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The *Vajramahābhairavatantra*: Its Origins, Intertextuality, and Transmission

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To my father, Kazimierz Wenta (1937–2017)
Professor of Pedagogy

Abstract

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This thesis focuses on the *Vajramahābhairavatantra*, a seminal Buddhist tantra dedicated to the fear-inducing buffalo-headed Buddhist tantric deity Vajrabhairava (*rdo rje 'jigs byed*). The tantra has survived to us through Sanskrit manuscripts, which have not previously been investigated. My project intends to fulfill this desideratum by providing the first-ever edition of the Sanskrit text of the *Vajramahābhairavatantra* and by reconstructing its missing parts from the *Sampuṭatantra*. Apart from the establishment of a critically edited version of the text and the production of an English translation, my thesis studies the contents in the light of relevant sources outside the corpus, such as early Śaiva and Buddhist tantras like the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, the *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa*, but also of sources within the corpus, such as the six canonical commentaries on the difficult points of the root-text. My focus on the intertextual relations between the *Vajramahābhairavatantra* and other early tantras, as well as the close analysis of the tantra's Indian exegetical tradition that has survived uniquely through the Tibetan canon, the Bstan 'gyur is important for our understanding of the origin and development of the Vajrabhairava cult. While sufficient scholarly attention has been paid to comparatively late milieus, such as the Chinese, Tibetan, and Mongolian instantiations, the early Indian cradle has been neglected. The aim of my thesis is to demonstrate that the Vajrabhairava cult can be located within the cultural framework of early tantric magic, and thus contains elements that point back to an earlier period than what had been assumed so far. Besides uncovering the intertextual and intellectual relationships between Śaiva and Buddhist tantric traditions, my thesis investigates the appropriation and consolidation of the tantra in Tibet, especially through a reconstruction of the lineages that took part in its transmission from India to Tibet in the light of existing Tibetan historiographies. It thus contributes to our understanding of the appropriation of Indic Buddhist traditions on the Tibetan plateau.

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Introduction

The focus of this dissertation is the early cult of the buffalo-headed tantric deity Vajrabhairava, which flourished in India in the middle of the 8th century during the 'mature' phase of tantric Buddhism. Who is Vajrabhairava? In the introductory verse of the *Vajramahābhairavatantra* (VBhT), Vajrabhairava is paid homage to as a form of Mañjuśrī, but unlike his benign predecessor, he is described as being 'exceedingly wrathful' (*atyugra*) and 'terrifying' (*bhayānaka*) to all the gods. Indian exegetical commentaries understand these two adjectives as referring to Vajrabhairava's inner and outer natures. He causes terror externally because of his inner, wrathful state of mind. Tibetan Buddhists consider Vajrabhairava to be the emanation-body (*nirmāṇakāya*) of the *bodhisattva* Mañjuśrī. Vajrabhairava is said to have emerged from Mañjuśrī's heart to tame those trainees (*'dul bya*) who are difficult to discipline, among whom Yama and Bhairava-Maheśvara feature prominently. Prior to the VBhT, various early Buddhist *yoga-* and *mahāyoga-tantra*s had made references to Vajrabhairava, although none of them considered him a central deity. The earliest among these textual sources is the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* (STTS), where Vajrabhairava appears three times: first, as one of the *Sarvamahāmaṇḍala* deities of the newly subdued retinue of Maheśvara substituting Kubera; secondly, as a messenger (*dūta* or *vajradūta*) in the pantheon of the *Sarvavajrakulamaṇḍala* (chapter 12), where he is accompanied by the *mantra: oṃ vajrabhairava vajradūta bhakṣaya sarvaduṣṭān mahāyakṣa huṃ phaṭ* and; thirdly, as a *vajradūta* of the pledge-*mudrā*s (*samayamudrā*s) where he utters the *mantra: oṃ vajragrahe hūṃ*. The next reference to Vajrabhairava appears in the influential tantric text *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* (MNS), dated to the late 8th century, where he features in the string of epithets to Mañjuśrī (v.66, see Tribe 2016:35) as well as in the early commentary (composed between the late 8th to the early 9th centuries) *Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī* (NMAA) by Vilāsavajra (Tribe 2016:6). In the 8th century *Guhyasamājatantra* (GS, 17.22, p. 98), the word *vajrabhairava* appears in plural form and is used as an adjective to describe the terrifying nature of the *asura* maidens emanating from Vajrapāṇi's *vajra*-body. In the 9th century *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana*

(3.81a), Vajrabhairava appears as a deity of the *Durgatipariśodhanamaṇḍala*, where he is described as a *dūta*, mounted on a zombie (*veṭālāruḍho*/*vetāḍarudḥo*); Vajrabhairava is described as being blue in colour, holding a *vajra* in the right hand, and a sword (or a trident) in the left hand (Skorupski 1983:90). In the same text, the word *vajrabhairava* appears in the context of the gesture (*mudrā*) of *Vajrabhairavanetra*, intended to bind all obstructions during the *sādhana* (1.11a). The *mudrā* is described as follows: "binding the *vajra* fists and waving them like a firebrand, he should hold them above the head with the forefingers made into hooks. This is the gesture of *Vajrabhairavanetra*" (Skorupski 1983:12). The *mudrā* is accompanied by the mantra: *Oṃ Hulu Hulu Huṃ Phaṭ* (*ibid.*). These sparse references acknowledge the existence of Vajrabhairava since the very beginning of the mature phase of Indian tantric Buddhism.

The most important textual source for his practice in India is the VBhT (also referred to in the colophon of the VBhT's first chapter as the *Vajramahābhairavatantra*) in seven chapters that focuses on the means of attainment (*sādhana*) centered upon Vajrabhairava. This tantra, written in Sanskrit, is attributed to Lalitavajra (aka Līlavajra), *ācārya* at Nālandā Mahāvihāra, who is said to have retrieved it from the mythical land of Oḍḍiyāna. The transmission of the VBhT from India to Tibet took place during the Later Dissemination (*phyi dar*) when it was classified as a scripture belonging to the *yoganiruttara* class. Within several decades of its emergence in the 8th century, Vajrabhairava became one of the most revered deities of Tibetan Buddhism and a pan-Asian phenomenon. The cult of this deity was adopted by the Newar Buddhists in Nepal, where it continues to these days, and instantiations are attested in Mongolia, China, and possibly Indonesia. In spite of Vajrabhairava's popularity, global cultural reach, and considerable impact on the formation of religious praxis in the mediaeval Buddhist world, the cult of Vajrabhairava has still not received sufficient scholarly attention.

Previous Scholarship on Vajrabhairava and Reasons for Undertaking this Research

To date, the only Sanskrit edition of the first three chapters of the VBhT was published by the Central Institute of Tibetan Studies (Sarnath) in 2007. Unfortunately, this edition is marred by a quantity of significant errors. The only available study on the VBhT, presenting the Tibetan and Mongolian editions of the text, as well as an English

translation and introduction, was published by Siklós in 1996. In spite of its merits, Siklós's study is of limited value since at this time the original Sanskrit manuscripts of the tantra had not yet been discovered. Moreover, Siklós includes only three of six canonical commentaries on the VBhT and uses them very selectively to elucidate some aspects of the root text. He passes over in silence the more important and difficult commentaries penned down by *Akṣobhya and *Kṛṣṇācārya that are of great value to the understanding of the Vajrabhairava cult. Because of this, and because of the many instances of conceptual mistakes and wrong translations, Siklós's study does not do justice to the early tantric milieu from which the VBhT had emerged.

Among the pioneering research on Vajrabhairava, we find three articles by Siklós on the *datura* rituals (1994a), on flora and fauna in the VBhT (1994b), and on the historical origins of Vajrabhairava in the Indo-Iranian cult of the deity Yama/Yima (2012), respectively. The academic work dealing with the cult of Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka according to the Chinese tradition of Master Nenghai was published in two volumes in 2005–2006 by Ester Bianchi (in Italian). Bianchi (2010) has also published (in English) an article on the cult of Yamāntaka-Vajrabhairava in modern China. The cult of Mergen Gegen tradition of Vajrabhairava in Mongolia has been researched by Ujeed (2009). Hubert Decleer (n.d.) has penned down two volumes on the transmission of Vajrabhairava in Tibet, entitled *Lightning Terror*. This remains an unpublished work, only accessible to a limited number of scholars of tantric Buddhism. Decleer (1998) has also published a critical review of Siklós's study on the VBhT. Apart from the aforementioned academic works, there exists a considerable 'dharma literature' on Vajrabhairava, such as the *Self-Initiation Manual* composed by Kyabje Phabongkha Rinpoche and translated by Sharpa Tulku and Richard Guard (1991), or the manual for ritual fire offering dedicated to the Thirteen Deity Vajrabhairava compiled by Sharpa Tulku and Michael Perrott (1987).

Certainly, while the pioneering research of the above scholars has cast some light on the origin and development of the Vajrabhairava cult in comparatively late Tibetan, Chinese, and Mongolian milieus, its early Indian cradle has been neglected. My dissertation intends to fulfill this lacuna by providing the first-ever critical edition and an English translation of the Sanskrit text of the VBhT based on two available manuscripts:

NAK A 994/3 and NAK B 112/16. Since both manuscripts are incomplete, I have reconstructed the missing part of the text (approx. 6 folios) from the *Saṃpuṭatantra* (e.g. the Hodgson ms.; the Calcutta ms.; the Wellcome Library witness) which, for the most part, is just an anthology of different Vajrayāna Tantras (Skorupski 1996:201; Szántó 2013:350). The analysis of the tantra's contents follows the complete testimony of the Indian exegetical tradition that has survived exclusively through the Tibetan translation in the Bstan 'gyur.

The last two decades or so have brought considerable advancement to our understanding of the mutual relationship between Śaivism and Buddhism in the mediaeval Indian Subcontinent, mostly thanks to new editions, translations, and studies of various tantric scriptures. This recent scholarship brought to light new categories of analysis that were not yet known when Siklós published his studies. Therefore, there is now a need to re-evaluate some of the arguments posed by Siklós and study the cult of Vajrabhairava in the light of a new analytical framework. Recently, working in the cadre of the Franco-German "Early Tantra Project", Dominic Goodall and Harunaga Isaacson (2016) have demonstrated that the earliest tantric texts, whether Buddhist or Śaiva, share a common 'ritual syntax' whose importance has either diminished or disappeared altogether in the later Śaiva and Buddhist tantras. I will argue that the VBhT too belongs to this early tantric milieu. The evidence for this is the appearance of themes and terminology that are the same as those found in the earliest datable tantric scriptures.

Methodology and Structure of the Dissertation

My textual and comparative study provides an analysis of Sanskrit and Tibetan sources, mostly unpublished, which paves the way for a better understanding of the Indo-Tibetan context in which the emergence of the Vajrabhairava cult took place. In providing the edition of the Sanskrit text, I am guided by the recent advancements in the field of Sanskrit and Tibetan textual criticism, especially when it comes to the application of a "corpus approach" to the study of the vast body of tantric scriptures, characterised by a significant intertextuality and linguistic idiosyncrasies. The Sanskrit edition is accompanied by a detailed analysis of the language of the constituted text: its stylistic and syntactic peculiarities, including influences from Newārī phonology, borrowings from

Middle Indic languages, 'tantric' usages, reconstruction of hypothetical forms, etc. Apart from establishing a critically edited version of the text and producing an English translation, my dissertation studies the contents of the VBhT in the light of relevant sources outside the corpus, such as early tantras like the *Guhyasūtra* of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* (NTGS), the *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa* (MMK), but also of sources within the corpus, such as the six canonical commentaries on the difficult points of the root-text written by *Vajrasiddha, *Śoṇaśrī, *Akṣobhya, *Kṛṣṇācārya, *Lalitavajra, and *Kumāracandra. These commentaries are preserved only in Tibetan translation and a systematic study is of great importance for our understanding of the exegetical tradition of this tantra and its reception through the ages.

To round off the picture of the early introduction and transmission of the VBhT, my dissertation also explores the transmission of the VBhT in Tibet through a detailed analysis of the five Tibetan transmission lineages (*chos lugs*), namely Zhang, Skyo, Gnyos, Mal, and Rwa, which list the specific line of teachers through which the Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka texts and ritual methods have been transmitted from India to Tibet. My analysis is primarily based on the only two comprehensive and detailed accounts of these lineages, namely the *Rgyud rgyal gshin rje gshed skor gyi chos 'byung rgyas pa yid ches ngo mtshar* by the Jo nang scholar Tāranātha (1575–1634), a work that has not received any scholarly attention to date, and A mes zhabs Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams's (1597–1659) *Dpal gshin rje'i gshed skor gyi dam pa'i chos 'byung ba'i tshul legs par bshad pa*, a work belonging to the Sa skya tradition of Tibetan Buddhism. This work is important to trace the lineages of the Buddhist masters who initiated rulers of China into the Vajrabhairava cult through 'Phags pa, the nephew of Sa skya paṇḍita. The exploration of the main Tibetan transmission lineages is important to understand the adoption of the Vajrabhairava cult on the Tibetan plateau, as well as the history of Tibetan Buddhism more generally. Although Vajrabhairava has been used as a daily practice by the Sa skya and Dge lugs pa monks in pursuit of soteriological goals over the *long durée*, this dissertation does not approach this topic directly. The understanding of how, why, and where, such ostensibly antinomian tradition endured as the preferred vehicle for intellectually and philosophically sophisticated versions of monastic Mahāyāna, remains a desideratum.

Chapter One introduces the VBhT by examining its placement within the tantric Buddhist systems in India and Tibet and discusses some pertinent questions regarding the text's dating and problems in identifying the identity of the tantra's alleged revealer, Lalitavajra. This chapter also provides an overview of the six commentaries on the VBhT focusing on the issue of chronology and doctrinal leanings. The second part of Chapter One investigates the appropriation and consolidation of the VBhT in Tibet, especially through a reconstruction of the lineages that took part in its transmission from India to Tibet in the light of existing Tibetan historiographies.

Chapter Two analyses the origin narratives concerning the emergence of the deity Vajrabhairava as well as the tantra's 'rediscovery' in Oḍḍiyāna, preserved only in Tibetan historiographical sources. This chapter examines literary tropes and narrative templates that have influenced the shape of the origin stories and show in which way these narratives go beyond the current academic theories on the genesis of Vajrabhairava.

Chapter Three examines the VBhT through the lenses of the widespread and little investigated phenomenon of tantric magic across Buddhist and Śaiva sectarian boundaries. I argue that the VBhT stems from an early tantric milieu and shares reflexes of terminology and concepts with the early Śaiva and Buddhist tantric scriptures. Through the comparison of shared elements, such as magical recipes, I provide concrete examples of Śaiva-Buddhist intertextuality and reconstruct the framework within which material culture was located in the formative phase of tantrism.

Chapter Four leads over to the edition and translation of the text itself by presenting a comprehensive study of the VBhT's contents that follows the division of the seven *kalpa*s (chapters) of the VBhT. My analysis is based on the exegetical literature within the VBhT corpus and relevant textual sources outside the corpus. This chapter gives an overview of the cult of Vajrabhairava in India as it emerges from these texts in various ritual contexts.

Appendix 1 contains long passages in Tibetan or Sanskrit quoted in chapters 1–4. Appendix 2 includes a critical edition of the Sanskrit text of the VBhT preceded by a description of the Sanskrit manuscripts and Tibetan xylographs employed in the edition, an analysis of the linguistic peculiarities of the VBhT, and textual notes. Appendix 3 includes an annotated translation of the VBhT.

Chapter One

An Introduction to the *Vajrabhairavatantra*

1.1. The *Vajrabhairavatantra* and the Buddhist Tantric Systems

Within the scope of the general, 'ex-post' classification of the Buddhist Tantric Systems in India into *kriyā-*, *caryā-*, *yoga-* and *yoginītantra*s (Isaacson and Sferra 2015), the VBhT has been classified under the *yogatantra*s. As the name of this class suggests, 'yoga'—understood as "the paradigmatic practice of deity yoga in which practitioners create themselves as enlightened Buddha figures through a series of contemplations and visualizations, each accompanied by repetition of a specific mantra" (Weinberger 2003:177)—was a distinctive feature of the *yogatantra*s. Alongside the marked shift in emphasis on the method that stressed the inner yoga over the outer ritual characteristic of the *kriyātantra*s, the *yogatantra*s were more interested in the soteriological goals that became as important as the procurement of magical powers (*siddhi*s). The classification of the VBhT under the *yogatantra*s was controversial. In this regard, *Akṣobhya, one of the earliest commentators of the VBhT, outlines the main points of the disputed issue together with the reasoned arguments against those who objected such categorisation. He provides the following justification:

> [The VBhT] is called a *yogatantra* because in this tantra there are many external ritual applications (*prayoga*s). But if this is the case, then someone might say that this is a *kriyātantra*. [To this I reply:] It is not a *kriyātantra* because there is an occurrence of the seventh chapter, which teaches only things to be done by meditation (*yoga*). Moreover, because [the VBhT] teaches internal *yoga* as essential in every external ritual application, we have the teaching: "[he should] be well-concentrated (*samāhita*)", and this is an internal aspect of *yoga*. This is not a *kriyātantra* but a *yoga* that teaches great external ritual applications. Others say that in this tantra, "yoga" cannot be derived from the stem *yuji*, but it can only mean *yoniśas* (i.e. *yoniśo manasikāra*, "right mental attention"), but it is not true. In this tantra, it is the stem *yuji* and it is, for the most part, *yoniśa* not only in the case of the seventh chapter and achieving the body of the deity. Even in the *kriyātantra*s, we have *yoniśas*, and that's why it is not true.[1]

[1] For the Tibetan text, see Appendix 1, p. 329.

*Akṣobhya tries to refute the *pūrvapakṣa* position that the VBhT should be classified under the *kriyā*- category because of the predominace of outer rituals on the basis of two facts. First, the very existence of the seventh chapter, which relies solely upon rituals conducted through meditation. Second, there is the inner *yoga* component in every outer ritual, conveyed by the phrase *susamāhita*/*samāhita* in a meaning of "[being] well-concentrated", which is to be understood as an inner meditative state characterised as the union with the deity Vajrabhairava that any *sādhaka* performing rituals delineated in the VBhT must assume prior to the engagement in the rituals. According to *Akṣobhya, these aspects alone qualify the VBhT as a *yogatantra*.

The second debatable issue, brought forth by *Akṣobhya in the above passage, revolved around the class of the verbal stem (*dhātu*) wherefrom the term 'yoga' was derived. In this regard, the *Dhātupāṭha* distinguishes two classes, namely: 1) the fourth class (IV.68) where 'yoga' is derived from the root *yuj*- in the meaning of concentration, *yuja samādhau*, and, 2) the seventh class (VII.7), where 'yoga' is derived from the root *yuj*- in the meaning of conjunction, *yuji yoge* (Staal 1997:122). It was a common practice in Sanskrit exegetical writings to engage in a discussion on the issue of the two aforementioned derivations whenever the topic of 'yoga' was considered. For example, the exegetical commentary on the *Yogasūtra*, the *Yogasūtrabhāṣya*—forming together with it the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* (prob. early to mid-5th century)—gives the following explanation of 'yoga':

> Doubt as to the actual thing (*yoga*) is occasioned by doubt as to the meaning of the word. This doubt is removed by stating that in the language of the *sūtra*, *yoga* is etymologically derived from the root *yuja* in the sense of concentration and not from the root *yuji* in the sense of conjunction. (Trans. Staal 1997: 122)

In making a distinction between the two derivations of the word 'yoga', *Akṣobhya goes against the *pūrvapakṣa* position that denies the possibility of the word 'yoga' to be derived from the stem *yuja* "yoga as concentration" and favours the derivation from the *dhātu yuji* "yoga as union" expressed through the Buddhist idiom of *yoniso manasikāra* (Skt. *yoniśo manasikāra*), that is "right mental attention". In order to understand *Akṣobhya's reasons for putting forward such an explanation, we have to look at the

definition of 'yoga' in the *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*, a commentary on the early 9th century *Mahāvyutpatti*:

> What is called "yoga" is so called [because of the *dhātu*] *yuji* ["to unite"]. "Yoga" means meditation (*dhyāna*), which unites *śamatha* and *vipaśyanā*. "*Yoniśas manasikāra*" means the following: "*yoni*" is *upāya*, the method or tantra, [the affix] "*śa*[*s*]" means "it teaches (*śasati*)"[2]; [this refers to the act of] following and teaching that very same method and means. In general, through mediation on the repulsive (*aśubhabhāvanā*), one eliminates desire and through meditation on the dependent origination, one eliminates ignorance, etc. Because it is the name for meditation (*dhyāna*) according to the [right] method and means, it is called *yoniśo manasikāra* accordingly.[3]

There are two aspects of the above definition of 'yoga' that could throw some light on *Akṣobhya's earlier explanation. First, 'yoga' is derived from the *dhātu yuji* (that is "yoga as union") and it denotes a meditation (*dhyāna*) that is understood in terms of union of "calm abiding and special insight" (*śamathavipaśyanā*). Those are two technical terms, which Wayman (1973:110) defines as the "backbone of tantric practice" insofar that they relate to the development of the one-pointed concentration on tantric Buddhist deities, mantras, etc., during *śamatha* and the realisation of emptiness (*śūnyatā*) in *vipaśyanā*, respectively (Sarbacker 2005:116). Second, *dhyāna* is also defined through the *yoniśo manasikāra*[4] terminology because of its proximity to skillful means (*upāya*), or the method of meditation that brings specific results, for example, elimination of desire, etc. If we take this explanation as an interpretative tool for understanding *Akṣobhya's definition, we may conclude that in the VBhT "yoga as union" is considered a skillful means for eliminating all kinds of obstacles through *dhyāna,* which comes about through concentration and realisation of emptiness.

Yet another attempt at classifying the VBhT within the scheme of Buddhist tantras in India came with Vilāsavajra, who placed it within the *mahāyoga* or *yogottara* category,[5] alongside the GS and the *Māyājālatantra* (Tribe 1994:5). It is difficult to understand what the basis for Vilāsavajra's classification was. Scholars usually point out

[2] I thank Prof. Sferra for suggesting this emendation to the text.
[3] For the Tibetan text, see Appendix 1, p. 329.
[4] The explanation of the *yoniśo manasikāra* is beyond the scope of this thesis. For some important implications of this term in the Mahāyāna Buddhism, see Pagel (1995:169).
[5] According to Isaacson (1998), *yogottara* appears to be a later designation invented as it were for the *mahāyoga* category, while (English 2002:5) points out that Vilāsavajra is not aware of such a category.

to a number of distinctive features of *yogottara* tantras, not found in other classes. For example, an oft-repeated statement is that one of the *yogottara* tantras' features was a sudden proliferation of wrathful deities of Akṣobhya's *vajra*-family, whose status rose to prominence in that genre of texts (Tribe 1994:5, English 2004:4). While this statement may be correct in the case of the GS and *Māyājāla*, it cannot be confirmed with regard to the VBhT, where no mention of Akṣobhya is to be found. Similarly, scholars (see e.g. English 2002:4; Williams and Tribe 2000:151–64; Harvey 2013:182) unanimously maintain that the *yogottara* tantras are distinguished from the tantras of other classes by their marked emphasis on sexuality, especially initiation involving sexual intercourse as well as the depiction of deities in sexual embrace. While sexuality becomes an important aspect of the GS and *Māyājāla*, it is entirely absent in the VBhT. The only feature that the text seems to be sharing with the tantras of the *yogottara* class is the ritual use of body-products. The VBhT employs the ritual consumption of the "five nectars" (*pañcāmṛta*)[6], thus it follows the 'transgressive paradigm' initiated in Buddhist tantras by the GS.

Now, let us examine the placement of the VBhT in Tibet. The classification of Buddhist tantras in Tibet went through various stages of development and was codified into the well-known fourfold division mentioned above only in the 12th century, mainly thanks to the legitimising efforts of the members of the New School (*gsar ma*), such as the Sa skya pas (Dalton 2005:159). The "fourfold" system closely followed the classifications of tantras current in India at that time into *kriyā*- (*bya ba'i rgyud*), *caryā*- (*spyod pa'i rgyud*), *yoga*- (*rnal 'byor gyi rgyud*), and *yoganiruttara*- (*rnal 'byor bla na med pa'i rgyud*),[7] the last one grouped together the *yogottara*- and *yoginītantra*s. The *yoganiruttara* class was further divided into father (*pha rgyud*), mother (*ma rgyud*), and

[6] The VBhT does refer to the consumption of the five *amṛta*s in Chap. 4, but neither the root text nor the commentaries provide any specific list of the "nectars" included in this category. Nevertheless, the text habitually refers to urine, excrement, blood, human meat and different types of animal meat used in the worship of Vajrabhairava. For the discussion on the five *amṛta*s in the VBhT, see Chap. 4 of this thesis.

[7] Sanderson (1993) pointed out that the term *anuttarayoga* often used in the secondary sources is not attested in Sanskrit sources, and it was probably a mistranslation of the term "*yoganiruttara*" (lit. "tantras of the highest (*niruttara*) (division of the yoga [class]", Sanderson 1994b:98 n.1 quoted in English 2002:5). This term is indeed attested in the *Sekanirdeśapañjikā* by Rāmapāla (ed. p. 165) and in the *Muktāvalī* by Ratnākaraśānti (ed. p. 233). I thank Prof. Sferra for this information.

nondual tantras (*gnyis med rgyud*) (English 2002:6). With regard to this system, the VBhT was categorised under the father tantras of the *yoganiruttara* class (*anuttarayoga*, Siklós 1996:4). The father tantras were further organised in accordance with the predominance of afflictive emotions (*kleśa*) present in the trainees, namely hatred, desire, and ignorance. In accordance with this classification, the VBhT—as well as the *Yamāntaka*—were suitable for those trainees who had mainly hatred, while the GS and *Māyājāla* were appropriate for those who had desire and ignorance, respectively.[8] It is reasonable to assume that the grouping of these three tantras together may have been influenced by Vilāsavajra's model attesting to the inclusion of the same texts under the *yogottara* category. The father tantras were also distinguished from the mother tantras with regard to the cultivation of the illusory body (*sgyu lus*), the practice of the emptiness aspect of the Buddha nature, and the focus on the generation stage (*bskyed rim*) (and not the completion stage).[9]

The grouping of the VBhT under the *yoganiruttara* category in Tibet was controversial. The tantras of the *yoganiruttara* class are qualified at the "top" of all tantra classes for one particular reason, namely, they are regarded as texts that function as a tool for reaching awakening in this lifetime. The dispute revolved around the suitability of classifying the VBhT as the text for attaining liberation in view of its (mostly low-level) magical content designated to cause harm to some target. The ramifications of this controversy were extensive, and before commenting on it, it is useful to present the whole argument summarised in Tāranātha's *Gshin rje chos 'byung* (pp. 5–7):

> If [someone argues that] using the method of [the VBhT in] seven chapters will not lead to awakening: with regard to that, the explanation of the seven chapters [given] by Skyo and Mal lineages postulates that it is also not suitable to accept that [the VBhT] brings about the highest *dharma* [realisation of awakening]. Since [Skyo and Mal] hold the view that [by using the method of the VBhT] one achieves nothing more than minor rituals and because this will lead to unwanted consequences, [one may conclude that the VBhT] is similar to the *dharma* of non-Buddhists. Again, if one were to examine the position, which says "[The VBhT] dispels obstacles to attain awakening", [one may conclude the

[8] A mes zhabs, *Gshin rje chos 'byung* (pp. 8–9): *gdul bya 'dod chags can gtso por 'dul ba'i ched du gsungs pa gsang ba 'dus pa'i skor*/ *gdul bya zhe sdang can gtso bor 'dul ba'i ched du gsungs pa gshin rje gshed skor*/ *gdul bya gti mug can gtso bor 'dul ba'i ched du gsungs pa rnam snang sgyu 'phrul dra ba'i skor rnams su yod pa yin no*/.

[9] Mkhas grub, p. 265. Tāranātha clearly disagrees with this classification and rejects the view that the VBhT does not have a completion stage, see Tāranātha's *Gshin rje chos 'byung*, pp. 8–10.

following]: if all the obstacles can be removed in that way, then [the VBhT] would be the unsurpassed (*niruttara*) means of awakening. Because once all the obstacles are removed, it is impossible not to attain awakening. Now, if [the VBhT] only removes disease, harm, poverty, it would be impossible to establish it as [the means of] removing obstacles [leading] to awakening. Likewise, if it can do it, then, since the knowledge of the medicine, substances, magical formulas, methods against the enemy, etc. have the same ability, [the VBhT] would be common with the method of village people. In that case, how will you justify [the VBhT] as a valid means of annihilating, protecting [against evil], and destroying [the obstacles]? If you were to argue that [the VBhT] removes the suffering for one or two lifetimes, that too would become similar to the argument of non-Buddhists. If you were to argue that [the VBhT] counteracts Māra or Yama, then, [with regard to that], one must generate a transcendental wisdom. Because of that one must understand [the VBhT] as referring to the "means (*thabs*) of attaining awakening". From the point of view of logical elimination, it is the case of giving up faults, such as obstacles, etc. From the perspective of logical positive determination, it may be possible that good qualities may not be actually obtained. The following are the examples of this *dharma* explanation: Imagine a dirty copper vessel that you wash and pour a liquid, this is similar. Except for the stages of knowledge, understanding of the stages of the path and giving up the undesirable, each of these things have not arisen here, therefore, without generating the antidote against the evil one, one is unable to eliminate the object of elimination. Similarly, if the two accumulations of merit and wisdom are incomplete, the two obscurations [emotional and cognitive] will not be cleared, just like you cannot remove darkness without light. Therefore, according to the perspective of logical positive determination, one generates good qualities and eliminates faults of obstacles; [thus, generation of good qualities] and removal of faults run in tandem. Because this is the way of highest comparability [between the two methods], when one eliminates obstacles, he achieves the highest [realisation of awakening], when one generates good qualities, he also achieves the highest [realisation of awakening]. Śrīdhara [said] the Black tantra [*Kṛṣṇayamāri*] accomplishes the *niruttara*; some people [argue] that he said so to refute the elaboration within the lower tantra classes. Even if the characteristics of *niruttara* are incomplete, if you utter the seed-syllables in the tantra in a wrong way, if it leads to *niruttara*, then, how could it be fabricated? If it were so, then, the [*Vajrabhairava*]*tantra* would not be even [called] a *niruttaratantra*, and *ācārya* [Śrīdhara] would also become a big liar.[10]

The above passage summarises the main points of dispute with regard to the controversial placement of the VBhT under the *yoganiruttaratantra* category. Tāranātha was dissatisfied with the perspective of logical elimination that viewed the VBhT, in accord with the description of the father tantras, merely as the means (*upāya*)[11] of removing obstacles leading to awakening. He stated that there are various obstacles such as disease or poverty that can also be removed by other things, such as medicine, etc. Their removal, however, does necessarily guarantee awakening (*byang chub*). On that basis,

[10] For the Tibetan text, see Appendix 1, p. 329.

[11] For the description of the Father tantras as highlighting an aspect of means (*upāya*) and the Mother tantras as emphasising an aspect of wisdom (*prajñā*), see Wayman 1980:61–62.

Tāranātha argued in support of the logical determination perspective, that would subsume the VBhT under the *niruttara* category by associating it with *upāya* as well as with wisdom (*prajñā*), the latter aspect is usually related to the mother tantras of the *yoganiruttara* category (Wayman 1980:61). In this regard, *prajñā*—understood as "knowledge of indissolubility of Beatitude and Void on the side of void" (Mkhas grub 265)—precedes the elimination of obstacles. If we take it in a metaphysical sense, as Tāranātha does, we may say that the main "obstacle" the VBhT tries to eliminate—Māra or Yama—requires a skillful means (*upāya*), but this 'means' can only be generated from the transcendental wisdom (*prajñā*). Tāranātha supports his argument by referring to the well-established Mahāyāna categories of the two accumulations that need to be accomplished prior to the bodhisattva's ascent through the ten bodhisattva levels. It is only upon the accumulation of merit (*puṇyasaṃbhāra*) associated with *upāya* and of wisdom (*prajñāsaṃbhāra*) associated with *prajñā* that the eradication of the two obscurations (*kleśa-* and *jñeya-āvaraṇa*s) is possible.[12] This eradication, in turn, is concomitant with the attainment of awakening. Tāranātha's explanation comes very close to the exposition given by *Kṛṣṇācārya and *Kumāracandra in their commentaries on the VBhT, who also understand the *prayojana* of the *sādhana* delineated in the VBhT as the means of attaining awakening through the eradication of the two obscurations (see, p. 28, 31). Tāranātha concludes his defense of the VBhT as the *yoganiruttaratantra* by showing that the generation of the transcendental wisdom is a prerequisite that must necessarily precede the skillful means, thus the position that the VBhT is the *upāyatantra* because it merely removes hindrances is untenable.

1.2. Dating the *Vajrabhairavatantra*

The dating of the VBhT is somewhat problematic. Based on the evidence presented below, it is currently plausible to date the text to the mid-to-late 8th century. The VBhT is mentioned in Vilāsavajra's NMAA, which means it was composed prior to it. The dating

[12] In this regard, the realisation of emptiness generated through the meditation on the emptiness-mantra (see, p. 234 of this thesis) is often concomitant in the early *sādhana*-texts with the accumulation of *prajñā* (Tribe 2016:61–62). The accumulation of the *prajñāsaṃbhāra*, in turn, preceeds the stage of the generation of oneself as a deity.

of the NMAA ranges between the late 8th and the early-to-mid 9th centuries[13] (Tribe 2016:6), which therefore provides the *terminus ante quem* for the VBhT. The reason for placing the VBhT in the 8th rather than the 9th century is based on the fact that Vilāsavajra grouped the VBhT in the collection of other 8th century tantras, such as the GS[14] and the *Māyājāla*, which may indicate that the connection between these three texts was based on their relative chronology. However, taking into account the evidence of quotations included in the VBhT, it is certain that the VBhT must have been composed after the GS, since it cites, albeit without attribution, a passage from the that text's characterisation of the enemy (14.46), defined as those people who "blame the teacher" (*ācāryanindana*) and "speak ill of the Mahāyāna" (*mahāyānāgranindakāḥ*), and who—as part of retributive punishment—must be killed or else relocated. The existence of an isolated, unattributed quotation from the GS establishes the *terminus post quem* for the composition of the VBhT. The VBhT is also mentioned in Chap. 3 of the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* together with other early Buddhist tantras, such as the STTS, GS, and *Sarvabuddhasamāyoga-dākiṇījalasamvara* (SBS; Gray 2007:177). Since the *Cakrasaṃvara* can be dated to the mid- to late 8th century (Gray 2007:13), the VBhT must have been written before that time, which in turn could possibly support the dating to the mid- rather than late 8th century. There is, however, another important piece of evidence that suggests a slightly later date for the composition of the VBhT. Unlike the GS, STTS, and SBS, the VBhT is not mentioned in Amoghavajra's *Index of the Vajraśekhara Yoga Sūtra in Eighteen Sections*,[15] penned down after Amoghavajra's return to China in 746 CE.[16] This fact could possibly push the date for the production of the VBhT further to the later half of the 8th century.

[13] Davidson (1981:6) dated Vilāsavajra's NMAA to the mid- to late 8th century.
[14] The GS was compiled in India in the early 8th century. The earliest reference to it is found in a Chinese text attributed to the Buddhist monk, Amoghavajra, the *Index of the Vajraśekhara Yoga Sūtra in Eighteen Sections* dated to the mid-8th century (Gray 2005:3708–3709). For a discussion of the various stages in the development of GS, see Tanemura (2015:327–328). Matsunaga (1978:xxvi) suggested that the first half of the 8th century "was a formative period of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*", but concluded that the text was completed later, in the mid- to late 8th century.
[15] For an English translation of Amoghavajra's *Index of the Vajraśekhara Yoga Sūtra in Eighteen Sections* from Chinese, see Giebel 1995.
[16] Chou 1945:292, also quoted in Gray 2007:13.

1.3. Lalitavajra: The Revealer of the *Vajrabhairavatantra*

Unlike the colophon in the Sanskrit version of the VBhT, which passes over in silence any references to the retriever of the text, the colophon of the Tibetan translation states that the text has been completed by *ācārya* Śrī Lalitavajra (*slob dpon dpal la li ta va jra*). On the basis of this as well as historiographical information included in Tāranātha's *Rgya gar chos 'byung* it has been accepted that Lalitavajra is the revealer of the VBhT. The identity of Lalitavajra and his whereabouts in the Buddhist world are, however, highly problematic. Tibetan Buddhist historiography gives witness to several individuals who share this or a similar name, and Tāranātha himself acknowledges the mix-up that left the Tibetan lineages that took part in the transmission of the VBhT confused about Lalitavajra's identity. The main problem concerning the identity of Lalitavajra revolves around the erroneous translation of the word *lalita* into Tibetan as *sgeg pa*, while the proper translation should be *rol pa*. Tāranātha thinks that the wrong translation created confusion between Rol pa'i rdo rje and Sgeg pa'i rdo rje, whose separate identities were sometimes conflated into one. Tāranātha refers to this mix-up as follows:

> Thinking that *rol pa* and *sgeg pa* are synonyms, it appears that *lalita* was translated as *sgeg pa*. Thus, *ācārya sgeg pa'i rdo rje* became the ground for confusing him with another person [i.e., Vilāsavajra]. The translation as *sgeg pa'i rdo rje* is not good; furthermore, *lalita* is mainly expressed through [the Tib.] *rol pa*. The etymology of *sgeg pa* is principally *lāsya* or *vilāsya* and the meaning of *rol pa* is 'play', 'frolic', the purpose of which is to be relaxed in one's own nature and behave in whatever manner one wants. As for *sgeg pa*, since the meaning connotes 'generating the aura of coquettishness', the meaning of the two words [i.e., *rol pa* and *sgeg pa*] is slightly different.[17]

Tāranātha's etymological explanation seems to be based on the *Mahāvyutpatti* 7132, which gives *sgeg pa* for *lāsya* (from the verbal root √*las*), but omits reference to *vilāsya*. The *Mahāvyutpatti* 1331 takes *lalita* to be derived from the root √*lal*, which is an equivalent of the Tibetan *rol pa*. Although the two famous Tibetan historiographers,

[17] *rol pa dang sgeg pa don gcig par bsams nas la li ta sgeg par bsgyur snang yang/ slob dpon sgeg pa'i rdo rje zhes bya ba gzhan 'khrul gzhi'i byung bas/ sgeg pa'i rdo rjer bsgyur ba mi legs shing/ der ma zad la li ta rol pa la gtso bor 'jug cing/ sgeg pa'i skad dod gtso bor la syā 'am/ bi la sya yin pa dang/ rol pa'i don rtsed mo 'am/ gang 'dod dang ci gar rang nyams su lod pa'i don yin/ sgeg pa ni cha byad spros pa bskyed pa'i don yin pas tshig don gnyis gar nas cung zad mi 'dra'o*/ Tāranātha, *Gshin rje chos 'byung*, pp. 67–68.

Tāranātha and 'Gos lo tsā ba, are most of the time careful[18] in using Rol pa'i rdo rje for Lalitavajra in order to distinguish him from Sgeg pa'i rdo rje, the Tibetan lineages that took part in the transmission of Vajrabhairava cycle had not been as careful. The confusion between the equivalent forms *rol pa* and *sgeg pa* has been indeed transferred to the narratives dealing with Lalitavajra's life; for example, the followers of Bari lo tsā ba refer to Lalitavajra as Sgeg pa'i- and not Rol pa'i rdo rje (see Chap. 2).

Another linguistic problem that had a bearing on the issue at hand was the use of the words *lalita* and *līlā* as synonyms that also created confusion. The Skyo lineage accepted the name Līlāvajra for the revealer of the VBhT, and in so doing they seemingly confused him with Sgeg pa'i rdo rje (whose name often appears in Sanskrit transcription as Līlāvajra[19]), whom they believed was also the author of the *Gsang ldan* (**Guhyāpanna*).[20] Sgeg pa'i rdo rje, the author of the **Guhyāpanna,* suggests the name Vilāsavajra—the late 8h to early 9h century author of the NMAA. He is known as the founder of the 'Jam dpal gsang ldan (Mañjuśrī **Guhyāpanna*) school, which was named after Agrabodhi's *sādhana* to the **Guhyāpanna* (*Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgītisādhana*, Toh. 2579; see Tribe 1994:20). Agrabodhi, which is the ordination name of Vilāsavajra, is considered by Tāranātha and Bu ston as one and the same person[21] (Tribe 1994:19). Sakurai (1987:88) agrees with this view and explains that the identification of Agrabodhi with Vilāsavajra is based on the fact that Agrabodhi's work expounds the *Māyājālasaṃbodhikrama* also dealt with in Chap. 4 of the NMAA, although the exposition follows the categories that are not extant in the NMAA. Davidson (1981:8)

[18] 'Gos lo tsā ba refers to Rol pa'i rdo rje (transcribed as Lalitavajra) only once ('Gos lo 1984:1200; Roerich 1949: II, 1030) when he is described as a direct disciple of Tilopā and a teacher of Mitrayogin (see below). Sgeg pa'i rdo rje is referred to twice, first (transcribed as Lalitavajra) as a tantric teacher of Dam pa sangs rgyas (11th c.), also known as Black Ācārya (*AtsAra nag po*) ('Gos lo 1984:1117; Roerich 1949: II 869) and second (without transcription) as the author of the commentary on the MNS ('Gos lo 1984:255; Roerich 1949: I 204), i.e., NMAA.

[19] Tāranātha's *Rgya gar chos 'byung* refers to Līlāvajra (Chattopadhyaya 1990:271–271) implicating Vilāsavajra. In the *Gshin rje chos 'byung* (p. 67), Tāranātha states that using Līlāvajra for Lalitavajra is slightly inappropriate (*li la vajras zhes 'bod pa cung zad mi legs so*).

[20] *skyo lugs gyi brgyud pa'i dbang du byas na/ la li ta vajra dang/ gsang ldan mdzad mkhan kyi sgeg pa'i rdo rje gcig pa ltar gyi bshad pa byed te*/ Tāranātha, *Gshin rje gshed,* p. 116.

[21] Tribe (1994:19) suggests that identification of Vilāsavajra with Agrabodhi is based on the mistranslation into Tibetan of the Sanskrit compound *bhāgineyasya* in the colophon of NMAA as two words, viz. *bhāgine* and *yasya* (*skal ba dang ldan pa gang gi*), and the understanding of Śrīmadagrabodhibhāgin as "to be in opposition to Sgeg pa'i rdo rje" (*ibidem*).

and Tribe (1994:20) disagree with Sakurai suggesting that Vilāsavajra and Agrabodhi are two different persons who adopted very similar ritual system.[22] The juxtaposition of Vilāsavajra/Agrabodhi with Lalitavajra suggested by Skyo lineage is understandable, especially since those masters share the same interest in the MNS and *Māyājālatantra* traditions.[23] Nevertheless, it is more probable that the Skyo lineage attributed the stories of Vilāsavajra, whom they thought to be the same as Agrabodhi, to Lalitavajra. This is supported by another piece of evidence: according to the Skyo lineage, Lalitavajra met Mañjuśrīmitra,[24] a teacher of both Buddhajñānapāda (’Gos lo 1984:449; Roerich 1949: I, 369–370) and Sgeg pa’i rdo rje[25] (Vilāsavajra).

That Sgeg pa’i rdo rje (Vilāsavajra) and Rol pa’i rdo rje (Lalitavajra) are two different persons has been established by Tribe (1994:10–11). Sgeg pa’i rdo rje, born in Nor bu gliṅ (Ratnadvīpa)[26] but a resident of Uḍḍiyāna was a teacher of Buddhajñānapāda, the founder of the Jñānapāda school of the GS exegesis, “who taught him many *kriyā* and *yoga tantra*s”.[27] Tāranātha and ’Gos lo tsā ba make the distinction between the two masters clear when they refer to them by different names: Rol pa’i rdo rje for Lalitavajra and Sgeg pa’i rdo rje for Vilāsavajra/Līlāvajra[28]. They are also consistent in portraying them through different storylines.[29] More importantly, the works attributed to Sgeg pa’i rdo rje in the Bstan ’gyur differ in nature from those assigned to Rol pa’i rdo rje, the latter being exclusive of titles bearing the names Vajrabhairava, Bhairava, and Kṛṣṇayamāri (Tribe 1994:11).

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[22] Davidson (1981:8) thinks that Agrabodhi flourished later than Vilāsavajra, but Tribe (1994:20), on the basis of the analysis of the compound *bhāgineyasya*, states the opposite, suggesting that Vilāsavajra was drawing upon the earlier work of Agrabodhi, who was his maternal uncle.

[23] For the discussion on Lalitavajra’s interest in the MNS and *Māyājālatantra*, see Chap. 2 of this thesis.

[24] *slob dpon la la li ta de la ’jam dpal bshes gnyen gyis thug*/ Tāranātha’s *Gshin rje gshed*, p. 117.

[25] Bu ston reported by Davidson (1981:6).

[26] ’Gos lo 1984:446 (trans. Roerich 1949: I 367) mentions Maṇidvīpa for the Nor bu gliṅ, but Tribe pointed out (1994:13) that it is most probably *ratnadvīpa*, for the Sanskrit colophon of the NMAA indicates this connection (*kṛtir ācāryavilāsavajrasya ratnadvīpanivāsinaḥ*).

[27] ’Gos lo 1984:446 (trans. Roerich 1949: I 367).

[28] ’Gos lo 1984:255 (trans. Roerich 1949: I 204) refers to Sgeg pa’i rdo rje (Līlāvajra) as the exegete of the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti*.

[29] For the storyline associated with Vilāsavajra in *Rgya gar chos ’byung*, see Chattopadhyaya (1990:271–272); for Lalitavajra, see Chattopadhyaya (1990:242–244).

Another candidate for 'our' Lalitavajra is a certain Rol pa'i rdo rje depicted in *The Blue Annals* (Tib. *Deb ther sngon po*) of the famed Tibetan historian 'Gos lo tsā ba Gzhon nu dpal (1392–1481) as a direct disciple of Tilli-pa (i.e., Tilopā) and a teacher of Mitrayogin, who was also known by the name Jaganmitrānanda[30] (Roerich 1949 II:1030). The *Rgya gar chos 'byung* refers to Mitrayogin as Ajitamitragupta, and Tāranātha identifies Mitrayogin/Jaganmitrānanda/Ajitamitragupta with Lalitavajra (Chattopadhyaya 1990:412). May (2019) suggested that Mitrayogin/Jaganmitrānanda is probably not the same as Ajitamitragupta, because the colophon of the *Śrīkhasarapaṇapitṛmātṛsādhana* distinguishes between Ajitamitra "the author" and Jaganmitrānanda "the translator"; the latter worked closely with the 12th-13th century Khro phu lo tsā ba 'Byams pa'i dpal,[31] as can be evinced from the fact that several scriptures listed in the Bstan 'gyur have a stamp of their collaboration. The identification of Ajitamitragupta with Lalitavajra is even more confusing. Except for the single reference in Tāranātha's *Rgya gar chos 'byung* (Chattopadhyaya 1990:412), I have found no other passages referring to Ajitamitragupta as Lalitavajra; therefore, the cause of this identification remains unsolved. Equally puzzling is the identification of Rol pa'i rdo rje as a disciple of Tilopā, the famous 10th century *siddha*. The historiographical biographies of Tilopā thoroughly researched by Torricelli (2018) clearly indicate that a certain Lalitavajra was a guru of Tilopā and not his student. Moreover, the Lalitavajra associated with Tilopā is never mentioned in connection with Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka tantras, but with the Hevajra-teachings in the lineage of Kambalapā (Torricelli 2018:165) or with the Vajrayoginī-cycle in the transmission lineage starting with Śabaranātha and ending with Kovihāra Paṇḍita (Torricelli 2018:101), which makes the argument about 'our' Lalitavajra being a teacher of Tilopā rather hazy. Another element against such identification is of a chronological nature. Given that the date of the VBhT has been placed in the 8th century, 'our' Lalitavajra must have been active around that time as well, which makes the argument about Lalitavajra being a direct teacher, or a disciple, of Tilopā improbable.

[30] 'Gos lo 1984:1200. Mitrayogin was born in the great city of Rāḍha in Mayurabhañja in Orissa in eastern India (Roerich 1949: II 1030).

[31] The colophon of the *Śrīkhasarapaṇapitṛmātṛsādhana* states that the text was composed by Ajitamitragupta and "the Lord of Yoginis Jaganmitrānanda and Lotsāwa 'Byams pa'i dpal (who tasted the nectar of Jaganmitrānanda speech) translated it (See May 2019, The Treasury of Lives (online resource).

The real identity of 'our' Lalitavajra is difficult to establish. Unfortunately, the majority of the information about him comes from Tāranātha's *Rgya gar chos 'byung* and *Gshin rje 'chos byung*, whose historical accuracy has often been questioned (Templeman 1981). Tāranātha depicts Lalitavajra, the revealer of the VBhT, as one of the *siddhayogi*s and *mahācārya*s, contemporary of other great 10th century *siddha*s, such as Lvāvapā (also known as Lūyīpā and Kambalapāda), Indrabhūti the Middle, Kukkurāja, and Sararuhavajra (Chattopādhyaya 1990:240–241). According to the *Rgya gar chos 'byung*, Lalitavajra (whose real name was *Mañjuśastra) was an *ācārya* at Nālandā Mahāvihāra who did not have a mortal guru, but was initiated by Vajrayoginī/Vajraḍākiṇī when he went to Urgyen (Oḍḍiyāna/Uḍḍiyāna) to retrieve the three cycles of Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka, which also featured the VBhT in seven-chapters. Tāranātha depicts Lalitavajra's life through the narratives of magical feats, acts of religious conversion of the non-Buddhists and victorious struggles with natural and supernatural adversaries, all of which he employed to emulate a certain *siddha*-ideal.[32] Although Lalitavajra was probably a historical figure, in Tāranātha's work he underwent a kind of canonisation, and the gaps in his real life-story were filled up with wonders and marvelous deeds so that they could become a firm basis for embodying the magical paradigm of the *siddha* milieu. The fact that Lalitavajra is depicted in the company of other famous *siddha*s, such as Lvāvapā and Indrabhūti the Middle,[33] who act as direct witnesses of Lalitavajra's display of *siddhi*s, is deliberately designed to consolidate Lalitavajra's status as the accomplished *siddha* and the founder of a new tantric tradition.

In the *Gshin rje chos 'byung*, Tāranātha provides us with yet another chronology of Lalitavajra's period of activity, for he places him approximately one hundred years before the *mahācārya* *Buddhajñānapāda (*slob dpon chen po sangs rgyas ye shes zhabs*) (circa 770–820 CE).[34] On the basis of this information it can be inferred that Lalitavajra would have been active between the second half of the 7th and the first half of the 8th century CE. Tāranātha says that for about one hundred years after Lalitavajra's discovery

[32] Lalitavajra's life-stories are discussed in Chap. 2 of this thesis.
[33] The stories about Lalitavajra's meeting with Indrabhūti the Middle and Lvāvapā are given in Tāranātha's *Rgya gar chos 'byung* (Chattopadhyaya 1990:244–245) and *Gshin rje chos 'byung*, pp. 61–62.
[34] For the biography of Jñānapāda/*Buddhajñānapāda, see Dalton and Szántó (2019:264–268).

of the VBhT, the cycle has not flourished much. After the gap of approximately one hundred years, i.e., around the middle of the 8th century, the Vajrabhairava cycle was picked up by *Buddhajñānapāda, who inherited the succession of Lalitavajra and taught the Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka cycle.[35] The Tibetan lineages that took part in the transmission of Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka tantras perceive the relationship between the two masters slightly differently, for they consider Lalitavajra to be a disciple of the *mahāvajrācārya* of the *maṇḍala* *Devabuddhajñānapāda (*dkyil 'khor chen po'i rdo rje slob dpon lha sangs rgyas ye shes zhabs*), who "has achieved realisation equal to the state of non-duality of Mañjuśrī in peaceful and wrathful forms", and not his teacher.[36] In this regard, both Zhang and Gnyos lineages consider Buddhajñānapāda to be the first lineage-holder of Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka cycle, and Lalitavajra to be his disciple.[37] According to the Zhang lineage, Lalitavajra belonged to a direct transmission lineage of Buddhajñānapāda through another *vajrācārya* of Vikramaśīla, Dīpaṅkarabhadra, who bestowed upon him the Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka tradition.[38] Tāranātha tried to resolve

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[35] *slob dpon 'di'i rjes su lo brgya lhag tsam gshin rje gshed kyi chos skor ha cang mang por mched pa med/ de nas rdo rje slob dpon chen po sangs rgyas ye shes zhabs kyis kyang ci rigs par gsungs shing/ la li ta'i rgyud 'dzin dang/ ye shes zhabs kyi rgyud 'dzin rnams gcig tu 'dres te shin tu dar bar gyur to/ de dag ni gtso bar nag po'i skor byung tshul yin la/* "A little more than one hundred years after the *ācārya* (Lalitavajra), the teachings of Yamāntaka did not spread too much. Then, *mahāvajrācārya* Buddhajñānapāda taught the cycle according to the circumstances and he inherited the succession of Lalita. The hereditary successions mingled into one succession and the cycle became extensively disseminated. This is principally the manner in which the cycle of Black (Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka) has originated", Tāranātha's *Gshin rje gshed*, p. 68.

[36] *srol btod* [em.; *brtod* ed.] *mkhan zhar lugs par grags par rnams lo rgyus 'di skad ces 'chad de/ dkyil 'khor chen po'i rdo rje slob dpon lha sangs rgyas ye shes zhabs de/ 'jam dpal zhi khro dang gnyis su med pa'i go 'phang brnyes pa lta bu yin/ des mar me mdzad bzang po la gnang/ 'di dang la li ta chen po gnyis kyi lo rgyus 'khrul gzhi cung zad byung/* "As for the initiator of the tradition known as those of the Zhang lineage, the story goes like this: *The mahāvajrācārya* of the *maṇḍala*, *Devabuddhajñānapāda has achieved realisation equal to the state of non-duality of Mañjuśrī in peaceful and wrathful forms. He gave the teaching to *Dīpaṅkarabhadra. A little confusion has arisen with regard to the lineage of the two great Lalitas." *Gshin rje gshed*, pp. 82–83.

[37] See *Gshin rje gshed,* pp. 82–83 for Zhang lineage. For Gnyos lineage: *gnyos kyis ba ling acarya gsan pa yin/ rtsa ba la li ta la thug dgos pa gzhir bcas kyang/ slob dpon sangs rgyas ye shes zhabs kyi man ngag kho na la brten pa'i phyir/ dngos su brgyud pa'i 'go yang de nas 'dren/* "Gnyos has received the teaching from *Baliṅgācārya. But, even though, without any doubt, the root[guru] can be traced to Lalita, since the *upadeśa* relies exclusively on the master *Buddhajñānapāda**]**, he is at the top of the actual lineage, therefore, one has to quote (him as the first in the lineage)." *Gshin rje gshed*, p. 125.

[38] According to the *Blue Annals* ('Gos lo 1984:451; Roerich 1949:371), *Dīpaṅkarabhadra was one of the eighteen excellent disciples of Buddhaśrījñāna (Jñānapāda), and among these, four

this chronological conundrum by stating that there existed two Lalitavajras: Lalitavajra Senior, who brought the VBhT from Oḍḍiyāna and Lalitavajra Junior, and who was a direct disciple of Dīpaṅkarabhadra in the lineage of Buddhajñānapāda.[39] Lalitavajra Junior was committed to reviving the legacy of Lalitavajra Senior through dissemination of Lalitavajra Senior's earlier works,[40] and he also composed his own treatises. Since the two Lalitavajras bear the same name, their distinct identities became conflated.

Tāranātha's solution to this chronological problem is to postulate the existence of the two Lalitavajras separated in time and space. His explanation of a revival of Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka tradition initiated by Buddhajñānapāda and implemented by Lalitavajra Junior seems viable. Our current knowledge about the scholarly interests of

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attained the status of great *vajradhara* (*rdo rje 'phang chen po*). According to the *Rgya gar chos 'byung* (Chattopadhyaya 1990:18), he was one of the twelve *vajrācārya*s of Vikramaśīla (to which Buddhajñānapāda, Śrīdhara, Lalitavajra Junior and Tathāgatarakṣita—who wrote a commentary on the VBhT—also belonged) during the reign of the king Devapāla, just after Buddhajñānapāda. The scriptures attributed to him in the Bstan 'gyur include the work on Kṛṣṇa and Rakta Yamāris, namely sorcery via natural forces, (*char 'bebs cho ga*), aversion of spirits, exorcism (*klu chog*), destruction (*bsad mnan*), one work on Vajrabhairava and the explanatory tantras of the GS, such as the *Guhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhiṭīkā.*

[39] *'di dang la li ta chen po gnyis kyi lo rgyus 'khrul gzhi cung zad byung/ de la li ta vajra ma mtshan gzhan li la vajra gyis zhus/ 'dis rgyud rdo rje 'chang zhal gzigs/ nus pa thogs pa med/ dgra nag gi rgyud kyi don 'grel du gshin rje gshed 'byung pa'i bstan bcos mdzad/ zhang pa rnams slob dpon 'dis nag 'jigs skor gsum gyi rgyud rnams spyan drangs par 'dod mod/ slob dpon 'di ni sangs rgyas ye shes zhabs kyi yang slob tu zhang lugs pa rang 'dod pa bzhin du/ don la 'ang gnas par mngon pas/ la li ta chung ba rang yin zhing/ rgyud spyan 'dren pa po ni la li ta chen po yin pas/.*

"This, together with the story of the two great Lalitas, became the cause of a little confusion. In this regard, Lalitavajra was called by another name, i.e. Līlāvajra. Through this [VBhT] tantra, he was graced with the vision of Vajradhara and his powers became unhindered. He completed the treatise on the genesis of Yamāntaka as the commentary on the tantric cycle of the Black Enemy. Even though, Zhang followers believe that he was the *ācārya* who brought the three cycles of Black Bhairava, according to the vested interest of the Zhang tradition this *ācārya* was also a disciple of *Buddhajñānāpāda and this seems to be a historical fact too. It must be the Lalita Junior and the one who brought the [VBhT] tantra was the Lalita Senior." *Gshin rje*, p. 83.

In the *Gshin rje chos 'byung,* Lalitavajra Junior is mentioned as a direct disciple of Dīpaṅkarabhadra, but in the *Rgya gar chos 'byung* (Chattopadhyaya 1990:325–329), he is listed as one of the twelve *vajrācārya*s of Vikramaśīla, headed by Jñānapāda and followed by Dīpaṅkarabhadra, Laṅkajayabhadra, Śrīdhara, Bhavabhadra, Bhavyakīrti, Līlāvajra (Lalitavajra Junior), Durjayacandra, Samayavajra, Tathāgatarakṣita, Bodhibhadra, and finally Kamalarakṣita.

[40] In the *Rgya gar chos 'byung* (Chattopadhayaya 1990:224), Lalitavajra Junior is mentioned as a disciple of Lalitavajra Senior: "Līlāvajra committed to writing the works of the *ācārya*. But the *Yamāntakodaya* and the *Śāntikrodhavikrīḍita* etc. were composed by Līlāvajra the great." It thus appears that most of the works attributed to Lalitavajra were penned down by his disciple on the basis of Lalitavajra Senior's earlier works. These works are listed under the name Lalitavajra in the appendix of the *Rgya gar chos 'byung* (see Chattopadhyaya 1990:411–412).

the Vikramaśīla *vajrācārya*s allows for the existence of a strong Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka tradition at Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra, as suggested by the type of works the *vajrācārya*s at Vikramaśīla engaged with. Beginning with Buddhajñānapāda, who allegedly composed three texts on the Raktayamāri (Toh. 2086, 2084, 2085), through Śrīdhara, the first lineage-holder of the Raktayamāri tradition, to Dīpaṅkarabhadra, Lalitavajra Junior, Tathāgatarakṣita, Kamalarakṣita, Kṛṣṇācārya Junior, etc., we notice a continuous effort to grant visibility to the Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka cults in the tantric world.

1.4. Six Canonical Commentaries on the *Vajrabhairavatantra*

There are six commentaries on the VBhT originally composed in Sanskrit by various Indian authors associated with the Vajrabhairava cycle. These commentaries were written to clarify more obscure or difficult portions of the root-tantra (*mūlatantra*), following a "word-by-word" exegesis. All six of them have been included in the Tibetan canon, the Bstan 'gyur, and they are incorporated in my annotated translation of the VBhT (see Appendix 3). Unfortunately, none of these commentaries[41] has come down to us in the original Sanskrit, therefore, they can only be accessed in Tibetan translation. The history of the VBhT's exegetical writers is even more obscure than the history of its alleged revealer, Lalitavajra. Almost nothing is known about their lives and any shred of information that can be gathered on some of them, for example from xylographs' colophons, does not throw any light on their affiliation or the lineages they belonged to. Tāranātha does not have much to say about the commentaries either. His brief note contains the following statement:

> Concerning the *dharma*-cycle of the *Śrīvajramahābhairava*[*tantra*]: The commentary done by *Kumāracandra (*Vajrabhairavatantraṭīkā*) is very limited and appears to be merely fulfilling the oath. [The commentary] done by *Vajrasiddha (*Śrīvajrabhairavatantrasūtraṭippaṇīnāma*) is said to be done by *Śoṇaśrī; apart from differences in their translation, the basic content is the same. There is also a commentary that is said to have been written by Lalitavajra (i.e., *Vajrabhairavatantravṛttyalaṃkāra-*

[41] Siklós (1996:224) reports the existence of a Sanskrit manuscript of Kṛṣṇācārya's *pañjikā,* numbered the ms. SPMT 276 and 300. Unfortunately, I was unable to verify the information provided by Siklós. The Sanskrit manuscript of Kṛṣṇācārya's *pañjikā* is apparently held at the University of Beijing (ms. no. 107). Unfortunately, information about the existence of this manuscript given to me by Prof. Sferra came too late to include it in the current work.

> *upadeśanāma*) and the commentary attributed to the *ācārya* *Akṣobhya (*Śrīvajrabhairavatantraṭīkā*). These two have been done by lo tsā ba Cog gru Shes rab.[42] Although later commentaries are more exhaustive than the [commentary] by *Kumāracandra, I do not find them clear enough to understand the meaning of the [*Vajrabhairava*]*tantra*.[43]

a) *Akṣobhya

There is some evidence suggesting that *Akṣobhya's (Mi skyod pa) commentary,[44] entitled the *Śrīvajrabhairavatantraṭīkā* (=*Dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi rgyud kyi dka' 'grel*, Toh. 1970),[45] is also one of the earliest commentaries on the VBhT among all those included in the Bstan 'gyur. *Akṣobhya, who in the colophon of his treatise refers to himself as *vajrācārya* (*rdo rje slob dpon*), was probably active in the early 9th century. This date is established on the basis of several references included in his work that are uniquely associated with an early tantric milieu. For example, *Akṣobhya quotes a passage on the *mantra*-recitation [46] that also appears at the end of the *Rahasyānandatilaka*, a text attributed to Mahāmati, where it is listed as a quotation from the *Sarvakalpasamuccaya*, [47] one of the earliest supplementary commentaries (*uttaratantra*) on the proto-*yoginītantra Sarvabuddhasamāyoga* (Sanderson 2009:154-155). The same passage quoted by *Akṣobhya also appears in the *Susiddhikarasūtra*

[42] It is unclear why Tāranātha would make such a statement. Cog gru Shes rab does not feature as a translator of any of these works. A colophon in a manuscript containing the commentary by Lalitavajra mentions a certain Indian master whose name ends with '*vajra*' (**gyi rdo rje*) and a monk Kumāraśīla as the translators of the text, while the commentary by *Akṣobhya features the Indian *paṇḍita* Vinayacandra and the lo tsā ba Chos che Shes rab.

[43] *dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed chen po'i chos skor la/ gzhon nu zla bas mdzad pa'i 'grel pa ni/ bshad pa shin tu cha chung ba mna' 'dzol* [em.; *sel* ed.] *lta bur snang/ rdo rje grub pas mdzad pa dang/ so na sris mdzad ces pa gnyis ni 'gyur khyad tsam ma gtogs ngo bo gcig yin cing/ rol pa'i rdo rje zhes bya ba cig gis mdzad pa'i 'grel pa 'ang yod/ slob dpon mi skyod pas mdzad zer ba'i 'grel pa 'di ni/ lo tsa ba cog gru shes rab* [em.; *go rub chos shes* ed.] *byas pa yin/ 'grel pa phyi ma de rnams gzhon nu zla ba las ni cung zad rgyas kyang/ rgyud don gsal bar rtogs nus pa'i bshad pa mi snang ngo/ Gshin rje chos 'byung,* p. 134.

[44] In the introduction to Chap. 4, *Akṣobhya makes reference to the well-established *abhidharma* categories of composing scholarly treatises saying that the VBhT as a *mūlatantra* is the *uddeśa*, his commentary as a whole is a *nirdeśa*, and the exposition of the most difficult parts, such as a detailed description of the deity's iconographical features, is the *pratinirdeśa*.

[45] The Tibetan text of *Akṣobhya's *Dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi rgyud kyi dka' 'grel* is included in all the five editions of the Bstan 'gyur, i.e., Co ne, Beijing, "Golden Tengyur", Derge, "Pedurma"; see Bibliography.

[46] For the discussion on this passage, see p. 455 of this thesis.

[47] I thank P.D. Szántó for this information.

(SSK), an early *kriyātantra* and the only surviving text of the *Susiddhi* cycle that has been translated into Chinese by Śubhākarasiṃha in 724 CE (Giebel 2001). Another piece of evidence in support of *Akṣobhya's early date is a gloss on the three worlds (*triloka*)[48] explained by him (in Chap. 4 of his commentary) through the example of the three brothers, i.e., Jayakāra, Madhukāra[49], and Sarvārthasiddhikāra. The same gloss appears in the NMAA (Tribe 2016:104), where Vilāsavajra glosses *trailokya* "[with *loka* meaning 'people' rather than 'worlds'] as the three brothers, i.e., Jayakāra, Madhukāra, and Sarvārthasiddhikāra". According to P.D. Szántó (in private conversation), the early commentators use the concept of the "three brothers" to refer to the three worlds, but this semantic gloss must have disappeared sometimes in the 9th century.

Apart from its value as one of the earliest commentaries on the VBhT, *Akṣobhya's exposition offers a comprehensive and detailed account of magical technology, especially with regard to the performance of *karma*s in Chapter 2 and *homa*s in Chapter 6, that (except for Lalitavajra's work) are absent in the later commentaries. The close attention paid to the ritual details[50] throughout his work suggests that at the time when *Akṣobhya was composing the *Śrīvajrabhairavatantraṭīkā*, the cult of Vajrabhairava was still flourishing. Another feature that sets *Akṣobhya's commentary apart from other exegetical works and also supports the text's early date is a reference to Vajrabhairava as a solitary hero (*ekavīra*) that aligns with both the exposition of the *mūla* and Lalitavajra's commentary, and differs from the later commentaries, which focus on Vajrabhairava in the company of the *maṇḍala* consisting of Thirteen or Seventeen deities (see, p. 222). Moreover, *Akṣobhya makes an attempt to present an integrated ritual system in bringing the two Vajrabhairava and Kṛṣṇayamāri traditions together. Insofar as

[48] *Akṣobhya: 'three worlds [means:] he is the lord of that [three worlds]: Jayakāra, Madhukāra, Sarvārthasiddhikāra' (*'jig rten gsum zhes bya ba ni de'i bdag po ste/ rgyal bar byed pa dang/ sbrang rtsir byed pa dang/ don kun 'grub pa'o*).

[49] Jayakāra, Madhukāra, Vasanta, and Balabhadra come under the Balabhadra group in the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvaramaṇḍala of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* (Bhattacharyya 1958:378). A reference to Jayakāra and Madhukāra appears also in the *Śūraṅgamamantra* (v. 103), the central mantra of the *Śūraṅgamasamādhisūtra* (Lamotte 2003), when their names are followed by the words: *sarvārthasādhakakṛtaṃ vidyāṃ chedayāmi kīlayāmi*.

[50] Indeed, in the colophon *Akṣobhya acknowledges the fact that his knowledge of intricate particulars is based on the teachings of his guru: "this work contains extensive *prayoga*s, which are in accordance with what my guru has taught me" (*sbyor ba rgya chen ji skad bla mas smras pa bzhin*).

*Akṣobhya's scholarly background is concerned, the commentary does not reveal any dogmatic features that could give an indication of the author's scholarly orientation or doctrinal leanings. In the discussion on the mantra-recitation *Akṣobhya makes a distinction between the *svamantra* and the *nijamantra*, and thus, he exhibits a distinctive feature of the Jñānapāda school of exegesis (see, p. 455), but in other places he quotes a passage from Nāgārjuna's *Pañcakrama*, a text associated with the Ārya school (see, p. 264).

b) *Lalitavajra

The commentary on the VBhT entitled *Vajrabhairavatantravṛttyalaṃkāropadeśanāma* (=*Dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi rgyud ki 'grel pa man ngag dang ldan pa'i rgyan zhes bya ba*[51]) penned down by *Lalitavajra (Rol pa'i rdo rje) is an uneven work, which may indicate that it has been composed by two different authors. One the one hand, the commentary exhibits some features that seem to point to a relatively early date. In this regard, the text stands out for its strong "mortuary magic" content that is bereft of any attempts of Buddhist 'encoding' characteristic of the later commentaries. *Lalitavajra's commentary aligns with the precepts of the *mūla* insofar that it more closely follows the original stratum of Vajrabhairava cult in its connection to the Yamarāja's mantra as the twenty-two syllabled root-mantra of Vajrabhairava, but at the same time it carries a strong reminiscence of an earlier cult of Mañjuśrī as the antecedent to Vajrabhairava cult (see, p. 123). In this regard, *Lalitavajra is the only commentator who refers to Mañjuśrī's root-mantra and, unlike other commentators, he is also aware of the symbolism of the letter 'A' as the source of Mañjuśrī that is also found in the MNS (see, p. 442). Another early feature is the fact that in the *dhyāna*-procedure Vajrabhairava is summoned with the *mudrā* of *vajragrāha* that goes back to the STTS (see, p. 237). Moreover, *Lalitavajra's text contains extensive *upadeśa*s on *homa* (see, p. 467) and various *karma*s that are not only very detailed, but also distinguished by a strong transgressive and antinomian content: witness, for instance, the instructions on sexual magic and the consumption of sexual fluids that are typical of the Kaula tradition (see, p.

[51] Only one edition of this text, i.e., Gser bris ma 2806, exists in the Bstan 'gyur. The text was translated by the Indian *paṇḍita* *Lalitavajra (*rol pa'i rdo rje*) and a monk named Kumāraśīla (the name given in its Sanskrit form in the transcription).

246), and which are not found in other VBhT commentaries. *Lalitavajra's text is also the only commentary that begins with the visualisation praxis (*dhyāna*) of Vajrabhairava, otherwise mentioned only in Chap. 4. On the other hand, this commentary exhibits some features that would suggest later influences: for example, the visualisation process (*dhyāna*) includes the generation of Mañjuśrī as *jñānasattva* in the heart of Vajrabhairava (see, p. 237), which resembles the Mañjuśrī-related *sādhana*s of the *Sādhanamālā* where the concept of *jñānasattva* becomes more and more associated with "the yogic practices based on the deity in the heart" (English 2002:471). This apparent combination of early and later features included in one text may point to the scenario in which a later author was redacting the writings of an earlier master, as suggested by Tāranātha (see, p. 21).

c) *Śoṇaśrī/*Vajrasiddha

The next two works in the exegetical tradition of the VBhT are the commentaries on the difficult points bearing the same title, i.e., the *Śrīvajrabhairavatantrasūtraṭippaṇīnāma* (=*Dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi rgyud kyi mdor bshad pa zhes bya ba*, Toh. 1971 and 1972) by *Śoṇaśrī[52] and *Vajrasiddha, respectively. These two texts are almost identical in content, except for the very few, mostly stylistic, differences. It is likely that *Vajrasiddha's commentary is an updated version of *Śoṇaśrī's work, and may be the result of a scenario in which a diligent disciple updated the text of the master. This suggestion, although nothing more than a hypothesis, is supported by the fact that *Vajrasiddha's text is written in a more elegant and lucid language. Several features identify this commentary as belonging to the later commentarial tradition, perhaps in existence sometimes in the 10th or 11th century CE. First, Vajrabhairava appears in the company of the *maṇḍala* of the deities. Second, the thirty-two syllabled mantra of Yamarājā that belongs to the original stratum of the *mūla* looses its ritual function. Third, the commentary is much less detailed and less comprehensive than those by *Akṣobhya

[52] The name *Śoṇaśrī (although given in Sanskrit transcription as Sonaśrī) is not attested in Sanskrit. Prof. Diwakar Acharya has suggested to me that Sonaśrī is a corruption of *Śoṇaśrī (the word *śoṇa* in Sanskrit is the name of a river and it also denotes colour 'red' or 'crimson'). The variant *soṇā* is also attested in Sanskrit with the meaning of 'gold'. P.D. Szántó has proposed that Sonaśrī is the Middle Indic form of the Sanskrit *suvarṇa*, meaning 'gold', 'red', or 'crimson'. Both explanations are viable, and on this basis I have emended the name Sonaśrī to *Śoṇaśrī.

and *Lalitavajra, for it does not provide any specifics with regard to the performance of the *karma*s, *homa* rituals, or the explanation of the mantra. Thus, the dimension of the material culture that plays an important role in the magical technology in the earlier commentarial tradition is almost completely absent here, while the aspects of the Vajrabhairava cult associated with visualisation (*dhyāna*) receive extensive exegetical analysis.

d) *Kṛṣṇācārya

Another commentary on the VBhT that belongs to the later exegetical tradition is the *Vajrabhairavatantrapañjikā Ratnamālā* (*=Rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi rgyud kyi 'grel pa rin po che'i phreng ba zhes bya ba*, Toh. 1974) by *Kṛṣṇācārya. *Kṛṣṇācārya certainly belongs to the same oral tradition as *Śoṇaśrī and *Vajrasiddha, for all the three commentaries exhibit very similar exegetical features. Whether this *Kṛṣṇācārya is the same Kṛṣṇācārya who composed the *Yogaratnamālā*, a commentary on the *Hevajratantra,* is not a question that I shall attempt to answer here. Both Kṛṣṇācāryas incorporate the threefold division of the tantra into the *hetutantra*, *phalatantra*, and *upāyatantra*,[53] and in so doing they follow the standard hermeneutical method for tantric exegesis prevalent in the 10th–11th century, adopted also by Ratnākaraśānti.[54] 'Our' *Kṛṣṇācārya integrates the method of the threefold division of tantra with another commentarial method, i.e., the *anubandha*s belonging to the Yogācāra-Madhyāmika tradition.[55] At the outset of his commentary

[53] The three-fold division of the *tantra* generally understands *hetutantra* to mean '*sādhaka*', *phalatantra* to mean 'the fruit of the *sādhana* (for example, union with the deity), and *upāyatantra*, the method of accomplishing the fruit, or the *sādhana* itself.

[54] Ratnākaraśānti was especially fond of this three-fold division. In the *Mahāmāyā* commentary on the GS (1.3, edn. Rinpoche and Dwivedi 1992, accessible online on http://www.dsbcproject.org/canon-text/book/347) he glosses the word *tantra* as *prabandha* 'continuum' of the three aspects: *hetutantra* ('cause-tantra'), *phalatantra* ('result-tantra'), and *upāyatantra* ('method-tantra'). (For example, in the *Mahāmāyā* commentary, he says: *tantram iti prabandham. trividhaṃ tantram, hetutantraṃ phalatantram upāyatantraṃ ca*). The same system was adopted by Kṛṣṇācārya in his *Yogaratnamālā*, a commentary on the *Hevajratantra: tantram iti prabandhaḥ/ tac ca tridhā hetutantraṃ phalatantraṃ upāyatantrañ ca/ tad atra hetur vajrakulīnāḥ sattvāḥ pariṇiṣpannā hevajramūrtiḥ phalaṃ/ upāyo vakṣyamāṇaḥ saparikaro mārgaḥ.* (*Yogaratnamālā,* I.1 [4–10] Snellgrove ed. 1959:105. For the translation, see Snellgrove 1959:138.

[55] The first manual that contained theoretical foundation for writing the commentary for the Mahāyāna tradition was the *Vyākhyāyukti* ("Principles of Exegesis"), the text attributed to Vasubandhu (4th–5th century CE), which followed the fivefold model (See Cabezon 1991:233).

*Kṛṣṇācārya mentions the five *anubandhas*[56] to introduce his discussion of the text, namely: 1) *prayojana-prayojana* 'purpose of the purpose'; 2) *prayojana* 'purpose'; 3) *abhidhāna* 'text'; 4) *abhidheya* 'subject-matter'; and 5) *sambandha* 'connection'. *Kṛṣṇācārya explains the meaning of the *anubandhas*[57] in the context of their application in the *Vajrabhairavatantrapañjikā Ratnamālā* and couples them with the twofold division of the tantra. He is mainly interested in interpreting the *prayojana-prayojana* in terms of *phalatantra* and *prayojana* in terms of *upāyatantra*. He does not discuss the category of *hetutantra*. With regard to the *prayojana-prayojana* category, he says the following:

> The Lord Vajradhara accomplishes the path by means of this *phalatantra*, which is the *sādhya*; for the *yogin*, the *prayojana* of *prayojana* is *siddhi*.[58]

After that *Kṛṣṇācārya goes on to explain the *prayojana* as well as the *prayojana-prayojana* categories that become enveloped with the Mahāyāna doctrine of personal benefit (*svārtha-saṃpad*) and benefit for others (*parārtha-saṃpad*). The altruistic context of the Mahāyāna tradition is paired with the classic description of the Mahāyāna praxis predicated upon the distinction between what is to be avoided (*heya*) and what is to be obtained (*upādeya*). *Kṛṣṇācārya offers the following explanation:

> As for the *svārtha-saṃpad*, it is of two kinds: to give up without remainder (*heya-saṃpad*) the two obscurations (*āvaraṇa*), that of afflictive emotions (*kleśa-āvaraṇa*) and that of cognitive obscurations (*jñeya-āvaraṇa*). As for that, this is obtained by *upādeya-saṃpad*, which is obtaining awakening by obtaining awakening. *Prayojana* is the *sādhana* itself, which comes from *upāyatantra*. *Prayojana* of that *prayojana* is bringing about benefit for others by overcoming through this tantra demons, non-Buddhists, serpents, *yakṣa*s, wrathful Caṇḍīs, wrathful Bhairavas, etc., those who turn on the

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Tantric Buddhist exegetical writers adopted this system as the commentarial method for explaining the tantras.

[56] The list of *anubandha*s varies. The longest list contains six *anubandha*s, and the shortest four. For a discussion on the different lists of *anubandha*s in the commentaries on the *Mahāyānasūtra*s, see Schoening 1995 and Broido 1983.

[57] *Kṛṣṇācārya does not use the word *anubandha*s for the description of these categories.

[58] *Kṛṣṇācārya's *pañjikā* (p.443): *bcom ldan 'das rdo rje 'chang de nyid kyis* [em.; *nyid* ed.] *bsgrub bya 'bras bu'i rgyud 'dis bsgrub par byas pas lam sgrub byed do*/ *rnal 'byor pa la dngos grub dgos pa'i* [em.; *dgos pas* ed.] *dgos pa'o*/.

> teachings and who are intent on hurting sentient beings in general and *ācārya* in particular.[59]

Next, *Kṛṣṇācārya turns to a brief exposition of his understanding of *abhidhāna*, *abhidheya*, and *sambandha*, which are explained in terms of *svārtha*- and *parārtha-saṃpad*, as follows:

> The yogin who accomplishes benefit for himself and for others amounts to 'text' (*abhidhāna*), 'subject-matter' (*abhidheya*) and the connection (*sambandha*) between the two whose relationship is that of x that comes from y (*abhidheya* comes from *abhidhāna*), a connection that becomes one in itself.[60]

After explaining the general meaning of *anubandha*s, *Kṛṣṇācārya then proceeds to show in the commentary itself how these categories can be applied and gives several examples pertaining to the beginning of Chap. 1 of the VBhT.[61]

Tendencies of the later commentarial tradition are also reflected in *Kṛṣṇācārya's discussion of the four doors of liberation, while commenting on the Chap. 1 of the VBhT. *Kṛṣṇācārya shows the influence of the post 10th century Hevajra tradition, when he incorporates into his discussion on the *apraṇihita-dvāra* (see p. 403) that system's

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[59] *Kṛṣṇācārya's *pañjikā* (p.443): *de yang rang gi don phun sum tshogs pa gnyis te spangs pa phun sum tshogs pa nyon mongs pa dang shes bya'i sgrib pa ma lus pa spong ba'o*/ *de yang thob bya phun sum tshogs pa thob pa las te*/ *mngon par byang chub pas mngon par byang chub pa'o*/ *dgos pa de yang thabs rgyud las byung ba nyid sgrub thabs so*/ *dgos pa de'i dgos pa ni gzhan gyi don phun sum tshogs pa ste*/ *bdud dang mu stegs dang*/ *klu dang*/ *gnod sbyin dang*/ *drag po dang candi dang*/ *'jigs byed drag po la sogs pa bstan pa la gnod pa dang*/ *sems can dang slob dpon la gnod pa la rgyud 'dis bsgrubs pas phan 'dogs pa'o*/.

[60] *Kṛṣṇācārya's *pañjikā* (p. 443): *rnal 'byor pas bsgrubs pas bdag dang gzhan gyi don thob pa dang*/ *brjod par bya ba dang rjod par byed pa de phan tshun 'brel bas de dang de las byung ba dang*/ *bdag nyid gcig par 'brel pa bstan pa'o*/.

[61] In this regard: *iti* or the word identifying the lemma of the root-text is *abhidheya*, etc., (*de la zhes bya ba ni brjod bya la sogs pa*); "first" is a part of *prayojana*, "first" [means:] "before undertaking the *sādhana*" (*dang po zhes pa ni dgos pa de bsgrub pa rtsom pa'i sngon du'o*); "the mantra-master" [means:] "a *yogin* who has received initiation, who has performed *pūrvasevā* of the mantra and knows various subjects, such as *maṇḍala*, etc."—this constitutes part of *abhidheya* (*sngags pa zhes pa ni dbang thob cing sngags kyi bsnyen pa dang dkyil 'khor la sogs pa shes pa'i rnal 'byor pa* [em.; *rnal 'byor pas*, ed.] *brjod pa'o*); "pleasing to the mind" [means:] "one should seat himself up in an isolated place pleasing to the mind such as a cremation ground; moreover, this should be understood to include his friend, [as well as] substances, and articles for worship"—this is filled under *prayojana* because it includes *svārtha* and *parārtha*" (*yid du 'ong zhes pa dur khrod la sogs pa yid dang mthun pa spro ba'i gnas gcig tu gnas par bya'o*/ *yang grogs dang rdzas dang ldan par byas la sdud* [em.; *sdod* ed.] *par shes par bya'o*/ *dgos pa zhes pa bdag dang gzhan gyi don*).

description of the four *cakra*s constituting the yogin's subtle body, located in the navel, in the throat, in the heart, and in the head,[62] but with the mantras typical of the Yamāri tradition. This passage is also important for another reason, i.e. for demonstrating a commentarial attempt to reformulate the concept of the *apraṇihita-dvāra* under the *utpannakrama* category. For what in *Kṛṣṇācārya's commentary is described as manipulation of the *cakra*s located in the subtle body that produces great bliss (*mahāsukham*) and, in turn, releases nectar, corresponds to Ratnākaraśānti's exposition of *utpannakrama*, which rests upon the cultivation of great bliss (*mahāsukham*) "that spreads throughout the *sādhaka*'s body."[63]

Another sign that *Kṛṣṇācārya's commentary reflects a later exegetical tradition is a reference to the practice of maintaining the divine pride of the deity (*devatāhaṃkāraḥ*) during all the activities the practitioner undertakes: at the time of eating, at the time of *maṇḍala*-initiation, at the time of performing rituals, etc. In this regard, *Kṛṣṇācārya instructs as follows: "one should give offerings to himself after having assumed the divine pride of Vajrabhairava"; this statement correlates with the *devatāhaṃkāra* concept found pervasively in the *yoginītantra*s (English 2002:166).

e) *Kumāracandra

The commentary by *Kumāracandra (Gzhon nu zla ba), entitled the *Vajrabhairavatantrapañjikā* (=*Rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi rgyud kyi dka' 'grel*, TOH. 1973), also belongs to the later exegetical tradition. This commentary is limited in its exposition for it devotes only one sentence to Chapters 4, 6, and 7 of the VBhT. The beginning of the text and most of the glosses seem to be drawing either on *Kṛṣṇācārya's or *Śoṇaśrī/*Vajrasiddha's exposition. *Kumāracandra gives an almost identical explanation of Vajrabhairava as the one given in *Kṛṣṇācārya's commentary (see p. 395), and he also follows *Kṛṣṇācārya's division of the *phalatantra* and *upāyatantra.*[64] He also

[62] For a discussion on the four *cakra*s and the physiology of the yogin's subtle body in the *Hevajratantra*, see Snellgrove 1959:35–39.
[63] See Ratnākaraśānti's commentary on the *Hevajratantra* 1.8.24cd–24ab in Isaascon 1999:470–471, quoted in English 2002:172–173.
[64] *Kumāracandra gives the following definition of *siddhi* adopting the *upāya*- and *phala*-categories: "as for the *siddhi*, it is a *sādhana*, a fruit (*phala*). As for the *sādhana* of that [which leads to *siddhi*] and the path, these are [called] *upāya*s.

adopts the exegetical method of the *anubandhas*[65] that closely resembles that of *Kṛṣṇācārya. Moreover, in line with *Kṛṣṇācārya's exposition, *Kumāracandra defines the *sādhana* of the VBhT as the means (*upāya*) for accomplishing a personal benefit (*svārtha saṃpad*) and a benefit for others (*parārtha saṃpad*). The personal benefit is of two kinds, i.e., the understanding of perfect accomplishments and giving up the perfect accomplishments. The first one is as great as awakening leading to the perfect Buddhahood; the second one is giving up without exception the latent traces (*vāsanā*s) of emotional and cognitive obscurations (*kleśa*- and *jñāna-āvaraṇa*s). The benefit for others, on the other hand, is to cause fear to all wicked beings.[66] Unlike other commentators, *Kumāracandra gives a complete extraction of the mantras delinated in Chap. 3, which appears to be his only 'original' contribution.

1.5. Lineages and Transmissions of Vajrabhairava in Tibet

The main Vajrabhairava transmissions came to Tibet through the Indian or Newar masters and the Tibetan translators during the second diffusion (*phyir dar*) of Buddhism in Tibet.[67] Tāranātha's *Gshin rje chos 'byung* reports the existence of five distinctive Vajrabhairava transmissions (*lugs*) named after the Tibetan masters who brought the VBhT to Tibet, namely: 1) Zhang, 2) Skyo, 3) Gnyos, 4) Mal, and 5) Rwa. These different transmissions introduced Vajrabhairava in a wide variety of forms or manifestations. In this regard, the collection of Ngor *maṇḍala*s (*Rgyud sde kun btus*)[68]

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[65] *Kumāracandra adopts the method of the *anubandha*s and shows how these categories can be applied in his commentary—for example, in a gloss to the VBhT that says: "'correctly explained' (*yang dag pa'i gsung rab ni*) [means:] *abhidhāna* (*brjod byed*). The essential nature of the two, i.e., *abhidheya* (*brjod bya*) and *abhidhāna* (*brjod byed*) is the commentary." *Kumāracandra defines *siddhi*, i.e. the condition accomplished through the method of the VBhT, as the *prayojana,* and employs the category '*prayojana* of *prayojana*' to explain that the VBhT generates fear in all wrathful deities.

[66] *Kumāracandra's *pañjikā*, p. 288: *rang gi don phun sum tshogs pa'o*/ *de yang gnyis te*/ *rtog pa phun sum tshogs pa dang*/ *spangs pa phun sum tshogs pa'o dang po ni ji snyed mngon par byang chub par bya ba byang chub pa'o*/ *gnyis pa yang nyon mongs pa dang shes bya'i sgrib ba'i bag chags ma lus pa spangs pa'o*/ *de'i thabs ni sgrub pa'i thabs kyi lam mo*/ *gzhan gyi don phun sum tshogs pa ni gdug pa can 'jigs par byed pa'o*/ *de'i thabs ni sgrub thabs so*/.

[67] According to Tāranātha, a small number of Vajrabhairava-*sādhana*s entered Tibet with the advent of Buddhism (*snga dar*) when the cult was adopted by the first *dharma*-king Srong btsan sgam po (6th–7th century).

[68] *Rgyud sde kun btus* is a collection of Sa skya materials containing initiations, empowerments, and other explanatory texts for the tantric practice of 139 *maṇḍala*s that have been compiled and

distinguishes, among others, the following variations of Vajrabhairava systematised according to their respective lineages:

1) 49-Deity Vajrabhairava (Zhang lugs)[69]
2) 9- and 17-Deity Vajrabhairava (Skyo lugs)[70]
3) 13-Deity Vajrabhairava (Rwa lugs)
4) Ekavīra "Solitary Hero" Vajrabharava (Rwa lugs)
5) Vajrabhairava with 8 zombies (*ro langs brgyad*) and 32 symbols (*phyag mtshan*) (Mal and Rwa lugs)[71]

The source-text of all the above-mentioned Vajrabhairava forms was the VBhT in seven chapters. The tantra was highly priced: to have a single manuscript copy made, one had to pay no less than ten *srang* of gold.[72] Moreover, in Tibet, the cult of Vajrabhairava (*rdo rje 'jigs byed*) flourished alongside the similar cult of Kṛṣṇayamāri (*dgra nag po*), which during the time of Abhayākaragupta (d.1125) superseded the popularity of Vajrabhairava.[73] Another tantra that appeared in that period was the "Tantra of the Six-faced" (*Gdong drug gi rgyud*),[74] probably dedicated to the Six-faced Yamāntaka (*gdong*

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painted in the 19th century by 'Jam byang Blo gter dbang pa. The Tibetan edition containing 32 volumes of Derge blockprints has been published in 2004 in Kathmandu by Sachen International and is available on the BDRC website (W27883). In addition, two English translations have been published, one by Tachikawa 1989 and another by Lokesh Chandra *et al*. 2006.

[69] For the 49-Deity Vajrabhairava tradition according to the Zhang lineage, see, for example, *Zhe dgu ma'i sgrub thabs zhi khro rnam rol* of 'Phags pa blo gros rgyal mtshan or *Dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed zhang lugs lha zhu dgu ma'i dkyil 'khor* by 'Jam dbyangs blo gter dbang po. See Plate 1 below.

[70] See *Skyo 'Od byung nas brgyud pa'i rdo rje 'jigs byed lha dgu 'am lha bcu bdun dkyil 'khor* (56), pp. 7–50, Vol. 10 of the *Rgyud sde kun btus*. See Plate 2 below.

[71] This form of Vajrabhairava transmitted by Rwa lo tsā ba was adopted by Sa skya through the lineage of Mal lo tsā ba, see Mal lo and the Early Sa skya pas below, and Plates 4 and 5 below.

[72] Tāranātha's *Gshin rje chos 'byung* (p. 74) reports thus: *glegs bam tshar re 'bri ba la yar gser srang bcu'i yon du tshad byad skad.* 'Gos lo tsā ba acknowledges the fact that Rwa lo tsā ba fixed a donation for the instruction of the VBhT, which was one golden *srang*, thus he caused the tantra to become known as a "golden book" ('Gos lo 1984:457; Roerich 1949: I 377).

[73] Tāranātha's *Gshin rje chos 'byung* (p. 74): *de rjes slob dpon a bha yā ka ra'i dus tsam na/ dgra nag dar bar yod/ 'jigs mdzad kyi chos skor rnams btsal rnyed tsam las med/* "Later, during the time of Abhayākara, the Black Enemy became more popular. The cycle of Vajrabhairava was no longer present and one had to search for it."

[74] The identity of the Six-faced tantra is difficult to establish. Kuranishi (2013:268) pointed out that the text may be either the *Gshin rje gshed nag po'i khor lo las thams cad grub par byed pa* (*Yamārikṛṣṇakarmasarvacakrasiddhikaratantra*, "Black Yamāri: The Tantra that Accomplishes All by Means of the Wheel of the Black Enemy", Toh. 473) or, following Nishioka (1983:164), the *Dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi rtog pa'i rgyud* (i.e., VBhT in seven chapters). Based on Bu ston's classification of tantras given in his *chos 'byung*, the Six-faced tantra may also refer to the *Gzhon*

drug); the text seems not to have gained currency and was used mainly as a supplement to existing teachings.[75] In Tibetan Buddhism, these three separate cults were initially categorised together as the "Triple Cycle of Black Bhairava" (*nag 'jigs skor gsum*) or simply the "Triple Cycle of the Black One"[76] (*nag po skor gsum*) and they were also referred to through their abbreviated names as *Dgra*/*Gdong*/*'Jigs*.[77] The masters who appeared in the Vajrabhairava transmission lineages had often received the empowerment of Dgra and Gdong, but they considered them merely as a "backup" or supporting ritual (*rgyab rten*) for the initiation into Vajrabhairava.

On the following pages, I will reconstruct the patterns of transmission of the five Vajrabhairava lineages in Tibet focusing primarily on the geographical location associated with the five lo tsā bas (see also Map 1). Although the Vajrabhairava transmissions were probably distributed rapidly over a wide range of geographical regions in Tibet, my reconstruction focuses on the initial location wherefrom the

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nu gdong drug gi rgyud, which is listed separately from the *Gshin rje gshed nag po'i khor lo las thams cad grub par byed pa* (Nishioka 1983:66–67). It is however, unlikely that the Six-faced tantra is the same as the VBhT in seven chapters. The deity referred to in Tibetan as Gdong drug is the Ṣaṇmukha form of Yamāntaka and this deity served as an antecedent to the development of Vajrabhairava, as reported in Lalitavajra's legends (see Chap. 2). Walter Eugene Clark 1965: Part II, p. 69 (quoted in Decleer 1998:299, f. 8) has identified this deity as Ṣaṇmukha-Bhairavavajra, ref. 2B30/71. The icon identified by Clark resembles the earliest form of Yamāntaka (see p. 96 of this thesis).

[75] Tāranātha's *Gshin rje chos 'byung* (p. 74): *gdong drug gi rgyud ni zhar byung tsam ma gtogs de'i snga rol nas kyang ha cang dar ba ma byung ba 'dra'o*. "As for the tantra of the Six-faced One, it was just an anicillary, it had not really spread very much from the beginning."

[76] This tripart division evolved around the time of Ba ri lo tsā ba, who, according to Tāranātha, supplemented those three with the *Yamāntakakrodhavijayatantra* ("Victorious Wrathful Yamāntaka Tantra"), thus the "Triple Black Cycle" became the "Quadruple Black Cycle" (*nag po skor bzhi*). See Tāranātha's *Gshin rje chos 'byung* (p. 20): *ba ri lo tsa ba ni de'i steng du gshin rje gshed rnam par rgyal pa'i rgyud bsnan nas*/ *nag po skor bzhi zhes tha snyad mdzad.* Tāranātha (*Gshin rje chos 'byung*, p. 75) also says that the *Yamāntakakrodhavijayatantra* and the Mañjuśrī-Vajrabhairava[tantra] are the best antitode (*gnyen po mchog*) against barbarians (*kla klo*) and demons (*lha min*).

[77] The classification changed when the translation of the *Raktayamāri* cycle by Dpyal lo tsā ba, Chag lo tsā ba, G.yag sde lo tsā ba, Glo bo lo tsā ba, and Shong lo tsā ba Blo gros brtan pa had begun. These five lo tsā bas gave rise to the five traditions of the Red Yamāntaka in Tibet (See A mes zhab's *Gshin rje chos 'byung*, pp. 129–139). From that time onwards, the Dgra and Gdong drug were combined together as the Black Cycle (*nag po*). The newly established convention was to refer to the "Three" as "Red, Black, and Terrifying" (*dmar nag 'jigs gsum*)" derived from Raktayamāri (Red Enemy of Death), Kṛṣṇayamāri (Black Enemy of Death), and Vajrabhairava. See Tāranātha's *Gshin rje chos 'byung* (p. 20): *phyis gshed dmar gyi skor 'gyur ba nas gzung ste*/ *dgra nag gdong drug gnyis la nag po zhes gcig tu sdoms te*/ *dmar nag 'jigs gsum zhes tha snyad 'dogs*.

particular transmission had started off. Furthermore, I will show the influence and impact of these transmission lineages on the Sa skya and Dge lugs pa traditions promoting the cult of Vajrabhairava among the intellectual and ruling elites of the Yuan and Qing empires respectively. Lastly, following the contents and illustrations of the *Rgyud sde kun btus*, I will provide an overview of different Vajrabhairava *maṇḍala* transmissions promoted by these lineages (see pp. 68–77 at the end of this chapter).

a) Zhang lugs

The earliest of the Vajrabhairava transmission lineages is the so-called Zhang[78] lineage (*zhang lugs*) established in the 10th-11th century[79] by Cog gru Shes rab bla ma, also known as Zhang Cog gru lo tsā ba Shes rab. This lineage is traced back to the Indian, or perhaps Newar, *paṇḍita* Devākaracandra (ca. 1030–1130), who is regarded as the "Zhang lineage's root guru" (*rtsa ba'i bla ma*),[80] and who is identified by Tāranātha as lama Mgos khub, the 'Scholar-monk who Had a Consort' (*mkhas btsun mo can*).[81] Cog gru is also often associated with the region of 'Bring mtshams.[82]

[78] Van der Kuijp (2009:7) notes that "Zhang" added as a prefix to the names of different Tibetan lo tsā bas indicates that he belonged to one of the families whose geneology can be traced back to one of maternal uncles (Zhang) of the Tibetan emperors. See also Dotson (2004).

[79] Tāranātha says that Zhang cog gru lo tsā ba founded 'Zhang lugs' one generation after the establishment of Samye (*bsam yas*) monastery (779 CE), which would place him in the 9th century. However, Tāranātha also says that Cog gru lo tsā ba was a contemporary of two famous lo tsā bas, Leng and 'Brogs, whom the *Blue Annals* ('Gos lo 1984:320; Roerich 1949: I 260) identifies as pupils of *Atiśa Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna (980–1054): "the lotsāwas Leng and 'Brogs from the Lower Gtsang were the great disciples of *Atiśa". This would place Cog gru lo tsā ba around the 10th–11th century as well.

[80] *de va a ka ra candra dang nag po pa dang virya candra dang amogha vajra chung ba'o/ dang po ni/ zhang lo tsa ba shes rab bla ma'i rtsa ba'i bla ma de yin/ mgos khug pa'i bla ma btsun mo can dang gcig pa 'dra'o/ 'chi med tshe'i dngos grub brnyes nas dpal gi ri la bzhugs zer/* Tāranātha's *Gshin rje gshed chos 'byung,* p. 117.

[81] I thank Prof. Ulrike Roesler for this explanation. According to Cabezon (2017), Devākaracandra was a Bengali *paṇḍita*, the great master of the GS and one of the two great disciples of the Indian master Gomiśra in the lineage of Śrīgupta, from whom the 11th century Tibetan translator Mgos khub pa lhas btsas received the teachings of the GS. According to the biography of Rwa lo tsā ba, Mgos khub pa lhas btsas was killed by Rwa lo through the magical technology of Vajrabhairava (see https://treasuryoflives.org/biographies/view/Go-Khukpa-Lhetse/5803). According to Tāranātha's *Rgya gar chos 'byung* (Chattopadhyaya 1990:305), Devākaracandra, also known as Za hor kyi mkhas btsun mo can, was a contemporary of Amoghavajra and a direct disciple of Nāropā. Among his other teachers were Sa 'dres pa (Gomiśra), Vāgīśvarakīrti and *Dharmabhadra (Chos kyi bzang po), whose common name was Rong zom *paṇḍita* (1040–1159). Lo Bue (1997:636) argues that Devākaracandra was a Newar

Scant biographical information on the early life of Cog gru Shes rab places him in the community of the Rnying ma tāntrikas at Chimphu (’Chims phu/Mchims phu)—a famous hermitage of caves above Bsam yas in Central Tibet, where guru Padmasambhava is said to have spent several years in retreat. This was the place where Cog gru learnt the Eight Precepts of Attainment (*bka’ brgyad*), originally taught by Padmasambhava at Chimphu. Later years found him at the Bodong monastery (Bo dong) in the company of a Newar master Śākya Rdo rje, from whom he learnt yoga. Since at that time, apart from consulting manuscripts, it was impossible to receive a direct transmission of the GS in Tibet, Cog gru went to Nepal, and then to Magadha, where he met Devākaracandra (probabaly at Vikramaśīla) and received from him the teachings on the GS, *Kālacakra*, and three cycles of Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka. It is said that Cog gru was empowered into all types of Yamāntaka, particularly Black Yamāntaka.[83]

Cog gru’s contribution to the dissemination of the Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka tradition in Tibet is attested in his translation work. The Bstan ’gyur mentions Cog gru’s name in the context of several texts that he translated alone or in collaboration with the Indian *paṇḍita*s,[84] including Prajñāśrīdeva and Amoghavajra.[85] Apart from the translation

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paṇḍita who gathered around the Indian *paṇḍita* Jinadatta and accompanied him to Bodhgāyā along with Virendraruci (Ha mu dkar po/Puṇyākarabhadra) and others. Since he studied in Vikramaśīla and stayed in India for a long time, he was called “Indian” (p. 637). In the *Blue Annals* by ’Gos lo (1984:477), Devākara is called “Indian” indeed, and is also said to have assisted Rin chen bzang po in the translation of two texts (see Lo Bue, 1997:638). According to the *Blue Annals*, Devākaracandra’s secret name was *Śūnyatāsamādhivajra (*stong nyid ting ’dzin rdo rje*). Man (1998:91) estimates that Devākaracandra was alive in between 1030–1130. For *Śūnyatāsamādhivajra, who is also called Devākaracandra, see ’Gos lo 1984:476–477, 985; Roerich 1979: I 392–394, 842; Szerb 1990:100.

[82] “From there came a lineage of one of the ‘four great Tibetans’ (*bod kyi mi chen bzhi*) known as Zhang [lo tsā ba] of ’Bring mtshams”: *’bring mtshams kyi zhang ces bod kyi mi chen bzhi’i gya gcig tu bgrod pa yang ’di nas byung*. *Gshin rje chos ’byung*, p. 86. Vitali (2004:18) locates ’Bring mtshams to the south of Sa skya, north of Sikkim, and east of Bhutan. The area of larger ’Bring mtshams was where the Ngor chen established two monasteries, i.e., Brag dkar dgon and Dga’ ldan rtse mo. The foundation of the second monastery was recorded in the genealogy of the noble family of Rgyal rtse (Heimbel 2017:349). According to Nyang ral Nyi ma’i ’od zer (1124–92), there were two Zhang lo tsā bas from ’Bring mtshams, i.e., Zhang lo tsā ba Shes rab bla ma and Zhang lo tsā ba Mya ngan med pa’i dpal. Both of them feature as translators of the three cycle of Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka (see *Chos ’byung me tog snying po sbrang rtsi’i bcud,* edited by Nyan shul mkhyen rab ’od gsal, p. 481). See also the Zhang lineage-holders below.

[83] See *Gshin rje chos ’byung*, p. 84.

[84] The Derge edition of the Tibetan canon attests to a single Kṛṣṇayamāri-*sādhana* text authored by Devākaracandra, entitled *Kṛṣṇayamāriṣaṇmukhacakrasādhananāma* (*Dpal gshin rje gshed*

work, the Zhang lugs's greatest contribution to the development of Vajrabhairava teachings in Tibet was the establishment of a unique tradition of the 49-Deity Vajrabhairava system (*dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed zhang lugs lha dgu ma*) (see Fig. 1). The tradition of the 49-Deity Vajrabhairava *maṇḍala* appears to have been known at the Yuan court and was certainly practised at the Qing court (see below, p.60).

b) Skyo lugs

The second transmission lineage, known as Skyo lugs, takes its name from Skyo ston 'Od

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nag po gdong drug pa'i 'khor lo'i sgrub thabs, Toh. 1926), which was translated by Cog gru. Cog gru translated, either alone or in collaboration with other scholars, several works on Vajrabhairava, including the *Vajrabhairavasādhana* (*Dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi sgrub thabs*, Toh. 1998) by Rol pa'i rdo rje, which he translated together with Indian *paṇḍita* Prajñāśrīdeva. Among his other translations are the *Vajrabhairavastuti* (*Dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi bstod pa*, Toh. 2011) by Amoghavajra (*don yod rdo rje*) and *Yamārimaṇḍalavidhiyamāntakodaya* (*Gshin rje dgra'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga gshin rje gshed 'byung ba*, Toh. 1926), the text on Kṛṣṇayamāri attributed to Rol pa'i rdo rje and translated together with *paṇḍita* Amoghavajra. For the full list of translations attributed to Cog gru, see *Gangs ljongs skad gnyis smra ba du ma'i 'gyur byang bla gsal dga' skyed*, pp. 267–268, BDRC W24697. *Lo tsā ba cog grub shes rab bla ma: 'di nyid kyi 'gyur la/ bstan 'gyur las/ gshin rje gshed dgra nag ni dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga gshin rje gshed 'byung ba zhes bya ba slob dpon chen po la li ta vajras mdzad pa/ dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi sgrub thabs slob dpon la li ta vajras mdzad pa/ gshin rje gshed nag po gdong drug pa'i 'khor lo'i sgrub thabs zhes bya ba slob dpon de ba ā ka ra candras mdzad pa/ Gang ljongs skad gnyis smra ba du ma'i 'gyur byang blo gsal dga' skyed*, p. 246. Tāranātha's *Gshin rje chos 'byung*, p. 76, reports that Cog grub la did foundational translations of the following texts: *Gshin rje gshed nag po'i rgyud*, *'Jigs mdzad rtog bdun te rgyud gnyis*, *Gshin rje gshed 'byung ba*, *'Jigs mdzad zhe dgu ma'i sgrub thabs* as well as torma (*gtor ma*) rituals, and important *sādhana*s of the 9-Deity *maṇḍala* according to Līlavajra, which were not translated before (*li la va jra gyi lha dgu'i sgrub thabs rnams sngar ma 'gyur ba*).

[85] According to Bu ston (*Collected Works*, vol. 26, p. 15), Devakāracandra was a preceptor of Cog gru shes rab through Amoghavajra (Bu ston's *chos 'byung* 155a5–155b1, in Szerb 1990:100–101: *zhang shes rab bla mas kyang pa ndi ta A mo gha ba dzra spyan drang te/ dgra nag gi skor rgyas par bsgyur ro*). Tāranātha, however, considers Devakāracandra to be a master from whom Cog gru Shes rab received direct transmission (*de ba ka ra la zhang gis gsan te*, p. 84). Amoghavajra Junior was a disciple of Cog gru Shes rab when the latter stayed in India. Tāranātha reports that Cog gru used to say: "I have a young disciple who is finishing his studies". Later he became a *paṇḍita* with great power. When [Amoghavajra Junior] came to Tibet, Cog gru had become very old, yet he still received teachings from him (*gang ltar yang zhang shes rab bla ma rgya gar du bzhugs pa'i dus/ slob gnyer gyi 'phros skyong ba'i gzhon nu gcig yod zer/ phyis nus pa dang ldan pa'i pan chen du gyur/ bod du phebs dus zhang lo shin tu bgregs por gyur kyang chos gsan*, *Gshin rje chos 'byung,* p. 117). The 10th–11th century Amoghavajra Junior (*don yod rdo rje*), also known as Vajrāsana the latter, should be distinguished from his teacher Amoghavajra Senior (10th century) or Mahāvajrāsana, both were the abbots of Vajrāsana in India. The latter was a disciple of Nāropā. These two Amoghavajras should not be confused with the 8th century Amoghavajra, a disciple of Vajrabodhi who went to China and also became a leading figure of Shingon Buddhism.

'byung gnas (1126–1200), also known as Skyo nag 'brom ston from Nya tshan phug in Pa snam, who received the transmission of the Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka from Amoghavajra Junior,[86] the son of the teacher Atulyadāsa.[87] The latter features in a long list of the 11th century *paṇḍita*s engaged in the Tibetan translation project of Indian Buddhist texts under the patronage of the king Byang chub 'od in Western Tibet. In the *Gshin rje chos 'byung*, Tāranātha retells the story of Skyo ston's meeting with Amoghavajra Junior and recounts a legend about the origins of Skyo ston's initiation name, i.e., 'Od 'byung. The narrative begins with a prophetic dream, which unknowingly to Skyo ston heralded his upcoming meeting with Amoghavajra Junior and his initiation into the Vajrabhairava tradition. Tāranātha gives the following account:

> At night [Skyo ston] went to sleep. In his dream at the wide lower part of the valley there was a frightening, black creature with many heads, legs, and arms of enormous size and rising higher and higher surrounded by fire and smoke. "This should not appear here ", he thought. When the monster suddenly appeared near him, he was so terrified that he woke up with a startle. All his clothes were fumigated with black soot. He thought: "The mission is far off, it is not going to be successful. Moreover, I don't know what other misfortune I might encounter. It's time to finish what I've set out to do. I have no choice but to go". As soon as the day broke, he went away, and when he reached the riverbank of Smu gu, there was a *paṇḍita* [Amoghavajra] with some attendants. By merely seeing him, extraordinary joy and happiness were born in his mind. There was also a great splendor. Since he felt devotion towards him, [Skyo ston said]: "Stay here now, until I come back. I am inviting you to my house, Sir". Then, he went to Tshog 'dus mgur mo and obtained many medicines. His task was accomplished. Moreover, it was very successful […]. He had also assembled all the necessary items for the *paṇḍita*'s coming to Central Tibet (Dbus). Before this meeting, [Skyo ston's] skill in translation had been a little clouded, but [after the meeting] he studied the Indian language more. [Skyo ston] made sure to take provisions for the *paṇḍita*'s journey to Central Tibet, and on the way, he also received many causal teachings. When they were returning, he requested from the *paṇḍita* the core of his own practice. [Amoghavajra said:] "In the Kaliyuga, this very practice is of the highest blessing. This is the essence of my personal deity (*yi dam*)". Having said this, he showed him a *thangka* of Vajramahābhairava. [Skyo ston] realised that what he was shown was the same thing that manifested before, in his dream. He was so happy that he struck a small drum. At the time of tantric initiation, from the *maṇḍala* [of Vajrabhairava], two beams of white light came out. The whole house was filled with

[86] In Tāranātha's account it was Amoghavajra Junior who became a teacher of Skyo ston, as confirmed in the *Collected Works* (p. 567) (*gsung 'bum*) of A mes zhabs Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams, where we learn that Zhang Cog gru Shes rab bla ma bestowed the *Gshin rje gshed* teachings to Amoghavajra Junior (*a mo gha ba dzra chung ba*) who then gave it to Skyo ston 'Od 'byung. A mes zhabs also reports (p. 564) that Amoghavajra Junior came to Central Tibet (*dbus*) from India for study, and Skyo ston came to meet him there.

[87] The *Blue Annals* (p. 437) mention Atulyadāsa as the master from whom Ras chung pa received the teaching of the *Saṃvaratantra.*

> light and then this light dissolved into the head of Skyo ston. The lama gave him the name "The Origins of Light" (*'od gyi 'byung gnas*). The *paṇḍita* [Amoghavajra] stayed with Skyo ston for four months and taught him in detail the cycle of Vajrabhairava.[88]

During the years following the meeting with Amoghavajra, Skyo ston resided in various places in Tibet where he went to further his Vajrabhairava practice. In 'Bri mtshams, he met Dge 'dun bzang po (who also features as a master of the Vajrabhairava Zhang lineage), from whom he received the complete cycle of Dgra/Gdong/'Jigs as a "backup" of previous teachings. The place called Nya mtshan became the spot for Skyo ston's Vajrabhairava *sādhana*, in which Amoghavajra visited him in a vision. Of special importance for the Skyo lineage was a hermitage in the Sman chu Valley that was donated to Skyo ston by a patriarch called Tshab nyi ma Ldong. The hermitage was located at the foot of a mountain in the shape of a buffalo, thus alluding to the iconography of Vajrabhairava and Skyo ston remained there in an intensive retreat for seven years. He received a direct vision of Vajramahābhairava, obtained superior magical powers, and lived for a long time.[89]

There were many masters who appeared in the Skyo transmission lineage after Skyo ston had passed away. Among them were Rtsa nga, Skang ri bo che pa, Ma snar khro me ba, Bsags gzhon nu and Glan gnya' nam pa, Skyo 'jam dpal, and Jo sras khams pa. Since the practice of the VBhT was bound by secrecy, there are according to Tāranātha, not many recorded instances of them propagating the cycle.[90] One exception is Gnyan rin chen bstan pa of Gsang mang in Skyi smad in Central Tibet (Dbus), an otherwise unknown figure who, in a place called Kun ra gnas, received from the master Skyo khams pa the complete empowerment and explanation (*upadeśa*) of Vajrabhairava. He also received twice a detailed exposition of the VBhT in seven chapters and a complete set of rituals. Then, at a place called Pha tshab nyi ma lder, he received the teaching of the 49-Deity Vajrabhairava and the Six-faced Kṛṣṇayamāri as a "backup" (*rgyab rten*).[91] Gnyan rin chen stayed in Lar for two years; the *Gshin rje chos 'byung* states he had a command of limitless magic power and lived for 112 years. The lineage of

[88] For the Tibetan text, see Appendix 1, p. 329.
[89] *Gshin rje chos 'byung,* pp. 121–122.
[90] *Gshin rje chos 'byung,* p. 123.
[91] *Gshin rje chos 'byung,* p. 123.

Gnyan rin chen continued for three or four generations in the following succession: Gnyan 'Od srungs, Gnyan Chos rgyal, 'Jims pa rin shes, and Gnyan ston Rdo rje grags. It appears that the lineage, however, was not very successful, since at the time when Tāranātha was writing his treatise, it was barely surviving.[92] The above-mentioned Skyo lugs, on the other hand, flourished under the Rwa lugs,[93] and was transmitted to the Sa skya tradition as we shall see below. In this regard, Dkon mchog rgyal mtshan's *Bla brang bkra shis 'khyil gyi gdan rabs lha'i rnga chen*[94] reports the existence of the Rwa Skyo lugs containing the names of the masters associated with the Rwa lugs tradition.

c) Gnyos Lugs

The Gnyos lugs takes its name from Gnyos lo tsā ba Yon tan grags (b.973), a member of the Gnyos clan who during the *phyi dar* period travelled to India in the company of the famous Bka' rgyud pa master, Mar pa lo tsā ba[95] in order "to establish a 'new school' (*gsar ma*) transmission that was passed on to successive generation of the Gnyos family" (Yamamoto 2012:187). Gnyos lo,[96] also known as Snyons 'byung po,[97] spent some twenty years studying in India. At that time he met (probably at Vikramaśīla)[98] Kṛṣṇapāda Junior (Nag po zhabs chung), also known as Balyācārya or simply Balin *ācārya*,[99] a contemporary of Nāropā who, during a period of seven years (1028-1034),

[92] *Gshin rje chos 'byung,* p. 124.
[93] *Gshin rje chos 'byung,* pp. 124–125.
[94] See Dkon mchog rgyal mtshan's *Bla brang bkra shis 'khyil gyi gdan rabs lha'i rnga chen*, pp.198–199.
[95] Ducher (2017:227–238) discusses the relationship between Gnyos and Mar pa and different depictions of this relationship in the biographical tradition of Mar pa lo tsā ba.
[96] For the life of Gnyos Yon tan grags, see *Kha rag gnyos kyi gdung rabs khyad par 'phags pa*, pp. 6–16.
[97] For the different variants of Gnyos' name and matters of spelling, see Sørensen and Hazod 2007:671; Ducher 2017:227, fn. 746.
[98] *Rgya gar chos 'byung* (Chattopadhyaya 1990:294) mentions Balyācārya of Vikramaśīla, who destroyed the Turuṣka army from Bengal by performing *mahābali* of Acala. See also Sanderson 2009:107.
[99] That Balyācārya is in fact Kṛṣṇapāda Junior is confirmed by the *Blue Annals* ('Gos lo 1984:452; Roerich 1979: I 372): "Balin *ācārya*, a contemporary of Śrī Nāropā, who was also known as Kṛṣṇāpāda Junior" (Nag po zhabs chung ba). In the *Blue Annals* ('Gos lo 1984:299; Roerich 1979: I 243), different information is given, namely that Balyācārya is also known as Kṛṣṇapāda Senior (Nag po zhabs chen po). The *Rgya gar chos 'byung* (Chattopadhyaya 1990:294), however, seems to identify Balyācārya with Kṛṣṇācārya Junior (Nag po spyod pa chung ba), who is the same as Kṛṣṇapāda Junior. 'Jam mgon kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas, *Shes*

transmitted to him the teachings of the GS, *Kṛṣṇayamāri-*, *Hevajra-*, *Mahāmāyātantras*, as well as the MNS (Sørensen and Hazod 2007:II, 382). The most popular lineage transmissions propagated by Gnyos lugs in Tibet were the GS cycle according to the system of Jñānapāda and the Yamāntaka tradition (based on the *Mañjuśrīyamāntakatantra*),[100] including Vajrabhairava, both transmitted to Gnyos lo through Balin. Tāranātha reports that the Indian *guruparamparā* of the Gnyos' Yamāntaka lineage that became known as the *Three Cycles of Black Yamāntaka according to the Gnyos Lineage* was identical to the lineage of the GS.[101] The three cycles consisted of the 9-Deity, 13-Deity [Vajra]bhairava, and the 13-Deity Black Yamāntaka (*ibid*.:389). Sørensen and Hazod (*ibid*.:388) have argued, however, that the alleged existence of the uniform Gnyos *Guhyasamāja-Yamāntaka* lineage mentioned by Tāranātha as well as 'Gos lo tsā ba and Bu ston is due to the mistake of writing Dpal le (written Dpal sde, the son of the Gnyos Rdo rje bla ma), who indeed appears in the Gnyos lugs Jñānapāda *Guhyasamāja* lineage, instead of the correct Dpal gyi 'byung gnas. It is Dpal gyi 'byung gnas, and not Dpal le, who appears on the inscription on the reverse side of the Gnyos patriarch's *thangka* and this name is also confirmed in the *Gnyos rabs* (22.3).[102] On the basis of that discovery, Sørensen & Hazod (2007, II, 382) concluded that the Gnyos lugs were the recipients of the "hybrid lineage transmission with a supplementary Vajrabhairava lineage" as represented in the Gnyos patriarch's *thangka*, which both records and commemorates the initiation of Gnyos lo into those traditions. Sørensen and Hazod (*ibid*.:382) concluded that the Gnyos lugs were the recipients of the "hybrid lineage transmission with a supplementary Vajrabhairava lineage".

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bya kun khyab mdzod (W5488, p. 324) reports: *gnyos lugs ni/ gnyos lo tsās ba ling ā cārya sogs las/ nag po skor gsum gsan pa nas mched pa ste/ de dag rnams las 'jam dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed mdzad bshes gnyen gyi rnam par dngos su byon pa rwa lo chen po'i lugs srol nyid bshad sgrub nus pa'i rgyan ma chad pas phrin las grub mtha' yongs la khyab cing bla na 'phags so/ Gsung 'bum* of A mes zhabs Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams (W29307, p.116) says: *gnyos lo tsā bas ba ling ta ā carya'i man ngag la brten pa.*

[100] See Ducher 2017:261.

[101] *Gshin rje gshed nag po skor gsum nyos lugs ni/ rgya gar gyi brgyud pa phal cher gnyos lugs rang gi gsang 'dus dang 'dra ste/ Gshin rje gshed,* p. 125. In this regard Tāranātha explains, thus: "even though, without any doubt, the root[-guru of the Gnyos' Indian *guruparamparā*] can be traced back to Lalitavajra, since the explanation relied exclusively on the master Sangs rgyas ye shes zhabs (*Buddhajñānapāda), he is at the top of the actual lineage […]."

[102] *Kha rag gnyos kyi gsung rabs khyad par 'phags pa alias kha rag gnyos kyi byon thsul mdor bsdus*, 1.1-96.3.

According to Sørensen and Hazod (*ibid*.:417), the accumulation of powerful tantric transmissions enhanced the prestige and status of Gnyos clan in the Kha rag region, in between Dbus and Gtsang in central Tibet.[103] In the mid-twelfth century, they are often referred to as 'Kha rag Gnyos'. Gnyos lo contributed to the dissemination of Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka through his translation work undertaken in collaboration with a certain Gayadhara.[104]

The most important subsequent lineage-holder of the Gnyos lugs was Mgar dam pa chos sdings pa (1180–1240), also known as Mgar dam pa chos sdings pa or Śākya dpal. He established a sub-branch of the Gnyos lugs, known accordingly as the 'Gar/Mgar lugs.[105] This tradition flourished in the upper part of Khams area and became famous as 'Gar Ldongs Rgya.[106] The biographical information on 'Gar pa reported in the *Blue Annals* ('Gos lo 1984:709–710; Roerich 1979: II 602–603) places the approximate date for his birth in the year of the Iron-Rat, i.e. 1180 CE. Mgar dam pa practised Vajrabhairava because it was the tradition of his ancestors.[107] He also received the teachings of Vajrabhairava from his close *dharma* friend (*mched grogs*) Rgyal ba lha nang pa. Early in his life he went to 'Bri khung monastery[108] where he worked his way up, from first working as a sweeper then becoming a personal servant of 'Jig rten mgon po Rin chen dpal (1143–1217), the founder of the 'Bri gung mthil monastery (Martin 2008). Mgar dam pa constructed a statue of Vajrabhairava and later disseminated the

[103] Gnyos received the estates in the Gtsang province, i.e., in 'Gos yul, Stod gsum, 'Brings mtshams, and Rgyang ro (Sørensen and Hazod 2007:II, 382).

[104] On Gayadhara, also known as the Red *paṇḍita*, see Rinpoche 2016:82–86. Gnyos lo's translation work undertaken in collaboration with a certain Gayadhara comprised the GS Jñānapāda teachings and Kṛṣṇayamāri: see *Cha rgan*, lam, 30a, in: Stearns (2001:220); Sørensen and Hazod (2007:II, 382, f. 32). Tāranātha's *Gshin rje chos 'byung* (p. 77) records that Gnyos lo did translations and had written a commentary of the three cycles of Nag po. In some texts on the Black Bhairava in the cycle of Nag po written by Śrīdhara, we find a colophon of Gnyos.

[105] *'gar ldongs rgya gsum grags che ste/'gar lugs gnyos lugs kyi nang tshan yin/ Gshin rje gshed,* p. 125. Also according to the Mgar chos sding pa gzhon nu rdo rje's *rnam thar*, the Mgar lugs of Vajrabhairava was based upon a Gnyos transmission. Cf. Grub thob O rgyan Rin chen dpal's *Chos sdings pa'i rnam thar* 447.3–448.2.

[106] Ldogs and Rgya are subsects of the Rwa tradition (*ldongs dang rgya lugs rwa lugs kyi nang tsan no*). *Gshin rje gshed*, p. 125.

[107] Mgar dam pa chos sdings pa (1180–1240) was a prominent practitioner of the Vajrabhairava cycle stemming from Rwa (See, Ri bo che dpon tshang's *Lho rong chos 'byung* 431–432).

[108] *rgyal ba lha nang pa la mched grogs 'gar dam pa chos sdings pas zhus/ khong gi 'bri khung gi spyi rim pa yun ring po mdzad/. Gshin rje chos 'byung,* p. 125.

cycle in Mdo khams (Sørensen and Hazod 2007:II 390).[109] He laid the foundation of Spo bo monastery near Kong po. During his residence at Spo bo, he was known as the master of the Vajrabhairava 'Gar tradition, which spread widely in the upper Mdo khams. At that time he was the holder of the Vajrabhairava 'Gar lineage.[110] The Spo bo monastery became the main seat of his teachings and after his death was taken over by his nephew Urgyan pa and others.[111]

d) Mal lugs, Ba ri lo tsā ba and the Early Sa skya pas

The Mal transmission lineage of Vajrabhairava (*mal lugs*) takes its name from Mal lo tsā ba Blo gros grags pa (11th century), one of the most influential translators of the *phyir dar* period, who established what is called "the Sa skya tradition of [Vajra]bhairava" (*'jigs byed sa lugs bya ba 'di la zer ba yin*). Mal lo was a teacher of 'Khon Dkon mchog rgyal po[112] (1034–1102) and his son Sa chen Kun dga' snying po[113] (1092–1158). The former was the first Sa skya throne-holder and the founder of the Sa skya monastery. Earlier in his life, he had decided to turn away from the Rnying ma teachings, which he thought were in contradiction with the tantric requirement of secrecy. His father, Śākya blo gros, may have been murdered by Rwa lo tsā ba (Gardner 2010). His son, Sa chen Kung dga' snying po, was the second Sa skya throne-holder and an important early systematiser of the Sa skya teachings. [114]

Mal lo himself was a recipient[115] of the three cycles of the Black Yamāntaka

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[109] In Reb gong district Mgar established the Mgar rtse mthil g.yu lung dpal dgon pa, cf. Gling rgya ba tshe ring's *Reb gong chos 'byung* 150–51, quoted in Sørensen and Hazod (2007:II, 390).

[110] *spo bor lha dgon btab nas gdul bya bskyangs pas/ bar skabs cig tu 'jigs mdzad 'gar lugs su grags shing/ mdo khams lho stod du dar rgyas che ba byung zer/ rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi srol 'dzin bar skabs su byung ba la/. Gshin rje gshed,* p. 125.

[111] For the biography of Mgar dam pa chos sdings pa, see Dan Martin, https://treasuryoflives.org/biographies/view/Gar-Dampa-Chodingpa/10824

[112] For the biography, see Alexander Gardner, https://treasuryoflives.org/biographies/view/Khon-Khonchok-Gyelpo/TBRC_P3730

[113] For the biography, see Dominique Townsend, https://treasuryoflives.org/biographies/view/Sachen-Kunga-Nyingpo/TBRC_P1615

[114] Sa chen received the three cycles of Kṛṣṇayamāri from Mal in Gungtang (Rinpoche 2016:58).

[115] A mes zhabs in the *Gsung 'bum*, Sa skya rgyal yongs gsung rab slob gnyer khang, Kathmandu, 2000, 29v gives us a slightly different view, for he says that Mal lugs was based on the oral instruction of the Newar Pham 'thing pa and Thugs rje chen po (Mahākaruṇa): (*mal lo tsā bas bal po pham thing pa dang bal po thugs rje chen po'i man ngag la brten pa'i mal lugs sam sa lugs*).

according to the oral exposition of Nāropā through Klog Skya Shes rab rtsegs,[116] a relatively unknown figure, whom we know to be a direct disciple of Pham 'thing pa.[117] This was the same Pham 'thing pa from whom Mal lo received the Cakrasaṃvara initiation when he came to Tibet.[118] Mal lo was also the heir to another transmission, i.e., the oral exposition of the Black Yamāntaka according to the teachings of the *ācārya* Jñānapāda (i.e., *Buddhajñānapāda), which he had received in a direct transmission line from the Newar Ha mu dkar po/Varendraruci[119] (whose real name was Bsod nams 'byung gnas bzang po, Skt. Puṇyākarabhadra, see 'Gos lo 1984:476),[120] and not, as it is commonly believed, from Pham 'thing pa.[121] Mal lo is said to have gained some moderate mastery in the techniques of Bhairava Instilling Madness and Executioner.[122]

Mal lo is also known as a recipient of a special Mahākāla transmission[123] bestowed upon him by Gyi ljang dbu dkar pa lo tsā ba (10th/11th century) that was

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[116] *mal lugs su grags pa ni/ ngag po skor gsum gyi na ro pa'i man ngag rnams phom thing pa chen po la bzhugs/ de la klog skyas zhus/ de la mal los zhus pa dang/ Gshin rje gshed,* p. 126.

[117] Pham 'thing pa or Pham mthing pa learnt the Hevajra and Saṃvara cycle from Nāropā ('Gos lo 1984:462; Roerich 1979: I 381). Lo Bue (1997:643) and Roerich (1979: I 227) identify 'Pham thing pa with Vāgīśvarakīrti (Tib. Ngag gi dbang phyug), the master of Devākaracandra, who (according to the *Blue Annals*, 'Gos lo 1984:257; Roerich 1979 I 206) stationed at the western (or in some accounts southern) gate of Vikramaśīla when Nāropā was stationed at the northern gate. He was an exponent of the Yamāri cycle and defeated many *tīrthika* rivals (Chattopadhyaya 1990:295).

[118] When Mal lo went to Nepal, he obtained the Cakrasaṃvara cycle from Pham 'thing pa and his brother Bodhibhadra (Byang chun bzang po), a disciple of Nāropā and the Newar master Mahākaruṇa ('Gos lo 1984:463; Roerich 1979: I 382).

[119] Ha mu dkar po is called a Nepali by 'Gos lo, but Lo Bue (1997:636) says that ocassionally he is called an Indian. Ha mu dkar po received initiation from Jinadatta, an Indian who moved to Nepal. He accompanied Jinadatta to Bodhgāyā with three other disciples who gathered around him in the Kathmandu Valley, i.e., Devākaracandra, Mahe bhāro, and the master's attendant Buddhadatta ('Gos lo 1984:474–476). Dowman (1985:395) says that Ha mu was the main transmitter of the Vajravārahi cycle to Tibet. The *Blue Annals* ('Gos lo 1984:476; Roerich 1979 I 394) reports that he received the Vārāhī cycle from Devākaracandra. On Ha mu dkar po, whose real name was Puṇyākarabhadra, see 'Gos lo 1984:475; Roerich 1979: I 386, 393 ff.; Szerb 1990:100.

[120] *mal gyo lo tsa ba blo gros grags kyis bal po ha mu dkar po la nag 'dzin skor gsum zhus/. Gshin rje gshed,* p. 78.

[121] *yang slob dpon ye shes zhabs kyi man ngag/ bal po ye rang gi pandi ta hu du dkar po zhes bya ba/ va ren dra ruci'i drung du mal los zhus nges su 'dug/ phom thing po phyi mal yang zhes ni zer/. Gshin rje gshed,* p. 126.

[122] *Gshin rje gshed,* p. 127.

[123] This 'special' Mahākāla transmission is different from the transmission of the "Lord of the Pavilion" Pañjaranātha Mahākāla in the lineage of *lam 'bras* Virūpa that was received by the Sa skya pas in the transmission of Gayadhara; see Linrothe *et al*. 2004:124.

passed down to Sa chen (Stearns 2001:224). Gyi ljang, in turn, received it in India from the *mahāpaṇḍita* Lalitavajra, "who lived in a charnel ground and was also known as Dur khrod Nag po ro 'dzin" (*ibid.*). Stearns (*ibid*.:224) reports the existence of a *Mahākālatantra,* entitled the *Dpal nag po chen po'i rgyud dur khrod nag po le'u gsum pa*, translated by the Indian *paṇḍita* Nag po ro 'dzin or Nag po ro langs and the Tibetan lo tsā ba Gyi ljang.[124] It is, however, not sure whether the 'Mahākāla Lalitavajra' and 'our' Lalitavajra are one and the same person. A piece of evidence in support of such identification is the text entitled *Vajrabhairavasādhana* (*Rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi sgrub thabs*, Toh. 1999) composed by Lalitavajra, which describes Vajrabhairava as the manifestation of time (*kāla*), and correlates Vajrabhairava's iconographic features with different facets of time.[125]

Another Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka transmission received by Sa chen Kun dga' snying po[126] was passed down in the lineage of Ba ri lo tsā ba Rin chen grags (1040–1111/1112),[127] who was an important translator of that period.[128] Ba ri lo tsā ba's Vajrabhairava lineage is traced back to a certain Lalitavajra, who is succeeded by the line of masters associated with the commentarial tradition of the *Nāmasaṃgīti*,[129] followed by

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[124] *Dpal nag po chen po'i rgyud dur khrod nag po le'u gsum pa* is preserved in the *Bya rog ma bstan srung bcas kyi chos skor,* 2: III-62 (Palampur: Sungrab Nyamso Gyunphel Pharkhang, 1973).

[125] This short text is translated as "Recalling the Purities of Bhairava" in Lama Migmar Tseten's *Sri Vajrabhairava Sadhana*, pp. 71–73.

[126] Although Tāranātha does not mention the name of Sa chen in the lineage of this particular tradition, other sources often relate the fact that Ba ri lo tsā ba transmitted to Sa chen the Yamāntaka cycle (see *The Expansion of the Great Secret Doctrine* by Jamyang Khyentse Wangchuk (1524–1568, in Stearns 2006:215): "from the lord Bariwa, Sachen fully received the cycles of Cakrasaṃvara, Hevajra, and Yamāri, and all Bari's instructions […]".

[127] For the biography of Ba ri lo tsā ba and his relationship with Sa chen, see Davidson (2005:297–303).

[128] One of the most important texts passed down to this day in the Sa skya tradition is the "One 'Hundred' Sādhanas of Ba ri" (*ba ri ba'i sgrub thabs rgya rtsa*, Toh. 2206–2299), a collection of 93 *sādhana*s translated by Amoghavajra Junior and Ba ri lo tsā ba. Among the many *sādhana*s dedicated to various deities of all four classes of tantras, we find three Kṛṣṇayamāri *sādhana*s (*gshin rje gshed nag po sgrub thabs*).

[129] In this regard, *Mañjuśrīkīrti ('Jam dpal grags pa) is the author of the *'Phags pa'i 'jam dpal gyi mtshan yang dag par brjod pa'i rgya cher bshad pa* (*Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṃgītiṭīkā*, D 2534), while *Mañjuśrīmitra ('Jam dpal bshes gnyen) penned down the *Mtshan yang dag par brjod pa'i 'grel pa* (*Nāmasaṃgītivṛtti*, D 2532) (Tribe 2016:399). *Mañjuśrīmitra is believed to be an important figure in the Rnying ma tradition. There are two forms of Yamāntaka that have been traditionally asssocited with the Rnying ma. The first is Jam dpal gshin rje Dug ri me 'bar or

Amoghavajra Junior, who had transmitted the Vajrabhairava cycle to Ba ri. According to Tāranātha, the unusual appearance of the *Nāmasaṃgīti* masters in the lineage of Ba ri lo is due to a mistake of translating the Sanskrit name Lalitavajra as 'Sgeg pa'i rdo rje' (see p. 15). Ba ri lo also sought the teachings of the Black cycle from Bharo Phyag rdum,[130] the main teacher of Rwa lo tsā ba, Mal lo, Ha mu dkar po and possibly Skyo 'Od 'byung. Ba ri lo tsā ba introduced modifications of some ritual elements in the Vajrabhairava praxis. For example, he established a separate *sādhana* for each of the supplementary deities, i.e., Dgra and Gdong; changed the structure of the *maṇḍala* from the 13-Deity Vajrabhairava into the 9-Deity form and altered the names of the deities, such as Vairocana, etc., into Vajra-Ignorance. Ba ri lo introduced the worship of Vajrabhairava in a sexual union with a consort (*yab yum*) surrounded by eight *vetāla*s and five *maṇḍala*s.[131] He had also contributed to translating the Vajrabhairava literature[132] into Tibetan: his translation of the *Vajrabhairavatantrapañjikā* of *Kumāracandra (Toh. 1973), which he completed in collaboration with the Indian *paṇḍita* Tathāgatarakṣita[133] (one of the twelve *vajrācārya*s of Vikramaśīla), is preserved in the Bstan 'gyur. If we follow Tāranātha's presentation, the lineage of Ba ri lo tsā ba does not seem to have been very successful. Even at the peak of his fame, Ba ri lo had only a few disciples and few publications. The lineage lasted for merely three or four generations after G.yor dar grags.[134]

"Mañjuśrī Yamāntaka Poisonous Blazing Fire-Mountain" found mostly in the Rnying ma Glong chen Snying thig tradition. The second is Gshin rje gshed 'char ka nag po (Skt. Kālodāyī) that was later liturgically compiled by Pad ma 'phrin las (1641-1717), an important Rnying ma master of the Rdo rje brag and Byang gter traditions, who remained in close association with the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682).

[130] See Lo Bue 1997:653.

[131] *lugs 'di la 'ang dgra gdong gnyis la re re dang/ 'jigs mdzad bcu gsum ma dang/ gti mug rdo rje la sogs pa'i mtshan rnam snang la sogs par bsgyur ba'i lha dgu ma dang/ yab yum kha sbyor gyi sku can gyi ro langs brgyad bskor te/ dkyil 'khor lnga yod/ Gshin rje gshed,* p. 126.

[132] Ba ri is also said to have completed a small translation of the VBhT in seven chapters by Khyud po chos brtson, but neither text nor the author of this translation could be identified.

[133] Tathāgatarakṣita also composed the *Vajrabhairavahastacihnaviśuddhi* (*Rdo rje 'jigs byed phyag mtshan gyi rnam par dag pa* Toh. 2007). In Tāranātha's *Rgya gar chos 'byung* he is described as a master "who attained power by the *vidyā* of Yamāri and Saṃvara" (p. 328).

[134] *Gshin rje gshed,* p. 126.

e) Rwa lugs

The most famous among the Tibetan lineages of the Vajrabhairava cycle was the Rwa lugs, which took its name from Rwa lo tsā ba Rdo rje grags, born in 1016 in Snye nam/Gnya' nang snang yul. Rwa lo tsā ba received the teachings of Vajrabhairava from the two Newar masters Bha ro Phyag rdum,[135] also known as *paṇḍita* Mañjughoṣa, and Me tsa ling pa (whose ordination name was Dīpaṅkararakṣita), known in Ladakh as Mahākaruṇa (Thugs rje chen po).[136] Those two appear in the lineage that goes back to the Indian masters Lalitavajra and Amoghavajra Senior (see Diagram 6). Phyag rdum assisted Rwa lo in the translation of Lalitavajra's *Śrīvajramahābhairavanāmatantra* and of Mañjuvajra's *Śrīvajrabhairavasādhana*, and also supplied him with a manuscript of the *Cucchundarakalpa* (Lo Bue 1997:653). Me tsa ling pa, a pupil of Kalakaśrī also known as the great *upāsaka* of Lalitpur, translated together with Rwa lo the *Karmayamadharmarājasādhana* by Lalitavajra (*ibid.*). According to Tāranātha, Rwa lo stayed in Nepal for fifteen years and took Me tsa ling pa as his root-guru, because he was "a storehouse of tantric teachings".[137] Rwa lo's Vajrabhairava lineage established in Tibet two sub-branches: the Western Rwa Tradition, originated by Rwa Ye shes seng ge (12th c.), and the Eastern Rwa Tradition, established by Rwa Dharma seng ge (see Diagram 6).

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[135] Tāranātha relates an interesting story narrating the event of acquiring the name "Hand-Maimed" (*phyag rdum po*): *bha ro phyag rdum* [em. *sdum* ed.] *pa ndi ta 'jam pa'i dbyangs zer/ 'khrungs yul bal po/ rigs bram ze/ dang po phyi pa yin/ rgyal po'i chad pa byas* [em. *byang*, ed.] *pas* [em. *bas* ed.]/ *phyag g.yon rdum* [em. *sdum* ed.] *po yin/ rgya gar du byon nas mu stegs kyi lha drag po mang po bsgom bsgrub byas nas/ rnal 'byor pos* [em. *po* ed.] *'dul bar bsams kyang/ khong rang smyo bas sdug bsngal par yod pa la/ slob dpon pad ma vajra gyis bum chus bkrus pas smyo ba bsangs/ nad pa la mos te chos kyi sgor zhugs/ nag po skor gsum la mkhas/ sgrub pa ring du mdzad pas/ dpal rdo rje 'jigs mdzad zhal gzigs/ nus pa thogs med mnga'/ Gshin rje*, p. 89. "Bha ro Phyag rdum was also called Paṇḍita Mañjughoṣa. He was born in Nepal in a Brahmin caste. Initially he was a heretic. The king cut off his left hand. He went to India and engaged in meditation on fierce non-Buddhist deities. Even though he engaged in the monastic practices, he became mad and experienced suffering. *Acāryā* Padmavajra performed *kalaśa-abhiṣeka* (tantric initiation) and his insanity was cleared. The "Hand-Maimed" (Phyag rdum) developed faith in Buddhism and entered the *dharma* community. He learned the three cycles of Nag po. Since he performed *sādhana* for a long time, he had a vision of the venerable Vajrabhairava. He came to attain unsurpassed tantric powers."

[136] Me tsa ling pa was residing in the monastery of Me tsa ling. He was gentle by nature and knew most of the *atiyoga* and *yoga*. He was a teacher of Zangskar lo tsā ba. *Gshin rje,* p. 80. On Mahākaruṇa, see 'Gos lo 1984: 433, 439, 455, 463; Roerich 1979:355, 361, 375, 382.

[137] *bal por lo bco lnga tsam bzhugs/ slob dpon thugs rje chen po gsang sngags chos gyi bang mdzod yin pas rtsa ba'i bla ma de la mdzad/ Gshin rje chos 'byung,* p. 94

Rwa lo's biography[138] attested in Tāranātha's *Gshin rje chos 'byung* potrays Rwa lo as an exceptional child who developed physically at unusual speed and was nurtured by the goddess Rematī. Tucked up inside the goddess's sleeves, Rwa journeyed around Tibet for three months. Later years found him leading a rather ordinary life, spent in between household chores, looking after nomadic stock, and learning scriptures including the *Prajñāpāramitā* as well as the old (*rnying ma*) and the new (*gsar ma*) tantras. Rwa lo also engaged in the meditation on Mañjuśrī—his personal deity (*yi dam*)—and acquired a working knowledge of the teachings of the *Hevajra* and the GS according to the explanation of Jñānapāda.[139] It was not before a feud over his marriage arrangements to *Padmā, the daughter of 'Bre rtsad po, that Rwa lo decided to leave for Nepal in search of "black magic powers" (*mthu*). Although promised in marriage to Rwa lo, *Padmā preferred another man, named 'Dzam me, the son of 'Bro rje rtsad po. The duel between the two parties was arranged and *Padmā made a plot to assassinate Rwa lo. However, since the duel took place in public, the plan could not be carried out. Rwa lo left for Nepal at the age of fourteen, accompanied by a Rnying ma monk (*rnying gi 'dul ba 'dzin pa*) from Nyan tsho gnas who was going to India. Soon after arriving in Nepal Rwa lo met the above-mentioned Newar masters and received the Vajrabhairava initiation from them. He engaged in the Vajrabhairava *sādhana* for a year and achieved positive signs of accomplishment. Rwa lo decided to take revenge on *Padmā and her new groom. Through people returning to Tibet, he sent a message to 'Bro rje rtsad and the people of Snang yul reporting that in three months, he was going to use his magical powers (*mthu nus btab*). After three months had passed, he used a fierce *cakra* (*drag po'i 'khor lo*) against the village of Snang yul; as a result, different types of epidemic diseases spread simultaneously in the village. Then, one hundred villages were annihilated. At the dawn of the 14th lunar day, a metal *vajra*-dagger (*lcags kyi phur ba*) appeared and pierced through the forehead of 'Bro rje rtsad po's son and the woman, and they both died. Moreover, 'Bro rje rtsad himself and sixty of his male and female servants also died. This event marked the beginning of Rwa lo's well-known carreer as a powerful tantric sorcerer who used Vajrabhairava *abhicāra* to set the record straight with his enemies and

[138] For different sources of Rwa lo's biography, see Cuevas 2015a. For the translation of *Rwa lo's rnam thar* written by Ye shes Seng ge, see (Cuevas 2015b).
[139] *Gshin rje chos 'byung*, pp. 92–93.

rivals.[140] One of many such events, narrated in Rwa lo's biography by A mes zhabs,[141] concerns a certain abbot who engaged in a critique of Rwa lo's transgressive tantric conduct as unbecoming of a preceptor.[142] The confrontation between the two resulted in a verbal spat in which the abbot attacked Rwa lo with the following words:

> You enjoy meat and wine of the West [i.e., India]. Occasionally, using black magic, you kill other people. Secretly, you engage in intimate intercourse with women. Because of doing these things, if you were a preceptor, you would harm the *buddhadharma.* Moreover, among other things, you speak a lot of bad things under the pretext of *dharma*.[143]

To this critique, Rwa lo replied as follows:

> Meat and wine are part of the *gaṇacakra* ritual. If I kill people, I do it only to those who are the *samaya*-breaker. This is a tantric commitment. Engaging in intercourse with women is *karmamudrā*. Therefore, it is you who are the *samaya*-breaker with wrong views; after seven days, early in the morning, I shall request that you depart.[144]

Seven days later, the abbot's body, speech, and mind became paralysed, and he passed away.[145]

Rwa lo was famed for the efficacy of his powers, and he attracted many wealthy dharma patrons from all over Tibet. According to historical accounts researched by Vitali (1996:335–338), and as recounted by Tāranātha, Rwa lo's translation projects were sponsored by the kings of Pu rangs and Mnga' ris,[146] who provided him with much gold. He used this gold to pay for his teachers and to support the *vihāra*s of Magadha, such as

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[140] *Gshin rje chos 'byung*, p. 93–94.
[141] 'Jam mgon A mes zhabs, *Dpal gshin rje'i gshed skor gyi dam pa'i chos 'byung.*
[142] Among other people allegedly killed by Rwa lo through the use of black magic were Mar pa's son Dar ma mdo sde and 'Brog mi Jo sras Indra and his brother Jo sras Rdo rje, see *Gshin rje chos 'byung*, pp. 100–101.
[143] *khyod nub kyi rigs su sha chang la longs spyod/ skabs su mi'i la mthu gtad btang nas gsod/ lkog tu bud med bsten pas gzhan gyi mkhan po byas na bstan pa la gnod zer zhing/ gzhan yang mang po'i gseb tu chos gtam la bsnyad btags ngan smras mang du byas pa/* A mes zhabs's *Gshin rje chos 'byung*, p. 17.
[144] *sha chang za ba tshogs kyi 'khor lo yin/ dam nyams gsod pa sngags kyi dam tshig yin/ bud med bsten pa las kyi phyag rgya yin/ de bas dam nyams log lta can khyod kyang/ zhag bdun tho rangs gshegs su gsol bar bya/* A mes zhabs's *Gshin rje chos 'byung*, p. 17
[145] *gsungs pas/ mkhan po de zhag bdun na lus ngag yid gsum rengs nas 'das/* A mes zhabs's *Gshin rje chos 'byung*, p. 17.
[146] See *Gshin rje chos 'byung*, p. 93–94.

Uddaṇḍapura, Vikramaśīla, and Nālandā.[147] Rwa lo's most significant legacy was the restoration of a damaged Bsam yas monastery. According to Tāranātha's report of this event, Pe har—the protector of Bsam yas—ran away, afraid of Rwa lo's wrath, but eventually returned and was bound to him under oath.[148] Rwa lo's teachings attracted many followers: a typical number of disciples who came to receive his instructions on a daily basis was several hundreds.[149] There were also eight hundred tantric practitioners distributing Rwa lo's translations of Vajrabhairava and more than one thousand monks distributing and collecting his writings over and over again.[150] Since he demanded a huge amount of offerings and donations for his tantric teachings, ordinary persons could not afford them.[151]

Rwa lo's main place of activity in Tibet is believed to be the Rdzong ri ruins of Ldan[152] (Hazod 2004:35). According to an oral tradition, Rwa lo established a monastery, called the "mother monastery" Ma dgon pa (*ibid.*). Rwa lo's *rnam thar* (270.9–16)[153] informs us that Rwa lo came to Ldan and established a meditation place on the top of the Sngon po gdong mountain of Ldan mda', which is described "as a blue-faced mountain whose battlements are like erected weapon and armour" (Hazod 2004:36). According to the *Gshin rje chos 'byung*, quoting a testimony of 'Khon Rin po che, Rwa lo passed away in Ldan, where he had also completed a commentary on the *Kṛṣṇayamāri* (*ibid*.).

Among the forms of Vajrabhairava especially associated with the Rwa lugs in Tibet are the 13-Deity Vajrabhairava, the "Solitary Hero" Vajrabhairava, and Vajrabhairava surrounded by eight zombies (*vetāla*s) and thirty-two weapons. The Rwa

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[147] *Gshin rje chos 'byung*, p. 94.
[148] *Gshin rje chos 'byung*, p. 107–108.
[149] *chos nyan pa po brgya phrag du ma rgyun mi 'chad*/ *Gshin rje chos 'byung*, p. 106.
[150] *sngags pa dpe 'grems brgyad brgya dang btsun pa dpe 'grems stong nyis brgya re yang yang 'dus, Gshin rje chos 'byung,* f. 106.
[151] *sngags chos la mchod pa dang yon chen po dgos pas*/ *phal pa cig gis mi 'grub*/ *Gshin rje chos 'byung,* p. 106.
[152] Hazod (2004:34) gives the following description of the contemporary geographical location of ancient Ldan: "Ldan is part of the Brag dkar zhol commune, which is part of Dar rgyas, one of the nine xiang (districts) of sTag rtse county (*xian*) […]. The valley included three village communities (*grong tsho*), Dara, Lamako and Yudrugko […]."
[153] Rwa Ye shes seng ge's *Rwa lo tsā ba rnam thar* (mThu stobs dbang phyug rje btsun rva lo tsā ba'i rnam thar pa kun khyab snyan pa'i rnga sgra). Xining: mTsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1997.

lugs tradition of Vajrabhairava was transmitted through various teachers in the Tibetan Sa skya and Dge lugs schools (see below).

1.6. Vajrabhairava in the the Sa skya Tradition

Vajrabhairava has been an important deity in the Sa skya tradition. The great significance attached to this deity can be evinced by the proliferation of *thangka*s commissioned by the Sa skya pa masters to commemorate various Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka lineage transmissions received by the masters of this school throughout its history.[154] In the year 1633, A mes zhabs Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams (1597–1659), who was himself initiated into the Vajrabhairava Rwa lugs through Mkhan chen thams cad mkhyen pa Ngag dbang chos grags (1572–1641) and Spyan snga Rin po che Kun dga' don grub from Lo dgon pa in Bya yul (Dbus), composed the above-mentioned *Gshin rje chos 'byung*, which together with Tāranātha's work constitutes one of our main sources on the transmission of the VBhT in Tibet. It contains historiographical material related to the lines of transmissions of the Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka cycle embodied in various lineages, legacies, textual histories, and practices from the perspective of the Sa skya pas.

The earliest and most popular transmission received by the Sa skya pas in the 12th century was the Rwa lugs form of Vajrabhairava surrounded by eight zombies (*rdo rje 'jigs byed ro lang brgyad skor*). The names of the lineage-holders match the names of the masters associated with the Western Rwa lugs tradition of Vajrabhairava (see Diagram 6) up to Rwa 'Bum seng ge.[155] Rwa 'Bum seng ge passed down the teachings to the famous Klog skya Dbang phyug grags pa (12th century), a student of Btsum rin po che Grags pa rgyal mtshan, the third patriarch of the Sa skya tradition.[156] This particular "Klog skya" transmission lineage, characterised as descending from master to disciple in an uninterrupted line of succession, has continued through various generations of Sa skya

[154] On the 15th century *thangka* featuring Vajrabhairava and commemorating the transmission of the Rwa lineage of Vajrabhairava to the Sa skya pas, see Jackson 1990:137, 1996:84.
[155] The *Thob yig* by Ngor chen (p. 176) reports the following lineage of the Rwa tradition of Vajrabhairava surrounded by eight zombies: Vajrabhairava, Jñānaḍākinī, Lalitavajra, Amoghavajra, Jñānākaragupta, Padmavajra, Dīpaṅkararakṣita (i.e., Mahākaruṇa), Rwa lo tsā ba rdo rje grags, Rwa Chos rab, Rwa Ye shes seng ge, Rwa 'Bum seng.
[156] See A mes zhabs, *Sa skya'i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod* (p. 76).

patriarchs.[157] The teachings passed down in the Rwa Sa skya lineage also included the empowerment of the three cycles of Kṛṣṇayamāri according to the [Western] Rwa tradition (*rwa lugs kyi gshin rje gshed nag po'i skor gsum gyi dbang*), the Instructions on the *sampanna-krama* of Vajrabhairava (*rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi rdzogs rim gyi khrid*), and the Rwa practice instructions (*khrid*) of the Ḍākinī Hearing Lineage (*rwa khrid mkha' 'gro snyan rgyud*).

The 13-Deity Vajrabhairava according to the Rwa lugs was received by the Sa skya pas in the 13th century. Ngor chen's list of "Teachings Received" (*thob yig*) records the lineage [158] that matches the list of Indian and Tibetan masters associated with Vajrabhairava and eight zombies transmission only until Rwa 'Bum seng ge. The 13-Deity lineage continued through Rong pa Rgwa lo of Dben dmar Monastery[159] and Rong

[157] The names of the masters from Rwa 'Bum seng up to Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po given in Ngor chen's *Thob yig* and A mes zhabs's *Gshin rje chos 'byung* are identical, and both sources list the following transmission lineage: Rwa 'Bum seng, Klog Skya dbang phyug grags pa, Ldong ston Shes rab dpal (13th c.), 'Phags pa Rin po che**,** Zhang master, Dkon mchog dpal (13th c.), Na bza' brag phug pa Bsod nams dpal (13th–14th c.), Bla ma dam pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan (1312–1375), the 14th abbot of the Sa skya monastery, Mkhan chen byang chub bzang po, the 13th century founder of the Rgyal gling tshogs pa monastery, Chos rje ye shes rgyal mtshan (1359–1406), Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po. While the list of masters in the *Thob yig* ends with Ngor chen, A mes zhabs reports that the lineage until the 17th passed down from Ngor chen further to Kun dga' bkra shis (1558–1603), the fourteenth abbot of Ngor.

[158] The *Thob yig* records the lineage of the Rwa lugs' 13-Deity Vajrabhairava in the Sa skya tradition as follows: Vajrabhairava, Jñānaḍākinī, Lalitavajra, Amoghavajra, Jñānākaragupta, Padmavajra, Dīpaṅkararakṣita, Rwa lo tsā ba rdo grags, Rwa lo Chos rab, Rwa Ye shes seng ge, Rwa 'Bum seng, Rong pa Rgwa lo, Rong pa Shes rab geng, Nyang stod 'Phags pa, Bla ma Grags chen, Kun mkhyen Gangs pa, Ma ti Paṇ chen, Sa bzang 'Phags pa, Ngor chen.

[159] Rnam rgyal rdo rje (1203–1282), a student of Rwa 'bum seng, who became identified as the incarnation of Khams pa Rgwa lo, was also given the name [Rong pa] Rgwa lo (*khams pa rgwa lo'i skye ba yin pas mtshan yang rgwa lor btags*/ *Gshin rje,* p. 125). Rong pa Rgwa lo was one of the most important figures in the transmission of the Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka cycle in Tibet and appears to be a member of a powerful family with strong political associations, including a paternal ancestor, named Gzhon nu snying po who belonged to one of the eight lineages of Chinese priests of Mi nyag that settled down in Yar 'brog in Central Tibet. He was invited by Sam shi—the minister of the king Khri srong lde btsan—to become the officiating priest (*mchod gnas*) of the king himself. See also *Deb ther sngon po* ('Gos lo 1984:924–926; Roerich 1996: II 789–790). Rgwa lo attended several famous masters, such as Kashmiri *paṇḍita* Śākyaśrī, Dpyal lo tsā ba, Sa skya Paṇḍita, and the Newar *paṇḍita* Vibhūticandra. Rgwa lo invited Vibhūticandra to his monastery Rong Dben dmar in Gtsang and to Kyog po and Sham bhar monasteries, where he requested from him all the empowerments and pith instructions of the Kālacakra ('Gos lo 1984: 987; Roerich 1996:796; Stearns 1996:146). Rgwa lo's perilous ordeals with the wrathful *rgyal po* spirits that were jeopardizing his efforts of receiving the transmission of Yamāntaka from Dpyal lo are recorded in the *Dpal chen rgwa lo'i rnam thar*.

pa Shes rab seng ge[160], and then through Ma ti paṇ chen/Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1294–1376) and Sa bzang ’phags pa (1358–1424), reaching Ngor chen Kun ’dga bzang po.

Even though the Sa skya masters were loyal to the original teachings handed down in the Rwa transmission as evidenced by A mes zhabs’s *chos ’byung* (pp. 125–129), they also introduced important changes. In this regard, Thar rtse Nam mkha’ dpal bzang (1532–1602), the thirteenth abbot of Ngor, and his direct disciple Shar chen Kun dga’ bkra shis (1558–1603), the fourteenth abbot of Ngor, introduced “the permission to practise the death rituals” (*las gshin gyi rjes gnang*), and the “instructions on the *sampanna-krama* according to the systems of Rwa and Skyo”. Another transmission that became a part of Ngor’s Vajrabhairava legacy was a collection of pith instructions on the nine-deity *maṇḍala* practice of Vajrabhairava, *Rdo rje ’jigs byed kyi man ngag phyogs sdeb*,[161] written by Dpal ’dzin grags pa (14th–15th c.), known as ’Bri gung pa Dpal ’dzin. The Sa skya pas had also adopted a practice centered on focusing the mind on the horn-tips of [Vajra]bhairava, that was based on the manual of the Skyo ’Od ’byung tradition.[162]

One of the most important masters in the Sa skya Vajrabhairava lineage was ’Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1235–1280), also known as Chos rgyal ’Phags pa,[163] the seventh patriarch of the Sa skya monastery and a powerful member of the ’Khon family. He earned his fame in the Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhist history as a national preceptor (*guoshi*), and then, as imperial preceptor (*dishi*)[164] of the Mongol emperor Kublai Khan (1260–1294)—the founder of the Yuan dynasty in China. ’Phags pa—

[160] Rong pa Shes rab seng ge was the second son of Rong pa Rgwa lo who, just like his father, spent the most part of his life in the monastery of Dben dmar in Rong (Gtsang province). He travelled extensively to various monasteries where he taught different tantric texts and philosophical doctrines (’Gos lo 1984:926–927; Roerich 1996: II 791–792).

[161] The BDRC (W3CN2615) has a scanned copy of this text, which consists of a handwritten manuscript by ’Bri gung pa Dpal ’dzin himself, but access to this text is restricted.

[162] Rinpoche 2016:175. See, for example *’Jigs byed kyi rwa rtse sems ’dzin skyo lugs kyi brgyud ’debs* in Kun dga’ bzang po’s *Gsung ’bum*, ff. 23r–23v (pp. 45–46), Sakya Centre, Dehra dun, 199?

[163] For the biographies of ’Phags pa, see *Lam ’bras bla ma brgyud pa’i rnam thar* by Sher chen Ye shes Rgyal mtshan of the Kha volume of the *Sa skya pa’i chos kyi snying po Bi ru pa’i gsung ngag lam ’bras rin po che.* Another *rnam thar* dealing with ’Phags pa’s biography is the *Sa skya gdung rab chen po rin chen bang mdzod* by A mes zhabs.

[164] According to Petech (1990:36–37), ’Phags pa received the office of national preceptor in 1261 and imperial preceptor in 1269 and 1270.

whose relationship with Kublai was modelled on the patron-lama (*yon mchod*)[165] liaison—acted as the Mongols' proxy in Tibet and was in charge of religious institutions throughout the Mongol empire. More importantly, he occupied the office of royal religious officiant (*mchod gnas*) and was responsible for granting the emperor tantric initiation rituals (*abhiṣeka*). 'Phags pa seemed to have had a determining influence on Kublai and the religious practices in his court, despite some scholars claiming otherwise.[166] The *Tibetan Script Edict* (*'Ja sa bod yig ma*)—one of the two edicts concerned with the status of monks issued by Kublai—records that 'Phags pa granted three tantric initiations to Kublai in 1253.[167] Kublai was considered an incarnation of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī,[168] through which his spiritual and political authority was consolidated in accord with the Buddhist ideology of "bodhisattva-cracy" (Seyfort Ruegg 2004:2). The cult of Vajrabhairava, a wrathful form of Mañjuśrī, was certainly popularised in the Mongolian court of Kublai during the Yuan period and there are

[165] For the *mchod yon* relationship, see Seyfort Ruegg 1995, 2003.

[166] Petech (1993:651) states that 'Phags pa was "just a tool utilized by Qubilai to implement a policy of control without conquest". Similarly, Wylie (1977:331) argues that Kublai has chosen 'Phags pa form "a centralized form of hierocratic government in Tibet". Shen Weirong (2004:196) says that "control of Tibet" was the main objective of Kublai's association with 'Phags pa. For the opposite view supporting 'Phags pa's influential position at the Yuan court, see Franke (1978, 1981) and Smith (2009).

[167] See A mes zhabs (2012:124), records the receipt of tantric empowerment by Kublai in the Female Water Ox Year when 'Phags pa was nineteen years old, but without mentioning the details. The Shang lo tsā ba Shes rab rin chen confirms that it was a Hevajra initiation (Shes rab rin chen, *Dpal ldan sa skya'i gdung rabs 'dod dgu'i rgya mtsho*, p. 20).

[168] There are various historical sources that confirm the fact that Kublai was regarded as an incarnation of Mañjuśrī. First is the inscription composed by Tugh Temür featured on the Juyongguan gate, north of the Yuan capital of Dadu (modern Beijing), which states that Kublai fulfilled a prophesy according to which Mañjuśrī would incarnate on the Mount Wutai in China (see Berger 1994:106). Another textual genre that attests to this attribution are Tibetan historiographical sources: in the *rnam thar* of U rgyan pa Rin chen dpal (1229–1309), written by Bsod nams 'Od zer (13th century), U rgyan pa states that Kublai was an incarnation of Mañjuśrī (p. 176). The second Tibetan source is Tshal pa's biography of Smon lam rdo rje (1284–1346/47), in which we find a description of Kublai as a "wondorous manifestation of Mañjuśrī" (see Debreczeny 2011:22–23, quoting van der Kuijp 2010, n. 89). For the discussion of the theory that only the 16th century sources describe Kublai as the incarnation of Mañjuśrī, see Tuttle (2011:163–214).

reasons to believe it was 'Phags pa or his direct disciples who introduced this cult there.[169]

'Phags was a lineage-holder of the [Western] Rwa lugs transmission of Vajrabhairava through Rong po Rgwa lo and his son, Rong pa Shes rab seng ge. According to A mes zhabs, Rgwa lo remained in a close educational relationship with 'Phags pa for about two decades,[170] but it was Ldon ston Shes rab dpal (13th century),[171] the teacher in the lineage of Rwa 'Bum seng and Klog skya Dbang phyug grags pa, who bestowed on 'Phags pa the Rwa transmission of Vajrabhairava.[172] 'Phags pa composed at least one *sādhana* of Vajrabhairava based on the teachings of Rwa lo tsā ba,[173] which deals with the generation of oneself as a solitary hero form of Vajrabhairava (Fig.3). 'Phags pa was also a recipient of the Raktayamāri cult of the *mahāsiddha* Virūpa in the

[169] According to the *Fozu lidai tongzai*, vol. 49, chap. 22, pp. 729–730, the cult of Yamāntaka was introduced to China in the early Yuan dynasty by a disciple of 'Phags pa whose transliterated name reads Ji-ning Sha-luo-ba-guan zhao (see Watt and Wardwell 1997:95).

[170] *'phags pa rin po che sogs bla ma* [*i.e., Rgwa lo*] *bcu phrag gnyis tsam zhig bsten nas*/ *Gshin rje,* p. 125.

[171] Ldong ston Shes rab dpal, also called the 'Blind master', met 'Phags pa when he was 23 years old. 'Phags pa arrived at Ldon ston's invitation when he was residing at Mount Wutai in China and received Yamāri teachings from him (Rinpoche 2016:67). Ldon ston Shes rab dpal is better known as a scholar who had contributed to the development of Sa skya epistemology: see van der Kuijp 1986:51–64.

[172] *yang rwa 'bum seng nas glog skya dbang phyug grags*/ *des rwa rgya ldong gsum grub mtha' gcig ces grags pa'i nang tshan ldong ston shes rab dpal la gnang*/ *de la bla chen 'phags pas 'jigs byed rwa lugs gsan nas*/ *Gshin rje,* p. 126.

[173] The information that 'Phags pa composed a *sādhana* of Vajrabhairava based on the teachings of Rwa lo tsā ba is given in the colophon of the text entitled "The Light that Destroys Māra, the Sādhana of the Rwa Tradition of Śrī Vajrabhairava" (*dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed rwa lugs kyi sgrub thabs bdud 'joms snang ba zhes bya ba bzhugs so*), written by Dkon mchog Lhun grub (1497–1557). The *Light that Destroys Māra* identifies itself a text based on the Vajrabhairava *sādhana* composed earlier by Chos rgal 'Phags pa (*chos rgyal 'phags pa mdzad pa'i sgrub thabs la gzhi byas)* with reference to the works of Rwa lo tsā ba (*rje btsun rwa lo tsā ba chen po'i gsung rab la yang gtugs shin tu dag par*). The Tibetan text has been published in 1978 as *Dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed rwa lugs kyi sgrub thabs bdud 'joms snang ba. A sādhana practice focusing upon Vajrabhairava according to the Rwa tradition transmitted among the Ngor pa by Ngor chen Dkon mchog lhun grub*, T.G. Dhongthog Rimpoche, New Delhi. The preface to the modern edition says that this particular practice is widely spread among the Sa skya. The same text has been published in English translation by Lama Migmar Tseten (2018) as *Sri Vajrabhairava Sadhana*.

lineage of Glo bo lo tsā ba Shes rab rin chen,[174] the 13th century translator from the Mustang area (*glo bo*), who appears to have granted him the Yamāntaka initiation.[175]

Although there is no evidence that 'Phags pa ever conferred a Vajrabhairava initiation on Kublai, we know that such initiations were conducted for the Yuan dynasty by the imperial preceptors in later years. The first Taidung emperor, Yesün Temür, was granted the Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka initiation by the imperial preceptor in 1324, and his wife in 1326.[176] It is plausible that the same preceptor performed a Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka *abhiṣeka* on Tugh Temür (great-great grandson of Kublai Khan and the emperor of the Yuan dynasty from 1328–1332) and his wife Budhashiri in 1329, for it is also known that Tugh Temür was bestowed two tantric initiations as an emperor, however no details of those have been given (Watt and Wardwell 1997:98). The evidence in support of the theory that it was the Vajrabhairava initiation that was conferred on Tugh Temür, and possibly on Kublai as well, is the existence of the *kesi*-silk tapestry *thangka* (now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York) designed in the 14th c. Sa skya style,[177] usually commissioned for imperial initiation rituals[178] (see Fig. 1). The *kesi* features a nine-headed, thirty-four armed and sixteen-legged Vajrabhairava as the

[174] The *Deb ther sngon po* ('Gos lo 1984:460; Roerich 1996:379) is quite explicit in stating that Glo bo lo tsā ba received the teachings on the Red Yamāntaka of the Virūpa lineage from Darpaṇācārya and Bharendra and spread them in Central Tibet. According to A mes zhabs, Glo bo lo tsā ba was a prolific translator of the Red Yamāntaka tantras attributed to Śrīdhara, Virūpa, and a certain Yogeśvara. He also translated and disseminated thirteen works of Śrīdhara dealing with the ritual practices of the Red Yamāntaka. All of these texts were translated in collaboration with Darpaṇācārya. However, only seven works attributed to Śrīdhara and translated by Glo bo in collaboration with Darpaṇācārya have been identified so far. These are: 1) **Caturyogatattvanāmasvādhiṣṭhānopadeśa* (Rnal 'byor bzhi'i de kho na nyid ces bya ba rang byin gyis brlab pa'i man ngag, Toh. 2025); 2) *Raktayamāryādhiṣṭhānādeśana* (Gshin rje mthar byed dmar po'i byin gyis brlab pa'i rim pa, Toh. 2038); 3) *Rakṣacakrādhiṣṭhānapṛṣṭyopadeśa* (Srung ba'i 'khor lo'i byin brlab dang phyir bzlog pa'i man ngag, Toh. 2045); 4) *Svacittordhvasaṃkrāntyupadeśādhiṣṭhānasaṃyuktā* (Rang gi sems gong du 'pho ba'i man ngag byin brlab dang bcas pa, Toh. 2041); 5) *Agnidevapūjā* (Me'i lha mchod pa, Toh. 2043); 6) *Adhiṣṭhānakrama* (Byin gyis brlab pa'i rim pa, Toh. 2042); 7) *Śrīraktayamārimantrasiddhisādhana* (*Dpal gshin rje gshed dmar po'i sngags kyi dngos grub sgrub pa'i thabs*).

[175] *'phags pa rin po che'i bla ma yang yin pa glo bo lo tsa ba shes rab rin chen gyis/ 'gro mgon sa pa la gnang ba sogs nas 'phel ba yin te/. Gshin rje,* p. 134.

[176] For the details of these initiations described in the *Yuanshi*, see Watt and Wardwell 1997:99, fn. 15.

[177] For the Sa skya-style *thangkas*, see Pal 1984.

[178] Watt and Wardwell 1997:98.

central figure of the *maṇḍala,* surrounded by 48 attendant deities. This configuration suggests the 49-Deity form of Vajrabhairava according to the Zhang lugs (see Plate 1). The position of Vajrabhairava's first pairs of legs shows him in a dancing pose, perhaps to mirror the Rwa lugs' description of Vajrabhairava possessing nine moods (*rasa*) of dance (*gar dgu'i ro dang ldan pa nyid*).[179] The dancing pose appears on some of the Sa skya forms of Vajrabhairava (see Fig. 2), which distinguishes it from the Dge lugs pa ones, devoid of this feature. Depicted in the lower corners on the left and right sides are small-scale portraits of donors identified by the Tibetan inscriptions above as portraits of Tugh Temür and Khoshila—an elder brother of Tugh who briefly assumed the throne in 1329—and their respective wives, Budhashiri and Babusha (Watt and Wardwell 1997:95). The upper strip features fourteen figures. It has been suggested that they represent the masters of the Sa skya lineage (Leonov 1997:100). The fourth figure in the row, wearing the characteristic elongated red hat of the Sa skya pas, could represent either the founder of the Sa skya monastery, Dkon mchog rgyal po, his son Kun dga' snying po, or 'Phags pa himself (*ibid*.).

If the Yuan emperors were familiar with the cult of Vajrabhairava, could it be possible that the king Kṛtanagara of Siṅhasāri (r. 1268–1292), who had defied Kublai Khan and thus provoked a Mongol naval expedition against his kingdom, had been acquainted with Vajrabhairava as well? It is generally accepted that Kṛtanagara adopted esoteric forms of Buddhism in order to imitate Kublai's tantric initiations on the one hand, and to accumulate powerful tantric technologies capable of protecting his country against Kublai's invasion of Java, on the other.[180] There is a discrepancy in academic circles regarding the tantric tradition that Kṛtanagara had adopted. Moens (1924:544) opted for the Kālacakra tradition, which Nihom (1986) has shown to be untenable, and argued that Kṛtanagara was initiated into a Hevajra cult in reaction to the tantric empowerments of Kublai. On the other hand, Lokesh Chandra (1995:156–57) has proposed the GS. More recent scholarship (Acri and Wenta, forthcoming), however, has made a case for Kṛtanagara's adoption of a syncretic (and strongly martial) cult of Bhairava-Mahākāla located at the intersection of Śaiva and Buddhist religious domains.

[179] See Tseten 2018:37.
[180] See Moens 1924:544; Berg 1965:99; Lokesh Chandra 1995:156–157, Nihom 1986:497; Bade 2016.

Since there is art historical evidence that Northeastern Indian and/or Newar artists were hosted at the court of Kṛtanagara to produce Buddhist statuary (in particular, icons of Bhairava, Amoghapāśa, and other tantric Buddhist deities), it is not impossible that one or more Indian masters affiliated to one of the lineages of the Vajrabhairava tradition were hired by him to perform initiation and possibly rituals against his enemies. That Buddhist masters from India travelled extensively and their services were sought after by Southeast Asian monarchs is suggested by a graffiti inscription recording the presence (or passage) at the Karimun islands in Sumatra of the Indian *paṇḍita* Gautamaśrī, who hailed from Bengal and was active in Tibet and China around the middle of the 13th century (Sinclair 2019). Gautamaśrī is identified in Tibetan lineage texts as an expert in many tantric texts and practices, which he taught to Tibetan disciples, and which were adopted by the subsequent Sas kya pa tradition. In 1253 a lama of the Sa skya pas, Dam pa Kun dga' grags (1230–1303),[181] met and studied with Gautamaśrī, and later performed war magic for Kublai, whom he helped to establish the Yuan dynasty (*ibid*.). Although the evidence is only circumstantial, these links suggest that a transmission of Vajrabhairava or Yamāri teachings to Java and China via either of these two masters or both is not outside the realm of possibility.

1.7.Vajrabhairava in the Dge lugs pa Tradition

Vajrabhairava is equally important in the Dge lugs pa tradition. The founder of the reformist Dge lugs pa school, Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa (1357–1419), popularised the cult of Vajrabhairava in the 14th century Tibet and institutionalised Vajrabhairava, the wrathful form of Mañjuśrī, as one of the three main practices in the Dge lugs pa tradition.[182] Moreover, the form of Yama Dharmarāja, known also as Kālarūpa (Fig. 5), is one of the three protective deities (*dharmapāla*s) within the Dge lugs pa tradition, along with Ṣaḍbhuja Mahākāla and Vaiśravaṇa riding a lion.

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[181] For the biography of Dam pa Kun dga' grags, see Tan-pa, a Tibetan Lama at the Court of the Great Khans in Franke, *China under the Mongol Rule*, pp. 156–178.

[182] The other two being the GS and *Cakrasaṃvara*. Tsong kha pa commissioned the construction of three-dimensional *maṇḍala*s of the GS, *Vajrabhairava*, and *Cakrasaṃvara* in the principal Dge lugs pa monastery, Dga' ldan, which were installed in 1417. This has been regarded by the tradition as Tsong kha pa's fourth great deed (Repo 2011). See https://treasuryoflives.org/biographies/view/Tsongkhapa-Lobzang-Drakpa/8986

Tsong kha pa belonged to the [Western] Rwa Tradition of Vajrabhairava[183] through his Bka' gdams pa master Chos rje Don grub rin chen (1309–1385), who received the Vajrabhairava transmission from Sman dge Ye shes dpal ba, known also as Bla ma Ye shes dpal. Chos rje Don grub rin chen was the founder and the first abbot of the Bya khyung theg chen yon tan dar rgyas gling Monastery. According to hagiographies of Tsong kha pa composed by his disciples, Don grub rin chen was visited by the deity Vajrabhairava, who commanded him to take care of a child named Kun dga' snying po (who later became known as Tsong kha pa).[184]

The practice of Vajrabhairava has been an important part of Tsong kha pa's tantric *sādhana* since his initation by Don grub rin chen (Jinpa 2019:304). The *Very Secret Biography of Tsongkhapa* composed by Mkhas grub rje Dge legs dpal bzang (1385–1438), one of Tsong kha pa's closest disciples, who was bestowed Vajrabhairava initiation by Tsong kha pa,[185] reports that his teacher had a vision of Vajrabhairava in the year 1394. This incident triggered him to enact a daily practice focused on the generation-stage of the deity Vajrabhairava.[186] When Tsong kha pa was residing in retreat on the slopes of the Mount 'Od lde gung rgyal in the 'Ol kha Valley, he composed a *sādhana* of the "Solitary Hero" Vajrabhairava,[187] entitled *Complete Victory over the*

[183] The Vajrabhairava lineage recorded in Tsong kha pa's *Casket of Jewels* gives the following transmission sequence: 1. Vajrabhairava, 2. Jñānaḍākinī, 3. Lalitavajra, 4. Amoghavajra, 5. Jñānākaragupta, 6. Padmavajra, 7. Dipaṅkararakṣita, 8. Rwa lo tsā ba rdo rje grags, 9. Rwa Chos Rab, 10. Rwa Ye shes seng ge, 11. Rwa 'Bum seng ge, 12. Rgwa lo tsā ba rnam rgyal rdo rje, 13. Rong pa Shes rab seng ge, 14. Bla ma Ye shes dpal, 15. Chos rje Don grub rin chen, 16. Rje Tsong kha pa. After Tsong kha pa, the lineage continued to 17. Mkhas grub Dge legs dpal bzang, 18. Ba so Chos kyi rgyal mtshan, 19. Grub chen Chos kyi rdo rje, 20. Dben sa pa Blo bzang don grub, 21. Mkhas grub Sangs rgyas ye shes, 22. Paṇ chen Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan; see Sopa (2004:523).

[184] Ary 2015:24.

[185] This information is given in an inscription of a painting held in the collection of Shelley and Donald Rubin (HAR 56) depicting Mkhas grub's vision of Tsong kha pa after his death, which reads: *rje btsun chos kyi rgyal po tsong kha pas/ rdo rje 'jigs byed dbang dang gdams pa gnang/ phyag drug mgon po bsnyen bsgrub be bum la/ lhad zhugs bsal mdzad mkhas grub dge legs dpal//* Debreczeny (2011:68). For Mkhas grub's five visions of Tsong kha pa after his death, see Charleux (2011).

[186] See Mkhas grub rje dge legs dpal bzang, *Rje btsun bla ma tsong kha pa chen po'i ngo mtshar rmad du byung ba'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i 'jug ngogs*, 179.2–180.2 In: *The Collected Works of Rje Tsongkha pa bla bzang grags pa*, vol. 1., pp. 1–143. On the motif of Vajrabhairava intervening on Tsong kha pa's behalf in Tsong kha pa's biography, see Ary 2015:113.

[187] Jinpa 2019:305. See the colophon of the *'Jigs byed kyi sgrub thabs bdud las rnam rgyal,* in vol. 10, pp. 511–542 of Tsong kha pa's *Collected Works* (*gsung 'bum*) (BDRC no. W22273).

Demons (*'Jigs byed kyi sgrub thabs bdud las rnam rgyal*). To this day this treatise serves as the basis for many *sādhana*s dedicated to the solitary hero form of Vajrabhairava within the Dge lugs pa tradition,[188] including the empowerments conducted for the public by H.H. the 14th Dalai Lama.[189] The "Solitary Hero" Vajrabhairava gained special prominence in the Dge lugs pa funerary rites of cremation. An example of such a crematory manual is the *'Jigs byed dpa' bo gcig pa la brten pa'i sku gsung sreg chog* written for the cremation of Khri chen mchog sprul Blo bzang 'phrin las rgya mtsho.[190]

In the year 1418, Tsong kha pa composed *The Jewel Casket: The Sādhana of the 13-Deity Vajrabhairava* (*Rdo rje 'jigs byed lha bcu gsum ma'i sgrub thabs rin po che'i za ma tog bkod pa*)[191] based on the methods of the Rwa and Gnyos lugs. The arrangement of the twelve deities in the *maṇḍala* around the central figure of Vajrabhairava along with the deities' respective names closely resembles the exposition of the Indian exegetical tradition, especially those of *Śoṇaśrī/*Vajrasiddha, and *Kṛṣṇācārya, the recipients of the same oral transmission (see p. 223 of this thesis). One element that differs in Tsong kha pa's version is the depiction of Vajrabhairava in union (*yab yum*) with a consort Vajravetālī (see Fig. 6).

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[188] For example, The Seventh Dalai Lama composed *The Self-Initiation Portion of the Ekavīravajrabhairava Maṇḍalavidhi Called "Triumph Over Māra* (*Rgyal ba bskal bzang rgya mtsho'i gsung rdo rje 'jigs byed dpa bog cig pa bdud las rnam rgyal gyi dkyil chog la bdag 'jug bya tshul 'don sgrigs nag po*), which was based on Tsong kha pa's *Victory over All Demons*. For more contemporary treatises, see, for example, *The Extensive Sādhana of Solitary Hero Yamantaka entitled Victory over Demons* composed by Pha Bong kha pa Bde chen Snying po (1978–1941), a Dge lugs pa bla ma of the modern era, translated by David Gonzalez (Dechen Ling Press, 2011). One of the most influential contemporary propagator of the Solitary Vajrabhairava practice was Skyabs Rje dge legs Rin po che (1939–2017), who saw himself as a descendant of the Tsong kha pa's lineage. He frequently taught this practice around the world; see https://www.tsemrinpoche.com/download/Tantra/en/Gelek%20Rinpoche%20-%20Solitary%20Yamantaka%20Teachings.pdf

[189] On the 21st January 2018, H.H. the 14th Dalai Lama conferred The Solitary Hero Vajrabhairava Empowerment to a public audience in Bodhgāyā, India, where he stressed the fact that this particular *sādhana* is derived from Rje Tsong kha pa's personal experience of Mañjuśrī-Vajrabhairava. See https://www.dalailama.com/news/2018/solitary-hero-vajrabhairava-empowerment.

[190] See *'Jigs byed dpa' bo gcig pa la brten pa'i sku gsung sreg chog*, pp. 709–718 in vol. 2 of *Collected Works* (*gsung 'bum*) of Shes rab rgya mtsho.

[191] See pp. 475–510 of vol. 10 in the *Collected Works*. This text has been partly translated into English as *A Casket of Jewels: Meditiation on the Thirteen Deity Glorious Vajrabhairava by Je Tsongkhapa* (San Jose: Gyuto Vajrayana Center, 2009).

Both the "Solitary Hero" and the 13-Deity forms of Vajrabhairava became an important part of tantric practice for the monastics following Tsong kha pa's tradition. In the principal Dge lugs pa monastery, Dga' ldan, Tsong kha pa erected a large statue of Vajrabhairava and introduced a mandatory practice of the 13-Deity Vajrabhairava for all adult monks residing there.[192] Tsong kha pa seems to have also systematised Vajrabhairava's iconography in which some heads are positioned at the back. This iconographic variant, although not found uniformily in all the Dge lugs pa forms of Vajrabhairava, was reportedly based on Tsong kha pa's meditative vision (see Fig. 7).[193]

Vajrabhairava also played an important part in the foundation of 'Bras spungs, another principal Dge lugs pa monastery. According to the *Gshin rje chos 'byung*, the relics of Rwa lo tsā ba were brought from Ldan (where Rwa lo died) to 'Brag spungs in the year 1416 (the founding year of the 'Bras spungs monastery), where they were used as an inner support (*nang rten*) for the statue of Vajrabhairava (Hazod 2004:36), known as "Dharmarāja with the Iron Chain" Chos rgyal lcags thag ma gshin rje gshed.[194] The person who initiated this transfer was Phag gru sne'u rdzong pa Drung chen Nam mkha' bzang po, the patron of Tsong kha pa and the early Dge lugs pas (*ibid*.).

In the 15th century, the cult of Vajrabhairava reached the Qing court of China through the Dge lugs pa masters. The Yongle emperor (r. 1402–1424), following in the footsteps of Kublai Khan, commenced the practice of inviting important religious dignitaries to his court. In both 1408 and 1413, Tsong kha pa was invited to the Qing court, but refused to undertake the trip himself. Instead, he sent his close disciple Śākya ye shes (1354–1435) (the future founder of the Se ra theg chen Monastery), who conducted tantric rituals of the GS, *Cakrasaṃvara*, and the 49-Deity Vajrabhairava (*'jigs*

[192] Jinpa 2019:298–299. The ritual manual used by all adult monks in the Dga' ldan chos 'phel gling and in majority of Dge lugs pa monasteries is Tsong kha pa's *Jewel-Casket*. The version of this text used in the Dga' ldan monastery is included in the collected rituals of Stag lung brag Bsam gtan gling monastery, entitled *Dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed lha bcu gsum ma'i bdag bskyed bum pa dbang chog smon shis dang bcas pa* (Bentor 1996:97–98).
[193] https://rubinmuseum.org/collection/artwork/vajrabhairava-with-consort-2005–25–1
[194] Sørensen and Hazod 2007, vol. I., 51; Hazod 2004:44, following Mkhyen brtse's guide; see Ferrari 1958:41 (f. 76), 97.

byed zhe dgu ma)[195] at the Qing court in the years 1415-1416. Śākya ye shes was probably responsible for introducing the practice of the "Solitary Hero" Vajrabhairava at the Qing court. The evidence of this tradition being current during the reign of the Yongle emperor is a Chinese silk-embroidery *thangka* (now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art) featuring the "Solitary Hero" Vajrabhairava (see Fig. 8). The figure in the upper right corner has been identified as Śākya Ye shes.[196] The *thangka* was probably commissioned by the Yongle emperor as a gift for Śākya ye shes to commemorate the introduction of the "Solitary Hero" Vajrabhairava to his court.[197]

During the reign of the Manchu ruler Qianlong (r. 1735–1796), the cult of Vajrabhairava was systematically integrated into the state religion as a symbolic source of legitimisation of the Qing emperors through the construction of a spatial symbolism that relied upon the establishment of correspodences between the segments of the capital city of Beijing and the three-fold Vajrabhairava *maṇḍala*.[198] Lessing (1976) identifies the statue of the "Solitary Hero" Vajrabhairava in Beihai Park as the presiding deity of the first *maṇḍala* and the protector of Beijing. He further suggests that the Taihedian or the great "Audience Hall" located in the Forbidden City was the centre of the *maṇḍala*, and that its architectural composition replicated Vajrabhairava's palace.[199] The emperor's throne situated in the middle of the Audience Hall would correspond to the seat of

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[195] Mdzad pa po mi gsal, *Byams chen chos rje'i rnam thar,* 4A, l. 2; 23 ff., scanned from a photocopy of unknown origin (BDRC W25577). I thank Sonam Tsering Ngulphu for this reference.

[196] See www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/39742.

[197] This argument is supported by another very similar embroidery *thangka* featuring Hevajra as Kapāladhara accompanied by a long inscription mentioning the Dge lugs pa lineage of Hevajra ending with Śākya Ye shes who is paid homage to by the Yongle emperor, and is given the *thangka* as a gift: see Amy Heller, "Homage by an emperor: a Yung-lo embroidery Thangka", https://www.thefreelibrary.com/Homage+by+an+emperor%3a+a+Yung-lo+embroidery+Thangka%3a+Amy+Heller...-a0189597193 (retrieved March 2020).

[198] Lessing (1976:89–90), referring to an oral tradition still validated by the contemporary Buddhist masters in Beijing (Bianchi 2008:331), identifies the sector of the Forbidden City as the first *maṇḍala* symbolizing "wisdom" (*prajñā*), the Imperial City as the second *maṇḍala* symbolizing "compassion" (*karuṇā*), and the Outer City as the third *maṇḍala* representing charnel grounds. The walls of the Foribidden City represent the *maṇḍala*'s *vajra*-fence.

[199] Bianchi (2008:333–334) points out to the discrepancy in the number of the deities surrounding the central deity Vajrabhairava in his *maṇḍala*. According to oral tradition, Vajrabhairava is accompanied by a retinue of twelve deities, suggesting the 13-Deity form of Vajrabhairava (ch. *shisan zun tancheng*), but the ceiling of the Taihedian in the Forbidden City contains only nine niches, which would house only nine out of thirteen deities.

Vajrabhairava at the centre of the *maṇḍala*; thus, the sovereign would symbolically integrate the deity's protective and wrathful aspects.

Qianlong was an especially avid patron of the Dge lugs pa cult of Vajrabhairava through his association with the Dge lugs pa master Lcang skya Khutukhtu Rol pa'i rdo rje (1717–1786; ch. *Zhangjia Ruobi duoji*),[200] the follower of Tsong kha pa's tradition.[201] The master acted as Qianlong's main advisor in Buddhist matters and later also as his imperial preceptor (*guoshi*), the tile previously bestowed on 'Phags pa during the Yuan dynasty. Like 'Phags pa before him, Rol pa'i rdo rje was responsible for conducting initiation rituals (*abhiṣeka*) and transmitting various tantric practices to the emperor, palace officials, and monks,[202] for which he was named Qianlong's "root guru" (Berger 2013:60). He reportedly transmitted the initiation manual dedicated to the 13-Deity form of Vajrabhairava to an audience of Manchus and Chinese.[203] Qianlong's devotion to the Dge lugs pa tradition of Vajrabhairava is attested in many temples in the Beijing area erected during his reign.[204] Some of them, such as the Yuhuage ("Pavillion of Raining Flowers") established by Qianlong in 1750,[205] housed three Dge lugs pa deities including Vajrabhairava intended for the private worship of the emperor and his court (Bianchi 2008:339). An annual recitation of the text on *Mahāvajrabhairavamaṇḍala* (ch. *Dabuwei tancheng jing*) was conducted at this site on the eighth day of the fourth month (*ibid.*). Other Vajrabhairava statues erected in that area were located in the Fanzonglou ("Hall of Buddhism") established by Qianlong in 1768 (*ibid*.:340).

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[200] For the biography of Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje, see Wang (1995; 2000); Illich (2006); Qin (2008).

[201] See Berger 2013:60; Charleux 2011:185.

[202] For the rituals conducted by Rol pa'i rdo rje in the context of the politics of power, see Hevia 1993.

[203] Chen Qingying and Ma Lianlong, *Zhangjia guoshi*, 186, and Wang Xiangyun, *Tibetan Buddhism*, 126, quoting the Tibetan text by Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma, 300–301; see Bianchi 2008:338.

[204] Bianchi (2008:340–342) reports the existence of a Yamāntaka Hall (Ch. *Yamendagadian*), also known as Shanyindian ("Good Causes Hall"), located in Beihai that housed the statue of Vajrabhairava. In Chanfusi ("Confering Blessing Monastery"), Vajrabhairava was celebrated during the last month every year by one hundred and eight lamas.

[205] Wang Jiapeng, "Gugong Yuhuage," p. 270. For an overview of the main altar, holding a statue and a *thangka* of each deity, see Xin *et al*. 1990:260.

One of the most important Tibetan Buddhist temples established by Qianlong in Beijing was the Yonghegong,[206] also known as the "Lama Temple", which housed a bronze statue of the "Solitary Hero" Vajrabhairava located in the Mizongdian ("Vajrayāna Hall"). The shrine also contained a statue of Tsong kha pa, as well as Vajrabhairava in the *yam yub* position (*ibid*.:344). The "Eastern Side Hall", also known as the "Hall of the Five Mahāvajras", was a shrine dedicated to the protective deities of the Dge lugs pa pantheon, which also featured Vajrabhairava with his consort Vajravetālī (*ibid*.). One of the Vajrabhairava statues originally housed in the Lama Temple and currently in the collection at the British Museum, London (see Fig. 9), has an inscription identifying the donor as the Qing emperor Jiaqing (r.1796–1820), the beloved son of Qianlong, for whom Qianlong abdicated the throne. At the back of the Yonghegong was the "Yamāntaka Tower" (ch. *Yamandagalou*) located close to the "Hall of the War God" dedicated to the Chinese god of war, Guanyu. The physical proximity of these two deities points to their martial function.[207] The Yamandagalou was a martial tower and it was used to store Qianlong's own weapons and to officiate rituals at the time of war (Berger 2003:118). Stylistic features of Vajrabhairava prominent in that period (see Fig. 11) are formalised to resemble a warrior-like figure.[208]

The rituals dedicated to Vajrabhairava continue at Yonghegong to this day. Especially worth mentioning is the Festival of Vajrabhairava's Maṇḍala (ch. *Daweide Jingang tancheng fahui*) that takes place annually during the autumn season. According to Bianchi (2008:345), the festival lasts for three days and involves the preparation of the Vajrabhairava sand *maṇḍala,* the recitation of *sādhana* texts, and fire-offerings (ch. *huogong*).

1.8. Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka in Other Parts of Asia

[206] For a recent study of Yonghegong, see Greenwood (2013). For the description of iconography, see Lessing (1942).

[207] On the special days consecrated to Guanyu, a recitation of the *sādhana* dedicated to the "Solitary Hero" Vajrabhairava as well as a text praising Guanyu was conducted in the Falundian ("Dharmacakra Hall"), emphasising the two deities' symbolic link: see Niu Song, "Yonghegong", pp. 546–547, in Bianchi 2008:345.

[208] The martial aspect of Yamāntaka has been adopted among the Mongols, i.e., the spells invoking Yamāntaka are used for adjusting one's gun, making it shoot straight (*buu-yin tarni*), and for gun incense offerings (*buu-yin sang*): see Rinchen (1959:38–40), quoted in Siklós (2004:187).

The cult of Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka became a pan-Asian phenomenon and had considerable impact on the formation of religious praxis also outside India, Tibet, and China. Unfortunately, a thorough examination of this topic is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Below I briefly mention three instances of this tradition in other parts of Asia.

The cult of Vajrabhairava was popular in the eastern region of Inner Mongolia due to the proselytising efforts[209] of Neichi Toin (1557–1653), a successful missionary lama and "a theological disciple of Paṇ chen Lama" (Heissig 2010:591) who effectively promoted the Tsong kha pa tradition of Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka. The form of Vajrabhairava that was most widely disseminated in eastern Mongolia was the 13-Deity Vajrabhairava, with the "Solitary Hero" being somewhat less common (Heissig 2010:591). The tradition of Vajrabhairava continued through Neichi's disciple, the 1st Mergen Gegen, who consolidated the tantric practice of the Mergen tradition of Vajrabhairava based on eleven works, the majority of them dedicated to the 13-Deity form of Vajrabhairava.[210] The three lineage transmissions[211] of the Mergen tradition of Vajrabhairava list Tsong kha pa and Mkhas grub rje at the very top of the Tibetan lineage, with Neichi assuming a position of the root-guru of the Mongolian Vajrabhairava lineage.

The cult of Yamāntaka was also present in the first half of the 17th century in northern Mongolia,[212] where it became enmeshed with the indigenous cult of incense

[209] Neichi's method for converting the Mongols to Buddhism was based on substituting the shamanistic pantheon of the Mongolian tribes with tantric Buddhist deities, especially Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka and (Akṣobhyavajra) Guhyasamāja. Neichi has found the 'material' argument an especially effective method of conversion: anybody who recited by heart the mantra of Yamāntaka was promised one ounce of gold. This approach was met with disapproval by the 5th Dalai Lama (1617–1682), who banished Neichi and his disciples from Eastern Mongolia (see Heissig 2010:587–596). For Neichi's activities in Eastern Mongolia, see also Siklós 1996:12–14 and Kollmar-Paulenz 2012:241–243.

[210] For a detailed list of Mergen's works on Vajrabhairava, see Ujeed 2009:179–181.

[211] Ujeed (2009:181) reports the existence of the three Mergen Gegen Vajrabhairava lineages as follows: 1) the lineage of Paṇ chen lama, 2) the lineage of the 2nd Dalai Lama, 3) the lineage of Brtson grus 'Phags pa.

[212] The cult of Yamāntaka might have arrived to the northern parts of Mongolia during the reign of Atlan Khan of the Tümed (1507–1582), who is particularly remembered for his alliance with the 1st Dalai Lama (Bsod nams rgya mtsho), then abbot of the Dge lugs pa 'Bras spungs monastery. According to the *Altan erike*, Altan Khan built a temple dedicated to Yamāntaka in Cabciyal, which was the same place where Altan Khan initially met with Bsod nams rgya mtsho;

offering of the white and black war standard (*sülde*)[213] of Genghis Khan, who was venerated as a powerful ancestor deity of the Mongol nation (Kollmar-Paulenz 2012:249). The worship of the war standard of Genghis was undertaken during the war campagins and various sacrifices, including human, were offered to the standard in order to appease the ancestor-spirit (*ibid*.). The "Hymn to Yamāntaka" (XBM 65) discovered in the Xarbuxyn Balgas collection shows striking similarity with the ritual texts dedicated to the worship of *sülde* of Genghis not only in terms of analogous textual features, but more importantly in the way in which "the representation of Yamāntaka and the *sülde* of Cinngis coincide" (Chiodo 2000:146).[214] Both descriptions clearly point to a context of warfare where Yamāntaka and the *sülde*[215] are propitiated in order to destroy "countless armies" (see fn. 214 above).

The martial aspect of Yamāntaka, known as Daiitoku myōō (大威德明王), is also preserved in Kūkai's Shingon and Saichō's Tendai sects of Japanese tantric Buddhism (jp. *mikkyō*), where he became one of the Five Great Wisdom Kings (jp. *godai myōō*). Daiitoku is identified with the righteous wrath of Amida nyorai (Amitābha) of the western quarter (Covaci 2016:14). Like Vajrabhairava, he is also regarded to be the wrathful form of Mañjuśrī (jp. *monju*).[216] The iconography of Daiitoku (see Fig. 11) resembles the earlier stage in the development[217] of the Vajrabhairava figure, built upon the iconography of the Six-faced Yamāntaka (see p. 96) rather than Vajrabhairava,

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this event marked the beginning of their long-term association. See *Altan erike*, p. 123, n. 22r-22v, and p. 210, quoted in Chiodo 2000:145, n. 53.

[213] For the different meanings of *sülde* as 'virtue', 'power', and also 'soul' that could return after death, see Kollmar-Paulenz (2012:248–249).

[214] The Hymn to Yamāntaka (3r:8–3v:3) gives the following description of the deity: "Holy Yamāntaka, because you have a fierce mind, you hold a chopper and a skull-bowl. You cut off the heads of countless armies of demons, and wear them as a garland (around the neck)." In the *Cayan sülde-yin sang* (3r:7–12), we find the following depiction of the *sülde* of Genghis: "Making an offering I bow to you, holy White Standard. Because you are fierce and powerful, angrily you a hold a chopper and spear. You cut off the heads of countless armies and wear them as a garland (around the neck)" (Chiodo 2000:146).

[215] It is interesting to notice that in later times, the *sülde* of Genghis embodied the war-deity known as *sülde tenggeri* depicted as a warrior (Kollmar-Paulenz 2012:249).

[216] Paine and Soper (1981:91).

[217] In this regard, White (2000:21) has also noticed that Kūkai's Shingon follows an earlier "seventh-century Indian paradigm" and that developments in Indian tantra that took place in the eighth-century did not exert much impact on Shingon (Matsunaga 1987:50–52; Yamasaki 1988:3–12, 9-20).

insofar that Daiitoku is depicted as six-headed, six-armed, six-legged, and riding on a water buffalo. His main face is fierce and often shows fangs. He carries various weapons in his hands, including a club (sometimes represented as the *daṇḍamudrā*), a sword, a trident, and a noose (Covaci 2016:14). He is always depicted with flames around his head. Another name used in reference to Daiitoku is Goemmason ("Destroyer of Death") because he destroyed the King of the Underworld (jp. Emma-O),[218] thus Daiitoku shares the same mythology with the narrative plot of Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka destroying Yama (see p. 95). The cult of Daiitoku was linked to the subjugation of enemies both in the court and on the battlefield, and also to the, removal of poisons and pain (Fowler (2016:157). Daiitoku rituals for military victory were conducted for the overthrow of the Taira forces in 1152, 1157, and 1183 (Covaci 2016:14).

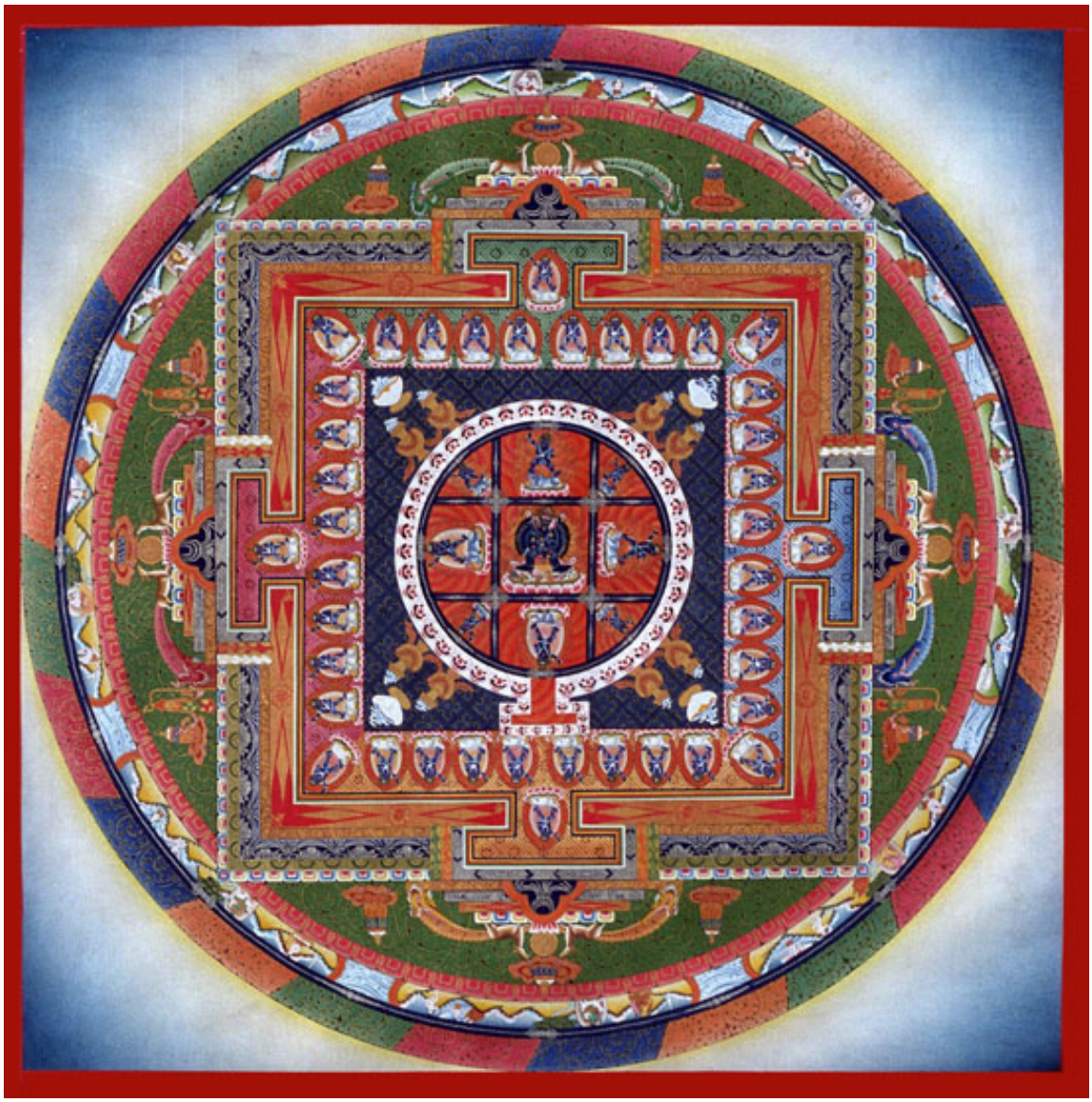
The cult of Vajrabhairava is also found in Nepal. According to Decleer (1998:296), a textual tradition of the VBhT dedicated to the worship of Vajrabhairava under the name Mahiṣa-Saṃvara continues to be practised to this day in the temples of Patan and Kathmandu. Furthermore, on the authority of the oral tradition of Newar Vajrācāryas, Decleer (*ibid.*) states that one of the *yidam* deities in the temple's shrines is thought to be Vajrabhairava. More research is needed to establish whether or not the Newar version of Vajrabhairava as Mahiṣa-Saṃvara currently propitiated in Nepal could be an example of a syncretic cult combining the worship of the Buffalo-faced deity (Vajrabhairava) and Heruka (Cakrasaṃvara).

[218] Coulter and Turner (2000:140).



Map 1: Geographical Distribution of Vajrabhairava Transmission Lineages in Tibet

Plate 1
Zhang lugs (The Maṇḍala of the 49-Deity Vajrabhairava)[219]
Rdo rje 'jigs byed zhe dgu ma dkyil 'khor (57)



[219] The description below is based on the *Dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed zhang lugs lha zhe dgu ma'i dkyil 'khor* (57) in vol. 10 of the *Rgyud sde kun btus* (*glog klad par ma*) pp. 58–59. The *tsakli* no. 57 corresponds to the description given in the text.

Centre: "Solitary" Vajrabhairava: nine-headed, thirty-four armed, sixteen legged.

Deites located inside the central circle of the *maṇḍala:*

East: 1) Vajra-Head
South: 2) Vajra-Arm
West: 3) Vajra-Entrails
North: 4) Vajra-Leg
Southeast: 5) Vajra-Skull
Southwest: 6) Vajra-Skull-fragments
Northwest: 7) Vajra-Rag of the Cremation Ground
Northeast: 8) Vajra-Man Impaled on a Stake

Deities located in the the *maṇḍala*-square outside the circle:

Eastern strip: 9) Vajra-Chopper; 10) Vajra-One-pointed Spear; 11) Vajra-Pestle; 12) Vajra-Knife; 13) One-pointed Vajra; 14) Vajra-Hook; 15) Vajra-Buffalo; 16) Vajra-Ox.

Southern strip: 17) Vajra-Axe; 18) Vajra-Arrow; 19) Vajra-Club; 20) Vajra-Skull-stuff; 21) Vajra-Wheel; 22) Vajra-Noose; 23) Vajra-Swine; 24) Vajra-Donkey.

Western strip: 25) Vajra-Vajra; 26) Vajra-Drum; 27) Vajra-Shield; 28) Vajra-Bow; 29) Vajra-Bell; 30) Vajra-Banner Blown by the wind; 31) Vajra-Camel; 32) Vajra-Dog.

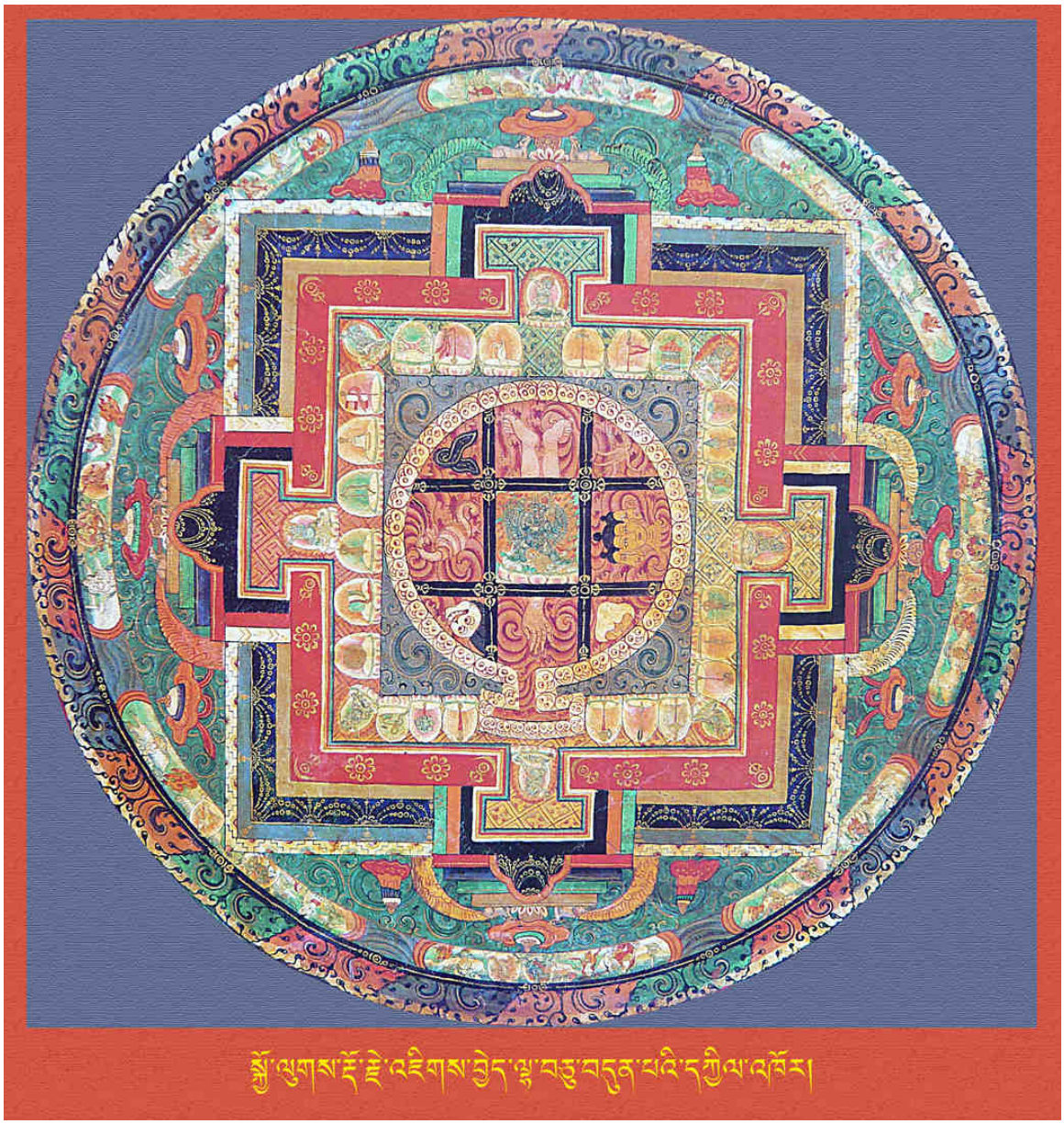
Northern strip: 33) Vajra-Threatening finger; 34) Vajra-Banner with three Ribbons; 35) Vajra-Elephant-Hood; 36) Vajra-Hammer; 37) Vajra-Spear; 38) Vajra-Fire-pit; 39) Vajra-Sheep; 40) Vajra-Wolf.

Deities located at the doors of the *maṇḍala*-square:

Eastern door: 41) Vajra-Vulture
Southern door: 42) Vajra-Owl
Western door: 43) Vajra-Crow
Northern door: 44) Vajra- Parrot
Southeastern door: 45) Vajra–Eagle
Southwestern door: 46) Vajra-Raven
Northwestern door: 47) Vajra-Śārikā
Northeastern door: 48) Vajra-Swan[220]

[220] All of the aforementioned forty-eight Vajra-deities have the following iconographic features that are represented on the *tsakli*: they are blue-bodied, buffalo-faced, one-faced, two-armed. With the right hand, they hold a symbol concordant with their name and in the left hand, they hold a skull filled with *amṛta*; they have a *liṅga* erected in victory; the right leg is bent, and the left leg, which is stretched, stands on the seat of a buffalo; they have three eyes, gaping fangs, and the hair is dark yellowish standing on end like flames. *Dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed zhang lugs lha zhe dgu ma'i dkyil 'khor* (57) in vol. 10, of the *Rgyud sde kun btus* (*glog klad par ma*), p. 59.

Plate 2
Skyo lugs (The Maṇḍala of the 9- or 17- Deity Vajrabhairava)[221]
Rdo rje ’jigs byed lha dgu ma ’am lha bcu bdun gyi dkyil ’khor (56)



[221] *Skyo ’od ’byung nas brgyud pa’i dpal rdo rje ’jigs byed lha dgu ’am lha bcu bdun gyi dkyil ’khor* (56), vol. 10 of the *Rgyud sde kun btus,* pp. 7–50. For the reproduction of this *maṇḍala*, see also Sagaster 1991:173.

Centre: "Solitary" Vajrabhairava: nine-headed, thirty-four armed, sixteen legged.

Symbols located inside the central circle of the *maṇḍala:*

East: Head of Brahmā
South: Arm
West: Entrails
North: Leg
Southeast: Skull
Southwest: Skull-fragments
Northwest: Rag of the Cremation Ground
Northeast: Man Impaled on a Stake

Symbols located in the the *maṇḍala*-square outside the circle:

Eastern Strip: knife, spear, pestle, chopper, one-pointed-vajra, hook.
Southern Strip: axe; arrow, club, skull-staff, wheel, noose
Western Stip: vajra, a drum, shield, bow, bell, banner blown in the wind
Northern Strip: threatening gesture, banner with three ribbons, elephant-hood, hammer, spear, fire-pit.[222]

Deities located at the doors of the *maṇḍala*-square:

Eastern door: 1) Gshin rje-Iron Hook-Vulture
Southern door: 2) Gshin rje-Noose-Owl
Western door: 3) Gshin rje –Iron Chain-Falcon
Northern door: 4) Gshin rje-Thundebolt-Crow
Southeast door: 5) Gshin rje-Consort-Goose
Southwest door: 6) Gshin rje-Fangs-Duck
Northwest: 7) Gshin rje-Club-Crane
Northeast: 8) Gshin rje-Night-Peacock[223]

[222] *Skyo 'od 'byung nas brgyud pa'i dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed lha dgu 'am lha bcu bdun gyi dkyil 'khor* (56), vol. 10 of the *Rgyud sde kun btus*, p.9.
[223] All of these eight Gshin rje deities are female, they are gasping and angry, they have an extremely wrathful and evil appearance. They are young and exuberant. They are naked with prominent nipples and gaping fangs. Fiercely laughing, they have three round, red eyes and reddish-yellow hair of the head that is hanging loose. In the right hand, they hold a knife and in the left hand they hold a skull filled with human blood, which they drink. *Skyo 'od 'byung nas brgyud pa'i dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed lha dgu 'am lha bcu bdun gyi dkyil 'khor* (56), vol. 10 of the *Rgyud sde kun btus*, 13–14.

Plate 3

Mal lugs (Maṇḍala of the Vajrabhairava surrounded by eight zombies and thirty-two symbols)[224]

Rdo rje 'jigs byed ro langs brgyas dang phyag mtshan so gnyis kyis bskor ba

(58)



[224] This form of Vajrabhairava according to the Rwa lugs was transmitted to Sa skya by Mal lo tsā ba. In the *tsakli* drawing, reproduced below, it is erroneously called the *dkyil 'khor* according to the Mu lugs.

Centre: "Solitary" Vajrabhairava (Rdo rje 'jigs byed gtso rkyang): nine heads, thirty-four arms, and sixteen legs.

Thirty-Two Symbols (*phyag mtshan so gnyis*):

1) East: Head
2) South: Arm
3) West: Entrails
4) North: Leg
5) South-east: Skull
6) South-west: Skull-fragments
7) North-west: Rag of the cremation ground
8) North-east: Man impaled on a stake[225]

Eastern strip: (on the right side of the door) 9) a chopper; 10) a spear; 11) a pestle; (on the left side of the door, 12) a knife; 13) a single-pointed *vajra*; 14) a hook.

Southern strip: (on the right side of the door) 15) an axe; 16) an arrow; 17) a club; (on the left side of the door) 18) a skull-stuff; 19) a wheel; 20) a *vajra*-noose.

Northern strip: (on the right side of the door) 21) a five-pronged *vajra*; 22) a drum; 23) a shield; (on the left side of the door) 24) a bow; 25) a bell; 26) a cloth blown by the wind

Western strip: (on the right side of the door) 27) a threatening gesture; 28); a banner with three ribbons; 29) an elephant hood; (on the left side of the door) 30) a hammer; 31) a spear; 32) a fire-pit.[226]

Eight Zombies (*ro langs brgyad*)

The eight great zombies, black in colour and visualised as transformed from the seed-syllable *phaiṃ* should be placed at the doors of the cardinal and intermediate directions in the maṇḍala square.

[225] The *tsakli* drawing follows the description of the *Rgyud sde kun btus* (see, p. 145) with regard to the placement of the eight symbols inside the wheel (that is also identical to the description of the VBhT, see Appendix 3, p. 404). The symbols outside the wheel do not correspond to the description given in the *Rgyud sde kun btus* or the VBhT, and the eight zombies, mentioned in both texts are nowhere to be seen.

[226] *Rdo rje 'jigs byed ro langs brgyad dang phyag mtshan so gnyis kyis bskor ba rwa chen lugs kyi dkyil 'khor* (54), vol. 9 p. 145 of the *Rgyud sde kun btus* (*glog klad par ma*).

Plate 4
Ngor lugs (Sa skya) (Maṇḍala of the Vajrabhairava with eight zombies and thirty-two symbols)
Rdo rje ’jigs byed ro langs brgyad dang phyag mtshan so gnyis kyis bskor ba (54)



Centre: “Solitary” Vajrabhairava: nine headed, thirty-four armed, and sixteen legged.

Thirty-Two Symbols (*phyag mtshan so gnyis*):[227]

Inside the circle:

1) East: Leg
2) South: Head
3) West: Arm
4) North: Entrails
5) South-east: Man impaled on a stake
6) South-west: Skull
7) North-west: Skull fragments
8) North-east: Rag of the Cremation ground

In the *maṇḍala*-square:

Eastern strip: 9) threatening gesture; 10) a triple-ribbon banner; 11) elephant-hood; 12) vajra-hammer; 13) spear; 14) fire-pit

Southern strip: 15) a dagger; 16) iron-lance ornamented with peacock’s feathers; 17) pestle; 18) knife; 19) a single-pointed vajra; 20) a hook

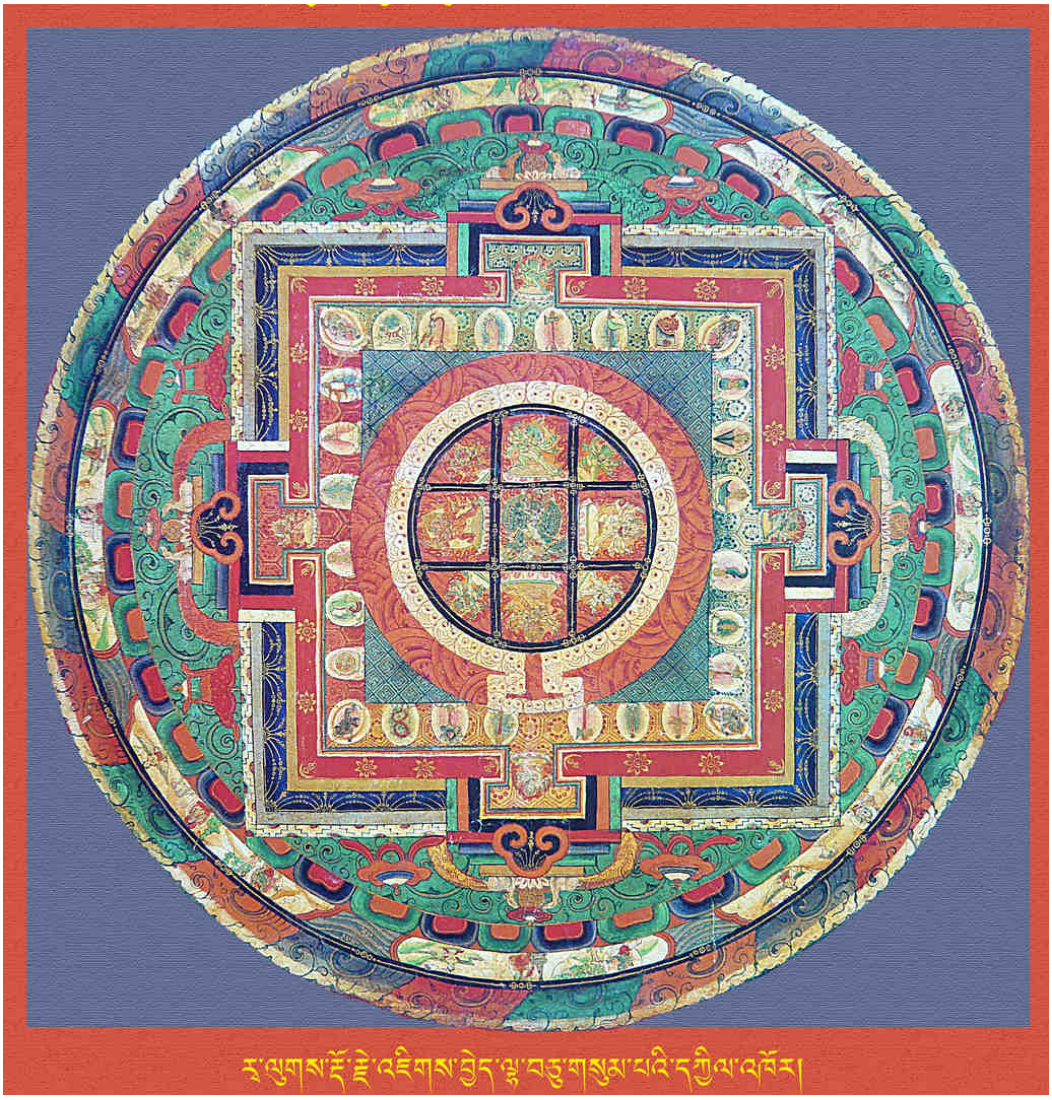
Northern strip: 21) vajra; 22) drum; 23) shield; 24) bow; 25) bell; 26) a banner blowing in the wind

Western strip: 27) axe; 28) arrow; 29) club; 30) skull-stuff; 31) wheel; 32) noose

Eight zombies (*ro langs brgyad*): these are substituted in the drawing by the eight dancing female figures located at the doors of the cardinal and intermeditate directions outside the wheel.

[227] The description of the *maṇḍala* below is based on the *tsakli* drawing. The first symbols on the right side inside the circle do not correspond to the sequence given in the VBhT, or in the *Rgyud sde btus*, but the symbols outside the circle match the order delineated in the VBhT. This *maṇḍala* has been also reproduced in Sagaster 1991:167–169.

Plate 5
Rwa lugs (The Maṇḍala of the 13-Deity Vajrabhairava)[228]
Rdo rje 'jigs byed lha bcu gsum pa'i dkyil 'khor (55)



[228] *Rwa tshar gnyis kyi thun mong ma yin pa'i bzhed pa rdo rje 'jigs byed lha bcu bdun pa'i dkyil 'khor*, vol. 9 of the *Rgyud sde kun btus*, pp. 381–695. In this *maṇḍala* we find the eight guardians of the directions (*phyogs skyong ba brgyad*) as the deites of the Hindu pantheon, viz. Indra (East, yellow in colour, riding a big elephant and holding a *vajra*), Yama (South, blue in colour, riding a buffalo and holding a skull-staff), Varuṇa (West, white in colour, riding a crocodile and holding a snake-lasso), Yakṣa (North, yellow in colour, riding a horse and holding a mongoose), Agni (Southeast, red in colour, riding a goat and holding a rosary), Rākṣasa (Southwest, blue in colour, riding a *vetāla* and holding a sword), Vāyu (Northwest, grey in colour, riding a deer and holding a banner), Bhūta (Northeast, white in colour, riding a bull and holding a trident). All of them hold an attribute in their right hand, which identifies them, and with the left hand, they pay respect to Bhagavān [Vajrabhairava]. See Shes rab rin chen, *Sa skya rgyal yongs gsung rab slob gnyer khang gi glog klad par ma* of *Gsang 'bum*, vol. 1 f. 549, Kathmandu, 2007, 2 vols.

Centre: Vajrabhairava, nine-headed, thirty-four armed and sixteen legged with a consort Lho mo rdo rje bde ba ma, one-faced, two-armed, holding a knife and a skull[229]

1) Centre (emanating from the centre of the palace is) Gshin rje-Miserliness (*ser na*)
2) East: (emanating from the head-symbol is) Gshin rje-Ignorance (*gti mug*)
3) South: (emanating from the hand-symbol is) Gshin rje-Desire (*'dod chags*)
4) West: (emanating from the entrails-symbol is) Gshin rje-Jealousy (*phrag dog*)
5) North: (emanating from the leg-symbol is) Cārcikā
6) Southeast: (emanating from the skull-symbol is) Vārāhi
7) Southwest: (emanating from the skull-fragments symbol is) Sarasvatī
8) Northwest: (emanating from the wind-banner-symbol is) Gaurī
9) Northeast: (emanating from the man impaled on a stake-symbol is) Gshin rje-Hammer
10) Eastern door (in the *maṇḍala*-square): Gshin rje-Club
11) Southern door (in the *maṇḍala*-square): Gshin rje-Lotus
12) Western door (in the *maṇḍala*-square): Gshin rje-Sword
13) Northern door (in the *maṇḍala*-square): absent[230]

Maṇḍala-Square:

Eastern strip: (on the right side of the door) 9) a chopper; 10) a spear; 11) a pestle; (on the left side of the door, 12) a knife; 13) a single-pointed *vajra*; 14) a hook.

Southern strip: (on the right side of the door) 15) an axe; 16) an arrow; 17) a skull-staff; (on the left side of the door) 18) a club; 19) a wheel; 20) a *vajra*-noose.

Northern strip: (on the right side of the door) 21) a five-pronged *vajra*; 22) a drum; 23) a shield; (on the left side of the door) 24) a bow; 25) a bell; 26) a cloth blown by the wind

Western strip: (on the right side of the door) 27) a threatening gesture; 28); a banner with three ribbons; 29) an elephant hood; (on the left side of the door) 30) a *vajra*-hammer; 31) a spear; 32) a fire-pit[231]

[229] *Rwa tshar gnyis kyi thun mong ma yin pa'i bzhed pa rdo rje 'jigs byed lha bcu bdun pa'i dkyil 'khor*, vol. 9 of the *Rgyud sde kun btus*, p. 426.
[230] *Rwa tshar gnyis kyi thun mong ma yin pa'i bzhed pa rdo rje 'jigs byed lha bcu bdun pa'i dkyil 'khor*, vol. 9 of the *Rgyud sde kun btus*, pp. 432–435. All of the above twelve deites are white with three faces and six arms. The main face is white, the face on the right is blue and the face of the left, red. In the left hand, they hold a knife, a skull filled with blood and a lotus. In the right hand, they hold a wheel, a sword, and a jewel.
[231] *Ibidem,* p. 417.

Diagram 1

Vajrabhairava Transmission in the Zhang lugs

Lalitavajra
⇩
Dīpaṅkarabhadra
⇩
Devākaracandra
⇩
Cog gru shes rab bla ma
⇩
Amoghavajra Junior
⇩
Dpyal lo (Bsod nams rgyal mtshan)
⇩
Dge ’dun bzang po (Lha rje sang po)
⇩
Zhang lo mya ngan med pa’i dpal

Diagram 2

Vajrabhairava Transmission in the Skyo lugs

Līlavajra
⇩
Mañjuśrīmitra
⇩
Amoghavajra Senior

⇩	⇩	⇩	⇩
Devākaracandra	Nag po pa	Vīryacandra	Amoghavajra Junior
			⇩
			Skyo ston ’Od ’byung

Diagram 3

Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka Transmission in the Gnyos lugs

Lalitavajra

⇩

*Buddhajñānapāda

⇩

Bālyācārya

⇩

Gnyos lo Yon tan Grags (b.973)

⇩

Rdo rje bla ma

⇩

Dpal le

⇩

Grags pa dpal (1165-1182?)

⇩

Rgyal ba lha nang pa

⇩

Mgar dam pa Chos sdings pa (b.1180)

⇘

’Gar lugs (mgar lugs)

Diagram 4

Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka Transmission in the Mal lugs

Nāropā

⇩

Pham ’thing pa brothers

⇩

Klog Skya shes rab rtsegs

⇩

Mal lo tsā ba blo gros grags pa

⇩ ⇩

’Khon dkon mchog rgyal po (b. 1034) Sa chen kun dga’ snying po (b.1092)

Diagram 5

Vajrabhairava Transmission in the Lineage of Ba ri lo tsā ba

Lalitavajra

⇩

*Mañjuśrīkīrti (’Jam dpal grags pa)

⇩

*Mañjuśrīkīrti Junior (’Jam dpal grags pa chung ba)

⇩

*Mañjuśrīmitra (’Jam dpal bshes gnyen)

⇩

Amoghavajra Senior

⇩

Amoghavajra Junior

⇩

Ba ri lo tsā ba

⇩	⇩
G.yor dar grags	Sa chen kun dga’ snying po

Diagram 6

Vajrabhairava Transmission in the Rwa lugs

Lalitavajra

⇩

Amoghavajra Senior (a mo gha chen po)

⇩

*Jñānākaragupta (ye shes ’byung gnas sbas pa)

⇩

Padmavajra

⇩

Śrīrākṣita (Abhijukta)

⇩ ⇩

Bha ro Phyag drum Me tsa liṅ ga (Mahākaruṇa)

⇩

Rwa lo tsā ba rdo rje grags

⇩

Rwa lo tsā ba Chos rab

⇩ ⇩

Rwa Ye shes seng ge (Western Rwa lugs) Rwa Dha rma seng ge (Eastern Rwa lugs)

⇩

Rwa ’Bum seng ge

⇩

Rong pa Rgwa lo

⇩

Rong pa Shes rab seng ge

⇩

Bla ma dpal seng ge

⇩

Bu ston Rin po che



Fig. 1. 49-Deity Vajrabhairava *kesi*, Yuan dynasty, China, 14th century, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Fig. 2. “Solitary Hero” Vajrabhairava, mid 15th century, Sa skya Monastery, Tibet. Los Angeles County Museum of Art.



Fig. 3. A Thangka Commemorating ’Phags pa’s Initiation into Vajrabhairava (Visible at the Top). Himalayan Art Resources.



Fig. 4. “Solitary Hero” Vajrabhairava, 15th c. Tibet. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Fig. 5. Kālarūpa Dharmapāla, 1700, Tibet. The British Museum, London.



Fig. 6. Vajrabhairava with a consort, 17th c., Dge lugs pa Monastery. Los Angeles Museum of Arts.



Fig. 7. Vajrabhairava with a consort according to the vision of Tsong kha pa, with seven heads in front and two at the back. 17th c. Mongolia. Rubin Museum of Art, New York.



Fig. 8. “Solitary Hero” Vajrabhairava, Ming dynasty (1368–1644), China. In the upper right corner is almost certainly the Dge lugs pa bla ma Śākya Ye shes, who visited the Ming court and conducted tantric rituals. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Fig. 9. Vajrabhairava with a consort statue originally held in the Lama Temple in Beijing, China. The inscription at the back of the statue identifies the name of the donor to be the Qing dynasty emperor Jiaqing (r. 1796–1820). The British Museum, London.



Fig. 10. Vajrabhairava, 15th century, stylistically resembling the 15th century style of Ming Yongle and Xuande emperors, but possibly been produced during the reign of Qianlong of the Qing dynasty who ruled China from 1736–1795. Virginia Museum of Art.

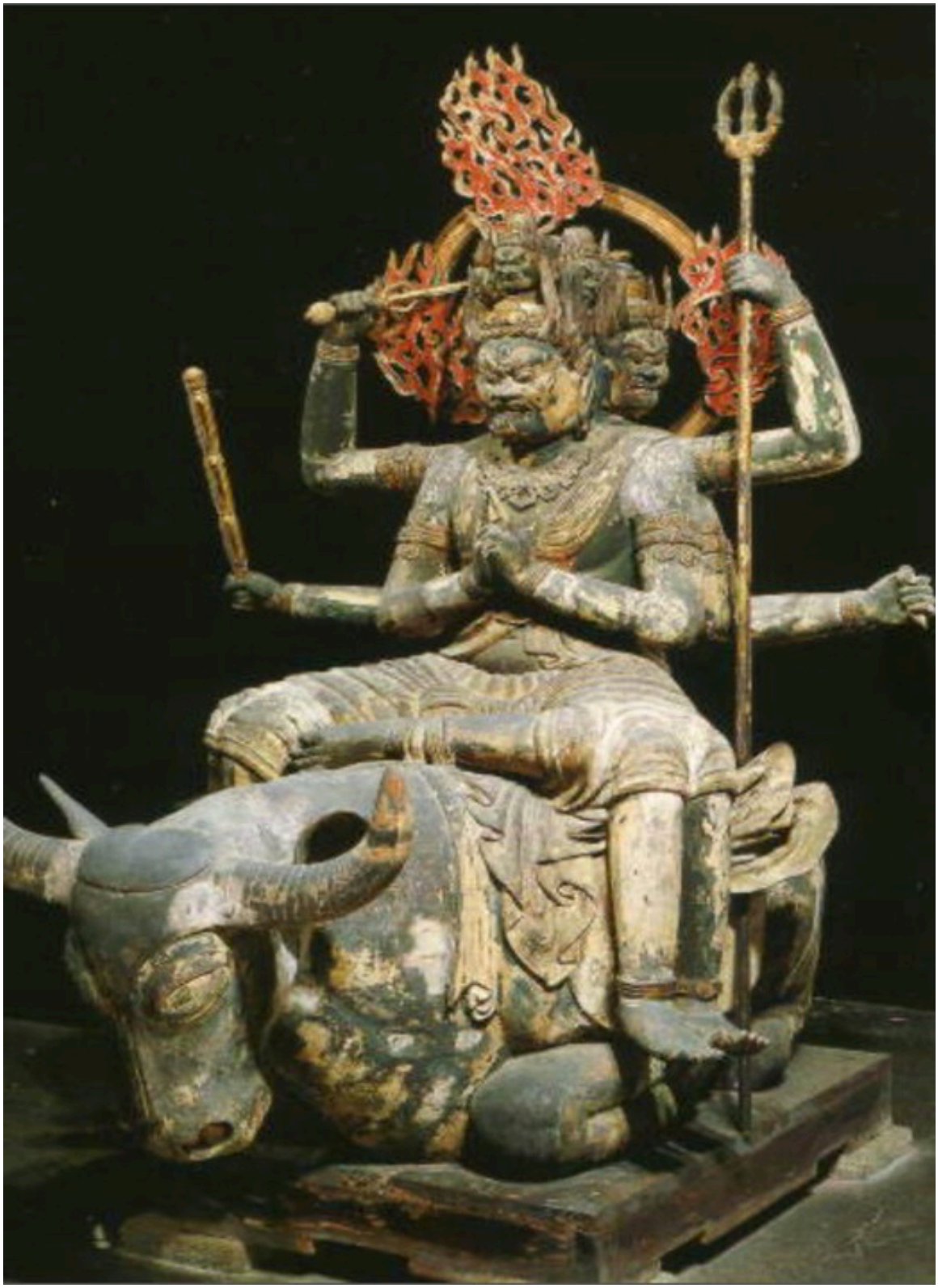


Fig. 11. Daiitoku myōō commissioned for To-ji by Kūkai. Heian period (11th century), Japan. Ruth and Sherman Lee Institute for Japanese Art Collection.

Chapter Two

The Origins of Vajrabhairava and the *Vajrabhairavatantra*

Chapter One has demonstrated that the cult of Vajrabhairava was a pan-Asian phenomenon adopted also by the political elites to fulfill their expansionist policies. While the appropriation of Vajrabhairava's cult and his career as a martial and protective Buddhist deity in comparatively late millieus have been explored by scholars, less attention has been paid to the origins of this deity. The first section of this chapter will analyse the main academic theories on the development of Vajrabhairava in India and Tibet and point at some new research directions. The second section will examine the emic narratives around Vajrabhairava and the "rediscovery" of the VBhT.

2.1 The Origins of Vajrabhairava in India

Scholars generally agree that the emergence of Vajrabhairava as a fully-fledged tantric Buddhist deity has to be found outside the specifically 'Buddhist' context and may have to do with diverse influences, such as borrowings of the cultic forms from the common Indic culture (Siklós 1994, Linrothe 1999), Indo-Iranian exchanges (Siklós 1994) or an impact of Śaiva-Śākta traditions (Siklós 1996).[232] Despite the claims of many heterogeneous elements that went into the "making" of Vajrabhairava, scholarly pursuits dealing with the deity's origins have so far focused almost exclusively on demonstrating Vajrabhairava's evolution from the Hindu-Buddhist god of death, Yama, and its tantric Buddhist avatar, Yamāntaka ("The Ender of Yama").[233] In this regard, Siklós (1994:165-

[232] Siklós (1996:7) claims that Śaiva influence from Kashmir was probably responsible for the adoption of Śaiva-Bhairava elements into the cult of Vajrabhairava, especially since the cycle connects itself with Oḍḍiyāna. Siklós (1996:9) writes: "it is then possible that Lalitavajra, given the "heretic" (i.e. Śaivite) environment, could locate merely non-Buddhist Bhairava treatises in Oḍḍiyāna. The refusal of the *ḍākinī* to allow him to take the texts necessitating memorising and subsequent writing down would have provided an opportunity for Buddhicising the texts." For the mythical stories about Lalitavajra's retrieval of the VBhT, see below, pp. 122–127.

[233] Siklós (1996:8) does acknowledge the influence of the cult of Mañjuśrī in the MNS (which I have referred to below, p. 123) on the development of the figure of Vajrabhairava and the possible link between Vajrabhairava and Vajrahūṃkāra/Trailokyavijaya, but does not explore this topic at all.

189) has presented consistent evidence for an "evolutionary" model that seeks to establish the historical origins of Vajrabhairava in the Indo-Iranian cult of the deity Yama/Yima. The association of Yama with death and the underworld is present already in the tenth book of the *Ṛgveda* (10.14) where Yama, still a minor god, is linked to the funeral ceremonies and rites in honour of the *pitṛ*s. Yama is the first human being to have died and, thus, he presides over the Vedic "land of the fathers" (*Atharvaveda* 4.11, in Bhattacharji 1970:50). In the *Maitrāyanī-saṃhitā* (4.9.8) of the *Yajurveda*, Yama is accompanied by the Aṅgirases, who are his followers (*ibid*.:65). In the *Brāhamaṇa*s, the role of Yama gains new importance as he becomes indistinguishable from the god of death (*mṛtyu*) (*ibid*.:50). In this period, a number of epithets began to be employed to describe Yama in his role as the judge of men, such as the "King of the Law" (*dharmarāja*), the "King of Death" (*yamarāja*), the "Ender [of life]" (*antaka*),[234] and these appellations to Yama would also later enter the Buddhist lexicon (Wayman 1959a:44-45). Already in the Vedic period Yama presides over the system of hells and assumes the position of the directional regent (*dikpāla*) of the southern direction (Bhattacharji 1970: 59). He is called *daṇḍadhara* ("The Club-Holder") and he also yields a noose (*pāśa*), with which he captures the souls at the time of death. In the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas, Yama became increasingly associated with a Śaiva mythological complex, in two different ways. In the *Mahābhārata* (see Thomas 1994), Yama as *kālāntakayama* or *yamakālāntaka* subsumes the role of Antaka or Kāla[235]—Time as the destroyer (the role later linked to Śiva as Mahākāla and Kālāntaka in the Purāṇas).[236] This is also visible in the STTS, where the Hindu deity Yama becomes Vajrakāla in the tantric Buddhist *maṇḍala*. Thus, he is not only linked to the death of the individuals—although Yama's aspect of a harbinger of individual death is still retained in the *Mahābhārata*—

[234] In the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* (2.8.28–29), Yama is described by a series of seven epithets, i.e., Yama, Dharmarāja, Mṛtyu, Antaka, Vaivasvata ("Belonging to the Sun"), Kāla ("Time"), Sarvaprāṇahara ("The Thief of All Vital Breaths").
[235] In the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* (10.3:1–9), Kāla is painted black with red eyes and holding a staff in his hand (Bhattacharji 1970:55)
[236] For the transfer of the Kālāntaka aspect from Yama to Śiva, see O'Flaherty 1976:233, where she examines examples from the *Matsya Purāṇa* (102.21), *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (X.78), and *Liṅga Purāṇa* (1.30.-1-25); see Thomas 1994:271.

but also to the periodic cosmic destruction of the universe (*pralaya*).[237] Thomas (*ibid*.:267) argues that Yama's role as the cosmic destroyer belongs to an earlier stage of the figure's mythology, which was later "overshadowed by Śiva, and to some extent subsumed by him".[238] In the Purāṇas, the relationship between Yama and Śiva is expressed through the trope of conflict when Śiva rescues his devotees from the clutches of death personified by Yama (e.g. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Chap. 10). Śiva kills Yama, for which he is called Kālāntaka or Mṛtyuñjaya, and thus Yama becomes relegated to a secondary position as a deity subordinate to Śiva, and he remains so indefinitely. The association of Yama with this Śaiva mythological complex seems to be attested also in Old Javanese literature.[239]

For the most part, the concept of Yama in Buddhism was modelled on its Indian predecessor. In this regard, Wayman (1959) has demonstrated that the cluster of concepts linked to the Buddhist Yama follows the trajectory found in Hindu mythology. Siklós (1994:180) also shows that the aspects of Yama as *dharmarāja* and the ruler of the hells (*niraya*) are still preserved in Buddhism. The marked difference is the Buddhist association of Yama with Māra that would also influence the wider Indian understanding of Kāma as evil (Bhattacharji 1970:107). Already in the *Mahāvastu* (compiled between the 2nd century BCE and 4th century CE), we find four aspects of Māra as: 1) *devaputramāra* (the deity of sensual pleasure that tries to prevent the Buddha from obtaining awakening), 2) *kleśamāra* (afflictive emotions), 3) *skandhamāra* (the *māra* of five human components), and 4) *maraṇamāra* (death itself) (Lamotte 2001:277). In the Buddhist concept of Māra as the personification of evil, the functions of Yama as death and the afflictive emotions that prevent people from achieving *nirvāṇa* coalesce. In tantric and Tibetan Buddhism, this fusion is well attested. The tantric form of

[237] The concept of Yama as *antaka*, i.e. destroyer, is reflected in its iconography, where he is depicted with a gaping mouth (see *Rāmāyaṇa* 3.68.49, quoted in Bhattacharji 1970:56).
[238] Thomas (1994:267) draws upon the earlier argument about the transference of certain aspects of Yama to Śiva made by Keith (1925), Bhattacharji (1970), and O'Flaherty (1976).
[239] In the *Śivarātrikalpa*, a 15th-century Old Javanese poem by Mpu Tanakuṅ (trans. Teeuw *et al.* 1969), we find the motif of a war between Śiva's *gaṇa*s and Yama's army when the hunter Lubdhaka dies and is taken by Yama. Since at one point in his life Lubdhaka stayed vigilant during Śivarātri and thus performed the highest vow, Śiva thinks that his death was premature. A terrible fight between Śiva and Yama, who disagrees with Śiva's view, ensues. Eventually, the army of Yama withdraws and Yama has to pay homage to Śiva.

Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka (including Rakta- and Kṛṣṇa-yamāri) is principally the "Ender of Yama", the principle of death itself and the afflictive emotions he embodies. For example, in the exegetical literature of Dzaya paṇḍita, *yama* is clearly the principle of death in the body as well as the defilements (*kleśamāra*), which are in the mind.[240] The same goes with Māra, the principle of evil, who also embodies *kleśamāra* and is represented by the *trimūrti*, i.e. Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Maheśvara, who are often glossed in tantric exegetical literature as the three *kleśa*s,[241] which Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka has to vanquish. In his study of the concept of Buddhist Yama, Siklós (1994) simply subsumes Vajrabhairava under Yamāntaka and portrays him only as the destroyer of Yama (the function borrowed from the Indian models of Śiva vanquishing Yama), yet he does not acknowledge the role Vajrabhairava plays in the wider framework of the Śaiva mythological complex preserved in the Tibetan Buddhist origins' stories examined below.

An "evolutionary theory" about the origin of Vajrabhairava is also advocated by Linrothe (1999), who studied the progressive development of tantric Buddhist deities mainly through the analysis of visual iconography. Linrothe proposed a three-phased chronology. According to this classification, in Phase 1, Yama is a subsidiary attendant of the *bodhisattva* Mañjuśrī in his function of the *krodha-vighnāntaka* "Fiercesome Ender of the Obstacles"; as such, he is usually found in the left corner of statues of Mañjuśrī, and carries the characteristic implements of the post-Vedic Yama, i.e. a club in his left hand and a noose in his right hand. In Phase 2, we encounter "The Ender of Death" or Yamāntaka as an independent deity, standing upon a buffalo—the traditional mount of Yama—, three- four- or five- faced, six-footed and six-armed, black, with fat belly and

[240] *Thob yig*, Peking ed., I, 272a-2 to 276a-3; for the full translation, see Wayman 1959b: 125–130.

[241] In *Akṣobhya's commentary on Chapter 4 of the VBhT, we find an unidentified quote that makes this connotation explicit: "for that reason it is said, 'by overturning *rāga*, wrong view (*lta ba*, Skt. *kliṣṭa-dṛṣṭi*, which includes the twenty *upakleśa*s), and *dveṣa*, one tames Mahādeva, Brahmā, and Viṣṇu'" (*de bas na chags dang lta ba zhe sdang bsngo/ lha chen tshangs pa khyab 'jug 'dul zhes bshad do*). In the *Guhyasamājasādhanamālā* 35, studied by English (2002:465), we find the prescription of visualisation in which Brahmā, Indra, Viṣṇu, and Śiva, which have to be visualized as being trampled upon by a *sādhaka*, symbolise the four *kleśa*s (*ālīḍhacaraṇākrāntacatuḥkleśaviśuddhabrahmendrahariharāṃ*). The same is attested in the Tibetan Buddhist story of Vajrabhairava's origins: see below. Note that in the *Vajrāmṛtatantra* (Sferra 2017:423), the trinity of the Hindu pantheon is treated as the preliminary steps in the meditation of the nectar, i.e., the supreme reality.

red eyes, wrathful, and carrying various weapons, including a club. In Phase 3, we encounter Vajrabhairava as an "enhanced" version of Yamāntaka of Phase 2.[242] He is not riding a buffalo, but has a buffalo as his main face (*mahiṣamukha*), he has sixteen legs instead of six, thirty-four arms instead of six, and nine faces stacked up one upon the other. He carries various weapons in his hands, including a club in his right hand and a noose in his left hand.

Such clear-cut continuities may be difficult to demonstrate textually, and the evolutionary model does not explain all the iconographic features that Vajrabhairava—as a simple extension of the cult of Yama/Yamāntaka—possesses; yet, tantric Buddhism seems to have preserved a number of very ancient ideas concerning Yama, and the model proposed by Siklós and Linrothe is, at least partially, supported by textual evidence, which I will discuss below.

In the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (10.77–79) and *Garuḍa Purāṇa* (2.5.147–149) we find a typical standard description of Yama, as follows:

> There, in the midst of Death (*mṛtyu*), the Ender of Time (*kālāntaka*), etc., the just departed [soul] beholds Yama with very red eyes (*atiraktākṣaṃ*), fierce and dark like a mass of collyrium (*bhinnāñjanacayaprabha*), with terrible fangs gaping from the mouth (*daṃṣṭrākarālavadana*) and dreadfully frowning; accepted as their lord by hundreds of diseases who are hideous and fierce-looking. He is powerful, intent on administrating punishment, he holds a noose (*pāśahastaṃ*) and is very fierce. One goes to either a good or a bad state, as directed by him.[243]

In the GS (13.139) we find one of the earliest descriptions of Yamāntaka: "blazing, like a dense mass of sparks of fire, enraged, like the *maṇḍala* of fear, with red eyes (*raktākṣaṃ*), gaping fangs (*dāṃṣṭrāvikaṭaṃ*),[244] and holding a sword in his hand".[245] If compared with the previous passage, the Yamāntaka of the GS resembles the Yama of

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[242] Linrothe in personal communication (October 2018).

[243] *gatamātro 'tiraktākṣaṃ bhinnāñjanacayaprabham/ mṛtyukālāntakādīnāṃ madhye paśyati vai yamam// daṃṣṭrākarālavadanaṃ bhrakuṭīdāruṇākṛtim/ virūpair bhīṣaṇair vaktrair vṛtaṃ vyādhiśataiḥ prabhum// daṇḍāsaktaṃ mahābāhuṃ pāśahastaṃ subhairavam/ tannirdiṣṭāṃ tato yāti gatiṃ jantur śubhāśubhām//. Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (10.77–79, p.277). An identical description of Yama is given in the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* (2.5.147–149).

[244] For the explanation of the *dāṃṣṭrāvikaṭa* as a common way of referring to tantric deities, see below.

[245] GS (13.139, p. 57): *sphuliṅgagahanaṃ dīptaṃ saṃkruddhaṃ bhayamaṇḍalam/ raktākṣaṃ dāṃṣṭrāvikaṭaṃ khaḍgapāṇiṃ vibhāvayet*//.

the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* only with regard to his red eyes and gaping fangs.[246] Yama's red eyes are already attested as his characteristic feature in the *Mahābhārata* (3.281.8, 9, 16, 18).[247] In another, probably much later, description of Yamāntaka that comes from the "Yamāntaka Chapter" of the MMK, we again find some of the characteristic features of the Purāṇic Yama, such as his red eyes[248] (*raktanetraṃ*), the resemblance to black collyrium (*kṛṣṇāñjananibhaṃ*), and a club in his hand (*daṇḍahastaṃ*)—this is the only weapon that Yamāntaka of the MMK holds, and as such it is a typical emblem of Yama of the post-Vedic period.[249] He is also "mounted on a buffalo"[250] (*mahiṣārūḍhaṃ*), which is, again, a typical mount of Yama in the post-Vedic period, where Yama is referred to as *mahiṣadhvaja* ("the one who has a buffalo as his emblem").[251]

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[246] Interestingly, fangs as a specific trait of Yama have been incorporated into the Balinese *stuti* tradition. In *stuti* no. 100, called the *Narasiṃhāṣṭaka*, we come across a description of the Man-Lion (*narasiṃha*) manifestation of Viṣṇu upon whom the warrior should meditate before engaging in battle. He is described as *caṇḍadaṃṣtro yamābhaḥ*, "with impetuous fang, equal to Yama", *tīkṣṇadaṃṣtrakarālam,* "with wide open mouth and sharp fangs", and *bhīmāṭṭahāsaṃ*, "of the terrible roars of laughter" (Goudriaan and Hooykaas 1971:126); the last expression comes close to the Śaiva practice of mad laughter incorporated into the Vajrabhairava-*sādhana*: see below, Chapter 4, p. 202.

[247] In the *Mahābhārata* (3.281.8, 9), Yama's description as the agent of individual death is given where he is pictured as "red-eyed, holding a noose in his hand, terrifying" (*raktākṣaṃ pāśahastaṃ bhayavāhaṃ*), see Thomas 1994:263.

[248] In the *Śmaśānavidhi* we find a description of Yama mounted on a buffalo (*mahiṣārūdha-*), black, red-eyed, fat, fearsome, holding a stick (*daṇḍa*) and a skull bowl (English 2002:142 n.xvi). This iconography accords with the one found in the *Adbhutaśmaśānālaṃkāra* (Meisezahl 1980:20).

[249] For the full description of Yamāntaka in the MMK, see the section on drawing a *paṭa* in Chapter 4, p. 254.

[250] Academic theories indicate that the buffalo-cult is an ancient one, and may go back to the pre-Vedic Aryans who worshipped the deity Asura (Parpola 1992:276). The archaic feature of the buffalo-cult are also present in the regional cults of South India, for example in the cult of Potu Rāja ("the Buffalo King") and the Maharashtrain Mhasobā (Marathi for Mahiṣa) popular especially among the low-caste communities who regard him both as god and demon (Hiltebeitel (1978:774–775). The buffalo-worship is also important for the funeral ceremonies in the tribal communities of India. Among the Khonds, death requires purification in which the buffalo is killed on the seventh day after a person dies (Miles 1933:87). In the funeral ceremonies of the Todas of the Nilgiris (Rivers 1906:354), the sacrifice of two buffalos is performed, where the same are smeared with butter on the back and the horns and killed with an axe. As soon as the buffalos are killed, they are laid close to the corpse.

[251] Wayman (1959:49), following Bergaigne (1878:274), says that Yama has a buffalo as his mount in post-early 1st millennium CE Indian iconography, where he is often referred to as the *mahiṣadhvaja* ("having a buffalo as his emblem"), while in the Vedic period, he rides a horse. Siklós (2012:166–167) argues for a Ṛgvedic link of Yama with the bull and traces Yama to the first Man (*puruṣa*), who is also a bull on the basis of the etymology of *puruṣa* from '*pu-*', 'man'

Insofar as Phase 3 is concerned, the ritual entanglement between the cults of Yamāntaka and Vajrabhairava is indeed attested in the textual layering of the VBhT. Tantric technology evoking Yama is very often used interchangeably with that of Vajrabhairava, insomuch as we find references to the use of *yamamantra*, *yamacakra/yantra*, or meditative absorption with death (*yamayoga*), as well as instructions about making a doll in the form Yama (*yamarūpa*) or visualizing Yama snatching or punishing the target. From the additional context given in the VBhT and its Indian commentaries, it is clear that Yama and Vajrabhairava are most of the time understood metonymically. For example, *yamamantra* is used as a synonym of the ten-syllabled action-mantra of Vajrabhairava: *hrīḥ stṛīḥ vikṛtānana oṃ hūṃ phaṭ*, which is the mantra of Yamāntaka, but it is also identified (with slight variants) in some late Śaiva tantras as the mantra of Yama.[252] The same goes with the root-mantra of Vajrabhairava, which is the ancient mantra of Yamarāja. Similarly, the designation *yamacakra/yantra* is used for the sixteen-segmented *vajrabhairavacakra*, and it contains the syllables from the ancient root-mantra of Yamarāja. At the core of the sixteen-segmented *vajrabhairavacakra/yantra* features the name 'Yama'. Insofar as the visual description of Yama goes, however, the VBhT clearly distinguishes between Yama and Vajrabhairava insofar that the former is depicted as having a hideous face (*vikṛtānaṃ*), a fat belly (*bṛhajjaṭharaṃ*), two arms, one face, and holding a sword (*khaḍgahastaṃ*). In this specific example, the iconographical detail of the "hideous face" does certainly refer to the appellation of Yamāntaka in the mantra of that very deity.[253] In two rare iconographic references to Yama found in the VBhT, we find him depicted as holding a club in his hand (*yamarūpaṃ gṛhītalaguḍahastam*) in the one, and as holding a goad in his hand (*aṅkuśahastaṃ yamarūpam*) in the other. While the club may be traced back to the early depiction of Yama as *daṇḍadhara*, the goad does not bear any association with the Purāṇic Yama. In this case, the iconographic detail of *aṅkuśa* resembles the description of Yamāntaka in the GS (14.38), where one is instructed to visualise Yamāntaka, the

(*pumān*, human) and *vṛṣa* 'bull' (*ruṣa* by metathesis) (Otrebski 1968:252-253). Siklós further supports his argument of Yama as the first Man/Bull by drawing parallels with the Iranian and Norse versions of the Gayõmart and Ymir (=Yama).

[252] For a discussion on Vajrabhairava's ten-syllable mantra, see below, p. 226.

[253] For the identical Yamāntaka-mantra in the GS and MMK, see below, p. 204.

great wrathful one (*mahākrodha*), holding a *vajra*-hook (*vajrāṅkuśa*), for the purpose of summoning and sexually enjoying *yakṣiṇī*s (*yakṣīṃs tu bhuñjayet*).[254] In the portrayal of Yama/Yamāntaka holding *aṅkuśa*, both texts share the same ritual context of 'love' magic,[255] in which Yama/Yamāntaka is visualised summoning a female with the help of *aṅkuśa* so that the mantra-master can engage in sexual activity with her (VBhT, chap. 7: *strīm ākṛṣya bhuñjayet*).

While in some respects the textual descriptions of Yamāntaka of Phase 2 resemble that of Yama of Phase 1, thus validating the evolutionary model proposed by Siklós and Linrothe, it is more difficult to account for the reasons behind Yamāntaka's appellation as the "hideous one" (*vikṛtānana*), which is absent in the list of Yama's titles researched by Wayman (1959). In the section below, I want to tentatively propose a theory that might throw some light on this interesting issue.

The leading hypothesis of the discussion that follows is that Yamāntaka's trait as *vikṛtānana* was derived from the attributes of bodily deformity associated with demonic and hostile beings in general that became appropriated in the ritual framework of transgressive tantric *sādhana*s performed in the cremation grounds. Before examining this issue in a more detailed manner, however, let us first look at the definition of *vikṛta* in order to determine in which context this term is used. According to Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (p. 543) and Böhtlingk's *Sanskrit Wörterbuch* (vol. 6, p.78), the adjective *vikṛta* in a sense of 'deformed', 'changed', 'ugly (as a face)', or 'mutilated' is primarily associated with a cluster of meanings that point to bodily disfiguration of some sort that could be a result of a disease; therefore, *vikṛta* can also mean 'diseased' or 'sick'—compare the cognate form *vikāra*, meaning "bodily or mental condition, disease, sickness, hurt, injury". Among the secondary denotations we find *vikṛta* connoting the psychosomatic state of 'disgust' or 'repulsion', as well as antagonistic behaviour (i.e., *vikṛta* as 'hostile' or 'rebellious'). In line with the above range of semantic applications, the word *vikṛta* is often used to describe the dreadful physique of wrathful or demonic beings. Evidence of this can be found in the 25th chapter of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, in the story of the beautiful *yakṣī* called Tāṭakā, who becomes cursed by the

[254] GS 14.38, Fremantle's edn. p. 308: *yamāntakaṃ mahākrodhaṃ vajrāṅkuśaṃ vicintayet/ kalpoddāhamahācakraṃ dhyātvā yakṣīṃs tu bhuñjayet* [*sādhayet*, Matsunaga's edn. p. 66]//.
[255] For a discussion on 'love-magic', see below, p. 153.

sage Agastya and as a result of this curse her body changes into a monstrous, deformed shape: "Oh, great *yakṣī*, deprived of this form of a beautiful female body, you will become a man eater, with your form distorted, hideous face (*vikṛtānanā*) and shape of a monster".[256] In this context, a curse of disfiguration connotes the moral characteristics of being "marked" as evil ('one with horrific behavior', *durvṛttā*; 'highly atrocious one', *paramadāruṇā*) and as a person whose power is perverse (*duṣṭaparākramā*).[257] This meaning will also find its way into criminal law of *dharmaśāstra,* where the term *vikṛta* appears in the context of the criminals that have been executed with mutilation by having their heads cut off and impaled on a stake or by having their fingers, legs, or hands cut off. [258]

The use of *vikṛtānana* becomes constant in the Śaiva-Śākta tantric texts, such as the *Picumata-Brahmayāmala,* where it continues to be applied in a similar sense found in the earlier textual sources as referring to the highly transgressive, hideous-looking and inherently dangerous nature of demonic entities, such as *śākinī*s, *vetāla*s, and *bhūta*s often residing in the cremation ground where the *sādhaka* undertakes his *sādhana.* For example, in the BY (46.19ab), in the course of a *sādhana* performed in the cremation ground that involves the ritual use of corpses, the *sādhaka* should meditate on the *vidyā* with one-pointed awareness and well-maintained senses until on all sides the *śākinī*s with hideous faces arrive (*śākinyo vikṛtānanā*); these figures are classified as impediments (*vighna*s) who may hinder the success of the *sādhana* if the *sādhaka* succumbs to the fear associated with their dreadful looks. If the practitioner is able to retain his composure and honours them with *argha*, they will be mastered and will bestow on him various boons.[259]

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[256] Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa* (25.12b-13): *agastyaḥ parama amarṣaḥ tāṭakām api śaptavān// puruṣādī mahāyakṣī virūpā vikṛtānanā/ idaṃ rūpam vihāyāśu dāruṇam rūpam astu te//*. Trans. Rao 1998; https://www.valmikiramayan.net/utf8/baala/sarga25/bala_5F25_frame.htm

[257] Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa* 25.14–15.

[258] As Olivelle (2005:334) has pointed out, in the *Manusmṛti* (9.279) the term *vikṛta* appears in the context of criminals executed with mutilation, while in the *Arthaśāśtra,* the term *vikṛta* seems to be a synonym of *citra* and *kleśa.* All of this indicates that the execution of the criminal is preceded by torture and mutilation.

[259] BY 46.19–21ab: *smare tad yāvad yuktātmā sarvvā dikṣu samantataḥ/ āgacchanti mahābhāgā śākinyo vikṛtānanā// na bhetavyaṃ tu vai tena arghapātraṃ* [em.; *arghapātan* mss.] *tu pūrvvavat/ arghe datte prasidhyanti varadāś ca bhavanti hi// pūrvoktāni tu vighnāni pūrvvoktena prabhedayet/*, "He should meditate upon it until on all sides illustrious *śākinī*s with distorted faces arrive. He should not be afraid. [Since he prepared] the vessel for the guest-offering as before, having given them the offering, they will be mastered and bestow favours on him. All aforesaid

In the BY (47.28ab), a similar description is found, where female deities (oddly called *bhūtāni*) with distorted faces (*vikṛtānanāḥ*) acting as the attendants of the goddess Aghorī arrive on the 9th day of *sādhana*, a thousand in number, in order to grant the hero (*vīra*) the boons he desires.[260] Related to the context of terrifying *vighna*s and the praxis of the "heroic *sādhana*" (*vīrasādhana*) characterised by fearlessness is a passage of the BY (46.29ab), where we find the description of the *vetāla*s with hideous-looking faces (*vetālāṃ vikṛtānanā*[*ṃ*]) and enormous fangs (*daṃṣṭrotkaṭa*) who arrive in front of *sādhaka*. He should not say anything, he should not offer them anything, nor should he recite any mantras. Then, he should take his *vidyā*, which is in the form of a weapon, and hurdle it into them. That cast destroys them.[261] In another passage of the BY (45.73cd) we find a mention of the terrible *bhūta*s with distorted faces (*mahāghorā bhūtās tu vikṛtānanā*), who are referred to as *īti* 'calamity' or 'infectious disease', arising in front of *sādhaka* in order to cause an obstacle to his *sādhana*; when they are given *argha* and see his sword, they bow down to him.[262]

The context in which the word *vikṛtānana* appears in the BY is anchored in the metaphysical correspondence between the tropes of the hideous physique of demonic

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obstacles, he should break through those by this [means] previously stated." For a very similar passage of the *vighna*s that arise during Vajrabhairava-*sādhana* in Chapter 1 of the VBhT, see below, p. 410.

[260] BY 47.28–30ab: *āgacchanti mahābhāgā bhūtāni vikṛtānanāḥ*/ *pratyakṣadarśanībhūtvā sādhakaṃ cābhibhāṣate*// *mātṝṇāṃ bhaktakas tvaṃ hi tvam eko sādhakottamaḥ*/ *vatsa vatsa mahāvīra sādhakendra mahātapaḥ*// *varaṃ vṛṇīṣva me rudraḥ siddho tvan nātra saṃśayaḥ*/, "[At first light the next morning], illustrious *bhūta*s arrive with distorted faces. Having become manifested to him, they say to the *sādhaka*: "You are a true devotee of the mothers, you along are the greatest of the *sādhaka*s, my dear, great hero, best of *sādhaka*s, choose a boon! You are a Rudra, you are a *siddha*, without any doubt".

[261] *Brahmayāmala* 46.29ab: *draṃṣṭrotkaṭamahā[--?yo] vetālāṃ vikṛtānanā[ṃ]*/ *āgacchanti mahāvīrā bhairavārūpadhāriṇī*// *na teṣāṃ vacanaṃ kuryān na cārghaṃ na ca mantrayet*/ *piṇḍīkṛtvā tato vidyām astrarūpāṃ vinikṣipet*// *praṇasyanti kṣipeṇaiva bhairavasya vaco yathā*/, "The Vetālas with hideous-faces, most terrible with huge fangs, fearless, and having the form of Bhairava will approach. He should not say anything and he should not offer them anything, nor he should recite any mantras. Then he should take his *vidyā,* which is in form of the weapon and having made it into a bowl, he should hurl it into them. They are destroyed by that cast, that is true as Bhairava is true."

[262] *Brahmayāmala* 46.73cd–74: *uttiṣṭanti mahāghorā bhūtās tu vikṛtānanā[ḥ]*/ *arghaṃ* [em. *arghan* mss.] *datvā tu vai tāsāṃ khaḍgahasto vicakṣaṇaḥ*// *praṇamanti ca sarvvāṇi khaḍgaṃ* [em. *khaḍgan* mss.] *dṛṣṭvā tu ītayaḥ*/ "Also there will arise terrible *bhūta*s with distorted faces; the wise one, with sword in hand, should give them *argha*; when all these infectious diseases see the sword, they bow down."

beings and the inherent danger that any meetings with them connote. Owing to the unorthodox and highly transgressive articulation of power that thrives on the encounter with hideous-looking beings, the tantric *sādhana* integrates a larger structural context of underlying symbolic order. The evil, ugly, and demonic forces with power of their own are controlled through the successful tantric *sādhana*. The appearance of the term *vikṛtānana* as the appellation of the deity Yamāntaka and Vajrabhairava in their mantra seems to suggest that both were perceived primarily through the prism of their association with the ugly, dangerous, and transgressive power that characterised any demonic entity residing in the cremation grounds, and which could be invoked and harnessed during the tantric *sādhana* to acquire the desired aims.[263]

Another, although less probable, explanation of the appellative *vikṛtānana* is based on the linguistic analysis of the variant of the Yamāntaka-mantra attested, for example, in the 11th century *Śāradātilaka* (24.20) as *oṃ ṣṭrīṃ daṃṣṭrāvikṛtānanāya svāhā*, which Rāghvabhaṭṭa's commentary qualifies as the mantra of Yamāntaka (p. 866, 21, *ibid.*). The mantra is interesting insofar that it appeals to Yamāntaka as having "hideous fangs/tusks" (*daṃṣṭrā* […] *vikṛtān*). The compound *vikṛtadaṃṣtra* in reference to Mahābhairava is also attested in the Mahābhairava-mantra of the *Agni Purāṇa*.[264] The emphasis on hideous fangs or tusks as referring specifically to Yama appears to be significant, especially since we find such expressions as *yamadaṃṣṭra*, lit. "Yama's tooth", used figuratively (e.g., in the *Mahābhārata*) to depict someone who has fallen to the jaws of Yama or death, and it is also used to denote "the last eight days of the month of Āśvina and the whole of Kārttika considered as a period of general sickness" (Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p.846, s.v. *yamadamṣṭrā*; Böhtlingk's *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*, vol. 5, p. 130, s.v. *yamadaṃṣṭrāntaraṃ gataḥ* "dem Tode verfallen"). This is supported by the fact that diseases with distorted faces feature as the attendants of Yama in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (see, p. 97). In this case, *vikṛtadaṃṣṭra* could connote dreadful fangs, implying the horrors of upcoming sickness that herald death. We have already seen that "enormous fangs" (*daṃṣṭrākarāla, dāṃṣṭrāvikaṭa*) appear in the visual

[263] See, for example, Chapter 1 of the VBhT, where the success in *sādhana* is indicated when Vajrabhairava appears in person before the *sādhaka* and asks which boons he wishes for.
[264] *Agni Purāṇa* (125.45, vol. 2, p.52): *oṃ namo mahābhairavāya vikṛtadaṃṣṭrograrūpāya piṅgalākṣāya triśūlakhaḍgadharāya vauṣaṭ.*

depictions of Yama/Yamāntaka in the Purāṇas and GS (see, p. 97 above) and they also constitute specific feature of the Man-Lion in the Balinese *Narasimhāṣṭaka.*[265] The words *vikṛta* and *vikaṭa* can easily become interchanged for they are examples of the voicing of intervocalic consonants, common for example in the Aśokan inscriptions (Norman 2012:232), which results in the situation when *ṛ* disappears and makes a following dental *-t-* retroflex in *vikaṭa*, besides the expected *vikṛta* (Norman 2012:61). This linguistic feature is an example of dyglossia, a situation when two dialects or languages, in this case Sanskrit and Prakrit, are used by a single community (Hock 2016:22). It may be possible that originally the adjective *vikṛta/vikaṭa* was used to emphasise Yama's deformed/enormous fangs, which is a common epithet of the *krodha*-type of deities who are often referred through the compound *daṃṣṭrotkaṭa*.[266] At some point, the word *daṃṣtra/daṃṣtrā* in the epithets of Yama was dropped and only *vikṛta* remained, emphasising the general feature of his "hideous face". This interpretation is supported by the fact that *daṃṣtrāvikaṭa* and *daṃṣṭrākārala* do feature in the early depictions of Yama/Yamāntaka, but they disappear later on, and only *vikṛtānana* remains.

Another problem with the evolutionary model proposed by scholars to explain the origin of Vajrabhairava is that some iconographical features of Vajrabhairava cannot be traced back to Yama, and, therefore, they must have arisen through a different trajectory. This is the case of the depiction of Vajrabhairava as ithyphallic, a characteristic that is absent from Yama/Yamāntaka's iconography. A likely explanation may be the influence of an early Śaiva iconography on the development of Vajrabhairava's visual image. The ithyphallic feature of Śiva and the groups of deities closely related to Śiva such as Caṇḍeśvara/Caṇḍeśa (Acharya 2006:216) or Bhairava, who are often represented with the *ūrdhvaliṅga*, is a recurrent feature of an early Śaiva iconography. The same symbolism is

[265] See fn. 246 above.

[266] *Daṃṣtrotkaṭa* appears, for example, in the description of Vajrapāṇi in the early *Susiddhikarasūtra*, where he is referred to as *daṃṣṭrotkaṭabhayabhairava* "terrifying with enormous fangs" or in the popular *Hevajrastotra* by Kāṇha, where Hevajra is described as *daṃṣṭrotkaṭamahābhīmaṃ* "greatly terrifying, with enormous fangs" in the ending colophon (f. 231, v.2, see Isaacson 2009:123. The same *daṃṣṭrotkaṭa* (together with a number of other appellations indicating the deity's wrathful nature) is also used in the description of the Bhairava-mantra in the *Agni Purāṇa* (125, 51, see fn. 264 above) specifically employed to magically destroy the target, or in the description of *vetāla*'s fangs in the BY (see fn. 261 above). *Daṃṣtrākarāla* also features in the description of Vajrapāṇi in the Trailokyavijaya-maṇḍala of the STTS (Kwon 2002:147).

attested in the case of Lakulīśa, the former revivalist of Pāśupata Śaivism whose recognisable iconography of the upraised *liṅga* (*ūrdhvaliṅga/ūrdhvaretas*) has been traced back to the 6th century CE (Cecil 2014:146). The tantric Buddhist adaptation of an earlier Śaiva-Śākta iconography belonging to the cults of Bhairava of the Vidyāpīṭha that became integrated into the making of the "new" tantric deity Heruka has been attested in the *Cakrasaṃvara* literature as pointed out by Sanderson (2009:169–172). Thus, Vajrabhairava's ithyphallic iconography could be regarded as another instance of the praxis of appropriating iconographic attributes formerly belonging to the Śaiva deities and conceptualising them as an evocative expression of the conquest of the non-Buddhist religious "other". This link is explicitly made in *Akṣobhya's commentary, where the following explanation of Vajrabhairava's *ūrdhvaliṅga* is given:

> By 'ithyphallic', a similarity with Mahādeva is shown because [Vajrabhairava] has tamed him. This is because the *liṅgam* is extremely full of passion. It is said: 'After having put to an end the three years of asceticism, in which he had not been satisfied with the bliss of sexual union, his *liṅgam* was constantly ready for action.' For that reason it is said:
>
> "By overcoming passion, wrong view, and hatred, one tames Mahādeva, Brahmā, and Viṣṇu."[267]

For *Akṣobhya, Mahādeva is equated with *rāga* ("passion", "desire"), and this is symbolised by his upraised *liṅga*. By appropriating Śiva's *ūrdhvaliṅga*, Vajrabhairava portrays the conquest of that deity and, by extension, the afflictive emotion of *rāga* that it represents. As we shall see below, in the Vajrabhairava's origin story recounted by Tibetan Buddhist narratives, Vajrabhairava's *liṅga*, recast in the *yogatantra* terminology as the *liṅga* of *jñānavajra*, becomes the weapon of conversion, through which Vajrabhairava tames and subjugates either Yama or Bhairava-Maheśvara.

2.2. Narratives of Vajrabhairava's Origins in the Tibetan Tradition

In this section I will examine the origin narratives on the emergence of the deity Vajrabhairava, and the rediscovery by Lalitavajra of the Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka cycle

[267] *mtshan 'greng zhes bya ba ni 'di lha chen po dang 'dra ba bstan pas de 'dul ba'i phyir te/ de ni lhag par chags pa can yin pas/ lo gsum du dka' thub bzlog pa dang gnyis kyi gnyis su bde bas bde ba ma tshim zhing rtag tu mtshan pa las su rung ba'o zhes grag go/ de bas na chags dang lta ba zhe sdang bsngo// lha chen tshangs pa khyab 'jug 'dul// zhes bshad do*). *Akṣobhya's *pañjikā*, pp. 381–382

preserved in two different *Gshin rje chos 'byung*s written by Tāranātha (1575-1634) and A mes zhabs (1597-1659), respectively. One of the functions of traditional Tibetan Buddhist historiography (*chos 'byung*) is to legitimise a tradition through establishing its link with a historico-mythological origin (Sørensen 1994:2; Schwieger 2013:69). The return to the Ur-event becomes "a crucial ritual act of confirmation and legitimization" (Sørensen 1994:2), thereby authenticating what constitutes "a proper memory" (Breisach 1987:4025). One of the most important features of Tibetan historiography is that the presentation of events takes the form of a narrative governed by the principles of emplotment, shared literary tropes, repetition of motifs, and multi-layering, which are in their turn bound up with the culture-specific models of action, ethics, ideologies, etc. In this regard, Schwieger (2013:68) has pointed out that Tibetan historiography, as a form of narrative, draws from the "toolbox of literary forms", which most of the time reduces the events to simple binaries, such as friend-enemy, giver-receiver, Buddhist-non-Buddhist, etc. Schwieger (*ibid*.:71) further argues that the modes of emplotment recurrently found in Tibetan historiography, such as, for example, the story of a main protagonist subjugating the non-Buddhist other, unfold in repeated patterns, thereby "giving a static quality to history as narrative" (*ibid.*). These repetitive and static aspects of historiographical narrative enable certain models of conduct to persist through the centuries in essentially unchanged form, also providing a framework for the basic storyline of Buddhist biographies (*ibid*.:72) as well as the mythogenesis of deities. The aim of this chapter is to examine some recurrent narrative frameworks and literary tropes adopted by Tāranātha and A mes zhabs as anchor points that legitimate the tradition.

The mythic story associated with the origins of the deity Vajrabhairava, preserved only in Tibetan sources, has two versions. The first, which I call the "Yamarāja Myth", is the most popular. It is principally the Tibetan Buddhist rendering of the subjugation of Maheśvara myth appearing for the first time in Chapter Six of the STTS.[268] The second version, which comes from the oral tradition of Rwa lo tsā ba, narrates the origins of Vajrabhairava in the context of the Purāṇic battle between the gods (*sura*s) and the demons (*asura*s). Both versions incorporate several major themes: the subjugation of the

[268] Two PhD theses have been written on the STTS; one dealing with its general structure (Kwon 2002) and the other with its placement in the classification of Buddhist tantras (Weinberger 2003).

non-Buddhist gods through the theoretical model of conversion (Skt. *vinaya*, Tib. *'dul ba*), the explanation of Vajrabhairava's wrathful iconography as part of the mechanism of subjugation, and the depiction of Vajrabhairava's *liṅga* as a weapon of conversion. Moreover, the narrative of Rwa lo tsā ba reflects an example of Tibetan Buddhist borrowing of the well-known Indian myth of the subjugation of the *mahiṣāsura*.

a) The Yamarāja Myth

According to Tāranātha, the "Yamarāja Myth" is narrated in the seven-chapters VBhT, but, in fact, the text as we know it today does not contain this myth. There is however a short separate text containing the "Yamarāja Myth" preserved in the Bka' 'gyur and translated into English by Siklós (1996:64). This text does not have a Sanskrit title and the descriptive Tibetan title *gtam rgyud* 'story' seems to be a later addition (Siklós 1996:18). A full retelling of the "Yamarāja Myth" (with the exception of the Yamāntaka *mantra*), supposedly quoted from the VBhT, is given in Tāranātha's *chos 'byung* as follows:

> From the seven-chapters *Vajramahābhairavatantra* [of] Mañjuśrī[tantra]: "Now, the Bhagavān, the emanation of body, speech, and mind of Vajramahābhairava manifesting on the peak of the Sumeru mountain realised that the time had come to tame those who were to be tamed, i.e., Yamarāja and his retinue. [Vajrabhairava] crossed the southern ocean and destroyed the seats of Yamarāja, [consisting of] sixteen iron fortresses with his sixteen feet. He threw down the central iron fortress with the *liṅga* of *jñānavajra*, and Yamarāja was subdued. Having conquered all other groups of demons, he obliterated them. The eight classes [of violent deities] offered their life-essence and took a vow to serve him. Yamas and the 'mothers' (*ma mo*s) were liberated and blessed [to become] male and female *kiṅkara*s. They were ordered to protect the teaching." This much comes [from the VBhT].[269]

The "Yamarāja Myth" narrated above, which closely resembles the *gtam rgyud* from the Tibetan canon translated by Siklós, is actually only a part of a larger mythic story that I was able to trace in A mes zhabs's *Gshin rje chos 'byung* (1633). Given the fundamental importance of this account for the understanding of the origins of the deity Vajrabhairava in the Tibetan tradition, I render it here in full.

The extended version of the myth begins with the description of "Yama of wrathful deeds" (*drag po las kyi gshin rje*) who, having built a Sumeru mountain of

[269] For the Tibetan text, see Appendix 1, p. 330.

skeletons on a ground of human flesh surrounded by an ocean of blood, began to cause violence and oppression to all the sentient beings in the three realms.[270] At that time, all the Buddhas in the Pure Land of Akaniṣṭha (*'og min*) single-mindedly brought forth from the heart of peaceful Mañjuśrī's enjoyment-body (*saṃbhogakāya*) the emanation-body (*nirmāṇakāya*) of Vajrabhairava (having nine heads, thirty-four arms, and sixteen feet).[271] The purpose of bringing Vajrabhairava into the world was to tame Yama of wrathful, terrifying deeds.[272]

Yama is depicted as the personification of evil, so mighty in power that a collective effort of all the Buddhas is required to find a means to defeat him. Vajrabhairava in a specific function as Yama's assassin is brought forth to combat the forces of evil, but *en route* to Yama's fortress, he visits the three Buddhist cosmological realms (*ārūpyadhātu*, *rūpadhātu*, and *kāmadhātu*) and by means of the four magical activities (*'phrin las bzhi*) of pacifying, increasing, subduing, and destroying, he disciplines (*btul*) various gods and deities residing in those realms.[273] The narrative of Vajrabhairava's visit to the *kāmadhātu* builds up around the introductory lemma from the root-text (*mūla*) describing Vajrabhairava as "exceedingly wrathful and terrifying to all the gods" (*de yi lha rnams thams cad la drag shul che zhing 'jigs par byed; sarveṣām eva devānām atyugraṃ hi bhayānakam*, see p. 354) and offers the following explanation:

> Then [Vajrabhairava], having gone to the place of the "Thirty-Three",[274] disciplined all the gods who abide on the Sumeru Mountain with four furies, namely, the fury of body,

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[270] The image of the Sumeru mountain made of skeletons surrounded by the ocean of blood bears a striking resemblance to the story of Heruka who appears on the aforementioned mountain, found in the 8th century **Guhyagarbha*: see Davidson 1991:205.

[271] *drag po las kyi gshin rje de nyid sha chen gyis gzhi/ khrag gi rgya mtsho/ keng rus kyi ri rab brtsigs nas khams gsum gyi sems can thams cad la 'tshe ba dang 'joms par byed cing gnas pa las/ de'i tshe 'og min du sangs rgyas thams cad kyi dgongs pa gcig pas/ longs sku zhi ba'i 'jam dpal gyi thugs ka nas sprul sku rdo rje 'jigs byed dbu dgu phyag so bzhi zhabs bcu drug pa zhig sprul te/* A mes zhabs, *Gshin rje gshed,* p. 13.

[272] *drag po 'jigs byed las kyi gshin rje ste/ de 'dul ba'i ched du rdo rje 'jigs byed dbu dgu phyag gsum cu so bzhi zhabs bcu drug pa ma he'i zhal can nyid sprul pa yin pas so/* A mes zhabs, *Gshin rje gshed,* p. 13.

[273] See A mes zhabs, *Gshin rje gshed*, pp. 13–14.

[274] The heaven of "Thirty-Three" or *trāyastriṃśa* is situated at the very top of the world-mountain Sumeru. It is the first of the six heavens of the realm of desire (*kāmadhātu*). The *trāyastriṃśa* is inhabited by thirty-three *deva*s of the Hindu pantheon, presided over by Indra, whom the mythic story portrays as the first god of Vajrabhairava's taming fury. Scholars have noticed that the number thirty-three parallels the original number of the Indian gods in the *Ṛgveda* and, therefore,

the fury of speech, the fury of mind, and the fury of action. These are the four furies of the magical *karma*s. Among these, the fury of body [means] they are converted with his hands, feet, face and eyes, etc. With the first pair of hands, through conversion or wrathful action, he subjugated Indra and Indraṇī. With the remaining thirty-two hands, he disciplined the thirty-two Viṣṇus and bound them under oath. With his three eyes, he disciplined the three [gods]: Brahmā, Rudra, and Viṣṇu. Then, having arrived at the location of the Four Great Kings,[275] he bound under oath the gods that dwelled there. They offered to him [their] life-essence mantra, and because it was inserted between the seed-syllables HŪṂ PHAṬ OṂ, it became the root-mantra of the Lord [Vajrabhairava] himself. Moreover, because they offered the ten-letter life-essence [mantra] of the ten guardians of the directions, they were blessed by the Lord and became the heart (*hṛdayamantra*) of the Lord. Then, again, with eight faces, he disciplined the eight classes of gods and demons[276] and bound them under oath. When he wished to discipline the eight great common gods—Indra, Brahmā, Maheśvara, Viṣṇu, the Six-faced Kumāra, Vināyaka, Gaṇapati, and Rāvaṇa—with his main face, he cut the heads of those eight [gods] and devoured them. He manifested with blood, fat, marrow, etc. dripping from his mouth. Then, he also disciplined the sun and the moon, the sons of the gods, with the sun-*maṇḍala*, which is at the heart of the wrathfulness of the mind. Then, he blessed them with the *jñānavajra* of the Lord.

As for the method of bringing about magical creations for the benefit of others: from his body, terrifying clouds and pitch-black darkness had gathered; from his tongue, he issued many terrifying flashes of lighting; he shouted violently terrifying sounds of thunder; in his hand(s), he spread out innumerable collections of different terrifying weapons, such as *vajra*, etc. He rendered the wrathful Bhairava unconscious. Then, the Lord

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may suggest a deliberate attempt to absorb the ancient Indian pantheon into the Buddhist cosmological structure (*The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, p. 3802).

[275] The heaven of the "Four Great Kings" or *cāturmahārājikakāyika* is situated on the slopes of the Sumeru. It is the second heaven of the gods located in the *kāmadhātu* ruled by the four kings, who generally serve as the protectors of dharma (*dharmapāla*s); they are typically called Virūḍhaka, Dhṛtāṣṭra, Virūpākṣa, and Vaiśravaṇa (the last being their leader). The retinues of these four kings consist of: 1) *kumbhāṇḍa*s in the south (sometimes regarded as minions of Māra who are listed together with evil beings, such as *rākṣasa*, *bhūta*s, *piśāca*s, etc.); 2) *gandharva*s in the east (those are celestial musicians who subsist on 'smell'); 3) *nāga*s (serpents) in the west, usually associated with underwater kingdoms and the roots of trees; and, 4) *yakṣa*s in the north. *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, p. 607

[276] The first appearance of the eight classes of gods and demons (*lha srin sde brgyad*)—traditionally connected to Padmasambhava's taming of local Tibetan deities under oath and assisting him with the building of Sa mye monastery—is traced back to the 8th century (see Tsogyal 2004:72). These eight classes of gods and demons subdued by Padmasambhava became the first *dharmapāla*s ("*dharma* protectors") whose function was to fight the enemies of *dharma* (*The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, p. 1063–1064). There are different classifications of the *lha srin sde brgyad* group; for example, the *Ranjung Yeshe Dictionary* lists those eight as *deva*s, *nāga*s, *yakṣa*s, *gandharva*s, *asura*s, *garuḍa*s, *kinnāra*s, and *mahoraga*s. Another common list considers the eight to be a combination of local Tibetan spirit-deities and Buddhist semi-divine beings, such as *gshin rje*, *ma mo* (ferocious female beings, closely connected to the *mātṛka*s), *bdud* (*māra*), *btsan* (red, male spirits of monks who rejected their vows), *rgyal po* (king-spirits or spirits of high *lama*s who failed), *klu* (aquatic deities, similar to the *nāga*s) *gnod sbyin* (*yakṣa*), and *gza'* (or planetary seizers '*graha*s') (see Samuel 1993:162–163).

> [Vajrabhairava] installed Bhairava as his main face. Having swallowed him inside his body, he purified all of Bhairava's afflictive emotions in the clear light. He (Bhairava), having regained his senses, generated *bodhicitta.* Having burnt [Bhairava's] body generated through *karma* and afflictive emotions with the fire of clear light, he (Vajrabhairava) created ashes, which he expelled through his anus. He initiated his [main] face with the *mudrā*s. Thus, it was predicted that [Bhairava] in the future would become the "Buddha Lord of Ashes" (Bhasmeśvara). The offspring of Bhairava's ignorance is Kāla; the offspring of Bhairava's hatred is Mahākāla; the offspring of Bhairava's desire is young Kārtikeya; those three offered [themselves] dutifully. Moreover, those who were extremely angry due to hatred, including the eight male mounts, offered themselves as cushions for his [eight] right feet. Those who were extremely angry due to desire, including the eight female mounts, offered themselves as cushion of his [eight] left feet. Moreover, all of them were recollected and included in the *maṇḍala* as emissaries; they were allowed to hear the speech of the Lord.
>
> Then, again, having crossed the southern sea, he arrived at the sixteen iron gates without entrance, which is the house of Yama, the Lord of Death. With sixteen feet, he trampled upon the sixteen iron gates. Having treaded down the great iron house at the centre with his one-pointed *liṅga*, which symbolised the one-pointed wisdom of the enlightened mind, he bound Yama Dharmarāja under oath. Again, he arrived at the fourteen places[277], such as a solitary tree, a cremation ground, etc., ferociously uttering the words "HA HA and HŪṂ HŪṂ PHAṬ PHAṬ". Because he shouted these words, all fierce female spirits (*ma mo*), *ḍāka*s, *bhūta*s, *vetāla*s, *rākṣasa*s, *preta*s, *garuḍa*s, *mahoraga*s (great-bellied pythons), *piśācī*s, etc. were disciplined and bound under oath. At that time, the oath-bound protectors, such as Dharmarāja etc., who were crushed in the same way, requested: "I accomplish your purpose, Great Hero, and because we have properly offered the essence of our life, we ask to be accepted by the Great Hero." The offering of the life-essence of eight classes of gods and *asura*s is as follows: YA of Yama, MA of *ma mo*, RA of *rākṣasa*s, KṢE of Yakṣa, NA of humans, SA of earth-spirit, CCA of violent spirit, DA of demon: having offered this, all of them promised to be [his] servants.[278]

This extended version of the "Yamarāja Myth" has several functions. It explains the iconographic features of Vajrabhairava framed within the standard model of *'dul ba* and binding under oath which can be traced back to Padmasambhava's legend of the tantric conversion of Tibet and the subjugation of demons (Guenther 1996; Dalton 2004). However, in this specific context of Vajrabhairava's journey through the heavens of gods (*deva*)[279] in the realm of desire (*kāmadhātu*[280] or *kāmaloka*), namely the heaven of the

[277] The "fourteen places" probably refer to the suitable places for undertaking the Vajrabhairava *sādhana* specified in the *mūla* (see p. 397), however, it is difficult to count more than thirteen.
[278] For the Tibetan text, see Appendix 1, p. 330.
[279] There are six heavens of gods in the realm of desire: 1) the thirty-three [gods] (*trayastriṃśa*), 2) the heaven of the four heavenly kings (*cāturmahārājakāyika*), 3) the heaven of Yama, 4) the heaven of the content, Tuṣita, 5) the heaven of the enjoyment of creation (*nirmāṇarati*), and 6) the heaven of the gods who have power over the creations of others, or the gods who partake of

"Thirty-Three" (gods) or *trāyastriṃśa* and the heaven of the "Four Great Kings" or *cāturmahārājikakāyika*, the above narrative emulates the myth of the subjugation of Maheśvara of the STTS[281] that was used to legitimise the authenticity of the newly-emergent tantric Buddhist scriptures (Davidson 1991:198), and that also provided a rationale for the appearance of the wrathful forms of tantric Buddhist deities, such as Trailokyavijaya/Vajrahūṃkāra, Vajrabhairava, Heruka, and Cakrasaṃvara in the world, as part of their mythogenesis (Davidson 1991; Gray 2007).

The main plot of the myth's narrative included in the section of the Trilokavijaya Mahāmaṇḍala (Chapters 6–11) of the STTS is a moral crisis caused by the evil conduct of Śiva-Maheśvara and his retinue, who are portrayed as impure and morally corrupted, and therefore, in need of discipline (Skt. *vinaya*, Tib. *'dul ba*), i.e., religious conversion to Buddhism. Since they are hard to quell due to their evil ways, they can only be reformed through the compassion of Vajradhara who, in the original version of the STTS, assumes as his emanation-body (*nirmāṇakāya*) the form of Vajrapāṇi (Trailokyavijaya or Vajrahūṃkāra) and, entering the *samādhi* of compassionate-wrath-*vajra* on the request of all the tathāgatas, violently subjugates Maheśvara and his consort Umā by trampling upon them with his two feet. The act of subjugation is followed by a tantric Buddhist initiation, in which Maheśvara and the thirty-seven deities of the Hindu pantheon are introduced into the Trilokavijaya Mahāmaṇḍala,[282] where they are given new initiation *vajra*-names, and where they assume the seats of the deities of the external *vajra*-family (*vajrakula*).[283]

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the pleasures created in other heavens (*paranirmitavaśavarin*). *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, p. 986.

[280] *Kāmadhātu* has six rebirth destinies (*gati*): 1) hell-beings (*nāraka*), 2) hungry ghosts (*preta*), 3) animals (*triyak*), 4) humans (*manuṣya*), 5) demigods (*asura*), and 6) gods (*deva*). *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, p. 986.

[281] The myth was translated into English by Davidson (1995a:547–55) and partially by Snellgrove (1981). Iyanaga (1985), Davidson (1991), Stein (1995), Linrothe (1999), and Mayer (1996, 1998) give detailed analyses of it.

[282] The definition of *trailokyavijaya* given in the STTS clearly associates the Trailokavijaya *maṇḍala* with the destruction of the evildoers: (*trilokavijayaṃ nāma samayaṃ vajrasaṃbhavaṃ*/ *buddhabodhipravartāraṃ sarvaduṣṭavināśanaṃ*) "[The *samaya*] is called *trailokyavijaya* [because] it has orginated from the *vajra*-pledge and it destroys all evil doers".

[283] For the *vajra*-names conferred to the thirty-seven Hindu deities and their position in the Trilokavijaya Mahāmaṇḍala (see Snellgrove 1981:49–50).

The myth of the subjugation of Maheśvara was also popular on the Tibetan plateau. Davidson (1991:203–214) explores the different versions that existed in 15th century Tibetan Buddhist textual sources, especially among the Sa skya pas, who adopted this myth to explain the birth of the deity Heruka. A mes zhabs, one of the most prolific Sa skya pa patriarchs, must have been similarly influenced by the subjugation of Maheśvara myth and therefore could have adopted it in the above narrative to rationalise the origins of Vajrabhairava.

Let us now examine the narrative frameworks and literary tropes adopted by A mes zhabs in the above narrative. First, we can distinguish the common trope of the conversion of Hindu gods and their integration into the tantric Buddhist *maṇḍala* as *dūta*s (emissaries). Second, Vajrabhairava converts the deities by means of four magical *karma*s that are modelled on the four magic acts performed by Vajrahūṃkāra of the STTS.[284] Third, Vajrabhairava's journey through the three realms (*dhātu*s) where he binds under oath the gods that dwell there is modelled upon the Trailokyavijaya ("Conqueror of the Three Realms") and thus Vajrabhairava subsumes the function of Trailokyavijaya of the STTS. Iyanaga (1985) and Linrothe (1999) seem to agree that Trailokyavijaya was modelled on the Purāṇic myth of the Tripurāntaka,[285] in which Śiva destroys the city of demons whose leaders were "pride, anger, shameful behavior, and delusion" (Linrothe 1999:181) present in human beings. The commentaries on the STTS gloss the *triloka* as the three poisons, i.e., *rāga*, *dveṣa*, and *moha*, which are the cause of transmigration. The conquest (*vijaya*) of the *triloka* represents the purification of the *kleśa*s (Kwon 2002:139). In line with the concept of *kleśa*s found in the STTS, the theme of the conversion of non-Buddhist deities by Vajrabhairava in the extended "Yamarāja Myth" is portrayed through the allegory of the purification of the *kāmadhātu*-beings' lower instincts and *kleśa*s in the fire of *dharma*. According to Buddhist cosmology, the *kāmadhatu* is the realm of existence where gods are attached to the sense-objects and sensual pleasures due to the predominance of desire (*kāma*) in them. Because of this

[284] In the STTS, Chap. 6. Vajrapāṇi in the form of Vajrahūṃkāra, also performs the four magical *karma*s of summoning (*ākarṣaṇa*), drawing in (*praveśana*), binding (*bandhana*), and subjecting under one's own will (*vaśīkaraṇa*), all the deities such as Maheśvara, together with humbling them (*huṃkāreṇa ca mahādevādisarvadevākarṣaṇapraveśanabandhanavaśīkaraṇapātanakṣamo bhavati*).

[285] Gray (2007:39) also traced the myth of the birth of the deity Heruka to the Tripurāntaka myth.

afflictive power of desire that holds them in its grip, the *kāmadhātu*-beings are regarded by the Buddhists as mundane (*laukika*) gods and, therefore, they exist on the opposite end of the transmundane (*lokottara*) Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, who are free of such binding *kleśa*s. In this regard, the act of taming (*'dul ba*) is understood as an exercise of compassion, as it benefits the mundane gods and ultimately transports them to the transmundane level of existence, where they assume a higher position as the protectors of the *dharma*.

The distinction between the *laukika* and *lokottara* spheres with reference to the categorisation of non-Buddhist and Buddhist deities and enlightened beings in the context of *'dul ba* has been discussed by Seyfort Ruegg (2008). Seyfort Ruegg highlights the soteriological function of *'dul ba* which is motivated solely by the bodhisattvas' compassionate intention to release the mundane beings from the clutches of binding *kleśa*s, and ultimately *saṃsāra*. This model can also be applied to the extended "Yamarāja Myth" and can be used as a theoretical framework to explain the passage narrating the purification of Bhairava's body "generated from *karma* and afflictive emotions in the fire of clear light" by Vajrabhairava. The myth is influenced by the STTS's depiction of Maheśvara-Bhairava as the hypostasis of evil, a feature he shares with Māra. According to Davidson (1991:202), "it is clear that Maheśvara became the "Māra" of the Vehicle of Spells, and the similarities between the Buddha's conduct of Māra and the treatment of Maheśvara, were quite explicit […]". Especially the aspect of *kleśamāra* embodying 'evil' afflictive emotions became a potent concept that found its way to the tantric exegetical literature where the Hindu *trimūrti*—Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Maheśvara—is often glossed as the three *kleśa*s.[286]

In the above story, we also find the common image associating Bhairava (the wrathful form of Śiva) and his "sons" (Kāla, Mahākāla, and Kārtikeya) with the 'evil' of afflictive emotions. Vajrabhairava installs Bhairava as his main face and purifies all afflictive emotions inside his body in the fire of clear light; then, he creates ashes, which he expels through his anus. He initiates his main [Bhairava's] face with the *mudrā*s. The text ends with the prophetic line: "thus it was predicted that [Bhairava] in the future will become the Buddha "Lord of the Ashes".

[286] See fn. 241 above.

The reference to Bhairava-Bhasmeśvara appears for the first time in the "Maheśvara episode" of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*,[287] one of the *Mahāyānasūtra*s composed sometime in the 4th or 5th century CE,[288] in which the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara prophesizes that in the future Maheśvara will become the Buddha Bhasmeśvara. The same "Bhasmeśvara story" was adopted in esoteric Buddhism when it became a part of the core narrative of the subjugation of Maheśvara first attested in the STTS in the 7th century. In the STTS, the bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi in his wrathful form of Trailokyavijaya first annihilates Śiva-Maheśvara with his *vajra* and then resuscitates him into the Vajradhātumaṇḍala as the Tathāgata Bhasmeśvaranirghoṣa, "Tathāgata Silent Lord of Ashes" in the Ash Parasol (*bhasmacchatrā*) world system.[289] The story of Bhasmeśvara as a future Buddha had a formative influence on the development of the origin myths of all major tantric Buddhist deities, such as Heruka and Cakrasaṃvara,[290] which points to its great popularity in tantric Buddhist circles. However, in addition to the subjugation and conversion context in which the "Bhasmeśvara story" commonly appears, the extended "Yamarāja Myth" also indirectly hints at the process of Buddhist appropriation of the Śaiva/Bhairava cult into the making of Vajrabhairava, which is conveyed through the idiom of tantric initiation that goes through several stages: 1) installation of Bhairava as Vajrabhairava's main face, 2) generation of Bhairava's *bodhicitta*, and 3) initiation of Bhairava's face with the *mudrā*s. Thus, alongside the recycled context of Bhairava becoming a future Buddha, the extended "Yamarāja Myth" alludes to Bhairava as the Śaiva deity who is being ritually appropriated as the main aspect of Vajrabhairava. The

[287] For the general introduction to the history of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* in Tibetan Buddhism, see Roberts 2012. For the Śaiva-Buddhist encounters in the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* and its connection to the Śivadharma corpus, see Sinclair 2015 and Bisschop 2018.

[288] The verse 2.94 of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* is perhaps the earliest appearance of the Maheśvara as Bhasmeśvara, the future Buddha. In the text, Maheśvara requests the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara to give him a prophesy of this "true unsurpassable enlightenment". Avalokiteśvara replies by listing the ten famous epithets of the Buddha: "Noble son, in the world named Vivṛta, you will be the Tathāgata, the arhat, the *samyaksaṃbuddha*, perfect in wisdom and conduct, the sugata, the knower of the world, the unsurpassable guide who tames beings, the teacher of gods and humans, the buddha, the Bhagavat Bhasmeśvara" (*Kāraṇḍavyūha* 2.94, trans. by Roberts).

[289] The Tathāgata Bhasmeśvaranirghoṣa of the Bhasmācchatra realm enters the body of Maheśvara and revives him in this form, thus Maheśvara becomes a crown-prince for the benefit of all sentient beings and for converting those who are evil (Snellgrove 1981:47).

[290] For the same Bhasmeśvara episode recycled in the mythological account of the birth of the deity Heruka, see Gray 2007:48.

same influence and incorporation of Śaiva elements is conveyed through Vajrabhairava's ithyphallic iconography. The appropriation of iconographic attributes formerly belonging to Śaiva deities and their reconceptualisation as an evocative expression of the conquest of the non-Buddhist religious other is attested in *Akṣobhya's commentary, already referred to above (see, p. 105).

b) The Oral Tradition of Rwa lo tsā ba

The second version of Vajrabhairava's mythic origins, preserved in Tāranātha's *chos 'byung*, goes back (as Tāranātha tells us) to the oral tradition of Rwa lo tsā ba.[291] Tāranātha provides the following account:

> Once upon a time, in the incalculable past, there was the son of Maheśvara, who was the general of gods, the Six-faced Kumāra, and there was a fierce Asura, the Outcast (*caṇḍāla*). The two of them disagreed who should be the master of the world. They were fighting for a long time. When the six-faced Kumāra had the command over the world, Maheśvara was residing deep in the Sumeru Mountain, and realised this. [Maheśvara] recruited to arms the thirty three gods, etc., who move in the sky, the eight diseases, gods, and the eight demons, etc., all ghosts who are on the ground; and *asura*s, *nāga*s, etc., and those who move around below the ground. [Then], the wrathful Maheśvara and all those wrathful ones arrived. As for the fierce Outcast, he became frightened, because he did not have any protector. He recalled in his mind the *bhagavān* Mañjughoṣa. Rising his face to the sky, he called out the name [of Mañjuśrī] with a loud voice and prayed. To that place, Mañjuśrī came in person, manifesting himself in the wrathful body [of Vajrabhairava] in order to tame the evil ones. He devoured the eight Bhairavas of the cardinal directions with his eight different mouths. With his main face and *liṅga*, he tamed with anger Bhairava Maheśvara. With his two buffalo horns, he destroyed the cavalry of *asura*s. With his two hands holding an elephant skin, [he destroyed] Indra; with his other thirty-two hands, he destroyed the thirty-two Viṣṇus. With his eight right feet, [he destroyed] the eight evil spirits, and with his eight left feet, he pressed down the eight diseases. He tied up the *nāga*s as ornaments, and furthermore, he ate some of the evil gods and demons, and he pressed some of them down with his feet. This is how it actually happened, and through the power of this, he moreover tamed the nine planets with nine faces, and the nine guardians of the directions, and the eight or nine Bhairavas, and with twenty-seven eyes, he tamed the stellar constellations; with this, the purpose was achieved. In the same way, all the black poisons, *deva*s, *nāga*s, *asura*s, *bhūta*s, *dāha*s, and non-humans, he annihilated first, and then liberated them. First, he displayed fearful

[291] *yang grub thob brgyud pa'i bla ma rnams kyi snyan du brgyud pa'i gtam rwa lo chen po'i gsung rgyun las byung ba ni*/ "The story from the oral transmission of the lamas of the siddha lineage is recounted by Rwa Lo tsā ba in the following way…". Taranātha's *Gshin rje gshed,* p. 41.

> acts such as eating their heart and blood, etc., and afterwards, he revived and supported them, and initiated them into the wisdom-*maṇḍala*.[292]

The above narrative shows markedly Purāṇic influences, not only in the adaptation of the classic mythologeme of the Purāṇic battle between the gods (*sura*s) and the demons (*asura*s) who fight over the claim to the universe, but also in the appropriation of the trope of a 'good' demon-devotee—commonly also an outcast—popular in *bhakti* mythologies found in Indic Sanskrit and vernacular traditions.[293] The beginning of the above narrative reflects the first verses of the second subdivision of the Purāṇic text called the *Devīmāhātmya*, dated to the 5th–6th century (Kinsely 1978:490), where the gods led by Indra engage in battle with the demons (*asura*s) led by Mahiṣa.[294] In the *Devīmāhātmya*, the gods loose the battle and Mahiṣa becomes their chief. As he takes over the regions of the Vedic gods Sūrya, Indra, Agni, Vāyu, Candra, Varuṇa and Yama, the conquered gods approach Śiva and Viṣṇu to assist them in combating Mahiṣa. The gods emanate from their faces' and bodies' fiery effulgence (*tejas*) the goddess Caṇḍikā, also called Bhadrakālī or Ambikā.[295] The gods arm her with their weapons and she engages in the combat with the *asura* and his troops. Eventually, the goddess captures the demon in the form of a buffalo (*mahiṣāsura*) with a noose and tramples on his throat with

[292] For the Tibetan text, see Appendix 1, p. 331.

[293] Especially in South India, but also in the 9th century iconographic examples of Mahiṣāsuramardinī from Java, the demon assumes the form of a devotee (*bhakta*) (Rodrigues 2009:542). One telling example of this kind is the myth of the demon Prahlāda, a son of Hiraṇyakaśipu (an *asura* and the king of *daitya*s), who through his ardent devotion to Viṣṇu was saved from the demonic assaults of his father by the Man-Lion (*narasiṃha*) manifestation of Viṣṇu. For the vernacular examples of the demon-devotee trope, see Chapter Five in Shulman (1980:317–345). For the localised versions of demon-devotee legends in contemporary Hinduism, see various ethnographic studies in Hiltebeitel 1989.

[294] The second subdivision of the *Devīmāhātmya* (2.1–2) begins as follows: "Once upon a time, a battle between the gods (*deva*s) and *asura*s raged for a full hundred years, when [the buffalo-demon] Mahiṣa was leader of the *asura*s and Indra was leader of the gods. The gods' army was conquered there by the mighty *asura*s, and having conquered all the gods, the *asura* Mahiṣa became lord (literally Mahiṣa became Indra)", in Coburn 1998:36.

[295] The goddess is also called *mahāsurī* due to her transgressive behavior, such as drinking wine, which highlights her *raudra* nature existing alongside her *saumya* nature.

her foot.[296] Thus, she is known as the 'one who has slayed the buffalo-demon' (*mahiṣāsuramardinī*).[297]

The narrative of Rwa lo tsā ba distinctively draws upon an earlier version of this story, based on the mythology of Kumāra-Skanda,[298] also known as Six-faced Kārttikeya (the son of Śiva and Umā), who was born to destroy the demon Tāraka. This episode of Kumāra's mythology is narrated already in the *Mahābhārata*.[299] The selection of the Purāṇic trope, which seems to have been quoted virtually verbatim (see fn. 294 above), is constructed with a purpose, there being a thoroughly Buddhist agenda behind the choice of this particular narrative and the moulding of the story in a way that changes its original meaning. Rwa lo tsā ba's manner of adapting the main storyline of the Purāṇic battle serves the purpose of portraying the inherent antagonism between the two opposite classes of beings that is further reinforced by their respective sectarian identities of a Śaiva god and a Buddhist demon. In addition, a Buddhist demon is named "Caṇḍāla", which seems to be used deliberately to emphasise his low social status from the perspective of the Brahmaṇical *varṇa* system. Not only is Caṇḍāla a low-caste demon located at the opposite end of the social scale with respect to Kumāra, the son of the chief god Śiva; he also does not have any powerful protector who could assist him to combat the armed forces of the approaching army of Śiva. Motivated by the fear of his incumbent

[296] Hiltebeitel (1978:786) argues that by overcoming the buffalo, Durgā overwhelms Yama as death symbolized by the buffalo.

[297] The appropriation of Purāṇic tropes, especially that of Durgā vanquishing the demon, had a great impact on conceptualisation of evil in tantric Buddhist contexts. Iyanaga (1985) was the first to suggest that the STTS adopted the names of the two demons Śumbha and Niśumbha from the *Devīmāhātmya*'s second main episode as Trailokyavijaya's secret *dhāraṇī*, which reads: *oṃ śumbha niśumbha hūṃ gṛhṇa gṛhṇa hūṃ gṛhṇāpaya hūṃ ānaya ho bhagavan vajra hūṃ phaṭ* (STTS, p. 159, line 6–10; for the translation of this mantra, see Linrothe 1999:182). The powerful depiction of the conquest of evil expressed by the act of trampling of *mahiṣāsura* by Durgā in a warrior-pose (*pratyālīḍha*) harmonised easily with the moral prerogative held by the Buddhists, who seem to have adopted this dramatic expression to convey the same message. The mythologeme of destroying evil by trampling them underfoot, adopted for the first time in the STTS, soon became a central visual motif depicted in many iconographical representations of tantric Buddhist deities trampling upon the Hindu gods, through which the non-Buddhist deities were relegated to the position of a demon. In one of the stone Trailokyavijaya images from Bodhgāyā analysed by Linrothe (1999:199), a short inscription beneath Maheśvara reads *bhūta*, 'demon', and under Umādevī *bhūtī*, 'demoness'.

[298] For a detailed account of Kumāra-Skanda mythology, see Mann 2012.

[299] Although his mythologies vary, from the 2nd century onwards, Kumāra-Skanda subsumes the role of Senāpati, the war-god (Mann 2012:12).

defeat, Caṇḍāla assumes the form of a demon-devotee and calls out in prayer to Mañjuśrī, who promptly arrives in his wrathful form in order to "discipline the evil ones".

Rwa lo tsā ba picks up the story of the demon Mahiṣa, the archenemy of the gods, and develops it in a new direction that creates a vaguely ironic representation of the original. The depiction of Vajrabhairava is primarily implied in the subtext, in which the Vajrabhairava-character takes the shape of the demon Mahiṣa through his feature of the buffalo-face (*mahiṣamukha*). By creating this subtext, Rwa lo tsā ba transfers a new context into the original storyline in order to change the meaning and make the Purāṇic battle serve the Buddhist purpose. The original meaning of the conquest of evil in which the demons are vanquished is still recognisable, but it turns into its opposite. The roles are turned outside down: Vajrabhairava takes the place of Caṇḍikā or Skanda as the slayer of the gods turned demons, and the *asura*s triumph.

2.3. The Rediscovery Narrative

The chapter so far has examined the mythic stories on the origins of Vajrabhairava that specifically link him to Śiva not only in terms of a recast of the subjugation of Maheśvara myth, but also as an iconographic appropriation of the Śaiva attribute of *ūrdhvaliṅga.* In the following section, I will analyse the origin story of the VBhT itself. This narrative is contained in the biography of the *siddha* Lalitavajra, who retrieves the Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka tantras guarded by the *ḍākinī*s, thereby reintroducing the textual tradition of Vajrabhairava in the world. Here, the motif of origins serves the purpose of consolidating the tradition's authenticity by legitimising the authority of its revealer, around whom the identity of the tradition can crystallise.

According to Tāranātha, the VBhT constitutes a timeless revelation possessing the power of *siddhi* since beginnigless times, but at some point the tantra was sealed because it could no longer benefit people.[300] The tantra's concealment in Oḍḍiyāna becomes

[300] "Then, after some time, having realized that the tantra can no longer benefit people, the tantra was sealed and stayed in the land of Orgyan in the place called the "Treasury of dharma" (*dharmagañja*), it is said. This [tantra] had the power of *siddhi* since the beginningless time" (*de nas bar skabs su mi rnams kyi don du mi 'gyur par mkhyen nas/ orgyan gyi gnas dharma gany dza chos kyi mdzod du rgyas btab nas bzhugs ces 'gyur na/ rgyud 'di gdod nas grub pa'i dbang du byas te*).

imagined in many ways in parallel to the Tibetan treasure tradition (*gter ma*),[301] where important scriptural revelations and other artifacts are hidden only to be rediscovered in future times. For Tāranātha, the "hidden text" provides ramifications for the narrative of the *siddha* Lalitavajra who, in a manner of the treasure revealer (*gter ston*), reinstates what had already become a forgotten tradition. There are several narratives associated with the rediscovery of the Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka corpus presented by Tāranātha. All of them revolve around the figure of Lalitavajra a.k.a Līlavajra[302] and his journey to the mythical land of Oḍḍiyāna.

Oḍḍiyāna (variously spelled, Uḍḍiyāna, U/Oḍiyāna, U/Oḍyāna and U/Oḍḍayāna) was the kingdom known to the Tibetans as U rgyan or O rgyan, located in the north-west of Kashmir in the Swat Valley, in present-day Pakistan.[303] Its high status as a special place for a tantric *sādhana* is attested by the various designations by which it is referred to. In the early Śākta tradition of the Krama, Oḍḍiyāna is often referred to as "primordial sacred seat" (*ādipīṭha*) or *oṃkārapīṭha*. It is also often identified with the Northern Seat (*uttarapīṭha*).[304] There are several accounts that attest to various Hindu and Buddhist tantric traditions, masters, and texts originating from Oḍḍiyāna.[305] According to traditional accounts, the "Lotus-born" progenitor of Buddhism in Tibet, Padmasambhava, was born in Oḍḍiyāna, and so was *Prahevajra (Dga' rab rdo rje), the human originator of *rdzogs chen*. The colophon of the manuscript containing the Sanskrit version of the VBhT describes the tantra as a text that was brought down from Oḍḍiyāna.[306] The high

[301] With regard to the traditional division of *gter ma*, a 'hidden' text would belong to the category of "earth treasures" (*sa gter*) concealed in a physical location: see Doctor 2005:27.
[302] The problem of Lalitavajra *versus* Līlavajra is discussed in Chapter One of this thesis.
[303] In fact, the location of Oḍḍiyāna is a matter of controversy. Tucci (1940), Sircar (1948), Davidson (2002a), and others locate Oḍḍiyāna in the Swat Valley, while Lokesh Chandra (1980) in Kāñcī. Donaldson (2001) places it in Odisha (Orissa).
[304] The reference to the Krama teachings is not out of place in this context insofar that it is generally believed that the Krama "may have been influenced by Buddhist ideas" (Sferra 2003:64).
[305] Bhattacharya 1999; Bharati 1993; Sircar 1948; Shaw 1998; Simmer-Brown 2001.
[306] See VBhT ms. A, f. 16v. Similarly, the excipits of manuscripts containing the earliest Śākta texts of the Krama tradition, viz. the *Kramasadbhāva* and *Devīpañcaśatikā*, dated to the 7th century, state that they were brought down by [the master] Śrīnātha from the Northern Sacred Seat, which is a synonym for Oḍḍiyāna (*uttarapīṭha*/*uḍḍiyāna*): *iti śrīmaduttarapīṭhavinirgate śrīnāthapādāvatārite śrīkālikrame śrīkramasadbhāve, Kramasadbhāva* 1.1.

status of Oḍḍiyāṇa as the sacred seat (*pīṭha*)[307] of esoteric knowledge is further attested by the fact that masters from India and Tibet typically went there in search of lost scriptures containing esoteric knowledge. One of the masters who undertook such a journey was Tāranātha's own guru, *Buddhaguptanātha.[308]

Oḍḍiyāna was famous as the seat inhabited by the mistresses of yoga, called *yoginī*s or *ḍākinī*s. The Sanskrit version of the VBhT designates Oḍḍiyāna as the *yoginīpīṭha*, "the sacred seat of the *yoginī*s", which clearly indicates this connection. This is also attested in the early Śākta texts of the Krama tradition. For example, the *Khacakrapañcakastotra* written by Jñānanetra begins with the salutation to the *yoginī*s who have assembled in a single gathering, in the venerable northern seat (*uttarapīṭha*), which is the seat of the lotus (*abjapīṭha*).[309] Oḍḍiyāna as the coveted home of the *yoginī*s and *ḍākinī*s is also attested by the Tibetan U rgyan pa Rin chen dpal (1230–1309), who visited Oḍḍiyāna. The description of his visit is reported in his "Guide to Oḍḍiyāna" (*O rgyan lam yig*) in which "All the women know the art of miraculous transformation. If you ask them who they are they say that they are *yoginī*s. ..." (Tucci 1940:54). The same text describes *ḍākinī*s as shapeshifters assuming the forms of "wild boars, poisonous snakes, vultures, crows, jackals and the like" (*ibid*.:56). Tāranātha's guru *Buddhaguptanātha also attests to this perception when he says: "all women [of Urgyen] are of *ḍākinī* family, they are accomplished and powerful and adopt various forms and display magical abilities".[310]

The *yoginī*s and *ḍākinī*s do not only bestow on tantric practitioners coveted *siddhi*s, they also act as guardians of the tantric texts and *samaya*s.[311] In the Tibetan

[307] *Pīṭhas* or *siddhapīṭhas* are especially powerful places where particular Yogins or ascetics meditated for attaining *siddhi*s (Sircar 1948:3). The *pīṭha*-motif was appropriated by both Buddhist and non-Buddhist tantric traditions and it conveyed the transformation of ordinary places into sacred topography, as abodes for the powers and deities dwelling in them (Beane 2001:247).
[308] See Tāranātha's *Buddha gupta'i rnam thar*, p. 539
[309] *Khacakrapañcakastotra*, v. 7cd, see Dyczkowski 2018:82.
[310] See *Buddha gupta'i rnam thar*, p. 540
[311] In the narrative of the *siddha* Kṛṣṇācārya, *ḍākinī* Bhadrī of Pretapuri is in the possession of the *Saṃputatilakatantra*; see Tāranātha's *Life of Kāṇha*, p. 10. The *mahāsiddha* Tilopa is instructed by the *ḍākinī* to go to Uḍḍiyāna in order to meet Jñānaḍākiṇī, who guards the entrance to the temple containing prophecies and commitments (*samaya*); see *The life of the Mahāsiddha Tilopa*, p. 35.

tradition, meetings with the *yoginī*s or *ḍākinī*s[312] became a core narrative element in the massive corpus of the revelations called *gter ma* or 'treasures'. On the one hand, *ḍākinī*s act as the treasure-protectors (*gter srung*) and create obstacles to prevent the treasure-revealer from finding the hidden text (Gyatso 1993:118–119); on the other, however, they play a critical role in locating the treasure site and bringing it to the attention of the retriever (*ibid*.:225). This twofold role of the *ḍākinī*-figure as the agent creating impediments and the guide pointing the way to the hidden text is also highlighted in Lalitavajra's life-story. In setting out for the journey to Oḍḍiyāna and in his encounters with the *yoginī*s and *ḍākinī*s, Lalitavajra emulates the standard trope of recovering the hidden texts as the validating source of inception or creation of the new scriptural revelation. The impulse to proceed to Oḍḍiyāna is triggered by a prophecy. According to Gyatso (1991:152), prophecy as a visionary instruction that propels the discoverer to find the hidden treasure constitutes an important element of the *gter ma* transmission paradigm. The act of prophecy implies two interrelated notions: first, that the proper time has finally come to unearth the revelation; second, that the discoverer is a predetermined person to receive the treasure. What is striking, however, in the context of Lalitavajra's narrative, is the rationale for this rediscovery, which points to the strains and tensions in the social dynamics existing on the human level between Buddhists and *tīrthika*s.

Tāranātha's *Gshin rje chos 'byung* provides three different versions of the narrative recounting Lalitavajra's trip to Oḍḍiyāna. The first narrative, as Tāranātha tells us, is popular in India and since it comes from a historical account (*lo rgyus*), it is not distorted.[313] This narrative is also repeated in a shorter version in Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism in India* (*Rgya gar chos 'byung*).[314] The second narrative, according to Tāranātha, is widespread among the Skyo lugs: in this version Lalitavajra is referred to as Līlavajra (see, p. 16). The third narrative comes from the oral tradition of Ba ri lo tsā ba and concerns Sgeg pa'i rdo rje, whom the followers of Ba ri lo tsā ba consider to be Lalitavajra (see, p. 16).

[312] On the role of *ḍākinī*s in the *gter ma* tradition, see Gyatso 1998:243–264.
[313] *'phags yul rang du grags pa ltar yin cing/ lo rgyus kyi yi ger yang bkod pa yin pas 'khrul pa med do*, Tāranātha's *Gshin rje*, p. 58.
[314] Chattopadhyaya 1990:242.

a) Narrative 1

There was the master Lalitavajra. That master was born in Odiśa. Tibetans explained that his "caste was [that of a] Brahmin". After going to Śrī Nālandā, he became a master of the five sciences and also received many tantric (*vajrayāna*) teachings. He received the empowerment of the *Māyājāla* [system] from a tantric master. Because the flower fell on Mañjuśrī[315] [during his initiation], Mañjuśrī was proved to be his tutelary deity. His secret name was Lalitavajra and his actual name was Mañjuśastra. After meditating on Āryamañjuśrī for about twenty years, he had a vision of him and achieved a few common *siddhi*s. According to Tibetan legends, at that time, the master [Lalitavajra] asked *paṇḍita*s who were experts in mantras about the passage in the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti*: "He is Vajrabhairava, the frightening one, the six-faced wrathful king, terrifying, who has six eyes, six arms, and is endowed with power." He also asked the *paṇḍita*s: "What is the mantra, tantra, and *maṇḍala*, etc., of this deity?" They said that these were different forms of Mañjuśrī. When he asked about each of his [Mañjuśrī's] subdivisions, the *paṇḍita*s could not give him any specific answer. When Lalitavajra asked his own teacher or *paṇḍita*, who was very old, he told him: "The tantras for each of these [subdivisions] are in the hands of *ḍāka*s [*vīra*s/heroes] and *ḍākinī*s, and because they are unavailable in the human world at present, in order to [receive them], meditate on Āryamañjuśrī!" He said: "I shall meditate [on him]." Then, the master stabilised the generation stage and he attained a little bit of power. He received the prophecy that he should also retrieve the tantra for subduing the "Haughty Ones" from the glorious land of Oḍḍiyāna. He gradually proceeded north and competed with the *tīrthika*s everywhere in the vicinity of Oḍḍiyāna, and won against everyone. However, on one occasion, a *tīrthika-yoginī* gave him a fierce gaze, and Lalitavajra fell unconscious for a while.[316] When the shock subsided, he prayed fervently to the Vajrayoginīs. Bhagavatī Vajravetālī (*ro langs ma*) appeared in person in form of a human woman and initiated him into the *maṇḍala* of the emanations of Yamāntaka. In the master's mental stream, the unperverted wisdom of the empowerment arose. Lalitavajra meditated in the same place for two and a half months, and stabilising the wisdom of the generation and completion stage, he reached the stage of "heat" (*drod*). He summoned a pernicious buffalo from the forest, and rode it, behaving like a crazy person for six months. Afterwards, he went to cities such as Jalapatan, Talapatan, and stopping at a crossroads, he asked beer from the beer-selling women, drinking all of it at the same time. Again, the next day, all pots of the beer-selling women, wherefrom they served him beer, were filled with gold, silver, jewels and other precious substances, and they were delighted. Also, on another occasion, he practised the meditation of drawing the blood of humans and cattle of the city, when a huge cauldron appeared in front of him, filled with blood, and [the goddess] Vajracarcikā showed herself face to face. Because he propitiated her, his power became immeasurable. He was able to hold down elephants with one finger and also pluck a large Shalamali tree trunk from the ground with one hand. All the people and cattle in the city became emaciated. When they all became scared and worried, those who, previously, had become emaciated (*nang bar bkug pa*: "drawn inside") became inflated [filled with blood] again, and by that, all the humans and cattle of the city became strong. He also composed the *sādhana* of Vajracarcikā. Having done some service for the benefit of sentient beings through *vidyāvrata*s, such as these, he arrived to the Treasury of Dharma,

[315] This refers to the ritual of *puṣpapāṭaḥ* ("casting of a flower") during standard tantric initiation, in which the flower cast by a novice determines the family (*kula*) of the Buddhas to which he belongs. The ritual of intiation is completed when the new 'tantric' name is granted to the novice.
[316] *yug cig = skabs shig.*

> "Dharmagañja", in the glorious Oḍḍiyāna. There, he had a council with the *vajraḍākinī*s and retrieved the three [tantric] cycles of Kṛṣṇayamāri, Yamāntaka, and Vajrabhairava.[317]

The above narrative is important for it provides a clear trajectory for the development of the cult of Vajrabhairava in general and the production of the VBhT in particular. The passage claims that an early tantric Buddhist text of the *saṅgīti* genre, namely, the MNS, (or simply *Nāmasaṅgīti*)[318] directly influenced the VBhT. This short text (167 verses) praises the 'Names' of Mañjuśrī embodying the principle of the perfection of wisdom (*prajñāpāramitā*), on the one hand, and the primordial Buddha (*ādibuddha*), on the other. Composed around the 7th and the 8th centuries (Davidson 1995b:104),[319] the MNS had a formative role in the development of early tantric Buddhism in India as can be attested from its extensive commentarial literature.[320] The MNS is conscious of itself as being a part of the larger tantra (16,000 verses) that is the *Māyājālatantra* (or *Śrīmāyājālatantra*),[321] but Tribe (2016:116) concludes that the relation between those two texts is not apparent and may be merely an example of tantric strategy to legitimise the MNS's authority by associating itself with a more esteemed scripture.

Especially important for the purpose of determining the origins of Vajrabhairava is Chapter Seven of the MNS, called the "Mirror-like Awareness" (*ādarśajñāna*),[322]

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[317] For the Tibetan text, see Appendix 1, p. 331–332.

[318] MNS has been translated into English by Wayman (1985) and Davidson (1995b).

[319] Wayman (1985:5–6) proposed to date the MNS to between the 6th and the 7th centuries, which appears to be too early.

[320] Among the tantric commentaries that have survived to us in Sanskrit is the *Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī* (NMAA) by Vilāsavajra, researched in detail by Tribe (1994; 2016), the *Amṛtakaṇikā* by Raviśrījñāna (Lal 1994), the *Gūḍhapāda* by Advayavakra (probably a typo for Advayavajra; Sferra 2019:885). For a small fragment of another Sanskrit commentary on the MNS found in the University Library of Cambridge, see Sferra 2019. As for the commentaries preserved in the Bstan 'gyur, these have been grouped as *yogatantra* and *anuttarayoga* commentaries (Wayman 1985:6–7). The *yogatantra* commentaries on the MNS are represented by the work of Smṛtijñānakīrti, who belonged to the Vilāsavajra lineage, and Candrabhadrakīrti, who belonged the Mañjuśrīmitra lineage (Wayman 1985:6–7). The *anuttarayoga* commentaries are interpreted from the Kālacakra perspective, and include, for example, commentaries by Sūryaśrījñāna or Narendrakīrti (Wayman 1985:6–7; Tribe 1994:113–114). Nāropā's commentary on the *Hevajratantra* contains a great numer of stanzas derived from the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti*.

[321] See, for example, v. 1.13, in Wayman 1985:61.

[322] The commentators of the MNS associate the Mirror-like Awareness chapter with the family of Akṣobhya, who presides over the *vajra* family (*vajrakula*), in which one thinks "I shall destroy". Mañjuśrī's name linked to Akṣobhya is Duḥkhaccheda or "One who destroys suffering" (Wayman 1985:25). Thus, Vajrabhairava subsumes the role of Akṣobhya of the wrathful deities of the *vajrakula*, whose role rose to prominence in the *yogottaratantra*s, especially the GS.

which begins with the quarter-verse "Vajrabhairava who creates fear" (*vajrabhairavābhīkaraḥ*)[323] and ends with "the best of those with a voice, i.e. the Gentle-voiced, Mañjughoṣa". This chapter of ten and a quarter verses focuses on the wrathful form of Mañjuśrī who, after the initial quarter-verse cited above, is praised as:

> Six-faced, fearful ruler of the wrathful ones,
> six-eyed, six-armed powerful one;
> skeleton with terrible fangs,
> the hundred faces of Halāhala.[324]

According to the above narrative, repeated in a shorter version in the *Rgya gar chos 'byung*, this verse along with Mañjuśrī's 'name' 'Vajrabhairava' inspired Lalitavajra, the retriever of the VBhT, to look for a guru who could explain to him the tantric tradition of this wrathful deity. Lalitavajra's endeavours failed since neither the *paṇḍita*s nor his own guru had any knowledge about it. The passage seems to suggest that Lalitavajra[325] was part of the tantric community that promoted Mañjuśrī as a tantric deity: not only was he initiated into the tantric path of the *Māyājālatantra* cycle (the same text that the MNS claims to be a part of), but he also had Mañjuśrī as his family-deity (*kuladevatā*), as it was determined during the tantric ritual of initiation of 'throwing the flower' (*puṣpapātaḥ*).[326] Moreover, Lalitavajra is said to have meditated on Āryamañjuśrī for twenty years and, no doubt, he praised the 'names' of Mañjuśrī through the recitation of

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[323] There is a difficulty in establishing where the Mirror-like Awareness chapter exactly begins. According to the commentaries of Narendrakīrti, Smṛti (Wayman 1985:31), and Vilāsavajra (Tribe 2016:35), it begins with the word 'Vajrabhairava' insomuch as the chapter is dedicated to the *sādhana* of Vajrabhairava. Davidson (1995b:23) follows the same structure. Nevertheless, according to the commentary by Candrabhadrakīrti (Wayman 1985:31), the chapter begins with *kulatrayadharo mantrī*, Chapter 6, v. 24 in Wayman's division of the text (Wayman 1985:81), which amounts to the total of twelve (and not the usual ten) verses of the Mirror-like Awareness chapter. This means that Vajrabhairava is associated with the functions of *vajrapāśa* and *vajrāṅkuśa*, thus subsuming the role of Trailokyavijaya of the STTS, which indeed he does, since in MNS 7.5 he is referred to as Vajrahūṃkāra, that is, the aspect of Trailokyavijaya that has arisen to subdue and convert Maheśvara and Umā in the *Trailokyavijayamahāmaṇḍala* of the STTS.

[324] Sanskrit text and trans. by Wayman (1985:83, slightly modified): *krodharāṭ ṣaṇmukho bhīmaḥ ṣaḍnetraḥ ṣaḍbhujo balī/ daṃṣṭrākarālakaṅkālo halāhalaśatānanaḥ//*.

[325] Lalitavajra was the name given to him during tantric initiation, and was possibly based on the STTS, since the conferral of the *vajra*-names during an introduction of the initiand into the *maṇḍala* during initiation is attested there (STTS chap.1, pp. 6–18).

[326] Wayman (1974) cites various sources about the casting of the flower and the implication of where it falls, as well as about attendant symbolism.

the MNS, since 'Vajrabhairava', being one of Mañjuśrī's 'names' celebrated in this text, caught his attention. This single 'name' became the impetus for the creation of a totally new tantric tradition dedicated solely to Mañjuśrī's wrathful form of Vajrabhairava.

The above narrative tracing the origins of Vajrabhairava to the 'names' of Mañjuśrī in the MNS can be further compared to Chapter 4 of the VBhT, dedicated to the exposition of a *sādhana* by means of which one transforms oneself into Vajrabhairava.[327] The process of generation is explained in terms of turning oneself into the deity by means of seed-syllables. The stages of visualisation, starting with Mañjuśrī, along with the specific seed-syllables through which this transformation is enacted, closely resemble the generation of oneself as Mahāvairocana described in Chapter 4 of the NMAA (Vilāsavajra's commentary on the MNS), entitled "On the Method of Awakening According to *Māyājāla*". Tribe (1994:6) has suggested that Chapter 4 of the NMAA might be the earliest exposition of *sādhana* genre in the *yogatantra* texts that are extant in the original Sanskrit.[328] The similarity between the NMAA and the VBhT with regard to this specific *sādhana* may indicate that the two texts were drawing upon an earlier source—in all likelihood the *Māyājālatantra*, which, as the NMAA itself confirms, was a popular *yogatantra* extant in Nālandā by the 8th century, but no Sanskrit versions of which can be identified at present.[329] Thus, at the very least, both texts represent an early example of the *sādhana* genre current in the *yogatantra*s.[330]

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[327] See Appendix 3, fn. 1717, 1719, 1721, 1727.

[328] Tribe (1994:6) points out that the two *yogatantra*s STTS and *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana,* which have been preserved in Sanskrit, do not contain accounts of *sādhana*s, but only give the descriptions of the production of the *maṇḍala*s and of *abhiṣeka*.

[329] No passage containing features of the *sādhana* given in the VBhT and NMAA could be identified in the *Māyājālatantra* preserved in the Tibetan canon as *Sgyu 'phrul dra ba* (Toh. 466). Interestingly, in the Bka' 'gyur, the *Sgyu 'phrul dra ba* is followed by the two scriptures of the Black cycle, i.e., *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra* and VBhT. Their position in the canon indicates that these texts are affiliated to the *Māyājāla* cycle. According to Szántó (2013:359), a fragment of five folios the now lost Sanskrit *Māyājāla* has been found, but the location of the fragment is unknown.

[330] When compared with the NMAA, the VBhT's account certainly looks much less elaborate and somewhat 'primitive'; nevertheless, both descriptions of the generation process follow the same stages, namely: 1) generation of the syllable 'A' and a moon-disc, 2) generation of Mañjuśrī from the syllable DHĪḤ, 3) generation of Vairocana from the syllable ĀḤ, 4) transformation of the syllable HŪṂ into a *vajra*. For the explanation, see Appendix 3, fn. 1717, 1719, 1721, 1727.

b) Narrative 2

> The name "master Līlavajra" is brought forth. He was an expert in tantras and had many disciples. One day a yogin came to him and performed various acts of sorcery of killing, expelling, causing dissent, and paralysing. The disciples of Līlavajra felt admiration for him. Thereafter, the master thought: "With occult powers, we will be able to protect the Buddhist dharma. First, I will teach improper acts of sorcery; later, I will need a dharma that accomplishes the supreme [*siddhi*]". With this thought in mind, he left in search [of the teaching]. He met a water-carrying woman who walked without touching the ground with her feet. She said: "Where are you going?" He said: "I have gone away in search of the dharma of such-and-such kind". She said: "And have you found it?" Having realised that she was a *ḍākinī*, he did prostrations and circumambulations and made prayers to her. She led him to the "Cool Grove" cremation ground [near Bodhgāyā] and delivered him to another *ḍākinī* of the *mamo*[331] class. She led him to Oḍḍiyāna in the west and escorted him to the great Vajra-cave. There, he beheld the Terrifying Blessed One or Yamāntaka with a laughing face and palpitating eyes. Vajraḍākinīs gave him instructions. They said that among the collection of tantric books, he should take out as much as the amount taken out with a four-inched golden ladle. He took them out accordingly, and the tantra of the three black cycles came forth: that is to say, 1) the Black Enemy, the wrathful Vajradhara, [the tantra] for the purpose of taming Devaputramāra and, 2) the Six-faced One (Yamāntaka), the wrathful Vajrapāṇi, [the tantra] said to be for the purpose of taming the Lord of Death (Yamarāja) and, 3) Vajrabhairava, the wrathful Mañjuśrī, [the tantra] said to be for the purpose of taming Īśvara (=Śiva). It is said that even though all three are similar in character to *mahāyoga*, [Vajra]bhairava is compatible with *kriyā*; it teaches principally the practice of painting the image. The Six-faced One is compatible with *yoga*; it seals the four *mudrā*s (four aspects of tantric practice). The Black Enemy is intended to have the same basis as *mahāyoga*. There [in the cave], he copied two other tantras. As for the volume on Vajrabhairava, he took the original and carried it with him. The large bell of a *stūpa* rang spontaneously. Birds and dogs ran into the east. All the trees bowed their crowns down to the east, it is said. And the *ḍākinī*s returned in [his] dream visions and so on; they pursued him, but the master could not be seen. He saw the volume placed in front of the statue of Bhagavān Vajrabhairava. The *ḍākinī*s took the volume and went away. At that time, thinking that even if he retrieved the volume, it was not going to actually be useful, he again stayed in Oḍḍiyāna for some time. Having memorised the tantra, he left. Afterwards, he brought it forth from his mind and wrote it down". Thus it is explained.[332]

c) Narrative 3

> The followers of Bari lo tsā ba explained [the story of Lalitavajra] in these words: "The master called Lalitavajra [*sgeg pa'i rdo rje*] achieved a little bit of power because he meditated on the Black Yamāntaka. In the southern region, he performed ascetic observances (*vrata*). When he competed with a *tīrthika*, even though [the *tīrthika*] could not withstand him, [his] male and female retinue were turned into goats and sheep. Thinking that it was too early for him to practise [the Black Yamāntaka], he prayed to

[331] *Ma mo* are mostly wrathful female deities who create obstacles and inflict disease. In the Tibetan tradition, *ma mo*s are believed to inhabit cremation grounds and often form the entourage of a central deity, i.e. Ekajātī. See Hatley 2012.

[332] For the Tibetan text, see Appendix 1, p. 332.

> Khasarpāṇi (an esoteric form of Avalokiteśvara). In a dream, he received a prophecy. He went to the venerable Oḍḍiyāna and met a *yoginī* in accordance with the prophecy. He acted as her servant for three years, performing austerities. After that, she said: "What do you want?" He said: "I do not want anything. I do services for you out of devotion, Madam". It was the same at the end of six and nine years. At the end of twelve years, she said to him: "What *siddhi* do you wish for?" He made a request: "I wish for a method to instantly annihilate Māras and *tīrthika*s without violating the Buddha's teachings". She conferred to him the tantric initiation of Bhagavān Vajrabhairava and gave him the [*Vajrabhairava*]*tantra* in seven chapters. The name of that *yoginī* was "Sukhacakṣuḥ". Thereafter, he wrote down the seven chapters [of the *Vajrabhairavatantra*] on a white silk cloth using goat's milk and took it with him. Even though the *ḍākinī*s thought of drawing his heart's blood, they were unable to catch him, since the master had obtained the *siddhi* of swift-footedness and already arrived at his own place. He annihilated all those former *tīrthika*s". So it is said.[333]

The three narratives quoted above, describing Lalitavajra's rediscovery of the Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka corpus in Oḍḍiyāna, seek to explain the reasons for the emergence of the cycle specialising in wrathful rituals at that particular point in time. In fact, the rationale behind its appearance points to the historical context of interreligious struggle between the Buddhists and the *tīrthika*s[334] (non-Buddhists). The enemy, depicted above as a religious "other", is regarded as a threat to the existing status quo that needs to be eradicated or at least tamed for the sake of collective welfare. The process of othering and stigmatizing the difference between the Buddhists and the non-Buddhists takes on a strategy of demonizing the religious other through the concept of Māra, a common way of representing evil in Buddhism in general (Boyd 1971). In narrative 3, Lalitavajra asks for the method to "instantly annihilate Māras (*bdud*) and *tīrthika*s", as a result of which, he is given the VBhT in seven chapters. In narrative 2, we learn that the wrathful *abhicāra* rites are employed to "protect the *buddhadharma*", which implies that malevolent external forces are thought to threaten Buddhist teachings.

One of the critical issues that emerges from scholarly deliberations on the origins of tantric Buddhism in general is the extent to which the employment of a "violent dharma" against the religious other reflects Hindu/Śaiva-Buddhist dynamics in the actual social reality. There are scholars who think that accounts of the violent subjugation of

[333] For the Tibetan text, see Appendix 1, p. 333.

[334] The word *tīrthika*—whose semantic range is not well understood—and the problems associated with its translation as 'heretic' have been investigated by Christopher V. Jones in a recent article (Jones forthcoming), where he points out that the English term 'heretic' refers to someone within one's own tradition, whereas *tīrthika* is someone outside of one's own system. Scherrer-Schaub (1991:71) and Eltschinger (2013:12, n. 38) translate *tīrthika* as "allodox".

*tīrthika*s and their gods should be read allegorically and had little to do with actual hostility between Śaivas and Buddhists.[335] Another opinion is advocated by those who adhere to the 'agonistic view', stating that textual and iconographical representations of interreligious violence reflect a Śaiva-Buddhist hostility in real life.[336] One of the most vocal proponents of the agonistic view is Giovanni Verardi, whose recent publications (2011; revised 2018) claim that the main historical force behind the emergence of tantric Buddhism was the desire to subdue the non-Buddhists. Verardi theorises a long-standing social crisis caused by Brahmanical hatred and persecution of 'heretical' (*pāṣaṇḍinaḥ*) Buddhists,[337] which intensified during the Gupta period, and which was the main reason for the emergence of tantric Buddhist ritual. According to Verardi, *abhicāra* technologies propounded by Buddhist tantras during the Pāla period were directed against two enemies: Brāhmaṇas/Śaivas (*tīrthika*s) and Muslim invaders, who from the 11th century onwards began to raid the Indian subcontinent.[338] It is not impossible that the narratives of growing influence of the *tīrthika*s threatening Buddhist survival may reflect a period of 'Buddhist hiatus' caused by the decline of the Pāla empire from approximately 850 C.E. to 977 C.E., which could have had a negative effect on the royal support for the

[335] In this regard, Iyanaga (1985), Linrothe (1990), and Seyfort Ruegg (2008) adhere to the allegorical explanation, and consider the theme of violence not as 'expression of (sectarian and secular) antagonism between two great religions of India but, rather, a structured opposition between two levels, namely the worldly/mundane (*laukika*) and the supramundane/trans-mundane (*lokottara*)' (Seyfort Ruegg 2008). Linrothe (1990:20) perceives Maheśvara to be the symbolic representation of the 'Indestructible Person' (*akṣarapuruṣa*), who stands in opposition to the Buddhist notion of the illusory self, and the act of violence inflicted upon Maheśvara by Trailokyavijaja as an allegory for the Buddhist doctrine of emptiness and the absence of self in all *dharma*s (*sarvadharmanairātmya*).

[336] Davidson (1991:215) is another vocal exponent of the agonistic view. He says that the myth of Maheśvara's subjugation indicates real tensions between Buddhist and Śaiva factions, in particular the Kāpālikas.

[337] Verardi's interpretation of *pāṣaṇḍa*—referring to those outside of the Vedic fold, primarily Buddhists and Jainas—has been criticised by Sanderson (2015), who demonstrated that in fifth century India *pāṣaṇḍa* had a wider application that also included Śaiva sects and Pāñcarātra Vaiṣṇavas.

[338] Sanderson (2009:116), on the other hand, maintains that Śaiva-Buddhist interactions during the Pālas were characterized by symbiosis and that through their acts of generous endowments and royal support of Buddhist institutions, the Pālas made sure that Buddhism "was in no position to oust or diminish Śaivism" (*ibid.*). Inscriptional evidence and manuscript colophons demonstrate a strong Pāla patronage of Śaivism, despite the fact that some among these rulers are identified as *paramasaugataḥ* 'a devotee of the Sugata (i.e. the Buddha)': see also Sanderson 2010.

*mahāvihāra*s at Nālandā and Vikramaśīla (Sanderson 2009:96–97; Acri 2016:19); however, there is also a possibility that these narratives merely emulate common literary tropes found in Buddhist literature at large. If we, therefore, suspend historical frames and examine these narratives only through their value as literature (Flores 2008), we notice that the theme of the fight against adversary forces assuming the garb of the *tīrthika*s and Māras was inspired by a widespread narrative of the conquest of Māra (*māravijaya*) that proliferated into many different versions in Indian and Chinese sources (Anderl and Pons forthcoming).

The placement of the *tīrthika*s on equal footing with Māra is a common literary trope of Buddhist literature, an earliest instance of which can be traced back to the *Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra,* where the arrival of the Mahāyāna is depicted as the Buddha's act of saving countless beings from Māra and his people, the *tīrthika*s.[339] In the same *sūtra*, the Buddha tells Kāśyapa that "700 years after my death, the devil Māra Pāpīyas will gradually destroy my True Dharma" (Chappell 1980:139; Nattier 2011:38). The appearance of Māra[340] in the garb of the non-Buddhist other is often conceptualised within the Buddhist prophecy of a gradual decline of the "True Dharma" (*saddharma*) and the strengthening of the 'counterfeit dharma', i.e. the non-Buddhist false paths (Schmidt-Leukel, forthcoming). In the *Gaṇḍīsūtra*, the decline of the dharma is conterminous with the appearance of discordant monks who fall ill, while the non-Buddhists and Māras are empowered and come to the fore.[341] The same trope of the damaging effects of the Kaliyuga bringing to the forefront the false *dharma* of the *tīrthika*s (who, as the followers of Śiva, are labeled "the perpetrators of the conduct of Māra", *māracaryāsamāratāḥ*) is found in the *Guṇakāraṇḍavyūhasūtra* (4.79ab),[342] an expanded version of the *Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra* composed by the Buddhist Newars in the 15th century (Douglas 1998[343]; Sinclair 2015).

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[339] The *Prajñāpāramitāśāstra* was preached by the Buddha on the Gṛdhrakūṭa in Magadha, where he "destroyed Māra and his people, the *tīrthika*s, and saved innumerable beings" (Lamotte 2001:43ff).

[340] On the plurality of Māras, see Boyd. For an overview of the *māravijaya* as a widespread Buddhist narrative, see Schmidt-Leukel, forthcoming; cf. Nichols 2019.

[341] *Gaṇḍīsūtra* (Toh. 298; 1.13–1.14), see trans. by Annie Bien 2020:10; https://read.84000.co/translation/toh298.html.

[342] See Sinclair 2015:467.

[343] Douglas 1998, online resource: http://www.aioiyama.net/lrc/papers/cbhnm-ppr-8.htm.

The literary trope of Māras and *tīrthika*s threatening the survival of the "True Dharma" is posed as a point of reference indicating that fight against evil is believed by the tradition to be an important part of the Buddhist struggle in the quest for spiritual perfection. Lalitavajra's journey to Oḍḍiyāna to retrieve the tantras capable of destroying Māras and *tīrthika*s replicates the archetype of the Buddha's *māravijaya*, and within the tantric context also mirrors Vajrabhairava's subjugation of the non-Buddhist deities, especially Śiva-Maheśvara, investigated above. In this sense, the narrative around the 'rediscovery' of the tantra simply draws from a "toolbox of literary forms", as suggested at the beginning of this section (Schwieger 2013:71). The common literary trope through which evil is represented in Buddhist literature contributes to the perpetuation of certain imaginaries that reduces the religious other—whether a *tīrthika* or non-Buddhist deities—to the symbol of Māra.

Chapter Three
The *Vajrabhairavatantra* and Tantric Magical Recipes (with Special Reference to Śaiva-Buddhist Intertextuality)

The VBhT contains various magical recipes for attaining non-soteriological *siddhi*s that are typically found in the Buddhist *kriyātantra*s, but not in the *yogatantra*s. In terms of linguistic structure,[344] the magical recipes found in the VBhT share common features with an early Buddhist *kriyātantra*, the MMK, as well as with the Śaiva *Guhyasūtra* (NTGS) of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, a text that not only asserts a continuity between the Atimārga and the Mantramārga traditions of Śaivism, but also provides a linkage between pre-tantric and tantric Śaiva soteriology and non-Śaiva, non-soteriological magic found in the Buddhist *kriyātantra*s (Goodall and Isaacson 2011:125). The periods of compilation and textual layering of the MMK and GS can be traced back to the time between the 6th and the 8th centuries. Another point of similarity between the VBhT and other early Śaiva and Buddhist tantras is found in the shared technology of magical recipes themselves. The VBhT contains several magical recipes that closely resemble those found in the early tantras, especially in the *Vīṇāśikhatantra* (VS), an early Śaiva text of the Vāmasrotas (Törzsök 2016:137), but also in the MMK and NTGS. The purpose of this chapter is twofold. First, I intend to provide an overview of early tantric magic as a cultural phenomenon that transcended Śaiva and Buddhist sectarian boundaries. Second, I examine selected magical recipes of the VBhT and compare them with parallel recipes found in other Śaiva and Buddhist tantras.

[344] The magical recipes found in the VBhT, MMK, and NTGS have been written in the register of Sanskrit that has passed through the medium of the Middle Indic dialect. It is a type of idiom that appears to stand in between classical Sanskrit and Indian vernaculars, and to which the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit is closely related. For an analysis and examples of these features, see 'Linguistic features of VBhT' in Appendix 2.

3.1. Tantric 'Magic'

In speaking of tantric 'magic',[345] I will be examining magical recipes preserved in tantric texts. This does, of course, raise both theoretical and practical difficulties. On the theoretical level, one may ask whether magical practices preserved in the tantras are indeed 'tantric', and if they are, then, what are the distinguishing features that make them so. On the more practical level, one may ask the question of how mediaeval 'tantric' magical recipes really were tantric, and to what degree non-tantric magical technology has influenced tantric magic as a whole.[346] One way of approaching these issues is to find out if, and to which degree, terminology, ideas, and 'know-how' drawn from non-tantric magical practices were absorbed into tantric magical recipes. A positive answer would, then, constitute fairly good evidence that tantric magic (at least to some degree) has been influenced by magical practices found in earlier Sanskritic textual sources.

Generally speaking, magical practices in India can be traced back to the *Atharvaveda*, also known as *Atharvāṅgirasaḥ* (Bloomfield 1899:1). The text divides magical technologies into three distinct categories in accordance with the expected magical result. The rituals attributed to the sage Atharvan contain hymns for averting evil (*śānti*), promoting welfare (*puṣṭi*), and curative practices (*bheṣajāni*). The rituals attributed to the sage Aṅgirasa deal specifically with aggressive rites, called *āṅgirasa,* which in the *Kauśikasūtra* assumed the meaning of *abhicārikā*, also called *ghora*, directed against the enemies (*ibid*.:8).[347] In tantric studies, the influence of the *Atharvaveda* upon the development of tantric magical practices has been examined from the perspective of both textual and social history, where an emphasis has been placed on the tantric officiating priests, called *rājagurus*, 'royal officiants' who subsumed the role of the Atharvavedic *purohitas* and employed a whole array of apotropaic ritual repertoire specifically designed to kill the enemies, protect the kingdom, and ensure victory in battle

[345] My understanding of 'magic' follows Frazer's (1922) theory of sympathetic magic that relies on the principles of similarity ("like produces like") and correspondence ("an effect resembles its cause").
[346] The influence of tantric technologies on non-tantric magical practices has also been documented. See, for example, Sanderson 2007.
[347] The *abhicāra* category further expanded into six *karmas* (*ākarṣaṇa*, *vaśīkaraṇa*, *stambhana*, *māraṇa*, *vidveṣaṇa*, and *uccāṭana*); these constitute the so-called "six acts" (*ṣaṭkarmāṇi*). Additional categories were eventually added, e.g. *jvara* or *unmādana.*

(Sanderson 2004, 2009).[348] The process of adopting Śaiva tantric practices by the Atharvavedins is textually attested in two distinct sources. The first is the *Āṅgirasakalpa* (known also as *Abhicārakalpa*) of the Oriyā Paippalāda recension of the *Atharvaveda*,[349] one of the five *kalpa*s constituting the ancillary collection of the scriptures of the *Atharvaveda* corpus. The manuscripts of this text, although varying in content, contain mostly hostile rituals (*abhicāra*) through the worship of tantric and not Vedic deities, thereby following tantric ritual models (Sanderson 2007:201). The second source for the process of adopting Śaiva practices of the Atimārga into the magical technologies of the Atharvaveda corpus is seen in the *Atharavavedapariśiṣta*s, which include the adoption of the *pāśupatavrata* (*Atharvavedapariśiṣta* 40, Bisschop and Griffiths 2003) and the cult of the Ucchuṣmarudra in *Pariśiṣṭa* 36 (Bisschop and Griffiths 2007).

An Atharvavedic influence on the production of the VBhT is detectable on the basis of some linguistic features. For instance, the VBhT (§37) betrays an Atharvavedic terminology when it uses the term *pratyaṅgirā* to refer to the magical recipes that rebound on the magician if he executes the procedures for a wrong purpose or with a wrong intention in mind. The passage reads as follows:

> *Anyathā karoti yogī yasya kasyacin nirghṛṇaḥ. Tadavasthitaṃ tatkarma tasyaiva pratyaṅgirā bhavati.*
>
> If the yogin does otherwise out of cruelty for someone, then the magical procedure (*karma*), which is being set up by him, will rebound on him.

The term *pratyaṅgirā* is not a common word in classical Sanskrit. On the other hand, in the *Āṅgirasakalpa* of the Oriyā Paippalāda we find mentions of the goddesses called *pratyaṅgirā*, who are worshipped precisely to turn back the hostile magic of another sorcerer (Sanderson 2007). Bloomfield (1899:66) argues that the term *pratyaṅgirā*, employed in the *Ṛgvidhāna* (4.6.4; 8.3) with the meaning of counteractive sorcery, is a

[348] On the basis of *Atharvavedapariśiṣta* 3.1.10, Sanderson (2004:239) concluded that the duties of the *rājagurus* included the performance of '(1) rituals to ward off dangers and ills of every kind from the king and his kingdom (*śantikaṃ karma*); (2) rituals to restore his health and vigour (*pauṣṭikaṃ karma*), (3) rituals to harm his enemies (*ābhicārikaṃ karma*), (4) the regular and occasional rituals (*nityaṃ karma* and *naimittikaṃ karma*) required of the king, (5) reparatory rites (*prāyaścittīyaṃ karma*), and (6) postmortuary rites (*aurdhvadehikaṃ karma*)'.

[349] The compilation of the *Atharvaveda* was extant in nine collections, called *śākhā*s. Among these recensions only the Paippalāda and Śaunakīya are still available. See Lubotsky 2002; Griffiths 2007.

later systematisation of the Atharvavedic concept of *pratyabhicaraṇa*, *pratisara*, or *pratīvrata* as retaliative magic. The above example shows that the meaning and context in which the usage of the term *pratyaṅgirā* is attested in the VBhT goes back to the Atharvavedic tradition, where it is applied in a similar sense.

The second influence on the development of the tantric magical practices of the VBhT may have been the Brahmanical ritual of *homa*. A considerable amount of magical recipes found in tantras belong to the category of vocative fire-offerings or *homa,* a type of magical technology that seems to have been developed from the Vedic *homa* and the Indo-Iranian cult of fire (Payne 2016). The archaic ritual syntax, i.e., the use of verb *juhuyāt* for the performance of fire-offerings, as well as the technical vocabulary used to denote fire-pits, woods, ladles, etc., bears this out (Goodall and Isaacson 2016:20–22). Even though the *homa* recipes form a distinctive category of tantric magical procedures and are often treated separately (see e.g. Chapter Six of the VBhT, entitled "The Prescriptions for the Ritual of Homa"), they can also be adopted for a wide range of other *abhicāra* technologies or for the gain of magical *siddhi*s, and even initiation. It is certainly not unsual to find individual recipes for the *abhicāra*-related purposes containing *homa*-components, and existing alongside other 'magical' technologies, such as the manipulation of different types of material objects, or the use of specifically tantric technologies, such as *yantra*s*,* mantras, etc. This shows the extent to which *homa* formed an important and constituent part of tantric magic.

3.2. Magical Recipes (*Karma*s)

The term used for 'magical recipes' in tantric texts is *karma*. This word, which appears already in the *Atharvaveda* to describe magical procedures of a similar kind, is also attested in early tantric Buddhist texts, such as the *Siddhaikavīra* (SV), the MMK, and the Śaiva NTGS. Unlike in the *Atharvaveda,* however, magical recipes found in early Buddhist and Śaiva texts are written in prose, which appears to be an early compositional model for writing magical recipes. The excipit of the tenth chapter of the NTGS reads: *sarvakarmaprasādhanakalpaḥ* "The Chapter Which Accomplishes All Magical Procedures". The excipit of the second chapter of the VBhT similarly reads:

sarvakarmasiddhir dvitīyaḥ kalpaḥ "This is the Second Chapter [called] the Accomplishment of All Magical Procedures".

The magical procedures or *karma*s belong to the repertoire of the advanced practitioner. For instance, the VBhT refers to the mantra-master (*mantrin*) who has already performed the previous service (*kṛtapuraścaraṇa*) and achieved the *mantrasiddhi,* which he can now apply for gaining worldly *siddhi*s. The mantra-master is further described as a *yogin* who has received initiation (*abhiṣikto yogī*). The term *puraścaraṇa* used to designate the purification of the mantra by reciting it for a long time is a characteristic feature of Śaiva texts, while Buddhist texts normally use the term *pūrvasevā*; however, in the early phase of tantric literature, this clear-cult division is not yet attested. The MMK uses the term *kṛtapuraścaraṇa* (chap. 8, p. 55) and *pūrvasevā* (chap. 10, p. 62). Similarly, in the NTGS, both terms are used (Goodall and Isaacson 2016:41). In the VBhT, only *kṛtapuraścaraṇa* appears, which may be regarded as a proof in support of the argument that the earliest textual stratum of the VBhT belongs to the early tantric milieu and, therefore, some parts of the text may have been composed much earlier than it had been assumed so far.

The emphasis on the mastery of the mantras prior to the execution of the *karma*s is also attested—through a slightly different terminology—in the NTGS (3.46cd-48ab), where we find the following description:

> *Kṛṣṇāṣṭabhyāṃ kṛṣṇacaturdaśyāṃ vā* […] *taṃ hutvā hutisahasraṃ siddhamantro bhaviṣyati. Tataḥ karma prakurvīta* […].
>
> Of the 8th or the 14th day of a dark fortnight […] having offered into the fire a thousand oblations, he who does that will become one whose mantra has been mastered. Then, he can begin the ritual […].

Only the *sādhaka* who has mastered the mantra (*mantrasiddha*) is entitled to perform *karma*s for the purpose of accomplishing various *siddhi*s. The term *siddhi* is defined as a supernatural power or an effect brought about by a mantra-master through *mantrasādhana* and/or the execution of the *karma*s. The *siddhi*s are usually classified into three categories: low, intermediate, and highest.[350] In accordance with this division, an early Śaiva Siddhāntantra, the *Kiraṇatantra* (in its earlier Nepalese recension) refers to

[350] For an analysis of *siddhi*-classification in the Śaiva tantric traditions, see Vasudeva 2012.

adhamā, *madhyamā*, and *uttamā siddhi*s (50.13ab-14cd).[351] The *adhamā siddhi*s include the category of hostile magic, such as subjecting to one's will (*vaśīkaraṇa*), creating hostility (*vidveṣa*), paralysis (*stambhana*). The *madhyamā siddhi*s are the obtainment of a magical sword (*khaḍga*), often from a *vetāla*, collyrium (*āñjana*), and *bilottha*, i.e. the ability to enter into the underworld through caves. The highest *siddhi* is *lokāloke tu yāyitvaṃ*, i.e. to move freely through all the worlds.[352]

The tripartite division described above also occurs, with slight variations, in a number of early Śaiva and Śākta scriptures, viz. the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, the *Svacchandatantra*, and the *Picumata-Brahmayāmala* (Vasudeva 2012:266–267). The second *ṣaṭka* of the Śākta scripture *Jayadrathayāmala* (3.49-54) gives different list of the three *siddhi*s, namely: *sāmānya* (or low-level *siddhi*s), which include *vaśya*, *ākarṣaṇa*, *vidveṣa*, *māraṇa*, *uccāṭana, śānti* (averting evil), *puṣṭi* (rites to restore health), finding treasures, concocting elixirs, curing poison, exorcising demons, fever, insanity, and producing rain; *madhyamā siddhi*s, which include becoming invisible, having a *paṭa*, *rasa*, *yakṣiṇī-siddhi*, sword, mastery over *kṛtyā*s, *vetāla*s, *bhūta*s, etc.; *uttamā siddhi*s, which include entering into the underworld (*pātāla*), flying through the sky, clairvoyance, clairaudience, mind reading, *siddhi*s of the yoga tradition (*aṇimā*, etc.), and union with the goddess.[353]

The early Buddhist tantra SSK, albeit preserved only in Chinese translation (Giebel 2001), refers to a similar three-fold division of *siddhi*s in which the highest are ascending into the sky and moving forward, becoming a *vidyādhara*, ascending into the sky (sic!), accomplishing five supernatural faculties, having many forms, achieving

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[351] *Kiraṇatantra* 50.13ab: *uttamā madhyamās siddhīr* (*em. siddhir*) *adhamāś ca śṛṇuṣvataḥ*. Quoted in Vasudeva 2012:266.

[352] For an explanation of *lokāloke* in the context of Śaiva and Purāṇic mythology, see Vasudeva 2012:267.

[353] JY (2.3.49–54, f. 13r9–13v3): *vaśyakarṣaṇavidveṣamāraṇoccāṭanādikam*/ *śāntiḥ puṣṭikriyā* [conj.; *puṣṭiḥkriyā* cod.] *dhātukhanyavādaṃ rasāyanam*// *viṣabhūtajvaronmādadhvaṃsanaṃ* [conj.; *onmādaṃ* cod.] *meghanigrahaḥ*/ *evamādyā siddhayaś ca sāmānyāḥ* [corr.; *sāmānyā* cod.] *sādhakātmanām*// *antardhānaṃ paṭaṃ khaḍgaṃ rasaṃ caiva rasāyanam*/ *yakṣiṇīsiddhir atulā divyagrahanivāraṇam*// *kṛtyāvetālabhūtānāṃ kiṃkarādiprasādhanam*/ *eṣā sā madhyamā siddhir vyākhyātā sādhakasya hi*// *uttamāḥ siddhayo* [corr.; *uttamā siddhiyo* cod.] *jñeyāḥ* [corr.; *jñeyā* cod.] *pātālākāśasādhanam*/ *dūrācchravaṇavijñānaṃ darśanaṃ sparśanaṃ tathā*// *aṇimādiguṇāvāptir devyāmelāpam uttamam*/ *evamādyaṃ tu saṃjñeyaṃ sādhakasya mahātmanaḥ*//. I thank Prof. Alexis Sanderson for this reference; all emendations to the text are his.

nirvāṇa, becoming *pratyekabuddha*, realising the stages of *bodhisattva*, comprehending all things, eloquence and much learning, raising the *vetāla*s, accomplishing the rite of *yakṣiṇī*, obtaining the wish-fulfilling gem, obtaining hidden treasures, concealing your form and hiding your traces (Giebel 2001:191). The intermediate *siddhi*s include obtaining great physical strength, gaining assiduity, entering the *asura*s' palaces, obtaining elixirs of longevity, obtaining the rite of *praiṣika*-heavenly messenger (?), being able to control demons, being able to evoke a *śālabhañjikā* tree spirit, achieving much learning, understanding the import of what you have never heard before, mixing drugs, rubbing your feet and crown and travelling long distances. The lowest *siddhi*s are causing people to look on joyfully through the power of mantras, prevailing over people, punishing wicked people, and vanquishing foes (Giebel 2001:191–192).

Despite containing different classifications of the highest and intermediate *siddhi*s, the early tantras seem to agree that hostile magic (*abhicāra*), which includes *vaśya*, *stambhana*, etc., belongs to the category of low *siddhi*s. The same understanding is attested in the commentaries of *Akṣobhya and *Kṛṣṇācārya (see, p. 411), where such *karma*s as subduing, summoning, etc., are described as belonging to the category of *kṣudra*- or low- *siddhi*s. *Akṣobhya states that these "are designated as low *siddhi*s [because] they belong to people who apply themselves to the *siddhi*s of low variety and [because] they rely on the application of *karma*s of those who have already mastered [the mantras]."[354] What *Akṣobhya seems to be saying is that only those who have already mastered the mantras can apply their powers to perform the *karma*s that bestow the low *siddhi*s, and that it is ultimately the choice of the *mantrasiddha*s to employ the *karma*s which bring about the low *siddhi*s and not, for example, the highest *siddhi*s.

The performance of *karma*s to obtain *siddhi*s is a part of *mantrasādhana*, which may also include the invocation of the deity into the *maṇḍala* and the worship of the deity with various substances. In that case, it is the deity himself who grants the *sādhaka* various *siddhi*s. This model is attested in both Śaiva-Śākta and Buddhist tantras. For example, in the Chap. 45 (labeled 46) of the *Picumata-Brahmayāmalatantra*, called "The Chapter of the Great Churning" (*mahāmanthānapaṭala*), the *sādhaka*, following the

[354] *dngos grub thams cad ces bya ba ni phra mo rnams te/ de dag ni dngos grub tu bzhag pa phal pa rnams kyi yin la/ grub pa rnams kyi ni phrin las bzhag pa yin pa'o.* *Akṣobhya's commentary, p. 373.

Kāpālika observance, draws the *maṇḍala* in the cremation ground and worships the eight mother-goddesses and Manthānabhairava, along with his consort, with *homa* and *bali*. Then, the hero is instructed to offer his own blood as a guest offering (*argha*) to the goddesses and Bhairava (45.56). After these offerings are completed, the goddesses are delighted and, making a huge noise, they stand up and bestow various *siddhi*s to the *sādhaka*, such as slippers, the *siddha-dravya*s (i.e., yellow orpiment, turmeric, *manaḥśila*), yoga, an eye-ointment, an elixir, a magical sword, and the wish-fulfilling jewel. If, however, he desires the highest *siddhi* (*uttamāṃ siddhiṃ icchate*), then he should take the sword, which is in a skull placed on the pericarp of the *maṇḍala*, and visualise the *vidyā* as radiant as ten million suns. Having taken the sword up he should undertake the *sādhana*, i.e. the great churning; having carried it out, he will become Śiva (45.56ab–61ab). A distinction is established between the magical *siddhi*s and the highest *siddhi*, which coincides with becoming the deity himself. The same distinction is attested in Chap. One of the VBhT (§10), in the description of the ritual of invocation of the deity Vajrabhairava into the *maṇḍala*, which is a visually and ritually recreated cremation ground. When Vajrabhairava arrives, he is offered an *argha* of human blood by a mantra-master. Vajrabhairava is delighted and asks a question about the type of boon the mantra-master wishes for. The mantra-master—referred to as the spell-bearer (*vidyādhara*)[355]—says: "Give me the sword (*khaḍga*), the underworld (*pātāla*), the elixir (*rasa*), the rejuvenating technique (*rasāyana*)". Before commenting on this passage, something has to be said about the *vidyādhara* figure in tantric and non-tantric scriptures.

The epithet *vidyādhara,* given to the person who has mastered the execution of tantric rituals and gained various supernatural powers (*siddhi*s), seems to belong to the early stratum of tantric literature. It is often found in esoteric Buddhist texts, but rarely in the Śaiva tantras, except for the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā,* where it appears as the most common goal of *sādhana* (Goodall and Isaacson 2016). In 673 C.E. a Chinese monk called Yi-jing, on his sojourn in India, reports the existence of the corpus of Buddhist tantric scriptures referred to as the *vidyādharapiṭaka*, the "Basket of Spell-holders".[356] This is perhaps the earliest and the only attested reference to a large corpus of esoteric

[355] See Appendix 3, p.411 of this thesis.
[356] For the *vidyādharapiṭaka*, see Hodge 1992:10; Gray 2009:2–3; Davidson 2002:24; Acri 2016:4.

Buddhist texts with clear links with the world of wizardry. Nevertheless, the theme of *vidyādhara* and the magical powers associated with gaining its status was part of the matrix of Indian non-sectarian literature, predating the emergence of tantric sects. The most famous example is perhaps the lost Prakrit text, known as the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya, which narrates the journey of the prince gradually becoming a *vidyādhara* (Hatley 2007:99). Among the sectarian literature, Jaina and Vaiṣṇava sources also attest to the importance of becoming a *vidyādhara* as the goal of *sādhana* (Goodall and Isaacson 2016:60).

The VBhT itself contains only one occurrence of the word *vidyādhara* in the final section of the first chapter, directly following the *mantrin*'s encounter with Vajrabhairava and his request for the *siddhi*s. The list of *siddhi*s, such as the sword, etc. that the *mantrin* should request from Vajrabhairava directly links this part with an earlier section of the text where a more elaborate list of *siddhi*s, including the eye-ointment (*añjana*), the pill (*guṭikā*), the treasure (*nidhāna*), ghosts (*bhūta*), zombies (*vetāla*), demons (*piśāca*), *yakṣa*s, *yakṣiṇī*s, and serpents (*nāga*), is recorded as the object of the Vajrabhairava-*sādhana*. Except for these two brief references, the topic of the magical *siddhi*s or any ritual procedures on how to accomplish them are conspicuously absent in the later parts of the text.[357] This points to the fact that VBhT was mainly concerned with the accomplishment of the low-level *siddhi*s of the *abhicāra* type.

[357] *Akṣobhya (see Appendix 3, p. 399) is the only commentator who takes note of this absence and, quoting from the *Sāmānyatantra*, proposes an interesting solution: "Yet, as for the rites with the sword etc., others say that they have to be accomplished according to the tradition from another tantra. In the same way, it is said: 'for the ritual procedures that do not exist and for which there are no original *vidhi*s, the wise men take recourse to the *vidhi* taught in the *Sāmānyatantra*". For the Tibetan text, see Appendix 3, p. 399, fn.1452 of this thesis. There are two possible explanations for this quote. First, if the appropriate *karmavidhi*s are not available in the native tantra, one should perform the rites in accordance with the instructions given in the general tantra, such as, for example, the *Sāmānyaguhyavidhitantra,* which does not align itself with any particular tantric system. Second, one should borrow the rituals from the related genre of texts aligned with the native tantra; in this case, from the *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra*s, which are related to the VBhT.

The absence of such ritual procedure concerning the sword and other magical *siddhi*s however, does not necessary mean that these *siddhi*s were not sought after by the *sādhaka*s intiated into the cult of Vajrabhairava. *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 444) confirms that the best place to accomplish the rite of *yakṣa*/*yakṣiṇī* and *nāga*/*nāginī* is the bank of the river (*nadītaṭe*), the best place to accomplish *khaḍga*, *añjana*, *guṭikā*, *rasa, rasāyana*, *nidhāna*, mastery of *bhūta*s and *vetāla*s is either an empty house or an empty temple (*śūnyāyatane*/*devāyatane*), while the best

Two references to the highest *siddhi* occur in the VBhT. The text adopts a formulaic expression commonly found in the Śaiva tantras: *yadīcchet siddhim uttamāṃ* "if he desires the highest *siddhi*". The first appearance is linked to the worship of the Vajrabhairava-*maṇḍala* (§6): if the *sādhaka* desires the highest *siddhi*, he has to offer a *naivedya* consisting in different types of meat: human, animal, bird. The second appearance is linked to the worship of the *paṭa* (§50) three times a day with the offerings of faeces and blood: "At the three times of a day, along with faeces and blood, in front of the *paṭa,* it is said 'if he desires the highest *siddhi*, when it begins to smoke' (*dhūmodaye*)". This, probably original passage, before the Buddhist redaction (see, p. 464) may be an allusion to the three signs of the obtainment of *siddhi*s: first, when the object begins to heat up (*uṣme*); second, when the smoke arises (*dhūme*); third, when it burst into flames (*jvalite*). These three types of *siddhi*s belong to the "ritual syntax" of the early tantric milieu, commonly found in the MMK and the *Niśvāsa*-corpus[358] (Goodall and Iscaascon 2016). These are also found in the SSK (Giebel 2001:192), which says: "If you wish to effectuate drugs or other articles, there are three signs of accomplishments: the arising of bright flames is the highest *siddhi*, smoke is middling, and warmth constitutes the lower *siddhi*". This would correspond to the Sanskrit words *jvalite, dhūme,* and *uṣme*. The VBhT links *dhūme* with the highest *siddhi*, which appears to be the *siddhi* of the middling type. I am unable to offer any explanation for this discrepancy except for a possible loss of words or scribal corruption. There is also an interesting exegetical interpretation of the highest *siddhi* by *Akṣobhya, who links it with the attainment of pure mind (see, p. 263).

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place to accomplish the mastery over *piśāca* is the city and the forest, which includes one's own house or a tree-hole (*koṭara*).

[358] For example, the NTGS (3.75–77) gives the following *vaśya*-recipe with the three types of *siddhi*s: *brahmavṛkṣasya yad daṇḍam ātmakāyapramāṇataḥ/ avakraṃ satvacaṃ ca adaghaṃ granthivarjitam// aśvatthadalasaṃcchannaṃ/ padmamadhye vyavasthitam// śatasāhasrajaptena ūṣmā dhūmaś ca prajvalet/ soṣmaṇaiva jagad vaśyaṃ dhūmenaiva sarvajayī bhavet// jvalite sarvalokāni gṛhītvā brahmavad aṭet/ te sarvalokāni gṛhītvā* [em. *nigṛhītvā* mss.] *brahmavad bhavet//,* "[The adept must obtain] a stick from the Brahmā tree in accordance with the size of his own body, which must be straight and with its bark not burnt by fire and free of knots, covered with *aśvattha* leaves placed inside the lotus. When [the mantra] has been muttered over a hundred thousand times, then, it will heat up, emit smoke, and burst into flame. By its heating up, the whole universe will become subject to his will; if it smokes, then he can conquer anyone; if it burns into flames, then he will obtain all the worlds and wander like Brahmā. Having obtained all the worlds, he will become like Brahmā".

3.3. The Structure, Layout, Syntax, and Technical Vocabulary of the *Karma*s

One of the areas in which the Buddhist and Śaiva magical recipes show a visible affinity is in the structure, layout, syntax, and technical vocabulary of some of the magical formulas. When we look at the VBhT, NTGS, and MMK, we find magical recipes whose overall structure appears to have been determined by "literary" considerations. This might tell us something about the models that were reproduced by the writers of tantric magical recipes. The register in which the recipes are written carries characteristics of formulaic language, by which I mean the use of conventional forms of expressions typical for this kind of "magical" genre. At the most basic level, the recipes include a heading or a title, which explains what the recipe is good for, followed by the directives on what to do and the indicator that the recipe has ended. Let us now look at this structure in more detail.

a) Headings

The 'heading' can have two variants: a) "*aparam api*", b) "*atha -ayitukāmaḥ* or -*kartukāmaḥ*" or "*atha -karme*". The third model is the absence of heading. The MMK typically has: *aparam api karma bhavati* 'next, there is another magical procedure', while the variant of the VBhT reads: *athāparam api prayogo bhavati* "next, there is another ritual procedure". This form, although grammatically incorrect (it should be: *athāparo 'pi prayogo bhavati*), has been left by me unemended in the text as an example of authorial barbarism, also on account of the fact that this phrase is not a one-time mistake on the part of the scribe but appears consistently throughout the text. On the basis of the similar expression introducing recipes found in the MMK, it is possible to assume that the producer or the copyist of the VBhT *karma*s was emulating the "template" of the magical recipe 'genre' that circulated in that period. Among other alternatives to the "*aparam api*" headings found in the VBhT are: a) "*athāparam* [followed by the purpose of the recipe, e.g. *uccāṭana*)] *bhavati*", and b) "*aparam api* ["the purpose of the recipe" (e.g. *uccāṭana*)] *prayogo bhavati*"; all of them meaning "next, there is also a procedure for [e.g. *uccāṭana*]. The [*atha*] -*ayitukāmaḥ* or -*kartukāmaḥ* is attested in the VBhT and

MMK and also, although less commonly, in the NTGS. In the MMK, the word "*atha*" is dropped, thus, the text has, for example, *utsādayitukāmaḥ* "if he wishes to drive away", or "*vidveṣaṇaṃ kartukāmaḥ*" "if he wishes to cause dissent". In the VBhT, both variants with and without "*atha*" are attested: for example, *atha stambhayitukāmaḥ* "next, if he wishes to paralyse", *unmattakaṃ kartukāmo* "if he wishes to make someone crazy". The same is the case with the NTGS: *atha vaśīkartukāmaḥ* "next, if he wishes to subject under one's own will" or *atha pauṣṭikakarme* "next, in the rite of invigoration", or *utsāraṇaṃ kartukāmaḥ* "if he wishes to expel". Generally, the word "*atha*" translated as 'then', 'now', or 'therefore' is used in Sanskrit to introduce the subject that is going to be explained. However, its usage in the magical recipes seems to be restricted to its function as a marker that separates one recipe from another in the list of *karma*s. Sometimes, a given recipe is not preceded by any headings. In that case one knows when the recipe has ended (and the next one begins) through the indication of the result of the recipe that has been completed.

b) Endings

In many magical formulas, the very end of the recipe is accompanied by a declaration of its immediate efficacy, insisting that the outcome of the recipe will happen "immediately" "*tatkṣaṇāt*" or "*sadyaḥ*": e.g. *tatkṣaṇād unmattako bhavati* ("in that instant he will become crazy", VBhT), *sadyo mriyate* ("he will die immediately), *tatkṣaṇād eva sa udgacchati, sa vidyādharo bhavati* ("in that very moment, he will fly up, he will become a *vidyādhara*, MMK), *tatkṣaṇe gacchate śīghraṃ vaśyo bhavati dāsavat* ("in that moment, quickly, he will come and subject to him as a slave", NTGS). The speedy outcome of the magical procedure is also indicated by a number of other adverbs such as *śīghra*, *druta*, and *kṣipra*.[359] Another common way of ending the recipe is indicated by the time-period within which the outcome of the recipe can be expected, usually three, or seven days. Thus, we find such expressions as: *dinatrayeṇa mriyate* ("in three days, he target will die", VBhT), *saptāhena mriyate* ("he dies within seven days", VBhT), "*saptarātram, mahāpuruṣavaśīkaraṇam*" ("within seven says, he will subject to

[359] *Śatrum utsādayet śīghraṃ* ("the enemy will flee quickly", NTGS); *akarṣaye drutam* ("he will quickly attract", NTGS); *śīghram amukāṃ kanyāṃ stambhayāmi iti* ("may I quickly paralyse the girl", VBhT). For the use of *kṣipra*, see the example of the MMK mentioned above.

his will the great person", MMK), "*saptarātrāt tu–m-uccaṭet*" ("he will cause him to be expelled after seven days", NTGS). In other recipes, the end of the magical procedure is accompanied by the claim of assurance that the result of the *karma* will definitely come "without any doubt", e.g. *tatkṣaṇān mriyate nātra saṃśayaḥ* ("in that moment, the target will die, without any doubt", VBhT), *vaśam ānayate kṣipraṃ sarvabhūtā na saṃśayaḥ* ("he will quickly subject under his will all the *bhūta*s without any doubt", NTGS), *vidveṣayati* […]*, hanyād bādhayec ca na saṃśayaḥ* ("he will be able to cause dissent […], to kill and bind, there is no doubt", NTGS).

c) Syntax

Another recurrent feature in magical recipes is the syntax of *karma*s. One type of similar syntax is shared by the VBhT and the MMK where the verb immediately preceding the result of the *karma* is '*japet*', headed either by the name of the mantra or the number of the mantra-repetitions that are required to be recited in order to cause the outcome of the *karma.* For example:

> *daśākṣaramantraṃ japet stambhayati* ("he should recite the ten-syllabe mantra, he paralyses [the target]", VBhT §34)
>
> *aṣṭasahasraṃ japet, rājānaṃ vaśam ānayati* ("he should recite [the mantra] eight hundred times, he brings the king under his will", MMK 55, p. 540)

The second type of similar syntax is shared by the *karma*s found in the MMK and NTGS, which are very often structured with the use of correlatives "*yāvat tāvat*" with reference to the recitation of the mantra. For example:

> *Tālapatramayaṃ khaḍgaṃ raktacandanaṃ mrakṣitaṃ.* ***Tāvajjaped yāvat*** *jvalate vidyādharapatir bhavet.*
>
> If he recites [the mantra] on a sword made of bamboo leaf smeared with red sandal and he keeps reciting until it bursts into flame, then he will become the lord of the *vidyādhara*s (NTGS 10.79cd-80cd).
>
> *Medhārthinā* [em.; *meghārthinā* ed.], *gavyaghṛtaṃ gṛhya candragrahe sūryagrahe vā tāmrabhājane prakṣipya* ***tāvajjaped yāvat*** *trividhā siddhiḥ. Ūṣmāyamāne śrutidharo 'yaṃ yaṃ śṛṇoti taṃ gṛhṇāti. Dhūmāyamāne rasarasāyanam. Jvalitena jātismaro bhavati.*
>
> He who seeks wisdom, having taken the ghee from the cow at time of the eclipse of the moon or the sun and having thrown it into the copper vessel, as long as he recites

> [mantra], the *siddhi* of three types [will arise]. When it begins to heat up, he will become one who holds that what is heard: whatever he hears, he seizes. When it begins to smoke, he [will get] the elixir and the rejuvenating technique. When it bursts into flames, he will become one who recollects former lives (MMK 55, p. 525).

d) *Sidhyantu me mantrapadāni*

Another example of similarity of *karma*s in Śaiva and Buddhist tantras is found in the attestations of the 'magical' mantras and the phrase *sidhyantu me mantrapadāni*, typically found in the proto-tantric *Dhāraṇīsūtra*s of the Mahāyāna (Davidson 2014:37). This peculiar feature is attested, for example, in NTGS 3.36ab, where the lord Rudra is invoked before the start of the magical procedure:

> *Oṃ namo bhagavate rudrāya cimi cimi citragati kuru kuru turu turu sidhyantu me mantrapadāni.*
>
> Obeisance to lord Rudra, cimi cimi, of diverse movements, do do, hurry hurry, may my mantra-words be successful.

This invocation contains 'magical' mantras, i.e., *cimi cimi*, *kuru kuru*, etc., and a phrase *sidhyantu me mantrapadāni* commonly found in the proto-tantric *Dhāraṇīsūtra*s. The last phrase is attested, for example, in the *Amoghapāśahṛdayasūtra* (p. 5), in the beginning of the mantra containing such strings of words as: *oṃ cara 2 ciri 2 curū 2 mara 2 miri 2 murū 2 mahākārūṇika*/ *sara 2 siri 2 surū 2 curū 2 ciri 2 viri 2 piri 2 miri 2 mahāpadāhasta*.[360] Other attestations are found in the *Mahāmāyūrīvidyārājñī*[361] (pp. 3, 5–7), where a long string of mantras ends with *ili misti, kili misti, ili kili misti, ili me sidhyantu, drāmiḍā mantrapadāḥ svāhā* (p. 5), or in the *Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhāna-vyūhasūtra* (p. 13).[362] This is perhaps one of the earliest textual attestations of the mutual influences between tantric forms of Buddhism and Śaivism before the Buddhist *yoginītantra*s, whose contents, to a great extent, have been redacted from the Śaiva Vidyāpīṭha tantras (Sanderson 2009:139).

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[360] *Amoghpāshahṛdayasūtra*, ed. by M.B. Shakya: *Ārya Amoghpāshahṛdaya nāma Mahāyāna Sūtra.* Nepal: NIEM (Buddhist Text Translation Series, 2), 1988 (GRETIL e-text version).
[361] *Mahāmāyūrīvidyārājñī*, ed. by Shūyo Takubo: *Ārya-Mahā-Māyūrī Vidyā Rājñī*. Tokyo 1972.
[362] *Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhānavyūhasūtra*, etext version from http://www.dsbcproject.org/canon-text/content/57/526

3.4. How *Karma*s Work?

The question of how *karma*s operate and in what way the mechanics of magical procedures affects the targeted subjects is important to further our understanding of the main principles at work in tantric magic. Even though the scarcity of evidence does not allow me to discuss this topic at length, nevertheless, it is still possible to delineate its basic features. The *karma* is often described to 'bind' the target or 'hold him captive', as expressed by the action noun *bandhana*. Similarly, sometimes the target is released from the *karma*, which is indicated by the use of the noun *mokṣaḥ* or the verb *muñcati*/*mocayati* ("freeing or releasing [the target from the *karma*]"). Thus, the antonymous words *bandhana* and *muñcati*/*mocayati* are used complementarily to indicate the two-directional way in which the *karma* operates. This is best exemplified in the MMK:

> *Dūrvāpravālānāṃ dadhimadhughṛtāktānāṃ aṣṭasahasraṃ juhuyād, bandhanān mocayati.*
>
> If he sacrifices into the fire the new branches of *dūrvā* grass smeared with milk, honey and ghee 8000 times, he will cause [the target] to be released from the binding [of the karma] (MMK 55, p.553).
>
> *Caturvarṇaṃ vaśīkartukāmaḥ pāyasaṃ haviṣyānnam ānīya peyakrasarā ceti juhuyād vaśyā bhavanti. Rātrau śucir aṣṭaśataṃ japet. Sarvān* [em., Sferra *sarvā* ms.] *bandhanān mocayati.*
>
> If he wants to bring under his power the four social classes, he sacrifices into the fire rice boiled in milk, having [first] taken sacrificial food with drink and seasoned rice. They will become subjected under his will. At night, if the pure one recites [the mantra] 800 times, he will release all [those who have become subject to his will] from the binding [of the *karma*] (MMK 55, p. 532).

The VBhT also mentions the instances of targets that cannot be released from the *karma*. For example, in Chap. 6 on the Homa Rituals, we find a *vaśīkaraṇa* procedure against a female, which ends with the assurance that the woman who becomes magically subjected under the mantra-master's power will not be released from the spell as long as he lives (*vaśam ānayati, yāvajjīvaṃ na muñcati*, §67). This does not only indicate that the spell has a duration of a lifetime and there is no way of countering its effect, but more importantly, that the spell has a 'binding' effect on a targeted woman; otherwise, there

would be no need to use the verb *muñcati*.

There are different ways of countering the effect of the *karma*, but the most frequent is countering with the use of water. In this regard, the VBhT gives two examples in which the object that has been previously magically manipulated is taken out and washed, and the final effect is the release (*mokṣa*) of the target from the binding force of the *karma* (*uddhṛtya prakṣālayet, mokṣaḥ*, §15). Similarly, the MMK refers to the procedure of countering the result of the *karma* through the use of water, as follows:

> *Khadirasamidhānām aṣṭaśatahomena sarvagrahāṃ muñcāpayati. Bhasmanā saptajaptena paramantrāṃ mantrapatir bandhayati. Sakṛjjaptenodakena mokṣaḥ.*
>
> By sacrificing into the fire *khadira* sticks 800 times, all the seizers will be let go. By reciting the supreme mantra seven times with [the use of] ash, the mantra-master will make them bound. By reciting [the mantra] with [the use of] water, there will be release at once (MMK 55, p. 547).

3.5. *Ācārya* "Trampling with the Left Foot"

The standard description of the *ācārya* performing *abhicāra* that occurs in the VBhT portrays him as being "naked, with his hair dishevelled" (*nagno muktaśikho bhūtvā*)[363] and very angry (*ākruddho*). This description is found in number of other early Buddhist and Śaiva-Śākta tantric sources, such as the GS,[364] the MMK,[365] and the Śaiva *Vīṇāśikhatantra*,[366] or the Śākta *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*.[367] Similarly, many of these early

[363] The description of the *ācārya* to some extent matches the description of the *yātudhāna*s, an archaic class of sorcerers known already in the *Ṛgveda* as specialists in root-magic, sorcery linked to small animals and birds, and described as smearing themselves with human flesh and flesh of horses and cattle (see Davidson 2017:5). In the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (3.19.13 cd), the *yātudhānya*s are described as "naked, with their hair loose, and bearing spears" (*digvāsaso yātudhānyaḥ śūlinyo muktamūrdhajāḥ*) (see Vasudeva 2012:277).

[364] In the GS (14.53, p.68), the rite of *abhicāra* should be done when the practitioner is angry, "naked, with hair untied, wild and frightening" (*kruddhacetasā, nagno muktaśikho bhūtvā vikaṭkotatkaṭasaṃbhramaḥ*).

[365] The MMK 52, p. 439 instructs the *sādhaka* to go to the cremation ground on the 8th or 14th dark fortnight where he must be naked, with his hair dishevelled, fearsome and fearless; taking on that appearance, he should recite the *vidyā* ten hundred times (*nagnako muktaśikhaḥ sa kruddho nirbhayo bhūtvā vidyā daśasahasrāṇi japet*). Similarly, in the *abhicāra* rite prescribed in the MMK 52, p. 438, whose purpose is to inflict the enemy-king with fever, the adept is described as *nagnako muktaśikhaḥ*.

[366] The same phrasing occurs in the *Vīṇāśikhatantra* (156, p. 73), where one performs *abhicāra* while being "naked, with his hair dishevelled, standing on three skulls" (*nagno muktaśikho bhūtvā kapālatrayasaṃsthitaḥ*); in the *Vīṇāśikhatantra* 158ab, the *sādhaka* is further described as

tantras describe the *ācārya*'s conduct as being frightening and violent, and refer to his trampling with the left foot (*vāmapādenākramya*) upon the image of the target against whom *abhicāra* is performed. The *Vīṇāśikhatantra* (153cd, p. 73) gives the procedure for causing a woman to arrive quickly from a long distance in which one draws an image of the woman with yellow orpiment and tramples upon it with his left foot (*vāmapādena cākramet*); in that very moment she comes quickly even if she is twenty *yojana*s away. The GS (14.48–53) speaks about a ritual for the violent destruction of the enemies in which the *sādhaka,* wearing clothes wet with blood, urine, and water, treads on the image with his left foot (*liṅgaṃ vāmapādenākramya*)[368] while invoking the mantra of *krodharāja* with hundred and eight recitations; as a result, even the Buddha is bound to be destroyed. The *Susiddhikara* (Giebel 2001:186), in the section on the preparation of the effigy of the enemy, describes a procedure for the *abhicārahoma* in which the adept is instructed to tread upon the heart of the image with his left foot. The same phrasing and context occurs in non-tantric texts, e.g. the *Āsurīkalpa* of the *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa*s (Magoun 1889:176), where we find a recipe for the *abhicārahoma* in which the image of the target has to be treaded upon with the left foot (*āsurīsupiṣṭaprakṛtiṃ kṛtvā vāmapādenākramya*). The expression *vāmapādenākramya* occurs in the VBhT only once; more frequent is the expression *vāmapādenāvaṣṭabhya*,[369] 'having pressed with his left foot'. This expression is also common in the magical recipes of the MMK (where the variant *vāmahastenāvaṣṭabhya* is also attested). Nevertheless, the sequence *vāmapādenākramya* is also found in the Yamāntaka chapter of the MMK (52, p. 438), in which the *ācārya*, naked, with his hair flowing wild, performs the rite for the destruction of the enemy-king trampling upon the Śivaliṅga with his left foot, while repeating the *krodha*[*rāja*]-mantra (*nagnako muktaśikhaḥ maheśvaraliṅgaṃ vāmapādenākramya*

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having a terrifying form, angry and with red eyes (*sādhako ghorarūpeṇa kruddhaḥ saṃraktalocanaḥ*).

[367] In a shorter recension of the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* (13.12a), the *sādhaka*, who is described as *nagno muktaśikho,* goes to the cremation ground to recite the mantras and offers his blood to the *yoginī*s who, in return, bestow upon him the coveted *siddhi*s. The passage in Sanskrit is given in Dezsö 2010:398.

[368] Fremantle's edn., p. 312 reports *vāmapadenākramya* (sic!), while Matsunaga's edn., p. 68 has instead *pādena cākramya*.

[369] In the NTGS (10.30), we find the expression '*dakṣiṇapāṇināvaṣṭabhya*', 'pressing with the right hand' in the *homa* recipe involving the use of *siddhadravya*s.

krodhamantraṃ tāvajjapet).[370] The wild, angry, and violent conduct of the *ācārya* performing *abhicāra* differs considerably from another depiction of the *ācārya* in later Buddhist *yoginītantra*s, e.g. the *Śrīherukābhidhāna*, where he embodies the fullest appropriation of the sanguinary Kāpālika ascetic of Vidyāpīṭha Śaivism (Sanderson 2009). In the *maṇḍala* section of the *Śrīherukābhidhāna* (chapter 2), the description of the *ācārya* is as follows:

> He has the proper knowledge, and understands the Tantra and Śrī Heruka's mantra. He is not angry, is pure and competent, and he understands yoga and is perfected in knowledge. His hair is marked with skulls, his limps are smeared with ash. His body is decorated with [bone] ornaments, and it has a bone garland. His hair is formed in one plait, and he wears a bone garland. Having taken oneself to be Śrī Heruka with a *khaṭvāṅga* staff placed in one's hand, think of Śrī Heruka, and place him in the centre of the wheel.[371]

The great disparity between these two depictions of the *ācārya* may be linked to the general development of tantric traditions. The first depiction may emulate an earlier, more archaic model, and thus may be connected to the prototype of the *abhicāruka*[372] found in the exorcistic rituals (i.e. the expelling of demons). In the early tantras, a clear-cut separation between the exorcistic rituals and the *abhicāruka* seems not to have yet occurred, which suggests that the depiction of the *ācārya* as frightful was in order for him to resemble the demonic entities he had to expel. The second depiction of the *ācārya* that is prevalent, for example, in later Buddhist *yoginītantra*s makes a conscious attempt to

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[370] MMK 51.66cd (p. 435) instructs the *sādhaka* to stand on the head of the effigy of the target with one's foot, while being in a wrathful state, then recite the mantra (*ākramya pādatā mūrdho saṅkruddho japam ācaret*), if he wishes to effectuate killing.

[371] Trans. Gray (2007:164–165). As Sanderson demonstrated, the aforesaid description of the *ācārya* has been plagiarised from a passage of the early Śākta-tantra *Yoginīsaṃcāra,* incorporated as a section of the *Jayadrathayāmala*: "The *ācārya* should not be given to anger, but should be honest, skilled, and the master of *yoga*. He who has gone to the further side of knowledge, must be wearing a chaplet made of skulls, and must be smeared with the ashes from the cremation ground; observing the *vrata* of the five signs (i.e., the Kāpālika *vrata* that requires wearing five ascetic bone ornaments (*pañcamudrā*), adorned with auxiliary *mantra*s of Bhairava […], he should trace the excellent *maṇḍala*, which bestows fiercesome *siddhi*s (*ghora-siddhi*))" *akrodhano śucir dakṣo ācāryo jñānapāragaḥ kapālamālābharaṇo raudrabhasmāvaguṇṭhitaḥ pañcamudrāvratadharo bhairavāṅgair vibhūṣitaḥ* […] *ālikhen maṇḍalavaraṃ ghorasiddhi-pradāyakam*/ *Yoginīsaṃcāra* 8.7–8.9. The Sanskrit text is from Sanderson 2009:203–204.

[372] The term *abhicāruka* is a common form of a more frequently used variant *abhicāra*, attested in the Buddhist *kriyātantra*s (i.e., SSK, MMK, etc.), but rarely seen in Śaiva texts, with the exception of the *Niśvāsa* corpus and the Nepalese version of the *Sārdhaśatikakālottara* (150–verse recension, v. 69 cd: *yajanaṃ vihitaṃ skanda anilām abhicāruke,* NAK 5-4632 ['Kālottara'], part 3, f.4r). I thank Prof. Alexis Sanderson for this reference.

distance itself from the practices belonging to the exorcistic substratum; thus, we find an *ācārya* who is the complete opposite of the wild, naked, aggressive beast he is in the earlier scriptures: he is not angry but pure, learned, skilled in yoga, his limps are smeared with ashes, and his hair is arranged in a ponytail. The remainder of *abhicāruka* as a ritual connected to exorcistic practices is preserved in some Buddhist mantras, which often contain phrases linked to "casting out the demons" (*bhūta*s). For example, the SSK (Giebel 2001:132) gives the *mantra* for the *abhicāruka* linked to Vajrapāṇi of the *krodha*-family, called Amṛtakuṇḍalin, as follows:

> *Namo ratnatrayāya namaś caṇḍavajrapāṇaye mahāyakṣasenāpataye, oṃ amṛtakuṇḍali kha kha kha kha khāhi khāhi tiṣṭha tiṣṭha bandha bandha hana hana garja vigarja visphoṭaya sphoṭaya sarvavighnavināyakā[n] mahā[ga]ṇapatijīvitāntakarāya hūṃ phaṭ.*
>
> Homage to the Three Jewels! Homage to Violent Vajrapāṇi, great general of the yakṣas! Oṃ, O Amṛtakuṇḍalin! Devour, devour, devour, devour! Devour devour! Abide abide! Bind, bind! Slay, slay! Roar roar out! Rend asunder, rend all obscurations and obstructive demons! For you who put an end to the life of the Great Lord of (Śiva's) Hosts! Hūṃ phaṭ!

The aforesaid *mantra* ends with the passage depicting Gaṇapati, who, as the lord of the demonic hosts (*gaṇa*), is killed by Amṛtakuṇḍalin. As White (2012:149) explains, such beings as *rākṣasa*s, seizers (*graha*s), *vināyaka*s, and so forth,

> can only be controlled by placating the masters of their respective hosts: that is, one of the Seven Mothers, or gods like Bhairava, Gaṇapati, Vīrabhadra, or Hanumān. These multiple Spirit Lords (*bhūteśvara*s, *bhūtanātha*s)—generic terms already attested in the Āyurvedic literature ... and that continue to be employed throughout modern-day South Asia—constituted the original pantheons of the 'Bhūta Tantras'.

The model on which this *abhicāruka* mantra was founded is exorcistic: their purpose is to expel malignant beings presided over by Gaṇapati.[373] A ritualised subjection of demonic

[373] According to Narain (1991:22–23) the word *vināyaka* might occur first in the *Mānava-Gṛhyasūtra* (2.14) to refer to four lesser gods and spirits. In the *Mahābhārata* (12.274), *vināyaka*s are associated with evil spirits, such as *rākṣasa*s, *bhūta*s, and *piśāca*s. Some scholars have suggested that Gaṇapati was originally conceived as a member of this class of demons, and was later integrated into the Brahmanical pantheon as the son of Śiva. In the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* (1.271a–1.271c, in Acharya 1949:97), the *vināyaka* is referred to for the first time as a single being appointed by Rudra or Brahmā as the leader of the *gaṇa*s (*gaṇapati*). Here, the SSK refers to Gaṇapati by the epithet Vighneśvara: the 'lord of obstacles' (*vighna*s); in the *Liṅga-Purāṇa*, Gaṇapati's role as Vighneśvara was to obstruct *rākṣasa*s and *asura*s when they performed acts of merit (Grimes 1995:50).

beings is also preserved in the story of the subjugation of Maheśvara in the STTS. The core of this ritual is conveyed by the image of Vajrapāṇi trampling upon the naked Maheśvara with his left foot (*vāmapādasamākrāntastena*)[374] and reciting the *mantra* 'Oṃ *vajrāviśa hanaya traṃ traṭ*!', after which Maheśvara becomes possessed (*samāviṣṭvā*) and behaves bizarrely, beating his heads with his hands. This event marks Maheśvara's final defeat. The episode is important for the purpose of our discussion for two reasons. First, trampling with the left foot is conceived as the last resort to subjugate and convert Maheśvara, when all other means of subjugation fall short. In earlier parts of the myth, Maheśvara is still able to resist the forced conversion into Buddhism even after being killed and revived, but once he is crushed to the ground by Vajrapāṇi's left foot, the subjugation is complete. The use of the left foot is important insofar as it suggests a signature pose of the tantric practitioner performing the *abhicāra* rite (see p.146 above). The STTS understands 'trampling with the left foot' to evoke the warrior-pose (*pratyālīḍha*),[375] just the same the goddess Durgā assumes in the *Devīmāhātmya* when she conquers the demon Mahiṣa. Second, if we take this story as a paradigmatic model for proto-*abhicāruka* rituals concerned with the exorcism of demonic beings, it may be argued that trampling upon the effigy of the target with one's left foot (a feature of the *abhicāra*) marks the ritual act of subjugation through which the target becomes possessed or spellbound. The depiction of Vajrapāṇi trampling upon Maheśvara with his left foot may be indicative of a larger theoretical model in which proto-*abhicāruka* rituals were concerned with the subjugation of demons.

3.6. *Karma*s and Their Field of Application

When we examine examples of magical procedures found in Śaiva and Buddhist tantras, we soon realise that there is a collection of recipes presenting common areas of interest

[374] Compare pre-9th century *Sarvavajrodaya* (v. 56 and v. 58) by Ānandagarbha, where the practitioner (emulating the conduct of Vajrahūṃkāra) tramples the effigy of the obstacle with his left foot (*vāmapādena vighnapratikṛtim ākramya*), reenacting the event of the subjugation of Maheśvara. For the same expression and a similar theme in the context of the mythogenesis of the deity Heruka in the *Śrīherukābhidhāna*, see Gray 2007:48.

[375] In the passage of the STTS describing Vajrapāṇi united with Vajrahūṃkāra (p. 190, vv. 7cd–9), he is in warrior-pose (*pratyālīḍhasamākrānta*), with the sole of his left foot pressing Maheśvara, and the sole of his right foot Umā (*ādasamākrāntastena kārya maheśvaraḥ*/ *dakṣiṇaṃ tu likhet pādam umāstanabharasthitaṃ*).

and practise. Magical recipes can be classified according to the magical techniques they employ, e.g. *stambhana*, *uccāṭana*, etc., or according to the field of their application, i.e., combat magic, 'love' magic, neutralisation of poison, etc. This simply means that the same technology can be applied in different contexts: for instance, *stambhana* can be used in 'love' magic to paralyse a maiden, but also in combat magic to stop the army from attacking the kingdom. Below are some examples of such classifications.

a) Combat Magic

One area of interest in magical recipes is addressing military purposes. These can be classified under the heading 'combat magic'. Given the fact that much of the tantric repertoire was designed for kings who engaged in warfare, the existence of such types of magical procedures is understandable. Different types of combat magic are being used in tantric texts. One of them is averting evil (*śānti*) meant to bring peace to a place at war or neutralise a soldier launching military attacks. Despite the great emphasis placed on the apotropaic role of tantric officiating priests engaged in the rituals to protect the kingdom, early tantric texts contain very few recipes that would actually confirm their protective purpose. For example, the VBhT (§56) gives only one *homa* recipe for the *śānti* ritual that protects the kingdom from being attacked by an enemy-king (see, p. 178). The *Vīṇāśikha* also provides one *śānti* recipe to bring about the pacification of a person who is about to launch an attack by discharging his weapons (p. 179).[376] Thus, at least in the light of the content of the magical recipes themselves, there is not much evidence that tantric *ācārya*s composed the tantras having in mind the protection of kings from evil. If they had, then we would surely find a larger number of *śānti* recipes reflecting that purpose, especially since, as Geslani (2017) has recently demonstrated, in the *Atharvavedapariśiṣta*s "*śānti* has matured into a central theme of Atharvan discourse".[377]

[376] An early Buddhist tantra, the *Siddhaikavīra* (1.14), also contains a recipe that prevents the discharge of an enemy's weapons through *stambhana* and not *śānti*. This is accomplished when one writes a mantra in saffron and wears it either on one's neck or arm.

[377] Recently, Geslani (2017:99) has demonstrated that from the time of the *Kauśikasūtra* through the *Śāntikalpa* there was a gradual promotion of *śānti* rituals as the primary specialisation of the *purohita*s (whose function, according to Sanderson, was subsumed by the tantric *rājagurus*), which reached its peak in the *Atharvavedapariśiṣta*s. Much earlier, the *Arthaśāstra* also acknowledges the fact that *śānti* belonged to the specific expertise of magic specialists called

Another type of magical technique used specifically in combat magic was paralysis or *stambhana*. An example of that is given in the NTGS (3.105cd-6cd), where an interesting recipe for a spell causing the paralysis of an army (*senāstambhana*) is given: *kālayukto yadā mantras trayodaśakalāhataḥ/ stambhayet sarvasainyāni sarvaduṣṭāni caiva hi*, "If the *mantra* is conjoined with time (*ma*) and is surmounted by the 13th *kāla* (*o*), (if it's *hmoṃ*), then he can paralyse, stop any army and all wicked beings." The recipes for the *senāstambhana* were circulating also in 7th and 8th century Buddhist tantras, [378] such as the MMK, the *Amoghapāśakalparāja*, and the *Siddhaikaivīra*.[379] In the *Siddhaikavīra* (1.16), for example, the adept writes the mantra on a rag taken from a cremation ground, customised with the names of the commanders of the opposing army in the centre of a double *vajra*. Outside of the double *vajra*, one writes eight *laṃ* (the *bīja-mantra* of earth) and outside of these, the *maṇḍala* of Indra. The mantra should then be placed in the belly of a Gaṇapati made of beeswax adorned with the double *vajra*. When it is buried next to the opposing army, it will stop the army.[380] The *senāstambhana* constitutes, for example, the main topic of Chapter Eight of the Śaiva *Kakṣapuṭatantra* attributed to the *siddha* Nāgārjuna, who is usually dated somewhere between the 7th and 10th century. Despite its Buddhist author, the text contains no Buddhist features and "most of the references are cited from the Hindu tantras" (Yamano 2013:63).

Another magical technique used in combat magic is driving away (*uccāṭana*). Again, the NTGS (3.94ab-5cd) provides us with the following recipe:

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siddha-ascetics (*siddhatāpasī*) who are twice referred to as those engaged in the pacification rites (*śāntika*, 4.3.13; 4.3.25).

[378] The paralysis of wicked beings through magical means that prevents a person from engaging in violent combat is one of the favourite repertories of tantric *siddha*s in the Tibetan Buddhist tradition. One example in point is given in Tāranātha's *Gshin rje chos 'byung* (p. 118), which narrates the story of Amoghavajra Junior, a lama of Zhang lo tsā ba, who took part in the transmission of Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka cycle from India to Tibet. One day, when he was crossing the mountain in the Stong lung district, a hord of bandits appeared on his way. When they tried to climb the mountain, he used his threatening finger, and they froze (*rengs*). Without recurring to fighting, he passed safely.

[379] For a general discussion on "war magic" in Buddhism, see Sinclair 2014.

[380] *Siddhaikavīramahātantrarājaḥ, Dpa' bog cig pu grub pa zhes bya ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po*, Toh 544, Derge Bka' gyur (*rgyud 'bum pa*), folios 1.b–13a trans. By the Dharmachakra Translation Committee, accessed by the 8400: Translating the Words of the Buddha, last accessed April 2019.

> *bhasmanā snāpayet liṅgan tad bhasma punar eva hi. Liṅgasyopari dattvā tu hastaṃ dattvā tato japet. Śīghram uccāṭayec chatruṃ mahāduṣṭo 'pi yo bhavet.*
>
> He should first bathe a *liṅga* with ash, and then, he should again place that ash upon the *liṅga* and put his hand on that and recite the mantra. He will quickly expel his enemy, even if he (the *sādhaka*) is a great sinner.

The aforesaid recipe can be interpreted in two ways: it can mean that one causes the enemy to flee in panic or one makes an army flee in battle. The latter meaning is also attested in Chapter Nine of the *Kakṣapuṭatantra* (Yamano 2013:65).

Unlike the practices linked to Yamāntaka described in the MMK, which are dedicated solely to the destruction of the king's enemy,[381] recipes for military combat do not feature in the VBhT. This fact is especially interesting considering that later adoptions of the Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka cult, especially in China, already discussed in Chapter One to this thesis, exclusively associate him with the combat magic employed in the context of political warfare.

b) "Love" Magic

Another cluster of recipes can be classified as "love" magic. Judging from the contents of magical formularies, it becomes evident that "love" magic has nothing to do with romance or inducing a feeling of love onto the desired woman, but rather aims at attracting a woman for the sole purpose of sexual intercourse. This gives us some indications of what men in mediaeval India looked for in tantric magic, namely men harboured a hope that tantric magic would provide them with an instrument for satisfying their sexual desires. One of the crudest technologies for coercing a woman into having sex was called *kanyāstambhana* or "paralysis of a maiden", which belongs to the standard repertoire of magic in Buddhist tantras (see e.g. GS 15.19; VBhT §34). The following example of *kanyāstambhana* comes from the VBhT (see Appendix 2, p. 366):

> Now there is a procedure for paralysing a girl: he should draw with a poison and the rest, the *yantra* of Yamāri on a rag taken from the cremation ground using charcoal of the cremation pyre. Having made a doll [of the target], he should make [an image of] the Hideous one measuring one span. He should place [the doll] in its heart. Having pressed the *yantra* with his left foot and maintaining meditative union with the Buffalo-faced one,

[381] For a discussion, see, p. 257 of this thesis.

> he should then repeat the ten-letter mantra [formulating his purpose in these words:] 'may I quickly paralyse girl X'; [if he does that, then] he will [indeed] paralyse her.

*Akṣobhya (p. 378) comments on it as follows: "to paralyse a maiden" means "to intoxicate her in order to enjoy whatever one may wish for" (*bu mo rmongs par bya ba ni/ myos par bya bas ci dgar longs spyad par bya ba'i phyir ro*). *Akṣobhya's explanation is quite clear in suggesting that the recipe is conceived as having an effect similar to a contemporary date rape drug that acts as an incapacitating agent and renders a woman vulnerable to sexual assault. This ritual relies on the principle of sympathetic magic. A maiden is represented by a doll, which is used for an imitative operation symbolising a violent action, i.e., paralysis. A doll is placed in the position of subordination to another image representing Vajrabhairava. After establishing himself in the meditative union with Vajrabhairava, the mantra-master presses on the *yantra* device and recites the mantra, customised with the magical formula: *śīghram amukāṃ kanyāṃ stambhayāmi iti*. The whole sequence is supposed to inflict paralysis upon the target's image (a doll), so that a corresponding paralysis as a means for accomplishing physical rape will occur to the actual girl.

The masculine nature of tantric magic, as emphasised by its focus on the sexual conquest of women, is also mirrored in another recipe involving a technique of visualisation that aims at making a woman sexually excited, even if she is far away. The intensity of her sexual desire is expressed by a simile in which she (or rather her vagina) "drips wet as a sappy tree" (*strīyaṃ drāvayati kṣīriṇavṛkṣam iva drāvayati*). The VBhT (§71) provides the following recipe (see Appendix 2, p. 383):

> Next, the meditation procedure of getting a woman sexually excited at a distance [is given]. Having visualised the target in front of him, he should visualise the bow-shaped [letter YA] (*dhanvākāra*), grey in colour, in front of her feet. Above that, in the region of the genitals, he [should visualise] a three-cornered fire-*maṇḍala* empowered by the syllable RA (fire) on it. Above that, he should visualise the earth-*maṇḍala*, which is yellow in colour, square, and empowered by the syllable LAṂ. Above that, on the forehead, he should visualise the moon-*maṇḍala*. In the middle of that, he should visualise nectar flowing down with the letter VAṂ (the water syllable). Having carefully visualised in this manner, he should cause the fire to blaze up with the wind; [then,] he imagines the earth-*maṇḍala* being heated up by this fire. He visualises that that nectar-

> disc is melting by the heat of the earth-*maṇḍala*. By this mere procedure, he causes the woman to become moist, he causes her to drip like a sap-rich tree, and not otherwise.[382]

*Akṣobhya's commentary elaborates on this technique saying that it functions as the *vaśīkaraṇa* recipe (bringing a woman under one's own power). For him, filling a woman with sexual desire operates on two levels: mental and physical, i.e., she becomes smitten as soon as her body melts with her great desire.[383] This obsessive passion gives her no respite until she yields to her yearning.

The techniques for "love" magic mentioned so far resemble the tendencies of magical procurement of wives that were prominent in the "*yakṣinī-sādhana*s" that played an important role in tantric magic. *Yakṣiṇī*s or *yakṣī*s are mythical beings common to Hindu, Buddhist, and Jaina traditions. In their outward appearance, *yakṣiṇī*s epitomise the physical perfection of feminine beauty. They are depicted as curvaceous and sexually attractive, a kind of 'Barbie doll' with wide hips, narrow waists and large, round breasts. Perhaps, due to their physical attractiveness, *yakṣiṇī*s are regarded in tantric magic as "trophy" wives, even though, in their actual role, they are nothing more than sexual servants. Both Śaiva and Buddhist tantras (including the VBhT) regard mastery over the *yakṣiṇī*s as one of the *vidyādhara*'s coveted *siddhi*s. The sexual objectification of *yakṣiṇī*-wives who are treated as an object valued for its use in fulfilling male sexual desire is apparent in the NTGS (10.81ab-84ab), which provides us with a following recipe for the rite of subjugation of a *yakṣiṇī*:

> *Śālabhañjikasiddhārthaśālmalīpratimāṃ kṛtvā devasya pādayo sthāpya trisandhyaṃ devi pūjaye pratikṛtim. Arcayitvā daśasahasrāṇi japet kṛṣṇe tṛrātrikām. Sabali devaṃ pūjya jātipuṣpasahasreṇa pratimāṃ hṛdi tāḍayet. Siddhā sā kiṃ karomīti bhāryā me bhavasveti. Tayā saha ramate yāvac candratārakaṃ. Yakṣiṇyā eṣa vidhiḥ.*
>
> Having made a doll of a Śalabhañjikā with mustard and silk cotton,[384] he should place it at the feet of the god, and should worship the doll at the three junctures of the day. Having worshipped it, he should recite the mantra ten thousand times for three nights during the dark fortnight. Having worshipped the god together with *bali* offerings, he

[382] Siklós's (1996:48) translation of this recipe from Tibetan and Mongolian misses out the point, where he says: "Merely by this practice that woman melts. Like the sacred fig tree it will doubtless melt."
[383] See Appendix 3, p. 482, fn. 1960.
[384] Alternatively, one may read *śālabhañjikasiddhārtha* [emend to °*ārthe?*] *śālmalīpratimāṃ kṛtvā,* which would yield the translation 'having made [a doll] of silk cotton for the purpose of mastering a Śālabhañjikā' (cf. the expression *siddhā sā,* 'she will be mastered', below).

> should tap the doll on its ear with a thousand *jāti* flowers. She will be mastered, and she will say: "What can I do for you?" He will say: "Be my wife". He enjoys with her for as long as the moon and the stars endure. This is the rite of the *yakṣiṇī*.

This recipe is based on the principle of sympathetic magic that involves manipulation of a doll resembling a *śālabhañjikā yakṣiṇī* made with white mustard and silk cotton, who is made to come "alive" through the process of worship. In its basic form this recipe bears resemblance to the procedure of *vaśīkaraṇa* described in the VBhT (§28): to subjugate under one's will, one makes an image of a target with *siddhadravya*s*,* that is, saffron and yellow orpiment, and worships the image with red flowers at the three junctures of a day (see p. 426). Both of these recipes are interesting because of the way in which they combine relatively simple conceptions of image magic with the basic notion of deity-worship at the three *sandhyā*s derived more specifically from Hindu/Indian culture, and thus they represent with particular clarity the mingling of magical and religious traditions. Especially the formula given in the NTGS shows an awareness of congruity of the process of appealing to the divine powers for the ends sought here.

The treatment of a *yakṣiṇī* as a wife and lover, and also as the source of various *siddhi*s for the man who is able to master her through the power of *sādhana*, finds its expression also in a passage of the MMK. The text classifies *yakṣiṇī*s into three categories: mother, sister, and wife—the difference between them being based on the type of gift they grant to the *sādhaka*. The text says:

> *Ādau lakṣam ekaṃ japet. Pūrvasevā kṛtā bhavati. Tato mahāraṇyaṃ praviśya phalāhāraḥ tāvaj japed yāvat svarūpeṇopatiṣṭhate. Āgatā ca bravīti—kiṃ karomīti. Yadi mātā bhavati. Mātṛvat sarvāśāṃ paripūrayate. Rājyaṃ dadāti. Mahādhanapatiṃ karoti. Dīrghāyuṣkatām adhitiṣṭhate. Atha bhaginī yathepsitaṃ strīm ānayati yojana-sahasrasthitām api. Dīnāralakṣaṃ dine dine dadāti. Sa ca vyayīkartavyaḥ. Atha bhāryā bhavati svabhavanaṃ nayate divyavimānābhirūḍho tayā sārdhaṃ ramate. Dīrghakālaṃ triṃśad varṣasahasrāṇi yatheṣṭaṃ vicarate. Mahāyakṣapratirūpo bhavati.*
>
> First, one should recite the mantra one hundred thousand times, then he makes a *pūrvasevā*. Then he enters a great forest, lives on fruit, and continues the recitation [of the mantra] until she appears in person. When she arrives, she will say: "What can I do for you?" If she is a mother, then she fulfills all his desires in a manner of a mother: she gives him a kingdom, she makes him a millionaire, she empowers him with a long life. If she is a sister, then she will bring to him any woman he desires, even though she is a thousand *yojana*s away. Every day, she will give him a hundred thousands *dinara*s, and he will have to spend them. If she is a wife, then, she takes him home, and he enjoys with her mounted on a divine chariot for a long time, for thirty thousand years. He can go wherever he wishes and he becomes indistinguishable from a great *yakṣa* (MMK 52, p.

447).

Due to their association with the lord of wealth Kubera (or Vaiśravaṇa), *yakṣiṇī*s have been traditionally regarded as bestowers of prosperity and treasures. This aspect is reinforced in the above-mentioned passage, where *yakṣiṇī*s assume different feminine roles and bestow on the *sādhaka* various boons ranging from power and money to longevity and women. As in the passage of the NTGS stated above, here again, the *yakṣiṇī* of the 'wife' class presents a highly sexualised image of a woman reduced to a sexual object in the household.

Examples of "love" magic that include sexual violence as well as procurement of the *yakṣiṇī*s for the purpose of obtaining a sexually-compliant wife seem to suggest that production of an early tantric magic was controlled by men who created it having a male clientele in mind. It can be assumed that men of different social standing were the owners of the grimories and that they were also responsible for the dissemination of a sexually subservient image of femininity in magical recipes.

c) Underworld Magic (*pātālasiddhi*)

The concept of a maiden bestowing on a mantra-master sexual favours is also found in the descriptions of the underworlds (*pātāla*s), where Śaiva and Buddhist *tāntrika*s enter for the sole purpose of delighting in sensual pleasures. The *pātālasiddhi* or the ability to enter into the underworld is one of the accomplishments sought by a *vidyādhara* in the VBhT. Early tantric texts explicitly portray the underworld as the domain of females; it is the place inhabited by *asurī*s, the semi-divine female beings who, from the time of the *Atharvaveda,* have been associated with herb-witchcraft used to seduce Indra. In tantric texts, *asurī*s are in charge of women whose only role is to sexually please the mantra-master. The entry into the underworld is somewhat tricky, for it requires specific magical skills to unlock a *bila,* that is a hole through which one can pass into the underworld.[385] The NTGS (10.86ab-cd) gives the following *homa*-recipe for opening a sealed *bila*: "if he performs the ten thousand times offerings of *bilvā*-fruit into the fire, he will be allowed to

[385] On *bilasiddhi,* see Sanderson 2004:280–282, 2007:49–50; Vasudeva 2012:275–278. On other reasons for entering into the underworlds, see Mayer 2007.

enter into the underworld, and not remain at the *bila*-entrance" (*bilvahomayutenāpūrya praveśayati na bile tiṣṭhati*). The passage of the NTGS (10.125ab-cd) identifies the underworld as the place of the *asurī*s who, upon the *sādhaka*'s successful entry, adore him: "If he enters the *bila*, then by reciting the mantra, he will destroy all the seals. Others who have entered previously, will immediately become his […]. He becomes a darling of *asura* women" (*bilapradeśe japtaḥ sarvayantrāṃ praṇāśayet. pūrvapraviṣṭaś ca ye te tasya* […] *asurīṇāṃ priyo bhavati*). The text of the recipe is too corrupted to be reconstructed with any certainty, but the overall idea seems to be clear—the *asurī*s "take care" of the *sādhaka,* and this could include services of sexual nature. In this regard, the MMK is more explicit in the sexual purpose for which one would want to enter into the underworld:

> *Maithunārthī yathā mantrī rāgāndho mūḍhacetasaḥ. Mantrair ākṛṣya bhuñjīta yakṣīṃ vā atha rākṣasīṃ* [em. *rākṣasī* ed.] *nāgīṃ* [em. *nāgī* ed.] *ca matha gandharvīṃ* [em. *gandharvīṃ* ed.] *daityayoṣim atha kinnarīm. Pātālabhavanaṃ ramya asurāṇāṃ purottamam. Praviśet tatra mantrajñaḥ yatra strīṇām asaṅkhyakam. Tatra gatvā vaset kalpaṃ* [em. *kalpa* ed.] *mantrajño mantrajāpinaḥ. Maitreyo nāma sambuddhaḥ yadā buddho bhaviṣyati. Tadāsau śroṣyati saddharmaṃ śrutvā mukto bhaviṣyati*.
>
> If the mantra expert wants to have sex and is blind with lust, his mind deluded, he may attract with mantras and enjoy a *yakṣī* or *rākṣasī*, a *nāgī*, a *gandharvī*, a *daitya* woman, or a *kinnarī*, or he can enter into a splendid world beneath which is an excellent city of *asura*s where there are countless women. Having entered, he may dwell there for a whole *kalpa* constantly reciting his mantra. Then, when eventually Maitreya will become a Buddha, he will hear his teachings and be released (MMK 52.5.7ab-9ab, p. 446).

The above passage clearly expresses the idea that women are the main reason for entering into the underworld. The text seems to suggest that those who were looking for sexual adventures could either made their way to the underworld or perform the rite of *ākarṣaṇa* to attract other categories of mythical semi-divine beings bound by the spell of the mantra to act as sexual servants. In any case, one could enjoy celestial pleasures and eventually gain liberation.

d) Neutralisation of Poisons

Neutralisation of poisons (*viṣavināśana*) forms a large cluster of the tantric repertoire. The recipes dealing with this topic are found in the GS, VBhT, NTGS, and MMK, and range from the techniques of the installation of seed-syllables, "clenched fist" exorcism,

and mantra recitation. The existence of such types of recipes seems to suggest that poisoning and was common in mediaeval India and, therefore, the demand for the magical recipes that could cure it was considerable. The NTGS (3.95ab-8ab) gives a technique for the neutralisation of poisons that is based on supplementing the mantra with additional seed syllables:

> *Huṃ iti viṣaṃ badhnāti. nāmenaiva tu stambhayet. Hrīṃ mūrdhni viṣastobhe […]. Haiṃ viṣaṃ saṅkrāmayati muṣṭinā yatra cecchati. Ho nigrahaṃ sadā kuryāt hau nṛtyāpayate. (sarvapātrāṇi bhūtāni […]). Huṃ viṣāṇi tu sarvāṇi saṅkrāmayati muṣṭinā.*
>
> With the seed-syllable *huṃ* he can bind the poison; simply with the name [of the poison/of the victim?] he can paralyse it. By instilling *hrīṃ* into his head, he can paralyse the poison. With *haiṃ*, with his fist he causes the poison to shift wherever he wants it to go. By reciting *ho* he can always supress the poison, with *hau* he can cause [the poison] to dance [like a puppet]. With *huṃ* he causes all poisons to be transferred with his fist.

Even though the passage is lacunose, it is possible to distinguish two distinctive methods used to neutralise poison. The one is to bind or paralyse the poison, which stops its progress through the inflicted person's body. The other it to transfer the poison away from the target's body to another location as a type of exorcisim. The second method does not only involve the use of seed-syllables, but also the enactment of a hand-gesture (*mudrā*) called *muṣṭi* or "clenched hand or fist". *Muṣṭi* is traditionally used in Sanskrit texts to indicate 'beating', 'forced exit', or to represent the 'holding of weapons', and this meaning aligns with the intended purpose of *muṣṭi* given in the NTGS.

One of the most common types of poisoning tantric magic had to deal with is snakebite (*viṣadaṣṭa*). The instances of such recipes are found already in early tantric scriptures, and the demand for a snakebite cure must have been growing steadily; in the 10th century, we find an entire corpus of tantric scriptures, called *Gāruḍatantra*s, which specifically deal with this topic (Slouber 2014). The recipes for curing snakebite given in early tantric texts include a variety of methods ranging from the already mentioned "clenched fist" to the implementation of metals and visualisation. Here I shall examine three methods in detail, and analyse the evidence for their use in three different textual sources. The first method for curing snakebite, given in the NTGS (10.122ab-cd), makes use of quicksilver, which is seen both as exorcistic and medicinal in nature. The recipe instructs as follows: "If he wipes with quicksilver, even the 'possessing evil spirits'

(*skandagraha*s) will let go. For the person bitten by a poisonous snake, he will cause him to be released" (*sūtakena*[386] *upamārjane skandagrahā 'pi muñcati. viṣadaṣṭe* [em.; *viṣadaṣṭa* ms.] […] *mocāpayati*). In analyzing this passage, we may note that this is perhaps one of the earliest appearances of quicksilver in tantric literature. Quicksilver is the "star" of Indian alchemy and medicine, but its usage in tantric context is unprecedented. More significant for our purpose here is the fact that quicksilver is mentioned as the remedy that releases a person from any disease inflicted by the evil seizer (in the sense that it cures the disease by exorcising the possessing evil spirit [*skandagraha*] from the person's body) and as a cure for snakebite. The same understanding of the poisoning as being afflicted by a *graha* is given in the following example of the MMK that deals with snakebite[387] (*viṣadaṣṭa*):

> *Samudragāminīṃ nadīm avatīrya dakṣiṇahastena muṣṭiṃ kṛtvā trayodaśadivasāṃ japet. Sarvaviṣadaṣṭakāni cotthāpayati. Muṣṭinā sarvagrahāṃ nāśayati.*
>
> [The *sādhaka,*] having entered the river reaching the ocean and having performed the "clenched fist" with his left hand, recites [the mantra] for 13 days. All those bitten by the snake will be revived. With the clenched fist he destroys all the seizers (MMK, 55 p. 552).

The second method given in the VBhT (§70), intended for the fatal cases of snakebites (*kāladaṣṭa*), completely departs from the material approach of healing poisons and their exorcism through the clenched fist *mudrā* and, instead, makes use of visualisation (see Appendix 2, p. 382):

> Next, the meditation procedure for resurrecting the person that has been fatally bitten by a snake [is given]. First is told a golden wind-disc presided over the syllable YAṂ. Having visualised an eight-petalled lotus, white in colour, in his own heart, he should visualise the third vowel (I), above it, and on the eight petals, eight white *phaṭ*s. By this he should also visualise himself having the form of the *nāga*-king Śeṣa, white in colour. He should imagine him emitting a flood of nectar through the letter Ī upon his head. Having caused that nectar to go out from the eyes of that snake, he should visualise it falling down through the body of that target. Through this meditation procedure, he

[386] The word *sūtaka* has three unrelated meanings, namely either a "woman who has just given birth", a "quicksilver", or "impurity".

[387] The Śaiva *Uḍḍāmareśvaratantra* gives a recipe for the terminal cases of snakebite as a concoction made of seven ingredients: the three *madhus* (honey, milk and ghee, see p. 177), black pepper, long pepper, and ginger. When this mixture is administered to a person fatally bitten by a snake together with salt, he will instantly recover (Zadoo 1947:11–12).

> makes poison free of poison even though it is a poison that fills the entire universe. Even if he swallows the poison a hundred times.

e) Magic Pill (*guṭikā, gulikā*)

A large part of the stock-in-trade of many early tantric magicians consisted in recipes for making magic pills, called *guṭikā*s or *gulikā*s. The recipes found in early Buddhist and Śaiva tantras show that early tantric *guṭikā*s differ from the so-called "mercurial pills" (also known as *guṭikā*s) found in alchemical and tantric alchemical literature, such as the *Rasārṇava* or *Kākacaṇḍeśvarīmata* (White 1998:153), not only with regard to the ingredients that are used for their preparation, but also with regard to the overall purpose for which they are made. While the tantric alchemical scriptures list *guṭikā*s that bestow the power of flight, make a *sādhaka* attractive to nymphs and *yoginī*s, or grant immortality (*ibid*.), the *guṭikā*s of early tantric magic are, in most cases, simply able to make one invisible. The same goes with the ingredients: unlike the alchemical pills made of mercury, the early tantric *guṭikā*s are mixed with either transgressive substances or herbs and minerals, and always wrapped up in three metals. My comparison draws together textual examples for making a pill found in the Buddhist GS and the Śaiva NTGS.

The recipes for *gulikā*s given in the GS (15.41–48, pp. 74-75) appear in the context of the *samaya* of the great *vajra* of invisibility (*samayāntardhānamahāvajraḥ*). The recipe does not exactly refer to the main ingredients used for making a *gulikā*, but mentions the use of transgressive substances, such as excrements, the meat of dog, crow or human flesh that have to mixed with a *gulikā* wrapped up in three metals. Thus, we find such expressions as "*viṣṭena saha saṃyuktāṃ gulikāṃ trilohaveṣṭitām*" and "*mahāmaṃsena saṃyuktaṃ gulikāṃ trilohaveṣṭitām*". The making of a pill wrapped up in three metals is accompanied by sexual intercourse; this procedure makes one invisible to all the Buddhas (*sarvabuddhair na dṛśyate*).

The NTGS (3.73–74ab) also instructs about making a pill that grants invisibility using excrements, but here the type of excrements is clearly specified to be that of a lizard; similarly, one should wrap it up in the three metals:

> *Bṛhatkṛkalāsaṃ gṛhya ādāu eva mahābalam* [em.; *mahāphalam* ms]. *Tasya viṣṭhaṃ tu samgṛhya trilohapariveṣṭitam. Ayutenābhimantra* […] *ca bhuvanodare. Vadane tu vinikṣipya adreśyo meghavat kramet.*
>
> At the beginning, one should obtain a big, powerful lizard; [then,] one should collect its faeces, and wrap them up in the three metals. Having enchanted it with a hundred thousand recitations, he can go anywhere within the universe. Having popped it into his mouth, he will become invisible and be able to move like a cloud.

In another example given in the NTGS (3.84ab-5ab) we also find a recipe to make a pill wrapped up in three metals so that one can become invisible to ghosts:

> *Trilohaveṣṭitām kṛtvā śatasāhasramantritām. Tiṣṭhate vadane yāvat tāvat bhūtair na dṛśyate. Yāni paśyati bhūtāni te vaśyās tasya kiṅkarāḥ.*
>
> First he should make a pill, which is wrapped up in three metals and empowered by hundred thousand recitations. As long as it stays in his mouth, he will not be visible to the *bhūta*s; any *bhūta*s that he sees become subject to him as his servants.

The above recipes found in the GS and the NTGS use the same expression *trilohaveṣṭita*/*trilohapariveṣṭita* for "wrapping up the pill in three metals" and share the analogous purpose of making a pill in order to obtain the power of invisibility. What are these three metals? The Śaiva and Buddhist exegetical literature conform to the same definition of the "three metals" (*triloha*) as referring to "gold, silver, and copper". For example, Kṣemarāja's commentary on the *Svacchandatantra*, the *Svacchandoddyota* (9.107), mentions gold, silver, and copper as three metals for wrapping up the *guṭikā* (*trilohaṃ hema rājata tamraṃ*). Abhayākaragupta's *Abhayapaddhati* (*paṭala* 2, *prayoga* 7), which is a commentary on the *Buddhakapālatantra*, not only prescribes wrapping up the *guṭikā* in three metals, i.e. gold, silver, and copper, but also gives the exact measurement for the gold to be used (...*guṭikaṃ hematāraśullaṃ krameṇa veṣṭayitvā* […] *atra suvarṇamānaṃ sārdharāthikādikamaṣatrayaṃ*) "[…] Having wrapped up the *guṭikā* in gold, silver, and copper one after the other. Here the measure of gold is one *maṣa* (0.97 grams) and three one and half *rāthikā*."

The aforesaid examples for the preparation of *guṭikā* wrapped up in three metals found in early Śaiva and Buddhist tantras do not only suggest a co-functionality of magical technologies regardless of sectarian affiliation, but also show that the sources

shared the same understanding of their magical purpose as well as the specific nomenclature associated with the *triloha*.

3.7. Magical Technology

The previous section has mapped the general contours of tantric magic and delineated the areas of interest common to Śaiva and Buddhist tantric masters. This section will focus on the magical technologies employed by tantric masters, and aim at reconstructing the mechanics they deemed efficacious to bring about magical results. In large part, the magical technology of early tantric magic relies on the manipulation of a wide range of material objects or substances—grains, minerals, chemicals, plants, sweets, dolls, animals, items retrieved from the cremation ground, etc. My aim in the following survey is to examine the available evidence for the recourse to different magical technologies in the early tantric milieu, and classify them on the basis of the various material objects they use. My analysis will also provide examples of Śaiva-Buddhist intertextuality in the light of thematic and linguistic parallels found in the magical recipes. This will hopefully highlight the existence of a shared understanding of magical categories and technologies in the tantric milieu.

a) *Viṣa, Rudhira, Lavaṇa, Rājikā*: "Wrathful" Substances

One of the most common magical technologies used in *abhicāra* is the implementation of the specific substances that are believed to have an innate potency to cause harm. From the analysis of various magical recipes that occur in early tantras, it is possible to delineate a set of four that seem to be well known and accepted by the *tāntrika*s, regardless of their sectarian affiliation. These are: poison (*viṣa*), blood (*rakta*/*rudhira*), salt (*lavaṇa*), and black mustard (*rājikā*).[388] There is no reason to think that these substances had not been in use in non-tantric sources, and some evidence shows that they

[388] In early Buddhist tantras, such as the GS (15.81, p. 78), the set of five "wrathful" substances, i.e. *rājikā*, *lavaṇa*, *taila*, *viṣa*, and *dhattūraka* are known collectively as the supreme destroyers of all the Buddhas (*rājikaṃ lavaṇaṃ tailaṃ viṣaṃ dhattūrakaṃ tathā*/ *māraṇaṃ sarvabuddhānām idaṃ śreṣṭhamaṃ smṛtam*//. The VBhT (§13) repeats the same fixed group of five already mentioned in the GS, but adds *nimba* so as to make a set of six ingredients; these are commonly used as the type of ink prescribed for drawing a *mantra*/*yantra*/*maṇḍala* of Vajrabhairava. Thus, they often occur in association with the Sanskrit verbal root √ *likh,* 'to write'.

were. For example, *rājikā* seems to be widely popular also outside the tantric corpus of scriptures. The already mentioned text, the *Āsurīkalpa* of the *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa*s (Magoun 1889), entirely dedicated to the *abhicāra* procedures, derives its name from the *āsurī*-plant, which the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṃgraha* of Vāgbhata (7.153cd–155), a classical text of Āyurveda, identifies as a synonym of *rājikā*. As the title itself indicates, the *Āsurīkalpa*'s aggressive magical rites are based, almost exclusively, on the wide usage of the *āsurī*-plant. In tantric texts, the mechanics for the use of these four substances seem to fall into two distinct types: the first involves smearing[389] them on the object that is being magically manipulated, e.g. a doll representing the target or a *liṅga.* The second way is to employ them in the *abhicārahoma*. Below I will examine each of these techniques in greater detail by analysing instances of their use in the different sources in which they appear.

The first context in which the use of "wrathful" substances as smearers appears in tantric texts is related to the so-called "fever recipes"—namely, the magical procedures of inflicting the target with fever. The textual examples from the VBhT's exegetical literature and the MMK display a remarkable degree of parallelism in this regard, and may therefore be combined for reconstructing the first mechanics of the employment of "wrathful" substances in tantric magic. The commentators of the VBhT (*Akṣobhya, *Śoṇaśrī, and *Vajrasiddha) expound the original "fever recipe" given in the root-text in a similar manner: the mantrin—who is naked, with dishevelled hair, facing south, and anointed with *kaṭutaila*—retrieves a human skull from the cremation ground. The whole procedure can be summarised through the following passage by *Śoṇaśrī:

> The skull has to be either of a person who was killed by a sword or hung (possibly a criminal). Into this skull, the mantrin draws the visible image of fever with a juice of the *sen rtsi* plant or with a chalk from white earth. Regarding the type of fever the target can be inflicted with, there are two options. If the mantrin wants to inflict the target with hot fever, he draws the image of a fever as red, with red hair going upwards. If he wants to inflict the target with cold fever, he draws the fever as white, with white hair hanging down. Both types of fevers should be drawn as wrathful, with three legs and three arms. Then, the mantrin obtains the

[389] These substances often appear with verbs that mean 'smearing': *āloḍya* (VBhT, VS), *ākta* (MMK, GS, *Āsurīkalpa*, VS), *abhyakta* (GS, MMK), *abhyajya* (MMK). For example, we find expressions such as: *kaṭutailaviṣaṃ raktaṃ tenāloḍya* (VS) or *chuchundarīcarmāloḍya saviṣādibhir dravyair* (VBhT, §17).

> charcoal from the fire where the corpses have been burnt and dust from the footprint of the target, and mixes them together. With this mixture, he draws the image of the target and puts this *yantra* [of Vajrabhairava] prepared, according to the procedure stated before, at the heart of the image.[390] Having smeared the image of the target with poison (*viṣa*), salt (*lavaṇa*), black mustard (*rājikā*), etc., he puts it into another skull-bowl (*padma bhāṇḍa*).[391] Having sat down on both skulls, he, then, takes the skull into which he has drawn the fever and places it mouthdown on the top of the other skull with the doll inside [smeared with "wrathful" substances], imagining that the target is seized by fever. Then, he burns the two skulls below the hearth. Accordingly, if he performs this rite at night, in meditative union with Vajrabhairava, the target will be seized by fever without any doubt. [392]

This procedure requires manipulation of two skulls: one into which the image of a fever is drawn; the other, into which the doll representing the target with the *yantra* placed on its heart are put. The text makes abundantly clear that the doll representing the target has to be smeared with *viṣa*, *lavaṇa*, and *rājikā*, and other substances (by which, possibly *rakta*/*rudhira* is intended). In this case, these substances are assumed to attract fever, drawn in the first skull, which seizes the target in the second skull. This visual image of fever given by *Śoṇaśrī conforms to the iconographical and textual representation of Śiva as fever, who is always represented with three legs and three arms, and sometimes also with three heads. According to the mythological narrative, fever as *jvārāsura* (fever-demon) arose either out of Śiva's anger or from a drop of sweat when he was disrespected by his father-in-law, Dakṣa. The shrines to Śiva as Jvara are most commonly found adjacent to the main Śiva temples in Tamil Nadu. But Śiva as Jvarahareśvara is also found in the Kathmandu Valley, installed inside the compound of the Pāśupatinātha temple.[393] It does not seem to be a coincidence that *Śoṇaśrī's understanding of the iconography of the fever matches the one described in Śaiva mythology that depicts Śiva as *jvārāsura*. Rather, this similarity provides evidence for the points of contact between tantric forms of Śaivism and Buddhism that were well underway even during the early stage in the development of Vajrayāna. This is further supported by another piece of

[390] This is supported by *Akṣobhya's commentary.
[391] Literally 'the lotus receptacle'; this the code-word for 'skull-bowl'.
[392] For the Tibetan text, see Appendix 1, p. 333. *Akṣobhya adds interesting detail in which the *yantra* placed at the heart of the doll has to be customised with the formula: *amukasya jvaram utpādaya*, 'give rise to the fever of the target'.
[393] This information comes from Bühnemann's paper presented at the Annual South Asia Conference, University of Wisconsin-Madison, October 2017.

evidence of the "fever recipe" from the MMK (see below), which does not only rely on the same mechanics of smearing the object that is being magically manipulated with the "wrathful" substances, but also on the implementation of an item coming from Śaiva culture: a *śivaliṅga*. What would be the reason for the use of *śivaliṅga* in tantric Buddhist magical procedure if it were not for the pervasive belief (perhaps present also on the level of popular/folk culture) that the origins of fever as the afflicting evil spirit or demon are associated with Śaiva mythology? The text says as follows:

> *Ekaliṅge maheśvarasyāyatane taṃ liṅgaṃ **viṣarudhirarājikā**kāñjikenābhyajya picumardapatrair arcayitvā mānuṣāntranālibhir ātmanā yajñopavītaṃ kṛtvā mānuṣaśirakapālena dakṣiṇahastena surāhāro* [em.; *saprahāro* ed.] *bhūtvā vāmahastena liṅgaṃ tarjayamānaḥ* […] *nagnako muktaśikhaḥ maheśvaraliṅgaṃ vāmapādenākramya krodhamantraṃ tāvaj japet yāvan maheśvaraliṅgo madhye sphuṭita iti dvividalībhūtaṃ mahāṃś ca huṅkāraḥ śrūyate. Tato na bhetavyam. Tad ahā eva* [em.; *tadeho* ed.] *eva duṣṭarājñaḥ anyo vā yaḥ kaścin mahāyakṣaḥ aris tatkṣaṇād eva jvareṇa gṛhyate.*
>
> He should go to an isolated *liṅga* or a temple of Śiva, he should smear the *liṅga* with **poison, blood, *rājikā,*** and *kañjika,* and he should worship it with the *picumarda* leaves. Having made himself a sacred thread made from the strings of human intestines, and with a human skull in his right hand, having subsisted on alcoholic drink, with his left hand threatening the *liṅga* […], naked, with his hair dishevelled, standing on the Śivaliṅga with his left foot, by the force of the mantra, the Śivaliṅga will split in two. He will hear a huge roar, but he should not be afraid. Whoever the enemy will be—the rogue king or even the great *yakṣa*—, in that very moment, he is seized by a fever (MMK, 52, p. 438).

This recipe can be analysed in various ways, but there are two elements that seem especially relevant for our purpose here. First, the use of *śivaliṅga* for magical purposes is a characteristic feature of early tantric magic[394], whether Śaiva or Buddhist. Already in the NTGS, the *śivaliṅga* appears as one of the objects that are being manipulated for different magical purposes. In particular, an abandoned *śivaliṅga*, i.e., one that does not receive regular worship, is believed to be a home to genie-like figures who, when activated through magical means, can bring about magical results on the *sādhaka*'s behalf.[395] The NTGS (10.47cd-8cd) proves this point in the following recipe: "When there is an eclipse of the moon or the sun, he should make the god smeared with ghee. When the [*śiva*]*liṅga* has been smeared with ghee, he should then strike it with hundred mustard seeds (*sarṣapa*). All the creatures that are present in the *liṅga* will make the

[394] A *śivaliṅga* is one of the suitable places for the undertaking of tantric *sādhana* for both Śaiva and Buddhist tantric masters: see Chap. 4 of this thesis.
[395] Alexis Sanderson in personal communication.

world subject to his will" (*candrasūryagrahe devaṃ ghṛtābhyaktaṃ* [em.; *ghṛtābhyaṃ* ms.] *tu kārayet. ghṛtābhyakte kṛte liṅge tāḍayec chatasarṣapaiḥ. liṅge tu saṃshitā ye tu te kurvanti jagad vaśam*). If we interpret the above passage of the MMK along these lines, it may be possible to assume that once the *śivaliṅga* is magically manipulated and splits into two halves, the genie-like figures inhabiting the *liṅga* come out and seize the target with fever.

In support of the argument just mentioned, let us turn to the second interpretative context. There is a widespread conviction in early tantric magic that diseases are caused by evil 'possessing spirits' or 'seizers' (*skandagraha*s), thus the cure against diseases is concomitant with a wide range of exorcist practices to drive those *graha*s away.[396] For example, one can exorcise the 'seizers' by reciting the *mantra* in front of them, or by wiping the afflicted person with quicksilver. The verb often used in the context of becoming free of disease is *muñcati*, from the verbal root *muc*, 'to let go', 'release', 'give up', or 'allow to depart'. If the *graha*s, like demons, can be exorcised, the same logic could apply to the reverse process: inflicting the target with a disease or a fever could be associated with summoning the evil spirits with the substances they deem impossible to resist, in this case, *viṣa, rudhira, rājikā*, and the less-known *kañjika*. Whether or not fever can be categorised as a *graha* is an open question.[397] The above passage certainly supports this interpretation insofar that it describes *jvara* as seizing the target (*gṛhyate*, which is derived from the same verbal root as *graha*). The same applies to the diseases, which, in the manner similar to *graha*s, are said to seize (*gṛhyante*) the enemy. This becomes exemplified in another passage of the MMK, chap. 52 (p. 438), which gives an

[396] This is attested in the NTGS (3.103): *ītivyādhivinirmukto hy akālamṛtyuvarjitaḥ. grahāṃś ca nāśayet śīghraṃ dhāraṇā rephasaṃyutaḥ* "He will be free of all plagues and diseases, he will be free of untimely death, he will be able to quickly destroy any possessors (i.e., possessing spirits) if he has the *dhāraṇā* adding *ra* to the seed syllable (fire element)"; NTGS (10.53): *skandagrahagṛhītānāṃ āvāhyāgrato* [conj.; *bāhyāgrato* ms.] *jāpet/ trīn vārān sarvaduṣṭagrahāś ca ye prapalāyanti* "In the case of those who have been possessed by Skanda or a *graha*, he should recite in front of them, after having summoned them. He should recite the mantra three times, and all evil *grahā*s will flee"; NTGS (10.121): *grahagṛhītasyāgrato japet, yāvat graha muñcati*. "He should recite it in front of someone who has been seized by a seizer, until such time that the seizer lets go (i.e., releases the seized)."

[397] The expression *jvaragraha* is found, for example, in the alchemical work *Siddhasāra* 5.117, but it is unclear whether it should be understood as a *karmadhārya* or a *tatpuruṣa*. See Conrad and Wujastyk 2010:65, 75.

example of the second type of mechanics for the employment of "wrathful" substances, i.e., *abhicārahoma*:

> *Aparam api karma bhavati. Maheśvaraliṅgasya dakṣiṇāmūrttau madanakaṇṭakakaṣṭhair agniṃ* [398] *prajvālya vaikaṅkatasamidhānāṃ* [399] ***viṣarudhirarājikā****bhyaktānāṃ aṣṭa-sahasraṃ juhuyāt. Sarve śatravo mahāvyādhinā gṛhyante.*
>
> There is another ritual procedure: Having lit the fire with thorns of thorn-apple wood at the right side of the *liṅga* of Maheśvara, he should make eight hundred oblations using *vaikaṅkata* tree-fuel sticks smeared with **poison, blood and *rājikā***, then, all his enemies will be seized with great disease.[400]

Like in the "fever recipe", here also *viṣa*, *rudhira,* and *rājikā* are deemed efficacious in making an enemy sick. In this case, however, the three "wrathful" substances are smeared on the fuel-sticks, which are then sacrificed into the fire as part of *abhicārahoma.* The use of *viṣa*, *rudhira*, and *rājikā* either as the substances smeared on the objects offered into the fire or as the suitable fire-offerings themselves is found pervasively in tantric magic, being employed in a wide range of *abhicāra* procedures. The Śaiva NTGS mentions *viṣa* and *rakta* as ingredients that should be smeared on the items used in the *abhicārahoma* (fn. 399) meant for the destruction of the enemies. Also, the Śaiva *Vīṇāśikhatantra* (v. 155, ed. p. 114) refers to the same purpose in a recipe for the *abhicārahoma*, taking place in the cremation ground where a *sādhaka* sacrifices into the fire *rājikā* smeared with *viṣa and rakta*, with bones as fuel sticks: *athābhicārakaṃ kuryāt samidhānāṃ tathāsthibhiḥ*/ ***rājikāviṣaraktāktaṃ*** *śmaśāne homam ārabhet*. A similar

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[398] The thorns of thorn-apple wood (***madanakaṇṭaka***) also appear in the early NTGS (3.88cd–90ab) in the recipe meant for attracting a person from a long distance: *kapāle bhagam ālikhya lākṣayā rudhireṇa vā,* […] ***madanakaṇṭakaiś ca*** […] *ca vahninā. āgacched yojanaśatāt kṛtakṛtyor mṛṣet bhagam. tatkṣaṇād eva mantrasu* [em.; *mantrayastu* ms.] *punar eva nayet kṣaṇāt* "Having drawn a vagina on a skull bowl with lac or blood, having [*lacuna*] with thorns of thorn apple tree, with fire, that person will come from the hundred *yojana*s. Once he has finished his purpose, then he can rub out that vagina; instantly, he can bring her back again with the mantras."

[399] The *vaikaṅkata* tree or Indian plum is one of the types of trees in the *abhicārahoma* mentioned in the NTGS (10.13cd–15ab): *abhicāruke badarāmrakolakhādira hutvā abhicāre ca nityaśaḥ. tathā vaikaṅkatā devi bhavate cābhicārukam* [em.; *cābhicāruke* ms.]. *Tathā* […] *viṣarudhirāktena ca. kaṭutailasamāyuktaḥ śatrunāśaṃ bhavet dhruvaṃ* "In the *abhicāra*, he should always sacrifice into the fire jujube tree, mango, black pepper, catechu tree, and Indian plum, and he should offer something smeared with poison and blood. If he includes *kaṭutaila*, there will be certain destruction of his enemies."

[400] *Mahāvyādhi* could mean either a 'great disease for which there is no remedy' or 'black leprosy'. The latter meaning is attested in Āyurvedic literature.

usage associated with *homa* is attested in Buddhist tantras.[401] In addition to the MMK quoted above, we have an example from the GS (15.19), which gives the details of a fire-sacrifice causing the paralysis of maidens, where the set of four substances *viṣa*, *rudhira*, *lavaṇa,* and *rājikā* should be offered into the fire of thorny wood.[402]

I have already pointed out that these "wrathful" substances were believed to have an innate magical power to cause harm. I have also mentioned the possibility that, at least in case of the procedures intended to inflict a target with disease or fever, these substances may have been viewed as capable of summoning/activating the evil possessing spirits (*graha*s), fever-demons (*jvārāsura*), or genie-like figures imprisoned inside the *liṅga*. Even though this argument cannot be in any way substantiated by textual examples, there is sufficient evidence to prove that the "wrathful" substances were used to summon demonic entities in order to employ them for *abhicāra*-related services. The MMK, chap. 52 (pp. 438-9), provides the following example:

> *Madhyāhne śmaśānaṃ citāv ekarātroṣitaḥ kṛṣṇacaturdaśyāṃ śmaśānakāṣṭhair agniṃ prajvālya* ***viṣarudhirāktāṃ rājikāṃ*** *juhuyāt. Tato hāhākāraṃ kurvantaḥ sarvapretā āgacchanti. na bhetavyam. Tato vaktavyaṃ śatruṃ me ghātayeti. Evam astv iti kṛtvāntardhīyante. Tato muhūrtamātreṇa yojanasahasram api gatvā śatruṃ ghātayanti kulān utsādayanti. Evamādīni karmāṇi kurvanti.*
>
> On the 14th day of the dark fortnight, at midday, having fasted for one night, he makes a fire on a pyre in the cremation ground and he makes an offering of ***rājikā*** **smeared with poison and blood**. Then all the ghosts (*preta*s) come shouting "ha ha", rushing towards him. He should not be afraid. What he should say to them is this: "Kill my enemy!" They say: "So be it!" (*evam astu*) and disappear. Then, in a mere *muhūrta* (2.5 hours), they can travel even up to a thousand *yojana*s and kill your enemy. They can uproot his family. And they can do other actions like this.

The passage makes it explicit that the mantra-master summons up the spirits of the dead through an *abhicārahoma* consisting mainly of "wrathful" substances. Thus, he is able to conjure up the ghosts, talk to them, and send them to kill the enemy and his family.

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[401] This is attested in the SSK (Giebel 2001:185-187), which became very influential in East Asia. The text gives a long list of various substances suitable for the *abhicārahoma*, including white mustard, mustard-seed oil, one's own blood, salt, black mustard seed, human and animal faeces, fats, etc. Each of these offerings has to be mixed with three substances: poison, blood, and salt. This would correspond to the sequence ***viṣa, rudhira, lavaṇa*** given in the GS and VBhT, with the exception of *rājikā*, which is missing. The same text instructs about the preparation of fuel-sticks that should be smeared with poison and mustard seed oil.

[402] GS 15.19, p. 72: ***viṣarudhirasaṃyuktaṃ lavanaṃ rājikān*** *tathā*/ ***kaṇṭakāgnau*** *juhet kruddhaḥ kanyānāmapadaiḥ saha*//

b) *Kaṭutaila* and "Crow Magic"

Another common *abhicāra*-substance used in early Śaiva and Buddhist tantras is white mustard oil (*kaṭutaila*). Already in the NTGS (10.15ab), *kaṭutaila* is considered a powerful ingredient that guarantees successful annihilation of the enemies: "If he includes *kaṭutaila*, there will be certain destruction of his enemies (*kaṭutailasamāyuktaḥ śatrunāśaṃ bhavet dhruvaṃ*)." Exactly what makes *kaṭutaila* an agent of destruction is unclear. The Buddhist tantras seem to point to its pungent, acidic, foul smell[403] as the quality that makes *kaṭutaila* effective in *abhicārahoma*. *Kaṭutaila* is semantically connected to the adjective *kaṭu* in a sense of "bitter", "acrid", "sharp", "pungent", traditionally classified as one of the six tastes (*rasa*s)[404] and not smells. *Kaṭu* is categorised as the hottest of all *rasa*s and shares the quality of pungency with "three pungent substances" (*kaṭutraya*), i.e. fresh ginger, hot pepper, and onion/garlic. Apart from its usage in *homa* sacrifice, *kaṭutaila* is also employed as a type of ointment applied on the body of a mantra-master before the start of any aggressive procedures. This is attested in the VBhT (§ 13, 22), where we find *kaṭutaila* linked to the verb-form *abhyaṅgya*,[405] i.e., *kaṭutailenābhyaṅgyaṃ kṛtvā* ("having anointed [himself] with *kaṭutaila*"). The ritual function of the unpleasant smell caused by *kaṭutaila* can be inferred from an alternate set of 'ointments' applied on the body of the *sādhaka* in the VBhT, i.e., urine and faeces. Similarly to *kaṭutaila*, these substances are also linked to the verb, *abhyaṅgya*. Therefore, at least in the VBhT, making the body smell foul, either through smearing *kaṭutaila* or faeces and urine, seems crucial for the success of *abhicāra*. The reasons for this odd practice can perhaps partially be explained by looking at the general typology of smells in South Asian religion and culture, recently researched by McHugh (2012). McHugh's discussion highlights the existence of foul-smelling substances, such as urine and faeces, which are considered impure and inauspicious

[403] The *Susiddhikara* (Giebel 2001:169) refers to *kaṭutaila* as a powerful ingredient for the *abhicāra*, together with liquefied fat from a black crow, and any foul-smelling oil.
[404] *Kaṭu* is one of the six *rasa*s or tastes in Āyurvedic literature (along with *madhura* 'sweet', *amla* 'sour', *lavaṇa* 'salty', *tikta* 'bitter', *kaṣāya* 'astringent'), and are also found in Buddhism (see e.g. *Dharmasaṅgraha*, section 36).
[405] Note also a hypothetical verb-form *svabhyaṅga* in the VBhT (§20) perhaps standing for *svabhyaṅgya* which would be a hypothetical form derived from the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit verb-form, *abhyaṅj* (*abhyaṅgeti* in the *Mahāvastu*).

(*ibid*.:75); these substances are located on the opposite end of sweet-smelling substances, like milk, honey or lotus that are considered pure and auspicious. Of course, in tantric ritual, inauspicious energies need to be harnessed in order to make *abhicāra* magically potent. Anointing oneself with foul-smelling substances attracts negative, demonic energies through the law of sympathetic magic, "similar attracts similar". Moreover, the use of foul-smelling substances seems to be also directly connected to the efficacy of the magical procedure. The GS (14.51) provides a case in point, when it says:

> Having worn a garment, which is soaked in urine and faeces, which is disgusting because of its appalling odour, he should then repeat the mantra until it dries up; as soon as it has dried up, the victim will die immediately.[406]

In this passage we may note the obvious agreement concerning the employment of foul-smelling substances in tantric magic found in Buddhist tantras. *Kaṭutaila*, liquefied fat from a black crow, as well as urine and faeces are listed as examples of foul-smelling substances that play an important role in making *abhicāra* magic effective.

Another context in which *kaṭutaila* appears in tantric texts is the cluster of *uccāṭana* recipes connected with "crow-magic". In this regard, the recipes preserved in the Buddhist VBhT and the Śaiva *Vīṇāśikhatantra* show a remarkable degree of similarity with respect to contents and methods. Moreover, parallels of crow recipes are also found in later tantric scriptures, such as the Hindu *Tantrasārasaṃgraha* and the *Mantramahārṇava*. Before turning our attention to the analysis of these specific recipes, a brief examination of the main reasons behind the popularity of crow in tantric magic seems to be in order.

The symbolism surrounding the crow draws together key religious meanings associated with impurity, death, and inauspiciousness. In the dharmaśāstric literature, the crow is generally considered impure, and contact with a crow or its leftovers (*kākocchiṣṭha*) brings defilement (*Baudhāyanadharmasūtra*, 3.6.5). The crow is regarded as a messenger of the god of death, Yama, who, as the epic Sanskrit literature tells us, granted the crow a special status as the only bird free of death by natural causes. According to the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (18.23–26), the crow was promised to

[406] GS (14.51, p. 68): *viṇmūtrārdragataṃ vastraṃ pūtigandhajugupsitam/ prāvṛtya mantram āvartec chuṣyate mriyate kṣaṇāt*//.

live as long as humans do not kill it (see Zeiler 2013:215). The crow's association with death is also conveyed through the belief that the bird embodies the soul of the departed ancestors. The ritual feeding of a crow with balls of rice (*piṇḍana*) plays a prominent part in ancestor worship practised from the antiquity to the present.[407] The sight of a crow is generally considered inauspicious and forebodes death and downfall. In folk literature, the crow is often portrayed as sitting on the *nimba*-tree, the bitter fruits of which it savours. The connection between the crow and the *nimba*-tree is prominent in tantric magic, which may have assimilated popular perceptions or imitated forms of folk literature.

Let us now turn to the first "crow recipe" that deals with the preparation of ash (*bhasman*) for the purpose of *uccāṭana*:

> VBhT §22: *Athāparam uccāṭanaṃ bhavati. Kaṭutailenābhyaṅgyaṃ kṛtvā nimbavṛkṣa-balibhugāvāsam āgṛhya tadvāsaṃ cāgnau pitṛvanakāṣṭhena dagdhvā tadbhasma gṛhya yasya śirasi dīyate sa uccāṭayate*.
>
> Now, there is another procedure for driving away: [the mantra-master] having anointed himself with *kaṭutaila*, and having taken hold of a nest of a crow in a *nimba* tree, burns that nest with a wood in the fire taken from the cremation ground and collects the ashes. The person on whose head [the ashes] are placed is driven away.
>
> *Vīṇāśikhatantra* (vv. 171–173, p. 74):
>
> *nimbasthavāyasaṃ gṛhya śvapākenāvatāritam*/
> *bījair etair viparyastais tailābhyaktaṃ citāhutam*//
> *tad bhasma viṣaraktāktam kṛṣṇānte raktāvasaḥ*/
> *parijapya sahasraṃ tu vilomair bījapañcakaiḥ*//
> *yaṃ spṛśed bhasmanā tena kākavad bhramate mahīm*/
> *vidviṣṭaḥ sarvalokānāṃ yadi sakrasamo bhavet*//
>
> Having collected a crow who lived on a *nimba* tree, caught by a *śvapāka* (member of a despised group), he should sacrifice it in [a fire taken from] a pyre sprinkled with [*kaṭu*]*taila*[408], while saying these *bīja*s in inverted order; being clothed in red with black hems, he should recite the five *bīja*s in inverted order for a thousand times over these ashes which he has sprinkled with poison and blood; the person whom he touches with these ashes will roam over the earth like a crow, hated by all people, even if he were equal to Indra (trans. Goudriaan 1985:115).

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[407] *vayasāṃ piṇḍaṃ dadyāt*/ *vayasāṃ hi pitaraḥ pratimayā carantī iti vijñāyate*/ "He should give a lump of rice to crows, for it is stated: 'ancestors roam about in the guise of crows'." (*Baudhāyanadharmasūtra* 2.15.4, trans. Olivelle 1999:289).

[408] Goudriaan (1985: 115) translates *taila* as 'sesamum oil', which may not be correct taking into account the ritual syntax of *kaṭutaila* and *nimba* tree.

Both passages from the VBhT and the VŚ give an almost identical recipe with the following stages of the ritual procedure, in which one has to: 1) collect either a crow in a *nimba* tree or a nest of a crow in a *nimba* tree (*nimbavṛkṣabalibhugāvāsam āgṛhya*, VBhT; *nimbasthavāyasaṃ gṛhya*, VŚ); 2) sacrifice the crow into the fire of the cremation ground (*cāgnau pitṛvanakāṣṭhena*, VBhT; *citāhutam*, VŚ); 3) smear the [*kaṭu*]*taila* (*kaṭutailenābhyaṅgaṃ*, VBhT; *tailābhyaktaṃ*, VŚ); 4) collect the ashes (*tadbhasma*, VBhT; *tad bhasma,* VŚ); 5) touch the target with the ashes ([*tadbhasma*] *śirasi dīyate*, VBhT; *yaṃ spṛśed bhasmanā tena*, VŚ). In both sources, the result of the rite is to 'drive away' (*sa uccāṭayate*, VBhT; *kākavad bhramate mahīm*, VŚ).

This recipe finds a close parallel with the late (19th century) *Dhūmavātītantra* of the *Mantramāharṇava*: "if one burns a crow in the fire of a cremation ground, takes her ashes, implies the mantra on this and throws it at the head of the opponent, he will be ruined immediately" (Zeiler 2013:224). A very similar recipe is attested in another late tantra, probably 15th century Śaiva *Tantrasārasaṃgraha* of Nārāyaṇa (17. 56cd-57ab, Goudriaan 1978:364), where "a performer should burn a crow in the fire of cremation ground, and saying the mantra, strew the ashes in the enemy's house into the eight directions" (trans. *ibid.*) (*kākaṃ citāgninā dagdhvā tad bhasmānena mantritam*/ *aṣṭadigṣu* [em.; *aṣṭadiśu* ed.] *kṣiped gehe ripotsādanaṃ bhavet*).[409] The similarity of these recipes, based on the magical principle of contagion (in which the ash obtained from burning a crow has to come into direct contact with the target) may offer a proof for the existence of highly standardised tantric magical recipes that had been copied, recycled, and preserved in similar forms from the 8th to (at least) the 19th century.

One striking feature of the crow-recipe given in the VŚ is the expression: "to wander aimlessly in the world like a crow" (*kākavad bhramate mahīm)*, which appears to be a figurative manner of referring to the outcome of the *uccāṭana*, i.e., the driving away of the human target. Such expression is found in a number of textual sources that employ crows for the purpose of *uccāṭana*. The VBhT (§21) mentions *kākavat paryaṭati mahīm* as the outcome of another recipe involving a crow. The recipe instructs the adept to tighten on a crow's neck a piece of birch-bark picturing the wind-*maṇḍala* drawn with crow's blood and charcoal of the cremation ground, and then to set the crow free (see

[409] The Sanskrit edition of the text is from Unithiri 2002:219.

Appendix 2, p. 363). Similarly, in the Śaiva *Svacchandatantra* (6.76), the expression *bhramate kākavat pṛthvīṃ* is used to signal the final result of the *uccāṭana* recipe, which heavily relies on the use of crow's feathers, crow's blood, etc.[410] The same is attested in the MMK (chap. 41), where one is instructed to sacrifice into the fire a crow's feathers twenty-one times, which results in *kākavad bhramati*.[411] Finally, we have evidence from the late (15th-17th century) Hindu tantra *Phetkāriṇītantra* (13.35-38), where the same expression *kākavad bhramate dhruvam* is attested as the result of *uccāṭana* (Nihom 1987:89).

The catchphrase *kākavat bhramate*[412] points to the phenomenon of "recycled phrasing" in magical recipes across tantric texts that do not only encompass the span of several centuries, but are also embedded within the same ritual framework of *uccāṭana* and crow-magic. As we have seen above, this phrase is a figurative way of referring to *uccāṭana*,[413] but it could also have a psychosomatic meaning. Kṣemarāja in his commentary on the *Svacchandatantra* (6.76, p. 350) gives the following explanation: "He is driven away in this way [means that] the enemy who is overpowered with a disease wanders in the world like a crow" (*sa itthamuccāṭitaḥ—bhramate kākavat pṛthvīṃ śatrur vyādhinipīḍitaḥ*). In the light of Kṣemarāja's explanation, it is plausible to argue that "to wander like a crow" corresponds to "feeling giddy or unsteady", especially on account of the fact that this meaning of the root *bhram* is attested in Sanskrit dictionaries (cf., e.g., the expression *mama śiraḥ bhramatīva*).

The second cluster of "crow recipes" under investigation here presents us with a completely different model for the production of tantric magical recipes. This model breaks off with the previously described 'standardised model', and shows the existence of

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[410] *uccāṭanaṃ pravakṣyāmi śatrūṇāṃ garvitātmanām/ kākolūkasya pakṣāṃś ca kharoṣṭramūtramṛttikā// kṛtvā pratikṛtiṃ prājñaḥ kākaraktena lepayet/ kākolūkasya pakṣāṃś ca gude tasya vinikṣipet// tāṃ catuṣpathe nikhanet śmaśānāgnim athopari/ prajvālya homayet tatra kākapakṣāṃś ca suvrate// udbhrāntapatrasahitān kharamūtreṇa bhāvitān/ yasya nāma samuddiśya yakārād yantarodhitam// mantrāvasāne vinyastaṃ visargāntaṃ pracāṭaye/ bhramate kākavat pṛthvīṃ śatrur vyādhinipīḍitaḥ//*. *Svacchandatantra* 6.72–76.

[411] *kākapakṣāṇām ekaviṃśatyāhutiṃ juhuyāt sadyaḥ kākavad bhramati*/. MMK, chap. 41, p. 358.

[412] In Śaiva *sādhana*-texts, the phrase: "*udbhrāntapakṣavad*" or "[to wander] like a frightened bird" is frequently found in reference to the *sādhaka* without any fixed place. I thank Prof. Alexis Sanderson for this information.

[413] I disagree with Nihom (1987:89–90), who thinks that *kākavat bhramate* refers to the practitioner performing the hostile magical rite.

tantric techniques that, although employing the same items intended for the same magical result, feature differing ways of manipulating these items in each particular case. In this regard, the VŚ gives a *homa*-recipe involving the collection of dry leaves of the *nimba* tree (*nimbapattrāṇi*), tips of banners (*dhvajāgrāṇi*), human hair, ashes from the cremation pyre, and feathers and tails of crows; these items have to be smeared with *kaṭutaila*, *viṣa,* and *rakta,* and offered into the fire with the wood collected by an outcaste.[414] This *homa* results in driving the enemy away in three days. The VBhT (§20) gives a recipe for making an ointment that is to be applied to the sandals, feet, head or towel of any person whom one wishes to drive away. The preparation of the ointment goes through several stages. First, one has to smear an outcaste with *kaṭutaila* and make him climb the *nimba* tree. Then, one gathers the *kaṭutaila* from the outcaste's body and burns it in the fire together with a black banner of Śiva; finally, one mixes the lampblack (*kajjal*) that remains from burning the banner with *kaṭutaila* gathered from the outcaste sitting on the *nimba*-tree, thereby obtaining the ointment (see Appendix 2, p. 362).

Both recipes operate within the same framework of magical categories insofar that they acknowledge the special magical properties of a *nimba*-tree, *kaṭutaila*, banners, and an outcaste, which need to be magically manipulated to cause *uccāṭana.* Nevertheless, the magical technology executed in both cases does not bear any similarities. The recipe from the VBhT makes use of an outcaste,[415] who appears to be a

[414] VŚ 165–167 (p. 74): *ata uccāṭanaṃ kuryāc chatrūṇāṃ baladarpitām*/ *śuṣkāṇi nimbapattrāṇi dhvajāgrāṇi tathaiva ca*// *nṛvālaṃ citibhasmaṃ ca kākapakṣāgrapicchakam*/ *kaṭutailaviṣaṃ raktaṃ tenāloḍya tu homayet*// *caṇḍālāgniṃ samāhṛtya citikāṣṭhaṃ samindhayet*/ *uccāṭayet trirātreṇa tyaktabandhusuhṛjjanān*//. My translation slightly differs from that of Goudriaan, who translates *kaṭutailaviṣaṃ raktaṃ tenāloḍya* as "pound *kaṭutaila*, *viṣa* and *rakta* together", which does not make sense in this context since the verb '*aloḍya*' is used commonly in the magical recipe for the act of smearing/anointing.

[415] The use of humans in tantric magic is not uncommon, but they usually occur in possession rituals for the purpose of predicting the future. This is particularly true in the case of (virgin) girls or boys: see, e.g., Sinclair 2016:382, 384 for references to Buddhist rituals involving child mediums in 8th-century China, associated with texts translated by Vajrabodhi and performed by him for the emperor. The NTGS (10.116–117) gives an example of such possession ritual that makes use of a *kṣatra* girl: "If he wishes to bring about possession, then, he gets hold of a *kṣatra* girl. Having bathed a *kṣatra* girl, he should place her on her own facing east, pure of body and wearing garments. He should cause her to become possessed by saying "*huḍuk, huḍuk*" [the sound the Pāśupatas make]; simply by his word, he can release her from this trance. After having bathed her, he should sip water. So here in the beginning, there is a procedure with the *kṣatra*" (*athāveśaṃ kartukāmaḥ kṣatrakumārikām* [em.; *kumārakām* ms.]. *snāpayitvā taṃ ekaṃ tu śuddhadehaṃ savāsakam. pūrvāmukhaṃ sthāpayitvā huḍukenāveśayet* [em.; *hy udakenāveśayet*

substitute for a crow: indeed, both are associated with the *nimba*-tree. In tantric magic, the crow is often linked to the *nimba*-tree—cf. the above-described expressions *nimbavṛkṣabalibhuj* "crow in the *nimba*-tree", or *nimbasthavāyasa* "crow which lives on the *nimba*-tree", found also in folk literature. Furthermore, outcastes, crows, and dogs are often linked together in the dharmaśāstric literature[416] as embodiments of impurity and, therefore, it may be argued that within the framework of tantric magical technology heavily relying on the implementation of transgressive substances and objects, a crow and an outcast can be regarded as substitutes. In addition, the VBhT seems to put special emphasis on the ritual connection between the *nimba*-tree and *kaṭutaila*. I do not have any explanation to justify the reasons for this, but I can provide several textual examples of *abhicārahoma* that clearly follow the same pattern. The NTGS (10.90) confirms the magical efficacy brought about by the combination of *kaṭutaila* and *nimba* tree in the following procedure for driving away (*utsādayet* is a synonym of *uccāṭayet*):

> *nimbapatraiḥ kaṭutailāktāsayuktaiḥ/*
> *śatruṃ utsādayet śīghraṃ kaṭutailasya homataḥ//*
>
> With *nimba* leaves combined with [something] smeared with *kaṭutaila*, he will cause the enemy to flee quickly by offering into the fire the *kaṭutaila*.

This association is further confirmed in the *Āsurīkalpa* of the *Atharavedapariśiṣṭa*s (Magoun 1889:176) in the *homa*-recipe meant for killing:

> *āsurīṃ kaṭukatailāktāṃ nimbakāṣṭenāgniṃ prajvālya homayet 108 homena saptāhān mriyate ripuḥ/*
>
> Having lit the fire with the wood of *nimba* tree, one should sacrifice into the fire the *āsurī*-plant smeared with pungent oil; after 108 fire oblations, the enemy will die in seven days.

Finally, a *homa*-recipe from the VŚ (197cd–199ab, p. 75) connects us again with the topic of crow-magic, where the magical efficacy of crow*, nimba*-tree, and [*kaṭu*]*taila* together is emphasised:

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ms.]. *vācayā mocāpayate snāpayitvā ca acamet tat tu. ādau tāvat kṣatrakarmam*). For the employment of young girls in the *pratisenā* divination rituals, see Orofino 1994.

[416] For example, the *Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra* (11.9–13) states that crows' and dogs' food should be thrown on the ground for *caṇḍāla*s, thereby emphasising their lowest social status and their connection with impurity.

kākamāṃsaṃ gṛhītvā tu nimbatailasamāyutam/
śmaśānāgniṃ samādhāya śigrukāṣṭhena sādhayet//
juhuyāt saptarātraṃ tu yasya nāmnā tu sādhakaḥ/
vidviṣṭo dṛśyate loke eṣa vidveṣaṇam param//

> Take a flesh of a crow in combination with the *nimba* tree and [*kaṭu*]*taila*,[417] procure a fire from a cremation ground and kindle it with fuel from a *śigru* tree, the person in whose name one sacrifices during seven nights is observed to be hated among the people; this an excellent method of creating dissension (trans. Goudriaan 1985:118, with modifications).

The above-mentioned examples of *abhicārahoma* show that the mixture of *nimba* and *kaṭutaila* is used for a wide range of aggressive results, not only for driving away. In the VBhT (chapters 2 and 6), however, *nimba* and *kaṭutaila* are always linked with the cluster of crow-recipes (six recipes in total) meant to cause *uccāṭana.* Thus, with regard to the specific *uccāṭana*-cluster, the VBhT adheres to a fairly consistent ritual syntax.

c) The Three Sweets: Milk, Honey, and Ghee (*dadhi, madhu, ghṛta*)

The previous sections examined the use of wrathful substances, i.e., *viṣa*, *rudhira*, *rājikā*, and *lavaṇa*, which are prominent in *abhicāra*. There exists also the set of 'peaceful' substances that are mainly used for the purpose of averting evil (*śānti*) or reinvigoration after an illness (*puṣṭi*). To these substances belong milk (*dadhi*), honey (*madhu*), and ghee (*ghṛta*).[418] Again, as in the case of 'wrathful' substances, these are also often smeared, usually on the wood that is to be offered into the fire. These substances are also sometimes referred to not by their individual names, but by their collective name, i.e. the 'three *madhu*s', 'three sweets', or simply 'the three'. For example, the NTGS (10.96)[419]

[417] My translation differs from Goudriaan's, who translates *nimbatailasamāyutam* as "combined with a sap of the *neem* tree", which misses out the importance of *kaṭutaila* recurring in crow-magic recipes of that period.
[418] In the MMK, *dadhimadhughṛtāktānāṃ* occurs very often and it is used for different magical purposes and *siddhi*s. See, for example, MMK 55, p. 556: *vaikaṅkatasamidhānāṃ dadhimadhughṛtāktānāṃ palāśakāṣṭhair agniṃ prajvālya juhuyāt, suvarṇasahasraṃ labhati*, "Having lit the fire with *palāśa* wood, he should sacrifice the fuel sticks of *vaikaṅkata* smeared with milk, honey, and ghee; he will [then] obtain thousand pieces of gold".
[419] In the NTGS, sesame seed (*tila*) is often said to be smeared with the three *madhu*s: NTGS (10.114): ***tryaktaṃ caiva tilāṃ*** [corr.; *tilān* ms.] *hutvā yāmenākarṣaye drutam* "**Having offered sesame seed anointed with the three,** he will be able quickly to attract in a single watch"; NTGS (3.85cd–86ab): ***tilān madhughṛtā**ktāṃś ca yasya nāmnā tu juhvate, tatkṣaṇe gacchate śīghraṃ vaśyo bhavati dāsavat,* "That person with whose name he offers into fire sesame seeds smeared with honey and ghee will, at that very moment, quickly come and be subject to him as a slave".

refers to them by their collective name in the context of the ascetic observance of mastering the *vidyā* (i.e., the mantra):

> *Devaṃ pūjyāgnau juhuyāt audumbarasamidhānāṃ **tryaktānāṃ** sahasraṃ tṛsandhyaṃ kṣīrāśī sapta dinānī juhuyāt. Cīrṇavidyāvrato bhavati.*
>
> Having worshipped the god he should make the offering into the fire; consuming only milk for seven days, he should sacrifice into the fire at the three junctures a hundred summits of *udumbura* wood **smeared with the three**. In this way, he will be the one who has accomplished the ascetic observance of obtaining a power over [his] *vidyā*.

The commentary *Uddyota* by Kṣemarāja to the Śaiva *Netratantra* (6.17b) uses the phrase *trimadhvāktaṃ*, "anointed with the three sweets", namely milk, ghee, and honey. The context of the verse is the rite of invigoration (*puṣṭi*), which occurs by doing *homa* with pills of *gugullu* incense smeared with three *madhu*s: butter, milk, and sugar (*gugulludupagolikabhir ajakṣīrakṣaudraṃ*). The *Svacchandatantroddyota* (vol.3, *paṭala* 6 p.158), by the same author, refers to the three sweets as *kṣīraśarkaraghṛtam,* "milk, sugar, and ghee". Buddhist tantric texts are also aware of the existence of the three *madhu*s, but sometimes present them in different combinations. In the *Cakrasaṃvaravivṛtti* of Bhavabhaṭṭa (v.14), we read that the three *madhu*s are molasses, honey, and sugar (*trimadhuraṃ guḍa madhu śarkāra*). The standard three *madhu*s are also attested in the *homa* for averting evil (*śānti*) in the VBhT. Unfortunately, the Sanskrit version of the text is missing and, unlike some of the other recipes, this one cannot be reconstructed from the *Sampuṭatantra*. Nevertheless, the Tibetan text confirms the usage of ghee, honey, and milk for *śānti*:

> Then, if he wants to pacify (*śānti*), he takes **ghee, honey, milk**, and Bermuda grass, and kindles the fire in *palāśa* wood. Then, visualizing what he wants to pacify he sits facing east, and he performs a thousand and eight burnt offerings at the three times, that country will be pacified through this (Siklós 1996:45).

While the first recipe of the NTGS refers to a *tila* smeared with three substances (*tryaktaṃ tilaṃ*), namely milk, honey, and ghee, the second recipe mentions *tila* smeared with honey and ghee (*tilān madhughṛtāktāṃ*) as the ingredients used in the procedures effectuating *ākarṣaṇa* and *vaśya,* respectively. The same detail is given in the VBhT (§67) in the *homa* recipe reconstructed from the *Sampuṭatantra* (7.2.15), which describes *vaśya*. What is interesting here is that *tila* (and other substances listed as alternatives to *tila*) has to be mixed with ghee and honey (*ghṛtamadhuyojitam*), which corresponds to the *tilān madhughṛtāktāṃ* of the NTGS, quoted above.

Again, the NTGS (10.10cd-11) similarly acknowledges the use of ghee and milk for the *śānti* purpose, as follows:

> *Sarvakarmasamarthaś ca samitpālāśadumbaraiḥ.*[420] *Aśvatthasamidhaiś caiva ekatame* […]. ***Dadhighṛtā****ktāhutīnāṃ śāntir bhavati nityaśaḥ.*
>
> He will be empowered to perform any magical rite (*karma*) with the firewood of *pālāśa* and *udumbara*. Peace is guaranteed if he performs the fire sacrifice into a fire, which has been fed with sticks of *aśvattha* wood, among many, that have been smeared with **milk and ghee**.

The VŚ also makes use of honey and ghee as substances used for the pacification of the person who is about to launch an attack by discharging his weapons. Here the military context of *śānti* is emphasised, and thus, it bears similarity to the context of *śānti* given in the VBhT, where *śānti* is performed for the pacification of the country, perhaps during military attack:

> VŚ (181–182):
> *gavāṃ rocanayā caiva yasya nāma vidarbhitam*/
> *bījair etaiḥ samāyuktair ālikhya prakṣiped budhaḥ*//
> *pātraṃ* ***madhvājya****sampūrṇaṃ śatam āvartayed drutam*/
> *mumukṣor api tasyāstraṃ śāntipuṣṭiś ca jāyate*//
>
> The person whose name, written with yellow orpiment is surrounded by these same *bīja*s whom a wise man may throw into a dish filled with **honey and clarified butter (ghee),** while [the *bīja*s] are recited in quick succession for a hundred times, pacification and safety from such a person is reached, even if he were on the verge of discharging his weapon (trans. Goudriaan 1985:116).

In the MMK, the sacrifice of milk brings *śānti* (*kṣīraṃ juhuyāt, śāntir bhavati*). The term *puṣṭi*[421] applied in magical recipes has two meanings: 1) invigoration after an illness, and 2) prosperity. The NTGS (10.114)[422] seems to refer to the first meaning of *puṣṭi* when it says:

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[420] Here *dumbaraiḥ* is for *udumbaraiḥ, metri causa* (i.e., to avoid the long syllable *o* in °*odumbaraiḥ*).

[421] The MMK (55, p. 554) gives a *homa* recipe of milk that brings *puṣṭi: dadhiṃ juhuyāt, puṣṭir bhavati.*

[422] In another recipe of the NTGS (10.12–13ab), only milk is used for *puṣṭi*: *atha pauṣṭikakarme tu bilvāphalāṃ hunet. kṣīrāktānāṃ śataṃ hutvā puṣṭiś caiva parasya tu. ātmanasya tu deveśi bhavate nātra saṃśayaḥ.* "If he wishes to perform the rite of invigoration, then he should sacrifice into the fire a *bilva* fruit smeared with milk; having offered one hundred of them, in this

Ghṛtakṣīratilāṃ *hutvā puṣṭir bhavati śāśvatī.*

Having offered into the fire **ghee, milk** and sesame seeds, there will be permanent restoration of health.

The second meaning of *puṣṭi* as the ritual effectuating prosperity is found in the NTGS and the VBhT. The examples found in both texts seem to put special emphasis on the *udumbara* wood and the three *madhu*s as the substances connected with creating wealth. The NTGS (10.127) gives the following recipe:

Audumbarasamidhānāṃ ***dadhimadhughṛtā****ktānām aṣṭasahasraṃ juhuyāt nidhistambhī bhavati. Sarve vighnāś ca stambhitā nidhisthānān na calate. Svasthāne ca gṛhyate.*

If he offers into the fire 1008 times sticks of *udumbara* wood smeared with **milk, honey, and ghee**, he will immobilise a treasure. All obstacles will be paralysed and the treasure will not move from that place. [Even better,] it will be obtained in his own place.

The recipe of the VBhT can be reconstructed from the *Sampuṭatantra*, but when compared with the Tibetan version, it appears that the Tibetan text gives a much shorter version of the *puṣṭi* recipe, excluding the whole list of ingredients as well as their measurements. In the *Saṃpuṭa*-version (7.2.14), the three *madhu*s are mentioned both collectively as well as individually. These mentions are missing in the shorter Tibetan version of the recipe.

atha puṣṭikaṃ kartukāmaḥ/ tilaṃ [em.; *tila* K] *kṛṣṇamāṣaṃ tu raktaśālyā yavādi vā/ sa eva samidhoktaṃ kiṃtu muṣṭipramāṇahastamātrāyatā* ***kṣīraghṛtāktāḥ*** [em.; °*kṛtā*° K] *gandhakuṃkumasalilokṣitā* ***trimadhura****paramānna****dadhimadhughṛtān****vitāḥ śatapuṣpa-bilvaphalapadmanāgakesarāś* [em.; °*nāgakeśvaran* K] *ca vrīhis* [em.; *vrīhi* K]/ *tata udumbarakāṣṭhenāgniṃ prajvālya karmānusāreṇa devatāyogam ālambya uttarābhimukhena sthitvā sahasraṃ triṣkālaṃ susamāhitena juhuyāt/ pūrṇe saptāhe mahādhanapatir bhavati//*

Next, if he wishes to cause prosperity: [he takes] a sesame, black lentil together with red unhusk rice or, alternatively, a barley, etc. That very [material] stated here as fuel sticks is the same [as in previous *homa*], but the sticks must be as thick as the fist, and has the length of one *hasta*. The fuel sticks should be smeared with **milk and ghee** and sprinkled with scented water with sandalwood paste. They should be combined with **three sweets**, rice pudding cooked in ghee, **milk, honey, and ghee**, fennel, *bilva*-fruit, lotus-root, *nāgakesara* flowers and rice. Then, having lit the fire with the *udumbara* wood,

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way, there will be the invigoration of another or of oneself, o Empress of the gods, without any doubt".

> sustaining the yoga with the deity in accordance with the ritual, facing north, established in meditative equipoise, he makes one thousand oblations at the three times of the day. Within seven days, he will become a very rich man.[423]

Both recipes acknowledge the fact that the *puṣṭi* understood as gaining prosperity or treasures requires the usage of the three *madhu*s, thus both texts adhere to the same magical technology and the same understanding of magical principles that govern the execution of *puṣṭi*.

d) The Logic of Archenemies

The efficacy of tantric magic was not only based on the employment of various magical technologies, but also on imitating the basic principles that governed the natural and social world. In so doing, tantric magic sought to establish taxonomies of correspondences between various objects from the natural world and their analogous magical properties. One of those taxonomies of correspondences applied in the rite of *vidveṣaṇa* was based on the logic of archenemies. The items procured from natural enemies catalyse conflict and, for that very reason, they are employed in sympathetic magic to produce the same result on the targeted people. The following groups of archenemies are listed in the VBhT: horse and buffalo, crow and owl, mongoose and snake, Brahmin and outcast (*caṇḍāla*). The VBhT gives a procedure for causing dissension among them that is almost identical to those found in the NTGS and MMK.[424] The recipe involves collecting a fur of a mongoose and the slough of a snake, as follows:

> VBhT (§24):

[423] The Tibetan version of the same recipe (Siklós 1996:105) reads as follows: "Then, if he wants to increase, he takes sesame, rice, barley, and butter, and kindles a fire in gular (*udumbara*) wood. Then, visualizing the yoga which conforms to the rite and facing north in meditative equipoise, when he makes a thousand offerings at the three times using the ten-syllable spell, there will be increase." The comparison between the two versions of the *puṣṭi* recipe shows that the Tibetan text picks up only the first two lines: *atha puṣṭikaṃ kartukāmaḥ/ tilaṃ kṛṣṇamāṣaṃ tu raktaśālyā yavādi vā;* (*de nas rgyas par 'dod na til dang 'bras dang nas*), skipping one ingredient, the measurement as well as milk and scented water. It also omits the next two lines with the information about the three sweets and other substances and goes straight to the second part of the recipe, which begins with the *udumbara* wood and the general conduct of the *ācārya,* which it follows accurately. The detail about the ten-syllable mantra is missing in the *Sampuṭa.*

[424] The appearance of the same recipe in the NTGS and MMK has been already mentioned in Goodall and Isaacson 2016:25–26.

Atha śmaśānakarpaṭe viṣādibhir dravyaiḥ sādhyanāmāntaritaṃ kṛtvā smaraṇaṃ vidarbhya nakulasarpayoḥ keśakañcukam āgṛhya tad prakṣipya vartiḥ kartavyā, *yasya gṛhe prajvālayet tasyānyonyaṃ kalahaṃ bhavati.*

Next [the mantra-master writes the ten-letter mantra] on the rag of the cremation ground with the substances beginning with poison and encloses it with the name of the target. Having customised the *smaraṇa*[-mantra] and having got hold of a hair of a mongoose and a slough of a snake, he should put it [on the rag] and make a wick; in whosoever house he lights with it, there will be a fight among each other.

NTGS (3.90cd–92ab):
Nakulasya tu romāṇi aheś caiva tu kañcukam. ayutenaiva japtā tu yo hunet dhūpaye [em.; *dhūṣaye* ms.] *'pi vā. Gṛhe caiva vinikṣipto vastre śayyāsane tathā. Atha evaṃ vinikṣipto vidveṣati*[425] *parasparam.*

That person who enchants with ten thousand recitations the fur of a mongoose and a slough of a snake and offers them into the fire or burns them as incense. Or if they are placed in his house, garment, seat, or bed, if they are placed in this way, it will cause the two people to fall out with each other.

MMK (41, p. 463):
Nakularomāṇi sarṣapāṇi ca sarpanirmokaṃ yasya nāmnā dhūpo dahati sa sarvaloka-vidviṣṭo bhavati.

That person with whose name hairs of a mongoose, mustard seeds, and the slough of a snake are burnt as incense becomes hated by all the world (trans. Goodall and Isaacson 2016:25).

At first glance it may appear that, with regard to this specific *vidveṣaṇa* recipe, the NTGS and the MMK have a stronger textual parallel because of the use of the same word *dhūpa* in reference to the incense made from the fur of a mongoose and a slough of a snake that acts as a magical object for causing dissension. But the VBhT shares an important detail with the NTGS, which is missing in the MMK, namely that the wick or incense has to be burnt or placed in the house (*gṛhe vinikṣipto, gṛhe prajvālayet*) of the people whom the magician wants to turn against each other. Here, the overlap is not only in the general practice itself (collecting the fur and a slough and burning them), but also in the specific detail of the house, which makes the similarity too close to be accidental. In addition, the VBhT shows a reflex of Śaiva terminology by using the technical term *smaraṇa*—a signature of the *Picumata-Brahmayāmala*.[426] The term *smaraṇa* is so specific to the Śaiva tantric traditions that it is hardly possible to doubt that this constitutes an example

[425] *vidveṣati* is a typical Middle Indic formation of *vidveṣayati.*
[426] See Appendix 2, p. 348 of this thesis.

of direct or indirect borrowing by the VBhT from the version of the recipe preserved in the early Śaiva sources.

Certainly, in writing up the recipe for *vidveṣaṇa*, all the aforementioned textual sources follow the same logic of archenemies and, therefore, they rely upon the same rationale that informs magical praxis of the *vidveṣaṇa* type. Another example of this logic is found in yet another parallel *vidveṣaṇa* recipe given in the VBhT and in a later Buddhist *yoginītantra*, the *Saṃvarodaya:*

> VBhT (§23):
> *Aparam api **vidveṣaṇaprayogo** bhavati. **Kākolūka**yor pakṣāu brāhmaṇacaṇḍālayoś keśāu ekīkṛtya **dhatturakāṣṭhenāgniṃ prajvālya** nirdhūmāgniṃ kṛtvā tacchāram āgṛhya daśākṣaramantrajaptaṃ strīpuruṣayor madhye bhasma nikṣipet. Tatkṣaṇād eva vidveṣayati.*
>
> There is also another procedure for causing dissension: [the mantra-master] having combined together the wings of a crow and an owl, and a hair from a Brahmin and an outcast, he lits up the fire with a thorn-apple wood, making a fire free of smoke. Having gathered the ashes of that fire and having empowered [the ashes] by the recitation of the ten-letter mantra, he should place the ashes in between a man and a woman. They will fall out instantaneously.
>
> *Saṃvarodayatantra* (28.9–10):
> ***vidveṣakaram**-m-ākhyātaṃ nimbapatrais tu mantravit/*
> *sarpakañcukasaṃmiśraṃ **kākolūka**gṛhāni ca//*
> ***dhūtturāgnau*** [corr. *dhūstūrāgnau* ed.] ***prajvālya** juhed āṣṭa śatottaram/*
> *vidviṣṭaḥ sarvalokebhyas tyakto bandhusuhṛjjanaiḥ//* (ed. Tsuda 1970:155)
>
> That which is called the rite of causing hostility [is as follows]: [the practitioner] who knows mantras should sacrifice nests of crows and owls mixed with sloughs together with leaves of the *nimba*-tree in the fire of a thorn-apple plant one hundred and eight times; [as a consequence, the *sādhya*] will be hated by the whole world and deserted by his friends and relatives (trans. Tsuda 1970:300 with minor modifications).

Both recipes belonging to the category of *abhicārahoma* follow the same logic of archenemies and make use of the wings or nests of a crow and an owl for causing *vidveṣaṇa*. The type of wood used for burning the items is specified in both texts as the 'thorn apple' wood. Thus, despite some subtle differences, the overall recipe is the same.

e) Image-Magic: Manipulation of Dolls

Another common object used in magical recipes is the use of a puppet or a doll (*pratimā* (NTGS, VŚ), *pratikṛti* (GS, VBhT), *kṛti* (MMK), *prakṛti*/*pratikṛti* (*Āsurīkalpa*), *puttalikā*

(VBhT's commentaries), *liṅga* (GS). On the basis of the principle of sympathetic magic, "like produces like", a doll is created by a *mantrin* in the image of the target, and it is believed that whatever is done to a doll will happen to the target as well. The doll representing the target may be trampled upon, cut with a knife, filled with thorns, burnt, worshipped, or buried facedown. The common phrase used for making a doll in early Śaiva and Buddhist tantras is '*pratikṛtiṃ kṛtvā*', "having made a doll". This phrase is also found in non-tantric text, the *Āsurīkalpa* of the *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa*s (Magoun 1889:176), where we find numerous examples of the same wording and syntax: *āsurīsupiṣṭa**prakṛtiṃ kṛtvā.*** This expression is accompanied by the specification of the material(s) from which the image is to be made. There are several materials that are commonly used for making a doll, which can be classified into two groups. The first are trangressive substances, viz. urine, faeces, human flesh and materials procured from the cremation ground. The second are non-transgressive substances, viz. salt, silk cotton, mustard seed, wax, saffron, yellow orpiment, soil from an anthill, etc.

An analysis of the magical recipes using dolls found in the early Buddhist and Śaiva tantras shows the existence of common ritual procedures, i.e. 'things to be done to a doll'. Moreover, the way in which the doll is manipulated does not seem to depend on the purpose of the rite, but rather on the general understanding of the various acts performed on the doll. For example, dismembering the doll does not always indicate killing, but can also mean subjugation; nevertheless, the act consistently performed on the doll is dismembering, despite the different magical purposes for which it is executed. One such act is cutting the doll into parts and sacrificing those parts into the fire. The parallel recipes are found the VBhT, NTGS, MMK, and VŚ.

*Cutting the doll repeatedly (*chitvā chitvā*) and sacrificing its parts into the fire*

> VBhT (§25):
> *Atha mārayitukāmo viṇmūtreṇa **pratikṛtiṃ kṛtvā** tadupari asthicūrṇena pralepayet. Tāṃ **chitvā chitvā cityagnau** nagno muktaśikho bhūtvā dakṣiṇābhimukheṇa mahiṣamukha-yogena **ardharātrau taṃ juhuyād** yasya nāmnā sa **tatkṣaṇād eva mriyate**.*
>
> Then, if he who wishes to kill, [the mantra-master] **makes an image** [of a target] in faeces and urine and smears the top of it with a powdered bone, and **then cuts it up repeatedly**. Then, naked, with hair dishevelled, facing south, while in meditative union with the Buffalo-faced one, **he should offer that into the fire** taken from the cremation

pyre **at midnight**; that person in whose name he offers that into the fire **will die instantly.**

NTGS (3.86cd–87):
*Kṛṣṇāṣṭamyāṃ **cārdhrātrau** pūjayitvā vṛṣadhvajam. Lavaṇena **pumāṅ kṛtvā** striyaṃ vā yadi rocate. **Chitvā chitvā tu homena tatkṣaṇād āgacchate drutam**. Dāsaś ca bhavati striyaṃ vā yojanāc chatāt.*

On the eighth of the dark fortnight **at midnight,** having worshipped He whose banner is the bull (i.e., Śiva), **having made a** male **figure** with salt or a woman if that is what he likes, and **having cut it up repeatedly by sacrificing that into the fire**, **at that instant [the victim] comes** immediately. He becomes a slave [subject to his will], or else [one may attract] a woman from one hundred *yojana*s.

Despite the different magical purposes for which the cutting of the doll is enacted, both recipes follow the same procedure: 1) making a doll (***pratikṛtiṃ kṛtvā*** VBhT, ***pumāṅ kṛtvā*** NTGS), 2) cutting it repeatedly (***chitvā chitvā*** VBhT, NTGS), 4) sacrificing the pieces into the fire (***cityagnau*** VBhT**,** ***homena*** NTGS), 5) the rite must be done at midnight (***ardharātrau*** VBhT, NTGS), 6) the intended result happens immediately (***tatkṣaṇād eva mriyate*** VBhT, ***tatkṣaṇād āgacchate drutam*** NTGS).

The MMK, chap. 55 (p. 526)[427] gives the following recipe, where the phrase *chitvā chitvā* appears as well:

*Lavaṇamayīṃ pratikṛtiṃ **chitvā chitvā** juhuyāt aṣṭasahasram. Yam icchati sa vaśo bhavati strī vā puruṣo vā.*

Having made a doll with salt, **having cut it repeatedly**, he sacrifices it into the fire 8000 times. Whosoever he wants—a woman or a man—will become subjected to his will.

The VŚ gives a similar recipe, and thus shows a similar understanding of the magical procedures that govern the use of dolls, even though the terminology of the recipe do not bear any parallels with the ones mentioned above:

VŚ (268cd–269, p. 79):
pratimāṃ lavaṇamayīṃ kṛtvā *śatābhimantritāṃ budhaḥ*/
pādau prabhṛti hotavyaṃ *yāvad **aṣṭaśataṃ bhavet***//
trisandhyām ekacittas tu amoghavaśyatāṃ nayet/

[427] MMK, chap. 55 (p. 549) gives two other *vaśīkaraṇa* recipes with the signature phrase "*chitvā chitvā*", all of them require preparation of a doll with different substances: 1) *sāmānyastrīvaśīkaraṇe lavaṇena pratikṛtiṃ kṛtvā chitvā chitvā vāmahastena juhuyāt, vaśyo bhavati*; 2) *śālipiṣṭamayīṃ pratikṛtiṃ kṛtvā chitvā chitvā juhuyāt, vaśo bhavati.*

> **Having made an image** of salt, the clever man should speak the mantras over it for a hundred times and **sacrifice it in parts beginning with the feet**, **dividing it into eight hundred parts,** in due concentration during the three crucial points of the day, he will reduce the victim to a state of unfailing subjugation (trans. Goudriaan 1985:125).

In another recipe with the use of doll given in the VBhT, the cutting of the effigy is enacted with the use of a sharp knife. An analogous detail is found in the *Āsurīkalpa.* Both texts share recycled phrasing with regard to: 1) making a doll (***pratikṛtiṃ kṛtvā***), 2) cutting it with a [sharp] knife (***śastreṇa chittvā***), 3) sacrificing its parts into the fire (***juhuyāt***):

> VBhT (§31):
> *Athāparaḥ prayogo bhavati. Yamārimantraṃ śmaśānakarpaṭe viṣādibhir dravyair ālikhya mahāpradīpena vairocanena saha **pratikṛtiṃ kṛtvā** tasya hṛdaye mantraṃ nikṣipya pitṛvanaṃ gatvā cityagnau tīkṣṇa**śastreṇa chittvā** vikṛtānanayogena sthito mantrī vairocanena śarīram ābhyaṅgya dakṣiṇābhimukho **juhuyāt** sadyo **mriyate**.*
>
> *Āsurīkalpa* (Magoun 1889:176):
> *Atha rājā vaśīkartukāmaḥ. Āsūryā surṣipiṣṭa**pratikṛtiṃ kṛtvā**rkasamidbhir āgniṃ prajvālya dakṣiṇapadārabhya **śastreṇa chittvā*** [em.; *cittvā* ed.] *ghṛtāktāṃ **juhuyāt** 108 aṣṭottaraśatahomena **vaśī rājā bhavati**.*

*"He should make a doll and fill it with thorns" (*pratikṛtiṃ kṛtvā, kaṇṭakaiḥ pūrayet*)*

Another procedure enacted on the doll is filling it with thorns. A similar recipe is found in the Śaiva VŚ, as well as in the GS and VBhT. This procedure resembles the magical systems of Europe, Africa and Americas, where the humanoid "voodoo doll" is pierced with pins with the intention of inflicting harm. In the early tantras, however, the purpose of such a procedure clearly differs across the texts. In the VBhT and GS, it is a part of the ritual that leads to *māraṇa.* In the VŚ, the intended purpose is *vaśya*.

> VBhT (§16):
> *Sādhya**pra**[**tikṛtiṃ**] **kṛtvā** aṣṭāṅgulapramāṇaṃ tasya hṛdaye mantraṃ nikṣipya pañcasu sthāneṣu mūrdhādau kīlayet narāsthinā. Sarveṣu sandhiṣu tīkṣṇa**kaṇṭakaiḥ pūrayet**.*
>
> […] he makes an eight-inch **doll representing the image** of the target [with faeces, urine, and charcoal of the cremation ground]. Having placed the mantra at its heart, he then pierces [the doll] with a human bone at five points, beginning with the head. [Then] **he should fill** [the doll] **with** sharp **thorns** at every joint.
>
> GS (15.79cd–80, p.77):
> *Śatroḥ **pratikṛtiṃ kṛtvā** nadīsrotobhayor api/ tilamatram api sarvāṅgaṃ **kaṇṭkair** viṣasaṃbhavaiḥ. **Pūrayec*** […]

Having made the image of the enemy from both banks of the river, the measure of sesame seed (?), he **should fill** all its limbs **with** poisonous **thorns**.

VŚ (270–271ab, p. 79):
*saikthīṃ tu **pratimāṃ kṛtvā** tryūṣaṇena tu lepayet*/
*pratimāsu susampūrṇaṃ **kaṇṭakair madanodbhavaiḥ**//*
vidarbhya pādau guhyaṃ ca lalāṭaṃ ca vicakṣaṇah/

Having made an image of wax, one should smear it with three kinds of spices and on the image, the experienced man **should** closely **pierce** its feet, secret part, forehead, breasts **with thorns** of the *madana* (trans. Goudriaan 1985:125).[428]

*Burying the doll facedown (*adhomukhena nikhānet*)*

Once the doll has been filled with thorns, it has to be buried facedown and customised with the mantras and the name of the target. Both VŚ and VBhT use the same phrase: ***adhomukhāṃ nikhaneta*** (VŚ 271cd–272ab, p. 79), ***adhomukhena nikhānet*** (VBhT §16) for burying the doll facedown. The prescriptions also put emphasis on the place of the burial. The VŚ states that the doll should be buried in front of the goddesses, while the VBhT mentions an isolated place, at a good distance (*sūdūraṃ*)—perhaps from human habitation—, the cremation ground, or the place where a fire has been burnt. The doll is buried facing south, the direction of the god of death, Yama. Burials of dolls typically took place at midday or midnight. In the case of the VŚ, once the doll is buried, the *sādhaka* performs *homa* of *rājikā* and salt 108 times at the three junctures of the day and the intended result, i.e. subjugation, is expected to happen after a week. In the VBhT, something slightly more complicated is envisaged. The burying ritual involves the use of the image of a target as well as that of Yama. The image of the target, filled with thorns, is to be placed in between two skulls, which are positioned on the heart of a Yama figurine fashioned from the earth of the seven anthills. In this prescription, the image of the target clings onto the top of Yama and both of them are buried together, facedown. In this recipe, the intended result, i.e. causing the death of the victim, takes place through the manipulation of two dolls. One of these represents the victim, and the other, death itself. If the mantra-master wants to nullify the magic (unless, presumably, the recipe has succeeded in killing the target), one must unbury the images and wash them.

[428] The thorns of the *madana* seems to be a popular item of the *abhicāra* rituals, and are also mentioned in the NTGS and MMK; see fn. 398 above.

f) Visualising the Target: "Camel-Magic"

Apart from the use of material objects in tantric magic, we also find magical recipes that involve the visualisation of the target. Here, the material dimension of the ritual is suspended in favour of a type of ritual that takes place in the mind. For example, the GS (15.86–97, pp. 78–79) instructs the mantrin to visualise the target being struck by different weapons, or chopped by a *vajra*-axe, or devoured by owls, crows, vultures, jackals, and long-beaked birds, or again bitten by a snake. In some cases, visualisations can also accompany other ritual procedures that make use of material objects. For example, the VBhT (§19) gives a recipe for the *uccāṭana* in which both the image-magic and visualisation are employed together, as follows:

> *Athoccāṭayitukāmo mantrī saptavalmīkena uṣṭraṃ kārayet. Tasya pṛṣṭhato yaṃkāreṇa niṣpannaṃ ardhacandrākāraṃ vāyumaṇḍalaṃ vicintya tadupari sādhyaṃ cintayet. Tatpṛṣṭhe yamarūpaṃ gṛhītalaguḍahastaṃ vicintya*, *tena lagu*[*ḍena tāḍayan dakṣiṇā*]*bhimukhaṃ nīyamānaṃ vicintayet. Tad eva cakraṃ tasyaiva hṛdaye pūrvavidhānena sādhyanāma vidarbhya saṃlikhya nikṣipet*, *saptāhenoccāṭayate nātra saṃśayaḥ.*
>
> Next, if his wishes to drive away, the mantra-master should make [an image of a] camel with soil from the seven anthills. Having visualised on its back a wind-*maṇḍala* having the shape of a half-moon generated from the syllable YAṂ, he should visualise the target on the top of it. Having visualised the form of Yama holding a club in his hand on the top of that [target], he should think of [him] being struck with a club and being sent to the south. He puts the same wheel in his heart, having customised it with the name of the target in accordance with the prior procedure, [after which] he will be driven away in seven days, there is no doubt about this.

The above recipe is based on the understanding of magical correspondences existing between the camel, known in India for its ungovernable conduct, and the wind, which are envisioned in accordance with the principle of sympathetic magic as the agents of driving away. A parallel recipe is found in a number of textual sources, the first of which being the already mentioned Śaiva-tantra *Kakṣapuṭa* (9.23), where a recipe for causing *uccāṭana* that resembles the recipe of the VBhT reads as follows:

> *uṣṭrārūḍhaṃ ripuṃ dhyātvā hanyād daṇḍena mantritaḥ*/
> *daksiṇādik trisaptāhaṃ deśād uccāṭayed ripum*//
> *oṃ hrīṃ yama yama ullūkakarāle vidyujjihve amukam uccāṭaya hūṃ phaṭ*/

> Having meditated on an enemy mounted on a camel,[429] he who has become conversant with mantra should beat him with a stick. In 21 days he will cause the enemy to be expelled southwards from the land. [The mantra:] *oṃ hrīṃ* O [goddess] Vidyujjihvā,[430] terrible like an owl, restrain, restrain, expel so and so, *hūṃ phaṭ*.

Both recipes given in the VBhT and the *Kakṣapuṭa* include the detail of the camel as the agent of driving away on which the target is mounted. Moreover, the target is to be visualised as being struck with a club and expelled southwards. Nihom (1986:76) shows that the *Kakṣapuṭa* recipe finds a parallel with the *uccāṭana* recipe given in the *Yogaratnamālā* commentary (ca. 12th century) on the *Hevajratantra* (I.11.34), where it is linked with the visualisation of the Vajrayoginī. The recipe begins with the instruction on how to visualise Vajrayoginī emerging from the syllable I, blue in colour and holding various implements. Then, one is directed to recite the Vajrayoginī-mantra *oṃ khaṃ svāhā* one hundred times. Afterwards, the text illustrates the visualisation procedure for causing *uccāṭana*, as follows:

> *Oṃ khaṃ svāheti sādhyan nagnaṃ muktakeśaṃ nīlavarṇaṃ uṣṭrārūḍhaṃ* [em.; *daṃṣṭrārūḍhaṃ* ed.] *dhyātvā dakṣiṇābhimukhaṃ krūrair laguḍahastair nirhanyamānaṃ palāyamānam dhyātvā mantram āvartayet. Oṃ khaṃ vāriyoginī amukam uccāṭaya khaṃ hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ saptarātreṇa niyatam uccāṭayati.*
>
> He should recite the mantra *oṃ khaṃ svāhā* and visualise the target as naked, with his hair dishevelled, blue in colour, mounted on a camel, fleeing towards the south struck by wrathful ones holding sticks; he should [then] begin the recitation of the mantra: *oṃ khaṃ*, O Vāriyoginī! Drive away so and so! *Khaṃ hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ*. In seven nights, one surely drives him away.

The recipe shares with the VBhT and the *Kakṣapuṭatantra* the detail about the target being mounted on a camel (*uṣṭrārūḍhaṃ*, my emendation of *daṃṣṭrārūḍhaṃ*, seemingly a corruption caused by contamination between *uṣṭr**ārūḍhaṃ*** and ***daṃṣṭrā**yudhaṃ*, 'wild boar').[431] Like in the recipes of the VBhT and the *Kakṣapuṭa,* here too the target flees towards the south as he is being struck with a stick by wrathful beings. The

[429] Trans. Nihom (1986: 76), slightly modified. I disagree with Nihom, who translates *uṣṭrā* as a buffalo.
[430] *Vidyujjihvā* is a name of the goddess that is referred to three times in the *Kubjikāmatatantra* (5.18; 21.93; 24.22).
[431] My emendation is supported by the Tibetan version of the *Yogaratnamālā*, which reads *rnga mo* 'camel' instead of 'wild boar'. Furthermore, the Tibetan version of the text makes it clear that the colour blue classifies the camel on which the target is mounted and not the target himself: "*rnga mo sngon po la zhon pa bsams la*".

aforementioned recipe is interesting because it shows the adoption of the same *uccāṭana* recipe into the cult of the Vajrayoginī. The basic magical core of the recipe—i.e., visualisation of the target mounted on a camel, and the target being beaten with sticks and driven towards the south—remains the same; what changes is tantric "packaging", i.e., the mantras, the deity, and the visualisation of the deity prior to the execution of the recipe. This example from the *Yogaratnamālā* provides evidence for the process of creativity in adopting magical recipes into different tantric systems.

Another example of the same process of creativity comes from the ca. 11th–12th century *Saṃvarodayatantra*. The first part of the *uccāṭana* recipe deals with the drawing of a *yantra* customised with the seed-syllables *hūṃ phaṭ* and the name of the target on the rag taken from the cremation ground that is to be placed in the skull-vessels. Then, one is instructed to visualise the *yantra* being buried in the funeral pyre, which has the form of the tantric deity Heruka. The second part of the recipe contains many details, which correspond to those found in the recipe of the VBhT, as follows:

> *Saṃvarodaya* (10.54–55):
> *purato vāyumadhyasthaṃ yaṃkāraṃ dhanurākṛtim*/
> *uṣṭrasthaṃ nīlavarṇañ ca dakṣiṇe diśi* [em.; *dakṣiṇadiśi* ed.] *preritam*//
> *nīyantaṃ krodhasaṃghena bhūmnonmattañ ca kārayet*/
> *japed mantram avicchinnaṃ hūṃ phaṭkārayojitam*// (ed. Tsuda 1970:115–116).
>
> He should imagine in front the character *yaṃ* which is existing in the middle of [the *maṇḍala* of] wind, having the shape of a bow, riding on a camel, being blue in colour and being sent to the south, being led away by a host of wrathful [deities] and being always distraught. He should incessantly recite the mantra connected to the characters *Hūṃ phaṭ*, for whomsoever the rite may be practiced, it drives away [the *sādhya*] from that very moment (trans. Tsuda 1970:259).

The phrase: "*purato vāyumadhyasthaṃ yaṃkāraṃ dhanurākṛtim uṣṭrasthaṃ*" corresponds to the passage of the VBhT: "[…] *uṣṭraṃ kārayet tasya pṛṣṭhato yaṃkāreṇa niṣpannaṃ ardhacandrākāraṃ vāyumaṇḍalaṃ vicintya tadupari sādhyaṃ cintayet.*" In both recipes, the YAṂ syllable, which is placed in/or generated from the wind-*maṇḍala*, having the form of a half-moon/bow, rides on the camel. Another correspondence is found in the phrase: "*dakṣiṇe diśi preritam nīyantaṃ*" (*Saṃvarodaya*) or "*dakṣiṇābhimukhaṃ nīyamānaṃ vicintayet*" (VBhT), which indicates that the target is being sent to the south. Similarily to the *Yogaratnamālā*'s adoption of this recipe for the

cult of Vajrayoginī, here the recipe is linked to the cult of Heruka. Thus, the *Saṃvarodaya* constitutes yet another example of the process of creative adoption of magical recipes into various Buddhist tantric cults.

g) Bringing the king under one's power through *aṅkuśa* and *pāśa*

Magical recipes for bringing dignitaries under one's own power are common in both Śaiva and Buddhist tantras. They presuppose a *mantrin* connected to court circles or else serving a client with political ambitions. Given the co-functionality of magical technology transcending sectarian boundaries, the appearance of such recipes should not be surprising. In this regard, one recipe found in the VŚ and the VBhT, belonging to the category of visualisation, features striking similarities:

> VŚ (160–161, p. 73):
> *sādhyaṃ tu sādhakaś caiva* ***raktavarṇaṃ vicintayet***/
> *homānte tu* ***dhyāyet sādhyaṃ vihvalaṃ ca*** *sammūrcchitam*//
> ***aṅkuśena*** *hato mūrdhni māya****pāśena veṣṭitam***/
> ***rājānaṃ rājapatnīṃ vā saptāhād vāśam ānayet***//
>
> The practitioner should **meditate on** the victim as **being of a red colour**; at the end of sacrifice, he should **imagine the victim** as being out of his mind and **benumbled**, struck on his head **by the elephant-goad and bound by the** māyic **noose**; **even a king or a queen he will subjugate within a week** (trans. Goudriaan 1985:114).
>
> VBhT (§72): *Atha rājānaṃ rājāmantriṇaṃ ca vaśīkartukāmena mantriṇā mahiṣamukha-yogena sthitvā ātmānaṃ* ***raktavarṇaṃ dhyātvā.*** *Yatra sādhyas tiṣṭhati tanmadhye praviśyet. Paścāt svaśarīrād* ***aṅkuśapāśahastaṃ*** *raktavarṇaṃ mañjuśrīrūpaṃ niścārayet. Tena mañjuśriyā sādhyahṛdi galake baddhvā ānīyantaṃ paśyati. Mañjuśriyaṃ praveśayet. Mañjuśrīśarīre praveśya taṃ* ***sādhyaṃ viklavibhūtaṃ cintayet****. Anena dhyānaprayogena tasya hṛdaye daśākṣaramantraṃ vicintayet raktavarṇena. Punaḥ sādhakena jñānarūpeṇa teṣv akṣareṣu praveṣṭavyaṃ. Taiḥ sādhyaṃ ekalolībhūtaṃ cintayet. Anena dhāyanaprayogena* ***saptāhāc cakravartim api vaśaṃ ānayati*** *yāvajjīvaṃ na saṃśayaḥ.*
>
> Next, a person who wants to subject a king to his will and the royal minister to his will: the mantra-master who desires to do that remains in the meditative absorption with the Buffalo-faced one. **Having visualised** himself as **red in colour**, he enters into the middle of the area, where the target is. Then, he should emit from his own body a form of Mañjuśrī, which is red and holding **a goad and a noose** in his hands. With that Mañjuśrī, he visualises that Mañjuśrī is bringing the target back, after havnig tied the target at his heart or throat. Then, he should cause him to enter Mañjuśrī. Having entered the body of Mañjuśrī, he should **imagine that the target becomes confused**. Using this meditation procedure, he should imagine the ten-syllable mantra in his heart, red in colour. The *sadhāka*, further, taking on the form of knowledge should enter those syllables. He should [then] visualise the target being fused in oneness with them. By this meditation

procedure, **within seven days, he brings under his power even a universal emperor as long as he lives, without doubt.**

In both recipes, one has to: 1) visualise either the target or oneself or Mañjuśrī as being red in colour (***raktavarṇaṃ vicintayet***, VŚ**;** ***raktavarṇaṃ dhyātvā***, VBhT); 2) visualise the target as being bound by a goad and a noose (***aṅkuśena*** *hato mūrdhni māya****pāśena veṣṭitam***, VŚ; ***aṅkuśapāśahastaṃ*** *raktavarṇaṃ mañjuśrīrūpaṃ niścārayet, tena mañjuśriyā* ***sādhya****hṛdi galake* ***baddhvā*** *ānīyantaṃ paśyati,* VBhT**)**; 3) visualise the target as being confused (***dhyāyet sādhyaṃ vihvalaṃ***, VŚ; ***sādhyaṃ viklavibhūtaṃ cintayet,*** VBhT); 4) after seven days, the king/queen will be brought under one's power (***rājānaṃ rājapatnīṃ vā saptāhād vāśam ānayet***, VŚ; ***saptāhāc cakravartinam api vaśaṃ ānayati***, VBhT).

The recipe given in the VŚ is relatively simple in comparison to the one given in the VBhT. The visualisation of the target features in both texts, but in the VBhT, the role of Mañjuśrī as the fetcher becomes proportionally greater. It is Mañjuśrī, emitted from the *mantrin*'s body, who catches the target with the use of a goad and a noose, and who causes the target to be fused into the body of Mañjuśrī. The last part of the recipe acquires an even greater level of sophistication when stating that the *sādhaka* acquires the form of knowledge and enters the mantric syllables, while the target fuses with him. Despite its sophistication, the basic elements of the recipe are similar to the simpler version given in the VŚ.

Before moving to another topic, it is important to stress some of the wider implications of the recipe described above. The employment of the *aṅkuśa* and *pāśa* as the tools of *vaśīkaraṇa* are also found in other tantric systems, such as that of the STTS, where they appear as the attributes of Trailokyavijaya, who uses them to annihilate evil and subdue demons. These correspond to two *bīja-mantra*s, namely HŪṂ + *ākarṣa* + *vajrāṅkuśa* and JAḤ + *praveśa* + *vajrapāśa* in the mantra ṬAKKI JAḤ HŪṂ VAṂ HOḤ. This mantra is reduplicated with minor changes in the *Sarvavajrodaya* (section 56), where *aṅkuśa* is associated with *ākarṣaṇa*, while *pāśa* with *praveśa* or drawing to oneself, which is ultimately a form of *vaśīkaraṇa.* Goudriaan (1978:317) makes this point clear, when he says that *aṅkuśa* and *pāśa* are connected with *ākarṣaṇa*, because the latter is the first stage of *vaśīkaraṇa.* The *mantra* ṬAKKI JAḤ of the STTS is the spell of the

'hook' or 'goad' employed for summoning, which can be considered both as *ākarṣaṇa* and *vaśīkaraṇa* (Sundberg 2003:173; Acri 2016b:336).[432] The fact that the concept of *aṅkuśa* and *pāśa* as the tools of magical attraction and subjugation circulated widely in tantric Buddhist systems while they are not commonly found in the early Śaiva tantras may indicate that the Śaiva authors adopted Buddhist elements into their magical recipes. It seems obvious that this specific concept kept on being transmitted, and the recipe itself kept on being copied, which ensured its diffusion in both tantric traditions.

[432] A version of this mantra is reproduced on a double-*vajra*-shaped gold-foil unearthed in Central Java, which has been interpreted as a magical *yantra* reproducing the name of an early to mid-9th-century king and his mantrin or queen, and which may reflect an attempt to influence/subjugate a Śaiva king through this Buddhist mantra (see Acri 2016b).

Chapter Four
A Chapter-Outline of the *Vajrabhairavatantra*

This chapter contains a thematic exposition of the VBhT. Its basic structure follows the titles of the seven *kalpa*s included in the VBhT and examines the practices, doctrines, and concepts delineated in those *kalpa*s in the light of the text's canonical commentaries, related Śaiva-Śākta sources, and other Buddhist tantras. I have tried to present the material in a manner that is more descriptive than interpretative. What I hope to achieve through this presentation is an accurate account of an early cult of Vajrabhairava in India in its myriad manifestations.

4.1. The Explanation of the *Maṇḍala* (§1–10)

Chapter One of the VBhT gives the necessary preliminaries concerning the Vajrabhairava-*sādhana*, such as finding a suitable place for the practice, and provides specific instructions for drawing the Vajrabhairava-*maṇḍala* (§3-5). The latter serves both as a *sādhana* device for the tantric practitioner and a tool employed in the execution of certain rituals, such as initiation (*abhiṣeka*).[433] The Vajrabhairava-*sādhana* is clearly

[433] There is disagreement among the VBhT's commentators as to whether the *maṇḍala*-drawing is suitable for initiation or not. *Kṛṣṇācārya says that the *maṇḍala* should only be drawn during *sādhana* and not during initiation (see Appendix 3, fn.1469), but *Akṣobhya endorses its use as an instrument for the two types of initiations: 1) initiation of a disciple and, 2) self-initiation. In tantric Buddhism, in general, initiation of a disciple is conducted by the ritual of casting a flower (*puṣpapātaḥ*), during which the blindfolded initiand casts a flower onto the *maṇḍala* to determine the Buddha-family to which he belongs. From the *Mahāvairocanābhisaṃbodhi* onwards, this is followed by the four *abhiṣeka*s (Sanderson 2009:209), which distinguish Buddhist initiation from the Śaiva and Śākta ones, where the blindfolded disciple, under the influence of *śakti* activated in him by the gaze or touch of a powerful *guru*, casts a flower into the *maṇḍala* to determine which Śaiva deity or family of the mother-goddesses (*mātṛkula*) he will belong to (*tataḥ prakṣepayet puṣpaṃ sā śaktis tatkarasthitā/ yatra tat patate puṣpaṃ tatkulaṃ tasya lakṣayet*: *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* 11.20, quoted in Wallis 2008:263). The section on the initiation of a disciple in the *Laghuśaṃvara* (1.15–4.1), based on the *Yoginīsaṃcāra* section of the *Jayadrathayāmala* (8.3–28), follows the same *puṣpapātaḥ* ritual and omits any mention of the four *abhiṣeka*s, which Sanderson (2009:203) considers to be an example of redacting Śaiva tantras to produce the Buddhist ones. Similarly, *Akṣobhya, in his discussion on initiation in the VBhT, passes over in silence the four *abhiṣeka*s and refers only to the *puṣpapātaḥ*. Thus, he says, the *puṣpapātaḥ* ritual determines what type of rituals an initiand is meant to accomplish. If a flower falls onto any of the nine core places of the innermost circle where the nine mortuary symbols are placed, a disciple will achieve the supreme *siddhi*. *Akṣobhya justifies his argument quoting from the *Sarvamaṇḍalasāmānyavidhiguhyatantra*: "if a flower falls on the core, he will

meant for the advanced practitioner, i.e. the mantra-master (*mantrin*) who has already performed the preliminary service (*kṛtapuraścaraṇa*)[434] and achieved the *mantrasiddhi,* which he can now apply for gaining mundane *siddhi*s. The mantra-master is further described as a yogin who has received initiation (*abhiṣikto yogī*) in the VBhT. The commentary by *Kṛṣṇācārya gives the following explanation of the *abhiṣikto yogī*:

> The yogin who has received initiation in [this tantra of] Śrīmahāvajrabhairava [means:] "The mantras *hrīḥ ṣtrīḥ* of Vajrabhairava generated from the *ya-varga*, etc. have to be recited one hundred times; the [mantras] *jinajik*, etc., for the retinue of the twelve generated from [the seed-syllable] KṢEM, etc. are to be recited ten thousand for each. Combining the four *yoga*s (*yoga, atiyoga, anuyoga* and *mahāyoga*) [435] with these, he is one who has completed the *pūrvasevā*. He has to master the preliminary rituals (the altar '*adhivāsana*', infusion of the articles and the disciple '*śiṣya-adhivāsana'*), the preparation of the *maṇḍala*, *sādhana*, and receive the four initiations, correctly. The qualifications that are included in the *abhiṣikto* are this: the *yogin* who relies upon the four *yoga*s, who performs the *pūrvasevā*, [who does] the *sādhana* and performs the *karma*s."[436]

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never became without a purpose (*anartha*)". He says further: "If a flower falls on the sign of the outermost edge in the north, he will achieve pacifying rituals; in the south, annihilating activities; in the west, attracting and summoning; in the east, augmentation. If a flower falls outside the [*maṇḍala*] line or in between the two symbols three times, a disciple should not be bestowed initiation". Next follow the instructions concerning the ritual of self-initiation: "The *sādhaka* should place the body of the lord [Vajrabhairava] which is either casted [in metal], drawn or sculpted, on the corpse [in the centre of the *maṇḍala*]; then, he throws a flower and self-initiate himself. If he wishes to accomplish some kind of boon, as described in the *Vajrabhairavatantra*, it is achieved while he is seating on the radiant seat of the deity in the centre of the *maṇḍala.*" *Akṣobhya's *pañjikā*, pp. 370–371; for the Tibetan text, see Appendix 1, p. 333.

In any case, initiation is considered mandatory: without it, one should not perform any rituals given in the VBhT, and should not even be allowed to see the text. As *Śoṇaśrī (p. 396) puts it: "Rituals mentioned in the tantra should not be performed without initiation and also the tantra should not be seen. In order to understand what has been said, it is logical to teach the painted *maṇḍala* first" (*dbang ma bskur bar rgyud du gsungs pa'i las mi bya ba dang/ rgyud kyang blta bar mi bya'o zhes rtogs par bya ba'i phyir dang po nyid du rdul tshon gyi dkyil 'khor bstan par rigs so*).

[434] For the discussion of the *kṛtapuraścaraṇa* as an example of early tantric syntax, see p. 135 of this thesis.

[435] The set of four yogas is related to the four types of visualisations during the generation process of the deity (*utpannakrama*). The process of purification and initial visualisation is the stage of *yoga.* The stage when the *sādhaka* invokes the visualisation of the main deity of the *maṇḍala* is *atiyoga*. When the *sādhaka* completes the external visualisation of the *maṇḍala* and shifts to the visualisation of the internal *maṇḍala* is the stage of *anuyoga*. Finally, when the internal *maṇḍala* is concecrated with the mantras and further visualisations ensue, is the stage of *mahāyoga* (Davidson 2005:74)

[436] For the Tibetan text, see Appendix 3, p. 399, fn. 1452.

The above description clearly states that the *abhiṣikto yogī* has to master a number of preliminary rituals, including the *pūrvasevā* (purification of the *mantra*s by reciting it stated number of times), the set of four visualisations that are performed during the *utpannakrama* of the deity, the preparation of the *maṇḍala*, etc. Moreover, he also has to receive the four *abhiṣeka*s, namely the *kalaśābhiṣeka*, *guhyābhiṣeka*, *prajñājñānābhiṣeka*, and the fourth (*caturtha*)[437]—these constitute the standard set of four higher empowerments common to the tantras of the *yoganiruttara* class. With regard to the four *abhiṣeka*s, *Lalitavajra conforms with the view of *Kṛṣṇācārya and, in addition, defines the *abhiṣikto yogī* as someone who has received the vase-empowerment, etc. from a master who possesses correct view and who is pleased with him since he has purified the three impurities. Moreover, according to *Lalitavajra, the word 'yogin' is attributed to a person who has attained "skillful means" and "wisdom".[438]

4.1.1. Places for the *Sādhana* (§2)

Only a *yogin* who possesses the above characteristics is entitled to engage in the *sādhana,* understood—in accordance with the principle of the *yogatantra*s—as the means by which he is made to accomplish the nature of the deity Vajrabhairava.[439] The yogin is, first of all, required to find a suitable spot for undertaking the Vajrabhairava-*sādhana*, but the commentaries of *Lalitavajra and *Kṛṣṇācāraya specify that these places are also good for accomplishing other rituals, such as initiation.[440] The text gives the list of spaces, which meet the basic requirement of "places that are being conducive to concentration" (*manonukūla sthāna*).[441] The ideal places for tantric *sādhana* are the same across different tantric traditions (Goodall and Isaacson 2016:35). The VBhT lists: a cremation

[437] On the historical development of the four initiations, see Isaacson (1998).
[438] For the description of Lalitavajra's gloss of *abhiṣikto yogī*, see fn. 1452 in Appendix 3.
[439] For the definition of *sādhana*, see fn. 1431 in Appendix 3.
[440] See fn. 1435 in Appendix 3.
[441] English (2002:114) points out that the deserted places of tantric traditions differ from the places described in the *sūtra*-type *sādhana*s (e.g. the *Sādhanamālā*), which prefer places that are "delightful" (*manohara*) because they are adorned with fragrant flowers and water and free of noise, robbers, etc. However, the places recommended for tantric *sādhana*—except perhaps cities and villages—are also mostly quiet; those are liminal places, located at the edges and peripheries and certainly away from human habitation. *Akṣobhya (p. 382) explains: "With respect to those [places] taught previously, those are wherever your mind is at ease (*sngar bstan pa rnams la* [em.; *las* ed.] *yid gang dga' bar gnas so*).

ground, the bank of the river, a solitary tree, a solitary *liṅga*, a crossroads, a mountain peak, an empty house, a temple of the mother-goddesses, any temple, the battlefield, or other places such as cities, forests, or villages. The MMK (51.44-46) almost exactly matches the list of the places in the VBhT: "at a solitary tree, or at a *liṅga*, on a mountain peak or in caves, he should always begin the ritual, alone and unaccompanied. In a great forest far from human habitation, in a deserted temple, in a deserted house, by the river, or in a place at the bank of the ocean: staying in that place or near it, within an area of a hundred *yojana*s, according to his desire, he should constantly carry out the rituals."[442] Other tantric scriptures, such as, for example, the NTGS (3.60)[443] or the *Kramasādbhava* (4.41–44),[444] a Śāktatantra of the Kālīkrama, share with the VBhT the same locations as perfect spots for undertaking tantric *sādhana*. Many of these places receive specific descriptions in the exegetical literature of the VBhT,[445] and they are also classified in accordance with the precise *karma* they are 'meant' to accomplish. Thus, on the banks of a river, one should accomplish a male-female *yakṣa* or a male-female *nāga*;[446] the crossroads is an ideal place for *stambhana*; a mountain peak is suitable for *vidveṣaṇa*; an empty house or temple is a perfect place for accomplishing *pūrvasevā*, sword, eye-ointment, pill, alchemy, ambrosia, treasure, ghost, and zombie; the temple of the mother-goddesses is good for *vaśya*, *ākarṣaṇa,* and for *sādhana* in general; in the battlefield, one

[442] *ekavṛkṣe tathā liṅge śaile prānte guhāsu vā*/ *ekākī advitīyaś ca sadā karma samārabhet*// *mahāraṇye vivikte ca śūnye devakuleṣu ca*/ *śūnye mandire nadyāṃ ambudheḥ taṭamāśrite*// *tatra deśe* [em.; *tatrastho* ed.] *samīpe vā tatrasthe vā yathepsitam*/ *yojanāśatam abhyantara sadā karmāṇi kārayet*//. MMK 51.44–46, p. 434.

[443] The NTGS (3.60a–c), at the beginning of the description of rituals involving the feeding of a corpse with sacrificial offerings (*caru*), gives a parallel list of some of the places that are also listed in the VBhT: *ekaliṅge ekavṛkṣe śmaśāne saṃgame vane*/ *śivamaṇḍalam ālikhya* […]/ "At a solitary *liṅga*, at a solitary tree, at a cremation ground, at the conjunction of two rivers, in a forest, he draws a *maṇḍala* of Śiva […]."

[444] Another parallel is found in an early Śāktatantra of the Kālīkrama, the *Kramasadbhāva* (4.41cd–44): "In a great, terrible cremation ground, under a great *liṅga*, o Śiva, under a great tree, at a mound, on a great mountain, at a crossroads, at the confluence of rivers, in the dense great forest, greatly terrifying, which makes one to tremble, in the great battlefield, scary and ready to devour all the heroes, or wherever the will of the mind goes, in all these places one should do the extraction of the mantra, according to one's desire" *(mahāpiṭṛvane ghore mahāliṅge athavā hara*// *mahāvṛkṣe athavā sthale mahāgire athavā punaḥ*/ *mahācatuṣpathe vātha mahānadyām athāpi vā*// *mahāvane mahāghore gahane harṣadāyine*/ *mahāhave atha bhīme vā vīragrasanalampate*// *athavā yatra yatrecchā mānasī bhavate acalā*/ *tatra tatra prakartavyaṃ mantroddhāraṃ svakāmataḥ*).

[445] See pp. 397–398 in Appendix 3 of this thesis.

[446] See fn. 1439 in Appendix 3.

accomplishes the ritual of *vidveṣaṇa*; and the city and the forest (which includes one's own house and a tree-hole, *koṭara*) are perfect for mastering a *piśāca*, and for *vaśya*.[447]

4.1.2. Drawing the *Maṇḍala* (§3–5)

Next, the VBhT gives instructions for drawing the Vajrabhairava-*maṇḍala*. Many tantric texts begin the *maṇḍala* section by giving a *vidhi* concerning the selection of the site for the *maṇḍala* and the methods of purifying the ground,[448] but these are absent in the VBhT. For example, according to the *Yoginīsaṃcāra* section (8.3) of the *Jayadrathayāmala*, the purification of the ground for the *maṇḍala*-drawing requires smearing it with a fine cow-dung taken from the *kapilā*-cow (*kaplilāgomaya*), mixed with cremation ground ash (*śmaśānabhasman*), blood and water (*raktodakavimiśra*).[449] The *yoginītantra Laghuśaṃvara* (2.1) similarly instructs about smearing the *maṇḍala*-ground with a cow-dung that has not fallen down (*apaṭagomaya*), mixed with cremation ground ash (*śmaśānabhasman*) and the five nectars (*pañcāmṛta*), i.e., urine, blood, semen, etc.[450] Once the purification of the ground is completed, one can commence the drawing of the *maṇḍala*. The *maṇḍala* is usually painted or drawn on the ground with the use of different powders. These are classified in the tantras as the guidelines regarding the colour of the powders (*rajaḥvidhi*). The instructions for tracing the lines of the *maṇḍala* are called *sūtraṇavidhi*.

The *rajaḥvidhi*s for drawing the Vajrabhairava-*maṇḍala* were not uniform, but as different commentaries indicate, varied. *Śoṇaśrī and *Vajrasiddha instruct that the *maṇḍala* should be drawn with five powders: white, black, yellow, red, and green to include the five families of the *tathāgata*s, commonly found in the scriptures of the *yogatantra* class.[451] They also specify how to acquire these coloured powders: 'white',

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[447] For the Tibetan text and translation, see pp. 397–398 in Appendix 3 of this thesis.

[448] For example, the *Kramasadbhāva* (4.50–51ab) gives the following instructions: "[The *maṇḍala* should be drawn on the sites] free from low and high ground, and free of hair. When cleaning the site, the wise man should smear it with cow-dung."

[449] *Yoginīsaṃcāra,* 8.4: *śmaśānabhasmanā miśraṃ kapilāgomayaṃ śubham raktodakavimisreṇa tena bhūmiṃ pralepayet,* edited by Sanderson (2009:203).

[450] *Laghuśaṃvara* 2.1: *tatra apaṭagomayena maṇḍalabhūmi pralepayet śmaśānabhasmanā yuktaṃ pañcāmṛtasamanvitam,* edited by Sanderson (2009:203).

[451] Although the STTS includes only four Buddha families, the five *kula*s feature for the first time in the *Vajraśekharasūtra*, where they emanate from the source, Vajradhara, who is regarded as

from the cremation ground ash; 'black', from the charcoal of a cremated corpse; 'yellow', from orpiment; 'red', from the cremation ground brick; and 'green', from the leaves of mangrove trees.[452] *Akṣobhya, however, insists on drawing the *maṇḍala* with a single line, using only one powder, i.e., the ash of the cremation ground. He justifies his choice by saying:

> Here [in the *Vajrabhairavatantra*] because the chief topic are wrathful rites, [the lord] teaches ashes instead of divine colours. For the same reason, one should make only one line instead of five.[453]

Drawing on the authority of the *Sarvamaṇḍalasāmānyavidhiguhyatantra*, he says further: "whatever powders are taught, all those are of one line". [454] The argument *Akṣobhya is trying to make is against other commentators who, like *Śoṇaśrī and *Vajrasiddha, maintain that the *maṇḍala* should be drawn with five lines and five powders to include the five families of the *tathāgata*s, but because the VBhT deals with wrathful *abhicāra* rites, only a single line using ash of the cremation ground should be drawn. Regardless of the differences in opinion concerning *rajaḥvidhi*s, all the commentaries endorse the use of ash from the cremation ground for drawing the Vajrabhairava-*maṇḍala*, which suggests that the VBhT had a share in the Kāpālika legacy of cremation-ground lore. For example, the fourth *paṭala* of the third *ṣaṭka* of the *Jayadrathayāmala* (see fn. 457 below) uses the same Sanskrit word for the cremation ground ash (*bhasman*) in the *maṇḍala* drawing, that also appears in the VBhT (*citibhasman*), when it says: "one should draw an excellent *maṇḍala* using the terrifying ash (ash of the cremation ground)". Similarly, the *Yoginīsaṃcāra* section of the *Jayadrathyāmala* (8.5) gives another example of the same practice: "having taken up the cremation ground ash (*śmaśānabhasman*), he should write the *maṇḍala* in the cremation ground having eight petals" (*śmaśānabhasma saṃgṛhya śmaśāne 'ṣṭadalaṃ* […] *maṇḍalaṃ likhet*, Sanderson 2009:203). The same is attested in the *Laghuśaṃvara* (2.3), which says: "the *ācārya* who possesses good qualities should trace the splendid *maṇḍala* with the ash of coals from the cremation pyres together with

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the sixth. The colours associated with the five *tathāgata* families are as follows: white for Vairocana, green for Amoghasiddhi, red for Amitābha, yellow for Ratnasambhava, blue for Akṣobhya.

[452] For the Tibetan text, see, fn. 1470 in Appendix 3 of this thesis.

[453] For the Tibetan text, see p. 401, fn. 1470 in Appendix 3 of this thesis.

[454] *Ibid.*

cremation ground brick" (*cityaṅgāracūrṇena śmaśāneṣṭakasaṃyutam ālikhen maṇḍalaṃ divyaṃ ācāryaḥ susalakṣaṇaḥ*, Sanderson 2009:203). What is worth noticing here is that the cremation ground brick and charcoal from the cremation pyre also feature as pigments suitable for drawing the Vajrabhairava-*maṇḍala* in the commentaries by *Śoṇaśrī and *Vajrasiddha.

The same Kāpālika influence is also visible in case of the *sūtraṇavidhi*s. *Kṛṣṇācārya's commentary on the VBhT (see fn. 1469, p. 401 in Appendix 3) refers to the thread taken from a corpse as an instrument for tracing the lines of the Vajrabhairava-*maṇḍala* (*thig skud yang ro'i srad bus bya'o*). The same is attested in the *Yoginīsaṃcāra* (8.6), where we read: "the one holding the thread should trace the outline [of the *maṇḍala*] with a thread taken from a corpse (*śavasūtreṇa*) soaked in blood".[455] This description matches the passage of the *Laghuśaṃvara* (2.11) where we find the thread of a corpse (*mṛtakasūtra*) coloured in human blood.[456] The same *sūtraṇavidhi* appears in the third *ṣaṭka* of the *Jayadrathyāmala*, where we find a reference to the cord made of a human hair of a corpse (*śavamūrdhajarajju*).[457] What these examples indicate is that the VBhT, as one of the earliest transgressive Buddhist tantras, is seemingly given a Kāpālika "packaging" by the commentators who lived in the period when the penetration of the Śaiva-Śākta elements into *yoginītantra*s reached its climax.

The structure of the Vajrabhairava-*maṇḍala* consists of two parts: the '*maṇḍala*-square' and the '*maṇḍala*-circle'. The drawing of the *maṇḍala* begins with constructing the outer periphery, that is the *maṇḍala*-square. The VBhT (§3) describes the *maṇḍala*-square as follows:

> [He should draw] a *maṇḍala*-square with four doors ornamented with four arches, decorated with bells, banners, pennons, and the like, [and also] adorned with a tie of

[455] *sūtrayed rudhirāktena śavasūtreṇa sūtradhṛk*, *Yoginīsaṃcāra* of the *Jayadrathayāmala*, 8.6. Sanskrit text is given in Sanderson 2009:203.
[456] *tato mṛtakasūtreṇa mahārudhirarañjitena vā sūtrayen maṇḍalaṃ ghoraṃ*, *Laghuśaṃvara* 2.11 (in Sanderson 2009:204).
[457] "Then, one should draw an excellent *maṇḍala* using the terrifying ash [of the cremation ground]. First, having drawn an outline using a cord made from the human hair of a corpse (*śavamūrdhajarajjunā*), he should draw it (the *maṇḍala*), o Goddess, as having three enclosing lines with colours: white, red, etc." *ālikhen maṇḍalavaraṃ tato raudreṇa bhasmanā*/ *prathamaṃ sūtrayitvā tu śavamūrdhajarajjunā*/ *trirekham ālikhed devi śuklaraktādivarṇaiḥ*//, Third *Ṣatka* of the *Jayadrathayāmala*, 4.20cd–21ab, edition by Sanderson (unpublished draft dated January 2015).

> flowers. In all the corners and in the points where the doors meet the porticos [the *maṇḍala*-square] is inlaid with the *vajra*-jewels, and similarly with the half-moons.[458]

This is a 'set piece' of the *maṇḍala*-square bearing tantalizing lexical and thematic similarities across various tantric Buddhist texts.[459] The same standard design of the *maṇḍala*-square with its characteristic features enjoyed popularity in the earliest Buddhist tantras (e.g. STTS, MMK, etc.) and appears to have been copied with slight, if any, modifications by various tantric authors. This passage, thoroughly commented upon by *Vajrasiddha, *Śoṇaśrī, and *Kṛṣṇācārya, is an illuminating example of the 'Buddhicization' technique employed by these commentators to superficially insert deep layers of Buddhist meaning. Thus, each constituent element of the *maṇḍala*-square is given a proper Buddhist meaning in accord with the tantric hermeneutical tool of *viśuddhi* (Sferra 1999): e.g., "four doors" means "four doors of liberation" (*vimokṣamukha*s), "four arches" means "four pure meditations", etc.[460]

Once the *maṇḍala*-square is completed, the *mantrin* is instructed to draw a circle inside the *maṇḍala*-square (§4). The *maṇḍala*-circle has nine segments into which nine mortuary symbols (viz. a corpse, a head, an arm, entrails, a leg, a skull, a [skull]-cup, a rag of the cremation ground [*śmaśānakarpaṭa*], and a man impaled on a stake [*śūlabhinnapuruṣa*]) are to be deposited. The corpse is a seat for the deity Vajrabhairava, where he temporarily takes up his residence during the ritual. Both *Akṣobhya and *Kṛṣṇācārya make this connotation clear: the former glosses the corpse as the seat (*āsana*), while the latter as the *pīṭha*, i.e., the throne of the deity. Outside the *maṇḍala*-circle (§5), one has to deposit different symbols (*cihna*): six in each of the four cardinal directions. These are predominantly weapons that correspond to the twenty-four weapons Vajrabhairava holds in his twenty-four hands. With the remaining eight hands (Vajrabhairava has thirty-four),[461] he holds the mortuary symbols of the *maṇḍala*-circle (mentioned above), with the exception of the corpse, which is his seat. When we count

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[458] For the Sanskrit, see p. 354 in Appendix 2 of this thesis.
[459] Vilāsavajra's commentary on the *Nāmasaṃgīti*, *adhikāra* 4, v. 78–81 (edited by Tribe); MMK 14.36, 47.89, STTS (Yamada1981:63, 13–18, 111, 3–8, 140, 32–36).
[460] For the full list of different parts of the *maṇḍala*-square and their 'Buddhist' meanings according to *viśuddhi*, see pp. 402–403 in Appendix 3 of this thesis.
[461] All the weapons held in Vajrabhairava's thirty-four hands are listed in Chapters 4 and 5 of VBhT; see below, Appendix 3.

the eight mortuary symbols of the *maṇḍala*-circle and the twenty-four *cihna*s placed outside the *maṇḍala*-circle, the result is thirty-two. However, Vajrabhairava has thirty-four hands with the final two hands holding an elephant-skin (according to the *dhyāna* description in Chapter 4 of the VBhT). *Akṣobhya wanted to include an elephant-skin in the list of weapons that feature in the *maṇḍala*-drawing and interprets the word *ādi*, 'etc.', given after the enumeration of weapons, as encapsulating the elephant-skin.[462]

One other element that needs to be deposited in the *maṇḍala*-corners worth mentioning are the *vetāla*s, 'zombies', that are to be placed in the four doors and the four corners of the doors. These are iconographically described by the commentators as "having two hands, one face, three red eyes, they are yellowish, with raised hair, naked, with mouth baring the fangs, black in colour. In their left hand, the *vetāla*s hold a crooked knife with confidence; in their right hand, they hold a skull filled with blood".[463] *Akṣobhya speaks of the eight *vetāla*s, who become friends of *sādhaka* and fulfill his desired goal.[464]

4.1.3. The Entry into the *Maṇḍala* and the Practice of Mad Laughter (*aṭṭahāsa, hāhākāra*) (§8)

Once the food offerings (*naivedya*), proprietary offerings (*bali*) and oblations into the fire (*homa*) along with food nice to 'lick and snack' are offered to the Vajrabhairava-*maṇḍala* and the *maṇḍala* is sprinkled with blood, the mantra-master, while remaining in meditative union with Vajrabhairava, enters the *maṇḍala*, which, as mentioned before, is the cremation ground where Vajrabhairava resides for the period of the ritual procedure. This entry, heralded by the sounding of the rattle-drum (*ḍamaru*) and the boisterous "ha ha" laughter, which can be done either by a *sādhaka* alone or when he is accompanied by a party of one or three assistants (*uttarasādhaka*s),[465] is associated with the Śaiva entry

[462] See, fn. 1493 in Appendix 3 of this thesis for the quotation from *Akṣobhya's commentary.
[463] For the Tibetan text, see, fn. 1495 in Appendix 3.
[464] See, fn. 1495 in Appendix 3.
[465] The term *uttarasādhaka* (also *sahāya*) is used for an assistant of *sādhaka* during his mantra-*sādhana.* The term occurs often in the *Niśvāsottara* (4.34). The same term is used in Buddhist tantras for an assistant of a *sādhaka* or *vajrācārya*. In the *Sarvavajrodaya* (1.33, p. 30, line 2–4) we find the following passage: "the *yogin* should then be requested by all the *uttarasādhaka*s present who are endowed with *tathāgatahaṃkāraḥ* to draw the great *maṇḍala*." In Chapter 11 of the *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa* (Wedemeyer 2007:317), the *uttarasādhaka* is responsible for the food

into the cremation ground which goes back to the Pāśupata tradition of mad laughter (*aṭṭahāsa*),[466] where it features as part of the *unmattavrata* and *pāśupatavrata*. The same

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provision for the great sacrifice performed on lonely mountains, by pooling streams, in charnel grounds, etc. In the Jaina tantric text *Kumārapālaprabodhaprabandha* (paragraph 24) we find a reference to a yogin who asks the king Kumārapāla to be his *uttarasādhaka* in the ritual on Citrakūṭa performed on the *kṛṣnacaturdaśī*. In paragraph 61 of the same text, the *uttarasādhaka* should be a woman of *padminī* kind ('*padminī*' refers to her sexual characteristics). In non-sectarian literary sources, such as Śivadāsa's *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā*, we find a similar passage where a yogin wanders through the whole world in order to find a suitable *uttarasādhaka* for his *mṛtakavidhi* 'corpse-ritual'. Then, he asks the king to become his *uttarasādhaka*, which should guarantee the eight-fold *siddhi*s for the yogin (see Schmidt-Madsen 2014:128). Another synonym of *uttarasādhaka* is *uparisādhaka*. The only references to this term are found in Kalhaṇa's "Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir", *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (3.2.8 and 3.3.17). (I thank Prof. Alexis Sanderson for these references).

In the *Picumata-Brahmayāmala*, the term *sakha* is used for the companion of *sādhaka* during his mantra-*sādhana.* For example, in *Brahmayāmala* 46.4, we find a passage describing the beginning of a *yāga*, where a *sādhaka* is surrounded by excellent companions (*sakhāyaiḥ śobhanair vṛtaḥ*). From another passage (46.52), it is clear that companions are present throughout the duration of *yāga*: "Having taken the *bali* at the centre, he should eat it along with his companions. He should then gratify the goddess and the god with *picu* and wine" *puramadhye baliṃ gṛhya sakhāyaiḥ saha bhakṣayet*/ *picunā madireṇaiva devīdevāṃ sa tarppayet*//. In another passage (46.3), we find information that matches the above description of the VBhT insofar that going to the cremation ground with companions is optional; the *sādhaka* can also go alone: "The one observing the *mahāvrata* should go at night to the cremation ground taking with him the full equipment for worship accompanied by excellent companions or else on his own" *gatvā niśi* [*nisi* corr., ms.] *śmaśānan* [*smasānan* corr., ms.] *tu yāgopaskarasaṃbhṛtaḥ*/ *sakhāyais śobhanair* [*sobhanair* corr. ms.] *yukta eko vātha mahāvrataḥ*//.

[466] The *aṭṭahāsa* or the practice of "mad laughter" goes back to the Pāśupata tradition, being prescribed in the *Pāśupatasūtra* and its commentary *Pañcārthabhāṣya* attributed to Kauṇḍinya (4th–5th century), where it constitutes one of the conducts adopted by the Pāśupata ascetics of the Atimārga during the worship of the Lord, together with dancing, singing, sleeping and bathing in ashes, wearing the garlands offered to the gods (*nirmālya*), and imitating the conduct of the bull (*Pāśupatasūtra* 1.8; see Acri 2018:5). The antinomian context of these practices, regarded as inappropriate for orthodox Brahmins, had as its purpose the imitation of the conduct of Śiva by enacting his deeds. For instance, in the *Anuśāsanaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* (13.14.84d), Śiva enacts all the conducts associated with the *unmattavrata* of the Pāśupatas mentioned in the *Pāśupatasūtra* 1.8. These behaviours were also meant to attract on the practitioner the label of a "madman" (*unmatta*) by the people, who would feel disgust on account of such a vivid transgression of social rules. This behavior 'inviting abuse' was believed to facilitate the "transfer of *karma*" (Ingalls 1962:293), as a result of which people would give the Pāśupata ascetic their good *karma* and take his bad *karma*. In the NTGS (3.30–33), "mad laugther" is part of the *gaṇavrata*, where a person conducting the Pāśupata observance imitates the *gaṇa*s of Śiva: "He dances, he sings, crazy, he laughs as he speaks, smeared with ashes, and wearing rags; this is the *gaṇavrata*" (*nṛtyate gāyate caiva unmatto hasate bruvan*/ *bhasmāṅgī cīravāsaś ca gaṇavratam idaṃ smṛtam*). This passage follows the description of the *śmaśānavrata* in the same text (3.28–29), where we learn: "Carrying a *khaṭvāṅga*, smeared with ashes, he should roam about in the cremation ground at night, this is said to be a cremation ground *vrata*" (*khaṭvāṅgī bhasmaguṇṭhitaḥ*/ *śmaśāne carate rātrau śmaśānavrata*[*ṃ*] *ucyate*). Similar association of the

description, but with additional Kāpālika elements, is repeated in Chapter Five of the VBhT (§49), where the *sādhaka* is instructed to be drawn "entering that cremation ground, while carrying a rattle-drum and a skull-staff, the top of their head adorned with a skull, laughing."

Tantric Buddhist deities are also often associated with the "mad laughter". In the *Laghuśaṃvara* (2.15–16), we find the main deity to be installed in the *maṇḍala* is referred to as *vīraṃ mahābhairavabhīṣaṇam*, "Vīra who is the most frightening terrible", who is also the "great roar of mad laughter" (*aṭṭahāsamahāravaṃ*).[467] Mañjuśrī in his form of Vajrabhairava is described in the MNS through several appellations linked to "mad laughter" (see Wayman 1985:83). Also, Yamāntaka is described as "the one who produces the mad laughter (*aṭṭahāsanādine*) as reported in the Yamāntaka-mantra attested in the GS (14.9–11) and MMK (52.28, p. 450).[468] This appellation is preceded by the phrase "he causes fear to all the demons" (*sarvabhūtabhayaṅkara*). The reason to translate *sarvabhūta* as 'all demons' rather than 'all beings' depends on the role that *aṭṭahāsa* assumes in tantric traditions, namely subjugation of demonic and other dangerous beings. This is attested in the *Brahmayāmalatantra*, where the practice of mad laughter is associated with the subjugation of *bhūta*s, *rākṣasa*s, and *śākinī*s, often residing in the cremation grounds, thus betraying an association with the early exorcistic, pre-

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aṭṭahāsa with *gaṇavrata* is given in the *Niśvāsamukha* (1.166–1.167b) where "playing of the lute (*tantrīvādya*), bellowing (*huḍukkāra*), dancing (*nṛtya*), performing the mouth-sound (*mukhavādya*) and boisterously laughing (*aṭṭahāsa*) confer the status of *gaṇa*" (Acri 2018:6).

[467] See Sanderson (2009:204).

[468] The Yamāntaka-mantra given in both of these texts reads as follows: *om kha kha khāhi khāhi duṣṭasattvadamaka asimusalapāśaparaśuhasta caturbhuja caturmukha ṣaṭcaraṇa (ā)gaccha (ā)gaccha mahāvighnaghātaka vikṛtānana sarvabhūtabhayaṅkara aṭṭahāsanādine vyāghracarmanivasana kuru kuru sarvakarmāṃ cchinda cchinda sarvamantrāṃ ākarṣākarṣaya sarvabhūtāṃ nirmatha nirmatha sarvaduṣṭāṃ praveśaya praveśaya maṇḍalamadhye vaivasvatajīvitāntakara kuru kuru mama kāryaṃ daha daha paca paca mā vilamba mā vilamba samayamanusmara hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ sphoṭaya sphoṭaya sarvāśāpāripūraka he bhagavaṃ kiṃ cirāyasi mama sarvārthaṃ sādhaya svāhā* "Oṃ devour, devour, devour, devour, tamer of (all) criminal beings, with sword, pestle, noose and axe in the hands, four-armed, four-faced, six-footed, come, come, destroyer of major obstacles, hideous-one, (you) who cause fear to all demons, (you) who produce mad laughter (*aṭṭahāsa*), (you) who wear tiger's skin, do, do, all the acts of sorcery (*karma*), break, break all the mantras, attract, attract all the demons, crush, crush all the criminals, make them enter the centre of the *maṇḍala*, (you, who are) the ender of the life of death (Vaivasvata=Yama), do, do my work, burn, burn, roast, roast, do not delay, do not delay, remember the vow, *hūṃ hūm, phaṭ phaṭ*, rend asunder, rend asunder, (you) who fulfil all (wishes), O Lord, why do you tatter? Accomplish all things for me, *svāhā*."

Mantramārgic tradition that survived both in Śaiva and Buddhist tantras.[469] The *Brahmayāmalatantra* (87.119cd) says: "The learned one should stick his tongue out (*jihvāṃ lālayet*), wiggle it about and make a sound 'ha ha' (*hāhākāraṃ tu kārayet*); by these sounds all *guhyaka*s, *rākṣasa*s, etc. are destroyed. As soon as they see him, they come under his power, the *bhūta*s along with the *śākinī*s come under his power".[470] The *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* (7.20) contains a very similar passage describing the *karālamudrā*: "He puts his tongue in and out, wrists it around and utters the sound 'ha ha'" (*jihvāṃ lālayet mantrī hāhākāram ca kārayet*).[471] The third *ṣaṭka* of the *Yoginīsaṃcāra* section of the *Jayadrathayāmala* (9.181) describing the *vaktramudrā* says that the sound 'ha ha' should be repeated eight times: "He should move his tongue at a speed, while uttering a 'ha ha' sound" (*jihvā viloḍayet śeṣāṅguṣṭhamātrātā hāhākāraṃ tataḥ kuru*). The fourth *ṣaṭka* of the same text (4.2.588) in a passage on *daṃṣṭramudrā* gives a similar description: "He should move his tongue at a speed, while uttering a 'ha ha' sound. He should let out a terrifying laughter eight times" (*jihvaṃ sañcarayet vegāt, hāhākāraṃ samundanam*/ *aṭṭahāsaṃ nadet ghoram* […]). In accord with the *Jayadrathayāmala*, the VBhT's commentators agree that "*hāhākāra*" the *sādhaka* has to

[469] The textual evidence of 'laughter' as the conduct associated with exorcistic practices, i.e., subduing of the demons, is attested outside of the tantric tradition in the *Devīmāhātmya* (circa 5th–6th century, Kinsley 1978:490), a popular Purāṇic text that is considered to be a part of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa*. This text, which Coburn (1991) believes to have been derived from non-Āryan traditions, had exerted considerable influence upon the "subjugation of the Maheśvara myth" narrated in the STTS as argued by Iyanaga (1985) and Linrothe (1999). Minutes before the epic battle of the goddess Durgā with the demons (*asura*s) begins, the form of Caṇḍikā appears "bellowing with laughter again and again" (*Devīmāhātmya* 2.31, Coburn 1991:42); as a result of this, "the entire atmosphere is filled with her terrible noise" (*ibid.*), oceans and earth begin to tremble, etc. In another passage (8.37, Coburn 1991:66), we learn that demons are shattered by the cruel laughter of Śivadūtī, and fall on the ground as she gobbles them up. The function of 'laughter' is to create terror, heralding, as it were, the upcoming havoc, and to destroy the demons. Similarly, when the *śakti* Caṇḍikā emerges from the body of the goddess Durgā, she is described as "gruesome and yelping like a hundred jackals" (2.31, Coburn 1991:64). For the importance of the jackal's cry in tantric traditions, see, fn. 477 below.

[470] BY 87.119cd-20: *jihvāṃ* [em. Sanderson, *jihvā* ms.] *tu lālayet prajño* [em. Sanderson; *prajñā* ms.] *hāhākāraṃ* [em. Sanderson; *hāhākāran* ms.] *tu kārayet*/ *tasya śabdena naśyante guhyakā rakṣasādayaḥ*/ *dṛṣṭvā tu vaśam āyānti bhūtāḥ śākinibhiḥ saha*/ I thank Prof. Alexis Sanderson for this reference.

[471] Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka*, a text that presents itself as a commentary on the *Mālinīvijayottara*, records two instances of mad laughter: "Let him move his tongue in and out and do the sound 'ha ha'" (*jihvāṃ ca lālayet mantrī hāhākāraṃ ca kārayet*, 32.15); "Having pulled out his mouth and sticking his tongue out, the mantra-master should make a 'ha ha' sound" (*vidāryāsyaṃ sajihvaṃ ca hāhākāraṃ tu kārayet,* 32.28).

let out upon the entry into the *maṇḍala*/cremation ground denotes the eight types of laughter. In addition, *Kṛṣṇācārya says that the *sādhaka* should do the eight types of laughter, "ha, hi", etc. in order to remove impediments.[472] The Tibetan tradition[473] also accounts for the eight types of laughter, which are: 1) threatening laughter 'ha ha' (*sdigs pa'i gad mo ha ha*) 2), joyful laughter 'he he' (*dgyes pa'i gad mo he he*), 3) enticing laughter 'hi hi' (*sgeg pa'i gad mo hi hi*), 4) subjugating laughter 'ho ho' (*zil gyis gnon pa'i gad mo ho ho*). That *hāhākāra* is linked to the subjugation of demons is preserved in the Tibetan tradition. In the myth section on the origins of the deity Vajrabhairava preserved in the Tibetan canon (Siklós 1996:64), we read that Vajrabhairava "overpowered the great *māra* (*bdud*) by roaring "Ha ha hi hi".[474]

According to Alexis Sanderson[475] most of the tantric Buddhist mantras containing the characteristic string of *ha*, *he*, *hi* syllables placed in the middle derive from early exorcistic tradition that infiltrated into Śaivism, and were later passed to tantric Buddhism. The early Śaiva text *Niśisaṃcāra*, which survives in a Nepalese palm-leaf manuscript, gives plenty examples of such combinations. For example, the mantra used for the preparation of the skull-seat (*kapalāsānamantra*) has a characteristic string of 'laughing' syllables embedded within the main mantra: *Oṃ hrīṃ hūṃ he ha phaṭ.* Similarly, the mantra used for pleasing the spirits (*toṣaṇamantra*), used universally in the exorcistic rituals, has a similar form: *Ha ha ha hā hi hi hu hu he he ha ho hau hang haḥ.* The scriptures of tantric Buddhism,[476] especially those belonging to the *yoginītantra*s, provide similar examples, e.g. Ānandagarbha's *Vajrajvālodayā*, which is based upon the *Sarvabuddhasamāyoga,* gives the following heart-mantra (*hṛdayamantra*) of Heruka: *Ha ha ha hā rulu rulu hung*. The common mantra (*samanyamantra*) of the same deity is: *Ha ha ha hā rulu rulu hūṃ.*

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[472] For the Tibetan text, see, fn. 1510, p. 409 in Appendix 3 of this thesis.

[473] *Tibetan-English Buddhist Dictionary*, p. 249, quoted also in Siklós (1996:38 f. 64) as four types of heroic laughter (*vīrahasya*).

[474] The same is conveyed in the Vajrabhairava origins' myth narrated by A mes zhabs when Vajrabhairava arrives to the fourteen *sādhana* places and, uttering "ha ha", he bounds under oath different beings: see p. 110 of this thesis.

[475] Prof. Alexis Sanderson (in private conversation).

[476] In the STTS, there are plenty examples of mantras that contain "laughing syllables", e.g., *vajrasūkṣmakrodhamahāsakrodha ha ha ha ha hūṃ phaṭ* (STTS, p. 227, line 6), *oṃ vajrāṭṭahāsani hasa hasāṭṭāṭṭahāsena* [*māraya jiḥ*] (STTS p. 215, line 1), *oṃ padmāṭṭahāsaikadaśamukha haḥ haḥ haḥ haḥ huṃ* (STTS p. 323, line 14), etc.

The use of laughter to summon and control spirits residing in cremation grounds evident both in the *sādhana*s described in Śaiva and Buddhist tantras, as quoted above, and in the ritual employment of the mantras, is ideologically linked to the entire range of tantric concepts and teachings predicated on the accumulation and control of transgressive power. The tantric texts employed also a number of other techniques that served similar purposes, such as the jackal's cry,[477] which reflects the same symbolism of inauspiciousness and transgression that is paramount to the success of tantric *sādhana*.

4.2. The Accomplishment of All Magical Recipes (§11–37)

Chapter Two of the VBhT is entirely dedicated to the exposition of different magical recipes that fall under the category of wrathful rites (*abhicāra*). Alongside the standard list of the six rites (*ṣaṭkarmāṇi*), the text also discusses less common *abhicāra* procedures, such as chopping off the limps of a target, inducing madness that leads to death, and causing fever. The explanation on the magical recipes and a range of tools and substances used in the VBhT in the wider context of early tantric magic has been examined in Chapter Three of this thesis. Here, I would like to limit the discussion only to the implementation of the tantric device of *yantra*/*cakra* used in the VBhT.

[477] Paralleling the praxis of laughter is the sounding of a jackal-cry performed by the *sādhaka* during his mantra-*sādhana*. The jackal's cry reflects the symbolism of inauspicious that augurs misfortune, reference to which is found already in the *Atharvaveda* (Ohnuma 2019:3). In the *Mānavadharmaśāstra* (4.115), it is prescribed that Brahmins should not recite the Vedas when the jackal howls (Taylor 2007:57). Jackals are distinctively associated with cremation grounds and necrophagy, and they participate in the symbolism of impurity together with crows, dogs, and vultures (Ohnuma 2019:2). The association of the jackal with transgression and inauspiciousness is perhaps the reason why his cry was adopted in the *sādhana* delineated in the *Brahmayāmalatantra*, where we find the following description (46.3–4ab): "The heroic *sādhaka* who has mastered the tantra, who is established in the *mahāvrata* body should enter the great wilderness (i.e., the cremation ground) after adopting the aforesaid installation of the mantras. Letting loose the cry of a jackal, facing Bhairava […], [he should begin the ritual]" *tantrajño* [em.; *tantrajñānaḥ* ed.] *sādhako* [em.; *sādhakaḥ* ed.] *vīraḥ mahāvratatanusthitaḥ*/ *pūrvvokta-nyāsayogena praviśeta mahāvanaṃ*// *śivārāvaṃ pramuñcanto bhairavābhimukhasthitaḥ*/. In 46.38cd–39ab we come across a similar passage: "Having worshipped them [the goddesses] according to the ritual procedure, he should then, rattle his *ḍamaru,* and he should make the jackal-calls" *evaṃ pūjya yathānyāyaṃ pūrvvokavidhicoditaṃ*// *ḍamarukaṃ vādayet paścāc chivārāvāṃ pramuñcatāṃ*/

4.2.1. *Yantra/Cakra*

A *yantra*,[478] also called *cakra,* is an instrument or a magical device, etymologically derived from the Sanskrit root √*yam*, meaning 'to control'. A *yantra* is a small, usually geometric diagram[479] with inscribed seed-syllables and mantras. Bühnemann (2003:3) defines *yantra* as a "magic diagram" and distinguishes three roles played by these magical devices in tantric traditions. According to her classification, *yantra*s 1) establish a foundation for a temple or a deity; 2) are used for worship; 3) are employed in the desire-oriented rituals performed on special occasions. In accordance with this taxonomy, *yantra*s employed in the VBhT would fall into the third category. As Kiss (2014:152) points outs, in the *Picumata-Brahmayāmalatantra* (fifth *paṭala*), *yantra*s seem to refer to magical rituals in general and they are mainly used for accomplishing black magic, such as the death of an enemy. This function of *yantra*s certainly captures the essence played by *yantra*s in the VBhT. Not invariably, however, *yantra*s facilitate the performance of aggressive magic. Bühnemann (2003:28) shows that in Kaula texts, *yantra*s can also have protective function.[480]

The VBhT employs only one, sixteen-segmented *yantra* for all aggressive rites (§13). Unlike the *maṇḍala*, the *yantra* is mobile and, depending on the nature of the *karma*, it is employed in various ways by being buried in the cremation ground, under the threshold of the target's house, under the fire-earth, near a solitary *liṅga*, etc., for such purposes as seizing the enemy with fever, killing the enemy, causing dissension, etc. The substances as well as the substratum on which the *yantra* is drawn vary, but these variations do not depend on the nature of the rite. For example, for the rite of *māraṇa*, two different procedures are given which employ different substances and bases. The most common substances for drawing the *yantra* are poison (*viṣa*), blood (*rudhira*), salt

[478] Among the most compelling scholarship on *yantra*s in tantric traditions we find Bühnemann (2003); Rastelli (2003), Brunner (2003), who discuss *yantra*s in Pāñcarātra and Śaivasiddhānta; Kiss (2014) for *yantra*s in early Śaiva tantras, and Kuranishi (2013) for *yantra*s in *Yamāritantra*s. For *yantra*s as war-machines, see Brockington (1998) and Raghavan (1952).

[479] Kiss (2014:54) shows that in the *Brahmayāmala* (*paṭala*s 5 and 45), *yantra*s are mostly devoid of geometric desings.

[480] *Kulārṇavatantra* 17.61 (quoted in Bühnemann 2003:28): *yamabhūtādisavebhyo bhayebhyo 'pi kuleśvari*/ *trāyate satatam caiva tasmād yantram itīritam*// "O mistress of the Kula, because it protects always from absolutely all dangers, such as Yama and evil spirits, therefore it is called *yantra.*"

(*lavaṇa*), *rājikā*, *nimba*, a juice of thorn-apple (*dhatura*), and charcoal of the cremation ground (*cityaṅgāra*). Among the less common substances are saffron (*kuṅkuma*), yellow orpiment (*gorocanā*), blood from a ring finger (*anāmikārakta*), orpiment (*haritala*), and turmeric (*haridra*). Concerning the substratum, the root-text says that the *yantra* should be drawn on a rag of the cremation ground (*śmaśānakarpaṭa*), with a banner cloth (*dhvajakarpaṭa*), a strip of any cloth (*karpaṭa*), a slab of a stone (*śilāpaṭṭa*), a birch bark (*bhurja*), or—somewhat less commonly—a skull (*kapāla*). Some of the commentators develop this topic further by giving sophisticated list of *yantra*-bases specific to the nature of the intended rite. According to *Śoṇaśrī and *Vajrasiddha:

> For killing (*māraṇa*), one should draw the *yantra* on the fire-disc in the belly of Yama.
> For driving away (*uccāṭana*), on a wind-disc placed on camel's back.
> For paralysis (*stambhana*), one should place the *yantra* in the middle of mount Meru adorned with eight peaks.[481]
> For subjecting to one's own will (*vaśīkaraṇa*), one should draw *dharmodayā*,[482] the inverted triangle of a woman (i.e., the vagina).
> For summoning (*ākarṣana*), one draws the *yantra* on the back of the lion, which has eight feet (the mythical creature *śarabhā*).
> For pacification (*śāntika*), [one draws the *yantra*] into the moon.
> For increase (*pauṣṭika*), [one draws the *yantra*] into a yellow moon.
> For separation (*vidveṣaṇa*), [one draws the *yantra*] onto the heart of a fighting water buffalo and a horse.
> For stupefaction, [one draws the *yantra*] onto the heart of a goat. [483]

*Kṛṣṇācārya discusses only a few *yantra*-bases and says that in case of *māraṇa*, one should draw a cremation ground; for *uccāṭana*, one should draw a *cakra* on the back of a

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[481] For the explanation of mount Meru with eight peaks in tantric Buddhist *sādhana* literature, see English 2012:146–147.

[482] For the vagina-drawings that summon a person from a long distance in the NTGS, see, fn. 398, p. 168 of this thesis. A similar recipe is given in the *Saṃvarodaya* (19.13): "[The practiser,] drawing a *bhaga* with red chalk of golden colour and putting the left hand on it, should recite [the mantra] eight hundred times. The man, whose name [the practiser] pronounces while reciting the mantra, will arrive at the very moment" (trans. Tsuda 1970:302)

[483] *Śoṇaśrī's *pañjikā*, pp. 397–8: *bsad pa la gshin rje'i lto bar gnas pa'i me'i dkyil 'khor du 'khor lo bri'o/ dgar ba la ni rnga mo'i rgyab tu gnas pa'i rlung gi dkyil 'khor la'o/ rengs pa la ri rab zur brgyad pas nye bar mdzes pa'i dbus so/ dbang du bya ba la bud med kyi chos kyi 'byung gnas kyi nang du'o/ dgug pa la rkang pa brgyad pa'i seng ge'i rgyab tu'o/ zhi ba la zla ba'o/ rgyas pa la zla ba ser po'o/ dbye ba la ma he dang rta'i snying gar ro/ lkugs par bya ba la ra'i snying gar ro/*. *Kṛṣṇācārya's *pañjikā*, p. 450: *de yang gsad pa ni dur khrod nyid/ bskrad pa ni rnga mo'i gzugs rgyab tu 'khor lo can bris pa la rlung gi 'khor lo dang 'og gi bya ba dang ldan par skrod par 'gyur ro/*. *Kṛṣṇācārya's *pañjikā*, p. 451: *gzhung man ngag gis zhi ba la/ dbus kyi ya dbyi ba dang/ zla ba'i dkyil 'khor la bsgrub bya gzhag par bya'o/ rgyas pa la zla ba ser po la bzhag pa dang 'khor lo la rab gnas bya ba'o/*.

camel and also a wind-*cakra* under the camel. Furthermore, *Kṛṣṇācārya recalls the authority of the oral traditions saying that in case of *śānti-karma*, one should erase the central YA (in the *yantra*-drawing) and place the *sādhya* on the moon-disc. In case of *puṣṭi*, however, one should place the *sādhya* on the yellow moon and one should perform the *pratiṣṭhā* ceremony for the *yantra*/*cakra.*

As for the writing instruments by which the *yantra* is drawn, the root-text mentions a feather of a big crow or, alternatively, a pen. Since the root-text and all the commentaries, except for *Akṣobhya's, do not give any instructions regarding the drawing of the sixteen-segmented *yantra*, my reconstruction of the Vajrabhairava-*yantra* that follows is based entirely on *Akṣobhya's *pañjikā.*

4.2.2. Drawing the *yantra*

The drawing of the Vajrabhairava-*yantra* begins with outlining the three perimeters placed one inside the other. The outer perimeter has sixteen compartments and that is the reason why the root text calls the Vajrabhairava-*yantra* "the sixteen-segmented [*yantra*]" (*ṣoḍaśakoṣṭhaka*, *ṣoḍaśacakra*). The intermediate perimeter has twelve compartments and the central one has eight, with the ninth in the centre, which is not counted. The drawing of the *yantra* begins with the central perimeter in accordance with the scriptural injunctions: "beginning with the southern direction, you set aside the perimeter with eight boxes."[484] Each compartment is allotted a specific mantra-letter or letters. In the outer perimeter with sixteen compartments, the ten-letter mantra of Yamāntaka, beginning with OṂ HRĪḤ should be deposited into eight compartments leaving every second box empty.[485] Since the mantra has ten letters and only eight compartments are to be utilised, the last three syllables ('tā', 'na', 'na') of the five-syllable word 'hideous one' (*vikṛtānana*) are deposited into one box. In the eight remaining compartments, one has to deposit all the *hūṃ* and *phaṭ* letters again according to the aforementioned procedure. In the intermediate perimeter with twelve compartments, one should deposit five letters:

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[484] *'di skad bstan te/ lho nas brtsam pa'i re'u mig brgyad bar du dor ba la/*. *Akṣobhya's *pañjikā*, p. 374.

[485] *Akṣobhya seems to refer to the more common version of the Yamāntaka mantra: *Oṃ hrīḥ ṣṭrīḥ vikṛtānana hūṃ phaṭ,* while the extraction of the mantra procedure (*mantroddhāra*) given in Chapter Three gives a variant of this mantra as: *Hrīḥ ṣṭrīḥ vikṛtānana oṃ hūṃ phaṭ*. For the discussion of the different variants of this mantra, see below.

YA, in the centre; MA, in the south; ME in the west; DA in the north, KṢE in the east. Each of these letters symbolise afflictive emotions that are represented by corresponding deities. The letter 'ya' in the middle stands for 'hatred' (*dveṣa*) and Vajrabhairava;[486] 'ma' in the south stands for misery (*piśuna*) and Yama; 'me' in the west stands for attachment (*rāga*) represented by Attachment-Yamāntaka; 'da' in the north stands for envy (*īrṣyā*) represented by Jealousy-Yamāntaka; 'kṣe' in the east stands for ignorance (*moha*) represented by Ignorance-Yamāntaka. These five[487] have to be imagined as conjoined with the letter MA in the central perimeter. Besides the letter MA, the twelve letters RĀ JĀ SA DO RU NA YO NI RĀ YA CCA NI of the root-mantra seem to be deposited in the central perimeter with eight compartments.[488] However, no instructions are given about how to do it.[489] They represent the four Yamāntaka gatekeepers stationed at the eastern, southern, western, and northern gates and holding a hammer, a stick, a lotus, a sword, the four goddesses, and the four *kapāla*s.[490] Then, the letter HŪṂ has to be placed in the four corners of the central and intermediate perimeter (see Fig. 12).[491]

Even though the seed-syllables and the correspondence of the seed-syllables with the deities in the Vajrabhairava-*yantra* to some extent match[492] the classification of the

[486] For the explanation, see, p. 223 below.
[487] These five letters are the seed-syllables of the five main Yamāris installed in the *Kṛṣṇayamāri-maṇḍala* (Kuranishi 2013:273).
[488] *Akṣobhya's *pañjikā*, pp. 374–375; for the Tibetan text, see Appendix 1, p. 333.
[489] I have reconstructed the locations of the twelve letters in the *yantra*-drawing based on the exegetical literature (see p. 214).
[490] These are also the seed-syllables of the *yoginī*s, the four *kapāla*s, and the gate-keepers of the Kṛṣṇayamāri system (see Kuranishi 2013:273).
[491] *de ltar dbus su re'u mig cha bzhi mtshams su gnas pa de dag la ci zhig bri bar bya zhe na/ de'i phyir yi ge huṃ brgyad bri'o/ zhes bya ba gsungs te/ 'di ltar mtshams re rer/*. *Akṣobhya's *pañjikā*, p. 375.
[492] In the *Ratnavalīpañjikā* (ed. pp. 46–47, see Kuranishi 2013:273, ff. 34), we find the same five seed-syllables: 'ya', 'me', 'kṣe', 'ma', 'da', along with the identical locations and corresponding emotions they embody as those attested in the exegetical literature of VBhT, but these five are not called in the VBhT the five main Yamāris. The twelve syllables of the Kṛṣṇayamāri-*yantra* also match those in the VBhT, but the sequence is somewhat different: in the Kṛṣṇayamāri-*yantra* the sequence begins with the three syllables YA CCA NI and these appear last in the Vajrabhairava-*yantra*. Nevertheless, the correspondence between the twelve seed syllables and the respective deities again match those given in the Kṛṣṇayamāri tradition (see Kuranishi 2013:273). Also, the *mūlamantra* of the Kṛṣṇayamāri system, *oṃ hrīḥ ṣṭrīḥ vikṛtānana hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā* (Kuranishi 2013:274), in the VBhT's mantra-system it is actually called the 'action mantra'. The above mantra slightly differs from the ten-syllable action mantra extracted in Chapter Three of

Kṛṣṇayamāri-*yantra* delineated in the *Ratnāvalīpañjikā* and *Sahajālokapañjikā* (Kuranishi 2013:272–275), there are also discrepancies not only with regard to the placement of the letters within the compartments, but also to the arrangement of the letters, which do not exactly match. It is impossible to determine whether the discrepancies occur due to corruption of the Tibetan translation of *Akṣobhya's *pañjikā*, or whether these two *yantra*s represent two different, albeit similar, traditions. *Kṛṣṇācārya, the latest of all the commentators, seems to believe that the Vajrabhairava-*yantra* is based on the Kṛṣṇayamāri tradition. He explains it as follows:

> "Sixteen-segmented [*yantra*]" [means]: just like in the *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra*, on the outer perimeter, one should place the action-mantra (*karmamantra*); in the cardinal and intermediate directions and in between them, one should put the name of the target; in the twelve [intermediate] compartments, in the four cardinal compartments and the middle, one should place the syllables of the root-mantra, which are seventeen; and in the middle one should include the name of the *sādhya*, with four MI *akṣara*s (possibly ME, meaning fire *akṣara*s).[493] And with the *karmamantra*, in such places as the head, heart, etc., one should also deposit eight *hūṃ*s and *phaṭ*s beginning with the head, placing them in the south and in the intermediate directions. According to the oral instruction, the *yantra* into which this is inscribed is blazing together with the places of the deities.[494]

Regardless of what *Kṛṣṇācārya says, the Vajrabhairava-*yantra* described by him (see Fig. 13) does not bear much resemblance to the standard Kṛṣṇayamāri-*yantra* discussed by Kuranishi (2013:276). Thus, despite the shared ritual system unified by the apparent aspects of the older religious substratum that goes back to the *yamarājaśloka* (see below), the Vajrabhairava and Kṛṣṇayamāri traditions maintain distinctive and separate identities. Furthermore, the *yantra* described by *Kṛṣṇācārya also differs in significant ways from the *yantra*-drawing elaborated by *Akṣobhya (see Fig. 12). These variations indicate that despite the employment of the same ritual "software"—the same mantras inscribed onto

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the VBhT (see below) and in *Akṣobhya's version of the same (see p. 210) in that it has fourteen and not ten syllables.

[493] In the explanation of customisation (see below), the name of the *sādhya* has to be enclosed within the fire letters, which means either RA-the *bīja* of fire, or PHAṬ. It is likely that the appearance of MI *akṣara*s in *Kṛṣṇācārya's commentary is a corruption of ME, which means 'fire' in Tibetan.

[494] *Kṛṣṇācārya's *pañjikā*, p. 449. For the Tibetan text, see Appendix 1, p. 334.

the *yantra*—their customisation[495] or, in other words, their particular arrangement inside the *yantra*-perimeters was far from being formalised.

4.2.3. Customising (*vidarbhaṇa*) the *yantra*

The concept of *vidarbhaṇa* refers to the particular rule of ordering of the mantra that appears both in Śaiva and Buddhist traditions. For example, the *Svacchandatantra* (9.62ab) gives the following definition of this term: *śikhyāhvena tu deveśi sādhyanāma vidarbhayet* ("One should customise the name of the target, O Empress of the gods, with the mantra called *śikhī*"). Kṣemarāja's commentary glosses *vidarbhayet* as follows: *vidarbhayed iti abhideyaṃ bhavet pūrvaṃ tato mantraṃ sakṛt bhavet*, "'One should customise [the name of the target]' [means, following the rule stated in another tantra] 'first the name, then the mantra.'" Kṣemarāja's commentary on the *Netratantra* quotes the same definition of *vidarbhaṇa*.[496] In the VBhT, the base of the *yantra* has to be customised with the name of the target (*sādhya*). However here, unlike in the *Svacchandatantra*, the name of the target has to be placed not after the mantra, but in between the two fire-syllables. In this regard, the definition of what constitutes the two fire letters, mentioned in the root-text, varies across the commentators. For *Śoṇaśrī, it means between the two letters RA, for *Akṣobhya, between the two letters PHAṬ.[497] Taking the example of the *māraṇa*, *Akṣobhya specifies this as follows: "if someone asks how to customise the name of the target, it is said PHAṬ AMUKAṂ [name]

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[495] In this regard, *Kṛṣṇācārya explains that *vidarbhaṇa* refers to the three-fold process, namely: 1) to the customisation of the seventeen-syllable *mantra* in the *yantra*-drawing, 2) to the order to *mantra*-recitation, and 3) to the customisation of the name of the *sādhya* (see below). "Vidarbhya" (Tib. *spel te* with 'te' reproducing Sanskrit absolutive), "customising" [means] "one should take previously taught seventeen-syllable *mantra* and customise it, this is how it should be written, also [*vidarbhya*] means [customising the name of the target] by writing *māraya phaṭ* and *uccāṭaya* and *vidveṣaya*. Also [customisation] applies to the recitation [of the *mantra*], which will be taught later (*spel te sngags yi ge rnams dgod par bya zhes pa ni/ sngon du bstan pa'i bcu bdun po de yang mā ra ya phat dang ucca ta ya dang/ vi dve sha ya dang spel te bri ba dang/ phyis bzlas pa dang yang 'brel to*), *Kṛṣṇācārya's *pañjikā*, p. 450

[496] The *Netratantra* (18.10–11) lists eleven modes of mantra, one of whose *mantravāda* system is *vidarbhaṇa*. This is further explained in Kṣemarāja's commentary on the *Netratantra*.

[497] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 396) says that the name of the *sādhya* should be put between the two fire-letters, i.e. RA (*me gnyis kyi dbus su zhes bya ba ni me ni ra yig go*). *Akṣobhya ascribes to the same tradition as *Śoṇaśrī, in which the name of the *sādhya* should be put in between the two fire-letters, but says that the fire-letter is the PHAṬ, because it is similar to fire (see above).

MĀRAYA (kill!) PHAṬ."[498] This particular procedure of customisation does not seem to be consistent across Buddhist tantras. *Akṣobhya refers to the fact that some other tantras teach that the name of the target should be placed in between the letters ṬA and PHAṬ.[499]

In the second type of *vidarbhaṇa*, one places the name of the target in between the two HŪṂs, as follows: HŪṂ AMUKAṂ MĀRAYA HŪṂ in the way in which the eight HŪṂs at the corners of the intermediate perimeter enclose the name of the target (see Fig. 13). These two techniques of *vidarbhaṇa* are used for all aggressive rites.[500] The difference lies only in the imperative form of the verb denoting the nature of the rite. For example, if the *mantrin* wants to drive a person away, he substitutes the imperative form 'to kill' (*māraya*) with the imperative form 'to drive away' (*uccāṭaya*), etc. As for the rules of erasing the *yantra*, *Śoṇaśrī seems to be quoting, without attribution, the passage from the *Sahajālokapañjikā*: "In order to achieve pacification when it comes to erasing the *yantra*, first erase the final YA, then the two NIs, and after that, the central YA. As for the remaining letters, [do] as you wish".[501]

Fig. 12. Sixteen-segmented *yantra* according to *Akṣobhya's *pañjikā*[502]

OṂ	Hūṃ Phaṭ		HRĪḤ	Hūṃ Phaṭ		SṬRĪḤ
Hūṃ Phaṭ	**HŪṂ**	**HŪṂ** DO	DA RĀ	**HŪṂ** **HŪṂ** RU		Hūṃ Phaṭ
PHAṬ	ME	NI	YA MA	NA	KṢE	VI
Hūṃ Phaṭ	**HŪṂ**	SA **HŪṂ**	YO MA	JĀ **HŪṂ**	**HŪṂ**	Hūṃ Phaṭ

[498] *me gnyis kyi dbus su bsgrub bya'i ming smos shing zhes bya ba la/ me ni yi ge phat yin te/ me dang 'dra ba'i phyir ni sreg pa mthar ni gzhan zhes gzhan las bstan to/ ji ltar smos she na phat a mu kam mā ra ya phat ces so/*. *Akṣobhya's *pañjikā*, p. 374.
[499] *rgyud gzhan las ṭa dang pha'i bar du ming bcug ste zhes gsungs pa nyid 'dir me gnyis kyi dbus su bsgrub bya'i ming smos pa'o zhes gzhan kha cig 'dod do/*. *Akṣobhya's *pañjikā*, p. 374.
[500] In the *pauṣṭika*, the two HŪṂs are used instead.
[501] *zhi bar bya ba'i phyir 'khor lo dbyi ba la dang por mtha'i yi ge ya/ dbyi byin dang ni gnyi ga dang/ phyis nas dbus kyi ye ge ya/ yi ge lhag ma ci bde bar/*. *Śoṇaśrī's *pañjikā*, p. 398.
[502] Note the absence of the syllables RĀ YA CCA NI, which cannot be fitted in the central perimeter because there are only 8 *koṣṭha*s whereas we need to place 12 syllables.

HŪṂ	Hūṃ Phaṭ	TĀ NA NA	Hūṃ Phaṭ	KṚ

Fig. 13. Customised *yantra* according to *Kṛṣṇācārya's *pañjikā*

OṂ	name **HŪṂ** **PHAṬ**	HRĪḤ	name **HŪṂ** **PHAṬ**	STRĪḤ
name **HŪṂ** **PHAṬ**	YA DO **ME** **name**	KṢE RU	MA **ME** **name**	ME name **HŪṂ** **PHAṬ**
PHAṬ	SA NI	RA	NA	DA VI
name **HŪṂ** **PHAṬ**	JA **ME** **name** RA	YO NI	**ME** **name** CCA	**YA** name **HŪṂ** **PHAṬ**
ḤŪṂ	name **HŪṂ** **PHAṬ**	TĀ NA NA **HŪṂ** **PHAṬ**	name **HŪṂ** **PHAṬ**	KṚ

4.3. Mantra System (§38–41)

Chapter Three of the VBhT is dedicated to the extraction of the mantras. The mantra system expounded in the VBhT consists of three different mantras, i.e., 1) the thirty-two syllabled root-mantra, 2) the ten-syllabled action-mantra, and 3) the heart-mantra. All these mantras are encrypted in the root-text and in order to decode them, one has to follow the Śaiva method of encrypting the mantras known as *mantroddhāra*.

The earliest instance of the *mantroddhāra* procedure adopted by the Buddhist tantras appears in the *Sarvakalpasamuccaya*, the supplementary proto-*yoginītantra* of the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākiṇījālasaṃvara* (Sanderson 2009:154). According to the Śaiva

understanding of the rite of *mantroddhāra*, each mantra must ritually come forth from the sonic matrix of all the letters, the *mātṛkā* (Padoux 1992).

In the VBhT, the *mantroddhāra* takes place in a purified place, which *Akṣobhya glosses as "a solitary place" (see p. 429). First of all, the mantra-master has to draw the forty-nine letters of the Sanskrit syllabary on a solid, mud floor, which is smooth and previously anointed with fragrance.[503] *Kṛṣṇācārya (see p. 430) also mentions the performance of *pūjā* prior to the commencement of a drawing. Then, one can begin to draw the syllabary using a piece of chalk (*khaṭika*).[504] The letters have to be drawn in the following order: gutturals and palatals, cerebrals and dentals, labials and semi-vowels, followed by sibilants and the aspirate 'HA'. When the letters assigned to each section are clearly drawn, one adds the vowels.[505] Then, the mantra-master extracts the specific mantra from the 'body' of the *mātṛkā,* letter by letter, either by writing the mantra letters down or by reciting them.[506] The *mantroddhāra* has to be performed by a *mantrin* with a fully concentrated mind (*susamāhita*); otherwise, the mantra will be ineffective or will cause an evil outcome. *Akṣobhya comments on the *susamāhita* imperative with the following words:

> Just like people who hold a sword, if he does not hold it properly, the hand will be cut off. In the same way, if one does not recite the mantra properly, there will be no result; moreover, the outcome will be unfortunate. In order to eliminate this situation taught in the verse, when one performs the extraction of the mantra, at that time, it is very bad to have the mind on something else, just like it is forbidden to defecate and urinate while bathing.[507]

The logic of this passage reminds of Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* (24.11),[508] where the wrongly recited mantra is compared to a snake being seized incorrectly, both of which bring destruction to the person concerned.[509]

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[503] See Appendix 3, p. 430, fn. 1632.
[504] See Appendix 3, p. 430, fn. 1634.
[505] *Ibid.*
[506] *Ibid.*
[507] For the Tibetan text, see Appendix 3, p. 437, fn. 1703.
[508] *vināśayati durdṛṣṭā śūnyatā mandamedhasam/ sarpo yathā durgṛhīto vidyā vā duṣprasādhitā//* "Emptiness misunderstood destroys the slow-witted, like a serpent wrongly held or a spell wrongly executed" (trans. Siderits and Katsura 2013:274).
[509] I thank P.D. Szántó for alerting me to this passage.

4.3.1. The Thirty-Two Syllabled Root-Mantra (§1–13)

The first mantra extracted through the *mantroddhāra* procedure is the thirty-two syllabled root-mantra of Vajrabhairava, known as the all-purpose mantra (*sarvakarmakaraḥ*). The mantra reads as follows:

yamarājā sadomeya yamedoru nayodaya
yadayoni[510] *ra yakṣe-ya yakṣe-ya cca nirāmaya*

The above thirty-two syllables are followed by the four *bīja*-mantras:

oṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ

The first thirty-two syllables, with different variants, are accepted as a more or less standard mantra of Yama-Yamāntaka, referred to as such in various Hindu and Buddhist tantras in the context of *abhicāra*.[511] The mantra is referred to in the Rāghavabhaṭṭa's commentary on the *Śāradātilaka* (18, p. 866, in Bühnemann 1991:315) as *yamarājaśloka* and it is also found (in various variants) in the Buddhist collection of hymns from Bali, which the editors called *yamarājastava*s (Goudriaan and Hooykaas 1971; Hooykaas 1973, in Bühnemann 1991:317). The first thirty-two syllables extracted from Chapter Three of the VBhT[512] almost exactly match the mantra of Yamāntaka referred to in the *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra* 1.6-13 (see Bühnemann 1991:316), with the variants *ni* (for *na*) in *yadayoni,*[513] and the second *kṣa* (for *kṣe*) in *yakṣa*; thus the same mantra seems to have been appropriated into the Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka traditions.

[510] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:38) has here "connecting it with the third vowel", which would give '*ni*'. This indeed seems to be the correct reading insofar that it is attested in other examples of the same mantra. However, the original Sanskrit reading with '*na*' may in fact be correct because *yadayona* forms an inverted pair with the preceeding *nayodaya*. For the explanation of this principle, see below.

[511] Bühnemann (1991:314–320) refers to the different variants of this mantra appearing in various Buddhist and Hindu tantras. For example, she refers to the Mantrapāda section (47.11) of the *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* (*Tantrapaddhati*), composed around the 11th–12th century, as citing the Yamāntaka mantra, which Dwivedi believes to have been borrowed from the *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra*. This mantra is also found in the *Tantrasārasaṃgraha* (17.9cd-10ab) and in Lakṣmaṇadeśika's *Śāradātilaka* (24.18), where it is employed in the *yantra* of Pretarāja, i.e. Yama, and in the texts citing the *Śāradātilaka*, such as the *Śrīvidyārṇavatantra.*

[512] Siklós (1996:38–39) did not attempt to extract the mantra.

[513] On the basis of the Tibetan witness of the VBhT, *yadayoni* seems to be also attested in the VBhT: see Appendix 3, p. 433, fn. 1660.

There are various interpretations regarding the alleged meaning of this mantra. Goudriaan and Hooykaas (1971:544, mentioned in Bühnemann 1991:318) think that the expression *yamarājasadomeya* refers to Yama's dog Sadomeya, which is an alternative of Sārameya (that happens to be the name of Yama's dog in Indian mythology), since one version of the mantra appearing in no. 942 of the Balinese hymns reads *yamarājasārameya*. Hooykaas (1964:67, mentioned in Bühnemann 1991:318) also suggested that the *sadomeya* comes from *sadodyama* "one who perpetually exerts himself", which seems unlikely. The most characteristic feature of the mantra is that some of the syllables are inverted forming pairs, e.g. *sadomeya* is the inverted *yamedoru* (the letters *sa* and *ra* look very similar in the *devanāgarī* script, thus the corruption may have easily occurred), *nayodaya* is the inverted *yadayona*, and the last word in the mantra, *niramāya,* is the female inversion (*yamarāni=yamarāṇī*) of the first word in the mantra, *yamarājā* (also mentioned by Hooykaas 1964:67 and referred to by Bühnemann 1991:318). This type of inverted syllables is known as *pratilomayamaka* in Indian poetics and following this scheme, Bühnemann (1991:319–320) has reconstructed the verse of the mantra and suggested an intelligent translation of it.

According to Bühnemann (1991:315), the thirty-two syllabled Yamāntaka-mantra adopted by the cult of Vajrabhairava is an example of Hindu borrowing of mantras from Buddhist sources. But the appropriation of this mantra by different sectarian traditions, including Śaiva sects, is also attested. The evidence for that is found in an Old Javanese text from West Java, which contains a fragment of a narrative called the *Bhīmasvarga*, where the *yamarāja*-mantra appears to be linked to the early Śaiva sect of the Pāśupatas.[514] In that narrative, Śiva, referred to as *Bhaṭāra Guru,* reproaches Bhīma (the wrathful version of himself, forming a coalition between the Epic hero Bhīma and Bhairava) who defeated Yama and destroyed the abode of gods ("heavens", *kadevātan*). *Bhaṭara Guru* thinks that Bhīma wants to become his equal and decides to teach him a lesson. After a lengthy dialogue, *Bhaṭāra Guru* recites a *śloka* called the "enigma to appease Kāla" (*cacaṅkriman panulak bhaṭāra kāla*), because Bhīma-Bhairava is Kāla. *Bhaṭara Guru* asks Bhīma about *Bhaṭara Guru*'s names linked to the cardinal directions,

[514] I thank A. Acri for alerting me to this source. An edition and Indonesian translation of the text has been published by Aditia Gunawan (2019).

their colours, and their mantras. In his reply, Bhīma answers: "you are in the east as Kuśika; in the south as Garga; in the west as Maitri; in the north as Kuruṣya and in the centre as Yamarāja".[515] Bhīma then recites the *yamārajastava* (Aditia Gunawan 2019: 234):

> *Oṃ yamarāja jaramaya, yamarāṇi niramaya,*
> *yamedoro rodomeya, yamedosa sadomeya*
> *yadayoda dayodaya, yadayoṇi niyodaya*
> *ya sirasih ya yasiha, yasi jaya jaya śiva*
> *Oṃ ya namo namaḥ svāha*

When Bhīma answers all the names correctly, *Bhaṭara Guru* merges with Bhīma and the text ends with a series of verses devoted to the five faces of Śiva and their respective mantras, known as the *pañcabrahmāmantra*s. Therefore, in the mantra recited by Bhīma, there are the names of the manifestations belonging to the category of Pañcakuśikas: Kuśika, in the east, Garga, in the south, Maitri, in the west, and Kuruṣya, in the north; but the customary Pātañjala in the centre is substituted by Yamarāja. This suggests that the *yamarājaśloka* may be linked to a Pāśupata myth, because Kuśika, Garga, Maitri and Kuruṣya are the four disciples of Lakulīśa, which in Old Javanese sources is substituted by Pātañjala (see Acri 2014). Yamarāja is the most important part of this cycle as he is substituting Pātañjala, and the mantra is linked to the appeasement of Kāla, which is used to exorcise Bhīma from his demon-like nature in order to make him realise his divine nature. In the Sanskrit *stuti* from Bali no. 815 (Goudriaan and Hooykaas 1971:491–493; see also Hooykaas 1964:60–67) we find a separate instance of the *pāśupata*-mantra ending with the *yamārajastava*: *oṃ yama-rāja sado-meya, yame dorodayodaya, yada-yoni ra yakṣi-ya yakṣi, sañca niramaya.* In a version of the mantra, *sañca* is substituted by *pañca*,[516] and this could possibly refer to the number 'five', which could originally represent the *pañcabrahmāmantra*s, and the Pañcakuśikas.

[515] The names of the five Kuśikas and corresponding faces of Śiva have been reconstructed by Aditia Gunawan (2019:233).
[516] For the alternative reading of the *yamarājastava* with *pañca* instead of *sañca*, see Hooykaas 1964:63, 66; 1973:210; and Goudriaan and Hooykaas 1971, *stuti*s no. 815 and no. 941. *Stuti* 941 reads: *yamarāja sadomeya, yame rodo dayodaya, yadayoni sirapiya, yakṣi pañca nirāmaya/ yame dosa yame-doro, yada yoda yada yoni, yura kṣiya yakṣi yakṣi, yamarāja yamarāṇi.*

Insofar as the usage of this root-mantra in the VBhT is concerned, according to *Akṣobhya, it is to be used only for the *yantra* rituals.[517] When we look at the syllables with which the Vajrabhairava-*yantra* needs to be customised (see above, p. 211), we immediately recognise the seventeen syllables of the above root-mantra (Table 1). The letters in bold font indicate the seventeen syllables of the root-*mantra* that match the seventeen syllables to be inscribed into the Vajrabhairava-*yantra*.

Table 1: Vajrabhairava-*yantra* and the root-*mantra*

The seventeen syllables to be inscribed in the Vajrabhairava-*yantra*:	The root-mantra of Vajrabhairava
RAJA SADO RUNA YONI RAYA CCA NI	*yama**rājā sado**meya yamedo**ru** **na**yodaya* *yada**yoni***[518] ***ra ya**kṣe-ya yakṣe-ya **cca** **ni**rāmaya*
YA, in the middle	***ya**marājā*
MA, in the south	*ya**ma**rāja*
ME, in the west	*ya**me**doru*
DA, in the north	*nayo**da**ya*
KṢE, in the east	*ya**kṣe**-ya*

*Śoṇaśrī and *Vajrasiddha give almost identical list of the seventeen syllables (with the exception of one letter, i.e., 'ra' for 'me') while discussing the root-mantra of Vajrabhairava, and refer to them as the seventeen-syllabled mantra and not as the thirty-two syllabled mantra given above, which Siklós (1996:36) finds unclear. Siklós (*ibid*., ff. 52) further reinforces this confusion when he says that *Vajrasiddha gives an explanation of the seventeen syllables making up the root-mantra of Vajrabhairava when obviously he is not. *Śoṇaśrī and *Vajrasiddha take up only seventeen syllables of the root-mantra and refer to them as the *svabhāvaḥ* of the seventeen deities in the wisdom-*maṇḍala* of Yamāntaka. They explain the seventeen-syllables as follows:

> With these seventeen syllables [*ya, kṣe, ma, ra, da, ya, cca, ni, ra, ja, sa, do, ru, na, yo, ni ra*] one should meditate on the seventeen letters as having the *svabhāvaḥ* of the seventeen deities. With the rays of light issuing from one's heart, he should invite the real wisdom-

[517] For *Akṣobhya's explanation of this, see Appendix 3, p. 434, fn. 1673.
[518] For the discussion on *yadayona* vis-à-vis *yadayoni*, see fn. 510 of this thesis.

> *maṇḍala* consisting of Yamāri and the seventeen deities and he beseeches them to be seated in front of him; he gives them *arghya* etc. and, with the *prayoga* of the hammer, etc., he introduces them into the *cakra* which has been previously drawn. Then, in accordance with what was taught during the ritual, he visualises himself with the *krama,* which has been taught, he recites the mantra, and then he performs whatever *karma* he wants to achieve.[519]

*Kṛṣṇācārya follows in the footsteps of *Śoṇaśrī and *Vajrasiddha and glosses the same seventeen syllables as those given in the Vajrabhairava-*yantra*, but interprets them as referring to the Thirteen-Deity *maṇḍala* of Yamāntaka. The incorporation of the same seventeen syllables in the Vajrabhairava-*yantra* and the Thirteen-Deity *maṇḍala* of Kṛṣṇācārya is illustrated in Table 2. The letters in bold font indicate the syllables in the Vajrabhairava-*yantra* that correspond to the letters representing the thirteen deities in the *maṇḍala* mentioned by *Kṛṣṇācārya.

Table 2: Vajrabhairava-*yantra* and Thirteen-Deity *maṇḍala* (*Kṛṣṇācārya)

The seventeen syllables to be inscribed onto the Vajrabhairava-*yantra*:	Thirteen-Deity *Maṇḍala* according to *Kṛṣṇācārya
YA, in the middle	1) YA-hatred
MA, in the south	2) KṢE-ignorance
ME in the west	3) MA-slander
DA in the north	4) ME-attachment-Yamāntaka
KṢE in the east	5) DA-makes everybody envious
RA JA SA DO RU NA YO NI RA **YA** CCA NI	6) YA-hammer
RA JA SA DO RU NA YO NI RA YA **CCA** NI	7) CCA-stick
RA JA SA DO RU NA YO NI RA YA CCA **NI**	8) NI-lotus
RA JA SA DO RU NA YO NI RA YA CCA NI	9) RA-sword of death
RA **JA** SA DO RU NA YO NI RA	10) JA-Caṇḍikā

[519] *yi ge bcu bdun gyis de dag/ lha bcu bdun gyi rang bzhin du rnam par bsgoms la/ rang gi snying ga'i sa bon gyi 'od zer rnams kyis gshin rje dgra lha bcu bdun gyi bdag nyid kyi ye shes kyi dkyil 'khor spyan drangs la mdun du rnam par bzhugs su gsol la/ mchod yon la sogs pa phul nas sngar bris pa'i 'khor lo la tho ba la sogs pa'i rab tu sbyor bas bcug la/ de nas las dang rjes su mthun par gsungs pa'i rim pas bdag nyid rnam par bsgoms la/ sngags yongs su bzlas te las rab tu bsgrub par bya'o/*. *Śoṇaśrī's *pañjikā*, pp. 398–399.

YA CCA NI	
RA JA **SA** DO RU NA YO NI RA YA CCA NI	11) SA-*mātṛkā* Vārāhī
RA JA SA **DO** RU NA YO NI RA YA CCA NI	12) DO-Sarasvatī
RA JA SA DO **RU** NA YO NI RA YA CCA NI	13) RU-Gaurī
RA JA SA DO RU **NA YO NI RA** YA CCA NI	(NA YO NI RA)-Four Kapālas deposited in the corners that are not counted as part of the Thirteen-Deity *maṇḍala*[520]

*Kṛṣṇācārya gives the following explanation:

> "These seventeen syllables make up the seventeen deities; one achieves all rituals by means of those". By the teaching of this verse, the Thirteen-Deity *abhiṣeka maṇḍala*, *pūrvasevā* and *sādhana*…[is taught]. Moreover, by means of these thirteen deities, thirteen Buddha wheels, thirteen deities of the coloured powdered *maṇḍala* and thirteen-deity *yantra*, the yogin should summon, etc., kill, and purify.[521]

The above quote and *Kṛṣṇācārya's interpretation acknowledge the existence of the two traditions: the Thirteen-Deity and the Seventeen-Deity *maṇḍala* of Vajrabhairava. The only difference between the two is that in the Thirteen-Deity *maṇḍala*, the four Kapālabhairavas deposited at the corners outside the main *maṇḍala* are not counted as part of the *maṇḍala* retinue, thus giving thirteen, not seventeen deities (17-4=13). Although the commentaries do not provide any information about the deities' location in the *maṇḍala*, this detail is included in the *Jewel casket: The Sādhana for the Thirteen-Deity Vajrabhairava* by Tsong kha pa. The Thirteen-Deity *maṇḍala* features Vajrabhairava (with a consort, Vajravetālī) in the centre surrounded by the eight

[520] *de yang ya yig zhe sdang nyid du 'gyur/ kṣe yi yi ge gti mug brjod/ ma yig phra ma nyid du 'gyur/ me ni 'dod chags gshin rje 'joms/ da yig phrag dog las kun byed/ ya cca tho ba dbyug pa dang/ ni ra padma ral gri gshed/ dza yig lha mo carci kā/ phag mo yum gyi sa nyid do/ de las dbyangs can yum du grub/ ru ni gau ri'i rang bzhin no/ na yo ni ra thod pa bzhi/*. *Kṛṣṇācārya's *pañjikā*, p. 452.

[521] *yi ge bcu bdun lha bcu bdun/ las kun de yis byed par 'gyur/ zhes pas dbang bskur ba'i dkyil 'khor dang/ bsnyen sgrub la lha bcu gsum sgrub cing bskul ba'o/ de yang rnal 'byor pa lha bcu gsum dang/ sangs rgyas kyi 'khor lo bcu gsum dang/ rdul tshon gyi dkyil 'khor lha bcu gsum dang 'khrul 'khor lha bcu gsum gyis dgug pa sogs dang/ bsad sbyang bya ba'o/*. *Kṛṣṇācārya's *pañjikā*, p. 452.

Yamāntaka deities situated in the eight directions of the *maṇḍala* and the four goddesses in the southeast, southwest, northeast, and northwest directions. The *Jewel Casket* does not give the syllables of the deities, but only their descriptions, i.e., the afflictive emotions and *cihna*s they symbolise, and these match the ones given by *Śoṇāśrī, *Vajrasiddha, and *Kṛṣṇācārya. This is summarised in Table 3. In the Indian exegetical tradition, the first syllable 'YA' symbolizing 'hatred' stands for Vajrabhairava himself.

Table 3: Thirteen- and Seventeen-Deity Maṇḍalas

Sādhana of the Thirteen-Deity Vajrabhairava (Tsong kha pa)	Seventeen-Deity *Maṇḍala* according to *Śoṇaśrī and *Vajrasiddha	Thirteen-Deity *Maṇḍala* according to *Kṛṣṇācārya
1) Centre: Vajrabhairava and Vajravetālī	1) YA-hatred (Vajrabhairava)	1) YA-hatred (Vajrabhairava)
2) East: Ignorance Yamāntaka	2) KṢE-ignorance	2) KṢE-ignorance
3) South: Miserliness Yamāntaka	3) MA-slander	3) MA-slander
4) West: Desire Yamāntaka	4) RA-attachment	4) ME-attachment-Yamāntaka
5) North: Jealousy Yamāntaka	5) DA-envy	5) DA-makes everything envious
6) Eastern portal: Hammer Yamānatka	6) YA-hammer	6) YA-hammer
7) Southern portal: Club Yamāntaka	7) CCA-stick	7) CCA-stick
8) Western portal: Lotus Yamāntaka	8) NI-lotus	8) NI-lotus
9) Northern portal: Sword Yamāntaka	9) RA-raised sword	9) RA-sword of death
10) Southeast: Carcikā	10) JA-Carcikā	10) JA-Carcikā
11) Southwest: Vārāhī	11) SA-Vārāhī	11) SA-*mātṛkā* Vārāhī
12) Northwest: Sarasvatī	12) DO-Sarasvatī	12) DO-Sarasvatī
13) Northeast: Gaurī	13) RU-Gaurī	13) RU-Gaurī
At the four corners outside the main	14) NA 15) YO 16) NI 17) RA-	(NA YO NI RA)-Four Kapālas deposited in the

maṇḍala are four skullcaps filled with nectar.[522]	Kapālabhairavas/ Kapālayamāntakas[523]	corners that are not counted as part of the main *maṇḍala*[524]

The four goddesses and the four Kapālabhairavas represent Vajrabhairava-*maṇḍala*'s iconographical inclusivism in a sense in which the goddesses represent the four major Indian religions: Carcikā (Durgā) represents the cult of the mother-goddess; Vārāhī—as the wife of Vārāha, an *avātara* of Viṣṇu—represents Vaiṣṇavism; Sarasvatī, as the wife of Brahmā, stands for Brahmanism; and Gaurī, known also as Parvatī and the wife of Śiva, represents Śaivism.[525] The tendency to include the pantheon of non-Buddhist deities into Buddhist *maṇḍala*s has been a standard practice in the esoteric Buddhist texts since the dissemination of the STTS. The inclusion of wives, in particular, usually features in the context of subjugation of non-Buddhist deities; thus, for example, in the eighth-century *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākiṇījālasaṃvara*, Heruka subdues Brahmanical gods and takes their wives as consorts (Sanderson 2009:150–156). The four Kapālabhairavas may represent the cult of Bhairavas of Vidyāpīṭha Śaivism, but at this early stage of research on the early tantric traditions, it is impossible to establish what this may have been.

The reason why the Thirteen-Deity *maṇḍala* of Vajrabhairava became more popular than the Seventeen-Deity one is because the former was consistent with the system of the GS (Tanaka 2018:323). The deites located in the four cardinal directions,

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[522] See Tsong kha pa's *Rdo rje 'jigs byed lha bcu gsum ma'i sgrub pa'i thabs rin po che'i za ma tog ces sogs,* pp. 34–39. Scanned manuscript originally from the National Library of Mongolia, digitally available at BDRC (No. TBRCW1NLM97).

[523] *ya yig phra ma zhes byar 'gyur* (*zhe sdang nyid du 'gyur*, *Vajrasiddha)/ *kshe yig gti mug tu brjod do*/ *yi ge ma ni phra mar grags*/ *me ni 'dod chags dgra gsod pa'o*/ *phrag dog ngo bo da yig 'gyur*/ *yacca tho ba dbyug pa nyid*/ *ni yig lag ni pad ma ste*/ *ra yig ral gri bsgreng ba'o*/ *dza yig lha mo carci kā phag mo yang ni sa yig nyid*/ *do yig dbyangs can ma ru grags*/ *ru yig rang bzhin gau ri nyid*/ *na yo ni ra'i rang bzhin yang*/ *thod pa'i dus ni 'jigs byed rnams* (*thod pa gshin rje 'joms pa'o*, *Vajrasiddha). *Śoṇaśrī's *pañjikā*, p. 398.

[524] See fn. 520 above.

[525] According to the Kṛṣṇayamāri tradition, the names of the four goddesses are preceded by the word '*vajra*', but this is absent in the VBhT. For other examples of Vajrayānist transformation of the deities belonging to the Hindu pantheon through the addition of the prefix '*vajra*' to their names, see, for example, *Vajrajvālodayā* f. 176v: *Huṃ Vajranārāyaṇi jhir; Oṃ Vajramāheśvari haṃ haṃ haṃ* […], etc., quoted in Sanderson 2009:156. The same is attested in the *yogatantra Paramādya* where the consorts of Viṣṇu and Rudra become Vajraśrī, Vajragaurī, etc., and form the retinue of Vajrasattva (Tomabechi 2007:904; Sanderson 2009:151).

beginning with the Ignorance-Yamāntaka, correspond to the four buddhas of the GS: Vairocana, Ratnaketu, Amithāba, and Amoghasiddhi (*ibid*.:322). The four goddesses in the four intermediate directions correspond to the four buddha-mothers presiding over the four gross elements. Similarly, the Yamāntakas stationed at the gates, holding characteristic hand-attributes, correspond to the four wrathful gatekeepers of the GS-*maṇḍala*. On the basis of this evidence, Tanaka (*ibid*.:323) concluded that the Thirteen-Deity *maṇḍala* of Vajrabhairava could be seen as a direct evolution of the earlier GS system.

The above discussion has also shown that the thirty-two syllabled root-mantra of Vajrabhairava mentioned in the root-text became the basis for various interpretations in the exegetical literature where the seventeen or thirteen syllables, extracted from the root-mantra, represent the seventeen or thirteen deities of Vajrabhairava's retinue. These variations have developed in conjunction with, and as an expression of, the development within the Vajrabhairava tradition that went through several stages. In the first stage, the thirty-two syllabled root-mantra reflects an appropriation of the ancient *yamarājaśloka* and constitutes the original substratum of the Vajrabhairava tradition, which features Vajrabhairava as a solitary hero (*ekavīra*) attended by the *vetāla*s in the *maṇḍala*-drawing. In the second stage, Vajrabhairava appears in the company of the retinue of the deities in the wisdom-*maṇḍala*. The thirty-two syllabled root-mantra still exists but only as an ancient relict of the past, for the ritual function of the root-mantra is from now on carried forward by the seventeen or thirteen syllables and the rest of the letters become a merely superfluous addition devoid of any ritual function. In the third stage, Vajrabhairava becomes styled on the prototypical model of the deities in the *yoginītantra*s, and is given a consort, Vajravetālī. Thus, the first two centuries after the birth of Vajrabhairava saw his transition from a solitary hero to a fully-fledged deity accompanied by a *maṇḍala* with other deities and in sexual union with a consort. The fact that the explanation of Vajrabhairava's retinue is only mentioned in the commentaries written by *Śoṇaśrī, *Vajrasiddha, and *Kṛṣṇācārya indicates that these exegetical traditions represent a later development, perhaps influenced by the GS, thereby establishing a relative dating for the earlier commentaries by *Akṣobhya and *Lalitavajra.

4.3.2. The Ten-Syllabled Action-Mantra (§14–19ab)

The next mantra extracted from Chapter Three of the VBhT is the ten-syllabled action-mantra, suitable for all the rituals: *hrīḥ ṣṭrīḥ vikṛtānana oṃ hūṃ phaṭ*. Just like the root-mantra, this mantra also has various forms in different Hindu and Buddhist tantras, the most commonly found being the twelve and the fourteen syllables variants. According to the *Mantrapāda* section of the *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* (v.47.12 ab), the twelve-syllabled mantra *oṃ hrīṃ vikṛtānanāya hūṃ phaṭ svāhā* is the mantra of Yama (Bühnemann 1991:321). The same, or variants thereof, are attested in other late Hindu tantras (see Bühnemann 1991). The appellation *vikṛtānana,* meaning 'hideous-faced' and its possible connection to the *daṃṣṭrāvikṛtānanāya* variant, which appears, for example, in the *Śāradātilaka* (24.20) (Bühnemann 1991:332), has been explained in Chapter Two of this thesis. The different versions of this mantra are also found in the exegetical tradition of the VBhT. The mantra extracted from the root-text of the VBhT[526] has *ṣṭrīḥ* as the *bīja*, unlike *Lalitavajra's commentary, which has *ṣṭrīḥ*. *Lalitavajra's variant of the mantra resembles the Kṛṣṇayamāri tradition, where the fourteen syllabled mantra of Yamāri is given as follows: *oṃ hrīḥ ṣṭrīḥ vikṛtānana hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā* (Bühnemann 1991:321). Bühnemann (*ibid*.:323) points out that in the Hindu versions of the mantra the *bīja*s often end in the nasal (*hṛīṃ ṣṭrīṃ*), while in the Buddhist tantras those same seed syllables end in *visarga* (*hrīḥ ṣṭrīḥ*).[527]

*Kṛṣṇācārya is the only author who comments on this mantra, quoting from some unidentified text as follows:

> From the same text: '*Oṃ* is Indra, *hrīḥ* is Yama, *ṣṭrīḥ* are the protectors of the directions. The yogin should employ these in the ritual. By visualising himself as Yamāntaka, he should do the *saṃvedana* (i.e., he should have a perception of himself as Yamāntaka). By this what was spoken: *Oṃ* is for impelling the deities, *hrīḥ* is to teach the *dharma* by impelling the *dharmapāla*s, by *ṣṭrīḥ*, etc. the bestowment of wealth [is meant], and to convert the wicked by means of *dhyāna*, this is the *upadeśa*.[528]

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[526] Bühnemann (1991:322) encodes this mantra from Chapter Three of the VBhT slightly incorrectly as *hrīḥ ṣṭrīḥ vikṛtānana hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ,* on the basis of Siklós (1996:37, 92–93).
[527] For the exception to this rule, see Bühnemann 1994:323.
[528] *de nyid nas oṃ ni brgya byin/ hriḥ gshin rje/ ṣṭriḥ la sogs phyogs skyong yin/ rnal 'byor pa yis las bcol lo/ yamantakas rang rig byed/ ces pas lha la bskul zhing/ chos skyong bskul ba'i bya bas chos bshad/ nor byin bsdigs pa dngos dang bsam gtan gyis gdug pa can la bya ba man ngag go/*. *Kṛṣṇācārya's *pañjikā,* p. 452.

4.3.3. The Heart-Mantra (§20–23ab)

The third mantra extracted from Chapter Three of the VBhT is the heart-mantra (*hṛdayamantra*): *yamāntaka oṃ hūṃ phaṭ*. According to *Akṣobhya, this mantra is used merely for inviting the deity during the ritual. He also says that the *hṛdayamantra* is generally taught for those who find it difficult to meditate:

> The heart-mantra is prescribed for those yogins who find it difficult to visualise [the mantra], because of that, recitation [is taught] because one has to certainly visualise [the mantra] in the heart, hence 'the heart'. Although it is possible that those mantras achieve their effect only by recitation, when it comes to *hṛdayamantra*s, they achieve their effects surely through visualisation. Therefore, it is said: 'what is known as *samādhi* is the heart; it is where the mind is endowed with equipoise'."[529]

4.4. Visualisation (*dhyāna*) (§42–45)

Chapter Four of the VBhT deals with the *sādhana* practice that aims at achieving the deity Vajrabhairava through the practice of its visualisation (*dhyāna*). *Śoṇaśrī and *Vajrasiddha provide a linguistic gloss of the Vajrabhairava-*sādhana*, saying that "it is that through which one achieves (*sādh*) [Vajrabhairava]" (*rdo rje 'jigs byed du thabs gang gis sgrub par byed*). That is followed by a semantic gloss: "Vajrabhairava-*sādhana* is that by which something [in this case, Vajrabhairava] is made into one's own self" (*bdag nyid du 'gyur bar byed pa ni de'i sgrub thabs so*).

The *dhyāna* explanation given in the VBhT may be one of the earliest examples of the *sādhana* genre current in the *yogatantra*s and, in its basic features, the procedure in the VBhT closely resembles the *dhyāna* description contained in the NMAA (see pp. 442–445). The basic *dhyāna* delineated in the root-text of the VBhT deals with the generation of the deity Vajrabhairava in stages from the heart of Mañjuśrī through the transformation of the seed-syllables. Preceding this is a meditation that aims at realising all things as empty in their essential nature. This is done by the recitation of the purity-mantra: *oṃ svabhāvaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ oṃ svabhāvaśuddho 'ham* ("All phenomena are pure by nature, I am pure by nature"), and the emptiness mantra: *oṃ śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātmako 'haṃ* ("I am identical with the inherent nature of

[529] For the Tibetan text, see Appendix 3, p. 437, fn. 1702.

vajra-knowledge of emptiness").[530] Another preliminary practice is the recreation of a cosmos with the palace as the abode of the deity and the generation of the deity Mañjuśrī as *jñānasattva*, prior to the generation of Vajrabhairava as *samayasattva*.

The commentators of the VBhT give different explanations of the *dhyāna* procedure given in the root-text, and assign different meanings to its constituent parts. In the section below, I will delineate these differences as I proceed with the analysis of various commentarial interpretations. The last part of Chapter Four gives instructions on the mantra-*japa* as well as on the tantric practice that involves the consumption of the five *amṛta*s as part of the 'nocturnal-vigilance' (*niśāṭana*); the latter receives an interesting commentary by *Lalitavajra, which is discussed below. The two Sanskrit manuscripts available to us contain only a fragment of Chapter Four. Therefore, the missing part covering the instruction on how to visualise the image of Vajrabhairava, having various faces, holding different weapons, trampling upon different beings, and endowed with specific qualities, conceptualised by the commentators as the practice of purification (*viśuddhi*),[531] has been reconstructed from the Chapter Seven of the *Saṃpuṭodbhava*.

4.4.1. *Akṣobhya

For *Akṣobhya, the realisation of the nature of emptiness as constituting the inherent nature of all phenomena (*sarvadharmanairātmya*) is not only understood in abstract, metaphysical terms, but also in terms applicable to the embodied individual. As a result, he glosses "all phenomena" (*sarvadharmāḥ*), which necessarily have to undergo the 'emptying' process, as *skandha*s, *dhātu*s, and *āyatana*s constituting the psycho-physical aggregate of the human body together with the senses and the objects of the senses. Seen from this perspective, in order to emerge as the deity, the practitioner must first "hit the reset button", as it were, and let go of the false identification with his own mind and body. For *Akṣobhya, "making all phenomena selfless in nature" means turning them into Clear Light by realising their inherent nature as being devoid of subject-object

[530] For the discussion on these two mantras in various late Buddhist tantras, see English (2002:125–131).
[531] On the concept of *viśuddhi* in some late Buddhist tantras, see Sferra (1999).

duality (*grāhyaṃ-grāhakaḥ*).[532] Thus, for *Akṣobhya, the realisation of the Madhyamaka concept of emptiness propounded in the *mūla*-text is explained through the Cittamātra/Yogācāra philosophy in which the luminous intrinsic nature of the mind (*citta-prabhāsvaraḥ*) [533] becomes unveiled when the defilements (*kleśa*s) of conceptualisation obscuring its luminosity are removed. In Cittamātra/Yogācāra terms, 'being selfless' means 'being empty of subject-object duality' and this involves perceiving everything as a flow of non-dual consciousness.

The recitation of the emptiness-mantra is accompanied by a *dhyāna* practice through which the mantra-master mentally generates the deity Vajrabhairava, step by step. The process of visualisation follows a pattern in which, first, the discs emerging from the seed-syllables are conceived of as the seats of the deities Mahākāla and Mañjuśrī. Then, one is instructed to visualise the peaceful form of Mañjuśrī who, in the subsequent stages of visualisation, becomes more and more wrathful, and eventually takes on the form of Vajrabhairava himself. This progressive transition from a peaceful to a wrathful form of Mañjuśrī is explained by *Akṣobhya as the method of taming the three classes of beings: wrathful, very wrathful, and extremely wrathful.

First is the wind-disc (*vāyu-maṇḍala*) of a grey colour, which arises from the transformation of the blue seed-syllable YAṂ located in empty space.[534] According to *Akṣobhya, this is the seat of Mahākāla. Quoting from the early (probably pre-9th century) unidentified source, he explains the reason for Mahākāla occupying the wind-disc as follows:

> Because this [*Vajrabhairava*]*tantra* has as its chief topic *abhicāra,* it is that which scatters all malevolent entities. For that reason, it is said, "all those deities designated by the name 'wrathful' (*krodha*), such as servants starting with emissaries, their activity is

[532] *Akṣobhya (p. 380): **having brought about as the nature** [of all things] **their selflessness** [means] "turning them into clear light by realising their nature as being devoid of subject-object" (*de dag bdag med pa'i bdag nyid du byas nas zhes bya ba ni/ gzung ba dang 'dzin pas dben pa rang bzhin gyis 'od gsal bar 'gyur ba'o*).
[533] For the discussion on the development of the *citta-prabhāsvaraḥ* from the *Nikāya*s onwards, through the Prajñāpāramitā literature and Madhyamaka and the formalisation of this concept in Vijñānavāda/Yogācāra, see Harris (1991:154–156).
[534] For the translation of this passage, see Appendix 3, p. 442, fn. 1715.

> unhindered everywhere, for that reason, the *maṇḍala* [suited] for them is either fire or wind'."[535]

Since the wind-disc is not stable,[536] at the second stage the mantra-master is instructed to visualise a moon-disc (*candra-maṇḍala*), which arises from the transformation of the letter A. This is the seat of a peaceful form of Āryamañjuśrī who emerges from the seed-syllable DHIḤ, located above Mahākāla. At the third stage, one should visualise the sun-disc (*sūrya-maṇḍala*) manifesting from the letter ĀḤ in Mañjuśrī's heart. This sun (which is actually Vairocana, see p. 443, fn. 1721 of this thesis) emits a bundle of rays of light that impels to action the tathāgatas, bodhisattvas, wisdom-goddesses and *krodha*-deities in all directions of space. Why the sun has to exit from the heart of Mañjuśrī? *Akṣobhya clarifies this passage in the following words:

> First, one visualises Mañjuśrī in a peaceful form; then, one realises that with a peaceful body one cannot train the wrathful beings. [Having reached this understanding,] one has to visualise him with the sun in his heart, the ray of which will intimidate those wrathful ones.[537]

The point *Akṣobhya is trying to make here is that the peaceful form of Mañjuśrī is not suitable to train those wrathful beings, therefore, the generation of the sun (i.e., Vairocana) with the light of rays shooting out is a necessary aid to make them frightened and tamed. Thus, the fourth stage of visualisation involves meditation upon a fusion of the sun-disc, this time presided over by blazing *vajra*s, with Mañjuśrī for the sake of those who are described as "very wrathful ones". *Akṣobhya comments upon this step as follows:

> Then, one realises that those very wrathful ones are not tamed, and one merges himself with Mañjuśrī and with the sun that is presided over by the blazing *vajra*s at the end. They shot out and go above the head of those very wrathful ones and they are tamed. But even though the extremely wrathful ones are intimidated, they are not tamed by these

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[535] *rgyud 'di ni mngon spyod gtso bor byas pa yin pas na/ gdug pa rnams rab tu 'thor bar byed pa yin te/ pho nya la sogs bran rnams dang/ khro bo'i ming du gang 'dogs pa/ kun du thog med spyod pa rnams/ kun gyi dkyil 'khor me* [em.; *ma* ed.] *dang rlung/ zhes gsungs pas so/*. *Akṣobhya's *pañjikā*, p. 380.

[536] *snga ma ni brtan par gnas pa yin no,* "As for the previous one [i.e., *vāyumaṇḍala* born from YAM], it is not stable". *Akṣobhya's *pañjikā*, p. 380.

[537] *dang por 'jam pa'i dpal de nyid kyis bdag nyid kyi zhi ba'i skus ldang ba rnams 'dul ba ma yin par gzigs te/ thugs kar nyi ma gnas par bya ste/ de'i 'od zer gyis sdang ba rnams bsdigs te/*. *Akṣobhya's *pañjikā*, p. 380.

> *vajra*s either; it is then that one assumes the body of Mahā[vajra]bhairava, and this form will cut them down.[538]

The above passage makes a distinction between the very wrathful ones (*rab tu sdang ba dag*) and the extremely wrathful ones (*shin tu rab tu sdang ba rnams*). Unlike the very wrathful ones, those classified as "extremely wrathful" are not tamed even by the sun endowed with blazing *vajra*s at the end; for that reason, one has to generate himself as Vajrabhairava, who is the only one capable of uprooting the ultimate evil. *Akṣobhya ends his exegesis by specifically naming those who are regarded as "extremely wrathful ones", as follows:

> The yogin [who visualises himself as Vajrabhairava] also tames the *saṃgraha-devatā*s, because they are merely servants. As for those extremely wrathful ones, these are Brahmā, Indra, Īśvara (=Śiva), Kumāra. They are said to be devoured, as will be explained below.[539]

The generation of Vajrabhairava in the meditative space of a yogin is seen by *Akṣobhya as a solution to tame those who are extremely wrathful, and these are classified as the deities of the Hindu pantheon and their retinue (*saṃgraha-devatā*s). Thus, *Akṣobhya's explanation follows the general pattern of taming understood as conversion (Skt. *vinaya*, Tib. *'dul ba*) that first appears in Chapters 6-11 of the STTS, where the Hindu deities and their retinue are introduced into the Vajradhātumaṇḍala. The same paradigm of conversion became reappropriated in the mythic stories of Vajrabhairava's birth preserved in the Tibetan Buddhist tradition, especially among the Sa skya pas (see p. 112 of this thesis).

4.4.2.*Śoṇaśrī/*Vajrasiddha, *Kṛṣṇācārya, and *Lalitavajra

The commentaries on the Chapter Four by *Śoṇaśrī/*Vajrasiddha and *Kṛṣṇācārya are similar in the general outlook of the *sādhana*, namely with regard to the stages of

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[538] *'on kyang rab tu sdang ba dag mi 'dul bar gzigs nas/ yang bdag nyid dang nyi mar bcas pa/ rdo rje 'bar bar byin gyis brlabs shing de'i sprul pa rnams 'dul ba de dag gi spyi bo'i steng du/ gnas te bsdigs pa na yang shin tu rab tu sdang ba rnams 'dul ba ma yin no/ de nas ni yang 'jigs byed chen po'i sku 'dzin par gyur pas/ de dag tshar bcad de/.* *Akṣobhya's *pañjikā*, pp. 381–382.

[539] *de dag rnal 'byor pa des rkang* [em.; *kyang* ed.] *rjes su spyod pa tsam yin pas na/ bsdu ba'i lha rnams kyang 'dul ba yin la/ shin tu rab tu sdang ba de rnams ni/ tshangs pa dang/ brgya byin dang/ dbang phyug dang/ gzhon nu rnams gsol bar mdzad pa zhes 'chad par 'gyur ba'o/.* *Akṣobhya's *pañjikā*, p. 381.

visualisation and the specific practices they are correlated with, but they sometimes differ in their respective explanations. Thus, in all the three commentaries, (1) the preliminary practice requires the Vajrabhairava-*sādhaka* to be naked, with dishevelled hair, facing the inauspicious southern direction, and to ingest the five *amṛta*s; this description is a part of the Vajrabhairava-*sādhana*'s tantric antinomianism. Then, the rite of protection follows (2). i.e., setting up the *vajra*-cage (*vajrapañjara*), which appears only in *Kṛṣṇācārya's commentary; especially notable in this regard is the protection of the yogin through meditation on emptiness, which some *sādhana*-authors, such as Lūyipāda (11th century), consider the supreme type of protection (see fn. 551 below). The next stage (3) of the *sādhana* includes the visualisation of the rays of light emitted from the seed-syllable from the yogin's heart that go out in the ten directions of space and invite the buddhas, the *bodhisattva*s, the wisdom goddesses, and the *krodha*-deities, and sometimes also the teachers in the space in front of him in order to offer worship (4) with the help of the four *pūjādevī*s, that act as the intermediaries of worship. This phase corresponds to the first stage of the Mahāyāna type of supreme worship (*anuttarapūjā*), where the worship is offered to the deities and other beings invited specifically for that purpose.[540] The rays of light are a common instrument in the *dhyāna* practice in both Mahāyāna and tantric forms of Buddhism. They are conceived as the energy of the deity that pervades all directions of space and reaches the beings located everywhere in space. The verb used in reference to the rays of light that appears in the Skt. and Tib. recensions of the VBhT as well as in the VBhT's commentaries is *saṃcodya* (Tib. *bskul ba*), meaning 'impel', 'incite', or 'excite'. This is a common expression in the *sādhana*-texts (English 2002:120) that is sometimes coupled with the image of a hook (*aṅkuśa*) through which the rays of light draw in the deities and other celestial beings in order to compel them to take part in the ritual.[541] The summoned deities and beings are requested to 'hover in space' in front of a *sādhaka*—an image that is commonly found also in the *Mahāyānasūtra*s. The *pūjādevī*s emitted from

[540] For the explanation of the sevenfold *anuttarapūjā* in the Mahāyāna sources with the corresponding phases of the tantric Buddhist *sādhana* dedicated to Vajravārāhi based on the *Sādhanamālā* and *Guhyasamayasādhanamālā*, see English (2002:124).

[541] For the syllable *dhīḥ*, which assumes the form of rays as hooks, see *Sādhanamālā* 58 (p. 121) *…dhīḥkārabījavinirgatāṅkuśakāraraśmyākṛṣṭārapacana-*; for the rays as hooks, see also *Dākinījālasaṃvara* (Sanderson 1994, n. 10, f. 3r-v). In the VBhT, the rays take on a form of the deity Vairocana. They can also take the shape of the colours of the five buddhas in the Mañjuśrī *sādhana*, see *Sādhanamālā* 52 (p. 109), English 2002:433 n. 252.

the mantra-master's heart are allocated different names in different *sādhana*-texts,[542] but the VBhT's commentaries mention only two names, namely Vajracarcikā and Vajracaṇḍikā. These two names, but without the preceding word '*vajra*', also appear as the name of the goddesses in the retinue of the Thirteen- and Seventeen- deity *maṇḍala* of Vajrabhairava (see, p. 223), where they are used interchangeably. *Kṛṣṇācārya specifies the three forms of worshiping the *pūjādevī*s offer as outer (*bāhyapūjā*), inner (*antarpūjā*), and real (*tattvapūjā*).[543] In the VBhT's three commentaries, worship concludes with the confession of sins (5); this represents the third stage in the sevenfold Mahāyāna *anuttarapūjā*. As the above section indicates, the first three stages of the Mahāyāna version of worship, namely the invitation of the deities, worship *per se,* and confession of sins, have been appropriated into the exegetical tradition of the VBhT.

The next step (6) in the *sādhana* practice delineated in the VBhT's commentaries is the meditation on the four *brahmavihāra*s. This too follows the appropriation trajectory from the Mahāyāna model of worship that similarly prescribes the meditation on the four *brahmavihāra*s immediately following the sevenfold *pūjā*. The *brahmavihāra* meditations are already found in the *nikāya*s of early Buddhism, wherefrom they have been carried forward to the *Mahāyānasūtra*s and later to tantric Buddhism. The explanation given by the VBhT's commentators (see, fn. 556 below) represents a standard feature found also in other tantric Buddhist *sādhana*s, with the exception of *upekṣā,* commented upon by *Śoṇaśrī and *Vajrasiddha in untypical fashion—possibly influenced by the Citta-mātra school—as follows: "*upekṣā* is to be equanimous, which means to disregard all kinds of thought-constructs related to object of perception (*grāhyaṃ*) and perceiver (*grāhakaḥ*)." This example demonstrates how a popular Buddhist concept became updated to a newer version in accordance with the system of thought current in the era in which these commentators were composing their exegesis.

[542] For the names of the four *pūjādevī*s in the NMAA, see Tribe 2006:54. Sometimes the *pūjādevī*s are sixteen in number, but also divided into four sets: see *Abhisamayamañjarī*.
[543] The commentators do not give any explanation of the *pūjā*-items that are offered, but these generally consist of *arghya*-offerings for drinking and washing the feet, and offerings such as the seven jewels (*saptaratna*) and the eight auspicious symbols (*aṣṭamaṅgala*) in *bāhyapūjā*; the offerings of the five sense organs (*kāmaguṇa*s) represented by the sense-objects, e.g., incense for smell, bell for sound, etc. in *antarpūjā* (English 2002:121), and sexual intercourse with a consort in *tattvapūjā* (Sinclair 2014:221–222).

The *brahmavihāra* meditations are typically understood as fulfilling the *sādhaka*'s accumulation of merit (English 2002:123).

The next stage of the *sādhana* (7) is the meditation on emptiness as constituting the inherent nature of all reality. The *sādhaka* is instructed to contemplate the *śūnyatā* by perceiving the dependent origination of all and by seeing everything as devoid of Nāgārjuna's tetralemma (*catuṣkoṭivinirmukta*),[544] which is done through the realisation and recitation of the emptiness-mantra: *oṃ śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātmako 'haṃ* ("I am identical with the inherent nature of *vajra*-knowledge of emptiness"). The employment of the Nāgārjunian model in the exegetical tradition of the VBhT is somewhat unusual, and shows the influence of the Madhyamaka school on the VBhT's commentators; on the other hand, the recitation of the emptiness-mantra is a common feature in the tantric *sādhana*-texts. *Kṛṣṇācārya explains the purpose of reciting the emptiness-mantra as follows: "The purpose of that mantra is to place his mind in a 'non-objectification state', spontaneously pervading the entire space, having the knowledge of the immutable gnosis of emptiness".[545] The technical term used by *Kṛṣṇācārya is *apratiṣṭhitamānasa* (Tib. *blo mi dmigs par bzhag go*), which connotes the Madhyamaka concept of the universal non-objectification (*sarvadharmāpratiṣṭhānavāda*).[546] This concept puts forward the idea that no object or experience of an object should be "objectified" by the mind, i.e. conceived as something with an inherent existence, including the experience of emptiness as non-duality. The purpose of its application in the *sādhana* practice is to assign a merely provisional role to the experience of emptiness arising from the meditation on emptiness (English 2002:129). With the non-objectification, the *yogin* has to realise that the subsequent stages of his *dhyāna* practice are as real or illusory as anything else, and that the gnosis of emptiness is like an all-pervasive space, without any boundaries of subject-object duality.

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[544] The application of the 'tetralemma' in the context of Madhyamaka's logical discourse has been generally interpreted as the need to ascertain conceptual flows in all definitive philosophical positions in order to conclude that the only defendable position is that "cause and effect are empty", and thus demonstrate that all things are uncompounded (*anutpāda*) and devoid of inherent existence (*niḥsvabhāvaḥ*); see *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, p. 745–747.

[545] For the Tibetan text, see Appendix 3, p. 440, fn. 1714.

[546] English (2002:129) shows that the *Guhyasamayasādhanamālā* also contains references to this concept.

The next stage of *sādhana* (8) commences with building the abode suitable for the deity, which means creating a cosmos, sometimes a *maṇḍala*, and always a palace for the deity. This part of the *sādhana* differs in each of the commentaries by *Kṛṣṇācārya and *Śoṇaśri/*Vajrasiddha; this is also the case when *Lalitavajra's exegesis can play a role in our comparative analysis insofar that his *sādhana*-description begins with the creation of a cosmos. I have tabulated these differences in Table 4. *Lalitavajra and *Kṛṣṇācārya conform their exegesis to a more traditional Abhidharmic universe, in which the yogin visualises a cosmos with four continents produced from the respective seed-syllables: *yaṃ, raṃ, vaṃ, laṃ*,[547] endowed with specific colours and the mountain-axis Sumeru (*suṃ*) in the centre in the form of a peak. On the top of Sumeru there is a palace (or a *maṇḍala* and a palace) with the eight cremation grounds (which is the abode of the tantric forms of deity influenced by the Kāpālika culture of the cremation grounds), which comes from the transformation of the *vajra*-ground that has arisen from the transformation of the seed-syllable *bhrūṃ*. *Lalitavajra and *Kṛṣṇācārya use the basic template of the traditional Abhidharmic concept of the cosmos and augment it with the elements proper to the tantras, such as the eight cremation grounds and with the aspects of the generation of the deity found in the *yogatantra*s (i.e. the seed-syllables *āḥ, hūṃ, dhīḥ*, etc.). *Śoṇaśrī and *Vajrasiddha are more restricted in their exegesis and merely follow the stages delineated in the *mūla*-text that makes their commentaries more aligned with the *sādhana*-genre current in the *yogatantra*s.

When the cosmos and the palace as the abode for the deity are visually created by a yogin, there begins the next stage of the *sādhana* (9), i.e. the generation of oneself as a deity. Before the generation of oneself as Vajrabhairava-*samayasattva*[548] can start, the

[547] Sanderson (1994, n. 35) shows that the *bīja*s *yaṃ, raṃ, vaṃ, laṃ* in Buddhist *sādhana*s correspond to those found in Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva tantric traditions. He further argues that these are Brahmanical in origin. Heilijgers-Seelen (1994:20) demonstrates that the four syllables are indeed attested in the *Yogatattva-Upaniṣad* (84ff.), where earth is square and yellow and represented by the syllable *la,* presided over by Brahmā; water symbolized by a crescent moon is white and represented by the syllable *va,* presided over by Viṣṇu/Nārāyaṇa; fire is triangular, red and represented by the syllable *ra,* presided over by Rudra; and air is hexagonal, black, represented by the syllable *ya* and presided over by Īśvara. Finally, there is ether, represented by the syllable *ha*, which does not feature in the Buddhist *sādhana*s.

[548] Buddhaguhya in his *Tantrārthāvatāra* (Toh 2501, see Lessing and Wayman 1978) makes a distinction between the *samayasattva* ('symbolic being', *ibid*.:235, n. 30; 'pledge-being' English 2002:469 n. 405) and the *jñānasattva* 'knowledge-being'. The *samayasattva* is a deity the yogin

commentaries instruct about the generation of Mañjuśrī as 'knowledge-being' (Mañjuśrījñānasattva, also called Mañjuvajra) as a preliminary practice. The commentaries generally conform with the same iconographical description of Mañjuśrījñānasattva that occurs in the NMAA, i.e., he is described as arising from the transformation of the seed-syllable *dhīḥ* seated on a moon-disc, one faced, two-armed, often yellow in colour, holding a sword and a book in his hands, sitting in the *vajraparyaṅka* cross-legged position and adorned with eight cremation grounds. *Śoṇaśrī and *Vajrasiddha provide an account of the *abhiṣeka* of a yogin with the five *amṛta*s and worship in which Mañjuśrījñānasattva is invited by means of the four *mudrā*s that is followed again by the ingestion of the five *amṛta*s prepared by the ritual beginning with *amṛtasvadana*. Interestingly, *Lalitavajra gives a very similar description of the whole process; however, the main deity invited and worshipped in this scenario is not Mañjuśrījñānasattva, but Vajrabhairava as *samayasattva*, or as *Lalitavajra calls him, "*rang bzhin gyi rdo rje 'jigs byed*" (*svabhāvaḥ*-Vajrabhairava), which has arisen from the seed-syllable *hūṃ* in Mañjuśrī's heart.[549]

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meditatively generates himself into, while the *jñānasattva* is the actual manifestation of the Buddhas or the *bodhisattva*s. Furthermore, Buddhaguhya explains (Wayman and Lessing 1978:162 n. 17) that "the symbolic being is the one united with the image of a deity through the force of fierce striving for union, resolute application, and *samādhi* on that sole object." The knowledge-beings, on the other hands, are of two types: 1) "the beings born from the perfections (*pāramitā*)" and 2) "the beings born from knowledge as the corporeal manifestations of the Lord and its retinue arisen from the higher comprehension of the pure mind of enlightenment."

[549] *Lalitavajra gives two descriptions of the *sādhana* practice: first at the beginning of Chapter 1, and then again as an exegesis of Chapter 4. These two descriptions are not identical, although they align on some crucial points. In the exegesis on Chapter 4, *Lalitavajra (p. 323) begins with the visualisation of the seed-syllable *hūṃ* in the sun in Mañjuśrī's heart as follows: "if someone asks how is the *svabhāvaḥ*-Vajrabhairava [that comes] from the light of that [*hūṃ* in the sun of Mañjuśrī's heart:] That *svabhāvaḥ* itself is visualised just like the Buffalo-faced one of the *sāmānyamaṇḍala*. It is explained as follows: with the light of *hūṃ*, he should be invited by means of mantras and the *mudrā* of *vajragraha*. In front [of him], he should place as offerings the guest-water and the preliminary offerings with the five mantras. Then, he should summon, etc. with the four *mudrā*s and, having done that, he should remain; this is the meaning of "he should visualise that inherent nature (*svabhāvaḥ*-Vajrabhairava)." As for "he sits in the place of Vajrabhairava," [it means:] by abiding in the pride of the deity in the six, i.e., eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, and mind, he should generate the sequence from the letters of the names, i.e., Vajradhara, the heart of earth; Avalokiteśvara, the heart of space; Samantabhadra, the removal of obstacles. Moreover, he should also affix the three letters in three places. With the light of the letter *hūṃ* in the heart, he should invite the Buddhas, etc.; they are worshipped, and prayers are made. He should visualise them holding a jar with five *amṛta*s. With *hūṃ,* he purifies; with A, he examines; with Oṃ, he blazes. Because he is in union with the *vajra*-tongue, he makes the body-*maṇḍala* pleased.

The final stage of the *sādhana* is a detailed visualisation of the deity Vajrabhairava. *Śoṇaśrī and *Vajrasiddha use the term 'applying oneself', which refers in this context to visualising the shape of the deity with all his implements, "which is neither true nor false in order to purify it". The aspects of the deity Vajrabhairava undergo the process of purification (*viśuddhi*)[550] and they are matched with corresponding ideas from the Mahāyāna tradition. The concept of *viśuddhi* integrated into exegetical tradition of VBhT

Because he has gathered all in the [body]-*maṇḍala*, he makes a eulogy; this is the meaning of "he should make them pleased". Chapter 1 of *Lalitavajra's *pañjikā* (p. 303) gives the following description of the generation of Vajrabhairava: first the yogin is to visualise the *vajra-prākāra*, etc. and the *maṇḍala* with Sumeru arising in the centre of space, the lineages of the gurus, and the eight cremation grounds. In the middle of that, he should visualise the moon born out of a lotus. In the centre of that, he should visualise a sword arising from the seed-syllable. That sword transforms into a red form of Mañjuśrī bearing a yellow sword and a lotus and having five locks. In Mañjuśrī's heart arise five lights and with this sharp light, the Buddhas and their sons are summoned. They dissolve into that light and from the transformation of that light arises a mass of fire; from that fire, *hūṃ* arises and he visualises a wrathful black *vajra*. With the light of that *vajra*, he visualizes the Sugatas and their sons abiding in the sun. With that sentient beings are purified and then again reenter the *vajra*; because of that, the *vajra* is great. From that *vajra*, he generates the Buffalo-faced one who has the characteristics of the four aeons. In this heart, he visualises *jñānasattva* whose body is yellow, with one face, two arms, together with *hūṃ* on the top of the sun. He utters: *oṃ ehyehi bhagavān yamāntaka āgaccha āgaccha oṃ saṃjñā hūṃ*; he invites him with the *mudrā* of *vajragraha*. Placing him in front, he should offer *arghya*, the preliminary offerings, etc. Then, the yogin assumes the pride of Yamāntaka, which means that the six senses, such as the eyes, etc., are generated as *vajrāsana*s. Then, with the light of his own heart, he invites the Buddhas because he worships them with the vase of five *amṛta*s; they pour on the top of his head and he receives *abhiṣeka.*

The *mudrā* of *vajragraha* can be traced back to the STTS, where Vajrabhairava is mentioned in the context of the pledge-*mudrā* and utters the mantra*: oṃ vajragrahe hūṃ.* *Lalitavajra's commentary is interesting because it shows that Vajrabhairava has Mañjuśrījñānasattva in his heart. English (2002:470 n. 411) pointed out that Mañjuśrī-related texts were probably influential in the development of the concept of *jñānasattva*, which is still poorly understood. English brings attention to the Mañjuśrī s*ādhana*s of the *Sādhanamālā* where the concept of *jñānasattva* becomes more and more associated with "the yogic practices based on the deity in the heart" (English 2002:471). In those *sādhana*s, the *jñānasattva* seems to be unified with the self-generated deity, just like in the above passage, where Mañjuśrī as *jñānasattva* abides in the heart of the self-generated Vajrabhairava.

[550] Sferra (1999:85–86) explains the meaning of *viśuddhiḥ* in tantric *sādhana* texts as a hermeneutical device that "deal with the crucial theme of the essential nature of things, not merely as aiming at theoretical definitions, but also as a starting point of the practice that leads to awakening. In this second context, we see the term "purification" is used in two different ways. On the one hand it indicates pureness, Buddha's nature itself, the ever shining and pure condition that is always present in all things. This pureness represents one of the foundations on which the practice and doctrine of the Buddhist Tantras is based and which can be exemplified by the formulas *viśuddhis tathatā* and *tathātmikā śuddhiḥ*. On the other hand, the term indicates "purification" and therefore a process or a means: *yayā sarvabhāvā nirdoṣā bhavanti sā viśuddhiḥ."*

represents an attempt of tantric exegesis to fill up those foreign elements coming from the Śaiva tantric ritual and pair them with the well-known concepts from the Mahāyāna world.

Below is a translation of the *sādhana* as it appears in the commentaries by *Śoṇaśrī and *Vajrasiddha, which I have correlated with *Kṛṣṇācārya's and *Lalitavajra's exegesis in the footnotes.

> **Next** (*athātaḥ*), [means:] immediately after the extraction of the *mantra*, **the *sādhana* of Vajrabhairava** (*vajrabhairavasādhanaṃ*), [means:] the method by which you achieve Vajrabhairava **will be correctly explained**, [means:] in accordance with the oral instruction of the guru. Concerning this, the *upadeśa* is as follows: **first of all (*purvakaṃ*)**, i.e., the *mantrin*, relying on some special person, should sit on a comfortable seat. He should pop into his mouth a pellet (*guṭikā*) made of five nectars. The yogin should be naked, with dishevelled hair, facing south.[551] Then, in his heart, he visualises the rays of light pervading the ten directions; then, he invites the Buddhas, bodhisattvas and the deities beginning with *krodha*.[552] He asks them to hover in the air, in front of him, and propitiates them with [the help of] the four goddesses beginning with Vajracarcikā

[551] The beginning of *Kṛṣṇācārya's description (p. 453) is similar to that of *Śoṇaśrī and *Vajrasiddha, but it also differs from them in introducing the topic of protection of the *vajra*-net and the practitioner itself, as follows: "**first of all** [means] first, at that time, in those places (i.e., suitable places previously described, see Chap. 1), he should take a comfortable seat, he should purify the mouth with the five *aṃrta*s; naked, with his hair dishevelled, facing south, with the letter 'ma' in the heart and the seed-syllable, he performs the protection of the [*vajra*]-fence (*prākāra*) from the sides and the top. He protects the place and the deity with compassion, and with the meditation of emptiness, he protects the *yogin* himself" (*dang po kho nar zhes pa ni de'i tshe dang po ste gnas der stan bde ba la 'dug ste/ bdud rtsi lnga yis kha dag par byas la/ gcer bu skra grol ba shar mngon par phyogs par bya ste/ snying ga'i ma dang sa bon gyis dra gur gyi bsrung bas/ gnas dang snying rje chen pos* [em.; *po* ed.] *dang lha dang stong pa nyid kyi ting nge 'dzin bsrungs bas rnal 'byor pa yang bsrung bar 'gyur ro*). Meditation on emptiness as the supreme protection is an idiomatic expression, and when it is mentioned in tantric *sādhana*-texts it is given as an alternative, *prajñārakṣitā*. In Lūyipāda's commentary on the Heruka *sādhana* (*Herukābhisamaya*, quoted in the *Guhyasamayasādhanamālā*, ed., p.132, see also English 2002:448), we find the following passage: "one should not object to the fact why there is meditation of emptiness after the setting of the *pañjara*. He explains: because this is *adhimātraprajñā*, the supreme *prajñā*, for such a person, emptiness is the supreme protection" (*takṣāpañjarāder anantaraṃ śūnyatābhāvanoktā tad adhimātraprañādhikārāt. tasya śūnyataiva parā rakṣeti*). I thank P.D. Szántó for this reference. Other instances of the same idea are found in the *Yogimanohāra Pañcakramaṭippaṇī*, vol. 23 (p. 13): *tad anu paramārthe śūnyataiva paramā rakṣeti* (quoted by English 2002:448), and in Ratnākaraśānti's *Muktāvalī* on the *Hevajratantra* 1.3.3. The *Abhisamayamañjarī* quotes Lūyipāda's *Herukābhisamaya*'s passage (above) saying that to consider emptiness as the supreme protection is not only meant for the advanced practitioners who have "exceptional insight", but for ordinary practitioners as well. The *vajra*-cage is required to effect protection and it is taught immediately after meditation on emptiness. The passage of the *Abhisamayamañjarī* is translated in English 2002:136.

[552] These are typically the ten *krodha* deities used widely in the Jñānapāda school of the GS, forming a protection wheel (*rakṣācakraṃ*) around the *sādhaka* (Tanaka 2018:292).

that arise from the light of the seed of [his] heart. They (the *pūjādevī*s) present offerings in front of the Buddhas, holding sacrificial instruments for worship, such as a lotus in the hand. He confesses his sins, etc., and dismisses them.[553]

What is expressed by the phrase "**selflessness of all phenomena**" (***sarvadharmanairātmya***) is the meditation on the four *brahmavihāra*s.[554] In this regard, love (*maitrī*) has a characteristic of love towards all sentient beings as if they were your own son; compassion (*karuṇā*) is a desire to completely liberate [sentient beings] from suffering and the cause of suffering;[555] joy (*muditā*) [means] stabilising contentment by means of firm bliss; *upekṣā* is to be equanimous, which means to disregard all kinds of thought-constructs related to *grāhyaṃ* and *grāhakaḥ*.[556]

Then, he [should contemplate the *śūnyatā* by] perceiving the dependent origination of all and by being devoid of the four alternatives (*catuṣkoṭi*), and he should both recite and realise the meaning of the *mantra*: "I am of the essence that is the non-dual gnosis of emptiness" (*oṃ śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātmako 'haṃ*); he should trip the appearance (*āloka*) of both himself and the three realms.[557] And then, from the power of aspiration, the letter ĀḤ of red colour appears, then it turns into a sun-disc. On the top of the sun-disc, the letter HŪṂ appears, emitting light in five colours that changes into a

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[553] *Kṛṣṇācārya (pp. 453–444) has a corresponding passage, which reads as follows: "with that light endowed with five rays in the seed-syllable of his heart, pervading all world-systems in the ten directions, he impels all the five lineages of the Buddhas; having purified the five classes of beings, he visualises in the space in front of him all the Buddhas, bodhisattvas, wrathful ones, and the gurus. From the seed-syllable in his heart, he emits the *pūjādevī*s and with Vajracarcikā, etc. he correctly offers the outer (*bāhyapūjā*), inner (*antarpūjā*), and real (*tattvapūjā*) forms of worship (*snying ga'i sa bon gyi 'od zer lnga dang ldan pa'i 'od de nyid kyis phyogs bcu'i 'jig rten gyi khams thams cad du khyab pas sangs rgyas thams cad rigs lnga bskul/ 'gro ba'i rgyud lnga sbyangs nas/ sangs rgyas dang byang chub sems dpa' dang khro bo dang bla ma thams cad mdun gyi nam mkha' la dmigs la/ rang gi snying ga'i sa bon las mchod pa'i lha mo spros la rdo rje carci kā la sogs kyis phyi dang nang dang de kho na nyid kyi mchod pas yang dag par mchod pa dang*/).

[554] This is a common commentarial technique in which the entire concept is included in one word.

[555] Here I adopt *Vajrasiddha's reading (p. 419): *snying rje ni sdug bsngal dang sdug bsngal gyi rgyu las yang dag par sgrol bar 'dod pa'o,* which is more elegant. *Śoṇaśrī's reading (p. 400) is as follows: *sdug bsngal dang sdug bsngal gyi rgyu las yang dag par 'don pa'i snying rje*, "compassion is that which completely takes out sentient beings from the suffering and the cause of suffering".

[556] *Kṛṣṇācārya has a corresponding passage, as follows: "He confesses his sins, etc. and he meditates on the four *brahmavihāra*s; one knows them [as follows]: 1) *maitrī-lakṣaṇa*, 'love' which is not given up and graciously extends to all the beings; 2) *karuṇā-lakṣaṇa*, 'compassion', which is that which desires to protect all sentient beings from suffering; 3) *muditā-lakṣaṇa*, 'joy', which is a desire to rescue the beings from *saṃsāra* (this normally features in the *karuṇā-lakṣaṇa*) and place them in *tuṣitā,* and a desire not to be dissociated with them; 4) *upekṣā,* 'equanimity', non-divisiveness through biased mind and freedom from the eight worldly *dharma*s" (for the Tibetan text, see Appendix 3, p. 441, fn. 1714).

[557] *Kṛṣṇācārya repeats the same instruction on the meditation of *catuṣkoṭi* as follows: "Then, having realised that nothing is established as *svabhāvaḥ*, empty of one and many, free of four *koṭi*s (i.e., 1. existence, 2. non-existence, 3. existence and non-existence, 4. neither existence nor non-existence), and that they arise in the *pratītyasamutpāda*, [in order to seal this realisation], he recites the mantra: '*oṃ śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātmako 'haṃ'*. The purpose of that mantra is to place his mind in the 'non-objectification state, spontaneously pervading the entire space, having the knowledge of the immutable gnosis of emptiness'" (for the Tibetan text, see *ibid.;* fn.1714).

crossed-*vajra* (*viśvavajra*), and that turns into a *vajra*-fence (*vajraprākāra*), a *vajra*-canopy (*vajrapañjara*), and a *vajra*-earth (*vajrabhūmi*).[558] After he has visualised all of this, he should visualise the **wind-*maṇḍala* [transformed] from the letter YAṂ**, [which means:] through the connection with *anusvāra*. **From** [the letter] **DHĪḤ** [which means:] from the yellow DHĪḤ [he should visualise] **Mañjuvajra**[559], [which means:] the

[558] Insofar as the building of the base for the generation of the deity is concerned, *Kṛṣṇācārya's commentary (p. 454) differs from that of *Vajrasiddha and *Śoṇaśrī in substantial ways: "from the letter YAṂ in space-*maṇḍala*" [means:] from the collection of the previous *dharmatā* and by the force of aspiration (*praṇidhāna*) [he starts generating the base for the deity, as follows]: from the sequence of YAṂ, RAṂ, VAṂ, LAṂ, SUṂ, there arise the four elements of blue, red, white, and yellow colours, which constitute the four continents of the *maṇḍala*; at the top of [that *maṇḍala*] with four continents, there arises Sumeru, the king of the mountains, in a form of a 'peak' (*śṛṅga*), transformed from the syllable SUṂ in the *rāga-maṇḍala*; at the top of the sun-*maṇḍala* [transformed] from the [letter] MA, one should visualise the *vajra*-ground, a fence, and a canopy transformed from the cross-*vajra* (*viśvavajra*), which [arises] from the syllable HŪṂ. Inside this, there is a palace that comes from the transformation of Mañjuśrī-*jñānasattva*; he should generate, as before, the *maṇḍala* with corners, four gates and cremation grounds" (*nam mkha'i dkyil du yaṃ yig las/ zhes pa ni chos nyid las sngon du tshogs dang smon lam song ba'i mthus/ yam ram vam lam sum gyi rim pa las sngo ba dang dmar po dang dkar po dang ser po'i kha dog can gyi 'byung ba bzhi'i dkyil 'khor gling bzhir chags pa'i dkyil du sum ri rab ri'i rgyal por gyur pa lcog bzhi dang bcas pa'i steng du/ ma las nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor dang de'i steng du huṃ las sna tshogs rdo rjer gyur nas rdo rje'i sa gzhi dang/ ra ba dang gur dang/ bla re dag bsgom mo/ de'i nang du gzhal yas khang 'jam dpal ye shes sems dpar gyur pa las/ gru bzhi sgo bzhi dur khrod dang bcas pa sngon bzhin bskyed la*). *Lalitavajra (p. 322) has a corresponding passage as follows: "Then, as for the space that appears, there, one meditates on emptiness, this is the meaning of "he should visualise that which arises from the [syllable] YAṂ". At the top of that one should visualise that which manifests by itself as the centre of a cross-*vajra*, which itself comes from the [transformation of the syllable] HŪṂ. Reciting the mantra with four *hūṃ*s, he visualises the [*vajra*]-fence and the *vajra*-canopy with the light of that. Inside that, in the centre of space, he visualises the *maṇḍala*, which arises from the four [seed-syllables], beginning with YAṂ, etc. On the top of that there is Sumeru. On the top of that [Sumeru] transformed from [the syllable] BHRUṂ, there is a body-*vajra* […]. This is the meaning of 'One should visualise a palace endowed with the eight cremation grounds that comes from the transformation of that [body-*vajra*]'. With regard to 'first of all, one should generate the [first] vowel [A] on top of that', [it means:] on top, in the centre of palace. As for 'first', [it means:] the moon that comes from the [vowel] A. As for 'on the top of that', [it means:] DHĪḤ on the top of the moon. As for the sword that is generated from that [DHĪḤ], it manifests by itself. Therefore, this is the meaning of generating the body of Mañjuśrī. As for 'one should place in the heart', [it means:] the sun in the heart of Mañjuśrī" (*de nas bar snang gi nam mkha' ste stong pa nyid bsgoms pa de nyid la/ yam las byung ba bsam par bya zhes pa'i don to/ de'i steng du huṃ las byung ba'i sna tshogs rdo rje'i lte ba la de nyid kyis mtshan pa bsams la huṃ bzhi pa'i sngags brjod pas/ de'i 'od kyis ra ba dang bla re bsgoms la/ de'i nang du nam kha'i dbus su yam la sogs pa bzhi las 'byung ba'i dkyil 'khor ro/ de'i steng du ri rab tu grub ba'o/ de'i steng du bhrum las byung ba'i de las sku'i rdo rje* [*lacuna*] *lte ba la de nyid kyis/ de gyur pa las gzhal yas khang dur khrod brgyad dang bcas pa bsams la/ zhes bya ba'i don to/ de steng dbyangs yig dang pos bskyed zhes bya ba la/ de steng gzhal yas khang gi dbus su'o/ dang po ni a las byung ba'i zla ba'o/ de'i steng ni zla ba'i steng du dhiḥ'o/ de las bskyed pa'i ral gri la de nyid kyis mtshan pa'o/ de nas 'jam dpal gyi skur bskyed pa'i don to/ de'i snying khar bya ba ni 'jam dpal gyi snying khar nyi ma'o*).

[559] The Sanskrit has Mañjuśrī, but in *Śoṇaśrī's lemma, there seems to be Mañjuvajra (*jam pa'i rdo rje zhes bya ba ni*), while *Vajrasiddha retains the Sanskrit "Mañjuśrī" (*'jam dpal zhes bya*

protector with one face, two arms, holding a sword and a book [in his hands]. [Mañjuvajra should be visualised] sitting in the crossed-legged posture of *vajra* (*vajraparyaṅka*) and as being of the nature of *hetuvajradhara*. Then, he should be generated as adorned with the eight cremation grounds, which symbolise that he has the nature of *phalavajradhara* as taught in various tantras; that means that he is *nirahaṃkāra*, in which he is non-dual with regard to *bhāva* and *nirvāṇa*.[560] At this point, one should recite the mantra: "all phenomena are empty of intrinsic nature, I am empty" (*oṃ svabhāvaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ svabhāvaśuddho 'haṃ*). Then, he empowers his eyes, etc.; after *abhiṣeka*, he visualises [himself] as being initiated by Akṣobhya on his head. "He is endowed with all the *rasa*s beginning with *śṛṅgāra*, but from the outside, it looks as if he has a wrathful form."[561] The Buddhas with their sons are invited and then, he sees them in front of him, emitting light. The four goddesses beginning with Carcikā hold pots completely filled with the five nectars, etc. The pots are like the moon. The yogin visualises that the goddesses, preceded by benedictory verses, initiate him.[562] With the rays of the seed-syllable from his own heart, he invites *jñānasattva*, offering *arghya* (water to sip) and *pādya* (water to wash feet). With the mantra *oṃ mudgara jaḥ*, he attracts them, with [the mantra] *oṃ daṇḍa hūṃ*, he introduces them, with [the mantra] *oṃ padma vaṃ*, he binds them, with [the mantra] *oṃ khaḍga hoḥ*, he makes them abide in their will.[563] Then, with Varjacarcikā, etc. who arises from the seed syllable of his heart,

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ba ni). The iconographical description of Mañjuśrī/Mañjuvajra that follows is identical in both commentaries. *Lalitavajra (p. 24) understands Mañjuśrī as *mañjuśrījñānasattva* and describes him as one-faced, two-armed, and having a yellow body (*'jam dpal ye shes sems dpa' zhal gcig phyag gnyis sku mdog ser por ru'o*).

[560] Sitting in a crossed-legged posture of *vajra*, he is *bhāva*, and as adorned with the eight cremation grounds, he is *nirvāṇa*, but in fact he is neither of them, hence 'non-dual'. In fact, that means that he has *nirahaṃkāraḥ* in which he is non-dual with regard to *bhāva* and *nirvāṇa*.

[561] The Tibetan translation is corrupted. The idea behind this passage is that the deity should embody all the *rasa*s. The oldest reference to this idea appears already in the *Sarvabuddhasamāyoga* 5.48ab (*raudrādirasasaṃyogavicitramukhavibhramaiḥ*). This is certainly worth taking into consideration in the context of the above passage, which discusses the homologisation of the senses as the deities. This concept could have been influenced by Śāktism, especially by the Krama tradition where one frequently encounters references to the divinization of the senses: see, for example, *Mahānayaprakāśa* of Śitikaṇṭha 12.4–6, and *Tantrāloka* 3.262–264. *Śṛṅgārasa* usually appears in the description of the *yoginītantra* deities, such as Hālāhala-Lokeśvara in the *Sādhanamālā* 27 (p. 65: *śṛṅgārarasasundara*), and of tantric forms of Mañjuśrī in the NMAA Chap. 4 (Tribe 1995:106): *saśṛṅgāra*, translated by Tribe as "possessing the erotic sentiment", and in the *Sādhanamālā* 59, 60 (p. 124): *mahāśṛṅgāramūrti* (see English 2002:463, n.383). Heruka too is described as possessing all the nine *rasa*s, for example in the *Bhramaharanāma Hevajrasādhana* (p. 7), clearly influenced by the *rasa*-theory of Indian aesthetics, cited by English (2002:464).

[562] The idea is that the goddesses pour whatever is in their pots on him. Even though here the literal meaning of sprinkling is certainly intended, it is not sure whether we should understand this ritual as a part of *abhiṣeka.*

[563] The mantra *jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ* is connected to the four actions of introducing the deities into the *maṇḍala*. Snellgrove (1987:222–223) shows that these four actions appear in the Trailokyavijaya passage of the STTS in the context of the four guardians of the *maṇḍala* through which "the great beings, the Buddhas and others are summoned, drawn in, bound, so entering his power". Thus *jaḥ* stands for Vajrāṅkuśa and the East, whose function is to adduct or summon (*ākarṣa*); *hūṃ* stands for Vajrapāśa and the South, whose function is to draw them in (*praveśa*); *vaṃ* stands for Vajrasphoṭa and the West, whose function is to bind (*bandha*); and *hoḥ* stands for

with various offerings, the wise one should present worship. Then, he should eat *amṛta*s, which have been prepared with the *vidhi* ritual beginning with heating them up (*aṃrtāsvādanam*).[564] Thus, one applies oneself, it is neither true nor false. He should mediate on the aspect of the deity, then, he should remember those aspects.[565]

Table 4: Visualising the Cosmos, the Palace and the Mañjuśrījñānasattva

Sonaśrī/*Vajrasiddha	*Kṛṣṇācārya	*Lalitavajra
ĀḤ (red)~sun	*yaṃ* (blue), *raṃ* (red), *vaṃ* (white), *laṃ* (yellow): four continents	Space and YAṂ
HŪṂ (light with five colours)~*viśvavajra*	SUṂ (Sumeru), centre	HŪṂ~*viśvavajra*
Viśvavajra~vajra-prākāra~vajra-pañjara~vajra-bhūmi	MA~*sūryamaṇḍala*	*Viśvavajra~vajrabhūmi, etc.~maṇḍala*
YAṂ~*vāyumaṇḍala*	HŪṂ~*viśvavajra*	On the top of *maṇḍala*-Sumeru
DHĪḤ	*Viśvavajra~vajrabhūmi~vajrap*	On the top of Sumeru,

Vajrāveśa/Vajraghaṇṭā and the North, whose function is to draw within one's power (*āveśa*/*vaśīkaraṇa*). Discussing the *jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ* sequence in the context of the Ṭakkirāja-mantra recovered from Old Javanese and Indo-Tibetan sources, Acri (2016:334) has pointed out that these four actions are also hinted at in the *Sarvavajrodaya* (section 56) as *vajrāṅkuśādibhir ākṛṣya pravesya baddhvā vaśikṛtya* in the context of the four actions performed by Vajrahūṃkāra. The appearance of this sequence with minor variants is also attested, as Acri (2016:334–335) points out, in the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana* (Skorupski 1983:103), and in the *Vajraśekhara* (Nihom 1998:248; 253 nn. 16–17). See also Ratnākaraśānti's *Bhramaharanāma Hevajrasādhana* (p. 10): *jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ ity ebhir yathākramaṃ ākarṣaṇapraveśanabandhavaśikaraṇāni kṛtvā,* and *Sādhanamālā* 226 (p. 441): *jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ vajrāṅkuśādiyogena ākṛṣya praveśya baddhvā vaśan nayet* (quoted in English 2002:470 n. 410) In some texts, however, such as the *Sādhanamālā* n. 251 or *Herukasādhana* of Huṅkāravajra f. 204r 5–7 (Sanderson 2009:153, n. 349), the sequence bears the feminine names of the goddesses and the last *bīja hoḥ* stands for 'pleasing' (*toṣaṇa*). See, for example, *Hevajrasekaprakriyā* (p. 8): *jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ yathākramaṃ gaurīcaurīvattālighasmarībhī rajomaṇḍale ākarṣaṇaṃ praveśanaṃ bandhanaṃ toṣaṇaṃ cakṣurādyadhiṣṭhānaṃ kuryāt* (quoted in English 2002:469 n. 406). The sequence referred to by *Śoṇaśrī/*Vajrasiddha refers to the earlier version of the *mantra* sequence that goes back to the STTS and the *yogatantra*s in general. The *sādhaka* assumes the functions of the four Yamāntaka gatekeepers, as can be evinced from the fact that the four actions are facilitated by the hand-weapons held by Yamāntakas and not by the typical weapons of the four guardians holding a hook, noose, chain/fetter, and bell. For the explanation of the *jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ* sequence in the context of the Ṭakkirāja-*mantra*, see Acri (2016).

[564] This is a reference to the ritual of tasting nectar (*amṛtāsvādanam*) that appears in the *sādhana* texts, such as the *Abhisamayamañjarī*, the *Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi,* or the *Guhyasamayasādhanamālā*. The nectars constitute the typical transgressive substances, the five *amṛta*s and the five meats (of a cow, dog, horse, elephant and man). The cooking begins with the preparation of the hearth, which is fashioned from the three heads (*trimuṇḍacullikā*), the top skull acting as the cauldron. The fire heats up the ingredients; these are called the knowledge-nectars and should be offered to the heroes and heroines in the ten directions. For the whole description of *amṛtāsvādanam* based on the *Cakrasaṃvarabalividhi*, see English (2002:210–211).

[565] *Śoṇaśrī's *pañjikā*, pp. 399–401; for the Tibetan text, see Appendix 1, p. 334.

(yellow)~Mañjuvajra	*añjara~vajraprākāra*	*vajrabhūmi*~from *bhruṃ*
	Mañjuśrījñānasattva~palace~ *maṇḍala* with four corners, eight cremation grounds, etc.	*Vajrabhūmi*~palace with eight cremation grounds
		On the top of palace,'A'~moon
		On the top of the moon, *dhīḥ*~sword~Mañjuśrī

4.4.3. The Consumption of the Five *Amṛta*s

The end of Chapter Four of the VBhT discussing the Vajrabhairava-*sādhana* describes the following practice:

> The devotee who is in this yoga always performs all the rites of Bhairava. In the cemetery, meditating, he always eats the five ambrosias. There is no achievement without doing this […]" (trans. Siklós 1996:41).

The aforesaid passage is lost in Sanskrit, but the Tibetan translation indicates it was written in verse. The phrase "there is no *siddhi* without doing this" is a common cliché that appears often in the tantric texts.[566] The fact that the word 'Bhairava' appears here without its usual Buddhist 'spin' indicated by the word '*vajra*' could possibly mean that the passage had been lifted *verbatim* from some unidentified Bhairavatantra of the Vidyāpīṭha. A similar 'praxis' appears also in the GS (17.47), although one 'nectar' seems to be missing: "Let him not be disgusted by faeces, urine, semen or blood. He should always eat them, in accordance with the ritual prescription, this is the secret born of the three *vajra*s."[567] The five nectars or five jewels (*pañcāmṛta*, *ratnapañcaka*), i.e. semen, menstrual blood, urine, excrement, and phlegm (Sanderson 2005) commonly feature in the Kaula rituals and are also often referred to in the Vidyāpīṭha texts, such as the *Jayadrathayāmala* and the *Picumata-Brahmayāmala*.

The ritual use of the five nectars has two functions and, as I will try to demonstrate, the VBhT and its commentators have adopted these two functions into its magical technology. First, these five are regarded as powerful substances that attract a

[566] For example, in the *Kākacaṇḍeśvarīmata* (1.20, 33), a 12th century tantric alchemical work discussed by White, the *dravyam* (which connotes the meanings of sexual fluid and alchemical substances, like mercury) is linked to the cliché "without *dravyam*, there can be no *siddhi*" (quoted in White 2003:230).

[567] *viṇmūtraśukraraktānāṃ jugupsāṃ naiva kārayet/ bhakṣayed vidhinā nityam idaṃ guhyaṃ trivajrajam*/. GS 17.47, p. 103

certain class of wrathful deities and dangerous spirits. The supernatural beings are constantly on the lookout for these five nectars and they procure it by extraction. For example, the *Tantrasadbhāva*, an early Śāktatantra of the Vidyāpīṭha, refers to a certain class of dangerous female spirits, called *ḍāmarī*s, whose mind is constantly focused on the repetition of the mantra, who devour the five nectars after having extracted them from their human victims.[568] Even though the extraction of the five nectars from living beings is not prescribed in the Kāpālika observance (*kāpālikavrata*), literary sources, such as the 8th century *Mālatīmādhava* written by Bhavabhūti, refer to it as the feature of the Kāpālika transgressive conduct (*vāmācāra*), as follows:

> [Now enters the Skull-Earring (Kapālakuṇḍalā), terrifyingly radiant, flying through the air]: "Victorious is the lord of powers who is surrounded by his *śākti*s, who is constantly sought by the *sādhaka*s of the unriveted attention, who bestows *siddhi* upon those who know him. His substance concealed within the heart, being centered in the wheel of the sixteen *nāḍi*s (5.1, ed. Grimal, p. 157). Look at me now, here I come, driving as I proceed through the sky, without becoming exhausted by my flight, because of extracting the five nectars of all beings through the process of the rising of the *nāḍi*s." (5.2, ed. Grimal, p. 159)

Törzsök (2011:3) says that with regard to the accuracy of the Kāpālika practices, the *Mālatīmādhava* and other non-sectarian Sanskrit texts, such as Mahendravarman's 7th century *Mattavilāsa,* or Kṛṣṇāmiśra's 11th-12th century *Prabodhacandrodaya,* should be taken with caution for they crystalised certain 'Kāpālika stereotypes' that obscured some of the more complex aspects of the Kāpālika practice; still, they do provide some insights into the original 'Kāpālika practice' if corroborated with information drawn from the early Śākta and Śaiva textual sources, such as the *Jayadrathayāmala* and the *Brahmayāmala*. In support of the accuracy of Bhavabhūti's description of the extraction of the five nectars as belonging to the original Kāpālika praxis, we have textual evidence from the *Yoginīsaṃcāra* section of the *Jayadrathayāmala* (*ṣaṭka* 3), which refers to "the procedure of the nectar" (*amṛtasya prayoga*) through the *nāḍī*s as part of the *vāmācāra*, i.e., the Kāpālika path. One should install the mantras of Bhairava on his body along with *ugracakra*, after having first killed an animal victim (*paśu*, in a sense of 'uninitiated person'). Then he should begin the ritual. Then, he should extract the nectar through the

[568] Prof. Alexis Sanderson in private conversation.

nāḍī. The successive arising, which is taking place through the *nāḍī*s, takes 2 *ghaṭika*s[569] (48 minutes). One *ghaṭika* is three hundred and sixty *prāṇa*s. The procedure ends with the dictum: "Know that it is the cycle of time, hard to be obtained by those who follow the left-(hand), i.e. *vāma* rites which are hard and rare to obtain."[570] What follows thereupon is an even more detailed description of how this process of extraction should be done: "Having visualised the victim in front of him, he should visualise the spell-syllable on his head. He visualises the syllable *phaṭ* together with *oṃ* and places it upon the imagined victim, visualising him as black and hollow and as if sucking in the nectar. As he breaths in, he extracts the blood." Then, the *sādhaka* imagines the nectar filling his mouth and, imagining what has filled his mouth, he gazes upon the vessel. In this procedure he extracts all vital essences one by one.[571]

The five nectars as power substances are also used in tantric worship. Again, the *Yoginīsaṃcāra* section of the *Jayadrathayāmala* refers to the five nectars in the context of preparing the sacrificial pap (*caru*) that should be offered by the tantric practitioner to the deities in anticipation of the highest *siddhi*s. The passage reads as follows: "Having taken the five ambrosias in accordance with the Kula tradition, having properly prepared these *caru*s, which will give the highest *siddhi*s, he should offer it to the gods. After that, he should leave the sacrificial enclosure and throw down onto the ground a ransom (*bali*) to various supernatural beings: Lāmās, Cumbikās, Cūṣikās, and Pūtanās. Equipped with great human nectars, the hero should cast in due order, ransom to the male demons, liquor and meat. He should request permission from these deities to perform *japa*".[572] The offering of the five nectars is a part of magical technology that follows the basic principle of sympathetic magic: "similar attracts similar". The mere fact that these dangerous, wrathful deities are attracted by these powerful substances means that by offering these substances to them, one is able to obtain the highest *siddhi*s from them.

With regard to the use of powerful substances in worship, the last part of the Chapter Five of the VBhT similarly refers to the offering of the two 'nectars', i.e.

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[569] One *ghaṭika* is three hundred and sixty *prāṇa*s and one *prāṇa* is 4 seconds. Therefore, one *ghaṭika* is 24 minutes.
[570] *Yoginīsaṃcāra/Jayadrathayāmala* 5.41–42 and 5.45–5.46; for the Sanskrit text, see Appendix 1, p. 334–335.
[571] *Yoginīsaṃcāra/Jayadrathayāmala* 5.53cd–57; for the Sanskrit text, see Appendix 1, p. 335.
[572] *Yoginīsaṃcāra/Jayadrathayāmala* 4.49cd–53; for the Sanskrit text, see Appendix 1, p. 335.

excrement and blood, in front of the Vajrabhairava painting if the practitioner desires the highest *siddhi*. The fact that these nectars attract wrathful deities may be also the reason for smearing the practitioner's body with them. In the description of the entry into the Vajrabhairava-*maṇḍala* (VBhT, Chap. 1), which should be drawn as the cremation ground, the body of the *sādhaka* should be anointed with faeces and urine. Similarly, in the GS (14.51), the efficacy of the ritual action seems to be dependent upon the cloth drenched in faeces and urine that is worn during the *abhicāra*: "Having worn a garment which is soaked in urine and faeces, which is disgusting because of its appalling odour, he should then repeat the mantra until it dries; as soon as it dries, the victim will die immediately."[573]

Another related context in which the five nectars as power-substances appear in tantric texts is their consumption. The role they assume in this setting is either to help the *sādhaka* to transcend the dichotomising thought-constructs of 'pure and impure' (as we shall see in the following page, this same understanding is attested in the exegetical writings of both Śaiva and Buddhist tantric authors), or to grant the *siddhi* of a long, healthy, and ageless life. In this regard, *Lalitavajra, while commenting upon the final part of the Chapter 4 of the VBhT (see above, p. 243), discusses each of the four *amṛta*s, one by one, and provides a specific ritual procedure for each of them. The result one can expect from consuming each of the *amṛta*s is the same, i.e., long life without old age, as well as sexual prowess. Below is the description given by *Lalitavajra:

> "He should always abide in the cremation ground", etc., is taught as the method of consuming the [five] *amṛta*s [as follows:] On the evening of the first day of the waxing moon, making use of a virgin-woman, he engages in sexual intercourse [with her] until the break of the next day without letting his semen fall into her vagina; then, he takes it with an iron vessel[574] until the heat does not fade away. Having drunk it with a tube for a day, or even if he has consumed it inside, he will have a long life and he will be without old age; he will become similar to a hot *vajra*.[575]

[573] For the Sanskrit text, see, fn. 406 above.

[574] A simlilar procedure for collecting the semen discharged after sexual intercourse into a vessel is attested in the *Kaulāvalīnirṇaya* of Jñānānanda Paramahaṃsa (5.81a-82a quoted in White 2003:219); the semen is afterwards offered to the goddess who quenches her thirst by drinking it. The *sādhaka* who does that will obtain everything he desires.

[575] The expression 'hot *vajra*' may refer to the *sādhaka*'s sexual energy or to the accumulation of the energy, which makes the body feel 'hot'. I have not found any textual examples of a similar usage of this term, but the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 3.25 refers to a *liṅga* as a *vajra*: "this *liṅgam* is

> Also, on the first day of the waning moon, he finds a woman in menses. He generates lust by [the knowledge of the] *Kāmasūtra* and makes intercourse with her for three days, from evening till dawn. He mixes together the two fluids[576] (semen and blood or female sexual secretion), and he drinks it until the heat does not fade away or, alternatively, he drinks it with a tube for a day. [If he does that], the good result will be similar as [what has been described] before.
>
> He eats the correct measure of the three white foods and the three sweets every day, he scatters half of human excrement that has come out [of him]. After three days, when the filth becomes dry, he takes the human excrement that has been left there. He mixes together the powder of the [dry faeces], which has the measure of a cat's claw, with milk. If he drinks it, he will become like that (i.e. having a long life without old age, and like a hot *vajra*).
>
> Having cut the flesh of a hero who has won many battles [and] whose [flesh] has been offered to Death, who has passed away to a good land, he rolls it up. He puts it into the sealed clay bowl. That also he seals well with plaster. On the top of it, he kindles a fire and by heating it up, the fluid is produced; [then] he takes it. If he drinks it, he will be similar [to what has been described above].
>
> By giving up the consumption of previous spicy meals, in the same manner as before, at midnight on the third night, he puts into the vessel, which has three compartments, the urine and faeces he has taken up. When the three days have passed, he should smear oneself with the top part. The middle part, he drinks. If he discards the last part, he will become like before.
>
> Also, if he mixes together the powder of the three fruits and the previous five *amṛta*s and eats it, or moreover if he makes an actual pill [out of it] and eats each of them, there will be an accomplishment, without any doubts. This is the meaning.[577]

The first two rituals that rest upon the production of sexual fluids through the sexual activity (*melāpa*) reflect the typical *imaginaire* of the Kaula world, where the worship of the *yoginī*s with sexual fluids reached its prime.[578] One of the most vivid examples is the 9th-10th century *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* attributed to Matsyendranātha (11.8–11), where the five *amṛta*s, including menstrual blood, semen, and blood are part of a daily ritual (*nitya*) through which one becomes equal to the *yoginī*s. Chapter 18 of the same text (18.21) instructs about preparing a *caru* consisting, among other things, of semen and blood that has to be consumed by a *sādhaka* in the course of a *pūjā* as this is the favourite oblation that can be offered to the *siddha*s and the *yoginī*s. Jayaratha's commentary (*viveka*) on *Tantrāloka* 29.6–166 (see White 2003:320) clearly states that by "merely eating [the fluid deposited in one's own body through the sexual intercourse], a man becomes immortal

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eternally erect, a *vajraliṅgam*, and may not be destroyed by raging fire, landslide, or torrent" (trans. Bagchi 1986:7).

[576] The technical term for the combined male and female sexual fluids that appears in the Kaula tradition is *kuṇḍagolakodbhava*: see, for example, Chap. 29 of Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka*.

[577] *Lalitavajra's *pañjikā*, p. 325–326; for the Tibetan text, see Appendix 1, p. 335.

[578] White (2003) discusses this topic extensively in Chapters 3 and 4.

and praised as 'Śiva'. It is said in all the teachings that non-aging and immortality are afforded through the primary mouth that is the mouth of the *yoginī*". What is the "mouth of the *yoginī*?" Jayaratha explains it as follows: "that genital region located at the base of the carnal vault of *suṣumnā* is the triangle at the foundation of birth, also called the mouth of the *yoginī*. As it is stated: 'the supreme energy (*parāśakti*) in her crooked form called *kuṇḍalinī* rises up from here, the triangular sacred seat'." [579] According to the *Jayadrathayāmala*, *kuṇḍalinī* releases its 'nectar' in two places, in the upper place (*ūrdhva*) at the crown of the head and in the lower place, in the region of the genitals. In both places, she emits a fluid equated with a seminal discharge, which flows out; by consuming this fluid, one becomes immortal, as the *Jayadrathayāmala* says: "the nectar which is the juice of *Kuṇḍalī* comes out of his body. By just eating this, (yogins) become immortal and free of old age, wrinkles, white hair and all diseases."[580]

In appropriating the Kaula ritual framework and the five *amṛta*s—the 'signature' of the Yoginīkaula sect, the VBhT as well as the commentarial tradition represented by *Lalitavajra betray the influence of non-Buddhist tantric traditions on the production of the *mūla*-text and the adoption of specific Kaula practices into the Vajrabhairava-*sādhana.* The *Jayadrathayāmala* and Jayaratha's commentary on the *Tantrāloka* envelop the consumption of the sexual fluids with the yogic praxis of raising the *kuṇḍalinī*, and thus represent a point in time when some strands of the Śākta ritual went in a direction of sublimating some of the hard-core practices by aligning them with a more sophisticated yogic nomenclature. This sophistication is missing in *Lalitavajra's commentary, for its focus is merely on the use of the five *amṛta*s in the context of magical technology, which makes it a good example of early tantric magic.

4.5. The Ritual of the Drawing of the Painting (*paṭavidhāna*) (§46–50)

[579] *trikoṇam ity anena yoginīvaktrāparaparyāyajanmādhārarūpatvam apy asya sūcitam/ tata eva hi parā śaktir udeti—iti bhāvaḥ/ yad uktam—"yadollasati śṛṅgāṭapīṭhāt kuṭilarūpiṇī/" iti*; *Tantrāloka* 3.94.

[580] *tasya dehād viniṣkrāntam amṛtaṃ kauṇḍalīrasam* [*kh: kauṇḍilī- ; k: kauṇilī-*]/ *tena prāśitamātreṇa bhavanti hy ajarāmarāṃ/ valipalitanirmuktāṃ* [*k: °tanirmuktā*] *sarvavyādhivivarjitāṃ/*. *Jayadrathayāmala* 4.21.79–80.

Chapter Five of the VBhT focuses on painting the *paṭa*[581]—a term given to a traditional cloth-based scroll painting—featuring Vajrabhairava. The rite of painting the *paṭa* of Yamāntaka is also found in the so-called "Yamāntaka Chapter" of the MMK.[582] The MMK gives details of the ritual procedure that employs the painted image of the deity[583] for the performance of the *abhicārahoma.* In this regard, the MMK (51.32) says: "having himself made the *paṭa* complete and full in all details, or having seen that it accords with his desire (as painted by a professional painter), he may do any *karma*, any fierce, enemy-destroying procedure."[584] The VBhT makes use of the *paṭa* for the purpose of accomplishing the unspecified *siddhi*s. In the section below, I intend to compare the two descriptions of the *paṭavidhāna* given in the aforesaid texts.

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[581] For the etymology of the word *paṭa* and its synonyms in other languages, see Wallis 2002:87–88.

[582] The MMK is, in general, an important textual source for the understanding of the earliest ritual procedure of painting the *paṭa* of the deity found in the Buddhist tantras. In this regard, Kapstein (1995:245) demonstrates that the creation of *paṭa*s had orginated in the esoteric traditions of Pāla Buddhism and that Tibetan *thangka*s can be thought of as a direct offshoot of these tradtions. Kapstein (*ibid*.:253) distinguished three structural elements for painting the *paṭa*, viz. 1) gather (the accumulation of the required items), 2) arrange (put those items in a specific order), 3) concecrate (what has been ordered) claiming that the ritual of *paṭa* "seems to involve a thoroughgoing ordering of the world" (*ibid*.:254). Similarly, Wallis (2002:87–126), in his extensive study of *paṭavidhāna* in the MMK*,* understands *paṭa* through the prism of the cult-image, where it became the primary tool of efficacy through its function of centralising the practitioner's mind "into a single point while he fixes his sight on the image in front of him." This meditative centralisation resulted in what Wallis calls "direct vision into a higher order of reality". Both scholars distance themselves from the view that creating the *paṭa* had anything to do with magical technology, although they do acknowledge the existence of magical coercion ("causes and conditions") as constituting an important part of the *paṭa*-preparation.

[583] Having traced the origins of the cult of *paṭa* in tantric Buddhist traditions to Pāla Buddhism, Kapstein (1995) calls it "a virtuoso religious practice". The MMK*,* written in that period, provides examples of *paṭavidhāna* for the worship of the deity Mañjuśrī, and given the date of its composition, i.e., the 7th or even late 6th century, these descriptions may be considered the antecedents to the *paṭavidhāna*s of the later tantric Buddhist deities. However, given the evolutionary model of the Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka's origins (see, p. 93 of this thesis), the genesis of the *paṭa*s for the worship of these deities may, in fact, be traced even earlier in time to the so-called *yamapaṭa*s. Already in the 5th century drama *Mudrārākṣasa* (v. 1.60) by Viśākhadatta (Bosch 1982:35–36) we find a portrayal of Brahmins entering into people's houses to display the "Yama scroll" (*yamapaṭa*) depicting frightening hells, in order to remind them of the horrors awaiting those who do not perform sacrifices to the gods. The same is attested in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*, containing the narrative of a storyteller, called *yamapaṭika*, who goes to the marketplaces to display the *yamapaṭa* picturing Yama and his hells as the destiny that awaits sinners (Wallis 2002:87–88).

[584] *parisphuṭaṃ tu paṭaṃ kṛtvā dṛṣṭvā vā manasepsitam*/ *sarvāṃ ca* [= *sarvāṃś ca*] *kārayet karmāṃ* [= *karmān*] *raudrāṃ* [= *raudrān*] *śatrūpaghātakān* [*em.*; *śatrūpaghātakām* ed.]//. MMK 51.23, p. 432.

4.5.1. Vīramūlya/Vīrakraya and Citrakara (§47)

Both texts suggest it was a custom to commission a craftsman (*śilpin*) or a professional painter (*citrakara*) to paint the image of the deity. The commission of the painting operated on a fee-for-services basis (rather than by free-will offerings) and the amount is specified in both texts as "the hero's fee" (Skt. *vīramūlya*/*vīrakraya*,[585] Tib. *dpa' po'i yon*). The definition of *vīramūlya*/*vīrakraya*[586] is given in the MMK (4.11–12ab) as follows: "having given the price the *śilpin* asks, the mantra-master should give the *śilpin* the price at his first word, quickly, without hesitation; this is called the *vīrakraya*".[587] The basic meaning implied by the verse is that the payment of the first stated price the *śilpin* requests should be done without bargaining. In another passage of the MMK, the *vīramūlya* is defined as a substantial fee that makes the craftsman always pleased,[588] and that should also reflect the client's generosity: "in brief, he should give the hero's fee as [the *śilpin*] himself desires. The ritual of craftsman will achieve success if he gives him as much as his wealth allows. He must act in such a way that the craftsman is satisfied."[589] This definition conforms to the gloss given by *Vajrasiddha, who says: "in some scriptures the word for this is 'hero's purchase' and it [means] that he gives to him [the fee] the painter desires".[590] *Akṣobhya glosses 'hero's price' as "a special fee", which is "a price that is superior to the normal price of a painter."[591] Apparently, paying a hero's fee was considered a good investment, according to the MMK (p. 541): "he should recite the mantra one lakh of time in front of the *paṭa*, then he should offer into the fire hundred flowers which were bought through the *vīrakraya* smeared with ghee, honey and yoghurt;

[585] Tanemura (2004:237–238 n. 52) discusses the usage of the term *vīrakraya* in some Buddhist tantras. Goodall and Isaacson (2016:36) identify *vīrakraya* as a feature of an early tantric ritual syntax.
[586] The word *vīrakraya* occurs also in the *Jayadrathyamāla* 3.14.1.5cd, in the context of buying a fish, and in the *Jayadrathayāmala* 3.14.2.37c–2.38, in the context of buying a pot of wine from a wine-merchant and setting it up in front of the goddess. I thank prof. Alexis Sanderson for these references.
[587] *yathāmūlyaṃ tato datvā yathā vadati śilpinaḥ*/ *prathame vāksamutthāne śilpinasya sa mantravit*// *dadyāt puṇyaṃ tataḥ kṣipraṃ vīrakrayeti sa ucyate*/. MMK 4.11–12ab., p. 40.
[588] *dattvā tu śilpine prabhūtaṃ cāpi mūlyaṃ vai yena vā tuṣyate sadā*/. MMK 51.19, p. 432.
[589] *yathepsitaṃ tasya kurvīta vīramūlyaṃ samāsataḥ*/ *saphalaṃ śilpinaḥ* [em.; *śilpine* ed.] *karma nirāmiṣaṃ cāpi varjayet*// *tathā tathā prayuñjīta yathāsau sampratuṣyate*/. MMK 51.20–21ab., p. 432.
[590] For the Tibetan text, see Appendix 3 p. 458, fn.1819.
[591] For the Tibetan text, see *ibid.*; fn.1819.

whatever price he bought it for will be returned to him through this magical procedure one hundred times."[592] The VBhT (§47) refers to the *vīrakraya* in the context of accomplishing *siddhi*, which the painting of the *paṭa* may bring, when it says: "If he desires *siddhi*, he should give a hero's fee."

Not unrelated to the overall success of the ritual of painting the *paṭa* are *citrakara*'s qualities. According to the VBhT (§46), a person must possess a whole set of character-traits to qualify as a suitable *citrakara* for this task. He must be pure, strong, brave, without desire, without thought-constructs, honest, without anger, diligent, loyal, etc. On the contrary, the MMK prefers a painter who is fierce, angry and scary, and therefore resembling the wrathful qualities of the deity he is painting.[593] Alternatively, and this option is attested in both texts, the mantra-master may paint himself if he is oppressed by suffering and fear caused by his enemies. In that case, the painting must be done with calm mind, preceded by a mantric self-protection[594] (possibly with the *niśumbhana* mantra, see p. 413, fn.1530), while the *sādhaka* is seated on a human skull.[595] *Lalitavajra (see, p. 457, fn.1805), while conforming with the description of the two types of people eligible to draw the *paṭa*, maintains that the *citrakara* has to be also formally initiated: "a painter who has the above qualities and who has been initiated, [or it can be painted] by a *sādhaka*, that is a hero,[596] who makes an effort to attain *siddhi*s".

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[592] *paṭasyāgrato lakṣaṃ japet/ tataḥ śatapuṣpāyā vīrakraye krītvā dadhimadhughṛtāktānāṃ juhuyāt/ yāvantakena mūlyena krītāni bhavanti; tacchataguṇamūlaṃ bhavati/*. MMK 55, pp. 540-541.

[593] *krūraṃ citrakaraṃ kruddhaṃ bhīṣaṇe cāpi lekhayet/*. MMK, 51.4ab., p. 431.

[594] It is important to undertake the ritual of protection before painting the *paṭa*, otherwise one may die along with his entire household. The MMK (51.21cd–22) says: "He must perform a major rite of protection, otherwise he will die. The performer of the rite will die along with his own household. And he should also protect himself. He should do it after he has recited the *vidyā*, the procedure is not stated to be done otherwise" (*mahārakṣā ca kartavyā anyathā mṛyate* [= *mriyate*] *hy asau// sakuṭumbo naśyate karmī ātmanam cāpi* [em.; *ātmanaś cāpi* ed.] *rakṣayet/ japtavidyena karttavyaṃ nanyātha* [em.; *nānyeṣāṃ* ed.] *vidhir ucyate*).

[595] *kapāle mānuṣāsīne* [em.; *mānuṣākapāle āsīnaḥ* ed.] *kṛtarakṣaḥ samāhite/ svayaṃ vā ālikhen mantrī ariduḥkhabhayārditaḥ //*. MMK 51.6, p. 432

[596] Kṣemarāja's commentary on the *Svacchandatantra*, the *Svacchandoddyota* (3.212. p. 252 of vol. 1 of the *paṭala* 3), provides the following definition of the *vīra*: *vīra iti tyaktajātyādigraho niṣkampaḥ*, "'Hero' is a fearless person who abandoned the demons of castes and others." In the *Svacchandoddyota* (5.46), *vīra* is defined as "those who are devoted to secret practice" (*vīrā rahasyacaryāniṣṭhāḥ*).

A reference to the *citrakara* as a *samayin* (lit. 'the one who relies on a vow') is also attested in a passage of the *Saṃputodbhava* (9.3.5).

4.5.2. Time and Place

No auspicious time is required for painting a *paṭa*. The MMK avers thus:

> *na tithir na ca nakṣatraṃ nopavāso vidhīyate/*
> *arīṇāṃ bhaya-m-utpanne*[597] *paṭam etaṃ likhāpayet*[598]//
>
> No lunar day, no asterism, no fasting is prescribed; he should cause this *paṭa* to be painted, when danger from enemies has arisen (MMK 51.1, p. 431).

The formula *na tithir na ca nakṣatraṃ nopavāso vidhīyate* occurs frequently in Śaiva and Śākta texts, and is also found in Saiddhāntika sources, viz. in the 100–verse recension of the *Kalottāra*, in NTGS 14.1.1 and 29.61ab, in *Guhyasiddhi* 66ab, in *Atharavavedapariśiṣṭa* 2.5.5 and 3 1.1.4, and in the VŚ (333–334, Goudriaan 1985:131). In the *Picumata-Brahmayāmala* 5.21c–22b, the same passage appears:

> *na tithir na ca nakṣatraṃ nopavāso vidhīyate/*
> *grāmadharmapravitasya siddhir bhavati śasanti//*
>
> No lunar day, no asterism, no fasting is prescribed; permanent success is guaranteed, once one undertakes this *grāmadharma* (sexual rite).

An echo of that verse is found in the *Tantrāloka* (31.65).[599] The *Bhairavamaṅgala*, a text related to the *Picumata* that survives in a 9th century manuscript, gives the following passage (folio 14a recto):

> *na tithir na ca nakṣatraṃ niyamo nopavāsakaṃ/*
> *no śaucaṃ na vrataṃ snānaṃ kālavela na vidyate//*
>
> No lunar day, no asterism, no ascetic restraint, no fasting, no special purification, no bathing at the end of *vrata*, no prescribed time or moment is required.

Despite this initial claim that there is no need to calculate an auspicious time to begin the painting, the MMK gives a precise timeframe not only for completing the painting, but

[597] In the correct Sanskrit it would be *bhaye utpanne*, 'm' in between the two words is so-called '*sandhi*-bridge', very common feature in a lower register of Sanskrit used in tantric texts.
[598] The form *likhāpayet*, instead of *lekhayet* is a feature of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit.
[599] *na tithir na ca nakṣatraṃ nopavāso vidhīyate/ grāmyadharmarataḥ siddhyet sarvadā smaraṇena hi//*.

also for the auspicious lunar asterism during which the painting should commence. In accordance with this second rule, the painting should begin on the 8th or 14th night of the dark fortnight and should be completed within three days. The MMK specifies the calamities that will befall the enemy during these three nights, while the painting is under preparation:

> On the first night after he has begun [the painting], there will be great danger threatening his enemies. On the second night, even the mighty enemy will be overpowered by the great fever. On the third night, the target dies and goes to the world beyond. That *mantrin*, provided he is very collected, when it is done, there will be peace for him. The body of the enemy will be desiccated (it will be burnt up by fever), and the ruin of [his] family will follow.[600]

The painter must remain in the cremation ground for the whole time while he is painting, illuminated by a lamp fuelled by human flesh, and he must be facing south at all times; alternatively, the painting may be done by the *sādhaka* himself, while fasting.[601] The VBhT does not provide instructions about the auspicious time when one should commence the drawing and simply says that the painting should be drawn in a secret place, which the commentators gloss as the cremation ground (see p. 459, fn.1821).

4.5.3. Canvases, Pigments and Brushes

The VBhT (§47) lists the following canvases suitable for painting the *paṭa*: a piece of cloth from the garment of a hero fallen in battle (*vīrakarpaṭa*), a cloth used to cover a dead body (*śavapracchāditakarpaṭa*), the cloth of a menstruating woman (*strīpuṣpa*), a cloth drenched in human blood (*mahārudhirarañjitakarpaṭa*), or a cloth on which a baby was born (*prasūtakarpaṭa*). Only these specified clothes can act a canvas.[602] The MMK adds to the above list of canvases a corpse in the cremation ground (?) and a garment of a Brahmin that should be obtained on the 14th or the 8th of the lunar day, at night, during the dark fortnight, which should be then covered with blood, washed with water, and

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[600] *prathame rātrim ārabdhe arīṇo 'pi mahad bhayam*/ *dvitīye mahājvareṇāpi āviṣṭaḥ śatrur ūrjitaḥ* [em.; *śatrumūrcchitaḥ* ed.]// *tṛtīye muñcate prāṇāṃ* [= *prāṇān*] *paralokagato bhavet*/ *kṛte* [em.; *kṛtas* ed.] *tasya bhavec chānti suprasannena* [em.; *aprasannena* ed.] *mantriṇā*// *dehaṃ śuṣyati śatror vai gṛhabhaṅgopajāyate*/. MMK 51.7–9ab., p. 431.

[601] *śmaśāne kṛṣṇapakṣe ca trirātreṇaiva samāpayet*// *aṣṭamī* [em.; *aṣṭamīṃ* ed.] *caturdaśīrātrau mahāvasādīpadīpitaḥ*/ *tatra sthitaḥ citrakaraḥ dakṣiṇābhimukhaḥ sadā*//. MMK 51.4cd–5, p. 431. *abhuñjānas tathālikhya svayaṃ vā citrakareṇa vā*// MMK 51.17cd., p. 432.

[602] For a wrong interpretation by Siklós, see Appendix 3, p. 458, fn.1818.

made thoroughly dry.[603] The *paṭa* should be drawn with bright colours with pigments drawn from the painter's own blood, mixed with human fat and butter. The skull bowls made of human bone serve as receptacles.[604] A fragment of the VBhT reconstructed from the *Saṃpuṭodbhava* mentions five pigments scented with olimabum tree. *Lalitavajra further instructs about mixing together the pigments and the five *aṃrta*s with the hair from the crown of the hair.[605] Both texts mention a brush made of the hair of a corpse.[606] All these gruesome paraphernalia reflect the influence of the tantric culture of the cremation grounds embodying the Kāpālika style.

4.5.4. The *Paṭa*

Both texts provide a detailed iconographical description of the image that should be painted on the *paṭa*. The MMK presents a rather simple, but nevertheless disquieting image of Yamāntaka in the following words:

> He should draw the *paṭa* of Yamāntaka in that way when the great danger is at hand. He should paint him as five-faced, six-footed, black, wolf-bellied. Wrathful, clothed with a skin of a tiger. With various weapons, fierce, carrying a club, terrifying, with red eye, angry, three-eyed. With his hair flying upwards like a flame, but in part grey. He should be the likeness of black collyrium, fierce, having the colour of a monsoon cloud. He should draw him mounted on a buffalo and resembling the form of death. [He is] of fierce actions, most terrible, fearsome, the killer of Rudra. [He is] the killer of death, rising up, destroyer of living beings. [He is] extremely aggressive, able to accomplish any magical acts, fierce and very terrible. Terrifying even to fear, killer of all living beings.[607]

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[603] *gṛhya kṛṣṇe niśāpakṣe caturdaśyāṣṭau* [em.; *āṣṭam* ed] *tithau*/ *śmaśāne mṛtakaṃ prāpya brāhmaṇasya ambaraṃ tam*// *gṛhya tato rātrau asṛjāṃ* [em.; *asṛṇāṃ* ed.] *raṅgayet tataḥ*/ *bhūyo jalaśaucaṃ tu suśuṣkaṃ kārayet tataḥ*//. MMK 51.2ab–3, p. 431.

[604] *etat kruddhavaraṃ likhya ātmaśoṇitavarṇakaiḥ*// *vyatimiśram ujjvalair lekhya mahāvasā-gavyamiśritaiḥ*/ *kapālabhājanaiś cāpi mānuṣāsthisusambhavaiḥ*// *kūrcakair varkikair yukto* [em.; *mukto* ed.] *mṛtakeśasusambhavaiḥ*/. MMK 51.15cd–17ab., p. 432.

[605] See Appendix 3, p. 460, fn.1830.

[606] *śavakeśasya kuñcyā likhanīyaṃ* [= *lekhyanīyaṃ*]/. *Sampuṭa* 9.3.6.

[607] *lekhanīyaṃ* [em.; *likhanāt* ed.] *paṭam evaṃ tu yamānta*[*ka*]*sya mahābhaye*// *ṣaṇmukhaṃ ṣaṭcaraṇaṃ lekhyaṃ kṛṣṇavarṇaṃ vṛkodaram*/..... *kruddhaṃ vyāghracarmanivasanam*// *nānāpraharaṇaṃ ghoraṃ daṇḍahastaṃ bhayānakam*/ *raktanetraṃ saroṣaṃ ca trinetraṃ* [em.; *trinetra* ed.] *gaticihnitam*// *ūrdhvakeśaṃ sajvālaṃ* [em.; *sajālaṃ* ed.] *vai dhūmravarṇaṃ kvacit tathā*/ *kṛṣṇāñjananibhaṃ ghoraṃ prāvṛṇmedhasamaprabham*// *kṛtāntarūpasaṅkāśaṃ mahiṣā-rūḍhaṃ tu ālikhet*/ *krūrakarmaṃ mahābhīmaṃ raudraṃ rudraghātakam*// *yamajīvitanāśaṃ vai udyantaṃ sattvaghātakam*/ *krūraṃ bhṛśaṃ sarvakarmāṇaṃ bhīṣaṇam atidāruṇam* [em.; *bhīṣaṇāpatidāruṇam* ed.]// *bhayasyāpi bhayatrāsaṃ mārakaṃ sarvadehinām*/. MMK 51.9cd–15ab., pp. 431–432.

Similarly, the VBhT (§48) describes the image of Vajrabhairava that should be painted on the *paṭa* (see Appendix 2, p. 374). Unlike the MMK, the VBhT (§49) offers a vivid depiction of the cremation grounds that must be painted beneath Vajrabhairava. The cremation grounds must evoke fear and should be populated with semi-divine and demonic beings, such as *yakṣa*s, *rākṣasa*s, *vetāla*s, and site-guardians (*kṣetrapāla*s). The cremation grounds are typically home for the inauspicious and impure animals and birds: crows, vultures, dogs, and jackals that should be represented in the painting along with the gruesome images of people dying with a violent death, i.e., being burnt (*dahyamāna*), hung on a *vaṭa* tree (*vaṭavṛkṣasya udbaddhā*), impaled on a stake (*śūlabhinna*), or run by a spear (*kuntabhinna*). The depiction of the corpses in the *maṇḍala*s of tantric Buddhist deities is a persistent feature of esoteric Buddhism. The aforementioned corpses play an important role in tantric *sādhana* in Śaiva-Śākta[608] and Buddhist traditions and by employing the images of the corpses in the *paṭa* of Vajrabhairava, the VBhT emulates the classical environment of the Kāpālika-*sādhana*. For example, in the beginning of Chapter 46 (vv. 1–6) of the *Picumata-Brahmayāmala*, we come across a description of a heroic *sādhaka* who enters into a cremation ground, having let loose the jackal-cry; facing Bhairava and surrounded by excellent companions, he performs the *yāga*, having first made a small pavilion (*maṇḍapikā*) with various corpses. Verses 6-7 of the same text describe the following procedure: "he should make a frightening *maṇḍapikā* with various corpses hanging on the southern entrance of the *maṇḍala*, he should make it as he desires, with headless corpses (*kabandha*),[609] with corpses impaled on a stake (*śūlaprota*),[610] and corpses hung on a tree (*udbaddhā*). Having done that, the great hero should begin the great *sādhana*."[611] In the text called *Sārasvata*, linked to the *Picumata-Brahmayāmala*

[608] In the *Svacchandoddyota* by Kṣemarāja (Vol. 4, Paṭala 8, p. 8), an offering of the *udbaddhā nāramāṃsa* and the *dhvaja* (i.e. *śūlāropita*) in a *homa* is considered suitable.
[609] In the *Manusṃrti* (9. 237), a headless corpse (*kabandha*) should be impressed as a mark with a hot iron on a forehead of a person who killed a Brahmin.
[610] In the *Manusṃrti* (9.276), a punishment for robbers who break into houses at night is impalement on a pointed stake. In the *Arthaśāstra* (14.3.4), the skull of a person who was impaled by a stake and a person who was killed by a weapon have special magical properties: "If a person wants to become invisible, he has to plant barley seeds (*yāvan*) in the soil placed 'in the skull of a man who has been either killed by a weapon or impaled on a stake' (*śastrahatasya śūla protasya vā puṃsaḥ śiraḥkapāle*) and sprinkle it with sheep's milk."
[611] *purasya dakṣiṇe dvāre śavair nānāvidhais tathā/ kuryān maṇḍapikāṃ ghorāṃ kabandhānāṃ vilambināṃ// śūlaprotāṃ svam udbaddhāṃ tatra kuryān manepsitāṃ/ evaṃ kṛtvā mahāvīro*

cycle, quoted in the *Nityādisaṃgrahapaddhati* by Rājānaka Takṣakavarta, we find a list of corpses that bestow the *vīrasiddhi*, namely: *dhvajahata* ('impaled'), 'killed by a king' ('executed'), *udbaddhā* ('hung on a tree'), and *haṭhasādita* ('violently killed').[612] In the commentary on the *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra* (p. 68), we find a list of desirable corpses for a *sādhana* that include the already mentioned *śūlaprota* and *udbaddhā*, followed by the corpses of the *akṣata*-type ('uninjured', i.e., with all the limps) and the *nirvraṇa*-type, which means 'undamaged by weapons' (*śastreṇa nākṣataṃ*).

Despite the fact that the portrayal of the cremation grounds inhabited by terrifying corpses and demonic beings appears to have been originally an important element in the painting of the *paṭa* of Vajrabhairava, later commentaries indicate that this particular detail could have been substituted with the painting of the *vajra*-ground, *vajra*-roof, and *vajra*-walls around the deity. This is confirmed by *Akṣobhya's commentary: "You should populate *śmaśāna*s with non-humans, but if you do not, you should install the *vajra*-ground, *vajra*-roof, and *vajra*-walls".[613] These three *vajra*s traditionally constitute the circle of protection (*rakṣācakra*).[614] The fact that they are given here as an alternative may indicate that the non-humans populating the *śmaśāna*s could have also been originally conceived as the protectors of the Vajrabhairava-*maṇḍala*.

4.5.5. Worship and Secrecy (§50)

When the *paṭa* is completed in all details, it should be offered worship. Among the suitable offerings prescribed in both the VBhT and the MMK are fumigations made of human flesh that, according to *Akṣobhya's commentary, should be done in the beginning of the eye-opening ceremony.[615] Apart from that, fumigations made of human

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mahāsādhanam ārabhet// *Brahmayāmala* 46.6–7. In the next verse of the same text, we learn that the corpses must be bathed with water and smeared with ashes, which contain the power of the mantras (*mantrabhasmāmbususnātā*), and purified by the installation of the three *tatttva*s (*tritattvapariśodhitāḥ*).

[612] I thank Prof. Alexis Sanderson for this reference. A copy of a single manuscript of this text originally from Pune is kept at the Bodleian library, University of Oxford (Acc. Nr. MS Stein Or. d. 43).

[613] For *Akṣobhya's commentary and the context in which this passage appears, see Appendix 3, p. 461, fn.1834.

[614] For the description of *rakṣācakra* in the *yoginītantra*s, see English 2002:131.

[615] The eye-opening ceremony is a common practice in the consecration of images. It usually happens after the *prāṇapratiṣṭhā* ceremony ('ritual infusion of breath into the image' that makes

fat (MMK) and lamps fuelled by human fat (MMK) are mentioned.[616] The painting should be kept secret and it is forbidden to unroll it in front of anybody. The same also applies to showing the scriptures to those who are uninitiated. In this regard, *Akṣobhya quotes the following passage: "if the scriptures and painted images are taught to the ignorant ones, there will be no *siddhi* in this lifetime, there will be no *siddhi* even in other rebirths."[617] Both texts put emphasis on safeguarding the *paṭa* and keeping it in a secluded place, either in the places traditionally regarded as suitable for undertaking tantric *sādhana* (MMK, see p. 197) or in any isolated place (VBhT). The emphasis on safeguarding the *paṭa* may reflect the Kaula concept of concealment (see p. 463, fn.1852 of this thesis). Despite these general similarities, both texts diverge in ways in which the *sādhana* is performed in front of the *paṭa.* The MMK gives a detailed description of setting up the *paṭa*, followed by elaborate details of the *homa* rituals that bring destruction of the enemies. Especially noteworthy are the people against whom these rituals are intended, i.e., kings and people in power, etc. Unlike the MMK, the VBhT does not discuss the *homa* rituals in the chapter on *paṭa*. Instead, it focuses on what appears to be the *paṭa-sādhana*, in which the *sādhaka* worships the *paṭa* three times a day while engaging in the consumption of the transgressive substances, thereby acquiring *siddhi*s.

a) MMK[618]

The MMK begins with the list of items to be collected for the *homa* rituals and the instructions regarding setting up the *paṭa.* Among these substances, *kaṭutaila*, *kañjikā*, *viṣa*, *rudhira*, and *rājikā* belong to the standard repertoire of ingredients employed in tantric magical recipes, used also in the VBhT (see chap. 3 of this thesis).

> He should gather a fruit of the *ariṣṭa* tree (soapberry tree, i.e., garlic), its leaves and its bark together with its root; sour gruel (*kañjikā*), together with tamarind tree (*āmla*), and

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it 'alive'). The eyes of the deity are ritually opened with a golden needle or with the final stroke of a paintbrush. Sometimes enamel eyes are set into the socket of images made of stone or plaster (Eck 2007:6).

[616] The latter also appears in the description of the Vajrabhairava-*maṇḍala*.

[617] For the Tibetan text, see Appendix 3, p. 463, fn.1853.

[618] For the Sanskrit text of the passage 51.28–40, quoted in separate portions below, see Appendix 1, p. 336.

> powder of human bone;[619] *kaṭutaila*, poison (*viṣa*), vinegar/sour grass (*amlavetasa*), reed/citron, ginger (*ardraka*), *rājikā*, and blood which has arisen from human. Having got these all together he should then set up a *paṭa* screen in an isolated place facing the south, under a *paṭa* facing north. (MMK 51.28–30, p. 433)

Next comes the description of the hearth and the types of wood prescribed for lighting it up. The shape, length and depth of the hearth differ in accordance with the intended rite, but no details regarding the same are given in the "Yamāntaka chapter".[620] The *homa* ritual begins with invoking the deity of fire (*agni*), followed by the 1008 oblations of the substances collected before into the fire.

> Having made a hearth depending on his goal, and having lit it with bonewood from the *kaṭu* tree and also with a straw (*kaṭaka*), [he should have a] concentrated mind on that hearth. Having taken all that what has been combined (the substances which are being prescribed by the *homa*), as indicated by the injunctions, he should summon the fire-deity with the mantras of the lord of wrath, adopt a trident *mudrā* in this or any of the rites, and give 1008 oblations in the hearth with anger. (MMK 51.31–33ab, p. 433)

The *homa* rituals performed in front of the *paṭa* seem to have been considered very powerful. The text elucidates the sequence of deaths that will occur in the target's family and professional network on each of the three days after the *homa* rituals have begun:

> On the first day, his son will die […] when the *sandhyā* arises. On the second day, his wife will die, along with his ministers and all the members of his court. On the third day, there will be the death of that person in the name of whom it [the ritual] has been done. (MMK 51.33cd–34, p. 433)

The *homa* along with the recitation of the mantra seems to be especially powerful when performed at midnight. The calamities that befall the targeted king bring ruin to his kingdom. This apocalyptic portrayal is clearly descriptive and it involves not only natural disasters and diseases, but also the sudden emergence of demonic beings that will flood his house:

> When the repetition of the mantra is done at midnight in the presence of the *paṭa* [then] the same thing will happen for the destruction of the enemies. His kingdom will be destroyed, and there will be an outbreak of plague in his army. Bad omens—as if the sky is on fire, a hurricane, or excessive rainfall [—will happen]. The whole of the army of the enemy will be lost. Various calamities will befall him; his body will become desiccated,

[619] For the explanation of the powdered bone in the VBhT and other Buddhist tantras, see Appendix 2, p. 392, n.39.
[620] The chapter on hearths constitutes the Chapter 15 of the MMK, which is discussed below.

> beset by fatal disease. Whose body? That king's, without a doubt. His whole busy house will be filled with non-humans. He will be in a constant state of agitation, he will not have any bed, there will be a twister upon earth.
>
> His palace will be beset pervaded by *rākṣasa*s, *preta*s and *piśāca*s (lit. 'the eater of raw flesh'). Filled with suffering and oppressed, he becomes afraid of everything, he is afraid on all sides, tormented by fierce pain. All the gods upon earth beginning with Śiva will not be able to lift a hand to protect him. (MMK 51.35–40, p. 433)

Just like in the case of Vajrabhairava in Chapter 1, who arrives in front of the *sādhaka* to give him *siddhi*s, here too Yamāntaka himself appears before the performer of the rite. The MMK specifies: "Wherever the reciter utters it (the *krodharāja* mantra), at midnight or midday, then death (*vaivasvata*), Yamarāja will instantly present himself face to face with the target (or a *sādhaka*) full of wrath."[621]

In the second part of the "Yamāntaka Chapter", the MMK (51.55–69, pp. 434-435)[622] gives another description of *homa* rituals performed in front of the *paṭa*, which, just like in the above-mentioned case, begins with the list of ingredients that must be collected for the *homa* oblations:

> He should offer into the fire in front of the *paṭa neem* tree (*picumanda*), *kaṭutaila*, sour gruel (*kañjika*), the five poisons, blood (*rudhira*), human flesh, salt (*lavaṇa*), the three spices,[623] *rājikā*, powdered human bone, vinegar (*amlavetasa*) and ginger, the roots of *datura*, a hair or a fruit of *kośātaki*, the root of long pepper, alkali, saffron, thorns (*kaṇṭaka*), the root of thorn apple, garlic, carrot/turnip, onion, beer, and other intoxicating drinks. Putting all these together he should offer it into the fire in the presence of the *paṭa*. (MMK 51.55–58, pp. 434-435)

These substances are to be offered with 1008 oblations into the fire at the three *sandhyā*s (morning, midday, and evening). The result of the *homa* rituals is first and foremost the annihilation of the enemy-king and his courtiers (regardless of their moral code), sudden eruption of natural disasters claiming lives, outbreaks of plagues, infectious diseases, and foreign invasions, both by human enemy-kings and supernatural demonic forces.

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[621] *ardharātre tu madhyāhne bhāṣito yatra jāpinaḥ/ kruddho vaivasvataḥ sākṣād yamarājāva-kalpate*//. MMK 51.42.

[622] For the Sanskrit text of the passage 51.55–69, quoted in separate portions below (pp. 259–261), see Appendix 1, pp. 336–337.

[623] *Trikaṭu* are the 'three pungent spices' identified in the medical text *Vaidyasāra*, which is quoted in a Kaula text, the *Paraśurāmakalpasūtra,* as the two kinds of pepper, i.e., long pepper (*pippali*) and black pepper (*marīca*), and dry ginger (*śuṇṭhi*). The same description of *trikaṭu* is given in the 15th century text *Padārthādarśa* (23.144), a commentary by Rāghavabhaṭṭa on the *Śāradātilaka*. I thank Prof. Alexis Sanderson for this information.

> When he has made 1008 oblations, his enemies will be destroyed from the roots. Or rather he will kill everyone associated with the king or his courtiers, whether they are good or bad. If he makes the offerings at the second *sandhyā* (midday), then he will be uprooted from the root. If the *jāpin* makes offerings at the third *sandhyā* (evening), there will be a famine for him and all his people together with his townsmen.
>
> There will be droughts, plagues, and the whole area will be overrun by *rākṣasa*s. There will be fire falling from the heavens, rocks will fall from the sky, there will be thunder strikes with lightning. The whole area of that kingdom will be beset by many disasters and there will be invasions coming from the forces of the enemy. There will arise many disasters of many different kinds in his country, along with a great destruction of wealth. (MMK 51.59–63, p. 435)

If the mantrin wants to afflict the enemy-king with mental and physical diseases, i.e., madness or hot and cold fever that leads to death, then fewer substances are to be offered into the fire in front of the *paṭa*:

> If he offers into a fire a single *datura* root, his enemy will go mad.[624] If he regularly offers the three spices then the target will be seized by a great fever. If he offers a bit of vinegar in the fire then a great fever produced from cold will arise for him—for any wicked kings, who are arrogant with power and who invaded his lands. Any cruel, great king, no matter how much wealth he has and if he is supported by a great army, will definitely die within two or seven days. (MMK 51.64–65, p. 435)

b) Using a puppet

Apart from the *homa* rituals, there is also the possibility to inflict the enemy king with a disease or cause his sudden death by performing the rituals involving the use of a puppet. In the MMK, unlike in the VBhT, the doll does not need to be cut up and its dismembered parts sacrificed into the fire, but has simply to be placed in front of the *paṭa* and trampled upon by a *mantrin* in a wrathful state. The performance of this ritual causes an abrupt illness, an unexpected death, or a sudden attack by the animal or supernatural demonic beings traditionally populating cremation grounds. Alternatively, the king may die from the hand of his own attendants:

> If he wants to kill someone, then having made a puppet (*kṛtiṃ*) he should write a name: the deity name or a *nakṣatra* ('asterism under which the target was born') using a charcoal of the cremation ground, which should be placed on the ground in front of the

[624] The VBhT includes *datura* (*dhūtturaphala*) as one of the three key-ingredients for inflicting madness, alongside human flesh and the sawdust of a bookworm. The mixture of these three ingredients, added to the target's food or drink, renders him mad and causes his death within seven days. For the magical recipe, see Appendix 3, p. 427, §30.

> *paṭa*. Standing on [the puppet's] head with his foot, he should be in a wrathful state, and do the recitation. He (the king) will become overpowered by a major disease or he will die on the spot. That lord of men will be seized by piercing pains for no apparent reason, or he will be killed by an animal, or he will become crippled. He will be eaten by fierce *rākṣasa*s, and various impure beings that have arisen from non-human birth (*kravyādin*), *pūtana*s,[625] *piśāca*s, *preta*s and the mothers, or he will be killed immediately by his own attendants. (MMK 51.66–69, p. 435)

c) VBhT

The account of the *paṭa-sādhana* given in the VBhT in many ways differs from the description found in the MMK. Unlike the MMK, the VBhT does not contain any instructions regarding the *homa* rituals, the use of dolls or any other magical devices to cause the death of the enemy. The VBhT focuses entirely on the *sādhaka*'s endeavour to protect the *paṭa* at the three junctures of the day and to keep it secret, and thereafter lists the suitable foods to be consumed by a mantra-master and the offerings that should be presented in front of the *paṭa* in order to achieve *siddhi*s. The *paṭa-sādhana* involves first and foremost fumigations made of burnt human flesh and the recitation of the mantra on a rosary made of human skulls (*mahāśaṅkhākṣasūtra*).[626] *Śoṇaśrī gives an important

[625] *Kaṭapūtana* is a type of ghost (*preta*), which is a skeleton held together by sinews, whose stomach is hollow and whose body is desiccated. In the STTS (p. 162, lines 6–9), Vajrapāṇi addresses Maheśvara as *kaṭapūtana* (*kaṭapūtanamānuṣamāṃsāhāra*), and this term is listed in the *Manusmṛti* (12.71) as a type of evil rebirth that a *kṣatriya* who neglects his *varṇa* duties may expect as a punishment for not complying with the law of *dharma*.

[626] A description of the different types of rosaries to keep the count of the mantras corresponding to different types of *abhicāra* rites is found in chapter 10 of the *Hevajratantra.* There, the rosary of human skulls (*nirāṃśuka*) is used for causing dissension (*vidveṣaṇa*). The mastery of the rosary is the ritual that also appears in other early tantric sources, such as the NTGS, where the employment of the rosary made of *rudrakṣa* beads brings not only the eight *siddhi*s, but also destruction of sins—a fruit similar to the sacrifice of one thousand cows or all *śrautra* sacrifices including the *sahasra*. The passage in question gives the following description: "Having made an armlet out of *rudrākṣa* beads, having worshipped the god and having fasted for three days, he should also offer *bali* (cooked food on the ground) following the aforesaid procedure. Having set it up with the *palāśa* leaves and having gazed at it, the wise one should repeat the mantra. The *mālā* will begin to revolve like a wheel until it is mastered, no doubt. Through the recitation of the mantra using the rosary he obtains the eightfold sovereignty (eight *siddhi*s beginning with *aṇimā*). Having become an attendant of the god, he will live on for the rest of the *kalpa.* If he repeats the mantra for a single day, facing away from the sun, he will destroy all sins—even killing a Brahmin; after three days, he will destroy all sins. If he recites it even once, he gets the fruit of offering one thousand cows. Or if he recites it twice, he obtains the fruit of *vājapeya* sacrifice. If he recites it 108 times every day, that man enters Śiva. By reciting the mantra 108 times, all *śrauta* sacrifices beginning with *aśvamedha* have been offered, or even up to the *sahasra* sacrifice" *rudrākṣaiḥ kaṭakaṃ kṛtvā devaṃ pūjitvā … tryāhoṣitaḥ/ pūrvoktena vidhānena baliṃ caiva nivedayet/ palāśapatraiḥ saṃsthāpya nirīkṣya taṃ japet buddhaḥ/ cakravad*

explanation regarding the purification of the *mahāśaṅkhākṣasūtra*, saying: "on each of the bone beads of the rosary, he should visualise the hero Vajrabhairava emerging from the syllable *hūṃ,* or he should visualise the rosary having the nature of the garland of the heads still dripping blood. It [the rosary] should be construed with this injunction and then he should recite the mantra".[627]

The VBhT (§50) then goes on to emphasise the notion of secrecy, which seems to be an important element in the *paṭa-sādhana.* There follows a description of the different types of food and drink that should be consumed by the mantra-master at night:

> The mantra-master should protect the painting with full concentration at the three times [of the day], with effort. He should not set it up near anybody. Nor should he unroll it in front of anybody. During the night, continually, he should eat food that can be licked, drinks, food that needs to be chewed, and food that can be easily swallowed such as human meat.

*Akṣobhya clarifies in his commentary that "although the *mantrin* is alone, in order to keep the *paṭa* secret, as soon as people lie down at night to sleep, he should eat the vow-substances in order to remove the tiredness of the body".[628] *Akṣobhya seems to imply that the ingestion of the vow-substances helps the *sādhaka* to stay vigilant at night and prevents him from falling asleep, which would jeopardise the praxis of safeguarding the *paṭa*. At the same time, *Akṣobhya insists that the human meat and other vow-substances should be ingested during the day "in order to bring to an end those who attack and slander the perfectly enlightened Buddha and also in order to introduce oneself among the jackals and *bhūta*s."[629] The first part of *Akṣobhya's statement seems to imply that the success of the Vajrabhairava-*sādhana* is directly dependent upon the consumption of

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bhramayet [em.; *bhramate* ms.]/ *mālā yāvat siddhā na saṃśayaḥ/ prāpnoty aṣṭaguṇaiśvaryam akṣamālājapena tu/ devasyānucaro bhūtvā kalpasthāyī bhaviṣyati/ ādityabhivimukho* [em. Acharya; *ādityavimukho* ms.] *bhūtvā ekāhnaṃ tu japed yadi/ nāśaye brahmahatyādi* [em. Acharya; *brahma ... antraṃ* ms.] *tṛrātrāt* [=*trirātrāt*] *sarvapātakam/ sakṛd uccāraṇādeva gosahasraphalaṃ labhet/ dvir japte vājapeyasya* [em. Acharya; *vā jaye yasya* ms.] *phalam āpnoti tadeva hi/ pratidināṣṭaśataṃ japtvā śivaṃ viśati mānavaḥ/ aṣṭaśatajapenāśvamedhādyāḥ kratavaḥ sarve yaṣṭāḥ bhavanti, āsahasrāntāni vetti* [=*vā iti*]/. NTGS 10.58–73.

[627] *dung chen po phreng ba zhes bya ba ni dung chen po'i phreng ba ste de rnam par sbyang byas nas so/ de la 'di ni rnam par sbyang ba'i man ngag ste/ ri lu so sor HUM las dpa' rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi rnam par bltas nas sam/ yang na khrag 'dzag pa'i mi mgo'i phreng ba'i rang bzhin du rnam par bsgoms la gsang sngags bzlas par bya'o zhes bya ba dang 'brel to*/. *Śoṇaśrī's *pañjikā,* p. 405.

[628] For the Tibetan text, see Appendix 3, p. 464, fn.1855.

[629] For the Tibetan text, see Appendix 3, p. 464.

transgressive substances.[630] In accord with the definition of human meat as one of the power-substances discussed above, *Akṣobhya's understanding aligns with the explanation given at the end of Chapter Four (see p. 243), which assures that without consuming the five nectars there is no *siddhi* in the Vajrabhairava-*sādhana*. The second part of *Akṣobhya's statement advances the idea that the consumption of human meat puts the *sādhaka* on equal footing with carnivorous animals, such as jackals or demonic *bhūta*s, who often subsist on raw flesh. This assertion places the Vajrabhairava-*sādhaka* at the rank of animals and entities normally associated with the Kāpālika culture of the cremation grounds, and once again highlights the highly transgressive nature of Vajrabhairava-*sādhana*. *Akṣobhya, who glosses the vow-substances (*dam tshig gi rdzas*) as human flesh and *vajra*-water (urine), faeces, blood etc., acknowledges the fact that the consumption of these substances as well as their being offered in the course of worship is a part of the transgressive praxis (*ngan pa'i spyod pa*).[631] However, the explanation *Akṣobhya offers in order to validate their role in the Vajrabhairava-*sādhana* is predicated upon the usage of these substances to facilitate the *sādhaka*'s training in the praxis of pure mind. *Akṣobhya elaborates on this praxis as follows:

> The consumption of the vow-substances should be done with a pure mind and not otherwise. For the highest *siddhi*s are obtained with a pure mind and not by enjoying these impure substances, like a pig, etc.[632]

The pure mind is an ability to establish equanimity between the disgusting substances, i.e., faeces, urine, etc., and the desirable objects of the senses (*kāmaguṇa*s) in order to

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[630] *Akṣobhya's interpretation differs from the usual conceptual framework in which the use of impure substances associates the consumption of the five nectars with protection against obstacles, tempters, and evil beings, as well as diseases. See, for example, *Prajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi* 5.18–19, quoted in Tanemura 2009:509.

[631] The "vow-substances" [means:] "human flesh and *vajra*-water (urine) etc. "As for this" [means:] "each of this has to be done with a pure mind" *dam tshig gi rdzas zhes bya ba ni sha chen po dang rdo rje chu la sogs pa ste/ 'di ni re zhig sems sbyangs pas bya'o/*. *Akṣobhya's *pañjikā*, p. 382.

"Whoever wishes for the highest *siddhi*" [means:] "as for these trangressive practices (*duṣṭācārya*), they should be performed with pure mind and never otherwise" *gang zhig dngos grub mchog 'dod pa/ zhes bya ba ni ngan pa'i spyod pa 'di dag ni sems dag pas bya'i gzhan du ma yin la*. *Akṣobhya's *pañjikā*, p. 383.

[632] *dngos grub chen po rnams ni sems dag pas thob kyi/ mi gtsang longs spyod pas ni ma yin te/ phag la sogs pa bzhin no/*. *Akṣobhya's *pañjikā*, p. 383.

transcend the negative superimposition we conventionally associate with them.[633] In equating the five nectars with the vow-substances, *Akṣobhya comes close to Abhayākaragupta, who also refers to them as vow-substances[634] and makes a similar argument in which the use of five nectars is the means to eradicate the impurity of thought-constructs. In support of the need to transcend constructed thoughts, *Akṣobhya quotes (without attribution) the last verses from the *Pañcakrama* by the tantric Nāgārjuna (9th–10th c.), a text associated with the Ārya school of the GS, which says:

> As is oneself, so is an enemy; as is a wife, so is a daughter. As is a hooker, so is a mother; as is a Brahmin, so is a low-caste person. As is leather, so is cotton; as is blood, so is poison. As is urine, so is liquor; as is camphor [a code-word for human meat[635]], so is incense; as is excrement, so is food. As is praise, so is disparagement. In the same way, Vajrī [Vajradhara/Vajrapāṇi] and Rudra are not different. As is day, so is night; as is dream, so are things seen while being awake; as is a thing lost, so is a thing remained. As is comfort, so is pain; as is heaven, so is hell. Likewise is the difference between vice and virtue. Understanding the reality in this way, if the gnostic performs everything without inhibition (*nirviśaṅka*), he is capable of everything. Having assumed the vow of disguise, he accomplishes all the secret practices, and he will obtain all good things.[636]

The aforesaid passage highlights the importance of non-dual gnosis (*advayajñāna*), the coveted goal of tantric Buddhist yogins, which aims at perceiving all things through the prism of equanimity, the type of cognition that penetrates through the illusion of the artificial thought-constructs of 'pure' and 'impure'. The consumption of the five nectars is a tool to reach that level of equanimity, as explained by Jñānaśrī:

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[633] "What do I mean by 'pure mind' is to create equanimity with regard to the desired object of the senses, such as beer from salu rice, human meat, smell of excrement, smell of camphor" *sems dag pa ni 'bras sā lu'i chang dang/ mi'i sha dang/ bshang ba'i dri dang/ ga bur gyi dri dag la 'dod pa'i yon tan du mnyam par 'gyur te/*. *Akṣobhya's *pañjikā*, p. 383.

[634] See, e.g., *Āmnāyamañjarī* folio 296a. The *Abhayapaddhati* also contains passages examining the praxis of using the impure substances to eradicate the same negative thought-constructs.

[635] In the *Laghusaṃvaratantra* (Sed. p. 110, 1.7; p. 110, 1.1, quoted by Tanemura 2009:505) we find a taxonomy of the five nectars and their corresponding code-words, according to which honey means semen, red means blood, camphor means human meat, red (employed again) means urine, and sandal means excrement.

[636] *yathātmani tathā śatrau yathā bhāryā tathātmajā/ yathā mātā tathā veśyā yathā ḍoṃbī tathā dvijā// yathā vastraṃ tathā carma yathā ratnaṃ tathā tuṣam/ yathā mūtraṃ tathā madyaṃ yathā bhaktaṃ tathā śakṛt// yathā sugandhi karpūraṃ tathā gandham amedhyajam/ yathā stutikaraṃ vākyaṃ tathā vākyaṃ jugupsitam// yathā rudras tathā vajrī yathā rātris tathā divā/ yathā svapnaṃ tathā dṛṣṭaṃ yathā naṣṭaṃ tathā sthitam// yathā saukhyaṃ tathā duḥkhaṃ yathā duṣṭas tathā sutaḥ/ yathāvīcis tathā svargas tathā tu puṇyapāpayoḥ// evaṃ jñātvā carej jñānī nirviśaṅkas tu sarvakṛt/ pracchannavratam āsādya sidhyante sarvasampadaḥ// Pañcakrama* 5.30–35, pp. 53–54.

> […] ambrosias such as semen, blood, faeces, urine, and human flesh, considering them void [of intrinsic reality] by the appropriate method and repeatedly considering those very things as if they were the divine ambrosia, if one enjoys them without passion, gradually concepts such as pure and impure will not arise. Then will arise the certain knowledge that different concepts that arise with regard to all things are false.[637]
>
> Whichever objects are considered impure [like] meat and ambrosias, those should be consumed without passion. When one sees [with] equanimous perception, one no longer needs to consume those for his/her own sake.[638]

There is no doubt that the tantric Buddhist concept of non-dual knowledge as the ultimate goal of the tantric *sādhaka* that is reached through the consumption of transgressive substances, which had entered into tantric Buddhist discourse from the time of the GS, bears striking similarity to the Śaiva praxis of *advaitācāra.* As has been explained by Sanderson (1995:17), rituals involving contact with impure persons or/and substances were characteristic of the wider practice of non-duality (*advaitācāra*), which sought to transcend the Vedic notions of purity and impurity, typical of the dualistic observance. The *advaitācāra* involves consumption of those five nectars, often called 'non-dual substances' (*advaitadravyāṇi*), that were regarded impure by Brahmanical orthodoxy. The practice itself was the means of liberating consciousness from the contraction (*saṃkoca*) or inhibition (*śaṅkā*) of dualistic thought-constructs (*vikalpa*s) distinguishing between pure and impure, which holds it in bondage (Sanderson 1985:198). In this regard, consuming the five nectars is a huge part of the Kālīkula worship inside the Śāktatantras of the Vidyāpīṭha and related texts, including the Kaula texts.[639] Consumption of the five nectars also plays an important role in the Krama and Trika-Kaula initiation ritual (Sanderson 2005:113), and they are also prescribed as part of the Buddhist tantric initiation in the *Laghuśaṃvara*, which according to Sanderson is based on passages from the *Yoginīsaṃcāra*. In the *Tantrāloka* (29.198cd), the guru is instructed to give the initiand sacrificial food (*caru*), which, as Jayaratha explains, consists of the five jewels: urine (*śivāmbu*, lit. Śiva's water), semen (*retas*), menstrual fluid (*raktam*),

[637] *Vajrayānāntadvayāpoha* ascribed to Jñānaśrī (folio 19a), Toh 3714, Bstan 'gyur, rgyud grel, tsu, 115b2, quoted in Wedemeyer (2012:367).
[638] *Ibid.* For other examples of the praxis that relies upon the consumption of five impure substances in order to remove the thought-constructs, see *Prajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi* 5.29–30, quoted in Tanemura (2009:505–506), as well as *Guhyasiddhi* 6.8, quoted in *ibid*.
[639] For the discussion of the five ambrosias in the Śaiva-Śākta tantras, see Sanderson 2005:111–114.

phlegm (*nālājyam*), and faeces (*viśvanirgamaḥ*).[640] The consumption of these substances is considered a test for the initiand's aptitude for the praxis of non-duality. If his hand trembles, he requires more training in the scriptures and the guru's instructions, as he is still not ready to forsake the notion of 'pure' and 'impure' that belongs to those of the ordinary perception rooted in differentiating *vikalpa*s. However, if he eats those substances without hesitation, he is ready to be bestowed a *nirvāṇadīkṣā*, because he has proved to have gone beyond the dichotomising tendencies of the ordinary consciousness.

The Śaivas were seemingly aware of the ritual use of transgressive substances by tantric Buddhists; differently from them, they interpreted those substances not as means for reaching the non-dual gnosis, but as a test, which would determine whether the mind is fickle or fixed. We know this from the 14th century Jayaratha, commentator of Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka* who, in his discussion on the consumption of impure substances, quotes two passages from Buddhist tantras, the first from Abhayākaragupta's *Vajrāvalī* and the second from the *Hevajratantra*:

> The vedic sages too were like this with the non-discriminating mentality, i.e. "like this" [means] maintaining this distinction between pure and impure as being on the basis of whether something is one with consciousness or is not one with consciousness. As it has been said there (a quotation from the *Vajrāvalī*): "The vedic sages in ancient times ate cow flesh and human flesh also". If they weren't aware that purity is nothing other than the identity of the substances with consciousness, then how on earth could they eat stinks such as beef, which are outlawed by the scriptures and opposed to ordinary conduct? For that reason these substances which are opposed to both worldly and śāstric values have been taught as the means of getting rid of dualistic constructs in accordance with such statements as: "In the practice of the outsiders (the Buddhists), the truth of what should be eaten by the heroes is any substance which is hateful to the world, which is prohibited by the scriptures and which is disgusting and condemnable". Because certainly the fact that these substances are opposed by the scriptures, etc. is not their real nature of all-inclusive consciousness. So what here is disgusting or blameworthy since each of them being consciousness is the same? For that reason the purpose of consuming these things is simply to test the firmness of one's mind, to determine whether my mind is one-pointed or not. As has been said by the Buddhists in the *Hevajratantra* [2.2.2]: "The ascetic discipline, which has been called the 'frightening practice' (*bhīmācāra*) has not been taught for the sake of enjoyment, but rather to determine whether one's mind is firm or fickle." (*Tantrālokaviveka* 4.243)[641]

For *Akṣobhya the highest *siddhi* is obtained when the *sādhaka* consumes the transgressive substances with a pure mind, that is to say, once the notion of duality that

[640] Wallis 2008:267.
[641] For the Sanskrit text, see Appendix 1, p. 337.

normally underlines ordinary perception is dissolved and the state of equanimity is reached. This notion of equanimity propounded by *Akṣobhya is similar to the doctrinal positions on the consumption of five nectars advocated by Jñānaśrī and Abhayākaragupta. The Śaiva hermeneutical tradition of Abhinavagupta's Trika, where the notion of purity of consciousness is similarly equated with the highest form of knowledge, i.e. liberation, adopts the same framework of applying transgressive substances meant for similar purposes. Despite the obvious differences in the metaphysical formulations of the concept of consciousness/mind in the Śaiva and Buddhist tantras, the usage of the five nectars as a praxis that helps to eradicate the superimposition of dichotomising thought-constructs appears to be quite similar in both traditions.

4.6. The Prescriptions for the Ritual of Homa (§51–68)

Chapter Six of the VBhT deals with *homa* rituals, giving instructions for the *homa* recipes for ten different purposes. Among them, *māraṇa* receives two recipes, *vidveṣaṇa* two, *uccāṭana* four, *stambhana* two, *puṣṭi* one, *śānti* one, *vaśya* six, *ākarṣaṇa* two, 'becoming the ruler of the whole world' one, 'inducing madness' one, 'turning wealth into poverty' one. The largest number of recipes deals with *vaśya* and not, as one would expect, with *māraṇa*. Interestingly, the target of the *vaśyahoma* are the king and his retinue, any kind of people, and women, which may indicate that the VBhT was composed having mainly royals and people of influence in mind. The appearance of women as the target of *vaśya* points to the importance of 'love-magic' in the Buddhist magical technologies.

Table 5 summarises all the *homa* rituals described in Chapter Six of the VBhT. Based on the types of woods and oblations prescribed for each specific *homa* rite, it is easy to discern a certain pattern. Thus, *māraṇa*, *vidveṣaṇa,* and *uccāṭana* seem to belong to the same category insofar that they use the same type of wood, i.e., wood collected from the funeral pyre, or which is thorny or bitter-tasting, and similar transgressive substances are offered as oblations; indeed, *Śoṇaśrī classifies all three under the *abhicāra*/*krūra* rites. The *ākarṣaṇa* and *vaśya* rites also have similar features: these are the only two types of *homa* that make use of *acacia* wood and the five human ambrosias

(i.e., urine, faeces, semen, blood, phlegm) that play an important role in both Śaiva and Buddhist tantric ritual (see p. 243). In *Śoṇaśrī's classification, *ākarṣaṇa* comes under the *vaśya*-category. *Puṣṭi* and *śānti* are categories on their own and it is interesting to find the three 'sweets'[642] (*madhu*s) popular in both Śaiva and Buddhist tantric texts as the oblations required for the *śāntihoma*. *Stambhana* appears to have been left out from the classification. In the light of the type of wood used and the impure substances to be offered as oblations, it is tempting to include it under the *abhicāra*. However, *Śoṇaśrī does not incorporate it under *abhicāra* or under any other of the three categories. The second *stambhana* recipe atypically makes use of the *siddhadravya*s, which constitute the distinguishing feature of the early tantric 'ritual syntax' (see Goodall and Isaacson 2016:25).

Table 5: Summary of the *homa*-rituals in the root-text of the VBhT

Māraṇa	
Woods	From a cremation ground, from a *caṇḍāla*
Offerings	Human bone, faeces, ass dung, (dog dung), thorns, hair, finger clippings, *kaṭutaila*
Target	Any person

Vidveṣaṇa (on the basis of the Tibetan ed.)	
Woods	From a cremation ground
Offerings	Crow's feathers, owl's feathers, peacock's feathers, snake-skin, hair, rice husks, buffalo flesh, horse flesh
Target	Any person

Uccāṭana	
Woods	From a cremation ground, *picumarda,* thorn apple
Offerings	Crow's flesh, dog's flesh, frog's flesh, hen's flesh, falcon's flesh, camel dung, dog flesh, wine, cat's blood, crow's nest, rice husks
Target	Any person or specifically a city or *vajradhara*

Stambhana	
Woods	From a cremation ground
Offerings	The *siddha-dravyas*: orpiment, turmeric, ochre and bezoar; thorns, poison, mustard, one's own blood
Target	Any person or specifically a woman

[642] For the explanation of the three *madhus*, see p. 177 of this thesis.

Puṣṭi	
Woods	*Uḍumbara*
Offerings	Sesame, black gram, red rice, barley, ghee
Target	N/A

Śānti	
Woods	*Palāśa, uḍumbara*
Offerings	The three 'sweets' (*madhu*s): ghee, honey, milk and bermuda grass, muskroot
Target	Kingdom

Ākarṣaṇa (on the basis of the Tib. ed.)	
Woods	Acacia
Offerings	Five *amṛta*s, butter (probably ghee), image in black mustard
Target	Any person, a woman

Vaśya	
Woods	Acacia (on the basis of the Tib. ed.)
Offerings	Beef, blood, dog's flesh, *vajra*-water, horse's flesh, *vairocana*, elephant's flesh and its semen, fish, wine, sesame, red and black rice, menstrual blood
Target	Any person together with his wealth, the king and his retinue, any kind of people, all women

4.6.1. *Homa*-rituals in the Commentaries of the VBhT

The commentaries provide detailed prescriptions regarding the ritual hearths (*agnikuṇḍa*) and the altars (*vedī*); the suitable time and place for the performance of the *homa*; the emotional state of the *sādhaka*; the colours associated with the *homa*-rites; the directions in which the *sādhaka* is facing while performing *homa*; and the ritual sequence of *homa.* I have tabulated these details below. Tables 6 and 7 summarise the prescriptions concerning the hearths in *Śoṇaśri's *pañjikā* (pp. 406-407). The numbers in brackets represent the following: 1) the shapes of the hearth-pit and the altar, 2) the colour connected with the rite, 3) the width of the hearth-pit, 4) the depth of the hearth-pit, 5) the colour of the *vajra*-garland (*vajravali*):

Table 6	*Abhicāra*	*Śānti*	*Puṣṭi*	*Vaśya*

(1)	Triangle	—	Square	Square
(2)	Red	—	Yellow	—
(3)	20 *aṅgula*s on each side	1 cubit	2 cubits	2 cubits[643]
(4)	10 *aṅgula*s	1/2cubit	15 inches	—
(5)	Red	White	—[644]	—

Table 7	*Ākarṣaṇa* (belonging to *vaśya*)	*Māraṇa*/*Uccāṭana*/*Vidveṣaṇa* (belonging to *abhicāra*/*krūra*)	*Vidveṣaṇa* (alternative hearth)
(1)	Square	Triangle	——
(2)	——	Red	——
(3)	2 cubits	20 *aṅgula*s on each side	2 cubits
(4)	——	10 *aṅgula*s	15 inches
(5)	——	Red	Indigo

In *Śoṇaśri's classification, *māraṇa*, *uccāṭana* and *vidveṣaṇa* come under *abhicāra* rites, also referred to as *krūra* rites. The hearth type for all the *abhicāra* rites is the same with an additional alternative hearth for the *vidveṣaṇa*. The hearth type for *vaśya* and *ākarṣaṇa* is the same. *Lalitavajra, who often uses the word '*maṇḍala*' for 'hearth', discusses only the hearth types for *abhicāra* and *śānti*, which conforms exactly to the *vidhi*s delineated by *Śoṇaśrī, but he further adds that in case of the hearth for *śāntihoma*, the hearth should have a raised platform of four fingers and be smeared with incense and white earth.[645] *Lalitavajra and *Akṣobhya also give the hearth type for *stambhana* (which *Śoṇaśrī omits) as square, which *Lalitavajra glosses as 'wide hearth' and *Akṣobhya as 'similar to the earth-*maṇḍala* and yellow in colour.'[646]

Table 8 summarises the prescriptions for hearth-pits (*agnikuṇḍa*) according to *Kṛṣṇācārya (pp. 460–461). The number in brackets represent the following: (1) shape of the hearth-pits, (2) the colour connected with the rite, (3) the width of the hearth-pit, (4)

[643] The description (p. 407) reads: "he construes the hearth-pit for eight exactly like before" (*brgyad la sngar bzhin du thab khung byas*), which probably means that it is square measuring 2 cubits on each side (2x4), which gives a total of 8.
[644] In case of *puṣṭi*, one should construe the hearth surrounded by one row of jewels (*ratnavali*).
[645] See Appendix 3, p. 472, fn. 1897.
[646] See Appendix 3, p. 471, fn. 1888.

the depth of the hearth-pit, (5) the symbols surrounding the hearth, (6) the number of oblations:

Table 8	*Abhicāra*	*Vidveṣaṇa*	*Uccāṭana*	*Śānti*	*Puṣṭi*
(1)	Triangle	—‖—	Bow	Round	—
(2)	Black	—‖—	Blue	White	—
(3)	20 *aṅgula*s	—‖—	1 cubit	—[647]	1 cubit
(4)	10 *aṅgula*s	—‖—	1 cubit	—	2 cubits
(5)	*vajravali*, seed-syllables: *raṃ* and *vaṃ*	—‖—	hammer, *varja*, stick, rosary	—	—
(6)	29	—‖—	8 and 14	—	15

Table 9 summarises the regulations for the four main types of *homa* according to *Śoṇaśrī concerning the following: (1) the time of the performance of the rite, (2) the emotional state of the practitioner, (3) the colour of the form of Vajrabhairava with whom the practitioner has to unite meditatively, (4) the direction which the practitioner faces:

Table 9	*Abhicāra*	*Śānti*	*Puṣṭi*	*Vaśya*
(1)	14th dark fortnight	The first bright fortnight	Full moon	——
(2)	Hateful	Peaceful	——	Passionate
(3)	Black	White	Yellow	Red
(4)	——	——	North	East

Tables 10 and 11 give the following general typology of *homa* rites according to *Akṣobhya (pp. 384–386) with regards to: (1) the phase of the moon for the performance of *homa* or the colour of the sky, (2) the direction which the practitioner faces, (3) the colour associated with the rite, (4) the emotional state of the practitioner, (5) the time of the day suitable for the performance of rites:

Table 10	*Abhicāra*	*Śānti*	*Puṣṭi*	*Vaśya*
(1)	Waning moon	Waxing moon	Waxing moon	Waning moon
(2)	South	North	East	West

[647] *Kṛṣṇācārya says that the measurement of the *agnikuṇḍa* for *śāntihoma* should be the same as in other cases, possibly one cubit in depth, see Appendix 3, p. 472, fn. 1897.

(3)	Black	White	——	Red
(4)	Angry	Loving	Joyous	Passionate
(5)	Midnight	Daybreak (*pradoṣa*)	Daybreak (*pradoṣa*)	Sunset

Table 11	*Ākarṣaṇa*	*Māraṇa*	*Vidveṣaṇa*	*Uccāṭana*	*Stambhana*
(1)	When the sky is red				
(2)		South-East	Direction of demons (south?)	North-West	North-East

4.6.2. Prescriptions regarding the ritual sequence of *homa*

The commentaries by *Śoṇaśrī/*Vajrasiddha and *Kṛṣṇācārya provide very similar accounts of the ritual sequence of *homa,* i.e., the generation of the *krodha*-type of the fire-deity (*agnideva*) followed by the generation of the deity Vajrabhairava. The ideal place for the performance of *homa* is either a cremation ground or an isolated place, which commentators gloss as one's own house and sometimes as the outskirts of the city.[648] This differs from the list of ideal *homa*-places enumerated in Chapter 13 of the MMK, where we find the following description:

> [The ideal *homa*-place should be:] pure, swept clean, on the bank of the river, in the place where there is a single tree (*ekasthāvara=ekavṛkṣa*), in the cremation ground, in an empty house, on the mountain top, in an empty temple, in the great forest: all those places for *sādhana*, which have been told by the noble souls, Buddhas and bodhisattvas, they are prescribed for the *homakarma*.[649]

Before the ritual of *homa* begins, the *sādhaka* has to meditatively unite himself with Vajrabhairava. The *homa* is described as oblations of various substances into the mouth of the Fire-divinity (*agnideva*). The type of fire used for the *abhicārahoma* is either a fire taken from the cremation ground or taken from a *caṇḍāla*, an ironmonger, or a butcher. In

[648] See Appendix 3, p. 469, fn. 1875.

[649] *śucau deśe parāmṛṣṭe nadīkūle tathā vare// ekasthāvaradeśe ca śmaśāne śūnyaveśmani/ kuryādd homaṃ susaṃrabdho parvatāgre tathaiva ca// śūnyadevakule nityaṃ mahāraṇye tathaiva ca/ yāni sādhanadeśāni kathitānyagrapuḍgalaiḥ// etāni sthānāny uktāni homakarmānī* [em.; *karmiti* ed.] *sarvataḥ*/. MMK 13.9cd–11ab., p. 90.

case of *śānti*, a fire taken from the monks is recommended and for the *puṣṭihoma*, one can take a fire from one's own house. Then, one has to generate a majestic fire by pouring ghee into it.[650] In the middle of the fire, the practitioner has to visualise the seed-syllable (*bīja*) PAṂ, which turns into a multi-coloured lotus. Then, he visualises the Fire-divinity (*agnideva*), who is white (or black, see fn.651), has three faces and six arms. Agni, as described in the commentaries on the VBhT, holds a rosary (*mālā*), a water-jug, and a small knife. With his left hands, he displays the gesture of fearlessness and holds a three-pronged staff (*tridaṇḍa*) and a skull. The practitioner should visualise this wrathful form (*krodha*) of Agni standing in the *pratyālīḍha* pose and adorned with terrifying ornaments.[651] Agnideva abides as one's own seed-syllable in the *sādhaka*'s heart. Then, the practitioner should invite the *jñānadevatā* (the real Agni-divinity) and offer him water for rinsing the mouth (*arghya*) and washing the feet (*pādya*). Afterwards, the practitioner should introduce Agnideva into his *samaya* (which means he should remind Agnideva of his pledge to the Buddha that he will come to aid anyone who calls on him and worships him).[652] Then, in his own[653] mouth, the practitioner visualises the seed-syllable of the Fire-divinity, RAṂ, and with his mouth slightly open, he recites the mantra: *oṃ agnaye svāhā*. Afterwards, in his own heart, he visualises Vajrabhairava, he performs the

[650] *me'i gzi byin mar me chen pos bskyed*. *Kṛṣṇācārya's *pañjikā* (p. 459).

[651] *Kṛṣṇācārya (pp. 459–60) gives a very similar sequence, as follows: "in the middle of the fire, he has to visualise the seed-syllable PAṂ, [which turns into] a multicoloured, eight-petalled lotus; on the top of that, from the seed-syllable RAṂ, on the seat of the sun, he should generate Agnideva transformed from the seed-syllable RAṂ. Agnideva is black in colour with three faces, six arms, hair, head, eyes and mouth, etc., and ornamented with wrathful bone ornaments. In his left hands, he holds a knife, a rosary, and makes a gesture of fearlessness (*abhayamudrā*). In his right hands, he holds a skull, a three-pronged stick (*tridaṇḍa*) and a water-jar. He should be generated as standing in the *pratyālīḍha* position." (*me'i dbus su pam las sna tshogs padma 'dab ma brgyad pa/ de'i steng du ram las nyi ma'i gnad la ram las byung ba'i me'i lha sku mdog nag po zhal gsum phyug drug pa dbu skra dang spyan dang zhal la sogs pa khros pa rus pa'i rgyan can/ g.yas rnams su gri gug dang bgrang phreng dang mi 'jigs pa rnams so/ g.yas rnams su thod pa dang dbyu gu rtse gsum dang ril ba blugs so/ g.yon brkyang ba'i stabs kyis bzhugs pa bskyed la*).

[652] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 460) gives a parallel description: "From the seed of his heart, he summons Agnideva, he offers him water for washing his feet, hands and mouth, and he reminds him about the vows" (*thugs ka'i sa bon las me lha bkug la zhabs dang phyag dang zhal bsil ba dang mchod pa rnams byas la dam tshig la bcug*).

[653] *Kṛṣṇācārya's commentary (p. 460) makes it clear that the *bīja* RAṂ has to be visualised in Agnideva's mouth and not in the *sādhaka*'s mouth.

adhiṣṭhāna of the eyes, he invites the *jñānasattva,* and then he worships him.[654] Again, he places in (his?) mouth the seed-syllable TAṂ.[655] He visualises himself as Vajrabhairava according to the procedure of the colours (i.e., red for *ākarṣaṇa*, black for *māraṇa,* etc.) and then he offers into the fire the oblations in accordance with the type of the *homa*, then the result will come about as it was taught.[656]

The MMK (chap. 13) in part conforms to the procedure of summoning the fire at the beginning of the fire-sacrifice (*homa*) as expounded by the VBhT's commentators, but it also differs on critical points. In accord with the VBhT, the MMK starts with summoning the fire as a rite in which a *sādhaka* should offer into it three oblations of ghee which have been empowered by a single recitation of the fire heart-mantra, which is further classified all purpose (*sarvakarmakara*) and bestowing all desires (*sarvakāmada*).[657] The *āgnihṛdaya* is given as follows:

> *Oṃ uttiṣṭha haripiṅgala lāhitākṣa dehi dadāpaya / hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ sarvavighnāṃ vināśaya svāhā / eṣa saḥ mañjuśrīḥ paramāgnihṛdayaṃ sarvakarmakaraṃ sarvakāmadam*/ MMK 13, p. 90
>
> Oṃ Get up, Oh Brown and Yellow one [referring to the fire], Oh you with red eyes. Give, Give. Hūṃ Phaṭ Phaṭ, Destroy all Obstacles, *svāhā*. This, Oh Mañjuśrī, is the supreme fire heart-*mantra*, which is all-purpose and bestows all desires.

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[654] *Kṛṣṇācārya's description (p. 460) reads as follows: "he visualises RAṂ in the mouth of that Agnideva, reciting "*ha ha oṃ agnaye*" [this *mantra* seems to be corrupted, probably it was originally *svāhā oṃ agnaye* and then *svā* became corrupted to *ha*] and performs *homa* correctly with the *dravya*s and the name of the target. Then, in his heart, he generates the form of Vajrabhairava previously [taught]. Having empowered the sense fields, and *jñāna*[sattva], he should do the *abhiṣeka* and the *sādhana*. He should also perform worship with the sequence of *dravya*s and praises, etc., whichever he knows. In the belly of that [Vajrabhairava] which is a fire of the great cremation ground, he should realise emptiness of all phenomena and he should meditate of the seed-syllabe RAṂ in the mouth [of Vajrabhairava] and on the triangular fire-pit stacked on the top of two human thigh bones [the text says *rkan*, meaning 'palate', but it does not make any sense; thus, I have emended to *rkang* in accordance with *Lalitavajra's commentary about the hearth made of human thigh bone, i.e., *mi rkang gi skyed po*, see fn. 1542 of this thesis]. He should burn the *dravya*s together with the name of the target; whatever he says, will be". For the Tibetan text, see Appendix 1, p. 337.

[655] This is probably the corruption of RAṂ: see the parallel sequence in *Kṛṣṇācārya's commentary above, where RAṂ (instead of TAṂ) should be visualised in the mouth of Vajrabhairava.

[656] *Śoṇaśrī's *pañjikā* (p. 406). For the Tibetan text, see Appendix 1, p. 337.

[657] *ādau tāvat sādhakena anenāgnihṛdayena sakṛjjaptaṃ ghṛtāhutitrayaṃ agnau hotavyam*/ *agnirāhvānito bhavati*/. MMK 13, p. 90.

Unlike the VBhT, however, the MMK describes only three types of *homa* that follow the earliest threefold pattern of *śāntika*, *pauṣṭika* and *raudra* given in the *Susiddhikara*.[658] Detailed descriptions are given with regard to the types of wood used as fuel sticks (*samidh*), the type of *kuśa* grass, and the direction in which the practitioner should face.[659] Thus, for *śānti*, the fuel sticks made of wood of *aśoka,* always moist (*sārdra*) and measuring one *vitasti*[660] in length and three *aṅgula*s in height[661] are prescribed. The wood should be glossy, without pits and hollows, not eaten by insects, neither dry nor wet, nor already burnt; neither with bad smell nor crooked or too long, not multicoloured, but only green, white, or black.[662] The wood of moist trees such as *bilva*, mango, *āmra*, *plakṣa*, *nyagrodha*, is also recommended for *puṣṭi*,[663] while for *raudra*, the MMK prescribes fuel sticks made of wood of trees that are dry, bitter, and sharp in taste.[664] The *kuśa* grass collected for the purpose of *homa* acts as a seat on which the *sādhaka* should be sitting

[658] The development of *homa* rituals is believed to have taken place through a process of gradual expansion, in which the earlier set of three (Strickmann 1983) expanded into four, five, and eventually eight categories (Payne 2016). The early *kriyātantra Susiddhikara,* dated to the 6th century, follows the three-fold scheme of *homa* based on the *siddhi*s one wishes to accomplish. Thus, the *śāntika* bestows the highest *siddhi*s, *pauṣṭika*, the middling, and *abhicāruka* the lowest. The *śāntika* rites are concerned with elimination of calamities that have befallen the practitioner. The *pauṣtika* rites are concerned with the restoration of health. The *abhicāruka* rites target the evildoers, people harbouring wicked thoughts and those who have fallen from their pledges. In the STTS (Weinberger 2003:213), we find a fourfold *homa*, including *vaśīkaraṇa*. The 10th chapter of the NTGS has five *homa*-categories: 1) *śānti*, 2) *puṣṭi*, 3) *abhicāruka*, 4) *vaśya*, 5) *utsāraṇa* (driving away). For a discussion of *homa* in tantric traditions, see Payne 2016, Payne and Witzel 2015, Goodall and Isaacson 2016:19–24.

[659] For *śānti*, he should face east, for *puṣṭi* north, and for *raudra* south: *prāṅmukho udaṅmukho vāpi kuryāt śāntikapauṣṭike*/ *dakṣiṇena tu raudrāṇi tāni mantrī tu varjayet*//. MMK 13.14 "He should do *śāntika* and *pauṣṭika* facing east or north; he should do aggressive rites facing south. But the mantra-master should avoid those."

[660] One *vitasti* is twelve fingers (*aṅgula*s) in breadth, thus "five *vitasti*s" amounts to sixty *aṅgula*s: *Abhayapaddhati* (f. 10v4), *pañcavitastīti ṣaṣṭhyaṅgulam*, quoted by Sanderson 1994.

[661] *aśokakāṣṭhaṃ śāntyarthe sārdraṃ caiva viśiṣyate*/ *vitastihastamātraṃ vā tryaṅgulaṃ vāpi cocchṛtam*//. MMK 13.1, p. 90.

[662] *snigdhākāra praśastaṃ tu vidhireṣā vidhīyate*/ *akoṭaraṃ asuṣiraṃ vāpi śukapatranibhaṃ tathā*// *haritaṃ śuklavarṇaṃ vā kṛṣṇavarṇaṃ vivarjayet*/ *kṛmibhir na ca bhakṣitaṃ varjyamakoṭaraṃ vāpi sandadhet*// *anyavarṇaprakṛṣṭās* [em.; *anyavarṇo prakṛṣṭās* ed.] *tu adharmaś caiva varjitā*/ *nātiśuṣkā na cārdrāpi na ca dagdhaṃ samārabhe*// *apūtiṃ avakraṃ caiva atyuccaṃ cāpi varjayet*/. MMK 13.2–5ab., p. 90.

[663] *vilvāmraplakṣanyagrodhaiḥ kuryāt karmaṇi pauṣṭikam*/. MMK 13.16ab, p. 91. *śāntike pauṣṭike karme sārdrakāṣṭhā praśasyate*//. MMK 13.17cd, p. 91.

[664] *ābhicārukakāṣṭhāni śuṣkakaṭvāmlatīkṣṇakāḥ*//. MMK 13.16cd, p. 91.

while performing the *homa*[665] and it should also be scattered around the *agnikuṇḍa* with ends pointing in the 'wrong' direction. For *śānti* and *puṣṭi*, the *kuśa* grass should be green and glossy in appearance as a neck of a peacock, but for *raudra*, it should be dry, resembling emerald.[666]

The MMK gives prescriptions for lighting a fire. First, the *sādhaka* has to make a firebrand by taking pure grass roots measuring one *muṣṭi* (13.23).[667] As for lighting the fire, it is forbidden to fan it with the edge of a rope, with any garment, with wind made by the practitioner's hand, with a shoe, or by blowing on it; the *sādhaka* may fan it with a pure fan or with a pure cloth or a leaf (13.24–25). When the fire is fanned, he builds it up with a well-concentrated mind. Then, he should sprinkle it three times circumambulating it to the right, and pour three oblations of clarified butter into it. He should bow down to all the Buddhas and to whosoever is his deity and personal mantra. Then, after reciting the *agnihṛdaya*, he summons Agnideva with a concentrated mind by offerings consisting of fragrant flowers; he should provide him with a throne using the same mantra, and then offer into the fire three fire sticks smeared with honey, yoghurt, and ghee to honour him. He should prepare 100, 300, and 108 oblations and cast them into the fire (13.26–33). The characteristics of the fire into which one should offer oblations are indicated as follows: in *śānti*, he should offer oblations into a fire which is blazing brightly, or one which has a single blaze; in case of *pauṣṭika*, into a fire without smoke; in case of *raudra*, into a smoky fire (13.34). The colour of fire is also used for prognostication: in case of *śānti*, *homa* will be successful if the fire is white; *puṣṭi* will be successful if the fire is red; *raudra* will bring the desired result if the fire has flames that are black, grey or reddish-brown in colour (13.36–37). These three colours activate the triple *siddhi*. The text warns that there will be no success of the mantras if the colour is that of a cloud or if it has various colours (13.38). If he sees the fire blazing, which is of such a colour, or if it is

[665] *kuśaviṇḍakopaviṣṭena sthitvā hastamātraṃ tataḥ// kuryāt tatra mantrajño homakarma viśeṣataḥ/*. MMK 13.12cd–13ab., p. 91.

[666] *samantā kuśasaṃstīrṇaṃ ubhayāgraṃ tu kalpayet/ haritaiḥ snigdhasaṅkāśair mayūragrīvasannibhaiḥ//*. MMK 13.19, p. 91. *marakatākāśasaṅkāśais tathā śuṣkaiḥ triṇaiḥ sadā//*. MMK 13.20cd., p. 91.

[667] For the Sanskrit text of the entire passage 13.23–40ab, discussed here on p. 276, see Appendix 1, p. 338.

multicoloured, then he should recommence the *homa* as it is regarded as a bad omen (13.39–40ab).

4.6.3. Expanded Version of Homa according to *Lalitavajra

*Lalitavajra provides an expanded account of the *abhicārahoma* that gives regulations concerning the sequence of the ritual, including the number of ghee oblations performed with the use of two sacrificial ladles (*śruvā*), a large ritual ladle (Tib. *dgang gzar*, Skt. *pātrī*), and a small ritual ladle (Tib. *blugs gzar*, Skt. *sruvānana*), often used in *homa*. Moreover, *Lalitavajra gives prescriptions for: 1) the shape and design of the *agnikuṇḍa*, followed by 2) the specification of the firewood, its measurement and the place where the fire should come from, followed by 3) the specification of the two types of oblations that are to be offered into the fire: a) the articles for worship and b) the oblations as well as their arrangement; 4) the meditative generation of the hearth, Agnideva and 5) Vajrabhairava that arise from the transformation of the seed-syllables, as follows:[668]

1. He makes a triangular hearth measuring twenty fingers in width and ten fingers in depth, in an isolated place. He anoints it with the charcoal of the cremation ground, etc. In the middle of the hearth, he draws a *vajra*-sign[669] with confidence and makes a three-pointed *vajra* on a rim around it.
2. Having prepared the hearth, he burns the firewood, which is black and with thorns, like *kovidara*, etc. As for the wood with thorns, it should measure ten fingers. As for the firewood: he purifies the fire with the mantra and water; he takes the fire from the house of a cobbler, etc. and sets up a hearth, he builds the fire up reciting *jvala jvala*.
3. The articles for worship are black flowers, incense of fragrant herbs, great honey (?), butter lamps, and so on; he gathers eatables offered to the deity that consist of many types of meat, blood, and poisonous scented water. He offers as oblations into the fire the *dravya*s, such as human excrement, urine, excrement of a donkey and a camel, *kaṭutaila*, as well as hair, nails, and a clear footprint of the target, and human bone. He arranges the substances: on the right side, the articles for worship (*mchod rdzas*) and on the left side, the fire-oblations (*bsreg rdzas*). He fills the large ritual ladle and the small ritual ladle with ghee and places a *vajra*-bell in front. Then, he blesses the substances, first with the mantras that have the *oṃ*[-syllable], then he blesses the articles for worship with the *mudrā*.

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[668] For the Tibetan text of the passage discussed below, see Appendix 1, pp. 338−339.

[669] *Lalitavajra's description of *agnikuṇḍa* for the *abhicārahoma* matches the one found in the *Susiddhikara* (Giebel 2001:186): "Dig a triangular hearth in black ground with one corner facing outward. The distance is twenty fingers breadth and ten fingers depth. Smear with crematory ashes and in the bottom of the hearth, fashion a *vajra*, eight fingers long and three fingers high."

4. While being in meditative stabilisation, the *sādhaka* generates a hearth on the top of the sun-disc [arising] from his own letters; from the seed-syllabe RA[Ṃ] arises a triangular fire-disc transformed from the three letters; from their transformation arises a fierce fire: wrathful in appearance, rising upward all around and reddish-brown in colour, his body is ornamented with many lights and he has three faces: black, white, and the left one is green; he has six arms, he holds a *vajra* and a water-pot, and with the third of his right hand, he makes a gesture of *abhaya*; in his left hand he holds a bell, a club, and a rosary. Having visualised him as possessing these ornaments, the *sādhaka* invites that deity with his own mantra*: ehi ehi mahābhūtadevarṣisattama mahāhuti asmin nihito* [corr.; *nihato* ed.] *bhavati agne mama śātruṃ māraya phaṭ.* Endowed with this mantra and while being in meditative absorption, he summons the deity near the hearth, and the deity enters into the hearth through this ritual etc. To that deity who has become identical [with the hearth] he offers worship by means of water with previously made offerings together with his own mantra. Then, into the mouth of the fire, he offers with mantra a large ladle consisting of white mustard and poison. Then, onto the wood of *yamsang* (?), he offers all oblations into the sacrificial fire in sequence. Having completed it, at the end, he offers a large ladle.
5. After that, in his heart, he should visualise the great Vajrabhairava emerging from the seed-syllable HŪṂ on the top of the red [letter]; then, he also invites *jñānacakra* in front with the mantra: *oṃ hriḥ ha bho mahākrodha āgaccha asmatpūjāṃ pratigṛhṇātu prasādaṃ me kuru śātruṃ māraya phaṭ* etc. He then scatters water with preliminary offerings; having made this ritual, etc. he will summon [Vajrabhairava]. To the one who has become identical with him, he offers worships with *arghya* and offerings, as before. After that, he offers a large ladle of ghee, then, he kindles fuelsticks that are to be offered into the fire and offers them in sequence. Then, he offers seven large ladles. Then, he offers worship. He should complete the ritual with black flowers, reciting the mantra*: oṃ hriḥ striḥ vikṛtānana mama śātruṃ māraya phaṭ.* He accomplishes *homa.* Afterwards, he places water for drinking and honours the deity. Then, he meditates on that deity departing. He worships fire with remaining things, as before. He visualises the deity departing. He collects for himself the vow [substances] that were left out and completes the ritual. This is the expanded version of *homa*.

The essential difference between the *homa* procedures delineated in the MMK and the one elaborated upon in the commentarial literature of the VBhT is that the former is devoid of the inner-outer dynamics that characterise *homa* descriptions in the VBhT's commentaries. In the expositions of the VBhT's exegetical writers, we see that external *homa* rituals are accompanied by internal meditative practices. The commentaries give specific instructions on how to visualise the deities invoked during the *homa*, such as Agni and Vajrabhairava. Thus, the praxis of visualisation amounts to generating deities meditatively from the seed-syllables. In so doing, the commentators to the VBhT adhere

to the distinction of inner-outer *homa* attested for the first time in the *Mahāvairocanasūtra* in the 8th century (Orzech 2016:278). In this regard, the following definition of what constitutes the inner and outer *homa* is given in chapter 27 of the *Mahāvairocanasūtra* (see Wayman 1992:199):

> Accordingly the form of fire empowers. Its own (respective) form and the fuel-substance creates its nature. This is 'outer *homa*'. Those desiring the (respective) *siddhi* should make a *homa*.
> An inner nature possessed of three (self, fire, fuel), by the method of taking the three together (in voidness), is the 'inner *homa*'. (Trans. *ibid*.)

Buddhaguhya's commentary on the *Mahāvairocanasūtra* (181–4-4, 5 in Wayman 1992:202) explains that the 'outer *homa*' is linked to the preparation of hearths for accomplishing *siddhi*s connected with *śāntika*, *pauṣṭika*, and *abhicāruka*. The inner *homa*, however, is a rite of meditation, which rests on the praxis of contemplating the identity of fire, the divinity to whom the fire-oblations are made, and the *sādhaka* (Wayman 1992:331). Furthermore, Buddhaguhya (184.1–2 in Wayman 1992:201–202) clarifies that through inner *homa* one changes into the form of a deity from one's own seed. The generation of the deity as a living entity through inner meditative practice that begins with visualisation of the seed-syllables located in one's own heart and the union with that deity, paired with the external performance of *homa,* is attested in the exegetical literature of the VBhT. By incorporating the inner-outer *homa* taxonomy that entered into the tantric Buddhist discourse with the *Mahāvairocanasūtra*, the VBhT's commentators want to distance the root-text from the one-sided *homa* framework propounded in the scriptures of the *kriyātantra* class (e.g., *Susiddhikarasūtra*, *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa*, etc.) that focus predominantly on the external *homa*. For the VBhT commentators, the actual performance of *homa* is not only meant for accomplishing various *siddhi*s, but it is also an instrument for reaching the goal of the *yogatantra*s, that is, union with the deity.

4.7. Accomplishing *Siddhi* through Visualisation and Testing the Disciple (*parīkṣā*) (§69–74)

Chapter Seven of the VBhT consists of two parts. The first part deals with the recipes for accomplishing *siddhi*s through visualisation (*dhyāna*) where the material dimension of magic is suspended in favour of the magical procedures performed in the realm of the

mind alone (§69-72).[670] The second part (§74) contains a small section on "testing the disciple" (*parīkṣā*), which appears to be a common feature of the final sections of tantric texts, found also in the Śaiva-Śākta tantras.[671] The appearance of *parīkṣā* in the final chapters of various tantras is yet another example of the intertextuality existing across the tantric traditions, regardless of their sectarian affiliation, and this points to the considerable reuse of ready-made templates that must have circulated in the tantric communities of that period. What does *parīkṣā* involve? On the basis of the instances examined below, it is safe to assume that it was a type of test of the religious commitment of a disciple that included a thorough examination of his attitudes and moral virtues. The VBhT (§74) gives the following description of the disciple's qualities (*guṇa*s) that qualify him as a recipient of the tantra:

> Rather, [the person to whom] it may be given is one who does not infringe the pledges, who is free of doubt, who is firm in his vow, who is brave, who is devoted to his teacher, who knows how to behave properly, who is completely committed to the teaching of the Tathāgata, who conceals his mantra, who is not given to anger, who is compassionate, who is intent on *japa* and *dhyāna*, who is not overtly timid. To the disciple who is distinguished by such qualities, who has been shown the *maṇḍala*, who is firmly devoted to the Mahāvajrabhairava, one whose mind is moist with the great compassion, free of distinction, devoted to his *guru*, one whose qualities have been thoroughly tested—to such a pupil the tantra of Mahāvajrabhairava may be given.

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[670] The means of accomplishing *abhicāra* through visualisations is attested already in the GS (15.86–97), where we find prescriptions for a *dhyāna* in which the enemy has to be imagined as if being devoured by jackals, crows, vultures, etc. or bitten by a poisonous snake; alternatively, one can imagine himself striking the enemy's breast with a hammer or chopping his limps. All these visualisations are meant to effect the death of the enemy.

[671] See, for example, *Yoginīsaṃcāra* of the *Jayadrathayāmala* (3 *ṣaṭka*), 5.26cd: "This is the highest secret, it has to be concealed carefully. I have taught it to no one else in this world, especially to anyone who has any defects. It should be given to one who is completely devoted to the guru, who is in peace, who has been tested thoroughly. The *sādhaka* too should guard it, O empress of gods, with utmost care; if he does so, the *siddhi*s will come about, otherwise he is in danger of dying" *etad guhyaṃ paraṃ devi gopanīyaṃ* [em.; *yopanīyaṃ* ms.] *prayatnataḥ*// *na kasyacid ihākhyātaṃ dṛṣṭadoṣaviśeṣataḥ*/ *gurubhaktāya śāntāya* [corr.; *śāntāyaṃ* ms.] *samyakparīkṣitāya ca* [em.; *te cod* ed.]// *sādhākenāpi deveśi gopanīyaṃ prayatnataḥ*/ *pravartate siddhir eva anyathā prāṇasaṃśayaḥ*// (edition by A. Sanderson, p. 28, provided during reading classes, Trinity Term 2016, All Souls College, Oxford). About the usage of the expression *prayatnataḥ* in the context of the VBhT, see Appendix 3, p. 463, fn.1852 of this thesis. A similar example illustrating the relevance of *parīkṣā* in the tantric milieu is also attested in the Kaula text *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* attributed to Matsyendranātha, already referred to above, which describes both the type of pupils to whom one should never reveal the tantra and the characteristics of those who are suitable to receive the teachings (14.4cd–11; trans. Magee 1986:63–64).

The above passage indicates that alongside such moral virtues as compassion, courage, calm disposition, and devotion (*bhakti*) to the guru, the Buddha's teachings and Vajrabhairava himself form an important part of a *parīkṣā.* Equally relevant is the disciple's endurance in tantric vows indicated by the adjectival compound *dṛḍhavrataḥ* 'one who is firm in his vows', which would allude to his dedicated involvement in the practices of *japa* and *dhyāna* as well as his adherence to the pledge of secrecy. This reflects the importance placed upon concealment in Kaula traditions. Let us now look at the definition of *parīkṣā* contained in the *Brahmayāmalatantra* (3.126–127ab). Unlike the VBhT, the *Brahmayāmala* puts emphasis on the characteristics of a wrong disciple:

> *na deya[ṃ?] pāpaśīlāya krūrāya na śaṇāya ca |*
> *piśunāya na dhūrttāya na caivāpriyavādine | 126*
> *avratasya na dātavyaṃ pañcamudrāvivarjite |*
>
> Do not give it (i.e., the *Brahmayāmala*) to a sinner, to a mean-spirited person, to a cruel person, not to an informer, to a cheater, to a person who speaks unkindly, do not give to a person who is not observing the vows, and to the person who is devoid of the five *mudrā*s.

Like in the VBhT, here too *parīkṣā* involves the testing of the pupil's moral qualities as well as his commitment to the religious observances (*vrata*s), such as wearing the five bone-ornaments (*mudrā*s) characteristic of the ascetic following the *kāpālikavrata*. Moreover, both of the above texts contain a warning, i.e., failure in complying with the *parīkṣā* procedure entails dire consequence for both the teacher and the disciple that result in descending into hell. The VBhT (§74) says: *anyathā dadāti mantrī tadā śiṣyena saha narakaṃ yāti na saṃśayaḥ "*If he gives it otherwise, then he will go to hell along with his disciple. There is no doubt about it." The *Brahmayāmala* (3.127cd) says: *aparīkṣyā na dātavyaṃ dātāro narakaṃ vrajet*. "[The tantra] should not be given without testing [the disciple]; [otherwise,] the giver will go to hell".

Importantly, the texts seem to distinguish between *parīkṣā* and formal initiation, although it is not clear whether the former was considered to be a pre-initiation test. At least from the above passage of the *Brahmayāmala*, it appears that *parīkṣā* was also undertaken in the case of *sādhaka*s who had been already initiated into the tantric path and adopted the *vrata*s as part of their *sādhana*. Perhaps, even among those formally initiated, there were people who would undertake the tantric *sādhana* for the wrong

reasons. This idea seems to be put forward in the *parīkṣā*-passage of the VŚ (Goudriaan 1985:318), which says: "a guru after having tested a pupil who worships the guru, the gods and the fire, should give this tantra only to such a one, not to an atheist (*nāstika*) or a person who defames [the teachings] (*nindaka*)" (*parīkṣya guruṇā śiṣyaṃ gurudevāgnipūjakam*/ *tasya deyam idaṃ tantraṃ na ca nāstikanindake*).

Even though the social context of the spread of tantric teachings is still poorly understood, it seems likely that by virtue of the restricted access to the tantras, the tantric gurus were responsible for exercising a very tight control over their dissemination. In short, they were prescribed to make sure that the esoteric teachings would not fall into wrong hands. The strong emphasis on the implementation of *parīkṣā* was concerned with the active promotion of what was deemed to be a good disciple and the avoidance of a bad one. At the same time it was an instrument for controlling the moral, spiritual, and intellectual qualities of tantric adepts.

Conclusion and Prospects for Future Research

The main object of this dissertation has been the cult of the tantric Buddhist deity Vajrabhairava, which was achieved through a study of the VBhT. My work has focused on three thematic units, namely 'Origins', 'Intertextuality', and 'Transmission'.

The theme of 'Origins' has been investigated from two different perspectives. First, I have examined an early cult of Vajrabhairava as presented in the Indian exegetical literature on the VBhT in order to cast light on the Indian origins of the Vajrabhairava practice that underpins later Tibetan, Mongolian, and Chinese traditions. The findings have shown that the VBhT represents a transitional stage in the development of esoteric Buddhism, for it was composed at the point in time when Mahāyāna Buddhism tried to redefine itself against more robust tantric techniques that developed in the Śaiva fold. In this regard, the practice of borrowing specifically Śaiva practices, such as the entry into the cremation ground, the concept of *uttarasādhaka*, or terminology, i.e., the word *smaraṇa* in reference to the seed-syllable *hūṃ,* or the "*yadīcchet siddhim uttamam* syntax", are examples of incorporating non-Buddhist contents drawn from Śaiva sources. This tendency fully developed in the *yoginītantra*s. The transitional character of the VBhT is also indicated by the fact that the scripture does not possess a clear "*yogatantra*-identity". On the one hand, the VBhT draws upon the concepts of the *yogatantra*s, as is visible for instance in the *sādhana*-passage of Chapter 4; one the other, however, it is rooted in the kriyātantric technology of the MMK, such as the painting of the *paṭa* and the performance of various *karma*s.

Second, an attempt has been made to analyse the narratives dealing with the origins of the deity Vajrabhairava in Tibetan historiographical writings. Prior scholarship has reduced the origins of Vajrabhairava to the evolutionary model from the Hindu-Buddhist god of death, Yama, and its tantric Buddhist 'avatar' Yamāntaka. My findings have shown that the origins of Vajrabhairava are linked to the Śiva-complex as a recapitulation of an earlier myth of the subjugation of Maheśvara. The narratives have also revealed that the MNS has been regarded by the tradition as a textual antecedent to the VBhT. This suggests that, rather than locating Vajrabhairava's origins in the Yama/Yamāntaka prototype, the genesis of Vajrabhairava could be located in the *sādhana* practice existing in the early *yogatantra*s, such as the NMAA. The scope of

Vajrabhairava's origins ought to be reevaluated in light of the new evidence I presented in this dissertation.

The theme of 'Intertextuality' aimed at uncovering the textual and intellectual relationship between the VBhT and Śaiva tantric traditions. The comparison of the magical recipes described in the VBhT has exposed examples of Śaiva-Buddhist intertextuality, which indicate that these early tantric scriptures, whether Śaiva or Buddhist, shared the same magical worldview and technology, following models that might have pre-dated the earliest known textual evidence as part of a religious "substratum". My findings have shown that magical recipes demanded a whole range of material objects—grains, chemicals, sweets, animals, items retrieved from the cremation ground, etc. The early tantric milieu had a very similar understanding of the magical categories and the manipulation of objects, which in its turn supports the argument that the "culture of magic" was a widespread phenomenon that crossed sectarian boundaries.

Part of my dissertation explored the 'Transmission' of Vajrabhairava in Tibet through a reconstruction of the five Tibetan transmission lineages, namely Zhang, Skyo, Gnyos, Mal, and Rwa, listing the specific line of the teachers through which the Vajrabhairava texts and ritual methods have been transmitted. This contributed to the understanding of the geographical distribution of those lineages on the Tibetan plateau. However, research on the Vajrabhairava transmission in Tibet is far from concluded. Each individual master or a group of teachers can be taken up as an entry point into the history of Vajrabhairava transmissions that need to be investigated further. Not only the routes of transmission ought to be reconstructed from the genealogy of different lineages, but one might also work out the relationship between masters belonging to different geographical localities and monastic institutions. This remains a desideratum for a future generation of scholars.

While this dissertation has provided a complete overview of the Indian background of the Vajrabhairava cult based on the Indian exegetical tradition preserved in the Bstan 'gyur, the reception of this cult in Tibet has only been touched upon. The notion of transmission often arises in concomitance with the transmission of texts and related practices. As can be easily gleaned from the various transmission lineages presented in this work, there are hundreds of texts dedicated to Vajrabhairava in the

Tibetan tradition—some of which have been mentioned in this dissertation—that have not yet been investigated by scholars. The future study on Vajrabhairava would need to involve a careful examination of several such scriptures in order to track any changes in the doctrine and practice within given Tibetan lineages, to inquire into the causes of these variations, and to correlate them with other social and political factors. In this regard, one of the most interesting categories of texts that could throw a new light on the function of the Vajrabhairava cult in Tibet are crematory manuals, which were popular, for example, in the Dge lugs pa tradition. The systematic analysis of these manuals will be of great importance to understand the ritual purpose of the Vajrabhairava cult beyond the 'wrathful magic' paradigm.

My dissertation provides a critical edition of the Sanskrit VBhT and reconstructs its missing part from the *Sampuṭatantra* (Appendix 2). The edition also includes parallel passages from other tantras and, thus, it contributes to the understanding of the issue of intertextuality during the formative phase of tantrism. There are two reasons why the focus on the intertextual dimension of the VBhT is important. First, it takes into account the fact that the production of the Buddhist tantras came into being through the reuse of textual fragments, 'copy-paste' practices, and adoption of established clichés. This, in turn, puts forward a theoretical framework of studying tantric Buddhist texts not as a culture of disseminating and transmitting the scriptures, but as a shared cultural environment in which textual (and ritual) fragments circulated across sectarian boundaries and were reused and interspersed in the ritual literature of different groups.

My annotated English translation of the VBhT (Appendix 3) presents the complete Indian exegetical tradition on the tantra preserved in the Bstan 'gyur. In addition, my translation critically analyses Siklós's translation of the VBhT from the Tibetan and corrects numerous mistakes, omissions, and misunderstandings that resulted in erroneous interpretation of the VBhT's contents.

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Appendix 1:
Long passages in Tibetan or Sanskrit quoted in Chapters 1–4

Fn. 1: *Akṣobhya's *pañjikā* (p. 373): *sbyor ba'i rgyud ces bya ba ni rgyud 'dir phyi rol gyi sbyor ba rab tu mang bas na'o/ de ltar na 'di bya ba'i rgyud ces brjod do zhe na/ bsam gtan 'ba' zhig gi bya ba ston pa'i le'u bdun pa 'byung ba dang/ phyi rol gyi sbyor ba'i bya ba thams cad la yang shin tu mnyam par gzhag pas bya'o/ zhes nang gi rnal 'byor rab tu yang gces par ston pas na/ bya ba'i rgyud ni min te/ 'on kyang phyi rol gyi sbyor ba chen po'i rnal 'byor gyi rgyud do/ gzhan dag ni 'dir yo ga zhes bya ba yu dzir mi 'dren te/ yo ni sha nyid du 'dren na/de ni ma yin te/ 'dir yu dzir nyid shas che ba'i yo ni sha ni le'u bdun pa tsam las med cing/ lha'i sku bsgrub pa la ni bya ba'i rgyud las yang yo ni sha yod pa'i phyir ro/*

Fn. 3: *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* (Mie 1990:137): *yo ga zhes bya ba* {148b3} *yu dzir yo ga zhes bya ste/ zhi gnas dang lhag mthong zung du 'brel pa'i bsam gtan gyi ming ste rnal 'byor zhes bya/ yo ni sha ma na sk'a ra zhes bya ba yo ni au p'a y'a ste thabs sam rgyud la bya/ sha ni sha* [del. *na* ed.] *sa ti zhes bya ste/ thabs dang tshul de nyid la spyod cing ston pa la bya ste/ spyir na mi* {148b4} *sdug pa sgom pas 'dod chags gzhil ba dang/ rten cing 'brel bar 'byung ba sgom pas gti mug spangs pa la sogs pa ste/ thabs tshul bzhin du sgom pa'i ming yin pas na tshul bzhin yid la byed pa zhes bya/*

Fn. 10: Tāranātha's *Gshin rje chos 'byung*, pp. 5–7: *gal te rtog pa bdun pa'i lam gyis byang chub mi thob na/ rtog bdun gyi bshad pa skyo lug dang/ mal lugs ni mchog tu gyur ba'i chos su khyed rang 'dod pa yang mi 'thad de/ las phran tshogs tsam 'grub du zin yang mu stegs kyi chos dang mtshungs bar thal ba'i phyir ro/ yang byang chub sgrub pa'i bar chad sel zhes zer ba la yang brtags na/ 'di ltar bar chad thams cad sel ba yin no ni/ byang chub sgrub byed bla na med par 'gyur te/ bar chad thams cad spangs nas/ byang chub ma thob pa mi srid pa'i phyir ro/ tshe 'di nad dang gnod byed dang/ 'phongs pa sel ba tsam la byed na ni/ de tsam gyis byang chub kyi bar chad sel byed du 'jog mi thub cing/ de 'dra ni sman dang rdzas dang/ rig pa dang/ dgra thabs la sogs pa'i blo grogs kyis kyang nus pas na/ grong pa'i skye bo rnams dang thun mong du 'gyur bas/ 'dir khyad par chad srung ba dang 'joms pa'i tshad gang la 'jog/ skye ba phyi ma gcig gam gnyis su sdug bsngal sel ba la 'jog na yang/ mu stegs dang thun mongs su 'gyur la/ bdud dang gshin rje thub pa la 'jog na ni/ de la ni 'jig rten las 'das pa'i ye shes skye dgos pas/ de ka la byang chub thob pa'i thabs zhes zer ba go dgos so/ khyed kyi go yul na rnam bcad kyi cha nas/ bar chad la sogs pa'i skyon spangs pa yin pa la/ yongs gcod kyi cha nas yon tan mngon par ma bsgrub pa cig srid/ mtshan gzhi chos skor 'di rnams yin/ dpe zangs gzhong gi dri ma bkrus* [del:; *nam* ed.] *bcud blug pa dang 'dra snyam pa cig 'dug ste/ rig gras tsam ma gtogs lam gyi rim pa dang/ spang gnyen sogs kyi go ba phyogs re tsam yang ma shar ba der 'dug/ des nag nyen po ma skyes par spangs bya spongs mi thub/ tshogs gnyis ma rdzogs na sgrib gnyis mi dag ste/ dper na snang ba ma byung na mun pa mi sel ba bzhin no/ des na yongs gcod du yon tan skyes pa dang/ rnam bcad du bar chad nyes skyon sel ba bang mnyam mchog* [em.; *mchod* ed.] *mnyam gyi tshul yin pas/ bar chad sel byed mchog tu grub na yon tan skyed byed kyang mchog tu 'grub po/ dpal 'dzin gyis nag po'i rgyud bla med du bsgrub pa ni 'ga' zhig gis rgyud sde 'og mar bkral ba 'gog pa'i phyir yin gyi/ bla med kyi mtshan nyid ma tshang yang/ rgyud kyi tshig zur la 'bru log rgyab nas bla med du bsgyur zhing bcos pa ga la yin/ de ltar yin na rgyud kyang bla med ma yin ba dang/ slob dpon yang rdzun po cher thal bar 'gyur ba/*

Fn. 88: Tāranātha's *Gshin rje chos 'byung,* pp. 119–121: *nub mo nyal ba'i rmi lam du/ lung pa'i mda' chen mo ma gi nas yang/ shin tu 'jigs su rung ba'i lus can/ mdog nag po/ mgo dang rkang*

lag mang po yod pa/ me dang dud pa'i dkyil na gzugs shin tu che ba cig/ yar yod gyin 'dug/ 'dir ma byung na rung ste/ bsams can/ rtsar tshang gis byung/ skrag rang grags te/ gang grag ci gag la nyid sad pas/ gos thams cad rdul nag gis bsang 'dug/ de bas god gzhan ci yong yang mi shes te/ dus brtsams zin pas/ ma phyin na mi rung bsams/ nam langs ma thog phyin/ gram smu gu zer ba'i chu 'gram de'i thad na/ pandi ta dpon g.yog 'ga' zhig 'dug/ de mthong ba tsam gyis yid la dga' bde khyad par can yang skyes/ zil che ba zhig kyang 'dug/ de la mos nga da lta 'khor nas yong bas 'dir bzhugs shig/ bdag gi khyim du spyan 'dren pa lags byas/ de nas tshong 'dus mgur mor phyin pas sman mang po 'ang rnyed/ don spyod de yang legs pa rang zhig byung/ pandi ta dbus su phebs ba'i cha rkyen thams cad kyang der bsags/ sngar lo tsa rab rib zhig mkhyen pa la slar rgya skad la sbyangs pa cher mdzad/ pandi ta dbus su phebs pa'i phyag yo [em.; *g.yo* ed.] *gyi rkang len mdzad/ zhor chos kyang mang du thob/ yar phebs nas bla ma rang gi thugs dam gyi mthil gang yin pa de da la zhu byas/ snyigs ma'i dus na 'di kho na byin rlabs che/ nga'i yi dam gyi snying po 'ang 'di yin gsungs nas/ dpal rdo rje 'jigs mdzad chen po'i thang sku bstan/ sngar rang gi rmi lam du byung ba der 'dug nas/ dga' grags nas te te brdungs/ dbang bskur mdzad pa'i tshe/ dkyil 'khor gyi dkyil nas 'od dkar po'i gong bu snyim pa tsam cig byung/ khyim thams cad 'od kyis gang nas/ skyo ston gyi dbu la thim/ bla mas ming 'od kyi 'byung gnas su btags/ der zla ba bzhi tsam gzhugs nas/ rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi chos sgor dkyil phyin pa zab rgyas su gnang/.*

Fn. 269: Tāranātha's *Gshin rje 'chos byung,* p. 41: *'jam dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed chen po'i rgyud la rtog bdun las/de nas bcom ldan 'das rdo rje 'jigs byed chen po'i sku gsung thugs kyi sprul pa/ rdo rje 'jigs byed chen po ri rab kyi rtse mor sku sprul nas/ gdul bya gshin rje rnams 'dul ba'i dus la bab par mkhyen te/ lho phyogs kyi rgya mtsho phar brgal te/ gshin rje'i gnas lcags mkhar bcu drug zhabs bcu drug gis bcom/ ye shes rdo rje'i ling gas dbus kyi lcags mkhar bsgyel zhing/ gshin rje chos kyi rgyal po mnan* [em.; *gnad* ed.] *nas gzir/ bdud tshogs gzhan thams cad bcom nas rmeg med bar mdzad/ sde brgyad thams cad kyis srog snying phul mna' dor gshin rje dang ma mo thams cad sgrol ba'i gying pho mor byin gyis brlabs/ bstan pa bsrung par bka' bsgos so/ zhes pa tsam zhig 'byung ste/.*

Fn. 278: A mes zhabs, *Gshin rje gshed,* pp. 14–16: *de nas sum cu rtsa gsum du gshegs te drag shul bzhis ri rab la gnas pa'i lha rnams btul ba yin zhing/ de la drag shul bzhi ni/ sku'i drag shul/ gsung gi drag shul/ thugs kyi drag shul/ 'phrin las kyi drag shul dang bzhi yin la/ de'i yang sku'i drag shul ni/ phyag zhabs zhal spyan gyis 'gyur ba rnams te/ de yang phyag dang po gnyis kyis 'gyur ba 'am drag shul gyis brgya byin pho mo gnyis btul/ phyag lhag ma sum cu rtsa gnyis kyis nye dbang sum cu rtsa gnyis btul nas dam la btags/ spyan gsum gyis tshangs pa drag po khyab 'jug gsum btul/ de nas rgyal chen rigs bzhi'i gnas su byon nas der gnas pa'i lha rnams btul dam la btags te/ srog snying gi sngags phul nas/ HUM PHAT dang AUM gyi bar du bcug pas bcom ldan 'das nyid kyi rtsa ba'i sngags su 'gyur/ yang phyogs skyong bcu'i srog gi snying po yi ge bcu pa phul bas/ bcom ldan 'das kyis byin kyis brlabs nas bcom ldan 'das kyi snying por gyur pa yin no/ de nas yang zhal brgyad kyis lha ma srin sde brgyad btul nas dam la btags/ rtsa zhal kyis thun mong gi lha chen brgyad btul bar bzhed de/ brga byin dang/ tshangs pa dang/ dbang phyug chen po dang/ khyab 'jug dang gzhon nu gdong drug dang/ bina ya ga dang/ tshogs kyi bdag po dang/ lang ka mgrin bcu dang brgyad kyi mgo bcad nas zhal du gsol bas/ khrag dang/ tshil bu dang/ rkang la sogs pa zhal nas 'dzag pa byung/ de nas thugs kyi drag shul thugs ka'i nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor kyis lha'i bu nyi ma dang zla ba yang btul ba yin no/ de nas bcom ldan 'das kyi thugs rdo rjer byin gyis brlabs te gzhan don cho 'phrul mdzad pa'i tshul ni/ sku las 'jigs ba'i sprin dang mun nag lta bu ni gti bas/ ljags las ni 'jigs pa'i glog gi 'od zer du ma 'phros/ 'jigs pa'i 'brug sgra drag po'i bsgrags/ phyag na rdo rje la sogs pa khro bo mtshon cha sna tshogs thogs pa dpag tu med pa spros te drag po 'jigs byed brgyal du bcug/ de nas bcom ldan 'das kyis 'jigs byed rtsa zhal du bcug/ sku lus kyi nang du mid 'od gsal du kho'i nyon mongs pa rnams spyangs pas/ kho dran pa rnyed de byang chub tu sems bskyed/ las nyon gyis bskyed pa'i lus 'od gsal gyi mes*

bsregs nas thal bar byas nas bshang lam nas bton/ zhal dang phyag mtshan gyis dbang bskur/ de nas phyi ma na sangs rgyas thal ba'i dbang po zhes bya bar 'gyur ro zhes lung bstan/ 'jigs byed kyi gti mug gi bu legs ldan nag po/ zhe sdang gi bu mgon po nag po/ 'dod chags kyi bu gzhon nu ka rtika dang gsum bka' nyan du phul/ gzhan yang zhe sdang shas che ba dregs pa pho brgyad bzhon pa dang bcas pa zhabs g.yas pa'i gdan du phul/ 'dod chags shas che ba dregs pa mo brgyad/ bzhon pa dang bcas pa zhabs g.yon ba'i gdan du phul/ gzhan yang dran dang pho nya' khor du gtogs pa thams cad bcom ldan 'das kyi gsung nyan du bcug/ de nas yang lho phyogs rgya mtsho bsgral nas las kyi gshin rje'i gnas sgo med lcags mkhar bcu drug tu byon te/ zhabs bcu drug gis lcags mkhar bcu drug brdzis/ thugs ye shes rtse gcig mtshon byed mtshan ma rtse gcig gis dbus kyi lcags mkhar che po brdzis nas las gshin chos kyi rgyal po dam la btags/ slar yang shing gcig dang dur khrod la sogs pa'i gnas bcu bzhir byon te gsung gi drag shul haha dang hum hum phat phat kyi sgra bsgrags pas ma mo mkha' 'gro dang/ 'byung po dang/ ro langs dang/ srin po dang/ yi dags dang/ nam mkha' lding dang lto 'phye chen po dang/ phra men la sogs pa thams cad btul nas dam la bzhag /de tshe dam can chos kyi rgyal po la sogs pa rnams kyis gzir bzhin du/ dpa' bo chen po khyed kyi dgos pa bdag gis bsgrub cing/ bdag cag gi srog gi snying po tshul bzhin du 'bul bas dpa' bo chen pos bzhes shig ces zhus te/ lha ma srin sde brgyad kyi srog snying phul ba ni/ gshin rje'i ya/ ma mo'i ma/ srin po'i ra/ gnod sbyin gyi kshe/ mi'i na/ sa bdag gis sa/ btsan gyi tsa/ bdud kyi da phul nas thams cad kyis bran du khas blangs pa yin no/.

Fn. 292: Tāranātha's *Gshin rje gshed,* pp. 41–43: *sngon dus dpag tu med 'das pa'i sngon rol na/ lha dbang phyug chen po'i bu lha'i dmag dpon chen po gzhon nu gdong drug dang/ lha min gdol pa drag po gnyis 'dzam bu'i gling gi bdag po su byed la ma mthun nas/ yun rin du'i 'thabs las/ gdong drug pos 'dzam gling la dbang bsgyur pa na/ lha dbang phyug chen po ri rab gyi khong seng na gnas pa* [em.; *pas* ed.] *de shes te/ sum cu rtsa gsum la sogs pa mkha' la spyod pa'i lha rnams dang/ nad brgyad gdon brgyad sogs sa steng gi 'byung po thams cad dang/ lha min klu la sogs pa'i sa 'og na spyod pa thams cad dmag tshogs su bskul zhing/ drag po dbang phyug chen po nyid/ drag shul dang bcas te 'ongs pa na/ gdol pa drag po ni mgon na skyabs gzhan med pas shin tu 'jigs shing skrag pa las/ bcom ldan 'das 'jam pa'i dbyangs yid la dran te/ gdong nam khar phyogs te skad kyi gdangs chen pos/ mtshan nas pos shing gsol ba btab pas/ phyogs der 'jam dpal mngon sum du byon pa/ gdug pa can rnams 'dul ba'i khro bo'i skur bzhengs pa las/ zhal gzhan brgyad kyis phyogs mtshams kyi 'jigs byed brgyad gsol bar mdzad/ rtsa zhal dang ling gas ni 'jigs byed dbang phyug chen po khros pa nyid btul* [em.; *ptul* ed.]/ *ma he'i rva gnyis kyis lha ma yin kyi rta pa rnams bcom/ glang lpags 'dzin pa'i phyag gnyis kyis brgya byin dang/ phyag gzhan so gnyis gyis nye dbang sum cu so gnyis tshar bcad/ zhabs g.yas brgyad kyis gdon brgyad/ g.yon brgyad kyis nad brgyad mnan/ klu rnams rgyan du bcings/ gzhan yang lha gdon ma rungs pa rnams/ la la zhal du gsol/ la la zhabs kyis mnan/ zhes dngos su 'byung la/ de'i shugs la/ gzhan yang zhal dgus bza'* [em.; *gza'* ed.] *dgu dang/ phyogs skyong dgu dang/ 'jigs byed brgyad dam dgu/ zhal dgu*[*s*] *dang/ spyan nyer bdun gyis rgyu skar rnams btul ba 'ang don gyis thob po/ de ltar nag dug lha klu lha min/ byung po me/ dang mi ma yin thams cad/ dus dang por tshar bcad cing bsgral nas/ snying khrag gsol ba la sogs pa 'jigs pa chen po bstan nas/ slar yang gso shing rjes su bzung ste* [em.; *sto* ed.]/ *ye shes kyi dkyil 'khor du dbang bskur/.*

Fn. 317: Tāranātha's *Gshin rje chos 'byung,* pp. 55–58: *Slob dpon la la li ta badzra byung ngo/ slob dpon de 'khrungs pa'i yul ni o di vi sha yin/ bod rnams la* [em.; *bod la rnams* ed.] *rigs bram ze yin zhes 'chad/ dpal na lan dar songs nas rig pa'i gnas lnga la mkhas par byas/ sngags kyi theg pa yang mang du thos/slob dpon sngags mkhan zhig las* [em.; *la* ed.]/ *dpal sgyu 'phrul dra ba'i dbang zhus/ me tog 'jam dpal la phog pas 'jam dpal nyid lhag pa'i lhar bsgrubs pa yin/ gsang mtshan la li ta badzra yin/* [*lacuna*] *mtshan dngos 'jam dpal mtshon cha zhes bya/ des 'phags pa 'jam dpal bsgrubs pas/ lo nyi shu tsam na zhal gzigs shing/ thun mong gi dngos grub 'ga' re thob bo* [em.; *po* ed.]/ *skabs 'dir bod kyi gtam* [em.; *glam* ed.] *rnams gsung pa ltar na/*

slob dpon 'dis pandi ta sngags mkhan rnams la/ 'jam dpal mtshan brjod las/ rdo rje 'jigs byed 'jigs par byed/khro bo'i rgyal po gdong drug 'jigs/ mig drug lag drug stobs dang ldan/ zhes gsungs pa 'di rnams kyi lha sngags rgyud dang dkyil 'khor la sogs pa gang yin zhes dris kyang/ 'jam dpal gyi sku'i rnam 'gyur sna tshogs pa ston te de'i nang tshan re yin gsung ba tsam las/ 'dzug btsugs su ston rgyu ma byung/ khong rang gi bla ma 'am/ pandi ta bgres po zhig la zhus pas/ dpa' bo mkha' 'gro'i phyag na 'di dag la 'ang rgyud re re yod par 'dug ste/ da lta mi yul na med pas/ de'i don du 'phags pa 'jam dpal sgrubs shig gsungs nas bsgrub pa yin zer ro/ de nas slob dpon gyis bskyed rim brtan cing nus pa cung zad thob pa dang/ dpal o rgyan gyi yul nas dregs pa 'dul ba'i rgyud spyan drongs shig pa'i lung bstan yang thob nas/ rim gyis byang phyogs su bzhud nas/ o rgyan dang nye ba'i gnas kun du mu stegs rnams dang nus pa 'gran pa las/ gzhan thams cad las rgyal bar gyur kyang lan cig mu stegs pa'i rnal 'byor ma zhig gis lta stangs byas pas/ slob dpon yug cig dran med du bog/ de sangs tsa na/ rdo rje rnal 'byor ma rnams la gsol ba drag tu btab pas/ bcom ldan 'das ma rdo rje ro langs ma mi'i bud med kyi rnam par mngon sum du byon te gshin rje gshed kyi sprul pa'i dkyil 'khor du dbang bskur/ slob dpon gyi rgyud la phyin ci ma log pa'i dbang gi ye shes skyes/ gnas der zla ba phyed dang gsum sgoms pas/ bskyed rdzogs kyi ye shes brtan cing drod thob nas/ nags kyi ma he gdug pa can bkug ste/ de la phyibs [=*chibs*] *te zla ba drug tu smyon pa'i spyod pa mdzad/ de rjes dza la pa ta na dang/ ta la pa ta na la sogs pa'i grong khyer rnams su rgyu zhing/ bzhi mdor bzhugs te chang 'tshong ma rnams kyi chang thams cad dus gcig tu bkug ste gsol ba dang/ yang de'i phyi nyin chang tshong ma rnams kyi chang gi snod dag gser dngul dang rin po che dang/ gzhan yang rdzas sna tshogs kyis gang bas tshims par mdzad/ yang lan cig grong khyer gyi mi phyugs rnams la khrag 'gugs pa'i ting nge 'dzin mdzad pas/ slob dpon gyi mdun du snod chen po khrag gis khangs/ rdo rje car ci kās zhal mngon sum du bstan/ de gsol bas stobs dpag tu med par gyur te/ glang po che ni sor mo gcig gis mnan/ shal ma li'i sdong po chen po yang phyag gcig gis sa nas bton/ khrong khyer gyi mi phyugs thams cad shin tu rid par gyur to/ thams cad 'jigs shing skrag pa na/ de'i nang bar sngar bkug pa rnams slar phar sbos pas/ mi phyugs thams cad nyams stobs dang ldan par song/ rdo rje car ci kā'ī sgrub thabs zhig kyang mdzad do/ de dag la sogs pa rig pa'i brtul zhugs kyis* [em.; *kyi* ed.] *'gro don cung zad mdzad nas/ dpal o rgyan gyi gnas dha rma ga nyja chos kyi mdzod du byon/ rdo rje mkha' 'gro ma rnams dang bka' bgros te/ dgra gdong 'jigs gsum gyi rgyud spyan drang so/*.

Fn. 322: Tāranātha's *Gshin rje chos 'byung*, pp. 65–67: *mtshan slob dpon li la va badzra zhes 'don te/ rgyud du* [*lacuna*] *mkhyen/ slob ma mang po 'ang yod ba las/ rnal 'byor pa cig 'ongs nas/ bsad bskrad dbye rengs kyi cho 'phrul du ma bstan pas li la'i slob ma rnams de la mos par byung/ der slob dpon gyis bsams pa/ nus mthus sangs rgyas gyi bstan pa bsrung nus pa/ cho 'phrul ya ma zung ston pa/ phyi ma mchog thob pa'i chos cig dgos par 'dug snyam nas 'tshol du byon pas/ chu len gyi bud med rkang pa sa la ma reg par 'gro ba gcig dang phrad/ khyod gar 'gro zer/ chos de lta bu 'tshol du 'gro byas pas/ khyod kyis cang rnyed dam zer/ de mkha' 'gro ma yin par shes nas/ phyag dang bskor ba byas gsol ba btab pas/ des dur khrod bsil ba'i tshal du khrid nas/ ma mo'i rigs kyi mkha' 'gro ma gzhan gcig la gtad do/ des nub phyogs o rgyan du khrid nas/ rdo rje chen po'i brag phug tu bskyal bas/ bcom ldan 'das 'jigs mdzad dam/ gshin rje gshed zhal bzhad cing spyan g.yo ba mngon sum du gzigs/ rdo rje mkha' 'gro ma rnams kyis bka' lung sbyin te/ rgyud kyi glegs bam gyi tshogs pa'i nang nas/ gser gyi thur ma sor bzhi pa cig gis thon tshad cig long gsung ba ltar bton pas/ nag po skor gsum gyi rgyud byung/ de yang dgra nag ni rdo rje 'chang khros pa lha'i bu'i bdud 'dul ba'i phyir dang/ gdong drug ni phyag rdor khros pa gshin rje 'dul ba yin zhes dang/ rdo rje 'jigs byed ni 'jam dpal khros pa dbang phyug 'dul zhes dang/ gsum kar ngo bo rnal 'byor chen po yin par 'dra yang/ 'jigs mdzad gri ya dang mthun te/ bris sku'i sgrub pa gtso bor ston/ gdong drug yo ga dang mthun te phyag rgya bzhis rgyas 'debs/ dgra nag rnal 'byor chen po rang rkang bar dgongs zer te/ rgyud kyi bzhugs tshul ni de lta bur ma nges so/ der rgyud gzhan gnyis bris bshus mdzad/ 'jigs mdzad glegs bam rang du bton nas bsnams pas/ mchod rten gyi cong chen po rang sgra sgrag/ bya dang khyi rnams shar du thug/*

ljon shing thams cad shar du rtse mi dud skad/ mkha' 'gro ma rnams kyang rmi ltas sogs log ste/ phyi bzhin bsnyegs pas slob dpon ni ma mthong/ bcom ldan 'das 'jigs mdzad kyi sku'i [*lacuna*] *drung na glegs bam 'dug par mthong ste/ mkha' 'gro ma rnams kyis glegs bam blangs te song ngo/ der glegs bam spyan drangs kyang don du mi 'gyur bar 'dug snyam du dgongs nas/ slar yang o rgyan du cung zad cig bzhugs/ rgyud thugs su chud par mdzad nas byon te/ phyis thugs nas bton te yi ger bris ces 'chad do/.*

Fn. 333: Tāranātha's *Gshin rje chos 'byung*, p. 67: *ba ri lo tsā ba'i rjes 'jug rnams ni 'di skad ces 'chad de/ slob dpon sgeg pa'i rdo rje zhes bya bas/ gshin rje gshed nag po bsgoms pas nus pa cung zad grub nas/ lho phyogs kyi yul du brtul zhugs kyi spyod pa byas/ mu stegs gcig dang 'gran pas khong rang la ma tshugs kyang/ 'khor pho mo rnams ra lug tu gyur pas/ spyod pa sngas so snyam kha sa rpa nir gsol ba btab pas/ rmi lam du lung bstan byung nas/ dpal o rgyan du phyin/ lung bstan dang mthun pa'i rnal 'byor ma dang mjal nas/ de'i khol po lo gsum byas te dka' ba spyad pa las/ khyod ci 'dod gsung/ 'dod pa med de/bdag khyed la gus pas bkur bsti byed pa lags ces zhus/ de bzhin du lo drug dang dgu'i mthar yang de dang 'dra/ lo bcu gnyis kyi mthar/ khyod dngos grub ci 'dod gsung ba la/sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa dang mi 'gal zhing/ bdud dang mu stegs mod la tshar gcod pa'i thabs cig zhu byas pas/ bcom ldan 'das rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi dbang bskur zhing rgyud rtog pa bdun pa gnang ngo/ rnal 'byor ma de'i mtshan ni bde ba'i spyan ldan zhes zer/ de nas rtog bdun dar dkar po la ra'i 'o mas bris te bsnams/ mkha' 'gro ma rnams kyis snying khrag phyung ba snyam byed kyang/ slob dpon rkang mgyogs grub pas rjes ma zin par rang gnas su sleb/ sngar gyi mu stegs de dag thams cad tshar bcad/ ces zer ro/.*

Fn. 392: *Śoṇaśrī's *pañjikā*, p. 397: *mtshon gyis bsnun pa'am steng nas 'gegs pa'i mi'i thod pa la sen rtsi'i khu ba'am/ sa dkar rdo rgyus kyis rims mngon par bris te de la tsha ba'i rims ni dmar po skra dmar zhing gyen du phyogs pa'o/ grang ba'i rims ni dkar po skra 'phyang ba khro ba dang bcas pa zhes bya ba ni gnyi ga yang rkang pa gsum pa lag pa gsum pa yin no/ phyi nas ro bsregs pa'i sol ba dang thal ba bsgrub bya'i rkang pa'i rdul dang lhan cig tu byas pas gzugs brnyan 'khrul 'khor 'di* [*em. 'dir*, ed.] *sngar gyi cho ga nyid kyis legs par bris la de'i snying gar bcug ste/ dug dang lan tshwa dang skye tshe la sogs pas legs par byugs pa padma bhā ndhā gzhan du gzugs brnyan de bcug pa gnyis ka la 'dug pa byas nas bris pa'i thod pa* [*em. thod pa la bris pa*, ed.] *de'i steng du kha sbub tu bzhag de nas de yis bzung bar sems shing me thab kyi 'og tu bsregs te/ rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi rnal 'byor gyis mtshan mo zla ba la byas na nges pa kho nar rims kyis 'dzin par 'dir the tshom med do/.*

Fn. 433: *Akṣobhya's *pañjikā*, pp. 370–371: *slob mas me tog bor na ni snying po'i gnas dgu po gang du lhung yang dngos grub mchog tu 'gyur te/ snying por me tog bab na ni/ rtag tu don med mi 'gyur bshad/ ces gsungs pa'o/ byang gi snam bu'i mtshan ma la bab na/ zhi ba'i las 'grub po/ lhor ni tshar bcad pa rnams so/ nub tu ni dbang du bya ba dang dgug pa'o/ shar du ni rgyas pa'o/ ri mo'i phyi rol lam mtshan ma gnyis kyi bar lan gsum bab na dbang mi bskur ro/ sgrub pa pos ni/ ro'i steng du bdag po'i lugs ma'am bris sku'am/ brkos pa'i sku bzhugs pa/ me tog dor ba byas la bdag nyid dbang bskur te/ dbus kyi lha gsal ba'i gnas su 'dug pa las rdzas 'grub pa'am/ rgyud las ji skad gsungs pa ltar mchog stsol bar bya'o/.*

Fn. 488: *Akṣobhya's *pañjikā*, pp. 374–375: *yi ge bcu pas de bskor la zhes bya ba ni/ oṃ hrīḥ zhes bya ba la sogs pa yang re'u mig bcu drug pa'i rim pa de la dgod pa'o/ oṃ hrīḥ ṣṭrīḥ vikṛ zhes pa lnga dang/ tā na na zhes pa gsum gcig la gzhag pa dang/ hūṃ zhes pa dang/ phaṭ ces pa bris te/ bar bar du dor ba brgyad la snga ma rnams bri'o/ de nas bar ma'i re'u mig bcu gnyis dang/ dbus kyi re'u mig lnga la yi ge bcu bdun bris te/ dbus su yi ge ya'o/ lhor ni ma'i yi ge'o/ nub tu yi ge me'o/ byang du ni ye ge da'o/ shar du ni yi ge kshe'o/ ma dang 'brel pa'i re'u mig bar ma nas bsams te/ ra dza sa do/ ru na yo ni/ ra ya cca ni zhes bya ba rnams bri'o/.*

Fn. 494: *Kṛṣṇācārya's *pañjikā*, p. 449: *bcu drug ces pa dgra nag ltar phyi rol du las kyi sngags phyogs dang phyogs bral du dgod cing de'i bar du ming spel bar bya'o/ bcu gnyis dang phyogs bzhi dbus dang lnga la rtsa sngags bcu bdun bri zhing mi'i sa bon bzhi bsgrub bya'i yang ming bar du bcug la bri'o/ las sngags kyis spyi bo la sogs pa'i gnas rnams snying po dang spel ba dgod do/ huṃ dang phaṭ brgyad kyang mgo lhor byas pa'i phyogs dang phyogs bral du bri'o/ man ngag gis lha'i gnas dang bcas pas 'bar ba'i gzugs dmigs pa'o/*.

Fn. 565: *Śoṇaśrī's *pañjikā*, pp. 399–401: *dang por re zhig ces bya ba ni dang por ro/ de la dgongs pa 'di yin te dang por re zhig sngags pas skye bo 'ga' zhig la brten nas stan bde ba la 'dug ste/ bdud rtsi lnga la sogs pa'i ri lu khar bcug la rnal 'byor pa g.cer bu gtsug phud bshig pa/ kha lhor mngon par phyogs pa ste/ de nas rang gi snying gar nyi ma la gnas pa'i sa bon gyi 'od rnams kyis phyogs bcu'i 'jig rten gyi khams mngon par khyab ste/ sangs rgyas dang byang chub sems dpa' dang/ khro bo la sogs pa'i lha tshogs spyan drangs te/ mdun gyi nam mkha'i phyogs su bzhugs su gsol la/ de nas snying ga'i sa bon gyi 'od zer las byung ba'i rdo rje carci kā la sogs pa'i lha mo bzhis mchod pa'i yo byad sna tshogs lag pa'i pad ma lta bu gzung ba rnams kyis legs par mchod do/ sdig pa bshags pa la sogs pa dang/ gshegs su gsol ba byas nas/ de dag thams cad bsgoms la chos thams cad bdag med pa zhes bya ba'i tshig gis tshangs pa'i gnas bzhi bsgoms pa mtshon pa'o/ de la sems can thams cad la bu gcig pa ltar sdug pa'i mtshan nyid ni byams pa'o/ sdug bsngal dang sdug bsngal gyi rgyu las yang dag par 'don* [*Vajrasiddha, p. 419 *'dod pa*] *pa'i snying rje dang/ bde ba brtan pa nyid kyis dga' ba dang/ gzung ba dang 'dzin pa'i rnam par rtog pa thams cad la btang snyoms su byed pa'i phyir btang snyoms so/ de nas thams cad rten cing 'brel bar 'byung ba dang/ mu bzhi bral bar rnam par bltas la/ om sunyata jnana vajra svabhava atmako ham/ zhes bya ba'i sngags brjod la sngags kyi don mngon du byed cing bdag nyid khams gsum la snang ba med par byas nas/ de nas smon lam gyi stobs las bar snang la yi ge AH dmar po las byung ba'i nyi ma'i steng du HUM gi 'od zer lnga 'phro ba can no/ de yongs su gyur pa las sna tshogs rdo rje/ de yongs su gyur pa las rdo rje ra ba dang gur dang/ bla re dang/ sa gzhi bsgom par bya'o/ de dag thams cad bsgoms la/ yang yi ge YAM las rlung gi dkyil 'khor zhes bya ba ni rjes su nga ro dang bcas pas so/ DHIH las zhes bya ba ni DHIH ser po las so/ 'jam pa'i rdo rje zhes bya ba ni mgon po zhal gcig phyag gnyis pa phyag na ral gri dang glegs bam can/ rdo rje'i skyil mo krung gi sbyor bas rgyu'i rdo rje 'dzin pa'i bdag nyid can no/ rgyud dang rgyud du gsungs pa'i rim pas 'bras bu rdo rje 'chang gin go bor bdag nyid dur khrod brgyad kyis brgyan par bskyed la srid pa dang zhi ba gnyis su med pa'i nga rgyal med cing/ om sva bha ba shunyata sarva dharma sva bhava sunya aham/ zhes bya ba'i sngags brjod par bya'o/ de nas mig la sogs pa byin gyis brlab par bya'o/ dbang bskur mi bskyod rgyas gdab pa/ dbang po rtsa ba'i spyi bor bsgom/ dgeg pa la sogs ro dang ldan/ khro bo gzugs ni phyi rol las/ rang gi snying ga'i sa bon gyi 'od zer las sna tshogs par bzhugs pa'i sangs rgyas sras dang bcas pa rnams spyan drangs te/ mdun du bltas la/ de rnams kyis rnam par 'phros pa'o/ carci kā la sogs pa zla ba lta bu'i bum pa bdud rtsi lnga yis yongs su gang ba gzung ba de rnams kyis bkra shis kyi tshigs su bcad pa sngon du song bas bdag nyid la dbang bskur byed par bsams nas/ rang gi snying ga'i sa bon gyi 'od zer gyis ye shes sems dpa' spyan drangs la mdun du bzhugs su gsol to/ mchod yon dang zhabs bsil la sogs pa phul nas/ OM MUDGARA DZAH zhes bya ba'i sngags kyis bkug la/ OM DANDA HUM zhes bya ba 'dis bcug cing/ OM PADMA VAM zhes bya ba 'dis bcing la/ OM KHADGA HO/ zhes bya ba 'dis dbang du bya ba'o/ de nas rang gi snying ga'i sa bon las byung ba'i rdo rje carci kā la sogs pa rnams kyis mchod pa'i yo byad sna tshogs pa dag gis mkhas pas mchod par bya'o/ de nas 'bar ba la sogs pa'i cho gas bsgrubs pa'i bdud rtsi las lce rdo rje'i sbu gus drangs la bza' bar bya'o/ bdag nyid de'i phyir sbyor ba nyid/ bden min brdzun pa min pa nyid/ lha yi rnam pa bsgom par bya/ de nas rnam dag dran par bya/*.

Fn. 570: *Yoginīsaṃcāra/Jayadrathayāmala* 5.41–42 and 5.45–5.46:

ato devi pravakṣyāmi prayogam amṛtasya/
pūrvaṃ vinyasya deveśi sakalaṃ bhairavaṃ tanum// 41
ugracakratrayopetaṃ sarvakarmapradāyakam/
paśum ālabhya yatnena tataḥ karma samārabhet// 42
[…]
nāḍīcakrasya udayaṃ sūryacakrodayānugam/
ghaṭikādvayaṃ bhavet sārdham udayaṃ nāḍīṣu kramāt// 45
ghaṭikāṃ prāṇa<śa>tāni syuḥ trīṇi ṣaṣtyutta(utta em:anta cod) rāṇi tu/
kālacakraṃ tu taṃ jñeyaṃ durlabhaṃ vāmakarmaṇām// 46

Fn. 571: *Yoginīsaṃcāra/Jayadrathayāmala* 5.53cd–57:

sādhya<ṃ> hi purato dhyātvā vidyā<ṃ> mūrdhani sādhakaḥ//
phaṭkāre guṇivasthena soṅkāraṃ yojayet tataḥ/
asitaṃ chidrarūpaṃ tu karṣayantam ivāmṛtam//
soṅkāraṃ karṣayed rakta<ṃ> pūrakena samīritaḥ/
vicintya vada (em.; *vaca* ms.) *naṃ pātraṃ vāyubhūto mahābalaḥ*//
ānaye śvāsayogena urdhva<ṃ> nāḍiṣu yojitam/
āpūrya vadanaṃ devi tataḥ pātraṃ nirīkṣayet//
anenaiva vidhānena pañcānām api tatkṣaṇāt/
svanāḍīkarmayogena kuryād ākarṣaṇam (em.; *ākarṣaṇe* ms.) *budhaḥ*//

Fn. 572: *Yoginīsaṃcāra/Jayadrathayāmala* 4.49cd–53:

gṛhya pañcāmṛtaṃ devi kulācārakrameṇa tu// 49cd
caruṃ susaṃskṛtaṃ kṛtvā mahāsiddhipradāyakam/
tatas tu sādhayitvā tu devatānāṃ nivedayet// 50
yāgabhūmau bahir (em.; *yadir* ms.) *gatvā prakṣipe<t> tu baliṃ tataḥ*/
lāmānāṃ cumbikānāṃ ca cūṣikā<ṃ> pūtanāṃ (em.; *pūtanas* ms.) *tathā*// 51
mahāmṛtasamāyukto bhūtānāṃ ca yathākramam/
prakṣipeta baliṃ vīro madyamāṃsasamanvitam// 52
mahā<.....> sthitvā anujñāṃ prārthayet tataḥ /
tato japet svamantraṃ tu […] // 53

Fn. 577: *Lalitavajra's *pañjikā*, pp. 325–326: *dur khrod la sogs pa'i rtag gnas zhes bya ba la sogs pas bdud rtsi bza' ba'i thabs bstan te/ yar ngo'i tshes gcig gi nub mo bu mo sngo bsangs ma bsten te/ skya rengs 'tshar tshe sbyor ba byas pa'i rang gi khu ba pad ma la ma babs par lcags kyi snod kyis blangs te/ drod ma yal bar nyi ma'i sbu gus btungs ba 'am/ yang khong du 'thungs na tshe ring zhing rgas pa med pa ste rdo rje'i tsha dang 'dra bar 'gyur ro/ yang mar ngo'i tshes gcig la bud med sngo bsangs ma me tog can btsal la/ 'dod pa'i bstan bcos kyis chags pa bskyed de zhag gsum lon pa'i nub mo skya rengs shar ba'i tshe sbyor ba byas pa'i 'bras bu gnyis 'dres pa de drod ma yal bar btung ba 'am/ yang na nyi ma'i sbu gus 'thungs/ yon tan snga ma bzhin no/ zas dkar gsum dang dngar gsum tshod rig par zos la zhag re la 'pho ba phyed kyi tshad kyis dri chen gtor* [em.; *tor* ed.] *ba byas la/ zhag gsum du gnas pa'i dri chen blangs te grib skams byas te/ byi'i la'i spar tshad kyi phye ma'i* [em.; *phye ma ba'i* ed.] *'o ma dang sbyar te 'thungs na de bzhin du 'gyur ro/ mi dpa' bo g.yul du ma log par shi ba'i byin pa'i sha gcad de sa bzang po'i 'das par dril te/ kham phor kha sbyar du bcug nas/ yang de 'dam pa bzang por byugs nas/ de'i steng du me btang ste bsros pas khu ba byung ba de blangs te 'thungs na gong bzhin no/ sngar gyi zas za ba'i tsha spangs pas snga ma bzhin du zhag gsum pa nam gyi gung la blangs*

ba'i dri chu cha gsum pa'i snod du bcug ste/ zhag gsum lon pa'i rtse mo'i cha byug pa bya zhing/ bar ma btung/ tha ma dor na snga ma bzhin no/ yang na snga ma'i bdud rtsi lnga 'bras bu gsum gyi phye dang sbyar te bza' ba 'am/ yang na dngos su ri lu re re zos na 'grub par the tshom med zhes pa'i don to/.

Fn. 618 (p. 433), MMK 51.28–40:

gṛhyāriṣṭaphalaṃ patraṃ tvacaṃ cāpi samūlataḥ/
kāñjikaṃ āmlasaṃyuktaṃ mānuṣāsthisucūrṇitam [em.; °*sacūrṇitam* ed.]// 28
kaṭutailaviṣaṃ caiva amlavetasam ārdrakam/
rājikaṃ rudhiraṃ caiva mānuṣodbhavasambhavam// 29
gṛhya sarvaṃ samāyuktaṃ paṭaṃ sthāpya vivekataḥ/
dakṣiṇābhimukho bhūtvā paṭaścāpi udaṅmukhaḥ// 30
kṛtvāgnikuṇḍaṃ yatheṣṭaṃ vai śuklakāṣṭhaiḥ kaṭu-m-udbhavaiḥ/
jvālayaṃ [=*jvālayan*] *kaṭakaiś cāpi tasmiṃ* [=*tasmin*] *kuṇḍe samāhitaḥ/*
gṛhyāt sarvasamāyuktaṃ vidhinirdiṣṭahaumikam// 31
agnim āhūya [em.; *agnirāhūya* ed.] *mantrais tu krodharājasya vai punaḥ/*
baddhvā śūlamudrāṃ tu sarvakarmeṣu vā iha// 32
sahasrāṣṭamāhutir [em.; °*āhutiṃ* ed.] *dadyād agnikuṇḍe saroṣataḥ/*
prathame putramaraṇaṃ sandhye [em.; *sattve* ed.] *prāpte tu taṃ bhavet// 33*
dvitīye cāpi bhāryā vai pārṣadādyāḥ sanāyakāḥ/
tṛtīye maraṇaṃ tasya yaṃ uddiśya [em.; *yasyoddiśyaṃ* ed.] *hi tat kṛtam// 34*
ardharātre yadā jāpaḥ kriyate paṭasannidhau/
śatrūṇāṃ ca vadhārthāya tat tathaivānuvartate// 35
rāṣṭrabhaṅgaṃ bhavet tasya senāyāṃ mārisambhavam/
agnidāhaṃ mahāvātaṃ mahāvṛṣṭiś ca jāyate// 36
samastaṃ sarvataś cakraṃ paracakreṇa hanyate/
vividhopadravā tasya mahāvyādhisamākulam// 37
dehaṃ śuṣyati sarvaṃ vai tasya rājño na saṃśayaḥ/
amānuṣākīrṇaṃ sarvatra [em.; *sarvantaṃ* ed.] *gṛhaṃ tasya samākulam// 38*
dhṛtiṃ na labhate śayyāṃ āvartaṃ ca mahītale/
rākṣasaiḥ pretakravyādaiḥ gṛhaṃ tasya samāvṛtam// 39
ārtto bibheti sarvatra tīvraduḥkhaiḥ suduḥkhitaḥ/
aśaktā rakṣituṃ tasya maheśvarādyā bhuvi devatā//. MMK 51.28–40.

Fn. 623 (pp. 434–435), MMK 51.55–69:

picumandaṃ kaṭutailaṃ ca kāñjikaṃ viṣapañcamam/
rudhiraṃ mānuṣaṃ māṃsaṃ lavaṇaṃ trikaṭukaṃ punaḥ// 55
rājikaṃ śaṅkhacūrṇaṃ ca amlavetasa mārdrakam/
dhurdhūrakasya tu mūlāni kośātakyā tathaiva ca// 56
eraṇḍamūlaṃ yavakṣāraṃ kusumbhaṃ cāpi kaṇṭakam/
madanodbhavamūlaṃ ca laśunaṃ gṛñjanakaṃ tathā// 57
palāśaśākhoṭakaṃ caiva palaṇḍuṃ sasurāsavā/
sarvāny etāni samaṃ kṛtvā juhuyāt agnau paṭasannidhau // 58
hute sahasramaṣṭe tu śatrunāśaḥ samūlataḥ/
sarvāṃ vā rājikāṃ hanyāt [em.; *hanyā* ed.] *pāriṣadyāṃ śubhāśubhām// 59*
samūloddharaṇaṃ tasya dvitīye sandhye tu juhvatā/
tṛtīye samanuprāpte sandhye juhvata jāpinā// 60
durbhikṣaṃ bhavate tasya jane cāpi sanaigame/
anāvṛṣṭimahāmāryaḥ rākṣasākīrṇa sarvataḥ// 61
agnidāhaṃ śilāpātaṃ vajranirghātasāśaniḥ/

janapadaṃ deśaviṣayaṃ vā tavāḥ [em.; *yavāḥ* ed.] *tasya narādhipe*// 62 *bahnopadravasampātaṃ varacakrāgamaṃ tathā*/
anekadhā bahudhā cāpi [em.; *bahudhāścāpi* ed.] *tasya deśe upadravāḥ*/
jāyante vividhākārāḥ mahālakṣmīpraṇāśanaiḥ // 63
dhurdhūrakamūlaṃ juhuyād ekaṃ unmattis tasya[672] *jāyate*/
kaṭukaṃ [=*trikaṭu*] *juhvato nityaṃ mahādāhena gṛhyate*/
atyamlaṃ juhvato magnau mahājvaraṃ śītasambhavam// 64
sambhavet tasya deśasthaḥ [em.; *dehasthaḥ* ed.] *duṣṭarājñāṃ balagarvitām*/
mahārājñām [em.; *mahāyakṣāṃ* ed.] *dhanināṃ krūrāṃ mahāsainyasamāsṛtām*/
dvirātre saptarātre vā maraṇaṃ tasya jīvitam//. 65
yo yasya devatābhaktaḥ nakṣatro vā nāmato likhet/
śmaśānāṅgāraiḥ kṛtiṃ kṛtvā paṭasyāgrato bhūsthitaṃ [em.; *paṭasyāgratabhūsṛtam* ed.]/ *ākramya pādatā mūrdho* [em.; *pādato mūrdhnā* ed.] *saṅkruddho japam ācaret*// 66
akasmād vividhaiḥ śūlaiḥ gṛhyate 'sau narādhipaḥ/
mahāvyādhisamākrāntaḥ mṛyate [=*mriyate*] *vāpi tatkṣaṇāt*// 67
paśunā hanyate vāpi [em.; *cāpi* ed.] *vyaṅgo vā bhavate punaḥ*/
bhakṣyate rākṣasai krūraiḥ kaśmalair manuṣodbhavaiḥ [em.; *kaśmalāmānuṣo*° ed.]// 68
kravyādaiḥ pūtānaiś [em.; *pūtana* ed.] *cāpi piśācaiḥ pretamātaraiḥ*/
tatkṣaṇād dhanyate vāpi [em.; *cāpi* ed.] *ātmanaś cāpi sevakaiḥ*// 69

Fn. 642, *Tantrālokaviveka* 4.243cd:

avikalpena bhāvena munayo 'pi tathābhavan//243//

tatheti saṃvidaikātmyānaikātmyābhyāṃ śuddhyaśuddhivibhāgabhāja ity arthaḥ/ taduktaṃ tatra "ṛṣibhir bhakṣitaṃ pūrvaṃ gomāṃsaṃ ca narodbhavam/" iti/ yadi nāma hi te—dravyāṇāṃ saṃvidaikātmyam eva śuddhiḥ—iti na jānīyuḥ, tat kathaṃ śāstrabahiṣkṛtaṃ lokaviruddhaṃ gomāṃsādi bhakṣayeyuḥ; ata eva hi bāhyacaryāyām "yad dravyaṃ lokavidviṣṭaṃ yac ca śāstrabahiṣkṛtam/ yaj jugupsyaṃ ca nindyaṃ ca vīrair āhāryam eva tat//" ityādyuktyā vikalpaprahāṇāya lokaśāstraviruddhaṃ dravyajātam abhihitam/ yannāma sarvadravyāṇāṃ lokaviruddhatvādi na vāstavaṃ rūpaṃ, kiṃtu parā saṃvid eva,—iti kiṃ nāma jugupsyaṃ nindyaṃ vā, sarvatraiva saṃvidrūpatvāviśeṣāt; ata eva tatra cittapratyavekṣāmātrameva prayojanaṃ—kiṃ saṃvidekāgrībhūtaṃ cittaṃ na vā—iti/ yad uktam—"na caryā bhogataḥ proktā yā khyātā bhīmarūpiṇī/ svacittapratyavekṣātaḥ sthiraṃ kiṃ vā calaṃ manaḥ//" iti// 243

Fn. 654: *Kṛṣṇācārya's commentary, p. 460: *lha de'i khar ram dmigs la ha ha oṃ agnaye zhes bya bas rdzas dang bsgrub bya'i ming ci rigs par bsreg go/ de nas de'i snying gar gong gi dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed bskyed la/ skye mched byin gyis brlabs pa nas ye shes nas dbang gi bar bya ba bsgrubs la/ mchod pa rnams rim pas mchod cing bstod pa la sogs pa ci rigs pa yang bya'o/ de'i lto bar me'i dur khrod chen po dngos po thams cad stong pa nyid du bsgrub pa dang/ zhal du ram dang me gru gsum brtsegs ma rkang* [em.; *rkan* ed.] *gnyis la bsgoms la/ rdzas dang bsgrub bya'i ming dang bcas pa bsregs pas gsungs pa ltar 'gyur ro*/.

Fn. 657: *Śoṇaśrī's *pañjikā*, p. 406: *gdol pa'i me'i dbus su PAM las byung ba'i sna tshogs padma'i dbus su/ me gsum pa'i dbus ram las byung ba'i me lha kha dog dkar po zhal gsum pa phyag drug pa/ phyag g.yas na phreng ba dang/ gzhan gyis mi 'jigs pa dang/ g.yon pa dbyu gu gsum pa bsnams pa/ gzhan gyis ril ba spyi blugs bsnams pa/ gzhan gyis gri gug dang thod pa bsnams pa'o/ g.yon pa brkyang ba'i gom pas gnas pa/ khro bo rgyan gyis brgyan pa/ de'i snying*

[672] *unmattis* is used here as if it was a primary derivative of *unmatta*.

gar rang gi sa bon gnas/ de nas ye shes kyi me lha spyan drangs la/ mchod yon dang zhabs bsil la sogs pa phul nas/ dam tshig pa bcug la mchod pa la sogs pa byas te/ de'i zhal du yi ge RAM bkod la cung zad dbul bar bya ste/ OM AGNA YE SVA HA/ zhes bya ba ni sngags 'dis so/ de'i snying gar rdo rje 'jigs byed bstan pa'i gzugs bstan pa'i rim pa bsams la/ mig la sogs pa byin gyis brlab pa sngon du 'gro bas ye shes sems dpa' spyan drangs la sogs pa byas nas/ mchod pa la sogs pa byas la de'i zhal du yi ge RAM bkod la/ bdag nyid rdo rje 'jigs byed kha dog dang ldan pa'i rnal 'byor dang ldan pas sbyin rdzas sreg nas gsungs pa ltar 'gyur ro/.

Fn. 667 (pp. 91–92), MMK 13.23–40ab:

śucinā tṛṇamūlena kuryād ulkā pramāṇataḥ/
muṣṭimātraṃ tato kṛtvā jvālayed vahni yatnataḥ// 23
na cāpi mukhavātena vastrāntena vā sadā/
nivāsanaprāvaraṇābhyāṃ varjitā nānyamamvare// 24
na cāpi hastavātena upahanyābhiratena vā/
śucivyajanena tathā vastre parṇe cāpi pravātaye// 25
samīrite kṛte vahnau ebhir udbhūtamārute/
jvālayed adhimantrajño homārthī susamāhitaḥ// 26
trīnvārāṃ tato 'bhyukṣe kṛtvā vā apasavyakam/
āhutitrayaṃ tato dadyā ājye gavye tu tatra vai// 27
tato kuryāt praṇāmaṃ vai sarvabuddhānatāyinām/
svamantramantranāthaṃ ca tato vande yatheṣṭataḥ// 28
agnihṛdaye tato mantre japte japtena vai sadā/
āhvayed vahniyuktātmā puṣpaireva sugandhibhiḥ// 29
āhvayati nityaṃ mantrajño sthānaṃ dadyād vicakṣaṇaḥ/
āsanaṃ sthānaṃ datvā tu tena mantreṇa nānyavai// 30
dadhiplutamājyamiśraṃ tu madhvāktaṃ samidhāṃ traya/
juhuyād agnipūjārthaṃ mantrakarmeṇa sarvataḥ// 31
ubhayasthaṃ tadā kuryāt samidhānāṃ dravyamiśritam/
ājyamadhvaktasaṃyuktāṃ dadhyamiśre tathaiva ca// 32
sahasraṃ lakṣamātraṃ vā śatāṣṭaṃ cāpi kalpayet/
guhyamantrī tathā mantraṃ sakṛjjaptvā kṣipet śikhau// 33
jvālāmāline vahnau ekajvāle tathaiva ca/
śāntikarmaṇi juhvīta nirdhūme cāpi pauṣṭikam// 34
[…]
śāntike sitavarṇas tu śastaṃ jinavaraiḥ sadā/
siddhyanti tatra mantrā vai site 'gnau juhvato yadi// 36
raktavarṇaṃ tathā nityaṃ pauṣṭikāt siddhim iṣyate/
kṛṣṇe vā dhūmavarṇe ca kapile cāpi pāyikam [*pāvakaḥ*?]// 37
ity eṣā trividhā siddhiḥ tridhā varṇapravartitā/
anyavarṇābhravarṇā vā vividhākāravarṇitā/
tādṛśaṃ varṇasaṅkāśaṃ vividhākāravarṇitam// 38
na siddhis teṣu mantrāṇāṃ punar astīha mahītale/
tādṛśaṃ varṇasaṅkāśaṃ vividhākāravarṇitam// 39
śikhiṃ jvalantaṃ dṛṣṭvā tu punaḥ karmaṃ samārabhet/ 40ab

Fn. 669: *Lalitavajra's *pañjikā* (p. 329–332):

1. *dben pa'i gnas su thab khung du/ gru gsum sor ma nyi shu la/ zabs su de'i phyed brkos la/ dur khrod sol bas stsogs kyis byug/ dbus su rdo rje gdings pos mtshan/ rdo rje rtse gsum kha khyer la byis/* (p. 329).

2. *thab khung bshams nas ni/ ko vi da ra la sogs pa'i/ gzhag pa tsher ma can gyi shing/ bud shing du ni bsreg ba'o/ tsher ma can gyi shing las ni/ sor mo bcu'i tshad bya'o/ de nas bud shing sngags dang ni/ bcas pa'i chu yis me bsang ste/ rdol pa la sogs khyim gyi me/ blangs te thab khung bcug la/ jva la jva las me spar te/* (p. 330).
3. *me tog nag po'i mchod rdzas dang/ dri da ba'i bdug pa dang/ sbrang chen mar me de bzhin te/ sha sna tshogs pa'i lha bshos dang/ khrag dang dug gi dri chab bsag/ bsreg rdzas dri chen dri chu dang/ bong bu rnga mo rtug pa dang/ tsha ba'i mar dang sgrub bya'i skra/ sen mo rkang rjes dag dang ni/ mi rus* […]*/ bsang gtor byin brlabs rdzas rnams dgod/ mchod rdzas g.yas la bsreg rdzas g.yon/ dgang gzar blugs gzar mar ldan dang/ rdo rje dril bu mdun du'o/de nas rdzas rnams byin brlab pa/ dang po oṃ ldan sngags dag gis/ mchod pa byin brlabs phyag rgyas so/* (p. 330).
4. *ting 'dzin par dang ldan pas so/ de ni rang gi yi ge las/ thab bskyed nyi ma'i dkyil steng du/ ra las me dkyil gru gsum pa/ yi ge 'bru gsum mtshan mar gyur/ de dag gyur pas drag po'i me/ khro bo'i gzugs can du byed pa/ 'khor skyer gyen 'greng kham pa la/ 'od zer du mas lus brgyan pa/ zhal gsum gnag dang dkar g.yon ljang/ phyag drug rdo rje spyi blugs dang/ skyabs sbyin g.yas kyi gsum na'o/ dril bu dbyug pa bgrang phred g.yon/ brgyan ldan bsgoms nas rang bzhin gyi/ sngags kyis lha de spyan drangs te/ ehyahi mahabhuta deva ri shis sadana mahā ahuti asmin sanihito bhavati agne mama shatru maraya phat/ sngags dang ting 'dzin ldan pa yis/ thab dang nye bar bkug pa la/ dza la sogs pa'i las kyis bstim/ gnyis med 'gyur ba'i lha de la/ mchod yon sngon du 'gro ba yis/ rang sngags ldan pa'i mchod pa dbul/ de nas nyungs mar dug bcas pa'i/ dgang blugs sngags gyis zhal du dbul/ de nas yam sang shing la sogs pa/ bsreg blugs thams cad rims bzhin dbul/ rdzogs nas mjug du dgang blugs dbul/* (pp. 330–331).
5. *de rjes de'i snying khar dmar po'i steng du hūṃ las ni/ 'jigs byed chen po bsam par bya/ de nas ye shes 'khor lo yang/ sngags 'dis mdun du spyan drangs te/ oṃ hriḥ bho mahākrodhā ... de nas bsang gtor sngon 'gro bas/ dgug la sogs pa'i las byas la/ gnyis med gyur la sngon bzhin du/ mchod yon sngon du 'gro bas mchod/ de rjes mar gyi dgang blugs dbul/ de nas yams shing la sogs pa/ bsreg blugs rim bzhin dbul bar bya/ de nas dgang blugs bdun phul la/ de nas mchod pa dbul bar bya/ me tog nag pos las bsgrub ste/ oṃ hriḥ striḥ vi kri ta nana ma ma shatru maraya phat/ las bsgrub sbyin bsreg rjes su yang/ mchod pa mchod yon btags pas so/ de nas lha de gshegs par bya/ sngon bzhin lhag mas me mchod la/ rang bzhin med de gshegs par bsam/ dam tshig med de rang la bsdu/ mjug bsdu'i cho ga rdzogs byas pa/ sbyin bsreg rgyas pa'i cho ga'o/* (pp. 331–332).

Appendix 2:
A Critical Edition of the *Vajrabhairavatantra*

1. Manuscripts, Xylograph Sources and Existing Edition

a) The Manuscripts and Xylographs of the *Vajrabhairavatantra* (VBhT)

Ms. A Kathmandu, National Archives (NAK).[673] The ms. has been photographed twice and has two serial numbers: NAK A 994/3 and NAK A 1306/32. This is a palm-leaf manuscript written in *newārī* script. Ms. A is the oldest witness of the VBhT dated on the basis of paleographical grounds to the early 16th century (Acharya: personal communication), and it contains a number of interesting linguistic features (discussed below) that support the East Indian origins of the VBhT. Ms. A is incomplete and as it can be inferred from the numbers featuring in the right margin of the *recto* side of the manuscript's folios, it originally had 16 folios in total. The manuscript's information page records that the ms. contains folios 1-8, 11, 15, 16. The available complete folios correspond to chapters 1 (ff.1v–3r), 2 (ff.3r-7r), and 3 (ff.7r–8v) of the VBhT. F.8v contains the beginning of Chap. 4 of the VBhT; f.11rv makes up the middle and the end of Chap.5; the two bottom lines of f.11v contain the beginning of Chap. 6; ff.15r–16v include almost entire Chap. 7 (except for the first three *dhyāna* procedures that are missing).

For most part the palm leaves are in good condition. Only a handful of them have been damaged around the edges or contain smudged letters that impedes legibility. Some folios have corrections, such as, for example, cancellations marks (x) written by either the first or a second hand. The most peculiar and unusual feature of the ms. A are punctuation marks in the form of a single or a double comma-shaped sign that occur frequently (after almost every word), which may indicate that the text has been used for recitation. These punctuation marks have not been recorded in the critical apparatus.

Insofar as the scribal practices of the ms. A are concerned, the ms. has an inconsistent orthography (see linguistic features). Occasionally, the scribe uses homorganic nasals, e.g.; *aṃntraṃ* (for *antraṃ*) or redundant *anusvāra*, e.g.; *prathaṃnaṃ* (for *prathamaṃ*). There are several features, which indicate that the scribe has been influenced by *newārī* phonetics. In this regard, the scribe sometimes confuses '*ya*' and '*ye*', e.g., *sādhyesya* (for *sādhyasya*), *kathyete* (for *kathyate*) which is a feature of *newārī* phonetics (Jørgensen 1941:10). The scribe also often confuses sibilant '*ṣ'* with guttural '*kh*', e.g., *mahikha* (for *mahiṣa*), *mukhalaṃ* (for *muṣalaṃ*); *mānukhān* (for *mānuṣān*); the confusion well attested not only in *newārī* but also in North Indian languages. Furthermore, the scribe frequently uses '*r*' and '*l*' interchangeably, e.g., *bhailava* (for *bhairava*); *śarīlaṃ* (for *śarīraṃ); kālayet* (for *kārayet*), which is another feature of

[673] Ms. A was made available to me in a digital copy thanks to Dr. Péter-Dániel Szántó. Upon the completion of this research, Prof. Sferra told me about the existence of perhaps another manuscript kept at the University of Beijing (ms. no. 106). Unfortunately, this information came too late to include it in the current work.

newārī phonetic system (Jørgensen 1941:9). Similarly, the scribe sometimes writes '*ar*' whenever there is a conjunct, e.g., *yāvarjivaṃ* (for *yāvajjvaṃ*); this feature occurs very often in *newārī* manuscripts (Sanderson: personal communication). Moreover, the scribe cannot distinguish between the dentals and the retroflex consonants, e.g., *rakteṇa* (for *raktena*), *mantrinā* (for *mantriṇā*), *pithāt* (for *piṭhāt*), *pathita* (for *paṭhita*). The scribe sometimes uses '*ja*' in place of '*ya*', e.g.; *jantraṃ* (for *yantraṃ*); this alternative pronunciation is attested in Indian languages, both ancient and modern, where there is a distinction between the two speech sounds represented by the letter '*ya*', resulting in the two types of pronunciation of '*ya*': either as a semivowel or a glide (as in *yadi*), or voiced slightly like a '*ja*' sound. The scribe uses optional *sandhi*, e.g. *antarddhūmena*−doubling of the consonant after 'r', which is allowed by Pāṇini and often used by East Indian scribes. The scribe doubles the consonant after 'r': *sarvvakarmmāṇi* (chap. 1, 2, 3); *bhakṣabhojyāhomabalikarmmāṇi* (chap. 1); *sarvvatomukhaṃ* (chap. 1); *sarvvaṃ* (chap. 1); *karmma* (chap 1); *yathāvadanupūrvvasaḥ* (chap. 1); *carmmaṇi* (chap.2); *carmma*; *parvatte.* This is an orthographic convention allowed by Pāṇinī and a feature of East Indian manuscripts. This feature is pervasive in ms. A and found several times in ms. B.

Ms. B Kathmandu, National Archives B 112/16.[674] Paper, written in a *devanāgarī* script. 8 folios. It is a kind of transcript prepared by some *paṇḍita* working for Hemrāj Śārman (20th c.), *rājaguru* and and chief librarian of the government of Nepal (Acharya: personal communication). Ms. B is incomplete and the content of the available folios correspond to the ones found in the ms. A. Ms. B does not provide any information about the number of folios the ms. originally had. Following the numbers assigned to the folios of the ms. B, the available complete folios correspond to Chap. 1 (ff. 1v–3r), Chap. 2 (ff.3r–5v), and Chap. 3 (ff.5v–6v) of the VBhT. F.6v consists of the beginning of Chap. 4; f.7rv contains the middle and end of Chap. 5; f.7v has the beginning of Chap. 6, and ff.8rv make up almost entire Chap. 7 (with the exception of the first three *dhyāna* procedures). Ms. B independently gives much better reading than ms. A. It also corrects the mistakes found in ms. A. Due to the scribal practices of erasing the incorrect words (that in ninety-eight percent match those found in the ms. A) and writing the correct forms on or above the incorrect ones, it is plausible to infer that ms. B is an intelligent copy of ms. A and not a reading from a different manuscript. Several different methods are employed for deleting letters or words. First, the erased words or *akṣara*s leave lacunaes that are filled up by correct forms introduced by a second scribal hand. Second, the wrong *akṣara*s are not erased but underlined and the correct form is written above them. Third, the long and short 'i' vowel is often corrected by a cancellation mark in the form of a 'wave' above the faulty letter 'i'. Four, there is a horizontal zigzag sign written over the faulty vowel or over certain *akṣara*s. Fifth, the correction of the long 'u' into a short 'u' is represented by a short 'u' written in a second hand next to the long 'u' in such a way that both short and long 'u' exist alongside one another. All these methods are clearly a modern scribal intervention for the correction of errors. The most peculiar original feature of ms. B that occurs only on f.8v is a practice of supplying a locative ending to the dative ending, e.g.; *dṛṭabhaktoye* (for *dṛḍhabhaktāya*), *nirvikalpāye* (for *nirvikalpāya*), *gurubhaṭṭāye* (for

[674] The photocopy of ms. B was made available to me in a hard copy thanks to Prof. Alexis Sanderson.

gurubhaktāya), which seems to be caused by the influence of the *newārī* phonetic system, resulting in the confusion of '*ya*' and '*ye*' (see above).

Tibetan. For the Tibetan translation of the *Vajrabhairavatantra*: **T_S=** Tibetan translation edited by Siklós (1996:79–114). The colophon of T_S states that VBhT was translated by Rwa rdo rje grags from a manuscript belonging to his Nepali guru Bha ro phyag rdum (Siklós 1996:76). The translation closely follows the Skt. version and it is used in the current edition to emend some of the words or portions of the text lost in Sanskrit. T_S is also employed for reconstructing the longer missing fragments of the VBhT by paralleling it with the passages from the *Sampuṭatantra* (SPT). Major variations between mss. A, B and T_S as well as between the SPT and T_S are recorded in the annotated translation.

The root-text lemma of the VBhT extracted from the commentaries included in the Tibetan Bstan 'gyur 'Pedurma' edition (*dpe bsdur ma*) are as follows:

T_A= for the *Śrīvajrabhairavatantrapañjikā* of *Akṣobhya (= *Dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi rgyud kyi dka' 'grel,* Toh. 1970);

$T_Ś$= for the *Śrīvajrabhairavatantrasūtraṭippaṇīnāma* of *Śoṇaśrī (=*Dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi rgyud kyi mdor bshad pa zhes bya ba*, Toh. 1971);

T_V = for the *Śrīvajrabhairavatantrasūtratippaṇīnāma* of *Vajrasiddha (=*Dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi rgyud kyi mdor bshad pa zhes bya ba*, Toh. 1972);

T_K= for *Vajrabhairavatantrapañjikāratnamālā* of *Kṛṣṇācārya (=*Rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi rgyud kyi 'grel pa rin po che'i phreng ba zhes bya ba*, Toh. 1974);

T_L= for the *Śrīvajrabhairavatantravṛttialaṃkāropadeśanāma* of *Lalitavajra[675] (=Gser bris ma 2806, *Dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi rgyud ki 'grel pa man ngag dang ldan pa'i rgyan zhes bya ba*).

These texts are available digitally on the BDRC website. In case of emendations to the Tibetan text, other editions of the above commentaries, including the Co ne, Gser bris, Sde ge, Snar thang, and Pe cing, have been consulted.

b) Existing edition of the Skt. VBhT

A partial edition of the Skt. VBhT has been published in 2007 in the *Dhiḥ* series no. 43 of the Central Institure of Higher Tibetan Studies in Sarnath, Varanasi edited by Ngawang Samten and S.S. Bahulkar. The "Sarnath edition" (henceforth with a sigla, Sed), which contains only first three chapters of VBhT, mentions two textual witnesses on which it is based, i.e., the ms. B and the Tibetan translation of VBhT (Toh. 468). Sed closely follows

[675] Commentary by *Lalitavajra is catalogued on the BDRC website as a work by Las kyi rdo rje, but the front page of the VBhT in all the three editions, namely Beijing, Snar thang and Gser bris ma say it is a work by Rol pa'i rdo rje and not Las kyi rdo rje. The corruption in cataloguing the sources on the BDRC website could have easily arisen by mistakenly identifying the letters '*rol*' for '*las*', which look quite similar in Tibetan script.

the reading of ms. B and it often replicates mistakes found in ms. B. I have included Sed in the critical apparatus only when it provides a different reading from my own edition.

c) Reconstructing VBhT from the *Sampuṭatantra*

Since both ms. A and ms. B are incomplete, I have reconstructed the missing fragments of the VBhT from the *Sampuṭatantra*—the text that has been transmitted in Nepal in the 11th century (Szántó 2013:348) and which, as a number of scholars already demonstrated, is just an anthology of different Vajrayāna texts (see Noguchi 1995, Skorupski 1996, Sanderson 2009, Szántó 2013). In his pionieering work, Szántó (2013) has identified parallels between the *Sampuṭa* and VBhT that are going to be discussed below. To his list I would like to add a number of further correspondences that I was able to identify in the course of this research.

With regard to Chap. 4 of the VBhT, Szántó (2013:360) has identified the existence of the parallel in the SPT (S.Ch. 7.4) that encompasses the visualisation procedure (*dhyāna*) of Vajrabhairava corresponding to Siklós (1996:96). However, the corresponding fragment is not only limited to *dhyāna* of Vajrabhairava, but it also includes the practice of generation of oneself as Vajrabhairava, equivalent to Siklós (1996:95). The passage begins with "*bhagamadhye tu yaṃkāreṇa*" and ends with "*pañcaraśmisaṃyuktaṃ dhyātvā*" in S.Ch. 7.4 of SPT.

With regard to Chap. 5 of the VBhT, Szántó (2013:360, 361) found parallels in the SPT (S.Ch.9.3) concerning instructions on how to draw a *paṭa* of Vajrabhairava including the qualification of *citrakara* and Vajrabhairava's iconography (S.Ch.7.4) that correspond to Siklós (1996:100–101). The parallel passage of SPT also contains the description of the cremation grounds painted around Vajrabhairava (S.Ch.7.4) matching Siklós (1996:101).

Insofar as Chap. 6 of the VBhT is concerned, Szántó (2013:358) has identitied a total of eight *homa* recipes and some general instructions in the SPT (S.Ch.7.2). To this list, I would like to add another seven *homa* procedures that I was able to trace in the SPT (S.Ch.7.2) that have close parallels with the VBhT. That means that from a total of twenty-five *homa* rituals given in the VBhT, fifteen could be reconstructed from the SPT.

From Chap. 7 of VBhT, Szántó (2013:360) has identified two parallel passages: the ritual of sexually exiciting the woman in the SPT (S.Ch.7.4) that contains some superficial resemblance to Siklós (1996:111) and healing of snakebite in the SPT (S.Ch.7.4) corresponding closely to Siklós (1996:110–111). In addition to this, I was also able to trace another parallel passage in SPT (S.Ch.7.4) dealing with the subjugation of a king under one's will, which corresponds closely to Siklós (1996:111–112).

Moreover, I was able to locate three magical recipes (*karma*s) from Chap. 2 of the VBhT that have close parallels in the SPT (S.Ch.7.1), i.e.; *uccāṭana* procedure based on the production of ash (*bhasma*) by burning crow's nest; *vidveṣaṇa* rite that relies upon collecting the wings of a crow and owl and a hair from *brāhmaṇa* and *caṇḍāla*; and *unmattīkaraṇa* that requires a mixture of human flesh and sawdust of a book-worm.

d) The Manuscripts of the *Sampuṭatantra* (SPT)

The following mss. of the SPT have been used for reconstructing the missing fragments of the VBhT or tracing parallels between the VBhT and SPT. Since these mss. have been described in detail by Szántó (2013), my observations contain only some general remarks and are mostly limited to providing the numbers of the folios that contain correspondances with VBhT.

Ms. K Kolkata, Royal Asiatic Society no. 4854.[676] This is a palm-leaf ms. written in the so-called Proto Bengali-cum-Maithili (Szántó 2013:346). Ms. K is currently dated to the early 12th century. This is the best witness of the SPT, clearly written, undamaged and complete in 91 folios. The parallel passages of ms. K that correspond to those found in the VBhT are located on the following folios:

VBhT Chap. 2, *uccāṭana*: K 52v2

VBhT Chap. 2, *vidveṣaṇa*: K 52v3

VBhT Chap.2, *unmattikaraṇa*: K 52v2

VBhT Chap.4, generation of oneself as Vajrabhairava: K 69v3–70r5 (from *bhagamadhye* to *pañcaraśmisaṃyuktam dhyātvā*)

VBhT Chap.4, visualisation of Vajrabhairava: K 70r5–70v1 (from *tatparāvṛtaṃ* to *khādyantaṃ vicintayed*)

VBhT Chap. 5, general instructions on painting the *paṭa*: K 86r2–86r4 (from *śuddhātma* to *karpaṭeṣu*); instructions on brushes, etc.: K 85v4–85v5 (*tatrāyaṃ vidhiḥ* to *kuñcyā likhanīyaṃ*)

VBhT Chap. 5, iconography of Vajrabhairava: K 70v1–71r1 (from *aṭṭahāsam* to *likhāpayet*)

VBhT Chap. 5, instructions on keeping the *paṭa* secret: K 86v4

VBhT Chap. 5, description of cremation grounds: K 71r1–71r2 (from *tasyādho* to *mahabhairavaṃ*)

VBhT Chap. 6;[677] h.6.4, K 58r3–58r6; h.6.7, K 58v1–58v1; h. 6.8, K 58v3–58v3; h. 6.9, K 58v 3–58v4; h.6.11, K 57v3–57v4; h.6.12, K 57v5–58r1; h.6.14, K 59r5–59r5; h.6.16, K 59v4–58r5; h.6.17 K 58r5–58r5; h.6.18 K 58v2–58v2; h.6.19, K 58v2–59v3; h.6.20, K 59r–59r3; h.6.21, K59r3–59r4; h.6.22, K 59r4–59r4; h.6.23, K59r4–59r5; h.6.24, K 58r 1; end K 59r5–59v1

VBhT Chap. 7, making woman sexually excited: K 71r6–71v1

VBhT Chap. 7, healing a snakebite: K 74v2–74v4

[676] The digital copy of this ms. was available to me thanks to Dr. Péter-Dániel Szántó.

[677] For the sake of clarity, I have numbered *homa* rituals according to the sequence in which they are presented in Chap. 6 of VBhT (total 25 *homa*s). The sequence also includes the *homa*s that are missing, i.e., the first three *homa*s in the beginning of Chap. 6 are numbered as 6.1, 6.2, and 6.3, etc.

VBhT Chap 7, subjugating a king under one's will: K 74v1–74v4

Ms. R ("Hodgson ms."), London, Royal Asiatic Society no. 37.[678] This is a palm-leaf ms., incomplete. It has 127 folios in total, but this number includes the *Saṃpuṭatilaka*. The ms. is dated to the middle of the 11th century and the colophon identifies a scribe as a certain Kumāracandra of the Dharmacakra monastery founded by Guṇakāmadeva, which Szántó (2013:347) identified as Tadhañ Bāhā in Wotu Tole, Kathmandu. The parallel passages of ms. R that correspond to those found in the VBhT are located on the following folios:

VBhT Chap. 2, *uccāṭana*: R 56v1

VBhT Chap. 2, *vidveṣaṇa*: R56v1–56v2

VBhT Chap.2, *unmattikaraṇa*: R 56r5

VBhT Chap.4, generation of oneself as Vajrabhairava: R 76r4–76r5

VBhT Chap.4, visualization of Vajrabhairava: R 76r5–76v2

VBhT Chap. 5, general instructions on painting the *paṭa*: R 93r4–93v1; instructions on brushes, etc., R 93v1–93v2

VBhT Chap. 5. Iconography of Vajrabhairava: R 76v2–77v2

VBhT Chap. 5, instructions on keeping the *paṭa* secret: R 94r2–94r2

VBhT Chap.5 description of the cremation grounds: R 77v3–77v4

VBhT Chap 6; h.6.4, R 62v4–63r2; h.6.7, R63r3–63r3; h.6.8, R 63r5–63r5; h.6.9, R 63r5–63v1; h.6.11, R 62r3–62r5; h. 6.12, R 62r5–62v2; h.6.14, R 64v2–64r3; h.6.16, R 63v1–63v1; h.6.17, R 63v2–63v2; h.6.18, R 63v5–63v5; h.6.19, R 63v5–63v5; h.6.20, R 64r1–64r1; h.6.21, R 64r1–64r1; h.6.22, R 64v1–64v2; h.6.23, R 64v2–64v2; h.6.24, R 62v2–62v4; end R 64v3–64v4

VBhT Chap. 7, making a woman sexually excited: R 78v3–78v4

VBhT Chap. 7, healing a snakebite: R 81v3–81v5

VBhT Chap 7, subjugating a king under one's will: R 81r1–81r4

Ms. P, London, Wellcome Institute for the Study of Medicine, ser. no. 630/shelved at epsilon 2.[679] This is a palm-leaf manuscript, almost complete, containing 184 folias. The palm leaves are not in a very good condition; many of them are damaged at the edges, which impedes legibility. It is quite possible that ms. P has been copied in the 11th century (Szántó 2013:348). The parallel passages of ms. P that correspond to those found in the VBhT are located on the following folios:

VBhT Chap. 2, *uccāṭana*: P 77v5–78r1

VBhT Chap. 2, *vidveṣaṇa*: P 78r1–78r

VBhT Chap.2, *unmattikaraṇa*: P 77v4–5

[678] The digital copy of this ms. was available to me thanks to Dr. Péter-Dániel Szántó.
[679] The digital copy of this ms. was available to me thanks to Dr. Péter-Dániel Szántó.

VBhT Chap.4, generation of oneself as Vajrabhairava: P 106v2–106v4

VBhT Chap.4, visualisation of Vajrabhairava: P 106v4–107r2

VBhT Chap. 5, general instructions on painting the *paṭa*: P 124r5–124v1; instructions on brushes, etc.: P 124v1–124v3

VBhT Chap. 5, iconography of Vajrabhairava[680]: P 107r2–107v5

VBhT Chap. 5, instructions on keeping the *paṭa* secret: P 125v1–125v2

VBhT Chap.5 description of the cremation grounds: missing

VBhT Chap 6; h.6.4, P 87v1–87v5; h.6.7, P 88r2–88r2; h.6.8, P 88r4–88r5; h.6.9, P 88r5–88v1; h.6.11, P 86v1–86v4; h.6.12, P 86v4–87r2; h.6.14, P 89v1–89v2; h.6.16, P 88v1–88v2; h.6.17, P 88v3–88v3; h.6.18 P 89r2–89r3; h.6.19 P 89r3–89r4; h.6.20, missing; h.21, P 89r4–89r4; h.6.22, P 89r5–89r5; h.6.23, P 89r5–89v1; h.6.24 P 87r3–87v1; end P 89v2–89v4

VBhT Chap. 7, making a woman sexually excited, R 108v3–108v4

VBhT Chap. 7, healing a snakebite: missing

VBhT Chap 7, subjugating a king under one's will: R 111r4–111v3

2. Linguistic Features of VBhT

Below is a list of linguistic peculiarities found in ms. A:

1) Inconsistent orthography: i) *vetāla* is used throughout the ms. A with one exception when the alternative form *vetāḍa* common in Buddhist texts is used (see also *Vajrāmṛtamahātantra*, Sferra 2017:416); ii) two alternative spellings of the Sanskrit *dhattūra* are: *dhurttura*, *dhūttura*. The 'u' variant, i.e., *dhurttura* or *dhūttura* seems to be an East Indian derivative of the Sanskrit *dhattūra*. According to Turner's *Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages* (pp. 383–384), East Indian languages, such as Assamese and Bengali, attest the forms '*dhūtturā*' and '*dhuthurā*, which possibly supports the East Indian origin of the VBhT. The MMK uses the word *dhurdhūraka,* and Edgerton's *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* reports *dhuttūraka*.

2) Rare meanings of verb-forms: *ghaṭayet*/*parighaṭṭayet* in a meaning of 'to close'. This meaning is only registered in the St Petersburg's Sanskrit dictionary, as occurring in the *Harṣacarita*. It also occurs in the *Niśvāsamūla* and *Brahmayāmala* in the same sense, in association with *dvāraṃ,* "door". The *Niśvāsamūla* (4.6, Goodall's ed. p. 99) says: *dvāraṃ astreṇa ghaṭṭayet* "let him close the door using the *astra-mantra*" and *Brahmayāmala* (34.146a) says *ghaṭṭayet dvāraṃ*, "let him close the doors".

3) Confusion of active and passive in ergative verb-construction: *susamāhitena bhakṣabhojya homabalikarmāṇi kuryāt,* featuring *kuryāt* but with the agent in the

[680] The description ends with *mahāśaku-* and then ms. R breaks off for about one folio (as inferred from other witnesses of the SPT). It resumes on f.107r with *-veṣṭitā.*

instrumental case (one would expect *kartavyāni*). It is an example of authorial barbarism where active and passive constructions get confused and hybridized. Similar example occurs also in the NTGS (10.47cd): *candrasūryagrahe devaṃ ghṛtābhyaktaṃ* [em.; *ghṛtābhyaṃ* ms.] *tu kārayet* ("When there is an eclipse of the moon or the sun, he should make the god smeared with ghee"). Check also item 17 below.

4) The loss of final 't/d': *nikhane* for *nikhanet*; in this register of Sanskrit, the third person singular ending with 't/d' is only an orthographic ornament which is not pronounced. The NTGS (10.114d–115) also contains this form: … *yāmenākarṣaye* (for *ākarṣayed*) *drutam*/ […] *saptāhat (a)karṣaye drutam.* Elision of final t/d also occurs in non-verbal forms: see, for instance, *sāptahā cakravartiṃ* for *sāptahāc cakravartiṃ* ('c' being a *sandhi* substitute for the final 't'). This phenomenon is commonly attested in tantric literature: cf. *Svacchandatantra* 11. 74b, *dehāntaṃ yāva caryayā*; *Brahmayāmala* 39.28cd: *pañcaṣaṭmāsikaṃ yāva care dhyānaparāyaṇaḥ;* 39.30cd: *etan mantrī sadā kuryā siddhiheto na sansayaḥ;* VŚ 278d*: nātra kāryā vicāraṇā*;[681] *Vajrāmṛtamahātantra* 4.35c: *visarjaye* (see Sferra 2017:416).

5) Unsual *ātmanepada* ending in verb-forms: *saptāhenoccāṭayate.* Cf. *Svacchanda-tantra* 9.73a: *tam uccāṭayate kṣipraṃ*.

6) Declension of consonantal stems as -a stems (especially in the accusative): *śiraṃ* for *śirasaṃ*; *cakravartiṃ* for *cakravartinaṃ; tadbhasmaṃ gṛhya* for *tadbhasma gṛhya*. This is a common feature of the Middle Indic register of Sanskrit

7) Masculine plural becomes neuter plural: *mahāvetālāni* for *mahāvetālān.* Similar instances occur in the NTGS: cf. 3.105cd, *kālayukto yadā mantras trayodaśakalāhataḥ. stambhayet sarvasainyāni sarvaduṣṭāni caiva hi*; 3.106cd, *nāgāni vāyusaṃyuktaḥ karṣayet sādhayet drutam.*

8) Inconsistent use of gender/avoidance of *sandhi*: *aparam api prayogaḥ* (or *apara-m-api*, where *-m-* represents an intervocalic glide), sometimes used correctly with the nominative: *aparo 'pi prayogo. Aparam api* is a common phrase in the commentaries usually introducing a new citation synonymous with *kiṃca* and *tathā ca.* Here, however, it is used to introduce a new ritual procedure.

9) Irregular syntax found frequently in Tantric texts: *uddhṛtya prakṣālayet. mokṣaḥ*; the text uses the optative for the "if" part and then the indicative for the result, or just a noun, i.e. *mokṣaḥ*.

10) Irregular genitive plural found frequently in Tantric texts: *mantratantraprayogajñāṃ.* Also in the MMK 51.24, p. 432: *gṛhya paṭavaraṃ gacched yatheṣṭaṃ yatra vāñchitam. mahāyakṣāṃ* [for *mahāyakṣānāṃ*, genitive plural] *mahārājñāṃ mahāvittasagarvitām.*

[681] I thank Andrea Acri for drawing my attention to these instances.

11) Middle Indic derivatives: *chāra* in a meaning of ashes. *Chāra* is a derivative from an old Indo-Aryan *kṣāra*, meaning "corrosive, alkaline"; Middle Indic languages have derivatives in '*cha*' and '*ka*' forms. Prakrit and Hindi have the '*cha*' form, i.e. *chār*, which means either 'alkaline' or 'ashes'. In other Indo-Aryan languages other than Hindi, *chār* means only ashes (see Turner 1973, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, p. 191). A similar meaning of *chāra* is also attested in the *Buddhakapālatantra* chap. 2, Dorje's edn. p. 19, l.3: *tasya chāraṃ saṃgṛhya śāraṃ avasthapayet*, "having gathered the ashes, he should put it into a bowl". Abhayākaragupta in the commentary on this verse glosses *kṣāra* as 'ashes' (*kṣāram iti bhasma*).

12) Incorrect formation of causative verb-forms: *muñcayet*, while the correct form should be *mocayet,* a causative form of √*muñc*; the incorrect *muñcayet* occurs often in the Middle Indic register of Sanskrit.

13) Possible reflex of Śaiva terminology: *smaraṇa*. The term *smaraṇa* is a signature of the *Picumata-Brahmayāmala*, where it is used in a technical sense as the seed-syllable *hūṃ* that animates the mantra of this system: *oṃ hūṃ caṇḍakapālinī*. The sense is that a true *sādhaka* accomplishes *siddhi* simply by maintaining the awareness of Śiva that this seed-syllable is said to embody. It is praised in the text as the source of all mantras and all language. The *Picumata-Brahmayāmala* (5.10cd–11ab, quoted in Kiss 2014:208) defines *smaraṇa* as follows: *na japeṇa na homeṇa na ca yantra na pūjāya/ sarvadā smaraṇenaiva tena siddhir na saṃśayaḥ//*. Following the authority of the *Picumata*, this meaning of *smaraṇa* is also retained in the *Tantrāloka* (50.156): "The supreme god has declared in such scriptures as the *Picumata* that there is no need for the ceremony and the process of worship and that the desired *siddhi* may be accomplished simply through the power of the seed-syllable called awareness". Further, the *Tantrāloka* (29.65cd) says: *siddhayet sarvadā smaraṇena hi.* The seed-syllable *hūṃ* constitutes one of the seed-syllables in the ten-letter mantra of Vajrabhairava.

14) Double *sandhi*: *dehalyādhaḥ* (*dehalyaḥ* + *adhaḥ*).

15) The use of Atharvavedic terminology: *pratyaṅgirā* is not a common term in Classical Sanskrit, but we have the mantras called *pratyaṅgirā*, which are used to turn back the hostile magic of another sorcerer. The term *pratyaṅgirā* goes back to the Atharvavedic literature, where it is used in a similar sense. According to Sanderson (2007:213), the goddess Pratyaṅgirā is a tantric manifestation of Atharvavedic counter-sorcery (*pratyaṅgirasā*).

16) Wrong use of nouns' case endings: *asya mantrasya prayogasya* [*na*] *kasyacit pārśve japet* for *asya mantrasya prayogaṃ* [*na*] *kasyacit parśve japet.*

17) Confusion of ergative and non-ergative verbs: *yadi brūyāc chrīmahāvajra-bhairavājñayā* [*ḍākinībhir*] *yoginībhir vā* ***bhakṣayet*** for ... ***bhakṣyeta***. The confusion of ergative and non-ergative was a feature of the late Middle Indic and had a bearing on this kind of literature as well.

3. A Critical Edition of the VBhT

3.1. Editorial Policy and Abbreviations

i) Abbreviations and Symbols in the Sanskrit Text

§ [e.g., §1]	Portions of the text are numbered editorially.
v., vv.,	Verse numbers are added editorially.
(N) [e.g., (N1)]	Indicates that there is a note in the Textual Notes associated with the word or passage in question.
{ }	Braces contain folio numbers for each ms., e.g., {K3r}.
[ ]	Square brackets indicate text added editorially that has been reconstructed from the Tibetan translation.
Kiṃcit	Portions of text in this font indicate that the text has been reconstructed from the SPT on the basis of the Tibetan translation of the VBhT.
Bold	Words in bold indicate that the text features in the SPT but does not have a parallel in the Tibetan translation of the VBhT.
< >	Angle brackets indicate that the text or the emendation to the text is uncertain.
( )	Words in parentheses indicate text that has been added editorially on the basis of Sanskrit grammar, but that does not necessarily feature in the Tibetan translation.
†…†	Daggers indicate missing portion of the text.
+	A plus sign indicates an *akṣara*, e.g., †+†.
italics	Text in *italics* indicates a colophon.

ii) Abbreviations and Symbols in the Apparatus

ac	"Before correction" (*ante correctionem*), e.g., *yadicchet* B^{ac}.
add/add2	Added in the manuscript on the same line/added by a second hand on the same line, e.g., *śvā(na)* B^{pc} (add2).
codd.	The manuscripts A and B (codices).
conj./conj. X	Conjecture ("I have conjectured."/ "X has conjectured").
corr.	Correction.
dam.	Damaged text.
del.	Deletion of letters in the manuscript by a first hand or by a second hand.
ditto.	The reading in the manuscript is due to the scribal error of dittography.
em.	Emendation ("I have emended"; "X had emended").
f., ff.	Folio, folios.
haplo.	The reading in the manuscript is due to the scribal error of haplography.
hyper.	A line of verse is hypermetrical
metri causa	"For the sake of the meter."

met.	Scribal error due to metathesis.
ms./mss.	Manuscript/manuscripts.
om. X	Omitted by X.
pc	"After correction" (*post correctionem*), e.g., *śvāna* B^{pc} (add2).
r	folio recto.
rec.	Reconstruction of words or a passage from the Tibetan.
umetric.	The reading or suggested emendation is umetrical.
v	folio verso.
]	The square bracket indicates the lemma as the accepted reading.
○	A circle indicates a lacuna caused by the erasure of the words or *akṣara*s by a second hand.
(-x?)	The illegible or smudged letters make the reading uncertain.
*	Illegible letters or words in the text.
◦	All letters prior to or following in the lemma.
X➔Y	Used to indicate a passage of text, "from X to Y", e.g., *smaraṇan* ➔*samākrāntaṃ* ("The passage starting with *smaraṇan* and ending with *samākrāntaṃ*").

iii) Silent Editorial Standarisations

The text has been standardised in the following respects:

1. Final *ṃ* > *m.*
2. Homorganic nasals in external *sandhi* of *m* > *ṃ*
3. *Avagraha*s have been added.
4. Consonats after *r* usually doubled in the mss. are single, e.g., *sarvva* > *sarva*.
5. *Daṇḍa*s are not shown.
6. Punctuation marks are not shown (punctuation is unreliable).

iv) Insignificant Variants of the mss. A and B

- Confusion between semi-vowels *r* and *l*, e.g., *bhairava*] B; *bhailava* A
- Confusion between cerebral *ṣ* and aspirate *kha*, e.g., *mahiṣa*] B; *mahikha* A
- Confusion between dental and retroflex consonants: *s* and *ṣ,* e.g., *catuṣpathe*] B; *catuspathe* A; s and ś, e.g., *śūlabhinnapuruṣam*] *sūrabhinnapuruṣam* A, B; *n* and *ṇ*, e.g., *māraṇoccāṭana*] B, (S ed.); *māraṇoccātana* A; *t* and *ṭ,* e.g., *pūrvadikpaṭṭikāyāṃ*] corr.; *pūrvvadikpattikāyāṃ* A, B;,
- The use of homorganic nasals, e.g., *antraṃ*] corr.; *aṃntraṃ* A, B
- Confusion between long and short 'i', 'a', 'u' vowels, e.g., *mantrī*] *mantri* A; long and short 'a' vowels.

If the reading has an insignifcant variant, but it is omitted in the Tib., it is listed in the critical apparatus. In the case of the SPT, all variants of the mss. K, R, and P are recorded in the apparatus.

§2 *mantrī*] B^{pc}; *mantri* A, B^{ac}; *manonukūlesthāne*] corr.; *manonukulesthāne* A; *manonukūlasthāne* B; *catuṣpathe*] B; *catuspathe* A; *mantrī*] B^{pc}; *mantri* A, B^{ac}; *māraṇoccāṭana*] B; *māraṇoccātana* A; *vidveṣaṇa*] B; *vidveṣana* A; *stambhana*] B; *stambhaṇa* A; *mantrī*] B^{pc}; *mantri* A, B^{ac}; *khaḍgāñjana*] A, B^{pc}; *khadgañjana* B^{ac}; §3 *patākādi*] B, Sed.; *paṭākādi* A; *dvāraniryūha*] corr.; *dvāraṇīryūha* A, B; *tathaiva ca*] A^{pc}, B; *tathaiva cā* A^{ac}; *śeṣāṇi*] corr.; *śeṣāni* A, B; §4 *śiraṃ*] corr.; *śilaṃ* A, B^{ac}; *śīlaṃ* B^{pc}; *antraṃ*] corr.; *aṃntraṃ* A, B; *śūlabhinnapuruṣam*] corr.; *sūrabhinnapuruṣam* A, B, S ed.; §5 *pūrvadikpaṭṭikāyāṃ*] corr.; *pūrvvadikpattikāyāṃ* A, B; §5 *kaṭṭārikā*] corr.; *kaṭṭālikā* A, B; *muṣala*] corr.; *mukhala* A, B; *muśala* Sed; *śara*] B; *sara* A; *paścimapaṭṭikāyāṃ*] corr.; *paścimapattikāyāṃ* A, B; °*vātapatākādikaṃ*] B^{pc}; °*vātapatākādīkaṃ* A, B^{ac}; *likhet*] B; *līkhet* A; *uttarapaṭṭikāyāṃ*] corr., *uttarapattikāyāṃ* A, B; §6 *yadīcchet*] B^{pc}; *yadicchet* B^{ac}, A; §7 *bhakṣabhojya*] B, S ed.; *bhakṣabhojyā* A; *siñcayet*] corr.; *siṃcayet* A, B; *śrīvajrabhairavamahiṣā*°] corr.; *śrīvajrabhairavamahīṣā*° A, B; §8 *mantrī*] B; *mantri* A; *vairocanākṣobhya 'bhyaṅgaśarīro] corr.; vairocanākṣobhyā 'bhyaṅgaśarīro* B, *vairocanākṣobhyā 'bhyaṅgaśarīrā* A; *ḍamaruṃ*] B; *ḍamaluṃ* A; *hāhākāraṃ*] B; *hāhākālaṃ* A; *praviśet*] B; *praviset* A; *madyapānaṃ*] *madyapā(ṇaṃ?)* A; *madyapā(naṃ)* B^{pc}(add2) *madyāpā(del.)* B^{ac}; §9 *pratyālīḍhena*] *pratyālīḍhe(na)* B^{pc}(add2); *pratyālīḍheṇa* A, *pratyālīḍhe(del.)* B^{ac} ; *ekāgramanasā*] B; *ekāgramaṇasā* A; §10 *bravīti*] B^{pc}; *braviti* A, B^{ac}; *tasyāvaśyaṃ*] B^{pc}, A; *tasyavaśyaṃ* B^{ac}; *nges par* T_S; §11 *yathāvad anupūrvaśaḥ*] B; *yathāvadanupūrvvasaḥ* A; *rim pa ji lta ba bzhin de* T_S; *śrīmahāvajrabhairavayogena*] *śrīmahāvajrabhairavayoge(na)* B^{pc}(add2); *śrīmahāvajrabhailavayogeṇa* A; *śrīmahāvajrabhairavayoge(del.)* B^{ac}; *dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed chen po'i sbyor ba la* T_S; §12 *niśumbhanaṃ*] B; *nisumbhanaṃ* A, Sed.; *gnod mdzes su* T_S; §13 *mahiṣāmukhayogena*] B; *māhikhamukhayogena* A; *hūṃkārām*] conj.; *hūṃkāram* B; *hūṃkālam* A; *phaṭkāraṃ*] B; *phaṭkālaṃ* A; *likhya*] B; *rikhya* A; *citikāṣṭhena*] B; *citikāṣṭheṇa* A; *dur khor kyi mgal pas* T_S; *vāmapādena*°] B; *vāmapādeṇa*° A; *rkang pa g.yon pas* T_S; §14 *jvareṇa*] *jvare(ṇa)* B^{pc}(add2); *jvaleṇa* A; *jva(del.)* B^{ac}; §15 *mantrākṣarāṇi*] B^{pc}; *mantrākṣarāṇī* A, B^{ac}; *vairocanena*] B; *vairocaneṇa* A; *uccāṭayati*] B; *uccātayati* A; *jala*°] B; *jara*° A; *prakṣālayet*] B; *prakṣārayet* A; *bkrus na* T_S; §16 *kīlayet*] *kī(la)yet* B^{pc}(add2); *kīrayet* A *kī(del.)yet* B^{ac}; *gdab par bya* T_S; *sarveṣu*] B; *sarvvesu* A; °*valmīkena*] corr.; °*vālmīkeṇa* A; °*vālmīke(del.)* B^{ac}; °*vālmīke(na)* B^{pc}(add2); *de grog mkhar dang gnas bdun gyi sas* T_S; ; *bṛhajjaṭharaṃ*] *bṛhajjaṭha(raṃ)* B^{pc}(add2); *bṛhajjaṭhalaṃ* A; *bṛhajjaṭha(del.)* B^{ac}; *gsus pa che ba* T_S; *dvibhujaṃ*] corr.; *dvibhūjam* A, B; *phyag gnyis pa* T_S; *sudūraṃ*] corr.; *sūdūraṃ* B^{pc}, S ed.; *sūdūlaṃ* A; *sūdū(del.)* B^{ac}; *shin tu ring bar* T_S; *adhomukhena*] B; *adhomukheṇa* A; *kha thur du* T_S; *prakṣālayet*] *prakṣā(la)yet* B^{pc}(add2); *prakṣārayet* A; *prakṣā(del.)yet* B^{ac}; *bkrus na* T_S; §17 *carmaṇi*] B; *carmmani* A; *daśākṣaraṃ*] B; *daśākṣalaṃ* A; *yi ge bcu pa'i* T_S; *mantriṇā*] B^{pc}; *mantrinā* A; *mantriṇa* B^{ac}; §18 *vidveṣaṇaprayogo*] (*vi)dveṣa(ṇa)prayogo* B^{pc}(add2); *vidveṣanaprayogo* A; *(del.)dveṣa(del.)prayogo* B^{ac}; *saptavalmīkena*] corr.; *saptavālmīkena* A, B; *gnas bdun gyi sas* T_S; *mahiṣāśvarudhireṇa*] B; *mahikhāśvarudhireṇa* A; *dinatrayeṇa*] *dinatraye(ṇa)* B^{pc}(add2), A; *dinatraye(del.)* B^{ac}; *susamāhitena*] A^{pc}; B; *susāmāhitena* A^{ac}; §19 *athoccāṭayitukāmo*] *atho(ccāṭa)yitukāmo* B^{pc}(add2); *atthoccātayitukāmo* A; *atho(del.)yitukāmo* B^{ac}; *saptavalmīkena*] corr.; *saptavālmīkeṇa* A; *saptavālmīke(na)* B^{pc}(add2); *saptavālmīke(del.)* B^{ac}; *gnas bdun gyi sas* T_S; *ardhacandrākāraṃ*] *ardhacandrākā(raṃ)* B^{pc}(add2); *ardhacandrākālaṃ* A; *ardhacandrākā(del.)* B^{ac}; *zla ba*

phyed pa'i rnam pa T_S; *gṛhītalaguḍahastaṃ*] *gṛhīta(la)guḍahastaṃ* B^{pc}(add2); *gṛhītaraguḍahastaṃ* A; *gṛhīta(del.)guḍahastaṃ* B^{ac}; *lag pas dbyug pa 'dzin par* T_S; *nīyamānaṃ*] A, B^{pc}; *niyamānaṃ* B^{ac}; *pūrvavidhānena*] B; *pūrvvavidhāneṇa* A; *gong du gsungs pa'i chos gas* T_S; §20 *taccharīrat*] *taccha(rīrat)* B^{pc}(add2); *tacchalīlaṃ* A; *taccha(del.)* B^{ac}; *de'i lus* T_S; §21 *gṛhītvā*] A, B^{ac}; *gṛhitvā* B^{pc}; *bzung nas* T_S; *mahiṣamukhayogena*] *mahiṣamukhayoge(na)* B^{pc}(add2); *mahikhamukhayogeṇa* A; *mahiṣamukhayoge(del.)* B^{ac}; *mahīm*] B^{pc}; *mahim* A, B^{ac}; *sa kun tu* T_S; *kākavat paryaṭati*] B; *kākavat paryatati* A; *bya rog bzhin 'khor* T_S; §22 *dīyate*] B^{pc}; *diyate* A, B^{ac}; *blugs pa* T_S; §23 *vidveṣaṇaprayogo*] B; *vidveṣanaprayogo* A; §24 *sādhyanāmāntaritaṃ*] *sādhyanāmānta(ri)taṃ* B^{pc}(add2); *sādhyanāmāntalitaṃ* A; *sādhyanāmānta(del.)taṃ* B^{ac}; *bar du bsgrub bya'i ming* T_S; *prajvālayet*] *prajvā(la)yet* B^{pc}(add2); *prajvārayet* A; *prajvā(del.)yet* B^{ac}; *sbar ba* T_S; §25 *mahiṣamukhayogena*] *mahiṣamukhayoge(na)* B^{pc}(add2); *mahiṣamukhayogeṇa* A; *mahiṣamukhayoge(del.)* B^{ac}; *vajrabhairavabhāṣito*] *vajrabhairavabhā(ṣi)to* B^{pc}(add2); *vajrabhailavabhākhito* A; *vajrabhairabhā(del.)to* B^{ac}; §26 *athoccāṭayitukāmaḥ*] B; *athoccātayitukāmaḥ* A; §27 *haritālena*] *haritā(lena)* B^{pc}(add2); *haritā(del.)* B^{ac}; *haritāleṇa* A; *ba bla* T_S; §28 *vaśīkartukāmaḥ*] B^{pc}; *vaśikartukāmaḥ* B^{ac}; *vaśikatukāmaḥ* A; *valmīkamṛttikayā*] B^{pc}; *vālmīkamṛttikayā* A, B^{ac}; *anāmikāraktena*] B; *anāmikārakteṇa* A; *srin lag gi khrag gis* T_S; *daśākṣaramantraṃ*] B; *daśākṣalamantraṃ* A; §30 *mahāmāṃsena*] A; *mahāmāṃse(na)* B^{pc}(add2); *mahāmāṃse(del.)* B^{ac}; §31 *vairocanena*] B; *vairocaneṇa* A; *cityagnau*] em.; *cityāgnau* A, B; *śarīram*] B; *śarīlaṃ* A; *lus* T_S; §34 *vāmapādenāvaṣṭabhya*] *vāmapāde(nā)va(ṣṭa)bhya* B^{pc}(add2); *vāmapādeṇāvastabhya* A; *vāmapāde(del.)āva(del.)bhya* B^{ac}; *rkang pa g.yon pas mnan la* T_S; *mahiṣamukhayogena*] *mahi(ṣa)mukhayogena* B^{pc}(add2); *mahikhamukhayogena* A; *mahi(del.)mukhayogena* B^{ac}; §35 *yadi*] B^{ac}; *yadī* A, B^{ac}; *mantrī*] B; *mantri* A; *gurudrohinaḥ*] A; *gurudrohi(naḥ)* B^{pc}(add2); *gurudrohi(del.)* B^{ac}; *mantrī*] B^{pc}; *mantri* A, B; s*amayabhedī*] B^{pc}; *samayabhedi* A, B^{ac}; *dam tshig nyams nas* T_S; §36 *prayatnena*] B; *prayatneṇa* A; *sthānacālanam*] *sthāna(cālanam)* B^{pc}(add2); *sthānacāranam* A; *sthāna○* B^{ac}; §37 *yogī*] B^{pc}; *yogi* A, B^{ac}; *bhavati*] corr.; *bhavatī* A, B; *mañjuśriyākhya°*] corr.; *mañjuśrīyākhya°* A; *mañjuśrī(del.)°*B; §38 *anupurvaśaḥ*] corr. *anupūrvvasaḥ* A; *anupūrvasśaḥ* B; *go rims* T_S; §39v3cd *dviguṇitam*] *dvigu(ṇi)tam* B^{pc}(add2); *dvigunitam* A; *dvigu(del.)tam* B^{ac}; *rlung gi sa bon* T_S; v.5ab *pañcamasvarayojitam*] B; *pañcamaśvarayojitam* A; *dbyangs yig lnga pa dang ldan pa* T_S; v.10cd *kārayet*] *kā(ra)yet* B^{pc}(add2); *kālayet* A; *kā(del.)yet* B^{ac}; *ldan par bya* T_S; v.13cd *kārayet*] *kā(ra)yet* B^{pc}(add2); *kālayet* A; *kā(del.)yet* B^{ac}; *mahiṣamukhasya*] B; *mahikhamukhasya* A; *ma he gdong can* T_S; §40v17cd *bindumastakabhūṣitam*] em.; *bindumaṣṭakabhūṣitam* A, B; *spyi bo ru ni thig les brgyan* T_S; *mahiṣamukhayogasya*] B; *mahikhamukhayogasya* A; *ma he gdong can sbyor ba yis* T_s; *trilakṣajāpena*] B; *trilakṣajāpeṇa* A; *sum 'bum bzlas na* T_S; v.20ab *mastake*] A, B^{pc}; *maṣṭake* B^{ac}; *glad du* T_S; *mahiṣamukhasya*] *mahi(ṣa)mukhasya* B^{pc}(add2); *mahikhamukhasya* A; *mahi(del.)mukhasya* B^{ac}; *ma he gdong can gyi* T_S; *akṣaralakṣajāpena*] B; *akṣararakṣajāpeṇa* A; *yi ge re re 'bum bzlas na* T_S; §41 *mañjuśriyākhyaśrīmahāvajrabhairavatantre*]A; *mañjuśri(del.)śrīmahāvajrabhairavatantre* B; *'jam dpal zhes bya ba dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed chen po'i rnal 'byor gyi rgyud las* T_S; §42 *vajrabhairavasādhanaṃ*] B; *vajrabhailavasādhanaṃ* A; *rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi bsgrub pa* T_S; *uccārayet*] B; *uccālayet* A; *brjod pas* T_S; *sūryamaṇḍale*] B; *sūryamaṇḍare* A; *nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor la* T_S; *ekalolībhūtaṃ*] B^{pc}; *ekalolibhūtaṃ* A, B^{ac}; *gcig tu gyur nas* T_S;

§47 °*mudgara*] B^{pc}; °*mudgala* A; °*tho ba* T$_S$; *vāmahastena*] B; *vāmahasteṇa* A; *phyag g.yon pa na* T$_S$; *bhujābhyāṃ*] B; *bhūjābhyāṃ* A; *phyag gnyis kyis* T$_S$; *mahiṣa*] B^{pc}; *mahikha* A; *ma he* T$_S$; *ulūka*] B^{pc}; *urūka* A; *'ug pa* T$_S$; *mahāśakuna*] B^{pc}; *mahāsakuṇa* A; *bya chen* T$_S$; §48 *mahāśmaśānaṃ*] A, B; *mahāśmāśānaṃ* C; *dur khrod chen po* T$_S$; *prekṣayāntaṃ*] corr.; *prekṣayantaṃ* A, B; *rtse gcig tu lta ba* T$_S$; *ḍamaru*°] B; *ḍamalu*° A; °*dhāraṃ*] corr.; °*dharaṃ* B; °*dhālaṃ* A; *'dzin pa* T$_S$ §49 *mahāmāṃsena*] B; *mahāmāṃseṇa* A; *sha chen gyi* T$_S$; *susamāhitena*] B, T$_S$; *susamāhiteṇa* A; *vairocanena*] B; *vairocaneṇa* A; *rnam par snang mdzad* T$_S$; *prasārayet*] corr.; *prāsalayet* A; *praśārayet* B^{pc}; *dgram* T$_S$; *paṭasyāgrataḥ*] B; *patasyāgrataḥ* A; *bris sku'i mdun du* T$_S$; *yadīcche*t] B^{pc}; *yadicchet* B^{ac}, A^{pc}; *yādicchet* A^{ac}; *'dod na* T$_S$; *mañjuśrīyākhya*°] A; *mañjuśrī*○ B §50 *anupūrvaśaḥ*] B^{pc}; *anupūrvvasaḥ* A; *rim pa* T$_S$; *mantrī*] B^{pc}; *mantri* A, B^{ac}; *sngags pas* T$_S$; *pūrvoktadevatāyogena*] B^{pc}; *pūrvoktadevatāyogeṇa* A, B^{ac}; *gong du gsungs pa'i lha'i rnal 'byor la* T$_S$; §68 °*kāraniṣpannaṃ*] B; °*kālaniṣpannaṃ* A; *yi ge yaṃ las byung ba'i* T$_S$; °*prayogena*] *corr.*; °*prayogeṇa* A, B; *rab tu sbyor ba la* T$_S$; *mantrī*] corr.; *mantri* A, B; *sngags pas* T$_S$; *tribhuvanodarasthitāṃ*] B^{pc}; *trībhūvanodarasthitāṃ* A, B^{ac}; *khams gsum du gtogs pa'i* T$_S$; §69 *dhyānayogena*] B^{pc}, K; *dhyānayogeṇa* A, B^{ac}; *bsam gtan 'di'i sbyor bas* T$_S$; §70 *dhanvākāraṃ*] B; *dhanvākālaṃ* A; *yi ge yaṃ las gyur ba'i rlung gi dkyil 'khor* T$_S$; °*ādhiṣṭhitaṃ*] A; °*ādhisthitaṃ* B; *byin gyis rlabs pa* T$_S$; *lalāṭe*] B; *lārāte* A; *dpral bar* T$_S$; *sravantaṃ*] corr.; *śravantaṃ* A, B; *'dzag par* T$_S$; §71 *vaśīkartukāmena*] B; *vāśīkartukāmeṇa* A^{ac}; *vaśīkartukāmeṇa* A^{pc}; *dbang du bya bar 'dod na* T$_S$; *ānīyantaṃ*] A, B; *āniyantaṃ* K; *bkug par* T$_S$; *ekalolībhūtaṃ*] K; *ekalolibhūtaṃ* A, B; *gcig tu gyur bar bya'o* T$_S$; §72 *susamāhitena*] B; *susamāhiteṇa* A; *guhyena*] corr.; *guhyeṇa* A, B; *dhārayitavyaṃ*] B; *dhālayitavyaṃ* A; *mantriṇā*] *corr.*; *mantrīṇā* A, B; *mantriṇā*] corr.; *mantrīṇā* A, B; *vinītas*] corr.; *vinitas* A, B; *akrodhī*] B, A^{pc}; *akrodhi* A^{ac}; *saṃśayaḥ*] A; *śaṃśayaḥ* B; §73 °*vajrabhairavatantraṃ*] B; °*vajrabhailavatantraṃ* A; *śrīmahāvajrabhairava*°] B; *śrīmahāvajrabhailava*° A; °*paṭhita*°] corr.; °*pathita*° A, B; *śrīmahāvajrabhairava*°] B; *śrīmahāvajrabhailava*° A

4. *Vajrabhairavatantra*

{A1v; B1v} Maṇḍalanirdeśaḥ prathamakalpaḥ

Oṃ namo bhagavate (N1)mañjuśriyākhyaśrīvajrabhairavāya[682]/

[§1] Athātaḥ[683] saṃpravakṣyāmi vajrabhairavasādhanam/
sarveṣām eva devānām atyugraṃ hi[684] bhayānakam//

[§2] Tatrādau mantrī kvacin[685] manonukūle sthāne sthitvā sarvakarmāṇi sādhayet. Tatra sthānāni (N2)kathyante.[686] Śmaśāne nadītaṭe[687] vā[688] ekavṛkṣa[689] ekaliṅge vā catuṣpathe (N3)parvataśikhare śūnyāyatane mātṛgṛhe[690] vā devāyatane saṃgrāmabhūmau nagarāraṇyagrāmādisthāneṣu[691] sthitvā mantry asmin mahāvajrabhairavatantre abhiṣikto[692] yogī vaśyākarṣaṇa[693]māraṇoccāṭanavidveṣaṇastambhanakhaḍgāñjana-pātālaguṭikārasarasāyanāni nidhānabhūtavetālapiśācayakṣayakṣiṇī[694]nāgādīṃś ca sādhayed anena vidhinā.

[§3] Tatrāyaṃ vidhiḥ—prathamaṃ tāvan[695] mantrī (N4)citibhasmanā[696] ardharātrau nagno[697] muktaśikho (N5)bhūtvā ācāryo[698] mahiṣamukhayogena[699] maṇḍalaṃ śmaśānādau likhet.

caturastraṃ caturdvāraṃ[700] catustoraṇabhūṣitam/
(N6)ghaṇṭāpaṭṭa[701]patākādisragdāma[702](N7)vibhūṣitam//[703]

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[682] *mañjuśriyākhya°*] A; *mañjuśryākhya°* (Sed.); *mañju(śryā)khya°* B[pc](add2); om. T codd.
[683] *athātaḥ*] B; *athāta* A; *de nas* T_S
[684] *atyugraṃ hi*] em.: *atyugra ha* B; *atyu(gra?)(hā?)* A; *drug shul che dang* $T_{S;}$ *rab tu 'khrugs pa* T_A; *'jigs zhing* T_K; *drag shul can* $T_Ś$; *drag shul che* T_V
[685] *kvacin*] corr.; *kvacit* A, B
[686] *kathyante*] B; *kathyantre* A; *gsungs pa* T_S
[687] *nadītaṭe*] B; *nadītatre* A; *chu klung gi 'gram* T_S; *chu'i ngos* T_K; *chu 'gram* T_L
[688] *vā*] A; *vā* om. B, Sed.; *mam* T_S
[689] *ekavṛkṣa*] A, B; *ekavṛkṣe* Sed.; *shing gcig* T codd.
[690] *mātṛgṛhe*] corr.; *mātṛgrahe* A, B; *ma mo'i khyim* T_S, T_K
[691] *nagarāraṇya°*] em.; *nagarāsya* A; *nagarā 'vasya* B; *grong khyer ram nag khrod* T_S; *grong ngam nag khrod* T_K; *nags tshal grong khyer* T_L
[692] *abhiṣikto*] A, B[pc]; *abhikto* B[ac]; *dbang bskur ba'i* T_S,T_K; *dbang thob pa* T_L
[693] *vaśyākarṣaṇa°*] B; *vasyokarṣana°* A; *dbang dang dgug pa* T_S; *dbang zhes pa* T_K
[694] *°yakṣiṇī°*] corr.; *°yakṣaṇī°* B; *°yakṣanī°* A; *gnod spyin mo* T_S, T_K
[695] *tāvan*] corr.; *tāvat* A, B
[696] *citibhasmanā*] corr.; *cit(ibhasma)nā* A; *cittābhasmanā* B; *ro bsregs pa'i thal* T_A, $T_Ś$, T_V; *ro bsregs pa'i thal chen gyis* T_S
[697] *nagno*] B; *nagnā* A; *gcer bu* T_S
[698] *ācāryo*] A; *ācārya* B; *'phags pa°* T_S; *ārya°* Sed.
[699] *mahiṣamukhayogena*] corr.; *mahīkhamukhayogena* A, B; *°mahiṣamukhayogena* Sed.; *°ma he'i gdong can gyi rnal 'byor gyis* T_S
[700] *caturdvāraṃ*] B; *catudvāraṃ* A; *sgo bzhi* T_S, T_K

koṇeṣu caiva sarveṣu dvāraniryūhasandhiṣu/
khacitaṃ vajraratnais tu {A2r} ardhacandrais tathaiva ca//[704]

tanmadhye likhec cakraṃ navakoṣṭhaṃ tu[705] vartulam/[706]
dvāram[707] ekaṃ tu (N8)āvāhayet[708] śeṣāṇi (N9)parighaṭṭayet[709]//

[§4] Tasya madhye likhec chavaṃ[710] pūrve[711] (N10)śiraṃ dakṣiṇe hastaṃ paścime antram uttare pādaṃ pūrvakoṇe[712] kapālaṃ dakṣiṇakoṇe (N11)caṣakaṃ[713] paścimakoṇe[714] śmaśānakarpaṭam[715] uttarakoṇe śūlabhinnapuruṣam. Etāś[716] cakramadhye cihnamudrā nidhāpayet.[717]

[§5] Atha bāhyacakre[718] mudrā bhavanti:[719] pūrvadikpaṭṭikāyāṃ kaṭṭārikābhiṇḍi[720]pālamuṣalacchurikā[721](N12)kaṇapa[722]{B2r}aṅkuśādīni[723] likhet. Dakṣiṇapaṭṭikāyāṃ[724] (N13)kuṭhāra[725]śaragadākhaṭvāṅga(N14)cakrapāśāni[726] likhet. Paścimapaṭṭikāyāṃ vajraḍamaruka(N15)kheṭaka[727]dhanughaṇṭāvātapatākādikaṃ likhet.

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[701] *paṭṭa°*] em., *pataṃ* A; *pa(thaṃ)* B^{pc}(add2); *paṭa* Sed.; om. T_S; *dar gyi* [em. *ral gri*, ed.] T_K
[702] *°sragdāma°*] corr.; *°sradrāma°* A, B^{ac}; *°sragdrāma°* B^{pc}(add2); *me tog phreng bas* T_K
[703] *hypo. pāda* (*ādivibhūṣitaṃ metri causa*).
[704] *hyper. pāda*
[705] *navakoṣṭhaṃ tu*] B^{pc}, Sed.; *navakvaṣṭhantu* A; *nakoṣṭhaṃ tu* B^{ac}; *re'u mig dgu pa* T_S, $T_Ś$, T_K
[706] *unmetr.*
[707] *dvāram*] em.; *b(āhi?)* A; *dvā(ra)ṃ* B^{pc}(add2); *sgo* T_S, T_K
[708] *unmetr.*
[709] *parighaṭṭayet*] B; *parighaṭayet* A, Sed.; *gcad par bya* T_S, T_A
[710] *unmetr.*
[711] *pūrve śiraṃ*] conj.; *vajraṃ pūrvvendu* A, B; *shar du mgo bo* T_S, T_A, T_K; *pūrve brahmāśiro* conj. Sanderson.
[712] *pūrvakoṇe*] B; *pūrvvaṃ koṇe* A; *shar lho'i grwar* T_S; *byang gi grwar* T_K
[713] *caṣakaṃ*] A; (*caṣakaṃ*) B(add2); *thod tshal* T_S
[714] *paścimakoṇe*] A; (*paścimakoṇe*) B(add2); *nub byang du* T_S
[715] *śmaśānakarpaṭaṃ*] B; *śmaśānakarmpaṭṭaṃ* A; *dur khrod kyi ras* T_S
[716] *etāś*] em.; *etāni* B^{pc}; *etā* A, B^{ac}; *de dag* T_S
[717] *cihnamudrā nidhāpayet*] corr.; *cihnamudrāṇi dhārayet* B, Sed.; *cihnamudrāṇi dhā(dam.)* A; *mtshan ma'i phyag rgya gzhag* [em. *lnga*, ed.] T_S
[718] *bāhyacakre*] B; *bāhyacakra* A; *dkyil 'khor phyi rol* T_K; *'khor lo'i phyi rol gyi* T_S, T_{Ku}
[719] *bhavanti*] A, B; *bhavati* Sed.
[720] *°bhiṇḍipāla°*] corr., *°bhiṃdipāla°* A, B; *mtshon rtse gcig pa* T_S, T_K
[721] *°cchurikā°*] B^{pc}; *°kṣulikā°* A; *°cchulikā°* B^{ac}; *chu gri* T_S
[722] *°kaṇapa°*] em., *°kanaya°* A, B, Sed.; *rdo rje rtse gcig pa* T_S,T_K
[723] *°aṅkuśādīni*] B^{pc}; *°aṅkuśādīnī* A^{pc}, B^{ac}; *°aṅkuśādī* A^{ac}; *lcags kyu la sogs pa rnams* T_S
[724] *dakṣiṇapaṭṭikāyāṃ*] corr.; *paścima dakṣiṇapattikāyāṃ* A, B; *lho phyogs kyi snam bu* T_S
[725] *kuṭhāra°*] em.; *tkakāla* A; *kaṅkāla* B, Sed.; *sta re* T_S
[726] *°cakrapāśāni*] em.; *cakravajrapāśani* A, B, Sed.; *'khor lo dang rdo rje zhags* T_S
[727] *°kheṭaka°*] em.; *°khaṭaka°* A; *°khaṭaṃka°* B, Sed.; *phub* T_S

Uttarapaṭṭikāyāṃ tarjanītripatākāgajacarmavajramudgarakuntāgnikuṇḍāni likhet. caturdvāreṣu[728] koṇeṣu[729] (N16)mahāvetālān[730] nidhāpayet.

[§6] Mahātailena[731] pradīpaṃ dadyāt. Yadīcchet siddhim uttamāṃ narakharoṣṭraśvāna[732]sṛgāla[733]mahiṣagajāśvagomeṣamṛgasūkarādīnāṃ[734] māṃsaṃ[735] nidhāpayet.

[§7] {A2v} Anyeṣāṃ (N17)gṛdhr[olūka][736]kākaśyena[737]bakaṭiṭṭibhasārasamayūra (N18)mahāmantrī[738](N19)mahāśārikādīnāṃ[739] māṃsaṃ[740] nidhāpayet. Susamāhitena bhakṣabhojyahomabalikarmāṇi (N20)kuryāt. Maṇḍalaṃ sarvatomukhaṃ rudhireṇa siñcayet. Śrīvajrabhairavamahiṣānanayogena[741] sthitvā sarvaṃ naivedyaṃ[742] nivedayet.

[§8] Paścān[743] mantrī kṛtapuraścaraṇaḥ[744] (N21)ātmacaturthaḥ[745] susahāyī[746] ekākī vā, vairocanākṣobhyābhyaṅgaśarīro[747] nagno muktakeśo 'rdharātre ḍamaruṃ vādayet. Hāhākāraṃ kṛtvā susamāhito mahāvajrabhairavamaṇḍalaṃ praviśet.

siddhim icchan susvādaṃ madyapānaṃ ca[748] rasāhāraṃ nivedayet.[749]

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[728] *caturdvāreṣu*] B; *catudvareṣu* A; *sgo bzhi rnams la* T_S; *sgo'i bzhi'i* $T_Ś$; *sgo bzhi rnams su* T_V
[729] *koṇeṣu*] B; *keṇeṣu* A; *grwa rnams la* T_S; *grwa rnams su yang* $T_Ś$
[730] *mahāvetālān*] conj.; *mahāvetālāni* B^{pc}, Sed.; *mahāvetārāni* A, B^{ac}; *ro langs chen po brgyad* T_A; *ro langs chen po* T_S, $T_Ś$, T_V
[731] *mahātailena*] corr.; *mahātaireṇa* A, *mahābhairena* B; *mar khu chen po'i* T_S; *mar khu chen po* T_K
[732] °*śvāna*°] A; *(śva)na*° B^{pc}(add2); *(del.)na* B^{ac}; *khyi* T_S
[733] °*sṛgāla*°] corr.; °*sṛigā(la)* B^{pc}(add2); °*sṛigā* B^{ac}; °*śṛigāra*° A; *wa* T_S
[734] °*sūkarādīnāṃ*] corr.; °*sūkara ādīnāṃ* A, B; *phags pa la sogs pa'i* T_S
[735] *māṃsaṃ*] B; *māṃsa* A; *sha rnams* T_S
[736] °*gṛdhrolūka*°] conj.; °*gṛdha(omit.)* A; °*gṛdhra*° B, Sed; *bya rgod dang 'ug pa* T_S
[737] °*śyena*°] corr.; °*sena*° A; °*syena*° B; *khra* T_S
[738] °*mahāmantrī*°] A, B; *khyung chen po* T_S; *sngags chen po* T_K, T_{Ku}
[739] °*mahāśārikādīnāṃ*] em.; °*mahāsakṣanyādīnāṃ* A, B; °*mahāśakunyādināṃ* Sed.; *ri skegs dang khyung chen po la sogs pa'i* T_S
[740] *māṃsaṃ*] B; *māṃsa* A; *sha rnams* T_S
[741] °*nanayogena sthitvā*] A; °*nanayoge(na) sthitvā* B^{pc}(add2); °*nanayoge*(*del.*) *sthitvā* B^{ac}; °*gdong gi sbyor ba la gnas pas* T_S
[742] *naivedyaṃ*] em.; *nivedyaṃ* A, B; *lha bshos* T_K
[743] *paścān*] corr.; *paścāt* A, B; *de nas* T_S
[744] *kṛtapuraścaraṇaḥ*] em.; *kṛtapuraścaraṇa* B, Sed; *kṛtapunaścaraṇa* A; *sngon du spyad pa byas* T_S
[745] *ātmacaturthaḥ*] A, B; *ātmaśāntyai* Sed.; *bdag zhi bar gyur ba'i shin tu mthun pa'i grogs* T_S
[746] *susahāyī*] em.; Sanderson; *susamāyī* A; *susamājī* B^{pc}, Sed.; *susamā(ye?)* B^{ac}; *shin tu mthun pa'i grogs* T_S
[747] *vairocanākṣobhyābhyaṅgaśarīro*] em.; *vairocanākṣobhyā 'bhyaṅgaśarīro* A, B; *rnam par snang mdzad kyis lus byugs* T_S
[748] *ca*] conj.; *ñja* A; B; *sogs pa* T_S

[§9] Paścān[750] madhye (N22)sādhyasiddhiṃ[751] vicintya tadupari śrīvajrabhairavamahiṣamukhaṃ[752] cintayet. Tadagrataḥ[753] pratyālīḍhena sthitvā sāhaṅkāreṇa[754] ekāgramanasā daśākṣaramantraṃ susamāhito[755] japet.

[§10] Tato mahābhayāny[756] utpadyante. Teṣāṃ mantriṇā[757] na bhetavyam. Yadi bhayaṃ karoti tadā te mahāvighnāś chidram utpādayanti. Chidre sati na siddhyati.[758] Tasmān[759] mantriṇā {B2v} na bhetavyam. Tato mahāvajrabhairavas tuṣyati. Tuṣṭo bravīti varaṃ {A3r} (N23)kiṃ dadāmīti.[760] Vidyādhareṇa vaktavyam khaḍgapātālarasarāsayananī[761] dehi me iti. Anyāṃ[762] vā manobhilaṣitāṃ[763] siddhiṃ tasya dadāti hi nātra saṃśayaḥ. Yadi kadācin[764] mantrī na siddhyati tasya sarvakṣudrakarmāṇi[765] tasyāvaśyaṃ siddhyanti.

Iti śrīmañjuśriyākhye[766] śrīvajramahābhairavayogatantre maṇḍalanirdeśaḥ[767]
prathamakalpaḥ

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[749] The portion after *siddhim icchan* is a metrical *śloka*.
[750] *paścān*] corr.; *paścā* A, B[ac]; *paścāt* B[pc], Sed.; *phyi nas* T_S
[751] *sādhyasiddhiṃ*] em.; *sādhye siddhim* A, B; *siddhiṃsiddhiṃ* Sed.; *dngos grub dang dngos grub ma yin pa la* T_S
[752] *śrīvajrabhairavamahiṣamukhaṃ*] corr.; *śrīvajrabhairavamahi(ṣa)mukhaṃ* B[pc](add2); *śrīvajrabhairavamahīkhamukhaṃ* A; *śrīvajrabhairavamahī(del.)mukhaṃ* B[ac]; *dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed chen po ma he'i gdong can* T_S; *ma he'i zhal can* T_L
[753] *tadagrataḥ*] A[pc], B[pc]; *tadagrata* A[ac], B[ac]; *de'i mdun du* T_S
[754] *sāhaṅkāreṇa*] corr.; *sohaṅkāreṇa* A, B; *nga rgyal dang bcas pas* T_S; *nga rgyal chen po rtse gcig* T_L
[755] *susamāhito*] B[pc]; *susāhito* A, B[ac]; *shin tu mnyam par bzhag pas* T_S
[756] *mahābhayāny*] corr.; *mahābhayānnu* A; *mahābhyā(del.)* B; *'jigs byed chen po* T_S; *'jigs pa che* T_L
[757] *mantriṇā*] B; *mantriṇāṃ* A; *mantriṇo* Sed.; *sngags pas* T_S
[758] *siddhyati*] corr.; *siddhyanti* A; *ma siddhyanti* B; *na siddhyanti* Sed.; *dngos grub mi 'grub* T_S
[759] *tasmān*] B; *ta[dam.]* A; *de bas nas* T_S
[760] *dadāmīti*] conj.; *vahāmiti* A, B; *vahāmīti* Sed.; *khyod ci 'dod ces gsung pa* T_S.
[761] °*rasarāsayananī*] em.; °*rasarasāyanādī* A; °*rasarasāyagāyā* B; °*rasarasāyanāni va* Sed.; *mig sman dang gser 'gyur dang bcud kyis lem pa 'am* T_S; *ral gri la sogs pa* T_L
[762] *anyāṃ*] B ; *anyā* A; *gzhan* T_S
[763] *manobhilaṣitāṃ*] B; *manobhilaṣitā* A; *yid la 'dod pa'i* T_S
[764] *kadācin*] B; *kadacit* A; *brgya zhig la* T_S
[765] *sarvakṣudrakarmāṇi*] B; *sarvvakṣudrakarmmāṇi* A; *kṣudrakarmāṇi* Sed.; *'phra mo'i las thams cad* T_S; *las phra mo bya ba* T_A; *phra mo las thams cad* T_K
[766] *śrīmañjuśriyākhye*] em.; *maṃjuśrīyākhya* A; *mañju(śryā)khya* B[pc](add2), Sed.; *mañju(del.)khya* B[ac]; *'jam dpal zhes bya ba'i ming* T_S; *dpal 'jam pa'i mchog* T_A
[767] *maṇḍalanirdeśaḥ*] B; *maṇḍalanideśaḥ* A; *dkyil 'khor bstan pa* T_S; *dkyil 'khor rgyas par bstan pa* $T_Ś$

Sarvakarmasiddhir dvitīyaḥ kalpaḥ

[§11] Athātaḥ karmaprasaravidhānaṃ[768] pravakṣye[769] yathāvad anupūrvaśaḥ. Māraṇoccāṭanādikam[770] ākruddho mantrī śrīmahāvajrabhairavayogena sthitaḥ karoti.

[§12] Prathamaṃ[771] tāvan[772] mantriṇā[773] niśumbhanaṃ kartavyam, kathaṃ tat[774]. Yogapradhānatvād asya yogatantrasya devatāyogasya ca. ādau tad eva kriyate.

[§13] Tatredaṃ karma[775] yadā sādhayitukāmas tadā śmaśānakarpaṭe viṣarudhireṇa lavaṇarājikānimbadhurtturakarasenedaṃ[776] ṣoḍaśakoṣṭhakaṃ[777] mahāvajrabhairavacakraṃ bṛhatkākasya pakṣeṇa lekhanyā[778] vā dakṣiṇābhimukho nagno muktaśikho bhūtvā mahiṣāmukhayogena likhet. Agnidvayamadhye sādhyanāmavidarbhitaṃ[779] tatra daśākṣaramantreṇa vedyantar[780] [aṣṭa[781]]hūṃkārān[782] ālikhya {A3v} koṇeṣu[783] phaṭkāraṃ likhya ātmānaṃ kaṭutailenābhyaṅgya[784] kapāladvayamadhye (N24)yantraṃ[785] prakṣipya tricūlikopari[786] nidhāpya citikāṣṭhena agniṃ prajvālya[787] vāmapādenāvaṣṭabhya[788] daśākṣaramantraṃ japet. Tatkṣaṇān[789] mriyate[790] nātra saṃśayaḥ[791].

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[768] *karmaprasara°*] corr.; *karmmapusa°* A; *karmpusara°* B; *las kyi tshogs* T_S
[769] *pravakṣye*] corr.; *pravakṣa* A; *vakṣye* B, Sed.; *rab tu bshad de* T_S
[770] *māraṇoccāṭanādikaṃ*] corr.; *māra(ṇo)ccāṭanādikaṃ* B^{pc}(add2); *māroccāṭaṃnādikaṃ* A; *māra(del.)ccāṭānādikaṃ* B^{ac}; *bsad pa dang bskrad pa la sogs pa* T_S
[771] *prathamaṃ*] B; *prathama* A; *dang po* T_S
[772] *tāvan*] B^{pc}; *tava* A, B^{ac}; *kho nar* T_S
[773] *mantriṇā*] corr.; *mantrītrinā* A; *mantrī(del.)ādinā* B^{ac}; *mantriṇādinā* B^{pc}; *sngags pas* T_S
[774] *kathaṃ tat*] B; *kathantad* A; *de'i phyir zhe na* T_S
[775] *karma*] B; *krarmma* A; *las* T_S
[776] *lavaṇarājikānimbadhurtturakarasenedaṃ*] corr.; *ravaṇarājikānimbadhurtturakaraseṇa idaṃ* A; *ravenarājikānimbhadhatturakarasena idaṃ* B.; *lan tshwa dang ske tshe dang nim ba dang dha du ra'i khu ba yis* T_S
[777] *ṣoḍaśakoṣṭhakaṃ*] A, B; *ṣoḍaśakoṣṭhaṃ* Sed.; *le tshe bcu drug pa* T_S; *re'u cha bcu drug pa* T_A; *bcu drug* T_K, T_{Ku}; *'khor lo bcu drug pa* T_L
[778] *lekhanyā*] B; *lekhinyā* A; *smyu gu* T_S
[779] *°vidarbhitaṃ*] corr.; *°vadrabhitaṃ* A; *°vidarbhitāṃ* B; *dang bcas par gzhag la* T_S
[780] *vedyantar*] em.; *vedyāntra* A; *vedyāstu* B; *bskor zhing* T_S; *veṣṭyāṣṭa* Sed.
[781] *aṣṭa*] em., (on the authority of T_S, T_L, T_A, $T_Ś$); om. A, B; *hūṃ brgyad* T_S; *huṃ yig brgyad pas* T_L; *de'i phyir yi ge hum brgyad* T_A; *hum brgyad* $T_Ś$, T_V
[782] *°hūṃkārān*] corr., *°hūṃkārāṃ* A, B, Sed
[783] *koṇeṣu*] A; *koṇeṣṭa* B; *zur rnams su* T_S
[784] *kaṭutailenābhyaṅgya*] B; *kuṭutailenābhyaṅgam* A; *tsha ba'i mar gyis lus byugs la* T_S
[785] *yantraṃ*] conj.; *mantraṃ* A, B, Sed; *'khrul 'khor* T_S; *'khor lo* T_L.
[786] *tricūlikopari*] B; *tṛcūlikopari* A; *sgyed bu gsum gyi steng du* T_S; *sgyed po* T_L
[787] *prajvālya*] B; *pra(jvā?)lya* A; *rab tu spar* T_S
[788] *°avaṣṭabhya*] em., *°avastasya* A, B; *mnan la* T_S; T_L
[789] *tatkṣaṇān*] B^{pc}; *tatkṣaṇā* A, B^{ac}; *skad cig gis* T_S
[790] *mriyate*] B^{pc}; *miyate* A, B^{ac}
[791] *saṃśayaḥ*] B; *śaṃśrayeḥ* A; *the tshom* T_S

[§14] No cej[792] jvareṇa grāhayitukāmas tad eva cakraṃ, narāsthidvayamadhye[793] saṃsthāpya {B3r} cullikādho 'rdhahāstān[794] nikhānet[795] tadā jvareṇa[796] gṛhyate[797].

[§15] Tasyaiva ṣoḍaśacakrasya prayogaḥ[798] kathyate. Kintu ayaṃ viśeṣaḥ[799]. (N25)Dvātriṃśad[800] akṣarānvitaṃ[801] mantraṃ[802] vidarbhya daśākṣaramantraṃ ca sādhyanāmasahitaṃ[803] vidarbhya mantrākṣarāṇi vinyaset. Pūrvoktena[804] saha dravyeṇa kākocchiṣṭena[805] vairocanena saha śmaśānakarpaṭe[806] 'vaṣṭabhya[807] tatra likhec[808] cakraṃ pūrvoktavidhānena[809]. (N26)Śmaśāne nidhāpayet mārayati[810], ekavṛkṣe nidhāpayet uccāṭayati, ekaliṅge nidhāpayet vidveṣayati, jalamadhye sthāpayet stambhayati, gṛhe sthāpayec chāntiṃ[811] karoti, uddhṛtya prakṣālayen mokṣaḥ.

[§16] (N27)Aparam api prayogaḥ[812]: yamamantracakraṃ[813] śmaśāna[814]{A4r}[karpaṭe likhitvā śmaśāne catu]ṣpathe[815] ekavṛ[kṣe valmīke nadītaṭe ekaliṅge][816] rājadvāre

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[792] *no cej*] B[pc]; *no ce* A, B[pc]; *no(del.)* B[ac]; *gzhan yang* T_S
[793] *narāsthi°*] em.; *nara agni* A, B, Sed.; *mi'i nya phyis* T_S
[794] *cullikādho 'rdhahāstān*] conj.; *cūllikārdhastā* A; *cūllikā( )dhaṃstāṃ* B; *cūllikādhastā* Sed.; *me thab kyi 'og tu khru phyed* T_S
[795] *nikhānet*] em.; *niṣavayet* A; *nidhāpayet* B, Sed.; *brkos la* T_S
[796] *jvareṇa*] corr.; *kṣareṇa* A, B; *rims nad kyis* T_S
[797] *gṛhyate*] B; *gṛhete* A; *'dzin* T_S
[798] *ṣoḍaśacakrasya prayogaḥ*] em.; *ṣoḍaśacakrasyapayoga* A; *ṣoḍaśacakrasyopayoga* B; *ṣoḍaśacakrasyopayogaḥ* Sed.; *le tshe bcu drug pa'i rab tu sbyor ba* T_S;*'khor lo rkang pa rtsibs bcu drug* T_K
[799] *viśeṣaḥ*] B; *viśeṣa* A; *khyad par* T_S
[800] *dvātriṃśad*] Sed.; *ekaviṃśad* A, B; *yi ge sum bcu rtsa gnyis pa* T_S; T_A
[801] *akṣarānvitaṃ*] A; *akṣarānvita* B, Sed; om. T_S
[802] *mantraṃ*] A; *mantra* B, Sed; *sngags* T_S
[803] *sādhyanāma°*] B[pc]; *sādhyenāmani* A; *bsgrub bya'i ming* T_S
[804] *pūrvoktena*] em.; *pūrvokte* A; *pūrvokta* B, Sed.; *sngon du gsungs pa* T_S; *sngon du bstan pa'i* T_K
[805] *kākocchiṣṭena*] A; *kākocchiṣṭe(na)* B[pc](add2); *kākocchiṣṭe(del.)* B[ac]; *bya rog gis btags pa'i lhag ma mi gtsang ba* T_S; *bya rog gi lhag ma* $T_Ś$, T_V; *bya rog gi zos pa'i 'phro gtor ma* T_K
[806] *śmaśānakarpaṭe*] conj.; *śmaśānakampate* A; *śmaśanaṃkampate* B; *dur khrod kyi ras la* T_S
[807] *'vaṣṭabhya*] em.; *stambhayitvvā* A; *stambhyayitvā* B, Sed.; *byugs* T_S
[808] *likhec cakraṃ*] A, B; *likhet cakraṃ* Sed.; *'khor lo bris* T_S
[809] *pūrvoktavidhānena*] corr.; *pūrvoktavidhānena likhet* A, B; *de la sngon du gsungs pa'i chos gas 'khor lo bris te* T_S
[810] *mārayati*] B; *mārayeti* A; *'chi bar 'gyur* T_S
[811] *sthāpayec chāntim*] B; *sthā(il.)* A; *sthāpayet śāntiṃ* Sed.; *bzhag na zhi bar 'gyur* T_S
[812] *aparam api prayogaḥ*] A; *adharam epi prayoga* B; *aparamapi prayogamāha°* Sed.; *gzhan yang rab tu sbyor ba* T_S
[813] *yamamantracakraṃ*] A; *yamamantraṃ cakraṃ* B; *gshin rje'i 'khor lo* T_S
[814] *śmaśāna°*] A; *śmaśāne°* B; *dur khrod kyi* T_S
[815] *catuṣpathe*] corr.; *catupathe* A; *lam bzhi mdo* T_S

vairocanavajrodakacityaṅgāraiḥ[817] sādhyapra[tikṛtiṃ] kṛtvā aṣṭāṅgulapramāṇaṃ tasya hṛdaye mantraṃ[818] nikṣipya[819] pañcasu sthāneṣu[820] (N28)mūrdhādau kīlayet narāsthinā.[821] Sarveṣu sandhiṣu tīkṣṇakaṇṭakaiḥ pūrayet. Tatkapāladvayamadhye saṃsthāpya tenaiva saptavalmīkena yamarūpaṃ hastamātraṃ vikṛtānanaṃ bṛhajjaṭharaṃ dvibhujaṃ ekavaktraṃ khaḍgahastaṃ.[822] Nagno[823] muktaśikho[824] kṛtvā tasya hṛdaye tatkapāladvayaṃ[825] nikṣipya,[826] madhyāhne[827] ardharātre vā śmaśāne citipradeśe (N29)nikhane[828]. (N30)Sudūraṃ adhomukhena dakṣiṇaśirasaṃ[829] saṃnidhāpayet[830]. Gṛham āvṛtya[831] sāvaṣṭambhena[832] tena mahiṣamukhayogena[833] daśākṣaramantraṃ[834] sādhyanāma vidarbhya japet, dinatrayeṇa mriyate[835]. Uddhṛtya prakṣālayen mokṣaḥ.

[§17] {B3v} Athātaḥ[836] stambhanaprayogaḥ[837] kathyate[838]. Chuchundarīcarmāloḍya[839] viṣādibhir dravyair daśākṣaraṃ mantraṃ likhya tac[840] carmaṇi sādhyasya[841] pādapāṃśumūtrapradeśe[842] mṛttikām avagṛhya tat pūrayet. [Bandhnī]yāt {A4v}

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[816] [°*karpaṭe likhitvā śmaśāne catuṣpathe ekavṛkṣe valmīke nadītaṭe ekaliṅge*] *rec.; dur khrod dam/ lam bzhi mdo dang/ shing gcig dang/ grog mkhar dang chu 'gram dang/ mtshan ma gcig pa dang* T_S

[817] *vairocanavajrodaka*°] A; *vairocanavajrodakaṃ* B, Sed.; *rnam par snang mdzad dang rdo rje chu* T_S

[818] *hṛdaye mantraṃ*] A; *hṛdayamantra* B; *de'i snying khor 'khor lo* T_S; *de'i snying khar sngags* T_L

[819] *nikṣipya*] corr.; *nikhṣipya* A; *likhivā* B^{ac}; *likhitvā* B^{pc}, Sed.; *bcug* T_S; *gzhug pa* T_L

[820] *pañcasu sthāneṣu*] A^{pc}; *pañcāsu sthāneṣu* A^{ac}; *paṃcasu sthāneṣu* B; *pañcasthāneṣu* Sed.; *gnas lngar* T_S; *yan lag lnga la* T_L

[821] *nārasthinā*] A; *nārasthināṃ* B; *mi'i rus pa'i phur bus* T_S; *phur bus* T_L

[822] *khaḍgahastaṃ*] A, B; *khaḍgapāśadharaṃ hastaṃ* Sed.; *phyag na ral gri dang zhags pa 'dzin pa* T_S

[823] *nagno*] em.; *nagnaṃ* A, B, Sed.; *gcer bu* T_S

[824] *muktaśikho*] em.; *muktaśikhaṃ* B, Sed.; *muktaṃśiṣaṃ* A; *skra gsil ba* T_S

[825] *tatkapāladvayaṃ*] B; *tat(il.)pāladvayaṃ* A; *thod pa gnyis* T_S

[826] *nikṣipya*] B^{pc}; *nikhyipya* A; *ni(il.)pya* B^{ac}; *bcug* T_S

[827] *madhyāhne*] A; *madhyānhe* met. B; *nyi ma phyed* T_S

[828] *nikhane*] B^{ac}; *niṣanye* A; *nikhanet* B^{pc}, S ed.; *sbas* T_S

[829] *dakṣiṇaśirasaṃ*] B; *dakṣiṇaśiraśaḥ* A; *mgo lhor* T_S

[830] *saṃnidhāpayet*] A, B^{pc}; *saṃnidhāyet* B^{ac}; *sba* T_S

[831] *āvṛtya*] em.; *āvatye* A; *(bhā?)tya* B; *āgatya* Sed.; *'ongs pa* T_S; *'ongs nas* T_A

[832] *sāvaṣṭambheṇa*] corr.; *sāvastabheṇa* A; *sāvasubheśānena* B; *mnyam par bzhag pas* T_S; *susamāhitena* Sed.

[833] *mahiṣamukhayogena*] corr.; *mahi(ṣa)mukhayogena* B^{pc}(add2); *mahikhamukhoyogena* A^{ac}; *mahikhamukhayogena* A^{pc}; *mahi(del.)mukhayogena* B^{ac}; *ma he'i gdong gi sbyor bas* T_S

[834] *daśākṣaramantraṃ*] corr.; *daśākṣaraṃ mantraṃ* A, B, Sed.; *yi ge bcu pa'i sngags* T_S; *yi ge bcu pa'i gsang sngags* T_A

[835] *mriyate*] B^{pc}; *miyate* A, B^{ac}; *'chi* T_S

[836] *athātaḥ*] A^{pc}; *athāta* A^{ac}, B; *de nas* T_S

[837] °*prayogaḥ*] B; °*prayoga* A; *sbyor ba* T_S

[838] *kathyate*] corr.; (*ka)thyate* B^{pc}(add2); *kathyete* A; *(del.)thyate* B^{ac}; *gsungs* T_S

(N31)rajjvā[843] (N32)kharamūtreṇa[844] vairocanena saha ekatrāloḍya[845] ghaṭikāyāṃ[846] garbhe[847] pūrayet. Tatra yantraṃ[848] (N33)prakṣipya citikāṣṭhe[849] nidhāpya vāmapādenākramya yamayogena japed daśākṣaraṃ mantraṃ, ekadivasena stambhayati. Asādhyo 'yaṃ prayogaḥ. Atikruddhena[850] mantriṇā prayogaḥ[851] kartavyaḥ.[852] No cet na siddhyati.

[§18] Atha vidveṣaṇaprayogo bhavati. Yamamantraṃ prāgvidhānena[853] likhya[854] saptavalmīkena mahiṣāśvau[855] kuryāt[856]. Tayoḥ (N34)vaire[857] anyonyaṃ (N35)uparyopari sthāpitayor[858]hṛdaye mantraṃ nikṣipya nimbavṛkṣasyādhaḥ sthāpayet. Mantraṃ ca mahiṣāśvarudhireṇa likhet[859]. Ayaṃ mantraviśeṣaḥ. Susamāhitena kartavyo[860] dinatrayeṇa vidveṣayati[861].

[§19] Athoccāṭayitukāmo mantrī saptavalmīkenoṣṭraṃ[862] kārayet. Tasya pṛṣṭhato yaṃ-kāreṇa[863] niṣpannam ardhacandrākāraṃ vāyumaṇḍalaṃ vicintya tadupari sādhyaṃ[864]

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[839] *chuchundarīcarmāloḍya*] conj.; *chuchundaricarmmansvādāya* A; *chuchu(nda)ricarmasvādāya* B^{pc}(add2); *chuchu(del.)rīcarmmasvādāya* B^{ac}; *chuchundarīcarmasvamādāya* Sed.; *rte'u lo'i lpags pa la* T_S; *tshu tshun da ra'i pags pa* T_A; *byi ba'i lpags pa* T_L

[840] *tac*] conj.; *khatac* A; *khata* B

[841] *sādhyasya*] B; *sādhyesya* A; *sgrub bya'i* T_S,T_L

[842] *pādapāṃśumūtrapradeśe*] B; *pātapāṃśumūlapradeśa* A; *gcin btang ba'i shul gyi* T_S; *rdul dang chu ngan dang* T_{Ku}; *rkang rjes dang gci ba'i sas* T_L

[843] *rajjvā*] em. Sanderson; *pañca* A, B, Sed; *de'i skras* T_S,T_A; *de skra* [em.; *sgra* ed] *nyid* T_{Ku}; *de'i skra'i skud pas* T_L

[844] *kharamūtreṇa*] em.; *pañcākṣarasūtreṇa* A, B, Sed.; *bong bu'i gcin* T_S; *bong bu'i chu ngan* T_A

[845] *ekatrāloḍya*] A; *ekatrā(lo)ya* B^{pc}(add2); *ekatrā(del.)(il.)ya* B^{ac}; *sbyar* T_A; om. T_L

[846] *ghaṭikāyāṃ*] A; *ghaṭikāyā* B, Sed.; *kham phor* T_S, T_A; om. T_L

[847] *garbhe*] B; *garbha* A; om. T_S

[848] *yantraṃ*] conj.; *mantra* A; *mantraṃ* B, Sed; *'khor lo* T_S; *sbyor ba* T_A

[849] *citikāṣṭhe*] conj. Sanderson; *citikeṣu* A, B, Sed.; *ro bsregs pa'i me* T_S; *dur khrod me la* T_L

[850] *atikruddhena*] conj. Sanderson; *atikruṣṭena* A, Sed.; *atindaṣṭena* B; *shin tu khros pas* T_S; om. T_L

[851] *prayogaḥ*] B; *prayoga* A; *sbyor ba* T_S

[852] *kartavyaḥ*] B; *kartavya* A

[853] *prāgvidhānena*] corr.; *prāśvidhānena* A, B; *sngon gyi chos gas* T_S

[854] *likhya*] B; *likhyaḥ* A; *bris* T_S

[855] *mahiṣāśvau*] B; *mahiṣośvautkri* A; *ma he dang rta* T_S; *rta dang ma he* T_L

[856] *kuryāt*] em.; *tki kriyate* A, B; *kriyate* Sed.; *byas* T_L

[857] *tayoḥ vaire*] conj.; *tat vairam* A, B; *tat dvayaṃ* Sed.; *de gnyis gcig gi* T_S; *de gnyis* T_S; *de gnyis kyi* T_A

[858] *sthāpitayor°*] A; *sthāpitayo* B; *gzhag* T_S

[859] *likhet*] corr.; *lekhit* A; *lekhitam* B, Sed.; *bris* T_S

[860] *kartavyo*] corr., *kartavyaṃ* A, B; *byas na* T_S

[861] *vidveṣayati*] B; *sidveṣayati* A; *'byed par byed* T_S

[862] *uṣṭraṃ*] A; *uṣṇaṃ* B; *rnga mong* T_S, T_L

[863] *yaṃkāreṇa*] corr.; *yakāreṇa* A, B, Sed.; *yi ge yam* T_S; om. T_L

cintayet. Tatpṛṣṭhe yamarūpaṃ[865] gṛhītalaguḍahastaṃ vicintya, tena[866] lagu[ḍena[867] tāḍayan dakṣiṇā]bhimukhaṃ[868] nīyamānaṃ vicintayet. Tad eva cakraṃ[869] tasyaiva hṛdaye[870] pūrvavidhānena sādhyanāma[871] vidarbhya saṃlikhya nikṣipet, saptāhenoccāṭayate[872] {A5r}nātra saṃśayaḥ.

[§20] Athāparaḥ[873] prayogo bhavati. Mātaṅgāṅgaṃ[874] kaṭutailenādityadine svabhyaṅgya[875] nimbavṛkṣam ārohayitvā tatraiva sthāpya.[876] Taccharīrāt[877] tailaṃ[878] śuktikayā[879] ākṛṣya[880] tatraiva sthitvā tailaṃ[881] gṛhṇāti. {B4r} Tatra tailaṃ gṛhītvā mahādevasya nīladhvajakarpaṭam[882] ādāya antardhūmena[883] dahyāt.[884] Tatkajjalaṃ[885] tena tailena sahaikīkṛtyāyaṃ uccāṭayitukāmaḥ tasyopānahau svabhyaṅgayet[886]. Hastapādau mrakṣayet.[887] Tadabhāve 'pi śiraḥ[888] snānīyaṃ vā, tatkṣaṇād[889] uccāṭayati.

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[864] *sādhyaṃ*] B; *sādhya* A; *sgrub bya* T_S, T_L
[865] *yamarūpaṃ*] A, B; *gzhan gshin rje'i skyes bu* T_A; *gshin rje'i gzugs* T_S; om. T_L
[866] *vicintya*, *tena*] corr.; *vicintye cena* A, *vicintya cena* B; *vicintya tat* Sed.; *dmigs te de'i* T_S
[867] *lagu*[*ḍena*] em.; *ragu*[*ḍena*]; A; *ragu(lac.)* B; *dbyug pas* T_S
[868] *lagu*[*ḍena tāḍayan dakṣiṇā*]*bhimukhaṃ*] Sed.; codd. om.; *de'i dbyug pas rdeg cing kha lho ru bltas* T_S
[869] *tad eva cakraṃ*] corr.; *tad eva cakran* A; *(del.)deva cakraṃ* B; *cakraṃ* Sed.;*'khor lo de* T_S; *gong gi 'khor lo* T_L
[870] *hṛdaye*] corr.; *hṛdaya* A; *hṛda(ya)* B^{pc}(add2); *hṛd(del.)* B^{ac}; *hṛdayaṃ* Sed.; *snying khar* T_S, T_L
[871] *sādhyanāma*] B; *sādhyamāna* A; *bsgrub bya'i ming* T_S
[872] *saptāhenoccāṭayate*] corr.; s*aptāhenoccātayante* A; *saptāhenocca(ṭa)yānte* B^{pc}(add2); *saptāhenocca(del.)yānte* B^{ac}; *saptāhenoccāṭyate* Sed.; *zhag bdun gyis skrod par 'gyur* T_S
[873] *athāparaḥ*] corr.; *athāpa(raḥ)* B^{pc}(add2); *athāpalaṃ* A; *athāpa(del.)* B^{ac}; *de nas gzhan yang* T_S; *yang gzhan* T_L
[874] *mātaṅgāṅgaṃ*] A, B; *gtum po* T_S
[875] *svabhyaṅgya*] corr.; *svabhyaṅga* A, B; *byugs* T_S
[876] *sthāpya*] B; *sthāpyaṃ* A; *gzhag* T_S; *gnas nas* T_L
[877] *taccharīrāt*] em.; *tacchalīlaṃ* A; *taccha(rīraṃ)* B^{pc}(add2); *taccha(del.)* B^{ac}; *taccharīraṃ* Sed.
[878] *tailaṃ*] A; *taile* B; *taila* Sed.; *mar khu* T_S; *snga ma'i mar* T_L
[879] *śuktikayā*] em.; *śuktikayām* A; *śuktikaya* B; *nya phyis kyis* T_S, T_L
[880] *ākṛṣya*] B; *ākṛṣyaḥ* A; *kṛṣya* Sed.; *bzhar* T_S, T_L
[881] *tailaṃ*] conj.; *latīlaṃ* A^{ac}; *tīlaṃ* A^{pc}; *nīlaṃ* B^{ac}, Sed.; *nilaṃ* B^{pc}; *mar khu* T_S; om. T_L
[882] °*karpaṭam*] conj.; °*kampaṭama* A; °*kampatema* B; *ras* T_S, T_L
[883] *ādāya antardhūmena*] em.; *ādāyāntaraddhamena* A; *ādāyām āntardhamena* B; *ādāya taddagdhadhūmena* Sed.; *blangs la de bsregs pa'i bar gyi* T_S; *blang* [em.; *slang* ed.] *nga gnyis kha sbyar bar du du ba med pa'i* T_L
[884] *dahyāt*] em.; *dadyāt* A, B; *bsregs pa* T_L; *dregs pa* T_S
[885] *tatkajjalaṃ*] B^{pc}; *tatkajalaṃ* A, B^{ac}; *du ba'i dreg pa de* T_S; *thal ba* T_L
[886] *svabhyaṅgayet*] B; *tsvabhyaṅgayet* A; *byugs na* T_S,T_L
[887] *mrakṣayet*] B; *makṣayet* A; om. T_S, T_L
[888] *śiraḥ*] corr.; *śira* A, B; *śiśira*° Sed.; om. T_S, T_L
[889] *tatkṣaṇād*] (*tat)kṣaṇād* B^{pc}(add2); *dadkṣaṇad* A; *(del.)kṣaṇād* B^{ac}; om. T_S, T_L

[§21] Athāparam api[890] prayogo bhavati. Cityaṅgāreṇa kākarudhireṇāsthilekhanyā[891] bhūrjapatre likhet. Vāyumaṇḍalamadhye sādhyanāma[892] vidarbhya balibhuggale[893] bandhnīyāt. Kākaṃ gṛhītvā mahiṣamukhayogena sthitvā dakṣiṇābhimukho muñcayet[894]. Tatkṣaṇād[895] eva kākavat paryaṭati mahīm.

[§22] (N36)Athāparam uccāṭanaṃ bhavati. Kaṭutailenābhyaṅgyaṃ kṛtvā nimbavṛkṣabalibhugāvāsam[896] āgṛhya tadvāsaṃ cāgnau pitṛvanakāṣṭhena[897] dagdhvā[898] tadbhasma[899] gṛhya yasya śirasi dīyate sa uccāṭayate[900].

[§23] (N37)Aparam api[901] vidveṣaṇaprayogo bhavati. Kākolūkayor pakṣau[902] {A5v}brāhmaṇacaṇḍālayoś[903] keśau[904] ekīkṛtya dhatturakāṣṭhenāgniṃ[905] prajvālya nirdhūmāgniṃ[906] kṛtvā (N38)tacchāram[907] āgṛhya daśākṣaramantrajaptaṃ[908] strīpuruṣayor madhye bhasma nikṣipet[909]. Tatkṣaṇād eva vidveṣayati.

[§24] Atha śmaśānakarpaṭe[910] viṣādibhir dravyaiḥ[911] sādhyanāmāntaritaṃ kṛtvā smaraṇaṃ vidarbhya nakulasarpayoḥ[912] keśakañcukam[913] āgṛhya[914] tad prakṣipya vartiḥ kartavyā, yasya[915] gṛhe[916] prajvālayet tasyānyonyaṃ kalahaṃ[917] bhavati.

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[890] *athāparam api*] A; *athāperpi* B; *athāparo 'pi* Sed.; *de nas gzhan yang* T_S
[891] *kākarudhireṇāsthilekhanyā*] A; *kākarudhireṇāsthilekhinyā* B; *rog gi khrang dang bya rog gi smyu gus* T_S
[892] *sādhyanāma*] B; *sādhyenāma* A; *bsgrub bya'i ming* T_S
[893] *balibhuggale*] conj.; *valibhuṅgale* A, B; *gtor ma za ba'i mgrin par* T_S
[894] *muñcayet*] ditto.; *mumuñcayet* A, B, Sed.; *'phang* T_S
[895] *tatkṣaṇād*] B; *tatkṣaṇed* A; *de'i skad cig gis* T_S
[896] °*balibhugāvāsam*] em.; °*balībhṛṃgāvāsam* A, B; °*balībhuggāvāsam* Sed.; *nim ba'i shing las gtor ma za ba'i tshang* T_S; *bya rog gi tshang gi shing* T_L
[897] *pitṛvanakāṣṭhena*] corr.; *pitṛ(va)nakāṣṭhena* B^{pc}(add2); *pitṛvanekāṣṭhena* A; *pitṛ(del.)nakāṣṭhena* B^{ac}; *pha'i nags kyi shing mes* T_S; *dur khrod kyi me la* T_L
[898] *dagdhvā*] B; *dagdhā* A; *bsregs pa'i* T_S; *bsregs* T_L
[899] *tadbhasma*] B; *tadbhasmaṃ* A; *tad bhasma* Sed.; *thal ba de* T_S
[900] *uccāṭayate*] corr.; *uccā(ṭya)te* B^{pc}(add2); *uccāryate* A; *uccā(del.)te* B^{ac}; *skrod par 'gyur* T_S
[901] *aparam api*] A; *aparatepi* B; *gzhan yang* T_S
[902] *kākolūkayor pakṣau*] conj.; *kākolūkapakṣāyo* A, B; *kākolūkapakṣayor* Sed.; *rog dang 'ug pa'i gshog pa* T_S; *bya rog dang 'ug pa'i rus pa* T_A
[903] *brāhmaṇacaṇḍālayoś*] em.; *brāhmaṇacaṇḍālayoḥ* A; *brāhmaṇacaṇḍālayo* B^{ac}; *brāhmaṇacāṇḍālayo* B^{pc}; *brāhmaṇacaṇḍālyoś* Sed.; *bram ze dang gtum po rnams kyi* T_S
[904] *keśau*] conj.; *keśā* A, B; *keśān* Sed.; *skra* T_S
[905] *dhatturakāṣṭhenāgniṃ*] B; *dhutulakāṣṭhenāgnim* A; *dha du ra'i shing la* T_S
[906] *nirdhūmāgniṃ*] B; *nidhūmāgniṃ* A; *du ba med pa'i mes* T_S
[907] *tacchāraṃ*] em., Sanderson; *ucchālaṃ* A, B; *de'i thal ba* T_S; *tadbhasmaṃ* Sed.
[908] *daśākṣaramantrajaptaṃ*] B; *daśākṣaramantraṃjaptaṃ* A; *yi ge bcu pa'i sngags bzlas nas* T_S
[909] *nikṣipet*] A; *nipet* B; *bzhag na* T_S
[910] *śmaśānakarpaṭe*] em.; *śmaśānakampate* A, B; *dur khrod kyi ras* T_S
[911] *viṣādibhir dravyaiḥ*] B; *viśādibhidavyaiḥ* A; *dug la sogs pa'i rdzas kyis* T_S
[912] *nakulasarpayoḥ*] B; *nakulasaprayoḥ* A met.; *zer mo'i dang sbrul* T_S; *ne'u le dang sbrul gyi* T_L
[913] *keśakañcukam*] B; *keśakaṃcukā* A; *spu dang lpags pa* T_S; *lpags pa* T_L

[§25] Atha mārayitukāmo[918] viṇmūtreṇa pratikṛtiṃ kṛtvā tadupari (N39)asthicūrṇena[919] pralepayet. Tāṃ (N40)chitvā chitvā[920] cityagnau nagno muktaśikho bhūtvā dakṣiṇābhimukheṇa[921] {B4v}mahiṣamukhayogenārdharātrau taṃ juhuyād yasya nāmnā[922] sa tatkṣaṇād[923] eva mriyate. Svayaṃ vajrabhairavabhāṣito 'yaṃ prayogaḥ.

[§26] Athoccāṭayitukāmo dhvajakarpaṭe[924] ṣoḍaśakoṣṭhacakraṃ pūrvoktadravyeṇa cityaṅgāreṇa saha ābhilikhya yasya nāmnā vidarbhya nimbapatre sthāpayet tam ucccāṭayati.

[§27] Atha stambhayitukāmo yamacakraṃ śilāpaṭṭe[925] karpaṭe vā haritālena haridrayābhilikhya yasya[926] namnā sthāpayet, sa stambhito {A6r} bhavati.

[§28] Yad vā mantrī[927] vaśīkartukāmo valmīkamṛttikayā kuṅkumagorocanayā sādhyapratikṛtiṃ kṛtvā naro vā yadi vā nārī[928] ṣoḍaśāṅgulapramāṇaṃ[929] gorocanayā anāmikāraktena [yama]yantraṃ[930] bhūrje[931] tasya[932] hṛdaye prakṣipya likhet. Raktapuṣpeṇārcayitvā[933] yasya gṛhe sthāpayitvā[934] triṣkālaṃ[935] †+++++++†

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[914] *āgṛhya tad*] em.; *āṭgṛhyataḥ* A; *āgṛhya* (*tad*, om.) B, Sed.; *blangs* T_S
[915] *kartavyā, yasya*] em.; *kartavyā, kṛtvā yasya* A, B, Sed.; *byas te/ gang gi* T_S
[916] *gṛhe*] B; *gṛhye* A; *khyim du* T_S
[917] *kalahaṃ*] B^{pc}; *kalahaṃ kalahaṃ*, A, B^{ac} *ditto.*; *'thab par* T_S
[918] *mārayitukāmo*] B; *mārayatukāmo* A; *gsad par 'dod pa* T_S
[919] *asthicūrṇena*] em.; *ahicūrṇena* A, B; *rus pa phye mas* T_S
[920] *chitvā chitvā*] A, B; *chitvā* Sed.; om. T_S
[921] *dakṣiṇābhimukheṇa*] A; *dakṣiṇābhimukhe* B, Sed.; *kha lhor bltas* T_S
[922] *nāmnā*] em.; *nāma* A, B, Sed.; *ming* T_S
[923] *tatkṣaṇād*] corr.; (*ta)tkṣaṇād* B^{pc}(add2); *dadkśnad* A; *(del.)tkṣaṇād* B^{ac}; *de skad cig gis* T_S
[924] *dhvajakarpaṭe*] em.; *dhvajakampate* A, B; *rgyal mtshan gyi ras* T_S
[925] *śilāpaṭṭe*] em.; *śilāpuṭte* A; *śilāpaṭe* B, Sed.; *g.yam pa* T_S
[926] *yasya*] B; *dyasya* A; *gang gi* T_S
[927] *mantrī*] corr.; *mantrī maṃtrī* A *ditto.*; *mantrī mantrī* B *ditto.*; *sngags pas* T_S
[928] *nārī*] corr.; *nā(rī)* B^{pc}(add2); *nālī* A; *nā(del.)* B^{ac}; *mo* T_S
[929] *ṣoḍaśāṅgulapramāṇaṃ*] B; *ṣoḍaśāṃgulapramāṇaṃ* A; *tshad sor bcu drug pa* T_S
[930] *yamayantraṃ*] em.; *yantraṃ* A, B, Sed.; *yama* om. A, B, Sed.; *gshin rje'i 'khor lo* T_S; *'khor lo ji lta ba bzhin* T_L
[931] *bhūrje*] em.; *bhūje* A, B; om. T_S
[932] *tasya*] em.; *yasya* A, B, Sed.
[933] *raktapuṣpeṇārcayitvā*] em.; *raktapuṣpeṃārcayitvā* A; *raktapuṣpanārcayitvā* B; *raktapuṣpenārcayitvā* Sed.; *me tog dmar pos dbul ba* T_S; *me tog dmar pos mchod cing* T_A
[934] *yasya gṛhe sthāpayitvā*] B^{pc}, A; om. B^{ac}; *rang gi khyim du bzhag la* T_S
[935] *triṣkālaṃ*] em.; *trikṣālaṃ* A; *tri(kā)laṃ* B^{pc}(add2), Sed.; *tri(del.)laṃ* B^{ac}; *dus gsum du* T_S

paścimābhimukho bhūtvā daśākṣaramantraṃ japet, (taṃ) saptāhāc chakram[936] api vaśam ānayati kiṃ punaḥ kṣudramānuṣān[937].

[§29] Athavā ākarṣayitukāmaḥ[938] tadā kapāle [gorocanayā anāmikāraktena] yantraṃ[939] ālikhya khadirāgnau[940] tāpayet. Yasya nāmnā sa[941] tatkṣaṇād[942] eva pavanavegenāgacchati.[943]

[§30] (N41)Unmattakaṃ kartukāmo mantrī dhūtturaphalam[944] ādaya mahāmāṃsena saha ghunacūrṇena[945] sammiśrīkṛtvā yasya (N42)khāne pāne vā dadyān mantraṃ japet[946] tatkṣaṇād unmattako bhavati. Saptāhena[947] mriyate[948].

[§31] Athāparaḥ[949] prayogo[950] bhavati. Yamārimantraṃ śmaśānakarpaṭe viṣādibhir[951] dravyair ālikhya mahāpradīpena vairocanena saha pratikṛtiṃ kṛtvā tasya[952] hṛdaye[953] mantraṃ nikṣipya pitṛvanaṃ gatvā cityagnau {B5r} tīkṣṇaśastreṇa chittvā[954] vikṛtānanayogena[955] sthito mantrī vairocanena[956] śarīram {A6v}abhyaṅgya dakṣiṇābhimukho juhuyāt[957] sadyo mriyate.[958]

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[936] *saptāhāc chakram*] corr.; *saptāhāc cakram* A, B^{ac}; *saptāhāt cakraṃ* B^{pc}; *zhag bdun gyis brgya byin* T$_S$
[937] *kṣudramānuṣān*] em.; *śchadramānukhā* A; (*kṣu)dramānuṣāḥ* B^{pc}(add2); *(del.)dramānuṣāḥ* B^{ac}; *phra mo'i mi* T$_S$
[938] *ākarṣayitukāmaḥ*] B^{pc}; *ākarṣayatukāmaḥ* A, B^{ac}; *dgug par 'dod na* T$_S$
[939] *yantraṃ*] B^{pc}; *jantraṃ* A; *'khor lo* T$_S$
[940] *khadirāgnau*] B; *khadirāgjau* A; *seng ldeng gi me la* T$_S$
[941] *namnā sa*] A, B; *nāmnā sa japet sa* Sed.; T$_S$ seems to read *yasya namnā saha japet (gang bya ba'i ming dang bcas par bzlas na)*
[942] *sa tatkṣaṇād*] em., *sa tadkśanaṃd* A; *sa takṣaṇad* B^{pc}; *sa kṣanād* B^{ac}; *de skad cig gis* T$_S$
[943] *pavanavegenā°*] B; *pravanavegenā°* A; *rlung gi shugs* T$_S$
[944] *dhūtturaphalam*] conj.; *dhū(ttu)raphe(la)m* B^{pc}(add2); *dhūturaphelam* A; *dhū(del.)raphe(del.)m* B^{ac}; *dha du ra'i bras bu* T$_S$
[945] *ghunacūrṇena*] A; *ghūṇacūrṇena* B, Sed.; *shing srin zos pa'i phye ma* T$_S$
[946] *japet*] A; *(ja)pet* B^{pc}(add2); *(del.)pet* B^{ac}; *bzlas pa bya* T$_S$
[947] *saptāhena*] conj.; *saptāhe(na)* B^{pc}(add2); *satpāheṇa* A met.; *saptāhe(del.)* B^{ac}; *zhag bdun gyis* T$_S$
[948] *mriyate*] A, B^{pc}; *miyate* B^{ac}; *'chi* T$_S$
[949] *athāparaḥ*] em.; *athāpara* A, B; *de nas gzhan yang* T$_S$
[950] *prayogo*] B^{pc}; *payogo* A, B^{ac}; *rab tu sbyor ba* T$_S$
[951] *viṣādibhir*] B; *viṣādibhi* A; *dug la sogs pa'i* T$_S$
[952] *tasya*] B; *yasya* A, Sed.; *de'i* T$_S$
[953] *hṛdaye*] B; *hṛdaya* A; *snying khar* T$_S$
[954] *chittvā*] conj.; *sthitvā* A, B; *gtubs nas* T$_S$
[955] *vikṛtānanayogena*] conj.; *vikṛtayoge(na)* B^{pc}(add2); *vikṛtayogeṇa* A; *vikṛtayoge(del.)* B^{ac}; *rnam par gtsigs pa'i* [em.; *brtsegs pa'i* ed.] *sbyor bas* T$_S$
[956] *vairocanena*] corr.; *vairocana* A, B; *rnam par snang mdzad kyis* T$_S$
[957] *juhuyāt*] B; *jdhayāt* A; *bsregs na* T$_S$
[958] *mriyate*] B^{pc}; *miyate* A, B^{ac}; *'chi* T$_S$

[§32] Athavā vidveṣaṇaprayogo bhavati. Kākolūkayor asthi[959] gṛhītvā tayor lohakaṇṭakena[960] daśākṣaramantram ālikhya sādhyanāmnā saha ekānte sthitvā japed[961] yasya[962] nāmnā sa vidviṣṭo[963] bhavati.

[§33] [Atha][964] yamacakraṃ bhūrjapatre strīpuṃsayor[965] [nāmanī][966] (N43)likhya[967] dardurajaṭhare[968] nikṣipya dehalyādhaḥ sthāpayed yasya nāmnā tasyāṅgaṃ śastrabhinnaṃ[969] bhavati.

[§34] Atha kanyāstambhanaprayogo bhavati. Yamāriyantraṃ[970] śmaśānakarpaṭe[971] viṣādibhir ālikhya[972] cityaṅgāreṇa pratikṛitiṃ kṛtvā vitastipramāṇaṃ[973] vikṛtaṃ kārayet.[974] Tasya hṛdaye nikṣipya sthāpayet. Yantraṃ vāmapādenāvaṣṭabhya mahiṣamukhayogena śīghram[975] amukāṃ kanyāṃ stambhayāmi[976] iti daśākṣaramantraṃ japet stambhayati.

[§35] Etāni karmāṇi na kasyacit kathitavyāni. Yadi karoti mantrī mohātma[977] sa patati tīvranarake[978]. Ratnatrayāpakāriṇi[979] kartavyaṃ[980] gurudrohiṇaḥ

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[959] *asthi*] B; *asthiṃ* A; *rus pa* T_S
[960] *tayor lohakaṇṭakena*] em.; *tayorohakaṇṭakena* A; *tayorahikaṇṭakena* B; *tayorahi(rayaḥ) kaṇṭakena* Sed.; *lcags kyi tsher mas* T_S
[961] *japed*] corr., *japet* B; *japata* A; *bzlas* T_S
[962] *yasya*] A; *ya(sya)* B^{pc}(add2); *ya(del.)* B^{ac}; *gang gi* T_S
[963] *vidviṣṭo*] em.; *viddho* A, B, Sed.; *'bral bar 'gyur ro* T_S
[964] [*atha*] rec.; om. codd.; *de nas* T_S
[965] *strīpuṃsayor*] B; *strīpuṃśaso* A; *bud med dang skyes pa'i* T_S
[966] *nāmanī*] em.; om. codd.; *nāma* Sed.; *ming* T_S
[967] *likhya*] corr; *yo likhya* A; *likhi(tvā)* B^{pc}(add2), Sed.; *likhi(del.*) B^{ac}; *bris nas* T_S
[968] *dardurajaṭhare*] B; *durdurajaṭhare* A; *sbal pa'i gsus par* T_S
[969] *śastrabhinnaṃ*] B; *śāstrabhinno* A; *yan lag mtshon gyis* T_S
[970] *yamāriyantraṃ*] conj.; *yamā(ri)mantraṃ* B^{pc}(add2), Sed.; *yamālijantraṃ* A; *yamā(del.)mantraṃ* B^{ac}; *gshin rje'i sngags* T_S
[971] *śmaśānakarpaṭe*] em.; *śmaśānakaṃpaṭe* A, B; *dur khrod kyi ras la* T_S
[972] *ālikhya*] B; *nikhya* A; *bris la* T_S
[973] *vitastipramāṇaṃ*] corr.; *vitrastipramānaṃ* A; *vitrastīpramāṇaṃ* B^{ac}; *vitrastipramāṇaṃ* B^{pc}; *mtho gang tsam kyi tshad* T_S
[974] *kārayet*] corr.; *kā(ra)yet* B^{pc}(add2); *kālayet* A; *kā(del.)yet* B^{ac}; om. T_S
[975] *śīghram*] corr., *śīrghram* A, B met.; *myur bar* T_S
[976] *stambhayāmi iti*] em.; *sthambhayed iti* A, B, Sed.; *rengs par 'gyur cig ces* T_S
[977] *mohātma*] A; *māhātma* B; *rmongs pa'i bdag nyid can* T_S
[978] *tīvranarake*] B; *cīvranarake* A; *dmyal bar* T_S
[979] *ratnatrayāpakāriṇi*] corr.; *ratnatrayāpakāriṇī* A, B; *ratnatrayāpakāriṇaḥ* Sed.; *dkon mchog gsum la gnod par byed pa* T_S
[980] *kartavyaṃ*] A; *kartavyā* B, Sed.

(N44)samayavidhibhraṣṭasya[981] mantratantropahāsinaḥ[982] sattvadrohiṇaś ca.[983] Ye teṣāṃ[984] upakāram ādāya mantrī karuṇārdreṇa[985] cetasā mantrāṇāṃ[986] prayogaṃ karoti. Teṣāṃ anugrahāya ca, anyathā mahārauravī[987] syāt. Samayabhedī syād. {A7r}Anyātha[988] kurute yadi, uktam anyatrāpy[989]

[§36] ācāryanindanaparā mahāyānapradūṣakāḥ/
(N45)mantratantraprayogajñāṃ[990] hāsyaṃ kurvanti ye narāḥ/
māraṇīyāḥ prayatnena {B5v} athavā sthānacālanam/ iti

[§37] Anyathā karoti yogī yasya kasyacin nirghṛṇaḥ, tadavasthitaṃ tatkarma tasyaiva pratyaṅgirā[991] bhavati. Kasmāt sattvaviheṭhakatvād yoginaḥ.

Iti mañjuśriyākhyaśrīmahāvajrabhairavayogatantre sarvakarmasiddhir dvitīyaḥ kalpaḥ

[981] *samayavidhibhraṣṭasya*] em. Sanderson; *samayavidhistthasya* A; *samayavidhikṛtya* B; *samayavihīnāḥ* Sed.; *dam tshig dang bral ba* T_S
[982] *mantratantropahāsinaḥ*] corr.; *mantratantro upahāsinaḥ* A, B; *mantratantrahāsinaḥ* Sed.; *sngags dang rgyud la 'phya bar byed pa* T_S
[983] *sattvadrohiṇaś ca*] *sattvadrohi(ṇa)śca* B^{pc}(add2); *sattvadohiṇaśca* A; *sattvadrohi(del.)śca* B^{ac}; *sems can la 'tshe ba 'di rnams la* T_S
[984] *teṣāṃ*] corr.; *teṣaṃsu* A, B
[985] *karuṇārdreṇa*] B^{pc}; *karuṇādreṇa* A, B^{ac}; *snying rjes gdungs pa'i* T_S
[986] *mantrāṇāṃ*] B; *mantrīṇaṃ* A; om. T_S
[987] *mahārauravī*] B; *raulava* A^{ac}; *mahāraulava* A^{pc}; *tsha ba chen por 'gro* T_S
[988] *anyātha*] em.; *anyeṣāṃ* A, B, Sed.; om. T_S
[989] *anyatrāpy*] em.; *anyattrarapy* A; *anyatrāpyā* B; *anyatrāpi* Sed.; *gzhan du 'ang* T_S
[990] *mantratantraprayogajñāṃ*] em.; *mantratantraprayogajñaṃ* B, Sed.; *mantratantraprayogajña* A; *sngags rgyud rab sbyor ye shes la* T_S
[991] *pratyaṅgirā*] B^{pc}; *pratyaṅgīro* A; *pratyaṅgīrā* B^{ac}; *phyir ldog par* T_S

[§38] Atha mantroddhāraṇaṃ[992] pravakṣyāmi[993] yathāvad anupūrvaśaḥ. Śucipradeśe sthitvā mantrī mantram[994] uddhārayet.

[§39] (N46)ṣaṣṭhasya yaḥ prathamaḥ[995] pañcamasyāpi pañcamam/
ṣaṣṭhasya dvitīyaṃ (N47)dvitīya[996]svarayojitam// (1)
dvitīyasya tṛtīyaṃ punar[997] dvitīyasvarayojitam[998]/
saptamasya[999] tṛtīyaṃ ca caturthasya tṛtīyakam[1000]// (2)
trayodaśasvarayojitaṃ pañcamasyāpi pañcamam/
ekādaśasvarayojitaṃ ṣaṣṭhasya prathamaṃ[1001] (N48)dviguṇitam// (3)
pañcamasyāpi pañcamam ekādaśasvara-m-ākrāntam[1002],
caturthasya tṛtīya[ka]ṃ trayodaśasvara-m-ākrāntam. (4)
ṣaṣṭhasya dvitīyakaṃ pañcamasvarayojitam,
tṛtīyasya pañcamaṃ {A7v}, vāyubījaṃ tato dadyāt// (5)
trayodaśasvarayojitaṃ/ caturthasya tṛtīyam, vāyubījaṃ tataḥ paraṃ[1003]//
ṣaṣṭhasya prathamaṃ caturthasya tṛtīyakam// (6)
vāyubījaṃ tataḥ punaḥ trayodaśasvarayojitam[1004] /
caturthasya pañcamaṃ [tṛtīyasvarayojitam][1005]// (7)
agnibījaṃ tato dadyāt vāyubījaṃ tathaiva ca/
varṇāntaṃ tato dadyāt ekādaśasvarayojitam// (8)
ṣaṣṭhasya prathamaṃ vāyubījaṃ tato bhavet/
varṇāntaṃ[1006] tato dadyāt ekādaśasvarayojitam// (9)
vāyubījaṃ tato dadyāt/
dvitīyasya prathamaṃ dviguṇitam tac ca kārayet// (10)
caturthasya {B6r}pañcamaṃ tṛtīyasvarayojitam/
agnibījaṃ tato dadyāt dvitīyasvarayojitam// (11)
pañcamasyāpi pañcamaṃ vāyubījaṃ[1007] tato dadyāt/

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[992] *mantroddhāraṇaṃ*] em.; *mantrādhāraṇa* A; *mantrādhāraṇaṃ* B; *sngags btu ba* T_S, T_A, $T_Ś$, T_V
[993] *pravakṣyāmi*] B; *pravakṣāmi* A; *rab tu gsungs* T_S
[994] *mantram*] B; *mantras* A; *sngags* T_S; *gsang sngags* T_A
[995] *prathamaḥ*] B; *pathamaḥ* A; *dang* po T_S, T_{Ku}, T_L
[996] *dvitīya°*] em.; *tītṛya* A; *tṛtīya* B; *dbyangs yig gnyis pa* T_S, T_L, T_K, T_{Ku}
[997] *punar*] B; *punaḥ* A; *yang* T_S
[998] *dvitīyasvarayojitam*] em.; *dvitīyasyasvarayojitam* A, B; *dbyangs yig gnyis pa* T_S, T_K, T_{Ku}
[999] *saptamasya*] B^{pc}; *saptasya* A, B^{ac}; *bdun pa* T_S, T_K, T_{Ku}, T_L
[1000] *tṛtīyakam*] em.; *tṛtīyam* A, B, Sed.; *gsum pa* T_S, T_K, T_{Ku}, T_L
[1001] *prathamaṃ*] em.; *prathama* A, B; *dang po* T_S, T_L
[1002] *ekādaśasvara-m-ākrāntam*] A, B^{pc}; *-m-ākrāntam* om. B^{ac}; *bcu dang gcig gis mnan ldan pa* T_S; *dbyang yig bcu gcig pa* T_{Ku}; *bcu gcig pas* T_L
[1003] *tataḥ paraṃ*] A, B; om. T_S
[1004] *trayodaśasvarayojitam*] em.; *trayodaśasvarayo daśasvarayodaśasvarayojitām* B; *trayodaśasvarayo daśasvarayodaśasvarayojitam* A; *dbyangs yig bcu gsum pa dang ldan* T_S
[1005] *tṛtīyasvarayojitam*] em.; om. codd.; *dbyangs yig gsum pa dang ldan pa* T_S; *dbyangs yig bcu gsum pa* T_{Ku}
[1006] *varṇāntaṃ*] corr.; *varṇāntan* A, B; *yi ge tha ma* T_S; *yi ge'i mthar gnas pa* T_{Ku}
[1007] *vāyubījaṃ*] em.; *vāsūkījan* A, B; *rlung gi sa bon* T_S, T_{Ku}

dyaṃ[1008] vairocanaṃ dadyāt parameśvarayojitam// (12)
pañcamasya dvitīyaṃ tṛtīyasya prathamaṃ/
dvir uktaṃ kārayed budhaḥ// (13)

Etan[1009] mañjuśryākhyamahāvajrabhairavatantre[1010] mahiṣamukhasya mūlamantram[1011]/ sarvakarmakaralakṣajāpyena[1012] sarvakarmāṇi karoti ayaṃ mantrarājaḥ[1013] [na][1014] bhūto na bhaviṣyati/

[§40] saptamasya caturthaṃ ca[1015] caturthasvarayojitam/
agnibījaṃ tato dadyāt ṣoḍaśāntaṃ {A8r} tato vibhuḥ[1016]// (14)
saptamasya (N49)dvitīyaṃ[1017] caturthasvarayojitam[1018]/
tṛtīyasya prathamam agnirūpam adhoniveśayet[1019]// (15)
ṣoḍaśāntaṃ tato vidvān[1020] ṣaṣṭhasya caturthaṃ tṛtīyasvarayojitam/
prathamasya prathamaṃ saptamasvarayojitam// (16)
caturthasya prathamaṃ dvitīyasvarayojitam/
caturthasyāpi pañcamaṃ dviguṇaṃ kārayed budhaḥ // (17)
ādyaṃ vairocanaṃ dadyād yavargasyāṣṭamaṃ bījam/
ṣaṣṭhasvareṇa yojitaṃ (N50)bindumastakabhūṣitam // (18)
pañcamasya dvitīyaṃ tṛtīyasya prathamam/ (19ab)

ayaṃ mantrarājo mahiṣamukhayogasya sarvakarmakaramantraḥ[1021] prakhyātaḥ/ trilakṣajāpena sarvakarmāṇi karoti/

[§41] ṣaṣṭhasya prathamaṃ pañcamasyāpi pañcamam/
dvitīyasvarayojitam[1022] caturthasyāpi prathamam// (20)
tasyāpi pañcamāntikaṃ[1023] mastake nyaset prathamasya prathamam/
ādyaṃ vairocanaṃ dadyāt,

[1008] *ādyaṃ*] A; *ādya* B; *dang por* T_S; *dang po* T_{Ku}
[1009] *etan*] em.; *etat* A, B
[1010] *mañjuśryākhyamahāvajrabhairavatantre*] B^{pc} ; *mañjuśrīyākhyamahāvajrabhairavatantre* A; Sed.; *mañju mahāvajrabhairavatantre* B^{ac}; *'jigs byed chen po rgyud 'khor lo* T_S
[1011] *mūlamantram*] corr.; *mūramantraḥ* A; *mūlamantra* B; *rtsa sngags* T_S
[1012] *sarvakarmakara°*] om. T_S; *las kyi sngags* T_A
[1013] *mantrarājaḥ*] em.; *mantrarāja* A, B, Sed.; *sngags kyi rgyal po* T_S
[1014] *na*] em.; om. codd.; *ma* T_S
[1015] *caturthaṃ ca*] em.; *caturthañjca* A, B
[1016] *tato vibhuḥ*] A, B; *de nas mga' bdag* T_S; om. T_{Ku}
[1017] *dvitīyaṃ*] em.; *trītiyaṃ* A, B; *gnyis pa* T_S, T_{Ku}
[1018] *caturthasvarayojitam*] A; *caturthaḥsvarayojitam* B; *dbyangs yig bzhi pa* T_S, T_{Ku}
[1019] *adhoniveśayet*] A, B; *agnirupamadho niveśayet* Sed.; *gdags* T_S
[1020] *vidvān*] em.; *vibhūḥ* A, B, Sed.; *mnga' bdag* T_S
[1021] *sarvakarmakaramantraḥ*] corr.; *sarvvakarmmakara karmamantraḥ* A; *sarvakarmmakara karmamantraḥ* B; ditto.; *sarvakarmakarakarmamantraḥ* Sed.; *thams cad las ni byed pa'o* T_S
[1022] *dvitīyasvarayojitam*] em.; *dvitīyasvarabheditam* A, B; *dbyangs yig gnyis pa dang ldan pa* T_S; *dbyangs yig gnyis pa* T_{Ku}
[1023] *pañcamāntikaṃ*] em.; *pañcamantrikaṃ* A, B, Sed.; *de yi lnga pa* T_S; *lnga pa'i tha ma* T_{Ku}

smaraṇan tadantake[1024] śūnyād eva {B6v} [1025]samākrāntaṃ[1026]/ (22ab)
pañcamasya dvitīyaṃ tṛtīyasya prathamam/(23ab)

Ayaṃ mahiṣamukhasya hṛdayamantraḥ[1027] prakīrtitaḥ[1028]/ akṣaralakṣajāpena yāni kānicit[1029] kāryāṇi[1030] traidhātuke sthitāni[1031] karoti susamāhito mantroddhāraṇavidhiniyuktaḥ[1032] //

{A8v} Iti[1033] mañjuśriyākhyaśrīmahāvajrabhairava[yoga]tantre
mantroddhāraṇakalpaḥ[1034] tṛtīyaḥ

[1024] *tadantake*] em.; Acri; *tathāntake* B; *tratthāntake* A
[1025] *samākrāntaṃ*] A; *samākāntaṃ* B; om. T_S, T_{Ku}
[1026] *smaraṇan* to *samākrāntaṃ* om. T_S, Sed. T_S has instead *ya tshogs brgyad pa'i sa bon la/ dbyangs yig drug pa dang ldan la/ spyi bo ru ni thig les brgyan* which gives "hūṁ". Sed. has instead *bindumastakabhūṣitaṃ*.
[1027] *hṛdayamantraḥ*] B; *hṛdayamantraṃ* A; *snying po'i sngags su* T_S; *snying po'i gsang sngags* T_A; *snying po* T_{Ku}
[1028] *prakīrtitaḥ*] B; *prakīrtitaṃ* A; *rab tu grags* T_S
[1029] *kānicit*] A; *kāniḥ cit* B; om. T_S
[1030] *kāryāṇi*] B; *kāryāni* A; om. T_S
[1031] *traidhātuke sthitāni*] em., *taidhātukasthitāni* A, B; *traidhātukasthitāni* Sed.; *'jig rten gsum gyi las ni gang* T_S
[1032] *mantroddhāraṇavidhiniyuktaḥ*] B; *mantroddhāraṇavidhiniyukteḥ* A, Sed.; *sngags btu ba'i cho ga'i dus 'dir mchod par bya'o* T_S
[1033] *iti*] em.; *iṭhati* A, B; *'di ni* T_S
[1034] *mantroddhāraṇakalpaḥ*] B^{pc}; *mantrodhāraṇakalpa* A, B^{ac}; *sngags btu ba bstan pa'i le'u ste gsum pa'o* T_S; *sngags btu ba'i rtog pa* T_{Ku}

[§42] Athātaḥ[1035] saṃpravakṣyāmi[1036] vajrabhairavasādhanam. Sarvadharmanairātmyapūrvakaṃ[1037] devatālambanaṃ kuryāt. Prathamaṃ[1038] tāvat svabhāvaśuddho 'ham iti[1039] mantram uccārayet. Sarvadharmanairātmyasvabhāvaṃ kṛtvā, khamadhye[1040] YAṂkāreṇa vayumaṇḍalaṃ niṣpannaṃ[1041] vicintayed dhūmavarṇākāraṃ.[1042] Tasyopary ādyasvarasaṃbhūtaṃ[1043] candramaṇḍalaṃ[1044] vicintya[1045], tasyopari[1046] DHĪḤkāreṇa[1047] mañjuśrīyaṃ kumārabhūtaṃ[1048] niṣpādya[1049], taddhṛdi[1050] ĀḤkāreṇa[1051] niṣpannarūpaṃ[1052] sūryamaṇḍalaṃ dhyātvā. Tasmāt[1053] sūryamaṇḍalād (N51)raśmijālaṃ[1054] niścārya[1055] daśadig(N52)anantāparyāntavasthitān[1056] tathāgatān bodhisattvān[1057] vidyādevatāḥ[1058] krodhādīn saṃcodya. Punar āgatya tasmin

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[1035] *athātaḥ*] B; *athāta* A; *de nas* T_S, T_K, T_{Ku}

[1036] *saṃpravakṣyāmi*] corr.; *saṃpravakṣāmi* A, B; *yang dag par bshad* T_S; *yang dag rab bshad* $T_Ś$, T_V, T_K

[1037] *sarvadharmanairātmyapūrvakaṃ*] em.; *sarvakarmanairātmyapūrvakaṃ* B; *sarvvakarmmanairātmyapūrvvaka* A; *sngon du chos thams cad la bdag med pa* T_S; *chos kun bdag med sngon byas nas* T_A; *chos thams cad bdag med pa sngon du song bas* $T_Ś$, T_V

[1038] *prathamaṃ*] B; *prathama* A; *dang por* T_S, T_A, $T_Ś$, T_L; *dang po* T_V, T_K

[1039] *svabhāvaśuddho 'ham iti*] em. Sferra; *svabhāvaśuddha* A, B; *rang bzhin gyis dag pa* T_S; *swa bha va shun ya ta* T_A; *oṃ shu nya tā dznyā na badzra swa bhā va ātma ko ha haṃ* $T_Ś$, T_V, T_L

[1040] *khamadhye*] A, B; *bhagamadhye* K; *nam mkha'i dkyil du* T_S, T_K; *de'i 'og tu de nyid la* [em.; *de nyid* ed.] *nam mkha'i dkyil du* T_A; *de'i nang du nam mkha'i dbus su* T_L

[1041] *niṣpannaṃ*] B; *nniṣpannaṃ* A; om. K; *grub pa* T_S; *byung ba* T_L

[1042] *dhūmavarṇakārāṃ*] corr..; *dhūmavarṇakāraṃ* B^{pc}; *dhūmavaṇṇākālaṃ* A; *dhūmavarṇakālaṃ* B^{ac}; *dhūmrākāraṃ* K; *mdog du ba'i rnam pa* T_S; *du ba'i mdog can du* T_A

[1043] *ādyasvarasaṃbhūtaṃ*] A, B; om. K; *dang po'i dbyangs yig las gyur pa* T_S; *dbyang yig dang pos bskyed* T_L

[1044] *candramaṇḍalaṃ*] B^{pc}; *caṇḍamaṇḍalaṃ* A; *indumadhye* K; *zla ba'i dkyil 'khor* T_S, T_A

[1045] *vicintya*] A, B; om. K; *dmigs* T_S

[1046] *tasyopari*] B; *tasyā upari* A; om. K; *de'i steng du* T_S, T_A, T_L; *de'i nang du* T_K

[1047] *dhīḥkāreṇa*] A, B; *dhiḥkāraparinataṃ* K; *dhiḥ rnam pa las* T_S; *yi ge dhih las* T_A; *dhih las* $T_Ś$; *dhih yig* T_V; *dhih yig las* T_K

[1048] *mañjuśrīyaṃ kumarabhūtaṃ*] em.; *mañjuśrīyaṃ kumāla* A; *mañjuśrīyaṃ kumārarūpaṃ* B; *mañjurūpam ātmānaṃ* K; *'jam dpal gzhon nu'i gzugs su* T_S; *'jam pa'i rdo rje* $T_Ś$; *'jam dpal* T_V; *'jam dpal gyi skur* T_L

[1049] *niṣpādya*] A, B; *vicintya* K; *bsam par bya'o* T_S; *bskyed* T_L

[1050] *taddhṛdi*] A, K; *ta hṛdiḥ* B^{ac}; *tad hṛdiḥ* B^{pc}; *der* T_S; *de'i snying khar* T_L

[1051] *ĀḤkāreṇa*] A, B, K; *a'i rnam pa las* T_S

[1052] *niṣpannarūpaṃ*] B; *niṣpanarūpaṃ* A; om. K, T_S

[1053] *tasmāt*] corr.; *tasmin* A, B; *tataḥ* K; om. T_S

[1054] *raśmijālaṃ*] em.; *raśmijvālaṃ* A, B; *raśmiṃ* K; *'od zer 'phros pas* T_S; *'od bar* T_L

[1055] *niścārya*] A, B; *niścārya vidhivat pūjaṃ kṛtvā* K; *'phros pas* T_S, T_L

[1056] °*anantāparyāntavasthitān*] em.; °*anatraparyantāvasthitān* A; °*anta paryantāvasthithān* B; om. T_S

[1057] *bodhisattvān*] corr.; *bodhisattva* A, B; *byang chub sems dpa'* T_S

[1058] *vidyādevatāḥ*] corr.; *vidyādevatī* A, B; *rig pa'i lha mo* T_S

eva sūryamaṇḍale praviśantaṃ[1059] vicintayet. Tena mañjuśriyā taiś ca tathāgatādibhir ekalolībhūtaṃ sūryamaṇḍalaṃ cintayet. Jvalanabhāsvarākāraṃ yojanaśatasahasravyāpinaṃ [1060]dhyāyet[1061]. Tadupari HŪṂkāraṃ[1062] kṛṣṇavarṇaṃ[1063] pañcaraśmisaṃyuktaṃ[1064]. Tato[1065] HŪṂkāraṃ raśmi niścārya saṃhārāntaṃ[1066] pūrvoktena[1067] vidhinā.[1068] (*Folios missing in AB*)

[§43] {K70r5} Vajrabhairavaṃ navamukhamahiṣarūpaṃ ṣoḍaśapādaṃ catustriṃśadbhujaṃ nagnaṃ kṛṣṇavarṇaṃ mahātejasaṃ kapālālaṃkṛtaśekharaṃ mahābhayānakam ūrdhvaliṅgaṃ pratyālīḍhasthaṃ bṛhadudaraṃ[1069] mahākāyam ūrdhvakeśaṃ jvaladbhāsurākāraṃ[1070] mahāpralayakālam iva garjayantaṃ [1071]nararudhiravasāsṛṁāṃsamedamajjaṃ[1072] bhakṣayantaṃ sabrahmendropendrarudrādīn[1073] trailokyaṃ khādayantaṃ vicintayed. {K70v1} Aṭṭahāsaṃ lalajjihvaṃ, bhayasyāpi bhayaṃkaram. Prathamaṃ mahiṣamukhaṃ, dakṣiṇaśṛṅge trīṇi mukhāni nīlaraktapītāni kruddhavivṛtāsyaṃ vāme sitadhūmrakṛṣṇāni ca. Tayor madhye suraktaṃ galād rudhirāsyaṃ[1074] tadupari mañjuśrīmukhaṃ[1075] supītam[1076] īṣatkruddhaṃ[1077] bālābharaṇapañcacīraśekharaṃ[1078] kumāram[1079]. Ity evaṃ dṛḍhīkṛtya susamāhito mantrī bhāvayed iti[1080].

[1059] *praviśantaṃ*] em.; *ccaviśantaṃ* A, B; *bzhugs par* T_S
[1060] *dhyāyet*] B; *dhyāyāt* A; *gsal par bya'o* T_S
[1061] *daśadig dhyāyet* om. K
[1062] *hūṃkāraṃ*] B, K; *hūṃkālaṃ* A; om. T_S
[1063] *kṛṣṇavarṇaṃ*] B; *kṛṣṇavarṇṇaṃ* A; om. K; *mdog nag po'i* T_S
[1064] *pañcaraśmisaṃyuktaṃ*] A, B; *pañcaraśmisaṃyuktaṃ dhyātvā* K; *'od zer lnga dang yang dag par ldan par bsam ste* T_S
[1065] *tato*] A, B; *tatparāvṛtaṃ* K; om. T_S
[1066] *niścārya saṃhārāntaṃ*] em.; *niścāryā carantaṃ* A, B; *'phros pas* T_S
[1067] *pūrvoktena vidhinā*] em.; *pūrvoktaṃ* B; *pūrvvoktaṃ* A; *sngon du gsungs pa bzhin du* T_S
[1068] *hūṃkāraṃ vidhinā* om. K.
[1069] *bṛhadudaraṃ*] corr.; *bṛhaduradaraṃ* K^{ac}; *gsus pa che ba* T_S, $T_Ś$, T_V
[1070] °*bhāsurākāraṃ*] corr.; °*bhāsuraṃ* K^{ac}; om. T_S
[1071] °*vasāsṛṁāṃsameda*°] corr.; °*vasāśūkṣmasameda*° K^{ac}; *tshil dang zhag* T_S
[1072] °*majjaṃ*] R; °*majja* K; *rkang ba* T_S
[1073] °*sabrahmendropendra*°] corr.; °*sabrahmopendra*° K^{ac}; *brgya byin dang tshangs pa dang dbang phyug chen po dang khyab 'jug dang* T_S
[1074] *galād rudhirāsyaṃ*] K; om. A, B; *zhal nas khrag 'dzag pa* T_S, T_{So}, T_v
[1075] *mañjuśrīmukhaṃ*] reconstructed on the basis of A, B Chapter 5; *mañjurūpaṃ* K;*'jam dpal gyi zhal* T_S, T_K
[1076] *supītam*] K; *pītaṃ* A, B; *cung zad ser ba* T_S
[1077] *īṣatkruddhaṃ*] corr.; *īṣacchuddhaṃ* K^{ac}; *iṣatkrodhaṃ* A, B; *yud tsam khro bo* T_S; *khros pa* T_K
[1078] *bālābharaṇapañcacīraśekharaṃ*] K; om. A, B; *byis pa'i rgyan gyis brgyan pa spyi bor ral pa lnga dang ldan pa rnam pa* T_S, T_V; *gzhon nu'i rgyan gyis brgyan pa zur phud lnga'i thod can* $T_Ś$
[1079] *kumāram*] K; om. A, B, T_S; *gzhon pa* T_K
[1080] *evaṃ dṛḍhīkṛtya susamāhito mantrī bhāvayed*] K; om. A, B; *de kho na nyid sbyor ba la shin tu mnyam par gzhag pa'i sngags pas rtag tu bsgom par bya ste* T_S; *de nyid kyi rnal 'byor la mnyam par gzhag* T_K

[§44] {K70v1} Tato dakṣiṇaprathamabhuje kaṭṭārikā[1081], dvitīye bhiṇḍipālaḥ[1082], tṛtīye muṣalaḥ[1083], caturthe cchurikā[1084], pañcame kaṇapaḥ[1085], ṣaṣṭhe kuṭhāraḥ[1086], saptame kuntaḥ[1087], aṣṭame śaraḥ[1088], navame aṅkuśaḥ[1089], daśame gadā, ekādaśame khaṭvāṅgaḥ[1090], dvādaśame cakra, trayodaśame[1091] vajraḥ[1092], caturdaśame vajramudgaraḥ[1093], pañcadaśame[1094] khaḍgaḥ[1095], ṣoḍaśame ḍamarukaḥ[1096]. Vāme prathamabhuje kapālaḥ, dvitīye śiraḥ[1097], tṛtīye kheṭaḥ,[1098] caturthe pādaḥ, pañcame pāśaḥ, ṣaṣṭhe dhanuḥ, saptame 'ntram, aṣṭame ghaṇṭā, navame hastaḥ, daśame śmaśānakarpaṭam, ekādaśame śūlabhinnapuruṣaḥ, dvādaśame 'gnikuṇḍam, trayodaśame caṣakaḥ, caturdaśame tarjanī, pañcadaśame tripatākā, ṣoḍaśame vātakarpaṭakam, dvābhyāṃ gajacarmadharaḥ.
[§45] Dakṣiṇapāde naramahiṣavṛṣabhakharoṣṭraśvānamṛga[1099]meṣaśṛgālaḥ. Vāmapāde gṛdhrolūkakākaśuka[1100]śyena[1101]mahāmantrī[1102]mahāśakunasārasāḥ. Evaṃbhūtaṃ vajrabhairavaṃ dhyānaṃ vā likhāpayet.

[Iti[1103] mañjuśriyākhyaśrīmahāvajrabhairavayogatantre dhyānakalpaś caturthaḥ][1104]

[1081] *kaṭṭārikā*] corr.; *kaṭṭārikāṃ* A, B; *kartrikaṃ* K, R, P; *gri gug* T_S, $T_Ś$, T_V, T_K
[1082] *bhiṇḍipālaḥ*] corr.; *bhiṇḍipālaṃ* K, R, P
[1083] *muṣalaḥ*] corr.; *muṣalaṃ* K, R, P
[1084] *cchurikā*] corr.; *cchurikāṃ* K, R, P
[1085] *kaṇapaḥ*] corr.; *kaṇapaṃ* K, R, P
[1086] *kuṭhāraḥ*] corr.; *kuṭhāraṃ* K, R, P
[1087] *kuntaḥ*] corr.; *kuntaṃ* K, R, P
[1088] *śaraḥ*] corr.; *śaraṃ* K, R, P
[1089] *aṅkuśaḥ*] corr.; *aṅkuṣaṃ* K^{ac}; *lcags kyu* T_S, $T_Ś$, T_V, T_K
[1090] *khaṭvāṅgaḥ*] corr.; *khaṭvāṅgaṃ* K, R, P
[1091] *trayodaśame*] corr.; *trayodame* K^{ac}; *bcu gsum pa na* T_S
[1092] *vajraḥ*] corr.; *vajraṃ* K, R, P
[1093] *vajramudgaraḥ*] corr.; *vajramudgaraṃ* K, R, P
[1094] *pañcadaśame*] corr.; *pañcame*° K^{ac}; *bcu (bco^{ac}) lnga pa na* T_S
[1095] *khaḍgaḥ*] corr.; *khaḍgaṃ* K, R, P
[1096] *ḍamarukaḥ*] corr.; *ḍamarukaṃ* K, R, P
[1097] *śiraḥ*] *mgo bo* T_S; *tshangs pa'i mgo* $T_Ś$; *bram ze'i mgo* T_V, T_K
[1098] *kheṭaḥ*] A, B; *phalakaṃ* K, R, P; *phub* T_S,$T_Ś$, T_V, T_K
[1099] *mṛga*] A, B; *meṣa* K, R, P; *lug* T_S
[1100] *śuka*] conj.; (on the authority of the Tib. and Skt. mss. of Chap. 5); *sigha* K; *siṃha* R; *śūka* A, B; *ne tsho* T_S
[1101] *śyena*] conj.; (on the authority of the Tib. and Skt. mss. of Chap.5); *senā* K, R; *senya* A, B; *khra* T_S
[1102] *mahāmantrī*] em. *mantrī* K, R, P; *khyung chen po* T_S
[1103] *iti*] em.; *iṭhati* A, B; *'di ni* T_S
[1104] *iti mañjuśriyākhyaśrīmahāvajrabhairavatantre dhyānakalpaḥ caturthaḥ*] rec., *'di ni 'jam dpal pa'i mchog dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed chen po'i rgyud las sgom pa'i rtog pa ste/bzhi pa'o* T_S

[§46] [Athātaḥ saṃpravakṣyāmi śrīmahā[vajra]bhairavadarśitaṃ paṭavidhānaṃ].[1105] {K86r2} Śuddhātmā[1106] yuvā dhīro vitṛṣṇo[1107] nirvikalpako 'śaṭho 'krodhaḥ[1108] sunipuṇo dakṣaḥ śrāddho dayāluḥ.[1109] Evaṃ bhavati citrakaraḥ. **Athavā samayi**[1110] **citrakareṇāpi lekhayet**[1111].

[§47] Sādhakottamo vīrakarpaṭe śavapracchāditakarpaṭe vā prasūtakarpaṭe vā mahārudhirarañjite[1112] karpaṭe vā strīpuṣpaprasādhitakarpaṭeṣu likhet. [Yadīcchet siddhiṃ uttamaṃ vīrakrayaṃ dadyāt].[1113] Tatrāyaṃ vidhiḥ, guhyapradeśe sthitvā susamāhitena **likhāpayet narakasthair yathoktaiḥ pañcavarṇakaiḥ sihlakarpūrādibhāvitaiḥ. Śavakeśasya**[1114] **kuñcyā lekhanīyaṃ**[1115]. Anyalokaṃ na darśayet sādhakaḥ[1116] paśyati citrakaraś ca.

[§48] [Ṣoḍaśapādaṃ catustriṃśadbhujaṃ navamukhaṃ nagnaṃ kṛṣṇavarṇaṃ pratyālīḍhasthaṃ mahābhayānakaṃ bhayasyāpi bhayaṃkaram ūrdhvaliṅgaṃ paṭe likhet][1117]. {K71v} Prathamaṃ mahiṣamukhaṃ, dakṣiṇaśṛṅge trīṇi mukhāni nīlaraktapītāni kruddhavivṛtāsyaṃ vāme sitadhūmrakṛṣṇāni ca. {A11r, B7r} Tayor madhye suraktaṃ likhet. Tadupari mañjuśrīmukhaṃ pītam īṣatkrodhaṃ[1118] likhāpayet. Sva[1119]dakṣiṇahaste kaṭṭārikā bhiṇḍipālo[1120] muṣalaḥ[1121] kṣurikā[1122] kaṇapaḥ[1123]

[1105] *athātaḥ saṃpravakṣyāmi śrīmahā[vajra]bhairavadarśitaṃ paṭavidhānaṃ*] rec. Sferra; *de nas dpal 'jigs byed chen pos bstan pa'i bris sku'i cho ga rab tu gsungs pa* T_S
[1106] *śuddhātmā*] K; *syāmo* R; *gtsang ba* T_S, T_K
[1107] *vitṛṣṇo*] corr.; *vātṛṣṇo* K^{ac}; *sred pa dang bral ba* T_S
[1108] *'krodhaḥ*] R; *'krodhanaḥ* K; *mi khro ba* T_S; *'khro ba med pa* T_{Ku}
[1109] *dayāluḥ*] corr.; *dāyaluḥ* K, R
[1110] *samayi*] corr.; *samayī* K, R; om. T_S
[1111] *lekhayet*] K; om. T_S
[1112] °*rudhirarañjite*] R; °*rudhiraṃ rañjita* K; om. T_S
[1113] *yadīcchet siddhiṃ uttamaṃ vīrakrayaṃ dadyāt*] rec., *gal te dngos sgrub 'dod pas dpa' bo'i yon sbyin no* T_S
[1114] *śavakeśasya*] conj.; *śrāyakeśasya* K; *srāyakeśasya* R; om. T_S
[1115] *lekhanīyaṃ*] corr.; *likhyanīyaṃ* K; om. T_S
[1116] *sādhakaḥ*] R; *sādhakaṃ* K; *sgrub pa pos* T_S
[1117] *ṣoḍaśapādaṃ catustriṃśadbhujaṃ navamukhaṃ nagnaṃ kṛṣṇavarṇaṃ pratyālīḍhasthaṃ mahābhayānakaṃ bhayasyāpi bhayaṃkaram ūrdhvaliṅgaṃ paṭe likhet*] rec., *zhabs bcu drug pa/phyag sum cu rtsa bzhi pa/zhal dgu pa/gcer bu kha dog nag po g.yon brkyang pa/'jigs pa chen po yang 'jigs par byed pa'i rnam pa can/mtshan ma gyen du 'greng ba'i thang ka bri bar bya'o* T_S
[1118] *īṣatkrodhaṃ*] corr.; *iṣatkrodhaṃ* A, B; *yud tsam khro bo* T_S
[1119] *sva*°] em.; *sa* A, B
[1120] °*pālo*] A, B; *mtshon rtse gcig pa* T_S
[1121] *muṣalaḥ*] em.; *mukhalaṃ* A; *muśalaṃ* B; *gtun shing* T_S
[1122] *kṣurikā*] em.; *cchūlikā* A; *cchūrikā* B^{pc}; *chu gri* T_S
[1123] *kaṇapaḥ*] conj.; (on the authority of the Tib.); *kanaya* A, B; *rdo rje rtse gcig pa* T_S

kuṭhāraḥ[1124] kuntaḥ[1125] śaro[1126] ’ṅkuśaḥ[1127] gadā khaṭvāṅgaś[1128] cakra$_{(N53)}$ [vajraḥ] vajramudgaraḥ[1129] khaḍgaḥ[1130] ḍamarukaś[1131] ceti[1132]. Vāmahastena kapālaḥ[1133] śiraḥ[1134] kheṭaḥ[1135] pādaḥ[1136] pāśaḥ[1137] dhanuḥ[1138] antraṃ[1139] ghaṇṭā hastaḥ[1140] śmaśānakarpaṭaṃ[1141] śūlabhinnapuruṣaḥ[1142] āgnikuṇḍaṃ[1143] caṣakaḥ[1144] tarjanī tripatākā[1145] vātapaṭaś[1146] ceti[1147]. Dvābhyāṃ bhujābhyāṃ gajacarmadharaṃ[1148] likhet. Dakṣiṇapādeṣu naramahiṣavṛṣabhakharoṣṭra[1149]śvāna $_{(N54)}$mṛga[1150]śṛgālaś ceti. Vāmapādeṣu gṛdhrolūka[1151]kākaśukaśyenā[1152]mahāmantrī-[1153] mahāśakunasārasaḥ. Evaṃbhūtaṃ[1154] mahāvajrabhairavaṃ[1155] likhet.

[§49] Tasyādhaḥ[1156] mahāśmaśānaṃ likhet.[1157] Mahābhayakaraṃ[1158] yakṣa[1159]rākṣasa-kṣetrapālavetāla[1160]samanvitaṃ[1161]. Śūlabhinnapuruṣādibhayaṃ[1162] tatra[1163] darśayet[1164].

[1124] *kuṭhāraḥ*] conj.; (on the authority of the Tib.); *kuṇḍala* A, B; *sta re* T_S
[1125] *kuntaḥ*] corr.; *kunta* A, B
[1126] *śaro*] corr.; *śara* B^{pc}; *śala* A; *mda’* T_S
[1127] *’ṅkuśaḥ*] corr.; *aṅkuśa* A, B
[1128] *khaṭvāṅgaś*] corr.; *khaṭvāṅga* A, B
[1129] *vajramudgaraḥ*] B^{pc}; *vajramudgala* A, B^{ac}
[1130] *khaḍgaḥ*] corr.; *khaḍga* A, B
[1131] *ḍamarukaś*] corr.; *ḍamaruka* A, B
[1132] *ceti*] corr.; *ñciti* A, B; om. T_S
[1133] *kapālaḥ*] corr.; *kapālaṃ* B; *kapāla* A; *thod pa* T_S
[1134] *śiraḥ*] B; *śiraṃ* A; *mgo bo* T_S
[1135] *kheṭaḥ*] corr.; *kheṭaṃ* A, B
[1136] *pādaḥ*] corr.; *pāda* A, B
[1137] *pāśaḥ*] corr.; *pāśa* A, B
[1138] *dhanuḥ*] conj.; (on the authority of the Tib.); *anu* A, B; *gzhu* T_S
[1139] *antraṃ*] conj.; (on the authority of the Tib.); *anta* A, B; *rgyu ma* T_S
[1140] *hastaḥ*] corr.; *hasta* A, B
[1141] *śmaśānakarpaṭaṃ*] corr.; *śmaśānakampaṭaṃ* A, B; *dur khrod kyi ras* T_S
[1142] *śūlabhinnapuruṣaḥ*] corr.; *śūlabhinnapuruṣam* B; *śūlabhinupuruṣam* A; *skyes bu gsal shing gis phug pa* T_S
[1143] *āgnikuṇḍaṃ*] corr.; *āgnikuṇḍa* A, B
[1144] *caṣakaḥ*] corr.; *caṣaka* A, B
[1145] *tripatākā*] corr.; *tripatāka* A, B
[1146] *vātapaṭaś*] em.; *vātapatra* A, B; *rlung gis bskyod pa’i ras* T_S
[1147] *ceti*] em.; *cete* A; *caite* B; om. T_S
[1148] *gajacarmadharaṃ*] em., *gajacarmadhāriṇaṃ* B^{pc}; *gajacamadadhālinaṃ* A; *glang po che’i lpags pa rlon pa ’dzin pa* T_S
[1149] °*kharoṣṭra*°] corr.; *kharauṣṭra* A, B; *bong bu dang rnga mo* T_S
[1150] °*mṛga*°] B^{pc}; *mṛkha* A; *meṣa* K; *lug* T_S
[1151] *gṛdhro*°] conj.; (on the authority of the Tib.); *mṛdha* A; *mṛga* B^{pc}; *gṛdhra* K; *bya rgod* T_S
[1152] °*śyena*°] conj. (on the authority of the Tib.); *sainya* A, B; *khra* T_S
[1153] °*mahāmantrī*°] em.; *mantrī* A, B; *bya chen* T_S
[1154] *evaṃbhūtaṃ*] B; *evaṃ bhūṃtraṃ* A; *’di lta bur* T_S
[1155] *mahāvajrabhairavaṃ*] B^{pc}; *mahāvajravairavaṃ* A; *rdo rje ’jigs byed chen po*T_S
[1156] *tasyādhaḥ*] A, B; *tasyādho* K; *de’i ’og tu* T_S
[1157] *likhet*] A, B; T_S; om. K; *bri bar bya* T_S

Dahyamānaṃ ca[1165] puruṣaṃ likhet. Vaṭavṛkṣasyodbaddha[1166]pu[ruṣaṃ][1167] darśayet[1168]. Kuntabhinnaṃ puruṣaṃ ca[1169] likhet.[1170] Anekapakṣigṛdhrakāka[1171]śvānaśṛgālādi[1172]{A11v}samākulaṃ[1173] likhet.[1174] Sādhakañ ca likhet bhagavantaṃ prekṣayāntaṃ nagnaṃ muktaśikhaṃ ca (N55)pañcamudrādyalaṃkṛtaṃ. Ḍamarukhaṭvāṅgadhāraṃ kapālālaṃkṛtaśekharaṃ[1175] hasantaṃ[1176] tasmin śmaśāne[1177] viśantaṃ[1178] likhet.

[§50] Ekānte saṃsthāpya mahāmāṃsena dhūpaṃ dattvā.[1179] Tasyāgrataḥ mahāśaṅkhākṣasūtreṇa mantraṃ japet triṣkālaṃ.[1180] Susamāhitena mantriṇā[1181] paṭaṃ[1182] rakṣitavyaṃ[1183] prayatnataḥ. Na kasyacit[1184] parśve sthāpayet. Na kasyacid agrataḥ prasārayet. {B7v} Lehyaṃ[1185] pānaṃ[1186] bhākṣyaṃ[1187] bhojyaṃ mahāmāṃsādikaṃ

[1158] *mahābhyakaraṃ*] A, B, T_S; om. K; *'jigs pa chen po byed pa* T_S
[1159] °*yakṣa*°] A, B; om. K, T_S
[1160] °*vetāla*°] B^{pc}, K; °*vetāḍa* A; *ro langs* T_S
[1161] °*samanvitaṃ*] A, B; °*ānvitaṃ* K; *ldan pa* T_S
[1162] *śūlabhinnapuruṣādibhayaṃ*] A, B; *śūlabhinnapuruṣaṃ* K; *skyes bu mdung rtser btsugs pa'i gzugs* T_S
[1163] *tatra*] A, B; om. K; *der* T_S
[1164] *darśayet*] B, T_S; *harśayet* A; om. K; *mthong bar bya* T_S
[1165] *dahyamānaṃ ca*] em.; *dahyamānaśca* A, B; *dahyamāna*° K; *skyes bu bsregs bzhin yang* T_S
[1166] *vāṭavṛkṣasyodbaddha*°] conj.; *vāṭavṛkṣasya urddhata* A; *vāṭavṛkṣasya urddhataḥ* B^{pc}; *vṛkṣasyodbaddhaḥ* K; *n.ya gro dha'i shing dag gi steng du skyes bu 'phyang ba* T_S
[1167] °*puruṣam*] conj.; *pūrvarūpaṃ* B; *pu** A; *skyes bu* T_S
[1168] *darśayet*] B^{pc}, T_S; *dam.* A; *bri bar bya* T_S
[1169] *puruṣam ca*] conj.; *puruṣaṃ ña* A; *puruṣaṃ caṃ* B; om. K; *skyes bu yang* T_S
[1170] *likhet*] A, B, T_S; om. K; *bri* T_S
[1171] *anekapakṣigṛdhrakāka*°] A, B; *anekakākapakṣi* K; *bya sna tshogs dang bya rgod dang bya rog* T_S
[1172] °*śvānaśṛgālādi*°] B^{pc}; °*śvānaśṛgā(dam.)ādi* A; *śvānayutaṃ* K; *khyi dang lce spyang dang* T_S
[1173] °*samākulaṃ*] em.; *saṃkulaṃ* A, B; *hāhākārasamākulam* K; *ha ha 'byin pa* T_S
[1174] *likhet*] A, B, T_S; om. K; *bri* T_S
[1175] °*śekharaṃ*] conj., (on the authority of the Tib.); °*mekhalaṃ* B^{pc}; °*meṣalaṃ* A; *thod pas spyi bor brgyan pa* T_S
[1176] *hasantaṃ*] B; *hastataṃ* A; *dgod* T_S
[1177] *śmaśāne*] B; *śmaśānaṃ* A; *dur khrod der* T_S
[1178] *viśantaṃ*] B; *viśantu* A; *'jug pa* T_S
[1179] *dattvā*] corr.; *datvā* B; *dakhā* A; *dbul* T_S; *phul* T_A
[1180] *triṣkālaṃ*] A; *trikālaṃ* B; *dus gsum* T_S
[1181] *mantriṇā*] A, B^{pc}; *sngags pa* T_S
[1182] *paṭaṃ*] corr.; *paṭa* A; *paṭe* B^{pc}; *bris sku* T_S
[1183] *rakṣitavyaṃ*] conj., (on the authority of the Tib.); *lakśitavyaṃ* A; *lakṣitavyaṃ* B; *bsrung* T_S
[1184] *kasyacit*] conj., (on the authority of the Tib.); *kasmiñ cit* A, B; *gzhan gang yang* T_S
[1185] *lehyaṃ*] corr.; *lekhyā* A; *lashyaṃ* B; *klog pa* T_S
[1186] *pānaṃ*] A; *māṃsaṃ* B; *btung ba* T_S
[1187] *bhākṣyaṃ*] conj., (on the authority of the Tib.); *bhākṣaṃ* A, B; *bza' ba* T_S

nityaṃ rātrau bhakṣayet. Triṣkālaṃ[1188] vairocanena rudhireṇa paṭasyāgrato (N56) dhūpo deyaḥ[1189] yadīcchet siddhim uttamām iti.

Iti mañjuśrīyākhyaśrīmahāvajrabhairavayogatantre[1190] paṭavidhānakalpaḥ[1191] pañcamaḥ

[1188] *triṣkālaṃ*] corr.; *triṣkāraṃ* A, *trikālaṃ* B; *dus gsum* T_S
[1189] *dhūpo deyaḥ*] corr.; *dhūpo deya* B; *dhūpo deyeḥ* A; *spos dbul* T_S
[1190] °*yogatantre*] B; °*yogetrantre* A; *rnal 'byor gyi rgyud las* T_S
[1191] *paṭavidhānakalpaḥ*] B^{pc}; *paṭavidhānakalpa* A; B^{ac}; *bris sku'i cho ga'i rtog pa* T_S

Homavidhikalpaḥ ṣaṣṭamaḥ

[§51] Athāto homavidhiṃ[1192] vakṣye[1193] yathāvad anupūrvaśaḥ. Prathamaṃ tāvan[1194] mantrī śmaśānaṃ gatvā rātrau homakarma samārabhet. Pūrvoktadevatāyogena sthitvā sarvakarma karoti.

[§52] Tatredaṃ karma. Yadā mārayitukāmaḥ[1195] tadā narāsthivairocanagardabha-laṇḍa[1196]kaṇṭaka[1197]keśa[1198]nakhaṃ[1199] sarvam ekatra[1200] (*Folios missing in AB*) {K58r3} samiyāt[1201]. Tatsarvaṃ[1202] (kaṭu)tailena samāloḍya[1203] cityagnau samāhitena[1204] dakṣiṇābhimukham aṣṭottaraśataṃ juhuyād yasya nāmnā dinatrayeṇa mriyate[1205]. No ced ekānte sthitvā trikoṇam[1206] agnikuṇḍaṃ kṛtvā tasyaiva pūrvoktair dravyaiś caṇḍālāgnau juhuyāt. Tenaiva yogena kṛtāntabhuvanaṃ[1207] nīyate nātra saṃśayaḥ.

[§53] Athavā kākamāṃsena uṣṭralaṇḍena saha madyayuktaṃ[1208] nagno[1209] muktaśikho bhūtvā yasya nāmnā cityagnau juhuyāt tatkṣaṇād uccāṭayati.

[§54] Athavā haridrāharitālamanaḥśilā[1210] rocanena saha uttarābhimukho sthitvā yasya nāmnā juhuyāt sa stambhito bhavati.

[1192] *homavidhiṃ*] B; *homavidhi* A; *sbyin sreg gi las kyi cho ga* T_S, $T_Ś$; *sbyin sreg gi cho ga* T_A; *sbyin sreg las kyi cho ga* T_V
[1193] *vakṣye*] B; *vakṣyaḥ* A; *gsungs pa* T_S
[1194] *tāvan*] em.; *trava* A; *tāva* B; om. T_S
[1195] *yadā mārayitukāmaḥ tadā*] A; B; *atha abhicāraṃ kartukāmena* K; R; *atha abhicāraṃ kartukāmaḥ* P; *gal te gsad par 'dod na* T_S; *gang gis bsad par 'dod na* $T_Ś$; *gang gis gsad par 'dod na* T_V; *bsad par 'dod na* T_K; *gsad par 'dod na* T_L
[1196] °*gardabhalaṇḍa*°] corr.; °*gadarbhalaṇḍa*° A, B; °*garṇḍabhalaṇḍa*° K, R; °*gardabhaḥ laṇḍa*° P; *bong bu'i sbangs* T_S; *bong bu rtug pa* T_L
[1197] °*kaṇṭaka*°] conj., (on the authority of the Tib.); °*kaṇḍūka*° A, B; *om.* K, R; *dam*. P; *tsher ma* T_S
[1198] °*keśa*°] A, B; °*keśaśvānalaṇḍakeśa*° K; °*svānalaṇḍakeśa*° R; *śvā(dam.)* P; *khyi'i sbangs dang skra dang* T_S
[1199] °*nakhaṃ*] corr.; °*nakha* A, B, K, R; *dam.* P; *sen mo* T_S
[1200] *sarvam ekatra*] A, B; om. K, R, P, T_S
[1201] *samiyāt*] em.; *samet* K, R; *(dam.)met* P; om. T_S
[1202] *tatsarvaṃ*] K, R; *sarva* P; *de dag thams cad* T_S
[1203] *samāloḍya*] K, P; *āloḍya* R; *sbrus la* T_S
[1204] *samāhitena*] K, R, P; *ma he'i zhal gyi sbyor bas shin tu mnyam par gzhag la* T_S
[1205] *dinatrayeṇa mriyate*] K, R; *dina(dam.)* P; *zhag gsum gyis 'chi'i'o* T_S
[1206] *trikoṇam*] R, P; *tṛkoṇaṃ* K^{ac}; *gru gsum* T_S, T_L
[1207] *kṛtāntabhuvanaṃ*] em.; *kṛtāntabhuvane* K; *kṛtāntabhavanaṃ* R; *kṛ(dam.)* P; om. T_S
[1208] *madyayuktaṃ*] K; *madyasaṃyuktaṃ* R; *madyasaṃyuktas* P^{ac}; *madyasaṃyukta* P^{pc}; *ldan cig tu chang dang* T_S
[1209] *nagno*] K; *nagna* R, P; *gcer bu* T_S
[1210] °*manaḥśilā*] K; °*manaḥsila* R, P; *ldong ros* T_S, T_L

[§55] Śvānakukkuṭamāṃsayoḥ[1211] uṣṭralaṇḍamārjārarudhireṇāloḍya[1212] picumardakāṣṭhenāgniṃ prajvālya yasya nāmnā[1213] juhuyāt sa grāma (N57)utsanno[1214] bhavati.

[§56] Yavaphalaṃ[1215] ca dūrvākṣīrabhaktaṃ[1216] ghṛtamadhunā saha pañcāmṛtaṃ[1217] ca havyam. Udumbarapalāśotpāditāgniṃ[1218] prajvālya śāntikāmena[1219] triṣkālaṃ pūrvābhimukhe sthitvā aṣṭottaraśataṃ juhuyāt, tato[1220] maṇḍalasyāpi śāntir[1221] bhavati.

[§57] Atha puṣṭikaṃ kartukāmaḥ tilaṃ ca[1222] kṛṣṇamāṣaṃ[1223] tu raktaśālyā[1224] yavādi vā kṣīraghṛtāktāḥ.[1225] Tato 'dumbara[1226]kāṣṭhenāgniṃ[1227] prajvālya karmānusāreṇa devatāyogam[1228] ālambya[1229] uttarābhimukhena[1230] sthitvā sahasraṃ triṣkālaṃ susamāhitena juhuyāt, pūrṇe[1231] saptāhe mahādhanapatir[1232] bhavati.

[§58] Mahāmāṃsaṃ śakunamāṃsaṃ[1233] ca[1234] yasya nāmnā juhuyād unmatto bhavati. Tuṣam agniṃ juhuyāt[1235] svastho bhavati.

[1211] *śvānakukkuṭamāṃsayoḥ*] K; *svānakukkuṭamāṃśayo* R; *śvānakukk(dam.)* P; *khyi'i sha dang sbal ba'i sha dang khyim bya'i sha* T_S
[1212] °*mārjārarudhireṇāloḍya*] K; °*mārsjaya*° R; °*mārjararudhirenāloḍya* P; *byi la'i khrag gcig tu sbrus la* T_S*; byi la'i mu tra dang sbyar la* T_A
[1213] *yasya nāmnā*] K, R; *yamya grāmasya nāmnā* P; *grong gi ming* T_S
[1214] *utsanno*] corr.; *ucchanno* K, R, P
[1215] *yavaphalaṃ*] K, R; *yavaphala* P; om. T_S
[1216] *dūrvākṣīrabhaktaṃ*] K, R; *dūrvakṣīrabhakta* P; *'o ma dang dur ba dang* T_S
[1217] *pañcāmṛtaṃ*] K; *pañcyāmṛtaś* R; *pañcāmrta* P; om. T_S
[1218] *udumbarapalāśotpāditāgniṃ*] K, P; *udumbarapalāsotpāditāṃ agni* R; *ba la sha'i shing la me* T_S
[1219] *śāntikāmena*] K; *sāntimena* R; *dam.* P; *zhi bar 'dod par* T_S
[1220] *tato*] K, P; *tatra* R; *des* T_S
[1221] *śāntir*] K, P; *santir* R; *zhi bar* T_S
[1222] *tilaṃ ca*] em.; *tila*° R, P; *tilañcā*° K; *til* T_S
[1223] *kṛṣṇamāṣaṃ*] K, R; *dam.* P; om. T_S
[1224] *raktaśālyā*] K, R, P; *'bras* T_S
[1225] *kṣīraghṛtāktaḥ*] P; *kṣīrakṛtāktāḥ* K; *kṣīraghṛtākta* R; *mar dang bcas pas* T_S
[1226] *tato 'dumbara*°] corr.; *tato udumbara*° P; *tata udumbara*° K, R; *u du mba ra'i* T_S
[1227] °*kāṣṭhenāgniṃ*] K, P; °*kāṣṭhenāgni* R; *shing la me* T_S
[1228] *devatāyogam*] K; *devatām* R; (*dam.*)*gam* P; *lha'i sbyor ba* T_S
[1229] *ālambya*] K, R; *ālambyaḥ* P; *dmigs* T_S
[1230] *uttarā*°] K^{pc}, R, P; *uttārā*° K^{ac}; *byang* T_S
[1231] *pūrṇe*] K; *pūrṇṇe* R; *purṇnne* P; *om.* T_S
[1232] *mahādhanapatir*] K; *dhanapati* R; *mahādhanapa(dam.)* P; *rgyas par* T_S
[1233] *śakunamāṃsaṃ*] K; *sakunamāṃsaṃ* P; *sakunamāṃśaṃ* R; *bya rgod chen po'i tshang* T_S, T_A; *bya rog sha* T_L
[1234] *ca*] K; om. P, R; *dang* T_S
[1235] *tuṣam agniṃ juhuyāt*] corr.; *tusam agniṃ juhuyāt* K; *(dam.)yāt* P; *tusam agni juhuyāt* R; *de phub ma'i me la bsregs na* T_S; *'bras phub bsregs* T_L

[§59] Mahāmāṃsena[1236] surayāloḍya śatam aṣṭottaraṃ yāvat trisandhyaṃ[1237] juhuyāt ṣaṇmāsān[1238] maṇḍalādhipatir bhavati.

[§60] Gomāṃsarudhireṇāloḍya sahasraṃ juhuyāt, vaśyo bhavati[1239] yāvajjīvaṃ[1240] na saṃśayaḥ.

[§61] Śvānamāṃsaṃ[1241] vajrodakena saha yasya nāmnā juhuyāt saptāhena[1242] vaśam ānayati.[1243]

[§62] Aśvamāṃsaṃ[1244] vairocanena saha rātrau juhuyāt saptāhena nṛpatiṃ[1245] vaśam ānayati[1246].

[§63] Hastimāṃsaṃ[1247] śukreṇa[1248] juhuyāt[1249] vaśaṃ nayati puram.

[§64] Matsyamāṃsaṃ[1250] surayā saha hotavyam aṣṭottaraśataṃ yāvat sarvastrī[1251] vaśyā bhavati[1252].

[§65] Kevalaṃ[1253] kākamāṃsaṃ[1254] yasya nāmnā sahasraṃ[1255] juhuyād dinatrayeṇa[1256] vajrasattvo[1257] 'pi palāyate[1258] kiṃ punaḥ kṣudramānuṣāḥ[1259].

[1236] *mahāmāṃsena*] conj., (on the authority of the Tib.); *mahāsamayena* K, R; *dam.* P; *sha chen* T_S
[1237] *trisandhyaṃ*] P; *trisaṃndhyaṃ* K, R; om. T_S
[1238] *ṣaṇmāsān*] K, R; *ṣaḍmāsāṇ* P; *zla ba drug du* T_S
[1239] *vaśyo bhavati*] K; *sa vaso bhavati* R; *sa vaśo bhavati* P; *bran du gnas par* T_S
[1240] *yāvajjīvaṃ*] K; *yāvajjīvan* R, P; *de ji srid 'tsho'i bar du* T_S
[1241] *śvānamāṃsaṃ*] K; *svānamāṃśaṃ* R; *svānamāṃsaṃ* P; *khyi'i sha* T_S
[1242] *saptāhena*] K, R, P; om. T_S
[1243] *vaśam ānayati*] K; *vasam āyati* R, P; *nor dang bcas pa dbang du 'gyur ro* T_S
[1244] *aśvamāṃsaṃ*] corr.; *aśvamānsa* K; *asvamāśaṃ* R; *asvamāṃsaṃ* P; *rta'i sha* T_S
[1245] *nṛpatiṃ*] corr; *nṛpati* K, R; *nṛpitiṃ* P; *mtshan mo rgyal po la* T_S
[1246] *vaśam ānayati*] K; *vasaṃ ānayāti* P; *vasaṃ ānayati* R; *'khor dang bcas pa dbang du 'gyur ro* T_S
[1247] *hastimāṃsaṃ*] K; *hastimāṃśaṃ* R; *dam.* P; *glang po'i sha* T_S
[1248] *śukreṇa*] K; *sukreṇa* R; *(dam.)ṇa* P; *khu ba bcas pas* T_S
[1249] *juhuyāt*] K, P; *juhuyāti* R; *sbyin sreg stong byas na* T_S
[1250] *matsyamāṃsaṃ*] K; *maśamāśaṃ* R; *matsamāmsaṃ* P; *nya* T_S
[1251] *sarvastrī*] K, P; *savastrī* R; *bud med thams cad* T_S
[1252] *bhavati*] corr.; *bhavanti* K; *vasyā bhavati* R; *vasyā bhava(dam.)* P; *'gyur* T_S
[1253] *kevalaṃ*] corr.; *no cet kevalaṃ* K, R, P; om. T_S
[1254] *kākamāṃsaṃ*] K; *kākamāśaṃ* R; *kamāṃsaṃ* P; *bya rog gi sha* T_S
[1255] *sahasraṃ*] K, P; *saṃhasra* R; *stong* T_S
[1256] *dinatrayeṇa*] K, P; *dinatrayena* R; *om.* T_S
[1257] *vajrasattvo*] K, R; *vajrasatvo* P; *rdo rje 'dzin pa* T_S
[1258] *palāyate*] K; *pralāyate* R; *prayalāyate* P; *yang rab tu 'bros na* T_S
[1259] *kṣudramānuṣāḥ*] R; *kṣudramānuṣān* K; *kṣudramāṣāḥ* P; *phra mo'i mi* T_S

[§66] Kākaśyenaka[1260]māṃsayor[1261] yasya nāmnā dhuttūrakakāṣṭhāgnau juhuyāt tam uccāṭayati[1262].

[§67] Atha vaśīkartukāmaḥ[1263], tilaraktakṛṣṇasya strīpuṣpeṇa[1264] saha vajrodakasaṃmiśreṇa[1265] raktarūpam[1266] ālambya paścimābhimukho yasya nāmnā juhoti [taṃ] saptāhād[1267] vaśam[1268] ānayati, yāvajjīvaṃ[1269] na muñcati[1270].

[§68] Etāni karmāṇi kṛtapuraścareṇa kartavyāni.[1271] Anyathā[1272] hasyatāṃ[1273] yāti[1274] sarvalokasyāsaṃśayaḥ. Na kasyacid[1275] bhedo dātavyaḥ[1276]. Bhede sati na siddhiṃ[1277] na ca saukhyaṃ labhate naraḥ. Tasmān[1278] mantriṇā[1279] na kasyacid agrataḥ karmaprasaro 'yaṃ kartavyaḥ.[1280] Yadi kartum icchati tatraikākinaiva kartavyaḥ[1281]. Tadā mantriṇāṃ[1282] sarvakarmāṇi sidhyanti.

[Iti mañjuśrīyākhyaśrīmahāvajrabhairavayogatantre homavidhikalpaḥ ṣaṣṭamaḥ]

[1260] °*śyenaka*°] em.; °*senaka*° K; °*syena*° R; *dam.* P; om. T_S
[1261] °*māṃsayor*] K; °*māṃsayo* R; *dam.* P; om. T_S
[1262] *uccāṭayati*] K, P; *ucāṭayati* R; *skrod par 'gyur* T_S
[1263] *vaśīkartukāmaḥ*] K, P; *vasīkartukāmaḥ* R; *dbang du bya bar 'dod na* T_S
[1264] *strīpuṣpeṇa*] conj., (on the authority of the Tib.); *strīpukṣpeṇa* R, P; *strīpuruṣpeṇa* K^{ac}; *bud med kyi me tog* T_S
[1265] *saṃmiśreṇa*°] R; *saṇanamiśreṇa*° K^{ac}; *dam.* P; *lhan cig tu bsres* T_S
[1266] *raktarūpam*] K; *raktaktarūpam* R; *dam.* P; *gzugs dmar po* T_S
[1267] *saptāhād*] R, P; *saptad* K^{ac}; *nyi ma bdun gyis* T_S
[1268] *vaśaṃ*] K; *vasaṃ* R, P; *dbang du* T_S
[1269] *yāvajjīvaṃ na*] K, R; *(dam.)van na* P; *ji srid 'tsho'i bar du* T_S
[1270] *na muñcati*] K, P; *yā mañcati* R; *mi 'bral* T_S
[1271] *etāni karmāṇi kṛtapuraścareṇa kartavyāni*] corr.; *etāni karmāṇi kṛtapurassareṇa kartavyaṃ* K^{ac}; *purassaraṇena* K^{pc}; *etāni karmmāṇi kṛtaḥ punaḥ saraṇa kartavyāni* R; *etāni karmaṇi kṛta puraḥsaraṇa kartavyāni* P; *las 'di rnams ni sngon du bsnyen pa byas pa'i sngags pas bya'o* T_S
[1272] *anyathā*] R, P; *anthonyapa* K; om. T_S
[1273] *hasyatāṃ*] corr.; *hāsyatāṃ* K; *upahāsyatāṃ* R, P; *dgyes par 'gyur* [em.; *dbyes* ed.] T_S
[1274] *yāti*] R, P; *nayati* K
[1275] *na kasyacid*] K; *na kadācid* R; *yāti na kadaci(dam.)* P; *gang la 'ang* T_S
[1276] *dātavyaḥ*] K; *dātavyā* R, P; *sbyin mi bya* T_S
[1277] *siddhiṃ*] K, P; *siddhi* R; *dngos grub* T_S. The inversion of *ca* and *na* following the word *siddhiṃ* would make an *anuṣṭubh*. I thank Prof. Sferra for this information.
[1278] *tasmān*] P; *tan* K; *tasmād* R
[1279] *mantriṇā*] em.; *mantrī* K, R; *mantrīḥ* P; *sngags pa yis* T_S
[1280] *'yam kartavyaḥ*] K; *'yaṃ na vaktavyā* R; *prasaro vaktavyaṃ* P; *mthong mi bya* T_S
[1281] *tatraikākinaiva kartavyaḥ*] K; *tada ekādi tenaiva kartavyaṃ* R; *(dam.)rtavyaṃ* P; *de dag gcig pu zhig gis bya* T_S
[1282] *mantriṇāṃ*] K; *mantrīṇa* R; *mantrīṇaḥ* P; *sngags pa* T_S

[§69] {A 15r; B8r} Atha ākarṣayitukāmaḥ YAṂkāraniṣpannaṃ vayumaṇḍalaṃ tadupari Akāreṇa candramaṇḍalaṃ tasyopari aṅkuśahastaṃ[1283] yamarūpaṃ vicintya. Tasya ājñayā[1284] mahiṣamukhayogena[1285] sthitvā, ājñā dātavyā: gaccha yamarūpa[1286] amukasmin deśe amukīṃ[1287] śīghraṃ[1288] ānayeti[1289]. Evaṃ saṃcodya[1290] JAḤkāreṇa[1291] saṃpreṣya[1292] gacchantaṃ[1293] vicintayet.[1294] Anena dhyānaprayogena sthitvā mantrī tribhuvanodarasthitāṃ (N58)strīm ākṛṣya bhuñjayet.[1295] Yadā dhyānasthiro bhavati tadā ayaṃ prayogaḥ kartavyaḥ. Anyathā naiva kriyatām iti.

[§70] Atha kāladaṣṭotthāpanāya[1296] dhyānaprayogaḥ[1297]. Suvarṇavāyumaṇḍalaṃ[1298] YAṂkārādhiṣṭhitaṃ[1299] kathyate.[1300] Svahṛdi[1301] aṣṭadalakamalaṃ[1302] śuklavarṇaṃ[1303] vicintya[1304], tadupari tṛtīyasvaraṃ[1305] patrāṣṭake[1306] sitavarṇaṃ PHAṬkārāṣṭakaṃ[1307] cintayet[1308]. Anena[1309] cātmānaṃ[1310] śeṣanāgarūpaṃ vicintayet sitavarṇaṃ.[1311]

[1283] *aṅkuśahastaṃ*] A, B; *lcags kyu dang zhags pa lag tu thogs pa* T_S, $T_Ś$; *lag na lcags kyu zhags pa* T_V
[1284] *ājñayā*] corr.; *ājñā* A, B; *de la bka' bsgo* T_S
[1285] *mahiṣamukhayogena*] B; *makhkhayogena* A; *ma he'i gdong pa'i rnal 'byor la* T_S; *ma he'i gdong gi sbyor ba* $T_Ś$
[1286] *yamarūpa*] corr.; *yamarūpo* A, B; *gshin rje'i gzugs* T_S; *gshin rje gzugs can* $T_Ś$; *gshin rje gshed kyi gzugs pa* T_V
[1287] *amukīṃ*] conj., (on the authority of the Tib.); *amuka* A, B; *che ge mo* T_S
[1288] *śīghraṃ*] conj., (on the authority of the Tib.); *śīrgham* A, B met.; *myur bar* T_S
[1289] *ānayeti*] conj., (on the authority of the Tib.); *ānayati* A, B; *khug cig* T_S
[1290] *saṃcodya*] em.; *saṃcodyaḥ* A, B
[1291] *JAḤkāreṇa*] A, B; *yaṃ gyi rnam par* T_S
[1292] *saṃpreṣya*] em.; *saṃprapya* A; *saṃpraya* B; *rnam par bskyod* T_S
[1293] *gacchantaṃ*] B; *gacchanta* A; *song bar* T_S
[1294] *vicintayet*] conj., (on the authority of the Tib.); *cintayatayet* A, B^{ac}; *cintayet* B^{pc}; *rnam par bsam par bya'o* T_S
[1295] *bhuñjayet*] conj.; *bhujayet* A, B; *rol par bya'o* T_S
[1296] *kāladaṣṭotthāpanāya*] *em.*; *kālaḍaṃṣṭosthāpanāye* B; *kāladaṃṣṭosthāpanāya* A; *kāladaṣṭotthāpane* K; *sbrul gyis zin pa bslangs ba'i rab tu byed pa* T_S
[1297] *dhyānaprayogaḥ*] corr.; *dhyānaprayoga* A, B; om. K, T_S
[1298] *suvarṇavāyumaṇḍalaṃ*] corr.; *sūvarṇavāyūmaṇḍalaṃ* A, B; om. K, T_S
[1299] °*ādhiṣṭhitaṃ*] corr.; °*ādhisthitaḥ* A, B; om. K, T_S
[1300] *kathyate*] B; *kathete* A; om. K, T_S
[1301] *svahṛdi*] A, B; *hṛdaye* K; *rang gi snying khar* T_S; *rang gi snying ga* T_K, T_L
[1302] *aṣṭadalakamalaṃ*] A, B; *padmam aṣṭadalaṃ* K; *pad ma dkar po 'dab ma brgyad pa* T_S, T_L
[1303] *śuklavarṇaṃ*] A, B, T_S; om. K; *kha dog dkar po* T_S
[1304] *vicintya*] A, B; *cintayet* K; *rnam par bsam mo* T_S
[1305] *tṛtīyasvaraṃ*] K; *tritīyasvaraṃ* A, B; *dbyangs yig gsum pa* T_S, T_L
[1306] *patrāṣṭake*] conj.; *patrāṣṭakaṃ* A, B; *pattrāṣṭake* K; *'dab mar phaṭ brgyad pa* T_S
[1307] *PHAṬkārāṣṭakaṃ*] A, B, T_S; om. K; *phaṭ brgyad pa* T_S
[1308] *cintayet*] A, B; *vicintayet* K; *rnam par bsam mo* T_S
[1309] *anena*] A, B; om. K, T_S

tacchirasi[1312] Ikāreṇāmṛtaṃ sravantaṃ[1313] cintayet[1314]. Tasya[1315] nāgasyākṣibhyām[1316] amṛtaṃ[1317] niścārya,[1318] tasya[1319] sādhyasya śarīre[1320] patantaṃ[1321] cintayet. Anena dhyānayogena traidhātukaparipūrṇaviṣaṃ[1322] nirviṣaṃ karoti. Sahasravāram[1323] api viṣaṃ[1324] bhakṣayati.

[§71] Atha {A15v} drāvaṇadhyānaprayogaḥ. Sādhyam agrato dhyātvā, tasya pādayoḥ[1325] dhanvākāraṃ dhūmravarṇaṃ[1326] vicintayet. Tadupari guhyapradeśe[1327] trikoṇaṃ agnimaṇḍalaṃ REPHādhiṣṭhitaṃ. Tadupari māhendramaṇḍalaṃ pītavarṇaṃ caturasraṃ LAṂkārādhiṣṭhitaṃ cintayet. Tasyopari lalāṭe candramaṇḍalaṃ[1328] vicintya. Tanmadhye VAṂkāreṇa[1329] adhomukham amṛtaṃ[1330] sravantaṃ cintayet. Evaṃ suvicintya vāyunāgniṃ[1331] {B8v} prajvālya. Tenāgninā[1332] māhendramaṇḍalaṃ tāpyamānaṃ[1333] vicintayet. Tanmāhendramaṇḍalaṃ[1334] vāhnikena[1335] tadamṛtamaṇḍalaṃ dravantaṃ

[1310] *cātmānaṃ*] A, B; *ātmānaṃ ca* K; om. T_S
[1311] *sitavarṇaṃ*] K; *śitavarṇaṃ* A, B; om. T_S
[1312] *tacchirasi*] corr.; *tatsirasi* A, B; om. K; *de'i spyi bor* T_S; *spyi ba'i* T_L
[1313] *Ikāreṇāmṛtaṃ sravantaṃ*] corr.; *Ikāreṇāmṛtaṃ śravantaṃ* A, B; *ikārāmṛtasravantaṃ* K; *yi ge i kha dog dkar po las bdud rtsi 'dzag pa* T_S; *I'i 'od las bdud rtsis bkrus par* T_L
[1314] *cintayet*] B, K; *ñcintayet* A; *bsam par bya'o* T_S; *bsam* T_L
[1315] *tasya*] K; *kasya* A, B; *de'i* T_S
[1316] *nāgasyākṣibhyāṃ*] A; *rogasyākṣibhyāṃ* B; *nāgākṣibhyām* K; *klu de'i mig rnams nas* T_S; *klu'i mig las* T_L
[1317] *amṛtaṃ*] B, K; *amṛta* A; *bdud rtsi* T_S, T_L
[1318] *niścārya*] A, K; *niścāryya* B; *'phros nas* T_S; *'bab* T_L
[1319] *tasya*] em.; *tasmin* A, B
[1320] *śarīre*] corr.; *śārireṇī* A, B^{ac}; *śārīreni* B^{pc}; *sādhyaśārire* K; *bsgrub bya de'i lus la* T_S; *bsgrub bya de dug can yi lus la* T_L
[1321] *patantaṃ*] B^{pc}; *patannu* A, B^{ac}; *nipatantaṃ* K; *thim par* T_S; *zhugs pa* T_L
[1322] *traidhātukaparipūrṇaviṣaṃ*] em.; *taidhātukaparipūrṇaviṣa* A, B; *traidhātukaparipūrṇaṃ viṣaṃ* K; *khams gsum yongs su gang ba'i dug kyang* T_S
[1323] *sahasravāram*] conj,. (on the authority of the Tib.); *sahasradrāraṃ* A, B; *khur stong* T_S; om. K
[1324] *viṣaṃ*] corr.; *viṣa* A, B; *dug* T_S
[1325] *pādayoḥ*] conj., (on the authority of the Tib.); *pādayoṣṭa* A, B; *de'i rkang pa gnyis la* T_S
[1326] *dhūmravarṇaṃ*] corr.; *dhūmavarṇaṃ* A, B; om. T_S
[1327] *guhyapradeśe*] corr.; *guhyapradeśa* A, B; *gsang ba'i gnas su* T_S
[1328] *candramaṇḍalaṃ*] conj., (on the authority of the Tib.); *caṇḍamaṇḍalaṃ* A, B; *zla ba'i dkyil 'khor* T_S
[1329] *VAṂkāreṇa*] A, B; *yi ge baṃ* T_S
[1330] *amṛtaṃ*] corr.; *amṛta* A, B; *bdud rtsi* T_S
[1331] °*agniṃ*] corr.; °*agni* A, B; *me* T_S
[1332] *tenāgninā*] corr.; *tenāgnināṃ* A, B; *mes des* T_S
[1333] *tāpyamānaṃ*] em.; *tādhyamānaṃ* A, B; *bsregs par* T_S
[1334] *tanmāhendramaṇḍalaṃ*] corr.; *tanmāhendramaṇḍale* A, B; *dbang chen gyi dkyil 'khor gyi* T_S
[1335] *vāhnikena*] em.; *vākṣaṇa* A, B; *drod gyis* T_S

vicintayet. Anena yogamātreṇa[1336] (N59)strīṃ[1337] drāvayati[1338] kṣīriṇavṛkṣam[1339] iva drāvayati nānyathā.

[§72] Atha rājānaṃ rājāmantriṇaṃ[1340] ca vaśīkartukāmena mantriṇā[1341] mahiṣamukha-yogena[1342] sthitvā ātmānaṃ raktavarṇaṃ dhyātvā. Yatra sādhyas[1343] tiṣṭhati, tanmadhye [1344]praviśet[1345.] Paścāt svaśarīrād aṅkuśapāśahastaṃ[1346] raktavarṇaṃ[1347] mañjuśrī-rūpaṃ[1348] niścārayet. Tena mañjuśriyā[1349] sādhyahṛdi[1350] galake[1351] baddhvā[1352], ānīyantaṃ paśyati.[1353] Mañjuśriyaṃ[1354] praveśayet. Mañjuśrīśarīre[1355] praveśya,[1356] taṃ[1357] sādhyaṃ[1358] viklavībhūtaṃ[1359] cintayed.[1360] Anena[1361] dhyānaprayogena[1362] tasya hṛdaye[1363] daśākṣaramantraṃ[1364] vicintayet[1365] raktavarṇaṃ.[1366] Punaḥ[1367] sādhakena[1368]

[1336] *anena yogamātreṇa*] A, B; *anena dhyānadṛṣṭamātreṇa* K; *'di yis sbyor ba tsam gyis ni* T_S; ; *rnal 'byor ting nge 'dzin gyis* T_L
[1337] *strīṃ*] corr.; *strī* A, B; *strīyaṃ* K; *bud med* T_S
[1338] *drāvayati*] K; *drāvoyati* A, B; *zhu gyur* T_S
[1339] *kṣīriṇavṛkṣam*] A, B; *kṣīravṛkṣa* K; *'o ma yi ni shing* T_S;*'o ma can gyi shing* T_L
[1340] *rājāmantriṇaṃ*] B; *rājāmantriṇaṃñ* A; *rgyal po'i blon po* T_S
[1341] *mantriṇā*] corr.; *mantrāṇāṃ* A, B; *sngags pa* T_S
[1342] *mahiṣamukhayogena*] corr.; *mahiṣamukhayogeṇa* A, B; *trimukhayoge* K; *ma he gdong can gyi rnal 'byor la* T_S
[1343] *sādhyas*] corr.; *sādhyes* A, B; *bsgrub bya* T_S
[1344] *praviśet*] corr.; *praviśyet* A, B; om. T_S
[1345] *yatra sādhyas tiṣṭhati*, *tanmadhye praviśet*] A, B; om. K; *bsgrub bya gang du gnas pa'i de steng du gnas la* T_S
[1346] *aṅkuśapāśahastaṃ*] em.; *aṅkuśakāśaṃhastaṃ* A, B; *aṅkuśapāśagṛhītahastāṃ* K; *phyag na lcags kyu dang zhags pa can phyung* T_S
[1347] *raktavarṇaṃ*] A, B; *raktāṃ* K; *mdog dmar po* T_S
[1348] *mañjuśrīrūpaṃ*] em.; *mañjuśrīrūṃ* A, B; *om.* K; *'jam dpal* T_S
[1349] *mañjuśriyā*] corr.; *mañjuśrīyo* A, B; *om.* K; *'jam dpal des* T_S
[1350] *sādhyahṛdi*] A, B; *sādhyaṃ hṛdi* K; *bsgrub bya'i snying kha* T_S
[1351] *galake*] A, B; om. K; *mgrin pa* T_S
[1352] *baddhvā*] em.; *badhvā* A, B; *viddhvā* K; *bcings nas* T_S
[1353] *paśyati*] A, B; *cintayet* K; *bsam ste* T_S
[1354] *mañjuśriyaṃ*] corr.; *mañjuśrīyaṃ* A, B; *om.* K, T_S
[1355] *mañjuśrīśarīre*] A, B; *svaśarīre tāṃ devīm* K; *'jam dpal gyi sku la* T_S
[1356] *praveśya*] em.; *praveśayet* A, B
[1357] *taṃ*] A; *te* B; om. K; *de* T_S
[1358] *sādhyaṃ*] K; *sādhye* A, B; *bsgrub bya* T_S
[1359] *viklavibhūtaṃ*] corr.; *viklakībhūtaṃ* A, B; *vihvalībhūtam* K; *myos par* T_S; *myos pa* T_A
[1360] *cintayed*] A, B; om. K; *bsam par bya ste* T_S
[1361] *anena*] B; *aneṇa* A; om. K, T_S
[1362] *dhyānaprayogena*] corr.; *dhyānaprayogeṇa* A, B; om. K, T_S
[1363] *hṛdaye*] B, K; *hṛdaya* A; om. T_S; *snying gar* T_A
[1364] *daśākṣaramantraṃ*] K; *daśākṣaramantra* A, B; om. T_S; *yi ge bcu pa'i gsang sngags* T_A
[1365] *vicintayet*] A, B; *nyased* K; *gzhug par bya'o* T_S
[1366] *raktavarṇaṃ*] K; *ratnavarṇaṃ* A, B; *kha dog dmar po* T_S
[1367] *punaḥ*] B, K; *puna* A; *yang* T_S
[1368] *sādhakena*] B; *sādhakeṇa* A; *sādhyena* K; *sgrub pa pos* T_S

jñānarūpeṇa {A16r} teṣv[1369] akṣareṣu praveṣṭavyaṃ. Taiḥ sādhyaṃ[1370] ekalolībhūtaṃ cintayed.[1371] Anena dhyānaprayogena[1372] saptāhāc[1373] (N60)cakravartim[1374] api vaśam[1375] ānayati yāvajjīvaṃ[1376] na saṃśayaḥ[1377].

[§73] Sthiradhyānena[1378] mantriṇā susamāhitena kartavyaṃ tantraṃ.[1379] Kasyacit[1380] na dātavyaṃ mantraṃ[1381] naiva kadācana.[1382] Śrīmahāvajrabhairavayogadhyānaṃ[1383] na kasya[cit][1384] dātavyaṃ[1385] na vaktavyaṃ. Mantraṃ bhinnaṃ na kartavyaṃ. Paṭaṃ na kasyacid agrataḥ prasārayet.[1386] Paṭaś ca guhyena dhārayitavyaṃ. Asya mantrasya prayogaṃ[1387] [na] kasyacit pārśve japet, juhuyād. Yadi brūyāc chrīmahāvajrabhairavājña-yā[1388] [ḍākinībhir] yoginībhir[1389] vā (N61)bhakṣayet (N62)samayadrohiṇaḥ.[1390] Tasmāt mantriṇā na kasyacid dātavyaṃ.

[§74] Athavā dātavyaḥ {B9r} samayābhedī[1391] nirvikalpo dṛḍhavrataḥ[1392] śūro gurubhakto vinītas tathāgata[1393]śāsanaikaniṣṭho[1394] gūḍhamantro[1395] 'krodhī dayālur japadhyānatatparo[1396] 'bhīruḥ. Evaṃvidhaguṇaviśiṣṭāya[1397] śiṣyāya[1398] dṛṣṭamaṇḍalāya

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[1369] *teṣv*] K; *teṣu* A, B; om. T_S
[1370] *sādhyaṃ*] A, B; *sārdhaṃ* K; *bsgrub bya* T_S
[1371] *cintayed*] A, B, K; om. T_S; *bsam* T_A
[1372] °*prayogena*] corr.; °*prayogeṇa* A, B; °*yogena* K; *rab tu sbyor bas* T_S
[1373] *saptāhāc*] K; *saptāhā* A, B; *nyi ma bdun gyis* T_S
[1374] *cakravartim*] A, B; *cakravartinam* K; '*khor los sgyur ba* T_S, T_A
[1375] *vaśam*] K; *vasaṃ* A, B; *dbang du* T_S, T_A
[1376] *yāvajjīvaṃ*] K; *yāvarjivaṃ* A, B; *ji srid mtsho'i bar du* T_S, T_A
[1377] *saṃśayaḥ*] K; *śaṃśayaḥ* A; *śamśayeḥ* B; *the tshom* T_S
[1378] *sthiradhyānena*] em., (on the authority of the Tib.); *sthirasthāṇena* A; *sthirasthānena* B; *mi g.yo ba'i bsam gtan gyis* T_S; *bsam gtan la ni brtan par bya* T_A
[1379] *tantraṃ*] A; *tantra* B; *rgyud* T_S, T_A
[1380] *kasyacit*] em.; *tasyavit* A, B; *gang la* T_S
[1381] *mantraṃ*] A; *mantra* B; *sngags* T_S
[1382] *kadācana*] A; *kadācane* B; om. T_S
[1383] °*dhyānaṃ*] corr.; °*dhyāna* A, B; *bstam gtan* T_S
[1384] *kasyacit*] em.; *kasya* A, B; *gang la* T_S
[1385] *dātavyaṃ*] corr.; *dātavya* A, B; *mi sbyin* T_S
[1386] *prasārayet*] em.; *prabhālayet* A, B; *mi dgram* T_S
[1387] *prayogaṃ*] em.; *prayogasya* A, B; *rab tu sbyor ba* T_S
[1388] *vajrabhairavājñayā*] em.; *vajrabhairavādyābhi* A, B; *dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed dang*
[1389] *yoginībhir*] corr.; *yoginībhi* A, B; *rnal 'byor ma rnams* T_S; *rnal 'byor ma* T_A
[1390] *samayadrohiṇaḥ*] em.; *dohiṇaḥ* A; *dohiṇaḥ* B; *dam tshig nyams par 'gyur bas* T_S
[1391] *samayābhedī*] conj.; *samayābhedo* A, B; om. T_S
[1392] *dṛḍhavrataḥ*] corr.; *dṛṭavrataḥ* A, B; *dam pa'i brtul zhugs can* T_S
[1393] *tathāgata*°] corr.; *thāgata*° A, B; *de bzhin gshegs pa'i* T_S
[1394] °*śāsanaikaniṣṭho*] em.; °*śānikaniṣṭhaḥ* A, B; *bstan pa la nges par 'dzin pa* T_S
[1395] *gūḍhamantro*] em.; *gṛḍhamantraḥ* A, B; *rgyud sbas pa* T_S
[1396] *japadhyānatatparo*] conj.; *japadhyātparaḥ* A, B; *bzlas pa dang bsam gtan la phyogs pa* T_S
[1397] *evaṃvidha*°] corr.; *evaṃvidhaṃ* A, B; *'di lta bu'i* T_S
[1398] *śiṣyāya*] corr.; *śiṣyāyaḥ* A, B; *slob ma* T_S

(N63)śrīmahāvajrabhairavasyopari dṛḍhabhaktāya[1399] {A16v} mahākaruṇārdra-mānasāya[1400] nirvikalpāya[1401] gurubhaktāya[1402] suparīkṣitaguṇāya[1403] tasmai śiṣyāya[1404] śrīmahāvajrabhairavatantraṃ dātavyaṃ. Anyathā dadāti mantrī tadā śiṣyena[1405] saha narakaṃ yāti[1406] na saṃśayaḥ. Iha loke mahābhayam[1407] anubhāvati.[1408] Paraloke[1409] narakaṃ vrajet samayabhedītvād[1410] iti.[1411]

Etasmin[1412] mañjuśrīyākhyamahāvajrabhairavacakrayogatantre[1413]
dhyānakarmasiddhiparīkṣākalpaḥ[1414] saptamaḥ

Śrī-oḍḍiyānayoginīpīṭhāt[1415] śrīmahāvajrabhairavacakralakṣaṇaṃ tantroddhṛtaḥ kalpaikadeśaḥ[1416] paṭhitasiddhaḥ[1417] śrīmahāvajrabhairavamahiṣamukhasya siddhisādhanakalpaḥ[1418] samāptaḥ.

Anena puṇyena[1419] jagac chrīmahāvajrabhairavasamaṃ bhavantu[1420] OṂ HRĪḤ SṬRĪḤ vikṛtānana[1421] HŪṂ PHAṬ OṂ yamāntaka HŪṂ PHAṬ.

[1399] *dṛḍhabhaktāya*] em.; *dṛṭabhaktoye* A, B; *mchog tu gus pa* T_S
[1400] *mahākaruṇārdramānasāya*] corr., *mahākaruṇādramānasāya* A, B; *snying rje chen pos yid brlan pa* T_S
[1401] *nirvikalpāya*] A; *nirvikalpāye* B; *rnam par rtog pa med pa* T_S
[1402] *gurubhaktāya*] em.; *gurubhaṭṭāya* A; *gurubhaṭṭāye* B; *mchog tu bla ma la gus pa* T_S
[1403] *suparīkṣitaguṇāya*] conj.; *suparīkṣaguṇāma* A, B; *rab tu brtag pa la* T_S
[1404] *śiṣyāya*] conj.; *śikhyāya* A; *śiṣyāye* B; *slob ma la* T_S
[1405] *śiṣyena*] corr.; *śiṣyaṇa* A; *śiṣyeṇa* B; *dang slob mar bcas na* T_S
[1406] *yāti*] corr.; *yānti* A, B; *'gro bar* T_S
[1407] *mahābhayam*] A; *mahābhayem* B; *'jigs pa chen por* T_S
[1408] *anubhāvati*] corr.; *anubhāvanti* A, B; *'gyur* T_S
[1409] *paraloke*] corr.; *paralokye* B; *paralokya* A; *'jig rten pha rol tu* T_S
[1410] *samayabhedītvād*] corr.; *samayebhedatvād* A, B; *dam tshig kyang nyams par 'gyur ro* T_S
[1411] *iti*] corr.; *itiḥ* A, B; om. T_S
[1412] *etasmin*] B^{pc}; *etasmi* A, B^{ac}; *'di ni* T_S
[1413] *mañjuśrīyakhyamahāvajrabhairavacakrayogatantre*] em.; *mañjuśrīyākṣamahāvajrabhairavacakrayogatraṃtre* A; *mañjuśrīyākṣamahāvajrabhairavacakrayogatantra* B^{ac}; *mañjuśriyākhyamahāvajrabhairavacakrayogatantra* B^{pc}; *'jam dpal 'jam dpa'i mchog/ dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed chen po'i rnal 'byor gyi rgyud las* T_S
[1414] °*parīkṣākalpaḥ*] corr.; °*parikṣākalpa* A, B; *brtag pa'i rtog pa* T_S
[1415] °*yoginīpīṭhāt*] corr.; °*yoginīpithāt* A; °*oḍḍiyāneyoginīpithāt* B; *dpal u rgyan gyi gnas chen po nas* T_S
[1416] *kalpaikadeśaḥ*] corr.; *kalpaikadeśa* A, B; *rtog pa'i phyogs* T_S
[1417] °*siddhaḥ*] corr.; °*siddhiḥ* A; °*siddhiṃḥ* B; *'grub pa* T_S
[1418] *siddhisādhanakalpaḥ*] corr.; *siddhisādhanakalpa* A, B; *dngos grub 'grub pa'i rtog pa* T_S
[1419] *puṇyena*] corr.; *punyeṇa* A; *punyena* B ; om. T_S
[1420] *bhavantu*] A; *bhavatu* B; om. T_S
[1421] *vikṛtānana*] A; *vikṛtānane* B; om. T_S

Ye[1422] *dharmā hetuprabhavā/*
hetuṃ[1423] *teṣāṃ tathāgato hy*[1424] *avadat//*[1425]
teṣāṃ ca yo nirodha /
evaṃ vādī[1426] *mahāśramaṇa*[1427]*//śubhaṃ*[1428]*//*

[1422] *ye*] em.; *e* A, B; om. T_S
[1423] *hetuṃ*] corr.; *hetu* A, B; om. T_S
[1424] *hy*] em.; *hṛ* A, B; om. T_S
[1425] *avadat*] corr.; *avada* A, B; om. T_S
[1426] *vādī*] corr.; *vādi* A, B; om. T_S
[1427] *mahāśramaṇa*] A; *mahāśramaṇam* B
[1428] *śubhaṃ*] corr.; *śubha* A; om. B

5. Textual Notes

The discussion of variant readings and textual problems associated with the translation of the VBhT has been mainly included in the annotated translation (p.395). The textual notes contain remarks on textual matters that have not been discussed in the translation or serve the purpose of referencing the section on the linguistic features of the VBhT (see above).

N_1 *oṃ namo bhagavate mañjuśriyākhyaśrīvajrabhairavāya*: Both manuscripts begin with a short invocation to Vajrabhairava that is a little bit unusual. Since Vajrabhairava is an emanation of Mañjuśrī, one would expect the following obeisance: *oṃ namo bhagavate śrīvajrabhairavākhāya mañjuśriye* "Hail to Mañjuśrī, who has the name Vajrabhairava" and not the other way round.

N_2 *kathyante:* The verb '*kathyante*' is an inceptive present tense used in a sense of the action that is about to happen.

N_3 *parvataśikhare:* The reading '*parvataśikhare*' as *tatpuruṣa* is supported by the lemma extracted from the Tibetan commentaries; e.g., *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 444): *ri rtse zhes pa ni ri mtho ba'i steng du ste*, "the peak of the mountain [means:] at the top of the high mountain."

N_4 *citibhasmanā*: T_S has *ro bsregs pa'i thal chen gyis lus byugs te* which would reflect Sanskrit *citibhasmāliptāṅgaḥ* or *uddhūlitavigraha* as referring to the smearing of the *mantrin* with the ashes, but this is not supported by the commentaries, which take *citibhasmanā* to refer to the powder with which the *maṇḍala* is drawn. See, Appendix 3, p. 401, fn.1470. The Sed (2007:165) on the basis of the Tibetan translation restores Sanskrit to '*citibhasmanā abhyaṅgaśarīro*', referring to the *mantrin*, but this is grammatically incorrect as the Tibetan supports the past passive participle *abhyakta-* in the *bahuvrīhi* compound *abhyaktaśarīro*.

N_5 *bhūtvā ācāryo*: Normally, the rule of *sandhi* should be applied, but after gerundive form, *sandhi* is excluded. In a sentence when *asamāpikā kriyā* occurs, the verb completes the sentence and one expects a pause, therefore, the rule of *sandhi* is not applied.

N_6 °*paṭṭa:* The emendation to °*paṭṭa* is supported by the similar passages found in other early Buddhist tantras; e.g. Vilāsavajra's Commentary on the *Nāmasaṃgīti* (NMAA), *adhikāra* 4, v. 78-81. (ed. Anthony Tribe):

caturaśraṃ caturdvāraṃ catustoraṇabhūṣitam/
ghaṇṭāpaṭṭapatākādisrakcāmaravibhūṣitam//

Or in the similar passage is found in the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, (ed. Isshi Yamada), Śatapiṭaka Series, 262, New Delhi, 1981: 63, 13-18, 111, 3-8, 140, 32-36.

caturaśraṃ caturdvāraṃ catustoraṇaśobhitam/

catuḥsūtrasamāyuktaṃ **paṭṭasragdāma**bhūṣitam//

In *Kṛṣṇācārya's commentary, p. 445 *paṭṭa* becomes corrupted to *ral gri,* but the exegesis clearly concerns *paṭṭa.*

N_7 *vibhūṣitam*: The *pāda* is hypometrical and one is tempted to emend it to *adivibhūṣitaṃ* due to *metri causa* principle. However as Sanderson (2001:47) pointed out tantric Buddhist literature often follows the ancient principle often invoked in Buddhist literature that "the Buddhist should concern himself with the meaning alone (*arthapratiśaraṇatā*) and not overly concern with niceties of language and composition" (*ibidem*). The same principle is invoked by Āryadeva in the *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa*: *yathoktaṃ bhagavatā 'rthapratiśaraṇena bhavitavyam. śabdas tu yathā tathā*' *iti* (*ibidem*). Therefore, emending hypometrical *pāda*s seem to be against the very idea of *arthapratiśaraṇatā* that many Buddhist authors held close to their hearts. Moreover, Tibetan supports *vibhūṣitam* for it gives *rnam par klubs* (see Siklós 1996:80). See also unmetrical *tanmadhye likhec cakraṃ* (for metrical *etanmadhye likhec cakraṃ/tanmadhye saṃlikhec cakraṃ*) below, the form that the VBhT shares with the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana* (Skorupski 1983:222). I thank Prof. Sferra for pointing this out.

N_8 *āvāhayet:* The meaning of *āvāhayet* in the sense 'to open' is not supported by dictionaries. Normally this verb means 'to invoke'.

N_9 *parighaṭṭayet*: see linguistic features, item 2.

N_{10} *śiraṃ*: Prof. Alexis Sanderson (in personal communication) proposed emendation of *śiraṃ* to *brahmāśiro*, which is also supported by the commentaries of *Śoṇaśrī/*Vajrasiddha and *Kṛṣṇācārya on Chapter 4 of VBhT where the head hold in Vajrabhairava's hands is glossed as *tshangs pa'i mgo bo*, "Brahmā's head." This emendation is also supported by the iconographical detail of the four-faced head (i.e., the four faces of Brahmā) of the Skyo lugs Vajrabhairava-*maṇḍala* (see Plate 2, p. 70).

N_{11} *caṣakaṃ:* There is a discrepancy between the Sanskrit mss. and the Tibetan translation with regard to *caṣaka*. For the reasons to keep *caṣaka*, see fn.1791 in Appendix 3.

N_{12} *kaṇapa*: The emendation to '*kaṇapa*' is supported by the *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary* (Lokesh Chandra 1976:1265), which understands a single-pointed *vajra*, Tib. *rdo rje rtse gcig pa* as a translation of the Sanskrit *kaṇapa*.

N_{13} *kuṭhāra:* The emendation to '*kuṭhāra*' is supported by the T_S*: sta re*, 'axe' and by Chap. 4 of the VBhT which repeats the weapons delineated in the *maṇḍala*-drawing. The reading is also supported by the commentaries on Chap. 4 (see p. 451, fn.1768) and Vajrabhairava iconography (Chap.5).

N_{14} *cakrapāśāni*: The word *vajra* in *cakravajrapāśāni* that features in the codices has been removed from the edition. This is supported by the fact that they are six weapons in

each of the directional strips of the *maṇḍala*. *Vajra* does appear as the *cihna* but in the western and not southern strip of the *maṇḍala*-drawing. T_S has *vajra-pāśa*, '*rdo rje zhags pa'*, but this reading is not supported by the commentaries on Chapter 4 which gloss *vajra* and *pāśa* as the weapons hold by Vajrabhairava, separately.

N_{15} *kheṭaka*: The emendation to *kheṭaka* is supported by the list of weapons hold by Vajrabhairava described in Chapter 4 and the commentaries.

N_{16} *mahāvetālān*: see linguistic features, item 7.

N_{17} *gṛdhrolūka:* The reading *gṛdhrolūka* is supported by T_S (*bya rgod dang 'ug pa*) and by the testimonia given in Chapter 4 of the VBhT where we have a description of Vajrabhairava trampling upon the vulture, etc., with his left foot *vāmapādeṣu gṛdhrolūka*, see, p. 454, fn. 1797.

N_{18} *mahāmantrī:* See fn.1501, p. 407 in Appendix 3.

N_{19} *mahāśārikādīnāṃ:* The emendation to *mahāśārikādīnāṃ* is supported by T_S, which reports *ri skegs*, which is an equivalent of the Skt. *śārika*. The genitive plural is supported by T_S, although there it features with *khyung chen po* that is given as the last type of bird, and not with *ri skegs*, which appears prior to *khyung chen po*.

N_{20} *kuryāt*: See linguistic features, item 3. The deviant ergative verb-construction has not been emended, as it appears to be an example of authorial barbarism.

N_{21} *ātmacaturthaḥ*: The discussion on this emendation and the corruption of T_S is given in fn. 1508, p. 407 in Appendix 3. The NTGS (10.33) uses the same terminology: *tṛpalaṃ dravyapramāṇaṃ saptāṣṭakādaśabhiḥ siddhidravyaṃ vibhāgaṃ* [em. Sanderson, *siddhibhāgaṃ*] *kūryad devasyaikaṃ dvitīyaṃ pūrvasiddhānāṃ tṛtīyaṃ sādhakasya caturtham ātmanasya ca kṛtvā devabhāgaṃ gṛhṇed athavā gurave dadyāt/* "He divides the three *pala*s of *siddhidravya*s into seven, eight, and ten pieces. The first lot [he gives to the god], the second, to the former *siddha*s, the third to the assistant ([*uttara*]*sādhaka*), and the fourth to himself. Alternatively, he may take the portion for the god and give it to the guru."

N_{22} *sādhyasiddhiṃ*: The emendation to *sādhyasiddhiṃ* is supported by $T_Ś$ and T_v, which gloss **target in the centre** as "*siddhi*, which is desired". The reading of T_S differs from mss. A and B. For the discussion, see fn.1514, p. 409 in Appendix 3.

N_{23} *kiṃ dadāmi iti*: Posing a question: "What can I give/do?" seems to be a common feature of the magical technology of the early tantras. This question asked by a *vetāla*, *yakṣinī*, or, in this case, Vajrabhairava, proves that the rite was successful and the *sādhaka* has the opportunity to request the *siddhi*s he desires.

NTGS 10.83ab: *Siddhā sā kiṃ karomi iti bhāryā me bhavatu iti* "She will be mastered and she will say: what can I do for you? He replies: 'Be my wife'."

MMK 52, p. 441: *āgatā ca bravīti—kiṃ karomī iti/ yadi mātā bhavati/ mātṛvat sarvāśāṃ paripūrayate/* "When she arrives, she will say: 'What should I do for you?' If she is a mother, then she fulfills all your desires in a manner of a mother."

N_{24} *yantraṃ*: Conjecture from *mantraṃ* in codd. to *yantraṃ* is supported by T_S and T_L.

N_{25} *dvātriṃśad*: For the discrepancy between the 32 syllable mantra and 21 syllable mantra, see fn. 1549, p. 417 in Appendix 3.

N_{26} *śmaśāne nidhāpayet mārayati:* See linguistic features, item 9.

N_{27} *aparam api prayogaḥ*: For the discussion of this incorrect form, see linguistic features, item 8.

N_{28} *mūrdhādau*: *Kṛṣṇācārya's commentary (p. 451) uses ablative case *spyi bo las*, when it should be locative, *spyi bo la.*

N_{29} *nikhane*: For the discussion of this incorrect form, see linguistic features, item 4.

N_{30} *sudūraṃ:* The translation of *sudūraṃ* is ambiguous, because its Tibetan equivalent: *shin tu ring ba* can be used both for time and space, but in Skt. *sudūraṃ* can be only used for space.

N_{31} *rajjvā:* The emendation to *rajjvā* (Sanderson) is supported by T_S, which reads *skra* 'hair' in the instrumental: *de'i skras bcing bar bya'o* T_S. *Rāju* is a lock of braided hair.

N_{32} *kharamūtreṇa:* The emendation is supported by T_S: *bong bu'i gcin*. The use of donkey's urine for magical purposes is attested also outside of VBhT. For example, Jayabhadra's commentary on the *Cakrasaṃvara*, i.e. *Cakrasaṃvarapañjikā* (II. 17-20, Sugiki's edn., p. 121) gives the following *karma*: one should take a branch of *vibhītaka* tree (bot. *terminalia belerica*) which grows on south side of the tree and having got it cut by a *caṇḍāla* on the night of the 14th dark fortnight, one should burn it in the cremation ground. Then, one should extinguish the fire with donkey's urine. Then, one should gather the coal and the ash and use it for magical purposes (*vibhītakavṛkṣasya dakṣiṇadiggatāṃ śākhāṃ caṇḍālakuṭhārādinācchidya kṛṣṇacaturdaśyāṃ rātrau śmaśāne saṃdahya kharamūtreṇa nirvāpya tadaṅgārāṇi bhasma gṛhītvā samyak sthāpayet. tadanantaraṃ tantroktā vidhayaḥ kāryāḥ. tatphalam anivāritaṃ bhavati*). On the unauspiciousness of the *vibhītaka*, see Bühler 1877:8–9. I thank Prof. Alexis Sanderson for these references.

N_{33} *tatra yantraṃ prakṣipya*: *Akṣobhya's commentary (p. 376) gives a different lemma, which seems to be a corruption. He writes: "*der sbyor ba de bzhag nas zhes bya ba*", "having placed there that yoga."

N_{34} *tayoḥ vaire*: *Akṣobya's commentary (pp. 376-377) gives a different lemma: "*de gnyis kyi snying gar gsang sngags bcug zhes bya ba*", which would correspond to Sanskrit: *tayoḥ dvaye sthāpitayor hṛdaye mantraṃ nikṣipya.*

N_{35} *uparyopari*, normally, it should be *uparyupari*. This hyperstrenghtening of the vowel is a common feature of tantric Aiśa Sanskrit.

N_{36} The recipe has its textual parallel in the SPT (SCh.7.1.58) as follows:

kaṭutailenābhyaṅgayitvā picumardakavṛkṣād balibhugāvāsaṃ [em.; *balibhukāvāsaṃ* ms.] *gṛhya tena hastenaiva pitṛvanakāṣṭhena dagdhvā bhasma gṛhītvā yasya śirasi dīyate tam uccāṭayati.*

N_{37} The recipe has its textual parallel in the SPT (SCh.7.1.59) as follows:

kākolūkapakṣayor brāhmaṇanigranthayoś ca keśān ekīkṛtya dhutturakakāṣṭhenāgniṃ prajvālya nirdhūmaṃ dagdhvā tacchāraṃ [em.; *taṃ cchāram* ms.] *gṛhya yayoḥ puruṣayoḥ striyor vā śayyāśayane gupte prakṣipet. tatkṣaṇād vidveṣo bhavati.*

For the parallel recipe in the NTGS and MMK, see Chap. 3 of this thesis.

N_{38} *tacchāraṃ*: See linguistic features, item 11.

N_{39} *asthicūrṇena*: The emendation is supported by T_S: *rus pa phye mas* and by the role the ground bone plays in tantric magic. For example, in the *Hevajratantra* I.II (Snellgrove's edn.1959:8), in the drawing of the *maṇḍala*, we find a reference to *narāsthicūrṇa* as being used for the white pigment, i.e., *kṛṣṇarajaḥ śmaśānāṅgāreṇa sitarajo narāsthicūrṇena*, etc.

N_{40} *chitvā chitvā*: The expression *chitvā chitvā* appears as an example of dittography, but it is not, for the doubling of *chitvā* appears commonly in the syntax of magical recipes, e.g., MMK (p. 244): *sarvagandhaiḥ pratikṛtiṃ kṛtvā tīkṣṇaśastreṇaikadhāreṇa cchitvā cchitvā juhuyāt*; GS (3.87cd): *chitvā chitvā tu homena tatkṣaṇād āgacchate drutam.*

N_{41} The recipe has its textual parallel in the SPT (SCh.7.1.57) as follows:

kanakaphalam ādāya mahāmāṃsena [em.; *mahāsamayena* ms.] *ghuṇacūrṇaṃ miśrayitvā khānapāneṣu yojayet. tatkṣaṇād unmatto bhavati. saptāhena mriyate.*

N_{42} *khāne pāne vā dadyāt mantraṃ japet tatkṣaṇād unmattako bhavati.* Similar syntax is found in the *Uḍḍāmareśvaratantra* (2.34.1): *khāne pāne pradātavyam unmattaḥ syān na saṃśayaḥ.*

N_{43} *likhya*: Ms. B gives a reading of *likhitvā*, which is an example of hypersanskritization. Sed (2007:172) follows the ms. B's reading. According to Pāṇini, it is allowed to use a '*ya*' suffix only when there is a preverb, e.g., *saṃlikhya*, but the distinction between *kyap*-suffix and *lyap*-suffix is not strictly maintained outside of the most Pāṇinian Sanskrit.

N_{44} *samayavidhibhraṣṭasya*: The emendation (Sanderson) used in a sense of a person who violates the postinitatory rules. Note that *samayavidhi* is a common expression in the STTS, p. 238, line 3; p. 422, line 4. In the VŚ (Goudriaan 1985:318), the term *bhraṣṭa* appears in the context of a person who has given the tantra to the unqualified people. The list includes: those who obtained their mantras by themselves, atheists (*nāstikā*), revilers of the veda (*vedanindakāḥ*), those who have fallen from their vows and who spoil the tantras; those who are intent upon harming their gurus or who disturb the essence of the tantras. The gurus who give the tantra to such people are told by the *yoginī*s to be *bhraṣṭāḥ* 'those who have fallen [from the vows]' and the destroyers of the dharma. The term *vidhibhraṣṭa* or the one who has fallen from the rules is known already in the Abhidharma literature for the one who has transgressed monastic instructions (See Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* 4.94, in Pradhan 1975: 258, 5, 7, 8.) The MMK (4.17, p. 41; 33.19, p. 264) says, those who fall from the rules will not be successful [in their practice] (*vidhibhraṣṭā na sidhyeyuḥ*) while in the *Guhyasiddhi* (8.47, p. 57) punishment awaits a person whose mind hates the *samaya* (*samayavidveṣacetasya*).

N_{45} *mantratantraprayogajñaṃ*: Irregular genitive plural found frequently in Tantric texts, see linguistic features, item 10.

N_{46} The whole chapter on the extraction of mantras is a mixture of verse and prose, and it cannot be arranged as proper verses, but occasionally we can distinguish one or two proper *pāda*s, and some hypermetrical *pāda*s. Tibetan translation treats the entire unit as verses.

N_{47} *dvitīya*: Mss. A and B give *tṛtīya*, but this reading is not supported by T_S T_L, T_K, which have *dbyangs yig gnyis pa* corresponding to Skt. *dvitīya*. The *dvitīya*-reading is further supported by the syllables needed to extract Vajrabhairava root-mantra (see, p. 217 of this thesis).

N_{48} T_S has a different reading, i.e., *rlung gi sa bon*, which gives syllable 'ya', see fn.1649, p. 431 in Appendix 3.

N_{49} *dvitiyā*: see above, N_{47}

N_{50} *bindumastakabhūṣitam*: This is an example of disorganised compound very common in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. The correct Sanskrit would be: *bindubhūṣitamastakaṃ*, "having head adorned with *bindu*". Similar feature occurs in the NTGS (3.95cd.): *viṣaugaṃ (?) nāśayet sarvaṃ śiradhārājalaplutam*, which should rather be *jaladhārāplutaśiras* "his head flooded with the stream of water".

N_{51} *raśmijālaṃ*: The emendation to *raśmijālaṃ* is based on the frequency in which this phrase appears in the Buddhist Mahāyāna and tantric texts. For example, in the *Mahāpratisarāmahāvidyārājñī*, 12 (Hidas 2012:14), we find the following passage: […] *sarvabuddhasaṃdarśanaṃ nāma raśmijālaṃ pramuñcati sma*. In the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* (Läänemets 2006:319) in the description of the ten ways in which Avalokiteśvara brings sentient beings to maturation: *acintyavarṇasaṃsthānarūpadarśana-viśuddhyā raśmijāla-*

utsargeṇa-api sattvān prahlādya. In the MMK 14, p. 95: […] *mahāraśmijālaṃ pramuñcamānaḥ antarikṣe sthito* […].

N_{52} *anantāparyāntavasthitān:* This expression qualifying *lokadhātu* as infinite, endless space occurs frequently in the Buddhist Mahāyāna and tantric texts. For example, in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* 6, p. 69, we find the following passage: *maitreya bodhisattvo mahāsattvo daśadiśi loke sarvataḥ sarvatra gatayā aprameyāprameyeṣu asaṃkhyeyāsaṃkyeṣu aparimānāparimāneṣu acintyācintyeṣu anatāparyanteṣu trisāhasramahāsāhasreṣu lokadhātuṣu* […]. In the MMK 14, p.96: *anye ca sattvā vahavaḥ anantāparyāntalokadhātuvyavasthitā* […].

N_{53} *vajra:* Mss. A and B have only fifteen weapons (skipping *vajra*) ending with *mudgara* while Vajrabhairava holds sixteen weapons in his hands. It is clear that one weapon, i.e., *vajra* has been dropped in codd. I have supplied an additional *vajra* based on T_S, $T_Ś$ and T_V and on the authority of the SPT, where *vajra* is followed by *vajramudgara*, see fn.1775 and 1776, p. 451 in Appendix 3.

N_{54} *mṛga*: Codd. support *mṛga* reading, while SPT and T_S have *meṣa* instead. Since animals do not receive any exegetical exposition it is difficult to decide which one was the original reading. I have retained the reading given in the codd.

N_{55} *pañcamudrādyalaṃkṛtaṃ*: Sanderson proposed emendation to *pañcacūḍādy-alaṃkṛtaṃ*, qualifying the five topknots of the boy Mañjuśrī. The corruption could have indeed easily occurred because *mudrā* and *cūḍā* look almost identical in *newārī* script. T_S, however, supports the *pañcamudrā*-reading. I have decided to retain the T_S's reading taking into account the Kāpālika context of this and following passage.

N_{56} *dhūpo deyaḥ:* For the discussion of prons and cons with regard to retaining this reading or emending it, most probably, original *dhūmodaye*, See fn.1857 of annotated translation, p.464 of this thesis.

N_{57} The form *ucchanno* is an example of hypersanskritization due to mixing of dental and palatal letters in pronunciation. The correct word behind it is *utsanno.*

N_{58} and N_{59} *strīṃ*: See linguistic features, item 6.

N_{60} *cakravartim*: See linguistic features, item 6.

N_{61} *bhakṣayet:* See linguistic features, item 17.

Appendix 3:
An Annotated Translation of the *Vajrabhairavatantra*

Chapter One

The Explanation of the Maṇḍala

Oṃ Obeisance to the Lord Vajrabhairava, who is called Mañjuśrī.

[§1] Now, I shall duly explain[1429] the means[1430] of mastering (*sādhana*)[1431] [the deity] Vajrabhairava[1432] who is very fiercesome and terrifying[1433] to all the gods[1434].

[1429] *Śoṇaśrī (pp. 393–394) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 413): "**duly explain**: the meaning of 'duly' here is recitation, *yantra*, *homa*, meditation, and rituals" (*yang dag rab bshad bya zhes bya ba la yang dag pa'i don ni 'dir bzlas pa dang 'khrul 'khor dang sbyin sreg dang bsam gtan dang las rnams so*).

[1430] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 442) glosses ***upāya*** ("means") as "the fruit, that is to say, the methods of *sādhana*, which are taught be accomplished by the *yogin* through this scripture" (***thabs zhes*** *bya ba ni 'bras bu ste/ gzhung 'dis rnal 'byor pa la sgrub pa'i thabs su bstan pa'o*). This passage seems to correlate the double meaning of Vajrabhairava: as a deity and as a text, with two meanings of the *lyuṭ sādhana*, namely action (*bhāva*) and instrument (*karaṇa*). The compound *vajrabhairavasādhanaṃ* is understood as a *karmadhāraya* and can be interpreted in two ways: 1) by saying that the instrument/means is the fruit, he alludes to the practice of fruit (i.e., to the *devatāyoga*= the identification with Vajrabhairava); 2) by saying that the fruit is the method accomplished through this scripture, he refers to Vajrabhairava as the *Vajrabhairavatantra*. The next gloss (see below) explains *sādhana* in the meaning of the *lyuṭ sādhana* as action (*bhāva*). I thank Prof. Sferra for clarifying these points.

[1431] Siklós (1996:27) translates *bsgrub pa* as 'evocation', but this is inaccurate. The meaning intended here is *sādhana*, 'the means of mastering'. *Akṣobhya (p. 369): ***sādhana*** [means] "as for the first chapter, it teaches only the *sādhana*, but all [other] chapters also teach mainly the *sādhana*, because the range of rituals is also contained in the *sādhana*" (*sgrub pa ste zhes bya ba ni le'u dang po ni/ sgrub pa 'ba' zhig ston pa yin la rtog pa ril yang sgrub pa gtsor gyur pa ste/ las rab 'byam yang sgrub pas bsdus pa'o*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 442) introduces here the standard Mahāyānist model of *svārtha* and *parārtha* and glosses ***sādhana*** as "the method, which accomplishes the benefit for oneself and for others" (*sgrub pa zhes bya thabs des bdag gzhan gyi don grub par byed pa'o*). *Śoṇaśrī (p. 394) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 413): "**Vajrabhairava-*sādhana***: it is explained as *vajra-śūnyatā-tattva*" (*rdo rje 'jigs byed sgrub thabs zhes bya ni/ rdo rje stong pa nyid rab gsungs*). "By Vajrabhairava-*prayoga* is understood that *śūnyatā* and *vajra* are non-differentiated from the nature of the heroic *vajra*-mind, that is Vajrabhairava. **The *sādhana* of that** [means:] by this [*sādhana*], one is made to accomplish the nature of the deity Vajrabhairava" (*rdo rje 'jigs byed sbyor bas so/ zhes bya ba stong pa nyid dang rdo rje tha mi dad pa rdo rje sems dpa'i ngo bo ni rdo rje 'jigs byed do/ de'i sgrub thabs ni lha rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi ngo bor 'dis sgrub par byed pa yin te*). *Kumāracandra (p. 287): "***vajra*** [means:] he

causes fear for the sake of *prajñā* and *upāya* and also in order to frighten all very wicked deities. Furthermore, he himself is the fruit of compassion, but since he cannot tame those who are wrathful towards sentient beings with compassion, and since he cannot tame them with peaceful means, he became Bhairava possessing that *vajra*. He is adorned with the garland of skulls, so one should meditate on a skull. He is the great receptacle of wrathful sunlight, his body is similar to a wrathful *vajra*, which is cold like ice on the inside, but wrathful on the outside when it comes to protecting sentient beings; for that reason, he is taught as the one possessing *jñānavajra*" (*rdo rje ni shes rab nyid kyi phyir dang thabs nyid kyi phyir na 'jigs byed do/ de yang shin tu drag po'i lha thams cad 'jigs pa nyid kyi phyir ro/ de yang snying rje 'bras bu nyid de/ gang du gdug pa'i sems can rnams la snying rjes 'dul ma yin/ gang phyir zhi ba'i yon tan gyis 'dul ba ma yin te/ de phyir rdo rje can de 'jigs byed yang dag gyur/ thod pa'i phreng bas rgyan byas thod pa bsams pa'o/ nyi 'od khros pa'i rdzing bu che/ mtshungs pa'i sku ni rdo rje khro nang* [em.; *gngas* ed.] *kyi kha ba bzhin du bsil/ phyi rol drag pos 'gro ba skyongs/ shes rab rdo rje can gyis gsungs so*) (see also *Kṛṣṇācārya's commentary below).

[1432] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 442) divides the name 'Vajrabhairava' into two units: 1) *vajra* stands for the "truth-body" (*dharmakāya*), which is taught as *śūnyatā* and *prajñā*; and 2) *bhairava* represents the "form-body" (*rūpakāya*), which is taught to exist as both *karuṇā* and *upāya* (*rdo rje ni chos sku stong pa nyid dang shes rab ston pa yin la/ 'jigs byed gzugs sku thugs rjes thabs rnams grub par ston pa'o*). *Kumāracandra (p. 287): "Vajrabhairava [means:] *bodhicitta*—the ultimate object of undifferentiated emptiness and compassion—is Bhagavān Śrīvajradhara" (*rdo rje 'jigs byed ces pa ni stong ba nyid dang snying rje dbyer med pa'i don dam pa byang chub kyi sems te bcom ldan 'das dpal rdo rje 'chang ngo*).

[1433] *Akṣobhya (p. 369): "**very fiercesome,** on the inside and **terrifying** on the outside; moreover, he causes fear because of great anger" (*rab tu 'khrugs pa zhes bya ba ni lhag pa'i bdag nyid do/ 'jigs byed ces bya ba ni phyi rol lo/ yang na rab tu 'khrugs pas 'jigs byed pa'o*). *Śoṇaśrī (p. 394) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 413): "**very fiercesome** because of hateful mind and **terrifying** because of hideous form" (*drag shul can zhes bya ba ni sems ma rungs pa'i phyir ro/ 'jigs byed ces bya ba ni gzugs mi sdug pa'i phyir ro*).

[1434] Standard Sanskrit grammar supports the meaning of 'among the gods' for the genitive plural *devānāṃ*, however my translation follows *Kṛṣṇācārya's commentary, which understands *devānāṃ* in the sense of the dative case, meaning 'to'. *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 442): "**gods** [means:] Vajrabhairava [inspires terror and fear] to all the gods, such as Brahmā, who are arrogant" (*lha rnams zhes pa rdo rje 'jigs byed kyis lha rnams drag shul dang bcas tshangs pa la sogs pa*). He further offers the following explanation: "Moreover, concerning this topic that Vajradhara impels that terrorizing one (i.e. Vajrabhairava) with compassion; that incomparably great wrathful one, who is fierce just like fire at the end of time, who has the radiance of the sun and is endowed with wrathful body and heads, arms, *liṅga*, ornaments, etc. [was impelled to action] because one cannot bring benefit only with compassion towards beings who are extremely wicked. And that is both *śūnyatā*, *karuṇā*, fruit, which is *dharmakāya*, *rūpakāya*. This is taught by the verse: 'on the inside, he is cool as ice, but he is wrathful on the outside, when it comes to protecting those beings'" (*de yang stong pa nyid dang snying rjes 'bras bu chos sku dang gzugs sku nyid de gang gdug pa dang ldan pa'i sems can rnams la snying rjes phan par mi 'gyur bas rdo rje 'chang des 'jigs par mdzad pa de/ sku shin tu 'jigs pa dbu dang phyag dang mtshan ma dang rgyan dang/ na bza' dang gdan dang nyi ma'i 'od zer dus mtha'i me ltar drag po mtshungs pa med pa'i khro bo chen po snying rjes bskul ba'o/ de yang nang na kha ba lta bur bsil/ phyi rol drag pos 'gro la skyob/ ces pas bstan pa'o*).

[§2] In this [*sādhana*], the mantra-master, having first sat himself down in some place conducive to concentration,[1435] is entitled to accomplish whatever ritual [he intends to accomplish].

[Next,][1436] I shall explain the places[1437] that apply there: having sat himself down in a cremation ground,[1438] on the bank of a river,[1439] or at a solitary tree,[1440] at a solitary *liṅga*,[1441] or at a crossroads,[1442] on a mountain peak,[1443] in an empty house,[1444] in a temple

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[1435] *Akṣobhya (p. 369) explains ***manonukūlasthāne*** "**in some place conducive to concentration**" simply as "**a suitable place**" (*gang yang rung ba'i gnas*); "those places are going to be explained" (*'chad par byed pa rnams la'o*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 443) adopts the interpretation of the 'places pleasing to the mind' from the *Yogācārabhūmi* as beautiful places that set the mind into a meditative mood. He says: "one should sit himself up in an isolated place, which is pleasing to the mind, such as a cremation ground, etc. Furthermore, *manonukūla* should be understood [metonymically] to include your friend, (*sahāya*/*uttarasādhaka*) substances, and the articles for worship" (*yid du 'ong zhes pa dur khrod la sogs pa yid dang mthun pa spro ba'i gnas gcig tu gnas par bya'o*/ *yang grogs dang rdzas dang ldan par byas la sdud* [em.; *sdod* ed.] *par shes par bya'o*). *Lalitavajra (p. 302) follows *Kṛṣṇācārya when he says: "according to a brief explanation, any place pleasing to the mind is said to accomplish various rituals such as *sādhana*, initiation, etc." (*gang yid du 'ong ba'i gnas su'o*/ *ci bsgrub na dbang la sogs pa'i las sna tshogs 'grub par bya zhes lus mdor bstan nas*).

[1436] *Lalitavajra (p. 302) adds "according to the succession" (*de nas zhes bya ba ni rim gyi don to*).

[1437] *Akṣobhya (p. 369) glosses the word **places** as follows: "these are definitions of the places suitable for the *sādhana*" (***gnas rnams*** *zhes bya ba ni bsgrub pa'i gnas nges pa'o*).

[1438] *Lalitavajra (p. 302): "**cremation ground** [means:] the external cremation ground, that is the grove of death" (*dur khrod ni phyi'i dur khrod de shi ba'i tshal lo*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 444): "a place of execution, or a place where the corpses are transported" (*dur khrod ces pa ni bsad pa'i gnas ro skyel sa la bya'o*). *La bya* corresponds to the Sanskrit *gamane*, the locative case of *gamana.*

[1439] *Lalitavajra (p. 302): "**the bank of the river** [means:] [the bank] of a great river" (*chu 'gram ni chu bo chen po'i'o*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 444): "it is a big river or an island: there, he should accomplish a male-female *yakṣa* and a male-female *nāga* (*chu'i ngos zhes pa ni chu bo'am mtshan gling yin te*/ *der gnod sbyin pho mo dang klu pho mo bsgrub par bya'o*).

[1440] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 444): "**a solitary tree** [means:] a tree not covered by the shadow of another tree" (*shing gcig ces pa ni shing gzhan gyi grib mas mi sleb mi reg pa'o*). The same gloss is given by *Śoṇaśrī (p. 394), *Vajrasiddha (p. 413), and *Kumāracandra (p. 288). The same definition of a solitary tree is attested in the *Yogaratnamālā*'s commentary on the *Hevajratantra* 6.6 (p. 46): *yasya chāyā nānyena vṛkṣeṇa ākramyate, yaś ca nānyasya ākrāmati*, *sa ekavṛkṣaḥ.* *Lalitavajra (p. 302): "a big forest of trees, such as *āsmra* (could it be *āmra*, mango-tree?)" (*shing gcig ni ā smra la sogs pa'i shing nags chen po'o*).

[1441] *Lalitavajra (p. 302): "**a solitary *liṅga*** [means:] the *liṅga* of Mahādeva" (*mtshan ma gcig pa ni*/ *ma hā de ba'i ling ga'o*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 444): "an empty plain except for the *liṅga* of Maheśvara" (*mtshan ma gcig pa ni dbang phyug chen po'i mtshan ma thang stong la yod pa'o*). The *Śrīcakrasādhanāvidhāna* (f.20v4-6) describes a solitary *liṅga* as a *liṅga* within a certain radius: "*ekaliṅga* is defined as the one with respect to which one does not see another *liṅga* within the interval of five *krośa*s…" (*pañcakrośāntare yatra na liṅgāntaram īkṣyate*/ *tadekaṃ*

of the mother-goddesses,[1445] or in any temple,[1446] in a battlefield,[1447] or in other places such as cities,[1448] forests,[1449] villages,[1450] the mantra-master, [that is to say,] the *yogin*[1451]

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liṅgaṃ ākhyātaṃ tatra siddhir anuttamā). Also in Gadādharabhaṭṭācārya's *Tripurārcanamañjarī* 4, f. 9r8-10, the two definitions are attested, the other mentions the interval of four *krośa*s: *teṣu ekaliṅgasthānaṃ matsyasūkte ''catuḥkrośāntare yatra na liṅgaṃ dṛśyate param/ ekaliṅgaṃ vijānīyāt tatra siddhir anuttamā''// anyatrāpi ''pañcakrośāntare yatra na liṅgāntaram īkṣyate/* tad *ekaliṅgam ākhyātaṃ tatra siddhir anuttamā''. purāṇaprasiddham ekaliṅgasthānaṃ mevāḍadeśe prasiddham iti vadanti*. I thank Prof. Alexis Sanderson for these references.

[1442] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 444): "**crossroad** [means:] crossroads, there should be an ideal place to paralyse. This place too should be understood to include your friend, substances, and articles for worship" (*bzhi mdo zhes pa ni lam rgya gram ste/ der rengs pa'i gnas bya'o/ de yang grogs* [corr., *grong* ed.] *dang rdzas dang ldan par byas la sdud* [em.; *sdod* ed.] *par shes par bya'o*).

[1443] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 444): "**mountain peak** [means:] at the top of the mountain; it is a place for driving away" (*ri rtse zhes pa ni ri mtho ba'i steng du ste bskrad pa'i gnas so*).

[1444] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 444): "**in an empty place** and an empty **temple** [means:] there are two places of accomplishing *pūrvasevā*, sword, eye-ointment, pill, alchemy, ambrosia, treasure, ghost, zombie" (*khang stong lha khang stong pa gnyis* [em.; *dngos po* ed.] *der bsnyen sgrub dang ral gri dang/ mig sman dang/ ri lu dang/ gser 'gyur dang/ bcud kyis len dang/ gter dang byung po dang ro langs bsgrub pa'i gnas so*).

[1445] *Lalitavajra (p. 302): "**mothers** [means:] the temple of the seven mothers" (*ma mo ni ma mo bdun gyi khyim mo*), possibly referring to the temple of the *saptamātṛka*s. *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 444): "**the temple of the mother-goddesses** [means:] in the place where the wives of the eight gods reside, there is a place for accomplishing [the rituals] of subjugation, summoning and for the *sādhana* in general" (*ma mo'i khyim zhes pa ni lha brgyad kyi chung ma gang na yod pa'i brten sa la bya ste/ der dbang dang dgug pa dang bsgrub pa'i gnas so*). *Kumāracandra (p. 288): "**mothers** [means:] the wife of Brahmā, the wife of Viṣṇu, and the wife of Rudra, etc." (*ma mo ni tshangs pa mo dang khyab 'jug mo dang drag mo la sogs pa'o*).

[1446] *Lalitavajra (p. 302) explains as follows: "as for the deity, it is a temple, which is also dedicated to Mahādeva, etc." (*lha ni lha'i khang pa ste ma hā de ba la sogs pa yang bsngo*).

[1447] *Akṣobhya (p. 369): "**battlefield** [means:] the place where the kings have fought" (*'thab mo'i gnas zhes bya ba ni/ rgyal po'i g.yul 'gyed pa'i sa'o*). *Lalitavajra (p. 302) seems to have a different reading in front of him as he glosses "many destructions" as "the place where the battle was fought" (*mang po phung pa ni g.yul 'gyed pa'i gnas so*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 444): "**battlefield** [means:] a place of mutual conflict, a place of death, with many corpses, it is a place for [the ritual of] creating dissension" (*'thab mo'i sa zhes pa ni phan tshun 'thabs pa'i sa ro mang du shi ba'i sa ste dbye ba'i gnas so*). *Kumāracandra (p. 288): "**by battlefield** [is meant] a place of battle where many soldiers have died" (*'thab mo yis ni g.yul ngo gang du dmag mi mang po shi ba'o*).

[1448] *Lalitavajra (p. 302): "**city** [means:] a big city that is one area where many living quarters are assembled" (*grong khyer ni grong kyer chen po ste/ mang po 'dus pa'i gnas phyogs gcig go*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 444): "**city or forest** include one's own house, or a *koṭara* (a tree hole); it is an ideal place to master a *piśāca* and to bring someone under one's own power" (*grong ngam nag khrod ces pa ni rang gi khyim dang shing gseb dang sha za dang/ dbang du bya ba sgrub pa'i gnas so*).

who has received initiation (*abhiṣikto yogī*)[1452] in this *tantra* of the Great Vajrabhairava, is entitled to accomplish [the rituals of] subjugation, attraction,[1453] killing,[1454] driving

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[1449] *Lalitavajra (p. 302): "**forest** [means:] assemblage of trees that are difficult to cross" (*nags tshal ni bgrod par dka' ba'i shing gi khrod do*).

[1450] *Lalitavajra (p. 302): "**village** [means:] the palace of a king" (***grong** ni rgyal po'i phro brang ngo*).

[1451] *Lalitavajra (p. 302) gives the following description of the *yogin*: "one who has been duly consecrated into the *maṇḍala* of the *Vajrabhairavatantra*, that means the one has been consecrated by purifying the three impurities through the three empowerments, such as the vase, etc. by serving the master endowed with a correct view. A *yogin* is an individual like this, endowed with wisdom and skillful means. The word *yoga* has been explained as *upāya-prajñā-samāpatti*" (*rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi rgyud kyi dkyil 'khor du legs par dbang thob pa ste/ bla ma mtshan nyid dang ldan pa mnyes pas bum pa'i dbang la sogs pa gsum gyis dri ma gsum dag par byas pas dbang thob pa ste/ de lta bu'i gang zag shes rab dang thabs su ldan pas na rnal 'byor pa ste/ thabs dang shes rab snyoms 'jug pa/ rnal 'byor zhes ni bshad pa yin/ zhes gsungs pa'o*).

[1452] *Akṣobhya (pp. 369–370) comments on the ***abhiṣikto yogī*** as follows: "we have to draw out from another tantra, namely the *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra*, which is a tantra concordant with this *tantra* (i.e. the *Vajrabhairavatantra*), initiation method, *torma*, rites related to magical device (*yantra*), and hymns, etc. Therefore, the *yogin* who has received initiation in that way (***abhiṣikto yogī***) should accomplish the rites of subjugation, etc. Some say that concerning the rites with the sword, etc. they have to be accomplished following the explanation of this tantra. Yet others say they have to be accomplished according to the tradition of another tantra. In the same way, it is said: 'for the ritual procedures that do not exist and for which there is no original rule, the wise men take recourse to the procedure taught in the *Sāmānyatantra*'" (*dbang bskur thob pa zhes bya ba ni/ gshin rje dgra nag po'i rgyud ces bya ba rgyud 'di nyid dang rjes su mthun pa'i rgyud de las 'dir dbang bskur ba'i tshul dang/ gtor ma dang/ 'khrul 'khor gyi bya ba dang/ bstod pa la sogs pa drang bar bya ste/ de bas na de ltar dbang bskur ba'i rnal 'byor pa des dbang du bya ba la sogs pa bsgrub ste/ kha cig ni rgyud 'di nyid las gsungs la/ ral gri la sogs pa kha cig ni rgyud gzhan gyi lugs su bsgrub po/ de ltar yang/ gang nyid du ni rang nyid kyi/ las kyi cho ga rnams med pa//de ni spyi rgyud las grags pa'i/ cho ga mkhas pas shes par bya// zhes gsungs so*.

The verse of the *Sāmānyatantra*: *yasmin karmāṇi na vidyante na karmavidhayaḥ svakāḥ/ tatra sāmānyatantrokto viddhir āśrīyate budhaiḥ//;* quoted in the *Cakrasaṃvaravivṛtti* 2.1.

*Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 444): "**the yogin who has received initiation in [this tantra of] Śrīmahāvajrabhairava** [means:] "The mantras *hrīḥ ṣtrīḥ* of Vajrabhairava generated from the *ya-varga*, etc. have to be recited one hundred times; the [mantras] *jinajik*, etc., for the retinue of the twelve generated from [the seed-syllable] KṢEM, etc. are to be recited ten thousand for each. Combining the four *yoga*s (*yoga, atiyoga, anuyoga* and *mahāyoga*) with these, he is one who has completed the *pūrvasevā*. He has to master the preliminary rituals (the altar, infusion of the articles and the disciple), the preparation of the *maṇḍala*, *sādhana*, and receive the four initiations, correctly. The qualifications that are included in the *abhiṣikto* are this: the *yogin* who relies upon the four *yoga*s, who performs the *pūrvasevā*, [who does] the *sādhana* and performs the *karma*s" (*dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed chen por dbang bskur ba'i rnal 'byor pas zhes pa ni/ ya las bskyed pa'i rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi hriḥ ṣtriḥ ya 'bum kshem la sogs las bskyed pa/ 'khor bcu gnyis la rdzi na rdzik sogs khri khri'i bsnyen pa rnal 'byor bzhi dang ldan pas bsnyen pa byas la/ sta gon dang dkyil 'khor bsgrub pa dang dbang bzhi'am ci rigs pa thob pa'o/ rnal 'byor bzhi la brten nas bsnyen pa byas pas dbang la sogs pa bsgrub pa dang las la sbyar ba'o*).

away,[1455] causing hostility between the two people,[1456] paralysing, sword,[1457] eye-ointment,[1458] underworld,[1459] pill,[1460] elixir,[1461] alchemy, treasure, ghosts,[1462] zombie,[1463]

[1453] *Lalitavajra (p. 305): "**attraction** [means:] he summons [someone's] feet and body. Moreover, he summons the earth and the sky" (*dgug pa zhes bya ba ni/ rkang pa dgug pa dang/ lus dgug pa'o/ de yang sa dang nam kha' la dgug pa'o*).

[1454] *Lalitavajra (p. 305) quotes from the GS (14.46, p. 68): "as for **killing**, it is said [in the GS]: he should perform the ritual, such as killing, etc. against those who harm the Three Jewels, those who revile the master, etc., those without vows, those who revile Mahāyāna, and those who assert faults of the tantras or the mantras" (*gsad pa ni dkon mchog gsum la sogs pa la gnod pa byed pa la ste/ bla ma smod stsogs dam tshig med/ theg pa chen po smod pa dang/ sngags kyi rgyud la dpya ba* [em*., dpya' ba* ed.] *la/ gsad pa la sogs las bya'o/ zhes gsungs pa'o*).

[1455] *Lalitavajra (p. 305): "**driving away** [means:] he should expel from one's own place" (*rang gi gnas las dbyung ba ni bskrad pa'o*).

[1456] *Lalitavajra (p. 305): "**creating hostility** [means:] creating mutual hostility between the two friends" (*dbye ba ni mdza' bo dag phan tshun zhe sdang ba'o*).

[1457] *Lalitavajra (p. 305): "**sword** [means:] sword of the *vidyādhara*, etc. (*ral gri ni ral gri la sogs pa'i rig pa 'dzin pa'o*).

[1458] *Lalitavajra (p. 305) glosses **eye-ointment** as "the means to perceive the world-systems" (*mig sman ni 'jig rten mthong ba'i thabs so*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (pp. 444–445): "**sword and eye-ointment,** etc. [means:] all the substances that are caused to manifest as the special products through this deity, mantra, and tantra are to be understood as common and not different from [those mentioned in] the other tantras" (*ral gri dang mig sman zhes pa la sogs pa ni lha dang sngags dang rgyud 'dis khyad par du byas pa'i bya ba rdzas thams cad rgyud gzhan las khyad par med de thun mong du go bar bya'o*).

[1459] *Lalitavajra (p. 305): "**underworld** [means:] he enters into the netherworld" (*sa 'og ni sa 'og tu 'jug pa'o*).

[1460] *Lalitavajra (p. 305): "**pill** [means:] it is made of three metals (*triloha*) and accomplishes [the *siddhi* of] invisibility" (*ro lu ni lcags gsum dang bcas pa ste/ mi snang ba bsgrub pa'o*).

[1461] *Lalitavajra (p. 305): "**elixir** [means:] *rasāyana* (rejuvenating technique), which makes one to subsist without an old age, etc. (*bdud rtsi ni bcud kyi len te/ rgyas pa la sogs pa med cing gnas pa'o*).

[1462] *Lalitavajra (p. 305): "**ghost** [means:] the host of sentient beings, with two legs, etc. who will be subjected under one's own will" (*'byung po ni/ sems can gyi tshogs te/ rkang gnyis la sogs pa ste/ de dag dbang du byed pa'o*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 445): **ghost** [means:] Aparājitā" (*byung po zhes pa ni a pa ra ji ta'o*). *Kumāracandra (p. 288): "**ghost** [means:] *dikpāla*s, such as Vijaya, etc." (*'byung po ni phyogs skyong rnam par rgyal ba la sogs pa'o*).

[1463] *Lalitavajra (p. 305): "**zombie** [means:] he will accomplish the *vetāla*[*sādhana*]" (*ro ni ro langs bsgrub pa'o*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 445): "**zombie** [means:] it should be without wounds, he should come from a good family, be strong, young, etc." (*ro langs zhes pa ni ro rma med pa'i rigs dang stobs dang gzhon pa la sogs pa bya'o*).

bloodthirsty demon,[1464] *yakṣa*s[1465] and *yaksiṇī*s,[1466] serpents,[1467] etc.[1468] by the following ritual procedure.

[§3] In this [*sādhana*], this is the ritual procedure: first of all, the mantra-master, [that is to say,] the teacher (*ācārya*) at midnight, naked, having loosen his topknot, [established] in *yoga* with the Buffalo-faced one [Vajrabhairava], draws a *maṇḍala*[1469] with the ashes of the cremation ground[1470] in the cremation ground, etc.

[1464] *Lalitavajra (p. 305): "**bloodthirsty demon** [means:] a thin hungry ghost" (*'dre ni yi dags phra mo'o*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 445): "**bloodthirsty demon** [means:] *rākṣasī* Caṇḍikā" (*sha za zhes pa ni srin po candi ka'o*). *Kumāracandra (p. 288): "**demon** [means:] the flesh-eater who consumes the food that has been purged, etc." (*sha za ni skyugs ba zas su za ba la sogs pa'o*).

[1465] *Lalitavajra (p. 305) glosses "***yakṣa*** as the one who is a hole-dweller, etc." (*gnod spyin ni gang bug pa* [em.; *brag pa* ed.] *brang po la sogs pa'o*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 445): "***yakṣa*** [means:] Jambhala or his son" (*gnod sbyin zhes pa ni jambha la 'am bu'o*). *Kumāracandra (p. 288): "*yakṣa* [means:] Vaiśravaṇa, etc." (*gnod sbyin ni rnam thos sras la sogs pa'o*).

[1466] *Lalitavajra (p. 305) glosses "***yakṣiṇī*** as a hungry ghost endowed with magical powers" (*gnod spyin mo ni rdzu 'phrul dang ldan pa'i yi dags so*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 445): "***yakṣiṇī*** [means:] Jambhala's wife or Vasudhāriṇī" (*mo ni de'i chung ma dang nor rgyun ma'o*).

[1467] *Lalitavajra (p. 305) glosses "**serpents** as a serpent, which belongs to the lineage [of the *nāga*s]" (*klu rnams ni rigs kyi khyad par kyi klu'o*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 445): "**serpents** [means:] the eight great *nāga*s or rain-makers beginning with Sog ma (Catuṣpīṭha), Apāla, (rain-related god) and female of these species; the eight consorts of eight *nāgarāja*s, etc." (*klu ni klu chen po brgyad dang sog ma med la sog pa'i char 'debs pa rnams so/ mo yang klu mo brgyad la sogs pa'o*).

[1468] *Lalitavajra (p. 305) glosses the word "**etc.** as by the etc. are included the frightening *rākṣasa*s and others" (*stsogs kyis srin po 'jigs pa la sogs bsdu do*). He (p. 305) also glosses **etc.** after the word *yakṣiṇī*, which is missing in the Sanskrit version: "by etc. other [beings] are included such as *gandharva*s, *asura*s, humans or whatever" (*stsogs kyis bsdus pa dri za dang lha ma yin dang mi 'am ci la sogs pa'o*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 445): "**etc.** [means:] friendly *śakti*s; he is assisted by these particular places" (*sogs zhes pa ni yul gyi khyad par gyis grogs nus pa rnams so*). It seems that Kṛṣṇācārya's explanation here is corrupted.

[1469] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 445): "**he draws a *maṇḍala*** [means:] he should draw it at the time of *sādhana* [and not during initiation]. He should draw it with a fine powder of the cremation ground. Drawing should be preceded by the ritual of taking the site and he should also make a line with a thread taken from the corpse" (*dkyil 'khor bri bar bya zhes pa ni bsgrub pa'i dus te/ dus khrod kyi tshon gyis bri ba ste/ sa'i cho ga dang thig sngon du song bar byas la bri ba ste/ thig skud yang ro'i srad bus bya'o*).

[1470] The Tibetan text takes the ashes of the cremation ground to refer to the body of the *sādhaka* on which they should be smeared (*ro bsregs pa'i thal chen gyis lus byugs* (Siklós 1996:80). This would correspond to the Skt. *citibhasmāliptāṅgo* "whose body is dusted with the ashes of the cremation ground", but this interpretation is not supported by the commentaries, which unanimously take the ashes of the cremation ground to refer to the powder used for the *maṇḍala*-drawing. In addition, the Vajrabhairava-*sādhaka* is often mentioned in the VBhT as smearing his body with urine and faeces (see VBhT§8 p. 408 of this thesis), and not ashes; therefore, the Tibetan text must be corrupted. *Akṣobhya (p. 370) comments on **the ashes of the cremation ground** as follows: "here, [in this tantra] because the chief activity are wrathful rites, [the Lord]

[He should draw] a *maṇḍala*-square[1471] with four doors[1472] ornamented with four arches,[1473] decorated with bells,[1474] banners,[1475] pennons,[1476] and the like, [and also] adorned with a tie of flowers.[1477] In all the corners and in the points where the doors meet

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teaches ashes instead of divine powders. For the same reason, [in the preparation of the *maṇḍala*] one should also make only one line, instead of five. It is said: 'whatever powders are taught, all those are of one line'" (*ro bsregs pa'i thal bas zhes bya ba ni/ 'dir drag shul spyad pa gtso bor gyur pas lha'i chon gyi gor thal phye bshad pa yin la/ de nyid kyis ri mo yang gcig kho na lnga'i gor sbyar ro/ thal phyer gang dag bshad pa ni/ de dag thams cad ri mo gcig/ ces gsungs pas so*). *Akṣobhya refers here to the common procedure in the preparation of the Buddhist *maṇḍala* where five lines are normally drawn to include the five Buddha families (*tathāgata*s). Here, however, since we are dealing with the wrathful rites (*raudra*), only one line drawn with ashes is included. *Śoṇaśri (p. 394) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 413) list five types of powders: "'ashes of cremation corpses' [means:] white powder; 'black' [means:] with charcoal of cremated corpses; 'yellow' [means:] with orpiment; 'red' [means:] with brick of cremation ground; 'green' [means:] with petals of *sundhara*, etc. (perhaps *sundari*, a species of mangrove tree). With these powders is linked to 'he should draw the *maṇḍala*'" (*ro bsregs pa'i thal ba zhes bya ba'i tshon ni dkar ba'o/ nag po ni ro bsregs pa'i sol bas so/ ser po ni ba blas so/ dmar po ni dur khrod kyi so phag gis so/ ljang gu ni nim pa dang ni sun dha ra la sogs pa'i lo mas so/ rdul tshon de rnams kyis dkyil 'khor bri bar bya'o zhes par 'brel lo*). The explanation of the four powders matches the description of the *Yogaratnamālā* (2.19, Tripathi and Negi's edn. p. 21): *kṛṣṇarajaḥ śmaśānāṅgāreṇa; sitarājo narāsthicūrṇena; pītarajo haritālakena; raktarajaḥ śmaśāneṣṭakena*.

[1471] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 445): "***maṇḍala*-square** [means:] all the *dharma*s are not similar, but equal" (*gru bzhi zhes bya ba ni mi mnyam pa med cing mnyam pa nyid do*). *Śoṇaśrī (p. 394) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 413) give the same gloss. For a similar description of the *maṇḍala*-square in other early Buddhist tantras, see p. 388, n.6 in Appendix 2 of this thesis.

[1472] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 445): "**four doors** [means:] because of *viśuddhi*, the symbolism of the four doors is: emptiness, singlessness, wishlessness and non-compound-ness" (*sgo bzhi zhes pa ni stong pa nyid dang mtshan ma med pa dang smon pa med pa dang/ mngon par 'dus ma byas pa nyid rnam par dag pa'o*). *Śoṇaśrī (p. 394) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 413) give the same gloss.

[1473] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 445): "**four arches** [means:] the nature of the four *dhyāna*s" (*rta babs bzhi zhes pa ni bsam gtan bzhi'i rang bzhin no*). *Śoṇaśrī (p. 394) and *Vajrasiddha (pp. 413–414) give the same gloss.

[1474] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 445): "**bells** [means:] to understand emptiness of all the phenomena" (*dril bu zhes pa ni chos thams cad stong par rtogs pa'o*). *Śoṇaśrī (pp. 394–5) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 414) give the same gloss.

[1475] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 445): "**banners** [means:] *viśuddhi* of the eight *vijñāna*s" (*dar gyi* [em., *ral gri* ed.] *'phan zhes pa ni rnam par shes pa brgyad dag pa'o*).

[1476] The Tibetan text omits pennons (Skt. *pātaka*) (Siklós 1996:80). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 445): "**pennons** [means:] *viśuddhi* of nine branches of the scriptures" (*pravācana*, such as *sūtra*, *udāna*, *jātaka*, etc.) (*ba dan zhes pa ni gsung rab yan lag dgu rnam par dag pa'o*). *Śoṇaśrī (p. 395) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 414) give the same gloss.

[1477] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 445): "**adorned with a tie of flowers** [means:] *viśuddhi* of the five sense-objects" (*me tog phreng ba zhes pa ni 'dod pa'i yon tan lnga rnam par dag par ro*). *Śoṇaśrī (p. 395) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 414) give the same gloss.

the porticos, [the *maṇḍala*-square] is inlaid with the *vajra*-jewels,[1478] and similarly with the half-moons.[1479] In the centre of that [*maṇḍala*-square], he draws a circle, which is round[1480] and divided into nine segments.[1481] He should keep one door[1482] open, [and] keep the others closed.[1483]

[1478] The Skt. and Tibetan texts take *vajraratnais* as a *karmadhāraya*, meaning '*vajra*-jewels', but *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 445) seems to understand it as a *dvandva* because he glosses *vajra* and *ratna* separately: "***Vajra*** [means:] indivisible" (*rdo rje zhes pa ni mi phyed pa'o*), and "**jewels** [means:] the vast and great compassion, which increases unsurpassed joy" (*rin po che zhes pa ni bla na med pa'i dga' ba rgyas pa'i snying rje chen po'o*). For *Śoṇaśrī (p. 395) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 414), "***vajra*** [means:] emptiness" (*rdo rje rin chen zhes bya ba ni rdo rje ni stong pa nyid do*), and **jewels** has a gloss identical to that of *Kṛṣṇācārya.

[1479] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 445): "**the half-moons** [means:] the growth of the *bodhicitta*" (*zla ba phyed pa zhes pa ni byang chub kyi sems 'phel ba'o*). *Śoṇaśrī (p. 395) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 414) have the same gloss.

[1480] *Akṣobhya (p. 370): "**round** [means:] surrounded by the inner *vajra*-garland" (***zlum po*** *zhes bya ba ni nang gi rdo rje phreng bas bskor ba'o*).

[1481] *Kṛṣṇācārya (pp. 445–446): "**nine segments** [means:] the places for the nine deities: *viśvavajra* [one in the middle] and in four intermediate directions, and four *viśvapadma*s. One should also draw the inner circle of the deity (*devapaṭikā*), *vajra*-fence, the doors and one should install the *cihna*s of the deity" (*re'u mig dgu zhes pa ni lha dgu'i gnas te sna tshogs rdo rje dang mtshams bzhir sna tshogs padma bzhi'o/ lha'i snam bu dang rdo rje ra ba dang sgo rnams kyang bri zhing lha'i mtshan ma dgod pa'o*).

[1482] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 446): "**door** [means:] the *sādhaka* should shut all the others, but one. In case of *abhicāra* rituals, you leave the southern door open. The southern door is also for *vaśya* and *śānti*. These doors symbolise the four *vimkoṣa*-[gates] of the *sampannakrama*. As for this door, it is called *dvāra*, because one goes and comes. Through the gate of emptiness, one enters in the form of four kinds of yoga and goes out through the perfectly realised *maṇḍala*. One does not enter and does not go out through other doors. Through the *animita-dvāra*, one introduces the four mantras and four kinds of *japa*s, that is to say, one arrives to the four *maṇḍala*s through the door of the *vāyu* corner. In the *apraṇihitta-dvāra*, one puts the four *dharma*s, and the *cakra* with sixteen petals, *kṣe,* etc. in the navel. By joining wind and fire, it is blazing. In the heart, one [places] the eight-petalled *cakra*, *hi*, etc. In the navel, [one places] *oṃ hūṃ*, etc., it is blazing. In the throat, one [places] the eight-petalled *cakra* and in the navel [one places] *ya* on *oṃ*, etc., the essences flow from that door. On the head, one [places] the four-petalled *cakra*, *dhaiḥ* on *oṃ*, *hūṃ*, *haṃ*. When one enters through the navel in the door of spokes, the great bliss arises. In the uncompounded door, one should cultivate that the shape of the deity, mantra and attributes are one, indivisible and they neither exist nor do not exist. And each of these enter and exit through their respective door and not through other doors, that's why they need to be closed. The one door through which one enters is a liberation door, and it is open" (*sgo gcig ces pa ni sgrub pa po gcig las med na gzhan bcad pa'o/ drag po dang 'di nyid kyi* [em.; *kyis* ed.] *lho'i sgo gcig kho nas bya'o/ dbang dang zhi ba 'ang lho'i sgo kho na'o/ yang rdzogs rim gyi* [em.; *gyis* ed.] *sgo rnam par thar pa'i sgo bzhi ste/ sgo ni 'gro dang 'ong bas sgo ste/ stong pa nyid kyi sgor rnal 'byor bzhi dbyibs su 'jug pa mngon par rtogs pa'i dkyil 'khor gyi sgor 'gro ba'o/ gzhan du mi 'jug mi 'gro ba'o/ mtshan ma med pa'i sgor sngags bzhi gzhug cing bzlas thabs bzhi rlung gi sgor dkyil 'khor bzhir 'ong ba'o/ smon pa med pa'i sgor* [em., *sgo* ed.] *chos bzhi lte bar yang/ rtsa 'dab bcu drug la kshe la sogs dang rlung dang me'i sbyor bas 'bar ba'i rnam pa dang snying gar rtsa 'dab brgyad la hi la sogs pa lte bar oṃ dang huṃ la sogs pa 'bar ba'i rnam pa dang/ mgrin par rtsa*

[§4] In the centre of that [circle], he draws a corpse;[1484] in the east, a head;[1485] in the south, an arm; in the west, entrails; in the north a leg. In the eastern corner [he draws], a

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'dab brgyad la lte bar oṃ la ya la sogs pa'i snying po rnams 'bab pa'i sgo nas/ spyi bar rtsa 'dab bzhi la oṃ la dhaiḥ huṃ haṃ lte bar 'bab pa'i sgor 'jug bde ba chen por 'ong ba'o/ mngon par 'dus ma byas pa'i sgo de gsum mi phyed par gcig tu dbyibs dang sngags dang chos rnams yod pa ma yin med pa ma yin gnyis ka med pa ma yin par bsgom pa'o/ de yang rang rang sgor 'gro 'ong la/ gzhan dang gzhan du mi 'gro mi 'ong bas bcad pa'o/ 'jug pa'i sgo la gcig la grol ba'i sgo 'ong ba 'ang gcig kho nas so).

[1483] *Akṣobhya (p. 370) specifies: "**all other doors should be kept closed** [means:] other three doors should be closed except for the door in the southern direction. As it is said: 'one has to construct a big door with a platform, but [with] one [portion] which is more distinguished'. As for **blocking other doorways**, it is said: 'with white powder in the middle portion of a doorway, one should draw a subtle line'" (***sgo rnams gzhan ni gcad par bya****/ zhes bya ba ni lho phyogs las gzhan pa gsum gcad pa ste/ ji skad du/ chab sgo chen po stegs bur bcas/ cung zad gcig ni lhag par bya// chab sgo gzhan rnams bcad pa ni/ phye ma dkar po dag gis su/ sgo yi dbus kyi **cha dag tu**// ri mo phra mo bri bar bya/ zhes gsungs pa'o*). This passage, quoted from unidentified source, is also found in Kāmadhenu's *Āryasarvadurgatipariśodhanatejorājanāma Mahākalparājasya-ṭīkā*, which is a commentary on the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana* (Skorupski 1983).

[1484] *Akṣobhya (p. 370) says: "**he draws a corpse** that is to say as a seat (*āsana*)" (***ro bri'o*** *zhes bya ba ni gdan te*). What *Akṣobhya means is that the corpse is the seat of the deity Vajrabhairava. He, then, outlines the three general rules for designing divine beings in the *maṇḍala*-drawing. He says: "Firstly, one draws the shape [of the deity], secondly, one draws the form of *mudrā*, and thirdly, one draws their places and seats. These [three rules] are known as the ways to draw" (*dang por gzugs su bri bar bya/ gnyis pa phyag rgya'i gzugs su bri/ gsum pa gnas dang stan dag tu/ bri ba'i cho ga yongs su bsgrags zhes so*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (pp. 446–447): "**in the centre of [that circle] he draws a corpse** [means:] the *pīṭha*, i.e., throne of the deity. It [the corpse] has one head, two arms, red eyes, reddish yellow hair flowing upwards, it is naked, black in colour, has barred fangs, in the right hand, [he holds] a sword, in the left hand, he carries a skull. The eight [corpses should be put] in the corners [of the *maṇḍala*] and one in the actual centre. He should draw Śiva and Umā. In the four corners, he should draw a skull filled with *amṛta*, standing on the lip of the four vases" (*dbus su ro langs bri zhes pa ni lha'i gdan mgo bo gcig lag pa gnyis mig dmar ba skra ser ba g.yen du brdzes pa gcer bu mdog nag pa/ so dang mche ba gtsigs pa/ g.yas ral gri/ g.yon thod pa thogs pa brgyad dang/ dbus ngos su ma ha de ba dang/ u ma de ba bri'o/ grwa bzhir thod pa bdud rtsis gang ba bzhi bum pa'i khar bri'o*). *Śoṇaśrī (p. 395) and *Varjasiddha (p. 414) give an almost identical description of the *vetāla*, the only difference being that he has three red eyes (*dmig dmar pa gsum yod pa*) and holds in his right hand a skull filled with blood (*g.yon na khrag gis bkang ba'i thod pa 'dzin pa rnams so*).

[1485] *Akṣobhya (p. 370) specifies, referring to the *maṇḍala* of a solitary hero Vajrabhairava in the VBhT: "moreover, in the *maṇḍala* of a solitary hero (*ekavīra*) one has to fix many symbols, as it is stated (in the root text), **in the east, a head,** etc." (*'on kyang dpa' bo gcig pa'i dkyil 'khor du ni/ phyag mtshan ji snyed pa dgod par bya ba yang yin pas na/ **shar du ni mgo bo** zhes bya ba la sogs pa smos te*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 447): "**in the east, a head,** etc. [means:] at the fourth [eastern] door, he should draw a head of a corpse, arm, intestines, leg" (*shar du mgo bo zhes pa ni sgo bzhir ro'i mgo dang lag pa dang rgyu ma dang rkang pa bri'o*).

skull;[1486] in the southern, a [skull]-cup; in the western corner, a rag of the cremation ground; in the northern corner, a man impaled on a stake. These are the symbols he should position in the centre of the circle.

[§5] Next, there are the symbols outside the circle:[1487] on the strip in the eastern direction, he draws a dagger, a spear,[1488] a pestle, a knife, a single-pointed *vajra*,[1489] a hook, etc.[1490] On the southern strip, he draws an axe, an arrow, a club,[1491] a skull-staff, a wheel, and a noose.[1492] On the western strip, he draws a *vajra*, a drum,[1493] a shield, a bow, a bell, a

[1486] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 447) has instead "in the northern corner, a skull [means:] in the north-eastern corner, and then one has to proceed clockwise" (*byang gi grwar thod pa zhes bya ba ni byang shar gyi grwa la sogs pa g.yas skor ro*).

[1487] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 447): "**next, outside the circle** [means:] beginning with the Īśāna corner, *nyāsa* has to be done clockwise" (*de nas dkyil 'khor phyi rol zhes pa ni lha snam de dbang ldan gyi gnas nas dgod pa g.yas skor du dgod pa'o*). *Kumāracandra (p. 289): "**next** [means:] as for the supplementary *mudrā*s and symbols outside the wheel, these are the symbols, such as a knife, etc. that should be fixed beginning with the direction of Īśāna. One should draw them continuously, proceeding clockwise" (*de nas zhes bya ba la sogs pa la 'khor lo'i phyi rol gyi 'phar ma phyag rgya dang rtags ni gri gug la sogs pa'i mtshan ma ni dbang ldan gyi mtshams nas bzung ste/ g.yon skor du mtshams de nyid du thug par bri bar bya'o).*

[1488] Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:81) has 'a single-pointed spear' (*mtshon rtse gcig pa*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 447) also has this reading in front of him and he glosses "**a single-pointed spear** as iron lance ornamented with peacock's feathers (*mayūrapiccha*)" (*mtshon rtse gcig pa zhes pa ni lcags mdung rma bya'i sgro'i chun po dang ldan pa'o*). *Kumāracandra (p. 289) has an identical gloss. This could also refer to a *mayūrapiñcchaka,* a fan made of peacock's feathers, which is often in the possession of the *sādhaka* in the Bhūtatantras, according to which he has to either possess it or decorate himself with it. In the *Brahmayāmalatantra* (47.10cd), one should wave the *piñcchaka* during the *sādhana*, while adopting the *mahāvrata* (*piñcchakaṃ bhrāmayet paścān mahāvratatanusthitaḥ*). The *piñcchaka* is also used for sweeping the *maṇḍala* after its completion. In the *Cakrasaṃvara* (35.5), we find the expression "let him wave his *piñcchaka*". I thank Prof. Alexis Sanderson for this explanation.

[1489] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 447): "**a single-pointed *vajra*** [means:] a half-spear" (*rdo rje rtse gcig pa zhes pa phyed mdung ngo*). *Kumāracandra (p. 289) gives an identical gloss.

[1490] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 447): "**etc.** [means:] others, which are easy to understand" (*gzhan rnams ni go sla'o*).

[1491] In comparison with the Sanskrit text, the Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:81) lists those two weapons in reversed order, i.e. the skull-stuff comes before *dbyig to*, which Siklós (*ibid*.:29) translates as 'stuff'. Actually, *dbyig to* is a corruption of *dbyug to,* meaning 'a stick' or 'a club'. This is supported by *Kumāracandra's commentary (p. 289), which glosses **stuff** as 'club' (*dbyug to ni/ dbyug pa'o*).

[1492] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:81) has 'a *vajra*-noose' (*rdo rje zhags pa*).

[1493] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:81) has *rde'u chung*, which Siklós (*ibid*.:29) translates as a 'sword'. Actually, *rde'u chung* is a corruption of *rnga chung* 'a small drum'. Further, his translation has an additional weapon 'knife', which does not feature in the Tibetan text. Thus, his translation has seven weapons, while the Tibetan and Sanskrit texts have six.

banner blowing in the wind, etc. On the northern strip, he draws a threatening gesture, a triple-ribbon banner, an elephant-hood, a *vajra*-hammer, a spear, a fire-pit, etc.[1494] In the four doors and in the corners of the doors, he should position the great zombies.[1495]
[§6] He should offer a lamp with human oil.[1496] If he wishes for the highest *siddhi*,[1497] he should offer the meat of a human, a camel, a dog, a jackal, a buffalo, an elephant, a horse,[1498] a cow, a sheep, a deer, a pig, etc.[1499]

[1494] If one counts all the symbols deposited inside and outside the centre, the total is thirty-two. This number corresponds to the thirty-two weapons held by Vajrabhairava's thirty-two hands. However, *Akṣobhya (p. 371) disagrees with that iconography and claims that Vajrabhairava has thirty-four arms, with two extra hands holding an elephant hide, which stands for *prajñā* and *upāya*. He comments on it by glossing **etc.** as follows: "as for the other [weapons], it is explained by drawing suitable weapons encapsulated by the word *ādi*, 'etc.' As for that which constitues the method of excellent and non-dual means (*upāya*) and wisdom (*prajñā*), it [is portrayed iconographically as Vajrabhairava] holding an elephant hide in both hands. Moreover, as for the thirty-two symbols of the *tathāgata*'s great compassion, those are displayed by the other (thirty-two arms) holding various weapons; because of this, it is not permissible to draw any other weapons" (*gzhan dag ni sogs pa zhes bya ba'i sgras mtshon cha gang yang rung ba bri bar 'chad do/ thabs dang shes rab phul du byung ba dbyer med pa'i tshul du 'gyur ba ni/ phyag gnyis glang po che'i pags pa dang bcas pa yin la/ de bzhin gshegs pa'i thugs rje chen po'i sum cu gnyis nyid ni/ phyag gi mtshon cha dang bcas pa lhag mas ston pas na/ mtshan cha gzhan gang yang rung/ bri ba ni mi 'thad pa nyid do*).

[1495] *Akṣobhya's commentary (p. 371) glosses: "**the [eight] great zombies** (the number 'eight' is missing in the Sanskrit version) [means:] naked, with relaxed hair, sharp teeth, black like the *rākṣasa*s, holding a crooked knife and a skull. These zombies become friends of the *sādhaka* and achieve his desired magical *karma*" (***ro langs chen po brgyad*** *ces bya ba ni gcer bu skra grol ba so rno ba nag po srin po lta bu gri gug dang/ thod pa thogs pa rnams so/ 'di dag ni sgrub pa po'i grogs su gyur pa 'dod pa'i las 'grub pa'o*). *Kumāracandra (p. 289): "**zombie** [means:] a corpse" (*ro langs ni ro'o*). *Śoṇaśrī (p. 395) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 414): "**the [eight] great zombies** [means:] they have two hands, one face, three red eyes, they are yellowish, with raised hair, naked, with mouth baring the fangs, black in colour. In their left hand, the *vetāla*s hold a crooked knife with confidence; in their right hand, they hold a skull filled with blood" (***ro langs chen po*** *zhes bya ba ni ro langs te/ lag pa gnyis pa/ gdong gcig pa mig dmar ba gsum yod pa skra ser skya gyen du phyogs pa gcer bu kha mche ba gtsigs pa/ kha dog nag po lag pa g.yas na gri gug gdengs pas* [em., *pa* ed.]/ *g.yon na khrag gis bkang ba'i thod pa 'dzin pa rnams so*).

[1496] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 447): "**human oil** [means:] a butter-lamp containing melted human fat" (*mar khu chen po zhes pa ni mi'i tshil bzhu ba'i mar me'o*). This corresponds to the instructions for worshiping the goddess Kālī in the Śākta-tantra *Kramasadbhāva* (4.53cd), where we read: "one has to offer the lamps with human oil" (*mahātailena dīpāni dāpayed*).

[1497] Syntactically, it makes better sense to connect *mahātailena pradīpaṃ dadyāt* with the drawing of the *vetāla*s. The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:81), however, connects it with the highest *siddhi* (*gal te mchog go dngos grub 'dod na mar khu chen po'i mar me dbul lo*, "if he desires the highest *siddhi*, he should offer lamps of human oil"). This is also supported by *Lalitavajra's commentary (p. 307), who offers the following explanation: "Otherwise, **if he desires the highest *siddhi***, when a hero has died in a battle or has been struck down, [the mantra-master] takes a hair of a[nother] deceased man and a cloth of *arga* and makes them lay down on the wool. He offers a butter-lamp made of that [person's] fat. He binds the skull of the former (hero who died in a battle?) with the hair of the man and covers it up. The *yogin* meditates on himself as possessing

[§7] Among others, he should offer the meat of a vulture, an owl, a crow, an eagle, a crane, a water-hen, a stork, a peacock, a big rooster,[1500] a big myna, etc.[1501] With most concentrated mind,[1502] he should do the rituals of *homa*[1503] and *bali*[1504] with food that has

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the true nature of Yama with a consort in the cremation ground. He offers to him human flesh, etc. Then, through meditative absorption, he will 'accomplish the highest *siddhi*', it is said" (*gzhan dag gal te/ dngos grub mchog 'dod bya ba la/ dpa' bo g.yul du shi ba 'am 'gags te shi ba'i thong par de'i skra dang arga'i ras bal la sdod* [em.; *sdud bu* ed.] *byas la/ de'i zhag gi mar me gtang ste/ snga ma'i thod ba mi'i skra'i skud pas btag pas kha bcad pas dur khrod du gnas la bdag nyid rnal 'byor dang ldan pas de nyid ya ma* [em.; *ya ba* ed.] *yum du bsams la/ de la mi'i sha la sogs pas mchod la/ de nas snyoms par 'jug pas mchog gi dngos grub bsgrub par bya'o zhes zer ro*). The last sentence resembles a verse from the STTS, p. 346, line 15: *ātmānam uttāmāṃ siddhiṃ prapnoti susamāhitaḥ.*

[1498] Tibetan (Siklós 1996:81) has *ba lang* (ox) instead of horse, which is found in the Sanskrit.

[1499] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:81) has twelve types of meat, while Sanskrit has eleven. The meat of a donkey, included in Tibetan, is missing in the Sanskrit text.

[1500] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:81) has eleven types of birds, the last three being *khyim bya*, *ri skegs,* and *khyung chen po*. '*Khyim bya'* or 'chicken' is missing in the Sanskrit text.

[1501] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:81) has eleven types of birds, ending with *khyung chen*, which Siklós (1996:21) translates as 'eagle'. In the *Tibetan Rangjung Yeshe Dictionary*, *khyung chen* is translated as 'great *garuḍa*'. The Sanskrit text lists only ten types of birds, ending with *mahāmantrī*, which seems to be a corruption, but *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 447) and *Kumāracandra (p. 289) gloss *mahāmantrī* as "domestic fowl" (*sngags chen po zhes pa ni khyim bya'o*). Perhaps *mahāmantrī* 'the great one who recites the mantra' is an epithet of a rooster.

[1502] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 447): "established **with most concentrated mind** [means:] one should abandon other *vikalpa*s and establish [one's own] mind on the deity and emptiness" (*shin tu mnyam par gzhag ces pa ni lha dang stong pa nyid du sems bzhag pa rtog pa gzhan spangs pa'o*).

[1503] *Akṣobhya (p. 371): "**the rituals of *homa*** he offers with it" (*sbyin sreg ni 'jug pa na'o*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 447) offers a more esoteric interpretation of *homa* and *bali* when he says: "**rituals of *homa* and *bali*** [means:] in the belly of Vajrabhairava as oneself, in the blazing fire, one should generate Agnideva-Vajrabhairava in the heart of the fire-*maṇḍala*, one should invite the *jñānadevatā* of the fire, who dissolves [there]. Then, the noose of Agnideva and one's own tongue is made into a *vajra*-stove […]" (*sbyin sreg dang gtor ma la sogs zhes pa ni bdag rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi lto bar me 'bar ba la me'i dkyil snying gar me lha rdo rje 'jigs byed bskyed la ye shes pa me lha spyan drangs bstim la/ me lha'i ljags dang rang gi lce rdo rje'i sbu gur byas la …*). The second part of the passage is corrupted and beyond reconstruction, but generally speaking, *Kṛṣṇācārya seems to be giving an exposition of the internal *homa*, *bali,* and the yogic way of eating food.

[1504] *Akṣobhya (p. 371) specifies that "**the rituals of *bali*** (proprietary oblations) are to be offered by a practitioner [who is engaged in a *sādhana* practice] at dusk, but during the formal *maṇḍala* initiation of a disciple, these should be offered after he has constructed the *maṇḍala*. Moreover, in both cases (during the *maṇḍala* initiation and the *sādhana*), these should be offered at midnight" (*gtor ma'i las ni zhes bya ba sgrub pa pos srod la sbyin te/ slob ma dbang bskur ba la ni dkyil 'khor bsgrub par byas la'o/ yang na gnyis kar nam phyed na'o*).

to be chewed (*bhakṣa*) and that has to be stirred by a tongue and swallowed (*bhojya*).[1505] [Then], he drenches the *maṇḍala* with blood on all sides.[1506] He should offer all the offerings[1507] while remaining in the meditative union with the Buffalo-faced one, the Lord Vajrabhairava.

[§8] Then, the mantra-master, who has done the purification rites [of the mantra] (*kṛtapuraścaraṇa*), either with three people, with a good companion,[1508] or alone, with the body anointed with feaces and urine, naked, with his hair loosen, at midnight, beats a *ḍamaru*. With calm mind,[1509] having let out the mad laughter,[1510] he enters the *maṇḍala* of the Great Vajrabhairava.[1511]

[1505] ***Bhakṣa*** and ***bhojya*** are two technical terms used for two types of food that should be offered to the deity during worship. According to Hemādri (13th c.), *bhakṣa* denotes any food that "is ingested after having been broken into pieces", while *bhojya* denotes a type of food "which is not too hard and does not depend on being broken into pieces, but which is swallowed after merely having been stirred by a tongue" (Ikari 1994:379). *Akṣobhya (p. 371) specifies that ***bhakṣabhojya*** "should be offered in the *gaṇacakra* (*pūjā*) when the mantra-master has entered the *maṇḍala*" (*bza' ston ni dkyil 'khor du 'jug pa na tshogs kyi 'khor lo bya ba'o*).

[1506] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 447) interprets **blood** as "human blood" and says that one should sprinkle it "at the time of drawing the above *maṇḍala*" (*khrag chen pos gdab ces pa ni gong gi dkyil 'khor bri ba'i tshe'o*).

[1507] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 447): "**he should give all the offerings** [means:] that what has been taught at the time when one is eating [implies] that during all the ritual procedures, namely, at the time when one is Vajrabhairava, at the time when one is purifying the seven (?), at the time when one dissolves into the *jñānasattva*, at the time of the *maṇḍala*-initiation, and at the time when one is putting rituals into practise, one should give these offerings to Śrīvajrabhairava by assuming a divine pride of oneself as Vajrabhairava" (*lha bshos thams cad dbul bar bya zhes pa ni bdag gi bza' ba'i dus gsungs pa de 'jigs byed yin pa dang bdun dag pa'i dus dang ye shes sems dpa' bstim pa'i dus dang dbang bskur ba dang/ las 'chol ba'i dus thams cad la bdag lha'i nga rgyal gyis dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed la dbul ba'o*).

[1508] The whole passage is corrupted in Tibetan (Siklós 1996:81), where it reads *bdag zhi bar gyur ba'i shin tu mthun pa'i grogs sam bdag gcig pu rnam par snang mdzad kyis lus byugs te*, which he (*ibid*.:30) translates as "a close friend who has calmed his own ego should anoint him with *vairocana* or he should do it himself". Actually, the Sanskrit has *ātmacaturthaḥ*, 'he himself as the fourth', and it is easy to decipher that the corruption in Tibetan has arisen by dropping the letter 'g' in *bdag* (*g*)*zhi bar gyur ba*. The term *ātmacaturthaḥ* in reference to oneself as the fourth person occurs also in the NTGS (10.33), see p. 390, n. 21. Similarly, *shin tu mthun pa'i grogs* is an equivalent of the Sanskrit *susamāyin*, 'a close friend', which reflects the concept of a good companion or an assistant of the *sādhaka,* as conveyed also by other terms, such as *susahāya*, *uttarasādhaka,* etc. The appearance of this term in the VBhT is an example of the "early tantric ritual syntax" that has been borrowed from tantric Śaiva literature (see, p. 202, fn.465 of this thesis).

[1509] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 448): "**with calm mind** [means:] his mind should not be distracted from the *krama* of the *vidhi*" (*mnyam par gzhag ces pa ni cho ga'i rim pa las sems gzhan du ma yengs pa'o*).

If he desires *siddhi*, he should offer a well-flavoured drink[1512] of wine, and delicious food.

[§9] After that, having visualised[1513] [that he has achieved] the success over the target[1514] in the centre,[1515] he should visualise the Buffalo-faced Lord Vajrabhairava on the top of

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[1510] Entry into cremation ground with mad laughter emulates the analogous Śaiva practice: see p. 202 of this thesis. *Kṛṣṇācārya (pp. 447–448): "**having let out the mad laughter** [means:] he should do the eight types of laughter, 'ha, hi', etc. in order to remove impediments" (*ha ha zhes pa ni ha hi la sogs pa brgyad de lta ba'i gad mo brgyad bya'o/ bar chad sel ba'i phyir dgod pa'o*). The later Tibetan tradition accounts for eight types (i.e., four doublets) of laughter of the wrathful deities. These are: 1) threatening laughter 'ha ha' (*sdigs pa'i gad mo ha ha*); 2) joyful laughter 'he he' (*dgyes pa'i gad mo he he*); 3) enticing laughter 'hi hi' (*sgeg pa'i gad mo hi hi*); 4) subjugating laughter 'ho ho' (*zil gyis gnon pa'i gad mo ho ho*). *Śoṇaśrī (p. 395) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 414) similarly gloss this expression as "eight types of laughter" (*ha ha zhes sgrogs byed ces pa ni gad mo brgyad kyis rnam par byed pa'o)*.

[1511] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 448) understands the syntax of this passage differently, i.e.: "he enters the *maṇḍala*, if he desires *siddhi*", which he glosses as "one has to cultivate the four *yoga*s with whatever one's mind desires beginning with *śānti*, and this applies also to the time of initiation" (*dkyil 'khor dngos grub 'dod pas 'jug par bya zhes pa ni zhi ba la sogs pa gang 'dod pas rnal 'byor bzhi sgom pa dang dbang bskur ba'i dus dang 'brel to*).

[1512] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 448): "**well-flavoured drink** [means:] he accomplishes the *siddhi*s he desires after *gaṇacakra*, *vīramelāpa*" (*zhim pa'i chang zhes pa ni tshogs kyi 'khor lo dang dpa' bo'i ston mo de nas 'dod pa'i dngos grub la*).

[1513] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 448): "**having visualised** [means:] if he has faith, [then] a disciple at the time when he has received intiation, the best *ācārya* or [the practitioner] himself will receive [the *siddhi*s] from Śrī Vajrabhairava" (*dmigs zhes pa ni dbang nod pa'i slob ma'i dus dang slob dpon mchog gam rang la mos pa yod la dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed las blang ba'o*).

[1514] The Tibetan text (1996:82) has *phyi nas dngos grub dang dngos grub ma yin pa la dmigs la,* which Siklós (1996:30) translates as "then, he considers whether he will succeed or fail". The Sanskrit text has a different reading, namely, *sādhyasiddhiṃ vicintya*, 'having visualised [that he has achieved] the success over the target', which indicates that the Tibetan text has been corrupted. *Śoṇaśrī (p. 395) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 414): "**target in the centre** [means:] the *siddhi* which is desired" (*de dbus bsgrub bya zhes bya ba ni mngon par 'dod pa'i dngos grub bo*).

[1515] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 448): "**in the centre** [means:] at the time of initiation, he visualises the deity and at the time of *sādhana*, he will obtain *siddhi*. When he is initating somebody into becoming a disciple, the *ācārya* should be angry and confer secret initation (*guhyābhiṣeka*), and at the time of wisdom-knowledge initiation (*prajñājñānābhiṣeka*), he should collect the powdered stuff; during all this time, he should remain in union with Vajrabhairava" (*de'i dbus su zhes pa dbang bskur ba'i dus su lha bsgom pa dang sgrub pa'i dus su dngos grub nod pa'o/ slob ma la dbang bskur ba'i dus su slob dpon gyis dbang la khro bcas pa dang/ gsang ba'i dbang nod pa dang shes rab ye shes la rdul tshon steng ngam bsdus la rdo rje 'jigs byed dang ldan pas bsdad pa'o*). *Akṣobhya (p. 372): "**having visualised the target in the centre** [means:] he should visualise the target as the seat of whosoever has been harboring ill will towards the Buddha's teaching. Moreover, on the image of the target in the centre, one places a *yantra* and a doll (*puttalikā*) together with meat of *yamaputra* [perhaps, *yamaputrī* (a puppet featuring death)]. Here, in case of *śānti* and *puṣṭi*, one puts [the target] in front. Other commentators say: concerning the

that [target].[1516] With perfectly concentrated mind, he should then [begin to] repeat the ten-letter mantra[1517] with one-pointed mind while maintaining the sense of identity [with the deity] and standing in front[1518] [of the *maṇḍala*] in the counter-bowman pose.[1519]

[§10] Then, the most frightening things will arise.[1520] The mantra-master should not be afraid of them. If he is afraid, then those great impeders will cause a weak point. If there

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saṃvarakrama stated before, because there is no *vidhi* he should perform in this way, the person to be killed is to be imagined as a seat, if you want to perform *japa*. Except for the supreme *siddhi*, there is no *maṇḍala*-drawing instruction, therefore, this view, that the target has to be made into the *āsana*, is not right. According to the previous teaching, it is appropriate to do it through meditative stabilisation" (*dbus su bsgrub bya dmigs la zhes bya ba ni sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa la 'khu ba gang su yang rung ba zhig gdan du dmigs par bya'o/ gzhan yang dbus su bsgrub bya'i gzugs su 'khrul 'khor dang pu ta linga dang bcas pa'i ya ma pu tra sha bzhag la'o/ 'dir zhi ba dang/ rgyas pa la ni mdun du'o/ gzhan dag ni sngar gsungs pa'i sdom gyi las ma lus pa la 'di ltar bsgrub par bya ba min pas na/ gsad par bya ba gdan du brtags te bzlas pa bya bar 'dod de/ dngos grub mchog sgrub pa dag ma yin pa la dkyil 'khor bri ba ni gang du yang mi 'gyur bas na de ni mi rigs te/ sngar bstan pa ltar ting nge 'dzin gyis ni rung ngo*).

[1516] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:82) reflects the Sanskrit correctly as *de'i steng du dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed chen po ma he'i gdong can bsam par bya'o,* but for some reason Siklós (*ibid*.:30) misses out the translation of *de'i steng du*. *Śoṇaśrī (p. 395) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 414): "**on the top of that** [means:] mounted on that" (*de'i steng du zhes bya ba ni de la zhon pa'o*).

[1517] *Akṣobhya (p. 372): "**the ten-syllable *mantra*** [means:] it is established as suitable for all the *karma*s. As for the root-*mantra*, it is only established for *yantra* rituals. Even the *hṛdayamantra* is only for inviting the deity, this is what is mainly implied" (*yi ge bcu pa'i gsang sngags zhes bya ba ni bya ba thams cad la de nye bar gnas pa ste/ rtsa ba'i sngags ni 'khrul 'khor gyi bya ba tsam la gnas la/ snying po'i sngags kyang lha nye bar gyur pa tsam la gtso bor 'gyur bas so*).

[1518] *Kumāracandra (p. 289): "**in front** [means:] in front of the *maṇḍala*" (*de'i mdun ni/ dkyil 'khor gyi mdun no*).

[1519] *Lalitavajra explains **counterbowman pose** as "in front of the southern door" (*brkyang bskus gnas zhes pa ni/ lho'i sgor de'i mdun du'o*).

[1520] The Tibetan text (1996:82) has *de nas 'jigs byed chen po byung na*, which Siklós (1996:30) translates as "then should the great Bhairava arise […]". The Sanskrit text does not agree with the Tibetan version, for it has *tato mahābhayāny utpadyante*, but *Kṛṣṇācārya's commentary (p. 448) supports both interpretations, when it states: "**then, the most frightening things** [means:] Bhagavān will arrive or there will be manifestation of disgusting form, sound, smell, taste, and touch. As for the impediments: these are the things that hurt the *sādhaka* and block the *sādhaka* from obtaining *siddhi*s. If he does not become afraid, whatever *siddhi* he wishes for, will be given" (*de nas 'jigs byed pa chen po zhes pa ni bcom ldan 'das byon pa'am gzugs dang sgra dang dri dang ro dang reg mi sdug pa 'byung ba'o/ bar chod ni sgrub pa po la gnod pa dngos grub kyi gegs byed pa'o/ 'jigs pa ma byas na de'i rjes la dngos grub gang 'dod ster ba'o*). The disgusting things that may appear before the *sādhaka* are considered signs (*nimitta*) of approaching *siddhi*s, which are popular in the early *kriyātantra*s and in the Śākta-tantras as well. For example, *Brahmayāmala* (15.39–42) gives the following list of *vighna*s that the *sādhaka* may expect during the *vetālasādhana*: "Terrible impediments to his practice arise around him. There occurs the hideous howling of jackals and confused sounds. In the morning he sees everything clearly. He hears the bellowing of cows, bulls (?) and the cawing of crows. He sees people flying

is a weak point, the *sādhana* will not succeed. Therefore, the mantra-master must not be afraid. Then, the Great Vajrabhairava is delighted and being delighted, he says: "What boon should I give you?" The *vidyā*-holder[1521] should say[1522]: "Give me the sword, the underworld, the elixir, the rejuvenating technique". Or, he gives him any other *siddhi* that his mind desires;[1523] there is no doubt about that. If, on occasion, the mantra-master does not achieve the *siddhi*,[1524] then, inevitably, all the minor rituals[1525] will succeed.

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in the air. [But] he must not stop the *homa*, O Goddess. When he has made the *arghya*-offering, the mantra-master sees a garden there. When he hears the sound of military camp, neighing of horses, barking of dogs, and trumpeting of elephants, he must not be afraid nor should he neglect the *homa*" (*vighnāny asyopajāyante raudrāṇi ca tato bahiḥ/ śivārāvaṃ mahāghoraṃ kalakalaṃ ca prajāyate// prabhātaṃ paśyate sarvāṃ gorambhāṃ śrūyate tathā/ kākaśabdaṃ prajāyeta lokaṃ paśyati utthitam// homaṃ devi na moktavyaṃ arghaṃ dattvā tu/ mantriṇā ārāmaṃ paśyate tatra skandhāvāradhvanis tathā// heṣāravo* [em. Acharya; *hemāravo* mss.] *tathāśvānāṃ gajagarjadhvanis tathā/ tan* [em.; *tāṃ* mss.] *śrutvā tu na bhetavyaṃ na ca homaṃ pramādayet*).

[1521] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 448): "***vidyā*-holder** [means:] *sādhaka*" (*rig pa 'dzin pa zhes pa ni sgrub pa po'o*). *Kumāracandra (p. 289) has an identical gloss.

[1522] *Akṣobhya (p. 372): "**the *vidyā*-holder should say** [means:] he honours the deity after having offered him *arghya* of human blood" (*rig sngags 'chang gis gsol ba btab pa zhes bya ba ni khrag chen po'i yon chab phul nas gus par byas te'o*).

[1523] *Akṣobhya (p. 372): "**other *siddhi*s that his mind desires** [means:] whatever he desires that is compatible with his talent. After having joined with praises and having offered a stream of offerings with one-pointed mind, he should bow his head in obeisance. According to what has been stated: 'One obtains the boon concordant with one's own faith and effort. If one has obtained the boon, he should bow down in obeisance with joy, he should offer praises and give offerings with faith, he should recite the mantra and ask the deity to leave'" (*gzhan yang yid la gang 'dod pa/ zhes bya ba ni rang gi sbyangs pa dang mthun pa tsam las gang 'dod pa ste/ bstod dang bcas nas mchod yon rgyun sbrengs nas/ rtse gcig sems kyis gdong btud phyag byas te/ dad dang 'bad pa'i rjes mthun dam pa blang/ dam pa thob na dga' bas phyag byas te/ dad pas bstod nas mchod yon phul nas su/ gsang sngags brjod cing slar yang gshegs su gsol/ zhes ji skad gsungs pa lta bu'o*). This unidentified quote is also found in Kāmadhenu's *Āryasarvadurgatipariśodhanatejorājanāma Mahākalparājasyaṭīkā*, which is a commentary on the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana* (Skorupski 1983).

[1524] *Śoṇaśrī (pp. 395–396) and *Vajrasiddha (pp. 414–415): "**If, on occasion, the mantra-master does not achieve the *siddhi*** [means:] if he propitiates Bhagavān, he will be bestowed even the *mahāmudrā*. If it does happen that the *yogin* does not achieve [the *siddhi*] on account of not having merit, 'at that time, inevitably, all the minor *siddhi*s will succeed', it is said. This happens so that his faith is made to grow" (*de nam zhig sngags pas ma grub na zhes bya ba ni bcom ldan 'das mnyes na phyag rgya chen po'ang ster bar byed do/ nam zhig rnal 'byor pa bsod nams ma yin pa'i dbang gis ma grub na/ de'i tshe las phran tshegs rnams nges par 'grub par 'gyur ro zhes dad pa nye bar 'phel bar bya ba'i don du'o*).

[1525] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 448) says: "minor rituals [means:] accomplishments linked to [the use of] *yantra*s, which are going to be explained" (*phra mo las thams cad ces pa ni 'khrul 'khor dang 'brel pa'i las ston pa rnams grub pa'o*). For the discussion on the *kṣudrasiddhi*s, see p. 135 of this thesis. The same meaning is attested in the commentary by *Akṣobhya (p. 372), who glosses "minor rituals to be done" as "*yantra*, *homa* and those things that are accomplished by meditation

This is the first[1526] chapter,[1527] [called] the explanation of the *maṇḍala* in the *yogatantra*[1528] of Śrīmahāvajrabhairava, which is a part of [the *tantra*] called the *Śrīmañjuśriya*[*tantra*].

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that are going to be explained" (*las phra mo bya ba ni 'khrul 'khor dang/ sbyin sreg dang/ bsam gtan gyis bsgrub par bya ba 'chad par 'gyur ba rnams so*).

[1526] *Kṛṣṇācārya (pp. 448–449): "**first** [means:] first of seven [chapters]; completed [means:] it teaches without exception the rituals of the *maṇḍala*, it is the chapter of *Śrīvajrabhairava*[*tantra*] first to be examined" (*dang po ni bdun pa'i sngon du bdun pa rdzogs pa ni dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga ma lus par bstan pa'o/ dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi rtog pa dang po'i bshad pa'o*).

[1527] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 448): "**completed is the first chapter** [means:] each chapter is examined individually" (*rtog pa dang po rdzogs so zhes pa ni las so so la rtog dpyod pa'o*).

[1528] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 448): "***yogatantra*** [means:] This is the *maṇḍala* explanation accomplished from the [tantra] of Vajramahābhairava in seven chapters [belonging to the collection] of rituals [that feature] among the five groups of father tantras. Moreover [the *maṇḍala*] is accomplished by completing the previous *pūrvasevā* and initiation" (*rnal 'byor gyi rgyud ces pa ni pha'i rgyud sde lnga las phrin las kyi rdo rje 'jigs byed chen po'i le'u bdun las sgrub pa'i dkyil 'khor bstan pa'o/ de yang bsnyen pa dang dbang sngon du song bas sgrub pa'o).*

Chapter Two

The Accomplishment of All Magical Recipes

[§11] I will now tell you the procedure of the repertoire of magical recipes (*karmaprasara*), according to the rule, in due order. A very wrathful mantra-master performs [the rites] such as killing, driving away, while remaining in union with the venerable Great Vajrabhairava.

[§12] First of all, indeed, the mantra-master should perform[1529] the [preliminary] rite of protection (*niśumbhana*[1530]). Why is that?[1531] That is done in the very beginning because the *yogatantra* and the deity-*yoga* have, as their chief method, *yoga* (meditative absorption).[1532]

[1529] *Akṣobhya (pp. 373–374): "**he should perform** [means:] he should recite [the *niśumbhana-mantra*, see below], when he draws the *yantra* in order to achieve protection, [it should be recited] seven times, etc. Others say: 'if you wish to protect [yourself], you should utter [the *mantra*] *oṃ phu phu phu hi hi hi*'. But, whatever is permissible [is allowed], because [the *niśumbhana-mantra*] is established for protecting the Tathāgata family" (*bzlas te zhes bya ba ni 'khrul 'khor 'bri ba na bsrung ba'i phyir lan bdun la sogs par ro/ gzhan dag ni/ oṃ phu phu phu hi hi hi/ zhes bya bas bsrung bar 'dod do/ gang yang rung ste de bzhin gshegs pa'i rigs kyi bsrung ba la 'di nye bar gnas pas so*).

[1530] Siklós (1996:31) translates *niśumbhana* (Tib. *gnod mdzes su bya*) as "he should cleanse himself from all impurities", which is inaccurate. *Niśumbhana* is associated with the preliminary *krodha* rites that have to be performed at the beginning of all wrathful rites. By means of *niśumbhana*, the *sādhaka* merges with *krodharāja*, i.e., takes on the wrathful nature of the deity, while protecting himself at the same time. The *niśumbhana*-mantra*, oṃ śumbha niśumbha hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ,* goes back to the earliest scripture of 'mature' tantric Buddhism, the STTS. The *niśumbhana* mantra also appears as a preliminary protective rite in Candrakīrti's *Vajrasattvasādhana*, and in the 30th chapter of the *Herukābhidhāna*. *Akṣobhya (p. 373) glosses "the mantra of *niśumbhana*" [but the root-text omits the word 'mantra'] as "the mantra with four *huṃ* letters" (*gnod mdzes kyi gsang sngags zhes bya ba ni yi ge hum bzhi pa'i sngags so*).

[1531] The Tibetan text has *de'i phyir zhe na,* which corresponds to the Skt. *kathaṃ tat*; Siklós (1996:31), however, omits the translation.

[1532] The Tibetan text reads: *rnal 'byor gtso bo yin pa'i phyir ro/ rnal 'byor gyi rgyud la lha'i sbyor ba dang ldan pas/ thog mar ni de bya ste* (Siklós 1996:83): "Because the chief thing is yoga, in the *yogatantra*(s), the one endowed with the deity-yoga should do it in the beginning". Siklós's translation (*ibid*.:31) is inaccurate: "This is because he is the lord of yoga. In the *yoga-tantras*, the one in union with the deity should do this since he is himself the lord of yoga". *Akṣobhya's commentary (p. 374) seems to be corrupted, for he glosses: "**the chief thing of this *yogatantra*** [is yoga] [means:] the way in which the *niśumbhana-yoga* is taught in this tantra is not extant in other *yogatantra*s" (*sbyor ba'i rgyud kyi gtso bo zhes bya ba ni/ ji ltar rgyud 'di nas tshar bcad pa'i sbyor ba bstan pa ltar/ sbyor ba rgyud gzhan las de ltar lhur ma mdzad pas na'o*). *Akṣobhya (p. 374) glosses **the one endowed with the deity-yoga** by quoting the following passage from an unidentified source: "There will be an accomplishment if the *yogin* has

[§13] In this [*sādhana*], this is the rite: if he wishes to accomplish the ritual [of killing], then facing south, naked, with his hair untied,[1533] while in the meditative union with the Buffalo-faced one, he should draw with a feather of a big crow, or with a pen,[1534] a sixteen-segmented wheel of the Great Vajrabhairava[1535] on a rag of the cremation

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manasikāra to visualise the form of deity, according to the prescription; however, if he wavers, then the procedure will not be achieved. Because it is said, 'in the beginning, although they are done, all *japa* and *tapas* will become worthless, if they are performed with a mind somewhere else and through something else'" (*lha'i gzugs tshul bzhin yid la byed pas thob par bya'o*/ *gal te rnam par g.yengs na sbyor ba mi 'grub ste*/ *bzlas brjod dang ni dka' thub kun*/ *dus ni dang por byas gyur kyang*/ *gzhan sems pa dang gzhan pas ni*/ *de dag thams cad don med 'gyur*/ *zhes gsungs pas so*). The Skt. version of this quotation has been identified by P.-D. Szàntó (private conversation) in Mañjukīrti's *Ādikarmāvatāra* (fol. 12v, ms. Göttingen Xc 14.50) as:

> *japās tapāṃsi sarvāṇi dīrghakālakṛtāny api* |
> *anyacittena mandena vṛthaivety āha sarvavid iti* ||
>
> "All the *mantra* recitation and asceticism, even if you have been done for a long time, if the mind is somewhere else or if it is slow, all that, will become worthless, so taught the omniscient one".

A comparison between the verse and the above passage in Tibetan suggests that *dang por* is a corruption of *ring por*, which is typical in Tibetan transmitted texts; *gzhan pas* is also a corruption. There is another version of this passage in the *Ādikarmapradīpa* by Anupamavajra (edn. Poussin 1898:203), where it is referred to as a passage coming from the *Vidyādharapiṭaka* (*tathā cokta[ṃ] vidyādharapiṭake: japās tapāṃsi sarvāṇi dīrghakālakṛtāny api*/ *anyacittena mandena sarvaṃ bhavati niṣphalam*// *iti*).

[1533] *Lalitavajra (p. 311) provides additional information, i.e. that his body should be smeared with excrement (*rnal 'byor lhor bltas pas gcer bu skra grol zhes pa ni lus la dri chen byug pas so*).

[1534] *Lalitavajra (p. 311): "**pen** [means:] a tip of a feather or [any thing] suitable for that activity" (*smyu gu ni sgro tshe 'am rung ba las so*). The Tibetan text has a pen made of human bone (*mi'i rus pa'i smyu gu*), Siklós 1996:83.

[1535] *Lalitavajra (p. 311) comments on this as follows: "'he should make the Great Vajrabhairava' is connected with 'he should draw the sixteen segmented wheel'. In order to divide the wheel into sixteen parts, first of all, he makes two lines with the thread from the corpse, and again, he makes two [lines] as borderlines, and again he makes four [lines] in [four] directions. In the same way, regarding the outer parts, he makes the same [division] and they become sixteen. Then, from the half way in, going clockwise, he makes nine [boxes]. From the half way out, going clockwise, he makes twelve [boxes]. Then, further up, going clockwise, he makes twelve [boxes]. Then, further up, going clockwise, he makes sixteen [boxes]. This is the meaning of 'setting up the lines'" (*rdo rje 'jigs byed chen po'i bya ba ni de'i rgyud kyi 'khor lo bcu drug pa bri zhes bya bar 'brel to*/ *bcu drug cha bgo ba'i phyir*/ *ro'i skud pas dang por thig gnyis so*/ *yang gnyis mtshams* [em.; *'tshams* ed.] *su'o*/ *yang bzhi ni phyogs su'o de bzhin du phyi'i cha ni de bzhin du bgros pas bcu drug tu 'gyur ro*/ *de nas phyed las nang du bskor bas cha dgu'i ling tshe'o*/ *phyi'i phyed las bskor bas cha bcu gnyis pa'o*/ *de nas phyi bskor bas cha bcu gnyis pa'o*/ *de nas phyi bskor bas cha bcu drug pa ste*/ *la zhes bya ba ni de ltar thig btab la zhes pa'i don to*). The second part of *Lalitavajra's commentary seems corrupted, for it contains unneccesary repetition regarding the making of the twelve boxes. *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 449): "he draws a circle with twelve spokes, endowed with the body of Yama" (probably resembling the image of the Wheel of Time with

ground[1536] [drenched] with poison, blood,[1537] salt, black mustard, *neem*, juice of *datura*. There [on the rag of the cremation ground,] in the middle of the two fires[1538] [i.e. in between the letters PHAṬ], he writes the customised name of the target surrounded by the ten-syllable mantra at the centre of the platform, [and] eight HŪṂs[1539]. Having drawn

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Yama, instead of Kāla, holding a *cakra* in his hands); "in the centre, he draws the eighth box" (*gshin rje'i lus dang ldan pa'i 'khor lo rten 'brel 'khor lo bcu gnyis bri bar bya zhing dbus su re'u mig brgyad pa bri'o*).

[1536] *Lalitavajra (p. 311): "**the rag of the cremation ground** [means:] a crematory shroud of a [dead] person" (*dur khrod kyi ras ni skyes bu'i ro shun no*). *Kṛṣṇācārya: "**the rag of the cremation ground** [means:] one should take a shroud on the twenty-second dark *pakṣa* of the moon from the corpse killed in the accident that is taken to the cremation ground" (*dur khrod kyi ras zhes pa 'di grir shi ba'i ro dur khrod du bskyal ba mar gyi ngo'i nyi shu gnyis la blangs la*). *Kṛṣṇācārya is referring here to the corpse of a person who died with a sudden death (*akālana-maraṇa*). The usual time-period for taking the shroud is from the second up to the twelve dark *pakṣa* of the moon. According to Bhavabhaṭṭa, one has to take a shroud before the corpse is put into the fire. I thank P.D. Szántó for this explanation.

[1537] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 449): "human ashes, white ashes, five *amṛta*s, blood of human, dog, etc. and various types of poison, etc. mixed with the five pigments" (*thal chen dang/ sa dkar dang/ bdud rtsi lnga dang mi dang khyi la sogs pa'i khrag dang/ dug gi rigs sna tshogs dang/ tshon rtsi lnga dang sbyar*).

[1538] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 396) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 415): "**in the middle of the two fires** [means:] fire is the letter RA. If someone were to ask what is the logic [behind this], it is because [RA] is the seed of fire. This is obtained only because of 'affixing the effect to the cause'" (*me gnyis kyi dbus su zhes bya ba ni me ni ra yig go/ gang la rtog ce na me'i sa bon yin pa'i phyir te/ rgyu la 'bras bu btags pa'i phyir ro zhes bya ba kho nar thob bo*). *Kumāracandra (p. 290) gives a different explanation, for he glosses **two fires** as "a triangle, two-storeys" (*me gnyis ni gru gsum nyis brtsegs go*). *Lalitavajra (pp. 311–312) says: "he should put the name of the target in between the two fires [means:] he should put a small name [of the target] in the middle of the wind-*bīja* in the centre and the fire [letter] in the boxes of the intermediate directions, which means, he puts [the name of the target] in between the two [letters] RA, [as well as] in the four directions, and in the twelve [boxes of the intermediate diagram]. 'He should surround [the name] with the ten-syllable mantra' [means:] customising the name of the target with the ten-syllable mantra" (*me gnyis bar du bsgrub bya'i ming zhes bya ba la/ dbus su rlung gis bon gyi dbus su chung ba'i ming dang/ mtshams* [corr.; *'tshams* ed.] *kyi ling tshe la me ste ra gnyis kyi bar du chud pa dang/ phyogs kyi bzhi dang bcu gnyis pa la yi ge bcu ba'i sngags kyis bskor zhes pa ste/ yi ge bcu bsgrub bya'i ming dang bcas bas so*).

[1539] *Lalitavajra (p. 312) seems to have a different reading in front of him, which also provides us with an explanation of the subduing nature of the syllable HŪṂ (see p. 214 of this thesis), when he says: "'he overcomes [the target] with the eight letters HŪṂ' [means:] he draws eight HŪṂs in the eight boxes of the diagram, he puts each one in an empty [box], and draws as stated before. Others say: 'one draws the name [of the target] in the central eighth box, in the twelfth [box], and in the centre of the syllable RAṂ. One draws surrounding [the name of the target] with the ten-syllable [mantra] at the edges of the *yantra*. In the sixteen boxes, he subjugates with eight *hūṃ*s, which means drawing eight *hūṃ*s; in the empty [boxes], one draws [the eight *hūṃ*s] customising them with the name of the target'" (*huṃ yig brgyad pas mnan zhes pa ni ling tshe brgyad la hum brgyad bris la/ re re bzhag pa'i stong pa la snga ma bzhin bri'o/ gzhan dag ni nang gi brgyad pa dang/ bcu gnyis pa la ram gyi dbus su ming bris la/ de'i mtha' yi ge bcu pas bskor bar bris la/*

a letter PHAṬ in the corners and having anointed himself with pungent mustard oil (*kaṭutaila*),[1540] he places the *yantra* [i.e. the sixteen-segmented wheel of Vajrabhairava] between the two skulls.[1541] Having placed [the skulls with the *yantra*] on the top of the hearth[1542] made of three stones, having lit up[1543] the fire with the cremation pyre wood,[1544] and pressing down on it with his left foot,[1545] he should repeat the ten-syllable mantra.[1546] In an instant, the target will die; there is no doubt about this.

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bcu drug pa la brgyad bas mnan la hum brgyad bris la stong pa la bskul tshig ming dang bcas pa bri ro zhes zer).

[1540] *Akṣobhya (p. 375): "**pungent mustard oil** [means:] oil from the black mustard or mustard oil" (*tsha ba'i mar khu zhes bya ba ni/ ske tshe'i mar khu'am yungs mar ro*).

[1541] *Lalitavajra (p. 312): "**he puts the *cakra* in between the two** [means:] he puts the object [*cakra*] while being in the state of meditative absorption, and then, he affixes the *cakra* to a skull of a barren woman, this is the meaning: 'he ties the *cakra* up [to the skull] with human hair'" (*'khor lo can dang gnyis su gzhug ces bya ba/ ting nge 'dzin gyis don bcug la de nas rabs chad kyi thod pa kha sbyor du gzhug ste mi'i skra'i skud pas bcing zhes bya ba'i don to*). *Akṣobhya (p. 375) glosses the two skulls in the context of the "characteristics of the skulls" (*kapālalakṣaṇa*): "**two skulls** [means] four pieces, three, or many" (*thod pa gnyis zhes bya ba ni dum bu bzhi pa ste/ gsum pa yang mang ngo*). The word *mang* could be a corruption of *rung*, in which case, the translation would be: "two skulls [means:] four pieces, but if there are three, that is also suitable". I thank P.D. Szántó for this explanation.

[1542] *Lalitavajra (p. 312) glosses **hearth** as "he puts [the *yantra*] on the top of the three-storeys hearth made of human thigh bone. Others also say: 'he makes a hearth of skulls'" (*sgyed po zhes bya ba la/ mi rkang gi skyed po gsum gyi thog tu bzhag pa'o/ gzhan dag thod pa'i sgyed po byed zhes kyang zer*). *Lalitavajra refers to the hearth, called the *trimuṇḍacūlikā*, which consists of the three *kapāla*s as the foundation of the hearth, with the fourth skull placed on top. Siklós (1996:31) translates "when he has placed this [diagram] above the three hearths", which does not make much sense as the meaning intended here is the hearth made of three thigh bones/skulls.

[1543] *Akṣobhya (p. 375) elaborates on the *karma* procedure that makes use of a doll and glosses **lit up** as "one should place the *yantra* in the heart of a doll and merely heat it up. By doing this, the enemy will be struck by hot fever and he will die" (*bsros la zhes bya ba ni puta ling ga'i snying ga'i 'khrul 'khor dros pa tsam du ste/ 'dis dgra bo tsha ba'i rims kyis btab nas 'chi bar 'gyur te*).

[1544] *Akṣobhya (p. 375): "**having lit the fire with the cremation pyre wood** [means:] merely heating it up" (*dur khrod kyi me la bsros na zhes bya ba ni dro ba tsam ste*).

[1545] *Lalitavajra (p. 312) says: "**pressing on it with the left foot** [means:] he himself presses on it without being distracted and in a manner of excitement" (*rkang pa g.yon pas mnan zhes pa ni bdag nyid ma yengs pas rol pa'i stangs kyis mnan pa'o*).

[1546] *Akṣobhya (p. 375): "**he should repeat the ten-syllable *mantra*** [means:] this is taught in order to block the recitation of the thirty-two syllable mantra. The ten-syllable mantra has to be recited at the time of drawing the *yantra*, but only after one who has performed the preliminary service (*puraścaraṇa*), and not otherwise" (*yi ge bcu pa'i gsang sngags bzlas na zhes bya ba ni/ yi ge sum cu rtsa gnyis zlos pa dgag pa'i phyir smos pa ste/ de ni bsnyen pa byas la 'khul 'khor 'dri ba'i tshe bzlas par bya'i gzhan du ma yin pas so*).

[§14] Alternatively, if he wants to seize the target with a fever, he puts the same wheel in the middle of two human bones[1547] and he digs out a half cubit below the hearth, then the target is seized by a fever.[1548]

[§15] [Next,] I shall explain another procedure for using the same sixteen-segmented wheel, but there is this difference. Having enclosed the mantra, which has thirty-two letters[1549] [and] also the ten-letter mantra together with the name of the target,[1550] he should install the mantra-letters. With the same aforesaid substances,[1551] with the

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[1547] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:84) has *mi'i nya phyis gnyis kyi dbu bu*, which Siklós (*ibid*.:31) translates as "within the two crania". This meaning is confirmed by the exegetical explanation: see p. 164 of this thesis.

[1548] *Akṣobhya (p. 375): "by doing this, the enemy will be struck by hot fever and he will die. [Why does it work?] Because the kind of special power, which is that of dependent origination, is unfathomable by the mind" (*'dis dgra bo tsha ba'i rims kyis btab nas 'chi bar 'gyur te/ rten cing 'brel par 'byung ba'i mthu'i khyad par bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i phyir ro*). For a detailed discussion on the fever recipe in the context of tantric magic, see p. 164 of this thesis.

[1549] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:84) has *'on kyang 'di'i khyad par ni yi ge sum bcu rtsa gnyis pa'i sngags dang ldan pa yi ge bcu pa'i sngags bsgrub bya'i ming dang lhan cig tu yi ge dang sngags spel lo*. Siklós (*ibid*.:31) does not only translate the sentence wrongly, when he says: "a particular feature here is that the syllables of the subject's name and of the spell are to be written alternately", but he also omits the information about the thirty-two syllable mantra. The Skt. text has the "twenty-one letter mantra" and not the one of thirty-two letters; this appears to be a corruption insofar that all the commentators refer to the thirty-two syllables mantra, which is the root-mantra (*mūlamantra*) of the VBhT (see p. 217 of this thesis). *Lalitavajra talks about the mantra that has thirty-two syllables (*yi ge sum cu rtsa gnyis kyi bskor bya ba la*). He says that this other procedure uses the thirty-two syllables mantra of Yamāntaka (*sngon gyi las te thams cad gshin rje'i sngags sum cu rtsa gnyis pa bzhin te*) and, moreover, this other ritual has one special aspect, namely, one has to smear [the *yantra* or the body] with excrement (*dri chen gyis byug pa'i khyad par ni 'di'i khyad par ro*). *Akṣobhya (p. 376): "having enclosed the thirty-two syllables mantra [means:] previously [the VBhT] did not teach the *nyāsa* of the thirty-two syllable *mūlamantra*, but now it does" (*yi ge sum cu rtsa gnyis pa'i sngags smos shing zhes bya ba ni sngar 'khrul 'khor la rtsa ba'i sngags bkod pa ma gsungs pas de bstan pa'o*). *Kumāracandra (p. 290) seems to have a thirty-one letter mantra in his *mūla*, for he says: "having put together the two 'ya' letters, and counting them together we will have 'the thirty-one syllable mantra'" (*ya gnyis gcig tu byas nas brtsis pas yi ge sum cu rtsa gcig gi sngags dang ldan pa zhes gsungs so*).

[1550] *Akṣobhya (p. 376): "having enclosed the ten-letter mantra together with the name of the target [means:] together with the customisation that was taught before, [the thirty-two syllable mantra] that was blocked from the chapter is permissible [here]. [The ten-letter mantra together with the name of the target] should also be written in between the letters HŪṂ and PHAṬ. For that reason, there is a small distinctive feature of the ritual different from that which was taught before" (*yi ge bcu pa'i gsang sngags dang yang bsgrub bya'i ming lhan cig smos te zhes bya ba ni sngar ji skad bstan pa'i bskul ba smos pas chog par rtog pa las dgag ste/ HŪṂ dang PHAṬ kyi dbus su yang de bri'o/ de bas na sngar bstan pa las khyad par cung zad ni de yin no*).

[1551] *Kṛṣnācārya (p. 450): "**with the same aforesaid substances** [means:] human ashes, white earth, etc. leftovers (*bali*) left by a crow, human faeces, the cloth of a corpse before it touches the

leftovers [picked up] by a crow, with faeces (*vairocana*), he draws a wheel on the rag of the cremation ground that has been trampled upon,[1552] according to the procedure already stated. If he buries[1553] [the wheel] in the cremation ground, [the target] will die; if he buries it under a solitary tree, he will be driven away; if he buries it under a solitary *liṅga*, he will cause dissension; if he puts it in water,[1554] [the target] will be paralysed; if he puts it in a house, [the target] will be pacified; if he takes it out and washes[1555] it, [the target] is released.[1556]

[§16] Furthermore,[1557] there is another procedure: having drawn the wheel of the mantra of Yama on the rag of the cremation ground [that has been buried] in the cremation ground, at a crossroads, under a solitary tree, under an anthill, at the bank of a river, under a solitary *liṅga*, near the royal gate, he makes an eight-inch doll representing the image of the target[1558] with faeces (*vairocana*), urine (*vajrodaka*), and charcoal of the

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ground, etc." (*sngon tu bstan pa'i rdzas zhes pa thal chen dang sa dkar la sogs pa dang/ bya rog gis zos pa'i 'phro'i gtor ma dang/ dri chen gyi ro ras* [add: *sa*] *la ma spangs pa yang*).

[1552] The Tibetan text has *dur khrod kyi ras la byugs*, while both the Skt. manuscripts before emendation have *stambhayitvā*, which clearly is a corruption.

[1553] *Akṣobhya (p. 376): "**if he buries it** [means:] in the hole, which is four cubits deep" (*sbas na zhes bya ba ni dong khru bzhi pa'i gting du'o*).

[1554] *Kṛṣnācārya (pp. 450–451): "**water** [means:] water that is not flowing quickly will cause paralysis of speech" (*chu zhes pa ni drag tu mi 'bab par ngag rengs pa'o*). *Kṛṣnācārya (p. 451) further expands the recipe by giving details that do not feature in the root-text. He says: "for *vaśya*, hide [the *cakra*] in the vagina of the woman. For *vidveṣaṇa*: he should do it on the back of the horse and the buffalo" (*dbang la ni bud med kyi bha gar sba'o/ dbye bar rta dang ma he'i rgyab tu bya'o*).

[1555] *Lalitavajra (p. 313) specifies that it is a water of sandalwood and milk: "if he takes the *cakra* out and washes it with water of sandalwood and milk, the target will be released [from the spell]" (*'khor lo phyung ste 'o ma dang tsan dan gyi chus bkrus na grol bar 'gyur ro*).

[1556] *Akṣobhya (p. 376): "**will be released** [means:] [this applies] for all the rituals" (*'grol* [em.; *gol* ed.] *bar 'gyur ro zhes bya ba thams cad do*). In other words, for reversing the effect of magical recipe, there is one procedure for all of them.

[1557] *Kumāracandra (p. 290): "**furthermore** [means:] *oṃ ya ma ra ja/ sa do me ya/ ya me do ru/ na yo da ya/ ya da yo ni/ ra ya kṣe ya/ ya kṣe ya cca/ ni rā ma ya/ phaṭ phaṭ*"; this is explained as *yamarājaśloka,* see p. 217 of this thesis.

[1558] *Lalitavajra (pp. 313–314) explains as follows: "he makes an eight-inch doll of a target from the substances [already mentioned]; 'heart' [means:] in its heart, he places a *cakra* of thirty-two syllable mantra. As for 'he pierces the doll with a dagger at five joints', [it means:] he stabs it with a human dagger (i.e. a dagger made of human bone) at the throat, at the heart, at the navel, at the genitals, between the eyes. 'He pierces it with sharp thorns' [means:] he stabs it all with thorns, literally. As for 'the other skull', [it means:] he puts it inside the mouth of a skull of a barren woman and ties it up with the string made of a human corpse" (*rdzas rnams las sgrub bya'i gzugs sor/ brgyad pa byas la/ snying kha ste de'i snying khar sngags te sum cu rtsa gnyis pa'i 'khor lo gzhug pa'o/ yan lag lnga la phur bus gdab bya ba ni lkog ma dang snying kha dang*

cremation ground.[1559] Having placed the mantra at its heart, he then pierces [the doll] with a human bone at five points,[1560] beginning with the head.[1561] [Then] he should fill [the doll] with sharp thorns at every joint. Having placed that [doll] within the two skull-bowls [one on top of another],[1562] [he should fashion] a representation of Yama with soil from seven anthills.[1563] [The representation of Yama is] one cubit long, with distorted face, fat belly, two arms, one face, holding a sword.[1564] [The *sādhaka*] naked, with

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lte ba dang gsang ba dang smin mtshams [corr.; *'tshams* ed.] *ltar mchog gi phur bus gdab pa'o*/ *tshig rnams rnon pos dgang bar bya zhes pa ni*/ *tshig thams cad tsher mas dgang ba'o*/ *thod par gzhag pa ni rabs chad kyi thod pa kha sbyar gyi nang du bcug ste mi shi ba'i skra'i skud pas btags* [em.; *bkri'o* ed.]).

[1559] The Tibetan text has a different reading, where the places actually refer to the soil that has to be taken for making the effigy (Siklós 1996:84). In the Sanskrit text, however, only faeces, urine, and charcoal of the cremation ground constitute material substances for making a doll, while the places indicate the different locations wherein the rag of the cremation ground was previously buried. Thus, the Skt. version forms a logical unit with the previous recipe.

[1560] *Akṣobhya (p. 376): "**at five points** [means:] the five points of the image, he [stabs] with a *vajra*-dagger (*vajrakīla*). As it is said: 'he stabs at the forehead, throat, heart, and in the same way, at the two arms'" (*gnas lngar zhes bya ba ni*/ *rdo rje yi ni phur bu yis*/ *gzugs brnyan gyi ni gnas lnga po*/ *dpral ba mgrin pa snying ga dang*/ *de bzhin dpung pa gnyis su gdab*/ *ces gsungs pa'o*). *Kumāracandra (p. 290): "**the five points** [means:] head, forehead, throat, heart, genitals, he should stab it with a dagger made of human bone according to the procedure stated earlier" (*gnas lnga ni spyi bo dang dbral ba dang mgrin pa dang snying ga dang gsang ba'i gnas su mi'i rus pa'i phur bus gdab par bya ste*/ *gong du gsungs pa de nyid kyis so*).

[1561] The Tibetan omits *mūrdhādau* 'beginning with the head' (see Siklós 1996:84). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 451): "from the head [means:] "forehead, mouth, heart, genitals and the head again" (*spyi bo las zhes pa ni dpral ba dang*/ *kha dang snying ga dang gsang gnas dang spyi bo sngon po*).

[1562] The Tibetan text states that the image of Yama has to be made out of an anthill and the earth from the seven places (*de grog mkhar dang gnas bdun gyi sas gshin rje'i gzugs*, Siklós 1996:84), while the Skt. has *saptavalmīkena yamarūpaṃ*). The Tibetan translation is corrupted as it takes *saptavalmīkena* as a *dvandva*, but it is actually a *tatpuruṣa* (*karmadhāraya*). *Kumāracandra (p. 290) makes it clear when he glosses **seven anthills** as "earth-substances of seven anthill piles" (*grog mkhar gyis bdun zhes pa ni grog mkhar gyi sa bdun gyi sa'i rdzas*).

[1563] *Akṣobhya (p. 376): "**representation of Yama** [means:] [it applies] to all aggressive rituals" (*gshin rje'i gzugs zhes bya ba ni tshar bcad pa thams cad la'o*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 451): "**representation of Yama** [means:] after having done the *pratiṣṭhā* [of the deity], the sign [of *siddhi*?] appears, and then, it hides again" (*gshin rje'i gzung zhes pa ni rab tu gnas pa byas nas rtags byung ba dang sba'o*).

[1564] The description of Yama in the Tibetan text slightly differs from that given in the Sanskrit version: in the former, Yama is described as *zhal gtsigs pa*, corresponding to the Skt. *vikṛtānana*, which is an appellation of Yamāntaka. For a discussion, see pp. 100−104 of this thesis. In his two hands, he holds a sword and a noose (*zhags pa 'dzin pa*), but the latter is omitted in the Sanskrit. The *pāśa* is a characteristic weapon of Yama, therefore it probably featured in the original version of the text.

untighten hair,[1565] having placed in [Yama's] heart those two skulls-bowls, should bury (*nikhane*) it at midday or midnight in the cremation ground, near the place where the fire has been burnt. He should bury it at a good distance,[1566] facedown and with the head facing towards the south. Having returned home,[1567] he should recite the ten-letter mantra with determination, having customised it with the name of the target, [while] being in meditative union with the Buffalo-faced one. [The target] dies in three days. If he lifts it out and washes it, [the target] is released.[1568]

[§17] Next, I shall explain the procedure of paralysis. He [the mantra-master], having smeared the shrew skin[1569] with the substances beginning with poison etc., and having written the ten-letter mantra on that skin, he takes the dust from the footprint of the target and the earth from the place where he has urinated,[1570] then fills[1571] that [skin] with it and binds it with [the target's] hair.[1572] Having mixed up together the urine of a donkey and

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[1565] Siklós (1996:32) takes "naked, with untighten hair" to refer to Yama, but Yama is never referred to in that way; on the other hand, the *sādhaka* in the VBhT is often described by these two adjectives, therefore, it is more probable that *nagno muktaśikho kṛtvā* qualifies him (see p. 144 of this thesis). For other instances of *nagno muktaśikho kṛtvā*/*bhūtvā* in the VBhT as referring to the *sādhaka*, see p. 146.

[1566] The Skt. *sudūraṃ* is never used for time, but only for place; however, the Tibetan equivalent *shin tu ring por* is ambiguous, and could be used for both time and space. Siklós (1996:32) translates it as "he keeps [the image of Yama] facing south for a long time".

[1567] *Akṣobhya (p. 376): "**having returned home** [means:] the yogin who has done this and other rituals correctly" (*khyim du yang ni 'ongs nas zhes bya ba la sogs pas ni legs par ma byas pa'i rnal 'byor pa yis so*). It also indicates that the yogin is a householder and not a monastic.

[1568] *Lalitavajra (p. 314) expands on the annulment procedure saying: "if he washes it with sandalwood and milk, [the target] will be released [from the spell]" (*tsan dan dang 'o mas bkrus na sos par 'gyur ro*).

[1569] *Akṣobhya (p. 376): "**having smeared the shrew skin** [means:] he strips off the skin" (*tshu tshun da ra'i pags pa zhes bya ba ni gsob bshus pa'o*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 451): "**skin** [means:] he fills the inside of the skinned pouch with excrement, urine and the earth from the target's footprint. He recites the mantra for seven nights, fills it up with mustard seed, and tramples upon it" (*pags pa zhes pa kha na mar bshus pa'i nang du dri dang chu dang rkang rjes kyi sa blugs*/ *nub bdun du sngags dang yungs kar blugs la mnan pa bya'o*).

[1570] *Akṣobhya (p. 376): "**with the earth that has been taken**, **he fills it up** [means:] he fills up the effigy (*puttalikā*) [i.e., musk shrew skin] with the earth" (*sa blangs pas dgang zhing bya ba ni p u ta lin ga dang*/ *sas dgang ba'o*). This comment is redundant as the root-text provides this information as well.

[1571] *Kumāracandra (p. 290): "he should fill it up with a footprint [of the target], urine and earth" (*rdul dang chu ngan dang sa rnams kyis dgang bar bya'o*).

[1572] *Lalitavajra (p. 315) explains the procedure for sealing the musk shrew skin as follows: "he binds the opening [of a musk shrew] with the hair of that [target]" (*de'i skra'i skud pas kha bcings la*). *Akṣobhya (p. 376): "**he binds it with the hair of the target** [means:] many types of

faeces (*vairocana*),[1573] he fills up the interior of a clay-bowl[1574] with it. Having placed the *yantra*[1575] in it and having put it on the piece of wood of the cremation ground, having trampled on it with his left foot, and entering into meditative absorption with death (*yama*), he should recite the ten-letter mantra.[1576] After one day, [the target] will be paralysed. This is the procedure for which there is no antidote.[1577] This procedure should be done by a very wrathful mantra-master. If he does not do this, [the *karma*] will not succeed.[1578]

[§18] Next, there is a procedure for causing dissension. Having written the mantra of Yama with the procedure stated before,[1579] he makes [an image of] a buffalo and a horse with the earth from the seven anthills.[1580] Having put the mantra[1581] in the heart of those two,[1582] he places them one upon the other in mutual hostility, and he puts them at the

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hair, such as skin hair, *grul ba* (?), or genital hair" (*de'i skras bcing ngo zhes bya ba ni/ pags pa grul ba dang/ yan lag dang ro smad kyi cha'o*).

[1573] *Akṣobhya (p. 376): "**having mixed up together the urine of a donkey and faeces** [means:] in accordance with the prescribed order, the *yantra* for apprehending the object is just like butter and honey, cut it up into small pills (Tib. *ri lu*, Skt. *guṭikā*)" (*de nas bong bu'i chu ngan dang/ dri chen du sbyar te zhes bya ba ni/ ji ltar rjes su gzung ba'i 'khrul 'khor la mar dang sbrang rtsi lta bu ste/ tshar gcad pa'i ri lu'o*).

[1574] *Akṣobhya (p. 376): "**he puts a clay-bowl** [means:] on the two skulls and covers it up with that [effigy]. He fills the effigy up in such a way that it is not modified" (*kham phor bzhag la zhes bya ba ni thod pa gnyis ka la des glan te/ pu ta ling ga mi 'gyur bar dgang ngo*).

[1575] *Akṣobhya (p. 376): "**having placed there that yoga** (which must be a corruption of *'khor lo* or *mantra*), [means:] that skin" (*der sbyor ba de bzhag nas zhes bya ba ni pags pa de'o*).

[1576] *Akṣobhya (p. 376): "**the ten-letter mantra** is a synecdoche (*upalakṣaṇa*) for the *yantra*" (*yi ge bcu pa'i gsang sngags zhes pa ni 'khrul 'khor nye bar mtshon pa'o*). I thank P.D. Szántó for this explanation.

[1577] The Tibetan text has: *'di ni phyis rjes su bzung ba mi 'grub pa'i rab tu sbyor ba'o*, which Siklós (1996:32) translates as "this practice is for those who in the end are unable to attain skill in magic", which is incorrect. The Tibetan actually reflects the Skt. *asādhyo 'yam prayogaḥ*, "this is the procedure for which there is no antidote".

[1578] The Tibetan text omits this sentence (Siklós 1996:85).

[1579] *Lalitavajra (p. 315) explains that just "like in the case of prior procedure, this method [also] makes use of the thirty-two syllable *cakra*" (*sngon gyi thabs ni sum cu rtsa gnyis ba'i 'khor lo'o*).

[1580] The Tibetan text has *gnas bdun gyi sas* (Siklós 1996:85).

[1581] The Tibetan text has *'khor lo*, i.e. a *cakra,* and not a mantra.

[1582] *Akṣobhya (pp. 376–377): "**having put the mantra in the heart of those two**, that is to say having put the effigy together with the *yantra* [i.e. mantra], in a way in which one is on the top of the other [means that] he puts one on the top, whichever way round. Or else [referring to the buffalo and the horse], he lets one emerge on the top of the other in such a way as if they were fighting" (*de gnyis kyi snying gar gsang sngags bcug nas zhes bya ba ni/ 'khrul 'khor can gyi pu ta ling ga gcig gi steng du gcig bzhag nas zhes bya ba ni gang yang rung ba'i steng du gzhag go/*

foot of the *neem* tree. He should write a mantra[1583] with blood of a buffalo and a horse. This is a characteristic feature of this mantra. If he performs it with a fully concentrated mind, he will cause dissension in three days.

[§19] Next, if he wishes to drive away, the mantra-master should make [an image of a] camel with soil from the seven anthills.[1584] Having visualised on its back a wind-*maṇḍala* having the shape of a half-moon generated from the syllable YAṂ, he should visualise the target on the top of it. Having visualised the form of Yama[1585] holding a club in his hand on the top of that [target], he should think [of him] being struck by a club and being sent to the south. He puts the same wheel in his heart having customised it with the name of the target in accordance with the prior procedure, [after which] he will be driven away in seven days; there is no doubt about this.[1586]

[§20] Next, there is another[1587] procedure.[1588] Having smeared the body of an outcast[1589] with pungent mustard seed oil[1590] (*kaṭutaila*) on a Sunday and having made him climb the

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yang na 'thab pa ltar gcig gi steng du gcig 'gro bar spro bar bya'o). A similar recipe for *vidveṣaṇa* in the context of Vajrayoginī, involving visualisation of a horse and buffalo as if they were fighting, is given in the *Yogaratnamālā* 2.34 (Tripathi and Negi's edn., p. 27): *sādhyau aśvamahiṣāruḍhau dhyātvā anyonyaṃ yudhyamānau japaṃ kuryāt* […] *niyataṃ vidveṣayati.*

[1583] The Tibetan text has *'khor lo*, i.e. a *cakra,* and not a mantra.

[1584] *Lalitavajra (p. 315) gives a slightly different procedure that also makes use of the previous thirty-two syllable *cakra,* as follows: "he places the previous *cakra* in the heart of the camel fashioned with [the earth] of seven places" (*gong gi 'khor lo gnas bdun gyis las byas ba'i rnga mong gi snying khar bcug ste*). Again, Siklós's translation (1996:86) takes the anthill and the earth of seven places separately: see fn.1562 above).

[1585] *Akṣobhya (p. 377) reads *yamapuruṣa*, 'the servants of Yama' (Tib. *gshin rje's skyes bu*) and not *yamarūpa*, 'the form of Yama'. He says: "other [commentators] gloss *yamapuruṣa* as "arising from the letter YA" (*gzhan gshin rje'i skyes bu zhes bya ba ni yi ge ya las 'byung ngo*).

[1586] For similar "camel-magic" recipes in the *Kakṣapuṭa* and *Yogaratnamālā*, see p. 188 of this thesis.

[1587] *Akṣobhya (p. 377): "**another procedure** [means:] other procedure than the *yantra*. Since it is not the main [ritual], it is only an addition to the teaching" (*sbyor ba gzhan yang zhes bya ba ni 'khrul 'khor las gzhan pa'i sbyor ba ste/ zhar la bstan pa tsam yin gyi 'di gtsor ma gyur pas so*).

[1588] *Lalitavajra (pp. 315–316) gives a different procedure, as follows: "There is also another explanation: on a Sunday of the Rudra constellation (*gtum po*), that is, on the asterism of the wanning moon, he anoints a *caṇḍāla* with hot butter, and he makes him stay on the *nimba* tree. Then, with an oyster shell, he scraps the previous oil [from the body of the *caṇḍāla*], he takes the cloth of Mahādeva and mixes the two. Then, he burns them in a fire without smoke. He mixes the charcoal [from the fire] with the butter that has been scraped with the oyster shell. In accordance with what has been taught on the basis of the *upadeśa*, if he anoints [the body with the mixture,] [the target] will stay" (*yang gzhan bshad de/ gtum po'i nyi ma ste mar ngo'i skar ma* [*add:la*] *gtum po la tsha ba'i mar khus byugs te/ nim ba'i shing kar gnas nas/ nya phyis kyis snga ma'i mar bzhar la/ ma hā de ba'i ras dang slang gnyis kha sbyar bar du du ba med bar bsregs pa'i*

nimba tree, he should be made to stay there. While [the outcast] remains there, he takes away the oil from his body with a mother-of-pearl, and he gathers the oil. Having gathered the oil, he gets hold of a rag from the black flag of Śiva, and burns it above a smoky fire.[1591] He should mix the soot that remains [from burning the flag] with the oil and he should smear the sandals whomever he wishes to drive away. Or he can rub [the target's] hands and feet. In the absence of those, [he should rub] his head or his towel[1592]; [the target] will be driven away in an instant.

[§21] Next, there is also another procedure: he should draw [the wind-*maṇḍala*][1593] with the charcoal of the cremation pyre[1594] and with the blood of a crow on a sheet of a birch bark[1595] with a pen made of bone.[1596] Having customised the middle of the wind-*maṇḍala* with the name of the target, he should tight it on the neck of a crow. He should take hold of a crow, and while remaining in the meditative absorption with the Buffalo-faced

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thal ba nya phyis bzhar ba'i mar dang bsres te/ man ngag dang ldan pas gsungs pa ltar byugs na sdod par 'gyur ro). Unlike the root-text preserved in the Tibetan version (see Siklós 1996:86), *Lalitavajra interprets this ritual as causing a person to remain (*sdod par 'gyur*), but it is possible that *sdod* is a corruption of *skrod*.

[1589] *Kumāracandra (p. 290): "***caṇḍāla*** [means:] a woman of low caste" (*can da la ni g.yung mo'o*).

[1590] Siklós (1996:33) translates it as "clarified butter", which is wrong. For a discussion on *kaṭutaila,* see p. 170 of this thesis.

[1591] Skt. *taddhūmena* is omitted in the Tib. (see Siklós 1996:86).

[1592] The Tibetan text omits the last sentence.

[1593] The Tibetan text takes the wind-*maṇḍala* to be the object of the sentence, but that is absent in the Skt.

[1594] The Tibetan text does not mention the charcoal of the cremation ground as ink, and refers only to the crow's blood (*bya rog gi khrag*).

[1595] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:86) has *dur khrod kyi ras sam gro ga'i lo ma la*, "on a crematory cloth or a birch bark", but the Skt. omits the crematory cloth. *Akṣobhya (p. 377) comments on the recipe as follows: "the passage containing the words 'on the birch bark, etc.' [means:] the *prayoga* [that makes use] of *yantra*. Other [commentators] understand this to be a different *prayoga* (not involving the *yantra*). Regarding this, the words 'another *prayoga*' have the meaning that the *yantra* is not excluded. If the others [say]: here were the *prayoga*s without the *yantra*, and yet later, having suppressed the *yantra*, [the text again] introduces the *yantra* and those subsequent *prayoga*s are its companions. Otherwise, how could it be that there is no opportunity to use the *yantra* elsewhere'" (*gro ga'i shun pa la zhes bya ba la sogs pa ni 'khrul 'khor gyi sbyor ba ste/ kha cig ni 'di yang sbyor ba gzhan du rtog go/ 'dir sbyor ba gzhan ni zhes pa'i sgras ni 'khrul 'khor mi 'gegs kyi don las so/ gzhan dag 'dir 'khrul 'khor dang bral ba'i sbyor ba dag las/ yang rjes la 'khrul 'khor mnan la de'i grogs su de dag gi sbyor gyi/ gzhan du na skabs ma yin par ga la 'byung zhes 'dod do*).

[1596] The Tibetan text omits "a pen made of bone" as a stylus and has, instead, "a crow's feather" (*bya rog gi smyu gus*).

one,[1597] facing south, he should set the crow free. In that very moment, [the target] wanders aimlessly around the world like a crow.[1598]

[§22] Next, there is another procedure for driving away: [the mantra-master] having anointed himself with pungent mustard seed oil (*kaṭutaila*),[1599] and having taken hold of the nest of a crow in the *nimba* tree, burns that nest with a wood in the fire taken from the cremation ground and collects the ashes. The person on whose head [the ashes] are placed is driven away.[1600]

[§23] There is also another procedure for causing dissension: [the mantra-master] having combined together the wings of a crow and an owl, and a hair from a Brahmin and an outcast, he lits up the fire with a thorn-apple wood, making a fire free of smoke.[1601] Having gathered the ashes[1602] of that fire, and having empowered [the ashes] by the recitation of the ten-letter mantra, he should place the ashes in between a man and a woman. They will fall out instantaneously.[1603]

[§24] Next [the mantra-master writes the ten-letter *mantra*] on the rag of the cremation ground with the substances beginning with poison and encloses it with the name of the

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[1597] *Lalitavajra (p. 316): "**with the Buffalo-faced one** [means:] being himself in the deity-yoga, he summons [the target] and visualises [the target] as being driven away with light" (*ma he'i zhal ni bdag nyid lha'i sbyor ba dang ldan pas bkug ste/ 'od kyis bskrad par bsam mo*).

[1598] The Skt. *tatkṣaṇād eva kākavat paryaṭati mahīm* corresponds to the Tib. *de'i skad cig gis bya rog bzhin sa kun tu 'khor ro*, which Siklós (1996:33) translates wrongly as "instantly he will journey to whatever place the crow does". *Kākvat paryaṭati* is a common phrase indicating "aimless wandering": see p. 173 of this thesis.

[1599] Siklós (1996:33) incorrectly translates "hot clarified butter": see fn.1590.

[1600] The same recipe is given in the *Sampuṭa* (7.1.58). On the other texts where this recipe appears, see p. 181 of this thesis.

[1601] In the MMK, chapter 13 (on *homa*), the fire without smoke (*nirdhūmāgni*) features only in the case of *pauṣṭika* rites. In case of *abhicāra* rites, one should offer oblations into a smoky fire. But there are also instances of other recipes in the MMK where the smokeless fire features. For example, MMK 55, p. 524, says: "If he wants to subject a king or simply a chieftain to his will: having made a doll of him with the leftovers from honey, if [the mantra-master] throws the doll into the smokeless embers, within seven days, that [king] will be subjected under his will" (*rājānaṃ rājamātraṃ vā vaśīkartukāmaḥ tasya madhūcchiṣṭakena pratikṛtiṃ kṛtvā nirdhūmāṅgāreṣu kṣipet saptarātraṃ sa vaśo bhavati*).

[1602] With regard to the translation of *chāraṃ* as 'ashes', we have the testimony of the *Buddhakapālatantra*, which says: "having gathered the ashes he should then place them in the unbaked clay-bowl" (*tasya chāraṃ saṃgṛhya śarāve sthāpayet*). The *Abhayapaddhati* of Abhyākaragupta, 7r.4, glosses it as *chāraṃ iti bhasma*. The *Sampuṭa* (7.1.59) also has *chāraṃ*. See p. 392, n.37 in Appendix 2.

[1603] The same recipe is given in the *Sampuṭa* (7.1.59). See*, ibid*.; n.37.

target. Having customised the *smaraṇa*[-mantra][1604] and having got hold of a hair of a mongoose and a slough of a snake, he should put it [on the rag] and make a wick; in whosoever house he lights with it,[1605] there will be a fight among each other.[1606]

[§25] Then, if he wishes to kill, [the mantra-master] makes an image [of a target] in faeces and urine and smears the top of it[1607] with a powdered bone,[1608] and then cuts it up repeatedly. Then, naked, with hair dishevelled, facing south, while in the meditative union with the Buffalo-faced one, he should offer that into the fire taken from the cremation pyre at midnight; that person in whose name he offers that into the fire will die instantly. This procedure has been taught by Vajrabhairava himself.

[§26] Then, if he wishes to drive away: [the mantra-master] having drawn a sixteen-segmented wheel on the banner cloth[1609] with the aforesaid substances together with a charcoal of the cremation pyre and having customised it with the name of a person, should place it on the sheet of a *neem* [tree]; he drives away that person [in whose name he writes it].

[1604] The Tibetan text omits the part on the *smaraṇa*-mantra and has *bran pa'i bar du* instead, which Siklós (1996:33) translates as "moistening". For the explanation of the *smaraṇa*-mantra, see p. 348 in Appendix 2 of this thesis.

[1605] For the same recipe given in the NTGS and MMK, see p. 181 of this thesis.

[1606] *Lalitavajra (p. 316) gives the following recipe: "also with regard to poison, etc. [that is] with the previous [substances, such as] salt explained before, [which are used as ink] on the rag of the cremation ground, [these are employed] again to customise [the rag of the cremation ground] with the name of the target in the middle [of the rag]; he writes the other [name of the person with whom he wants the target to fight] in the same way as before. As for that [rag of the cremation ground customised with the name of the two persons] he rolls it up together with the skin of a mongoose and a snake, and a cotton wool. Having done it first, he scatters the *kaṭutaila* (Tib. butter) and recites the mantra. Others also say, you have to write a *cakra* on the banner of Mahādeva, like before. When it is to be done, [one should follow] the *upadeśa* exactly" (*yang dug la sogs pa ste/ sngon du gsungs pa'i snga* [em.; *snag* ed.] *tshas dur khrod kyi ras la sgrub bya'i ming dbus su yang spel ba gzhan sngon ltar bris pa de ni ne'u le dang sprul gyi lpags pa ras bal dang ldan par dril te/ sngon bu byas te mar me btang la sngags bzlas pa'o/ gzhan yang ma hā de ba'i ras la 'khor lo sngon ltar bris te/ man ngag ji lta bas byas na'o*).

[1607] This is reflected in the Tibetan *de'i steng du rus pa phye mas*; however, Siklós (1996:33) leaves "*de'i steng du*" untranslated.

[1608] The Skt. manuscripts have *ahicūrṇena* "with a powdered snake" instead of *asthicūrṇena* "with a powdered bone". The emendation to *asthicurṇena* is supported by the Tib. *rus pa phye mas* (Siklós 1996:87).

[1609] *Akṣobhya (p. 377): "as for the *prayoga* that says **on the victory-banner**, [it means:] it is a *prayoga* of driving away by inducing madness" (*rgyal mtshan gyi ras la zhes bya ba la sogs pa'i sbyor ba 'di ni smyo bar 'gyur ba'i bskrad pa'i sbyor ba'o*).

[§27] Next, if he wants to paralyse [the target], he should draw a *yamacakra* on a slab of stone or upon a strip of cloth with yellow orpiment or turmeric and place it together with the target's name; he will become paralysed.

[§28] Alternatively, if the mantra-master wishes to subject to his will: having made a doll[1610] of the target with the soil from an anthill, saffron and yellow orpiment, measuring sixteen feet tall, whether of a man or a woman, he should draw a *yamayantra* on a birch bark with yellow orpiment and blood from a ring finger. Having placed [the yantra] on [the doll's] heart and having offered a *pūjā* to it with red flowers[1611] at the three times of the day, that person in whose house one places it †…† [will be drawn under his will];[1612] facing the western direction, he recites the ten-letter mantra: after seven days, he will draw even Indra into his power, how much more a mere person.

[§29] Or, if he wishes to attract: [the mantra-master,] having drawn[1613] the *yantra* on the skull with yellow orpiment and blood of the ring finger, should then heat it in the fire of the *khadira* wood;[1614] in whose name [he does that,][1615] that person comes to him with the speed of the wind.

[1610] *Lalitavajra (p. 316) gives the following procedure: "also, the ritual of subjugating under one's own will shall be explained. Having made a doll with the earth of the seven places, etc. he draws the *cakra* like before. Having worshipped that *cakra*, he places it at the heart of the former [doll] and recites the mantra" (*yang dbang gi las bshad pa/ gnas bdun gyi sas* [em.; *sa* ed.] [om.; *la*] *sogs pa la gzugs brnyan byas pa la 'khor lo ji lta ba bzhin bris te/ 'khor lo de mchod nas gong gi snying khar bcug nas sngags bzlas pas so*).

[1611] *Akṣobhya (p. 377): "**having offered *pūjā* with red flowers** [means:] to this Śrīvajrabhairava himself. Because a flower is a synecdoche (*upalakṣaṇa*), you should offer various kinds of offerings provided they are red, together with *arghya*. Some people say, this means offering the *yantra*, but this is wrong. Because by doing that, the aim is not achieved. If somebody were to ask: Is the goal achieved if you worship only the mantra? Alas, that's like giving offering to the ministers, etc. while the king is sitting there, how could it be? This is not what it is said in the text" (*me tog dmar pos mchod cing zhes bya ba 'di dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed nyid la ste/ me tog ni nye bar mtshon pa yin pas mchod pa kha dog dmar po yon chab dang bcas pa dbul lo/ kha cig ni 'khrul 'khor mchod par 'dod de de ni mi 'thad de/ des don du mi 'gyur ro/ gsang sngags nyid la mchod pas don du 'gyur ba'o zhe na/ kye ma rgyal po bzhugs bzhin du sna chen po la sogs* [em.; *gtogs* ed.] *pa mchod pa lta ga la rigs/ de ni mi brjod do*).

[1612] The Skt. *yasya gṛhe sthāpayitvā* corresponds to the Tibetan *rang gi khyim du bzhag la*, but this detail is missing in Siklós's translation (1996:34).

[1613] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:88) specifies that one draws the *yantra* on the skull with bezoar and blood from the ring finger (Skt. *gorocanayā anamikāraktena*), but this is missing in the Sanskrit text.

[1614] *Akṣobhya (p. 377): "**he should heat it up in the *khadira* wood** [means:] If the effect [of the magical recipe] does not come about within seven days, he should take out the doll from the skull, and burn it, because it was not the case in the first instance" (*seng ldeng gi me la bsros na*

[§30] If the mantra-master wants to make someone crazy, then he takes a thorn apple and mixes it with human flesh and a sawdust of a book-worm; that person in whose food or drink he places it and recites the mantra, becomes instantly crazy.[1616] He dies within seven days.[1617]

[§31] There is another procedure: the mantra-master, having written the mantra of Yamāri (*yamārimantra*) on the rag from the cremation ground with the substances beginning with the poison and having made a doll, with human flesh[1618] and faeces (*vairocana*), places the mantra in its heart. He should then go to the cremation ground and cut [the doll] with a sharp knife, while in the meditative union with the Hideous-faced one[1619] (Vajrabhairava); he should smear the body with feaces and facing south, he should cast [the doll's pieces] into the fire of the cremation pyre;[1620] [the target] immediately dies.

[§32] Alternatively, there is a procedure for causing dissent: [the mantra-master] having got hold of a bone of a crow and an owl[1621] traces the ten-letter mantra with a metal pin

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zhes bya ba ni gal te zhag bdun kyis ma byung na/ pu ta ling ga thod pa nas phyung ste/ bsro'i dang po nas ni ma yin no). It appears that, in this case, the doll is a synonym for the *yantra*.

[1615] The verb that follows the ten-letter mantra is missing in the Skt., while the Tibetan text has "he recites [the spell] with the name of a person" (Siklós 1996:34).

[1616] *Kumāracandra (p. 290): "**crazy** [means:] the one who is made distressed" (*smyon pa ni gnod pa byas pa'o*).

[1617] *Akṣobhya (p. 377): "**he dies within seven days** [means:] in the same way, he will become mad within seven days through these substances. Others say: 'unless you have freed him first'. The effects of magic are overturned by mixing *datura* and sulphur" (*zhag bdun gyis 'chi bar 'gyur ro zhes bya ba ni zhag bdun du rdzas* [*add: gyis*] *smyo ba bzhin na'o*/ *gzhan kha cig ni gal te slar ma dkrol na'o zhes 'dod de*/ *'di ni thang phrom dang sbyar ba'i mu zis dril lo*).

[1618] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:88) has *mar me chen po*, which corresponds to the Skt. *mahāpradīpa*. Siklós (*ibid*.:34) translates it as 'human oil', but actually, *mahāpradīpa* also means 'human flesh', thus it is a synonym of *mahāmāṃsa*, literally, 'great meat'. I thank Prof. Alexis Sanderson for this information.

[1619] The Tibetan text has "*rnam par brtsegs pa'i sbyor bas rnal 'byor pa gnas la*", which Siklós's translation omits entirely (Siklós 1996:35). It is possible that *brtsegs pa* is a corruption of *gtsigs pa* (literally, "baring the teeth", implying "hideous looking face"), and that *rnam par* corresponds to the Skt. prefix *vi*, which reflects the prefix of the word *vi-kṛtānana* in the Skt. We have already seen before (fn.1748) that *zhal gtsigs pa* is used in the VBhT as an appellation of Yamāntaka.

[1620] Siklós (1996:35) translates "he burns it in a cremation fire having placed the pieces across each other". However, the Tibetan edition only says: "*ro bsregs pa'i me la*" (*ibid*.:88–89). *Akṣobhya (pp. 377–378): "**if he casts it into the fire** [means:] he offers *homa* to Bhagavān seated in the middle of the fire of wind" (*sbyin sreg byas na zhes bya ba ni rlung gi me'i dbus su bzhugs pa'i bcom ldan 'das la'o*). It seems that the passage is corrupted.

[1621] *Akṣobhya (p. 378): "**a bone of a crow and an owl** [means:] a marrow of a thigh or a lower part of the leg" (*bya rog dang 'ug pa'i rus pa zhes bya ba ni brla'am rje ngar gyi rkang ngo*).

on them, together with the name of the target.[1622] That person in whose name he recites [the mantra] in an isolated place will be hated.

[§33] Next [there is another procedure:], [the mantra-master,] having drawn the *cakra* of Yama (*yamacakra*) on a piece of birch bark and having placed the names of a man and a woman on a stomach of a frog,[1623] should put it beneath the threshold; he in whose name [he does it], his limp will be chopped off by a sword.

[§34] Next there is a procedure for paralysing a girl: he should draw with a poison and the rest, the *yantra* of Yamāri on a rag taken from the cremation ground using charcoal of the cremation pyre. Having made a doll [of the target], he should make [an image of] the Hideous-one (*vikṛtaṃ*)[1624] measuring one span. He should place [the doll] in its heart. Having pressed the *yantra* with his left foot and maintaining meditative union with the Buffalo-faced one, he should then repeat the ten-letter mantra [formulating his purpose in these words:] 'may I quickly paralyse girl X'; [if he does that, then] he will [indeed] paralyse her.[1625]

[§35] These procedures should not be told to anyone.[1626] If the mantra-master, being full of delusion, does so, he will fall into a terrible hell. This should be done to anyone who

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[1622] The Tibetan text has in addition *de cig la gcig drud na*, which Siklós (1996:35) translates as "if he rubs one against the other", which the Skt. omits.

[1623] *Akṣobhya (p. 378): "**of the frog** [means:] cooked in boiled rice/beeswax" (*sbal pa'i zhes bya ba ni spra tshil la bzo byas pa'o*).

[1624] The Tibetan text has *ro bsregs pa'i sol bas gzugs brnyan mtho gang tsam gyi tshad brtsigs la* (Siklós 1996:89), but Siklós (*ibid*.:35) misses out the translation of *brtsigs la*, which is possibly a corruption of *gtsigs pa,* and corresponds to the Skt. *vikṛtam* (see, fn.1748). The Skt. actually gives the procedure for making two dolls: the first one is made with the ashes of a cremated corpse (*cityaṅgāreṇa pratikṛitiṃ kṛtvā*), and the second is the image of the Hideous-one measuring one span (*vitastipramāṇaṃ vikṛtaṃ kārayet*); however, Siklós's translation (1996:35) mentions only one doll measuring one span, made of the ashes of the cremated corpse.

[1625] *Akṣobhya (p. 378): "**he will paralyse a woman** [means:] through the activities of intoxication, in order to experience whatever pleasure he wishes for" (*bu mo rmongs par bya ba ni/ myos par bya bas ci dgar longs spyad par bya ba'i phyir ro*). For the discussion in the wider context of 'love' magic, see p. 153 of this thesis.

[1626] *Akṣobhya (p. 378): "**these procedures should not be told to anyone** [means:] if those foolish people come to know [these rituals] without understanding the Buddha Śākyamuni's intention and disseminate them, they will fall down to hell. It is said: 'Just like sweet juice, sweet ghee and sugar when digested are like ambrosia, but undigested, turn into poison, in the same way, the spread of ambrosia like dharma, when unwise people [teach] intention [behind] those words to those foolish people, [the ambrosia-like *dharma*] turns into terrifying poison.' Well then, if someone asks, what is, then, the purpose of this teaching? For that, the text says: 'It is for those who cause harm to the Three Jewels' and this has been taught extensively'" (*smra bar mi bya ste zhes bya ba la sogs pa ni byis pa'i rang bzhin can de dag gis shes nas thub pa chen po'i dgongs*

harms the Three Jewels, who harms his teacher, who does not follow the rules, who mocks the mantras and the tantras, and those who harm living beings. Having taken [a mental belief that you are doing] them a service,[1627] the mantra-master does this procedure[1628] with a mind that is moist with compassion,[1629] and it is for their benefit,[1630] otherwise, he will be an inhabitant of a Great Hell and he will be one who has broken his vows. If he does otherwise, as it is said elsewhere:

> [§36] "Be careful to kill those who defame the masters, who defile the Mahāyāna and those who ridicule mantras, tantras and skill in the procedures or else relocate".[1631]

[§37] If the yogin does otherwise out of cruelty, then the magical procedure that is being set up by him will rebound on him. Why? Because the yogin is a harmer of living beings.

This is the second chapter [called] the Accomplishment of All Magical Recipes in this *yogatantra* which is a part of [the *tantra*] called the *Śrīmañjuśrīya*[*tantra*].

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pa ci yin ma mi shes par ldang ba las de dag byed par 'gyur ba de dmyal bar ltung ste/ zhu ba'i rtsi [em.; *rting* ed.] *la za ba ni/ mar gyi snying khu sbrang rtsi dang/ kha ra rnams ni bdud rtsi'i bzhin/ ma zhu zas ni dug 'gyur ro/ de bzhin rab rgyas bdud rtsi'i chos/ dgongs pa'i tshig la mi mkhas shing/ byis pa'i blo dang ldan rnams la/ mi bzad pa yi dug tu 'gyur/ zhes gsungs so/ 'o na 'di las dgongs pa gang zhe na/ de'i phyir/ dkon mchog gsum la gnod* [em.; *gnas* ed.] *byed dang/ zhes bya ba la sogs pa rgyas par gsungs so*). The quotation appears frequently in the Prajñāpāramitā literature, e.g. in the *Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, 12th chapter (on the Tathāgatadhātu): "And such Mahāyāna-sūtras are what also contain poison. It is like butter, *sarprimaṇḍa* or rock candy, which when taken and digested, act as medicine. If not digested, then they are nothing but poison. It is the same with the *vaipulya-sūtra*s. The wise make of them *amṛta*, and the ignorant, not knowing the value of the Buddha-Nature, make of them poison" (trans. Yamamoto 1973–1975).

[1627] The Skt. *teṣām upakāram ādāya mantrī* does not feature in the Tibetan text.

[1628] The Tibetan text has *gnod pa rab tu sbyor bar bya'o* (Siklós 1996:89), which Siklós (*ibid*.:35) translates as "a devotee takes up their evil upon himself". The Skt. has, instead, *prayogaṃ karoti*, "he does the procedure".

[1629] The Tibetan text is corrupted, for it reads: *snying rjes gdungs pa'i sems kyis* (Siklós 1996:89) "with a mind that is overcome with compassion", but the Skt. reads *karuṇārdreṇa cetasā*, therefore it should be *snying rjes brlon pa'i sems kyis.*

[1630] The Skt. *teṣāṃ anugrahāya* corresponds to the Tib. *'di rnams la phan pa'i phyir*, but Siklós (1996:35) leaves this portion of text untranslated.

[1631] The quotation is from the *Guhyasamāja* (14.46, p. 67): *ācāryanindanaparā mahāyānāgranindakāḥ/ māraṇīyāḥ prayatnena athavā sthānacālanam*//

Chapter Three

The Extraction of the Mantra (*mantroddhāraṇa*)

[§38] Next,[1632] I shall explain the extraction of the mantra as it is, in due order. Having sat in a clean place,[1633] the mantra-master should extract the mantra.[1634]

[§39] The first of the sixth class (*ya*),[1635] the fifth of the fifth class (*ma*).[1636]
The second of the sixth class[1637] (*ra*) connected with the second vowel[1638] (*ā*): *rā.* (1)

[1632] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 398): "**next** [means:] the intended meaning, which was explained in Chapter Two will not be achieved without the mantra; because of this, in order to act without a doubt with respect to the mantra, the chapter of the extraction of the mantra beginning with the word 'next' is taught" (*rtog pa gnyis pa gsungs pa'i dgongs pa de nyid sngags med par 'grub par mi 'gyur bas sngags la the tshom med par bya ba'i don du/ de nas zhes bya ba la sogs pa sngags btu ba'i rtog pa gsungs pa*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 451): "**next** [means:] the *prayojana* of the mantra is meant for the *cakra*/*yantra* and for the *sādhana,* and the extraction of the mantra is taught in case there is a mantra-error and one does not achieve [the ritual]. Moreover, one draws a smooth foundation on the ground, anoints it with nice fragrance and writes the letters of the alphabet, the vowels and the consonants, and offers *pūjā*, offerings, oblation, and then rubs it off" (*de nas zhes pa ni 'khor lo dang sgrub pa la sngags dgos zhing sngags nor na mi grub pas sngags btu ba bstan te/ de yang sa gzhi dri zhim pos byugs pa la A li dang ka li bri zhing mchod pas mchod pa dang/ gtor ma yang gtang bar bya'o*).

[1633] *Akṣobhya (p. 378): "**clean place** [means:] a solitary place; what is meant by 'a solitary place' is definitely a greatly purified place" (*gtsang ma'i gnas zhes bya ba ni dben pa ste/ cis kyang dben pa ni nges par ches gtsang bas so*).

[1634] *Akṣobhya (p. 378): "**he extracts the mantra** [means:] on a solid mud floor, with a piece of chalk (*khaṭika*), he, first of all, writes the letters of the alphabet [i.e. gutturals, palatals, cerebrals, dentals, labials], and puts them in order of two lines; when it is clear, he adds the vowels. Then, when it is clear, he should write [the mantra] down or recite it" (*gsang sngags btu ba zhes bya ba ni sa 'thas pa skyang nul byas la kha ti khas las dang por gzhi'i yi ge go gnyis par bris la dag pa na dbyangs rnams sbyin zhing/ de nas dag pa na bri ba'am bzlas pa bya'o*).

[1635] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 451): "**the first of the sixth** [means:] he should know the division into seven [classes, *varga*s], among them the class of *ka*, the class of *ya*, and sixth in the class of *ṣa*" (*drug pa'i dang po zhes pa ya yin te/ de yang ka'i sde tshan dang/ ya'i sde tshan dang drug/ sha'i sde tshan dang bdun du phye bas shes pa'o*). *Lalitavajra (p. 318) and *Kumāracandra (p. 290): "the first of the sixth is *ya*, which is the first" (*drug pa'i dang po ni ya ste dang po'o*).

[1636] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 451): "**the fifth** [means:] *ma*" (*lnga pa zhes pa ma'o*). *Lalitavajra (p. 318) and *Kumāracandra (p. 290) give the same gloss.

[1637] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 451): "**the second of the sixth** [means:] *ra*" (*drug pa'i gnyis pa zhes pa ni ra'o*). *Lalitavajra (p. 318) gives the same gloss. *Kumāracandra (p. 290): "**the second of the sixth** [means:] *ma*" (*drug pa'i gnyis pa ni ma'o*).

The third of the second[1639] class (*ja*), connected with the second vowel[1640] (*ā*) again: *jā*. The third[1641] of the seventh[1642] class (*sa*), the third[1643] of the fourth class[1644] (*da*) connected with the thirteenth vowel[1645] (*o*): *do*. (2)

The fifth of the fifth class[1646] (*ma*) connected with the eleventh vowel[1647] (*e*): *me*. The first of the sixth class[1648] doubled: *ya ya*.[1649] (3)

[1638] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 451): "**with the second vowel** [means:] it is a long *ā* connected with *ra*, which gives *rā*" (*dbyangs yig gnyis pa zhes pa ni A ring po ste ra dang sbyar bar RA ring por 'bod pa'o*). *Lalitavajra (p. 318) and *Kumāracandra (p. 290) give the same gloss.

[1639] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 451): "**the third of the second** [means:] *ja*" (*gnyis pa'i gsum pa zhes pa ja*). *Lalitavajra (p. 318) and *Kumāracandra (pp. 290-291) give the same gloss.

[1640] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 451): "**with the second vowel** [means:] a long *ā* connected with *ja*, which gives *jā*" (*dbyangs yig gnyis pa zhes pa ni A ring po ja dang sbyar bas JA ring po'o*). *Lalitavajra (p. 318) and *Kumāracandra (p. 291) give the same gloss.

[1641] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 451): "**the third [of the seventh]** [means:] *sa*" (*gsum pa zhes pa ni sa*). *Lalitavajra (p. 318) and *Kumāracandra (p. 291) give the same gloss.

[1642] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 451): "**the seventh** [means:] the *śa-varga*" (*bdun pa zhes pa sha'i sde tshan*).

[1643] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 451): "**the third** [**of the fourth**] [means:] *da*" (*gsum pa zhes pa ni da*). *Lalitavajra (p. 318) and *Kumāracandra (p. 291) give the same gloss.

[1644] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 451): "**the fourth** [*varga*] [means:] the *ta-varga*" (*bzhi pa zhes pa ni ta'i sde tshan*).

[1645] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 452): "**with the thirteenth vowel** [means:] *o*; he should join a short *o* so it becomes a metrically short *o*. As for the rest, it should be recognised in the same way; I have not written out of fear that the text becomes too long" (*dbyangs yig bcu gsum zhes pa ni o/ thung du dang sbyar bas do thung dur 'gyur ba'o/ gzhan rnams kyang de ltar shes par 'gyur bas gzhung mangs pas 'jigs pas ma bris pa'o*). *Kṛṣṇācārya refers here to the fact that 'o' is always long in Sanskrit, but, for the sake of the metre, one should add here a short 'o'. *Lalitavajra (p. 318) simply states, "adorned with the thirteenth vowel, i.e., *o*, it becomes *do*" (*de bcu gsum pa os brgyan bas dor 'gyur ro*). *Kumāracandra (p. 291) has *o* as well (*dbyangs yig bcu gsum pa ni o'o*).

[1646] *Lalitavajra (p. 318): "**the fifth of the fifth** [means:] also *ma*" (*lnga pa'i lnga pa'i yang ma'o*)

[1647] *Lalitavajra (p. 318) says: "by adorning it with the eleventh, i.e. *e*, gives *me*" (*bcu gcig pa es brgyan pas me'o*).

[1648] *Lalitavajra (p. 318): "**the first of the sixth** [means:] *ya*; by this, the sun of the first mantra [is taught]; again the first of the sixth is *ya*" (*drug pa'i dang po ya'o/ des nyi ma dang po'i sngags so/ yang ni drug pa'i dang po ya'o*). *Kumāracandra (p. 291) also gives *ya* and adds that it should be doubled (*drug pa'i dang po ni ya'o/ gnyis 'gyur ni ya'o*).

[1649] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:91) has a different reading: "*drug pa yi ni dang po dang yang ni rlung gi sa bon sbyin*", which Siklós (*ibid*.:36) translates as "the first of the sixth, and then the seed syllable of wind", which gives the same double *ya*.

The fifth of the fifth class (*ma*) topped by the eleventh vowel (*e*): *me*.[1650] The third of the fourth class (*da*), topped by the thirteenth vowel (*o*): *do*. [1651] (4)

The second of the sixth class (*ra*) connected with the fifth vowel[1652] (*u*): *ru*. The fifth of the third class[1653] (*ṇa*), then he should give the seed syllable of the wind (*ya*) connected together with the thirteenth vowel (*o*): *yo*.[1654] (5)

The third of the fourth class (*da*)[1655] with the wind syllable again (*ya*).[1656] The first of the sixth class (*ya*),[1657] the third of the fourth class (*da*).[1658] (6)

Then, the wind-syllable again (*ya*) connected with the thirteenth vowel (*o*): *yo*.[1659] The fifth of the fourth (*na*), [connected with the third vowel: *ni*][1660] (7)

[1650] *Lalitavajra (p. 318): "**the fifth of the fifth** is *ma*, [which joined] with the eleventh [vowel] gives *me*" (*lnga pa'i lnga pa ma ste de la bcu gcig pas mer ro*). *Kumāracandra (p. 291) gives the same gloss.

[1651] *Lalitavajra (p. 318): "**the third of the fourth** [means:] *da*, [which joined] with the thirteenth vowel is *do*" (*bzhi pa'i gsum ba da ste/ bcu gsum bas do'o*). *Kumāracandra (p. 291) gives the same gloss.

[1652] *Lalitavajra (p. 318): "**the second of the sixth** is *ra*; because it is adorned with the fifth vowel, i.e. *u*, it becomes *ru*" (*drug pa'i gnyis pa ra la/ dbyangs yig lnga pa us brgyan pas rur 'gyur ro*). *Kumāracandra (p. 291) gives the same gloss.

[1653] *Lalitavajra (p. 318): "**the fifth of the third** [means:] *ṇa*" (*gsum pa'i lnga pa ṇa'o*). *Kumāracandra (p. 291) gives the same gloss.

[1654] *Lalitavajra (p. 318): "he should place the seed-syllable of the wind *ya*, following that [*ṇa*]; because it is adorned with the thirteenth [vowel], i.e. *o*, it becomes *yo*" (*rlung gi sa bon ya de'i 'og tu bzhag pa la/ bcu gsum pa os brgyan pas yo'o*). *Kumāracandra (p. 291) gives the same gloss.

[1655] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:91) exactly matches the order given in the Sanskrit text, but Siklós's translation omits the whole verse "*bzhi pa yi ni gsum pa dang de nas rlung gi sa bon sbyin*" and jumps to the next line "*drug pa yi dang* […]". *Kumāracandra (p. 291): "**the third of the fourth** [means:] *da*" (*bzhi pa'i gsum pa da'o*).

[1656] *Lalitavajra (p. 318) says: "as for the seed-syllable of the wind, etc., it is just like before, so that is easy to understand; for that reason, the sun becomes the mantra, which is recited as the second, third, and fourth [in the verse]" (*rlung gi sa bon la sogs pa snga ma bzhin de go sla'o/ des na nyi ma gnyis pa gsum pa dang bzhi pa'i bzlas pa'i sngags su 'gyur te*). It is difficult to interpret this passage. It seems that *Lalitavajra understands *ya* to be also the syllable of the sun. He seems to refer to the number of times that the *ya* syllable appears in the root-mantra. *Ya* is the *bīja* of Vajrabhairava: see p. 211 of this thesis. *Kumāracandra (p. 291) confirms that the *bīja* of the wind is *ya* (*rlung gi sa bon ni ya'o*).

[1657] *Kumāracandra (p. 291): "**the first of the sixth** [means:] *ya*" (*drug pa'i dang po ni ya'o*).

[1658] *Kumāracandra (p. 291): "**the third of the fourth** [means:] *da*" (*bzhi pa'i gsum pa ni da'o*).

Then, he should give the fire-syllable (*ra*), and in the same manner, the wind-syllable (*ya*).[1661] Then, he should give [the syllable] at the end of the letters (*kṣa*) connected with the eleventh vowel (*e*): *kṣe*.[1662] (8)

The first of the sixth class (*ya*), and then the wind-syllable (*ya*).[1663] Then, he should give [the syllable] at the end of the letters (*kṣa*) connected with the eleventh vowel (*e*): *kṣe*.[1664] (9)

Then, he should give the wind-syllable (*ya*).[1665] The first of the second class (*ca*) he should make it double (*cc*)[1666] (10)

The fifth of the fourth class (*na*) connected with the third vowel (*i*): *ni*.[1667] Then, he should give the fire-syllable (*ra*) connected with the second vowel (*ā*): *rā*.[1668] (11)

The fifth of the fifth class (*ma*), then he should give the wind-syllable (*ya*).[1669] Then, he should give the initial *vairocana*[1670] (*oṃ*) connected with the supreme lord.[1671] (12)

[1659] *Kumāracandra (p. 291): "**the *bīja* of the wind** [means:] *ya*, **the thirteenth vowel** [means:] *o*" (*rlung gi sa bon ni ya'o*/ *dbyangs yig bcu gsum pa ni o'o*).

[1660] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:38) has here "connecting it with the third vowel", which would give *ni*. This indeed seems to be the correct reading, insofar that it is also attested in other examples of the same mantra (see p. 217 of this thesis). This is confirmed by *Kumāracandra (p. 291): "**the fifth of the fourth** [means:] *na*, **the third vowel** [means] *i*" (*bzhi pa'i lnga pa ni na'o*/ *dbyangs yig gsum pa ni i'o*)

[1661] *Kumāracandra (p. 291): "**the *bīja* of the fire** [means:] *ra*; **the *bīja* of the wind** [means:] *ya*" (*me'i sa bon ni ra'o*/ *rlung gi sa bon ni ya'o*).

[1662] *Kumāracandra (p. 291): "**the final letter** [means:] *kṣa*; **the eleventh vowel** [means:] *e*" (*yi ge'i mtha' ni kṣa'o*/ *dbyangs yig bcu gcig pa ni e'o*).

[1663] *Kumāracandra (p. 291) gives the reversed order: "**the *bīja* of the wind** [means:] *ya*, **the first of the sixth** [means:] *ya*" (*de nyid kyi rlung gi sa bon ni ya'o*/ *drug pa'i dang po'i dang po ni ya'o*).

[1664] *Kumāracandra (p. 291): "that which abides as the last letter [means:] *kṣa*; **the eleventh vowel** [means:] *e*" (*yi ge'i mthar gnas pa ni ksa'o*/ *dbyangs yig bcu gcig pa ni e'o*).

[1665] *Kumāracandra (p. 291): "**the *bīja* of the wind** [means:] *ya*" (*rlung gi sa bon ni ya'o*).

[1666] *Kumāracandra (p. 291): "**the first of the second** [means:] *ca*", **counted twice** [means:] *ca*" (*gnyis pa'i dang po ni ca'o*/ *gnyis bgrang ba ni ca'o*).

[1667] *Kumāracandra (p. 291): "**the fifth of the fourth** [means:] *na*; **the thirteenth vowel** [means:] *i*" (*bzhi pa'i lnga pa ni na'o*/ *dbyangs yig gsum pa i'o*).

[1668] Again, the Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:92) is correct and matches with the Sanskrit when it says "*de nas me yi sa bon la dbyangs yig gnyis pa ldan pa dang*", but Siklós's translation omits information on the second vowel (*ibid*.:36). *Kumāracandra (p. 291): "**the *bīja* of the fire** [means:] *ra*, **the second vowel** [means:] *ā*" (*me'i sa bon ni ra'o*/ *dbyangs yig gnyis pa ni ā'o*).

[1669] *Kumāracandra (p. 291): "**the fifth of the fifth** [means:] *ma*, **the *bīja* of the wind** [means:] *ya*" (*lnga pa'i lnga pa ni ma'o*/ *rlung gi sa bon ni ya'o*).

The second of the fifth class (*pha*), the first of the third class (*ṭ*): *phaṭ*,[1672] the wise should say it twice, *phaṭ phaṭ.* (13)

This is the root-mantra of the Buffalo-faced in the tantra of the Great Vajrabhairava in [the text called] *Śrīmañjuśriya*[*tantra*]. As a result of reciting [this root-mantra, which is] the accomplisher of all purposes,[1673] for one hundred thousand times,[1674] he, then, accomplishes all magical recipes.[1675] This is the king among the mantras. There never has been [one like this] nor will there ever be [another like it].

[§40] The fourth of the seventh class[1676] (*ha*) connected with the fourth vowel[1677] (*ī*): *hī*. Then, he should give the syllable of fire[1678] (*ra*). Then, the wise [knows it as] the end of the sixteenth (*ḥ*).[1679] (14)

[1670] Siklós (1996:36, f. 51) explains that the Tibetan manuscripts of the VBT he had consulted have the variants '*thog mar*' or '*dang por*' qualifying *vairocana*. Although in his translation he chooses to use the '*thog mar'* variant, he gives '*dang por*' in his edition, where we read: *dang por rnam par snang mdzad sbyin* (*ibid*.:92), translated as "at the end he puts *vairocana*" (*ibid*.:36). Actually, the Sanskrit supports the *dang por* reading, therefore we have the "initial *vairocana*", which is a code-word for the seed-syllable *oṃ*. The same reading is supported by *Lalitavajra (p. 318), who glosses "initial *vairocana*" as "he should put *oṃ*" (*de dag la sngon du rnam par snang mdzad de oṃ bzhag pa la*). *Kumāracandra (p. 291) gives a slighty different explanation, for he glosses the "initial *vairocana*" as the letter *o* (*dang po rnam par snang mdzad ni o'o*). Siklós (*ibid*.:36), however, thinks that *vairocana* means the seed-syllable *hūṃ*.

[1671] Siklós (1996:36) translates *mchod gi dbang phyug dang sbyar ba*, which is a Tibetan translation of *parameśvarayojitaṃ,* as "with the highest power added". Actually, *parameśvara* is a code-word for the seed-syllable *hūṃ*. *Kumāracandra (p. 291) glosses **the supreme lord** as "the two: the crescent moon and the *bindu*", [meaning] *uṃ*" (*dam pa'i dbang phyug ni zla tshes dang thig le gnyis so*). Thus, together with the initial *vairocana*, which is *o*, it gives *oṃ*" (*des ni oṃ mo*).

[1672] *Lalitavajra (p. 318): "**the second of the fifth** is *pha*, and **the first of the third** is *ṭa*; [connected] with the fifth [*pha*], it becomes *phaṭ*; it is doubled and it should be recited fixed at the end" (*lnga ba'i gnyis pa pha dang/ gsum pa'i dang po ṭar lnga pas phaṭ tu 'gyur la/ de gnyis 'gyur du mdzug tu btags te/ bzlas par bya'o*). *Kumāracandra gives the same gloss.

[1673] *Akṣobhya (p. 378) glosses the word 'action-mantra' (*karmakāramantraḥ*) as follows: "[it is called the action-mantra] in order to praise *karma*-rituals and because it perfects them by means of *yantra*" (*las kyi sngags zhes bya bas ni las rab 'byam la rab tu bsngags pa'i phyir dang/ 'khrul 'khor yang 'dis rdzogs par byed pas so*).

[1674] *Akṣobhya (p. 378): "**one hundred times** [means:] by being established in supremely equipoised mind" (*'bum phrag gcig ces bya ba ni shin tu mnyam par gzhag pas so*).

[1675] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 452): "[accomplisher] of **all purposes** [means:] by knowing in that way that [the mantra-recitation] is preceded by *pūrvasevā* and *sādhana*, he achieves the supreme *siddhi* and all other *karma*s like *śānti,* etc." (*las thams cad ces pa ni de ltar shes pas bsnyen sgrub* [*add. gong du*] *song bas mchog* [*add. dngos*] *dang zhi ba la sogs pa'i las thams cad byed pa'o*).

[1676] *Lalitavajra (p. 320): "**the fourth of the seventh** [means:] *ha*" (*bdun pa'i bzhi pa ni ha'o*). *Kumāracandra gives the same gloss.

The second of the seventh class (*ṣa*)[1680] connected with the fourth vowel[1681] (*ī*): *sī*. The first of the third class[1682] (*ṭa*), he should place the form of the fire (*ra*) below it.[1683] (15)

After that, the wise [knows it as] the end of the sixteenth (*ḥ*). The fourth of the sixth class[1684] (*va*) connected with the third vowel[1685] (*i*): *vi*. The first of the first class[1686] (*ka*) connected with the seventh vowel (*ṛ*): *kṛ*.[1687] (16)

The first of the fourth class (*ta*) connected with the second vowel[1688] (*ā*): *tā*. The learned one should then double the fifth of the fourth class, *na na*.[1689] (17)

[1677] *Lalitavajra (p. 320): "having **the fourth vowel** gives *i*" (*dbyangs yig bzhi pa ldan pa ni i'o*). *Kumāracandra gives *ī*.

[1678] *Lalitavajra (p. 320): "**the syllable of the fire** is *ra*" (*me'i sa bon ni ra ste*). *Kumāracandra gives the same gloss.

[1679] *Lalitavajra (p. 320): "below *ha* is the letter *ra*; as for the *visarga,* these are the two dots that cut vehemently, thus it is pronounced as *hṛīḥ*" (*ha'i 'og tu ra ldan pa'o*/ *tsheg drag ni drag par gcad pa'i tsheg gnyis ste hriḥ zhes bya bar 'gyur ro*). *Kumāracandra: "**the end of the sixteenth** [means:] two dots" (*bcu drug mtha' ni thig le gnyis so*).

[1680] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:93) has *bdun pa yi na gnyis pa la*, which Siklós (*ibid*.:37) translates as "the second of the seventh". This translation would reflect the syllable *ṣa*; however, the Sanskrit text gives *sa* instead. The *ṣa*-variant is also supported by *Lalitavajra (p. 320) and *Kumāracandra, who gloss *bdun pa'i gnyis pa* as *ṣa* (p. 292).

[1681] *Lalitavajra (p. 320): "endowed **with the fourth** [means:] *ī*" (*bzhi pa ī ldan pa'o*). *Kumāracandra gives the same gloss.

[1682] *Lalitavajra (p. 320): "**the first of the third** [means:] *ṭa*; it is below *ṣa*" (*gsum pa'i dang po ṭa ste*/ *sha'i 'og tu'o*). *Kumāracandra gives the same gloss.

[1683] *Lalitavajra (p. 320): "**the seed of the fire** [means:] *ra*; by putting that there, it gives *ṣṭrīḥ*; it is endowed with *visarga,* as before" (*me'i sa bon ra te de der bcug pas ṣṭriḥ te*/ *tsheg drag dang ldan pa snga ma bzhin no*). *Kumāracandra gives the same gloss.

[1684] *Lalitavajra (p. 320): "**the fourth of the sixth** [means:] *va*" (*drug ba'i bzhi pa ni va'o*). *Kumāracandra gives the same gloss.

[1685] *Lalitavajra (p. 320): "**the third vowel** [means:] *i*; by uniting with [*v*], it is *vi*" (*dbyangs yig gsum pa ni i'o*/ *de ldan pas vi'o*). *Kumāracandra gives the same gloss.

[1686] *Lalitavajra (p. 320): "**the first of the first** [means:] *ka*; the seed of the fire is *ra*; by putting it below *ka*, it becomes *kṛ*" (*dang po'i dang po ni ka'o*/ *me'i sa bon ni ra te 'og tu ldan pas krir 'gyur ro*). *Kumāracandra gives the same gloss.

[1687] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:93) has an additional sentence: "*'og tu me yi sa bon sbyin*", which Siklós (*ibid*.:37) omits, explaining in the footnote that it would result in a tautological syllable. This conforms to the Sanskrit text, where this sentence is missing.

[1688] *Lalitavajra (p. 320): "**the first of the fourth** [means:] *ta*, the second vowel [means:] *ā*; by endowing [*ta*] with that [vowel], it becomes *tā*" (*bzhi pa'i dang po ni ta'o*/ *dbyangs yig gnyis pa ni ā ste*/ *de dang ldan pas tā ring por 'gyur ro*). *Kumāracandra gives the same gloss.

He should add the initial *vairocana*[1690] (*oṃ*),[1691] the eighth letter of the *ya* class (*ha*) conjoined with the sixth vowel (*ū*): *hū*,[1692] its head adorned with the *bindu*: *hūṃ*. (18)

The second of the fifth class (*pha*), the first of the third class (*ṭ*): *phaṭ*.[1693] (19ab)

This is the king among mantras, famed as the all-purpose mantra (i.e., that accomplishes any procedure)[1694] [meant] for the union with the Buffalo-faced one. If one recites it for three hundred thousand times,[1695] he accomplishes any magical procedure.

[§41] The first of the sixth class (*ya*), the fifth of the fifth class (*ma*) connected with the second vowel (*ā*): *mā*.[1696] The first of the fourth class (*ta*). (20)

[1689] *Lalitavajra (p. 320): "**the fifth of the fourth** [means:] *na,* that itself is spoken again [means:] twice" (*bzhi pa'i lnga pa ni na'o*/ *de kho na zhes pa yang na ste gnyis so*). *Kumāracandra gives the same gloss.

[1690] *Lalitavajra (p. 320): "**initial *vairocana*** [means:] he should put *oṃ*" (*glad du rnam par snang mdzad de oṃ bzhag go*). *Kumāracandra: "**initial *vairocana*** [means:] *oṃ*" (*rnam par snang mdzad ni oṃ'mo*).

[1691] Siklós (1996:37) again translates *dang por rnam par snang mdzad sbyin* as "at the beginning he adds *vairocana*", but the intended meaning here is "the initial *vairocana*".

[1692] *Kumāracandra: "**the eighth letter** [means:] *ha*; **the sixth vowel** [means:] *ū*" (*brgyad pa ni ha'o*/ *dbyangs yig drug pa ni ū'o*).

[1693] *Kumāracandra: "**the second of the fifth** [means:] *pha*; **the first of the third** [means:] *ṭa*" (*lnga pa'i gnyis pa ni pha'o*/ *gsum pa'i dang po ṭa'o*).

[1694] Siklós (1996:37) translates *las kyi sngags su grags pa* as "it is known as the spell of rites", but this translation is inaccurate, for the Tibetan text reads: "it is known as the action-mantra". The Sanskrit text has *sarvakarmakāramantraḥ*, which means "all-purpose mantra"; this is a technical term indicating the mantra that accomplishes all ritual procedures.

[1695] *Akṣobhya (pp. 378–379): "**three hundred times** [means:] it is taught for the sake of intermediate practitioners" (*'bum phrag gsum zhes bya ba ni sngags pa bar ma'i phyir bstan pa'o*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 452) refers to the number of mantra-recitations as being one hundred thousand, three hundred thousand, and seven hundred thousand (but the Sanskrit text mentions only one and three hundred thousand). *Kṛṣṇācārya further comments on these numbers as follows: "100,000, 300,000, and 700,000 [mantra-recitations] should be applied to *pūrvasevā*, *sādhana* and *karma*s. In order to achieve [the desired goal], they should be recited within a span of two or six months. Later, one should do it every day and every night with the mind endowed with compassion" (*'bum dang sum 'bum dang bdun 'bum zhes pa ni bsnyen pa dang sgrub pa dang las sbyor gyi sgrub pa zla gnyis dang drug gis 'grub par 'gyur zhing*/ *phyis snying rje dang ldan pa'i sems kyis zhag re dang nyin res bya'o*).

[1696] *Kumāracandra: "**the first of the sixth** [means:] *ya*; **the fifth of the fifth** [means:] *ma*; **the second vowel** [means:] *ā*" (*drug pa'i dang po ya'o*/ *lnga pa'i lnga pa ma'o*/ *dbyangs yig gnyis pa ā'o*).

Before that the last of the fifth class (*anusvāra*),[1697] he should place it on its head.[1698] The first of the first class (*ka*), then, he should add the initial *vairocana* (*oṃ*).[1699] (21)

[He should place] the *smaraṇa* topped by the "0" [symbol] (i.e., *bindu*) at the end of it.[1700] (22ab)

Then, the second of the fifth class (*pha*), and the first of the third class (*ṭ*), *phaṭ*.[1701] (23ab)

This is the famous heart-mantra[1702] of the Buffalo-faced. He who is engaged in the rite of extracting the mantras and is fully concentrated,[1703] if he recites the syllable[1704] one

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[1697] Siklós (1996:37) translates "*de yi lnga pa glad du gzhag"* as "the fifth of that group before it", which would give the letter *ṇa*. But what the Sanskrit says is that before the letter *ta* one has to put the last of the fifth class, which is *ma*, or *anusvāra*. In addition, the Sanskrit says that one has to put it on the 'head' of the letter *ta*, which indicates *ānta* (in *yamānta*). This detail is missing in Tibetan text as edited by Siklós (1996:94).

[1698] *Kumāracandra: "**the first of the fourth** [means:] *na*, **the final [letter] of the fifth class** [means:] *ta*" (*bzhi ba'i dang po na'o*/ *lnga pa'i tha ma ta'o*).

[1699] See fn.1670 above. *Kumāracandra: "**the first of the first** [means:] *ka*; **initial *vairocana*** [means:] *oṃ*" (*dang po'i dang po ka'o*/ *rnam par snang mdzad oṃ'o*)

[1700] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:94) has "*ya tshogs brgyad pa'i son bon la*/ *dbyangs yig drug pa dang ldan la*/ *spyi bo ru ni thig les brgyan*", which Siklós (*ibid*.:37) translates as "[he] adds the seed-syllable which is the eighth of the YA group with the sixth vowel adorned with the drop on top"; this would give *h* and the vowel *ū* with *bindu* on top, i.e. *hūṃ*. *Lalitavajra (p. 320) explains it as follows: "the eighth of the ya-*varga*, etc. [means:] *ha*, the sixth [means:] *u*; because it is adorned there, it gives *hu*. On the top it is adorned with the *bindu* [hence *huṃ*]" (*ya la sogs pa'i brgyad pa ha'o*/ *drug pa u ste der brgyad pas hu'o*/ *steng du thig les brgyad pa'o*). The Sanskrit gives a totally different reading, i.e. *smaraṇa*, which in the *Picumata-Brahmayāmala* represents the seed-syllable *hūṃ* (for an explanation, see p. 348 of this thesis). *Kumāracandra glosses *smaraṇa* as "the crescent moon" (*dran pa'i mtha' ni zla tshes so*). *Kumāracandra then gives another gloss that does not feature in the Sanskrit, namely "emptiness-deity, [meaning] *bindu*" (*stong pa lha ni thig le'o*).

[1701] *Lalitavajra (p. 320): "**the second of the fifth** [means:] *pha*, and **the first of the third** is *ṭa*; with that, it is *phaṭ*" (*lnga pa'i gnyis pa pha dang gsum pa'i dang po ta ste des phaṭ do*). *Kumāracandra gives the same gloss.

[1702] *Akṣobhya (p. 379): "**heart-*mantra*** [means:] it is prescribed for those *yogin*s who, for the most part, find it difficult to visualise [the mantra]; because of that recitation, since one has to certainly visualise [the *mantra*] in the heart, hence it is called 'the heart'. As for the mantras, although it is possible that those mantras achieve their effect only by recitation, when it comes to *hṛdayamantra*s, they surely achieve their effects through visualisation. Therefore, it is said: 'what is known as *samādhi* is the heart, it is there where the mind is endowed with equipoise'" (*snying po'i gsang sngags zhes bya ba ni phal cher bsgom pa la dka' ba'i rnal 'byor pa la bstan pa yin pas na*/ *'di ni zlos pa pos ni nges par snying gar bsgom par bya bas na snying po zhes bya ste*/ *gsang sngags rnams ni bzlas pas kyang bya ba de byed srid kyi*/ *snying po rnams ni nges par bsgom pas don de rdzogs par bya ba yin te*/ *de nas snying po shes par ting nge 'dzin*/ *gang du mtshungs par ldan pa'i sems*/ *zhes ze do*).

hundred times,[1705] he accomplishes the rituals in all aspects[1706] present in the three worlds.[1707]

This is the third chapter [called] extraction of the mantra in this tantra of Śrīmahāvajrabhairava which is a part of [the tantra] called the *Śrīmañjuśriya*[*tantra*].

[1703] *Akṣobhya (p. 379): "**fully concentrated** [means]: 'Just like people who hold a sword, if they do not hold it properly, the hand will be cut off. In the same way, if one does not recite the mantra properly, there will be no result, moreover, the outcome will be unfortunate'. In order to eliminate this situation taught in the verse, when one performs the extraction of the mantra, at that time, it is very bad to have the mind on something else, just like it is forbidden to defecate and urinate while bathing" (*legs par mnyam par gzhag pa zhes bya ba la sogs pa ni/ ji ltar ral gri 'dzin pa'i mi dag gis/ legs par ma bzung lag pa 'chad par 'gyur/ de bzhin sngags kyang legs par ma bzlas na/ 'bras bu med dam yang na ma rungs 'gyur/ zhes gsungs pa'i gnas skabs spang ba'i phyir/ yi ge btu ba rtsom na/ de'i tshe sems gzhan du byed pa ni/ rab tu smad de/ khrus byed pa de yang bshang gci byed pa bzhin du de dgag pa'i phyir ro*).

[1704] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:94) has *yi ge re re 'bum bzla*, but *Akṣobhya's commentary (see below) understands it as *yi ge 'bum bzla*, which connotes only one syllable of the *hṛdayamantra* and not all of them. The same is supported by the Sanskrit reading *akṣaralakṣajāpena.*

[1705] *Akṣobhya (p. 379): "[if he recites] **the syllable one hundred times**: as for this letter, it is the letter of the heart" (*yi ge 'bum zhes bya ba la yi ge ni snying po'i yi ge'o*). *Akṣobhya further glosses the word "one hundred" as follows: "[this is taught] in order to introduce the lazy people, alternatively, as many letters as there are [in the mantra] that many times [one has to recite] hundred thousand. Because it is said: 'when it comes to the letters of the *mantra* under fifteen, a wise person has to recite it as many as one hundred thousand times as there are letters, but this rule holds only [for the mantras] under fifteen'. Other say: 'this means one should recite it as per the numbers of the letters, provided that one has achieved clarity in meditation'" (*'bum zhes bya ba ni le lo can rnams gzhug* [em.; *gzhig* ed.] *pa'i phyir ro/ yang na yi ge 'bru ji snyed pa de snyed kyi 'bum phrag ste/ mkhas pas gsang sngags yi ge ni/ bco lnga man chad grangs rnams la/ yi ge'i sdom ni ji snyed pa/ de snyed 'bum phrag bzlas brjod bya/ zhes gsungs pas so/ gzhan kha cig ni 'di ni bsgom pa byang bar byas pas/ sgra ji bzhin pa'i bzlas par brjod do*). *Akṣobhya's explanation corresponds to the injunctions given in the *Susiddhikara* (Giebel 2001:212): "if [the mantra] has fifteen syllables, you should recite it fifteen *lakṣa* times (1 *lakṣa*=100,000), and if it has thirty-two syllables, you should recite it three *lakṣa* [times]. Those with more than this number [of syllables] should be recited ten thousand times or more."

[1706] *Akṣobhya (p. 379): "**he accomplishes the rituals in all aspects** [means:] this is the teaching that is appropriately connected with those rituals that use the *karmamantra* as their chief thing, but not with those that use *yantra*" (*las de dang de dag ces bya ba la sogs pa ni 'di ni las kyi sngags kyi gor sbyar du rung bar ston pa'o/ 'on kyang 'khrul 'khor ni ma yin no*).

[1707] Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:94) ends with an additional sentence that is missing in the Sanskrit, namely: *sngags btu ba'i cho ga'i dus 'dir mchod par bya'o*.

Chapter Four

Visualisation (*dhyāna*)

[§42] Next,[1708] I shall duly explain[1709] the means of mastering[1710] (*sādhana*) [the deity] Vajrabhairava.[1711] After having first [meditated upon] the selflessness of all the

[1708] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 399) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 418): "the *prayojana*, which was taught by the previous *kalpa*s is without visualisation of the deity, for that reason, in order to teach the visualisation of the deity, the *sādhana-kalpa* beginning with the word 'next' is taught. "**Next** [means:] immediately after the extraction of the mantra" (*de dag bstan pa'i dgos pa ni lha'i dmigs pa med par 'grub par mi 'gyur bas lha'i dmigs pa'i don du de nas zhes bya ba la sogs pa sgrub thabs kyi rtog pa gsungs pa/ de nas zhes bya ba ni sngags btu ba'i de ma thag tu'o*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 453): "regarding the *sādhana* with the use of the mantra, if it is done without visualising the deity, it will not be successful, because of that the method of achieving, beginning with the word 'next' is taught. **Next** [means:] after the extraction of the mantra and it connects with the *prayojana* of visualising the deity" (*sngags kyis 'grub pa la lha la dmigs pa med na mi 'grub pas mngon par rtogs pa'i don du/ de nas zhes bya ba la sogs pa sgrub pa'i thabs gsungs pa nyid do/ de nas zhes pa ni sngags btus pa song ba dang lha bsgom dgos pa 'brel to*). *Kumāracandra: "**Next** [means:] having performed the *anuttara*(*pūjā*) with seven aspects, one should meditate [on the deity] in a pure place and expel obstacles with the ray of light of the seed-syllable abiding in the sun-*maṇḍala* of his own heart; this [procedure] will be explained accordingly" (*de nas zhes bya ba la sogs pa la rnam pa bdun gyis bla na med pa'i mchod pa byas nas/ tshangs pa'i gnas bsgoms te/ rang gi snying gar nyi ma'i dkyil gnas pa'i sa bon gyi 'od zer gyis bgegs rnams bskrad de/ ji skad gsungs bzhin du bya'o*).

[1709] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 399) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 418): "**I shall explain** [means:] the correct meaning here will be explained through the oral instruction of the guru; concerning this, the *upadeśa* is as follows" (*yang dag rab bshad bya zhes bya ba la yang dag pa'i don ni 'dir bla ma'i man ngag gis bshad par bya'o/ de la man ngag ni 'di yin te*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 453): "**I shall explain** [means:] the method" (*yang dag rab bshad bya zhes ba ni thabs so*).

[1710] Siklós (1996:37) translates *bsgrub pa* as "evocation", which fails to convey the meaning intended here, i.e., *sādhana*, "the means of mastering". Chapter 4 of the VBhT may be one of the earliest expositions of the *sādhana* of the *yogatantra* class extant in Sanskrit: see p. 125 of this thesis. *Śoṇaśrī (p. 399) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 418) give a semantic analysis of "the method of Vajrabhairava-*sādhana*" as "that by which one achieves (*sādh*) the method of Vajrabhairava" (*rdo rje 'jigs byed sgrub pa'i thabs zhes bya ba ni rdo rje 'jigs byed du thabs gang gis sgrub par byed*). This is followed by the gloss: "'his [Vajrabhairava] *sādhana*' [means:] that by which something is made into one's own self" (*bdag nyid du 'gyur bar byed pa ni de'i sgrub thabs so*).

[1711] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 453): "**Vajrabhairava** [means:] "that what is to be achieved, namely the *sādhya*; the explanation of the method is that which achieves, namely the *sādhana*. Moreover, the method of the *sādhana* will be correctly explained. With the *upadeśa* of the guru, the yogin should understand that all the *dharma*s are empty and by clearly visualising the deity, he achieves the mantra. As for the *upadeśa*: in the places previously taught, with the substances and [the help of] *uttarasādhaka*, he should delineate the *maṇḍala*, arrange the shape [of the deity], and offer *pūjā*, *bali*, etc." (*rdo rje 'jigs byed ces pa ni bsgrub par bya ba yin la/ thabs yang dag par bshad pa ni sgrub byed yin no/ de yang sgrub thabs yang dag par 'chad pa ste/ bla ma'i man ngag gis rnal 'byor pas chos thams cad stong par rtogs shing lha la dmigs pa gsal bas sngags 'grub po/*

*dharma*s,[1712] he should take the deity as his object [of meditation]. First of all,[1713] indeed, he utters the mantra, which begins with "*svabhāvaśuddho 'haṃ*." Having brought about

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man ngag ni sngar gyi gnas bstan par rdzas dang grogs dang bcas pas dkyil 'khor bri ba dang sku gzugs dgram pa dang mchod gtor dbul ba la sogs pa bya'o).

[1712] The Sanskrit text has *sarvakarmanairātmyapūrvakaṃ*, which has been emended to *sarvadharmanairātmyapūrvakaṃ*, as supported by the Tibetan edition of the VBhT (Siklós 1996:95): *sngon du chos thams cad la bdag med pa,* as well as the VBhT commentaries. *Akṣobhya (p. 380): "**all the *dharma*s** [means:] *skandha*s, *dhātu*s, and *āyatana*s" (*chos thams cad ces bya ba ni/ phung po dang/ khams dang skye mched do*). *Lalitavajra (p. 322): "then, in order to meditate on emptiness, he establishes with conviction that all *dharma*s, such as *skandha*s, etc. are selfless in their inherent nature, this is meaning of 'he should generate the deity'. Then, 'first of all he utters *sarva*'; as for "'the first', it [means:] *oṃ śūnyatājñānavajra*; then, with the mantra *svabhāvātmako 'haṃ*, he meditates on the meaning of that" (*de'i rjes su stong pa nyid bsgom pa'i phyir/ dngos po thams cad de phung po la sogs pa rang bzhin med par mos pa la sogs pa byas las lha bskyed ces bya ba'i don to/ des na dang por sarva ba zhes pa la/ dang por zhes bya ba ni/ oṃ shu nya ta dznya na badz ra ste/ de nas sva bha va a ko ham zhes bya ba'i sngags pas de'i don bsgom zhes pa'o*).

[1713] *Śoṇaśrī (pp. 399–400) and *Vajrasiddha (pp. 418–419): "**first of all** [means:] the *mantrin*, relying on some special person, should sit on a comfortable seat. He should pop into his mouth a pellet (*guṭikā*) made of five nectars. The *yogin* should be naked, with dishevelled hair, facing south. Then, in his heart, he visualises the rays of light pervading the ten directions; then, he invites the Buddhas, *bodhisattva*s and the deities beginning with *krodha*. He asks them to hover in the air, in front of him, and propitiates them with [the help of] the four goddesses beginning with Vajracarcikā that arise from the light of the seed of [his] heart. They [*pūjādevī*s] present offerings in front of the Buddhas, holding sacrificial intruments for worship, such as, for instance, a lotus in the hand. He confesses his sins, etc., and dismisses them" (*dang por re zhig sngags pas skye bo 'ga' zhig la brten nas stan bde ba la 'dug ste/ bdud rtsi lnga la sogs pa'i ri lu khar bcug la rnal 'byor pa g.cer bu gtsug phud bshig pa/ kha lhor mngon par phyogs pa ste/ de nas rang gi snying gar nyi ma la gnas pa'i sa bon gyi 'od rnams kyis phyogs bcu'i 'jig rten gyi khams mngon par khyab ste/ sangs rgyas dang byang chub sems dpa' dang/ khro bo la sogs pa'i lha tshogs spyan drangs te/ mdun gyi nam mkha'i phyogs su bzhugs su gsol la/ de nas snying ga'i sa bon gyi 'od zer las byung ba'i rdo rje carci ka la sogs pa'i lha mo bzhis mchod pa'i yo byad sna tshogs lag pa'i pad ma lta bu gzung ba rnams kyis legs par mchod do/ sdig pa bshags pa la sogs pa dang/ gshegs su gsol ba byas nas*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (pp. 453–454): "**first of all** [means:] first, at that time, in those places (i.e., the suitable places previously described, see Chap. 1), he should take a comfortable seat, and he should purify the mouth with the five *aṃrta*s; naked, with his hair dishevelled, facing south, with the letter *ma* in the heart and the seed-syllable, he performs the protection of the [*vajra*]-fence (*prākāra*) from the sides and the top. He protects the place and the deity with compassion, and with the meditation of emptiness, he protects the yogin himself. With that light endowed with five rays in the seed-syllable of his heart, pervading all world-systems in ten directions, he impels all the five lineages of the Buddhas; having purified the five classes of beings, he visualises in the space in front of him all the Buddhas, *bodhisattva*s, wrathful ones, and the gurus. From the seed-syllable in his heart, he emits the *pūjādevī*s and with Vajracarcikā, etc. he correctly offers the outer (*bahyapūjā*), inner (*antarpūjā*) and real (*tattvapūjā*) forms of worship" (*dang po kho nar zhes pa ni de'i tshe dang po ste gnas der stan bde ba la 'dug ste/ bdud rtsi lnga yis kha dag par byas la/ gcer bu skra grol ba shar mngon par phyogs par bya ste/ snying ga'i ma dang sa bon gyis dra gur gyi bsrung bas/ gnas dang snying rje chen pos* [em.; *po* ed.] *dang lha dang stong pa nyid kyi ting nge 'dzin bsrungs bas rnal 'byor pa yang bsrung bar 'gyur*

the selfless nature of all things,[1714] he should visualise a wind-*maṇḍala* grey-coloured in form[1715] produced from the syllable YAṂ in the centre of space. Then, having visualised

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ro/ snying ga'i sa bon gyi 'od zer lnga dang ldan pa'i 'od de nyid kyis phyogs bcu'i 'jig rten gyi khams thams cad du khyab pas sangs rgyas thams cad rigs lnga bskul/ 'gro ba'i rgyud lnga sbyangs nas/ sangs rgyas dang byang chub sems dpa' dang khro bo dang bla ma thams cad mdun gyi nam mkha' la dmigs la/ rang gi snying ga'i sa bon las mchod pa'i lha mo spros la rdo rje carci ka la sogs kyis phyi dang nang dang de kho na nyid kyi mchod pas yang dag par mchod pa dang).

[1714] *Akṣobhya (p. 380): "**having brought about as the nature** [of all things] **their selflessness** [means:] turning them into clear light by realising their nature as being devoid of subject-object [duality]" (*de dag bdag med pa'i bdag nyid du byas nas zhes bya ba ni/ gzung ba dang 'dzin pas dben pa rang bzhin gyis 'od gsal bar 'gyur ba'o*). For *Śoṇaśrī, *Vajrasiddha, and *Kṛṣṇācārya, this is contextualised as the meditation on the four *brahmavihāra*s, the *catuṣkoṭi* and dependent origination, etc. *Śoṇaśrī (p. 400) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 419): "What is expressed by the phrase **selflessness of all phenomena** (***sarvadharmanairātmya***) is the meditation on the four *brahmavihāra*s. In this regard, love (*maitrī*) has a characteristic of love towards all sentient beings as if they were your own son; compassion (*karuṇā*) is a desire to completely liberate [sentient beings] from the suffering and the cause of suffering; joy [means] stabilising contentment by means of firm bliss; *upekṣā* is to be equanimous, which means to disregard all kinds of thought-constructs related to *grāhya* and *grāhaka*. Then, he [should contemplate the *śūnyatā* by] perceiving dependent origination of all and being devoid of four alternatives (*catuṣkoṭi*), he should both recite and realise the meaning of the mantra: 'I am of the essence which is non-dual gnosis of emptiness' (*oṃ śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātmako 'haṃ*); he should trip the appearance (*āloka*) of both himself and the three realms" (*de dag thams cad bsgoms la chos thams cad bdag med pa zhes bya ba'i tshig gis tshangs pa'i gnas bzhi bsgoms pa mtshon pa'o/ de la sems can thams cad la bu gcig pa ltar sdug pa'i mtshan nyid ni byams pa'o/ sdug bsngal dang sdug bsngal gyi rgyu las yang dag par 'dod pa'i snying rje dang/ bde ba brtan pa nyid kyis dga' ba dang/ gzung ba dang 'dzin pa'i rnam par rtog pa thams cad la btang snyoms su byed pa'i phyir btang snyoms so/ de nas thams cad rten cing 'brel bar 'byung ba dang/ mu bzhi bral bar rnam par bltas la/ om sunyata jnana vajra sabhava atmako ham/ zhes bya ba'i sngags brjod la sngags kyi don mngon du byed cing bdag nyid khams gsum la snang ba med par byas nas*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 454) has a corresponding passage, as follows: "He confesses his sins, etc. and meditates on the four *brahmavihāra*s, one knows them [as follows]: 1) *maitrī-lakṣaṇa*, 'love', which is not given up and graciously extends to all the beings; 2) *karuṇā-lakṣaṇa*, 'compassion', which is that which desires to protect all sentient beings from suffering; 3) *muditā-lakṣaṇa*, 'joy', which is a desire to rescue the beings from *saṃsāra* [this normally features in the *karuṇā-lakṣaṇa*] and place them in *tuṣitā* and a desire to not to be dissociated from them; 4) *upekṣā* is to understand 'equanimity', non-divisiveness through biased mind and freedom from the eight worldly *dharma*s. Then, having realised that nothing is established as *svabhāva*, empty of one and many, and free of the four *koṭi*s (i.e., 1. existence, 2. non-existence, 3. existence and non-existence, 4. neither existence nor non-existence), and that they arise in the *pratītyasamutpāda*, [in order to seal this realisation] he recites the mantra *oṃ śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātmako 'haṃ*. The purpose of that mantra is to place his mind in 'no focus on anything state', pervading the entire space, having the knowledge of the immutable gnosis of emptiness" (*sdig pa bshags pa la sogs pa rnams byas la tshangs pa'i gnas bzhi bsgoms te/ sems can thams cad la brtse bas khyab pa mi gtong ba byams pa'i mtshan nyid/ sdug bsngal las skyob par 'dod pa'i snying rje'i mtshan nyid de/ 'khor ba las bsgral bar 'dod pa'i bde bar 'dod pa dang/ mi 'bral bar 'dod pa dga' ba'i mtshan nyid do/ nye ring gis mi 'byed cing chos brgyad spangs pa btang snyoms su shes pa'o/ de'i rjes su chos gcig dang du mas stong pa mu*

a moon-*maṇḍala*[1716] upon it, arising from the initial letter A,[1717] and then, having mentally generated Mañjuśrī[1718] in a form of a boy from the syllable DHĪḤ[1719] above

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bzhi dang bral ba rten cing 'brel bar 'byung ba'i rang bzhin ma grub par rtogs nas/ oṃ shu nya ta dznya na bzdz ra swa bha wa atma ko ham zhes brjod la/ sngags de'i don stong pa nyid kyi ye shes mi 'gyur ba'i rang bzhin du nam mkha' khyab pa rang gi blo mi dmigs par bzhag go).

[1715] Syntactically, this is a difficult passage to translate. The Sanskrit text supports *dhūmravarṇākāraṃ* as qualifying the colour of the initial letter 'A' and not the colour of the wind-*maṇḍala*, but such a reading is neither supported by the commentaries, nor by the parallel passages in Tibetan and Sanskrit. In this regard, the Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:95) reads: *nam mkha'i dkyil du yaṃ gi rnam pa las grub pa'i rlung gi dkyil 'khor mdog du ba'i rnam pa bsam mo,* which Siklós (1996:37) translates as "one thinks of the smoke-coloured wind-*maṇḍala* arisen from the syllable YAṂ in the middle of space". Similarly, in the *Saṃputodbhava*, we find the following reading: "in the centre of space, he should visualise the wind-*maṇḍala* of a grey colour [coming] from the letter YAṂ" (*bhagamadhye tu yaṃkāreṇa vāyumaṇḍalaṃ dhūmrākāraṃ vicintayet*). *Akṣobhya's commentary (p. 380) also supports the grey-colour of the wind-*maṇḍala*: "after that, one meditates on the grey-coloured wind-*maṇḍala* formed from the blue letter YAṂ in the middle of space" (*de'i 'og tu de nyid la nam mkha'i dkyil du yi ge YAM sngon po las grub pa'i rlung gi dkyil 'khor du ba'i mdog can du bsams te*). The Tibetan *de'i 'og tu* seems to be a mistake of *de'i steng du*, which reflects the Sanskrit *tasyopari*, which however does not feature in the Sanskrit manuscripts available to me. A more correct reading would be *de nyid la,* meaning "in the same place", i.e., in the expanse of space. *Akṣobhya (p. 380) further says that **the grey-coloured wind-*maṇḍala*** is "the seat of Mahākāla" (*'di ni khro bo chen po'i gdan te*). For further information on the seed-syllables and their symbolism, see p. 229 of this thesis.

[1716] *Akṣobhya (p. 380): "**moon-*maṇḍala*** [means:] it is the seat of the noble Mañjughoṣa and that is the transformation of [the letter A]" (*zla ba'i dkyil 'khor zhes bya ba ni/ 'phags pa 'jam pa'i dbyangs kyi gdan te/ de ni yongs su bsgyur bar bya ba yin na*). *Lalitavajra (p. 322): "as for the initial letter A, it is a moon generated from the letter A (*dang po ni a las byung ba'i zla ba'o*).

[1717] The NMAA has a corresponding passage in which one has to visualise one's own consciousness in the form of the syllable 'A' in the middle of empty space. Interestingly, the commentators of the VBhT pass over in silence any exegetical explanation on the syllable 'A'; but from other textual sources it can be inferred that this concept was influential in coeval tantric circles. In both the *yoga-* and *caryā-tantra*s, the symbolism of the letter 'A' seated on a moon-disc typically connotes the concept of the selflessness of all the *dharma*s (*sarvadharmanairātmya*). In the NMAA, 'A' is the letter from which Mañjuśrījñānasattva is 'born', insomuch as he is referred to as *akārasaṃbhavaḥ*, *akārajanitāḥ* on the basis of the *MNS* (v.5.1), in the introductory verse of the "Vajradhātumaṇḍala Chapter" (Tribe 1994:33). The letter 'A' seated on a moon-disc is located in Mañjuśrījñānasattva's heart and "it symbolises its nature or the source of identity" (*ibid.*). In Vilāsavajra's understanding, 'A' is a synonym of *śūnyatā*, so Mañjuśrījñānasattva stands for awareness of the ultimate emptiness of all things (*ibid.*). The letter 'A' also represents the *dharmadhātu* and the essence of the perfection of wisdom (*prajñāpāramitā*), which is understood, in Vijñānavāda terms, as non-dual awareness (*ibid*.:34).

[1718] *Śoṇaśrī (pp. 400-401) and *Vajrasiddha (pp. 419–420): "**Mañjuvajra** [means:] protector with one face, two arms, holding a sword and a book, sitting in a cross-legged posture, and who is of the nature of *hetuvajradhara*. He [Mañjuvajra] is generated as being adorned with the eight cremation grounds, which symbolise that he has the nature of *phalavajradhara* as taught in various tantras, meaning he has *nirāhaṃkāra* in which he is non-dual with regard to *bhāva* and *nirvāṇa*. At this point, one should recite the mantra 'all phenomena are empty of intrinsic nature

that, he visualises a sun-*maṇḍala*[1720] whose form has been produced out of a syllable ĀḤ in Mañjuśrī's heart.[1721] Then, having caused a mass of rays to exit from that sun-

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and I am empty'" (*'jam pa'i rdo rje zhes bya ba ni mgon po zhal gcig phyag gnyis pa phyag na ral gri dang glegs bam can/ rdo rje'i skyil mo krung gi sbyor bas* [em.; *ba* ed.] *rgyu'i rdo rje 'dzin pa'i bdag nyid can no/ rgyud dang rgyud du gsungs pa'i rim pas 'bras bu rdo rje 'chang gi ngo bor bdag nyid dur khrod brgyad kyis brgyan par bskyed la srid pa dang zhi ba gnyis su med pa'i nga rgyal med cing/ om swa bha wa shu nya ta sar wa dhar ma swa bha wa shu nya aham/ zhes bya ba'i sngags brjod par bya'o*).

[1719] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 400) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 419): "**from the syllable DHĪḤ** [means:] from the yellow DHĪḤ" (*DHIH las zhes bya ba ni DHIH ser po las so*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (pp. 454–455): "**from the syllable DHĪḤ above that** [means:] he should meditate on the primordial Buddha (Ādibuddha) [through the stages of] *yoga*, *atiyoga*, and *mahāyoga*. [*Dhīḥ* means:] at the time of ritual action, one should visualise [Mañjuśrī] as *ekavīra* manifesting in the centre, otherwise the appearance of the *maṇḍala* is the same, but the difference is that *dhīḥ*, the sword and the deities are yellow. He should be visualised as carrying a book in his left [hand] and a lotus [in this right hand], he should be seated on the moon[-disc] in the *vajraparyaṅka* position" (*de'i steng du* [em.; *nang du* ed.] *dhiḥ yig las zhes pa ni dang po'i sangs rgyas rnal 'byor dang rjes su rnal 'byor dang shin tu rnal 'byor dang/ rnal 'byor chen po rnams bsgom pa'o/ las sbyor gyi dus su dpa' bo gcig pa ni dkyil kyi gsal ba de nyid do/ khyad par ni dhiḥ dang ral gri lha rnams ser ba'o/ g.yon po ti bsnams pa nyid bsgom pa'o/ padma dang zla ba la rdo rje skyil mo krung du bzhugs pa'o*). This depiction corresponds to the passage of the NMAA where one has to visualise the Ādibuddha (Mañjuśrī) transformed from the syllable DHĪḤ: "he should visualise a moon-disc in his [Mahāvairocana's] heart, transformed out of the syllable DHĪḤ [he should visualise] the Fortunate One, the Ādibuddha, having five faces, having five crests (*pañcacīraka*) […]" (Tribe 1994:106). He is portrayed as tranquil, with the ornaments of a youth (*kumārābharaṇopeta*) and has eight arms, four of them holding "the one hundred thousand [verse] Perfection of Wisdom [scripture]", the other four hands holding a "sword of wisdom in a gesture of striking" (*ibid*.).

[1720] About the sun-*maṇḍala* as Vairocana, see below.

[1721] The parallel passage of the *Saṃputodbhava* reads as follows: "above that, in the middle of the moon having visualised oneself in the form of Mañju transformed from the syllable DHĪḤ, he meditates upon the sun-*maṇḍala* [produced] from the syllable ĀḤ in Mañju's heart" (*tasyoparīndumadhye dhīḥkārapariṇataṃ mañjurūpam ātmānaṃ vicintya taddhṛdi āḥkāreṇa sūryamaṇḍalaṃ dhyātvā*). The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:95) and Siklós's translation (*ibid*.:37) have the syllable A instead of ĀḤ, but this is not supported by the VBhT commentaries, which uniformily give the syllable ĀḤ and not A. *Śoṇaśrī (p. 400) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 419) say: "the five rays of HŪṂ are on the top of the sun-*maṇḍala*, which has arisen from the red syllable ĀḤ" (*yi ge AH dmar po las byung ba'i nyi ma'i steng du HUM gi 'od zer lnga 'phro ba can no*). The syllable ĀḤ stands for Mahāvairocana, *vairocana* meaning "belonging to the sun" or "solar" (Tajima 1992:248). The imagery of light that penetrates the universe and its link with Vairocana goes back to the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*, which "describes reality as a universe of infinitely reflected light" (Orzech 1987:5607). The symbolism of luminous interpenetration is preserved in the VBhT, stating that the solar-disc (or Mahāvairocana) causes the mass of rays of light to exit and entice the *tathāgata*s, the *bodhisattva*s, the wisdom-deities and the wrathful deities in all directions of space. The rays of light return back to the solar-disc, and then the solar-disc fuses in oneness with Mañjuśrī and those *tathāgata*s, etc. In the NMAA, Mahāvairocana as the central deity of the Vajradhātumaṇḍala is also generated from the syllable ĀḤ (Tribe 1994:105). He is depicted as four-faced "since the four faces are the freedoms (*vimokṣa*) of emptiness and the rest" […] (*ibid*.) and displays the *bodhyāgri-mudrā* "because he has both wisdom and means as his

maṇḍala, he arouses to action[1722] the *tathāgata*s, the *bodhisattva*s, the wisdom-deities and the wrathful deities,[1723] which are located right up to the limit of space in all the ten directions.[1724] Then he should visualise the mass of rays returning again into the same sun-*maṇḍala*. Then he should meditate upon that sun-*maṇḍala* as fused into oneness with Mañjuśrī and those *tathāgata*s, etc. He should visualise that sun-*maṇḍala* as having a form radiant as fire and as pervading for one hundred thousand *yojana*s.[1725] Above that [sun-*maṇḍala*] [he should visualise] a black syllable HŪṂ endowed with five rays.[1726] Then, emitting and withdrawing the rays of the syllable HŪṂ as explained before […].[1727]

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nature" (*ibid.*). He emits the luminous rays of light from his [four] faces that illuminate the world as well as the *tathāgata*s, buddhas and *bodhisattva*s and, then re-enter Mahāvairocana's mouths (*ibid.*:111). Those rays are "conceived as identical with the essencelessness of all *dharma*s, [and] become united with the *mantra*-syllable 'A' on the moon[-disc] in one's own heart" (*ibid.*). Both texts refer to the same function of Mahāvairocana who emits the rays of light in order to illuminate/entice the deities stationed in various directions of space. Those rays go back and forth, re-enter Mahāvairocana and, finally fuse in oneness with Mañjuśrī or the syllable 'A' that represents its source.

[1722] *saṃcodya*: these are usually verses to recite that have the power to arouse the deities.

[1723] The parallel passage of the *Saṃputodbhava* gives a much shorter description: "thereafter, having caused the rays to exit from the sun-*maṇḍala* [and] having performed *pūjā* according to the ritual prescriptions" (*tataḥ sūryamaṇḍalād raśmiṃ niścārya vidhivat pūjāṃ kṛtvā*).

[1724] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:95) omits the phrase *anantaparyantāvasthitān* and simply mentions the ten directions as the location of the *tathāgata*s, *bodhisattva*s, wisdom-goddesses and the wrathful ones.

[1725] The parallel passage of the *Saṃputodbhava* omits the passage beginning with "having aroused to action…" and ending with "one hundred thousand *yojana*s".

[1726] The parallel passage of the *Saṃputodbhava* reads: "above that [sun-*maṇḍala*], having meditated upon the syllable HŪṂ endowed with five rays, [one should visualise] Vajrabhairava surrounding that [syllable HŪṂ with five rays]" (*tadupari hūṁkāraṃ pañcaraśmisaṃyuktaṃ dhyātvā tatparāvṛtaṃ vajrabhairavaṃ*). What follows is a description of Vajrabhairava.

[1727] The passage on the black *vajra* endowed with five rays arising from the syllable HŪṂ and the transformation of *vajra* into Vajrabhairava (see Siklós 1996:38) is missing in the VBhT, and does not feature in the parallel passage found in the *Saṃputodbhava* (see fn.1725 above).
The last stage of *sādhana* in the VBhT is the generation of *vajra* from the syllable HŪṂ. The solar-disc of the previous phase (i.e., *vairocana*) becomes fire and above it one visualises the black syllable HŪṂ, endowed with five rays, which, in the same manner as the rays of Mahāvairocana before, go forth and return back to the HŪṂ, which is their source. The visualisation of the *vajra*, preserved only in Tibetan translation, contains the following instructions:

> One thinks that from that *vajra* minute buddhas, *bodhisattva*s, wrathful ones and wisdom goddesses seated on solar discs fill the sphere of space like unto a mass of sesame seeds and are in the solar disc. By means of these buddhas and so on, one brings sentient beings to maturation and places them in the state of enlightenment. One then thinks that these

[§43] Vajrabhairava has a form of the Buffalo[1728] with nine faces,[1729] he is sixteen-footed,[1730] thirty-four armed,[1731] naked,[1732] black-coloured, and has a great brilliance.[1733]

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gather together and reenter the *vajra*. One thinks that the *vajra* itself becomes the glorious Buffalo-headed Vajramahābhairava (trans. Siklós 1996:38).

The NMAA (4.34) has a corresponding passage in which a practitioner should visualise himself as "the great syllable HŪṂ, dark blue in colour, endowed with masses flames of wrath, surrounded by many hundreds thousands of rays of light" (Tribe 1994:102). The syllable HŪṂ emits many rays and one should visualise that "all the *tathāgata*s [manifest] from the ends of the rays, and that they [that is, the light-rays, together] with all those *tathāgata*s, go to all the Buddha-fields [and] purify all the mass of beings in all the world-spheres without reminder. Having generated the thought of enlightenment and so forth [in those beings] […], they return back again [and] enter that syllable HŪṂ" (*ibid*.:102–103). Then, one visualises a knowledge-*vajra* (*jñānavajra*), transformed out of that syllable HŪṂ (*ibid.*).

In this case too both texts share striking similarities with regard to the generation of the *vajra* out of the syllable HŪṂ. The noticeable difference, however, is that in the case of the VBhT, the *vajra* transforms itself into Vajrabhairava himself, while in the NMAA, the function of the knowledge-*vajra* is to protect the space for the *sādhana* in order to make it "unapproachable by the Māras" (Tribe 1994:103). The reference to the *vajra* as *jñānavajra* is important. In *Kumāracandra's commentary, *jñānavajra* is a name for Vajrabhairava's *liṅga* as an iconographic appropriation of the Śiva-*liṅga*, through the use of which Vajrabhairava protects beings. In the mythic stories narrating the origins of Vajrabhairava in the Tibetan tradition, *jñānavajra* is the name of Vajrabhairava's *liṅga*, which he uses to convert all the evil ones. The reference to *jñānavajra* is also found in Chapter 1 (11–12) of the STTS, in connection with the emanation of Vajrasattva, when it denotes multiple *jñānavajra*s that come together into one *jñānavajra* that pervades the whole space. This *jñānavajra* emits rays of light with *tathāgata*s abiding at the edges and perform the actions similar to the ones described in the *sādhana*'s emanation of light-rays from the syllable *hūṃ* of Chapter 4 of the NMAA (*ibid.*). On the *jñānavajra* understood as *advayajñāna* ('non-dual wisdom'), see Candrakīrti's commentary on the GS, chap. 13.

[1728] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:96) has *ma he'i gdong can* (*mahiṣamukham*) instead of *mahiṣarūpam*. *Śoṇaśrī (p. 404) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 423) gloss ***mahiṣamukham*** as "because he is the lord over the triple worlds" (*khams gsum pa rnams la bdag nyid yin pa'i phyir ma he'i zhal lo*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 455): "**buffalo** [means:] in order to tame those to be tamed with wrathful buffalo-faced deity" (*ma he ni lha drag po ma he'i gdong 'dul ba'i phyir ro*).

[1729] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 404) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 423): "**nine faces** [means:] because he brings about the ripening of all beings by teaching nine branches of the *dharma*, [*sūtra*, *udāna*, *adbhūta*, *jātaka*, etc.]" (*zhal dgu ni yan lag dgu'i chos ston pas sems can yongs su smin par byed pas na'o*). *Akṣobhya (p. 381): "**nine faces** [means:] three to the left and three to the right, connected with the first [face] in the middle; there is one [face] above and one further above that, in due order; in that way, these nine [faces] are *nirodha-samāpatti*s culminating in Buddhahood" (*zhal dgu pa zhes bya ba ni/ dbus dang de 'brel pa nas brtsams pa'i g.yas pa gsum dang/ de bzhin du g.yon pa gsum dang/ steng dang de'i steng rnams rim pa bzhin du sangs rgyas kyi mthar gyis gnas pa'i snyoms par 'jug pa dgu'o*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 455): "**nine faces** [of *vajratattva* means:] at the time of accomplishing [the deity] Vajrabhairava, who is *phalavajradhara,* one should do the empowerment of the *svabhāva* of *vajradhātu*, which is *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* without any distinction, and one has to imagine the pride of the deity. One should recite: *oṃ vajradharmadhātusvabhāvātmako 'haṃ*. Then, there is an introduction of the *jñānasattva*, the empowerment of the senses, the achievement of the body, speech, and mind, the *abhiṣeka*,

He has a crest made of skull ornaments[1734] and causes a great fear.[1735] He is ithyphallic,[1736] standing with the right foot bent and the left foot put forward[1737] and has a

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worship, praise, and the savouring of the nectar, etc.; this should also be done from the oral instruction" (*rdo rje de nyid zhal dgu pa zhes pa ni 'bras bu rdo rje 'chang rdo rje 'jigs byed du grub pa'i dus der/ srid pa dang zhi ba dbyer med pa chos kyi dbyings kyi rang bzhin du byin gyis brlabs cing nga rgyal du bya ba/ om badz ra dhar ma dha tu swa bha wa atma ko ham zhes brjod pa'o/ der yang ye shes sems dpa' gzhug pa dang/ skye mched byin gyis brlabs pa dang/ sku gsung thugs sgrub pa dang/ dbang bskur ba dang/ mchod pa dang/ bstod pa dang bdud rtsi myang ba la sogs pa yang man ngag las bya'o*). The above *sādhana* instruction is followed by a gloss on the symbolism of the **nine faces**, which *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 455) understands as: "nine progressive meditative absorptions (*nirodha-samāpatti*) that cause the maturation of the sentient beings" (*zhal dgu zhes pa ni mthar gyis snyoms par 'jug pa dgu ste sems can smin par byed pa'o*).

[1730] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 402), *Vajrasiddha (p. 421) and *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 455): "**sixteen-footed** [means:] because it is a *viśuddhi* of sixteen forms of emptiness" (*zhabs bcu drug ni stong pa nyid bcu drug ni stong pa nyid bcu drug rnam par dag pas so*). *Akṣobhya (p. 381): "**sixteen-footed**: it is a *viśuddhi* of sixteen types of emptiness. For the same reason, the sixteen [beings] beginning with human corpse are made to be the *lakṣaṇa*s of sixteen perceptions as real existences (*vastu*), whether outer or inner; and because these [sixteen perceptions] are overcomed by the sixteen types of emptiness, that is why these sixteen feet trample upon them" (*zhabs bcu drug pa zhes bya ba ni stong pa nyid bcu drug rnam par dag pa'o/ de nyid kyi phyir mi ro la sogs pa bcu drug ni phyi rol dang nang la sogs pa'i dngos por 'dzin pa bcu drug gi mtshan mar mdzad pa yin la/ de dag stong pa nyid bcu drug gis bcom pa yin pa'i phyir zhabs bcu drug gis brdzis pa'o*).

[1731] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 402), *Vajrasiddha (p. 421), and *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 456): "**thirty-four armed**, it is a *viśuddhi* of the thirty-four doctrines that are harmonies with enlightenment (*bodhipakṣidharma*)" (*phyag sum cu rtsa bzhi ni byang chub kyi phyogs kyi chos sum cu rtsa bzhi rnam par dag pa'o*).

[1732] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 402) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 421): "**naked**, because he is free from the obscurations of the *dharma*s" (*gcer bu ni chos rnams kyi sgrib pa nyid grol bar byed pa'i phyir ro*). *Akṣobhya (p. 381): "**naked** [means:] because he has given up the *vikalpa*s. Cloth is worn because there is shame and embarrassment, but covering oneself with cloth is taught for the foolish people since it is said so: 'although foolish people wear cloth they are always naked, unlike a wise man, who, even though he lives naked, is wearing cloths'" (*gcer bu'i sku la zhes bya ba ni rnam par rtog pa spangs pa dang/ ngo tsha shes pa dang/ khrel yod pa'i phyir gos yin gyi/ ras la sogs pas bkab pa ni byis pa'i gos yin par bstan pa'i phyir te/ byis pa gos rnams gyon yang rtag par gcer/ mkhas pa gcer bur 'dug kyang gos dang bcas zhes bshad pas so*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 456): "it is a *dharmakāya*, free from mental elaboration (*niṣprapañca*)" (*gcer bu ni chos kyi sku spros pa dang bral ba'o*).

[1733] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 455): "**great brilliance**, it is to tame demons, which is the fruit of generating mind with compassion" (*me ltar 'bar ba ni thugs rjes thugs bskyed pa'i 'bras bu bdud 'dul ba'o*).

[1734] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:96) has *thod pa gtsigs pa'i rtse mo 'jig su rung ba'i thod pa'i 'phyang 'phrul gyi rgyan gyis brgyan pa,* which Siklós (*ibid*.: 38–39) translates as "the top of his head with bared teeth is ornamented with frightful skulls". The passage seems to be corrupted in both *Śoṇaśrī's (pp. 401–402) and *Vajrasiddha's commentaries (p. 421), which read: *thod pas thod du byas pa,* "**he is crowned with the skull** because he possesses the nature of the five *jñāna*s" (*thod pas thod du byas pa zhes pa ni ye shes lnga'i rang bzhin yin pa'i phyir ro*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 455): "**the skull-garland on the head** [means:] he is the chief of the five families" (*mgo bo'i phreng ba'i thod de ni rigs lnga'i bdag po* [*em.pa*]*'o*). *Śoṇaśrī (p. 402) and

big belly.[1738] He has a large body[1739] and a raised hair.[1740] He has the form of a blazing fire, roaring like the time of the great destruction.[1741] He should be visualised as

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*Vajrasiddha (p. 421) additionally have "adorned with the skull-ornament", which they gloss as "because he emerges from the *dharmadhātu*" (*thod pa'i rgyan gyis brgyan pa zhes bya ba ni chos kyi dbyings nas bzhengs pa yin pa'i phyir ro*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 455): "**skull-garland** [means] *viśuddhi* of vowels and consonants" (*thod pa'i phreng ba ni dbyangs dang gsal byed kyi yi ge dag pa'o*).

[1735] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 402) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 421): "**he causes a great fear**, because he makes demons terrified" (*'jigs su rung ba chen po zhes bya ba ni bdud rnams sngangs par byed pa'i phyir ro*). In the Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:96), *'jigs pa chen po can* is followed by *phaṭ ces sgra sgrogs*, which is missing in the Sanskrit, but seems to be part of the original text since some of the commentators gloss it. *Śoṇaśrī (p. 402) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 421) say: "he utters '*pheṭ* sound' because he causes fear to those who are difficult to tame" (*phet'i sgra brjod pa ni sdang ba la sogs pa rnams skrag par byed pa'i phyir ro*); *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 455) says: "*phaṭkāra* [means:] he threatens all" (*phat kyi sgra ni thams cad bsdigs pa'o*).

[1736] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 402) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 421): "**ithyphallic**, because he is of the nature of the great bliss" (*mtshan ma 'greng ba ni bde ba chen po'i* [em.; *por* ed.] *rang bzhin gyis so*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 456): "the body of great bliss" (*mtshan ma gyen du 'greng ba ni bde ba chen po'i sku'o*). *Akṣobhya (p. 381–382): "**ithyphallic** [means:] by this, a similarity with Mahādeva is shown because [Vajrabhairava] has tamed him. This is because the *liṅgam* is extremely full of passion. It is said: 'After having put to an end the three years of asceticism, in which he had not been satisfied with bliss of sexual union, his *liṅgam* was constantly ready for action'. For that reason it is said: 'by overcoming *rāga*, wrong view, and hatred, one tames Mahādeva, Brahmā, and Viṣṇu'" (*mtshan 'greng zhes bya ba ni 'di lha chen po dang 'dra bar bstan pas de 'dul ba'i phyir te/ de ni lhag par chags pa can yin pas/ lo gsum du dka' thub bzlog ma dang gnyis kyi gnyis su bde bas bde ba ma tshim zhing rtag tu mtshan pa las su rung ba'o zhes grag go/ de bas na chags dang lta ba zhe sdang bsngo/ lha chen tshangs pa khyab 'jug 'dul zhes bshad do*).

[1737] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 402) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 421): "**left foot put forward**, because he arranges everything in its own place, and puts all the *dharma*s into emptiness" (*chos thams cad stong pa nyid so sor bzhag pa'i phyir g.yon brkyang ba'i gom pa'o*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (pp. 455–456): "because he serves other beings" (*g.yon brkyang ba ni 'gro don mdzad pa'o*).

[1738] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 402) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 421): "**a big belly**, because he is fierce and wrathful" (*gtum pa khro bo yin pa'i phyir gsus pa che ba'o*).

[1739] *mahākāya* does not feature in the Tibetan text or in any of the commentaries.

[1740] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 402) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 421): "**raised hair**, because he shows the state of *nirvāṇa*" (*skra gyen du brdzes pa ni mya ngan las 'das pa'i go 'phang ston pa'i phyir ro*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 456): "on the inside blazing with knowledge, on the outside threatening to demons" (*skra gyen du brdzes pa ni nang na ye shes 'bar zhing phyi rol du bdud bsdigs par mdzad pa'o*). In the Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:96), *skra gyen du brdzes pa* is followed by *'jigs pa chen por byed pa pheṃ ces sgra sgrogs pa,* which is missing in the Sanskrit recensions.

[1741] For a slightly different reading in the Tibetan text and the translation, which takes *'jigs pa chen po'i dus ltar* to refer to Vajrabhairava's eyebrows and eyes, see Siklós (1996: 38, 96).

devouring human blood, marrow, blood, meat, fat, and bone marrow,[1742] eating the three worlds[1743] together with Brahmā, Indra,[1744] Upendra (Viṣṇu), Rudra, etc.,[1745] letting out the mad laughter,[1746] rolling his tongue,[1747] and causing terror even to fear.[1748] The first [head of Vajrabhairava[1749]] is the Buffalo-face.[1750] There are three faces at the [side of

[1742] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:96) has only four items: *mi'i khrag dang tshil dang zhag dang rkang za ba,* "he devours human blood, oil, fat, and marrow". *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 455): "**human meat** [means:] he accomplishes great bliss" (*mi sha zhes pa bde ba chen por 'grub pa'o*).

[1743] *Akṣobhya (p. 381): "**three worlds** [means:] he is the lord of these [three worlds]: Jayakāra, Madhukāra, and Sarvārthasiddhikāra" (*'jig rten gsum zhes bya ba ni de'i bdag po ste/ rgyal bar byed pa dang/ sbrang rtsir byed pa dang/ don kun 'grub pa'o*). The same gloss appears in NMAA (Tribe 2016:104), who glosses *trailokya* "[with *loka* meaning 'people' rather than 'worlds'] as the three brothers, i.e., Jayakāra, Madhukāra and Sarvārthasiddhikāra: "He whose way is to conquer these [brothers] is [also] called "the conqueror of the three worlds". For this very reason the fortunate one Vajradhara is a 'hero' since he is not to be overcome by the enemies". *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 455): "it should be understood as emptiness of all the *dharma*s" (*khams gsum za ba ni chos thams cad stong pa nyid du rtogs pa'o*).

[1744] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 455): "**Indra** [means:] in order to show the sign that he makes them servants" (*brgya byin zhes pa bka' nyan byed pa'i rtags su bstan pa'o*).

[1745] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:96) has a slightly different reading: *'jig rten dang 'jig rten las 'das pa'i lha la sogs pa la sdigs mdzub byed pa/ brgya byin dang tshangs pa dang dbang phyug chen po dang khyab 'jug dang gnod spyin la sogs pa za ba.* The sentence beginning with *'jig rten* and ending with *sdigs mdzub byed pa* is missing in the Sanskrit recensions of the text; so is the *yakṣa* (*gnod spyin*), which Siklós (*ibid*.:38) translates as 'a spirit' featuring in the Tibetan text as the fourth being to be eaten by Vajrabhairava. *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 455) glosses *sdigs mdzub* 'threatening finger' as "he works for the benefit of all beings, without being distracted" (*sdigs mdzub ces pa ni mi yengs* [em.; *yangs* ed.] *par 'gro don mdzad pa'o*).

[1746] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 455): "**he lets out the mad laughter** [means:] because he possesses *āśvāsa* (breath, cheering up, etc.), he delights the mind" (*ha ha ni sems brtas* [em.; *rtas* ed.] *par byed de dbugs 'byin pa'o*).

[1747] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 455): "**rolling his tongue** [means:] he causes *vaśīkaraṇa*" (*ljags 'dril ba ni dbang du byed pa'o*).

[1748] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:96) has a slightly different reading: *zhal gtsigs pa*, which would correspond to the Sanskrit *vikṛtānana* (see p. 100 of this thesis); *ha ha zhes*, which is a synonym of *aṭṭahāsa* (see p. 202 of this thesis); *ljags 'dril ba*, which corresponds to the Sanskrit *lalajjihva*. The topic of fear comes in the Tibetan text in the context of the visual features of Vajrabhairava, i.e., *rnam par gtsigs pa'i khro gnyer 'jigs pa/ khro gnyer gyi 'gram nas smin ma dang spyan 'jig pa chen po'i dus ltar khro bas sgra sgrogs pa.* This passage is, however, missing in the Sanskrit recensions of the text. *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 455) has *zhal brtsegs pa* 'stacked up faces', which he glosses as "to frighten the four demons" (*zhal brtsegs pa ni bdud bzhi spa bkong ba'o*).

[1749] In the Tibetan text, the faces come after the description of the arms and the feet, but in the Sanskrit recensions of the text, the order is reversed, i.e., the faces come first, followed by the description of the arms, etc.

[1750] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:97) has a more elaborated description: *dpal 'jigs byed chen po'i dang po'i zhal ni rab tu gang pa ma he'i rnam pa shin tu khros pa can.*

the] right horn: blue, red, and yellow, these are wrathfully open-mouthed and[1751] at the [side of the] left [horn], the faces are: white, grey, and black.[1752] In the middle of the two [horns],[1753] there is a very red face[1754] with blood [dripping] from the throat.[1755] Above it, there is the face of Mañjuśrī,[1756] very yellow, slightly wrathful,[1757] a boy[1758] wearing the ornaments of a youth[1759] and the crown of the head made of five locks of hair.[1760] In that

[1751] This seems to correspond to the Tibetan *khros pa'i gtsigs pa'i zhal* (Skt. *kruddhavivṛtāsyam*), but the Tibetan text has only *khros pa* as qualifying each of the right and left sets of Vajrabhairava's faces. However, at the end of the faces' description, the Tibetan reads: *gtsigs pa'i zhal rab tu bsam par bya'o*, with *gtsigs pa'i* conveying the meaning of *vivṛtāsya.*

[1752] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 457) comments on the colours of the faces, saying that "it is in order to show the nature of the six classes of beings" (*zhal gyi mdog ni rigs drug gi ngo bo'o*).

[1753] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 404), *Vajrasiddha (p. 423), and *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 457): "**two horns** [means:] two truths" [i.e., *saṃvṛtisatya* and *paramārthasatya*] (*bden pa gnyis rnam par dag pas rwa gnyis so*).

[1754] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 457): "**red** [face means:] intense attachment towards sentient beings" (*dmar ba ni 'gro ba la shin tu chags pa'o*).

[1755] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 404) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 423): "upper **red face with blood dripping from its throat**, because he impassions all sentient beings with the Buddhadharma" (*sangs rgyas kyi chos kyis sems can rnams 'tshed par byed pas steng gi zhal dmar po khrag 'dzag pa'o*).

[1756] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 404) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 423): "a yellow, ninth face characterises the emanation of Mañjuśrī" (*'jam dpal gyi sprul pa mtshon pa'i zhal dgu pa ser po'o*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 457): "face of Mañjuśrī [means] immutable nature" (*'jam dpal gyi zhal ni ngo bo mi 'gyur ba'o*).

[1757] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 457): **slightly wrathful** [means:] "he is the protector" (*khros pa ni skyob pa'o*).

[1758] *kumāra* is missing in the Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:98). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 457): "**boy** [means:] he resides in the body of a *bodhisattva*" (*gzhon pa ni byang chub sems dpa'i skur bzhugs pa'o*).

[1759] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 404) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 423): "**wearing the ornaments of a youth**, because of the youthful nature" (*gzhon nu'i rgyan gyis brgyan pa ni gzhon nu'i ngo bo'i phyir ro*).

[1760] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 404) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 423) seem to have a different reading in front of them, i.e. the one that reads *pañcamudrā* (*phyag rgya lnga*) before the description of the hair, for they gloss *phyag rgya lnga* as "having the nature of the five *tathāgata*s" (*phyag rgya lnga zhes bya ba ni de bzhin gshegs pa lnga'i rang bzhin no*). The *pañcamudrā* (also known as *pañcamātrā*) is a term given to the attire of the Kāpālika ascetic, consisting of five bone ornaments: see Sanderson 1985. This is followed by a gloss on the hair style of the face of Mañjuśrī, which reads: "**endowed with five braided skulls (*Śoṇaśrī) and endowed with five locks on the crown (*Vajrasiddha)**: it is a *viśuddhi* of the five forms of perfect awakening" (*zur phud lnga'i thod can ni rnam pa lnga rnam par dag pas so*, *Śoṇaśrī, p. 404, and *sbyi bor ral pa lnga dang ldan pa ni/ mngon par byang chub pa lnga'i dag pa'o*, *Vajrasiddha, p. 423). The gloss refers to the old *yogatantra* concept of the *pañcākārābhisaṃbodhi*. *Akṣobhya (p. 382) and *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 457): "the **tuft made of five locks of hair** is taught as being endowed with five wisdoms" (*zur phud* [em.; *rol pa* ed.] *lnga pa zhes bya ba ni ye shes lnga dang bcas par ston pa'o*).

The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:98) additionally mentions the three eyes that each of the faces possesses, but this detail is missing in the Skt. recensions of the VBhT. *Śoṇaśrī (p. 404) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 423) gloss the **three eyes** as "he sees the three times" (*dus gsum du gzigs*

way, having made [this visualisation] firm, the mantra-master with perfectly concentrated mind[1761] should meditate,[1762] it is said.

[§44] Then, in the first of his right hands, [Vajrabhairava holds] a chopper,[1763] in the second a javelin,[1764] in the third a pestle,[1765] in the fourth a knife,[1766] in the fifth a single-pointed *vajra*[1767], in the sixth an axe,[1768] in the seventh a spear,[1769] in the eighth an

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par byed pa'i phyir spyan gsum mo). *Akṣobhya (p. 382): "**all of his faces have** also **three eyes** [means:] it is for the sake of sentient beings, in order to symbolise whatever *ābhāsa*s manifest before him [and] because he is the source of the three, i.e., the three doors of liberation" (*zhal thams cad kyang spyan gsum dang ldan pa'o zhes bya ba ni sems can gyi phyir snang ba ston pa'i sgo ji snyed pa la* [em.; *las* ed.] *yang rnam par thar pa gsum gsum las byung ba'i phyir ro*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 457): "he perceives through three types of compassion" (*spyan gsum ni snying rje gsum gyis gzigs pa'o*).

[1761] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 402) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 421): "he is established in **perfectly concentrated mind (*susamāhito*)**, because his body, speech, and mind do not waver" (*shin tu mnyam par bzhag pas lus dang ngag dang yid ma yengs pas so*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 456): "*susamāhito* in *tattvayoga* [means:] the last stage of *mahāyoga*" (*de nyid kyi rnal 'byor la mnyam par gzhag ces pa ni rnal 'byor chen po'i rim pa'o*).

[1762] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:97) has a corresponding passage: *de ltar shin tu bsam pa brtan par byas te/ de kho na nyid kyi sbyor ba la shin tu mnyam par gzhag pa'i sngags pas rtag tu bsgom par bya ste*. *Śoṇaśrī (p. 402) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 421) comment on it as follows: "'right effort, correct mindfulness and correct meditative stabilisation' are included in Bhagavān's body, speech, and mind (*yang dag pa'i rtsol ba dang/ yang dag pa'i dran pa dang/ yang dag pa'i ting 'dzin dang/ bcom ldan 'das nyid kyi sku gsungs thugs kyi ngo bor bsdus pa'o*). *Śoṇaśrī (p. 402) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 421) gloss *rag tu* "always" as "at the three times" (*rtag tu zhes bya ba ni dus gsum du'o*). *Śoṇaśrī (p. 402) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 421) gloss *de kho na nyid kyi sbyor ba* "*tattvayoga*" as "he has no perception, which splits into *grāhya*, *grāhaka*, and *grahaṇa*" (*de kho na nyid kyi sbyor ba zhes bya ba ni bsgom bya dang sgom pa po dang sgom pa rnams dmigs su med pa'o*).

[1763] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 402) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 421): "**chopper** cuts ignorance" (*gri gug ni ma rig pa gcod pa'o*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 456): "it cuts away the six faults beginning with pride, etc." (*gri gug ni skyon drug nga rgyal la sogs pa gcod pa'o*).

[1764] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 402) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 421): "the **javelin** puts to an end the *vikalpa* of *grāhya-grāhaka*" (*vhi nida pha la* [a Tib. transliteration of the Skt. *bhiṇḍipāla*] *ni gzung ba dang 'dzin pa'i rnam par rtog pa 'byed pa'o*). The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:97) has *gnyis pa na mtshon rtse gcig pa*, which Siklós (*ibid*.:39) translates as "a one-pointed javelin". *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 456) has *tho ba* "hammer" instead, which he glosses as "he is endowed with power and fearlessness" (*tho ba ni stobs dang mi 'jigs pa dang ldan pa'o*).

[1765] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 402), *Vajrasiddha (p. 421) and *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 456): "the **pestle** overcomes the loss of recollections" (*gtun shing ni dran pa nyams pa 'joms pa'o*).

[1766] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 402) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 421): "the **knife** cuts evil deeds" (*chu gri ni sdig pa gcod pa'o*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 456): "cuts attachment" (*chu gri ni sred pa gcod pa'o*).

[1767] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 402): "the **single-pointed *vajra*** destroys the fault of body and speech" (*rdo rje rtse gcig pa ni lus ngag gi nyes pa 'joms pa'o*). *Vajrasiddha (p. 421): "destroys the fault of body, speech, and mind" (*rdo rje gcig pa ni lus ngag yid gsum gyi nyes pa 'joms pa'o*). The

arrow,[1770] in the ninth an elephant goad,[1771] in the tenth a club,[1772] in the eleventh a skull-staff,[1773] in the twelfth a wheel,[1774] in the thirteenth a *vajra*,[1775] in the fourteenth a *vajra*-hammer,[1776] in the fifteenth a sword,[1777] in the sixteenth a rattle-drum.[1778] In the first of

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passage of the *Saṃputodbhava,* as well as both manuscripts of the VBhT, read *kaṇaya*/*kanaya*, which has been emended to *kaṇapa*. This reading is supported by the Tibetan, for *rdo rje rtse gcig pa* is a translation of the Sanskrit *kaṇapa*: see *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary* by Lokesh Chandra, p. 1265. This reading is also attested in the Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:97) and in the commentaries by *Śoṇaśrī and *Vajrasiddha. *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 456): "**single-pointed** [means:] cutting through the three groups" (*rtse gcig pa ni phung po gsum 'bigs pa'o*). The *phung po gsum* is a technical term, corresponding to the Skt. *triskandhaka*, which, according to the *Madhyamakāvatāraṭika,* refers to: 1) the *dharma*, which has an *ārtha*, 2) the *dharma*, which does not have an *ārtha*, 3) the *dharma*, which has neither.

[1768] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 402): "the **axe** cuts the mind's stiffness" (*sta re ni sems kyi mkhregs pa gcod pa'o*). *Vajrasiddha (p. 421): "the **axe** destroys the thick latent traces of the mind" (*sta re ni sems gyi sra ba'i bag chags 'joms pa'o*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 456): "**axe** [means:] with the axe he cuts off birth and aging related to *saṃsāra*" (*sta res 'khor ba'i ske rga gcod pa'o*).

[1769] All the Sanskrit recensions have *kunta,* meaning "spear", but Tibetan text seems to have based its translation on the Skt. *śākti*, which is *mdung thung* in Tib., meaning both "spear" and "lance". Siklós (1996:39) translates "lance". *Śoṇaśrī (p. 402) and *Vajrasiddha (pp. 421–422): "**spear** pierces perverted views" (*mdung ni lta ba ngan pa 'bigs pa'o*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 456): "it is the understanding of the profound meaning, which is realisation of the emptiness of all the *dharma*s" (*mdung ni zab pa'i don chos thams cad stong pa nyid du rtogs pa'o*).

[1770] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 402) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 422): "the **arrow** causes to destroy the thorn of all concepts/stupidity" (*mda' ni kun du rtog pa'i* [*shin tu rmongs pa'i*, *Vajrasiddha] *zug rngu 'bigs par byed pa'o*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 456): "it pierces ignorance" (*mda' ni ma rig pa 'bigs pa'o*).

[1771] *Śoṇaśrī (pp. 402–403) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 422): "the **elephant goad**, because it causes to summon" (*lcags kyu ni 'gugs par byed pa'i phyir ro*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 456): "it attracts beings" (*lcags kyu ni 'gro ba 'dren par byed pa'o*).

[1772] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 403) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 422): "the **club** causes to destroy the impurity of action" (*mtshon ka ta* [*ka ta* is a Tib. transliteration of the Skt. *gadā*] *ni las kyi sgrib pa 'joms par byed pa'o*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 456): "he makes *asura*s defeated" (*dbyug pa ni lha ma yin pham par byed pa'o*).

[1773] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 403) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 422): "the **skull-staff** has the nature of *bodhicitta*" (*kha tvam ga ni byang chub sems kyi ngo bo'o*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p.456): "it manifests the deities" (*kha tvan ga ni lha rnams gsal ba'o*).

[1774] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 403) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 422): "the **wheel**, because he puts in motion the wheel of *dharma*" (*'khor lo ni chos kyi 'khor lo bskor ba'i phyir ro*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 456): "it removes the four demons of obstacles" (*'khor lo ni bar chad kyi bdud bzhi sel ba'o*).

[1775] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 403) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 422): "the ***vajra*** has the nature of the five *jñāna*s that become one" (*rdo rje ni ro nyam par 'gyur ba ye shes lnga'i bdag nyid do*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 456): "it symbolises the purification of the five kinds of opposing poisons, such as the five types of *jñāna*s" (*rdo rje ni ye shes lnga'i ngo bos phas kyi dug lnga sbyong ba'o*).

[1776] The *Saṃputodbhava* has *vajramudgara*, which also features in the Tibetan text as *rdo rje tho ba* (Siklós 1996:97). This reading is also supported by *Śoṇaśrī's (p. 403) and *Vajrasiddha's (p. 422) commentaries, which gloss *rdo rje tho ba* as "it causes separation from jealousy" (*rdo rje*

his left hands [Vajrabhairava holds] a skull,[1779] in the second a head,[1780] in the third a shield,[1781] in the fourth a leg,[1782] in the fifth a noose,[1783] in the sixth a bow,[1784] in the seventh entrails,[1785] in the eighth a bell,[1786] in the ninth a hand,[1787] in the tenth a rag of the

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tho ba ni ser sna 'byed par byed pa'o). The Sanskrit manuscripts of the VBhT read only *mudgara*. *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 456) has *triśūla*, which he glosses as "cutting through the sin of the body, speech, and mind" (*rtse gsum ni lus ngag yid gsum gyi nyes pa 'bigs pa'o*).

[1777] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 403), *Vajrasiddha (p. 422) and *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 456): "the **sword**, because it bestows the *siddhi* of a sword, etc." (*ral gri ni ral gri la sogs pa'i dngos grub ster ba'i phyir ro*).

[1778] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 403) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 422): "the **rattle-drum** excites all the Buddhas with supreme joy" (*mchog tu dga' bas sangs rgyas thams cad skul bar byed pa ni da ma ru'o*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 456): "it proclaims the sound of *dharma*" (*da ma ru ni chos kyi sgra sgrogs par byed pa'o*).

[1779] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 403) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 422): "**skull filled with blood** [means:] he protects the *samaya*s" (*khrag gis bkang ba'i thod pa ni dam tshig skyong bar byed pa'o*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 456): "he sports great bliss" (*thod pa khrag gis bkang ba ni bde ba chen por rol pa'o*).

[1780] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 403) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 422): "the **head of Brahmā**, because he effects compassion for sentient beings" (*tshangs pa'i mgo bo ni snying rjes 'gro ba'i don mdzad pa'i phyir ro*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 456): "he removes eternalism" (*bram ze'i mgo bo ni rtag lta sel ba'o*).

[1781] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 403) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 422): "the **shield**, because he overcomes the demons" (*phub ni bdud las rgyal ba'i phyir ro*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 456): "he protects sentient beings" (*phub ni 'gro ba rnams skyob pa'o*).

[1782] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 403) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 422): "the **leg**, because he bestows the state of the Buddha on the one who meditates" (*rkang pa ni sgom pa po la sangs rgyas kyi go 'phang ster ba'i phyir ro*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 456): "he is endowed with four bases of miraculous powers (*ṛddhipāda*s)" (*rkang pa ni rdzu 'phrul gyi rkang pa bzhi dang ldan pa'o*).

[1783] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 403) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 422): "the **noose**, because he causes to bind with true wisdom" (*zhags pa ni yang dag pa'i ye shes bcing bar byed pa'o*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 456): "he pulls people out from damnation with his great compassion" (*zhags pa ni thugs rje chen pos ngan 'gro rnams 'dren pa'o*).

[1784] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 403) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 422): "the **bow**, because he overcomes the three worlds" (*gzhu ni 'jig rten gsum las rgyal ba'i phyir ro*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 456): "he has control over wisdom of emptiness that is victorious over the three worlds" (*gzhu ni 'jig rten gsum las rgyal ba'i stong pa nyid kyi shes rab mnga' ba'o*).

[1785] Śoṇaśrī (p. 403) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 422): "the **entrails**, because he makes emptiness to be understood" (*rgyu ma ni stong pa nyid du go bar byed pa'i phyir ro*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (pp. 456–7): "wisdom of equality" (*rgyu ma ni mnyam pa nyid kyi ye shes so*).

[1786] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 403) and Vajrasiddha (p. 422): "the **bell**, because he has the nature of Prajñāpāramitā" (*dril bu ni shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i rang bzhin no*). Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 457): "wisdom of individual investigation (*pratyekajñāna*)" (*dril bu ni so sor rtog pa'i ye shes so*).

[1787] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 403) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 422): "the **hand**, because he performs all ritual actions" (*lag pa ni las thams cad byed pa'i phyir ro).* *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 457): "wisdom of persistent action" (*lag pa ni bya ba nan tan gyi ye shes so*).

cremation ground,[1788] in the eleventh a man impaled on a stake,[1789] in the twelfth a hearth,[1790] in the thirteenth a cup[1791], in the fourteenth a threatening finger,[1792] in the fifteenth a flag with three strips of cloth,[1793] in the sixteenth a cloth blown by the wind.[1794] In both [hands], he holds an elephant-skin.[1795]

[1788] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 403) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 422): "**a rag of the cremation ground** [means:] he overcomes obscurations of ignorance with regard to the selfless nature of all phenomena" (*dur khrod kyi ras ni chos thams cad bdag med pa la ma rig pa'i sgrib g.yogs 'joms par byed pa'o*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 457): "mirror-like wisdom" (*dur khrod ras ni me long lta bu'i ye shes so*).

[1789] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 403) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 422): "**a man impaled on a stake**, in order to understand the phrase 'pierce through the emptiness of all things'" (*gsal shing gis phug pa zhes bya ba ni dngos po thams cad stong pa nyid du phug pa yin no zhes rtogs par bya ba'i phyir ro*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 457): "all *dharma*s are of the same essence" (*gsal shing gis phug pa'i ro ni chos thams cad ngo bo gcig pa'o*).

[1790] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 403) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 422): "the **hearth** [means:] he illustrates the nature of clear light of all phenomena" (*me thab ces bya ba ni chos thams cad 'od gsal ba nyid mtshon par byed pa'o*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 457): "because he burns demons after having protected the people with three *ālokas*" (*me thab ni snang ba gsum gyis 'gro ba la skyob cing bdud sreg par byed pa'o*).

[1791] The Sanskrit recensions have *caṣaka*, meaning 'cup', and this reading is also attested in *Śoṇaśrī's and *Vajrasiddha's commentaries, which give the Tibetan transliteration as *tsa sha ka*; however, the Tibetan text has *thod tshal* (Siklós 1996:97), meaning "skull fragments", which Siklós (*ibid*.:40) translates "a skull-cup with hair". *Śoṇaśrī (p. 403) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 422) gloss **a cup** as "he is filled with the nectar of compassion" (*tsa sha ka ni snying rje bdud rtsis bkang ba'o*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 457) has "skull fragments" (*thod tshal*): "because he possesses the compassion of *dharmatā*" (*thod tshal ni chos nyid kyi snying rje mnga' bas so*).

[1792] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 403), *Vajrasiddha (p. 422), and *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 457): "**a threatening finger**, because he scorns the demons" (*sdigs mdzub ni bdud rnams la tho 'tsham par byed pa'i phyir ro*).

[1793] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 403), *Vajrasiddha (p. 422) and *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 457): **a flag with three strips of cloth** "he causes to show the unity of the body, speech, and mind (*'phan rtse gsum pa ni lus dang ngag dang yid rnams kyi ngo bo gcig tu rtogs par byed pa'o*).

[1794] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:97) has *rlung gis 'phyar ba'i dur khrod kyi ras*, which Siklós (*ibid*.:40-41) translates as "a cemetery cloth billowing in the wind". The commentaries only gloss *rlung gi ras*, which corresponds to the Skt. *vaṭakarpaṭaka*, where *karpaṭaka* means "a patch of cloth"; therefore, the translation of *karpaṭaka* as *dur khrod kyi ras* seems to be wrong and influenced by *śmaśānakarpaṭa*. *Śoṇaśrī (p. 403) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 422) gloss **a cloth blown by a wind** as "he illustrates the illusion of all the *dharma*s" (*rlung gi ras ni chos thams cad sgyu mar mtshon par byed pa'o*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 457): "**a cloth blown by a wind** [means:] freedom from eternalism and nihilism" (*rlung ras ni rtag chad las grol ba'o*).

[1795] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 403) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 422): "the **elephant-skin**: the elephant represents *moha*" (*glang po che'i pags pa zhes bya ba ni gti mug glang po che'o*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 456): "**he holds the elephant-skin in both hands** [means:] having purified *moha*, which is inseparable from the *dharmadhātu*, he also connects others to *dharmadhātu* by means of *upāya* and *prajñā*" (*gnyis glang po che'i pags pa gzung ba ni gti mug dag nas chos kyi dbyings dang mi 'bral ba dang/ thabs dang shes rab kyis gzhan yang chos kyi dbyings la sbyor ba'o*).

[§45] Under his right foot,[1796] [Vajrabhairava tramples upon] a man, a buffalo, a bull, a donkey, a camel, a dog, a ram, and a jackal. Under his left foot[1797] [he tramples upon] a vulture, an owl, a crow, a parrot,[1798] an eagle[1799], a rooster,[1800] a big bird[1801], a crane. In this form, one should draw the Vajrabhairava-meditation.[1802]

[1796] The *Saṃputodbhava* gives a locative singular, *pāde*, while it should be the locative plural *pādeṣu*, as attested in the Skt. manuscripts of the VBhT, since the intended meaning here is many feet each trampling upon a different thing. *Śoṇaśrī (pp. 403–404) and *Vajrasiddha (pp. 422–423): "**under his right feet** [he tramples] 'upon the eight [things] beginning with a man, etc.' is a *viśuddhi* of the eight great *siddhi*s" (*zhabs g.yas pa rnams su mi la sogs pa brgyad ni dngos grub chen po brgyad rnam par dag pa'o*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 457): "he accomplishes the eight *siddhi*s" (*zhabs g.yas kyi gdan rnams ni dngos grub brgyad bsgrub pa'o*)

[1797] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 404) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 423): "**with his left feet** [he tramples] upon the eight [things] beginning with a vulture, etc., is a *viśuddhi* of the eight *aiśvarya*s (*aṣṭaiśvarya*) [e.g., he multiplies his body, speaks all the languages, knows the mind of all beings, sees all the worlds, etc.]". *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 457): "he is the protector of beings of the *khecara*-type" (*g.yon pa'i bya rgod la sogs pas ni mkha' spyod kyi 'gro ba skyob pa'o*).

[1798] The *Saṃputodbhava* has *sigha* (K) or *siṃha* (R), both of which seem to be corruptions. The Sanskrit manuscripts have *śuka*, which is also supported by the Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:97), which has *ne tsho*. These words do not receive any exegesis in the commentaries.

[1799] *śyena* has been reconstructed on the basis of the Tibetan *khra* (Siklós 1996:97).

[1800] The Sanskrit recensions have *mantra,* whereas the Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:97) has *khyung chen po*, which Siklós (*ibid*.:41) translated as "an eagle". For a justification of the translation of *mantrī* as "rooster", see fn. 1501 of this thesis.

[1801] The Sanskrit recensions have *mahāśakuna*, which seems to indicate any big bird of unspecified species, but the Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:97) has *ri skegs*, which is an equivalent of the Skt. *śārikā*, "myna". Siklós (*ibid*.:41) translates *ri skegs* as "myna" indeed. For a different sequence of birds in the VBhT, see fn.1501.

[1802] The end of the *dhyāna* chapter contains the following passage, preserved only in the Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:98):*'di ltar bdag nyid rtag tu rtse gcig tu dmigs to/ de nyid dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed chen po ma he'i gdong can de bdag nyid yin par bsgoms nas/ dpa' bo'i gnas la gnas pa'i rnal 'byor pas de nas phyi nas sngags bzla bar bya ste/ bzlas pa'i dus su rang gi snying khar/ nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor bsams te/ de'i steng du rang gi sngags kyi yi ge dgod par bya'o/ 'bar ba dang phyi nas ma yengs pa'i yid kyis bzlas par bya'o*, "In this way, one should always meditate on oneself single-pointedly. Having meditated on oneself in that way, as being the Buffalo-faced Venerable Vajrabhairava, the *yogin* abiding in the heroic place, should then recite the mantra. During the recitation, he should meditate on the sun-*maṇḍala* in his own heart. Above that [sun-*maṇḍala*], he should deposit the letters of his own mantra. Then, when it starts blazing, he should recite [the mantra] with a non-fatigued mind." *Śoṇaśrī comments (p. 404) on this passage as follows: "this is the way one should perceive oneself through the deity-yoga, etc. As long as his mind becomes fatigued [from visualisation], the yogin should recite the mantra. Whichever *mantrākṣara*s one recites, those have to be visualised in one's own heart on the top of the sun-*maṇḍala*, going around in the circle, clockwise; then, with the rays of the light, he has to visualise that he performs the welfare of all sentient beings; with *spharaṇa-yoga*, he takes his breath in and out (*saṃharaṇa*) through his nostril and make it abide in the heart. As long as one continuously repeats [the mantra] without fatigue and completes the ritual, he must recite with this alone. Then, when he is weary, he gives sacrificial offerings according to the prescription, exactly as it is in the

ritual; then, he should respectfully dismiss the *jñānasattva* and then abide in the yoga with the deity" (*lha'i rnal 'byor la sogs pas de ltar bdag nyid rnam par bltas la/ ji srid yid ni mi skyo bar/ de srid rnal 'byor pas sngags bzla/ sngags kyi ye ge gang dag bzlas pa de dag rang gi snying gar nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor gyi steng du g.yas phyogs su bskor bas zlum po byas pa 'od zer dang bcas pa rnams blta zhing/ yang bsdus la dbugs rngub pa'i sna'i bu ga nas bcug la gnas pa'o zhes yang dang yang du ji srid mi skyo ba'i mthar thug par cho ga 'di nyid kyis bzlas par bya'o/ de nas skyo na cho ga ji lta ba bzhin du gtor ma byin la ye shes sems dpa' gshegs su gsol la lha'i rnal 'byor gyis gnas par bya'o*). *Akṣobhya (p. 382): "**sun-*maṇḍala*** [means:] emerging from the red letter A" (*nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor zhes bya ba ni yi ge A dmar po las byung ba'o*). *Akṣobhya (p. 382): "**he should focus on his own *mantra*** [means:] in the centre of a blue letter YAṂ or a blue letter HŪṂ. Finally, one meditates on the right circle of the series of three mantras" (*de la rang gi gsang sngags dmigs la zhes bya ba ni dbus su YAM sngon po'am HUM sngon po'i yi ge ste/ mtha' mar sngags gsum gyi phreng ba g.yas skor du bsgom mo*). *Akṣobhya (p. 382): "**with non-fatigued mind** [means:] ultimately, one should not even contemplate the *śūnyatā*. As it has been said: 'the reciter, when doing the *mantra*-recitation even if an excellent *nimitta* appears, should not think with *vikalpa*, except in the case of *vidyā*-deities'" (*g.yeng ba med pa'i yid kyis zhes bya ba ni tha na stong pa nyid kyang mi bsam ste/ rig sngags lha ni ma gtogs par/ mtshan* [em.; *bsgom pa* ed.] *mchog tu gyur pa yang/ zlos pas bzlas brjod byed pa'i tshe/ kun rtog bzung nas mi bsam mo/ zhes gsungs so*). This passage also appears at the end of the *Rahasyānandatilaka* (*Gsang chen dga' ba'i thig le*, Toh. 1342, p. 724) attributed to Mahāmati, the guru of Bodhibhadra of Somapura-vihāra as the quotation from the *Sarvakalpasamuccaya*'s chapter on the mantra-recitation, the earliest explanatory tantra of the *Sarvabuddhasamāyoga.* There the reading is *sgom pa* instead of *bsgom pa* reported by *Akṣobhya. In Ānandagarbha's commentary *Sarvakalpasamuccaya* (*Rtog pa thams cad 'dus pa*, Toh. 1662) we find the following passage: "you should not be angry at the time of reciting [the mantra] and you should not find pleasure in the *viṣaya*s. You should give up whatever lack of joy, fear, and sentiment of the ego you have. You should not think of anything at the time of reciting. You should not make it in an *aṅga*. After you have been shaken by the wind of *vikalpa*, you should not think of anything". This passage, however, although mentioned as a quote from the *Sarvakalpasamuccaya*, is not found in the text, perhaps because there were many texts bearing the same title. The passage quoted by *Akṣobhya is also found in the *Susiddhikarasūtra* (Toh. 807, Giebel 2001), the only surviving text of the *Susiddhi* cycle preserved in two Chinese translations and Tibetan translation in various recensions. The corresponding passage in Chinese (Giebel 2001:214) is different: "he does not forsake his own deity; and even if he sees a strange sign, he should not be surprised by it. At times of recitation he also does not discriminate between various signs." The key difference is the appearance of the word *mtshan* "sign", instead of *sgom pa*, the latter being seemingly a corruption. The same goes with the word "except for", *ma gtogs par*, which, in the light of the Chinese translation, should be *ma rtog pa*, "he should not discriminate'". If these emendations are introduced, we can reconstruct the hypothetical original available to Akṣobhya, which reads: "the reciter, when doing the mantra-recitation, should not forsake his *vidyā*-deity if he sees an exquisite sign, and he should not entertain it (i.e., the sign) with *vikalpa*". *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 457) comments on the passage describing the recitation in which one beholds the deity with unwavering mind as follows: "'having understood that in that way, i.e. with a non-fatigued mind, one visualises the deity and recites the mantra' [means:] whatever you like (this seems to be a corruption, for the phrase should read 'when one is tired by visualisation'), he arranges the seed-letters [of the mantra], which circulate towards the left, on the lotus in his heart and in the sun[-*maṇḍala*]; then the mantra-letters are emitted through the wind of the nostrils on the outside and this excites the hearts of all the Buddhas. Then [the Buddhas] clear away obscuration of all sentient beings, and then, the mantra-letters come back via the inhaled breath, and they dissolve into the mantra. He recites the mantra unperturbed and obtains whatever he wishes for" (*de ltar*

This is the fourth chapter [called] visualisation in the tantra of Śrīmahāvajrabhairava, which is a part of [the *tantra*] called the Śrīmañjuśriya[tantra].

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shes par byas nas ma yengs pa'i sems kyis lha la dmigs la sngags bzlas pa ni/ gang yang rung bar [em.; *rung ba* ed.] *snying gar pad ma dang nyi ma la sa bon gyi yi ge la g.yas skor du bkod pa la/ sna bug gi rlung 'byung ba las spros sangs rgyas thams cad kyi thugs dam bskul/ sems can thams cad kyi sgrib pa sbyangs la 'jug pa'i rlung gis tshur bsdus la sngags la bstim mo/ mi skyo'i bar du bzlas shing rang gang 'dod bsgrub pa'o*). *Lalitavajra: "**he should recite his own heart-*** ***mantra***: if someone asks, 'How to recite?' [An answer is given:] At the time of recitation, **in one's own heart**, [which means:] in the sun of the heart of *jñānasattva*. **One's own *mantra*** [means:] the root-mantra or he meditates on the closeness of the heart and deposits [the letters of the mantra]. **When it starts blazing** [means:] he recites endowed with light or mental stillness, which means he should recite undisturbed. At that time, the *mantrin*, in union with Vajrabhairava, should not be afraid and should be free of *vikalpa*s" (*rang gi snying po'i sngags bzlas so bya ba la/ ji ltar bzla zhe na/ bzlas pa'i dus su rang gi snying la ste ye shes sems dpa'i thugs ka'i* [corr.; *kha* ed.] *nyi ma la rang sngags zhes bya ba/ rtsa ba'i sngags sam nye ba'i snying po bsams te dgod pa'o/ 'bar ba ste 'od dang bcas par bzlas pa 'am/ sems gnas te ma yengs pas bzlas pa'o/ de'i tshe sngags pa 'jigs byed kyi rnal 'byor pas 'jigs med de rtag pa dang bral bas*).

Chapter Five

The Ritual of the Drawing of the Painting (*paṭavidhāna*)

[§46] Next, the ritual of drawing the painting revealed by the Venerable Vajrabhairava will be taught.[1803] A painter is like[1804] this:[1805] pure,[1806] young, steady, free from sense desires, free from thought-constructs,[1807] honest, free from anger,[1808] infallible in

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[1803] The order of the items enumerated in the Sanskrit and Tibetan recensions differs. In the Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:100), the chapter begins with the enumeration of the suitable canvases, followed by the qualities of a good painter. In the Sanskrit version, this order is reversed.

[1804] The Sanskrit version enumerates eleven adjectives describing the qualities of a good painter, while the Tibetan version gives only nine: 1) Tib. *bzang po*, "good", without the Sanskrit equivalent; (2) Tib. *rnam rtog pa med pa*=Skt. *nirvikalpakaḥ*, 3) Tib. *mi khro ba*=Skt. *akruddho*, 4) Tib. *gtsang ba*=Skt. *śuddhātmā*, 5) Tib. *mkhas pa*=Skt. *dakṣaḥ*, 6) Tib. *yid gzhungs pa*=Skt. *aśaṭho*, 7) Tib. *brtse ba can*=Skt. *dayāluḥ*, 8) Tib. *sred pa dang bral ba*=Skt. *vitṛṣṇo*, 9) Tib. *dad pa dang ldan pa*=Skt. *śrāddho*. The adjectives corresponding to the English "young", "steady" and "infallible in meditative stabilisation" are missing in the Tibetan version. The Tibetan text also has "good" (*bzang po*) as the first adjective, which is missing in Sanskrit. *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 458), *Śoṇaśrī (p. 405), *Vajrasiddha (p. 424), and *Kumāracandra gloss "good" as "a painter who has been initiated" (*ri mo mkhan bzang zhes pa ni dbang thob pa'o*). *Lalitavajra (p. 327), however, seems to have a different reading in front of him, which mentions Buddhist affiliation as the first quality of a suitable painter: "in order to teach the qualities of a painter, [the passage] beginning with [the word] 'Buddhist' and ending with [the word] 'painter' is taught. Since it is easy to understand, there is no need to specify [the meaning]" (*ri mo mkhan gyi mtshan nyid bstan pa'i phyir/ sangs rgyas pa zhes pa nas 'bri* [corr.;*'dri* ed.] *mkhan gyi bar du gsungs te go sla bas ma phye'o*).

[1805] *Lalitavajra (p. 327) glosses the word **like this** as follows: "a painter who has the above qualities and who has been initiated [or it can be painted] by a *sādhaka*, that is a hero, who makes an effort to attain *siddhi*s" (*'di lta bu zhes pa gong gi mtshan nyid dang/ dbang dang ldan pa'i ri mo mkhan la/ dngos grub lhur len ba'i dpa' bo ste sgrub pa pos so*). This passage should be understood as referring to two types of people who are qualified to draw the painting.

[1806] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 458) glosses **pure** as "endowed with vows" (*gtsang zhes pa ni dam tshig dang ldan pa'o*). *Śoṇaśrī (p. 405) has *gsang ba* "secret", which is probably a corruption of *gtsang ba* "pure", which he glosses as "infallible in meditative stabilisation" (*gsang ba zhes bya ba ni ting nge 'dzin ma 'khrul pa'o*), which, in turn, corresponds to the Skt. *sunipuṇo*, given in the Sanskrit version.

[1807] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 458) glosses **free from thought-constructs** as "he understands the emptiness of all phenomena" (*rtog pa med pa zhes pa ni chos thams cad stong par rtogs pa'o*), and *Śoṇaśrī (p. 405) as "he understands that-ness" (*rnam par rtog pa med pa zhes bya ba ni de kho na nyid shes pa'o*). *Kumāracandra: "**free from thought-constructs** [means free from] *vikalpa* about what is to be eaten and what is not to be eaten" (*rtog pa zhes bya ba ni bza' bar bya ba dang/ bza' bar bya ba ma yin pa'i rnam par rtog pa dang bral ba'o*).

meditative stabilisation, skillful,[1809] endowed with faith,[1810] compassionate.[1811] (Alternatively, a person who relies on a vow (i.e., who has been initiated) can also draw [the painting] himself in the manner of a painter).[1812]

[§47] An excellent *sādhaka* should draw [the painting] on a hero's cloth,[1813] or on a cloth covering the corpse,[1814] on a cloth on which a child was born,[1815] or on a cloth tinted with human blood,[1816] or on the clothes ornamented with[1817]menstrual blood.[1818] If he desires the highest *siddhi*, he should give a [1819]hero's fee.[1820] This is the ritual

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[1808] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 458) glosses **free from anger** as "endowed with compassion" (*mi khro zhes pa ni snying rje dang ldan pa'o*). *Kumāracandra: "endowed with kind mind" (*'khro ba med pa ni byams pa'i sems dang ldan pa'o*).

[1809] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 405) glosses **skillful** as "skilled in the [art of] painting" (*byang ba zhes bya ba ni ri mo'i las la'o*).

[1810] *Kumāracandra: "**endowed with faith** [means:] one who has faith in the Three Jewels" (*dad pa ni dkon mchog gsum la yid ches pa'o*).

[1811] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 458) glosses **compassionate** as "a *sādhaka* who has no [other] reason [for this practice] than benefiting others" (*brtse ba dang ldan zhes pa ni rgyu med sgrub pa po de la phan gdags snyam pa'o*). *Kumāracandra: "a *sādhaka* who wants to engage in *sādhana*" (*brtse ba ni sgrub pa po sgrub par 'dod pa'o*).

[1812] This information is not given in the Tibetan version of the VBhT. For the description of the circumstances in which a *sādhaka* is allowed to draw a painting by himself, see p. 251 of this thesis.

[1813] *Lalitavajra (p. 326) glosses **a hero's** [cloth] as "a loincloth of a hero who has died in a battle" (*dpa' bo zhes bya ba la/ dpa' bo'i shun pa ste gyul du shi ba'o*).

[1814] *Lalitavajra (pp. 326–327) has *'dril ba*, **a cover**, which he glosses as "a cloth of a corpse" (*'dril ba ni ro'i gos so*).

[1815] *Lalitavajra (p. 327) glosses [a cloth on which] **a child was born** as "a woman's cloth" (*bu btsas pa ni bud med kyi gos so*).

[1816] This type of cloth is missing in the Tibetan text (see Siklós 1996:100).

[1817] The Sanskrit version has "woman's flower" (*strīpuṣpa*), which is a common way of referring to the menstrual blood. *Lalitavajra (p. 327) glosses **flower-cloth** as "a cloth of a maiden" (*me tog ras ni bu mo'i gos so*), perhaps indicating that it has to be a cloth of a girl who had her first menses.

[1818] After the enumeration of the canvases, the Tibetan text (1996:100) says: "he should draw on the hero's cloth with the hand of the painter like this" (*de lta bu'i ri mo mkhan gyi lag pas dpa' bo'i ras la bri bar bya'o*); however, Siklós's translation (1996:42) does not seem to follow the text printed in the edition: "or, if these are not available, on any suitable cloth".

[1819] Śoṇaśri (p. 405) glosses **hero's fee** as referring to the attitude of the *sādhaka,* who has "a mind pleased from enjoying wine and meat" (*dpa' bo'i rim pa zhes bya ba ni chang dang sha la nye bar rol cing dga' ba'i sems so*). *Vajrasiddha (p. 424) gives another explanation: "in some scriptures the word for this is 'heroic purchase' and it [means] that he gives to him [the fee] the painter wants" (*glegs bam la lar ni/ dpa' bo'i tshong zhes pa'i tshig/ de la ri mo mkhan 'dod pa*

procedure for this: having established himself in a secret place,[1821] in meditative equipoise, he should draw the painting with a [stylus] made of a human bone, with five pigments as described above, scented with camphor of olibanum tree, etc.[1822] He should draw [the painting] with a brush of a human hair.[1823] The *sādhaka* should not show it to anybody else, but the painter can see it.[1824]

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de byin la). The explanation given by *Vajrasiddha corresponds to the regular meaning of the "hero's fee" (see p. 250 of this thesis). *Akṣobhya (p. 382) has a "special fee" (*lhag pa'i yon*), instead, which he glosses as "something that is superior to the normal price of the painter" (*lhag pa'i yon ni zhes bya ba ni 'dri mkhan gyi tshad las rgyal ba'o*). *Kumāracandra has "giving donation", which he glosses as "as much as the painter tells" (*yon byin pa ni ri mo mkhan gyis ji tsam brjod pa'o*).

[1820] Siklós (1996:42) translates this sentence as follows: "If accomplishments are desired, offerings to the heroes should be made" (*gal te dngos grub 'dod pas dpa' bo'i yon sbyin no)*, which is incorrect as *dpa' bo'i yon* is a technical term corresponding to the Skt. *vīrakraya* or *vīramūlya*, "a hero's fee". For the explanation of this term, see p. 250 of this thesis.

[1821] *Lalitavajra (p. 327) glosses **secret place** as follows: "he should draw [the painting] being seated in an isolated place, such as cremation ground, etc. If you ask 'why', [the answer] is in order to not to show it to other people, who are without fortune and without initiation" (*gsang ba'i gnas ni dur khrod la sogs pa dben pa'i gnas su 'dug nas bri zhes pa'i don to/ ci'i phyir zhe na/ sems can gzhan te skal pa med cing dbang bskur pa med cing la mi bstan pa'i phyir zhes pa'i don to*).

[1822] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 458) has an additional gloss, which is missing in the root-text: "'he should draw in accordance with the procedure of the *vīra*' [means:] he should worship in an isolated place and offer *bali* three times a day; while being in yoga with Śrīvajrabhairava, he should consecrate the [body-]*maṇḍala* [of Vajrabhairava] on the cloth; at the heart [of the Vajrabhairava-image] he should draw the heart-mantras; in the mouth, he should draw a mantra; in the navel, he should deposit the root-mantra; and in the sense-organs, such as the eyes, he should place *oṃ sarvatathāgatavajracakṣusvabhāvātmako 'ham*; and in the three places (?), he should also deposit the heart-mantra of the three bodies (?); at the crown of the head, he should place the heart-mantra for *abhiṣeka*" (*dpa' bo'i cho gas bri zhes pa ni gnas dben par mchod pa dang gtor ma dus gsum du dbul zhing/ dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi rnal 'byor pas ras la dkyil 'khor du byin gyis brlab pa dang/ sngags rnams snying po thugs kar bri ba dang/ sngags zhal du bri ba dang/ rtsa sngags lte bar dgod pa dang/ mig la sogs pa'i skye mched la oṃ sarwa ta thā ga ta badzra tsakshu swa bhā wa ātma ko ha haṃ zhes bya ba la sogs pa dgod pa dang/ sku gsum gyi snying po'ang gnas gsum du dgod do/ dbang bskur ba'i snying po spyi bor dgod par bya'o*).

[1823] The passage on the brushes from the *Sampuṭatantra* is missing in the Tibetan version of the VBhT. The passage in the *Sampuṭa* has been identified as a quotation from the *Hevajratantra,* 2.6.7 (in Tripathi and Negi's edn. p.178).

[1824] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:100) reflects the Skt. almost perfectly, with the exception of the last verb, which is "draw" in Tib., but "see" in Skt.: "*ri mo mkhan dang sgrub pa pos mthong ba las 'jig rten pa gzhan gyis mi mthong bar bri bar bya ste*". Siklós (1996:42) translates the sentence slightly accurately as "the painter or the practitioner should paint the painting so that the layman does not see it".

[§48] [He should draw [Vajrabhairava having] sixteen legs, thirty-four arms, nine heads; he is naked, black in colour, standing in a *pratyālīḍha* pose, he is very frightening and he also takes a form of the one who causes fear (i.e., Bhairava) and he has an upraised *liṅga*. He should be painted with a buffalo as his main head and with the three very wrathful heads on the right side: blue, red and yellow. On the left side [of the main Buffalo-head], he has [three heads]: white, grey, and black].[1825] Between them, he should draw [a head] in deep red [colour]. Above that, he should paint a Mañjuśrī's face, yellow [in colour]. He should paint it slightly wrathful. In his right hand [Vajrabhairava holds], a chopper, a javelin, a mortar, a knife, a single-pointed *vajra*, an axe, a spear, an arrow, an elephant goad, a club, a skull-staff, a wheel, a *vajra*, a *vajra*-hammer, a sword, and a rattle-drum. With his left hand [he holds], a skull, a severed head, a shield, a leg, a noose, a bow, intestines, a bell, a hand, a rag of the cremation ground, a man impaled on a stake, a fire-pit, a cup, threatening finger, a flag with three strips of cloth, a cloth blown by the wind.[1826] In his two hands, he holds an elephant-skin. Under his right feet, he [tramples upon], a man, a buffalo, a bull, a donkey, a camel, a dog, a deer[1827], a jackal[1828]. Under his left feet [he tramples upon], a vulture, an owl, a crow, a parrot, an eagle, a rooster, a big bird, and a crane.[1829] He should paint the Great Vajrabhairava[1830] like this.[1831]

[§49] Beneath him,[1832] he should paint the great cremation ground,[1833] very scary, he should paint it equipped with[1834] *yakṣa*s, demons,[1835] site-guardians and zombies.[1836] He

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[1825] This portion is missing in Skt., and has been translated from the Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:100).

[1826] For the discrepancy between the Skt. and the Tibetan lists of weapons, see pp. 450–453.

[1827] Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:101) has *lug*, which corresponds to the Skt. *meṣa* instead of *mṛga*, "deer", attested in the mss.

[1828] The Skt. mss have *śṛgāla*, which means either "fox" or "jackal". The Tibetan translation favoured the first meaning, translating it as *wa*, "fox". This seems to be inaccurate.

[1829] For the discrepancy between the list of birds trampled upon by Vajrabhairava in the Skt. and Tib. recensions, see p. 454.

[1830] *Lalitavajra (p. 327) comments: "the image of **the Great Vajrabhairava** [means:] he teaches the way to draw, etc. In one box one mixes the pigments and the five *amṛta*s using human hair from the crown of the head [to mix them]. One should know the fault of using wrong pigments. Vajrabhairava has taught the pigments correctly" (*'jigs byed chen po'i gzugs zhes bya ba la sogs pa'i bri ba bstan te/ g'u gcig par tshon bdud rtsi lnga dang sbyar te/ mi'i skra'i spyi por* [corr.; *spir* ed.] *gyis tshon gyis* [corr.; *gyi* ed.] *skyon shes par byas la tshad dang ldan par ji skad gsungs pa'i rdo rje 'jigs byed*).

[1831] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1995:101) reflects the Skt. almost perfectly when it says: "he should paint the Great Vajrabhairava standing in this way" (*'di lta bur 'dug pa'i rdo rje 'jigs byed chen po bri bar bya'o*), but Siklós's translation (*ibid*.:42) omits this sentence.

[1832] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:101) reflects the Skt. perfectly, for it also has "beneath" (*'og tu*); however, Siklós (*ibid*.:42) translates it as "around" while explaining in f. 121 that *'og tu* means "after that".

[1833] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 458) glosses **cremation ground outside of him [Vajrabhairava]** (instead of the "great cremation ground" given in the root-text) as: "he should draw the eight cremation

should illustrate there such frightening things as a man impaled on a stake. He should also portray a man being burnt. He should illustrate a man hung high on the banyan (*vaṭa*) tree.[1837] He should also draw a man run by a spear.[1838] He should draw different birds: vulture, crow, dog, and jackal, flock of birds.[1839] [1840] He should also draw the

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grounds populated with eight *kṣetrapāla*s, eight gods, eight *nāga*s, trees, and *stūpa*, *sādhaka* and *preta*s, birds and carnivorous animals, and serpents; he should draw them surrounded by many corpses that are greatly terrifying" (*de'i phyi rol dur khrod ces pa ni dur khrod brgyad bri bar ste/ phyogs skyong brgyad lha brgyad dang/ klu brgyad dang/ shing dang/ mchod rten dang/ sgrub pa po dang/ yid dwags bya dang gcan gzan dang sbrul dang ro sna tshogs shin tu 'jigs pas bskor ba bri'o*).

[1834] In *Akṣobhya's commentary (p. 382), the Sanskrit word *samanvitam* is translated as "he should draw a wheel" (*'khor lo bris bar bya'o zhes bya ni*), which *Akṣobhya (p. 382) glosses: "as for this [cremation ground], it should be surrounded by the host of non-humans, or if you do not draw the basis in the manner of the *maṇḍala* style, you install the *vajra*-wall, circuit, etc." (*'khor lo bris bar bya'o zhes bya ba ni 'di ni mi ma yin pa'i tshogs kyis bskor ba'am/ dkyil 'khor gyi tshul las/ 'gram gzhi* [conj. P.D. Szántó; *phyag rgya* ed.] *mi bri bar rdo rje ra ba la sogs* [em.; *sgo* ed.] *gdod pa'o*). The passage refers to the old and new ways of drawing the cremation grounds, i.e. either populating them with non-humans (the old way), or installing *vajrabhūmi*, *vajraprākāra* and *vajrapañjara*, which is a later invention popular in the *yogatantra* commentaries.

[1835] *Akṣobhya (p. 383) glosses **demons, etc.** as "it is said: 'he should draw them within the cremation ground area itself'" (*srin po zhes bya ba la sogs pa ni/ dur khrod kyi de kho na zhes par 'gyur ro*).

[1836] The parallel passage describing the cremation grounds beneath Vajrabhairava is also found in the *Saṃputodbhava* (7.4.59): *tasyādho mahāśmaśānaṃ rākṣasakṣetrapālavetālānvitaṃ*. This list omits *yakṣa*, which features in the Skt. manuscripts of the VBhT available to me. The list without *yakṣa* conforms to the reading given in the Tibetan recension (Siklós 1996:101), which similarly omits *yakṣa*.

[1837] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:101) has *n.ya gro dha'i shing*, which Siklós (1996:43) translates as "a fig tree".

[1838] The parallel passage describing the four types of criminals illustrated in the cremation ground beneath Vajrabhairava is also found in the *Saṃputodbhava* (7.4.59): *śūlabhinnapuruṣaṃ* [*vaṭa*]*vṛkṣasyodbaddhapuruṣaṃ dahyamānapuruṣaṃ kuntabhinnaṃ ca*. For the explanation of their function in other Buddhist and Śākta tantras, see pp. 255–256.

[1839] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:101) has a slightly different reading: *bya sna tshogs dang bya rgod dang bya rog dang khyi dang lce spyang dang ha ha 'byin pa bri*, which Siklós (1996:43) translates as: "one should also draw various birds, vultures, crows, dogs, and jackals uttering 'ha ha'". When compared to the Skt. recension, we can see that the "flock of birds" is missing in the Tibetan text. Also, in the Skt. jackals are not portrayed as laughing. The parallel passage is also preserved in the *Saṃputodbhava* (7.4.59), which reads as follows: *anekakākapakṣiśvānayutaṃ hāhākārasamākulam*, "[he should draw cremation grounds] filled with various birds, like crows, dogs, full of 'ha ha' sound." The reading *sārasakulam*, 'flock of birds', which features in the manuscripts of the VBhT, seems to be better than *samākulam*.

[1840] The parallel passage in the *Saṃputodbhava* ends with the following statement: *evaṃ vibhāvayed yogī sarvakrūrakarmaprasiddhikaraṃ nāma mahābhairavam* / *ity āha bhagavān*, "In

sādhaka[1841] gazing up the lord,[1842] naked,[1843] his hair untied, adorned with the five insignia, etc.[1844] He should paint [him] entering that cremation ground[1845] while carrying a rattle-drum and a skull-staff,[1846] the top of his head adorned with a skull, laughing.

[§50] Having put the painting[1847] down in an isolated place,[1848] he should fumigate [the painting] with human flesh.[1849] In front of it,[1850] he should repeat the mantra at the three

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this way indeed, the yogin should visualise Mahābhairava, who causes the success of all wrathful rites. Bhagavān said thus."

[1841] *Akṣobhya (p. 383) says that the painter draws the *sādhaka* himself into the painting: "as for the *sādhaka*, from what has been taught, one should draw the exact likeness of the shape of the body, etc." (*sgrub pa po zhes bya ba ni ji ltar bstan pa las sha tshugs la sogs pa rab tu 'dra bar bri'o*).

[1842] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:101) reads slightly differently: *bcom ldan 'das la rtse gcig tu lta ba*, which Siklós (1996:43) translates as: "single-pointedly looking at the Lord". The Skt. version omits "single-pointedly".

[1843] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 458) glosses **naked** as "he should draw himself as a *sādhaka*" (*gcer bu zhes pa ni sgrub pa po rang nyid bri ba'o*). This adjective (*gcer bu*) qualifying the *sādhaka*(s) also features in the Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:101), but Siklós (see *ibid*.:43) fails to translate it.

[1844] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:101–102) has *phyag rgya lngas brgyan pa*, which Siklós (*ibid*.:43) translates as "adorned with five symbols", explaining in n. 123 that *mudrā* "refers to the five bone ornaments of the *yogin*", by which he means the Kāpālika ascetic. While this interpretation fits well with the typical Kāpālika territory we encounter in this passage, one could also suggest that the Skt. manuscripts of the VBhT available to me read *pañcaṃcūḍādyalaṃkṛtaṃ* and not *pañcamudrādyalaṃkṛtaṃ*. In that case, the *sādhaka*s could be styled upon the image of the young Mañjuśrī, thus they consolidate three different traditions that went into the making of the cult of Vajrabhairava.

[1845] *Lalitavajra (p. 327) says: "entering in the middle of the eight cremation grounds refers to the *sādhaka*, etc., in the eight cremation grounds; this is the meaning of 'he should draw a place'" (*dur khrod brgyad kyi dbus su chud pa/ dur khrod brgyad na sgrub pa po la sogs pa gnas pa bri zhes pa'i don to*).

[1846] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:101) has "skulls and skull-staff", the first item of which is missing in the Skt. version.

[1847] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:101) reads: *'di ni gsang ba'i bris sku te*. This sentence is missing in the Skt. version.

[1848] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 458) glosses **in an isolated place** as "in one place [means:] it is not suitable to move the drawing and mantra/*sādhana* practice [to another place]" (*gnas gcig tu zhes pa bri ba dang bsnyen sgrub kyi gnas spor mi rung ba'o*). *Lalitavajra (pp. 327–328), however, glosses it as "in any suitable, isolated place, such as a cremation ground, etc." (*gcig tu bzhag ces pa ni/ dur khrod la sogs pa gang yang rung ba dben pa'i phyogs gcig tu'o*).

[1849] *Akṣobhya (p. 383) glosses **he offers the incense of human flesh** as "at first, i.e., in the beginning of the eye-opening ceremony" (*sha chen po'i bdug spos phul te zhes bya ni dang por spyan phye la'o*).

times [of the day] using the rosary made of human bone. The mantra-master should protect the painting with full concentration[1851], with effort.[1852] He should not set it up near anybody. Nor should he unroll it in front of anybody.[1853] During the night, continually,[1854] he should eat food[1855] that can be licked, drinks, food that needs to be

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[1850] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:101) reflects the Skt. correctly when it says: *de'i mdung du dung chen gyi 'phreng bas bzlas pa bya*, but for some reason Siklós (*ibid*.:43) translates *de'i mdung du* as "over that [i.e., painting]", while the Tibetan text clearly says "in front of that [i.e., painting]".

[1851] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 458) glosses **full concentration** as "he completes the four *yoga*s through the former accumulation of merit at the three times [of the day] and recites the mantra using the rosary made of human skulls, undisturbed. He counts the beads on the rosary without mixing them, and [utters] the word *hūṃ* while counting the beads on the rosary, as stated before, with the wrathful emanation [of Vajrabhairava] as the object of his focus" (*shin tu mnyam par zhes pa ni dus gsum du tshogs sngon du song ba can gyis sbyor ba bzhi rdzogs par byas shing/ dung chen po'i phreng bas/ bzlas sngags la ma yengs par bzla ba'o/ phreng ba huṃ gi gong du khro bo spro ba'i dmigs pas tshig dang ma 'dres par bgrangs pa'o*).

[1852] The expression *rakṣitavyaṃ prayatnataḥ* "ones should protect with effort" in the sense of concealing oneself against those who are uninitiated is an idiomatic expression also found in Śaiva-Śākta sources. For example, in the *Picumata-Brahmayāmala* (45.130) it occurs in the context of guarding the tantra: *rakṣitavyaṃ prayatnena gūḍhe* [em.; *gūḍhaṃ* ed.] *saṃyānti* [em.; *saṃrakti* ed.] *raśmayaḥ* [corr.; *rasmayaḥ* ed.]/ *gopitavyaṃ prayatnena yadicchej jīvituṃ naraḥ*", "he should guard [the tantra] carefully; if it is concealed, the rays (i.e., the *yoginī*s) will assemble. [This] should be concealed carefully if a person wishes to live." The aforementioned passage refers to the concept of the Kaula concealment, which resembles the famous line from the *Kulapañcaśatikā*, f.4v5: *avyaktaliṅginaṃ dṛṣṭvā sambhāṣanti* [corr.; *sambhāsanti* cod.] *marīcayaḥ*, "when the *yoginī*s (lit. the rays) see a person who does not show his sectarian affiliation, they address him". This has been quoted by Kṣemarāja in his *Śivasūtravimarśinī* 3.26 (Chatterji's edn. p.112). On the other hand, if a person does show his sectarian affiliation, the *yoginī*s run away. For a discussion on the tantric initiate who should be secretly a Kaula, but should act in the outside world as a Śaiva and the follower of the Vedic orthopraxy (as per *Tantrālokaviveka* 3.27), see Sanderson 1985:205. The praxis of concealing the *paṭa* described in the VBhT may have been influenced by the Kaula tradition. This argument does not seem to be too far fetched, especially taking into account the fact that the praxis accompanying the protection of the *paṭa* is based on the consumption of the five transgressive Kaula substances, namely the five *amṛta*s: see p. 263 of this thesis.

[1853] *Akṣobhya (p. 383) quotes the following verse from an unidentified source: "'he should not reveal it to others': it is said in the scriptures: 'If the scriptures and images are taught to the ignorant ones, there will be no *siddhi* in this lifetime and there will be no *siddhi* even in other rebirths'" (*gzhan la bstan par mi bya'o zhes bya ba ni/ glegs bam dang ni bris sku dag/ rmongs pa dag la bstan byas na/ tshe 'dir dngos grub mi 'byung ste/ tshe rabs gzhan du'ang dngos grub med/ ces gsungs pas so*).

[1854] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:102) reflects the Skt. when it says: *rtag tu mtshan mo*, "always at night", but Siklós (*ibid*.:43) translates *mtshan mo* as "at midnight". In this instance, the Tibetan *rtag tu* could render the Sanskrit *nitya* in the sense of 'daily', 'quotidianly': cf., e.g., *nityakarma*, 'quotidian (or 'obligatory') rituals'.

chewed, and food that can be easily swallowed[1856] such as human meat. At the three times of the day he should offer frankincense [1857] along with feaces and blood in front of the painting if he desires the highest *siddhi*.[1858]

[1855] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 459) comments as follows: "he eats and drinks everything at night and in the afternoon he engages in pleasures and does a lot of [*sādhana*]-practice" (*bza' btung thams cad mtshan mo dang phyi dro longs spyod cing mang bar spyod pa'o*). *Akṣobhya (p. 383) gives a different explanation: "as for **he always eats at night,** [it means:] although he is alone, in order to keep [the practice] secret, as soon as people lie down at night, he eats the vow-substances in order to remove the tiredness of the body" (*rtag tu nub mo za bar bya'o/ zhes bya ba ni gcig tu 'ang gsang bar bya ba'i phyir mtshan mo mi nyal tsam na dam tshig rdzas dag lus dub pa bsal ba la sogs pa'i phyir bza'o*). *Akṣobhya (p. 383) also comments on the dietary regime to be followed by the *sādhaka* during the day, which is not part of the root-text: "as for the consumption of human meat during the day, this is in order to bring to an end those who attack and slander the perfectly enlightened Buddha and also in order to introduce oneself among the jackals and ghosts (*bhūtas*)" (*nyin par mi'i sha la sogs pa bza' ba ni/ yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas la 'gro ba skur ba smra ba'i mtha' la thug par 'gyur zhing bdag nyid kyang ce spyang gi dang 'byung po'i khongs su 'jug pa'i phyir ro*).

[1856] For the definition of the various types of food indicated by the words *bhojya* and *bhākṣya*, see fn.1505 p. 408 of this thesis. The technical terms *klog pa*, *bza' ba,* and *ston mo* have been inaccurately translated by Siklós (1996:43) as "tasting", "eating", and "feast", respectively.

[1857] The reading *dhūpo deya*(*ḥ*) (prob. the outcome of irregular *sandhi* for *dhūpo deyo* [*yadīcchet*]) is not only supported by the Tibetan translation, but also attested in a number of magical recipes found in the MMK (see below); furthermore, a similar expression is attested in VBhT 50: *ekānte saṃsthāpya mahāmāṃsena dhūpaṃ dattvā*. For this reason, I have preserved it, although there are reasons to believe that it constitutes the outcome of a Buddhist redaction of the originally Śaiva expression *dhūmodaye*, "when it begins to smoke". One reason is that *dhūmodaye* is associated with the Śaiva cliché *yadīcchet siddhim uttamām* (see, p. 140), which also occurs in the aforementioned passage of the VBhT. Since the author of the text was already drawing upon an established Śaiva phraseology, it is plausible to assume he could have also borrowed the way of referring to the three signs of *siddhi*s that was common in the early tantric milieu; the reading could have become subsequently corrupted in the text, once the "early tantric syntax" lost its momentum, or could even reflect a conscious Buddhist redaction.

Contextually related passages containg both readings are found in the MMK. For instance, in the MMK 55, p. 548, we find a recipe involving the *paṭa* where a similar Śaiva context is clearly alluded to. Similarly to the VBhT, in this passage only one of the three *siddhi*s, i.e. *jvalite,* is referred to. The passage reads as follows:

> *ekavṛkṣe pratītyasamutpādagarbhacaityaṃ* [em.; *caitya* ed.] *pratiṣṭhāpya lakṣam ekaṃ japet. lakṣaparisamāptau poṣadhikena rūpakāreṇāśvatthakāṣṭhamayaṃ tṛśūlaṃ lakṣaṇopetaṃ kṛtvā saṃpātābhihūtaṃ* [em.; *sapātābhihūtaṃ* ed.] *kṛtvā paurṇamāsyāṃ sugandhagandhaiḥ samupalipya yathā vibhavataḥ paṭasyāgrataḥ pūjāṃ kṛtvā dakṣiṇahaste kṛtvā sakalāṃ rātriṃ sādhayet. yāvaj jvalatīti. jvalite mahādevo bhavati*.
>
> Having set up a *caitya* containing the dependent origination [i.e., the mantra *ye dharmā* …] near the solitary tree, he should recite [the mantra] one thousand times. Having completed one thousand recitations, the maker of images, who have fasted, should endow the *caitya* with the landmark of a trident made of *aśvattha* wood. Having poured oblations of the *saṃpāta* type on the day of the full moon, and having anointed it with a fragrant incense, he should perform *pūjā* in front of the *paṭa* according to his means;

having done it with his right hand, he should accomplish all at night 'until [the *paṭa*] bursts into flames'. When it bursts into flames, he will become Śiva.

The Sanskrit grammar does not make it clear whether the object that should burst into flames is a trident or a *paṭa*; grammatically, both options are possible. What is clear, however, is that once the item bursts into flames, the *siddhi* of becoming Śiva follows. Thus, this description is comparable with the passage of the VBhT, referred to above, when the sign of the smoke coming from the *paṭa* indicates the highest *siddhi.* The aforementioned passage of the MMK clearly exposes the Śaiva context of the ritual on two different occasions and it does so also with regard to the *aśvattha* wood, which has been identified by Goodall and Isaacson (2016) as the feature of the "early tantric syntax". It is interesting to notice that, in this specific ritual, *caitya* has to be endowed with the *tṛśūla* (Skt. *triśūla*), an emblem of Śiva that marks it specifically as a Śaiva place. Of course, this should not come of as a surprise taking into account the fact that the coveted *siddhi* for the Buddhist practitioner carrying out this ritual is oddly to become Śiva himself. A second instance of the Śaiva context is visible in the adoption of the Śaiva terminology of *saṃpāta-homa*, present also in the magical recipes of the NTGS (10.30). The *saṃpāta-homa* is a type of "split" oblation when one pours a half of an oblation onto something and the other half of it onto something else. This *homa* is popular in the Śaiva ritual of initiation, when one splits the mantra *svāhā*, meaning "oblation", into *svā* and *hā*. This ritual is described in the *Svacchandatantra* (3.153), as follows: *svā ity agnau prapātayet hā iti śiṣyasya śirasi saṃpātaḥ*, "*Saṃpāta* is when one gives *svā* into the fire and *hā* onto the head of the disciple". Kṣemarāja's commentary on that text, the *Svacchandoddyota* (vol. 1. Chap. 3, p. 223), defines it as follows: "*saṃpāto yugapat sarvatrāgnīṣomātmakasvarūponmīlanātmā saṃskāra ityarthaḥ*, "It is a *saṃskāra* consisting of awakening through this splitting simultaneously of the Agni and Soma nature of everything". For another instance of the *saṃpāta-homa* in the *Susiddhikara*, see Giebel 2001:282–284.

A passage of the MMK attesting the reading *dhūpo deyaḥ*, which suggest a Buddhist redaction, is found in chapter 55, p. 538: *arthakāmaḥ, śucinā śucivastraprāvṛtenāhorātroṣitaḥ paṭasyāgrataḥ kunduruka**dhūpo deyaḥ**; svapne kathayati śubhaṃ vāśubhaṃ vā, saptasahasrāṇi rūpakaṃ labhati,* "The one who wants wealth, who is pure, covered with white cloths, who have fasted for a day and night, offers frankincense in front of the painting, if he recites [the mantra] during the sleep, auspicious or inauspicious, he will obtain seven hundred coins".

The topic of fumigations seems to occupy an important place in the description of magical *karma*s found in the MMK. In this regard, fumigations may be unspecified or specified. For example, we find magical recipes where fumigations are simply referred to without specifying the ingredients that should be used, e.g. *mahāmāṃsa ghṛtena saha dhūpaḥ puṣṭikaraṇam* (MMK 41, p. 359), "human flesh and incense together with ghee, causes prosperity"; *mānuṣāsthicūrṇaṃ kākolūkapakṣāṇi ca dhūpaḥ māraṇam* (MMK 41, p. 359), "the feathers of a crow and an owl, the powder of human bones, and incense, cause death". On other occasions, the ingredients, such as incense, are clearly specified, e.g. *sarṣaparājikādhūpaṃ jvarakaraṇaṃ* (MMK 41, p. 359), "incense of mustard seed and *rājikā* causes fever". On the basis of these passages found in the MMK, it is plausible to argue that by stating *dhūpo deyaḥ*, the VBhT refers to some unspecified incense that should be offered in front of the *paṭa*, together with faeces and blood, if a person wishes for the highest *siddhi*.

[1858] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 459) glosses **if he desires the highest *siddhi*** as follows: "with the sequence of *utpanna* and *sampanna*, he offers worship to the painting and meditates. [The practice of] meditation is related to [the exposition given] in the first and last chapters. Also, partly it relates to the oral instruction of the guru" (*mchog 'dod na zhes pa ni bskyed pa dang rdzogs pa'i rim gyis bris sku la mchod cing bsgom par bya'o/ de dang po'i le'u dang tha ma'i le'u 'brel par byas la bsgom pa'o/ la la bla ma'i ngag la yang ngo*). *Akṣobhya's gloss (p. 383) interprets it

This is the fifth chapter [called] the ritual of painting the *paṭa* in this *yogatantra* of Śrīmahāvajrabhairava, which is a part of [the tantra] called the *Śrīmañjuśrīya*[*tantra*].

differently: "whoever **desires the highest *siddhi*** [means:] these transgressive acts (*duṣṭācārya*) should be performed with a pure mind, and not otherwise, for the highest *siddhi*s are obtained with a pure mind, but they are not [obtained] by enjoying these filthy things like a pig, etc. As for the 'pure mind', it means to create equanimity between the [filthy things] and the desired object of the senses (*kāmaguṇa*s): wine of *sa lu* rice, human meat, perfume of excrement, incense of camphor [i.e., semen]. For that reason, it is explained: 'whatever he offers with a pure [mind], for such a person, wine is just like smell; in the same way, excrement is just like food, and incense is just like camphor [i.e., semen]. In the same way, whatever comes with excrement is perfume'" *(gang zhig dngos grub mchog 'dod pa/ zhes bya ba ni ngan pa'i spyod pa 'di dag ni sems dag pas bya'i gzhan du ma yin la/ dngos grub chen po rnams ni sems dag pas thob kyi/ mi gtsang longs spyod pas ni ma yin te/ phag la sogs pa bzhin no/ sems dag pa ni 'bras sā lu'i chang dang/ mi'i sha dang/ bshang ba'i dri dang/ ga bur gyi dri dag la 'dod pa'i yon tan du mnyam par 'gyur te/ de bas na/ gang dag pas* [em.; *dga' ba* ed.] *te dbul te/ 'di ltar chang dang de bzhin dri/ ji ltar bza' ba de bzhin bshang* [em.; *bshad* ed.]/ *ji ltar dri bzang ga pur dag/ de bzhin bshang* [em.; *bshad* ed.] *pa las byung dri/ zhes gsungs pa lta bu'o*). For the explanation of this quotation, see p. 264 of this thesis.

Chapter Six

The Prescriptions for the Ritual of *Homa* (*homavidhi*)

[§51] Now, I will explain the rule of fire offerings,[1859] correctly and in due order. First of all, the mantra-master should go to the cremation ground[1860] and perform the fire offering ritual at night.[1861] Remaining in union with the aforesaid deity,[1862] he can accomplish all ritual procedures.

[§52] In this [*sādhana*], the ritual procedure is [as follows]: if he wishes to kill,[1863] then he should put together[1864] human bone, faeces[1865] (*vairocana*), excrement of a donkey,[1866]

[1859] *Akṣobhya (p. 384): "**rule of fire offerings** [means:] I shall explain the *homa* in an abbreviated form; as for the extensive explanation, one should know it from the affiliated tantras" (***sbying sreg gi cho ga*** *zhes bya ba ni/ rab tu bsdus pa bshad par bya/ rgyas par 'di dang cha mthun pa'i rgyud las shes par bya*).

[1860] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:103) has *dben pa'i gnas*, "an isolated place".

[1861] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:103) has *mtshan phyed*, "midnight".

[1862] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:103) reflects the Skt. correctly: *gong du gsungs pa'i lha'i rnal 'byor la gnas pa,* but Siklós (1996:43) takes *gong du gsungs pa* as a preposition and not as a qualifier of the deity.

[1863] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 459): "**if he wishes to kill** [means:] for those humans and non-humans who are difficult to tame through peaceful means, with great compassion and having relied upon Bhagavān Vajrabhairava, one causes them to pass away in this lifetime in accordance with *homa* rituals, etc. One should visualise that they achieve Akṣobhya's fields in their future bodies and prior to that he should purify them through meditative stabilisation as before" (*bsad par 'dod pa zhes pa ni zhi bas mi 'dul ba'i mi dang mi ma yin pa de la snying rje chen pos/ bcom ldan 'das rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi bsnyen pa nas sbyin sreg la sogs pa'i rim pas tshe 'dir 'phor bcug la/ ma 'ongs pa'i lus mi bskyod pa'i zhing khams dag der sgrub snyam pa dang/ sngon ltar ting nge 'dzin sbyang bar bya'o*).

[1864] *Lalitavajra (p. 328): "he **puts them together** [means] he mixes them altogether and burns them or else he burns them individually (one by one)" (*bsres nas zhes pa ni gcig tu bsres te bsreg pa 'am yang na so sor bsreg pa'o*).

[1865] *Lalitavajra (p. 329) glosses human **faeces** etc. as "the substances to be offered into the fire; it is easy to understand" (*dri chen zhes bya ba la sogs pa ni bsreg rdzas te go sla'o*).

[1866] The Sanskrit *laṇḍa* can also mean "penis", but this meaning is neither supported by the Tibetan text, which says *bong bu'i spangs pa*, nor by *Lalitavajra's commentary (p. 330), which has *bong bu rtug pa*.

thorn, hair, finger clippings.[1867] Having smeared all those things with *kaṭutaila*,[1868] he should sacrifice them into cremation-ground fire[1869] one hundred and eight times,[1870] while facing south[1871] and while being established in the meditative equipoise.[1872] [That person] in whose name [he does that] will die in three days.[1873] Or else,[1874] having sat

[1867] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:103) also has "dog's dung", which the Skt. omits; however, this reading is supported by the parallel passage in the *Saṃputodbhava* (7.2.16), which also mentions *śvānalaṇḍa*.

[1868] *Akṣobhya (p. 384): "**oil** [means:] with black mustard seed or red mustard seed" (*'bru mar gyi zhes bya ba ni/ ske tshe'am yungs* [*d*]*mar gyis so*). The parallel passage of the *Saṃputodbhava* reads *tailenāloḍya*, but it probably means *kaṭutailena,* as supported by *Akṣobhya's commentary. Siklós (1996:43) has "melted butter", which does not seem to be accurate.

[1869] *Lalitavajra (p. 328) says: "if you ask 'where' [to burn them], [I reply:] in the fire of the cremation ground, [that means], he does not construct a hearth, this is the meaning" (*gang du zhe na dur khrod me ste thab mi bca' zhes pa'i don do*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 459): "he should kindle the fire [means:] in the fire of the cremation ground or in the fire taken from an ironmonger, or in the fire of the *caṇḍālī*, with the wood of the cremation ground" (*dur khrod kyi me'am lcags las byung ba'am candali'i me la dur khrod shing gis me sbar la).*

[1870] *Lalitavajra (p. 329): "**one hundred and eight times** [refers to the] mantra: he burns the items one hundred and eight times together with uttering [the mantra] customised with the name of the target" (*brgya rtsa ba brgyad zhes pa sngags la bsgrub bya'i ming bskul tshig dang bcas pas brgya rtsa brgyad bsregs*).

[1871] *Lalitavajra (p. 329): "**facing south** [means:] in order to kill; he meditates on the Buffalo-faced one inside the fire; the mantra of Yama [means:] the root-mantra or, through the proximity of heart-mantra, he does *homa* rituals for the sake of worship" (*lho phyogs su blta ba ni gsod pa'i phyir ro/ me'i nang du ma he'i zhal bsams la gshin rje'i sngags te rtsa ba'i sngags sam nye ba'i snying pos mchod pa'i sbyin bsreg byas la*).

[1872] The Tibetan version has, instead, a person who is in "*yoga* with the Buffalo-faced one" (*ma he'i zhal sbyor ba*) (Siklós 1996:103). *Lalitavajra (pp. 328–329) glosses **very steady** as "steady by being established in the deity-yoga" (*shin tu mi g.yo lha'i rnal 'byor las mi gyo ba'o*). *Lalitavajra (p. 330) says further that one generates the deity by uttering *oṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ* (*lhar bskyed la/ oṃ dang huṃ phat gnyis ldan pas*).

[1873] The *abhicārahoma* given in the *Sampuṭa* has a longer version that includes a whole set of ingredients prior to the "human bone" that are missing in the VBhT. It starts with the standard opening *atha abhicāraṃ kartukāmena*, followed by the list of ingredients and their measurements, as follows: "If he wishes to perform *abhicāra*, he takes a portion of black sesame, etc., and dark blue *bhalāttaka* fruit; having smeared them with black, pungent oil, he mixes them together with blood. Having gathered together thorns of vetches (*kālavṛkṣa*) and marking nut (*kubja*=achryanthes aspera), three bitter juices, etc., and ten *aṅgula*s from the roots of all trees, human bone, urine (*vairocana*), dung of a donkey, hair, dung of a dog, hair, finger clipping, [and having] smeared with oil all those things, he should sacrifice them into the cremation fire one hundred and eight times facing south and being in meditative equipoise; he in whose name he does that will die in three days" (*atha abhicāraṃ kartukāmena tilakṛṣṇamāṣādi bhallātakaphalaṃ* [em.; *phala* ms.] *kālakatīkṣṇatailenāloḍya rudhiramiśrakaiḥ saha/ kālavṛkṣasya kubjasya kaṇṭakaṃ* [em.; *kaṇṭaka* ms.] *kaṭukatiktādīni sarvavṛkṣajāni daśāṅgulāni/ narāsthivairocanagardabhalaṇḍakeśaśvānalaṇḍakeśanakhaṃ sametya* [em.; *samet* ms.]/

himself down in an isolated place[1875] and having made a triangular fire-hearth,[1876] he makes an offering into the fire taken from an outcast[1877] with the same substances mentioned above.[1878] By that yoga, [the target] is led to the world of Yama.[1879] There is no doubt about it.[1880]

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tatsarvaṃ tailena samāloḍya cityagnau samāhitena dakṣiṇābhimukham aṣṭottaraśataṃ juhuyād yasya nāmnā dinatrayeṇa mriyate).

The part of the *homa* after the item "marking nut" corresponds to the one given in the Tibetan text, on the basis of which this reconstruction has been made. The version from the *Sampuṭa* corresponds more closely to the Tibetan text insofar as both texts have *śvānalaṇḍa* "dung of a dog" (translated into Tibetan as *khyi'i sbangs pa*, see fn.1867), which is missing in the manuscripts of the VBhT. This is also supported by *Lalitavajra's commentary (p. 330), which mentions the dung of a donkey and a camel (*bong bu rnga mo rtug pa dang*) as suitable offerings for the *abhicārahoma*.

[1874] *Lalitavajra (p. 329): **or else** "is a conjunctive adverb, which indicates 'another place', that is a place for setting up the hearth" (*yang na zhes pa ni phyogs gzhan ston pa'i tshig gi phrad do/ thab khung bca' ba'i phyogs so*).

[1875] The Tibetan text reads *yang na phyogs gcig tu gnas la me thab gru gsum byas nas*, which clearly indicates a location of the hearth, but Siklós (1996:44) takes it adverbially as referring to the *sādhaka* who makes the hearth single-pointedly. This interpretation is not supported by *Lalitavajra's commentary (p. 329), which says "as for an isolated place, that is a place of hearth rituals" (*dben pa'i gnas ni thab bya ba'i gnas so*). *Śoṇaśrī and *Vajrasiddha understand an isolated place to be one's own home. *Śoṇaśrī (p. 405–406): "or else, if he stays at home or in an isolated place, on the 14th dark fortnight he makes a red triangular hearth measuring 20 cubits on each side" (*yang na khyim du gnas la dben par byas la bcu bzhi la zur gsum dmar po/ sor nyi shu'i tshad*). *Akṣobhya (p. 384) glosses the outskirts of the city (missing in the root-text) as probably another example of an isolated place: **the outskirts of the city** [means:] "wherefrom the great sound of the city is not heard" (*bas mtha' zhes bya ba ni gang nas* [corr.; *gang la* ed.] *grong gi sgra* [corr.; *dgra* ed.] *chen po yang mi thos pa'o*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 460): **or else, having sat himself down in one place** [means:] "in his own house, facing south, he makes *homa* according to the teaching; whatever he says will come about. Moreover, as for the direction of the house (?), having performed the ritual on the 14th of the waning moon, he will achieve that [*karma*]" (*yang na phyogs gcig ces pa ni rang gi khyim gyi lhor phyogs par bstan pa ltar bsregs nas yang gsungs pa ltar 'gyur ro/ yang na khyim gyi phyogs ni mar tshes zla ba bri ba'i bcu bzhi nas las de 'grub pa'o*).

[1876] *Lalitavajra (p. 329) comments on the measurement of the hearth: it has the length of twenty *aṅgula*s and the depth of ten fingers (*me thabs sor nyi shu pa'i thab zabs su sor bcu pa byas la zhes pa'i don to*). For different types of hearth for each *homa*, see p. 269 of this thesis.

[1877] Siklós (1996:44) translates *gtum po'i me* as a "fierce fire", which is wrong as *Lalitavajra's commentary (p. 329) clearly specifies the type of a person who is regarded as an outcast, when he says: **the fire of an outcast** [means:] a fire from the house of a cobbler or a butcher (*gtum po'i me ni mi rdol pa 'am sme sha can gyi khyim gyi me la'o*). *Akṣobhya (pp. 384–385) glosses "a butcher", not given in the root-text, as "a fire sought from a butcher" (*sme sha can zhes bya ba yang sme sha can las btsal ba'i me ste*).

[1878] *Lalitavajra (p. 329): "**the same substances previously mentioned** [means:] he burns the substances, such as human faeces, etc." (*sngon du gsungs pa'i rdzas zhes pa ni bsreg rdzas te dri chen la sogs pa'o*).

[Two homas for separation (Tibetan text edited in Siklós 1996:44)].

[§53] Next [the *homa* for driving away]:[1881] if [the mantra-master] who is naked, with his hair dishevelled,[1882] sacrifices into the cremation ground fire[1883] crow's flesh and an excrement of a camel,[1884] together with wine in whosoever's [1885]name,[1886] in that instant, [the target] is driven away.

[§54] Next, [the mantra-master], having sat himself up facing north,[1887] if he sacrifices into the fire turmeric, yellow orpiment, realgar together with yellow pigment[1888] in whosoever's name,[1889] he is paralysed.[1890]

[1879] *Kṛtānta* is an appellation of the god of Death (Yama).

[1880] The Tibetan text has a different meaning: *sbyor ba des ni las de nyid 'grub bo*, "by that *yoga*, he will achieve that ritual [of killing] himself". *Akṣobhya (p. 385) comments: "if he faultily reverses the two procedures, the ritual will not be accomplished" (*de lta ma yin na sbyor ba 'di gnyis rang bzlog pa'i nyes par ji ste mi 'gyur*).

[1881] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 460): "**next, if he wants to drive away** [means:] he should make a hearth one cubit long and one cubit in height and of a blue colour, shaped like a bow, surrounded by a hammer, a *vajra*, a stick, and a rosary. He does *pūjā* and also offers *homa*-oblations and he does all that with the mind focused on driving away" (*de nas yang bskrad par 'dod na zhes pa ni thab khung khru gang rgya dang dpangs su bya zhing kha dog sngon po gzhu'i dbyibs can du tho ba dang rdo rje dbyug pa'i phreng bas bskor ba'o/ mchod pa dang rdzas bsregs pa yang bskrad pa'i sems gtsor bya ba'o*).

[1882] The Tibetan text gives additional information about the *sādhaka* facing south (*kha lho phyogs su bltas te*), which *Lalitavajra glosses as "he is facing south with the Buffalo-face" (*ma he zhal gyis lhor bltas te*), which indicates the *sādhaka* who has generated himself as Vajrabhairava. See the next footnote.

[1883] The Tibetan text has: *rlung gi dkyil 'khor gyi dbus su/ dur khrod kyi shing la me rab tu sbar la*, which Siklós (1996:104) translated as "he kindles a fire in the cremation wood in the centre of a wind-*maṇḍala*" (Siklós 1996:44), which does not make much sense. On the basis of *Lalitavajra's commentary, one realises that the above passage should actually read: "on the top of the wind-*maṇḍala*, he should generate [himself as] a deity, it is said" (*rlung gi dkyil 'khor thog tu lha bskyed ces pa'o*). Thus, it seems that the root-text has been corrupted. *Akṣobhya (p. 385) takes it to mean the drawing inside the hearth: "in the middle of a wind-*maṇḍala* [means:] one should draw [the wind-*maṇḍala*] in the centre of the hearth in such as way, that is either a half-moon or triangular in shape" (*rlung gi dkyil 'khor gyi dbus su zhes bya ba ni/ thab* [em.; *tha ba* ed.] *zla ba phyed pa lta bu'am/ gru gsum pa'i dbus su de ltar bri ba'o*). *Kumāracandra: "wind-*maṇḍala* [means:] half-moon" (*rlung gi dkyil 'khor ni zla gam kyi rnam pa'o*).

[1884] Siklós (1996:44) has "camel dung".

[1885] *Lalitavajra (p. 333): "he customises [means:] by inserting *uccāṭaya* ('drive away') so and so in the mantra" (*ming bcug pa ni sngags la che ge mo utsa ta ya bcug pas so*).

[1886] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:104) has additional information about the left hand that should be used for making the fire-oblations and the customisation of the name of a person with the Yama-mantra.

[1887] The Tibetan text has "and visualises the yoga which accords with this rite" (Siklós 1996:44), which *Akṣobhya (p. 385) glosses as follows: "he visualises yoga in harmony with this rite

[§55] [Next, the *homa* for *grāmauccāṭana*]: [the mantra-master] having smeared the excrement of a camel and the blood of a cat[1891] on the flesh of a dog and a hen, and having kindled the fire with the wood of neem tree (*picumarda*), if he sacrifices[1892] [the above things into the fire][1893] in whosoever's name,[1894] the town is driven away.[1895]

[One *homa* for the paralysis of a woman[1896] (Tibetan text edited in Siklós 1996:45)]

[means:] as it has been formerly said, the deities co-emerging with Agnideva" (*las dang mthun pa'i rnal 'byor zhes dmigs te zhes bya ba ni/ sngar brjod pa dang me lha dang lhan cig pa'i lha rnams so*).

[1888] In the Tibetan version of the text he makes a square-*maṇḍala* together with all the substances, beginning with turmeric, etc. *Lalitavajra (p. 333) glosses a **square-*maṇḍala*** as a special type of hearth, which in reality is a wide hearth (*dkyil 'khor grub zhi pa thab kyi khyad par te rgyas ba'i thab ji lta ba bzhin te*). He (p. 333) also glosses **yellow orpiment etc.** as the substances offered into the fire (*ldong ros zhes bya ba la sogs pa ni bsreg rdzas so*). *Akṣobhya (p. 385) also comments on the square-*maṇḍala* as "in the hearth, which is yellow and similar to the earth-*maṇḍala*" (*gru bzhi dkyil 'khor zhes bya ba ni/ thab khung ser po dbang chen gyi dkyil 'khor lta bu'o*).

[1889] *Lalitavajra (p. 333): "by inserting the word *stambhaya* with the name of [the target] and by making fire oblations to the yellow god of fire using a wide hearth, he paralyses [the target]" (*de'i ming dang stam bha ya zhes pa btags te/ me lha ser po la thabs rgyas pas bsregs na rengs pa'o*).

[1890] The Tibetan text has "in seven days" (Siklós 1996:104).

[1891] *Akṣobhya (p. 385) has "cat's urine" instead of "blood", which he glosses as follows: "he mixes with cat's urine [means] he burns the substances one by one and then fills them up [with cat's urine?]" (*byi la'i mu tra dang sbyar la/ zhes bya ba ni rdzas de dag re re nas bsregs pa bkang ba'o*). This corruption could have easily arisen by misreading *rudhi*[*reṇa*] for *mūt*[*reṇa*]. Tibetan text has one extra item, i.e., "frog's flesh (*sbal ba'i sha*)" (see Siklós 1996:104), which the Sanskrit omits.

[1892] The Tibetan edition has "if in meditative union with Yama" (Siklós 1996:44).

[1893] The Tibetan edition states that the number of oblations is one thousand, and these have to be performed in the centre of a wind-*maṇḍala* (*rlung gi dkyil 'khor gyi dbus su sbyin sreg stong phrag bcu byas*, Siklós 1996:104). With regard to the *rlung gi dkyil 'khor*, it could either refer to the painting inside the hearth (see fn.1883), or to the generation of the deity (see, fn.1883).

[1894] The Tibetan text has "in town's name" (*grong gi ming bcas par*), and gives the details about using the ten-syllable mantra (*yi ge bcu pa'i sngags kyis*).

[1895] The *homa* ends with a warning that urges the *sādhaka* to perform this *homa* with full meditative concentration, otherwise, dire consequences will follow (see Siklós 1996:44). *Akṣobhya (p. 385) glosses it as follows: "properly established in the meditative equipoise [means:] he should be moisten with compassion" (*legs par mnyam par gzhag par bya'o zhes bya ba ni snying rjes rab tu brlan par bya'o*).

[1896] *Akṣobhya (p. 385) gives the following explanation: "he mixes the substances [i.e., thorns, venom, and mustard seed] with blood [means:] with whatever blood, provided it is not sinful (i.e. not obtained from killing), he mixes the given substances, and with that he makes an image of a girl. In the heart [of that image] he places the customised mantra, chops the image off, and burns

[§56] [Next, if he wants to bring peace[1897] to a country at war]: he offers as an oblation barleycorn, a portion of Bermuda grass and milk, together with ghee and honey[1898] and the five *amṛta*s. Having [first] kindled a fire generated from the *udumbara*[1899] [or] *palāśa* wood, if the one who desires peace[1900] offers oblations into the fire one hundred and eight

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it" (*khrag gis brdzis te zhes bya ba ni khrag sdig med pa gang yang rung bas brdzis la bu mo'i gzugs brnyan snying gar sngags bskul ba smos la bzhag pa byas na de bcad cing bsregs pa'o*).

[1897] *Lalitavajra (p. 334) says: "a person who wants to bring peace [means:] a person who wants to protect from the eight types of dangers" (*zhi bar 'dod pas ni 'jigs pa brgyad las skyob par 'dod pas so*). *Lalitavajra (p. 334) then gives instructions for the *maṇḍala*-preparation, for he glosses *maṇḍala*, which is missing in the root-text, as "measuring one cubit in length, round, having half of a cubit in depth, and having a raised platform of four fingers. It should be smeared with incense and white earth" (*dkyil 'khor zhes pa khru gang gi tshad la zlum po thur du khru phyed pa sor bzhi pa'i kha khyer can/ dri dang sa dkar pos byugs te*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 461): "**if he wants to bring peace** [means:] the hearth is round, with the measurement the same like in other cases; the fire of monks, etc. (possibly meaning that it has to be taken from the monastery), white; Agnideva has one face, two arms and holds a rosary and a bell in his hands" (*zhi bar 'dod na zhes pa ni thab khung zlum po tshad la sogs pa gzhan ltar ro/ dge 'dun gyi me la sogs pa dkar po'o/ me lha zhal gcig phyag gnyis pa phreng ba dang ril ba 'dzin pa'o*).

[1898] The Tibetan text does not include the muskroot tree and the five *amṛta*s in the list of oblations (see Siklós 1996:104–105). A longer version of the same *homa* is given in the *Sampuṭa* (7.2.13), on the basis of which this reconstruction has been made, as follows: *śālitaṇḍuladhānyāni tilaś ca/ tantuṃ* [em.; *taṃ tu* ms.] *yavaphalaṃ ca dūrvā kṣīrabhaktaṃ ghṛtamadhunā saha pañcāmṛtaṃ ca havyam/ pañcakṣīravṛkṣajāḥ sārdrāḥ saparṇavāḥ/ etā agrabhāgasthā* [em.; *atra*° ms.] *madhurakṣīraghṛtāktobhayāgrā hotavyāḥ/ udumbarapalāśotpāditāgniṃ prajvālya śāntikāmena triṣkālaṃ pūrvābhimukhe sthitvā aṣṭottaraśataṃ juhuyāt/ tato maṇḍalasyāpi śāntir bhavati*, "He should make oblations of black cumin, unhusked rice, grain, sesame, cotton thread, barley, Bermuda grass, a portion of milk, and five *amṛta*s together with ghee and honey. He should offer into the fire five sappy trees taken from the front part of the twig, together with leaves, which are green; the front tips of which should be smeared with honey, milk, and ghee […]." The rest of the recipe is identical to the one translated above.

[1899] The Tibetan text omits *udumbara*.

[1900] *Akṣobhya (p. 385): "one who concentrates on bringing peace [means:] he visualises the deities, Agnideva and substances as white in colour. It is said: 'the form of fire is just like Guhyapati, who gives blessings. One has to understand that even the material substances are my own form'" (*zhi bar dmigs pa'i bdag nyid kyis/ zhes bya ba ni lha dang me'i lha dang rdzas rnams kha dog dkar por bsams te/ gsang ba'i bdag por de ltar me yi gzugs ni byin rlabs te/ bdag gi rang gi gzugs dang ni/ rdzas kyang de yi ngo bor bya zhes gsungs pas so*).

times,[1901] at the three times of the day, having sat himself down facing east,[1902] then, he brings peace[1903] even to a country [at war].

[§57] Next, if he wants to cause prosperity:[1904] [the mantra-master takes] sesame, black gram,[1905] together with unhusk red rice,[1906] or barley, smeared with milk and ghee.[1907] Then, having kindled a fire with *udumbara* wood, being sustained in yoga with a deity in accordance with the ritual and having sat himself down facing north, if he sacrifices into the fire a thousand oblations at the three times of the day[1908] with full concentration,[1909] at the end of the seven days, he will become a very rich man.[1910]

[One *homa* for the rite of *ākarṣaṇa*: Siklós 1996:45)].

[§58] [Next, *homa* for inducing insanity]: in whosoever's name, he sacrifices into the fire human flesh and bird's flesh,[1911] [the target] will become mad. If he sacrifices a rice-chaff into the fire, [the target] will become healthy.[1912]

[1901] The Tibetan text has "one thousand and eight times" (*sreg stong rtsa brgyad byas*), Siklós 1996:105.

[1902] *Lalitavajra (p. 334): "**facing east** [means:] the *yogin* is facing east towards the white-bodied Agnideva, substances, such as offering articles, etc. are also white; if he adds them, he reverses the [war] situation" (*me lha sku mdog dkar po la rnal 'byor pa shar du bltas mchod rdzas yang dkar po la sogs pa dang ldan pas rdzas bzhag pa go zlog ste*).

[1903] *Lalitavajra (p. 334): "**brings peace** [means:] with the mind set on helping [others]" (*zhi ba ste phan gdags pa'i sems kyis*).

[1904] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 461): "**if he wants to cause prosperity** [means:] at the time of the *tattvayoga* (the last stage of *mahāyoga*) and if he desires a lot of merit and servants, [then] he should make a hearth one cubit long and two cubits deep, just like in other cases; [he should use] the fire from his own house and [visualise] a yellow deity, etc." (*rgyas par 'dod na zhes pa rnal 'byor nyid tshe dang bsod nams bu dang 'khor mang bar 'dod na bya ba ste/ thab khung khru do khru gang gzhan ltar ro/ khyim bdag gi me dang lha ser po la sogs pa'o*).

[1905] The Tibetan text omits black gram (*kṛṣṇamāṣa*).

[1906] The Tibetan text simply has "rice" (*'bras*), Siklós 1996:105.

[1907] The Tibetan text simply has "together with ghee" (*mar dang bcas pas*, Siklós 1006:105), which more accurately reflects the Sanskrit *ghṛtānvitāḥ* (given in the *Sampuṭa*): see p. 180 of this thesis for a discussion on the enlarged version of this *homa* included in the *Sampuṭa*.

[1908] The Tibetan text has "using a ten-syllable *mantra*" (*yi ge bcu pa'i sngags kyis*), Siklós 1996:105.

[1909] *Akṣobhya (p. 385) glosses **with full concentration** as "in the meditative equipoise, which pours down the rain of great jewels and many riches" (*mnyam par gzhag pa'i yid kyis zhes bya ba ni rin po che dang/ nor sna tshogs kyi char dbab pa'i ting nge 'dzin la'o*).

[1910] The Tibetan text simply has "he causes prosperity" (*rgyas par 'gyur*), Siklós 1996:105.

[1911] Sanskrit *śakuna* means "any bird", but sometimes also a "vulture" (see *Monier-Williams Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 1042). The Tibetan text has *bya rgod chen po'i tshang*, "a nest of

[One *homa* for turning wealth into poverty:[1913] Siklós 1996:45].

[§59] [Next], if he does a fire-sacrifice[1914] with human flesh mixed with wine one hundred and eight times at the three times of the day[1915] for six months, he will become a ruler of a country.

[§60] [Next], if he sacrifices into the fire one thousand oblations of beef[1916] mixed with blood,[1917] [the target] comes under his power[1918] as long as he lives, there is no doubt.

[§61] [Next], if he sacrifices into the fire dog's flesh together with *vajra*-water[1919] in whosoever's name,[1920] within seven days, [that person] comes under his power.[1921]

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a big vulture", which does not feature in Sanskrit. *Akṣobhya (p. 385) glosses "the nest of a big vulture" as "one should not divide the nest that was collected into separate parts" (*bya rgod chen po'i tshang* [corr.; *tshad* ed.] *zhes bya ba de ni ci bsags pa'i tshad bye brag mi bya bar ro*).

[1912] *svastho bhavati* corresponds to the Tibetan *bde legs 'gyur,* which Siklós (1996:105) translates incorrectly as "he will be blessed with good fortune"; this is clearly not the meaning intended here. Lalitavajra (p. 334): "if he sacrifices rice chaff into the fire, he frees [the target] of ritual invocation and makes him recover" (*'bras phub* [add. *ma*] *bsregs te las kyi bskul ba dang bral bas bya bas sos so*).

[1913] *Akṣobhya (pp. 385–386) comments on the *homa* as follows: "**turning wealth into poverty** [means:] by uttering the mantra with the following customisation (*bskul pa smos pa=vidarbhaṇa*): *amukasya nāma* (of someone with this name) *dravya adravyaṃ kuru* (make this *dravya* into *adravya*)" (*nor ma yin par 'gyur te zhes bya ba ni A MU KA NA MA TRA BYA A TRA BYA KU RU zhes bskul ba smos pas so*).

[1914] Tibetan specifies the time of the sacrifice through the expression "at night" (*mtshan mo sbyin bsreg*), and adds that the sacrifice has to be done "in front of the venerable one" (*rje btsun gyi mdun du*), which Lalitavajra (p. 334) understands as "in front of [Vajrabhairava's] painting" (*bris sku'i mdun du bya zhes pa yang go sla'o*). *Akṣobhya (p. 386) has "in front of the eyes of the Bhagavān", which he glosses as "in front of the eyes where he [Bhagavān] is firmly established", which probably means in front of the Vajrabhairava's statue (*bcom ldan 'das kyi spyan snga nyid du zhes bya ba ni de bzhugs pa'i gnas su de'i spyan sngar te*). None of these details feature in the Sanskrit text.

[1915] The Tibetan text omits *trisandhya*.

[1916] *Lalitavajra (p. 334): "beef, etc., these are the five special features of the ritual of subjugation under one's power; individually, they are easy to understand, no explanation is needed" (*ba lang sha dang zhes bya ba la sogs pa'i dbang gi las lnga'i khyad par ni so sor go sla ste ma phye*). Indeed, what follows are the five different *vaśyahoma*s, each of which requires an oblation consisting of a different type of meat.

[1917] *Akṣobhya (p. 386): "**blood** [means:] even that of a bull" (*khrag ces bya ba yang ba lang nyid kyi'o*). Tibetan has "together with whosoever's name" (*gang gi ming bcas par*, Siklós 1996:105).

[1918] The Tibetan text has "he will stay as his servant" (*bran du gnas par*, Siklós 1996:105).

[§62] [Next], if at night,[1922] he sacrifices into the fire horse's flesh together with excrement (*vairocana*),[1923] within seven days, the king[1924] comes under his power.

[§63] [Next], if he sacrifices into the fire a flesh of an elephant together with its semen, he subjects a town under his power.[1925]

[§64] [Next], if he[1926] makes one hundred and eight oblations of a flesh of a fish[1927] together with wine,[1928] as soon as [he does that], he brings all women under his power.

[1919] *Akṣobhya (p. 386): "***vajra*-water** (*vajrodaka*) [means:] one's own urine" (*rdo rje chu ni rang gi mu ta'o*).

[1920] The Tibetan text specifies that the stated number of oblations should be one hundred and eight (*sbyin sreg brgya rtsa brgyad*), and adds that the sacrifice should be performed at night (*mtshan mo*) by oneself (i.e., the practitioner himself) as he was born (*skyes pa'i bdag nyid kyis*), which probably refers to the *sādhaka* being naked. Siklós (1996:45) translates it literally as "with his self as it came into being".

[1921] The Tibetan text has a slightly different ending, in which the target along with his wealth will come under one's power (*bdag nyid kyi nor dang bcas pa dbang du 'gyur ro*, Siklós 1996:106).

[1922] The Tibetan text reads as follows: *sbyin sreg brgya rtsa brgyad gnas gcig tu gnas la*/ *mtshan mo rgyal po la dmigs nas byas na,* "if he, having visualised the king, sacrifices into the fire one hundred and eight oblations at night, having seated himself down in one location". Siklós (1996:45), however, takes *gnas gcig tu gnas la* as referring to a practitioner who is "visualizing at night a king with single-pointed concentration", which seems to be inaccurate as *gnas gcig tu gnas la* most probably reflects the Sanskrit *ekānte sthitvā*, "having sat himself up in one place".

[1923] The Tibetan text additionally has "with Yamāntaka mantra" (*gshin rje gshed kyi sngags kyis*), Siklós 1996:106.

[1924] The Tibetan text has "along with his retinue" (*'khor dang bcas pa*, Siklós 1996:106). *Akṣobhya (p. 386): "king and his retinue: what is the purpose to mention other things? This is the real meaning" (*rgyal po'i pho brang 'khor zhes bya ba ni gzhan gyi tshogs lta ci smos zhes bya ba'i tha tshig go*).

[1925] Tibetan: "If he performs a thousand sacrifices at night with the flesh and semen of an elephant using the ten-syllable mantra, visualising all human worlds, within seven days they will come into his power" (Siklós 1996:45).

[1926] The Tibetan text qualifies the *sādhaka* who makes *homa* as "fearlessly" (*'jigs pa med par*, Siklós 1996:106).

[1927] The Tibetan text treats *matsyamāṃsa* as a *dvandva* (*nya dang sha*), but it seems to be a *tatpuruṣa*, "flesh of a fish". The latter is supported by *Lalitavajra's commentary (see fn.1916 above), which mentions the five types of meats as a special feature of the five *vaśyahoma*s.

[1928] The Tibetan text has "using the ten-syllable mantra" (*yi ge bcu pa'i sngags kyis*), Siklós 1996:106).

[§65] [Next], if he sacrifices only crow's flesh into the fire one thousand times[1929] in whosoever's name, within three days,[1930] even Vajrasattva will run away, what to say about an ordinary person.

[§66] [Next], if he sacrifices into the fire of thorn-apple wood the flesh of a crow and a falcon, in whosoever's name he does that, [that person] will be driven away.[1931]

[§67] Next, if he wishes to subject under his will:[1932] [he mixes] sesame, red and black [rice] together with menstrual blood and *vajra*-water [i.e., urine]; if he sacrifices them into the fire[1933] in whosoever's name, facing west and having meditatively sustained the red form [of Vajrabhairava],[1934] within seven days, [the target] will come under his will and will not be released [from the spell] as long as he lives.[1935]

[1929] The Tibetan text has "using the ten-syllable mantra" (*yi ge bcu pa'i sngags kyis*), Siklós 1996:106).

[1930] The Tibetan text text omits the time-period.

[1931] The Tibetan text has "if he performs burnt offerings at midnight with a crow's nest and rice husks using the ten-syllable spell along with the subject's name after kindling the fire in thorn apple wood, [the subject] will be driven away within seven days" (Siklós 1996:46).

[1932] The parallel passage given in the *Sampuṭa* (7.2.15), on the basis of which this reconstruction has been made, has a number of ingredients and measurements that are missing in the Tibetan, as follows: "*atha vaśīkartukāmaḥ/ tilaraktakṛṣṇasya vā priyaṅgunāgakeśaraṃ campakāśokabakulabāṇaśatapuṣpaṃ ca gandhaṃ ca ghṛtamadhuyojitam/ devadāruvaṭaṃ caiva pippalodumbarādipādapabhavāny aṣṭāṅgulāni śallakīguggulavṛkṣayoḥ kṣīram evaṃ sugandhādīn/ tataḥ strīpuṣpeṇa* [em,; *strīpuruṣ* K[ac]] *saha vajrodakasaṃmiśreṇa* [em.; *saṃnamiśrena* K[ac]] *raktarūpam ālambya paścimābhimukho yasya nāmnā juhoti/* [*taṃ*] *saptāhād vaśam ānayati/ yāvajjīvaṃ na muñcati*// "If he wants to subject under his will, he takes red and black sesame, *priyaṅgu*, rose chestnut (*nāgakeśara*), *campaka*-flower, *aśoka*-flower, *bakula*-flower, crested Philippine violet (*bāṇa*), dill-plant (*śatapuṣpa*), and incense mixed with ghee and honey. [Fuelsticks] should be [made of] a cedar-wood tree, a banyan tree, *pippal*, *udumbara,* etc., eight *aṅgula*s long, with *śallakī* and *gugullu* trees, [adding] milk, perfumes etc."

It is clear that the rest of the *homa*, from *raktarūpam* to *muñcati*, identical to the one translated above, is drawn from some other text. The use of *priyaṅgu* and *nāgakesara* for *vaśyahoma* is also given in the MMK 55, p. 533: *priyaṅgunāgakesarasamidhānāṃ yasya nāmnā juhoti; sa vaśyo bhavati*, "in whosoever name he sacrifices into the fire fuel-sticks of *priyaṅgu* and *nāgakesara* tree, he will come under his will".

[1933] The Tibetan text text specifies the type of wood suitable for *vaśyahoma* to be *acacia*: Siklós 1996:106).

[1934] The Tibetan text has *rnal 'byor gyi gzugs dmar po dmigs nas*, which appears to be a corruption. The Sanskrit text only has *raktarūpam ālambya*, which corresponds to *gzugs dmar po dmigs nas*. The *rnal 'byor* could be originally *rnal 'byor pa*(*s*)*,* the yogin being the subject of the sentence.

[1935] The Tibetan text has *ji srid 'tsho'i bar du mi 'bral lo*, corresponding to the Skt. *yāvajjīvaṃ na muñcati,* which Siklós (1996:46) incorrectly translates as "she will not be parted from him as long

[One recipe for *vaśya*: Siklós 1996:46]

[§68] These [aforesaid] rituals should be performed by a person who has done the prior service (*kṛtapuraścaraṇa*). Otherwise, he will be everybody's object of laughter, there is no doubt. He should not give the specific details [of the rituals] to anybody. If he does disclose the details, that person will achieve neither *siddhi* nor welfare. That mantra-master should not perform this repertoire of rituals[1936] in front of anybody. If he wants to perform them, then, he should do it only by himself.[1937] In that case, all the rituals performed by the mantra-masters will be accomplished.[1938]

This is the sixth chapter [called] the prescriptions for the ritual of *homa* in this *yogatantra* of Śrīmahāvajrabhairava, which is a part of [the tantra] called the *Śrīmañjuśriya*[*tantra*].

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as she lives". The verb *muñcati* typically refers to the release from the magical *karma*: see p. 145 of this thesis.

[1936] *Akṣobhya (p. 386): "**repertoire** (*prasara*) [means:] various kinds of ritual methods. As for other [rituals], because here I have explained everything in a condensed manner, you should look to the affiliated tantras [for an explanation of the details]" (*rgya chen po zhes bya ba ni las kyi rnam grangs mang po ste/ gzhan ni 'dir ni rab tu bsdus pas/ rgyud gzhan la ltos pa'i phyir ro*).

[1937] *Akṣobhya (p. 386): "**one should do** [the *homa*] **by himself** [means:] because it is difficult to find a friend who is concordant with a *sādhaka* and because one should not associate with ignorant people, it is easier to do practice by oneself. As it is said: 'Just like a lonely chief elephant who protects against fears and acts by himself'" (*bdag nyid gcig pu bya ba yin/ zhes bya ba ni rjes su mthun pa'i grogs rnyed par dka' ba'i phyir te/ byis pas grogs su mi 'gyur phyir/ gcig pu spyod pa byed sla bas/ ma tang dgon pa'i glang po bzhin/ sems khral bskyangs te gcig pur spyad/ ces gsungs pa lta bu'o*). Here, a comparison is established between a lonely *sādhaka* and a *nirviśaṅkasiṃha*—normally a lion, but here assuming the form of an elephant.

[1938] The first two sentences correspond to the Tibetan text (see Siklós 1996:46). Then, the Tibetan version has two additional sentences that are absent in Sanskrit, although the context remains the same: "Just as I shall not provide specifics, so he should not provide specifics to others. A devotee who does so will not attain the powers. I have also explained in other tantras how specific explanations should not arise. Not even a Vajrasattva could succeed where he has to speak of the specifics of what is to be done. On this account the devotee should not reveal the rites before anyone. Nor should he do them together with anyone else. If the devotee wants to perform the rites he should do them by himself—through this, the devotee succeeds in all rites" (Siklós 1996:46).

Chapter Seven

Accomplishing *Siddhi* through Visualisation and 'Testing the Disciple' (*parīkṣā*)[1939]

[For the first three visualisations dealing with killing,[1940] mentally seizing the target, who is far away,[1941] causing dissension and two visualisations on driving away,[1942] see Siklós 1996: 46-47].[1943]

[1939] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 407) and *Vajrasiddha (pp. 426–427) give a brief rationale for the appearance of the seventh chapter, as follows: "when the *mantrin* becomes fatigued with meditation and recitation of the mantra, for the benefit of the *mantrin*, the seventh chapter was taught by the omniscient one" (*gang gi tshe sngags pas bsam gtan sngags bzlas byas pas dub pa na/ de la phan phyir kun mkhyen gyis/ rtog pa bdun pa bstan pa'o*). A similar explanation is given by *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 461).

[1940] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 407) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 427) give the following exegesis on this procedure: "the passage beginning with 'next' is easy to understand; the difference is this: if the *mantrin* wishes to kill, having visualised himself in union with Vajrabhairava, he should visualise the *nirmāṇakāya* of himself surrounded by many *krodha*-beings that have arisen from the seed-syllable located in the sun of his own heart. This [entity, i.e., the *nirmāṇakāya* of himself] goes out to the heart of the target and sets the residence in the heart of the target; [as] the deities are presiding over him, he should offer a proper deity-worship and make a request. As for this aspect, it should be performed exactly like this: '[This person whom I have occupied], would certainly go to hell keeping these evil deeds and I will make him to give it up and you go away!' For that reason, with [the ritual of] protection, he attracts the deities back to his own place, and offers worship, etc. For those deities who enter via one's own mouth, joined with the seed of the heart, after they have been properly worshipped, they should be made to leave. Then, those protective deities are taken by the ten *krodha*s and they go to the sky" (*de la zhes bya ba la sogs pa go sla'o/ bye brag ni 'di kho na ste/ gal te sngags pas gsod par byed na/ rang nyid rdo rje 'jigs byed rnal 'byor pa dmigs nas/ rang gi snying gar nyi ma la gnas pa'i sa bon las nges par 'byung ba'i khro bo'i tshogs du mas bskor ba'i sprul pa'i gzugs kyis song nas/ bsgrub bya'i snying gar song ste/ bsgrub bya'i snying gar bzhugs nas/ de byin gyis rlob par byed pa'o/ lha legs par mchod de gsol ba gdab par bya'o/ 'di ni rnam pa 'di lta bu'i las bgyid pa/ nges pa kho nar dmyal bar 'chi ba lags kyis/ de bas 'di yongs su bor la khyed cag gshegs shig/ des na de dag bsrung ba dang bcas pa rang gi gnas su bkug nas mchod yon la sogs pa phul la/ rang gi zhal gyi lam nas bcug la snying ga'i sa bon gyis sbyar ba dang legs par mnyes par byas la gzhag par bya'o/ bsrungs ba'i lha rnams ni khro bo rnams kyis khyer te nam mkha' la gshegs so,* *Vajrasiddha (*Śoṇaśrī is less precise: *bsrung ba'i lha bzung nas nam mkha' la dong ngo*). This visualisation procedure describes the practice of taking over another person's body (*parakāyapraveśa*), which as a technique is also taught in the last chapter of the *Raktayamāritantra* and in Śrīdhara's *Sahajālokapañjikā*. I thank P.D. Szántó for this information.

[1941] That visualisation procedure is linked to the summoning of a woman: see below. *Akṣobhya glosses (p. 386) 'a hundred *yojana*s' as follows: "with regard to those child-like practitioners (i.e., the beginners), their hopes are dashed with respect to something that lies far away, when they think 'it is difficult to obtain'" (*dpag tshad brgya zhes bya ba ni byis pa lta bu'i sgrub pa po rnams ring bar gnas pa la re ba chad pas sgrub par dka' mod kyi zhes pa'o*). *Śoṇaśrī (p. 408) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 427) give the following exegesis: "then, he sees the target's body empty and he should do the following, i.e., 'even if a person were in a distance of one hundred *yojana*s, she

[§69] Next, if he wishes to attract, he should visualise a wind-disc transformed from the syllable YAṂ and above that, a moon-disc [arisen] from the letter A.[1944] Above that he visualises the form of Death[1945] holding an elephant goad[1946] in his hand.[1947] While remaining in the state of union with the Buffalo-faced one,[1948] by his command he should give the [following] order: "go, you whose form is death, to such and such place, summon such and such a female [target] quickly". Having thus commanded, having sent him, he should visualise him setting off with the syllable JAḤ.[1949] Remaining in this meditation, the mantra-master, having attracted any woman anywhere in the three worlds,[1950] should enjoy her. When he is firm in his meditation, then, this procedure

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is also seized.' 'He becomes acquainted with her clothing, colour, characteristics, name' is connected with 'he should begin the *dhyāna* of a woman'" (*de nas bsgrub bya'i lus stong par bltas la las de dag bya'o*/ *dpag tshad brgyar gnas pa'i skyes bu yang bzung ste zhes pa ni*/ *na tshod dang mdog dang mtshan ma dang*/ *gzugs dang ming rnams shes par byas la*/ *bsam gtan brtsam mo zhes bya bar 'brel to*).

[1942] The first of the two visualisations concerned with driving away are discussed in chap. 3 of this thesis.

[1943] The first three visualisations dealing with killing, mentally seizing the target, and separating are missing in the Skt. manuscripts available to me and cannot be reconstructed.

[1944] *Akṣobhya (p. 386): "**a moon-*maṇḍala* arisen from the letter A** [means a *maṇḍala*] that is similar to the colour of a coral" (*A las sgrub pa'i zla ba'i dkyil 'khor zhes bya ba ni byi ru'i mdog 'dra bar ro*).

[1945] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 408) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 427): "**the form of death** [means:] having the form of Lotus Yamāntaka with one face and two arms" (*gshin rje gzugs can zhes bya ba ni padma gshin rje gshed kyi gzugs zhal gcig pa phyag gnyis pa'o*).

[1946] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:110) mentions a form of Yama holding a hook and a noose in his hands (*gshin rje'i gzugs lcags kyu dang zhags pa lag tu thogs pa*). The same is supported by the commentaries of *Śoṇaśrī and *Vajrasiddha (see below). A thematically similar visualisation of Yamāntaka endowed only with *vajraṅkuśa* is found in the GS 14.37-38 (p. 66), and it is connected to the Mañjuvajra, as follows: *sarvākāravaropetaṃ mañjuvajraṃ vibhāvayet*/ *yamāntakaṃ mahākrodhaṃ vajrāṅkuśaṃ vicintayet*/ *kalpoddāhamahācakraṃ dhyātvā yakṣīṃs tu bhuñjayet*// "One should visualise Mañjuvajra, having all divine aspects, and visualise the great wrathful one, Yamāntaka, the *vajra*-hook; then, having visualised the great circle of blazing fire [at the end] of the eons, one should enjoy a *yakṣa* maiden."

[1947] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 408) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 427): "**holding an elephant goad and a noose in his hands** [means:] he holds an elephant goad and a noose" (*lag na lcags kyu dang zhags pa 'dzin pa zhes bya ba ni lcags kyu zhags pa 'dzin pa'o*).

[1948] *Śoṇaśrī (p. 408) and *Vajrasiddha (p. 427): "**in union with the Buffalo-faced one** [means:] because of possessing the buffalo's face" (*ma he'i gdong gi sbyor ba zhes pa ni ma he'i zhal gyi 'byor dang ldan pas so*).

[1949] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:110) reads: "he should visualise [Yama] setting off in the form of syllable YAṂ" (*yaṃ gyi rnam par bskyod de song bar rnam par bsam par bya'o*).

[1950] *Akṣobhya (p. 386): "**three worlds** [means:] *pātāla*, earth, and heaven" (*sa gsum zhes bya ba ni sa 'og dang sa yul dang sa bla'o*).

should be done. Otherwise, it should not be done under any circumstances.[1951] [So] it is said.

[§70] Next, the meditation procedure for resurrecting the person that has been fatally bitten by a snake [is given]. First is told a golden wind-disc presided over the syllable YAṂ.[1952] Having visualised an eight-petalled lotus,[1953] white in colour, in his own heart,[1954] he should visualise the third vowel[1955] (I) above it, and on the eight petals, eight white *phaṭ*s. By this he should also visualise himself having the form of the *nāga*-king Śeṣa, white[1956] in colour.[1957] He should imagine him emitting a flood of nectar through

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[1951] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:110) reads: *ji ltar bsam pa brtan par gyur na 'di'i rab tu sbyor ba de dag bya'i gzhan gyis mi bya'o*, "in this way, if his thoughts are firm, this ritual can be executed; in other circumstances, they should not be done". Siklós's translation (1996:47) reads: "if his thoughts are firm, through these practices he can do these things".

[1952] The sentence "first is told a wind-*maṇḍala* presided over the syllable *yaṃ*" appears to be there by mistake, for it features neither in the parallel passage found in the *Saṃputodbhava* nor in the Tibetan text. The visualisation proper should begin with "having visualised an eight-petalled lotus …".

[1953] *Śoṇaśrī (pp. 408–409) and *Vajrasiddha (pp. 427–428): "**eight petalled lotus** [means:] white" (*padma 'dab ma brgyad pa zhes bya ba ni dkar po'o*). Then, a further exegetical portion follows: "on the calyx he visualises the seed-syllable *hraiḥ* tricking the nectar; on the eight petals [he should visualise] white [letter] Ī; 'one the head, from [the letter] A' is connected with 'from the letter A which abides in the moon-disc transformed from the letter A'" (*de'i ze 'bru hraih sa bon bdud rtsi 'dzag pa'o*/ *de'i 'dab ma brgyad la I dkar po brgyad do*/ *spyi bor A las bya ba ni yi ge A yongs su gyur pa las zla ba'i dkyil 'khor la gnas pa'i yi ge A las bya bar 'brel to*). *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 463): "on **the eight petalled lotus** [means:] eight [letters] A" (*padma'i 'dab ma brgyad la A brgyad*). *Lalitavajra (p. 336): "he visualises an **eight petalled** [lotus] **in his heart** [means:] a white lotus arising from the seed-syllable paṃ" (*snying khar 'dab brgyad bsam zhes pa pam las byung ba'i chus skyes dkar po*)

[1954] *Kṛṣṇācārya (pp. 462–463): "**his own heart** [means:] in the heart of Vajrabhairava, on the lotus arisen from [the seed-syllable] *paṃ*, he should generate a *nāga* in the heart of the moon arisen the letter A" (*rang gi snying ga zhes pa rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi snying gar pam las pad ma* [*add. la*] *A las zla ba'i khar klu bskyed la*). *Lalitavajra (p. 336): "**in his own heart** [means:] even Yama is visualised with white [colour]" (*rang gi snying ga zhes pa 'ang gshin rje de dkar pos bsams pa*).

[1955] *Lalitavajra (p. 336): "the third vowel [means:] I" (*dbyangs yig gsum pa ni I ste*).

[1956] *Akṣobhya (pp. 386–387): "**the white form of a *nāga*-king** [means:] this is the *mudrā* of *mahāsāgara*, the *nāga*-king, who removes all poisons. Having visualised himself as white and peaceful, he should generate in his heart a white lotus with eight petals that has arisen from a white seed-syllable *vaṃ*. From the calyx [of that lotus] arises a white letter I and from that [letter arises] a white emerald; all this transforms and from that [transformation] arise two white snakes whose tails are mutually intertwined; they are rising and gaping their mouths. They stand up threatening, intensely focusing on each other's eye. On the top of their tails, one should visualise a *vajra* with three prongs on each side, and in both of their mouth abides [something] similar to a fruit of an egg-born. The snakes gaze at one another gushing their tongues. On their heads, one should visualise a flaming jewel, which looks like the letter HI; one has to visualise it dripping

the letter Ī upon his head.[1958] Having caused that nectar to go out from the eyes of that snake, he should visualise it falling down through the body of that target. Through this meditation procedure, he makes poison free of poison even though it is a poison that fills the entire universe.[1959] Even if he swallows the poison a hundred times.

[nectar]. Then, one should place the heads of those two snakes on the top of the target's head; the jewel of the letter I and the tears-like nectar [from the snake's eyes] sprinkle water (*abhiṣeka*) from the crown [of the target's head]. Whatever is stated in the text will happen to the target. Moreover, one should interlace two arms together, and roll off the thumb and the little finger of both hands joining them together, while fashioning the remaining fingers into a sign of a *vajra*, making it look like a hood of a snake, for each […]; this is purification. *Namo vajrapāṇi oṃ hūṃ phaṭ svahā*: with these words, he does the *adhiṣṭhāna* empowerment. If one shows it to a snake, he will overcome its poison without hindrance; even in the case of invisible poisonous snakes. He also makes *bali* offerings made of three sweets to the deity with the *mudrā*. This is my own excursory explanation and it is not something that is done for the matter at hand" (*des klu lhag ma can gyi gzugs dkar po zhes bya ba ni 'di klu'i rgyal po rgya mtsho chen po'i phyag rgya/ dug thams cad sel ba ste/ bdag nyid kha dog dkar po zhi bar bsams pa'i snying gar VAM gyi yi ge dkar po las 'byung ba'i pad ma dkar po 'dab ma brgyad pa bskyed la de'i lte bar yi ge I dkar po'o/ de las nor bu mrka ta dkar po ste/ de yongs su gyur pa las ni/ sbrul dkar po gnyis phan tshun mjug ma 'brel cing langs pa bsgyings te/ mig rtsa bsgrims nas gcig la gcig bsdigs pa ltar 'dug pa'i bar mjug ma'i steng nas rtse mo gsum gsum pa'i rdo rje kha gnyis la* [em.; *pa* ed.] *sgong skyes nas 'bras 'dra ba gnas pa/ gcig la gcig blta zhing lce 'byin pa/ gnyis ka'i mgo la yi ge hi lta bu'i nor bu 'od 'bar ba 'dzag par bsams te/ de nas de gnyis kyi mgo bsgrub bya'i mgo'i steng du gnas par bya ste/ nor bu'i yi ge I dang/ mchi ma'i bdud rtsis spyi bo nas dbang bskur nas ji skad gsung ba der 'gyur ro/ gzhan lag ngar gnyis phan tshun bsnol te/ dkris la lag pa gnyis kyi mthe bong mthe'u chung rnams lu gu rgyud du sbrel nas/ sor mo lhag ma rnams rdo rje'i mtshan nyid las sprul mgo gdengs ka ltar byas te/ nas re re tsam du bar dag byas pa 'di/ na mo badzra pa ni/ om hum phat swa ha/ zhes bya bas byin gyis brlabs te/ sbrul can la bstan na thogs pa med par de'i dug 'joms te/ mi snang ba'i klu dug can rnams kyang ngo/ mngar sna sum gyi gtor ma yang phyag rgyas* [em.; *phyag rgya'i* ed.] *lha la dbul lo/ 'di ni bdag gi zhar la bshad pa yin gyi/ gnas skabs kyi bya ba ni ma yin no*).

[1957] The Tibetan text (1996:110) has a slightly different reading: *de yis ni 'og gi klu gzugs rnam par bsam par bya ste,* "by this, one should visualise the form of a snake beneath". The Sanskrit versions, both in the *Sampuṭa* and the VBT, mention that the mantra-master should imagine himself as a snake (*ātmānaṃ ca śeṣanāgarūpaṃ* […] *cintayet*), but this is missing in the Tibetan version, which has the word "beneath" instead.

[1958] *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 463): "**the letter Ī upon [the snake's] head** [means:] with the light of that [letter Ī], he receives the nectar of all the Buddhas and descends into the heart; having merged into a snake, it also descends into the body of the target and the disease becomes pacified" (*klu'i mgo bo la I/ de'i 'od zer gyis sangs rgyas thams cad kyi bdud rtsi blangs la snying gar dbab/ klu la thim nas yang bsgrub bya'i lus la dbab cing nad zhi bar bsam mo*).

[1959] The parallel passage in the *Saṃputodbhava* (7.4.126) reads as follows: *atha kāladaṣṭotthāpane hṛdaye padmam aṣṭadalaṃ cintayet/ tadupari tṛtīyasvaraṃ pattrāṣṭake sitavarṇaṃ vicintayet/ ātmānaṃ ca śeṣanāgarūpaṃ sitavarṇam ikārāmṛtasravantaṃ cintayet/ tasya nāgākṣibhyām amṛtaṃ niścārya tasmin sādhyaśarīre nipatantaṃ cintayet/ anena dhyānayogena traidhātukaparipūrṇaṃ viṣaṃ nirviṣaṃ karoti/* "Next, in reviving one fatally bitten by a snake, he should visualise an eight-petalled lotus in his heart. Above that, he should visualise the third vowel, white in colour, on eight petals. He should meditate on himself as

[§71] Next, the meditation procedure of getting a woman sexually excited at a distance[1960] [is given]. Having visualised the target in front of him, he should visualise the bow-shaped [letter YA] (*dhanvākāra*),[1961] grey in colour, in front of her feet.[1962] Above that, in the region of the genitals,[1963] he [should visualise] a three-cornered fire-*maṇḍala* empowered by the syllable RA (fire) on it. Above that, he should visualise the

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having the form of the *nāga* Śeṣa, white in colour, emitting a flood of nectar from the letter I. Having caused the nectar to go out of the snake's eyes, he should imagine it falling down in the body of the target. By this meditation procedure, he makes poison free of poison, even if it is a poison that fills the three worlds." When we compare this passage with the one preserved in the VBT, we notice that the detail of the eight *phaṭ* letters is missing in the *Saṃpuṭodbhava*, as the mention of the head after "emitting the flood of nectar from the letter I". Also, the last sentence in the VBhT is absent in the *Saṃpuṭodbhava*.

[1960] Siklós (1996:48) translates *de nas zhu ba'i bsam gtan gyi rab tu sbyor ba 'byung ste* as "now, the practice of the meditation of melting, will be told", and he further explains in footnote 141 that this is a practice dealing with the activation of the crown *cakra*. However, this interpretation is incorrect, insofar that this meditation procedure is part of "love-magic", intending to make a woman sexually excited: see p. 153 of this thesis. *Kṛṣṇācārya (p. 463): "**next, getting a woman sexually excited** [means:] it is a meditation on the target who becomes subjected under one's power; this is easy to understand. This ritual refreshes the fatigued body of the *yogin*. He gathers all the *devatācakra*s with the following sequence: at the head, he gathers Mañjuvajra with face and body. He visualises the letters in the abodes exactly as explained: at the navel, he should visualise a disc [transformed] from the [seed-syllable] *vaṃ*; at the head, [a disc] from [the seed-syllable] *haṃ*; he should visualise that he has assembled [the deities] in the lower [parts of the body]. With wind, he kindles fire, with fire the water rises, earth becomes moist with warm vapor; from [the seed-syllable] *haṃ*, the nectar trickles down and spreads throughout [the target's] body. She becomes subjected to his will for one thousand years, as long as he lives. Moreover, one should know the *upadeśa* that the seed-syllable *dhīḥ* attracts the nectar of wisdom" (*de nas bzhu ba zhes pa dbang du gyur pa'i bsgrub bya la bsgom pa go sla'o/ rnal 'byor pa'i* [em.; *pas* ed.] *lus dub gso ba'i cho ga ni 'khor lo'i lha thams cad bsdus la rim pas 'dus nas spyi bor 'jam pa'i rdo rje'i zhal dang lus su bsdus la/ gnas rnams su yi ge'i bshad pa ltar bsgom ste/ lte bar ni VAM las dkyil 'khor spyi bor HAM las thur du 'dus pa can bsgoms la/ rlung gis me sbar/ mes chu bskol chus sa dros pa'i rlangs kyis HAM las bdud rtsi babs pas lus rgyas par gyur nas lo stong 'tsho bar 'gyur ro/ de yang sa bon DHIḤ* [*sa* omit.] *ye shes kyi bdud rtsi dgug pa man ngag tu shes par bya'o*). *Akṣobhya (p. 387): "**making a woman sexually excited** [means:] this is a practice of subjecting under one's own will; that woman will become smitten as soon as her body drips wet with great desire. This happens in a visible way as well" (*bzhu ba ni/ zhes bya ba ni chags pa chen pos lus bzhu ba tsam du gdungs par 'gyur ba'i dbang du bya ba'i sbyor ba'o/ de yang dngos su ni 'dzag pa nyid zhu'o*).

[1961] The representation of *dhanvākāra* as the letter YA belong to the early Gupta period. In the 7th century, the letter YA looses its bow-shape. See, for example, Vasudeva 2007: 532.

[1962] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:111) has a different reading: *de'i rkang pa gnyis la yi ge yaṃ las gyur ba'i rlung gi dkyil 'khor bsam par bya,* "He should visualise the wind-*maṇḍala* transformed from the seed-syllable YAṂ on his feet."

[1963] Siklós (1996:111) translates *gsang ba'i gnas su*, which is an equivalent of the Skt. *guhyapradeśe,* rather literally as "in a secret place", but it does not convey the meaning intended here, i.e., in the region of the genitals.

earth-*maṇḍala*, which is yellow in colour, square, and empowered by the syllable LAṂ.[1964] Above that, on the forehead, he should visualise the moon-*maṇḍala.* In the middle of that, he should visualise nectar flowing down with the letter VAṂ[1965] (the water syllable). Having carefully visualised in this manner, he should cause the fire to blaze up with the wind; [then,] he imagines the earth-*maṇḍala* being heated up by this fire. He visualises that that nectar-disc is melting by the heat of the earth-*maṇḍala*. By this mere procedure, he causes the woman to become moist, he causes her to drip like a sap-rich tree, and not otherwise.[1966]

[§72] Next, a person who wants to subject a king to his will and the royal minister to his will: the mantra-master who desires to do that remains in the meditative absorption with the Buffalo-faced one. Having visualised himself as red in colour, he enters into the middle of the area, where the target is.[1967] Then, he should emit from his own body a form of Mañjuśrī, which is red and holding a goad and a noose in his hands.[1968] With that

[1964] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:111) gives the location as *de'i steng du snying khar*, "above, in the heart", which is missing in the Skt., but does conform to the general outlook of this meditation procedure instructing about the visualisation of different seeds-syllable in different parts of the target's body, starting from the feet and ending with the forehead.

[1965] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:111) reads as follows: *de'i dbus su yi ge baṃ mgo thur du gnas pa* […]. Although the syllable *vaṃ* is clearly stated in the above passage, Siklós (1996: 48) translates it as the syllable *paṃ*. The syllable *vaṃ* makes more sense here insofar that it is commonly regarded as a water-syllable, from which the nectar drops.

[1966] The *Saṃputodbhava* (7.4.81) gives an abbreviated description of the same meditation procedure as follows: *sādhyaṃ yāvad pādam ārabhya vidhinā dhūmraraktapītasitaṃ* [em.; °*sita* ms.] *vāyavyādi yathākramam*/ *anena dhyānadṛṣṭamātreṇa striyaṃ drāvayati kṣīravṛkṣa iva nānyathā,* "[One should visualise] the target, beginning with the feet, in accordance with the ritual procedure as grey, red, yellow, white, according to the sequence of the sub-directions, starting with north-west, etc. By this mere meditation that is imagined, a woman will melt like a rich sap-tree and not otherwise." The colours grey, red, yellow and white correspond to the gross elements: grey is wind (*ya-bīja*), red is fire (*ra-bīja*), yellow is earth (*la-bīja*), and white is water (*va-bīja*). Since they occur just prior to the mention of the intermediate points of the compass (*vāyavyādi*), it is also possible that they stand for the main directions (viz. North, South, West, and East, based on the colour; or East, South, North, and West, based on the element). These seed-syllables with their corresponding colours are to be visualised on the target's body beginning with the feet (= wind, *ya-bīja* and grey colour), followed, in ascending sequence, by the genitals (=fire, *ra-bīja* and red colour), heart (=earth, *la-bīja* and yellow colour, according to the Tib. text) and, lastly, forehead (=water, *va-bīja* and white colour).

[1967] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:111) reads: *bsgrub bya gang du gnas pa de'i steng du gnas la de nyid mdog dmar por bsams te*, which Siklós (1996:48) translates as "One thinks of himself as red. He should be above where the subject is […]."

[1968] Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:111) reads: *phyi nas rang gi lus 'jam dpal mdog dmar po phyag na lcags kyu dang zhags pa can phyung ste*, which reflects the Skt. *paścāt svaśarīrād aṅkuśapāśahastaṃ raktavarṇaṃ mañjuśrīrūpaṃ niścārayet*, but Siklós (*ibid*.:48) translates this sentence as "he arises as Mañjuśrī red in colour holding a hook and a noose in his hands". Thus,

Mañjuśrī, he visualises that Mañjuśrī is bringing the target back, after having tied the target at his heart or throat. Then, he should cause him to enter Mañjuśrī. Having entered the body of Mañjuśrī, he should imagine that the target becomes confused.[1969] Using this meditation procedure, he should imagine the ten-syllable mantra[1970] in his heart, red in colour.[1971] The *sadhāka*, further, taking on the form of knowledge[1972] should enter those syllables.[1973] He should [then] visualise the target being fused in oneness with them. By

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Siklós's translation is inaccurate as the passage mentions Mañjuśrī as an entity emitted from the mantrin's body and not, as Siklós thinks, arising as the *mantrin*.

[1969] *Akṣobhya (pp. 387–388): "**confused** [means:] the mind [of the target] becomes agitated with desire" (*myos pa zhes bya ba ni chags pas sems 'khrugs par gyur pa'o*).

[1970] *Akṣobhya (p. 388): "**the ten-syllable mantra** [means:] it should be of red colour" (*yi ge bcu pa'i gsangs sngags zhes bya ba ni mdog dmar ba'o*). *Akṣobhya's explanation aligns with that of *Saṃputodbhava* (7.14.119), which also refers to the ten-syllable mantra as being red in colour, see fn.1975 below.

[1971] *Akṣobhya (p. 388): "**in his heart** [means:] beginning with this another practice is taught" (*de'i snying gar zhes bya ba la sogs pa ni sbyor ba gzhan ston te*).

[1972] *Akṣobhya (p. 388): "**the form of knowledge-letters** [means:] the mind of the target becomes the red letters" (*ye shes kyi yi ge'i gzugs zhes bya ba bsgrub bya'i sems yi ge dmar por* [*em. po*] *gyur pa'o*). Thus, *Akṣobhya's commentary aligns with the *Saṃputodbhava*'s version, where it is a *sādhya*, and not a *sādhaka,* who assumes the form of knowledge and enters those letters: see fn.1975 below.

[1973] *Akṣobhya (p. 388): "**should enter those letters** [means:] this has been elaborated by me [further below], for that reason it is said 'he visualises [the target] being fused in oneness'" (*yi ge de la gzhug ste zhes bya ba ni bdag gis spros pa la ste/ de'i phyir gcig tu 'dres par bsam mo zhes gsungs so*). *Akṣobhya (p. 388) then provides a further explanation: "what is taught here is as follows: the yogin thinks of himself as being in union with the deity and he visualises himself as red in colour. In the heart of that deity, he introduces the letters and visualises the red moon with red letters surrounding it. Then, he should visualise that he impels the mantra and with *vajra-japa* (i.e., a special type of *japa* coupled with *prāṇayāma*, which is one of the *pañcakrama*s), he expels those letters from the heart and they shoot into the heart of the target. Moreover, the ten-letters become red in colour and of the nature of the mind of that [target]. After that, those two become mixed (the mantra that he shots out of his own heart and the consciousness of the target as the mantra) and then those two lines (the red lettered mantras) in the heart melt into the red letter, which is on the red moon. Because this yoga is the best there is, this procedure 'will bring the monarch into his power within seven days as long as he lives'" (*di skad du bshad par 'gyur te/ bdag nyid kha dog dmar po lha nyid du 'ong ba'i rnal 'byor gsal bar bsams la/ de'i snying gar yi ge bcug par dmar po zla ba dmar pos bskor bar bsams la/ de nas sngags bskul bar mos pas rdo rje'i bzlas pa brjod pas/ yi ge de dag snying ga nas byung ste/ bsgrub bya'i snying gar gnas shing/ de yang de yi sems kyi rang bzhin yi ge bcu dmar po'i mdog tu gyur te/ yang de dag 'dres te/ slar thig de dag gi snying gar zla ba dmar po'i yi ge yang dmar po la bstim mo/ 'di lta bu'i rnal 'byor ni mchog yin pas na/ rnal 'byor 'di ni nyi ma bdun na 'khor los sgyur ba yang dbang du 'gyur te/ ji srid 'tsho'i bar du dbang du 'gyur ro zhes gsungs so*).

this meditation procedure, within seven days,[1974] he brings under his power even an universal emperor as long as he lives, without doubt.[1975]

[§73] The ritual procedure (*tantra*) should be carried out by a mantra-master with perfectly concentrated mind and with his visualisation steady.[1976] The mantra[1977] must

[1974] Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:112) reads: *bsam gtan 'di'i rab tu sbyor bas nyi ma bdun gyis*, but the mention of the seven days time period is missing in Siklós's translation (*ibid*.:48).

[1975] *Saṃpuṭodbhava* (7.4.119) has a parallel visualisation procedure as follows: *atha vaśīkartukāmenāśokāṣṭamyām aśokatalaṃ gatvā raktavastraṃ paridhāya sarvālaṅkārabhūṣito mantraṃ japet/ trimukhayoge sthitvā ātmānaṃ raktavarṇaṃ dhyātvā paścāt svaśarīrād dvibhujāṃ raktām aṅkuśapāśagṛhītahastāṃ niścārayet/ tena sādhyaṃ hṛdi viddhvā āniyantaṃ cintayet/ svaśarīre tāṃ devīm praveśayet/ sādhyaṃ vihvalībhūtam/ tasya hṛdaye daśākṣaramantraṃ nyased raktavarṇam/ punaḥ sādhyena jñānarūpeṇa teṣv akṣareṣu praveṣṭavyaṃ taiḥ sārdham ekalolībhūtaṃ cintayet/ anena dhyānayogena saptāhāc cakravartinam api vaśam ānayati yāvajjīvaṃ na saṃśayaḥ*/ "Next, if he wants to subject under his will, the one adorned with all the ornaments, having gone to the *aśoka*-grove on the eighth *aśoka* asterism, puts on a red cloth and recites the mantra. While remaining in union with the three-faced one, having imagined himself as red in colour, he, then, emits from his own body the two-armed [goddess], red in colour, holding a goad and a noose in her hands. With that [goad], having hooked the target at his heart, he thinks that she brings the target back. He causes the goddess to enter back into his own body. The target becomes confused. He ritually places the ten-syllable mantra, red in colour, in his heart. Further, the *sādhya*, taking on the form of knowledge, should enter into those syllables. He should imagine [the target] being fused in oneness with them. By this meditation procedure, within seven days, he brings into his power even the monarch as long as he lives, without doubt." When compared with the passage preserved in the VBhT, we notice important divergences. First, the beginning of the meditation procedure has some preliminaries, which are missing in the VBhT. Second, the deity emitted from the practitioner's body that catches the target is referred to as the goddess, although her description matches the one of Mañjuśrī. Third, the ten-syllable mantra is referred to as red in colour, while in the VBhT this description defines the form of knowledge. Fourth, the passage of the *Sampuṭa* has *sādhya* after *paścāt*, while the VBhT (both in Skt. and Tib. recensions) have *sādhaka.* This completely changes the meaning of a person who assumes the form of knowledge. Fifth, the *Sampuṭa* has *taiḥ sārdhaṃ ekalolībhūtaṃ cintayet*, while the VBhT, in both Skt. and Tib. recensions, have *taiḥ sādhyaṃ ekalolībhūtaṃ vicintayet*. A parallel recipe is also found in the *Yogaratnamālā* 2.34 (Tripathi and Negi's edn., 2006, p. 26).

[1976] *Akṣobhya (p. 388): "because these procedures do not succeed if one is not in *dhyāna*, the root-text says: 'the mantra-master should be in perfectly concentrated state and with his visualisation steady'" (*las de dag ni bsam gtan ma yin pas 'grub par mi 'gyur bas na/ sngags pa shin tu mnyam gzhag cing/ bsam gtan la ni brtan par bya/ zhes gsungs so*).

[1977] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:112) has *tantra* instead of *mantra*, and also one additional sentence that is missing in the Sanskrit: "he must not show the spell either" (*ibid*.:48). This reading is supported by *Akṣobhya's commentary (p. 388), which glosses *tantra* as follows: "the entire *kalpa* (i.e. *Saptakalpa*, that is, the VBhT in seven chapters) is secret. Ultimately, even giving out parts of it is forbidden" (*rgyud ces bya ba ni rtog pa rdzogs pa gsang ba'o/ lhag ma rnams ni phyogs 'ga' zhig sbyin pa yang dgag pa'o*). *Akṣobhya (p. 388) glosses "he should not show even the mantra" and "this applies even to the written form of mantra" (*sngags kyang mi* [*add. mi*] *bstan par bya'o zhes bya ba ni yi ger bris pa tsam yang ngo*).

never be given to anyone. The visualisation for the identification with the venerable Great Vajrabhairava [too] should not be given to anyone, nor should it be spoken of. The mantra should not be made open. He should not unroll the painting in front of anybody. He should always keep the painting concealed. Let him neither recite the procedure for this mantra at the side of anybody,[1978] nor perform a fire offering.[1979] If he does tell, then by the command of Vajrabhairava, he will be devoured by the [*ḍākinī*s] or by the *yoginī*s[1980] as the one who has broken the vows.[1981] Therefore, the mantra-master should not give it to anybody.

[§74] Rather, [the person to whom] it may be given[1982] is one who does not infringe the pledges, who is free of doubt, who is firm in his vow, who is brave, who is devoted to his teacher,[1983] who knows how to behave properly,[1984] who is completely committed to the

[1978] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:112) has a slightly different reading: *rgyud 'di'i rab tu sbyor ba dang/ blzas pa dang smra ba gzhan su la 'ga' tsam yang mi smra*, which Siklós (*ibid*.:48) translates as: "he must not speak of the practices nor the recitations, nor must he read this *tantra* aloud, even to a few people."

[1979] This sentence is missing in the Tibetan edition by Siklós.

[1980] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:112) has a different reading: *gal te smras na dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed dang/ gzhan yang rnal 'byor ma rnams dang mkha' 'gro ma rnams kyis za'o.* The Skt. text before emendation has *yadi brūyāt śrīmahāvajrabhairavādyābhiḥ yoginībhir vā bhakṣyet,* "If he does tell, he will be devoured by Vajrabhairava as the first or the *yoginī*s", which does not make much sense insofar that the *yoginī*s and the *ḍākinī*s commonly appear in tantric texts in the context of a punishment that awaits the *sādhaka* for the transgression of the vows. In this regard, it is very unusual to find the main deity devouring the *sādhaka*, for that reason it is likely that a corruption has occurred here (I thank Prof. Alexis Sanderson for this explanation). Further, the appearance of *vā* connecting two nouns suggests that *ḍākinī*s did originally feature in the Skt. recension. This reading is supported by *Akṣobhya's commentary, which glosses both *yoginī*s and *ḍākinī*s, as follows (p. 388): "**devoured by the *yoginī*s** [means:] these are *sahajayoginī*s whose number is twenty-five thousand" (*rnal 'byor mas bza'o* [em.; *rnal 'byor ma bzang* ed.] *zhes bya ba ni lhan cig skyes pa'i rnal 'byor ma stong phrag nyi shu rtsa lnga'o*); (p. 388): "***ḍākinī*s** [means:] *kṣetrapāla*s, etc." (*mkha' 'gro ma zhes bya ba ni zhing srung ba la sogs pa'o*).

[1981] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:112) reads: *dam tshig nyams par 'gyur bas*, which Siklós (*ibid*.:48) translates as "since the pledges become spoilt", but this phrase actually reflects the Skt. *samayadrohīn* "the one who has broken the vows" and forms a logical unit with the previous sentence (and not with the next sentence, as Siklós suggests), where the dire consequences for those who have transgressed the vows of secrecy are spelled out.

[1982] This sentence, which introduces the part on an ideal recipient, i.e., a disciple, is missing in the Tibetan edition by Siklós (1996:112).

[1983] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:112) reads: *dpa' bo bla ma*, "heroic master", but the Skt. recension only has "guru".

[1984] The qualification of an ideal disciple as *vinītas* features also in the Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:112) as *dul ba can*, but Siklós (*ibid*.:48–49) leaves it untranslated.

teaching of the Tathāgata, who conceals his mantra,[1985] who is not given to anger, who is compassionate, who is intent on *japa* and *dhyāna*, who is not overly timid.[1986] To the disciple who is distinguished by such qualities, who has been shown the *maṇḍala*,[1987] who is firmly devoted to Mahāvajrabhairava, one whose mind is moist with the great compassion,[1988] free of distinction, devoted to his *guru*, one whose qualities have been thoroughly tested[1989]—to such a pupil the *tantra* of Mahāvajrabhairava may be given. If he gives it otherwise, then he will go to hell along with his disciple. There is no doubt [about it. The one who breaks this rule] also experiences great disasters in this world, and after death, he goes straight to hell, because he is the one who has broken the pledges.[1990]

Here ends the seventh chapter concerned with the testing [of the disciple] and the accomplishment of visualisation procedures in this *yogatantra* of Mahāvajrabhairavacakra,[1991] called Mañjuśrī.[1992]

[1985] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:112) has *rgyud sbas pa*, i.e., "he conceals the *tantra*" instead of *mantra*.

[1986] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:113) reads: *rnam par smin pa la 'dzem pa*, which Siklós (*ibid*.:49) translates as "who shrinks from actions leading to rebirth". The Skt. recension only has *abhīruḥ*, which does not connote such a technical meaning.

[1987] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:113) reads: *dkyil 'khor dam pa dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed chen po la mchog tu gus pa*, which partially reflects the Skt. *dṛṣṭamaṇḍalāya śrīmahāvajrabhairavasya dṛḍhabhaktāya.*

[1988] "Mind moist with compassion" is a common phrase in Buddhist tantras: see, e.g., MMK 51.58cd; 556.

[1989] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:113) reads: *rab tu brtag pa la shin tu rnam par bsams te*, which Siklós (*ibid*.:49) translates as "who contemplates the teachings"; this, however, reflects the Skt. *suparīkṣitaguṇāya*. In this regard, *rnam par bsams* must be a corruption of *dātavyaṃ*, Tib. *sbyin pa*, etc. For similar passages on "testing the disciple" in non-Buddhist tantras, see p. 280 of this thesis.

[1990] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:113) reads: *dam tshig kyang nyams par 'gyur ro*, which Siklós (*ibid*.:49) translates as "even the pledges will be damaged"; however, according to the Skt. text, this expression describes the *samayabhedin*, "a person who has broken the vows", for the discussion on this topic, see p. 392, n.44 in Appendix 2 of this thesis.

[1991] *Akṣobhya (p. 388–389) glosses ***cakra*** as "*maṇḍala* and *yantra*, because here [in this tantra], they are the chief topic" (*'khor lo zhes bya ba ni dkyil 'khor dang 'khrul 'khor dag 'dir gtso bor gyur pas so*).

[1992] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:113) reads: *'di ni 'jam dpa'i mchog/ dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed chen po'i rnal 'byor gyi rgyud las bsam gtan gyi las sgrub pa'i brtag pa'i rtog pa ste bdun pa'o*, which Siklós (*ibid*.:49) translates as "this is the seventh chapter, on success in the rites of meditation, from the *yoga-tantra* of the glorious Mahābhairava, the highest manifestation of Mañjuśrī." In this translation, Siklós fails to translate *brtag pa*, which reflects the Skt. *parīkṣā*, "testing" [the disciple].

The fragment [1993] of the *kalpa* [1994] which is successful just by being recited (*paṭhitasiddhaḥ*)[1995] was extracted from that tantra which is characterised as Mahāvajra-bhairavacakra[1996] and which has come forth from the *yoginīpīṭha* of Uḍḍiyāna.[1997] The

[1993] *Akṣobhya (p. 389): "**fragment** (*ekadeśa*) [means:] a fragment of *upadeśa* extracted from the entire [teachings]" (*phyogs gcig pa zhes bya ba ni kun las btus pa'i man ngag gi phyogs gcig tu byas pa'o*).

[1994] *Akṣobhya (p. 389): "***kalpa*** [means:] collection of rituals" (*rtog pa zhes bya ba ni cho ga'i tshogs so*).

[1995] *Akṣobhya (p. 389): "**successful just by being recited**: by *satpuruṣa*s, i.e., holy beings" (*bklags pas 'grub pa zhes bya ba ni skyes bu dam pa rnams kyis so*). *Akṣobhya's commentary (p. 389) ends with the motivation for writing the work: "Ignorant fools say: 'this surely is the best' but they do that without relying on the explanation of the guru; in doing so, they interpret the meaning of the tantra in contrary way and they delude childish people. I have written this, which clarifies this misinterpretation, for my students. This work contains extensive *prayoga*s, which are in concordance with the *upadeśa* taught by my guru. Now, by this virtue, may the world become the Munīndra (the Buddha as the Lord of Sages). This is the *pañjikā* of the *Śrīvajrabhairavatantra* written by *vajrācārya* *Akṣobhya and it finishes now" (*bla ma mi bsten man ngag gtam bral bar/ mi mkhas dag ni nges par mchog yin zhes/ rgyud don log par 'chad cing byis pa bsku/ de dag bslu ba shes byed 'di byas slob ma'i phyir/ sbyor ba rgya chen ji skad bla mas smras pa bzhin/ 'on kyang dge 'dis 'gro ba thub pa'i dbang por gyur/ dpal ro rje 'jigs byed kyi rgyud kyi dka' 'grel/ rdo rje slob dpon mi bskyod pas mdzad pa rdzogs so*).

[1996] The Tibetan text (Siklós 1996:113) reflects the Skt. almost perfectly when it says: *dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed chen po'i khor lo rgyud 'bum pa nas btus na phyung ba rtog pa'i phyogs bklags pas 'grub pa*, which Siklós (*ibid*.:49) inaccurately translates as: "obtained by reading those sections which appeared after the selection from the *One Hundred Thousand Chapter Tantra* of the cycle of the glorious Vajrabhairava." Siklós mistranslates both *phyung ba rtog pa*, which reflects the Skt. *kalpadeśa,* and *phyogs bklags pas 'grub pa*, which reflects the Skt. *paṭhitasiddhaḥ*; the latter is a technical term (see below). Siklós's translation of *btus* is also inaccurate as it reflects the Skt. *uddhṛtaḥ*, "extracted", i.e., from the *One Hundred Thousand Chapter Tantra*, that is *Śrīmahāvajrabhairavacakra*.

The concept of *paṭhitasiddhaḥ*, as the way of referring to a particularly powerful mantra, is a common feature of the proto-tantric material of the *Mahāyānasūtra*s. For example, the *Amoghapāśahṛdaya-dhāraṇī* (Meisezahl 1962), a text dedicated to magic spells recited by Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara that was popular in Khotan, China and Japan, states: "The following are the ritual procedures for this mantra over which you have mastery just by reciting it" (*paṭhitasiddhasyāsya mantrasya karmmāṇi bhavanti*, Meisezahl 1962:324). A similar reference is given in the *Hayagrīvavidyā* found among the Gilgit manuscripts (for a study and translation of which, see Kakas 2011). The text begins with a number of verses to the Three Jewels and Avalokiteśvara after which the reciter, Avalokiteśvara himself, repeats the *paramahṛdaya-mantra* a.k.a *hayagrīva,* which is described as "the king among the mantras, which is mastered just by being recited" (*ayaṃ hayagrīvavidyārāja paṭhitasiddhaḥ*, edn. Dutt *et al*. 1939:44). The text elaborates on the extraordinary efficacy of this mantra in the following words: "The charm with which you can break any spells, the fruit, flower, water or the like you can subject to your will, however this *vidyārāja* needs just to be recited to have its effect (*paṭhitasiddhaḥ*), it will bring about anything you desire, without first having mastered it through *sādhana*" (*sarvamudrāmokṣanāṃ udakena vaśīkaraṇaṃ phalapuṣpaiḥ/ ayaṃ paṭhitasiddhaḥ/ asādhita eva sarvakarmāṇi kurute*, edn. Dutt *et al.* 1939: 45). In other words, a mantra classified as

[seventh] chapter for achieving the *siddhi* of the venerable great Vajrabhairava who has the face of the buffalo is completed. May the people of the world become equal to the venerable great Vajrabhairava through this merit. OṂ HRĪḤ ṢṬṚĪḤ vikṛtānana HŪṂ PHAṬ OṂ yamāntaka HŪṂ PHAṬ. Of those *dharma*s that arise from the cause, the Tathāgata has told the cause and also their cessation. Thus, the Great Śramaṇa spoke. Auspicious.[1998]

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paṭhitasiddhaḥ does not need to be mastered through a long process of *puraścaraṇa*/*pūrvasevā*. The end of the *paramahṛdaya-mantra* of Hayagrīva is as follows:

> Subject all *graha*s and *piśāca*s to my will. Cut off with your horse-face all those who wish me harm. Homage to Noble Avalokiteśvara, Bodhisattva, Mahāsattva! May these mantra utterances (*mantrapada*s) bring me success. Lord Hayagrīva commands, *svāhā*. (s*arvagrahapiśācān me vaśamānaya*/ *yāvanto mama [ye kecit] ahitaiṣiṇastān sarvān vaḍvāmukhena chindayet phaṭ*/*namo nama āryāvalokiteśvarāya bodhisattvāya mahāsattvāya*/*sidhyantu mama mantrapadā hayagrīvo bhagavān ājñā[pa]yati svāhā*, edn. Dutt *et al.* 1939:44).

The concept of *paṭhitasiddhaḥ* permeated also the Buddhist tantras. It is found, for example, in an early *kriyātantra*, the MMK. In chapter 52 (p. 438) of this tantra, which is one of the two of the so-called "Yamānataka Chapters", the mantra of Yamānataka, known as *krodharāja*, "wrathful king", is described as follows: "This is the Krodharāja, which is successful just by being recited: it bestows the supreme *siddhi*" (*paṭhitasiddhā eṣa krodharājā uttamāṃ siddhim anuprayacchati*). The same description is repeated in the last verse before the chapter's final colophon (p. 450): "This Krodharāja Yamāntaka, which is successful just by being recited, ends here" (*paṭhitasiddhā eṣa krodharājā yamāntako nāma parisamāpta iti*). The placement of this description at the end of the chapter seems to indicate that the notion of *paṭhitasiddhaḥ* applies here not only to the mantra but, just like in the case of the *Vajrabhairavatantra*, to the entire text. A similar placement is also found in the concluding verse of the last chapter of a *yoginītantra*, the *Herukābhidāna* (*Cakrasaṃvara*, see Gray 2007:382); in the *Saṃvarodayatantra* (see Tsuda 1970:36, 312), which stylistically closely resembles the final colophon of the *Vajrabhairavatantra*; and in the *Hevajratantra* (2.9.6: *asmin tantre na hotavyaṃ mudrābandhakriyā na ca*/ *paṭhitasiddhaṃ mahātantraṃ dhyānamātreṇa sidhyati*, Tripathi and Negi's edn., p. 196).

[1997] This sentence does not feature in the Tibetan edition (Siklós 1996:113). The mention of Uḍḍiyāna, referred to as *dpal u rgyan,* appears in the context of the mythical Ur-text, the *Mañjuśrītantra*, the king among the tantras, that has come down from the *mahāpīṭha* of the venerable Uḍḍiyāna, wherefrom the VBhT has been extracted.

[1998] The passage beginning with "may the people…" and ending with "auspicious" does not feature in the Tibetan edition (Siklós 1996:113–114). The Tibetan text mentions Lalitavajra, but this is absent in the Skt. recensions.