finger above. She has a garland made of dried human heads, a halo of solar light (*nyi ma'i 'od kor*), and wears [only] five bone-ornaments (*phyag rgya lnga*). She is menstruating (*khrag 'dzag pa*). She wears a slight smile (*cung zad dgod*) and her body-hair stands on end (*ba spu lang pa*).^d

a On how the nine *rasas* of dramaturgy/poetics are applied to Heruka-style deities, see Isaacson 2007, 302, and the article quoted therein: Tanaka 1994.

b Cf. CAA (p. 5, ll. 18–27): *evam vicintya bhagavantañ caturmukhañ kṛṣṇa-śyāmaraktagauram iti/ trinetram dvādaśabhujaṁ/ ālīḍhāsana(corr., ālīḍasana° SAKURAI)samsthitam/ MahābhairavaKālarātryākramyamānam (corr., °ākrāntamānam SAKURAI)| Vajravārāhyālinītam/ ālinīganabhujadvayena vajraghaṇṭādharam/ aparabhujadvayena gajacarmāmbaradharam/ tṛtiyadakṣiṇakare damarukam/ caturthe paraśuh/ pañcame kartriḥ/ ṣaṣṭhe triśūlam udyatam/ vāmatṛtiyabhuje khaṭvāṅgaṇi/ vajrāṇkitam/ kapālamālālaṅkṛta-śekharam/ ardhadandradhāriṇam/ viśvavajrākṛantamaulinam/ vikṛtānanam/ damstrotkaṭabhiḥānam/ kanthikārucakakundalaśiromanivibhūṣitam/ yajño-pavītam bhasmeti mudrāṣadbhir vibhūṣitam (corr., bhūṣitam SAKURAI) / sat-pāramitāviśuddhāt ṣaḍbhir mudrābhir mudritam// The commentary to this passage does not seem to have survived in its entirety. Cf. CAATI p. 162, l. 6–p. 163, l. 24. For a very similar phrasing to the iconographical description above see NIYOĀ, p. 35, ll. 3–9.*

c Abhayākaragupta is silent on the stance she assumes. According to the CAA and the CAATI she embraces her partner with both legs ‘in the manner of climbing a tree’. However, in depictions the form where she mirrors the Heruka's archer pose is more frequent.

d Cf. CAA (p. 5, l. 28–p. 6, l. 3): *tasyāgrato Bhagavatī raktavarnā eka-mukhī dvibhujaḥ/ trinetraḥ muktakesī nagnā/ khaṇḍamāṇḍitamekhalī/ vāma-bhujālinīgitakapālāduṣṭamārādyasrgdharām/ dakṣiṇena tarjayantī diśāḥ sarvā duṣṭatarjanavajrikā/ kalpāgnivad mahātejā sravantī rudhirapriyā/ jarighā-dvayena samveṣṭya (em., samveṣṭā SAKURAI) mahāsukhakaruṇātmikā//; CAATI (p. 163, l. 25–p. 164, l. 3): agrata iti/ sammukhañ Bhagavantam ālinīga sthitety arthah// khaṇḍamāṇḍitamekhaleti/ kapāla-khaṇḍakṛtakāṭī(corr., °kaṭhi° SAKURAI)bhūṣanā// kalpāgnivad iti/ śūnya-rūpatayā jagadanupalambhasāmyāt// mahātejā iti/ suviśuddhajñānālokayogāt sūryaprabhāmaṇḍalinī// rajoyogāt sravantī// pañcamudrāvibhūṣitā ca bodhavyā// samāveṣṭyeti vṛkṣārohakaraṇasthitā// mahāsukhakaruṇātmiketi/ viṣaṇyanārūpe mahāsukhe nimagnāpi jagadarthakārikā//; for a very similar*

The visualisation of the retinue is preceeded in Abhayākaragupta's text by a general rule as to the order in which they should be placed in the palace: counterclockwise (*g.yon skor*) for the deities in the cardinal directions starting in the east and clockwise (*g.yas su bskor*) for the deities in the intermediate corners starting in the south-east (*me*).^a

[In the first circuit proceeding outwards from the main deity-couple] standing in the archer position (*g.yas brkyang* [sic?]), Dākinī (*Mkha' gro ma*), Lāmā (*Lā mā*), Khanḍarohā (*Dum skyes ma*), and Rūpiṇī (*Gzugs can ma*) are black, [dark] green, red, and [pale] yellow respectively. They are one-faced, three-eyed, naked, with hair dishevelled. They have four arms holding a skull-bowl and a skull-staff in the left and a rattle-drum and a chopping knife in the right.^b

In the intermediate corners there are four skull-bowls (*pad snod*). Abhayākaragupta lists two versions about their contents: they are either filled with semen (*byang sems*), blood (*nyi ma* [!]), the five nectars (*bdud rtsi lnga*), and the five meats (*sgron ma lnga*), or all are filled with the five nectars.^c

Then follows the description for the visualisation of the deity-couples—from here onwards called ‘heroes’ (*dpa' bo*) and ‘heroines’ (*dpa' mo*)—in the eight-spoked, dark-blue *cittacakra* (*thugs kyi 'khor*

phrasing to the iconographical description above see NIYOĀ, p. 35, ll. 10–13.

- a Cf. NIYOĀ (p. 35, l. 14): *tataḥ prācyādidiṣu vāmāvartena vahnyādidiṣu dakṣiṇāvartena nyāsaḥ/* This seems to go contrary to the sources used in Gray 2007. There, in Table one on pp. 58–60 the deities are listed exactly the other way around.
- b Cf. CAA (p. 6, ll. 4–9); AMA (p. 8, ll. 16–20, GSS 20^v3–6): *pūrvādi-daleṣu caturṣu vāmāvartena yathākramam DākinīLāmāKhanḍarohāRūpiṇyāḥ/ krṣṇaśyāmaraktagaurā ekavaktrā caturbhujā vāme khaṭvāṅgakapāladharāḥ/ dakṣiṇe ḍamarukartridhāriṇyas trinetrā damṣṭrākarālavadanā muktakesyā nagnā āliḍhapadāḥ pañcamudrādharaḥ galanmuṇḍamālinyo vajramālāṅkalaṭamekhalāḥ saravaghurghurādivibhūṣitā bhāvanīyāḥ/* cf. NIYOĀ (p. 35, ll. 15–17).
- c Cf. CAA (p. 6, ll. 10–11) especially the second quarter-verse *bodhicittādi-bhāṇḍakāḥ*. It is very likely that there were two (or more) diverging opinions on what the *ādi* should mean. Only the first option seems to have been followed by Śākyarakṣita in his AMA (p. 8, l. 20–p. 9, l. 1, GSS 20^v6–21^r1): *āgneyādidiṣigaleṣu dakṣiṇāvartena bodhicittena rajasā pañcāmṛtaih pañcapradīpaiḥ siddharasavad amṛtibhūtaih paripūrṇāni catvāri padma-bhājanāni bhāvyāni/* Both options are stressed again in the NIYOĀ (p. 35, l. 18–p. 36, l. 1): *vidigdaleṣu bodhicittena rajasā pañcāmṛtaih pañcapradīpaiś ca siddharasavadamṛtibhūtaih pūrṇāny abjabhājanāni catvāry api pañcāmṛtapūrṇāni vā/*

lo) which is surrounded [on the outside] by a dark-blue garland of *vajras* (*rdo rje'i phreng ba*).^a

Proceeding outwards, the deity-couples in the eight-spoked, red *vākcakra* (*gsung gi 'khor lo*) are described. This circle is surrounded by a red garland of lotuses.^b

The third eight-spoked circuit is the white *kāyacakra* (*sku'i 'khor lo*), again with eight pairs of deities, which is delineated by a garland of white wheels.^c

The common iconographical features are given in the next passage. The heroes beginning with *Khaṇḍakapālī* are one-faced, four-armed, three-eyed. Their faces are distorted in a grin, they wear a topknot and a turban (*dpa' bo'i ras*) adorned with a garland of *vajras*. With their lower arms they hold their consorts in embrace with a *vajra* and a bell in hand. Their upper arms sport a rattle-drum and a skull-staff. They wear a sacred thread and the five bone-ornaments. They stand in the archer position. The heroines beginning with *Pracaṇḍā* are also one-faced, three-eyed. Their form is terrifying, their hair untied. They are naked. They have two arms: the left is around their consorts' neck with a skull-bowl in hand, the right hand holds a chopping knife with the index outstretched.^d

The last of the circuits (unnamed here) is that of the gates and the corners of the palace. In the cardinal directions there are four zocephalic goddesses: *Kākāsyā* (*Khra gdong ma*), *Ulūkāsyā* ('*Ug gdong ma*), *Śvānāsyā* (*Khyi gdong ma*), and *Sūkarāsyā* (*Phag gdong ma*). Their features agree with *Dākinī* and so forth [i.e. the goddesses from the innermost circuit in the corresponding direction]. The goddesses in the four corners are anthropocephalic and attractive (*yid 'phrog pa*): *Yamadāḍhī* (*Gshin rje brtan ma*), *Yamadūtī* (*Gshin rje pho nya ma*), *Yamadamṣṭrī/Yamadamṣṭriṇī* (*Gshin rje mche ba ma*), and *Yamamathanī* (*Gshin rje 'joms ma*). The two halves of their bodies as-

a Cf. CAA (p. 6, ll. 12–17); goddesses only in AMA (p. 9, ll. 2–5, GSS 21^r1–3); NiYoĀ (p. 36, ll. 2–5).

b Cf. CAA (p. 6, ll. 18–25); goddesses only in AMA (p. 9, ll. 5–9, GSS 21^r3–5); NiYoĀ (p. 36, ll. 6–8).

c Cf. CAA (p. 6, l. 26–p. 7, l. 5); goddesses only in AMA (p. 9, ll. 9–13, GSS 21^r5–21^v2); NiYoĀ (p. 36, ll. 9–11).

d This arrangement follows CAA (p. 7, ll. 6–16), for which I propose some corrections: *Khaṇḍakapālyādayo* for *Khaṇḍakapālādayo* (l. 6), *ālīḍhāsana°* for *ālīḍāsana°* (l. 10), *muktakeśa°* for *mukutakeśa°* (l. 13). For goddesses only cf. AMA (p. 9, ll. 13–14, GSS 21^v2–3); NiYoĀ (p. 36, ll. 12–17).

sume the colour of the goddess standing in that cardinal direction. All eight goddesses stand on a corpse (*ro'i gdan*).^a

All deities beginning with Dākinī wear garlands of human heads, a garland of *vajras* on their foreheads, and a girdle made of bits of bone from which tinkling tiny bells hang.^b

The retinue must be visualised in an instant, simultaneously with the main deity-pair.^c

At the same time the *yogī* should visualise in the heart of the Lord a black HŪṂ called the *samādhisattva* (*ting nge 'dzin sems dpa'*), and in his navel a string of the alphabet in five colours having as its nature [!?] the deities of the *mandala*.

This string should exit together with the breath [of the Heruka who is the *yogī*] on the right nostril and fuse the entire world ('*gro ba thams cad*) with the nature of [the three *mandala*-]wheel[s] ('*khor lo*). After the world and the heroes and heroines 'become of the same taste' (*ro gcig tu gyur*) they are brought back by the same string via the breath entering on the left nostril. The practitioner should perceive them in the form of a reflection of a moon-disk [on water].^d

That moon-disk should then become adorned with a HŪṂ which turns into a white, one-faced, two-armed [Heruka]. He holds a *vajra* and a bell while embracing Vajravārāhī. He stands in the archer position

a Cf. CAA (p. 7, ll. 17–22) correcting *Yamadāṭī* to *Yamadāḍhī* (l. 18), *vidhi-*
sisthās to *vidiksthās* (l. 21); AMA (p. 9, ll. 15–18, GSS 21^v 3–5); NiYOĀ (p. 36, l. 18–p. 37, l. 2).

b Cf. CAA (p. 7, ll. 22–23), which seems to mention only the garland of *vajras*. These specifications were quoted earlier in the AMA (p. 8, ll. 16–20, GSS 20^v 3–6). NiYOĀ (p. 37, l. 3–4): *sarvāś ca Dākinyādidevatā galāvalam-*
bi muṇḍamālā vajramālāñkalalāṭāḥ pañcamudrīṇyo mēkhalāsaravaghurghurā-
dibhir bhūṣitāḥ/

c Cf. AMA (p. 9, ll. 18–19, GSS 21^v 5): *sarvāś ca tā devyo bhagavatīniśpatti-*
samakālam eva jhaṭīti niśpannā draṣṭavyāḥ/

d This passage is not quite clear to me. Cf. CAATĪ (p. 170, ll. 8–11) greatly expanding Lüyī's text: *anena sarveṇedam pratipāditam/ ālikālipāñktim pañ-*
caraśmikāñ spharattricakra devatām uccārayan/ dakṣiṇena vāyunā niḥśṛtya
jagat tricakrīkṛtyānādisiddhavīrayoginīsamaraśbhūtām vāmapuṭena praviśya
nābhau pratibimbavat svākāracandra maṇḍalibhūtām vicintya ...

and has the nature of the *jñānasattva* (*ye shes sems dpa'*).^a The *yogī* should then perceive himself as endowed with all three *sattvas*.^b

Alternatively (*yang na*), he should place in the heart of the afore-visualised [*samayasattva*] the *jñānasattva*, and in his heart the *saṃdhisattva*. Together with the *nāda* of that syllable he should visualise all this as turning into the nectar of great bliss (*bde ba chen po'i bdud rtsi*). Then he should recite [first] the [three-syllable] mantra OM ĀḤ HŪṂ, and [then] the following: OM SARVAVĪRAYOGINĪKĀYA-VĀKCITTAVAJRASVABHĀVĀTMAKO 'HAM.

The text proceeds with the fusing of the constituents of the person with the deities, that is to say the *vिशुद्धि*-passage, which comes much earlier in Lūyī's CAA. The *yogī* should visualise on his eyes a lotus, a moon-disk, and atop a white Mohavajra (*Gti mug rdo rje*) emerging from a wheel and the syllable OM. Here the text of our fragment picks up again.

4.4 Fols. 5–7.

... [5^r] Rūpavajrāsamāliṅgitah| śrotrayor abjasūrye¹ vajraHŪṂjo Dveśavajrah kṛṣṇah Śabdavajrāliṅgitah| ghrāṇapuṭayoh² padmasūrye³ ratnaTRĀṂ⁴pariṇato Mātsaryavajrah pīto Gandhavajrānvitah[] ji-[2]hvāmūle⁵ 'bjaravau raktapadma⁶ ĀḤ⁷pariṇato Rāgavajro rakto Rasavajrāliṅgitah| lalāṭa abja⁸sūrye khaḍgaHĀṂ⁹pariṇata Īrṣyāvajro haritah Sparśavajrāsamāpannah| hrdaye pad^[3]ma¹⁰sūrye vajraHŪṂjanita Aiśvaryavajrah sito Dharmadhātuvajrāsamāpannah| ete¹¹ Mohavajrādaya ādhyātmikāyatanaviśuddhisvabhāvā divyacaksurādi-dāyakā ya^[4]thākramam KṣitigarbhaVajrapāṇiKhagarbhaLokesvara-

a CAATI (p. 170, ll. 11–16): ... *tatra jhaṭiti HŪṂkāram taccandrabījapariṇatam Bhagavantam śuklavarnam ālīḍhāsana*(corr., ālīḍasana[°] SAKURA)stham ākāśalikhitacitrasadr̥ṣṭam dvibhujam ekavaktram vajravajraghaṇṭādhārobhaya-bhujābhyaṁ vajrakapāladhāridvibhūjaikamukharaktaVajravārāhīsamāpannam dr̥ṣṭvā māyāsuratadhvaniśamākṛṣṭam traidhātukātmakanī cakram ātmani kramēṇāntarbhāvayet//

b The *saṃdhisattva* was visualised earlier, the *saṃdhisattva* is the black HŪṂ above, and the *jñānasattva* is the two-armed Heruka.

1 °sūrye] corr., °sūrye COD., nyi ma'i steng du T_{Sde} = *°sūryopari 2 ghrāṇa-puṭayoh] COD., sna la T_{Sde} 3 °sūrye] COD., nyi ma'i steng du T_{Sde} = *°sūryopari 4 °trāṂ[°]] COD., trāṂ T_{Sde} 5 jihvāmūle] COD., lce'i rtser T_{Sde} = *jihvāgre (?) 6 °padma[°]] COD., 'dam skyes T_{Sde} = *°paṇkaja[°] 7 °āḥ[°]] COD., om T_{Sde} 8 lalāṭa abja[°]] corr., lalāṭābja[°] COD. (double sandhi) 9 °hām[°]] COD., ham T_{Sde} 10 padma[°]] corr., padama[°] COD. 11 ete] COD., de la T_{Sde} = *tatra

SarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhiSamantabhadrāparanāmāno¹ VairocanĀkṣobhyaRatnasambhavĀmitābhĀmoghasiddhiVajra^[5]sattvamudritā jaṭā-mukutinas trinetrāḥ pañcamudriṇo dvibhujaikavaktrā dakṣiṇabhujena cakravajraratnaraktapadmaviśvavajra²sitavajradhāriṇo vāmena^[6] vajraghaṇṭādhara³ ālīḍhapadāḥ^[a]

prajñāḥ tv esāṁ JAṄ-HŪṄ-VAM-HOṄ-KHAM-RAM-bījājā bāhyā-yatanaviśuddhirūpāḥ svābhāḥ⁴ kim tu⁵ pratyālīḍhacaraṇāḥ| savyabhu-jena⁶ darpaṇavīṇā^[7]gandhaśāṅkharasapātraviśvavastradharmodaya-dhāriṇo vāmena⁷ vajraghaṇṭā⁸bhṛtaḥ| Śabdavajrā tu vāmenāpi vīṇā-dhāriṇī Ratnasambhavamakuṭā^[9]|

nābhi¹⁰hṛtkaṇthaśirahpa[5^v]dmacandresu¹¹ LĀM-MĀM-PĀM-TĀMjā-tā LocanāMāmakīPāṇḍarā¹²Tārāsvabhāvāḥ PātanīMāraṇīĀkarṣanīNa-rteśvarya ekavaktrāś caturbhujāś cakrakarttivajrakarttikamalakartti-

a Cf. CAA (p. 3, ll. 6–7): *cakṣusor Mohavajrah/ śrotrayor Dveśavajrah/ ghrā-nayor Īrṣyāvajrah/ vaktre Rāgavajrah/ sparśe Mātsaryavajrah/ sarvāyataneśu Aiśvaryavajrah//*; CAATī (p. 88, l. 21–p. 89, l. 1): *cakṣuṣor ityādi/ anyatantraprasiddhāḥ tu Kṣitigarbha VajrapāṇiKhagarbhaLokeśvara Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhi Samantabhadrāḥ/ atra Mohavajrādayaḥ kramaśo bodhavayaḥ/ śuklakṛṣṇapītaraktaśyāmasitavarṇāḥ// Mohavajrāś cakrodyatadakṣiṇakaraḥ/ salīlaghaṇṭāyutahṛdgatavāmakaraḥ// Dveśavajrah savajrahṛdgatadakṣiṇakaraḥ/ sagarvaghāṇṭānvitakaṭiṣṭhavāmakaraḥ// īrṣyāRāgaMātsaryavajrāḥ/ kramaśo ratnarakta kamala viśvavajrodyatasalīlādakṣiṇabhujāḥ ghaṇṭānvitasalīlahṛdgatavāma(corr., °vama° SAKURAI)karāḥ// Aiśvaryavajras tu savajrahṛdgatadakṣiṇakaraḥ/ ghaṇṭānvitasagarvakaṭiṣṭhavāmakaraḥ//; AMA (p. 2, ll. 13–20, GSS 15^v1–5): *cakṣuhśrotraghṛṇāvavaktrasparšeṣu Mohavajra Dveśavajra īrṣyāvajra Rāgavajra Mātsaryavajrāḥ/ Kṣitigarbha VajrapāṇiKhagarbha Lokeśvara Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhi nāmāntarāḥ/ śuklakṛṣṇapītaraktaśyāma-varṇāḥ/ sarvāyataneśu Aiśvaryavajrah Samantabhadra nāmāntaraḥ śuklaḥ// Mohavajrāś cakrodyatadakṣiṇakaraḥ, salīlaghaṇṭānvitahṛdgatavāmakaraḥ// Dveśavajrah savajrahṛdgatadakṣiṇakaraḥ/ ghaṇṭānvitasagarvakaṭiṣṭhavāmakaraḥ// īrṣyāRāgaMātsaryavajrāḥ kramaśo ratnarakta padmaviśvavajrodyatasalīlāda-kṣiṇabhujāḥ ghaṇṭānvitasalīlahṛdgatavāmakaraḥ// Aiśvaryavajras tu savajrahṛdgatadakṣiṇakaraḥ/ ghaṇṭānvitasagarvakaṭiṣṭhavāmakaraḥ//**

1 °āparanāmāno] em., °āparamānau COD., ming gzhan no|| T_{Sde} **2** °viśvava-jra] COD.^{p.c.pri}, °((khaḍga))° COD.^{a.c.}, ral gri T_{Sde} = *°khaḍga° **3** vāmena va-jraghaṇṭādhara] COD., g.yon thams cad dril bu'o|| T_{Sde} **4** svābhāḥ] COD., rang 'od ma T_{Sde} **5** kim tu] COD., omitted in T_{Sde} **6** savyabhu-jena] COD., phyag gnyis pa| g.yas pa thams cad la rim pa ltar T_{Sde} = *dvibhujaḥ sarvā yathākramamā⁷ vāmena] COD., g.yon thams cad la T_{Sde} **8** vajraghaṇṭā] COD., dril bu T_{Sde} = *ghaṇṭā° **9** °makuṭā] corr., °makuṭāḥ] COD. **10** nābhi] COD., de las lte ba dang T_{Sde} **11** °śirahṛpadmacandresu] COD., spyi bor padma dang zla ba la T_{Sde} = *°śi-rāhsu padmacandresu **12** °Pāṇḍarā] corr., °Pāṇḍarā° COD.

khaḍga^[2] kartti¹ dhārisavya² bhujadvayāḥ³ kapālakhaṭvāṅgadhārivāma-karadvayāḥ⁴] guhyapadmacandre⁵ KHAMjātā Padmajvalinī⁶-dhūmra⁷-varṇā trimukhī⁸ śuklaraktasavyetaravaktrāṅkuśabrahmaśi^[3] rāḥkartti-bhṛtsavyabujatrayā⁹ kapālakhaṭvāṅgapāśadhārivāmakaratrayā¹⁰ tri-netrā pañcamudriṇī muktakesā nagnā¹¹ līḍhapadā^[12]

etāḥ pañca devyo¹³ yathākramam pr^[4] thivyaptejovāyvākāśa-dhātu¹⁴ viśuddhisvarūpā¹⁵ yathākramam¹⁶ BHRŪM-HŪM-HRĪH¹⁷-HOH-ĀM¹⁸-jātaśuklakṛṣṇaraktaharitapīta¹⁹ VairocanĀkṣobhyĀmitābhĀmo-ghaRatnesai²⁰ [5] rūpavijñānasamjñāsamskāravedanāskandhaviśudhisvabhāvair ālingitā mudritāś ca[]]^a

a Cf. CAA (p. 3, ll. 8–9): *pṛthivīdhātuḥ Pātanī abdhātur* (corr., °dhātu SAKURAI) *Māraṇī tejodhātūr Ākarṣanī vāyudhātūr Narteśvari/ ākāśadhātūh Padmajvalinī/* & (p. 3, ll. 3–5): *rūpaskandhe Vairocanāḥ/ vedanāskandhe Vajrasuryāḥ/ samjñāskandhe Padmanartesvārah/ saṃskāraskandhe Vajrārajaḥ/ vijnānaskandhe Vajrasattvāḥ/ sarvatathāgatatuve śrīHerukavajraḥ/*; CAATI (p. 89, ll. 2–8): *PātanīMāraṇīĀkarṣanīNarteśvaryā* (corr., °Narteśvaryāḥ SAKURAI) *ekavaktrāś caturbhujāḥ pīṭakṛṣṇaraktaharitavarṇāḥ/ LocanāMāmakiPāṇḍarāTārāsvabhāvāḥ cakrakartrivajrakartrikamalakartrikhadga* (corr., °khaḍga° SAKURAI) *kartridhāridakṣiṇabhuṭadvayāḥ/ kapālakhaṭvāṅgadhārivāmabhujadvayāḥ/ Padmajvalinī dhūmraśuklaraktatrimukhī ṣaḍbhujā Dharmadhātuvajrāsvabhāvā dhūmrvavarṇā* (corr., °varṇāḥ SAKURAI) */ kapālakhaṭvāṅgapāśadhārivāmabhujatrayāḥ/ aṅkuśabrahmamunḍakartriśobhitadakṣiṇabhuṭatrāyāḥ/* & (p. 88, ll. 9–12): *tatra rūpādiṣu vijñānaparyanteṣu phenabudbudamari-cikadalīmāyopamatvena niścyeā* (em., niścayo SAKURAI) *Vairocanādayaḥ/ sarvatathāgatatuve tathatāyām ity arthaḥ/ yad vā Vairocanādidevatādhimokṣeva teṣām viśuddhiḥ/*; AMA (p. 3, ll. 4–9, GSS 15^v–16^r 3): *pṛthivīaptejovāyudhātūviśuddhisvabhāvāḥ PātanīMāraṇīĀkarṣanīNarteśvaryāḥ pīṭakṛṣṇa-*

1 cakrakartti° ... °khadgakartti°] separated by *dandas* (after each °kartti) in COD., 'khor lo| rdo rje| padma| ral gri| gri gug T_{Sde} **2** °savya°] COD.^{p.c.}, °syavya° COD.^{a.c.} **3** °bhujadvayāḥ] corr., °bhujadvayā COD., omitted in T_{Sde} **4** °karadvayāḥ] COD., omitted in T_{Sde} **5** guhyapadmacandre] COD., gsang gnas su padma dang zla ba la T_{Sde} = *guhye padmacandre **6** Padmajvalinī] COD., padma'i dra ba T_{Sde} = *Padmajalinī **7** dhūmra°] corr., dhūrmra° COD. **8** trimukhī] COD., zhal gsum phyag drug ma T_{Sde} = *trimukhī ṣaḍbhujā **9** °bhujatrayā] COD., omitted in T_{Sde} **10** °karatrayā] COD., omitted in T_{Sde} **11** nagnā] COD., nam mkha'i gos can T_{Sde} **12** Above this passage in the upper margin we find the following gloss *nābhi*, *guhye*, *lalāṭe*, *hṛdaye*, *kañceṣu* [sic!] // 3. It is not clear to me where it should apply. As far as I can judge from the photographs at my disposal, there is no *kākapada* in line three to signal the point of insertion or reference. Perhaps a subsequent reader thought that this should be the proper order instead of navel, heart, throat, head, and sexual organs. **13** devyo] COD., omitted in T_{Sde} **14** °dhātu°] COD., omitted in T_{Sde} **15** °svarūpā] corr., °svarūpāḥ COD., rang bzhin no|| T_{Sde} **16** yathākramam] COD., de dag la rim pa bzhin T_{Sde} **17** °hrīḥ°] COD., hri T_{Sde} **18** °ām°] COD., om̄ T_{Sde} **19** °pīṭa°] COD., ser po'i rang bzhin T_{Sde} = *°pīṭasvabhāvā° **20** °Ratneśai] em., °Ratneśo COD., rin byung ste T_{Sde}

rūpādiskandha¹tathatāyām śubhraVajrasattva uṣṇīṣābjacandre
Hīḥ²pariṇato [6] HŪMjasvābha†[...]³Jvālinī†samāliṅgitah{ } sā tu jñā-nadhātu⁴viśuddhirūpā|

atra Vairocanah sacakrodyatasavyakaro Herukavajrah⁵ savajrabhūsparśamudrānvitasavyakarah⁶ [7] dvāv apīmau ghaṇṭāyutasagarvakaṭistha⁷vāmakarau⁸| AmitābhĀmoghasiddhiRatneśāḥ sarakta-padmaviśvavajraratnodyatasaliladakṣiṇabhuja⁹ ghaṇṭāyutahṛdgata¹⁰-[6^r]vāmakarāh¹¹| Vajrasattvo vajradhārī¹² salīlahṛdgata¹³dakṣiṇakaro ghaṇṭāyutasagarvakaṭistha¹⁴vāmakarah¹⁵a

atra¹⁵ vijñānaskandhe Vajrasattvah{ } pañcaskandhatathatāyām Akṣobhya ity a^[2]pi jñātavyam parasparam anayos tādātmyapratipattaye[] ata eva¹⁶ mudraṇam anyo'nyam¹⁷| Vairocanādīnām tv

raktaharitavarnā ekavaktrāś caturbhujāś cakrakartrivajrakartripadmakartrikhaḍgakartridhāridakṣinabhujadvayāḥ kapālakhatvāṅgadhbārivāmabhujadvayā LocanāMāmakīPāṇḍarāTārākhyāḥ/ ākāśadhātusvabhāvā Padmajvālinī dhūmravarṇā dhūmrāśuklaraktatrimukhā sadbhujā kapālakhatvāṅgapāśadhāri-vāmabhujatrayāṅkuśabrahmamundakartribhūṣitadakṣiṇabhujar2–3): tatra rūpādiṣu vijñānā-paryanteṣu phenabudbudamarīcikadalimāyopamatvena niśceyā Vairocanā-dayah/ tathatāyām Akṣobhyaḥ/ yad vā Vairocanādidevatādhimokṣa eva teṣām viśuddhibhūḥ/

a Cf. CAATI (p. 88, ll. 15–20): cakrodyatadakṣiṇakaro ghaṇṭāyuta(corr., ghaṇṭā yuta° SAKURAI)agarvakaṭisthavāmakaro Vairocanah// RatnasambhavĀmitābhĀmoghasiddhayo ratnaraktapadmaviśvavajrodyatasaliladakṣinabhujāḥ/ ghaṇṭāyutahṛdgatavāmakarāh// Vajrasattvo vajradhārī salīlahṛdgatadakṣiṇakarāḥ/ ghaṇṭāyutasagarvakaṭisthavāmakarāḥ// Herukavajrah savajrabhūsparsamudrādakṣiṇakarāḥ//; AMA (p. 2, ll. 9–13, 15^r5–15^v1): Vairocanaś cakrodyatadakṣiṇakaro ghaṇṭāyutasagarvakaṭisthavāmakarāḥ/ RatnasambhavĀmitābhĀmoghasiddhayo ratnaraktapadmaviśvavajrodyatasaliladakṣiṇabhujaḥ ghaṇṭākāṭisthavāmakarāḥ/ Vajrasattvo vajradhārī salīlahṛdgatadakṣiṇakarāḥ/ ghaṇṭāyutasagarvakaṭisthavāmakarāḥ/ Akṣobhyavajrah savajrabhūsparsamudrānvitadakṣiṇakarāḥ/ ghaṇṭānvitasagarvakaṭisthavāmakarāḥ/

1 °skandha° em., °kandhas COD., phung po'i T_{Sde} **2** hīḥ°] COD., hi T_{Sde} **3** °svābha[...°] diagnostic conj., °svabhāvaja°] COD.^{p.c.}, °svabhāvā° COD.^{a.c.}, rdo rje rang 'od mas T_{Sde}(?) **4** jñānadhātu°] COD., ye shes dang dbiyings kyi T_{Sde} **5** Herukavajrah] COD., mi bskyod pa T_{Sde} = *'ksobhyaḥ **6** °ānvitasavyakarāḥ] corr., °ānvitasavyakaro COD., omitted in T_{Sde} **7** °sagarvakaṭistha°] COD., lha mo'i dku la brten pa'o|| T_{Sde} **8** °karau] corr., °kara COD. **9** °saliladakṣiṇabhuja] COD., omitted in T_{Sde} **10** °hrdgata°] COD., thugs ka'i thad du yum gyi rgyab tu 'khyud pa T_{Sde} **11** °karāḥ] corr., °karā COD. **12** vajradhārī] COD., phyag g.yas pas rdo rje 'dzin pa T_{Sde} **13** °hrdgata°] COD., snying ga'i thad du yum gyi rgyab tu 'khyud pa T_{Sde} **14** °sagarvakaṭistha°] COD., lha mo'i dku la brten pa'o|| T_{Sde} **15** atrā] COD., yang na T_{Sde} = *atha **16** ata eva] corr., 'ta eva COD. **17** anyo'nyam] corr., anyonyam COD.

Akṣobhyena¹ ||² śirah³kaṇṭhahṛtsu ŚāśvatĀmitābhĀkṣobhyāḥ⁴ sapra-jñāḥ kāya^[3]vākcitta⁵viśuddhirūpāḥ|
etāś ca⁶ Mohavajrādidevatāḥ saṃpuṭa⁷mahāsukhena⁸ dravībhūyā-yatana⁹dhātuskandhakāyādiśv¹⁰ antarliyante|

tadanu hṛdi OM-HA-jāto Va^[4]jrasattvāḥ sitāḥ śīrasi NAMO-HI-¹¹-janito Vairocanāḥ pītāḥ śikhāyām SVĀHĀ-HU-¹²niśpannah Padma-narteśvaro raktaḥ skandhadvaye VAUṢAT-HE-niśpanno 'kṣo^[5]bhyāḥ kṛṣṇāḥ netrayoh HUM-HUM-¹³HO-jāto Vajrasūryo¹³ raktaḥ¹⁴ sarvāṅgeśu PHĀT-HAM-¹⁵jātāḥ Paramāśvo haritāḥ¹⁶ trimukhaḥ ṣadbhūjo Vajrī anye tv ekavaktrāś catu^[6]rbhujāḥ vajram damaruḥ śirah¹⁷ savyeṣu¹⁸ ghaṇṭākhaṭvāṅgakapālāni vāmeṣu śuklaraktakṛṣṇāni pradhānasavye-taramukhāni Vajriṇāḥ¹⁹ anyeṣām cakram padmām va^[7]jram ratnam khaḍgo²⁰ damaruś ca savyayoh²¹ ghaṇṭā kapālakhaṭvāṅgam²² vā-mayoh^a|

a Cf. CAA (p. 9, ll. 16–21): *atha kavacadvayam vakṣye// om hah hrdaye/ na mah hi śirasij svā hā hū śikhāyām/ vau ṣat (corr., vai ṣat SAKURAI) he skandhadvaye/ hūṁ hūṁ hoḥ netrayoh/ phaṭ ham sarvāṅgeśu astram// prathamaṁ Vajrasattvena dvitiye Vairocanāḥ (corr., Vairocana° SAKURAI) sthitāḥ/ tṛtīye Padmanarteśvaro rājā caturthe śrīheruko 'cyate/ pañcame Vajrasūryeti ṣaṣṭhe Paramāśvah ṣadbhīḥ kavacasya rakṣitam//; CAATI (p. 167, ll. 12–19): atha vā tattanmantranispannāḥ teṣu teṣu sthāneṣu Vajrasattvā-dayo bhāvyāḥ// Vajrasattva Vairocana Padmanarteśvara Śrīheruka Vajrasūrya-Paramāśvāḥ/ sitapītaraktakṛṣṇāraktaharitavarnāḥ// trimukhaṣadbhūjo Vajri/ tadanye caturbhujā ekavaktrāḥ// vajraḍamaruśirah savye ghaṇṭā kapālakhaṭvāṅgam avasavye Vajriṇāḥ/ śuklaraktakṛṣṇāni pradhānasavyetaramukhāni Vajriṇāḥ// anyeṣām cakram padmām vajraṇ ratnam khaḍgam eva ca damaruṇam ca savyayoh/ ghantā sakapālakhaṭvāṅgam (corr., °katvāṅgam SAKURAI) pu-nar vāmayoh//; AMA, although referring to Lüyipāda's *kavacadvayam*, has the *kavaca* only for goddesses, for which see below.*

1 Akṣobhyena] corr., Akṣobhena COD. **2** ata eva mudraṇam anyo'nyam| Vairocanādīnām tv Akṣobhyena]] COD., de Itar Rnam snang la sogs pa la Mi bskyod pas rgyas gdab par bya'o|| T_{Sde} **3** śirah^o] COD., de nas spyi bo T_{Sde} = *tataḥ śirah^o **4** °Ākṣobhyāḥ] COD., mi bskyod pa gsum T_{Sde} **5** °citta^o] COD., yid gsum T_{Sde} **6** etāś ca] COD., omitted in T_{Sde} **7** saṃpuṭa^o] em., saṃpuṭā COD. **8** °mahā-sukhena] COD., bde ba chen po'i rang bzhin du T_{Sde} **9** °āyatana^o] corr., °āyatna^o COD. **10** °kāyādiśv] corr., °kāyādiśv COD., la sogs pa la T_{Sde} **11** namo-hi-] corr., nama-hi COD., na ma hi T_{Sde} **12** hu-] em., hūm- COD., hu T_{Sde} **13** Vajrasūryo] corr., Vajśūryo COD., rdo rje nyi ma T_{Sde} **14** raktaḥ] corr., rakta COD. **15** ham-] em., hūm- COD., ham T_{Sde} **16** haritāḥ] COD., ljang gu'o|| de la T_{Sde} = *haritāḥ| tatra **17** śirah^o] COD., tshangs mgo T_{Sde} = *brahmaśirah **18** savyeṣu] COD., dang po'i phyag g.yas la T_{Sde} = *pradhānasavyeṣu **19** Vajriṇāḥ] COD., omitted in T_{Sde} **20** khaḍgo] corr., khaḍgaḥ COD. **21** savyayoh^o] COD., g.yas na bsnams pa'o|| T_{Sde} **22** kapālakhaṭvāṅgam] COD., thod pa dang beas pa'i kha ṭwāṁ ga T_{Sde} = *sakapālakhaṭvāṅgam

ete yathākramam Vajravārāhī¹ YāminīMohanīSamcālinīSamtrāsa-nīCaṇḍikākro[6^v]dīkṛtāḥ| tatra Vajravārāhī raktā² nīlaharitasavyetara-mukhī³ kapālakhaṭvāṅgapāśabṛtavāmakaratrayā| aṅkuśabrahmamu-ṇḍakartridhārisavyabujatrayā| Yāminyādayo [2] nīlasitapīta⁴harita-dhūmradhūsara⁵varṇā muktakesā nagnā ekavaktrās trinetrāś catur-bhujāḥ⁶ sakapālakhaṭvāṅgam ghaṇṭā ca vāmābhyaṁ dakṣiṇābhyaṁ tu ḍamarukartrī bibhratyah| [3] pañcamudriṇya ālīḍhacaraṇāḥ|^a

atra śubhradevatāś⁷ candraprabhāś candramaṇḍalinyo 'nyāś tu sū-ryaprabhāḥ sūryamaṇḍalinyah⁸|^b

evam⁹ ātmāni¹⁰ samcintya sva[4]prajñāyām¹¹ api sarvam etac¹² cakṣurādiviśuddhi¹³rūpam¹⁴ jhaṭiti cintanīyam| kavacas tu tasyā¹⁵ nābhau OM-VAM-¹⁶jātā Vajravārāhī¹⁷| hrdi HOM-¹⁸YOM-jātā Yāminī| kanṭhe HRĪM-¹⁹MOM-[5]jātā Mohanī śirasi²⁰ HREM-HRĪM-²¹jātā Samcālinī| śikhāyām²² HŪM-HŪM-jātā Samtrāsanī²³| sarvāṅgeṣu PHAT-PHAT-parinatā Caṇḍikā|^c

a Cf. CAATī (p. 20, ll. 20–24): *Vārāhī raktanīlaharitamukhī* vāme kapāla-khaṭvāṅgam pāśaṇ daksīṇe 'ṅkuśabrahmamuṇḍakartridhāriṇī// YāminīMohanīSamcālinī (corr., Saṅcālinī SAKURAI) SamtrāsanīCaṇḍikāḥ nīlasitapīta-haritadhūmradhūsara varṇāḥ/ muktakesā nagnāḥ (corr., muktakesānagnāḥ SAKURAI)/ trinetrāś caturbhujāḥ/ sakapālakhaṭvāṅgam ghaṇṭā (corr., °khaṭvāṅgaghaṇṭā SAKURAI) ca vāme punar daksīṇe ḍamarukakartridhāriṇāḥ// sarva evātrālīḍhāsana (corr., °ālīḍhāsana° SAKURAI) sthāḥ/ trinetrāḥ//; AMA (p. 10, ll. 7–11, GSS 22^r1–3): tatra Vārāhī raktanīlaharitamukhā vāme kapālakhaṭvāṅgapāśān daksīṇe 'ṅkuśabrahmamundakartrī bibhrānā/ YāminīMohanīSamcārinīSamtrāsanīCaṇḍikā nīlasitapīta-haritadhūmravarnāś catur-bhujāḥ sakapālakhaṭvāṅgam ghaṇṭā ca vāme/ daksīṇe ḍamarukartrikā dadhā-nāḥ/ sarvāś ca muktakesyo nagnāś trinetrā ālīḍhāsanasthā draṣṭavyāḥ/

b Cf. CAATī (p. 167, ll. 24–25): ye cātra śubhrāś candraprabhāmaṇḍalinah/ anye tu sūryaprabhāmaṇḍalinah/

c Cf. CAA (p. 9, ll. 22–24): OM VAM Vajravārāhī/ HĀM YOM Yāminī/ HRĪM

1 Vajravārāhī^o] COD., phag mo T_{Sde} = *Vārāhī^o **2** Vajravārāhī raktā] COD., Phag mo dmar pa ste zhal gsum phyag drug ma] T_{Sde} = Vārāhī raktā trimukhā ṣaḍbhujā **3** nīlaharitasavyetaramukhī] COD., rtsa ba dang g.yas g.yon gyi zhal ni dmar ba] sngo ba] ljang pa'o|| T_{Sde} = *raktanīlaharitapradhānasavyetaramukhī **4** °pīta^o] corr., °pī^o COD. **5** °dhūmradhūsara^o COD.] dud ka ste T_{Sde} **6** °bhujāḥ] corr., °bhūrjāḥ COD. **7** śubhradevatāś] corr., śubhadevatāś COD., lha dkar ba dag T_{Sde} **8** °maṇḍalinyah] corr., °maṇḍilinyah COD. **9** evam] COD., omitted in T_{Sde} **10** ātmāni] COD.^{p.c.}, ātmāni COD.^{a.c.} **11** svaprajñāyām] COD., yum la T_{Sde} **12** sarvam etac] COD., omitted in T_{Sde} **13** °viśuddhi^o] COD.^{p.c.sec}, °śuddhi^o COD.^{a.c.}, rnam par dag pa T_{Sde} **14** °rūpam] COD., omitted in T_{Sde} **15** tasyā] COD., lha mo'i T_{Sde} = *devyā **16** om-vaṇ-] COD.^{p.c.}, om- COD.^{a.c.} **17** Vajravārāhī] COD., phag mo T_{Sde} = *Vārāhī **18** hom-] COD., haṇ T_{Sde} **19** hrīm-] COD., hrim T_{Sde} **20** śirasi] COD., dpral ba la T_{Sde} = *lalāṭe **21** hrem-hrīm] corr., hem-hrīm- COD., hrem hrim T_{Sde} **22** śikhāyām] COD., spyi bo la T_{Sde} = *śirasi **23** Samtrāsanī] corr., Samtrāsinī COD.

etāḥ ṣaṭ dhṛtabhartṛkamdhara^[6]ḥ¹ |

tadanu śubhraHŪṂjavajram kṛṣṇam raktavYĀ²jātāraktatanmaṇih³{|} pītaVYĀ⁴kārādhiṣṭhitāgra⁵ devyās tu Ā⁶kārajam raktatridala-padmaṇ DY⁷kārajam sitakiñjalkam pītaDĀ⁸kārā^[7]dhiṣṭhitāgram^a

tato⁹ devyā hrdayopahṛdayamantrābhyaṁ nābhau hṛdi svahṛdayo-pahṛdayābhyaṁ kanṭhe lalāṭe ca¹⁰ bhagavatīm bhagavān¹¹ cumbet| bhagavatī ca bhagavaddhṛdayo[7^r]pahṛdayābhyaṁ kanṭhalalāṭaylor¹² bhagavantam cumbet| tatas tryakṣareṇa ratim ārabhet^b

tataḥ samādhi¹³sattvaraśmibhir¹⁴ ākṛṣṭam jñānacakram ṣodaśadevībhiḥ¹⁵ pūjyamānam vāmapādena [2] dakṣinam ākramya¹⁶ vāmacalitordhvadrṣṭyā karayor¹⁷ adhomukhāṅguṣṭhāgre¹⁸ paras-param¹⁹ sampīḍyordhve²⁰ tarjanīdvayāgre śrīnkhalāvad ābadhya²¹

MOM *Mohani*/ HREM HRĪM *Samcālini*/ HŪṂ HŪṂ *Samtrāsanī*/ PHAT PHAT *Caṇḍikā*/ *sarvāṅgeṣv astram*// nābhau hṛdi tathā vakte *śraḥsikhāstram* eva ca//; CAATĪ (p. 167, ll. 10–11): *tathaiva Bhagavatyām*// OM VAM ityādayo mantrāḥ/ raktanīlasitapītaharitadhūmradhūsaravarṇāḥ//; AMA (p. 10, ll. 4–5, GSS 22^r1): OM VAM nābhau/ HĀṂ YOM hṛdi/ HRĪM MOM vakte/ HREM HRĪM mūrdhni/ HŪṂ HŪṂ śikhāyām/ PHAT PHAT *sarvāṅgeṣv astre*/

a Cf. CAATĪ (p. 164, ll. 8–11): *kuliśādiśodhanam ucyate*// *śukla-HŪṂ-kāreṇa va-jram kṛṣṇam/ rakta-BYĀ-kāreṇāraktatanmaṇih pīta-BYĀ-kārādhiṣṭhitāgrah*// Āḥ-kāreṇa raktatridalam padmam/ DY⁷-kāreṇa vīrabodhicittopalakṣakam sitakiñjalkam pīta-DY⁷-kārādhiṣṭhitāgram//

b Cf. CAATĪ (p. 164, ll. 12–17): *tataḥ*/ OM VAJRAVAIROCANĪYA ityādi OM SARVABUDDHAḌĀKINĪYA ityādibhyām devyā hrdayopahṛdayamantrābhyaṁ nābhau hṛdi/ tathā svahṛdayopahṛdayamantrābhyaṁ kanṭhe lalāṭe ca/ *Bhagavatīm Bhagavān cumbayed*// *Bhagavatī ca Bhagavaddhṛdayopahṛdayamantrābhyaṁ kanṭhalalāṭaylor Bhagavantam cumbayed*// *tataḥ tryakṣareṇa ratim ārabhet*//

1 etāḥ ṣaṭ dhṛtabhartṛkamdharaḥ] COD., 'di drug po la yab med pa'o|| T_{Sde} (?)

2 °vyā°] COD., byām T_{Sde} 3 °tanmanih] corr., tatmaniḥ COD., nor bu T_{Sde} 4 °vyā°] COD., byām T_{Sde} 5 °ādhiṣṭhitāgra] corr., °ādhiṣṭhitāgrā COD. 6 ā°] COD., a T_{Sde} 7 dya°] COD., dyām T_{Sde} 8 °dā°] COD., dyām T_{Sde} 9 tato] COD., de yang T_{Sde} = *atra (?) 10 lalāṭe ca] COD., dpral ba la'o|| T_{Sde} 11 bha-

gavān] corr., bhagavāna COD. 12 T_{Sde} adds: yum gyi snying po dang nye snying gis yum rang gi mgrin pa dang dpral ba stel [!] 13 samādhi] corr., smādhi° COD.

14 samādhisattvaraśmibhir] COD., thugs ka'i 'od las byung ba'i ting nge 'dzin gyis T_{Sde} 15 ṣoḍāśadevībhiḥ] corr., ṣoḍāśadevībhiḥ COD., lha mo bcu drug la sogs pas T_{Sde} 16 ākramya] corr., ākrammya COD. 17 karayor] corr., kārāyor COD., lag pa gnyis T_{Sde} 18 adhomukhāṅguṣṭāgre] corr., adhomukhāṅguṣṭāgre COD., mthe bong rtse sprad la thur la bstān la T_{Sde} 19 parasparam] corr., paraspara COD. 20 parasparam sampīḍyordhve] COD., omitted in T_{Sde} 21 tarjanīdvayā-

gre śrīnkhalāvad ābadhya] COD., mdzub mo mdud par byas la T_{Sde}

madhyamām ca¹ sūcīkṛtvā² nāmike kaniṣṭhe ca pra^[3]sārya lalāṭopari vāmetarāvartābhyaṁ bhrāmayed³ iti jvālāmudrā tayā PHET⁴kāreṇa ca yathāyogam⁵ ātmani devatāsu ca praveśya OM YOGAŚUDDHĀḥ SA^[4]RVADHARMĀ YOGAŚUDDHO 'HAM⁶ iti paṭhitvā kamalāvartam⁷ āliniganābhinayam ca kurvan OM Āḥ HŪṂ ityādimantratrayerenādhitiṣṭhet⁸^a

tadanu jñānacakreṇa^[5] sahā⁹nītābhir vajrayoginībhir¹⁰ jñānāmrta-pūrṇakapālaḍamarudhārinībhir hṛdbīja¹¹spharita Viṇā¹²didevi¹³pūjītābhih¹⁴|

yathā hi jātamātrās tu¹⁵ snā^[6]pitāḥ sarvatathāgatāḥ |
tathāham snāpayiṣyāmi¹⁶ śuddham divyena vāriṇeti

pathantībhir īśadāvarjita¹⁷vāmakarakapālagata¹⁸jñānāmrtaḍadhārābhir a^[7]bhiṣicyamānam mahā¹⁹sukhamayam ātmānam vibhāvyā śeṣāmbuniśpannāms tathāgatān²⁰ svasya śirasi devatānām ca²¹ OM SARVA-

a Cf. CAA (p. 9, l. 25–p. 10, l. 2): *kṛtvāgragranthā khalu madhyasūci* / *aṅguṣṭhavajrau dṛḍha samprapīḍya* (corr., dṛḍhasamprapīḍya SAKURAI) / *samsthāpya tāṁ madhye lalāṭadeśe āvartavartanām punar bhrāmayet// ākrāntapādordhvadṛṣṭis tu mūrdhapheṇkārānādataḥ/ daśadiglokadhātusthavirayoginyākarṣitāḥ// OM YOGAŚUDDHĀḥ SARVADHARMĀḥ YOGAŚUDDHO 'HAM//;* CAATI (p. 167, l. 26–p. 168, l. 6): *agragranthā tarjanībhyām granthīm kṛtvā etad uktam bhavati// Viṇādiṣoḍaśadevībhiḥ pūjyamānam mudrāmantrabhyām preśitam hṛdbījaraśmībhiḥ ākṛṣṭam jñānacakraṁ daśadigvartivīravīrēśvarīparināmarūpam jhaṭīty ātmani praveśayet// tata om yoga-ityādimantram uccārayan kamalāvartena hrdayamudrām dadyāt// hrdayamudropasamhāra āliniganābhinayam kurvan/ OM Āḥ HŪṂ ityādipūrvoktamantratrayerenādhitiṣṭhet iti//*

1 madhyamām ca] COD.^{p.c.sec}, madhya COD.^{a.c.} **2** madhyamām ca sūcīkṛtvā^o] COD., gung mo rtse sprad T_{Sde} **3** vāmetarāvartābhyaṁ] COD., g.yon du bskor bzhin pa T_{Sde} **4** phet^o] COD., phen̄i T_{Sde} **5** yathāyogam] COD., omitted in T_{Sde} **6** 'ham] corr., ham COD. **7** kamalāvartam] COD.^{p.c.}, kamalāvartām COD.^{a.c.} **8** ityādimantratrayerenādhitiṣṭhet] em., ityādimantratrayoḥ nāpi tiṣṭhet COD., zhes pa'i sngags 'dis byin gyis brlab par bya'o|| T_{Sde} **9** jñānacakreṇa saha] corr., jñānacakreṇa COD., 'khor lo dang dus gcig tu T_{Sde} **10** vajrayoginībhir] COD., rnal 'byor ma la sogs pas T_{Sde} **11** °bīja^o] COD., omitted in T_{Sde} **12** °Viṇā^o] corr., °Viṇā^o COD. **13** °Viṇādidevi^o] COD., lha mo bcu drug gis T_{Sde} **14** °pūjītābhiḥ] COD.^{p.c.}, °pūjā ... COD.^{a.c.} **15** jātamātrās tu] COD., bltams pa tsam gyis ni T_{Sde} = *jātamātreṇa? **16** snāpayiṣyāmi] corr., snāpayiṣyāmi COD.^{p.c.}, snāpiṣyāmi COD.^{a.c.} **17** īśadāvarjita^o] COD., omitted in T_{Sde} **18** °vāmakarakapālagata^o] COD., g.yon pa'i phyag g.yo ba'i thod pa las T_{Sde} **19** mahā^o] corr., māhā^o COD. **20** tathāgatān] corr., tathāgatāna COD. **21** śeṣāmbuniśpannāms ... devatānām ca] COD., lhag pa'i bdud rtsi las lha rnams de bzhin gshegs pas rgyas gdab cing| T_{Sde}

TATHĀGATĀBHIŠEKASAMAYAŚRIYE HŪṂ HŪṂ PHA^[8] ḡ iti paṭhet|^a

tatra¹ bhagavato viśvavajra²sthĀkṣobhyo bhagavatyā Vairocano dākinyādīnāṁ Ratneśāś cittavākkayacakra³gatānāṁ Akṣobhy-ĀmitābhaŚāsvatāḥ⁴ samaya[7^v]cakrasthānām⁵ Amoghasiddhiḥ⁶|^b

tataḥ pūjāpurahsaram Rasākhyadevy⁷upadhaukitāmṛtam āsvā-dya|{ }|^c

OM NAMO BHAGAVATE VĪREŚĀYA⁸ HŪṂ 2 PHAT⁹|

OM MAHĀKALPĀGNISAMĀNIBHĀYA HŪṂ 3¹⁰ [2] PHAT¹¹|

OM JATĀ¹²MUKUTOTKAṬĀYA HŪṂ 3¹³ PHAT|

- a CAA (p. 11, ll. 11–13): *yathā hi jātāmātreṇa snāpitāḥ sarvatathāgatāḥ/tathāhaṁ snāpayiṣyāmi śuddhaṁ divyena vāriṇāḥ/* OM Āḥ SARVATATHĀGATĀBHIŠEKASAMAYAŚRIYE HŪṂ abhiṣekamantrah//; CAATī (p. 168, ll. 7–13): *tato bhiṣekam dāpayet/* tatrāyam upadeśah// jñānacakrākarṣaṇasamakālam ākṛṣṭābhīr vajrayoginībhīr jñānāmr̥tāpūrṇakapālaḍamarukadharābhīr hṛdbīja-nirgata Viñādidevīpūjītābhīr *yathā hītyādivāriṇetyantaḥ paṭhantībhīr iṣadā-varjitavāmakarakapālanipataj*(conj., °nipatita° SAKURAI) jñānāmr̥tadhārābhīr (corr., °dharābhīr SAKURAI) abhiṣicyamānaḥ mahāsukhamayam ātmānaḥ vibhāvyā/ śeṣāmbuniṣpannān tathāgatān śirasī devadevatānāḥ dṛṣṭvā OM SARVATATHĀGATA ityādimantram uccārayet//; AMA (p. 10, l. 17–p. 11, l. 5, GSS 22^v1–4): *jñānacakrākarṣaṇasamakālam evākṛṣṭābhīr vajravilāsinibhīr jñānā-mṛ̥tāpūrṇakapālaḍamarudhāriṇībhīr hṛdbījanirgata Viñādidevīpūjītābhīr yathā hi jātāmātreṇa snāpitāḥ sarvatathāgatāḥ tathāhaṁ snāpayiṣyāmi śuddhaṁ divyena vāriṇeti paṭhantībhīr iṣadāvarjitavāmakarakapālanipatajjñānāmr̥ta-dhārābhīr abhiṣicyamānaḥ mahāsukhamayam ātmānaḥ vicintya śeṣāmbu-niṣpannān tathāgatān śirasī vibhāvyā OM SARVATATHĀGATĀBHIŠEKASAMAYA-ŚRIYE HŪṂ ity adhitiṣthet//*
- b Cf. CAATī (p. 168, ll. 13–15): *tatra Bhagavato ḍkṣobhyam/ Bhagavatyā Vairocanam/ Dākinyādīnāṁ Ratnasambhavam/ cittavākkāyacakragatānām Akṣobhy-Āmitābha Vairocanān/ samayacakragatānām Amoghasiddhim//;* AMA (p. 11, ll. 5–7, GSS 22^v4–6): *tatra bhagavatyāḥ kuleśāḥ śirasī Vairocanāḥ, dākinyādīnāṁ Ratnasambhavaḥ, cittavākkāyacakragatānāṁ yathāsamkhyam Akṣobhy-ĀmitābhaŚāsvatāḥ, samayacakrasthānām Amoghasiddhiḥ/*
- c Cf. CAATī (p. 168, l. 16): *tataḥ pūjāpurahsaram Rasākhyādevyupadhauki-tāmṛtam āsvādyam//;* AMA (p. 11, ll. 7–8, GSS 22^v6): *paścād amṛtāsvādaṁ kuryāt/*

¹ tatra] COD., omitted in T_{Sde} ² viśvavajra[°] conj., vi + vajra[°] COD.^{p.c.}, vajra[°] COD.^{a.c.}, sna tshogs rdo rje T_{Sde} ³ °cakra[°]] COD., omitted in T_{Sde} ⁴ °Śā-s-vatāḥ] conj., °Śāsvat+ + COD., rtag pa'o|| T_{Sde} ⁵ samayacakrasthānām] conj., + + + cakrasthānām COD., dam tshig gi lha rnams la T_{Sde} ⁶ Amoghasid-dhiḥ] em., Aghoṣasiddhiḥ COD., don grub bo|| T_{Sde} ⁷ Rasākhyadevy[°]] corr., rasākhyam devy[°] COD., ro ma zhes pa'i lha mos T_{Sde} ⁸ vīreśāya] conj., vīreśā + COD.^{p.c.}, vīreśā COD.^{a.c.}, bī re shā ya T_{Sde} ⁹ hum 2 phaṭ] COD., hum hūṁ phaṭ T_{Sde} ¹⁰ hūṁ 3] COD., hum hūṁ T_{Sde} ¹¹ phaṭ] corr., pha phaṭ COD. ¹² jaṭā[°]] corr., jaṭā[°] COD.^{p.c.}, jāma[°] COD.^{a.c.} ¹³ hūṁ 3] COD., hum hūṁ T_{Sde}

OM DAMŚTRĀ¹KARĀLĀGRABHĪSANAMUKHĀYA HŪM 3² PHAT|
 OM SAHASRABHUJABHĀSVARĀYA³ HUM 3⁴ PHAT|
 OM PARAŚUPĀŚODYATAŚŪLAKHAṬVĀNGA^[3]DHĀRINE HUM 3⁵ PHAT|
 OM VYĀGHRAJINĀMBARADHARĀYA HUM 3⁶ PHAT|
 OM MAHĀDHŪMRĀNDHAKĀRAVAPUṢĀYA HUM 3⁷ PHAT⁸|
 ity aṣṭapadamantrair bhagavataḥ|

OM NAMO BHAGAVATI^[4] VAJRAVĀRĀHI VAM HUM 3⁹ PHAT|
 OM NAMA ĀRYĀPARĀJITE TRAILOKYAMĀTRE¹⁰ MAHĀVIDYEŚVARI
HUM 3¹¹ PHAT|
 OM NAMAH SARVABHŪTABHAYĀVAHE MAHĀVAJRE HUM 3¹² PHAT|
 OM NAMO^[5] VAJRĀSANE AJITE APARĀJITE VAŚAṄKARINE¹³ BHRA-
MAṄI HUM 3¹⁴ PHAT|
 OM NAMO VIṢA¹⁵ŚOṢANI ROṢANI KRODHANI KARĀLINI HUM 3¹⁶
PHAT|
 OM NAMAH SAMTRĀSA^[6]NI¹⁷ MĀRANI SUPRABHEDANI PARĀJAYE
HUM 3¹⁸ PHAT|
 OM NAMO JAYE VIJAYE JAMBHANI STAMBHANI MOHANI HUM 3¹⁹
PHAT|
 OM NAMO VAJRAVĀRĀHI MAHĀ²⁰YOGINI KĀMEŚVARI KHAGE HUM
3²¹ [7] PHAT|
 ity aṣṭapadair bhagavatyāś ca spharitadevībhīḥ stutim kārayet|^a

sarvasyāsyoktasya niravadhidhātutrayasya ca śūnyataikarasatva-
pratipattaye²² jñānasattvarū- [end of 7^v] ...

a Cf. CAATI (p. 168, l. 17): *hṛdayādyāṣṭapadāntamantraiḥ stutim kuryāt//*

1 damśtrā°] corr., dramśtrā° COD. **2** hūm 3] COD., hum hūm T_{Sde} **3** °bhās-
varāya] COD., bhā su rā ya T_{Sde} **4** hum 3] COD., hum hūm T_{Sde} **5** hum 3] COD.,
hum hūm T_{Sde} **6** hum 3] COD., hum hūm T_{Sde} **7** hum 3] COD., hum
hūm T_{Sde} **8** phat] COD., phat swā hā T_{Sde} **9** hum 3] COD., hum hūm T_{Sde}
10 °mātre] COD., mā te T_{Sde} **11** hum 3] COD., hum hūm T_{Sde} **12** hum
3] COD., hum hūm T_{Sde} **13** vaśaṄkarine] COD., ba shyam ka ri ne T_{Sde} **14**
hum 3] COD., hum hūm T_{Sde} **15** namo viṣa°] COD., na maḥ T_{Sde} **16** hum 3]
COD., hum hūm T_{Sde} **17** namaḥ samtrāsani] COD., na mastrā sa ni T_{Sde} **18**
hum 3] COD., hum hūm T_{Sde} **19** hum 3] COD., hum hūm T_{Sde} **20** mahā°]
COD.^{p.c.}, māhā° COD.^{a.c.} **21** hum 3] hum hūm T_{Sde} **22** sarvasyāsyoktasya
niravadhidhātutrayasya ca śūnyataikarasatvapratipattaye] COD., sngar bshad pa'i
lha thams cad ma lus pa'i stong pa nyid du rtogs par bya ba'i phyir T_{Sde} (eyeskip?)

5 Synopsis of *fol. 8...

The text of the fragment breaks off at this point. In order to achieve the aim stated by the dative above, the *yogī* imagines the main deity and his consort (*yab yum*) in their *jñānasattva* form. The illusion-like (*sgyu ma lta bu*) sound of their lovemaking (*chags pa'i sgras*) attracts all beings ('*gro ba thams cad bkug nas*'). They are fused with the cremation grounds [on the outskirts of the *maṇḍala*] (*dur khrod*), which are then fused with the *samaya/sattva* (*dam tshig*). The *samayasattva* then merges with the deities in the circuit of the body (*sku*), the circuit of speech (*gsung*), the circuit of mind (*thugs*), and the circle of great bliss (*bde chen*). All these deities are then fused into the main deity pair (*yab yum*), which merges into the two-armed version of themselves (*phyag gnyis pa*). This pair then merges into a red HŪṂ at their heart. Then, as before, the HŪṂ syllable 'implodes' from bottom to top into its components: Ū into HA, HA into its head, the head into the *ardhacandra*, the *ardhacandra* into *bindu*, *bindu* into *nāda*. This most subtle form of the mantra then disappears 'like breath evaporating from a mirror' (*me long la has btab pa yal ba ltar*). The *yogī* should thus understand that the variety of deities are in fact (*don dam par*) [undifferentiated] clear light ('*od gsal*).'^a

a Cf. CAATĪ (p. 170, ll. 15–25): ... *māyāsuratadhvanisamākṛṣṭam* *trai-*
dhātukātmakam *cakram* *ātmani krameṇāntarbhāvayet*|| *kramas tu jagac-*
chmaśāneṣu (em., *jagatalā śmaśāneṣu* SAKURAI) / *śmaśānāni bāhyacakre/*
bāhyacakram kāyacakre/ *kāyacakram vākcakre/* *vākcakram cittacakre/* *citta-*
cakrasya (em., *cittacakram ca* SAKURAI) *diggatā Dākinyādiṣu/* *aiśānyādi-*
vidiggatā Rūpiṇyādiṣu/ *Dākinyādīś ca yathāsvam Bhagavanmukhesu/* *Bha-*
gavān Bhagavatī (corr., *Bhagavan-Bhagavatī* SAKURAI) *ca dvibhujat-*
prajñayoh/ *te ca samasuratena mahārāgadravāpanne/* *taddravapariṇatam*
sindūrāraktamuktāsadr̥ṣa-HŪṂ-kāramahāsukhamayam/ ūkāro (em., ūkāro
SAKURAI) *HAKāre/* *HAKārah* (em., *hakārasya* SAKURAI) *śirasī/* *śiro* (em., *śiraso*
SAKURAI) *'rdhacandre/* *ardhacandram* (em., °*candrasya* SAKURAI) *bindau/*
bindur (em., *bindo°* SAKURAI) *nāde/* *nādamātram vālāgraśatasahasrabhāgarū-*
pāṇi paśyet/ *adhimātras tu tam api nopalambhayet*||; AMA (p. 12, ll. 3–14,
GSS 23^v 3–24^r): ... *krameṇa vā śūnyatāntarbhāvah/* *tatrāyam kramah—jagac-*
chmaśāneṣu, *śmaśānāni bāhyacakre,* *bāhyacakram kāyacakre,* *kāyacakram*
vākcakre, *vākcakram cittacakre,* *cittacakrasya diggatā Dākinyādiṣu,* *vidiggatā*
Rūpiṇyādiṣu, *Dākinyādayaś ca mahāsukhacakragatā bhagavatīmukhe,* *bha-*
gavatyāsanāmbhojaṇ bhānau, *bhānuṇ Bhairave,* *Bhairavaṇ Kālarātryām,*
Kālarātriḥ khaṭvāṅge, *khaṭvāṅgaṇ bhagavatyām,* *bhagavatī nābhikamale,* *nā-*
bhikamalaṇ ravisomasāṇpuṭe, *ravisomasāṇpuṭaṇ VAMkāre,* *VAMkāram,* *ar-*
dhacandre, *ardhacandram bindau,* *binduṇ nāde 'ntarbhāvya nādam api vālā-*
graśatasahasrabhāgarūpāṇi paśyet/ *adhimātras tu tam api nopalambhayet/* ...
tad uktam—śvāsavāto yathādarśe layam gacchati sarvataḥ/ *bhūtakoṭīṇ tathā*
yogī praviśec ca muhur muhuḥ||

The *yogī* should then [perceive the *maṇḍala*] re-emerging from that [clear light] (*de'i ngang las*) in an instant (*skad cig gis*), and he should immediately (*skad cig la*) identify them with the thirty-seven *bodhipākṣikadharmas* (*byang chub kyi chos sum cu rtsa bdun*). Abhayākaragupta here discredits the identification done one by one (*so so la sbyar ba*) as intended for those of lower capabilities (*dbang po dman pa'i don du*).

Should the *yogī* become fatigued [i.e. unable to maintain the visualisation and the identifications vividly] (*skyo bar 'gyur na*), he should recite the mantras. Following the CAATĪ, Abhayākaragupta mentions three types of recitation (*vajrajāpa^a*, *samayajāpa^b*, and *dolājāpa^c*).

Then the mantras are given, starting with the *hrdaya* (*snying po*) and *upahṛdaya* (*nye ba'i snying po*) of the Lord and his consort, continuing with the *mālāmantra* (*phreng sngags*) of the Lord and his consort, and ending with the mantras of the individual deities (*lha so so'i sngags*).^d

After this point the *yogī* may finish his meditation. Before doing so, however, he must identify twenty-four points on his body (forehead, head, left nostril, etc.) with the twenty-four sacred fords (Pullīramalaya, Jālandhara, Odīyāna, etc.) and their presiding heroines (Pra-candā, Candāksī, Prabhāvatī, etc.) represented by their syllables (PU, JA, O, etc). He should do the same for the four zocephalic goddesses (Kākāsyā, etc.) by placing them on the mouth, the right nostril, left nostril, and the anus; the four goddesses of the intermediate corners (Yamadādhī, etc.) by placing them on the right ear, left ear, and the

- a CAATĪ (p. 170, l. 27–p. 171, l. 5): *khede sati jhaṭiti maṇḍalacakram adhimucya nābhicandre śvetaraktaṁ HŪṂkāraṇi nādām vā dṛṣṭvāḥ/ tryakṣaram uccārayan tasmān nādād yathopadeśaṁ nirgamavāyūnā pañcacakrāṇi saṃsphārya jagadarthaṁ kārayitvā/ punar uccārayan manṭreṇa sahaiva mālāsūtrākarṣaṇanyāyena pravesavāyūnā tasmīnn eva nāde praveśayet// evaṇ punaḥ punaḥ kuryād iti vajrajāpah//*
- b CAATĪ (p. 171, ll. 6–9): *tathaiva tasmād eva nādāt hrdayopahṛdayamantram uccārayan/ Cakrasamvara devatāvrndaspharaṇasamharanena pūrvavad hrdayopahṛdayamantrān japeḥ// pratyeka(em., pratyekam SAKURAI) devatāmantroccāranaparisamāptau pratyeka(em., pratyekam SAKURAI)spharaṇasamharanam iti samayajāpah//*
- c CAATĪ (p. 171, ll. 10–13): *sarvadharma samatāhaṅkāreṇa mantramālāṁ svamukha eva praviśya vajramārgeṇa padme gatvā/ avadhūtīmārgeṇo thāya Bhagavatīmukhān niḥsṛtya svamukhadvāreṇa praviśya nāde vilīya/ punas tasmād utthāya pūrvavat tathaiva bhramantī (em., bhramantī SAKURAI) bhāvayan mālāmantram japed iti dolājāpah//*
- d This is the section referred to in the NIYOĀ, and the *Vajrāvalī*. Cf. section 2.

two eyes; and the four *dākinīs* from the middle (Dākinī, etc.) on the heart, neck, navel, and forehead. He should then identify the twenty-four bodily constituents (teeth, nails, hair, etc.) with the twenty-four heroes (Khaṇḍakapālī, Mahākaṇḍakāla, Kaikāla, etc.). The list closes with the Lord, having the nature of semen (*byang chub sems*) and presiding over the lotus in the head (*spyi bo'i chu skyes*), embracing the consort Vārāhī, having the nature of menstrual blood (*a shad [!]*) and presiding over the lotus in the sexual organ (*gsang ba'i chu skyes*). [Their union] turns into great bliss (*bde ba chen po'i rang bzhin du skye bar 'gyur ba*).

Abhayākaragupta concludes that the *yogī* should constantly maintain the firm conviction (*mos pa*) of this utterly pure (*yongs su dag pa*) body-*mandala* (*lus kyi dkyil 'khor*)—be that for his own or others'—, and become the embodiment of great bliss, which is emptiness and compassion, having the nature of wisdom and means, fused into ‘one taste’ (*ro gcig pa*).

The work ends with a customary dedicatory verse.

References

- Almogi, Orna. 2008. “How Authentic Are Titles and Colophons of Tantric Works in the Tibetan Canon? The Case of Three Works and Their Authors and Translators.” In *Contributions to Tibetan Buddhist Literature. PIATS 2006: Proceedings of the Eleventh Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Königswinter 2006*, edited by Orna Almogi, 87–124. Beiträge zur Zentralasienforschung 14. Halle: IITBS.
- Bagchi, Prabodh Chandra. 1938. *Dohākoṣa [Apabhraṃśa Texts of the Sāhajayāna School]*. Calcutta: University of Calcutta.
- Chandra, Lokesh, ed. 1971. *The Collected Works of Bu ston rin chen grub*. Vol. 16. Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture.
- Davidson, Ronald. 2005. *Tibetan Renaissance*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- English, Elizabeth. 2002. *Vajrayoginī: Her Visualizations, Rituals, and Forms*. Boston: Wisdom Publications.
- Gray, David. 2007. *The Cakrasamvara Tantra (The Discourse of Śrī Heruka): Study and Annotated Translation*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Isaacson, Harunaga. 2007. “First Yoga: A Commentary on the *ādiyoga* Section of Ratnākaraśānti’s *Bhramahara*: Studies in Ratnākaraśānti’s tantric works IV.” In *Pramāṇakīrtih: Papers Dedicated to Ernst Steinkellner on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, Part 1, edited by Birgit Kellner, Helmut Krasser, Horst Lasic, Michael Torsten Much, and Helmut Tauscher. Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien.

- Iwamoto, Yutaka, ed. 1937. *Mahāśāhasrapramardanī (Pañcarakṣā I)*. Beiträge zur Indologie, Heft 1. Kyoto.
- Kværne, Per. 1977. *An Anthology of Buddhist Tantric Songs*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Lee, Yong Hyun, ed. 2008. *The Niśpannayogāvalī of Abhayākaragupta*. Seoul: Baegun Press.
- Mori, Masahide, ed. 2009. *Vajrāvalī of Abhayākaragupta: Edition of Sanskrit and Tibetan Versions*. 2 vols. Tring: The Institute of Buddhist Studies.
- Onians, Isabelle. 2001. “Tantric Buddhist Apologetics or Antinomianism as a Norm.” PhD diss., University of Oxford.
- Rinpoche, Samdhong, and Vrajvallabh Dwivedi, eds. 1990. *Vasantatilakā of Caryāvratī Śrīkṛṣṇācārya with Commentary: Rahasyadīpikā by Vānaratna*. Sarnath: CIHTS.
- _____, eds. 1993. *Abhisamayamañjarī of Śubhākara Gupta [sic!]* Sarnath: CIHTS.
- Roerich, George N., [and Gendün Chöpel], trans. 1949. *The Blue Annals*. Vol. 1. Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- Sakurai, Munenobu. 1998. “Cakrasaṃvaraḥbisamaya no genten kenkyū – Bonbun kōtei tekusuto.” *The Chisan Gakuho* 61: 1–32.
- _____. 2004. “Another Version of Prajñārakṣita’s *Balividhi*.” In *Three Mountains and Seven Rivers: Prof. Musashi Tachikawa’s felicitation volume*, edited by Musashi Tachikawa, Shoun Hino, and Toshihiro Wada, 815–828. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- _____. 2005a. “Prajñārakṣita Cakrasaṃvaraḥbisamaya chū – Bonbun kōtei tekusoto I.” *The Chisan Gakuho* 68: 161–185.
- _____. 2005b. “Prajñārakṣita Cakrasaṃvaraḥbisamaya chū – Bonbun kōtei tekusoto II.” *The Chisan Gakuho* 69: 85–100.
- Sanderson, Alexis. 2009. “The Śaiva Age: The Rise and Dominance of Śaivism During the Early Medieval Period.” In *Genesis and Development of Tantrism*, edited by Shingo Einoo. Tokyo: Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo.
- Shastri, Babulal Shukla, ed. 1994. *Nāgarasarvasvam of Mahāmati Padmaśrī with the Commentary of Jagajjyotirmalla*. Delhi.
- Snellgrove, David. 1959. *The Hevajra Tantra: A Critical Study, Part 2: Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts*. Oxford: OUP.
- Szántó, Péter-Dániel. 2012. “Selected Chapters from the Catuspīṭhatantra.” 2 vols. PhD diss., Balliol College, Oxford.
- _____. 2015. “Minor Vajrayāna Texts III: A Fragment of the **Guhyasamājod-dhṛtayāgavidhi*.” In *Tibetan and Himalayan Healing: An Anthology for Anthony Aris*, edited by Charles Ramble and Ulrike Roesler, 667–686. Kathmandu: Vajra Books.
- Tanaka, Kimiaki. 1994. “Navarasa Theory in the Sarvabuddhasaṃyogaḍā-kiṇḍalaṃvaraṭatantra Reconsidered.” *Tōhō* 10 (December): 323–331.
- Tomabechi, Toru, and Kazuo Kano. 2008. “A Critical Edition of a Text Fragment from Abhayākaragupta’s Āmnāyamañjarī: Göttingen, Cod.ms.sanscr.259b.” In *Tantric Studies, vol. 1*, edited by Harunaga

Isaacson, 22–44. Hamburg: Universität Hamburg, Centre for Tantric Studies. <https://www.tantric-studies.uni-hamburg.de/en/journal/tantric-studies-1.html>.

Article 8 Péter-Dániel Szántó



FIGURE 8.1 Manuscript Fragment of Śrīsamvarabhisaṃayapāyikā, NAK 1-1607, NGMPP A 49/18, Folio 2



FIGURE 8.2 Manuscript Fragment of *Srisanvarābhisañavopayikā*, NAK L-1607, NGMPPA 49/18, Folio 5

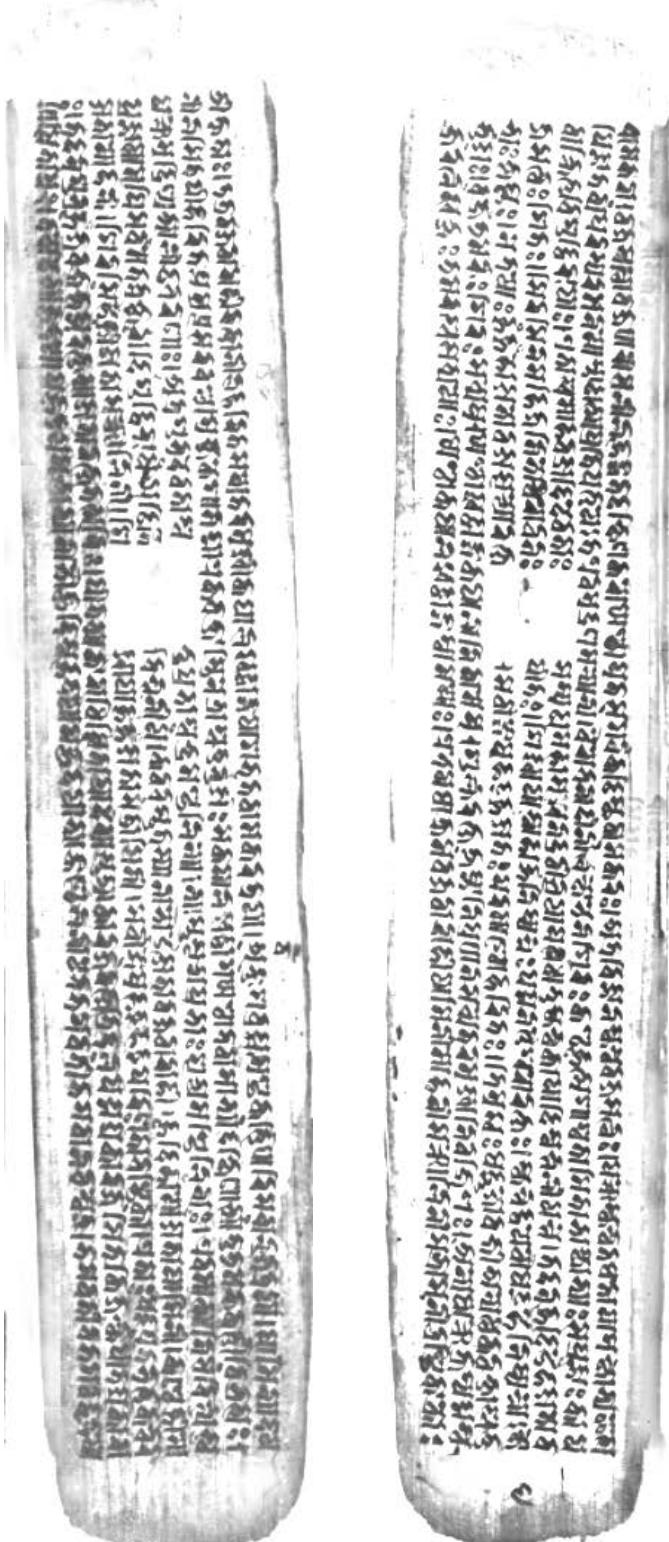


FIGURE 8.3 Manuscript Fragment of *Srisamvarābhisaṃavopavīkā*, NAK 1-1607, NGMPP A 49/18, Folio 6

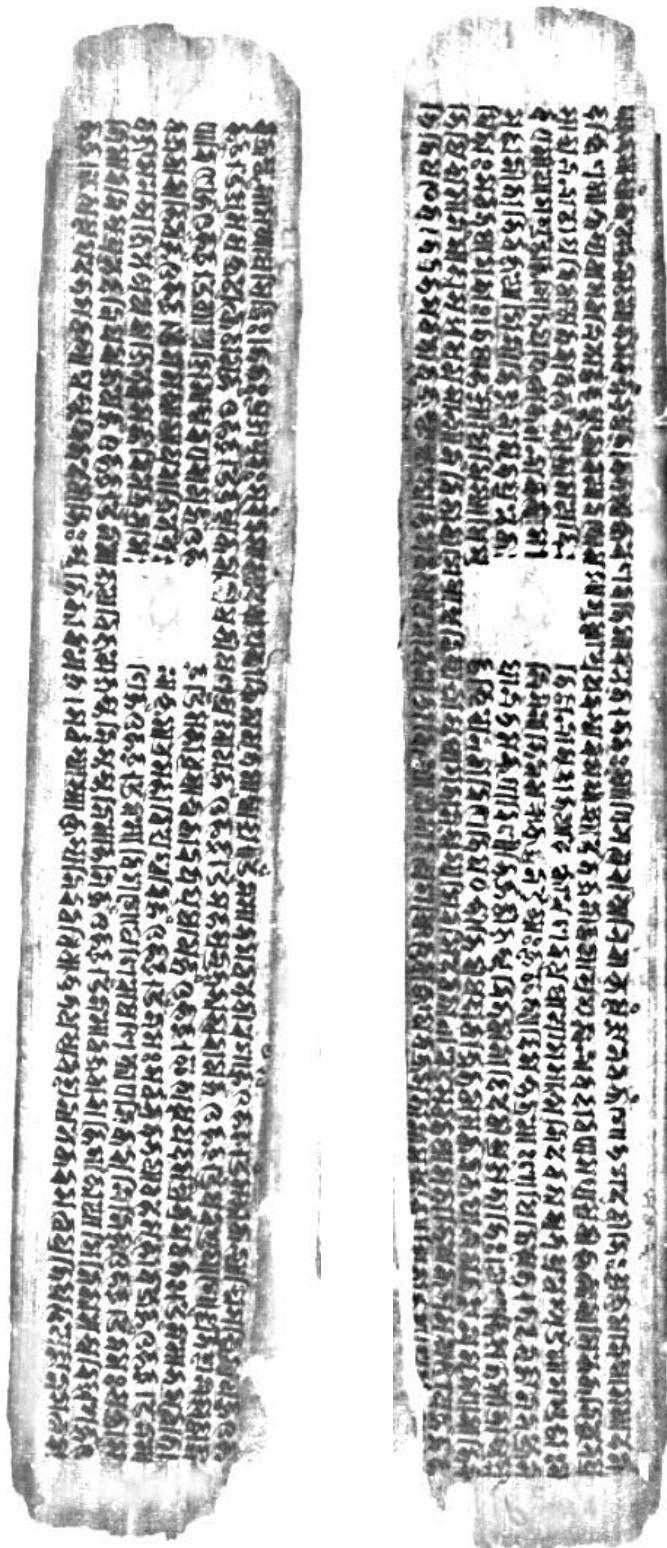


FIGURE 8.4 Manuscript Fragment of Śrīsaṃvaraḥisaṇavopāyikā, NAK 1-1607, NGMPP A 49/18, Folio 7